

THE FIGURAL WORLD OF THE SOUTHERN LEVANT
DURING THE LATE IRON AGE

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Declaration

I, Josef Mario Briffa, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

This study reconsiders the figurines of the Late Iron Age in the southern Levant. Previous research has often read figurine types in the near isolation, with a strong focus on the female figurines, and the Judean Pillar Figurines in particular, linking them to non-official rituals concerned with fertility or protection. This study moves away from this restrictive paradigm, and argues that all the figurines need to be studied as parts of a miniature figural world, which includes not only female figurines and other anthropomorphic types, but also figurines of horses and riders, other animals and things.

This research project works on two geographical scales. On the site level, a detailed study of the context and distribution of material from the sites of Jerusalem, Lachish and Megiddo allows for a reconsideration of the significance of figurines and their patterns of use and discard. On the regional level, the variation and commonality of the figurines is studied within the broader context of the southern Levant. This approach allows for an understanding of the figurines as part of a wider shared repertoire of miniature representation, while allowing for a consideration of regional differences.

The study also considers the world of social identities and meanings, expressed, produced and manipulated through the medium of these same figurines. This approach is informed by semiotic and post-structural debates, to explore how meaning is attached to the figurines both by their ancient users and modern interpreters. Moving from a narrow focus on the figurines themselves, it is possible to consider the persons and communities who made and used them.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Figurines exercise a grip on human imagination in a way that few other artefacts manage to. Whenever they turn up on excavation, they are greeted with enthusiasm, whether in the Balkans (Bailey 2005, 1), in Malta or in Israel, even when these are only fragments, and in a residual rather than primary contexts. The reason for such enthusiasm is not unrelated to the scope of this study. Figurines present an opportunity to study the way in which ancient societies and individuals related to particular aspects of their world.

The choice of what to represent and how, as well as where and when to use these miniatures, opens a window onto how they produced and manipulated meaning. Despite the centuries that separate us from the ancient past, and the profound cultural differences, the way we relate to miniature representations of our world on a cognitive level is not unrelated. In this regard, the study situates itself within a wider debate on figurines that goes well beyond its geographical and temporal limits (Ucko 1968; Voigt 1983; Bailey 1994, 1996, 2005, 2013; Hamilton *et al.* 1996; Hamilakis *et al.* 2002; Lesure 2002; Knapp 2009). With a clear focus on a specific region, period, and corpus of material, its contribution is more particular than general, but aims nonetheless to engage with the theoretical and methodological grounding of figurine research.

The focus of this study is the southern Levant during the late Iron Age. The southern Levant, corresponding to modern state of Israel, the Palestinian Territories (West Bank and Gaza strip), and Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, was the overland route between Mesopotamia and Egypt, and contested between these two centres of power as they rose and fell. During this period, the region witnessed the impact of the rise and fall of the Neo-Assyrian empire, the struggle of the smaller states in the southern Levant as they renegotiated their relationships with their neighbours, and the rise of the Neo-Babylonian empire which completes the subjugation of the southern Levant with the capture of Jerusalem.

1.1 Outline of this study

This study is articulated in five sections. The first introductory section consists of two chapters. Chapter 2 situates the project in relation to previous research, considering the focus on specific types, and trends in methodology and interpretation. A general introduction to the southern Levant in the late Iron Age is given in Chapter 3, presenting both the geographic and political aspects of the region during this period.

The second section, consisting of Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, presents the theory and method that underpins this study. Chapter 4 outlines the theoretical approaches, starting with the definition of a figurine. The chapter then discusses semiotics and post-structural critiques, issues of gender and the body, toys, and the *chaîne opératoire*. Finally, questions of primary and secondary contexts, discard and deposition are brought to focus. Chapter 5 focuses on method: first presenting the methodological choices guiding the study, then the dataset itself, and finally the key tools used in the project: the relational database, statistical tools, and GIS.

The data will be considered in two sets of cases studies, on two different geographical scales, forming the third and fourth sections. The third section, consisting of three chapters, places the focus on three major sites. Chapter 6 is dedicated to Jerusalem, in the southern hill country. Chapter 7 moves to the Shephalah and the site of Lachish. Chapter 8 focuses on Megiddo, an important stronghold in the northern part of the study region.

The fourth section includes a second set of case-studies that shift the focus from the site-level to the regional-level. Chapter 9 provides an introduction to the sites included in the study sample, and their stratigraphy. The three chapters that follow focus on the main classes of figurines: Chapter 10 presents the anthropomorphic figurine; Chapter 11 considers the rider, horses and zoomorphic figurines; while Chapter 12 completes the discussion of the repertoire by looking at models of inanimate objects.

A final section (Chapter 13) presents the conclusions, draws together the results of these case studies, and considers possible future avenues for research.

1.2 Research questions

Archaeological research in the southern Levant has yielded thousands of figurine fragments from late Iron Age strata of the various sites. Many have been published in monographic studies on figurines (Pritchard 1943, Holland 1975, Kletter 1996), or as part of excavation reports. However, the understanding of the figurines remains partial, and not necessarily properly grounded, and often ideas have consolidated into consensus without being properly questioned, as will be discussed in Chapter 2.

My own study revisits this data, and addresses the fundamental question: what do these figurines mean? The question may be further articulated as follows:

- What aspects of life of the ancient users are miniaturised in the figurines?
 - Does the choice of what is represented, and what is omitted provide any meaningful patterns?
 - Do such patterns provide insights into how identity (including gender identity, profession, social status) is constructed in and through the figurines?
 - Can the study of female anthropomorphic figurines be meaningfully isolated from the rest of the repertoire?
 - Do the figurines themselves give any indication of how the figurines could be used?
- Does the contextual study of figurine fragments within specific sites suggest any meaningful spatial distribution patterns?
 - Where were the figurines used and discarded?
 - Do such patterns provide insights into:
 - Who was using different types of figurines within the community?
 - Whether these uses situated in public or private spheres?
- What are the commonalities and differences shared by the figurine repertoire over the wider geographical region of the southern Levant?
 - Are particular modes of representation specific to sub-regions?
 - Does the pattern of variation reflect any connection with known ancient polities in the region?

Chapter 2. History of research

Late Iron Age figurines of the southern Levant have drawn the attention of scholars ever since the proliferation of excavations in late Ottoman Palestine first brought many examples to light. These figurines have continued to intrigue scholars and provide rich ground for debate, as is evident from the large amount of literature on the topic. This chapter will present the history of research divided, for convenience, into four main chronological blocks: the early research from the turn of the twentieth century until the First World War (section 2.1), the British Mandate period (section 2.2), research from 1948 until 1996 (section 2.3), and the last twenty years (section 2.4). A final section outlines the main trends in interpretation and methodology (section 2.5).

2.1 Early research

Clay figurines were found in early excavation work in Palestine (Bliss and Macalister 1902), and numbers increased considerably with larger excavation projects at Gezer (1902-1909, R.A.S. Macalister), and Beth Shemesh (1911-1912, D. Mackenzie). While the earlier excavations are too often dismissed by scholars because of the poor recording and publication quality, it should be recognised that these researchers had already noted important chronological and typological distinctions in this material, and posited key aspects of interpretation that have often been inherited unchallenged.

2.1.1 Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*

F.J. Bliss and R.A.S. Macalister's report (1902) on *Excavations in Palestine during the years 1898-1900* dedicated a chapter to the "pottery: human and animal forms" (Bliss and Macalister 1902, 135) where they publish a number of anthropomorphic figurines in the round, and female plaque figurines in low-relief, as well as several zoomorphic figurines. Bliss and Macalister's work included key seminal ideas. It distinguished between female plaques in low-relief

and figurines in the round (Fig. 2.1), and assigned them to their correct stratigraphic horizons: the plaque figurines in low-relief to their “pre-Israelite times” (Bronze Age), and the pillar type figurines to their “late Jewish strata” (late Iron Age). Iconographic details formed the basis of how these figurines were interpreted, such as marking of breasts and genitals on plaques or symbols such as lotus flowers. Figurines were read as cultic, and seen as confirmation of biblical texts that condemned the pagan worship that coexisted with orthodox religion (Bliss and Macalister 1902, 136).

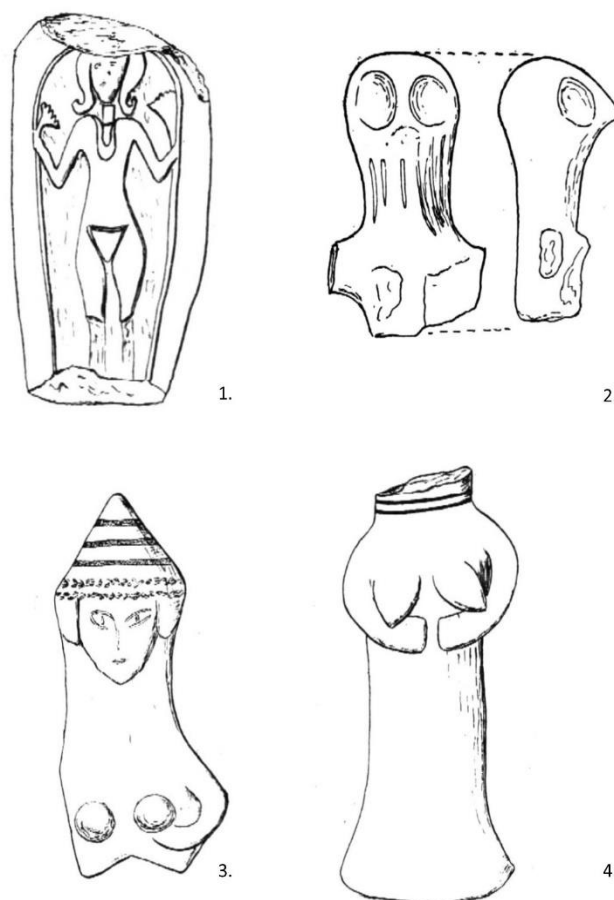


Fig. 2.1. Some early drawings of the figurines, and major types: (1) plaque figurine, (2) handmade head with pinched features, (3) a moulded head and upper body of a pillar figurine, (4) pillar body (bottom right). After Bliss and Macalister 1902, plate 68, no. 2, 9, 10 and fig 51.

2.1.2 Macalister's excavations in Gezer

In his report on Gezer, Macalister was evidently more intrigued by the Bronze Age plaque figurines, his “Ashtoreth plaques,”¹ which he illustrated and described in considerable detail (Macalister 1912, II, 411-416). In contrast, he only included a small sample of the pillar figurines, with the primary interest of defining a type of figurine which Macalister relates to the “Cypriote ‘pillar’ form of the *dea nutrix* figure” (Macalister 1912, II, 417). The connection of the figurines to a *dea nutrix*, a generic female goddess related to motherhood, nurturing, and (indirectly) fertility, followed a simple iconographic line of interpretation: “abundant breasts” indicated a “nurturing mother”, therefore a “*dea nutrix*.”

Macalister provides little comment about the animal figurines in his report. His preliminary reports on the site, however, described the animal figurines briefly (Macalister 1902, 344), showing particular interest in what he defined as the remains of a “cow divinity” (1902, 341), in keeping with a cultic understanding of the figurines.

Macalister was also the first to propose the link between figurines and the biblical term *teraphim* (Heb. תְּרָפִים), whom he understood as household idols, and on which he wrote a dedicated paper (Macalister 1905, 270). His suggestion had also been supported by other scholars (May 1935, 27-28). The interpretation, however, is problematic. The term *teraphim* itself, which appears only in five passages in the Bible, is not well understood. By the Hellenistic period, when the Greek versions of the Bible were produced, the meaning of this term seems to have been already lost, and it was translated as ‘idols/images’ (Greek τὰ εἰδωλα, Genesis 31,19.34.35), or ‘cenotaph’ (τὰ κενotáφια, 1 Samuel 19,13.16) or even left untranslated (τὸ θεράφιν, Judges 18,17.18.20; 2 Kings 23,24). The size of these *teraphim* are also unknown: in the story of Rachel hiding them in her saddle, they appear to be small and easily portable (Genesis 31, 19-35), whereas they

¹ Ashtoreth and Ashtaroth are both variant spellings, in the Hebrew Bible, of name of the female deity Astarte, goddess of fertility and war. For a general discussion on the female goddesses of the southern Levant see Cornelius 2008, Van der Toorn 2003.

appear to be life-sized in David's story, where Michal uses them as a mannequin in place of her fugitive husband (1 Samuel 19, 13-16).

2.1.3 Mackenzie expedition to Beth Shemesh

The excavations at Beth Shemesh, under the direction of Mackenzie, contributed to widen the scope of the discussion, as new types of figurines were brought to light. On similar lines to Macalister, Mackenzie identified the female figurines from Beth Shemesh as "Astarte," an interpretation he considered to be self-evident (Mackenzie 1912, 54). However, among the anthropomorphic figurines were a pair of pillar figurines with handmade heads and pinched facial features, one with breasts and one without, which Mackenzie interpreted as a probably divine female and male pair (Mackenzie 1912, 76).

Another previously unknown type was a horse and rider figurine, which Mackenzie interpreted as a possible "warrior or god of battles" (Mackenzie 1912, 88). Finally, the first examples of model furniture added to the variety of the repertoire: two model thrones, which Mackenzie understood as having held some seated divinity (Mackenzie 1912, 55).

2.1.4 Were the figurines deliberately broken?

Beyond the major expeditions, occasionally, a handful of figurines were published from other sites too, with ideas and suggestions that recur in the literature. One example is the publication of some figurines from Jerusalem, where L.-H. Vincent was the first to suggest that the figurines may have been deliberately broken as part of some ritual, or as part of an iconoclastic aspect of religious reform (1907, 162-163). This idea has had significant impact, and has been followed by several others (McCown 1947, 245, Holland 1977, 137, Nadelman 1989, 123).

2.1.5 Synthesis

It is worth noting how, by 1915, the research scene was set, and key elements in the interpretation of the figurines were already in place:

- Female figurines tended to dominate the debate, with an emphasis on their gendered representation.
- Figurines (both human and animal) were read as images of divinities representing magic and cult practice.
- The possibility that the figurines were deliberately broken as part of a ritual or iconoclastic reform has been raised.
- The Bible was used as a potential source for establishing the identity of the figurines, a reflection of the research interests of scholars at the time.

2.2 The British Mandate period (1920-1948)

A second phase of research corresponds largely to the British Mandate period. These years were marked by a large number of excavations in Palestine and by an attempt for synthesis through dedicated studies on the female figurines by Pilz (section 2.2.1), Albright (section 2.2.2) and Pritchard (section 2.2.4), or, in the case of May (section 2.2.3) as part of wider studies on remains of cult.

2.2.1 Pilz's monograph

In the first monographic study on the figurines, E. Pilz (1924) focused exclusively on the female figurines. He compiled a catalogue of 123 figurines from various sites in western Palestine, divided them into types, based primarily on their general form (plaque/pillar), and position of their arms. Pilz understood the clay figurines as copies of cult images (*Nachbilder*), on the basis of their smaller size, postulating the existence of large cult figurines that have since been lost (Pilz 1924, 129). Pilz's interpretation of the pillar figurines is very similar to Macalister's, connecting them to the Cypriot and Phoenician types (Pilz 1924, 161).

2.2.2 Albright and the figurines of Tell Beit Mirsim

Excavations in the 1920s and 1930s brought to light large numbers of figurines, but a comparative study had to wait for Albright's publication of the figurines from Tell Beit Mirsim (1933-1936). Reflecting a similar bias to Macalister, Albright focused almost exclusively on the terracotta plaques of the Bronze Age in his first paper (Albright 1939). He relegated thirty-four examples of female pillar figurines, which he assigned mostly to the seventh and sixth centuries, to a short paragraph at the end of the paper, where they were simply defined as a *dea nutrix* type (Albright 1939, 120). Albright understood them as fertility figurines (Albright *et al.* 1943, 69), representing the goddess "Ashtaroth, as the *dea nutrix*, the protector of nursing mothers" (Albright 1943, 121). Despite describing the figurines as "Ashtaroth", Albright held that the Israelites only used the figurines as amulets, and did not understand such figurines as divinities.

Other figurines and models from Tell Beit Mirsim were only briefly discussed, and considered to be probable toys (Albright *et al.* 1943, 82), a position iterated by Kelso and Thorley (Albright *et al.* 1943, 142) in their section of the same report. This idea that horses and other animals were toys, has also been repeated by other authors (Tufnell 1953, 374; Kenyon 1967, 101; 1974, 142). It is worth noting that these scholars made a clear distinction between the cultic and the ludic spheres, and in considering some figurines as toys they were dismissive of any possible meaningfulness. The significance of toys will be discussed further in this study in section 4.4.

A technical report by Kelso and Thorley discussed the manufacture of the figurines (Albright *et al.* 1943, 138-143), particularly the female ones made with a moulded head and a peg to attach it to the separately moulded body.

2.2.3 May's Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult

One of the major expeditions of the Mandate Period was that of Megiddo, undertaken by the Oriental Institute of Chicago (see section 8.1.2). Part of the

publication project included a volume on the *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult* (May 1935), with a chapter on figurines (1935, 27-34).

With regard to the anthropomorphic figurines, May (1935, 32) noted the scarcity of the pillar form. He followed the trend of reading the female figurines as representation of a mother-goddess, while being cautious in identifying the figurines with any particular goddess. Male figurines were noted as less numerous, and so May asked whether male gods may have been depicted as animals, possibly under the influences of Yahwism and its reticence at depicting the divine in human form (1935, 34).

In his discussion, the interpretation of animal figurines remained particularly open, and May's suggestions ranged from idols, through votives, to "charms to increase the flocks and herds." However, he doubted their use as toys (1935, 28).

More interestingly, May (1935, 24, 28) associated chariots and chariot wheels, as well as horse figurines, with the solar cult. This was based on Biblical readings: Josiah's destruction of the chariots of the sun (2 Kings 23,11), and chariots as signs of divine presence in Elijah's ascension (2 Kings 2,11), and in the visions of Zechariah (6,1) and Isaiah (66,15). The idea found currency among scholars. The link between the horses and the sun was further compounded with the interpretation of the so-called solar discs – discs of clay between the ears of the horse figurines, seen at Samaria (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957, 78) and Jerusalem, which Kenyon also associated with the cult of the sun god (Kenyon 1974, 141-42), a view also espoused by Pritchard (1961, 18). Ahlstrom connects the figurines with Yahwist cult through the solar cult connection as well as references to Yahweh "mounting his horses" in Habakkuk 3,8 (Ahlstrom 1984, 136-137).

2.2.4 Pritchard's monograph on *Palestine figurines*

A convenient end mark for the Mandate period is Pritchard's 1943 monograph on the terracotta figurines of the Bronze and Iron Ages. J. Pritchard (1943) compiled a catalogue of 294 figurines, all female, subdivided into seven major types. Pritchard suggested that some types, including the pillar figurines, were specialised and apparently "to be associated more definitely with the process of

child bearing” (Pritchard 1943, 87). Pritchard did not stop on the figurines themselves, but also considered the female goddesses known through literary sources – Asherah, Ashtart (and Athtar), and Anat – to consider any possible connections. He was rightly cautious in his conclusions: he did not attribute the figurines to any specific goddess, and did not see them necessarily as representations of the divine, but – in the case of the pillar figurines – “to be associated more definitely with the process of child bearing (1943, 85-87).”

2.2.5 Synthesis

Research and publications during the Mandate Period helped consolidate some of the key ideas about the figurines, while new ideas started to emerge:

- Figurine studies had begun to be cautious about linking figurines to individual divinities, but remained firmly entrenched in their gender approach, with a strong interest in the iconography of female figurines, and their presumed link to cultic or magical rites relating to fertility and motherhood, and so still working very much within a mother-goddess paradigm.
- The link between horses, riders and chariots with the solar cult is asserted, affirming further the cultic nature of the figurines.
- However, the idea that some figurines, particularly animals, may have been toys is also asserted. The contrast between cult and toys is clear, with a dismissive attitude towards toys. Such an interpretation can be greatly enriched by a better understanding on the significance of toys in the affirmation of social meanings and identity (see section 4.4).

2.3 Research from 1948 until 1996

This third section will now encompass the research undertaken between 1948 and 1996. A few brief comments need to be made on the impact of the excavations and reports on Lachish, Samaria and Jerusalem (section 2.3.1), before reviewing the work of Holland (section 2.3.2). The impact of the inscriptions of Kuntillet ‘Ajrud and Khirbet el Qôm on the understanding of popular religion and the

Asherah will then be discussed (section 2.3.3), followed by a consideration of Kletter's monograph on the Judean Pillar Figurines (section 2.3.4). A final subsection addresses the figurine studies related to Shiloh's excavations in Jerusalem (section 2.3.5)

2.3.1 Figurines from Lachish, Samaria and Jerusalem

The final years of the Mandate Period saw major excavation work come to a complete standstill, while work continued on excavation reports for some major digs of the 1920s and 30s, which were published in the 1950s. These included Lachish in the Shephalah, and Samaria in the northern hill country of Israel. In the 1960s, a major excavation project started in Jerusalem, under the direction of Kenyon.

Tufnell's publication of the figurines from Lachish provides an interesting contrast to the strongly cultic line developing so far. Although she discussed the figurines in a chapter entitled "Cult Objects" (Tufnell 1953, 374-378), she was rather dismissive of their importance, describing them as "crude playthings or homely symbols of no intrinsic worth" (Tufnell 1953, 374). Following a diffusionist argument, she suggested that the revival of the *dea nutrix* may have occurred around the same time in both the southern Levant and the Greek world. Her brief comment on the horse and rider figurines is more interesting, since she argued that they may represent the pressure from "bands of horsemen from northern steppes whose descendants had reached Egypt by the middle of the seventh century" (Tufnell 1953, 377), connecting therefore the figurines with the historical and cultural setting, although what peoples and movements she is exactly referring to is not altogether clear.

The publication of the report on Samaria (see also section 9.3.2) brought to light the first large group of figurines to be found in a single context (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957, 76-82). This came from trench E 207, which proved to be rich in figurative and probable cultic material, including some thirty-five anthropomorphic and more than 120 animal figurine fragments; it was interpreted as part of a shrine (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957, 23-24).

The presumed cultic context was also central to the discussion of figurines from renewed excavations in Jerusalem (1961-67, K. Kenyon). Kenyon's work concentrated on the south-eastern hill, intent on providing a continuous stratigraphic sequence for the area. Two caves were discovered which yielded plenty of intact vessels and an abundance of figurines (see section 6.3.1). As has already been noted, Kenyon had held that the figurines, particularly the animal ones, could have been toys (1967, 101), until her finds in Cave I in Jerusalem, which she considered a *favissa*, led her to revise her position, and attribute a cultic significance to the various figurines (Kenyon 1974, 142). Among the latter were horse figurines with a disc on the head, which Kenyon associated with the cult of the sun god (Kenyon 1974, 141-142), as has already been noted in section 2.2.3.

2.3.2 Holland's *Plastic Art of Palestine*

An offshoot of Kenyon's Jerusalem excavation was a D.Phil thesis written by Thomas Holland (1975). His D.Phil. thesis used a substantial dataset of 2711 figurines from the southern Levant and provided an overarching typology with a greater emphasis on head types, a typology subsequently followed by Gilbert-Peretz (1996) and, partly, by Kletter (1996). Holland used his typology to discuss the predominance of specific modes of manufacture and iconographic elements in specific sites or regions.

As with other classifications, one key limitation is the necessity to privilege one element over the others: among the anthropomorphic figurines, Holland privileged the mode of manufacture, then head types (where the head is present). The classification, therefore, separated various factors that are considered more holistically in this study (see Fig. 2.2), as will be discussed in section 5.1.2.

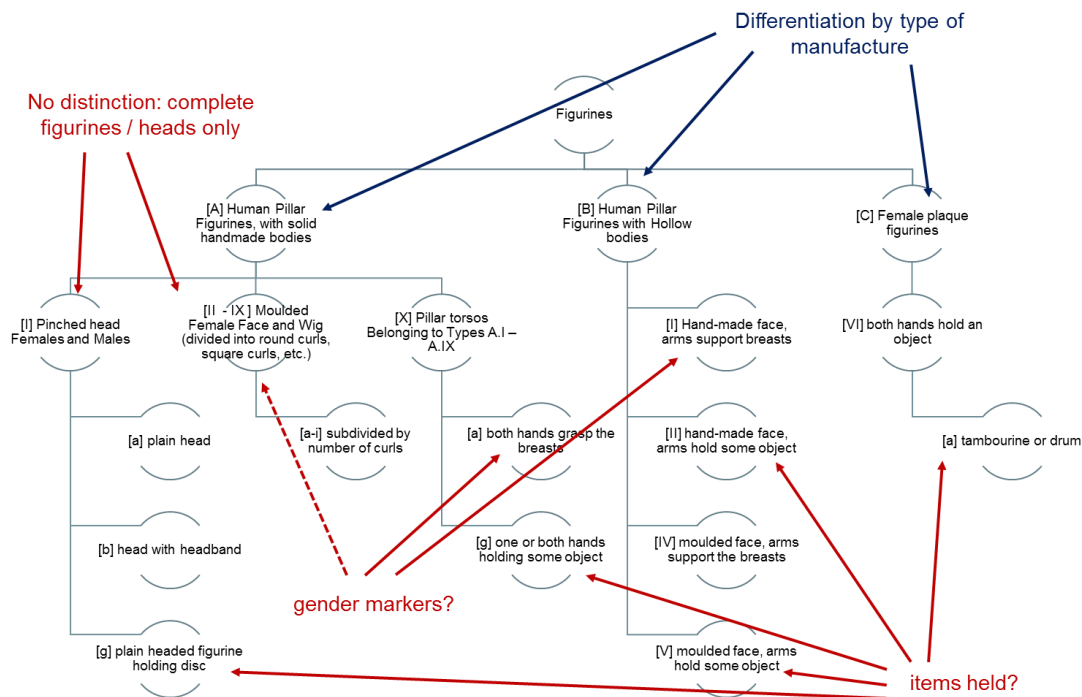


Fig. 2.2 Diagram showing part of Holland's (1975) typology. The graphic portrays visually how different elements some elements are spread across various parts of the classification limiting the possibility of study beyond the categorisation offered by the typology.

Discussion of the use and meaning of the figurines was not one of Holland's expressed aims, and such use is discussed only with regard to the examples from Cave I in Jerusalem (Holland 1975, 325-343). Unfortunately, though, Holland's catalogue had a number of serious limitations. Whereas the published figurines are easy enough to track down through his references, he failed to provide field or museum registration numbers for most unpublished figurines, most notably for the figurines from Kenyon's excavations in Jerusalem (see Appendix 6.1), which meant that the figurines in his catalogue could not be connected back to their archaeological contexts. His thesis remains unpublished, but has still served as a basis for other work (most notably Kletter 1996), although it was largely unavailable outside Oxford or Israel until 2013, when it was made available online (Holland 1975).

2.3.3 Popular religion and the Asherah

Ironically, two sites that have impacted strongly on figurine interpretation – Kuntillet ‘Ajrud in Northern Sinai, and a tomb at Khirbet el Qôm – did not yield any figurines. What these two sites provided was four important inscriptions referring to “Yahweh and his Asherah” (Lemaire 1977, Hadley 1987a, 1987b, 1993, Meshel *et al.* 2012). These discoveries, and the ensuing debate, marked a shift in the identification of the deity with whom the female figurines were associated from Astarte to Asherah, particularly where the pillar figurines of Judah were concerned.

“State religion”	“Folk Religion”
Literate	Popular
Texts	Artefacts
Canon	Improvisation
Belief	Practice
Mythology	Magic
Verbal	Symbolic
Theology	Cult
Ideology	Action
Intellectual	Emotive
Dogma	Praxis
Rational	Mystical
Ceremonial	Ritual
Public	Private
Social	Individual
National	Local

Table 2.1. Dichotomy between official religion and popular religion, as presented in Dever 2005, 5.

The inscriptions also coincided with debates about the role of women in religion, and the discovery of the formulae with Asherah provided a convenient link (Dever 2005). A quick survey of authors — Dever (2005, 194), Kletter (1996, 81), Holladay (1987, 278), Johnston (2003, 103), Keel and Uehlinger (1998, 333), and Van der Toorn (2002), among others — shows a developing consensus that the female figurines of the late monarchy of Judah are representations of Asherah, understood as the female deity of Judah known through the Bible. Dever (2005),

in particular, argued vigorously for an understanding of the figurines as part of popular religion. His understanding presupposed a dichotomy between official public religion endorsed by the state, product of a male dominated elite, and codified in the Biblical text, and a popular religion, linked with the private domestic sphere, where women played a key role, and suppressed in the Biblical text (see Table 2.1). Unfortunately, this dichotomy is imposed on, rather than emerging out of, the archaeological data.

Figurines have also been linked to 'other gods,' and suggested links to Astarte, Asherah, and the horses of the sun have already been noted. The discovery of the figurines in a broken state has been read as potential evidence for iconoclasm accompanying cultic reform (Dever 1990, 159-160, Nadelman 1989, 123), and linked with the religious reforms attributed in the Biblical text to Kings Hezekiah (2 Kings 18,4) and Josiah (2 Kings 23,4-20), who are reported to have prohibited all cultic practices related to gods and goddess other than YHWH. A critique of the historicity of these passages, and of the Biblical narrative of Kings, is well beyond the scope of this project, and has been amply debated (Römer and De Pury 2000). Whatever the historical reconstruction of these events, the link between given corpora of figurines (notably those of Cave I in Jerusalem, see section 6.3.1.2) and the Josianic reforms is very problematic, as there is no reason to connect the figurines to reform rather than other processes.

2.3.4 Kletter's monograph (1996)

The next major study that focused on female figurines is Kletter's monograph (Kletter 1996). Kletter studied 854 Judean Pillar Figurines and fragments, and catalogued several hundred figurines and fragments of other types. His work defined a figurine type that is predominantly Judean (Kletter 1996, 43-48), with his interest lying in providing criteria of inclusion or exclusion for this group. These criteria, while valid for the original research question in relation to the borders of Judah, has isolated this type from the rest, and consequently influenced figurine studies unduly. His typology was focused on this single type (1996, 29-30); and his separate catalogues of other figurines types, while rather

exhaustive for the anthropomorphic figurines (excluding the riders), provided no overarching systematic typology.

The work is based on part of his PhD research, which focused on defining the borders of ancient Judah through material culture (Kletter 1995; 1999a). Interestingly, the PhD project also included horse and rider figurines, but these were excluded in the monograph, reflecting a change of focus for the latter. Kletter proposed two interpretations of these figurines, which he saw as complementary: a magical figure and Asherah. He saw the pillar figurines as positive objects, and therefore related to good/white magic, possibly symbolising plenty rather than fertility (due to the lack of overtly sexual features), and thought to be further confirmed by the fact that they were not being deliberately mutilated (Kletter 1996, 80). Kletter argues for the identification of the Judean Pillar Figurines with Asherah, but warns that it “is not proven and should not be taken for granted” (Kletter 1996, 81). Despite Kletter’s caution, the work set a seal on the developing consensus that considered the pillar figurines of Judah as representations of Asherah.

Kletter dedicated an entire chapter to the discussion of context (1996, 57-67), rightly pointing out the difference between context of use and context of disposal. He also experimented with plotting the findspots of figurines from some sites (Kletter 1996, 107-113), but limited himself to the pillar figurines and some horse and rider examples (see Fig. 2.3). He tended to group contextual information into broad context types (e.g. “domestic context”), which are not explored in detail (Darby 2014, 22).

One important contribution of Kletter’s work is his systematic challenge to the suggestion of deliberate breakage. He studied the breakage patterns for the figurines, and even conducted experimental research on breakage, which suggested that all the breakage patterns known in the figurines can be explained through normal processes of breaking and discarding (Kletter 1996, 54-56). He also notes that the absence of deliberate mutilation of the faces of the pillar figurines (Kletter 1996, 57).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 2.3 Detail of distribution map for figurines from Tell en-Nasbeh (Kletter 1996, 110).

2.3.5 Figurine studies from Shiloh's excavations in Jerusalem

The same year of Kletter's monograph also saw the publication of the figurines from Shiloh's excavation in Jerusalem (Gilbert-Peretz 1996). Gilbert-Peretz followed Holland's typology (Gilbert-Peretz 1996, 29-31), discussed parallels from other sites (1996, 32, 34-35), considered issues of distribution and technique (including results of petrography and neutron activation analysis), and reassessed certain figurine types. She insisted that the different types should be studied as part of a wider corpus, and that a discussion focused on individual types "obscures the fact that they constitute one general group" (Gilbert-Peretz 1996, 39).

The chapter on figurines also included a series of additional studies as appendices. The first of these attempted to provide morphological criteria for the identification of particular species (Tchernov 1996) other than the equid figurines. The identification is only suggested for nineteen fragments (out of 211

animal heads): four figurines represent cattle, four sheep, three horned animals (deer, ibex and gazelle), and eight other animals.

A second, petrographic, study based on a sample of fifteen samples (Goren *et al.* 1996), looked into the technology and provenance of the figurines, concluding that the figurines were technologically homogeneous in choice of raw materials, treatment and firing (Goren *et al.* 1996, 89). It was impossible, however, to suggest a single manufacturing centre. A third study (Yellin 1996) looked at the chemical characterisation of the figurines, with eighteen figurines examined by Neutron Activation Analysis, suggesting a lack of chemical homogeneity. A statistical study then considered the homogeneity of the distribution of figurines (Sharon 1996) across the different strata of the site.

All these additional reports opened up new avenues for research, which have so far been used by other scholars in a limited fashion.

2.3.6 Synthesis

The fifty years between 1948 and 1996 are marked by some of the most influential studies on the figurines. The main developments may be summarised as follows:

- The excavations of Samaria and Jerusalem provided for the first time large groups of figurines that could be related to individual archaeological contexts; both groups have been interpreted as cultic. Cave I in Jerusalem will be discussed in detail in section 6.3.1.2, while Samaria's E 207 will be addressed briefly in section 9.3.2.
- Holland's thesis has provided an important comprehensive study of both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines. Despite its limitation, it remains an important foundation for further study.
- The association of female anthropomorphic figurines with female goddess has been heavily influenced by the discovery of the blessing inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud and Khirbet el Qôm. Several studies now identify the female figurines of ancient Judah with the cult of Asherah, although the connection is far from proven.

- Kletter's monograph on the Judean Pillar figurines has provided an important milestone for figurine studies, with its interest in archaeological context, and study into the breaking patterns of the figurines. His understanding of the figurines, however, showed less innovation, as he settled for an understanding of the female figurines as related to the cult of Asherah, very much in a traditional line of interpretation.
- Finally, the excavations conducted by Shiloh in Jerusalem have yielded the largest number of figurines ever found at a single site. The publication of the figurines opened up a series of new avenues for study of the figurines, especially through petrographic and chemical studies.

2.4 Recent research: the last twenty years

The study over the last twenty years are characterised by a more focused approach: addressing specific themes, such as figurines and household ritual (section 2.4.1), or discussing specific types of figurine: drum and tambourine players (section 2.4.2), Judean Pillar Figurines and apotropaic rituals (section 2.4.3), and horses and riders (section 2.4.4). In contrast, Moorey (2003) attempted a very comprehensive view, of which a couple of innovative points will be highlighted.

2.4.1 Figurines and household rituals

The issue of household religion has been the topic of two studies (Willett 1999; Albertz and Schmitt 2012). These studies have the merit of studying assemblages and their potential meaning, rather than being narrowly focused on the figurines by themselves.

Willett, in her study on women and household religion, studied in some detail a handful of contexts where she saw potential shrines related to a domestic religion centred on women (1999, 101-165). A more comprehensive contribution was provided by Albertz and Schmitt whose study included an extensive survey of "domestic cult assemblages" in ancient Israel and Judah (Albertz and Schmitt

2012, 74-172), and elsewhere in the Levant (Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 176-219). They took into account the various types of figurines, and other material possibly related to cult. They proposed a possible reading of male figurines as ancestors (Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 65, 72), and interpreted Caves I-III from Kenyon's excavation in Jerusalem, Cave Locus 6015 from Mazar's dig near the Temple Mount, and E 207 in Samaria as related to the cult of the dead (Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 462-469).

Unfortunately, these studies have been very selective in their choice of contexts, and do not clearly justify the grounds on which they choose to discuss or ignore particular assemblages, which limits the validity of their conclusions.

2.4.2 Drum and tambourine players

Four recent works have focused on the figurines of drum or tambourine players (Kletter and Saarelainen 2011; Paz 2007; Sugimoto 2005; 2008), and addressed a number of key issues.

Firstly, the identification of the more ambiguous disc holding figurines was discussed. Earlier discussions on the figurines were unsure on the identification of such discs, and left open a variety of options: tambourines, cakes, drums, rattles or perhaps platters (Pritchard 1943, 54). Recent studies have argued for their identification as drums or tambourines (Kletter and Saarelainen 2011; Paz 2007; Sugimoto 2005; 2008), recognising where the awkwardness in representation is likely to be due to limitations in technique and materials used.

Two of the projects have also considered drummer figurines as part of wider debate. Paz (2007) looked at these figurines as source material for her study on drumming and gender. She interpreted many of the figurines holding discs as drummers, but with the exception of the examples from Judah (Paz 2007, 103). In an article focused on the Judahite figurines, Kletter and Saarelainen (2011, 12) criticised the alleged contrast between the ancient kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and Paz's problematic use of the Bible as a historical source (Kletter and Saarelainen 2011, 23-24). Sugimoto's research (2005, 2008) read the figurines as elements of cultic significance in the context of an understanding of the rise of

monotheism, and followed a long tradition of relating the drummer figurines to Astarte.

Kletter and Saarelainen's paper (2011) on Judean drummers goes beyond a critique of Paz and Sugimoto and proposes a few questions in its own right, on the gender identity of the figurines, as well as on the identification of the disc as a drum or shield. They convincingly argue for the identification of the disc as a drum (Kletter and Saarelainen 2011, 20-22). Their discussion regarding gender identity is rather more superficial. While they, rightly, argue that the absence of representation of breasts cannot be used as a sign that they are not female, they suggest that the potters would have added a male marker (male genitalia) if they wanted to indicate a male figure (Kletter and Saarelainen 2011, 19). Arguing against the need of a physiological gender marker, on one side, they see it as necessary on the other, despite the general lack of representation of genitalia on pillar figurines. While many pillar figurines in Judah are gender marked as female, this cannot be taken for granted for the entire manufacturing type.

2.4.3 Judean pillar figurines and apotropaic ritual

Darby's PhD thesis (2011), recently published as a monograph (2014), takes a fresh look at the Judean Pillar Figurines. Her work opted for a narrower and more detailed geographical focus on the city of Jerusalem, and the Kenyon and Shiloh excavations in particular. Darby departed from the usual fertility/nurturing paradigm, and tried the route of magical, apotropaic magic. She surveyed the information about figurine use in magic in contemporary Akkadian literature, arguing its advantage as a source of possible parallels because of its geographical proximity and contemporary time period. These sources help challenge some assumptions (Darby 2014, 96-97), but their usefulness in understanding the ceramic figurines of the southern Levant remains very limited, as most figurines in the Akkadian sources were made of perishable material and destroyed as part of the ritual, unlike the South Levantine examples.

Darby (2011) is the first to take into account the context of the figurines in greater detail, looking into the individual loci for the figurines from Jerusalem from both Kenyon's and Shiloh's excavation. In contrast to both Willett (1999) and Albartz

and Schimdt (2012), Darby does not focus only on particularly enticing assemblages, but takes a more blanket approach to consider all loci where figurines were found.

Part of Darby's project includes a new petrographic study (Darby 2011, 702-712; Ben Shlomo and Darby 2014), which takes into account a larger sample of figurines (103 from Jerusalem), with an attempt to cover also the spectrum of figurine types (Ben Shlomo and Darby 2014, 182). The results show that 20-25% are made of the *terra rossa* often used for other pottery vessels, with as much as 70% of *rendzina*, more calcareous clays not usually used for pottery production, possibly because the material would crack if fired at the higher temperature required for pottery vessels (Ben Shlomo and Darby 2014, 190-191). The study also concludes that there is no evidence that figurines were produced at specific workshops, nor is there any indication of a connection between particular figurine types and particular types of clay. Moreover, the analysis confirms that the figurines are made from local materials (Ben Shlomo and Darby 2014, 192-193). Similar conclusions suggesting predominantly local production were reached in petrographic studies undertaken by Y. Goren on ten figurines from Tel 'Ira (Kletter 1999, 384) and eighteen from Moza (Petersson-Solimany and Kletter 2009, 116).

2.4.4 Kletter and Saarelainen's study on horses and riders

Kletter and Saarelainen's (2014) publication is one of the few studies to focus specifically on the horse and rider figurines. One key question addressed in their chapter is the identification of figurines as human or divine representations. They address the interpretation of the so-called "solar discs" (see also section 2.2.3), and on closer examination conclude that the identification is not very compelling, and that in most examples they do not appear to be discs but rather applications that could have simply represented manes (2014, 201). In their view, the association of the horse with Yahweh appears as the male counterpart to the connection between the female pillar figurines and Asherah in a simplistic logical connection where "if female figurines represent a goddess, male figurines possibly represent a god." (2014, 202), which they rightly criticise. The riders are, therefore,

considered as human cavalrymen rather than divine beings (2014, 205), an interpretation already held by Dornemann (1983, 137-40) and 'Amr (1980, 170-73) for the horse-and-rider figurines of Transjordan, and by E. Mazar (1996, 100 in Kletter and Saarelainen 2014, 205) for those of Achziv.

Despite a rather thorough reading of the figurines, their conclusions seem rather confusing. In particular, the authors read the female pillar figurines as representing Asherah, consort of Yahweh, but with equal conviction insist that horse-and-rider figurines did not represent divine beings and were not the focus of cultic acts (Kletter and Saarelainen 2014, 216-217). It is hard to understand on what grounds they hold such different understanding for the two types that form part of the same repertoire.

2.4.5 Moorey's *Idols of the People*

A final work which deserves mention is Moorey's series of three lectures on figurines given in 2001 at the British Academy (Moorey 2003). The first lecture discussed key issues relating to figurines including their problematic connection with Old Testament study, and recurring explanations of the figurines as toys, or object related to magic and fertility (Moorey 2003, 1-22). The second lecture looked at the wider context of the ancient Near East, including Sumer, Babylonia, Egypt and Syria during the Bronze Age (Moorey 2003, 23-46). The final lecture narrowed the discussion to the clay figurines of Iron Age Israel and Judah (Moorey 2003, 47-68).

Moorey's work is remarkable for its synthesis and insight. Three insights will be highlighted here. Firstly, the need for an understanding of the female figurines as part of a wider repertoire, particularly since the relationship between horse and rider figurines and other anthropomorphic forms has never been thoroughly investigated (Moorey 2003, 48-49). Secondly, he noted how the Iron Age free-standing figurines have a "performative potential" lacking in the Bronze Age plaques, pointing out the fine line between children's play and sacred performances (2003, 59). Finally, Moorey remarked on the importance of toys (see also section 4.4) for identity formation in children within a group, and rightly stated:

“that a terracotta [figurine] might have been a children’s toy is arguably the least interesting thing which might be said and no justification for then dismissing it out-of-hand as cultural signifier within the society where it was made.” (Moorey 2003, 8)

2.5 Synthesis and way forward

This final section of the chapter will focus on the common threads that have emerged and dominated discussion, looking into the main trends of interpretation of main figurine types, and general trends that cut across the discussion of different figurines types. Finally, the way this study can move forward will be outlined.

Trends of interpretation of major figurine types:

- Female anthropomorphic figurines.
 - Female figurines have tended to dominate the debate, with an emphasis on their gendered representation.
 - These figurines have long been associated with female divinities, particularly Astarte and Asherah. It is interesting to note that earlier works like Pritchard’s (section 2.2.4) have exercised more restraint in proposing identifications than some more recent works (section 2.3.3).
 - Other ideas have been proposed over the years, but often with a link to cult or magic, including some of the most recent works like Darby’s (section 2.4.3). Linked to this is the discussion on whether figurines were broken deliberately (section 2.1.4).
 - Other possible interpretations of these figurines, particularly the idea that they may be toys, have not been discussed in detail.

- Figurines playing drums or tambourines.
 - This group forms an important subset of anthropomorphic figurines. They have often been discussed alongside female anthropomorphic figurines.
 - These figurines have often been interpreted as female, despite the absence of biological gender markers in some cases. The other ways in which gender may be expressed has been largely absent from the debate.
 - There is consensus among scholars that the disc held represents a drum or tambourine.

- Riders and horses and wheeled vehicles:
 - Figurines of horses, with or without rider, are the dominant group among the zoomorphic figurines, and generally have been discussed together in the literature.
 - Proposed interpretations of this type have been more varied than for the female anthropomorphic figurines, although they do fall largely into two main categories:
 - Sometimes these figurines (as well as the wheels and chariots) have been connected with a more divine sphere, and more specifically to the solar cult (section 2.2.3).
 - Often, however, the figurines have been understood as human riders, on the grounds that there is no specific reason to postulate a connection to divine beings.
 - The idea that these figurines may have been toys has also been suggested (section 2.2.2). The notion of figurines as toys is generally dismissive in the literature, and needs to be enriched by an understanding of the connection between toys and identity (section 2.2.2 and section 4.4).

- Animals other than horses:
 - The discussion on animals other than horses has been generally limited, probably on account of the difficulty in identifying different species of animals (section 2.3.5).
 - Interpretations of the animals remains varied:
 - A link with ritual is suggested by Macalister (section 2.1.2), May (section 2.2.3) and Kenyon (section 2.3.1)
 - As with the horses and riders, other scholars have seen the figurines as toys.
- Models have not featured prominently in the discussion to date. Individual model types will be discussed in Chapter 12.

General trends:

- There is a marked tendency to focus on the female anthropomorphic figurines in particular, tending to isolate them from the repertoire.
- Emphasis has often been placed on cataloguing *per se*, which while being fundamental to any subsequent work, has also constrained the conversation.
- Holland (1975) was the last study to comprehensively consider material from the entire southern Levant. More recent work has focused on specific regions or even cities.
- Most studies have only studied the archaeological contexts of the figurines in a superficial manner.
- Proposed interpretations have largely fallen into two categories:
 - Cult uses: either as divine beings, or as ritual or magic items, linked to fertility or apotropaic ritual.
 - Figurines as toys, without much further elaboration.

As a result, this present study sees that there is an important space for a fresh contribution to the academic conversation on figurines, with four key methodological choices (see also section 5.1):

- To see all figurines as part of a repertoire.
- To adopt what may be called a multiple tag approach to classification, rather than relying on one primary factor.
- To take the entire southern Levant as the geographical area of study, rather than limit the study to a single sub-region.
- An insistence on the importance on the study of archaeological context, and dating of the material stratigraphically, to understanding this material.

The study will also move to discuss the figurines in new ways, particularly they might be used to express, produce and manipulate social identity and meaning.

Chapter 3. The geopolitical context

⁶ *God has promised in his sanctuary:
‘With exultation I will divide up Shechem,
and portion out the Vale of Succoth.*
⁷ *Gilead is mine, and Manasseh is mine;
Ephraim is my helmet; Judah is my sceptre.*
⁸ *Moab is my wash-basin; on Edom I hurl my shoe;
over Philistia I shout in triumph.’*

Psalm 60, 6-8 (NRSV)

This study takes as its chronological focus the late Iron Age between the mid-tenth and the mid-sixth centuries BC. Since one of its concerns is regional commonalities and differences over this period, this chapter will provide a background to the geopolitical context of the material. It will begin with a general introduction to the geography of the southern Levant (section 3.1), move on to outline the chronological debate about the Iron II (section 3.2), discuss the historical background of the period (section 3.3), then finally outline the various polities and cultural spheres of the period in question (section 3.4).

3.1 The land

History happens in a geographical context. In a Braudelian understanding, geography “helps us to rediscover the slow unfolding of structural realities, to see things in the perspective of the very long term” (Braudel 1995, 23). The narrow strip of land of the southern Levant is defined by the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountains to the north, the Mediterranean Sea to its west, by the Arabian Desert to the east, and the Sinai Peninsula to the southwest. It has a particularly varied geographical makeup, a “land of many contrasts” (Aharoni 1979, 21) which in turn has considerable effect on the geopolitics of the region. The area may be divided, with some qualification, into four major regions: the coastal plains, the hills, the Jordan Valley system, and the Transjordan.

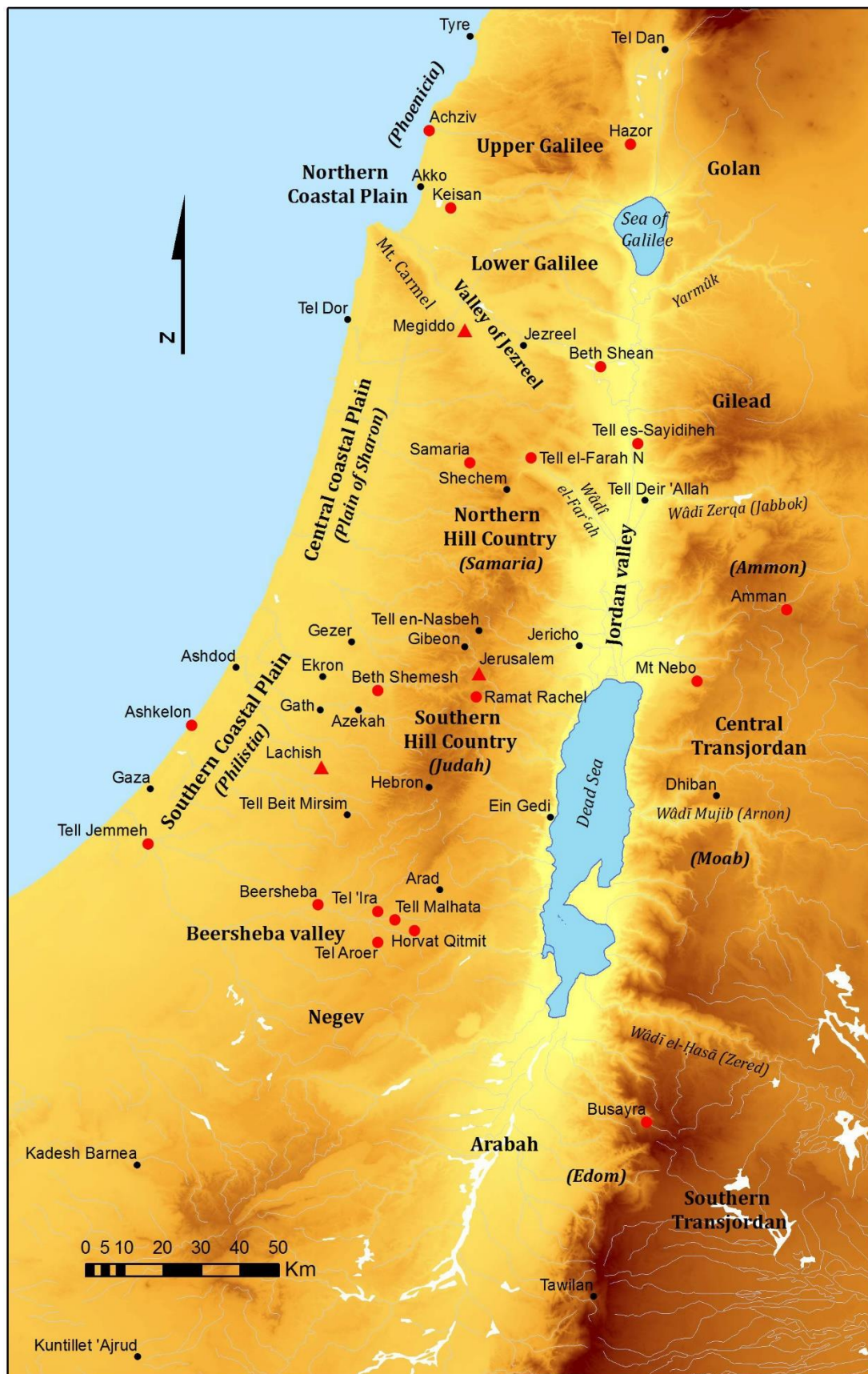


Fig. 3.1. Topographical map of the southern Levant, indicating major sites. Red circles mark the sites included in both site and regional case-studies, red triangles mark the sites included in the site level case-studies (map by author, using ArcGIS).

3.1.1 The coastal plain

The coastal plain is bounded to the west by the Mediterranean. At the northernmost end, along the coast of modern Lebanon, the mountains extend close to the shore, leaving little space for agriculture but providing an important source of timber and other products (Rainey and Notley 2006, 37).

The coastal plain can be divided into three major parts. The northern coastal plain begins south of Râs en-Naqûra or the 'Ladder of Tyre', down to the Mount Carmel ridge, and includes the plain of Acco (Suriano 2013, 18). The alluvial soils of this fertile plain come from the Upper Galilee hills to the east. To the southeast, the plain leads into the Jezreel Valley and southern Galilee. Between the Mount Carmel ridge and the sea is also a sliver of land twenty miles long, and only one and half miles at its widest (Orni and Efrat 1964, 43-44).

South of the Carmel ridge, the central coastal plain or Plain of Sharon reaches down to the estuary of the Soreq / Wâdî Şarâr (Rainey and Notley 2006, 37). The red sand here is not particularly suitable for agriculture, and the area has been characterised until recently by swamps and malaria (Orni and Efrat 1964, 43). In antiquity, the poor quality soil meant that the area was left uncultivated and was dominated by oak trees (Aharoni 1979, 24). The Nahr el-ʿAuja (modern Yarkon river) used to flood seasonally on both banks, creating the swampy area of Petah Tiqwa (Orni and Efrat 1964, 43). The eastern part of the plain, however, is rich in the alluvial soils deposited by the streams leading down from the highlands (Suriano 2013, 18).

The southern coastal plain (or Philistine plain) starts south of the Soreq Valley. North and south of the Soreq is characterised by sand dunes, to a width of about five miles, although the area of dunes appears to have been smaller in Roman times. To the north of the Besor stream, the plain is characterised by a wide sand dune belt that then gives way to good farmland, in an area rich in ground water. South of the Besor stream, the Negev coast is made up of a wide belt of loose sands which, further inland, gives way to a fertile valley between two chains of low limestone hills. The loess soils, along with the wells and abundant dew, make the area good for agriculture (Orni and Efrat 1964, 41-42).

3.1.2 The hills

The region west of the Jordan is dominated by hill country from the Galilee to the north, through the northern and southern hill country, to the Negev in the south.

The Galilee is divided into Upper Galilee (including part of southern Lebanon) and Lower Galilee along the Beth Ha-Kerem valley and the Amud stream. The Upper Galilee is higher in elevation with hilltops reaching around 4,000 feet. The hills of lower Galilee, in contrast, never exceed 2,000 feet (Orni and Efrat 1964, 61; Suriano 2013, 17). Lower Galilee is characterised by a series of faults, scarps and gorges forming a region of low mountain ranges with broad shallow valleys. The geographical conformation also means that the only major thoroughfares crossed the region from east to west, rather than north to south, and made it relatively isolated from the main commercial routes and centres of power, serving rather as a hinterland rich in olive and other trees (Aharoni 1979, 27-28).

Between the hills of Galilee and the northern hill country lies Jezreel valley, which branches off the Jordan rift to the west of Beth Shean. The valley formed a major east-west thoroughfare, linking the Jordan Valley to the Mediterranean (Rainey and Notley 2006, 39). Due to its rich alluvial soil, the valley has been known for its rich agricultural land at least since the late Bronze Age (Suriano 2013, 17). The low plateau of Bilâd er-Rûhah connects Mount Carmel with the northern hill country, and separates the Valley of Jezreel from the central coastal plain (Rainey and Notley 2006, 39).

The northern hill country, or Samaritan hills, starts at the northern end with Mount Carmel, the Irtan Hills, and the hills of Gilboa, which control both the Jezreel Valley to the north and the Jordan Valley to the east (Suriano 2013, 18). The region is centred on ancient Shechem (Tell Balata) and Nablus, and is marked by high hills and deep river valleys. The valleys and many slopes are covered in the fertile soils, which allow for a traditional Mediterranean agriculture based on olives, vines, wheat, as well as sheep and goats (Orni and Efrat 1964, 58). The foothills slope gently to the west, towards the central coastal plain (Rainey and Notley 2006, 30). Two small plateaux, one near Bethel, the other between Tell en-Naşbeh, Tell el-Fûl and El-Jib, divide the northern part of the central highland from the southern part (Suriano 2013, 18).

The southern hill country, or Judean Hills, is formed of the hills around Bethel in the north, Jerusalem in the middle, and Hebron in the south. Close to Gibeon and Jerusalem, the north-south road that followed the crest of the hills meets the west-east roads up the Soreq and Elah valleys. The eastern part of the region is dry and forms the Judean desert, arriving close to the Dead Sea in a rocky scarp some forty miles long and 300-600 feet high (Orni and Efrat 1964, 52-53, 56).

To the west, the foothills or the Shephelah (the "Lowland") forms an intermediate zone, some forty miles long and up to eight miles wide, between the hill country and the coastal plain. This region has several wide valleys with fertile alluvial soil (Orni and Efrat 1964, 54-55). Its suitability for agriculture made it an important centre of production in antiquity.

The Beersheba valley divides the southern hill country from the hills of the Negev to its south, the vast rocky desert expanse of hills continuing south towards the Sinai peninsula, and the Gulf of Aqaba and the Red Sea. To the west, the Negev reaches towards the Mediterranean Sea. The central Negev is arid enough not to allow for agriculture or permanent settlements, and until recently, was only inhabited by nomadic Bedouin (Orni and Efrat 1964, 28).

3.1.3 The Jordan Valley system

The Jordan Valley, including the Dead Sea and the Arabah, forms part of the Great Rift Valley that divides the region from north to south. The rift also branches into the major valleys of Jezreel and Harod (Orni and Efrat 1964, 67).

In the north, the upper Jordan Valley starts at the sources of the river near Dan and Banias to the Sea of Galilee (or Lake Tiberias). Heading south towards the Sea of Galilee, the river formed the small Lake Hula at least at two different moments in the geological past (Orni and Efrat 1964, 70). The Jordan then fans into a delta in the region of Bethsaida into the Sea of Galilee, a lake now some 700 feet below sea level. To the south of the lake, the Jordan proceeds its course into the valley of Beth Shean, where it then also branches west into the Jezreel Valley, discussed above.

The Jordan Valley then narrows between the northern hill country and the hills of Transjordan, forming a valley that leads down to the Dead Sea. The valley widens into a more open plain where the Jordan meets Wâdî el-Far'ah from the west, and Wâdî Zerqa (Jabbok) from the east (Rainey and Notley 2006, 41), and reaching a width of fifteen miles close to Jericho (Orni and Efrat 1964, 81). The major valley also provided the major lines of communication between the Jordan Valley and the hill country on both sides of the Jordan. Despite the generally arid environment, abundant springs have created a permanent oasis in Jericho, known for its plantations of date palms.

The Dead Sea, some 50 miles long and eleven miles at its widest, is a unique feature of the area. The extremely saline lake (over 30% salt) fills the lowest depression on earth, and with its surface currently more than 1300 feet below sea-level. The sea is divided into two by the Lisân Peninsula, separating the deeper northern section from the much shallower southern part, which now serves as evaporation pools for a rich mineral industry, including of rare minerals such as bromide and sulphur (Orni and Efrat 1964, 85). Beside the Jordan river, a number of deep gorges bring water into the Dead Sea, and allowed for some settlement along its shores. The deep gorges on the west shore only carry rare and short-lived floods. Only the springs at Ein Gedi provide some scope for permanent settlement. On the Transjordanian side, some of the streams, including Wâdî Mujib (Arnon) and Wâdî el-Ḥasā (Zered) flow all year round (Orni and Efrat 1964, 84; Suriano 2013, 17).

South of the Dead Sea, the Jordanian rift continues in the valley of the Arabah, hemmed in by rock walls, especially on the Transjordanian side, and proceeding for around 110 miles to the Gulf of Aqaba. The valley floor is covered with saline soils, alluvial sands and gravel. The region is very arid, with the exceptional flash floods from both the Negev and the Transjordan. A number of springs give rise to oases (Orni and Efrat 1964, 30-31, Suriano 2013, 17).

3.1.4 The Transjordan

East of the Jordan rift, the regions of Transjordan tend to be similar geologically and climatically to their counterparts on the west side of the Jordan (Orni and

Efrat 1964, 88). The region may be divided into four areas: Golan, Gilead, central Transjordan, and southern Transjordan.

The area of the Golan (ancient Bashan), north of Yarmûk river, is particularly distinct from regions to its south. The western slope is still open to the winds and rain from the Mediterranean, with the desert starting 80 miles east. Mount Hauran (or Jebel Druze) protects the region from the desert to the east (Orni and Efrat 1964, 94; Aharoni 1979, 37). The rich basaltic soils of the Lower Golan make agriculture possible, and the area is known for grain and wine (Suriano 2013, 20). In contrast, the herding of sheep and cows are the economic mainstay of the rockier Upper Golan (Orni and Efrat 1964, 94-95). The basaltic formation makes the region hard to penetrate, allowing it to be independent in various periods (Aharoni 1979, 38).

South of the Yarmûk river, the region of Gilead shares many characteristics of the hills and foothills west of the Jordan. The northern part is rather large and flat plateau sloping towards the Yarmûk river, while the southern is more hilly. The climate, with an annual rainfall of some 20-30 inches, means that the area has a number of perennial streams, and the desert is some 30-40 miles to the east (Orni and Efrat 1964, 93). The mountainous regions of Gilead were forested in antiquity (Aharoni 1979, 38).

The lower Wâdī Zerqa (Jabbok) divides Gilead from central Transjordan, the regions of ancient Ammon and Moab. The two areas need to be considered as one geographical unit, since there is no clear physical boundary between the two. The city of Amman, ancient Rabbath Ammon, at the heart of Ammon, lies in the wide basin of the upper Jabbok River. The Moab plateau, east of the lower Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea, rises higher than the hills of Judah to the west. The amount of rainfall also makes grain farming possible (Orni and Efrat 1964, 91-92). The deep gorge of the Wâdī Mujib (Arnon) divides the Moab plateau in two (Suriano 2013, 20).

Wâdī el-Ḥasā (Zered) divides central from southern Transjordan, with its mountain range reaching down for a hundred miles to the Gulf of Aqaba, and east of the Arabah. The northern Jebbâl region is the more amenable part of the range,

and, in antiquity, was covered in forest. The area further south, towards Aqaba, receives very little rain, and lacks vegetation (Orni and Efrat 1964, 89-90).

3.1.5 The major routes

One final piece of the geographical puzzle are the ancient routes across the southern Levant, known primarily through textual sources (Aharoni 1979, 43-63; Dorsey 1991).

Two major international routes crossed the southern Levant from north to south, and were of major commercial and military interest. The coastal highway linked Egypt with the Northern Levant and Mesopotamia along the Mediterranean, and often known as the Via Maris (Dorsey 1991, 248). Arriving to Gaza along the northern Sinai, the road then proceeded north through the southern coastal plain, and inland along the eastern side of the Sharon Plain. The road crossed the pass into the Jezreel valley at Megiddo, where it divided into three routes: one through the northern coastal plain towards Tyre, a second through Galilee towards the Sea of Galilee and the north, and a third through the Jezreel Valley to the Transjordan (Dorsey 1991, 57)

A second international route linked the northern Levant with Arabia along the watersheds of the Transjordanian plateau. Aharoni (1979, 54-55) proposes two alternatives. The one furthest inland, following the most convenient topographical course, served more as a caravan route, particularly as it passed mainly through the desert. An alternative route passed along the watershed some 15 miles west of the Jordan rift with its many settlements and abundant water, but having to negotiate the large wadis that cut the terrain from east to west.

Three main routes crossed the region from west to east. Two major roads passing south of the Dead Sea linked Egypt with the Transjordan: a first, passing across the Negev to Kadesh Barnea, and a second at the far south descends at Aqaba and crosses the Sinai (Aharoni 1979, 56). A third alternative route went through the Beersheba valley, and down to the Dead Sea close to Arad, as indicated by the settlements, but not mentioned in the written sources (Aharoni 1979, 59).

Other roads played an important regional role. One road runs longitudinally through the hill country, from Beersheba, through the Wādī Khalil, and along the ridgeway from Hebron, via Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Mizpah and Bethel, then through the valleys to Shechem where it branches west to Samaria, through to Jenin and the Jezreel valley, and north to Tirzah (Dorsey 1991, 117-119, 132-134, 140-142). In the south, a second branch connected Hebron to Arad and Malḥata (Dorsey 1991, 124).

Two parallel routes follow the Jordan on either bank, from Jericho to Beth Shean. The route along the eastern bank appears to be the more important of the two, connecting the sites of Pella, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Tell Deir 'Allā, among others (Aharoni 1979, 58). The Jordan itself must have served as a useful carrier, and its modern reality as a heavily militarised frontier should not hide the probability that is served as an easier route using boats than transporting things overland.

3.2 The chronology of the Iron Age II

Having looked at the geographical setting, it is important to consider the chronological framework of the Iron Age II, and the history during the period under consideration. This study will follow the Modified Conventional Chronology proposed by A. Mazar (2005, 19-20), and divides the late Iron Age into three periods:

- Iron IIA (c. 980 - c. 840/830 BC), from the end of the Canaanite culture of the second millenium, until the destruction of Jezreel, c. 840/830 BC,
- Iron IIB (c. 840/830 – 732/701 BC), until the Assyrian campaigns of 732 BC (against Israel) and 701 BC against Philistia and Judah,
- Iron IIC (732/701 BC – 605/586 BC), until the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem and Judah.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 3.2: A visual presentation of the three chronological schemes (Thomas 2014, 9).

The history of the Iron IIA remains problematic, and heavily tied into issues about the historicity of the biblical narratives about the United Monarchy under kings David and Solomon (Finkelstein 2007, A. Mazar 2007, Chapman 2009). The chronological framework that attempts to bring together the stratigraphy, material culture, and history is the subject of strong debate (Finkelstein 1996; Finkelstein and Piasefsky 2009; 2010; A. Mazar 1997; 2005), and with three main positions:

- The conventional chronology (Stern 1993, 1529; A. Mazar 1990, 30).
- The Low Chronology, proposed by Finkelstein (1997; Finkelstein and Piasefsky 2009; 2010).
- The Modified Conventional Chronology, proposed by A. Mazar (2005), and used in this study.

The conventional chronology is marked by a tendency to conflate archaeological data with biblical and extra-biblical sources (A. Mazar 2005, 13). An excellent summary of the development of this chronology is offered by A. Mazar (2005, 13-16). In this chronological framework, three key strata – Stratum VA-IVB at Megiddo, Stratum X at Hazor, Stratum VII at Gezer, among other sites – are interpreted as administrative centres dated to the period of the United Monarchy (Yadin 1970, 67-68; Finkelstein 1996, 177), with the end of the period associated with the raid of Shishak in 925 BC (A. Mazar 2005, 16).

Finkelstein (1996) criticised the model, pointing out that the main reason for attributing the six-chambered gates of Stratum VA/IVB at Megiddo and Stratum

X at Hazor to the Solomonic period was founded on one biblical verse (1 Kings 9, 15) which attributed major architectural works to this king at these sites, as well as at Gezer (1996, 178-179). Removing this chronological anchor, Finkelstein proposes a radical re-reading of the data, and a “Low Chronology” (1996, 182), with two key points: (a) the dating of the Philistine Bichrome pottery to the eleventh century and first half of the tenth, and the post-Philistine strata of the same sites to the late tenth and early ninth centuries (1996, 182), and (b) the lowering the date of end of Stratum VIA at Megiddo to the mid-tenth century, Stratum VB to c. 900BC, Stratum VA/IVB to the ninth century. and stratum IVA to the late ninth and first half of the eighth century (Finkelstein 1996, 183).

A. Mazar (1997) criticised Finkelstein’s position, with a detailed comparison of the pottery from the various sites, and recognises the difficulty caused by continuity of pottery forms and decorative techniques (1997, 162). More recently, Mazar has added the discussion of a series of radiocarbon dates to the debate (2005). In his 2005 paper, Mazar also proposes a “Modified Conventional Chronology”. In contrast to Finkelstein, Mazar retains the earlier date for the beginning of the Iron IIA period, with a major change in the material culture during the first half of the tenth century, characterised by the disappearance of the Canaanite painted pottery tradition, and dominance of red slipped, hand burnished ware. He proposes to lower the end of the Iron IIA to the destruction of Jezreel, around 840/830 BC, instead of the conventional 925 BC date of Shishak’s raid (A. Mazar 2005, 19).

Finkelstein and Piasecki’s response (2009; 2010) to Mazar’s paper mounts a strong defence of the Lower Chronology. It also highlights the complexity of the interpretation of radiocarbon dates, and the necessity for a sound methodology in this regard (Finkelstein and Piasecki 2010, 1667-1670).

The debate will certainly continue, and as Chapman (2009, 158) rightly notes

“both our understanding of the culture history of the archaeological sequence and of the biblical text will be affected by the results of this re-assessment, regardless of the final conclusions we reach.”

3.3 Independent polities and major empires

During the late Iron Age, the local kingdoms, which had been largely free of the hegemony of regional superpowers since the end of the Late Bronze Age, returned into the sphere of interest of these great powers. The eighth century saw the inexorable advance of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, and its contest with the local kingdoms and the Egyptian world, until both Assyrian and Egyptian worlds were eclipsed by the rising Babylonian empire, which reached its peak in the first half of the sixth century BC.

3.3.1 The tenth and early ninth century

As already noted, the understanding of the Iron IIA period in the southern Levant cannot be separated from the debate on the biblical stories on kings David and Solomon, found in the books of Samuel and Kings. The historicity of these books, part of a section known as the Former Prophets (Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings) in the Hebrew Bible, is very much a matter of debate among biblical scholars (see for example Noth 1981, Cross 1973, and an excellent summary in Römer and De Pury 2000). Some biblical scholars tend to reject the historicity of the biblical text outright (Thompson 1999, Lemche 1998, and P. Davies 1995).

As in the discussion on the chronological framework (section 3.2), Finkelstein and Mazar are key to understanding this debate among archaeologists. Both scholars agree that the biblical texts should be read critically. However, as their divergent positions on the chronology indicate, Mazar argues against the total deconstruction of the United Monarchy and accepts the general outline of the narrative as more historically valid (Mazar 2007, 138-139), while Finkelstein reads the story of the United Monarchy as projection into the past of a later ambitions of the Kingdom of Judah in the late seventh century (Finkelstein 2007, 116).

Kuhrt's assessment of the problem, remains valid today:

“This is the story of the Jewish states’ development as we may reconstruct it on the basis of the biblical text and some correlated archaeological finds. There is virtually no other evidence and it must remain a moot point whether it is history

or historical fiction. Old Testament scholars are divided on the issue, and we shall have to see whether material confirming or denying it is ever found.” (1995, 458).

3.3.2 The southern Levant in the mid-ninth century

In contrast to the early part of the Iron IIA, the geopolitical situation of the southern Levant around 850 BC, with its complex mosaic of regional polities and city states, can be quite comprehensively reconstructed through a combination of archaeological and textual evidence. Two key players were Israel and Damascus, vying for power in the region, and Assyria, whose changing economic and strategic interests would affect the balance of power and ultimately led to the destruction of both kingdoms in little over a century (Lipschits 2005, 4).

The northern hill country was the heartland of the Kingdom of Israel (or *Bit-Humrî* in the Assyrian documents). Before the rise of the Omrides, who transformed the region into a kingdom with its royal centres, its army, and bureaucracy,

“the northern sector of the central highlands suffered from instability and the rule of a series of strongmen who tried to establish large territorial entities by attempts to expand to the nearby lowlands in the north and west. These strongmen ruled from modest unfortified highland towns.” (Finkelstein 2013, 82)

The kingdom of Israel vied for power with Damascus for control of Galilee and the valley of Jezreel, and held sway over at least parts of Transjordan, as far as Moab.

The northern coastal plain, with cities like Akko, Akhziv and Tel Keisan were in the orbit of the Phoenician city of Tyre, providing this city with access to a hinterland, and the fertile agricultural lands of Lower Galilee (Aubet 2013, 711-712). In the southern coastal plain, were the Philistine cities of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron, with the major power centred on Gath (Maeir 2004).

In the southern hill country, centred on Jerusalem, was the small kingdom of Judah, whose changing fortunes over the ninth century led to its expansion into the Shephalah, where it bordered with the Philistine cities, and the Beersheba-Arad area of the Negev (Sergi 2013).

In the Transjordan, the kingdoms of Ammon, centred on Rabbath Ammon (modern Amman), Moab, centred on Dhibon, and Edom, centred on Bozra (Busayra), are harder to pin down in historical sources (Steiner 2013b, 771, 772; Younker 2013, 760), and the nature of their set-up is debated (Routledge 2004; Bienkowski 2007). Some aspects of their history are known: Moab was under the sway of the kingdom of Israel, and would shake off that yoke around 830 BC (Kuhrt 1995, 470-471; Dearman 1989).

3.3.3 First phase of Assyrian domination (853-841 BC)

In the ninth century BC, starting under Assurnarispal II, the Assyrians showed an interest beyond the Euphrates and campaigned mostly in the northern Levant. Assyrian impact expanded to include the southern Levant during the reign of Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC): two key moments in this process can be pinned down to 853 BC and 841 BC. Historical information for this period may be gleaned from plentiful Assyrian sources, particularly the chronicles (Grayson 1996; Tadmor and Yamada 2011; Grayson and Novotny 2012; 2014). These texts are important sources for the some of the factual data (Kuhrt 1995, 475-476), but their strongly propagandistic nature, marked by royal and religious ideology, should be taken into account (Laato 1995; Tadmor 1997)

One chronicle of Shalmaneser III describes the battle of Qarqar in 853 BC, which lists a coalition of twelve kings from the northern and southern Levant, led by King Hadadezer of Damascus, which included King Ahab of Israel, King Ba'asa of Ammon. The propagandistic nature of the stela should remind us not to take the numbers too literally, but the sheer combined force should not be discounted, considered that Shalmaneser was only finally successful against these kings in 845 BC (Kuhrt 1995, 488). Even if not taken at face value, the inscription provides a fair understanding of the perceived threat and relative weighting given to each of the kings. Hadadezer brings to battle 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalry, and 20,000 soldiers; king Ahab of Israel brought less soldiers – only 10,000 – and no cavalry, but brought the largest chariot force of 2000 chariots,

while King Ba'asa of Ammon² only supplied 100 soldiers and no chariots (Grayson 1996, 23; RIMA A.0.102.2 ii 89b-102).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 3.3. Detail of the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, showing Jehu paying homage and tribute. (British Museum, BM 1848,1104.1, Image no: AN72218001 © Trustees of the British Museum).

The defeat of the southern states meant that in 841 BC, Shalmaneser received tribute from “from the people of Tyre [and] Sidon [and] from Jehu (Iaua) of the house of Omri (Ḥumrî).” (RIMA A.0.102.8 26”-27” and parallel texts; Grayson 1996, 48). On the Black Obelisk (see Fig. 3.3), this moment is also portrayed graphically in a bas relief accompanied by the following inscription:

“I received tribute from Jehu (Iaua) of the house of Omri (Ḥumrî): silver, gold, a gold bowl, a gold tureen, gold vessels, gold pails, tin, the staffs of the king’s hands, (and) spears.” (RIMA A.0.102.88; Grayson 1996, 149).

This first phase, however, was doomed not to last in the southern Levant. The reign of Shalmaneser ended with revolts and problems relating to dynastic succession (Kuhrt 1995, 490).

² But see Na’aman 2002, 204 who considers Ba’asa not as king of Ammon, but of a kingdom of Bīt-ruḥubi located in the Baqa’ of Lebanon.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 3.4. Aramaean inscription found in a secondary context close to the Iron Age gate complex at Tel Dan. Encircled (emphasis mine) in red are the words MLK YSR'L, "King of Israel," and in blue BYT DWD, "House of David." (IAA 1996-125, 1993-3162; Photo: © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem source: <http://www.imj.org.il/imagines/galleries/viewItemE.asp?case=3&itemNum=371407>)

3.3.4 The impact of Aram-Damascus

The declining Assyrian involvement in the Levant coincided with the ascent of Hazael to the throne of Aram-Damascus, around 842 BC (Finkelstein 2013, 119). The southern Levant does not feature in the Neo-Assyrian texts of this period, but the textual evidence from the Hebrew Bible in conjunction with two significant inscriptions, as well as the archaeological record allow for a sufficiently reliable reconstruction (Na'aman 1997b; Finkelstein 2013, 119-127).

The various war accounts in the books of Kings in the Hebrew Bible, when read critically, suggest a sequence of three events. First, a battle in northern Transjordan in 842 BC, where King Joram is killed and Israel defeated. Secondly, as a consequence, a diminishment in size of Israel, including a siege of Samaria under King Jehoahaz (817-800 BC), and a final victory of Israel under Joash (800-784 BC), against Ben-Hadad, at Aphek (Finkelstein 2013, 123-124).

In the stela from Tel Dan (Biran and Naveh 1993; 1995), the King of Aram-Damascus celebrates his victory over the kings of Israel and Judah, both of whom he killed (see Fig. 3.4). The names of all three kings are part missing in the inscription, but a plausible reconstruction links the stela to the victories of Hazael over Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah (Biran and Naveh 1995, 12-17; Na'aman 1997, 126). In 2 Kings 9, both kings are said to have been killed in the revolt led by Jehu; however, it should be noted that Jehu was coming from defending Ramot-Gilead against Hazael, and could have well been acting as his ally or vassal (2 Kings 9,14; Schneidewind 1996).

The rise of Damascus, and the diminishing power in the second half of the ninth century gave space for the two smaller kingdoms of Moab and Judah to grow stronger, at the expense of Israel (Finkelstein 2013, 125). In the Transjordan, the Mesha stela (dated to c. 830 BC) narrates the victories of Mesha, king of Moab, taking Ataroth and Jahaz, two strongholds built by Israel in Moab (Na'aman 2007; Finkelstein and Lipschits 2011; Finkelstein 2013, 97). Mesha's rebellion against Israelite vassalage is also narrated in the Hebrew Bible (2 Kings 1,1; 2 Kings 3,4-27), and probably reflects the newly found confidence of former vassals to rise against Israel, weakened by Aramean conflicts.

The balance of power also changed in the southern coastal plain, with the destruction of Gath in the late ninth century, which was probably the one attributed to Hazael of Damascus as narrated in 2 Kings 12,17 (Maeir 2004). The texts also speaks of Hazael then moving against Jerusalem, and only stopped by the payment of considerable tribute by King Jehoash of Judah (2 Kings 12,18). The extent of Gath's dominance over the Shephalah, and consequently the extent and date of Judahite presence is debated (Sergi 2013); however, the expansion of Judah is probably best dated to c. 850-820 BC (Sergi 2013, 230), along with the Judahite construction in Lachish and Beth Shemesh (Finkelstein 2013, 126).

To the south, Judah expanded into the Beersheba valley and Negev highlands, into the vacuum created by the decline in copper production (Finkelstein 2013, 126). The earlier settlements at Beersheba (stratum VII) and Arad (stratum XII) were probably part of a desert polity, with Tel Masos at its centre (Finkelstein 1995, 116-124; Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004, 225-227). In the early eighth century,

power shifted from Tel Masos to the two Judahite centres – Beersheba and Arad – possibly at a time when Judah was a vassal to Damascus (Finkelstein 2013, 127).

The only reference to Neo-Assyrian interests in the Levant during the early eighth century is a summary reference from the annals of Adad-Nirari III (810-783), who boasts that he imposed tribute on the entire Levant, including Tyre and Sidon, Israel (*Bit-Ḥumrî*), Edom and Philistia (*Palastu*) (Tadmor 1973, 148-149). Israel's vassalage to Assyria may have allowed it to recover and expand at the expense of the kingdom of Aram-Damascus, allowing the kingdom to reach its maximal expansion under Jeroboam II (Finkelstein 2013, 129). It may be useful to point out the reference in the annals to Philistia as a political entity (Ben-Shlomo 2013, 717), rather than to single city states, though caution should be exercised considering the summary nature of the inscription.

3.3.5 Annexation of Damascus and Israel (734-722 BC)

A second phase of Assyrian expansion took place during the second half of the eighth century, starting with Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC).

Between 734-732 BC, Tiglath-Pileser first concentrated on Philistia and the cities of Ashkelon (RINAP Tiglath-Pileser III: 21, 12'-16') and Gaza (RINAP Tiglath-Pileser III: 42, 8'b), which were forced to submit and pay tribute to Assyria. Apparently, the Philistine cities preserved some degree of independence, potentially because the trade between the Philistine cities in the southern Levant, and the Phoenician cities in the northern Levant benefitted Assyrian interests (Ben-Shlomo 2013, 717-718). However, by 712 BC, Asdūdu appears to have an Assyrian governor, alongside the local vassal king (Lipschits 2005, 8). Then it was the turn of the kingdom of the Damascus, which was fully annexed to the Assyrian empire, and transformed into a province.

The kingdom of Israel (*Bit-Ḥumrî*) was drastically reduced in size and economic power, as the Galilee was annexed too (RINAP Tiglath-Pileser III 21, 1'-11' and parallel texts; 42, 5'b and parallel texts), and transformed into the provinces of Megiddo, and Dor (Lipschits 2005, 6). Destruction levels from the Assyrian campaign of 732 BC have been identified at Dan (Stratum II), Hazor (Stratum V),

Beth Shean (Strata IV and parts of V), Rehov (Stratum III), Megiddo (Stratum IVA), Ta'anach (City, Stratum IV), Yoqne'am (Stratum VIII) and Dor (Killebrew 2013, 738-739). Megiddo (Stratum III) shows the city rebuilt as an Assyrian administrative centre (cf. Killebrew 2013, 739), although the material culture remains local (Steiner 2013a: 678).

By 732 BC, therefore, the kingdom of Damascus had disappeared and Israel was reduced to the area of the hill country around Samaria. Meanwhile Ammon, Moab, Edom, Ashkelon, Gaza and Judah all appear in Assyrian records as tributary states (RINAP Tiglath-Pileser III 47, r10'-13'b). This phase was completed by Shalmaneser V and Sargon II, with the conquest of Samaria between 723 and 720 BC, and the complete annexation of the kingdom of Israel (Tappy 2007).

3.3.6 Sennacherib's campaign to the southern Levant (701 BC)

The grip of Assyria on its empire remained rather solid under Sargon II, until 705 BC when the king was killed in battle, probably in Anatolia (Kuhrt 1995, 499). The end of the century saw the rebellion of the vassal kingdoms of the southern Levant, fermented by Egypt (Kuhrt 1995, 499).

Sennacherib's chronicles narrate in great detail his third campaign in 701 BC, during which he regained control over the entire southern Levant (RINAP Sennacherib 4, 32-60 and parallel texts). The chronicles tell us how Sennacherib first regained control over the Phoenician kingdom of Sidon, and its cities, including Akhzib and Akko. Various kings from the entire region, including from Ashdod and the Transjordanian kingdoms of Ammon, Moab and Edom were quick to submit to the Assyrian yoke, bringing considerable tribute. The campaign then turned to Ashkelon, which he conquered with its cities, removing also the king. Turning to Ekron, Sennacherib faced pitched battle against their forces with Egyptian support, but defeated them, and returned their king Padî who had been forcibly removed by the nobles and handed over to Hezekiah in Jerusalem (Dubovsky 2016).

In the final stage, Sennacherib turned to Judah, destroying forty-six of the settlements, including most notably Lachish, whose siege was immortalised in

the reliefs displayed in Sennacherib's southwestern palace at Niniveh, and now in the British Museum. Sennacherib besieged Jerusalem, but did not conquer the city (Dalley 2004; Kuhrt 2002; Ussishkin 2006). The exact reasons are unknown, with the biblical versions (2 Kings 18,14-16) offering an apologetic theological account from the Judahite perspective. Notwithstanding their very different perspectives, both sources seem to be 'true', and "provide exactly the effect each side wanted to create" (Kuhrt 1995, 478). What is known from both sources is that Hezekiah paid substantial tribute to Sennacherib. Moreover, the kingdom of Judah suffered not only the destruction of many of its towns and settlements, but lost its territory in the Shephelah to Ashdod, Ekron and Gaza (RINAP Sennacherib 4, 52), and suffered mass deportations (Na'aman 1993, 114).

The destruction wrought by Sennacherib, particularly that of Lachish Statrum III (Ussishkin 1984; 1990; 2004, 695-767), helps provide a chronological underpinning to the entire stratigraphic sequence of late Iron Age Judah, and by association, related areas of the southern Levant.

3.3.7 The "Pax Assyriaca"

Assyria moved to prevent further Egyptian involvement in the southern Levant, and in 671 BC, captured Memphis, eventually driving the XXVth Dynasty right out of Egypt and enabling Psammetichus I (Dynasty XXVIth) – initially one of the subject petty kings of the Delta – to unite Egypt by 656 BC (Kuhrt 1995, 499). Following the conquest of Memphis, Esarhaddon was in control of a large swathe of the Near East extending from Egypt and across the entire Northern and southern Levant.

Esarhaddon lists the twenty-two kings from the Levant who were his vassals, including the kings of Ammon, Moab and Edom in the Transjordan, the kings of Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron and Gaza in Philistia, as well as the kings of Judah (RINAP Esarhaddon 1, v 54-64). The Assyrians destroyed the hinterland of the city of Tyre, including Akko (cf. Dothan 1976, 23). At sites like Tell Keisan, Assyrian pottery is found (Briend and Humbert 1980, 164). They spared the city of Tyre, because of its commercial potential, which was incorporated into the Assyrian trade networks (Aubet 2013, 714). Very few sites in the southern Levant

show direct Assyrian influence in architecture: Megiddo and Hazor in the north, Tell Jemmeh, Sheikh Zuweid, and Tel Sera' in Philistia, and Busayrah in Edom (Steiner 2013a, 679). Ashurbanipal (668-633 BC) lists Manasseh of Judah in his long list of tributaries. This time of peace, and of subjugation to Assyria, may have allowed Judah to recover part of its former territory. In the Shephalah, Lachish (Stratum II) was rebuilt as a Judahite city, at an unclear date, but certainly by the end of the seventh century BC (Na'aman 1991, 33-41).

The period has been called the "Pax Assyriaca", the long period of peace that ensued as a result of Assyria's undisputed military dominance of the area (Gitin 1997, 77; Faust and Weiss 2005, 72). This had a clear effect on the economy, as the economies of small states became part of a wider economy under Assyrian hegemony (Steiner 2013a, 681). There are clear signs of economic expansion. Tel Mique / Ekron, a Philistine city, expands greatly in the 7th century BC, with a very clear industrial capacity for the production of olive oil: 115 installations for its production have been uncovered, in the 4% of the site that has been excavated (Gitin 1997, 87). Judah expands into areas that were previously sparsely inhabited: the Negev and the Judean Desert (Finkelstein 1994, 175-176; Faust and Weiss 2005: 73-75). However, the reasons behind the prosperity are debated. Faust (2011, 78) argues that these regions prospered not because of Assyria, but in spite of it, not a planned imperial exercise, but a prosperity based on the economic pressure on these countries as a result of the demands of tribute from Assyria. Younger (2015, 182) argues for a more nuanced view, recognising the positive impact of good management and peace within the Assyrian Empire, that was clearly in the interest of the Assyrian rulers, but profited others in the process.

The decline of Assyria was sudden and is poorly understood (Kuhrt 1995, 540). Whereas the Assyrians seem to have controlled the empire with relative ease between 700 and 630 BC (Kuhrt 1995, 501), by 612 BC, the major cities of Ashur, Nimrud and Nineveh had been destroyed by the Babylonians and Medes, and by 605 BC, the greater part of the Assyrian empire was now ruled by a new Babylonian dynasty (Kuhrt 1995, 540-541). The shift in power brought turmoil to the Levant, as Egypt moved in to help its Assyrian ally, but apparently also

taking control of the region in the process under Necho II (Kuhrt 1995, 543, 643). Demographic expansion in the Assyrian heartland, as well as crop shortages during the periods of severe drought, have been proposed as possible contributing factors to Assyria's rapid decline (Schneider and Adali 2014, 443-444).

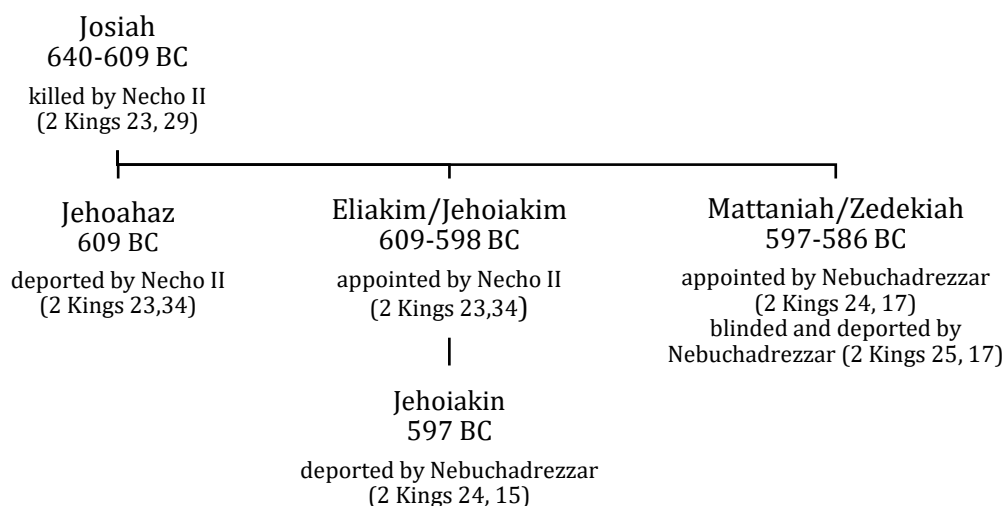


Fig. 3.5. The last kings of Judah, between Josiah and Zedekiah, indicating their regnal years, and their fate linked to their Egyptian and Babylonian overlords.

3.3.8 The changing region: Babylonian conquest (604 - 587/6 BC)

The tide soon shifted against Egypt, and the Babylonians, under Nebuchadrezzar II mounted campaigns in the southern Levant, as is also attested by destruction levels at the Philistine sites of Ekron, Ashdod, and Ashkelon (Ben Shlomo 2013, 722), and by 601 BC, the entire southern Levant was in Babylonian hands (Kuhrt 1995, 643). The impact of the shifting powers and changing fortunes are vividly attested for the kingdom of Judah in 2 Kings 23-25, where the last kings are systematically killed or deported, and replaced by the Egyptians or the Babylonians (Fig. 3.5).

The devastating effect of Babylon on the southern Levant, however, did not necessarily effect everyone. Even Judah, that lost its vassal status to become a province of the empire, had a governor – Gedaliah – appointed from among the local elite (2 Kings 25, 22). The region of Benjamin, north of Jerusalem, and the

Judean hills, south of the city, were left intact by the Babylonians (Lipschits 2005, xii). The “myth of the empty land” in this period owes significantly to the ideological reconstruction of history by the returning elites during the Persian period (Lipschits 2005, xiii).

3.4 Cultural spheres, polities, heartland and periphery

The study of the geopolitical situation between the mid-ninth and mid-fifth century allows us to identify a series of regional cultural spheres and polities, with their regional heartlands and marginal territories often disputed between the various groups. These political and cultural spheres serve as the framework within which to consider the figurines on a regional level, and may be summarised as:

- The Kingdom of Israel (or *Bît Ḥumrî*), centred on Samaria, and the northern hill country,
- The Kingdom of Judah, centred on Jerusalem and the southern hill country,
- The Philistine cities in the southern coastal plain, centred on the cities of Gath, Ekron and Ashkelon,
- The Phoenician cities in the northern coastal plain, and their major centres further north in Tyre and Sidon
- Ammon, in the central Transjordan, centred on Amman,
- Moab, in the central Transjordan, centred on Dhiban,
- Edom, in the southern Transjordan, centred on Busayrah and Tawilan.

Other areas can be seen as more peripheral, serving as borderlands between polities, often forming the agricultural hinterland for whatever power was in control. They were also places along major lines of communication and commerce, and include:

- The Galilee and Jezreel valley in the north, between Israel and Aram-Damascus, and eventually Assyrian provinces,
- The Shephelah, between the Judahite and Philistine spheres,

- Beersheba valley and the Negev, between the Judahite and Edomite spheres,
- The Jordan Valley, between Israel and the Transjordanian polities.

The following two chapters will now present the Theoretical issues (Chapter 4) and Methodology (Chapter 5) that underpin the study, concluding the first major section of this work.

Chapter 4. Theoretical issues

*“[The figurines] are like chessmen scattered randomly
without either surviving boards to give them coherent relationships
or guidelines for acting them out in ritualized play.”*
(Moorey 2003, 21).

This chapter presents the theoretical framework for this study. The first section will address the fundamental question: “What is a figurine?”, looking into the implicit definitions adopted by many researchers, and proposing a working definition in dialogue with the work of Bailey (1996; 2005). Section 4.2 will place figurine studies within a broader debate on semiotics. A brief section will next address issues of gender identity (section 4.3), placing this dissertation within wider debates about gender and the body. The following section will then discuss the significance of toys (section 4.4). The notion of the *chaîne opératoire* and the life of the figurine will be discussed in section 4.5, and finally, section 4.6 will address theoretical issues relating to archaeological context and site formation processes.

4.1 What is a figurine?

A foundational starting point for this study is the key question: what is a figurine? This section will first look at the definition (and implied definition) of a figurine used in previous work on the figurines of the southern Levant (section 4.1.1). It will then discuss Bailey’s definition (section 4.1.2) and finally present the definition of figurine as used in this study (section 4.1.3).

4.1.1 Definitions in previous studies

Most previous works on figurines have taken what defines a figurine for granted, and consequently never specifically address this issue.

Even the term used to define this category of material culture is not universal, although “figurine” is by far the most common choice (e.g. May 1935, 27; Hachlili 1971), sometimes qualified as “clay figurines” (Kletter 1997, 2004), “baked clay figurines” (Holland 1977) or “ceramic figurines” (Gilbert-Peretz 1996). Some works have been defined the category in more generic ways, such as “pottery: human and animal forms” (Bliss and Macalister 1902, 135), “plastic arts” (Macalister 1912, 231), “pottery models” (Tufnell 1953, 374), “terracottas” (Moorey 2005), and “figurative clay artefacts” (Peri 2013, 1017).

Bliss and Macalister provide one of the earliest working definitions in our study region when they group together “pottery of various dates which show attempts to reproduce human and animal forms, including rude idols or *teraphim*, plaques, spouts of vessels, masks, etc.” (1902, 135). Many subsequent reports follow a similar understanding, and do not define the figurine more specifically. However, a working definition is implicitly present, and can be seen in the way different works set their limits of study.

The following elements can, therefore, be deduced:

- *Subject*. Figurative material are generally seen to be representing human or animal forms (this also reflects the common English use of the term “figurine” restricted to the human and animal form). Several studies also include in the discussion any models of inanimate objects (Mackenzie 1912, 55) even though these may be given other names such as “models”.
- *Material*. The objects are made from baked clay. The plasticity of the clay, which is formed into shape seems to be an implied part of the definition, in contrast to the way other materials are worked: the subtractive process in the carving of stone or bone, or the casting process in metal. Occasionally, publications have included figural material made of stone and metal (May 1935, 27-34), or bone (Kelso 1968, 116).
- *Size*. Although it is hard to pin down a specific size criterion, it is quite clear where the external limits are. Very small items are generally classed separately as amulets, which match two criteria of separation – size and material - as these amulets are often made of stone or ivory. Larger figural items could be potentially classed as statues, but they are generally absent

for this study area and period, with the exception of the fragments of stone statues of Amman (Dornemann 1983, 153-163).

- *Technique.* Different modes of representation include plaque figurines in low or high-relief, figures in the round, as well as appliques that originally formed part of other objects (vessels, stands, etc.).

These elements, however, tend more towards a description than towards a definition. Bliss and Macalister's definition of the figurines as "attempts to reproduce human and animal forms" is a good starting point, looking not only at the figurines in a material sense, but in the way the figurines relate to the people that made them, and the people that used and interacted with them.



Fig. 4.1: Female anthropomorphic figurine (BM 1980, 1214.16710), horse-and-rider figurine (BM 1980, 1214.674), and couch model (BM 1980, 1214.12112) from Lachish (Photograph by the author, with the courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

4.1.2 Bailey's definition of figurines and miniaturisation

One important definition is provided by Bailey (1996, 291) who, working on the figurines of the prehistoric Balkans, defines a figurine as a "durable three-dimensional miniature anthropomorphic representation" (Bailey 1996, 291).

The definition highlights a series of characteristics, which can be compared with with the implied definitions discussed in section 4.1.1:

- *Anthropomorphic*. This element of the definition contrasts with the southern Levant and its abundance of zoomorphic figurines and other models. The inclusion of anthropomorphism as part of the definition holds for the Balkans, where the majority of figurines are anthropomorphic (Bailey 1996, 222). However, Bailey himself warns that:

“this distinction is somewhat misleading as it threatens to isolate human imagery from other categories of representation and thus from the power of representation to engage the perception of reality” (Bailey 1996, 221).

- *Durable*: Figurines of fired clay, as the one attested for the southern Levant, survive in the archaeological record, even when they suffer from wear, and may also break. Firing also fixed the figurine in a determined shape, transforming the plastic nature of the clay. This durability and fixedness contrasts with possible figurines that are made of unfired earth, organic materials, and other substances, made *ad hoc*, and designed to be destroyed, such as the figurines used in Neo-Assyrian Maqlû rituals (cf. Darby 2014, 83). However, no such figurines *ad hoc* are attested in the study area.
- *Three dimensional* and *miniature*: Size clearly formed part of previous definitions. Bailey’s definition, however, also is conscious of the way three-dimensional miniature impacts on the way the figurines can be touched, held and manipulated, and therefore in perceived cognitively by their makers and users.

Miniaturisation and three-dimensionality makes the world tangible and literally places elements of the world into human grasp. The concept of the miniature, therefore, is key to the understanding of figurines not only from a physical point-of-view but also cognitively. Reducing the scale of the world, a miniature allows the user to grasp it better, and make sense of it (Bailey 2005, 33). The figurines, therefore, should be small enough to help the user to make sense, but not too small, to the point where “the viewers can no longer project themselves bodily into the piece.” (Bailey 2005, 33).

In this miniaturisation of the world, anthropomorphic figurines take a particular role. Anthropomorphic figurines are not merely as representations of the world outside, but to an extent also a form of self-representation of the human person, even when representing not necessarily oneself but a human person in the way understood, projected, imagined in the realm of possibility.



Fig. 4.2: The female figurine of Fig. 4.1 in relation to the authors's hand.. (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

Once figurines are understood as “intentionally expressive objects” (Bailey 2005, 6), which “negotiate, manipulate, dictate and determine the connection between the self, the other and the world” (Bailey 1994, 293), it possible to move beyond questions on the *use/functions* of the figurines,

understood in a narrow sense, to provide the potential for a shift in the research agenda to issues of embodiment, social identity and their implications.

Bailey (2005, 72) also provides an interesting reflection into the phenomenon of abstraction, seeing the absence of specific markers as potential for reflection, whereas the parts represented indicate elements that are fixed, and non-negotiable.

4.1.3 Working definition of a figurine for this study

Taking into account both the definitions in previous studies (section 4.1.1), as well as in theoretical works such as Bailey's (section 4.1.2), this study needs to formulate a specific working definition of what constitutes a figurine that is appropriate to this project. This study considers these aspects of the definition as important:

- *Subject*: following previous studies, it is important to include representations not only of humans, but also of animals and other objects, such as couches, boats, and chariots (Fig. 4.1).
- *Material*: This study will focus on figurines made of fired clay, characterised therefore by the plasticity of the material, transformed by firing into more durable objects. This study consciously excludes other figurative material of similar size made out of other materials such as metals, stone, or bone – which are very rare for the southern Levant during the late Iron Age, and did not provide a meaningful possibility for comparison.
- *Three dimensionality*: includes the various modes of representation, both as high relief plaque figurines, and figurines in the round.
- *Size and miniaturisation*: The figurines in this study are mostly between 8cm and 20cm when complete, and lend themselves easily to the human grasp (Fig. 4.2). Excluded from this study are other types of miniaturisation such as amulets, significantly smaller than the figurines, and made of other materials. Also excluded are the few examples of statuary, which are also made of other materials such as stone.

In synthesis, this study will therefore define figurines as *durable three-dimensional miniature representations of humans, animals and inanimate objects made of fired clay*.

4.2 Semiotics and post-structuralist critique

An often-unstated presupposition in the discussion about figurines is that figurines should be meaningful. Whatever the presumed use – whether as toys or ritual objects of some form of other – the underlying understanding is that figurines meant something to those that used them. In this regard, this delves into the world of semiotics, and needs to discuss issues of sign and meaning, as applicable to the figurines. It seems, therefore, appropriate to consider aspects of semiotics and to clarify the theoretical framework and define the terminology used.

4.2.1 Saussure and Peirce: understanding the sign

Two key players in the debate are the Swiss linguist F. Saussure and the American philosopher C.S. Peirce (Eco 1976, 14; Chandler 2007, 13). Saussure's discussion of language as a system of communication has provided the now classical distinction in a sign between *signifier* and *signified*, the “sound pattern” and the “concept” (1983, 66), represented graphically in Fig. 4.3. It is important to recall that both the signifier and signified in the Saussurian understanding refer to the “non-material *form* rather than *substance*” (Chander 2007, 15).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 4.3: Saussure's model of the sign, including the concept and the sound pattern (after Chandler 2007, 14, and Saussure 1983, 67)

In Saussure's own example, both the Latin word “arbor” (sound pattern) and “tree” (concept) do not refer to the specific material instance of the sound pattern, or a specific tree (Fig. 4.3). A key plank of Saussure's understanding is the recognition that – at least within language – the connection between the signifier

and the signified is arbitrary (Saussure 1983, 67). The possibility, therefore, for language to be meaningful is through collective habit or convention (1983, 68).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 4.4: Peirce's semiotic triangle (after Chandler 2007, 30)

In contrast to Saussure's dyad of *signifier/signified*, Charles Peirce semiotic theory proposed a triad with sign/*representamen*, object, and the *interpretant* (see Fig. 4.4). While the sign in Peirce's model is similar to the signifier of Saussure's, the sense of *interpretant* cannot be flattened onto Saussure's signified (Chandler 2002, 2007, 31). Peirce defines the *interpretant* as "the idea to which it gives rise" (Peirce 1931, I, para. 339), and which therefore links the sign itself to the object for which it stands. This first *interpretant*, in turn, can become the *representamen* for the new triad, forming a potentially infinite series (Peirce 1931, I, para. 339), which Eco calls "unlimited semiosis" (1976, 71), as shown in Fig. 4.5. What provides a final *interpretant* that stops a potentially infinite cycle is what Peirce calls *habit* (Peirce 4.536, 5.473-492).

A concrete, if implicit, example of such a semiotic process can be seen in the understanding of pillar figurines (such as Fig. 4.2) as "*dea nutrix*" (discussed in section 2.1.2) where:

1. the clay modelling on the pillar figurines (R_1) is seen representing abundant breasts (I_1),
2. abundant breasts ($I_1 = R_2$) are seen as a sign of femaleness, understood to represent a nurturing mother (I_2),
3. a nurturing mother ($I_2 = R_3$) in a presumed cult context is read a *dea nutrix* (I_3).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 4.5: Peirce's successive interpretants, Eco's "unlimited semiosis" (after Chandler 2007, 32).

Such a semiotic exercise provides the tools for a self-conscious understandings of the processes by which modern researchers have constructed meaning for the figurines. Such a deconstruction of the process into its constituent stages provides an opportunity to discuss whether a similar semiotic process may be correctly presumed for the ancient peoples who made and used the figurines.

4.2.1.1 Peirce: index, icon, symbol

Peirce's discussion moves beyond the linguistic sign, which was Saussure's area of interest. This is particularly important as in Saussure's linguistic model, the connection between signifier and signified is arbitrary, and defined by convention. Peirce defines a second triad, identifying three types of reference: *index, icon, symbol* (cf. Chandler 2007, 36-37):

- The *symbol* where the connection is based on convention as the case in a language.
- The *icon* looks like what it refers to, which is often the case in motifs in art, but even in many examples of road signs.
- Finally, the *index* shares something in common with what it refers to: typical examples are smoke as a sign of a fire, or a footprint as a sign of a human being.

This triad can be applied to the figurines in this study, as all three types of reference can be said to be present. This helps to take the conversation beyond the purely iconographic, which, in this model can be seen as only one of three types of reference that are present, and found together in the same objects:

- In an immediate sense, the figurines can be understood to be *iconic*, in that they are meant to look like what they are meant to represent.
- However, beyond this immediate reading, some elements also serve as an *index*, sharing something in common with what it refers to, and pointing towards it: e.g. the drums or musical instruments as a sign of music, or the shields as armour and therefore a military realm.
- In all probability, these elements also carried an understanding that was *symbolic*, and the furthest removed – through lack of shared conventions – from the modern interpreter.

4.2.2 Structuralism and post-structuralist critique

Levi-Strauss, attempted to apply the structuralist linguistics of Saussure to anthropology, in search of the constitutive elements of culture, which can be investigated as parts within the wider system (Preucel 2006, 37-38). A critique of Levi-Strauss' work is well beyond this study, however, the impact of his structuralist approach on archaeology needs to be acknowledged, with its search of rules, codes and grammar to the study of material culture (Preucel 2006, 101-121). Particularly relevant to this study on the figurines is Gell's discussion on the relevance of semiotic debate in the sphere of 'art.'

4.2.2.1 Alfred Gell: The Art Nexus

The use of the category 'art' may of course be debated for the figurines in this discussion; however, Gell's work remain pertinent. Gell argues that because of its use of representation, iconic images do not depend on convention (1998, 25), or at least not in the same way as when dealing with language. Gell notes that in iconic representation there is a basis of actual resemblance in form between the representation and the objects themselves, and while some elements may be 'under-specified' given only the bare necessary visual cues, this cannot be equated with what is 'purely conventional' (1998, 25)

Gell notes how within graphic signs the parts can be meaningful in themselves, in contrast to the component parts of a word (his example is 'd' and 'og' for parts of a dog), where the individual parts of the word are meaningless (1998, 165). He concludes that:

The part-whole relationship between the lines entering into the composition of a graphic representation, and the representation as a whole are logically quite distinct from the part-whole relationship between the phonemes and the morphemes. Consequently, the whole strategy of decomposing visual presentations in 'elements' or 'constituents' in the hope of writing 'visual grammars' is misconceived" (Gell 1998, 165).

Gell sees art in terms of indices which point to prototypes, "held, by abduction, to be represented in the index, often by virtue of visual resemblance, but not necessarily (1998, 27)." Among these prototypes which the index represent, should be included both elements which are visible, as well as those lacking visual recognition: Gell includes the aniconic representation of divine entities into this category (1998, 26). Beyond the *index* and *prototype*, which reflect somewhat the ideas of the Saussurian *signifier* and *signified*, Gell also adds the *artist* (or other originators) as well as the *recipient*, in a network of possible relations where each of the four terms may play both an active (agent) or passive (patient) role which he defines as the "Art Nexus" (Gell 1998, 28-50), as summarised in Fig. 4.6.

Gell's ideas on the "Art Nexus" can provide an important tool in the discussion of the figurines by extending the horizon from the objects themselves and what they might represent, in a strict semiotic sense, to include both the artist/originator

and the receipt or user of the figurines, enmeshed in a network of relationships with figurines themselves, where the artist and receipts exercise their agency over the index and prototype, but also the index and prototype exercise their agency over both artist and recipient.

		AGENT			
		Artist	Index	Prototype	Recipient
PATIENT	Artist	Artist as source of creative act. Artist as witness to act of creation.	Material inherently dictates to artist the form it assumes.	Prototype controls artist's action, appearance of prototype imitated by artist. Realistic art.	Recipient cause of artist's action (as patron).
	Index	Material stuff shaped by artist's agency and intention.	Index as cause of itself "self made". Index as a 'made thing'.	Prototype dictates the form taken by the index.	Recipient the cause of the origination and form taken by the index.
	Prototype	Appearance of prototype dictated by artist. Imaginative art.	Image or actions of prototype controlled by means of index, a locus of power over prototype.	Prototype as cause of index. Prototype affected by index.	Recipient has power over the prototype. Volt sorcery.
	Recipient	Recipient's response dictate by artists' skill, wit, magical powers. Recipient captivated.	Index source of power over recipient. Recipient as 'spectator' submits to index.	Prototype has power over recipient. Image of prototype used to control actions of recipient. Idolatory.	Recipient as patron. Recipient as spectator.

Fig. 4.6: Gell's "Art Nexus" (Gell 1998, 29. Table 1).

4.2.2.2 Figurines, agency and Bordieu's *habitus*

If Gell's concept of the index and art nexus is applied to the figurines in this study, it is clear that the figurines cease to be understood as merely static objects, but rather acquire "the kind of second-class agency which artefacts acquire once they become enmeshed in a texture of social relationships (Gell 1988, 17)." Within such a framework, it may be more important to understand how figurines were

used in defining the agents' interests, and expressing them, rather than the more static understanding of function, be it practical or symbolic (Dobres and Robb 2000, 12).

A key dialectic is the one between agent and structure, which Bourdieu (1977, 73) expressed in terms of *habitus*, those habitual social practices that at the same time create structures and are structured by them, at once free and constrained, "collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating actions of a conductor." *Habitus* also provides a possible entry point for the interpretation of archaeological data. If every action were the result of individual agency, without any repetition, then the possibility of interpretation without interviewing the individuals concerned may be next to null. Yet, while individuals are continually in this process of negotiation, the habituality of the actions themselves provides a repetition in the dataset that may allow for the interpretation of both the repetition and the exception, in a dialectic of action that is at once constrained and free. Discussing the figurines of Çatalhöyük, Meskell *et al.* (2008, 157) speak of "material habitus" allowing modern categories to be considered critically, testing whether they would have been meaningful in part context, through the use of spatial analysis.

4.2.3 Greimas' semiotic square

This study also adopts one further analytical tool from the field of semiotics that was developed by Algirdas Greimas (1964) to consider paired concepts beyond the binary dichotomies. The semiotic square, adapted from the logical square of medieval philosophy, provides a useful tool as it explores meaning beyond the mere contraries, to explore the contradictories, and importantly also those intermediary meanings that can combine, or reinforce. An example of its application to the binary male/female is shown in Fig. 4.7.

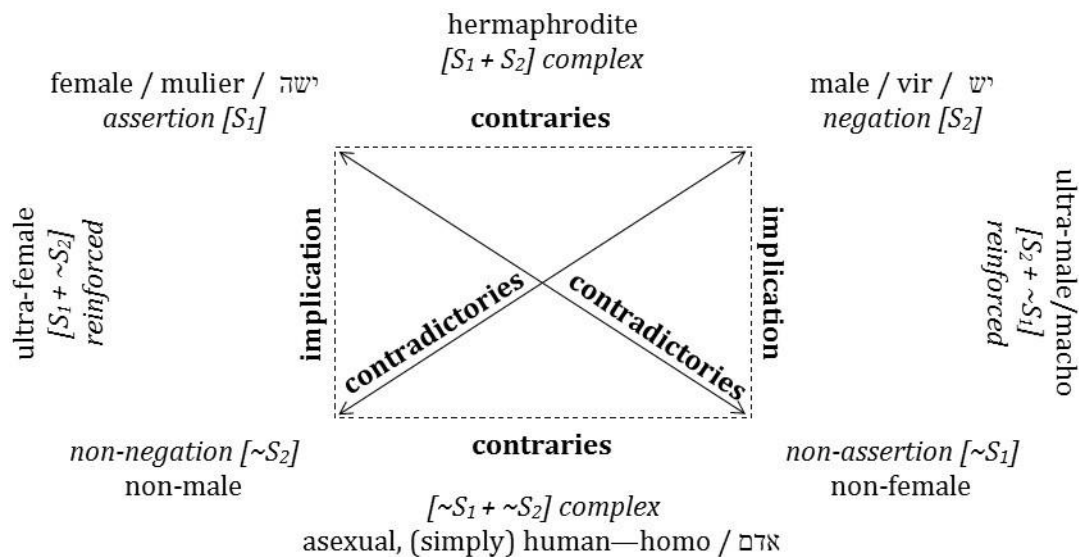


Fig. 4.7: Greimas' semiotic square applied to the binary male/female.

Such a structure shows the possibilities of meaning are richer beyond the either/or of the binary opposition, but still “subject to ‘semiotic constraints’ — ‘deep structures’ providing basic axes of signification”. The position within this framework invests the different sign with meaning, in a way that is semiotically relational (Chandler 2007, 106-107). Greimas’ intended the square as a tool to explore different themes within a text or narrative, and therefore exploring the underlying structured meaning within the narrative that goes beyond a simple binary (Chandler 2007, 108). The semiotic square has also been applied to other field beyond the text, including fashion (Marion 1994, 2003), and toys (Fleming 1996, 147-150, 158-161).

The semiotic square can help this study explore certain dichotomies – male/female, sacred/profane, official/unofficial religion – often used in the interpretation of figurines and which can impose a very rigid framework. It also serves as a tool to explore possible structures within the figurine repertoire, considered as a potential coherent unity. However, as Chandler notes, caution is needed to avoid “reductionist and programmatic decodings”, as well as the risk of producing “an objective-looking framework which gives the appearance of coherence and grand theory to loose argument and highly subjective opinions” (2007, 108).

4.3 Gender and the body

An issue that certainly deserves to be addressed, particularly because of the dominant role in the figurine literature, is gender. Beyond the key distinction between biological sex, as could be the case in the physical anthropological study of human remains, and gender, with the way it is understood culturally, it is also worth pointing out that even the biological reality of the body, as read by a specific community, is socially-constructed (Fisher and DiPaolo Loren 2003, 225). This opens up the possibility of going beyond a simplistic biological reading of gender where “it is the performance of bodies in socially-constructed gendered activities, rather than the physical attributed of those bodies, that ensures gender identity” (Fisher and DiPaolo Loren 2003, 228).

The discussion on the production and reproduction of cultural meaning through representation ties in with a greater interest in the human body within archaeological theory (Hamilakis *et al.* 2002, 4). Construction of identity, however, includes not only representation but also the manipulation of the body itself as a visual means of identity construction, through postures and gestures, dress and ornamentation, and through bodily modification, enabling the person to put on a ‘social skin’ and identify themselves as part of, or different to, particular social groups. Self-presentation, while possibly marked by very personal choice, situates the person within both physical and social landscape, and relates them to it (Fisher and DiPaolo Loren 2003, 225). Figurines, therefore, should not be understood merely as representations of reality (human or otherwise) but as representations that “create and define social ideologies” (Hamilakis *et al.* 2002, 4).

4.4 Figurines and toys

The literature review noted the way in which the category “toys” has sometimes been used for the figurines, generally in a dismissive sense (section 2.2.2 and section 2.3.1). Anthropological studies on toys suggest a far less simplistic view, and consider children’s games as an important process through which children express their concerns and interest, and learn social roles and values (Sofaer Deverenski 1994, 13-14; Sillar 1994; J.Baxter 2005, 41-43).

More specifically regarding figurines, Voigt (1983, 188) notes that “when in use as toys, figurines represent characters or roles in some kind of narrative.” The content of the narrative may vary from the simulation of the ordinary activities of adults, to more complex, even mythological, kinds of narrative. Ethnographic examples suggest play and religious instruction may overlap (Watkins in Voigt 1983, 189). In the contemporary Mediterranean tradition of setting up Nativity scenes around Christmas, it is hard to define where the religious, the aesthetic, and the ludic start and end, and no one would be surprised if the younger child in the family were to insist on putting his favourite toy dinosaur alongside the sheep, goats and camels. Yet, the scene itself is highly religiously charged, and is born with a purpose of religious instruction.

4.5 *Chaîne opératoire* and the life of the figurine

Consideration of the *chaîne opératoire* of figurines (Sellet 1993, Coupaye 2009) does not play a primary role in this study. It is, however, “a methodological tool that helps to materialise these processes that are otherwise difficult to perceive and to think through (Coupaye 2009, 441),” and in the case of southern Levantine figurines, renders more explicit the processes involved and gives them some structure. The notion of a *chaîne opératoire* is not limited to the material and mechanical features, but also aims to “understand the series of values embedded within the process” (Coupaye 2009, 444).

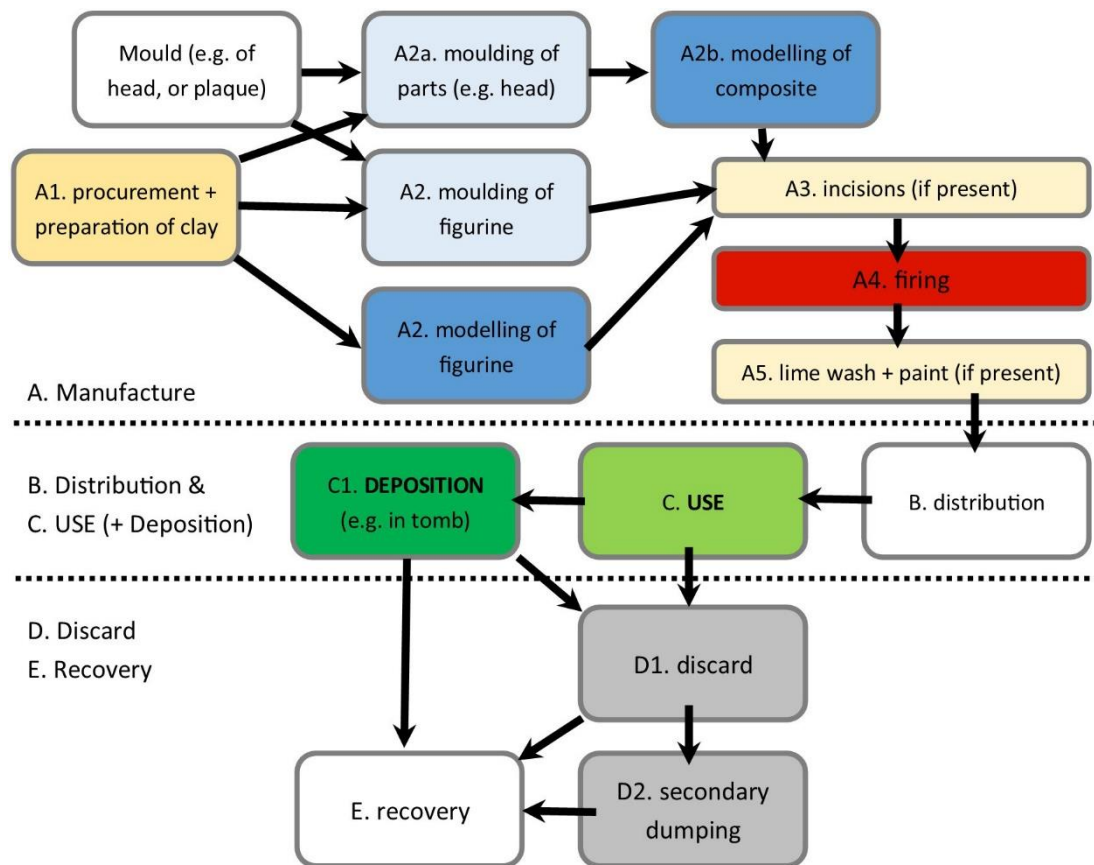


Fig. 4.8: Schematic chaîne opératoire of the figurines, from the procurement of clay through to the recovery in an archaeological excavation.

A schematic ‘operational sequence’ for the figurines in this study is presented in Fig. 4.8. This can serve as a useful methodological tool that provides a better awareness of how individual fragments and contexts build a more coherent picture within a structured framework, and consequently shed better light on the life the figurine from its manufacture through to its retrieval. The different stages of this sequence can be picked up through a careful consideration of the record, as can be presented in the following table.

Stages	Tools	Questions addressed
Sourcing of clay	Petrographic analysis	Is the clay local or non-local?
Manufacture	Physical study considering technological consideration	What techniques were employed (use of moulds, composite production, modelling, incision, paint, etc.) ? How was production organised?
Distribution	Petrographic analysis	Were figurines made for local consumption, or traded further afield?
	Contextual analysis	Where were figurines used?
Use	Study of form and function	How did people interact with figurines?
	Contextual analysis	Where were figurines used? Who used them?
Deposition or Discard	Contextual analysis	How were figurines deposited or discarded?

The sequence can provide only a schematic frame of reference, and due caution needs to be exercised in presuming that this applies to all fragments in the same way. However, applied with the right flexibility, the sequence allows for a better understanding of the figurines, and also addresses questions of embedded values.

4.6 Archaeological context

A key element in any archaeological study is, of course, context, and its importance cannot be overstated. Yet, an insidious assumption in many archaeological studies, and a potential source of error for this study, is the ease with which the context where a given item is found in an archaeological site is equated with the context of use (Binford 1981, Schiffer 1972, Schiffer 1987). This final section of the chapter, therefore, addresses some issues regarding the archaeological context from a theoretical point-of-view with a focus on four main context types where figurines have been found:

- Primary context:
 - Context of use,
 - Deposition
- Secondary context:
 - Accidental loss, discard and abandonment.
 - Secondary dumping and fills.

4.6.1 Primary contexts: context of use, the “Pompeii premise” and destruction levels

As already noted by Schiffer (1972), very few archaeological contexts can be said to capture fully the moment of use of a given object as a moment frozen in time. This notion has been defined as the “Pompeii Premise” (Ascher 1961; Binford 1981). The name highlights the exceptionality of such situations in archaeology, as Pompeii represented a rare instance where a rapid and total destruction of the site effectively provided a ‘freeze frame’ picture at the very last moments before its complete burial in 79 AD.

The reality in most archaeological sites is far more complex, and the result of site formations processes that are both cultural and natural (Schiffer 1987). However, within the southern Levant, the contexts that come arguably closest to this ideal ‘frozen moment’ are those relating to destruction layers. These can result from natural disasters such as earthquake, or man-made events such as warfare. Nonetheless, even the understanding of such contexts as primary needs to be qualified.

- Firstly, a destruction layer that does not represent the ordinary use and life of given place, but only its last moments, which may well distort the original context of use.
- Secondly, the speed by which a given site was destroyed may well determine what was salvaged or looted from the site in its final moments.
- Thirdly, unless a site was completely abandoned and covered over, materials may have well been removed from it, or dumped in it, long after its destruction (Chapman 1986, 16-17).

Although there are clearly issues to be kept in mind when interpreting destruction deposits, they are nonetheless useful units of study, for two main reasons: firstly, the presence of destruction levels can provide good stratigraphic anchors for associated finds, and secondly – with due qualification – they provide the closest opportunity for the study of complete assemblages that better represent the use of particular living spaces. The consideration of destruction contexts proved particularly valuable in the site-level case studies for Jerusalem, Lachish, and Megiddo, as will be seen in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. However, it is noted as a warning here that even such contexts are not devoid of cultural processes, such as salvage and looting both during and after the abandonment of the site.

4.6.2 Primary context: deposition

An important context type that should be distinguished is that of deposition of objects, as part of ritual or other activity. Examples of deposition in this study include the material in tombs, which also provide complete assemblages related to death and burial practices.

The understanding of these contexts, as discussed for section 4.6.1, needs to take into account post-depositional activity. A clear example is the tombs of Lachish (section 7.3.7) where successive burials took place within the tomb chambers, with material from different moments of depositional activity present within the same space.

4.6.3 Secondary contexts: loss, discard, and abandonment.

More often, however, the context where items are found represent contexts of discard, and levels of abandonment and rebuilding, and therefore secondary. However, it would be erroneous to presume that such contexts are, by their nature, meaningless.

Schiffer distinguishes three discard patterns (Fig. 4.9). His *primary refuse* indicates the material discarded in its location of use, in contrast to the *secondary refuse* where material is deliberately moved to a different location and specialised discard areas (1972, 161-162). Finally, his *de facto* refuse indicates elements that

reached the archaeological context without a deliberate discard activity (1972, 160), including accidental loss. Schiffer also rightly cautions against a facile interpretation of “occupational floors” as primary refuse, since the accumulation of discarded items is likely to interfere with continued activity, and requiring a regular clean-up of the area, with items removed elsewhere as secondary refuse (1987, 59).

Once an area is finally abandoned, dynamics already noted come into play: the finds represent whatever was left behind after any salvaging or looting of material, with the addition of possible material discarded well after the use of the site. This notwithstanding, these contexts of discard and abandonment provide a picture of the object one step removed from its use. In the absence of well-organised schemes for waste disposal, items are more likely to be disposed of close to their context of use, unless there is a clear reason to do otherwise, and the study of disposal patterns is also important in its own right as the manner of disposal can also be meaningful.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 4.9. Schiffer's (1972, 162) flow model showing the difference between primary, secondary and de facto refuse.

4.6.4 Secondary contexts: secondary dumping and fills

Secondary context should also be further distinguished. Beyond the context of discard described above, material from primary and secondary discard maybe further removed and re-dumped elsewhere, particularly with earth and other materials used in fill layers. Such finds can say little about the use of the figurines, being already two steps removed from their moment of use. However, contextual information remains important for other aspects.

Even material in a fill can help date figurines stratigraphically, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the figurines themselves through the date provided by other material. Concretely, in this study, figurines that could be dated stratigraphically from such deposits were generally excluded within the site-level case-studies where the emphasis was on context of use and disposal, but included within the wider regional-level studies, where context and stratigraphy served primarily to provide a solid underpinning of date.

4.6.5 Working with historical datasets

This understanding of archaeological sites and formation processes may appear straightforward. In reality, any study also has to contend not only with the reconstruction of the site based on the archaeological remains, which is already rather complex in the case of multi-period sites, but also on the reconstruction of the archaeological remains based on what has been recorded, archived and published.

Several practices have been found to be particularly helpful for studies such as this one, but particularly: (a) the publication of lists of loci, with basic information that included assigning contexts to site strata, and (b) the publication of registers of finds, at least by type, which allowed for the contextualisation of object of different types, and the possible reconstruction of contextual assemblages. Essentially, it is evident that some reports were clearly conceived not only as a coherent works in their own right, but also as a useful tools for any future archaeological research.

4.7 From theory to practice

This chapter has addressed the key theoretical underpinnings of this study. Starting with the definition of a figurine, the focus moved through a discussion of semiotics, gender, toys, and *chaîne opératoire*, to consider issues relating to archaeological context. The following chapter will now demonstrate the practical application of these ideas, considering the various tools at the disposal of this study, and the rationale behind their application.

Chapter 5. Methodology

Fundamental to every project is the application of the theoretical ideas and methodological choices to the given dataset so as to address the research questions proposed. The theoretical issues discussed in the last chapter also need to find practical application in the methodological approach.

The current chapter addresses the methodological choices that mark this project, and considers how these have impacted on the work (section 5.1). The dataset itself, limitations, and criteria used for inclusion and exclusion of material will then be discussed in section 5.2. This is followed by a consideration of the practical tools used in the course of the project: the relational database in Access (section 5.3.1), statistical tools applied (section 5.3.2), and the use of ArcGIS (section 5.3.3). Finally, the terms used in this project will be outlined and defined (section 5.4).

5.1 Methodological choices

At the core of the project lie four key methodological choices:

1. To see the figurines as all part of a repertoire.
2. To adopt what may be called a multiple tag approach to classification, rather than relying on one primary factor.
3. To take the entire southern Levant as the geographical area of study, rather than limit the study narrowly to a single geographical sub-region,
4. To recognise the importance of the study of archaeological context, and dating of the material stratigraphically.

5.1.1 Figurines as part of a repertoire

A fundamental choice lies in reading the figurines as part of a repertoire, which includes anthropomorphic figurines, horses-and-riders, horses and other animals, and models of inanimate objects. The choice has important theoretical implications. In the first instance, this moves the focus away from the female

figurines, and particularly the 'Judean Pillar Figurines,' and the tendency to isolate the female figurines from other types (section 2.5). Once that choice is made, it is clear that the female figurines do not exist on their own but, rather, form part of a far wider mode of expression in the form of three-dimensional miniatures in clay.

At its root, this choice highlights the awareness that no part of the repertoire can be correctly interpreted if it taken out of its immediate context as part of that same repertoire (Gilbert-Peretz 1996, Moorey 2003). The variety within the repertoire brings to the fore the idea that such figurines represent, in some form or other, a miniature world. Within a semiotic approach, this also recognises that the best possible understanding of the individual figurine needs to consider the individual elements as part of a wider system.

In practical terms, this choice affects drastically the amount of material available. Within the sample considered for the region-wide case studies, zoomorphic and other fragments account for just over two-thirds (c. 68%) of all fragments.

5.1.2 Multiple tagging

Classification is helpful when dealing with a handful of figurines, but becomes essential when the number runs into several hundred, enabling the proper management and study of the dataset.

The initial plan of this study was to use and adapt existing typologies and classificatory systems (particularly Holland 1975, 20-36; Gilbert-Peretz 1996, 30-31; Kletter 1996, 28-38), but as this study progressed their limitations became all too clear, as discussed in section 2.3.2. A fundamental issue with all prior classification systems is that they have been designed as card catalogues, for eventual publication as a single fixed sequence in a bound volume. This requires one variable to be favoured over others, forming a clear hierarchy, with secondary variables falling potentially anywhere in the classification, making their significance harder to evaluate.

Conceptually, this study prefers a non-hierarchical approach to the classification, similar to the concept of keyword tags in metadata used in information systems

and particularly in the Web 2.0, the second generation of the World Wide Web. The concept is that the data, in this case the full set of information about the figurines, can be summarised into a series of tags. These would ideally then be recalled in a wide variety of patterns, which could better consider the complexity of the material without creating a single sequence that privileges one variable over others.

In practice, it proved necessary to narrow the number of possible variables, but still adhering, as far as possible, to the concept of a non-hierarchical classification. This method is similar to the one used in Ucko (1968), adapted to include tags relevant for the study sample. The choice of tags included elements such as manufacturing types (of both heads and body parts), markers of gender identity, items held, and posture of hands – providing a wide-ranging cover of potentially meaningful elements. In all, the following tags were identified:

General figurine type		
Anthropomorphic:	Zoomorphic:	Inanimate objects:
Head (type of manufacture)	Animal (where identified)	Type of model
Head (detail)	Head (type of manufacture)	
Head (hair)	Head (solid/hollow)	
Gender markers	Head (trappings and detail)	
Objects held	Body/base	
Positions of arms and hands	Body/base (solid/hollow)	
Body/base (manufacture)		

The first is a general tag to identify the type of figurine. Others, as listed, were specific to anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figurines, while the horses-and-rider, being composed of both elements used elements from both groups of tags.

This use of a number of tags side by side rather than hierarchically is key to subsequent semiotic discussion, which sees the individual potentially meaningful elements both as part of a whole figurine, and as parts of a repertoire (as discussed in section 5.1.1).

5.1.3 Geographic scope

A third methodological choice was to adopt a wide geographical scope to include the whole of the southern Levant. The latest study to attempt such a wide scope was Holland (1975, see section 2.3.2). The advantages of the wide geographic approach are evident, enabling a comparative study across geo-political boundaries, made by sampling sites from across the entire region.

With finer definition in stratigraphy and chronology now available for a number of sites, it enables closer study of variations across space and in time, addressing the question of whether specific styles and types may be linked with particular geographic regions, and potentially to specific cultural or ethnic groups, and the consequent questions relating to social identities across these boundaries. This will help fill an important gap where more recent studies (Kletter 1996, Darby 2011, 2014, Press 2007, 2012) have focused on one specific geo-political area.

The practical application of a wide geographical region required the prudent selection of sites to be considered. The criteria for inclusion and exclusion of such sites are presented in section 5.2.2.2. An introduction to the sites selected is then presented in Chapter 8.

5.1.4 Importance of context

The importance of context in any archaeological study should go without saying. It is worth noting, however, how often such contextual discussion has been missing from previous studies. In many cases, this may be due to the fact that the figurines were published long before the rest of the excavation results, and so were without key stratigraphic information that would have allowed this discussion to take place. Some key sites or areas are still awaiting publication even today.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the consideration of archaeological context and the spatial distribution of figurine fragments across the sites remains fundamental. Some previous studies have hinted at this (section 2.3.4 and 2.4.3) but not always succeeding in exploiting its full potential. A closer consideration of the distribution of figurines, even in secondary contexts, may provide better

knowledge of the taphonomical processes relating to their deposition, and shed light on their possible contexts of use.

5.2 The Dataset

Any study is, at best, as good as its data set. A key challenge for this study was building an adequate dataset. While the figurines from the geographical study area run into the thousands (some 7746 in the last count), the quality of the data available is extremely variable.

The data collection for this project was divided into two phases:

- Initial survey of available data.
- Selection of material suitable for detailed study.

5.2.1 Initial survey of available data

The initial stages of research aimed at comprehensive data collection of all known figurines from the region and period under study. This information was input into a single database which could be then used to assess which sites and figurine groups had the best potential for further study.

5.2.1.1 Data on the figurines

The primary source material for the figurines can be divided into five categories: monographic studies with major catalogues of figurines; published reports and specialised chapters; museum and collection catalogues (published, online, and unpublished), as well as unpublished archival material from excavations and direct study of the figurines.

5.2.1.1.1 Monographic studies

In an effort to build on previous work, the study started from monographic studies that included major catalogues on figurines (Holland 1975; 'Amr 1980; Kletter 1996). These catalogues proved instrumental in building an initial

dataset. Holland (1975) comprehensively included all figurines published before 1975, as well as a significant amount of unpublished material. 'Amr (1980) provided an important supplement to this work, including material from the Transjordan that Holland had not had access to. Kletter (1996) provided additional material unknown to both Holland and 'Amr, and was comprehensive in his treatment of the anthropomorphic figurines. These sources also proved instrumental in providing key bibliographic references to lesser known sites and figurines, and information regarding the museums where the figurines were held, allowing the material to be traced for first-hand study.

Holland's (1975) catalogue lacked contextual information, and, unfortunately, did not provide registration numbers for the unpublished figurines, such that some of his data could not be used in this study, as it could not be tied to archaeological contexts. Although he included all the figurines from Samaria and Kenyon's excavations in Jerusalem (many of which remain unpublished), and included figurine drawings from the registers of finds, it was not always possible to correctly match this material to field or museum records and obtain the necessary stratigraphic information to make it suitable for inclusion in this dissertation.

Kletter (1996) used Holland as one of his main sources, but supplemented this with additional information from the Israel Antiquities Authority, the Rockefeller Museum, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, adding registration details and context wherever possible. 'Amr (1980) included registration details and contextual information for his material, which has allowed for easier cross-checking against the original and subsequent publications (e.g. Bennett and Bienkowski 1995; Bienkowski 2002).

5.2.1.1.2 Excavation reports

The data available in these catalogues was supplemented with information collected from published excavation reports. Dedicated chapters on the figurines were, of course, the easiest to work with, as they were often provided in a useable format with some form of catalogue. Other information about the figurines was

more dispersed within the text of the report itself, or scattered throughout locus lists and catalogues.

In cases of conflicting information, preference was generally given to the report over other published catalogues, considering the possibility of errors creeping into collated catalogues. In this sense, the excavation report was deemed the more original source. Where subsequent work clearly presented and justified a correction to reports, this was verified and taken on board.

5.2.1.1.3 Archival material

Unpublished archival material from excavations proved a very important tool. In the course of the study, the archives of two excavations were consulted: the Joint-Expedition to Samaria, now at the Palestine Exploration Fund; and Kenyon's excavation in Jerusalem, now at the Manchester Museum. Unpublished information was also provided for the figurines of Achziv (Press, personal correspondence), and Ramat Rahel (since published as Kletter and Saarelainen 2016). The ways in which these archives proved useful are discussed further in section 6.1.1 and section 9.3.2.

5.2.1.1.4 Museum and collection catalogues

An important source of information were catalogues of the museums and collections where such figurines eventually ended up. The availability of these sources is mixed. Several museums now make their catalogues available online. In the case of museums pertinent to this study, the following were consulted:

- UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections, London
(<http://archcat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/>)
- The British Museum, London (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)
- The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
(<http://www.ashmolean.org/ash/amocats/anet/>)
- Israel Antiquities Authority
(http://www.antiquities.org.il/t/default_en.aspx)

- Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden
(<http://www.rmo.nl/english/collection/search-collection>)
- Penn Museum, Philadelphia (<http://www.penn.museum/collections/>)

Two additional institutions provided extracts of pertinent material from their internal databases, which were not available online. These were the Israel Antiquities Authority (both at the National Treasures Department in Beth Shemesh, and the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem), and the Palestine Exploration Fund, in London. These databases were helpful in providing additional information, such as contextual details inked onto the object which did not always appear in the published excavation reports.

5.2.1.1.5 Direct study of the figurines

Finally, is the study of the figurines themselves. This direct study of the material was felt necessary for three reasons:

- Firstly, to develop a better understanding of the material through close first-hand observation. This direct study helped me identify aspects of variation in technique and signifying elements which were useful in developing and answering my research questions.
- Secondly, when dealing with material from specific sites and museums it helped develop a more immediate understanding of how particular reports and catalogues described the figurines, which factors were given importance and which less, therefore providing a means to evaluate the level of reliability and detail given in the descriptions, and how they may be best supplemented.
- Thirdly, where figurines could be studied, it also helped to complete, check and correct published information, particularly where publication was very sketchy, as well as allowing the inclusion of unpublished figurines.

In the course of this study, figurines and figurine fragments were studied at the following institutions and collections: the British Museum, the Palestine

Exploration Fund, and the UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections, in London; the Rockefeller Museum, in Jerusalem; the National Treasures Department at Beth Shemesh and the Jerusalem division of the Israel Antiquities Authority; and material at the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University. Further material was viewed through showcases but not directly handled at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

5.2.1.2 Data on the sites

Data on the figurines themselves form only half of the picture. The other half comes from data on the sites, strata and loci in which the figurines are found. Even where publications or catalogues included locus number and stratum information for individual figurines, such information needed to be supplemented from excavation reports and field records for a better understanding of the nature of the loci where figurines were found, and their wider archaeological context.

The more user-friendly reports included detailed locus lists, with indication of stratification and date and general nature of the locus, allowing for an immediate understanding of whether specific loci were of potential primary nature (as in floor levels), or clearly secondary (mainly fills). Further detail on individual loci could then be gleaned from the stratigraphic reports, where necessary.

The reports were also key to understanding the methodology used in the excavation itself, and the consequent difficulties that the method of excavation, documentation and publication could have on the usability of a given set of figurines. In the course of the study, it became important to note the usability of the data was not necessarily dictated by the dates when the excavations were conducted. While it is true that, generally, more recent excavations have a far more refined awareness of correct stratification, the clarity of reporting and systematic approach of certain publication has meant that some of the older reports proved very usable. Conversely, some more recent publications proved very difficult to work with, with the relevant data scattered across the report.

Information was collected for all loci where figurines were identified. This key data included:

- Location: site, area, square
- Stratum
- Locus type: e.g. floor, fill, etc.
- Locus description in more detail, where available.

5.2.2 The study sample

The initial comprehensive phase of data collection served primarily to identify those figurines and sites which could be included in a more detailed study, following criteria that would be both methodologically sound and practically viable.

Two key aspects should therefore be addressed:

- Firstly, the inclusion/exclusion criteria that determined the choice of figurines and potential strata.
- Secondly, the rationale behind the selection of sites for the intra-site and inter-site case studies.

5.2.2.1 Inclusion/exclusion criteria

The large number of figurine fragments and the extremely varied nature of the quality of data available, necessitated the identification of stringent criteria for selection.

From a *material* point of view, the study is limited to figurines in baked clay. The plastic nature of the material, as well as its (relative) poverty, distinguishes from other forms of figuration in stone, bone, ivory and faience (see section 04.1.1).

From a *contextual* point of view, it was deemed essential to include only figurines that could be dated on a stratigraphic basis, rather than a stylistic one. This leads to the wholesale exclusion of sites where the stratigraphic information was insufficient or even totally lacking. It also excluded unstratified surface finds, or material from later strata. Needless to say, it also excludes all figurines acquired

on the antiquities market, even where they have entered Museum collections, and occasionally even excavation reports (e.g. Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 148). A further discriminant was added for the intra-site study, excluding all figurines which came from fill contexts, indicating secondary dumping rather than primary contexts of use.

The study also completely excluded those sites where figurines have been published in a very selective manner, and where this information could not be supplemented with unpublished data from museums or field records. Similarly, sites and figurines had to be excluded where the publication was very poor, with inadequate or no images of the objects, limited descriptions and lack of contextual information, and where the figurines were not unavailable for direct study in collections.

	Included	Excluded
Material	Baked clay	Bone, ivory, faience, metal, etc.
Stratigraphy	Strata dated to the late Iron Age	Unstratified material Finds from later strata Purchases
Reports & Archives	Data about stratigraphy and context Descriptions and images of figurines Publication of all figurines found	Insufficient stratigraphic data Insufficient data about figurines Selective publications that skewed dataset

Table 5.1. Inclusion and exclusion criteria used in this study.

5.2.2.2 Choice of sites for intra-site and inter-site study

A key decision affecting the course of this study concerned the choice of sites which were to serve as a basis for the intra-site and inter-site studies.

A detailed contextual study of the figurines and their distribution within a single site effectively imposed three prerequisites on the sites chosen:

- A sufficiently wide and varied area(s) of excavation for the late Iron Age, for any meaningful patterns to be discernible.
- Reliable stratigraphic and contextual information, from a site that had been excavated and published to a sufficiently good standard.
- A sufficiently large number of figurine fragments from the single site. In all cases chosen, the number of stratified figurines was in excess of 100.

The need to satisfy all three criteria drastically reduced the number of available sites. Few sites could be said to provide both a wide area of excavation, and a sufficiently reliable stratigraphic and contextual information. From those available, three sites were chosen for inclusion in this study:

- Jerusalem, the capital of ancient Judah. It had the largest number of figurines from a single site (729 of which were included in this study), and has been the focus of many archaeological expeditions, several of which have been properly published (see section 6.1).
- Lachish, a major site in the Shephelah, with 105 stratified figurines. The site has a sufficiently wide extent of excavation for the Iron II, and published to significantly high standard, even for the older expedition (Tufnell 1953). More recent expeditions provided added resolution to the information about the site (Aharoni 1975; Ussishkin 2004).
- Megiddo, a key site in the north of the study region, but one that was outside ancient Judah, therefore offering the possibility of comparison between Jerusalem and Lachish (both Judahite sites) and non-Judahite practice. The site has 128 figurines dated stratigraphically to the late Iron Age (section 8.2).

The choice of sites for inter-site studies aimed to represent the various geopolitical regions of the southern Levant during the study period, which also satisfied the minimum criteria for inclusion discussed in section 5.2.2.1. The twenty sites chosen are discussed fully in Chapter 8.

5.3 Tools

The practical application of methodological choices passed through a series of tools that form the background work to the entire project. This section, therefore, will explain first the use of the relational database for the handling of the data discussed in section 5.2, then looks into the use of GIS software, and finally discusses statistical tools used in the course of the project for the handling of the data.

5.3.1 Relational database in Access

A core tool for the data handling used in the project was the creation of a relational database, using Microsoft Access (versions 2010-2016). The investment of time in producing a more complex database structure proved rewarding in the end, as the data could be queried and filtered in different ways that would have otherwise been not available.

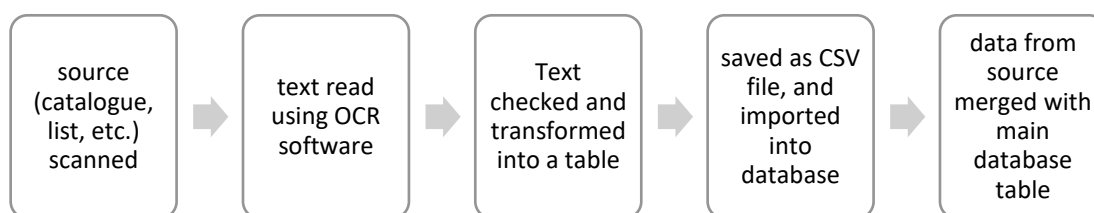


Fig. 5.1: Workflow for the importing of new data into the database.

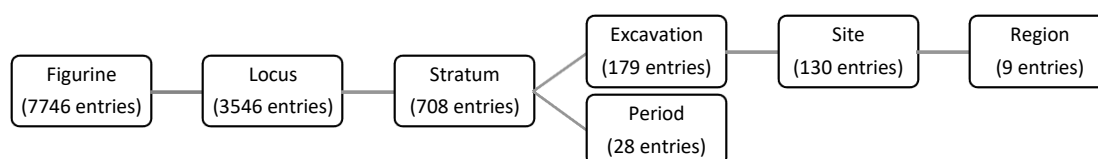
5.3.1.1 Database structure

The central table of the database contains information about the individual figurines (for collection methods, see section 5.2.1.1). It was a conscious choice to include as much information as possible within this central table, to provide a comprehensive compendium and prevent having to return to the original data sources for further details. Where possible, material was input into the database in a semi-automated fashion: text was scanned and processed using Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software, manually checked and corrected, worked into table that could be imported into the database as a CSV file, and then merged with the existing data (Fig. 5.1). This was considered preferable, being less time consuming and reducing the amount of human error in data input.

A second key table is dedicated to locus entries. The full database included 3546 entries for individual context information, most related to individual loci where these were identifiable, occasionally having to limit the information to the known level of detail. Information in the locus table included both spatial placing of the figurines (site, area, square, locus), as well as dating information, which could link the locus to a stratum within the site. To keep the database structure tight, each individual figurine entry has to belong to a locus entry in a many-to-one

relationship with enforced referential integrity, to avoid any floating figurine fragments not attached to a locus.

A number of other tables were then created for different strata (708 entries), excavations (179 entries), sites (130 entries), regions (9 entries), and periods (28 entries). The stratum provides the central links in the chain which places both figurine and locus clearly in both space as well as time, in a structure that can be described graphically as follows:



Each relationship from left to right has been defined in the database as a many-to-one relationship with enforced referential integrity. This structure of tables and relationship proved itself useful in simplifying the filtering of the figurines according to set criteria by site, stratum, period, as discussed in section 5.2.2.2.

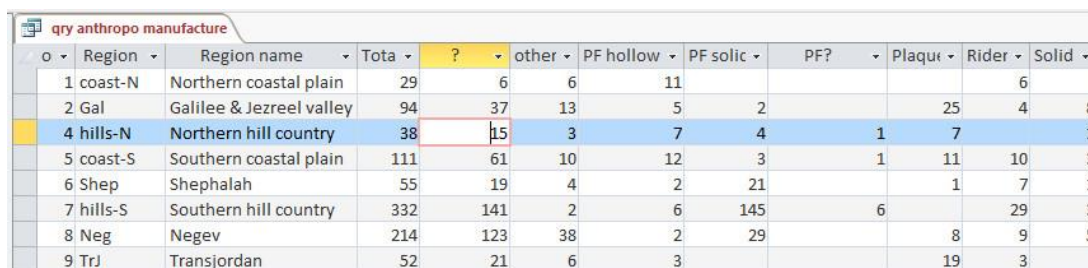
Each figurine entry was also at the centre of another set of tables for each of the tags (see section 5.1.2). A different table was dedicated to each category of tag, and tied in a one-to-many relationship with the figurines table with enforced referential integrity. Each tag for each figurine, therefore, had to correspond to a closed list of entries in the table, and while entries were progressively added to accommodate the variation, the multiplication of similar tags was avoided.

5.3.1.2 Simple and cross-tab queries

A robust database structure made the querying process simpler. In the course of the study, two main query types were used: simple queries for the selection and filtering of data, and crosstab queries for further statistical consideration.

The selection of data for both the intra-site and inter-site case studies could be made without any difficulty, since the criteria could be narrowly defined. So, for example, the chapters on the different sites required the choice of the material by site, stratum, locus and type. These data could also be further filtered by the type of locus, to exclude material from fill layers and other clear secondary contexts.

Similarly, material for the inter-site case-studies required the selection of specific sites and period. The hierarchical structure of the database meant that once a specific locus is assigned (or reassigned) to a given stratum, and a given stratum to a particular time period, the individual entries for the figurines did not need to be returned to. Such selection of material could then be further narrowed down by filtering the tags being selected, allowing for the comparisons of the different elements of the figurines across different sites and periods.



o	Region	Region name	Tota	?	other	PF hollow	PF solid	PF?	Plaquer	Rider	Solid
1	coast-N	Northern coastal plain	29	6	6	11				6	
2	Gal	Galilee & Jezreel valley	94	37	13	5	2		25	4	8
4	hills-N	Northern hill country	38	15	3	7	4	1	7		1
5	coast-S	Southern coastal plain	111	61	10	12	3	1	11	10	3
6	Shep	Shephalah	55	19	4	2	21		1	7	1
7	hills-S	Southern hill country	332	141	2	6	145	6		29	3
8	Neg	Negev	214	123	38	2	29		8	9	5
9	TrJ	Transjordan	52	21	6	3			19	3	

Fig. 5.2: Output of a crosstab query in Access 2016.

Crosstab queries look at two or more variables in the data, and return the result in the form of a contingency table that summarises the data on the given variables (Fig. 5.2). The results of this type of query feature extensively throughout chapter 6 to 12. Some concrete examples can illustrate the variety of ways in which such summary tables have helped to illustrate the combination of two different variables, such as the distribution of figurine types across different buildings in a given area (Fig. 6.10), the presence of different gender markers in anthropomorphic figurines across the region (Table 10.5), different manufacturing types of zoomorphic figurines over the sub-periods (Fig. 11.9), the presence of different gender markers across different manufacturing types (Fig. 10.7), among many others.

5.3.2 Statistical Tools

Querying a dataset often results in numbers, and numbers require some level of interpretation. Limitations in the dataset have already been pointed out, and this makes it all the more important to apply the right statistical tools, to avoid reading into the data variation that may – after all – not be significant. This section

will therefore discuss the use of raw counts and percentages (section 5.3.2.1), significance testing using the chi-square test and Fisher's exact test (section 5.3.2.2), and the use of multivariate analysis, namely the application of cluster analysis and correspondence analysis (section 5.3.2.3).

5.3.2.1 Raw counts and percentages

Considering the great variability in the size of sub-sets of data being compared, a first, basic stage, is transforming raw counts into percentages (Table 5.2). These data can also be represented visually using 100% stacked column bar graphs (Fig. 5.3). Both actions were made using Microsoft Excel, after exporting the data from the Access database. The transformation of raw counts into percentages and their representation as bar graphs provides an initial important impression of any emergent patterns in the data under consideration.

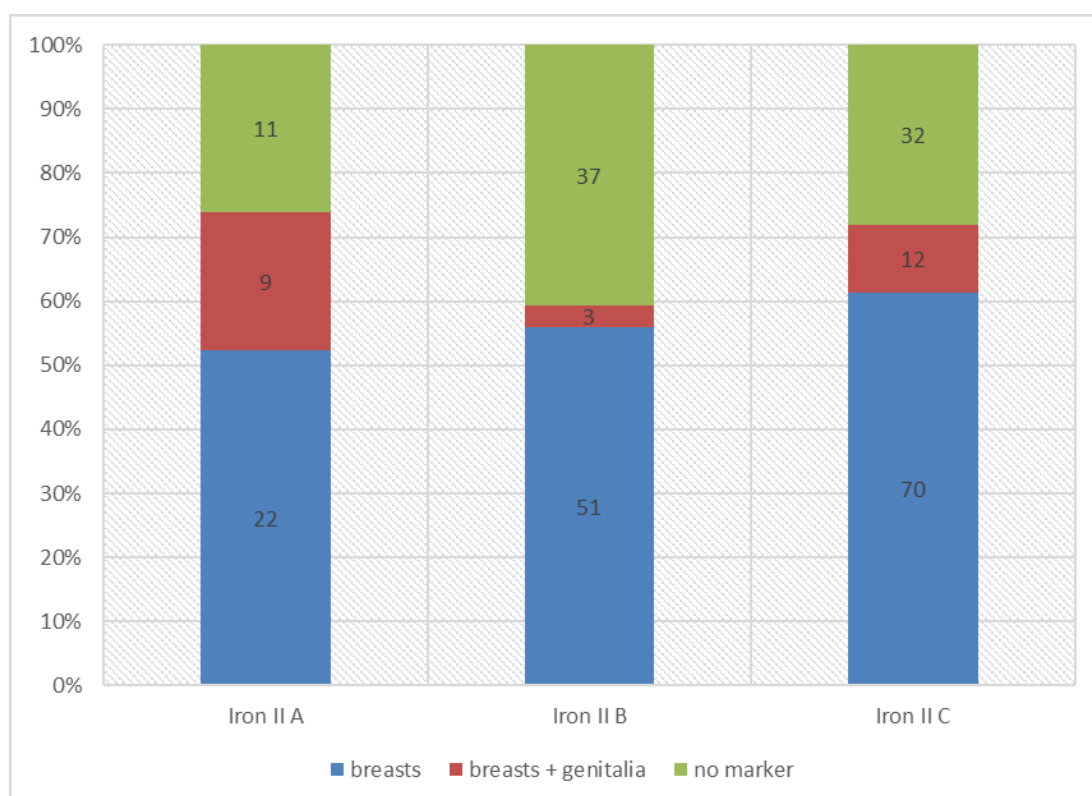


Fig. 5.3: Example of a 100% stacked column graph based on Table 5.2.

	breasts		breasts + genitalia		no marker		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Iron II A	22	52	9	21	11	26	42	100
Iron II B	51	56	3	3	37	41	91	100
Iron II C	70	61	12	11	32	28	114	100
TOTAL	143	58	24	10	80	32	247	100

Table 5.2: Example of the use of percentages, showing the distribution of female gender markers across different sub-periods. (Table 10.6 for further discussion).

5.3.2.2 Significance testing

As has been noted repeatedly in this study, the number of figurine fragments being discussed remains relatively small. A good dose of caution needs therefore to be exercised before reading too much into potential patterns in the data, and appropriate statistical methods should be applied. One key question needs to be asked in particular: where variation appears in the data, are such differences significant, or the result of chance variation in the sample?

This study uses two types of significance testing: Pearson's chi-square test, and Fisher's Exact test. The choice of adequate statistical methods is also dependent on the nature of the data itself. In the case of this study, the data is non-parametric (Vogt 1999, 192): it is nominal, consisting of counts within different categories (e.g. manufacturing types, see section 5.1.2), and there is no quantitative or ordinal value between the categories themselves (e.g. "pillar figurine" is not more/less than "plaque figurine"). Pearson's chi-square test and Fisher's exact test are appropriate for such data (Shennan 1997, 106; Vogt 1999, 39, 112).

5.3.2.2.1 Chi-Squared test

Pearson's chi-squared (χ^2) test is a significance test that can answer whether the probability that the variation between samples is due to chance variation is acceptably low (Shennan 1997, 106). The test provides a single probability value that sums up the entire comparison, and can work for any number of categories

(Drennan 2009, 183). However, as the number of categories increases, the test becomes increasingly difficult to interpret meaningfully (Drennan 2009, 191).

The mathematics behind the χ^2 statistic, and the associated probability, may be found in several statistical manuals (M. Baxter 2003, 129; Drennan 2009, 184-185). In practical terms, for this study, the χ^2 and associated probability was calculated using the `chisq.test` function in R (R Development Core Team 2007). The `chisq.test` function also applies by default Yates' correction in the case of 2x2 tables, to help prevent the overestimation of the statistical significance, for small data (Gardener 2012, 206).

To provide a practical example, considering the data about the presence/absence of breasts (as a biological gender marker) for a sample of material from Jerusalem and Lachish, entered in R, as follows.

	Lachish	Jerusalem
breast	8	22
nobreast	8	16

The hypotheses can be formulated as follows:

- H_0 : torsos with/without breasts are equally distributed across the two sites
- H_1 : torsos with/without breasts are not equally distributed across the two sites

The `chisq.test` function in R, applying Pearson's chi-square test with Yates' continuity correlation, returned the following result:

```
Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction
data:  gender
X-squared = 0.0544, df = 1, p-value = 0.8156
```

It is important to decide the level of certainty being sought before rejecting the null hypothesis. Working at the conventional level of 95% ($\alpha = 0.05$), the critical value is calculated at 3.841. Since the calculated chi-squared statistic is smaller than the critical value, the null hypothesis is not rejected. The conclusion, therefore, is that the difference between Lachish and Jerusalem with respect to

proportions of torsos with and without breasts is not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 0.05$, $df=1$, $p = 0.82$).

It should be noted that the chi-squared test does not provide any answer on the strength of the relationship, or how the different variables are related, but only on the probability that such a relationship exists (Shennan 1997, 113).

5.3.2.2.2 Fisher's Exact test

One factor that needed to be taken into account in this project is the very small sample sizes often available, and over which there was little if any control. Since the chi-squared test compares the observed values against the expected values, the size of the expected values is important, as the calculations are considered unreliable where the expected values are very small (< 5 , as a rule of thumb). In such cases, Fisher's exact test can be applied instead, as it has no requirement on the size of the expected value (Crawley 2007, 307-309; Drennan 2009, 192). A mathematical account of Fisher's formula for calculating exact significance is presented in various statistical manuals (Drennan 2009, 192-193).

The computation, in this study, is made using the built-in `fisher.test` in the R statistical package (Crawley 2007, 309). An example calculation compares the presence/absence of breasts (as biological marker of gender) in the sample for Ashkelon and Samaria:

	breasts	no breasts
Samaria	5	2
Ashkelon	13	2

The Null hypotheses (H_0) in this test may be formulated as follows:

- there is no difference in the distribution of torso with/without breasts between the site of Samaria and Ashkelon.

The test returned the following results:

```
data:  gender
p-value = 0.5646
alternative hypothesis: true odds ratio is not equal to 1
95 percent confidence interval:
 0.02301646 6.98997079
sample estimates:
odds ratio
 0.403633
```

With the middle p-value returned by the test, far higher than the nominal level of statistical significance ($\alpha = 0.05$), and so the null hypothesis is not rejected. It should be noted, as in the case of the chi-squared test, only gives an indication of significant difference (or lack of it), and does not give any indication as to the strength of the relationship.

5.3.2.3 Multivariate analysis

The use of percentages and bar-graphs represents only one rudimentary way to explore patterns in the data. The variation may be studied through a number of statistical techniques which evidence permit the discovery patterning in the data characterised by a number of variables. The use of mathematical techniques helps eliminate the subjectivity that is intrinsic to more intuitive approaches, and allow for their repeatability (Shennan 1997, 217).

5.3.2.3.1 Cluster analysis

Cluster analysis applies to a range of methods that help identify patterns of grouping, or cluster, within a dataset (Shennan 1997, 220; M. Baxter 2003, 90). Using statistical means, cluster analysis provides a way of categorising things, using a hierarchical classification, first bring together broader groups and then more specific types.

An initial calculation measures similarities/difference between the cases within the sample (Drennan 2009, 309). Clustering may follow a variety of clustering criteria, resulting in three major variations:

- *single linkage clustering* gives priority to the strongest similarity score between the cases;
- *complete linkage clustering* gives priority to the weakest link on what to join, preventing the joining of clusters with dissimilar members;
- *average linkage clustering* provides a middle ground, calculating a new matrix of similarities after each joining step (Drennan 2009, 310-315).

The resulting analysis can be expressed in the form of a dendrogram (Fig. 5.4).

In this project, hierarchical clustering was applied using the `hclust` function of the R package. One example case takes into consideration the variety in figurines types in Area E of Shiloh's excavations in the Jerusalem (see also section 6.3.3.7. The initial table of data (see Table 6.10) was converted into percentages, to provide comparable entries for the different types of figurines in the different houses/sub-areas of the excavation. The table is then analysed using the `hclust` function, calculating the Euclidian distances (`dist`), and indicating the clustering method chosen, and the resulting clustering is plotted:

```
R> shiloh.hc = hclust(dist(shiloh), method="complete")
R> plot(shiloh.hc)
```

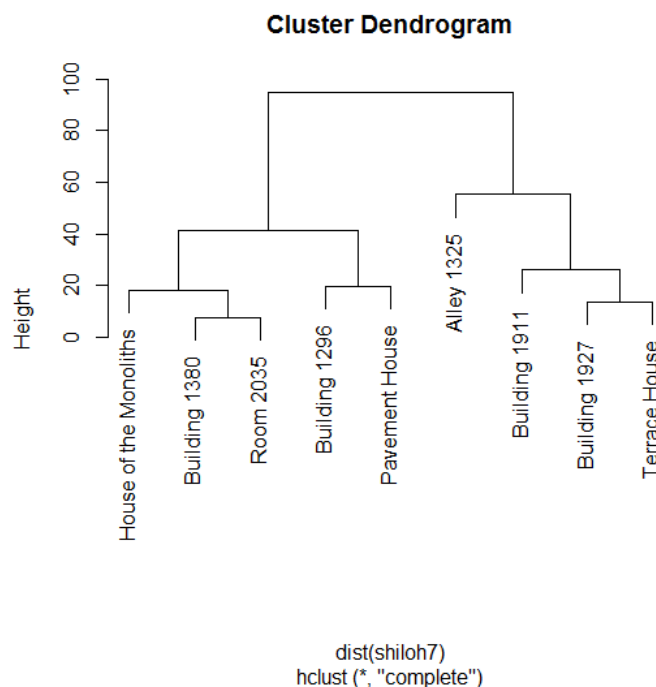


Fig. 5.4: Example of dendrogram using complete clustering.

The result dendrogram is shown above (Fig. 5.4).

While cluster analysis has the merit of providing a mathematical basis for discerning emergent patterns, Baxter's (2003, 244) observation regarding classifications is also pertinent here too:

"My own view is that experienced archaeologists familiar with their material will almost invariably produce more useful classifications than a statistical method, for all but the simplest kinds of artefact. This is, I think, because they are better able to take into the account the qualitative as well as quantitative aspects of an artifact."

5.3.2.3.2 Correspondence Analysis

One of the downsides of the clustering analysis and other methods based on the calculation of similarities/distance is the resultant loss of information. Correspondence analysis makes it possible to analyse the data directly, bypassing the intermediate step of creating a similarity/distance matrix (Shennan 1997, 265-266). Baxter sums up the attraction of correspondence analysis neatly as:

"an exploratory data-analytic technique, essentially principal component analysis for tables of counts, which enables one to obtain graphical view of the structure of a table." (Baxter 2003, 137)

A mathematical account of the method may be found in Baxter (2003, 143-146).

Correspondence analysis plots were created in R (R Redevelopment Core Team 2007), using the library `ca` (Nenadic and Greenacre 2007). One example (Fig. 5.5) shows the resulting plot, with arrows added to mark the column axis, and Greenacre's standard biplot option applied. The standard biplot (Greenacre 2006) rescales the coordinates by the square roots of the column masses, to limit the manner the scaling pulls in the column or row points. An example of the R script used in this case is as follows:

```
R> lachish <- read.csv(file="lachish.csv", header=T,
row.names=1)
R> library(ca)
R> plot(ca(lachish), map="rowgreen", arrows=c(F, T))
```

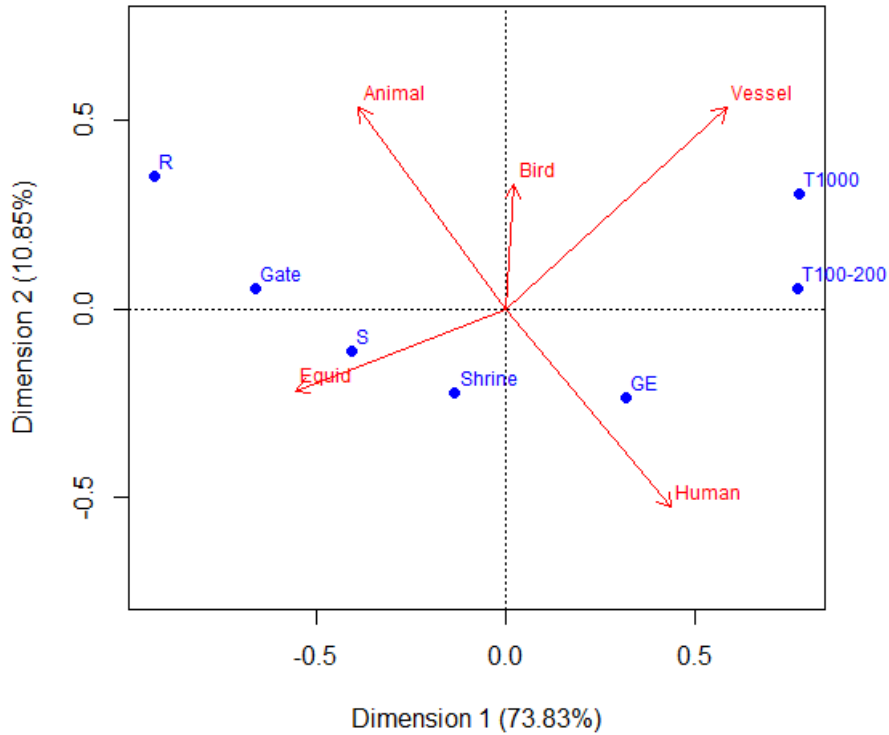


Fig. 5.5: Example of Correspondence Analysis plot in R.

One of the advantages of CA, and a reason for its popularity in fields such as archaeology, is its “ability to handle large sparse data matrices,” with its outlying points having less influence in the overall plot, as they have lower mass (Greenacre 2006, no. 6). A more detailed understanding of the plot can be obtained by looking into the different levels in which the data in various rows and columns influences the overall plot. This may be obtained directly through the function `summary(ca())`. The information returned includes the following, expressed in permill (rather than percent):

- for each dimension: the eigenvalues (principal inertias), percentages of explained inertia, cumulated percentage, and a scree plot.
- for each row and column:
 - mass; quality (`qlt`) of the two-dimensional plot with respect to the position of row/column; and inertia (`inr`);
 - and for the two principal dimensions: the coordinated (`k=1` and `k=2`), the square correlations (`cor`) and contributions of each (`ctr`) for these points (Nenadic and Greenacre 2007, 4-5).

These figures help understand which of the dimensions is contributing majorly to the 2D plot, and which of the rows and columns are contributing majorly to each of the two major dimensions.

```
R> summary(ca(lachish))
```

Principal inertias (eigenvalues):

dim	value	%	cum%	scree plot
1	0.350800	73.8	73.8	*****
2	0.051567	10.9	84.7	*
3	0.040139	8.4	93.1	*
4	0.032633	6.9	100.0	

Total: 0.475140 100.0

Rows:

	name	mass	qlt	inr	k=1	cor	ctr	k=2	cor	ctr
1	Gate	106	977	102	-665	971	134	55	7	6
2	R	117	970	251	-930	850	288	351	121	279
3	S	128	493	98	-410	459	61	-111	34	31
4	GE	170	591	95	319	383	49	-235	208	183
5	Shrn	213	564	54	-135	152	11	-223	412	204
6	T1000	160	979	240	778	847	275	307	132	291
7	T1002	106	837	160	772	833	181	55	4	6

Columns:

	name	mass	qlt	inr	k=1	cor	ctr	k=2	cor	ctr
1	Humn	255	901	192	515	745	193	-236	156	276
2	Equd	468	951	246	-482	930	310	-72	21	47
3	Anml	43	795	181	-1123	625	153	587	171	284
4	Bird	74	150	81	46	4	0	275	146	109
5	Vssl	160	946	300	868	843	343	303	103	284

5.3.3 Mapping, spatial distribution and the use of ArcGIS

Working on both a site and regional level, this study looks at the distribution of figurine fragments and of different variables across space at both scales. In such context, the application of Geographic Information Systems is to be expected, and the software package ArcGIS was used in the project.

The use of ArcGIS proved powerful in the preparation of the data for study. Maps of the sites and areas could be collated together using different sections of maps, even those published by different expeditions, through judicious georeferencing of the different parts. Such georeferencing often also uncovered the slight discrepancies between the different maps, and it was sometimes a challenge to bring together data from different expeditions. A certain degree of allowance for such discrepancies needs to be given when working with historical data. Spatially bringing together the different parts of the map into one coherent whole also proved very useful in better understanding the spatial relationship between different parts of the sites.

Even at the best resolution, the exact find spot of individual figurines is invariably unknown, and could at best be narrowed down to an individual locus. The process of plotting the figurines onto the maps was done using the following steps:

- First, the locations of the different loci were plotted as polygons on the map, reconstructing the position of such loci from the maps and descriptions present in the archaeological reports.
- A centre point for each locus was then determined on ArcGIS.
- The individual figurine fragments were then plotted by joining the tables of figurines with locus identification, and the table of loci with spatial data, giving therefore x, y data for each fragment that could then be plotted onto the maps.
- Different symbols were then assigned to each figurine type to allow for immediate recognition on the map.
- The positions of symbols were then manually adjusted to allow for full visibility of all figurines. Various approaches were attempted to avoid the superimposition of multiple fragments on the same spot (e.g. using the *Disperse Markers* tool), but these tend to produce scatters onto adjacent

loci. Ultimately the better solution was to export the results as a shapefile and manually manipulating the markers from the initial spatial plot.

Unfortunately, the variable quality of the data and insufficient resolution in spatial detail did not allow for a full-blown use of the potential of such software for spatial analysis, and served primarily as a mapping tool which could provide a link with database. Even within this limited use, GIS software remains preferable to graphic software, since the spatial data may be queried, and such results produced in visual format. This study remains painfully aware of the criticism proposed by Bevan *et al.* (2013, 27) that:

“the study of distribution maps in archaeology merely carried on as it was, with a healthy dose of expert intuition—and perhaps in slightly richer visual form.”

5.4 Definition of terms

It now remains to outline the way specific archaeological terms have been used throughout this thesis, as it has been necessary to standardise usage to avoid ambiguity or confusion.

Locus is used as the smallest useable stratigraphic unit within a site, as is normal practice today in sites and excavations in Israel. It is preferred here as a specific technical terms over “context,” and irrespective of other terms used by particular archaeologists or reports, e.g. Kenyon’s page and layer (Steiner 2001, 3). It is important to be aware of the methodological baggage it represents when referring to material from older excavations (Chapman 1986).

Stratum is used to mean the larger stratigraphic division of a site, generally in terms of chronological blocks. Some excavators have used the term *level* to mean the same thing, as at Lachish (Tufnell 1953, 25).

This chapter concludes the second section of this thesis, which presented the theoretical and methodological framework of the study. The following chapters will present a series of case studies that offer a site-level study of the contexts where figurines have been found in Jerusalem (Chapter 6), Lachish (Chapter 7) and Megiddo (Chapter 8).

Chapter 6. Site case-study: Jerusalem

This chapter presents the first of three intra-site case studies, and looks in detail at the specific contexts where figurines were found in Jerusalem. First, the site will be introduced, particularly the excavations pertinent to this research. The various studies of the figurines from the site will be considered, as well as the limitations of the dataset (section 6.1). The second section will present an overview of the figurine repertoire from the site (section 6.2). A third, longer, section, will then move on to a more detailed presentation and discussion of what emerges from the different excavation areas (section 6.3). Finally, some general conclusions will be drawn about figurine use in Jerusalem (section 6.4).

6.1 The site, and history of excavation

Jerusalem, the capital of the Kingdom of Judah until its fall in 586 BC to Nebuchadnezzar, is the site with the largest number of recorded figurine fragments. The site is particularly complex, due to the continuous occupation over the centuries, and still densely populated, severely restricting the areas that are available for excavation. Due to a progressive shift in the location of the city, the core of late Iron Age Jerusalem is located outside the Ottoman period walls of the city, on a spur flanked on the eastern side by the deep Kidron Valley, and by the Tyropoeon Valley, known as el-Wad in Arabic, to the west.

The area of the south-eastern hill around and above the Gihon spring (see Fig. 6.1), now the neighbourhood of Silwan in East Jerusalem and the City of David National Park, was identified as the location of the ancient site in the course of the 19th century (Warren 1876, 331-334). The area has been known in the archaeological literature as the 'Ophel' or the 'City of David' with implied links to biblical interpretation. These names will be avoided here in favour of a more neutral geographical terminology (Fig. 6.3). The south-eastern hill has been the subject of numerous archaeological expeditions which have shed light on the complex history of the city (Reich 2011). Two of the major excavations, undertaken by Kathleen Kenyon (sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2) and Yigal Shiloh

(sections 6.3.2, 6.3.3, 6.3.4, and 6.3.5), provide substantial useable data for this research, with figurine fragments found in deposits datable to the late Iron Age.

A further two excavations will also be briefly considered. Following the 1967 war, excavations took place in Old City's Jewish Quarter, where Nahman Avigad uncovered a stretch of the eighth century wall of the city, highlighting the expansion of Jerusalem during the period (section 6.3.7). Further east, to the south and west of the Herodian Temple platform, the excavations undertaken by Benjamin and Eilat Mazar uncovered a few, but important, Iron Age period remains (section 6.3.6).

Before discussing the figurine repertoire, and entering into a detailed study of the figurines in their archaeological context, it is essential to discuss the dataset, and the difficulties and limitations that this imposes on our study.

6.1.1 Southeastern Hill: Kenyon's excavation (1961-67)

The figurines from Kenyon's excavation can be hard to pin down. Although often quoted as one of the key corpora of figurines, the figurines from the site have not been systematically published. The figurines formed a key part of Holland's 1975 DPhil thesis: however, the thesis was only published in summary (Holland 1977), and has only been digitised and made available online in 2013. Holland's thesis (1975) included all the figurines that could be dated stylistically to the Iron Age and where available included the drawings and photographs from the excavation archive. Unfortunately, Holland omitted any reference to both registration numbers and stratigraphic data. The publication of the figurines from Cave I includes register numbers but even here Holland reduces the distinction between different loci (Holland 1977). Some other data on the figurines has been published, but dispersed among the various excavation reports (Tushingham 1985; Steiner 1990; Steiner 2001), and the register lists (Tushingham 1985, 257-285; Steiner 2001, 122,126) make no effort to connect to Holland's work. Kletter (1996) relied on Holland for his figurine data from Kenyon's excavation, and managed to trace some context data, particularly through access to material at the Israel Antiquities Authority. Darby (2014, 98-99) expresses her frustration with the state of the published information but unfortunately seems to have had

no access either to Holland's thesis or to the excavation archive in Manchester even though she dedicated a chapter of her work to Kenyon's excavation. Part of this current project, therefore, included research in the Jerusalem excavation archives in Manchester and particularly the eight volumes of finds registers. This made the inclusion of all potential Iron Age figurines from the excavation possible, and provided contextual information for all figurines used. The resulting concordance (App. 6.1) increases the contextual information known for Holland's listed figurines from 115 (of which 83 from Cave I complex) to 483.

The excavation reports were published over a number of years after Kenyon's death (Tushingham 1985, Franken and Steiner 1990, Eshel and Prag 1995, Steiner 2001, Prag 2008), without the benefit of the excavation directors' understanding of the site. These publications lack a full list or index of loci, and relatively few loci were published, which made it difficult to link figurines with context information. Iron Age figurines emerged from many areas of the excavation. However, only in Area A have primary levels of Iron Age occupation been extensive enough to make any sense of the area uncovered, with stratigraphic reports written by Steiner (1990, 3-60; 2001, 42-111).

6.1.2 Southeastern Hill: Shiloh's excavations (1978-85)

Following the political changes of 1967, the south-eastern hill was extensively excavated under the direction of Yigal Shiloh. His work uncovered extensive areas of late Iron Age remains and yielded the largest number of figurine fragments (a total of 1309) from a single excavation. A catalogue of all the figurines has been published, accompanied by a brief study considering types and distribution (Gilbert-Peretz 1996). A series of appendices includes petrographic (Goren *et al.* 1996) and chemical studies (Yellin 1996), and a statistical analysis of the distribution (Sharon 1996). These studies were pioneering and opened new avenues of research. The figurines were also included by Kletter (1996, 218) but only as an appendix to his study and were not part of his primary database or in most of the statistical analysis. Moreover, Kletter's entries in the catalogue do not always correspond to the Gilbert-Peretz catalogue (Darby 2014, 144), which

suggests possible errors in the list. As the primary publication of the figurines, Gilbert-Peretz's catalogue was preferred as a source for this study..

The stratigraphic reports were not yet published in 1996, and so Kletter's study of the figurines could not benefit from this information. The stratigraphic reports have since been published for area D1 (Ariel, Hirschfeld and Savir 2000) and in recent years for Area E which yielded a large proportion of the figurines: 194 figurine fragments in stratified floor and pit contexts of Strata 12-10 (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 2012b). The figurines, therefore, can now be studied in context, as done by Darby (2011, 2014) for the anthropomorphic figurines. Unfortunately, the final reports for Area G are still not available. Some information could be gleaned from preliminary publications (Shiloh 1984) and as part of the reports on various finds (see App. 6.4). Darby's work, with its access to more stratigraphic information, takes the research in the right direction. Unfortunately, her limiting the study to the anthropomorphic figurines does not allow her to see the figurines within a wider interpretative framework, especially considering that, by her own count, anthropomorphic figurines were found with zoomorphic fragments 70% of the time (Darby 2014, 182).

6.1.3 Jewish Quarter: Avigad's excavation (1969-82)

The data for the figurines from the Jewish Quarter is rather more straightforward. The figurines have all been published, at least as a summary list, with contextual information (Yezereski and Geva 2003). Moreover, the stratigraphic report for the relevant Iron Age levels is also available (Geva 2003).

6.1.4 Excavations by B. Mazar and E. Mazar (1968-77, 1986-87)

The quality of the data is mixed for the excavations by Benjamin and Eilat Mazar. The few Iron Age figurines from the dig have been published (Nadelman 1989). The stratigraphic data, however, seems to be more complete for the 1986-87 season, with some gaps in the report on the fieldwork ten years earlier (Mazar and Mazar 1989).

6.2 The figurine repertoire

The case-study in this chapter is based on 729 figurines (Table 6.1): 285 figurines from Kenyon's excavation, 410 from Shiloh's excavation, 17 from the excavations by Benjamin and Eilat Mazar, 17 from Avigad's excavations.

Description	Avigad	%	Kenyon	%	E. & B. Mazar	%	Shiloh Area B	%	Shiloh Area D	%	Shiloh Area E	%	Shiloh Area G	%	Total sample	%
Human head handmade			26	9	1	6			5	9	13	6	6	4	51	7
Human head moulded			8	3					1	2	3	1	3	2	15	2
Pillar figurine (with breasts)	1	6	35	12	1	6				0	6	3	5	4	48	7
Pillar figurine (with object)											2	1	2	1	4	1
Pillar? figurine (no breasts)											1	<1	1	1	2	<1
Human female torso moulded			1	<1											1	<1
Pillar figurine base			6	2					1	2	24	11	10	7	41	6
Human? other			2	1					1	2					3	<1
Rider			2	1											2	<1
Total Anthropomorphic	1	6	80	28	2	12	0	0	8	14	49	23	27	20	167	23
Horse-and-rider			11	4					1	2	10	5	5	4	27	4
Horse complete			8	3											8	1
Horse head			1	<1	2	12			5	9	31	14	13	10	52	7
Animal head	4	24	51	18	3	18					3	1	9	7	70	10
Animal body	8	47	87	31	9	53			21	38	42	20	34	25	201	28
Animal leg	3	18	22	8			2	50	14	25	56	26	34	25	131	18
Bird			8	3					2	4	2	1	1	1	13	2
Animal vessel spout			2	1	1	6									3	<1
Animal vessel									1	2					1	<1
Total Zoomorphic	15	88	190	69	15	88	2	50	44	79	144	67	96	71	506	69
Model couch			7	2			1	25			4	2	6	4	18	2
Model shrine			1												1	<1
Model wheel			1												1	<1
Fragment	1	6	6	2			1	25	4	7	17	8	7	5	36	5
Grand Total (=100%)	17		285		17		4		56		214		136		729	

Table 6.1. Figurines included in this case study, as divided by type and by area. The table includes the raw counts as well as the percentage (rounded to the nearest 1%) of the given type as part of total for the area of excavation.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 6.1: Anthropomorphic figurine types from Jerusalem. (1) Mould made head (Holland 1977, Fig. 7.1); (2) Hand made head, (Gilbert-Peretz 1996, Fig. 10.6); (3) Pillar figurine with breasts (Holland 1977, Fig. 7.6), (4) holding object (Gilbert-Peretz 1996, Fig. 12.12), (5) Pillar? Figurine with no breasts (Gilbert-Peretz 1996, Fig. 10.12), (6) Rider (Gilbert-Peretz 1996, Fig. 13.13)

6.2.1 Anthropomorphic figurines

The number of anthropomorphic fragments in the study sample was 167 fragments (or 23% of the sample). Most of these fragments belong to solid pillar figurines (162 fragments). Easier to reconstruct are fifty-five figurine fragments which included the torso: of these, forty-eight had breasts (Fig. 6.1.3), two without breasts (Fig. 6.1.5), four held an object (Fig. 6.1.4). In the case of another sixty-six fragments only the head survived: fifty-one handmade (Fig. 6.1.2), and fifteen moulded (Fig. 6.1.1). A further forty-one fragments were pillar bases,

probably from anthropomorphic pillar figurines. Some other types are present, but very few: three examples of riders (Fig. 6.1.6), and four other fragments, not more clearly identifiable.

6.2.2 Horse and other zoomorphic figurines

Zoomorphic figurines account for 506 fragments (or 69% of the sample). Almost all fragments belonged to solid animal figurines (502 out of 506).

The majority of the solid figurines belong to quadrupeds. Some of these can be clearly defined as solid figurines of horses: twenty-seven examples are horses with rider (Fig. 6.2.1), eight examples of complete horses, and fifty-two horse heads, typically with a cylindrical snout (Fig. 6.2.2). Many other fragments of quadrupeds could not be defined clearly: seventy examples of solid animal heads (Fig. 6.2.3), 205 fragments of animal bodies (Fig. 6.2.4), and 131 examples of animal legs (Fig. 6.2.5). Birds form the other clear category of zoomorphic figurines, with thirteen examples (Fig. 6.2.6).

Examples of animal vessels from Jerusalem are few. Within the study sample for the case-study, were three examples of animal head spouts (Fig. 6.2.7), and one fragment of the body of an animal vessel.

6.2.3 Other models

Beyond anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, the study sample also includes twenty-two examples of other models. By far the more common are the models of couches or chairs, of which there are twenty examples (Fig. 6.2.8). This case-study also includes one model shrine (Fig. 6.2.9), and one model wheel.

IMAGES REMOVED

Fig. 6.2: Zoomorphic figurine types and other models from Jerusalem. (1) Horse with rider (Gilbert-Peretz 1996, Fig. 13.11), (2) Horse head with cylindrical snout (Gilbert-Peretz 1996, Fig. 16.7) (3) Animal head (Gilbert-Peretz 1996, Fig. 14.9), (4) Animal body (Holland 1977, Fig. 9.10), (5) Animal leg (Holland 1977, Fig. 9.12); (6) Bird figurine on pillar base (Gilbert-Peretz 1996, Fig. 15.5), (7) Animal vessel spout (Holland 1975, Fig. 60.6), , (8) Model couch (Holland 1977, Fig. 9.19), (9) Model shrine (Holland 1977, Fig. 9.20)

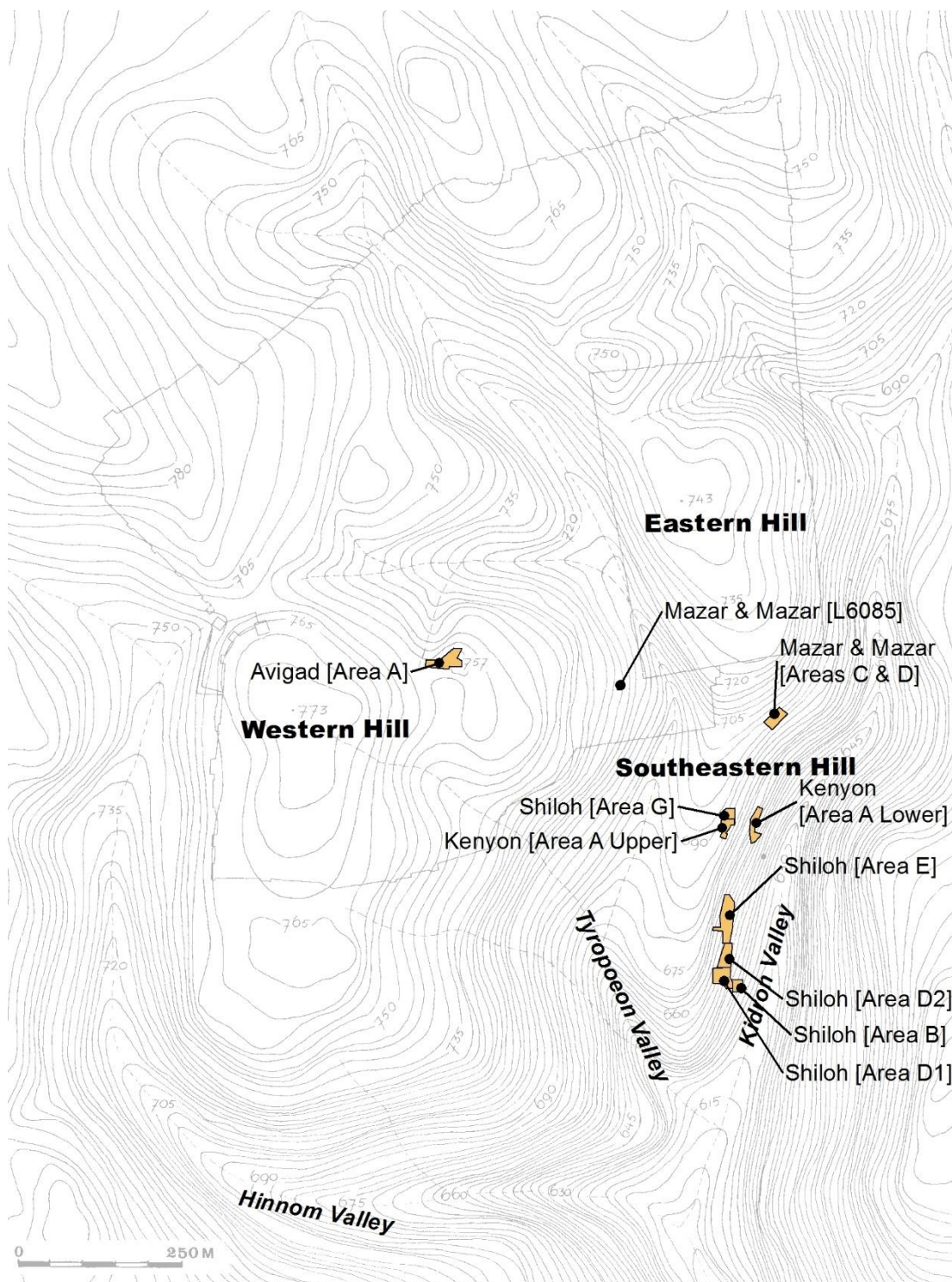


Fig. 6.3: Topographic map of Jerusalem, indicating the principal hills and valleys, and the excavation areas discussed in this chapter.

6.3 Contextual study

This study will now focus in detail on a number of areas of excavation. This study is divided into a number of sub-sections, looking at excavations by area and date. The first to be considered is material from the lower squares of Kenyon's Area A (section 6.3.1), followed by the upper squares of Kenyon's area A, which overlaps in part with Shiloh's area G (section 6.3.2). The study will then move to Shiloh's Area E, divided into two larger periods, first strata 12-11 (section 6.3.3), followed by the later Stratum 10 (section 6.3.4), marked by a clear shift in the configuration of the site. Other areas from Shiloh's excavation will then be briefly considered (section 6.3.5). Finally, the figurines from Benjamin and Eilat Mazar's excavations (section 6.3.6), followed by Avigad's excavation in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City (section 6.3.7) will be examined.

Correlation between the strata of different areas of excavation (Table 6.1) proved problematic, even where undertaken by the same team, as noted for both Kenyon's (see section 6.3.1.2) and Shiloh's excavation (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012, 3). In all three excavations, however, it is possible to argue for two major moments in the life of the areas, with the break between the two occurring around 700 BC.

	Kenyon A Upper	Kenyon A Lower	Shiloh Area E	Shiloh Area G	Avigad Area A
9 th century		2: Occupation			
8 th century		3: Debris 4: Occupation 5: Debris	12	12	9
700 BC		7: Town wall			8
7 th century		8: Occupation	11		7
587/6 BC	B7 = T5 = A1/2		10	10C	
	B8 = T6 = A3	9: Destruction		10B: Destruction	

Table 6 2 Correlation of the various strata from the excavations by Kenyon, Shiloh and Avigad.

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Fig. 6.4: Jerusalem, Area A (Kenyon). Figurines in occupation Stratum 2 (Square A/XXII) and Stratum 4 (Square A/XXV and A/XXVI). Composite plan showing Kenyon's A/XXII phase 2C (Steiner 1900, 23, fig. 2.17), A/XXV-XXVI phase 4 (Steiner 1990, 31, fig. 2.22), Cave I (Holland 1977, 135)

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 6.5: Jerusalem, Area A (Kenyon). Figurines in debris Stratum 3 (Square AXXII) and Stratum 5 (Square X/XXV and A/XXVI). Composite plan, as previous figure.

6.3.1 Southeastern Hill: Kenyon's Area A (Lower Squares)

Kenyon's excavation in Area A reached material dated to the eighth century BC in the Lower Squares, which were extended north in search of the Middle Bronze and late Iron Age walls (Kenyon 1963, 11). The finds in this part of the site can be best divided into two small groups: Cave II and its surrounding spaces (in Square A/XXII), and Cave I and its surrounding spaces (Squares A/XXV, A/XXVI)

6.3.1.1 Cave II & Square A/XXII (Strata 2-3)

The first section of the excavations which shall be taken into account consists of Squares A/XXI-XXII, XXVII-XXVIII, a group of squares without intermediate baulks, which will be referred to as A/XXII, following Franken and Steiner (1990, 6). An inconsistency in the records between different years means that the exact location of the square, in relation to Trench I, remains slightly uncertain (Steiner 1990, 3).

The occupation levels within the square come from Stratum 2, subdivided into three sub-phases. The oldest stratum (2A) consisted of a floor belonging to one building, destroyed by some huge boulders, which may have collapsed from the Middle Bronze Age wall during an earthquake (Steiner 1990, 12). No figurines were recorded from the floors of this stratum. The area was rebuilt to a slightly different plan (Stratum 2B), and consisted of a series of rooms below the rock ledge, marked M, N and O, of which only Room M appears to have been roofed over (Steiner 1990, 13-18). The buildings remained in use with some modifications until the destruction of the entire complex at the end of Stratum 2C. The rooms M-R were probably roofed over, and possibly had an upper storey. Room N had two pillars, as well as a blocked up niche in its western wall, where one fragment of an animal vessel body was found, with six bowls and two jugs. On the upper terrace, the main feature in 'Room' S was a stone structure, with a plaster basin, measuring 2 x 2m (Steiner 1990, 19-24).

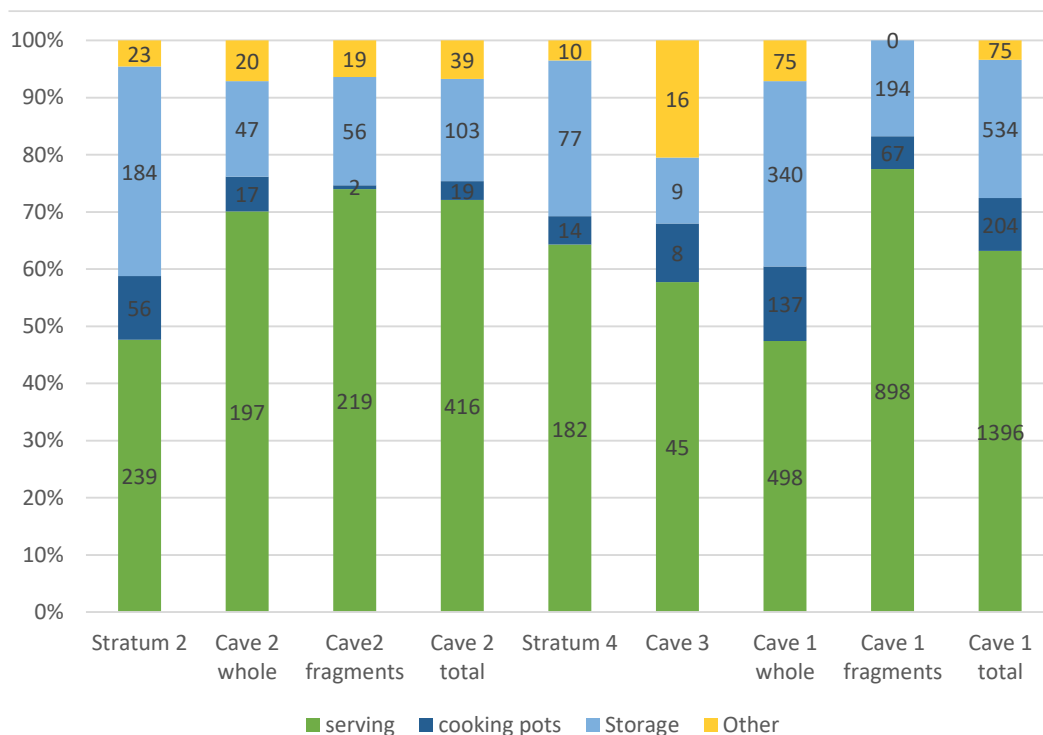


Fig. 6.6:: Comparison of the functional classes of pottery in Stratum 2 buildings, Cave II, Stratum 4, and Cave 3 and Cave 1. (Based on tables in Franken and Steiner 1990, 26, 37, 48, 73)

Central to the discussion of A/XXII is Cave II, a small recess in the bedrock (1.25m deep x 1.5m high) to the west of Room M, behind wall 15. Within the cave were one or two floors, covered by layers of silt and soil which contained 281 complete vessels, mostly small bowls (46.2%) and saucers (18.2%), but few other finds (Steiner 1990, 24-25). Kenyon interpreted the entire building, with its cave as “ceremonial, either funerary or connected with the unofficial cults that certainly flourished during the period of the Monarchy, for which an extra-mural site would be appropriate” (Kenyon 1964, 10). Kenyon initially expected Cave II to turn out to be a tomb, but the absence of human bones, despite its tomb-like nature, led her to suggest that the entire complex may be some form of cenotaph. In view of the small size of Room N, Kenyon interpreted the pillars in that room as *maṣṣebot*, while the structure in ‘Room’ S was understood as an altar (Kenyon 1964, 9-10). As noted by Steiner, Kenyon’s interpretation was based on four elements: Cave II with its large amount of pottery; the two pillars, and the small niche, both in Room N, as well as the ‘altar’ in Room S (Steiner 1990, 24).

This interpretation, however, has been repeatedly challenged. The pillars of Room N have been understood as structural rather than cultic (Graesser 1972,

54-55), and the pottery and other finds do not suggest a cultic function for the site, leading Steiner to disagree with Kenyon's interpretation of the complex as shrine (Steiner 1990, 24, 27). Based on the pottery in Cave II, predominantly related to the serving of food (72%, see Fig. 6.6 above), Steiner interprets the complex as a guesthouse, with Cave II as a store (Steiner 1990, 27; Franken and Steiner 1990, 125). Eshel (1995, 19) understands the site as linked with administration, or possibly a merchant's storeroom, because of the quantity of material, even though the repertoire is typically domestic. Prag (1995, 216), too, is prosaic in her interpretation, understanding the pillars as structural, while "the 'altar' could have served some domestic function on the upper terrace relating to the same house".

A detailed look at the comparison of pottery classes in Fig. 6.6 shows how Cave II has a considerably higher percentage of serving vessels than the rest of Stratum 2 (72% versus 48%), whereas a higher percentage of storage vessels is present in Stratum 2 than in Cave II (38% versus 18%). The chi-square test (see section 5.3.2.2.1) confirmed that the difference between the totals of Cave II and the rest of Stratum 2, is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 47.77$, $df = 3$, $p\text{-value} = 2.38 \times 10^{-10}$). The very large number of serving vessels (197 registered pots, and sherds of a further 219) certainly goes beyond the needs of a small household, but can hardly be justified for a small guest house. One option, discussed in the report as a possibility for Cave I, is that the large number of vessels may be the result of offerings, where the vessel is therefore used only once, before being thrown away, drawing parallels with an ethnographic case documented in 19th century AD Syria (Franken and Steiner 1990, 126-127). It is surprising that the report should connect such a large quantity of pottery for Cave I with ritual activity, on account of the presence of figurines, but not for Cave II, when the percentage of serving vessels is actually higher. Figurines, after all, need not have formed part of offering rituals.

Stratum 3, which sealed all the floors of Stratum 2C, was a thick layer of mud-brick and rubble. Unfortunately, the collapsed material of the building itself, and of its potential upper storeys, could not be clearly distinguished from later

erosion layers (Steiner 1990, 27). The pottery of Stratum 3 is dated typologically to the same period as Stratum 4-6 (Steiner 1990, 30).

	Stratum 2B / 2C	Stratum 3
Cave II	A.152.1b: 1 Animal head	A.151.7: 1 Wheel
N	A.157.3 (niche): 1 Animal vessel body	A.150.24: 1 Animal body A.154.2: 1 Animal body
O	AA.3.4: 1 Animal body	A.153.14: 1 Animal body A.153.15: 1 Animal body
P		AA.2.12: 1 Animal head spout
P-Q?		AA.1.14a: 1 Animal head; 1 Animal body AA.1.11: 1 Animal head AA.1.17: 1 Animal head AA.1.20: 1 Animal head AA.2.3: 1 Pillar body
S		A.156.6: 1 Human head, handmade; 1 Animal body AA.4.4e: 1 Animal body
S?		AA.4.8: 1 Human head + sack AA.4.9: 1 Animal body AA.4.10: 1 Animal body

Table 6.3: Jerusalem, Area A (Kenyon), Square A/XXII. Figurines from Strata 2B/C and Stratum 3.

While the number of figurine fragments from Cave II and the surrounding rooms during the occupation phases is rather meagre, three fragments have been recovered: an animal head from inside Cave II, a fragment of animal vessel from the niche in Room N, and an animal body from Room O. The absence of anthropomorphic figurines may be significant, but absence of evidence can hardly be taken into account on such small numbers.

Several other figurines fragments were found in Stratum 3 (Table 6.3), and it is interesting to note even here that only one anthropomorphic fragment was found, compared with thirteen zoomorphic ones, and a wheel from inside Cave II. The mixed nature of the stratum does not allow us to draw any conclusions.

6.3.1.2 Cave I & Squares A/XXV-A/XXVI (Strata 4-5)

South of A/XXII, a complex of buildings, as well as Cave I, were excavated in Squares A/XXV and A/XXVI. The buildings were located on a rock ledge, resulting from quarrying, that was at least six meters wide, and whose eastern edge was not reached by the excavation. (Steiner 1990, 20).

Stratigraphically all the buildings were founded directly on bedrock, and sealed by the street of Stratum 7 (Steiner 1990, 20), which provides a clear *terminus ante quem* for the remains. Steiner consider this building as belonging to Stratum 4, and later than the Stratum 2 complex in Square A/XXII (Steiner 1990, 30). In contrast, Eshel – studying the pottery repertoires of both Caves I and II – reached two important conclusions. Firstly, that the two groups are similar enough that they should be dated to the same horizon. Secondly, that the corpus of both caves finds its best parallels in Judahite sites of the early and mid-seventh century BC (Eshel 1995, 61), bringing down the date of the entire complex by as much as a century. In contrast, Steiner dated stratum 2 to the second half of the ninth century BC, stratum 4 to the eighth century BC, and stratum 8 to seventh and early sixth centuries BC (Steiner 2001, 54), and refutes Eshel's analysis on account of changes in pottery types through time (Steiner 2001, 57). While it may be harder to distinguish stratigraphically between occupation strata 2 and 4, as well as between debris strata 3 and 5, the latter two strata are both sealed by the street, datable to c. 700 BC. Eshel's late date, therefore, appears untenable on stratigraphic grounds.

The complex consisted of a series of rooms below the rock ledge. Room B had two 'structures'. Structure B was a stone walled area with a plastered floor, with finds that include thirty-nine pots, three pestles, a bead and a pendant, as well as an animal head figurine fragment (see Table 6.4). The second stone walled area, north of structure B, had fragments of cooking pots, along with some fish and animal bones (Steiner 1990, 32-34). Only a small area of room E, some 60 x 25 cm, was excavated. This small area included a small cave (Cave III) in the rock scarp, and yielded an impressive repertoire of seventy-nine pots, a bone spatula and three pestles, along with the figurine fragment of an animal body (Steiner 1990, 35).

	Stratum 4	Stratum 5
B	A.1200.19 (Structure B): 1 Animal head	
C	A.1103.3 : 1 Animal body A.1103.5 1 Animal body	
E & Cave III	A.1101.43 : 1 Animal body	
G	A.965.35 (sub-floor) : 1 Pillar base; 1 Animal body A.965.36 (sub-floor) : 1 Animal head	
H		A.965.2 : 1 Couch/Chair A.965.20 : 1 Animal head A.965.4 : 1 Animal head; 2 Animal bodies
J	A.965.24 : 1 Animal head; 1 Animal body A.965.25 : 1 Human head, moulded; 1 Human? vessel fragment A.965.29 : 2 Horses-and-riders; 3 Animal heads; 1 Animal body; 1 Bird A.965.32 : 1 Bird	A.965.23 : 1 Horse-and-rider; 1 Bird
Cave I	A.966 (Entrance wash) : 1 Human female torso; 2 Pillar bases; 1 Animal body; 1 Bird A.966 (inside cave) : 1 Human head, moulded; 10 Human female torso; 1 Female torso, moulded; 1 Human? fragment; 2 Horses-and-riders; 8 Horses, complete; 7 Animal heads; 17 Animal bodies; 2 Animal legs; 3 Birds; 3 Couches/Chairs; 1 Shrine A.966.3Y : 1 Human head, moulded A.966 : 1 Pillar base?	
K	A.968.3a : 1 Horse-and-rider A.969.7 : 1 Animal head	A.965.39 : 1 Couch/Chair A.970.2 : 1 Animal head
L		A.963.18 : 2 Animal bodies

Table 6.4: Jerusalem, Area A (Kenyon), Squares A/XXV and A/XXVI. Figurines from Strata 4 and 5.

Room G, too, was only partly excavated. Three figurine fragments came from here and interestingly, one of the figurines (7450) excavated in A.965.35, below floor A.965.34, joins with fragment C.778 from Cave I (Kenyon Finds Register, pg. 1115). Prag includes all loci A.965.1-39 with the cave porch, Room J (Prag 1995, 216). However, some of the loci (A.965.5,26+27,30,33,34,35,36) were clearly in Room G (Steiner 1990, 37, 41 fig. 2.31). Room K, east of Room H, had a plaster floor, overlying older floors, which contained two animal figurines (Steiner 1990, 42).

Fig. 6.7: Section drawing through Room J and entrance to Cave I (Eshel and Prag 1995, 75).

Of particular interest, for its finds, is Room J, the porch area and entrance into Cave I. The floors were cut off about half a metre from the upper lintel of the cave (Steiner 1990, 41-42). The section drawing (Fig. 6.7) suggests an opening into Cave I of the height of around one metre.

Cave I itself is eight metres deep, with a maximum width of 4.20, and maximum height of 1.65m. The finds within the Cave I were very plentiful: mostly pottery vessels, of which sixteen were inscribed (Prignaud 1978) numerous figurine fragments, animal bones, worked bone, two rattles, two limestone altars (C.158, C.323), and a pottery incense stand (C.270) (Steiner 1990, 44-48). Any assessment of the nature of Cave I should best take into account the descriptions in the excavation notebooks:

“There appear to be many more vessels closer to the entrance than further in. Does this fact coupled with their haphazard grouping suggest that they were cast in from the entrance, rather than carried in and carefully placed?” (Kenyon Archive, Notebook 24, p. 67).

The function of Cave I, and the buildings in Squares A/XXV and A/XXVI are a moot point. Kenyon linked Cave I to Cave II and its surroundings when it comes to use, and suggested that it served as a *favissa* for the same or another sanctuary (Kenyon 1968, 108). While recognising that the pottery repertoire is very similar to Cave II, Steiner argues that the particular finds suggest that it had a special function, and proposes to read Cave I as a popular cult centre (as already discussed), surrounded by a guest house (Steiner 1990, 49).

Kletter (1996, 63) defines the finds in Cave I as a storage assemblage, with the objects “deposited (or dumped) there, perhaps during a prolonged period of time (say, 20-30 years).” Darby (2014, 104), however, takes him to task for not providing any data to support this conclusion. Kletter also argues that there is no evident link between the figurines and the other objects.

Darby (2014, 131-135) argues that Cave I and the Southern Building formed part of a potter's workshop, particularly because of extensive deposits of wet clay. However, as Darby herself admits, there were none of the features that could confirm this interpretation: wasters, basalt wheels, slag or ochre (Darby 2014, 134). This can be contrasted with the slag, unbaked sherds, and potters' tools found in potter's workshop identified in Cave 4034 in Lachish, and dated to the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (Tufnell 1958, 291-293).

Schmitt suggests that the cave was used for the preparation and consumption of food, on the basis of animal bones and a *tabun* among the finds (Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 463). On account of its underground location, a sort of "forecourt of the netherworld", he links Cave I, as well as Cave II, with the commemoration of the dead (Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 469). However, while part of a *tabun* was found (C.281), there is no indication that *tabun* was found in situ (Prag 1995, 212), and the fragments were probably dumped inside the cave along with the other material.

Reconsidering Cave I and its contents, it seems that the best interpretation may actually be the simplest one: Cave I served as a dump. While Prag (1995, 213) rightly interprets the layers at the entrance of the cave as collapse into the cave, such a reading cannot account for the large heaps of pottery and stones, not only at the entrance but also well into the cave (see Fig. 6.8), consistent with material brought into the cave and dumped there deliberately.

With regard to the figurines, it is essential that they were mostly already fragmentary when brought inside the cave to be deposited. Very few joins have been recorded, but some of these linked different rooms close to Cave I, suggesting that the figurines were broken before being brought inside: 7374 + 7451 (both A.965.24 in Room J); 7450 (A.965.35, Room G) + C.778 (Cave I); 7372 (A.965.20, Room H, Stratum 5) + C.374 (Cave I); and C.335 + C.366 (both in Cave I). We should also note that Steiner is mistaken when she states:

"It is worth noting that the 9 figurines scattered around the entrance of the cave in Room J as well as the 6 specimens found on the floors of the rooms outside the cave were all animal figurines. Only in Cave I itself have human-pillar figurines been discovered." (Steiner 1990, 48).

While the figurine fragments found in the rooms around the cave are generally zoomorphic, a moulded human head and a peculiar anthropomorphic vessel were found in locus A.965.25 in Room J and the entrance wash into Cave I, and a pillar base was discovered in Room G. This was, however, found in a sub-floor level, and so does not relate to the actual occupational use of the room. In contrast, the figurines in Cave I offer a much wider repertoire. If, however, if Cave I is correctly interpreted as a dump, even if cultic, then the figurines represent use not in the cave itself, but elsewhere.

6.3.1.3 Figurines in caves and buildings on the lower slopes

The understanding of Caves I and II and the surrounding buildings has generally been linked to their purported extra-mural location (Franken and Steiner 1990), although Steiner (2001, 105) had rightly cautioned that contemporary town walls had not been found. To the south of Kenyon's Area A, the eighth century BC city-wall excavated further down the slope (Reich and Shukron 2008), further suggesting that this quarter was within the walls of the city during the eighth century. Although areas to the east of Kenyon's Area A have not been excavated, and this cannot be – as yet – confirmed, it remains important not to pin the understanding on the caves and buildings as outside the city.

The caves and their contents remain complex to interpret, although the simpler explanation of dumps may be the best. Admittedly, considering the large amount of pottery in both caves and numerous figurines in Cave I, it may be tempting to search for further explanation. As shall be seen in relation to the excavations from Area E of Shiloh's excavation (section 6.3.3), the high proportion of serving vessels may well reflect a common domestic repertoire. Regarding the figurines, it should be noted that most were incomplete, and therefore broken prior to their deposition in the cave.

In summary, therefore:

- The deposits in Caves I, II, and III can be best explained as dumps of material brought from outside the caves.

- The generally fragmented nature of the figurines found inside Cave I suggest that they were used elsewhere, rather than deposited in the cave itself as the primary part of some ritual. The variety within the repertoire is, moreover, not different to the repertoire known in domestic contexts elsewhere, as in Area G of Shiloh's excavation (section 6.3.2).
- In this part of Area A, not only do figurines of quadrupeds predominate in all contexts, but anthropomorphic figurines are almost entirely absent except in Cave I (A.966) and the Room J (A.965.36) which gave access to it.
- The large percentage of serving vessels may suggest some link between places of food consumption and figurine use. The lack of differentiation in the use of the different spaces, however, makes it hard to reach any further conclusions in this case.

IMAGES REMOVED

Fig. 6.8: Plan of Cave I, and photos of the pottery heaps, as found, before excavation.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 6.9: Jerusalem, Area A (Kenyon) and Area G (Shiloh), Stratum 10. Composite plan including Shiloh's Area G (Shiloh 1984, 57), Kenyon's Area A – I-III (Steiner 2001, 59); Square A/XXIII (Steiner 2001, 79), Trench I – West (Steiner 2001, 81), Square A/XXIV (Steiner 2001, 98), "Extra-mural" street (Steiner 1990, 51, fig.2.38). The numbers indicate the area designations given in Steiner 2001.

6.3.2 Southeastern Hill: Kenyon's Area A (Upper Squares) & Shiloh's Area G

The primary trench of Kenyon's excavation started from the so-called 'Jebusite Ramp' downhill towards the Gihon Spring. Kenyon's aim for this trench was two-fold. Firstly, to provide a clear and continuous stratigraphy for Jerusalem in a single trench that sliced through the site, as she had done in Jericho, which would allow her to create a pottery typology that was pinned down stratigraphically. Secondly, she wanted to find the extent of the Iron Age city, and the relationship of Warren's Shaft and the Gihon Spring to the city's fortifications.

At the top part of her trench, Kenyon uncovered a series of buildings. The excavation does not seem to have gone to great depth, and stopped when it encountered the first series of floor levels, datable to the late Iron Age. The limited number of figurines from her excavations in these squares, especially when compared with those excavated by Shiloh, can be put down to the fact that her excavation only scratched the surface of the Iron Age levels (Darby 2014, 138). Kenyon's excavations uncovered remains of a series of buildings (numbered I-VII in the reports) which were only partly excavated. Shiloh's excavation in Area G continued where Kenyon had left, fully uncovered the House of Ahiel, and parts of the House of the Bullae, and the house of the Burnt Room.

6.3.2.1 Building III (Areas 13-17) & Area 10

At the southern end of Kenyon's Upper Square, in what was excavated as Square A/XXIII, were the remains of a building built on two terraces. The northern end of the building was completely eroded away, making a full plan impossible to reconstruct. The report notes that the building had "both a domestic and commercial function" (Steiner 2001, 79).

The finds in the southernmost rooms (Areas 13 and 16), adjacent to the staircase (Areas 18 and 19) had thirty-six stone weights, of which two may be polishing stones. Other finds included a possible anvil, hammer and polishing stones, a bronze bracelet and a bronze handle, as well as several pieces of bronze and iron, leading the report to interpret the building as the workshop of a bronze smith

(Steiner 2001, 79). Area 10, to the north of Building III, may have served as its courtyard (Steiner 2001, 80). Only one leg fragment was excavated from within the house, and three fragments from the courtyard (Table 6.5).

	Area/ Room	Stratum B7	Stratum B8
Building III	Area 13		
	Area 16		
	Area 17		A.669.46: 1 Animal leg
	Area 10 (courtyard)	A.52.2: 1 Animal body; 1 Animal leg A.54.1: 1 Animal body	
Building II	Area 3	A.10.10: 1 Animal body	
	Area 4	A.2.17: 1 Animal body	
Street	Area 6	A.25.2: 1 Animal head; 1 Animal body	
	Area 11	A.15.8: Human head handmade	

Table 6.5:Jerusalem, Area A (Kenyon). Figurines from Buildings III, II and Street 6/7.

6.3.2.2 Building II (Areas 1-4) and Street (Areas 6-7)

Four rooms survived of this building, which lost its southern side to erosion (probably compounded by one of Macalister's trenches). The report argues that "The division of this building points to an increasingly intensive use of the available living space in Jerusalem, probably connected to the Babylonian invasion which cause many people to flee to the capital" (Steiner 2001, 78-79). Several incised jar handles were found in Area 3, which possibly served as a store (Steiner 2001, 79).

To the north of Building II was a small side street (Areas 6/7), coming off the main street running to the east of the Building. A staircase leans against Building II, and partly blocks its access, reaching a second level of the house, as it is not steep enough to reach the higher terrace of Area 11 (Steiner 2001, 79). Alternatively, the stairs may have led to a second storey in Building I, the House of Ahiel (Shiloh 1984, fig. 25). The few fragments from the house are all zoomorphic (Table 6.5).

6.3.2.3 House of Ahiel (Building I), Alley L.827 and Lower courtyard

The building was only partly excavated by Kenyon (Areas 8 and 9). The excavation was completed by Shiloh, who interpreted it as a four-room house. On the northern side, an annex to the house includes a storeroom and a probable toilet. In one of the rooms, Pit L.850 is described by Steiner (2001, 63-64) as equal to Kenyon's A/15.13 (Darby 2014, 152). Among the finds were two ostraca which included among the names a certain Ahiel (Reg. G.4599, G. 4849). To the west of the house, on a higher terrace, a floor with occupational debris was discovered (Steiner 2001, 66). A considerable number and variety of figurines were found, both in the House of Ahiel as well as in the adjacent spaces (Table 6.6). Considering the inferred social standing of the inhabitants of the house, it may help provide some understanding that figurine use was equally common with inhabitants of a higher social standing.

Darby (2014, 153-154) suggests that L.804, a "collapse on top of a staircase" is likely to be associated with the House of Ahiel. It should be noted, however, that the staircase to the south of the house was excavated by Kenyon, and the one to the north may be giving access to the area further up the terrace. In more recent years, Eilat Mazar's excavations have unearthed a number of figurine fragments in the debris under the North Tower. The published photos includes seven equid heads, two further heads with part of the torso, one female torso of a pillar figurine, one peculiar torso of human figure, three heads with pinched features, of which one has a band or turban, and three heads of figurines with moulded faces, but no curls (E. Mazar 2009, 71).

6.3.2.4 House of the Burnt Room (Building IV)

At the north-eastern edge of Area G is the building which included the Burnt Room (L.997), so called from the plentiful ash on its floor, and remains of charred wood, including some fine carved examples following patterns and motifs known from contemporary ornamental ivories (Shiloh 1984, 20). No figurines are listed from L.997, the last phase of the Burnt Room, but four figurines are registered in previous strata of the same room, and one fragment from an adjacent space (Table 6.6).

	Room	Stratum 12B-10C	Stratum 10C-B	Stratum 10B
House of Ahiel Main house	Room 783		L.783: 2 Animal bodies	
	Room 790	L.850 (pit): 1 Human head, moulded; 1 Rider; 1 Animal head + forequarters; 2 Animal heads; 2 Animal bodies; 5 Animal legs; 1 Couch/Chair	L.790: 1 Pillar base	L.798 (floor) 1 Horse head L.791 (Stone collapse on floor): 1 Animal body, 1 Animal leg, 1 Couch/Chair
House of Ahiel Annex	Room 789		L.793 (cesspit): 1 Pillar base	
	Room 792		L.792: 1 Animal body	
	Room 818		L.818: 2 Animal bodies	
	W.330		W.330: 1 Animal body	
Alley	L.827		L.827: 1 Animal head, 1 Animal leg	
Lower courtyard			L.906: 1 Human head, handmade, 1 Pillar base; 2 Horses-and-riders; 1 Horse head W.329: 1 Human female torso, 1 Animal body	L.773: 1 Animal body L.804: Collapse on staircase: 1 Pillar base; 1 Horse head; 2 Animal bodies; 1 Fragment
		Stratum 12	Stratum 10C	Stratum 10B
Burnt Room	Room 997		L.989: 1 Animal leg L.999: 1 Female human torso, 1 Animal head, 1 animal leg	L.997
	Room 982			L.982: 1 Animal leg
House of the Bullae	Room 967	L.1119: 1 Animal body	L.1110 (plaster floor + fill) L.1108 L.986	L.967: 1 Horse-and-rider, 1 Animal leg (Four limestone cultic? stands, 53 clay bullae; bone spatula)
			L.975: Pillar base (G/5625); Horse head (G/11453); Fragment (G/11474)	

Table 6.6: Jerusalem, Area G (Shiloh) and Area A (Kenyon). Figurines from the House of Ahiel and surrounding spaces, the Burnt Room, and the House of the Bullae.

6.3.2.5 House of the Bullae

At the very eastern edge of Kenyon's, and subsequently Shiloh's, trench the House of the Bullae was partially excavated, with only a 7 x 1m strip next to W.753 being uncovered (Shiloh 1984, 20). Locus 967, dated to the destruction layer of 586 BC, proved particularly interesting, as a cache of fifty three clay bullae, many of which with names and patronymics, were found on the floor. Two figurine fragments are assigned to this locus (Table 6.6), even if they are not mentioned in the lists of finds in Shiloh (1986, 22-23). A further fragment is assigned to the floor of the same room in Stratum 12. On account of the bullae, Shiloh understands the place as part of a bureau linked to the administrative bureaucracy of the kingdom. He notes both the lack of repetition of names, which would be likely in a private archive, as well as the name of a known royal official, mentioned in Jeremiah 36:13 (Shiloh 1984, 20). Albertz and Schmitt (2012, 112) read the assemblage as cult related, including the burning of incense and possible libations in a domestic context. Steiner's interpretation is rather more prosaic, and sees the room and house as part of a merchant's quarter (Steiner 2001, 105-106). It should be noted that earlier floors of the same space included a total of ninety seven loomweights (Ariel and De Groot 1996, 138).

Since the Area G report still awaits publication, little is known about the other figurine loci. One of them, L.975 is not described, but is listed for Stratum 10C, and appears in a section drawing in Shiloh (1986, 20, fig. 4), where it forms part of the space between walls 753 and 776. Darby (2014, 154) suggests that the fragments here may have fallen in, as a result of collapse from higher buildings.

6.3.2.6 Building VI and Building VII

At the base of the stepped stone structure, in Trench I, one room (Area 26) of a larger building (Building VI) was excavated, along the terrace wall, which served as its western side. Four successive floors were uncovered, three of which had figurines fragments, and one pottery rattle. The rests of the registered finds indicate a regular household repertoire. (Steiner 2001, 83). A further building (Building VII) was partially excavated in Square A/XXIV to the north-east of Shiloh's Area G.

A number of fragments were found on three of the four floors of Area 26, and in the adjacent Area 27 (Table 6.7). No figurine fragments are recorded for Building VII (contra Steiner 2001, and Darby 2014). Darby (2014, 140), following Steiner (2001, 96), places figurine 6485 in Building VII. However, the loci A.305.1-13, *contra* Steiner (2001, 94) cannot be assigned to this building, as the sequence is already assigned to area 26-27, and A.305.12 specifically appears in section drawing in Trench I (Steiner 2001, 84, fig. 6.32). Steiner (2001, 87, fig. 6.37) assigns Reg. no. 912 to floor 3 in Area 26. In the finds register, however, no. 912 is not a figurine fragment, and this may represent an *erratum* for no. 902, from A.305.14a, which should, however be assigned to area 27, just adjacent (Steiner 2001, 83).

	Stratum T5		
	Floor 2	Floor 3	Floor 4
Area 26	A.304.19a: 1 Couch or Table A.305.18a: 1 Animal body	A.304.21: 1 Human head, handmade with conical hat A.304.22: 1 Fragment A.305.11a: 1 Animal head	A.305.19A A.305.16: 2 Human female torsos A.305.16A: 2 Animal bodies
Area 27	A.305.12: 1 Human head, handmade A.305.14a: 1 Fragment, Animal?		

Table 6.7: Jerusalem, Area A (Kenyon). Figurines from Building VI, Areas 26 and 27.

6.3.2.7 Unspecified locations in Shiloh's Area G

A considerable number of figurines (Table 6.8) come from loci assigned to strata 12-10, which must come from the House of Ahiel, House of the Bullae, house of the Burnt Room, and the surrounding parts of Shiloh's Area G, which have been discussed above. They are included here for completeness, awaiting the publication of further reports, and as a reminder to be cautious regarding any conclusions on perceived figurine use, or lack thereof, in the area.

Locus	Stratum	Type	Figurines
L.960	12B	Floor	2 Human heads, handmade; 2 Horse heads, 1 Animal body; 2 Animal legs
L.824	10C	Floor	1 Human female torso; 1 Horse head; 1 Animal head; 2 Animal bodies; 5 Animal leg
L.856	10C	Drainage Channel	3 Animal legs
L.870	10C	Loculus	1 Animal leg
L.883	10C	Floor	1 Animal body; 1 Couch/Chair
L.886	10C	Floor	1 Horse head; 1 Animal body
L.903	10C	Pit	1 Human torso, no breasts; 2 Human head, handmade; 2 Pillar bases; 2 Human pillar figurine + object; 1 Animal head; 4 Animal bodies; 1 Fragment; 3 Couch/Chair
L.859	10C-B	Floor	1 Animal leg
L.858	10B	Stone Collapse	1 Human head, moulded; 1 Animal leg
L.872	10B	Floor	1 Human head handmade; 1 Pillar base; 1 Horse head; 1 Animal leg

Table 6.8: Jerusalem, Area G (Shiloh). Figurines from poorly defined loci.

6.3.2.8 The extra-mural road (Stratum 7-8)

The late Iron Age town wall, 5m wide, was excavated at the bottom of Trench I. The wall was partly built on larger boulder probably part of the earlier Middle Bronze Age wall (Steiner 1990, 50; Steiner 2001, 89).

In the Gate Room, above the stone substructure of the city wall, two figurine fragments were found (Reg. No. 60 – an animal body, and 1066, a female pillar figurine torso), along with a seal with inscription (Reg No. 532; Steiner 2001, 91). Darby (2014, 140) points out to the serious issues with contamination of this deposit, already noted by Steiner (2001, 91), including Roman/Byzantine and MBII sherds, and a modern knife. The issue of contamination is even more likely for figurine Reg. no. 1066, registered in the 1962 season, after the wash during the winter of 1961-1962. Figurine Reg. No 60 is listed by Steiner (2001, 91) as coming from above this floor, even though her list of loci does not include A.604.3. The context lists, and Kenyon's pottery books indicate a very consistent 7th century BC date, with contamination detected at the surface.

Alongside the wall, was an extra-mural street, dated to Stratum 7, which was also excavated in the adjoining Square A/XXV and A/XXVI. Above the pavement of the Stratum 7 street, was a thick layer of debris, between 75 and 125cm thick. The

deposit is dated to Stratum 8, dated between the construction of the late Iron Age city wall and its destruction in 586 BC (Steiner 1990, 56).

A particular concentration is worth mentioning in Square A/XIV (loci A.820.4, A.821.5,6 and A.830.10,11) with thirty-eight *lmk* stamp (2 winged) jar handles, three other stamps, and an inscription, along with a large amount of pottery, especially bowls and jars, and many figurines (Steiner 1990, 56). Steiner suggests that the large quantity of crushed pottery may be the result of the collapse of buildings above the city wall of the gate itself (Steiner 1990, 56). The very unstable nature of the side of the hill could easily be undermined by water and poor drainage.

Darby (2014, 126) argues against the understanding of the deposit as an accumulation of domestic garbage from inside the city, particularly on the grounds of a greater concentration of figurines in Square A/XXVI rather than spread randomly through the deposit. She suggests that the accumulation is the result of a “small pottery market” (Darby 2014, 135). She also connects the presence of the pottery market to her interpretation of Cave I and the Southern Building with pottery production, and their extramural location (Darby 2014, 135-136).

Reconsidering the evidence, however, Darby’s consideration is untenable. Other than the purported “extra-mural” location, that is not too clear for the earlier phases, there is a very clear stratigraphic break between strata 2-5 and Stratum 7-9, with Cave I and the southern building out of use, and covered over by the extramural street of Stratum 8. Moreover, while allowing for the accumulation of debris on a road, it is hard to justify such a depth of accumulation (75-125 cm) while the street itself is still in use. Before undertaking any over-interpretation of the figurines from Stratum 8, it should be pointed out that even the destruction layer (Stratum 9), which probably represents the collapse of the Iron Age wall, contained as many as twenty-seven figurines (Steiner 1990, 57).

Stratum	Square	Total	Human head handmade	Human head moulded	Human female torso	Horse-and-rider	Animal body	Animal head	Animal head?	Animal head spout	Animal leg	Bird	Fragment
8	A/XIV	20	3		2	1	6	2	1		4		1
8	A/XIV-XV	6	1				2				2		1
8	A/XV	2					1				1		
8	A/XXV	12	3	1	1		3	4					
8	A/XXVI	44	6	2	12	2	8	7		7	6		
8	A/XXIX	3	1		1			1					
9	A/XIV	6			2	1	3						
9	A/XIV-XV	3		1		1	1						
9	A/XV	13	2				5	2				1	1
9	A/XXV	4	1		1		1	1					
9	A/XXVI	1			1								

Table 6.9: Jerusalem, Kenyon's Area A extra mural street. Figurines from strata 8 (fill above street) and 9 (destruction of wall).

6.3.2.9 The residential quarter on the upper slopes

The upper part of Area A excavated by Kenyon, and Area G of Shiloh's excavations uncovered a more affluent quarter of the city, as evidenced by signs of trading (Building III), archival records (House of the Bullae), richer materials (Burnt House) and better construction (House of Ahiel). Figurine use has been attested in most spaces, and some conclusions may be drawn:

- There is no indication that figurines were treated any differently than other domestic waste, and contexts where they were found included fills, pits, and even a cess-pit.
- No clear separation in use is possible between non-rider anthropomorphic figurines and the other types, and all seem to be used in domestic contexts.
- In this area, it should be noted that figurines are found even in houses of the elite class, arguably close to the ruling classes.
- Figurines of animals, which may be interpreted primarily as horse, predominate numerically, and are occasionally found on their own, such

that it may be argued that animal figurines are used universally, while anthropomorphic figurines may be of more restricted use.

- The figurines, in all their variety, have been attested right through to the destruction of this quarter in 587/6 BC, and there is no basis to argue that the figurines went out of use at some point before this date.
- *Pace Darby*, it is hard to understand the figurines found in the deep deposit on the extra-mural street as the remains from a market where pottery (including figurines) are being sold.

	Total figurines	Human head, handmade	Human head, moulded	Human female torso	Pillar base	Total anthropomorphic	Horse and rider	Horse/Animal head	Animal body	Animal leg	Total Horses/Animals	Bird	Couch/Chair	Other Fragments
Building I / House of Ahiel	25		1		2	3	1	4	9	6	20		2	
Alley L827	2							1		1	2			
Lower Courtyard (near House of Ahiel)	13	1		1	2	4	2	2	4		8			1
Area 11	2	1				1			1		1			
Building II	2								2		2			
Street (next to Building II)	2							1	1		2			
Building III + Area 10	4								2	2	4			
Building IV / Burnt House	5			1		1		1		3	4			
House of the Bullae	6				1	1	1	1	1	1	4			1
Building VI	10	1		2		3		1	3		3		1	2

Table 6.10: Distribution of figurine types across the various buildings of the upper squares of Area A (Kenyon), and Area G (Shiloh).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 6.10: Jerusalem, Area E (Shiloh), Stratum 12. Architecture and figurines. Composite plan (De Groot & Bernick-Greenberg 2012, Plan 11, 32b, 47a, 47b)

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 6.11: Jerusalem, Area E (Shiloh), Stratum 11. Architecture and figurines. Composite plan (De Groot & Bernick-Greenberg 2012, Plan 10, 30b, 46, 47).

6.3.3 Southeastern Hill: Shiloh's Area E (Stratum 12 & 11)

Moving further south, Shiloh's excavation uncovered an extensive section of the city dated to the late Iron Age. The buildings in Area E, assigned to Strata 12 and 11, will be discussed first. The end of Stratum 12 was dated by the excavators to the end of the eighth century BC, with parallels to material from Lachish Stratum III (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 156). Stratum 11, dated to the mid-seventh century BC, showed continuity of use of the buildings in the area (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 161).

6.3.3.1 Buildings 1608 and 1296

In the western sector of Area E, to the south of the Ashlar House (Stratum 10), two buildings and an alley were uncovered for strata 11 and 12, built on a series of three terraces. Although the building can be stratigraphically assigned to Stratum 12, the floor levels within the two buildings are datable to Stratum 11 (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 30-33). The pottery assemblages of the rooms suggest a normal household assemblage of bowls, jugs and storage jars (Fig. 6.12 and Fig. 6.13). In room L1609, a *tabun* was preserved (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012, 32), clear indication of food preparation. A number of figurine fragments were found in these buildings (Table 6.11). It is interesting to note that all the figurines in these two buildings were horse and rider figurines or other zoomorphic (probably equid) fragments.

6.3.3.2 House of the Monoliths (Building 1492) and Alley L1325

In the southeastern part of area E was building 1492, dubbed the House of the Monoliths. Only one 2.5 x 2.5m room was excavated, with two phases for Stratum 11, and three sub-phases in Stratum 12A (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012, 59-60). Several figurines were excavated from the different phases of life of this building (Table 6.11). In contrast with Buildings 1608 and 1296, the fragments here show the full variety of the repertoire.

Immediately to the north of the House of the Monoliths and separating it from the Terrace House was alley L1325. Two floors levels were uncovered, L615 in the

western part, dated to Stratum 11, and L621A in the eastern section dated to Stratum 12 (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012, 58). It is quite surprising that all three fragments from this alley are anthropomorphic, and no fragments of zoomorphic figurines are recorded on this surface.

6.3.3.3 Terrace House (Building 1275)

One of the larger building in the area was the Terrace House. It was built at three different levels, integrated into city wall W219 to the east, covering an area of 64m². An alleyway and drainage channel L618 are immediately to its north, while alley L1325 is to its south. Three different sub-strata were discerned during the excavation process, strata 12B, 12A and 11 (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012, 47-54, 157).

Little can be said regarding the use of the various spaces, except that, where present, the pottery assemblages appear domestic in type but large in number, totalling 201 vessels (Fig. 6.12, Fig. 6.13). The only exceptional item is an inscription (reading “*lmḥmm*”) on a storage jar (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012, 51-52). Among the figurines fragments found in the building (Table 6.11) are ones of several different types, with both major groups (anthropomorphic pillar figurines, and horses) represented, similar to the case in the House of the Monoliths.

6.3.3.4 Building 1380

Building 1380 was north of the Terrace House and drainage channel L618. Only the southern part of the building was cleared, originally formed of a single space in Stratum 12B, then divided into two rooms in phases 12A and 11. The northern part of the building was not preserved (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 56-58). The figurines (Table 6.11) are surprising for both their abundance and variety. Fragments of pillar figurines were only found in the west room, this could well be due to the smaller number of figurines in the eastern room.

		Stratum 12	Stratum 11	
	Upper terrace	L1376 (floor): 1 Horse head		
Building 1608	(Middle Terrace)		L1609 (floor): 2 Horses-and-riders	
			L1608 (floor): 2 Animal bodies	
	Alley		L645	
Building 1296	(Lower Terrace)		L1296 (floor) : 1 Horse-and-rider; 1 Animal body; 1 Animal leg	
			L1292A (floor): 1 Horse-and-rider	
Alley L1325		L621A: 1 Human torso, no breasts (E1/3436); 1 Human female torso (E1/3481).	L615: Human female torso (E1/6143)	
		Stratum 12B	Stratum 12A	Stratum 11
House of the monoliths (Building 1492)	Room 1492		L1492 (floor): 1 Pillar base; 1 Fragment L1706 (floor): 1 Animal head L1709 (floor): 1 Horse head; 2 Animal bodies; 1 Animal leg	L1489 (floor): 1 Pillar base; 4 Horse heads, 1 Animal body L539B (floor): 1 Horse-and-rider; 1 Fragment L1497 (pit): 1 Bird
Terrace House (Building 1275)	Western Zone		L650B (floor)	
				L663A (floor): 1 Horse head
	Middle Zone	L1275 (floor): 1 Animal body	L631 (floor):2 Pillar bases; 1 Animal leg.	L699 (floor): 1 Human head, moulded
	Eastern Zone	L621C (floor): 1 Horse head; 1 Animal body L1241 (floor): 1 Animal leg		
L640A-D (floor): 1 Animal leg; 1 Fragment		L619A (floor): 1 Horse head L619B (floor): 1 Human head, handmade; 1 Horse head; 1 Animal body		
Building 1380	West room	L1380 (floor): 1 Rider; 1 Animal body	L1322 (floor): 1 Animal body; 1 Animal leg L1324 (floor): 1 Human head, handmade; 3 Pillar bases; 1 Horse head; 1 Horse head + forequarters; 3 Animal bodies; 1 Animal leg	L1310A (floor): 1 Human head moulded; 1 Horse head; 1 Fragment L1321 (floor): 1 Horse head; 3 Animal bodies; 2 Animal legs
	East room	L665 (floor):Pillar base (E1/4130)	L630C (floor):Animal body (E1/3714)	L630B (floor):1 Horse-and-rider; 1 Animal body; 1 Animal leg.

Table 6.11: Jerusalem, Area E West and E South (Shiloh). Figurines from Stratum 12 and 11.

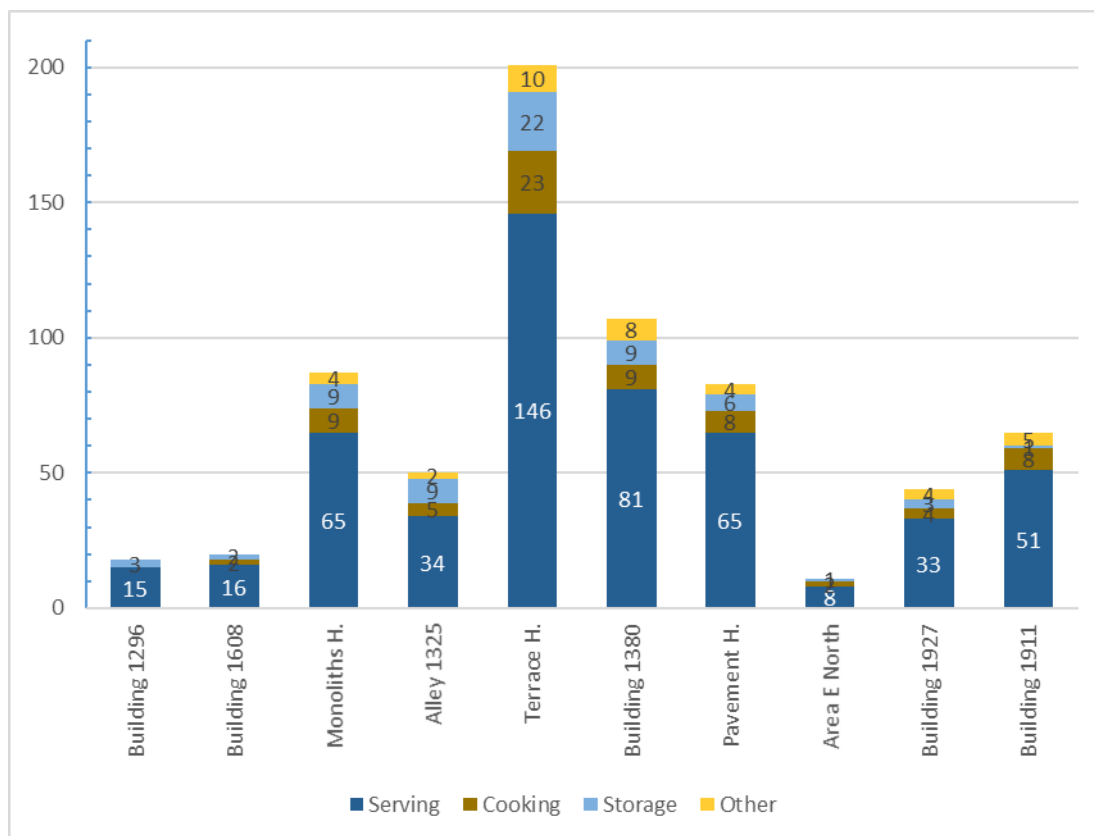


Fig. 6.12: Pottery vessels in the assemblages (floor levels and pits) in Area E, strata 11 and 12.

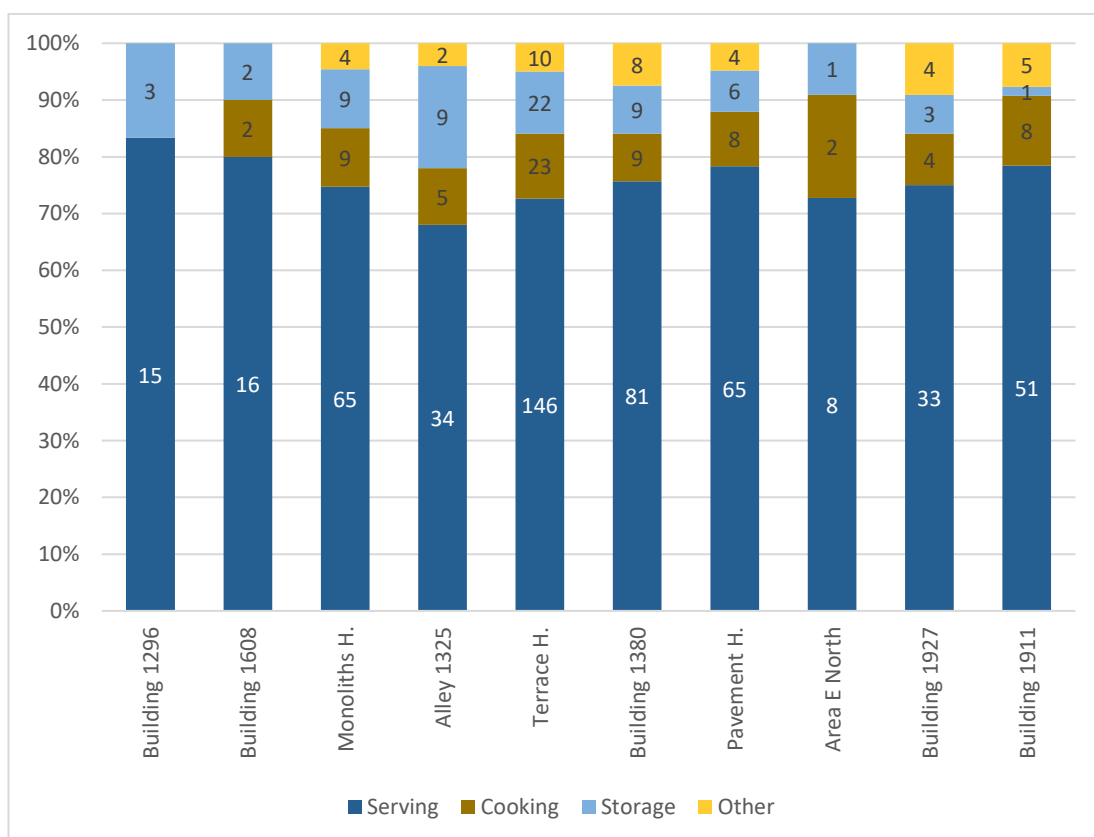


Fig. 6.13: Pottery vessels in the assemblages (floor levels and pits) in Area E, strata 11 and 12. The numbers express the percentages of different types within the assemblage of the given building.

6.3.3.5 Pavement Building

One of two structures in Area E North, covering an area of ca. 12.5 x 25m, the so-called Pavement Building was built over two levels, and adjoining city wall W219 to the east, and revetment wall W643 to the west. On the lower level, is room L1638. In the upper level, the building can be described in sections from south to north, divided by a series of almost parallel west-east walls: a row of two rooms (L1391, L1698), passage/room L1604, room L2015, cobbled room L2035, and a northern row of rooms (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 84-93, 157). Notable in the eastern room L1618 of the southern side of the building is installation L1667 (Stratum 12), consisting of a line of stone set in plaster, two of which were set on the narrower side, and interpreted by the excavators as *maṣṣebot*. The report considers the installation as a possible cultic corner (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 89 and Photo 96).

The report draws attention to the sixty-six figurines in L1604, the passageway between the southern rooms and L2015, with a possible connection to a cultic installation L1667 (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 170). It should be noted, however, that L1604, dated to Stratum 12, is described as a gravelly earth fill level, to a depth of two meters, below which is a further earth layer L1646, which a further seventeen figurine fragments (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 89). Considering the large numbers of fragments found in various fill layers across the site, there seems to be no pressing reason to link the figurines with this structure, particularly as such a volume of earth and gravel is likely to have been brought from elsewhere.

The figurines found on the floors in the various rooms of the building (Table 6.12) showed an interesting spatial distribution. Only animal fragments were recorded in the rooms south of passage L1604, which is particularly interesting considering the presence of cultic installation L1667. If the interpretation of the installation is accepted, and preferring the finds from within the rooms rather than a deep fill in an adjacent space (*contra* De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 170), the only link possible is with the animal figurines, as anthropomorphic figurines are absent (noted also by Darby 2014, 171). To the north of passage L1604, the repertoire of room L2015 includes animal figurines

along with a model couch fragment, and only in room L2035, the furthest north, were there any fragments of pillar figurines.

		Stratum 12	Stratum 11
Pavement House	Eastern rooms	L1638 (floor): 1 Animal leg	
	Southern Rooms	L1391 (floor) L1612 (pit): Horse head (E1/16224)	
		L1618 : 2 Horse heads; 1 Horse head + forequarters; 1 Animal body; 3 Animal legs	
	Passage L1604		
	Room L2015	L2015 (floor): 1 Animal head; 1 Animal body; 3 Animal legs; 1 Couch/Chair	L1679 : 7 Animal legs
	Room L2035	L2035 (floor): 1 Pillar base; 1 Horse-and-rider; 2 Horse heads; 1 Animal body; 4 Animal legs; 2 Fragments	L2009 (floor): 1 Pillar base; 1 Animal body; 1 Animal leg L2079 (floor): 1 Human female torso; 1 Animal body
	Northern Rooms		
Building 1927	West	L1914 : 1 Fragment L1953A (floor makeup): 1 Couch/Chair; 1 Fragment L1913 (floor): 1 Animal body L1591 (floor): 1 Human female torso; 1 Animal body L1902 (floor) : 3 Human head handmade; 1 Fragment	
		L1932 (floor): 1 Animal leg L1933 (floor): 1 Animal head	
		L1927 (floor): 1 Human pillar figurine + child; 2 Human heads, handmade; 3 Pillar bases; 3 Animal bodies, 5 Animal legs; 2 Fragment L1951 (tabun): 1 pillar fragment L1944 (floor): 1 Horse head; 1 Animal leg	
		L1935 (floor): 2 Pillar bases; 1 Horse head; 3 Animal bodies; 2 Animal legs; 1 Couch/Chair L1952 (floor makeup): 2 Animal leg; 3 Fragment	
	East		
Building 1911		L1901A : 1 Human head, moulded; 1 Pillar base; 1 Horse-and-rider; 1 Animal body; 1 Animal leg L1911 (floor): 1 Bird	

Table 6.12:Jerusalem, Area E North (Shiloh). Figurines of strata 12 and 11.

6.3.3.6 The Northern Complex (Buildings 1927 & 1911)

In the northernmost part of the area was a large complex, Building 1927, made up of small rooms with thin walls, bounded to the north by a broad wall W862, and to the east by the city wall. The building can be divided into three spaces, with the western and middle space divisible into a further two rooms each (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 94-98).

To the north of Building 1927, and W682, some additional walls and associated floors were discovered, apparently part of another structure (here called Building 1911), but potentially an extension of Building 1927. South of floor L1911, within a niche created by three walls (W862, W495 and W863) was a toilet seat, possibly over a cesspit, although it is unclear how the toilet seat was mounted (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 98-100)

Little remarkable can be said about the finds from these rooms, and nothing that suggests anything but domestic use. The figurine fragments from the Northern building (Table 6.12) are surprisingly abundant and varied.

6.3.3.7 An urban neighbourhood

Area E during the eighth and early seventh century BC consisted of a regular neighbourhood, built on a series of the terraces. The houses that have survived better in the archaeological record and so have been more fully excavated generally suggest a good standard of living: they are spacious and have multiple rooms. Some patterns of use may be surmised for the figurines from this area:

- Figurines have been found in most of the houses excavated (six of eighth buildings in Stratum 12, and all six buildings in Stratum 11) .
- The relative proportions of figurines within the wider assemblage, however, varies (there were 15 figurine fragments and 201 pots in the Terrace House, compared to 16 figurine fragments and 87 pots in the House of the Monoliths).
- Where evidence survives, most houses show that a wide variety of figurines were used within these houses.

- Anthropomorphic fragments have consistently been found with other figurine types. One exception is three human torso fragments in Alley L1325 (of which possibly one rider): the context does suggest, however, that it is more likely a context of discard rather than use.
- It is also clear that the horses and horses-and-riders predominate numerically over the anthropomorphic figurine types.
- In a few places, only horse or horse-and-rider figurines have been found, notably Buildings 1608 and 1296, and the southern rooms of the “Pavement House” where a cultic corner has been suggested by the excavators.
- Patterns in the data were explored using both hierarchical cluster analysis, as well as correspondence analysis (see section 5.3.2.3.2) but neither revealed any further meaningful patterns in the data.

	Human head moulded	Human head handmade	Human PF + child	Human female torso	Human torso no breasts	Pillar base	Total Human	Horse-and-rider	Horse head	Horse head + forequarters	Animal head	Animal body	Animal leg	Total animal	Bird	Couch/Chair	Fragment	Grand Total
Buildings 1296 and 1608								4	1			3	1	9				9
House of Monoliths						2	2	1	5		1	3	1	11	1		2	16
Alley 1325				2	1		3											3
Terrace House	1	1				2	4		4			3	3	10			1	15
Building 1380	1	1				4	6	2	3	1		10	5	21			1	28
Pavement House - South									3	1	1	2	14	21		1		22
Pavement House - North				1		2	3	1	2			3	5	11			2	16
Buildings 1927 and 1911	1	5	1	1		6	14	1	2		1	9	10	23	1	2	8	48

Table 6.13: The variation in figurines types found in strata 11 and 12 of Shiloh's area E.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 6.14:Jerusalem, Area E, Stratum 10. Architecture and figurines. Composite plan (De Groot & Bernick-Greenberg 2012, Plan 9, 45a, 45b).

6.3.4 Southeastern Hill: Shiloh's Area E (Stratum 10)

Stratum 10 indicates a clear break with the previous strata. In place of the more crowded quarter, the stratum was dominated by the remains of two principal buildings (the Ashlar House and Building 2011) and the scant remains of a third (Building 1355).

6.3.4.1 Ashlar House

Dominating the western part of the area, on the upper terrace, the Ashlar House was certainly a better quality build than the average construction: the walls are built of rough-hewn stones, with the exception of ashlar used in south-western corner. The building also changed the configuration of the area, with the foundations disregarding and cutting into earlier structures (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 165). The quality of the build has suggested to the excavators that it served as a public building (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012, 166a). Only one fragment of an animal figurine was found (E1/9683) on floor L1269, in one of the central spaces of the house.

		Stratum 10	Stratum 10? or later
Upper terrace (near Ashlar House)		1201(floor): 1 Horse-and-rider; 1 Animal leg, 1367(floor): 1 Human head handmade; 1 Human pillar figurine + child; 2 Animal legs	
Building 1355 and area of earlier Pavement House		L1606A (floor): 1 Human head, handmade L1355 (floor): 1 Human head, handmade L1632 (floor makeup): 1 Animal leg	L1396 (pit): 1 Animal body L1636 (pit): 1 Pillar base; 1 Horse head; 2 Animal bodies; 1 Animal leg; 1 Fragment L2040 (pit): 1 Animal body; 1 Fragment L2085 (pit): 1 Horse head; 1 Animal body; 1 Animal leg L2063 (pit) 1 Pillar base
Building 2011	West room	L1928 (floor): 1 Animal body L1598 (floor): 1 Animal leg	
	East room	L1949 (floor makeup): 1 Couch/Chair	

Table 6.14: Jerusalem, Area E (Shiloh). Figurines from Stratum 10.

6.3.4.2 South of Ashlar House

Most of the area south of the Ashlar House was levelled with fills datable stratigraphically to Stratum 10. In the western edge of the area, two floors were excavated associated with a cave in the rock ledge, and a tabun. Unfortunately, little more can be said with regard to these floors. A few horse-and-rider and pillar type figurine fragments were found in the area (Table 6.14).

6.3.4.3 Area of Pavement House

Remains in the area of the Pavement House of strata 12-11 are extremely fragmentary, with only two floors yielding scant remains, including figurine fragments (Table 6.14). A number of pits, in the area between the Ashlar House and Building 2011, were found with material datable to Stratum 10; their origin is unclear. The report suggests that they could be refuse pits in use during Stratum 10 or post-date Stratum 10 and represent the clearing of the debris at a later date, and could even be the result of erosion (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 83). The figurines are included here for completeness sake, as the finds from the floors are few; however, without clear understanding of the pits they come from, little more can be said about them.

6.3.4.4 Building 2011

In the northern part of the Area, two rooms of Building 2011 were excavated. The building, built with deep foundations, disregarded completely the structure of previous levels, as has already been noted for the Ashlar house (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012a, 79, 165). The floors of the building yielded scant pottery remains, and very few figurine fragments (Table 6.14).

6.3.4.5 Area E on the eve of destruction

In contrast with the rich repertoire of figurines for Strata 12 and 11, Strata 10 in Area E is remarkably poor. In part, this is clearly due to the decreased habitation in the area, and the paucity of remains in general. However, the near total absence of figurines cannot be completely attributed to chance of survival, particularly in the Ashlar House.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 6.15: Jerusalem, Shiloh excavation, Area B. Stratum 12 (Ariel and Lender 2000, 9)

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 6.16: Jerusalem, Shiloh, Area D1, Stratum 12. (After Ariel et al. 2000, Plan 15)

6.3.5 Southeastern Hill: Shiloh's Area B, D1 and D2

6.3.5.1 Area B: Building 130 (Stratum 12)

Shiloh's excavation in Area B aimed to link stratigraphically with Weill's excavation (Ariel and Lender 2000, 1). The excavation uncovered one building (Building 130) in Stratum 12 (Fig. 6.15). No figurines were found on the floors of the building, among the few remains. Two figurine fragments were found in L111A, probably a living surface (Ariel and Lender 2000, 11): a model couch/chair (B/420), an unidentified fragment (B/416), and two animal legs (B/436; B/439) in the fill immediately below.

6.3.5.2 Area D1 (Stratum 12)

Like Area B, the excavation in Area D1 attempted to connect stratigraphically with Weill's excavation (Ariel, Hirschfield and Savir 2000, 33). Little remained of the late Iron Age residential quarter in Area D1: only a few walls and some remains of floors, dated to Stratum 12, were found (Fig. 6.16). The scant remains do not allow for a complete reconstruction of the buildings, but are enough to indicate a modest residential quarter (Ariel, Hirschfield and Savir 2000, 58). The report considers this an extra-mural quarter (Ariel, Hirschfield and Savir 2000, 35), but this needs to be revised, since city-wall 501 has been discovered further down the slope (Reich and Shukron 2008).

L317 was a dump of loose brown earth lying directly on the irregular bedrock. Among the finds was plenty of pottery, including some intact pottery vessels: sixty bowls, twenty kraters, fifteen cooking pots, twenty storage jars and twenty jugs (Ariel, Hirschfield and Savir 2000, 35). Other finds included numerous figurine fragments (Table 6.15), and two sherds inscribed after firing (Shoham 2000, 18-19). No finds were documented in the area for strata 11 and 10. Darby (2014, 147) notes a paucity of anthropomorphic figurines, which she blames on the state of preservation of the area. The number and variety of figurines is not dissimilar to other areas of Jerusalem, especially if the phases are short-lived, as suggested by the excavators (Ariel, Hirschfield and Savir 2000, 59).

Locus	Square	Figurines (Stratum 12)
317 (pit)	E/F-5	1 Horse head; 4 Animal bodies; 2 Animal fragments; 6 Animal legs; 1 Bird head; 2 Fragments
376 (floor)	E-8	1 Horse head; 1 Animal leg
388 (floor)	C-7	1 Animal body
396 (floor?)	F-8	1 Animal body
453 (floor)	C-8	1 Human head, handmade
469 (floor)	B/C-7	1 Animal body; 1 Animal leg

Table 6.15: Jerusalem, Shiloh (Area D1). Figurines found in Stratum 12.

6.3.5.3 Area D2 (Stratum 12)

Located to the south of Area E, Area D2 included a six-metre segment of the city wall (W.802), continuing the city wall, in its upper terrace (Shiloh 1986, 9). Unfortunately, the stratigraphic report for Area D2 is still not published and only very sparse information about the different loci is available, dispersed through various reports (De Groot and Ariel 1992, 123; Ariel and De Groot 1996, 157, 271, 286, 301, 316). Darby (2014, 148-151) attempts to make some use of the information available but, in the absence of sufficient data, the exercise yields little real fruit. Eighty-two figurines are registered for the area, of which thirty-one can be assigned to known Stratum 12 floors (Table 6.16).

Locus	Figurines (Stratum 12)
1888 (Pavement)	1 Human? fragment; 4 Animal bodies; 1 Animal leg; 1 Fragment
2309 (Plastered floor on bedrock)	1 Animal vessel
2323 (floor)	4 Human head, handmade; 1 Human head, moulded; 1 Horse-and-rider; 2 Horse heads; 4 Animal bodies; 5 Animal leg; 1 Bird
2337 (earth floor)	1 Pillar base; 1 Fragment
2708 (floor)	1 Horse head; 1 Animal body
2767 (floor)	1 Animal body

Table 6.16: Figurines from known floor levels in Shiloh's Area D2

6.3.5.4 Figurines in area B, D1, D2

Few conclusions can be drawn for these three areas. However, they do not contradict what has already been discussed elsewhere, namely that: zoomorphic figurines are the predominant type of figurine, and seem to be used universally, whereas other anthropomorphic types may be of more restricted use.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 6.17: Mazar and Mazar excavations, Areas C and D. (after Mazar and Mazar 1989, Plan 7)

6.3.6 B. Mazar & E. Mazar

Excavations were undertaken by Benjamin and Eilat Mazar west and south of the Herodian platform of the Temple, and included an area on the eastern slope of the Western Hill. Figurines were found in four Iron Age loci.

6.3.6.1 Eastern Hill: The Ophel, Gate C and Building D

The major structures datable to the Iron Age were excavated in the course of the excavation in the Areas C and D. The remains in Area C are identified as a four-chambered gatehouse. The construction is compared to 10th century BC constructions, but dated on pottery in sub-floor levels to the 9th century BC at the earliest. The excavators held that it remained in use until the destruction of the city in 587/6 BC, with the pottery being, consequently, characteristic of the end of the Iron Age (Mazar and Mazar 1989, 59). The building in Area D is less defined, with the ground floor serving for storage purposes. Notwithstanding, E. Mazar is convinced of its royal character (Mazar and Mazar 1989, 60). The southern room of Gate C was excavated as L23041. Unfortunately, the floor of the room was not discerned during the excavation, but the many complete bowls and jugs appear to be from the floor level (Mazar and Mazar 1989, 14). Two figurine fragments were found in this locus (Table 6.17).

Building D was excavated immediately below Roman period remains. The area was also partly disturbed by massive reconstruction work, undertaken between the 1976-77 and the 1986-87 seasons, and subsequently dismantled (Mazar and Mazar 1989, 30). At the Iron Age levels, numerous sherds were found on the floor of the ground floor room, forming three large storage jars, and indicating that the space was dedicated to storage. The only figurine fragment was found in the sub-floor fill L86/72.

		Locus	Figurines
Ophel	Gate C	23041	1 Horse head; 1 Animal head spout, duck?
	Building D	86/72	1 Animal body
North Ophel		15013	3 Animal heads
Eastern slope		L6015	1 Human head handmade; 1 Human female torso; 1 Horse head; 8 Animal bodies

Table 6.17: Figurines from the excavations by Mazar and Mazar

6.3.6.2 Rock-cut chamber L6015 and Deposit L15103

During the excavation on the eastern slope of the western hill a number of rock-cuttings and installations were found, most of which had been subsequently disturbed or reused. The excavators interpreted the spaces as having originally served as tombs, even though no human bones were found.

In one of the chambers, L6015, a dump of a series of vessel was discovered, including forty bowls, five large bowls, one krater, eight cooking pots, ten jars, four decanters, six juglets, three lamps, three large storage jars and three holemouth jars (Mazar and Mazar 1989, 108-117). The finds register also includes three figurine fragments, a rattle, and a possible pottery stand (Mazar and Mazar 1989, 116-117). It is worth noting that the finds included four very short inscriptions: post-firing inscriptions on the shoulder of a storage jar (844/44), on a decanter (192/2) and inside a bowl (844/18), and a pre-firing inscription on a cooking pot (844/43). All four inscriptions are dated on epigraphic ground to the eighth and seventh centuries BC. They probably included only a proper name, and where the beginning survives, it uses the preposition *lamed* (Nadelman 1989b, 129-130).

One final locus can only be mentioned briefly: L15013 is described as a pit cut into bedrock, with a fill dated to the eighth century BC. Little can be said about its purpose, although it seems to be a refuse heap, since even the vessels that could be completely reconstructed are broken (Mazar and Mazar 1989, 56-57). Among the finds are not only three heads of animal figurines, but also a peculiar six-spouted lamp.

6.3.6.3 Figurine use and the Temple Mount excavations

The few figurines from the excavations by Benjamin and Eilat Mazar come from very distinct archaeological contexts. Two animal figurines come from what can be best interpreted as a gate and monumental structure. The other two loci can be best interpreted as dump deposits. As already noted for Caves I, II and III, these deposits do not represent a repertoire any different from what may be expected in a domestic context.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 6.18: Jerusalem, Jewish Quarter excavations. The figurines of strata 9-7. (Map after Geva 2003. Plan 2.1)

6.3.7 Western hill: Jewish Quarter excavations

Extensive excavations were undertaken in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem after the 1967 war as part of the project of rebuilding the entire quarter. Excavations of late Iron Age remains were rarely extensive, with the exception of area A where the Broad Wall (Wall W.555), a fortification wall, dated to the late eighth century BC (Stratum 8), was exposed for a stretch of sixty-five metres (Geva 2003, 45).

The main find of the area was this wall which settled, at least in part, the debate concerning the size of Jerusalem during the late Iron Age, as it showed that the city included the Western Hill in its fortifications during the late eighth century BC. Excavations beyond the Broad Wall were limited in extent, and moreover the Iron Age levels were badly preserved, including only some remains of walls at foundation level, and fragmentary floors. The reports comments that “not one locus produced an assemblage of complete Iron Age vessels” (Geva 2003, 61). The Broad Wall was built over Stratum 9 remains, which provided the *terminus post quem* for the construction of the wall (Geva 2003, 61), prompting the excavators to draw on their knowledge of the Bible, and the fortification efforts of King Hezekiah.

L369 includes two beaten earth floors over an earth fill (Geva 2003, 72). While the locus list separates between the three different subdivisions of the locus, the figurines list does not provide enough information to distinguish where the five figurine fragments came from (Table 6.17). L408, a series of two floors of beaten limestone, in a room within structure 363 (Geva 2003, 76). L360 (Stratum 9-7), a floor of crushed limestone to the north of structure 363 (Geva 2003, 78). L159 (Stratum 8-7), listed as a floor, is however described as “structural levels in the earth fill accumulated in the area” (Geva 2003, 65).

Stratum 7, floor L193, was constructed over the remains of the Broad Wall when this same wall went out of use (Geva 2003, 66). While only a few Iron Age sherds are reported, the locus yielded six figurine fragments.

Stratum	Locus	Figurines
9	L369 (two floor + earth fill)	1 Human female torso; 1 Animal head; 2 Animal bodies; 1 Animal leg
	L408 (floor)	1 Animal body
	L165 (rock cutting)	1 Animal leg
9-7	L360 (floor)	1 Animal head
8-7	L159 (floor)	1 Animal head; 1 Animal body
7a	W.4031	1 Animal leg
7	L193 (floor) & L160 (Floor =L193)	1 Animal head; 4 Animal bodies; 1 Fragment

Table 6.18: Figurines from Area A, Jewish Quarter excavations

The discovery of the Broad Wall dominates the area, and little can be said about other contexts, as excavations have been limited. However, the findings in the area compare well with those of areas already discussed:

- Animal figurines predominate as a figurine type, with some anthropomorphic figurines in selected contexts.
- Figurines remain in use through the period, even when the Broad Wall went out of use.

6.4 General conclusions

The site of Jerusalem presents particular complexity, due both to the topographic configuration, its continued habitations, as well as the complex history of excavation. Having considered the various areas of excavation that yielded pertinent late Iron Age remains, and having drawn already some preliminary conclusions, it is important to return to the research questions proposed for this project (section 1.2), and propose some more general conclusions.

What aspects of life of the ancient users are miniaturised in the figurines?

The figurines fall into a limited repertoire (see section 6.2):

- Animal figurines, mostly quadrupeds and probably as horses, some of which have riders.
- Anthropomorphic pillar figurines: where the torso survives, breasts are usually represented, indicating them as female.
- Bird figures.
- Couches, chairs and tables;
- Other rare items, such as cart/chariot wheels.

How is identity constructed in and through figurines?

- Gender is only partly constructed biologically through the representation of breasts, but never through genitalia, either male or female.
- If the horse riders are to be read as male, their gender identity is constructed only culturally.
- Social class and aspiration may be represented both in the horses (an elite animal) and in the representations of furniture.

Where were the figurines used and discarded?

- Most contexts where the figurines were found can be best described as domestic, and while not excluding other possible contexts of use, there is no need to postulate specifically cultic spaces on account of the figurines.
- Patterns of figurine discard indicate that they weren't treated differently to other waste.

Does spatial distribution suggest use of different types of figurines by different individuals within the community?

- Figurines have been found in various areas suggesting that they were used by everyone, without differentiation between elite and other groups.

- There is no clear demarcation in context of use and discard between the animal and anthropomorphic figurines.
- There is some indication that while equid/animal figurines were found everywhere, anthropomorphic figurines may have been more restricted in use, but still widespread.

Does spatial distribution suggest use in more public/private sphere of the community city, household?

- The abundance of serving vessels in contexts where the figurines were found may suggest a connection between figurines and food consumption.
- It is unclear, however, whether such contexts, and some deposits in particular (Caves I, II and III; L6015, L15103) can be considered as deliberate *favissae*, or represent more simply domestic refuse.

As can already be surmised from this chapter, a detailed contextual study of the figurines that takes into account the entire repertoire confirms the need to examine all figurine types together, rather than focusing just on female anthropomorphic figurines. The study also raises new questions that may be addressed, such as the link between the figurines and identity construction, and figurines and food consumption, issues that will be further addressed in the following case studies.

Chapter 7. Site case-study: Lachish

Tell ed-Duweir, identified as ancient Lachish, is a prominent mound in the Shephalah, the foothills between the coastal plain and the hill country of Judah. The location guarantees geopolitical importance controlling the fertile border areas of the Judahite domains, close to the Philistine city-states and the ancient coastal highway linking Egypt with Syria and Mesopotamia.

The Iron Age strata of the site have been extensively excavated, with a particular focus on the stratigraphy in Area S (Ussishkin 2004, 411-503). Stratum V, the earliest Judahite settlement, appears to have been unfortified. The site became a fortified compound in Stratum IV, built probably in the mid-ninth century BC (Ussishkin 2004, 79), with a massive fortification wall and city gate complex, as well as a central Palace-Fort compound (Podium A and B). This stratum was apparently destroyed by an earthquake, possibly the one that occurred at the time of King Uzziah, around 760 BC (Ussishkin 2004, 83). The rebuilt city of Stratum III was destroyed in Sennacherib's campaign of 701 BC, immortalised in the Lachish reliefs from Sennacherib's Palace (now in the British Museum), and which left a mark on the site, with a destruction level and an Assyrian siege ramp (Ussishkin 1984; 1990; 2004, 695-767). The date when Stratum II was built is also unclear, but Na'aman (1991, 33-41) suggests the third quarter of the seventh century. The rebuilt site only lasted a few decades and was devastated by Nebucadrezzar in 587/6 BC. These two destruction levels in particular have made Lachish a key site for the stratigraphy and pottery typology of eighth and seventh century Judah (Table 7.1).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 7.1: Plan of Lachish (after Ussishkin 2004)

Stratum	Period	Major Structures	Start	End
V	Iron Age IIa	Unfortified Judahite settlement		
IV		City wall, Gate complex, Palace-Fort (Podium A and B).	c. 850 BC	Destroyed in c. 760 BC (earthquake?)
III	Iron Age IIb	Restored city. Palace (Podium C), Assyrian siege ramp		Destroyed in 701 BC, by Sennacherib
post-III		L4021, some tombs		
II	Iron Age IIc	Stratum II Gate complex and city wall	c. 625 BC?	Destroyed 588/6 BC, by Nebuchadrezzar
I	Persian / Hellenistic	Stratum I City wall, Residency, "Solar Shrine"		Abandoned c. 150 BC

Table 7.1: The Stratigraphy of Lachish (adapted from Ussishkin 2004, 411)

7.1 History of excavation, and figurine studies

The site of Lachish has been the focus of a series of expeditions and is fortunate in the quality of excavation and publication.

7.1.1 The Wellcome-Marston Expedition (1932-38)

The Wellcome-Marston Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East, led by J.L. Starkey, conducted a major project in and around Lachish. The expedition followed the circuit of the defensive walls. It also uncovered an important series of Iron Age structures (Strata II-IV) including the Stratum II gateway complex, the palace substructure and courtyard, houses in Area GE, and cemeteries in Area 100-200 and Area 1000. The expedition also excavated important Stratum I structures on the tell itself, most notably the so-called Residency, and so-called Solar Shrine, as well as the Late Bronze Age (Stratum VI) series of Fosse Temples. Starkey was murdered in 1938 (Garfinkel 2016), and works were concluded rather hastily as the situation in Mandate Palestine deteriorated. Fortunately, the onus of publication fell on Olga Tuffnell who proved herself with a high standard publication with an attention to detail in the study of pottery that has generally withstood the test of time, and a report that remains a standard work of reference (Tuffnell 1953).

Tuffnell's report classifies and describes the figurines from the excavation but interpretation remains rather superficial, with the figurines considered "crude playthings or homely symbols of no intrinsic worth" (Tuffnell 1953, 374-378). She contrasts the figurines to larger cult images that are presumed to have existed but were totally destroyed, unfortunately it is an argument from silence. However, the accompanying plates included captions which provide a more detailed description of the individual figurines, along with their locus and field numbers (Tuffnell 1953, plates 27-33). The figurines are also listed in the individual description of the loci, making it possible to study the figurines in their individual contexts and as part of an assemblage.

7.1.2 Y. Aharoni (1966-68)

Aharoni excavated Lachish on a limited scale while he was also excavating at Tel Arad. He was drawn to the site by the “Solar shrine,” which had been identified as a shrine by Starkey primarily due to its orientation (Tufnell 1953, 141). The building’s tri-partite configuration suggested some similarity to the late Iron Age temple in the citadel at Arad (Aharoni 1975, 7). Aharoni hoped to uncover possible late Iron Age predecessors of the Stratum I building, but instead uncovered some remains of houses and streets datable to strata IV-II (Aharoni 1975, 12-18). He also contended that he found an Israelite sanctuary in Stratum V, complete with a large number of ritual vessels (Aharoni 1975, 26-32), an opinion strongly contested by Ussishkin (2004, 105-109).

Aharoni’s report includes fifteen Iron Age figurines among the photographs (1975, plates 12-14) and drawings (1975, plates 33-34). The figurines are also listed in the register of finds, but Aharoni offers very little description and no evaluation. His interest lay primarily in anthropomorphic figures or animal heads. Eight animal headless torso fragments remain unnumbered in the finds lists, and were neither photographed nor drawn. If any animal leg fragments were found, which seems likely, they were not recorded.

7.1.3 The Renewed Archaeological Excavation (1973-94)

A second major expedition led by David Ussishkin of Tel Aviv University returned to areas excavated by the British expedition (Ussishkin 2004). Key among the finds was the uncovering of an Assyrian siege ramp and counter-ramp (Area R), which had not been identified neither by Starkey (1934, 166; Ussishkin 2004, 697-699) nor Tufnell (1953, 90-91). The gateway area (Areas GW and GE) was studied further, revealing the arrangements of the gateway in strata IV and III. In Area S, along the enclosure wall, the renewed excavation cut a trench down to Stratum VI, and uncovered further evidence of dwellings and defences for strata IV, III, and II. Some excavation was also conducted in the Palace-Fort Area.

The figurines from the Ussishkin excavations was entrusted to Kletter (2004), who provides a detailed catalogue with comparative material, and includes the

stratigraphic and contextual data available to him. Kletter considers the figurines by stratigraphic affiliation (2004, 2076-78) and archaeological context (2004, 2078-2080). His contextual study, however, is very limited: it does not provide differentiation in the repertoire, to consider possible patterns, and simply lists figurine numbers by general area, leading to a very general conclusion that "... the figurines were found in domestic quarters, in funerary contexts and possibly in public locations" (2004, 2078). Kletter ignores any possible link between contiguous loci, considering such ties as vague. He hinted at the possibility of accurately plotting all the figurines found on the site, but dismissed the idea, as he believed it would little alter the general picture regarding their distribution. Instead, he gives a very general calculation of the number of figurine fragments, suggesting a rough estimate of one figurine per house at any given time (Kletter 2004, 2079).

7.1.4 The Fourth Expedition to Lachish (2014-present)

The last two years have seen a new expedition, led by Y. Garfinkel of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. No information about figurines from this excavation has been published.

7.1.5 Other figurine studies

Two further studies have looked at selected contexts. Willett (2001) suggests a number of finds in the houses along the main road inside the gate (Area GE) are connected to a female concern with protection. Albartz and Shmitt include Lachish in their wider survey of domestic cult assemblages from ancient Israel and Judah, and look into a limited number of domestic contexts (2012, 116-125), as well as tombs (2012, 448-449). The study presumes cultic significance for the figurines and even considers them among the better diagnostic elements for such cults, surveying once more the variety of possible uses and meanings (Albartz and Shmitt 2012, 62-70). Their study of the contexts is commendable for its awareness of the need to replace the figurines among the other finds, but remains largely descriptive.

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Fig. 7.2: Figurine types from Lachish. (1) Pillar figurine with handmade head (Tufnell 1953, Plate 27.3), (2) Pillar figurine with mould made head (Tufnell 1953, Plate 27.4), (3) Horse head (Kletter 2004, Fig. 28.36.13), (4) Animal head (Kletter 2004, Fig 28.36.10); (5) Animal vessel (Tufnell 1953, Plate 30.27), (6) Bird (Kletter 2004, Fig. 28.41.8), (7) Wheel (Kletter 2004, Fig. 28.21.4) (8) Couch model (Tufnell 1953, Plate 29.19).

7.2 The figurine repertoire

Lachish provides an interesting and varied repertoire of figurines, including anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations, model couches and model wheels.

This analysis is based on a total sample of 156 figurines (App. 7.1), of which 106 could be assigned to the late Iron Age (see also section 7.4.1.1). These include figurines published as part of the three site reports (Tufnell 1953, 374-378; Aharoni 1975, and Kletter 2004), supplemented by three models of wheels not included in the chapter on figurines (Ussishkin 2004, 2033-2034), eight unnumbered zoomorphic figurine fragments (Aharoni 1975, 106-110). Five figurines from Kletter's 2004 catalogue have been excluded for being either too badly preserved to identify or outside the parameters of the study period. The statistical study focused on the figurines datable to strata IV-II, excluding figurines with no or doubtful stratigraphic affiliation, bringing the usable sample down to 106 figurines and fragments for this part of the analysis.

7.2.1 Anthropomorphic figurines

There were twenty-three examples of anthropomorphic figurines or fragments (22% of study sample). These were primarily of the pillar figurines type, of which three with handmade head (Fig. 7.2.1), and six with moulded head (Fig. 7.2.2). Other examples are more fragmentary: six moulded and two handmade heads, and three pillar. Three of the figurines do not fit into the pillar figurine type: particularly interesting are the two peg shaped examples (see section 7.3.1.3). Out of sixteen anthropomorphic figurines where the torso survives, eight had breasts, and eight had no biological gender marker. None of the figurines in the study had genitalia, either male or female (see also further discussion in section 10.3).

7.2.2 Zoomorphic figurines

Seventy-five figurines (70% of the sample) belong to zoomorphic figurines.

Horses and quadruped predominate among the solid animal figurines. Some can be identified as horses: six examples of horse-and-rider (Fig. 7.7), two complete horse figurines, seven horse heads (Fig. 7.2.3). Others are less easily defined: four animal head (Fig. 7.2.4), fourteen animal body fragments, and nineteen animal legs, several of which are probably from horse figurines. Seven other fragments can be identified as birds (Fig. 7.2.6).

Fifteen fragments belong to animal vessels (Fig. 7.2.5), of which eight spouted in the shaped of animals, and seven bodies of animal vessels.

7.2.3 Other models

The sample also includes seven models of inanimate objects. These are limited to two types: couch or chairs (Fig. 7.2.8), of which there are five examples, and two examples of models of wheels (Fig. 7.2.7), probably of a chariot or cart.

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Fig. 7.3: Lachish, Area GW and GE, Strata IV and III. The outer and inner Gate complex, and the figurines found in these areas. Composite plan of the gate complex in Strata IV and III (Ussishkin 2004, Fig. 11.43), roadway in Stratum III (Ussishkin 2004, Fig 11.5), inner gate in Stratum III (Ussishkin 2004, Fig. 12.18) and roadway in area GE (Ussishkin 2004, Fig. 12.34; Tuffnell 1953, Pl 114). The numbers refer to App. 7.1.

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Fig. 7.4: Lachish, Area GE, Stratum IV and III. The Inner Gate and the buildings and the figurines from these two strata. Composite plan of inner gate in Stratum III (Ussishkin 2004, Fig. 12.18) and roadway in area GE (Ussishkin 2004, Fig. 12.34; Tuffnell 1953, Pl 114). The numbers refer to App. 7.1.

7.3 Contextual Study

As already done in the case of Jerusalem (section 6.3), this study will focus on the find spots of the figurines. This study first considers the Gate Area and the adjacent roads in Stratum IV-III (section 7.3.1), post-Stratum III (section 7.3.2) and Stratum II (section 7.3.3). The study will then move to Area S (section 7.3.4), the “Solar Shrine” area (section 7.3.5), and the Assyrian siege ramp and counter-ramp (section 7.3.6), before considering the figurines from the tomb areas around the tell (section 7.3.7).

7.3.1 Area G (Stratum IV-III)

The first area in this study includes the roadway leading up to the Outer Gate and courtyard (Area GW), and the six chambered inner gate (part of GE). Built in Stratum IV, the gateway was a key defensive position for the city of Lachish with its impressive Palace-Fort complex, and probably served as the place for public meetings, and judicial debate. The area also includes some buildings along the roadway leading eastward from the gate towards the palace courtyard, as well as some buildings excavated to the north of the gate.

7.3.1.1 Outer and inner gates (Stratum IV-III)

The gate complex consisted of two gates (Fig. 7.3), at right angles to each other, with an intervening large courtyard. The Outer Gate was built in Stratum IV but was structurally changed in Stratum III (Ussishkin 2004, 508). Immediately outside the gate was Structure 4948, nearly square in shape (ca. 4.5 x 4m), which was possibly the stone base of a cultic installation known from the gate areas of other sites such as Tel Dan (Biran 1994, 245) and Bethsaida (Arav 2009, 40-50). Immediately inside the gate was water installation 4328 (Ussishkin 2004, 514).

The inner gate was built in Stratum IV and rebuilt in Stratum III on the same foundations. It consisted of six chambers, three on either side, and two towers, set apart, creating a forecourt to the entrance (Ussishkin 2004, 633). Only the northern half of the Inner Gatehouse was excavated, deliberately leaving the

other half for future excavations (Ussishkin 2004, 624). In the inner chamber (A3 in Fig. 7.4), an installation was found, as well as a large pithos of a type rare at Lachish, but known in other sites such as Kuntillet 'Ajrud (Ussishkin 2004, 640-641). Several royal storage jars were excavated in the central chamber (A2) (Ussishkin 2004, 641). Asymmetrical bowls were found in the chambers and passageway, apparently at the very last phase of use, when the city gate was already blocked (Ussishkin 2004, 641). There has been considerable discussion of the use of the various chambers, prior to their final use during the Assyrian siege. Cantrell (2011) has suggested that the chambers served to prepare the horses, but Kletter (2013) is right in suggesting the space would be far too cramped, and such manoeuvres would have blocked such a strategic position.

The stratified figurines from the gate complex (Fig. 7.3, Fig. 7.4; Table 7.2) are few: five within the outer gate courtyard, three in the inner gate complex, one along the roadway, and one in drains outside the walls. Only one of the ten fragments is potentially anthropomorphic: a badly preserved pillar base, from installation L.4328, with finds apparently coming from a deliberate fill, rather than from its use (Ussishkin 2004, 608).

A further three horse figurine bodies, found along the roadway leading to the gate, were surface and top-soil finds, and have been excluded from the count.

			Stratum IV	Stratum III	Post-III	Stratum II
Roadway		GW	L.4421: Horse head (9), Animal leg (8)	L.4928 (III debris, floor): Animal leg (12)		
Courtyard		GW	L.4335: Horse body (6)	L.4328 (installation): Pillar base (5) L.4441: Animal leg (12)		L.4237 (Fill of II / Stratum II): Horse body (3); Bird (2)
Inner Gate:	Western Chamber	GE		L.4035: Animal head, dog? (19)	L.4021: Horse and rider (17)	
	Central chamber	GE		L.4034 (floor): Animal leg (18)		
	Eastern chamber	GE				
Revetment wall, North of courtyard		GW	L.4247: Horse head (4)			

Table 7.2: Lachish, Area GW/GE. Figurines in the gate complex and outer roadway. Numbers in brackets refer to App. 7.1

7.3.1.2 Houses north of inner gate (Stratum IV-III)

Only limited probes were excavated into Stratum IV in Area GE, which did not allow for any reconstruction of plans and use of the buildings (Ussishkin 2004, 636-637). Only one spout of a zoomorphic vessel, probably representing a bovine, is recorded from this area.

The excavation was slightly more extensive for Stratum III, allowing us to better understand the plan and use of the rooms. The series of rooms (B1-B7) seems not to have formed a single house (Ussishkin 2004, 644). Rooms B1-B2-B3 form one unit: a long room (B3), opening onto a courtyard (B2) which served as a kitchen, with two tabuns. A narrow partition wall divided the courtyard from B3, which served as a garbage dump (Ussishkin 2004, 644-645). It is indicative that one of the figurine fragments was found in this area, among the domestic refuse.

Locus 4066 (B4) is the central unit of a house, possibly a courtyard. The space had a number of storage vessels, and several holemouth jars. A group of clay loomweights suggest that a loom was used in this space (Ussishkin 2004, 646). Room (B5) undoubtedly served as a store, at least in its last phase, with as many as forty-six storage jars, of which three with royal stamp seals, restored from this

room (Ussishkin 2004, 644; see also Zimhoni in Ussishkin 2004, 1790-1791). Rooms B6 and B7 were only partly excavated, and were probably only added during the siege of Lachish, certainly towards the end of Stratum III. Among the finds of Locus 4083 (B6) were a group of agricultural tools: five ploughshares, a sickle and an ox-goad (Ussishkin 2004, 646).

7.3.1.3 Houses in street, Area GE (Stratum III)

In Area GE, the Inner Gate opens onto a street leading towards the Palace-Fort (Fig. 7.4, Table 7.3). Unfortunately, the houses in the area were only partially excavated, limiting our knowledge to the front parts of the houses, and providing no complete plans (Tufnell 1953, 103). The rooms were re-cleared by the renewed expedition, as part of the plan to turn Lachish into a National Park, yielding a few more finds, including fragments of figurines (Ussishkin 2004, 648). In contrast to Tufnell (1953, 103), who interpreted the road as made of domestic units and 'shops', Ussishkin (2004, 648) considers the street as entirely domestic.

The first complex within the gate, to the north of the road (House C in Fig. 7.4, was re-interpreted by the renewed expedition as a complex of rooms surrounding a central courtyard (C3), rather than a side-street (Ussishkin 2004, 648). The house continued to the north but was unexcavated. A number of stamped handles, both *lmlk* and private, were discovered in this house (Tufnell 1953, 340). These stamped handles form part of a royal administrative system (Lipschits, Sergi and Koch 2010, 27-28; Na'aman 2016), and are common throughout stratum III (Tufnell 1953, 342). The frontage of a second house (House D) did not survive. A number of figurines were found inside as well as an inscription on the rim of a storage jar, made before firing, which reads *bt lmlk* (= "royal bath", liquid measure); this was found in the burnt debris (Tufnell 1953, 122, 356-357).

Very little is known of the next house (House E), of which very little survived. A key find, on floor 1046, was a group of around fifty iron arrowheads, melted into one pile (Tufnell 1953, 115). Separated from House E, by the street (1044), House F consisted of a group of rooms, which survived only partially. Tufnell dated the complex to Stratum III-II, tending however towards the later date (Tufnell 1953,

115). Ussishkin (2004, 662) dated the complex to Stratum III. The fragments of figurines come only from the renewed excavations and cannot be placed more closely within the rooms of the building. It is important to note that the handmade head discovered here has been defined by Kletter as that of a rider, on account of its size (Kletter 2004, 2059). In such a case, it could well complement the zoomorphic fragment, and be part of a horse-and-rider figurine.

On the southern side of the roadway, is a group of rooms (Block H) whose plans cannot be made out in detail. One room (H3) yielded the very particular ‘peg’ figurines (App. 7.1, no. 27, 28). In the back row of rooms, H4 and H5 yielded a total of sixty-six loomweights suggesting strongly the presence of a loom in the area (Tufnell 1953, 123; Ussishkin 2004, 661).

	Building	Room	Stratum IV	Stratum III	Stratum II
North of the Inner Gate			L.4617: Bovine? head spout (32)		
		B1		L.4037: Human head, handmade (30)	
		B7		L.4595: Horse body (36)	
	House 4150				L.4150: Human head, moulded (31)
East of the Inner Gate	House D	D1		L.2017 = H.17:1088: Animal leg (22)	
		D5		L.2059 = H.17: 1078: Human head, moulded (34)	
		D6		L.2018 = H.17:1096: Bird (23)	
	House F	F		L.2053: Human head, handmade (26) – rider?; Animal body (24); Horse head spout (25)	
	Block H	H3		L.2066 = H.18:1080: 2 Human peg figurines (27, 28)	
	Street			L.2016: Animal leg (20); Bird (21) L.2083: Animal leg (29) H.17: 1087: Human head moulded (35)	

Table 7.3: Figurines from the houses north and east of the Inner Gate. Numbers in brackets refer to App. 7.1.

The distribution of figurines (Fig. 7.4) provides an interesting contrast with the Gateway Complex and Area S. The prevalence swings towards the anthropomorphic figurines: two moulded and two handmade heads, and two peg figurines. In contrast with the pillar figurines, which are free-standing, the peg figurines (Fig. 7.5) – found together in locus 2066 – seem intended to be handled rather than placed, and are therefore different in their performative potential. Five fragments (two torso fragments and three legs) of probable equid figurines were found, as well as two bird figurines.

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Fig. 7.5: Peg type figurines from Locus 2066. The shape clearly suggests that the figurines were not meant to be free-standing, but were meant either to be handled, or inserted into some form of base (or earth/sand). (App. 7.1, no. 27-28; Photos: Josef Mario Briffa; IAA storerooms, Beth Shemesh, IAA 2002-149, IAA 2002-150)

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Fig. 7.6: Lachish, Area GW and GE. The gateway complex as reconfigured in Stratum II. The figurines also include one (App. 7.1, no. 17) for the intermediate stratum post-III. Composite plan of the gateway in Stratum II (Ussishkin 2004, Fig. 11.82) and area GE in Stratum II (Ussishkin 2004, Fig. 21.21). The numbers refer to App. 7.1.

7.3.2 Area G (post-Stratum III)

The Assyrian siege of 701 BC brought the wholesale destruction of Stratum III across the entire site. A limited phase between strata III and II has been identified. A single habitation unit was found within the ruined inner gatehouse of Stratum III, but stratigraphically earlier than the Stratum II wall (Fig. 7.6). The pottery is described as typologically closer to Stratum III (Ussishkin 2004, 652, 670). An almost complete horse and rider figurine (Fig. 7.7; App. 7.1, no. 17) was found in this locus.

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Fig. 7.7: Horse and rider figurine from a building within the ruins of the inner gateway (post-stratum III). (App. 7.1, no. 17; Photo: Josef Mario Briffa; IAA Beth Shemesh, IAA 1982-457)

7.3.3 Area G (Stratum II)

7.3.3.1 Gate

The destruction wrought by the siege of 701 BC, meant that the new city gate complex had to not only be rebuilt but also take into account the changes in topography due to the significant amount of destruction debris, and the Assyrian siege ramp (Fig. 7.6). The new Outer Gate is c. 2.5m higher than in Stratum III (Ussishkin 2004, 519). The inner gatehouse has a simple gate, flanked by two towers, in contrast to the six-chambered gate of Stratum IV-III. There were rooms in the thick walls on all sides of the courtyard, except east (Ussishkin 2004, 521). In the eastern tower of the outer gate, was the so-called 'guardroom' where the

Lachish ostraca were found (Torczyner 1938, 11; Tufnell 1953, 129). In Stratum II, with the Palace-Fort destroyed and never rebuilt, the smaller gate complex appears to have also served as headquarters for the fort commander or governor (Ussishkin 2004, 91, 522).

The three figurines from the Stratum II courtyard come from earlier phases of the level, and fills above Stratum III forming the new surface (Ussishkin 2004, 600, 602), and represent residual material in the area from Stratum III. Figurines are lacking for the later phases of the Stratum II gateway (Table 7.2).

7.3.3.2 House north of the gate

Just inside the city gate, to the north, part of a building was excavated. Installation 4633, in the courtyard, is not plastered and may have served as a dump. Rooms 4084 and 4086 served as stores, connected by the excavators to the “importation, storage and distribution of wine.” More than forty storage jars, and a number of decanters, were found in the room. Two of the decanters, and possibly one of the storage jars, bore inscriptions related to the wine industry (Ussishkin 2004, 654).

Only one figurine fragment was found in the building, a mould made head of an anthropomorphic figure (Fig. 7.8, App. 7.1, no. 31). The head is distinctly different in type to the more typical Judahite types known in Lachish, and has been interpreted as a possible male figurine by Kletter (2004, 2058).

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Fig. 7.8: Mould made anthropomorphic head from locus 4150 in Area GE (Stratum II). (Kletter 2004, 2069, fig. 28.36 no. 2)

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Fig. 7.9: Lachish, Area S (Ussishkin), Stratum IV. Architecture (Room designation mine) and figurines. Composite plan based on plans of Stratum IVb (Ussishkin 2004, 441, Fig. 9.25), and of eastern part of Area S in Strata IV-III (Ussishkin 2004, 427, Fig. 9.11). The numbers refer to App. 7.1.

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Fig. 7.10: Lachish, Area S, Stratum III. Composite plan based on plans of Stratum III (Ussishkin 2004, 448, Fig. 9.32), and of eastern part of Area S in Strata IV-III (Ussishkin 2004, 427, Fig. 9.11). The numbers refer to App. 7.1.

7.3.4 Area S (Stratum IV-III)

Area S (Fig. 7.9, Fig. 7.10) was excavated at the juncture of the main City Wall and the Enclosure Wall connecting it to the Palace-Fort, and at the point where the wall was reinforced with a massive tower (Ussishkin 2004, 418). The excavation uncovered houses on three levels.

7.3.4.1 Main building (= Lower House)

On the lower level, closest to city wall, was the better preserved of the three houses (Rooms A-L), designated the 'Main building' in Stratum IV (Ussishkin 2004, 440), or the 'Lower house' in Stratum III (Ussishkin 2004, 454). The house had two wings, for which three strata could be separated: an initial construction in Stratum IVb, which remained in use, with some minor changes in Stratum IVa. Although with some caution, as the floor levels of Stratum III and IVa were close in elevation, "at times resulting in difficulties in separating the find from the two levels" (Ussishkin 2004, 452), the finds and potential use of the rooms will be discussed by Stratum, starting with Stratum IVa and IVb.

In the Western wing, the finds suggest that Courtyard A and Room B were used particularly for the production and consumption of food. Several bowls were found in A and B, representing a considerable portion of the repertoire of the rooms, which also had a large amount of animal bones (Fig. 7.11, Fig. 7.12). A *tabun* was found in Courtyard A, and millstone fragments in Room B, further indications of a link to food preparation and consumption, with some sign of storage too. Unfortunately, little can be said of rooms C, D, and E for Stratum IV, as very few finds come from these rooms.

In the Eastern Wing, a high number of bowls and animal bones in Courtyard G, and Rooms H, K, as well as the 'stove' in Courtyard G (Ussishkin 2004, 486), indicates a use related to the preparation and consumption of food in Stratum IV. In Stratum IVb, a further *tabun* is found in 'Room' J, with a considerable amount of animal bones.

Among the finds of Stratum IV, Room B provides one piece of armour scale, five slingstones, and three iron arrowheads (which in the case of Stratum IV are

unrelated to the siege). The buildings in Stratum IVa were destroyed, possibly through an earthquake, along with Palace B and the Enclosure Wall (Ussishkin 2004, 447). It was rebuilt in Stratum III, following very similar lines to Stratum IVa, understood as a sign of continuity in habitation, according to the excavators (Ussishkin 2004, 440-447). Stratum III was destroyed in a severe conflagration (Ussishkin 2004, 453), most likely as part of the siege of Lachish by Sennacherib in 701 BC. This also impacts on the finds in the various rooms, as whereas debris of Stratum IVa appears to have been largely cleared away (Ussishkin 2004, 447), the destruction of Stratum III provides a rich crop of finds, which was never cleared out.

It is possible to argue for continuity of use at least for some spaces: Courtyard A has two *tabuns*, while a *tabun* and an ashy layer was found in 'Room' I, that now appears to have become a courtyard (Ussishkin 2004, 471), and both will have been used for food preparation. The number of bowls falls sharply, as does the number of animal bones (Fig. 7.11, Fig. 7.12). Rooms E and K, as well as Courtyard G, appears also to have served for storage, which may reflect the higher priority for storage dictated by the siege situation. In what may reflect continuity of use for Room B, a further sling stone, piece of armour and arrowhead was found in Stratum III.

Some other finds deserve particular mention. Room E (Locus 3573) is particularly interesting with twenty-nine worked astragali, apparently kept together in a large bowl, and a pillar shaped stone, possibly an altar (Ussishkin 2004, 479). A further nineteen worked astragali were found in Room B (Locus 3569; Ussishkin 2004, 477). If the Western wing served some sort of military function, the astragali could fit well as game pieces for a garrison, or even in casting lots for military services (Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 121 already consider gaming and casting of lots as a possible interpretation).

The two wings of the Lower House (Table 7.4) yielded eight probable equid figurine fragments, one bird, and two identical model wheels (not in Kletter 2004, but in Ussishkin 2004, 2033-34), found in contiguous loci, which seem to be from the same object (Ussishkin 2004, 471). The absence of anthropomorphic figurines in the Lower House is striking (see section 7.4.1.2), particularly when

contrasted with the other houses, both in Area G (sections 7.3.1, and 7.3.3) and the “Shrine” (section 7.3.5).

			Stratum IVb	Stratum IVa	Stratum III
Main building / Lower House	West wing	A			3533: Animal body (39)
		B	3642: Animal leg (49)	3606: Bird (46); Horse body (47)	
		E			3573: Animal leg (43)
	East wing	G		3618: Animal body (48)	3561: Wheel (41)
		H			3543: Wheel (40)
		K			3582: 2 Animal legs (44, 45)
Middle House / Eastern building		M		3525: Animal leg (38)	
		N		G.14:1009: Animal vessel (53)	
Upper House		S		G.14:1008 : Human head moulded (54)	

Table 7.4: Lachish, Area S. Figurines divided by building, room and stratum. Numbers in brackets refer to App. 7.1.

7.3.4.2 Eastern building (= Middle House)

On the middle level, much less well preserved are the remains of the building (Rooms M and N) named the ‘Eastern building’ in Stratum IV (Ussishkin 2004, 445), and the ‘Middle house’ in Stratum III (Ussishkin 2004, 454). The building appears to have been built along with the Main Building in Stratum IVb, but only one single occupation phase could be identified and assigned to Stratum IVa.

For the later Stratum III, the building was poorly preserved, through erosion and damage by later graves (Ussishkin 2004, 454). This factor may be skewing the figures for part of the area. The renewed excavation showed that Tuffnell’s (1953, 109) definition of G.14:1009 as a pit deposit is incorrect: the locus should be understood as a room, probably used for storage, considering the large amount of storage jars (Ussishkin 2004, 454).

The Middle House yielded one zoomorphic vessel and one animal leg (Table 7.4; App. 7.1 no. 53 and no. 38).

7.3.4.3 Upper House

Excavated mostly by the British expedition, the Upper Building was a large building, some 10m x 12m (Rooms O-S), sharing a wall with Building H.14:1002 to the East, and probably another (subsequently lost to erosion, and robbing) with the Middle House to the West. The building has been interpreted as a four-room house, with its courtyard in the western half of G.14:1008 with its stone installation (Ussishkin 2004, 454). The space has been interpreted as a kitchen on the basis of a tabun, as well as the utilitarian pottery found in it (Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 122).

Only one, anthropomorphic, fragment was found in the Upper House. Erosion may have played a factor in the lack of finds, as Stratum III was closer to the surface here (in comparison, the Lower House, was over 1.1m deeper, with the City Wall and Enclosure Wall protecting the deposits there from erosion.).

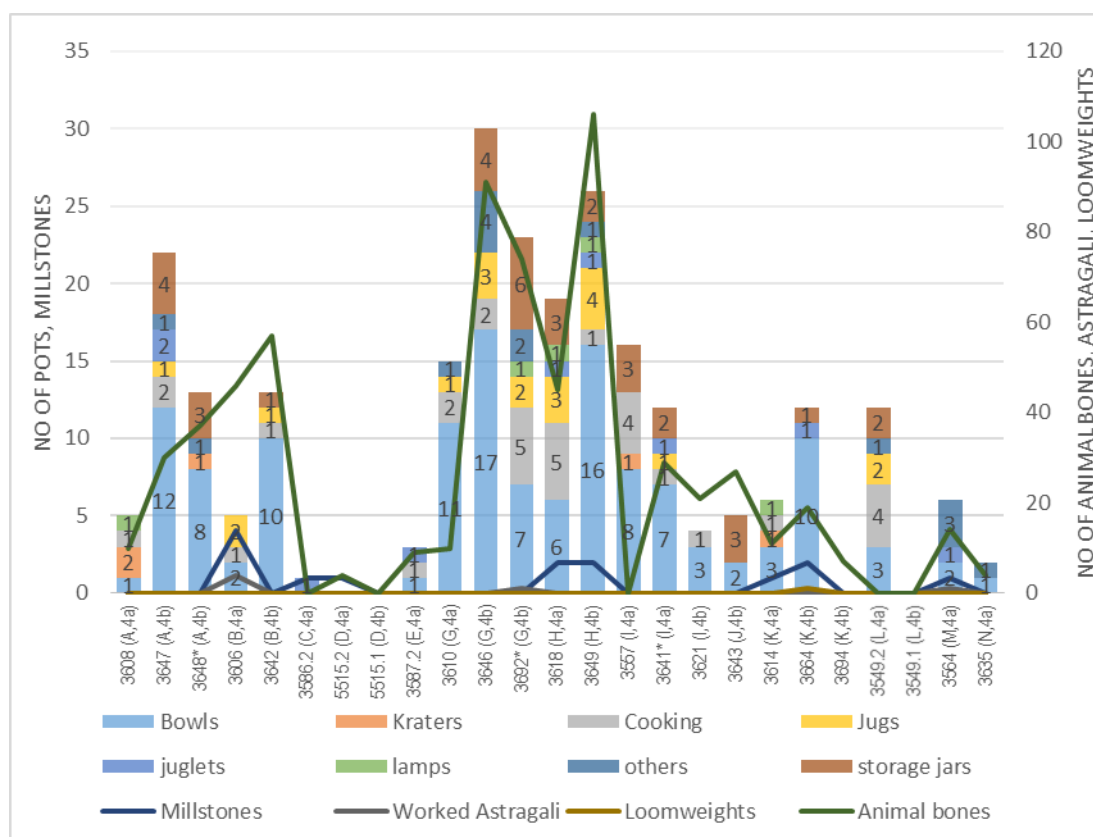


Fig. 7.11: Lachish, Area S, Stratum IV. Pottery types by locus, indicating numbers recorded, and some key items.

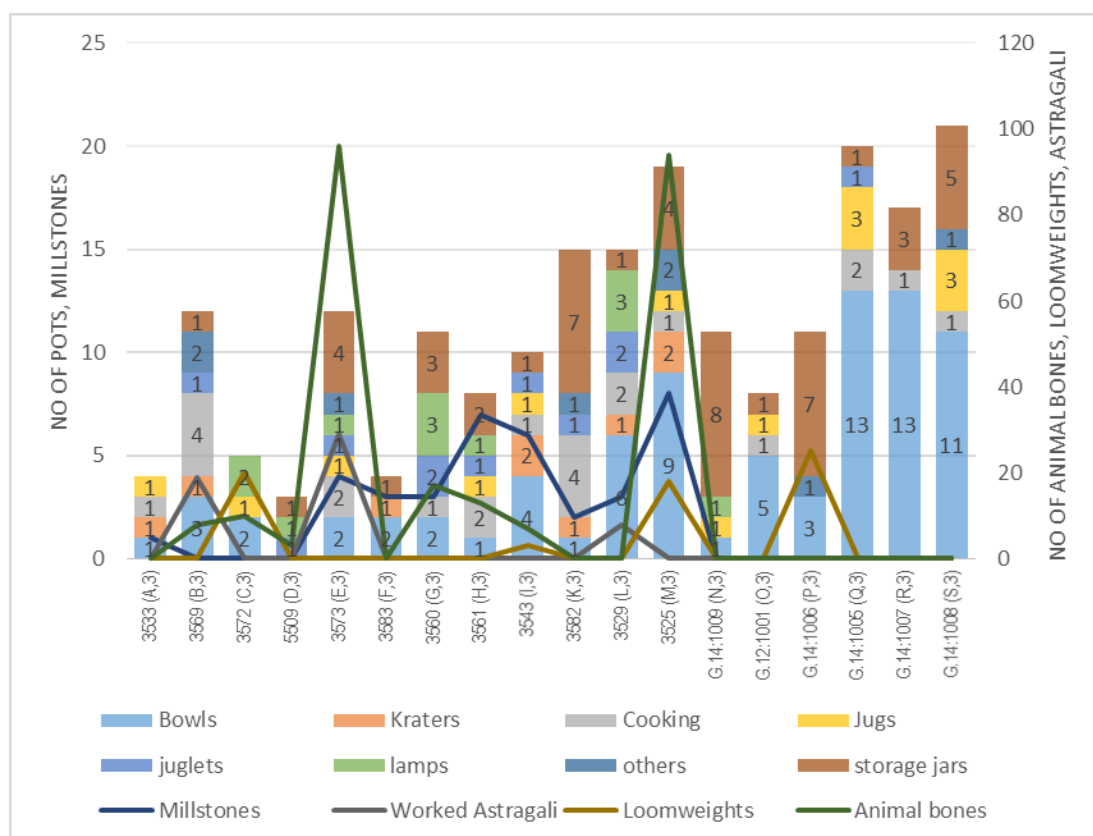


Fig. 7.12: Lachish, Area S, Stratum III. Distribution of pottery types, and key items.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 7.13 Lachish, "Shrine" Area, Stratum IV. (Base plan from Aharoni 1975, Plan 59). The numbers refer to App. 7.1.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 7.14: Lachish, "Shrine" Area, Stratum III. (Base plan from Aharoni 1975, Plan 58). The numbers refer to App. 7.1.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 7.15: Lachish, "Shrine" Area, Stratum II. (Base plan from Aharoni 1975, Plan 57)

7.3.5 "Solar Shrine" area

Aharoni's excavations below the Stratum I "Solar Shrine", uncovered a series of structures, probably of a domestic nature, which he dates to strata VI-II (Aharoni 1975, 12-18). Among the finds were several figurine fragments found over the various strata (Table 7.5, Fig. 7.13, Fig. 7.14, Fig. 7.15).

The excavation method using small trenches between the foundations of the Stratum I shrine did not help for a clear understanding of the buildings and surrounding streets. A serious difficulty also appears to be the reliability of his

stratigraphic affiliations, beyond a general assignment to the Iron Age (Stratum V-II). A key example is demonstrated by Ussishkin (2004, 105-109) who argues that Aharoni's Stratum V 'sanctuary' – a centre piece of Aharoni's report – is, in fact, a combination of walls from different stratigraphic phases, and the cultic material assigned to it is apparently deposited in a later pit, and probably datable to Stratum IV.

	Stratum IV	Stratum III	Stratum II
Street (east of Terrace Wall)		99 (street): 2 Animal bodies (72, 73) 116 (street): Animal body (75) 135 (pit): Human head moulded (77); Horse head (76)	
Room 113 (III)		113 (Room): Horse complete (74)	
		83: Animal body (71)	80: Horse head spout (70)
		63: Animal body (67); Horse head spout (68); Rider (69);	61a: Pillar base (78)
Industrial plant	41 (room): Human head moulded (64); Horse head (63);	14 (III fill): Human? Fragment (60),	20 (pit): Horse head (61) 24 (room): Pillar base (62);
Street	47 (street): Animal head (65); Horse body (66)	13 (street): Figurine? (59)	

Table 7.5: Lachish, "Shrine" Area. Figurines of strata IV, III and II.

During Stratum IV, the western end of the area is marked by a massive terrace wall, flanked by a wide sloping street, which remained in use (although narrowed down) in Strata III and II (Aharoni 1975. 12-13). Few remains of wall were uncovered for the stratum, but it enough to identify Room 41, and street 47. Room 41 may have served some industrial function, considering the finds which included clay bellows, a clay tuyère, two stone hammers, three iron arrowheads, an iron riveted clamp, an iron awl, and a boss or mount of copper-base metal (Aharoni 1975, 107). Two figurine fragments were found in this room, a mould-made human (App. 7.1, no. 64) and a horse head (App. 7.1, no. 63). Two other fragments were found in the street adjacent: an animal head (App. 7.1, no. 65);

and a horse body (App. 7.1, no. 66). The only other finds recorded in the street are one bowl and one storage jar (Aharoni 1975, 107).

Stratum III was destroyed by fire (Aharoni 1975, 13). In this stratum, loci 23 and 27 form an industrial plant with a large kiln and the bases for some containers. The only find from this area was a fragmentary figurine (App. 7.1, no. 60) from fill locus 14. Several figurines came from the stratum III street: two animal bodies (App. 7.1, no. 72, 73) in locus 99, and a further animal body in locus 116 (App. 7.1, no. 75), and a moulded human head moulded (App. 7.1, no. 77) and a horse head (App. 7.1, no. 76) in pit 135. All three loci were otherwise poor in finds although pit 135 yielded five possible game-pieces in limestone (Aharoni 1975, 110). Another street (locus 13) yielded a further undefined figurine fragment (App. 7.1, no. 59). One complete horse figurine (App. 7.1, no. 74) was found in Room 113. Little is known about this locus, which is poorly defined, except that the finds included a bowl and two storage jars. Loci 63 and 83 are not described at all in the report, and it is unclear what their function may have been. Locus 63 was particularly rich in finds: three figurine fragments including a rider (App. 7.1, no. 69), animal body (App. 7.1, no. 67) and a horse head spout (App. 7.1, no. 68), as well as a jar handle with potter's mark, three stamped jar handles (two royal stamps, and a private one), ten perforated clay balls, a clay jar stopper, a bone whistle, five stone hammers, two grinding stones, a stone socket, a stone pestle, a limestone miniature ball, a stone spindle whorl, an iron arrowhead, and iron sickle, and fragments of an olive tree.

During Stratum II, the plan of area follows largely that of the previous stratum (Aharoni 1975, 13). At the northern end, a pillar figurine base (App. 7.1, no. 62) was found in Room 24, that seems to have served as a store. Other finds included three bowls, one cooking pot, eleven storage jars, two decanters, a dipper juglet, a lamp, a pot-stand, two jar handles with rosette seals, three perforated clay balls, one bone object, four grinding stone, and a stone hammer (Aharoni 1975, 107). One horse head fragment (App. 7.1, no. 61) was found in an adjacent space in pit 20, along with a bowl, three storage jars, two decanters, a dipper juglet, a bone handle, and two stone mortars (Aharoni 1975, 106). Loci 80 and 61a cannot unfortunately be better defined, except for the variety finds (see App. 7.3).

7.3.6 The siege ramp (Area R)

A total of eleven figurines were found in the Assyrian siege ramp and counter ramp (Area R), consisting of one horse-and-rider fragment, eight figurine fragments of horses, two other animal heads, and one bird fragment (App. 7.1, no. 81-92). These quantities are similar to the ones seen in the Gateway area (see section 7.4.1.2).

Even though these figurines further underline the prevalence of equid figurines in the repertoire, it is hard to attach any further significance to such counts. The area consists of fill layers for the construction of the Assyrian siege ramp of 701 BC and Judahite counter ramp, and the figurines, therefore come from fill levels and were, therefore, in all likelihood brought in with the rest of the debris during the siege.

7.3.7 Tombs

Tufnell dedicated a section of her report to the cemeteries (1953, 171-254), where she published eighteen chamber tombs and thirty-three graves dated to the late Iron Age (see full table in App. 7.4).

The graves were mostly found in Area 100-200 (twelve graves), with three in Area 500, one in Area 1000, and two in Area 4000. Most were dated by Tufnell to strata IV-III. The graves generally had evidence of one burial, with two inhumations found in Grave 160 (Tufnell 1953, 173, 198), representing a total of thirty-four burials. The number of late Iron Age vessels in the graves was variable: twenty graves had between one and five vessels, four graves had between six to ten vessels, and one grave had thirty-seven vessels, while eight graves had none whatsoever (see App. 7.4). None of these graves had any pottery figurines or zoomorphic vessels.

Tufnell describes eighteen chamber tombs used in the late Iron Age: one to stratum V, three to stratum IV (one of which reused in stratum I), four to strata IV-III, three to strata IV-II, one to stratum III, six to stratum II (see App. 7.4). The number of inhumations is extremely variable, as the minimum number that could be estimated shows:

- No trace of burial was found in tombs 105 (Tufnell 1953, 179) and 219 (1953, 210),
- One or two burials in Tomb 230 (Tufnell 1953, 218),
- Two in Tomb 521 (Tufnell 1953, 222) and Tomb 6006 (1953, 247),
- Eight in Tomb 224 (Tufnell 1953, 215),
- Nine in Tomb 108 (Risdon 1939, 103),
- Twenty-five in Tomb 106 (Tufnell 1953, 179),
- Forty-five in Tomb 116 (Risdon 1939, 103),
- Seventy-four in Tomb 107 (Risdon 1939, 103),
- c. 1500 (567 crania) in Tomb 120 (Risdon 1939, 102-103), and
- An unspecified mass in Tomb 218 (Tufnell 1953, 203).

Five of the chamber tombs yielded a total of twenty-nine figurines: nine anthropomorphic figurines, four horse figurines (of which three with rider), ten zoomorphic vessels, two birds, and five models of couches or chairs (Table 7.6). Unsurprisingly, the complete or almost complete figurines from Lachish come from funerary contexts, where they had been less exposed to the wear and breakages relating to use and post-depositional activity.

7.3.7.1 Area 1000: Tomb 1002

Tomb 1002 (Area 1000) was an irregular pit cut into soft limestone, whose roof had collapsed. This was probably an ossuary, although the exact number of inhumations is not specified (Tufnell 1953, 229). Deposits consisted of secondary burials with a large number of pots and small finds (Tufnell 1953, 229). The excavators distinguished a series of thirteen layers, grouped into three major phases. On the basis of the pottery typology, Tufnell (1953, 230) suggests an even spread in the distribution of these layers over time, with the lower layers dating to c. 800 BC (and Stratum IV), and the latest material dating to c. 710 BC.

Tomb 1002 yielded nineteen figurines, the largest number of figurines from any one locus at the site, and may also provide a hint of some development in figurine use over time, particularly with regard to the pillar figurines (Table 7.6). None

were found in the lower layers, two pillar figurines with moulded faces and a wheel-made body were found in the middle layers (App. 7.1, no. 117, 118), while solid pillar figurines were found in the upper layer, two with moulded heads (App. 7.1, no. 112, 113), one handmade (App. 7.1, no. 111). Zoomorphic vessels (App. 7.1, no. 119-121) are present only in the lower layers 11-13. The presence of one chair and three couch models (App. 7.1, no. 106, 107, 115, 121) also may be significant: at Lachish, to date furniture models have only been found in funerary contexts in this tomb, and in tomb 106 that will be discussed shortly.

	Tomb 218	Tomb 223	Tomb 1002			Tomb 106		Tomb 120
			Layers 11-13 (Lower)	Layers 6-10 (Middle)	Layers 1-5 (Upper)	Room A	Room C	
Date	c. 900	c. 900	c. 810 - c.710			700-600		
Solid Pillar Figurine, handmade head					111		129, 130	
Hollow Pillar Figurine, moulded head				117, 118			131	133
Solid Pillar figurine, moulded head					112, 113			
Horse and Rider			123		108	126		
Horse							127	
Horse head spout				116	109, 110		128	
Animal vessel	134	135	119, 120, 121					132
Bird				114	105			
Couch/chair			122	115	106, 107	125		
Totals	1	1	5	5	9	2	5	2

Table 7.6: Figurines from the Tombs. (The figurine numbers correspond to App. 7.1)

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 7.16: Plan of Tomb 106. (After Tuffnell 1953, 180, Fig 21)

7.3.7.2 Area 100-200

The tombs in Area 100-200, to the north-west of the Tell, give a similar picture to that which emerges from Tomb 1002.

Tomb 218 was a two-lobed Middle Bronze Age chamber, reused for burials in the late Iron Age, c. 900 BC (Tufnell 1953, 203). The contents of the tomb were disturbed and despite finding “a mass of human remains,” only two skulls and some long bones were preserved (Tufnell 1953, 203-204). One zoomorphic vessel (App. 7.1, no. 134) was found in Room A of the tomb. The tomb was very rich in finds: thirty bowls, five lamps, eighteen jugs, forty-four dippers and juglets, three miniature amphorae, a cooking pot, two storage jars and two miscellaneous types, twenty amulets, twenty-five scarabs, scaraboids and seals, some anklets, bracelets, ear-rings (Tufnell 1953, 205-210).

Below Tomb 218 was Tomb 223, a Late Bronze Age cave that was later adapted as triple-chambered tomb (Tufnell 1953, 211), and used for an unspecified

number of burials. A zoomorphic bird vessel (App. 7.1, no. 135) was found in room A, with twelve bowls, five lamps, four jugs, ten dippers and juglets, one chalice, one miniature pithos, and eight storage jars. Other finds included an amulet, as well as copper bangles and anklets, a copper ring, and silver earrings (Tufnell 1953, 212-214). The presence of zoomorphic vessels in earlier tombs is consistent with the presence of zoomorphic vessels in the lower layers of tomb 1002.

Tombs 106 and 120 were dated to Stratum III or II. Tomb 106 (Fig. 7.16) was triple-chamber tomb dated to Stratum II, and was reused several times and twenty-five skulls are noted in the report (Tufnell 1953, 179). Two of the chambers yielded a total of seven figurines. One horse and rider figurines (App. 7.1, no. 126) and a couch model (App. 7.1, no. 125) were found in the central room A of the tomb. Room C yielded two pillar figurines with handmade heads, one with evident breasts (App. 7.1, no. 130), one without (App. 7.1, no. 129), a combination similar to Beth Shemesh, Tomb 5 (Mackenzie 1912, 76), as well as a complete horse figurine (App. 7.1, no. 127) and a horse head spout (App. 7.1, no. 128). The two chambers had an abundance of pottery: seventy-one bowls, 163 lamps, seventy-three jugs, 139 dippers and juglets, fourteen cooking pots, three miniature pithoi, a pilgrim flask, and a jar with spout (Tufnell 1953, 182-184). Among the other finds were amulets, scarabs, and several metal items including five knives, seven arrowheads, a chisel, tweezers, and a nail (Tufnell 1953, 186).

Tomb 120 is best described as an ossuary with partial remains of at least 1,500 bodies thrown in without any order (Tufnell 1953, 193). Two figurines were found in the tomb: one pillar figurine with a moulded head (App. 7.1, no. 133), and an animal vessel (App. 7.1, no. 132).

7.3.7.3 Figurines and funerary ritual?

Although the limited information on the number of burials does not allow for a clear statistical analysis, the data still shows two important elements. Firstly, none of the thirty-three graves (thirty four burials) had any figurines. Secondly, Only five of eighteen chamber tombs had figurines, and here they represent only a small fraction of burials:

- Nineteen figurines in Tomb 1002, which has an unspecified mass of burials,
- Seven figurines in tombs 106, for a minimum of 25 individuals,
- Two in Tomb 102, defined as a mass grave,
- One in Tomb 107, for a minimum of 74 individuals,
- One in Tomb 223, with an unspecified number of burials.

In this light, it is possible to conclude that while figurines were deposited in some cases as part of the burial rites, the use of figurines in this context was comparatively rare.

It is also interesting to note that the tombs have yielded the full repertoire of figurines, in proportions similar to those of the houses. This may suggest that, where figurines were deposited in tombs they represent similar meanings and concerns to those in the houses.

7.4 Conclusions

7.4.1 Some statistical considerations

7.4.1.1 Distribution across the strata

The sample of 106 figurines and fragments can be divided also according to stratigraphic affiliation (Fig. 7.17): fifteen can be dated to the earlier Stratum IV, forty-eight to Stratum III, and eleven to Stratum II. The material from the tombs can be harder to correlate, because of longer periods of use: nineteen fragments from Tomb 1002 are, therefore, assigned to Stratum IV-III, and nine figurines from Tomb 106 to strata III-II, and one figurine from Tomb 107, could not be assigned more closely. As noted above, fifty figurines which were unstratified or coming from mixed strata, were excluded.

The small number of figurines does not allow for a robust statistical analysis, and the general decline in numbers for Stratum II cannot be attributed to any specific factor, and it should be recalled that the excavations for Stratum II have been far more limited than for Stratum III.

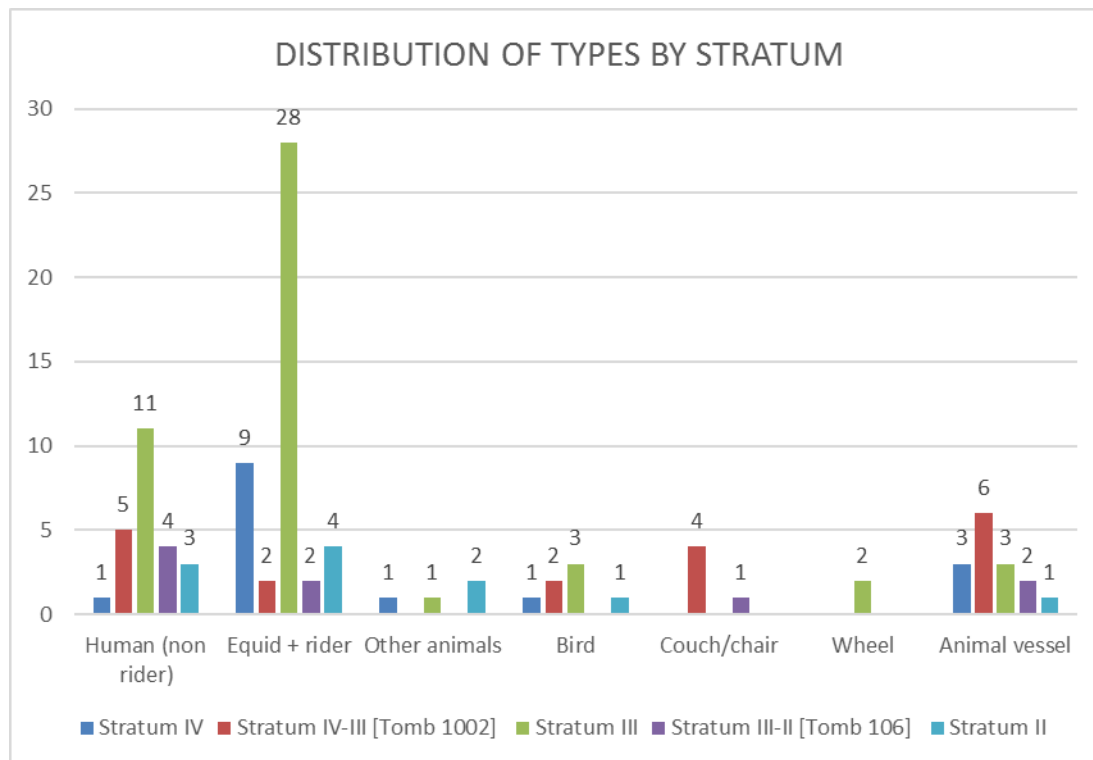


Fig. 7.17: Distribution of figurine types across the different strata (n=102).

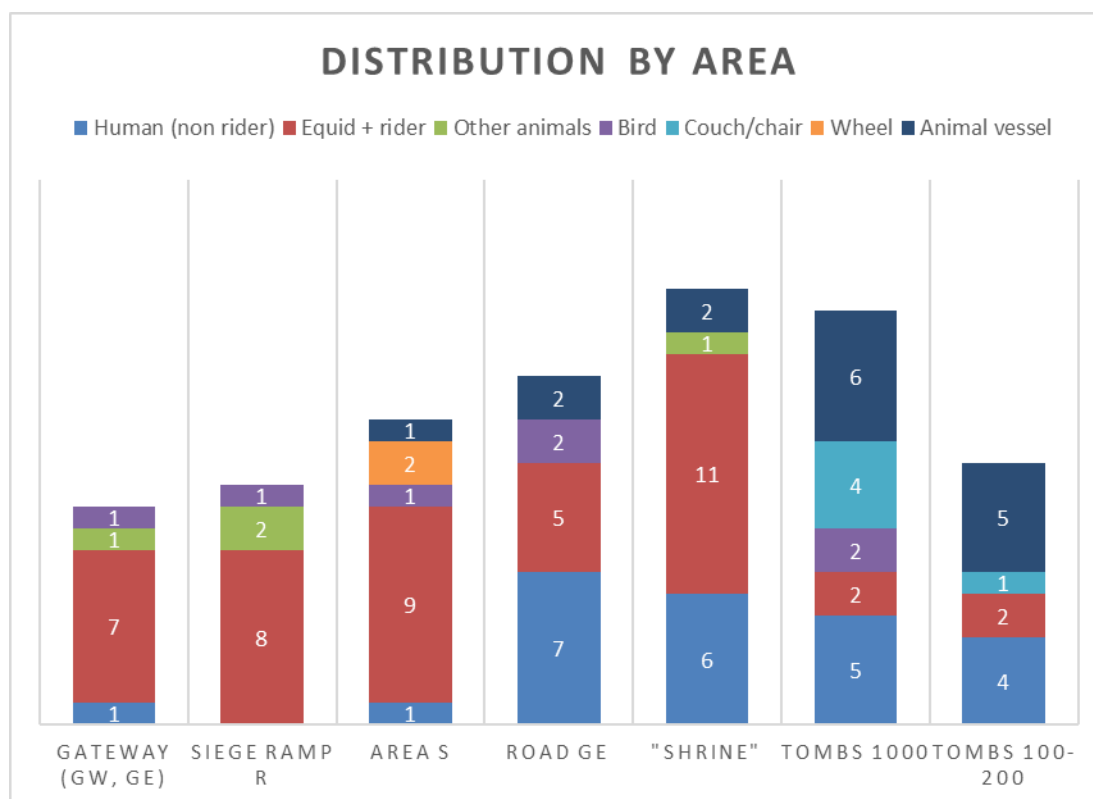


Fig. 7.18: Distribution of figurines by type and area. (n=101)

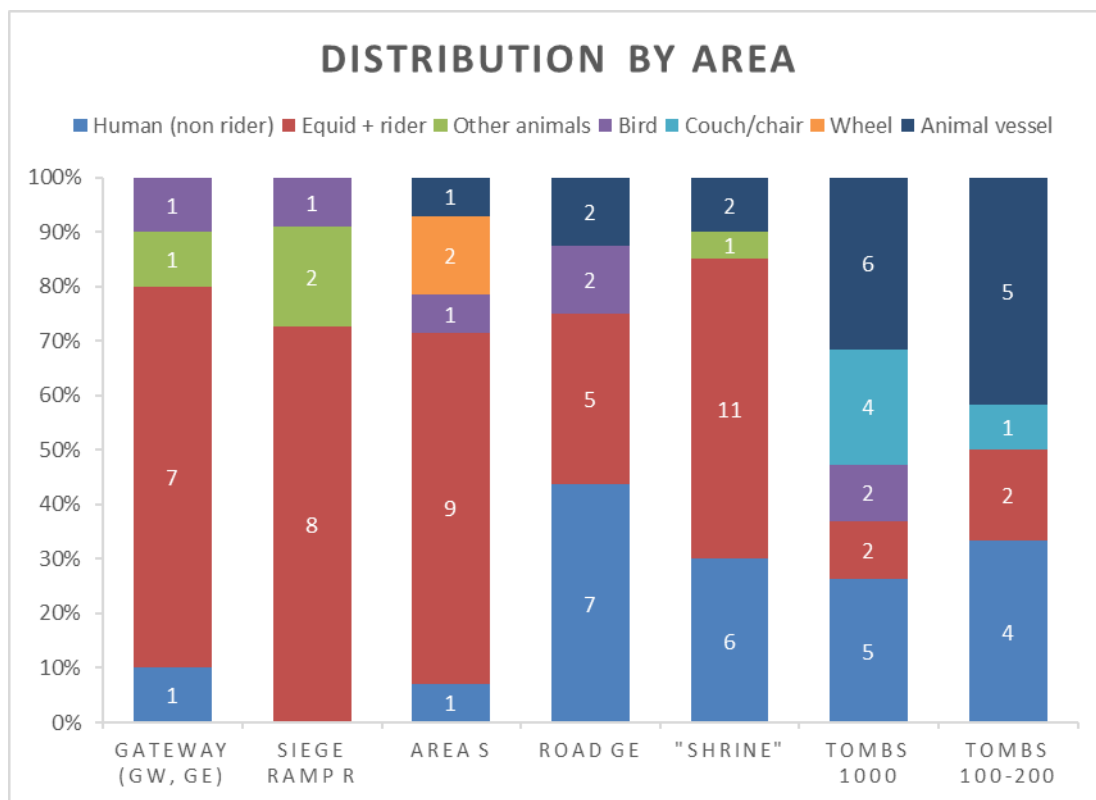


Fig. 7.19: Distribution of the figurines, by Area excavated ($n=101$). The figures indicate the raw counts of the given type within the sample for the area.

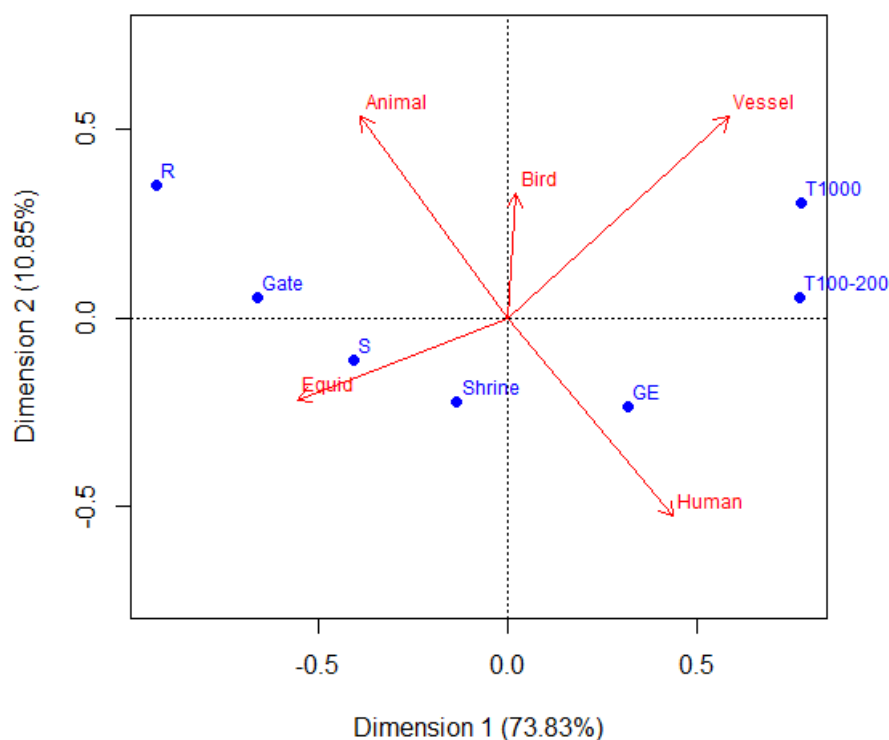


Fig. 7.20: Correspondence Analysis plot of the same data ($n=94$). The plot excludes the models of couches, found only in the tombs, and model wheels, found only in Area S, which would distort the understanding of the spread of the repertoire.

7.4.1.2 Distribution across the areas

A more meaningful pattern appears to emerge in a closer look at the individual areas, and the distribution by type (Fig. 7.18, Fig. 7.19, Fig. 7.20):

- The houses in Area S, as well as the Gate Complex, show a prevalence of equid and riders and probable equids within the repertoire for the area, when compared to the houses in street GE (70% and 69%, versus 31%) or the Shrine Area (versus 55%).
- The figurines in the siege ramp and counter-ramp (Area R), show a similar prevalence (72%).
- Anthropomorphic (non-rider) figurines show up more regularly in the houses along the road in Area GE (43%), the houses in the “Solar Shrine” area (30%), tomb 1002 (25%) and tombs in area 100-200 (36%), compared to the Gateway (10%) and the Area S (7%). It is clear, however, the equid and probable equid figurines still form a meaningful percentage (18-55%) of the entire repertoire.
- Two tombs in particular (1002 and 106) contain a representative selection of the entire repertoire. These include also the chair and couches, model types not found nowhere on the mound itself. Tomb 1002 is a mass grave with an unspecified number of burials, whereas Tomb 106 contained at least 25 burials. In both cases, it is likely that the large number of individuals buried here represent also a wider range of social identities and concerns than in tombs with a smaller number of burials, or in settlement contexts.

This differentiation may suggest different elements of social identity and different concerns expressed through the figurative repertoire. The Gateway complex and the Lower House of Area S, possibly the focus of the city’s defences, potentially reflect a more military connection and concerns (as discussed section 13.2.1.3.2). In other households, in Area GE and Aharoni’s “Shrine” excavation, the presence of female figurines may highlight different concerns, apparently related to fertility and motherhood (see section 13.2.1.3.1). Animal figurines, especially equids, are present too, shows how different elements of symbolic

representation existed side by side (for further discuss see section 13.2.1.3.4). However, it is essential to note that the number of figurines in any of the areas is too small to stand to rigorous statistical testing (see results of chi-square and Fisher tests in App. 7.5), and any differentiation while potentially meaningful on a qualitative level when looking at context in detail is not necessarily statistically significant on a quantitative level.

7.4.2 General conclusions

Moving from the figurines themselves to understanding what the figurines may have meant to the ancient inhabitants of Lachish is necessarily complex. As already done with Jerusalem, it important to bring back the study to its research questions, and consider what can be said more concretely.

What aspects of life of the ancient users are miniaturised in the figurines?

The figurines fall under a limited repertoire (section 7.2), similar to the one identified for Jerusalem (section 6.2). The main types are rather limited:

- equids and other animals, occasionally with riders;
- pillar figurines which, where intact, generally (seven of the eight complete examples) represent women with abundant breasts;
- some other models: couches, and wheels.
- A few bird figurines

How is identity constructed in and through figurines?

The picture noted for Jerusalem is reinforced in Lachish:

- Gender is only partly constructed biologically, through the representation of breasts, but never genitalia.
- The question remains open whether the horse riders are to be read as male. If they are, then this confirms that their gender identity is constructed only culturally.

- Social class and aspiration may be represented in the horses, an elite animal (see section 13.2.1.3.2).

Where were the figurines used and discarded?

- The picture emerging from the Tell is similar to Jerusalem, where figurines were found in contexts that can be best described as domestic, rather than in dedicated cultic spaces.
- The figurines were also deposited in tombs, and therefore seem to have formed part of the burial rites. The multiples use of the tombs does not allow for the immediate association of figurines with individual burials, and any conclusions have to remain generic.

Does spatial distribution suggest: use of different types of figurines by different individuals within the community?

- Figurines have been found in the domestic and in some funerary contexts. There is no clear evidence of any differentiation in use across the site.
- There is some evidence that while equid and animal figurines were found in domestic contexts across the different areas (Area GE, Area S, “Shrine”), anthropomorphic figurines were less frequent in Area S and the Gateway area.
- The houses in Area S, and the Gateway, suggest that some groups may have used exclusively horse and horse-and-rider figurines. Considering the possible link between these buildings and the garrison of the city, it is tempting to postulate a possible connection.

Does spatial distribution suggest: use in more public/private sphere of the community city, household?

- Where it is possible to differentiate within a single household (Area S), it is arguable that the figurines were used mostly in spaces linked with the preparation and consumption of food. A similar link has already been noted (Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 123). It should be said, however, the

hearth of the home is likely to have served as the main living space of the household. The two peg type figurines in Area GE may well reflect these kinds of more performative use of the figurines.

These first two site level case-studies have focused on two primary Judahite sites: Jerusalem (Chapter 6) and Lachish. Unfortunately, few sites outside Judah provide similar opportunity for such site-level studies. Chapter 8 will therefore move beyond the confines of Judah, to consider one of the key sites further to the north: Tell el-Mutesellim, ancient Megiddo.

Chapter 8. Site case-study: Megiddo

The two site-level case studies proposed so far have looked at cities of Judah: firstly, Jerusalem, its capital, in the southern highlands, and secondly, the fortified enclave of Lachish in Judean Shephalah. It seemed appropriate to look for a third case study from beyond the confines of ancient Judah, to provide a means of comparison for figurine use on a site level with neighbouring territories. As already discussed in section 3.1.5, Megiddo was strategically built at the point where the international coastal highway abandoned the coast and crossed into the Jezreel Valley and the Galilee.

At Tell el-Mutesellim, ancient Megiddo, the late Iron Age strata were primarily excavated by the Chicago expedition in the 1930s (section 8.1.2), with some additional areas uncovered by Schumacher in the early 1900s (section 8.1.1). During the 1960s one part of the site, around the northern gate and Palace 5000 was excavated by Yadin (section 8.1.3). Since 1992, Tel Aviv University has returned to the site: their excavations in late Iron Age strata have been limited compared to the Chicago expedition, but provide better level of detail (section 8.1.4).

8.1 History of excavation

The site was first identified as ancient Megiddo by Edward Robinson (1841, 179-180). He recognised the toponymical link between the nearby Arab village of Lejjun and the ancient name of Roman Legio, and the probable link between this and ancient Megiddo, most notably through the geographical connection between Megiddo and Taanach. Unsurprisingly, the tell attracted the interest of archaeological expeditions from the early 20th century, and is perhaps the most extensively excavated of all the tell sites of the southern Levant.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 8.1: Plan of Megiddo showing Schumacher's trench (in pink) and the areas of excavation of the Chicago expedition during 1925-1934 (in yellow), and 1935-39 (in green). (Harrison 2004, 177, fig. 2, corrected)

8.1.1 G. Schumacher (1903-1905)

The first excavation work at Tell el-Mutesellim was undertaken by Gottlieb Schumacher between 1903 and 1905, on behalf of the *Deutscher Palästina-Verein* (1908, I and 1). Schumacher conducted a topographic survey of the site, and the surrounding areas, excavated the upper layers on the eastern side of the Tell, and cut a major trench across the Tell from north to south. The excavation showed the potential of this site, and yielded interesting results. Schumacher's technique, however, and particularly his stratigraphic understanding, were limited, and while the documentation for the architecture is superb, finds from different strata were occasionally confused (Niemann and Lehmann 2006, 691). Schumacher (1908) published the architecture of the site with some of the finds, but never completed the publication of the rest of the material. The German Society that had sponsored the original excavation asked Watzinger to revise the report, which he did, including the finds from the excavation (1929). Unfortunately, Schumacher's

field notes had been lost, so Watzinger seems to have worked only with the reports and the actual finds (Niemann and Lehmann 2006, 691).

At the southern end of the Tell, Schumacher uncovered the *Palast* (1908, 91-104) which was further excavated by the Chicago expedition as Gate 1567 and compound 1693, as well as the *Massebenraum* (1908, 105-110). On the eastern side of the Tell he excavated the so-called *Templeburg*, excavated further by the Chicago expedition as Building 338 (1908, 119-124). Thirteen figurines from the *Palast* and fifteen figurines from the so-called *Massebenraum* (Maşşebah room) adjacent were published by both Schumacher (1908, 106-109) and Watzinger (1929, 60-61, 69-71). These figurines have been included in this study (section 8.3.2.2).

8.1.2 Oriental Institute, Chicago (1925-1939)

A more systematic excavation was undertaken by the Oriental Institute in Chicago between 1925 and 1939, under the direction of Clarence Fisher (1925-1927), PLO Guy (1927-1934) and finally, Gordon Loud (1935-1939). The original plan was for the expedition to excavate the entire site, peeling off stratum by stratum (Lamon and Shipton 1939, xxiii). The expedition eventually realised the impossibility of this endeavour, but not before having removed strata I, II, and a substantial part of Stratum III.

The documentation provided by the Chicago project is generally more extensive than Schumacher's, with clear divisions by stratum as well as by individual locus which generally corresponded to individual rooms or spaces within a stratum. The site report provides useful lists of loci (Lamon & Shipton 1939, 215-232) and registers of finds (Lamon & Shipton 1939, 109-159) which allow researchers to reconstruct rooms and assemblages. The excavation was stopped abruptly by the outbreak of World War II, and the seasons between 1935-1939 are published in what is essentially a catalogue form, with little further discussion (Loud 1948, vii).

The work of the Chicago expedition is not without its own limitations. The succession of directors resulted in the publication not being completed by those

originally directing the work, with the consequent loss of part of the transmission of ideas, particularly due the acrimonious situation, which had led to the dismissal of Guy as director of the excavation (Harrison 2004, 2-3). The expedition also made no effort to establish any contact with the previous German expedition, much to the annoyance of the *Deutcher Palästina-Verein* (A.Alt in Watzinger 1929, iii-iv). This reflected a lack of interest in linking the archaeological work of the two expeditions, and despite the remains of Schumacher's expedition being visible, many findings are not tied in with the new work, as evident in the case of the *Massabenraum* in particular, visible in the aerial photos (Lamon and Shipton 1939, figs. 122, 123), but absent from the plan for the strata concerned (Lamon and Shipton 1939, figs. 12, 34, 72). More generally, it is clear from the aerial photos (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 98-107, fig. 114-123) that the entire surface of the mound had been excavated, while the published plans cover only the designated areas A-D (Lamon and Shipton 1939, fig. 5-6, 12, 34-35, 49, 71-73, 89, 98), clearly indicating that a significant section of the surface of the tell was excavated, but never published.

Eighty-five figurines included in this study come from the Chicago expedition and were primarily published as part of the May's monographic work on cult and cultic objects at Megiddo, where he dedicates a chapter to the figurines (1935: 27-34, plates XXI-XXXVIII). May takes a line of interpretation that is heavily influenced by drawing parallels with the Old Testament. His study clearly connects the figurines to the *teraphim* (1935, 27), suggests the absence of male figurines may be related to the influence of Yahwism (1935, 34), and has no difficulty associating the bronze bovine figurines with the stories of the golden calf and the sanctuaries set up by Jeroboam at Bethel and Dan (1935, 34).

The figurines from the later seasons of the Chicago excavation are only published as part of the catalogue of finds (Loud 1948, Plates 241-248). Only four of these date to the late Iron Age strata (App. 8.1, no. 5, 6, 14, 65).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 8.2: Excavation areas from the Chicago Expedition (1935-39 seasons), indicated in double letters, and the Tel Aviv expedition (Finkelstein et al. 2013, 4. Fig. 1.1).

8.1.3 Y. Yadin (1960-1972)

Yigal Yadin returned to the site and conducted a series of small scale excavations to tackle specific issues between 1960 and 1972. The report of the excavation has only recently been published (Zarzecki-Peleg 2016). Yadin's excavations uncovered the Northern Palace 6000 which Yadin dated to the Solomonic period (1970, 75). He also uncovered what he defined a 'casemate' wall, an idea dismissed by Aharoni (1972, 305-307).

Only one figurine fragment, the legs of a plaque figurine (App. 8.1, no. 131), is recorded from Yadin's excavation.

8.1.4 Tel Aviv University (1992 - present)

A long-term expedition was initiated in 1992 by Tel Aviv University under the direction of Israel Finkelstein and David Ussishkin, with the stated aim of

revisiting the site and addressing several issues raised by the previous excavations (Finkelstein *et al.* 2000, 1). The project has opened squares in or close to previous excavation areas, allowing the expedition to tie in with previous research (Fig. 8.2). Unsurprisingly, since the previous expeditions had largely removed the upper strata, the current expedition has focused mostly on Bronze Age and early Iron Age strata. However excavation in areas F, H, K, and L have also included late Iron Age strata, which has allowed for some reassessment of previous work (Finkelstein and Ussishkin 2000, 596-602; Finkelstein *et al.* 2006b, 851-856; Finkelstein 2013, 1337).

The figurines from the earlier seasons (1992-2002) were included as part of the more general catalogues of small finds (Sass 2000, 396-404; Sass and Cinamon 2006, 406-424). The report for the 2004-2008 seasons includes a chapter dedicated to the figurines (Peri 2013). Peri not only provides a detailed catalogue of the figurines from the latest seasons, but also a summary catalogue of the clay figurines from all the expeditions to the site – including those by Schumacher, and the Oriental Institute (Peri 2013, 1040-1076). Importantly, Peri includes not only summary descriptions of the material and typological dating, but also context information for each figurine, and full references to previous studies. Unfortunately, the catalogue excludes handmade and composite human clay figurines and also excludes moulded heads (Peri 2013, 1040).

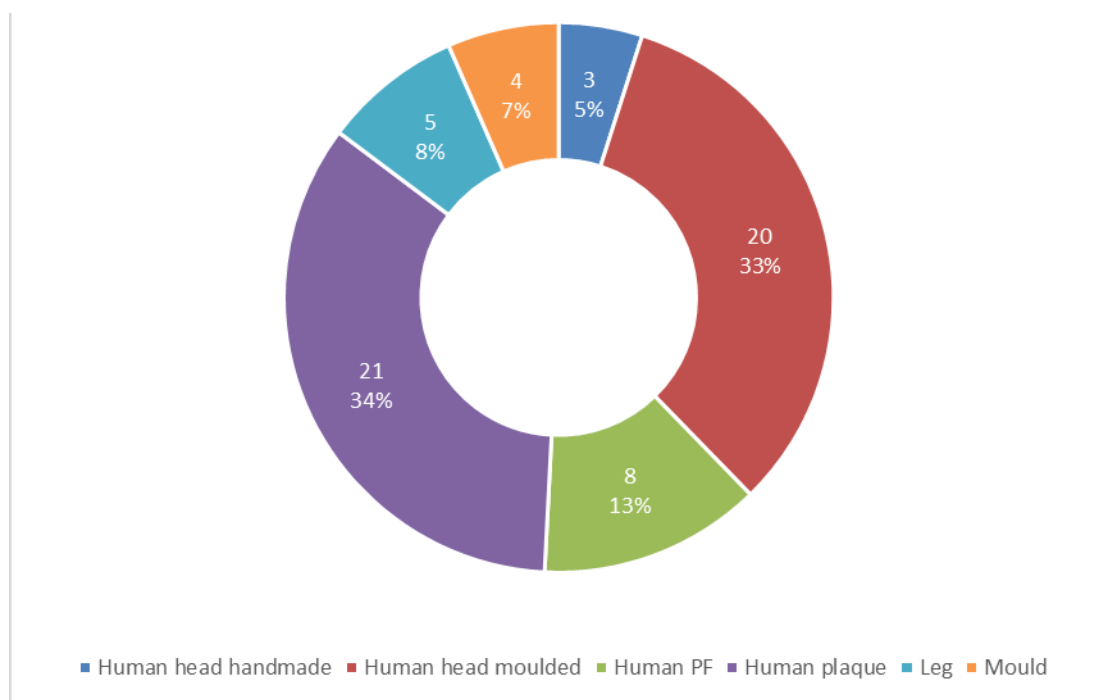


Fig. 8.3: Anthropomorphic figurine types from the site, represented as percentages of the total from strata II to VB (n=61)

8.2 The figurine repertoire

Before discussing the figurines in their specific contexts, it is helpful to consider the repertoire of the figurines from the site. Excavations from Megiddo have yielded 128 figurines which can be dated stratigraphically from Stratum VB to Stratum II (section 8.4.1). These figurines should be divided into two major types, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic, and a few exceptional cases (such as wheels).

8.2.1 Anthropomorphic figurines

There were sixty-one fragments of anthropomorphic figurines found at the site, which can be further categorised according to manufacturing technique (Fig. 8.3). Two main types of production can be identified: several figurines are clearly made in a single mould (twenty-one fragments), shaping the entire front part of the body, with the back plain or moulded by hand (Fig. 8.4.1). It should be noted that these figurines are formed in very high relief. Others (eight examples) appear to have handmade bodies rather than mould made ones, closer to pillar figurines, of both solid and hollow types (Fig. 8.4.2). Twenty-three fragments were only

heads, the greater majority of which (twenty examples) were clearly mould made, while only three were handmade (Fig. 8.4.3). Due to the high relief used even for the mould made figurines, it is impossible to distinguish between these two types from the heads alone. Differently to the case in Jerusalem and Lachish where the pillar figurines never included genitalia, the high relief plaques from Megiddo have both breasts and genitalia indicated.

Megiddo is also relatively rich in moulds, with three moulds for heads (Fig. 8.4.4), and one for a plaque figurine (App. 8.1, no. 28).

Five fragments are models of legs, possibly anthropomorphic, four of which are clearly pierced and appear to have been used as some form of pendant (Fig. 8.4.7). Unlike other fragments where the body part originally formed part of a larger object, these legs were clearly intended to be used on their own.

8.2.2 Zoomorphic figurines

Fifty-one zoomorphic figurines were found, which can be largely divided into two main types: solid figurines, and zoomorphic vessels (Fig. 8.5). Comparing the amounts of each is more complex considering the fragmentary nature of the figurines.

However, nineteen solid animal head were recovered, along with nine fragments of animal bodies, representing 55% in total of zoomorphic fragments from the site. Nine fragments of zoomorphic vessel bodies were found, to which twelve hollow heads that appear to have served as animal spouts, representing a total of 41% of the total. Two bird figurines were recovered, representing 4% of the sample from the relevant strata.

It is interesting to note that kernos rings, known in Megiddo for the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age (May 1935, 18, Pl. XVI), are not documented for the late Iron Age.

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Fig. 8.4: Examples of major figurine types. (1) Front, side, and back view of plaque figurine from Megiddo (M 5418, PM 1936-958); (2) Hollow pillar female figurine, holding a tambourine. (Schumacher 1908, 102, fig. 156); (3) Handmade head (M 4334, PM 1936-943); (4) Ancient mould and modern head. (May 1935, pl XXIII); (5.) Horse head solid (PM 1936-1977); (6) Hollow horse head, probably vessel spout (PM I-3569); (7) Pierced leg (M 4051)

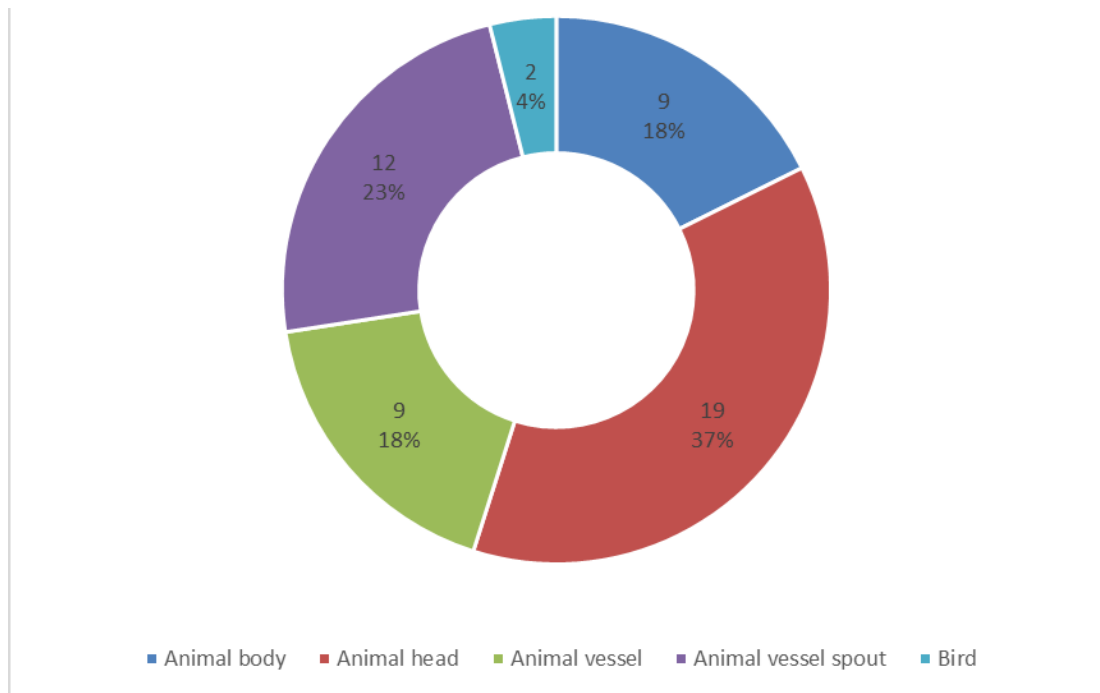


Fig. 8.5: Zoomorphic figurine types from the site, represented as percentages of the total from strata II to VB (n=51)

8.3 Detailed contextual study

The chapter will now follow a similar procedure to that followed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 in the consideration of the figurines from Jerusalem and Lachish, and study the spatial distribution of the figurines by considering the individual loci where figurines were found. The period of interest for this study corresponds to five strata of Megiddo – Stratum VB, IVB/VA, IVA, III and II of the Chicago expedition – datable between the late Iron Age (Table 8.1).

Period	Schumacher	Chicago	Tel Aviv				
Early Iron I		VIB	F-6	H-10	K-5		M-5
Late Iron I	Fourth	VIA	F-5	H-9	K-4	L-5	M-4
Early Iron IIA	Fifth	VB		H-8, 7, 6	K-3	L-4	M-3, 2, 1
Late Iron IIA		VA-IVB		H-5	K-2	L-3	
Jeroboam II – Hosea		IVA	F-4b	H-4, 3	K-1	L-2	
				H-2			
716-650 BC	Sixth	III	F-4a	H-1		L-1	
650-600 BC	Seventh	II	F-3				
Persian (5 th century)		I					

Table 8.1: Iron Age stratigraphy, following Niemann and Lehmann 2006, 693.

For convenience, the site will be considered in three main sectors:

- The northern sector consists of:
 - Areas D and AA of the Chicago expedition, and
 - Area H of the Tel Aviv excavations;
- The southern sector includes:
 - Area A (strata I, II, III and IVA) and the small area B (VA/IVB and VB) of the Chicago expedition, and
 - Schumacher's *Palast* and *Massebenraum*;
- The eastern sector corresponds to:
 - Areas C and BB of the Chicago expedition,
 - Yadin's Palace 6000, and
 - Areas K and L of the Tel Aviv expedition.

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Fig. 8.6: Megiddo, Southern sector, Stratum VB, including findspots of figurines. Composite plan including Area B, Stratum VB (Lamon and Shipton 1939, fig 5), and aerial photo showing Area A with Stratum IV floors removed (Lamon and Shipton 1939, fig. 123).

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Fig. 8.7: Megiddo, Eastern sector, Stratum VB, including findspots of figurines. Composite plan including Area BB, Stratum VB (Loud 1948, 406) and Area K, phase K-3a1 (Finkelstein et al. 2000, 129, fig 6.8), superimposed over Area C, Stratum V in grey (Lamon and Shipton 1939, fig. 6).

8.3.1 Stratum VB

Two major stratigraphic markers provide some underpinning to the sequence at Megiddo: (a) the end of Stratum VI, characterised by Canaanite material culture, and destroyed by fire, (b) Stratum IVA, with its city wall and the sets of stables (Franklin 2006, 95). The nature of the Stratum V, the first of the late Iron Age strata, has been the subject of much discussion.

8.3.1.1 Dividing Strata VB, VA/IVB and IVA

During the 1925-35 seasons, the Chicago expedition had identified a Stratum V and IVB in the southern Area A and B, but only one Stratum V in Area C (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 3-11). In the subsequent seasons, Area BB (within former Area C) was subdivided into Stratum VA and VB (Loud 1948, 105).

Wright (1950, 42) was the first to identify strata VA of Area C and IVB of Area A-B as being a single stratum (VA/IVB), and similarly connecting VB of Area C with stratum V of area A-B, based on a comparison of the published pottery. Based on this assessment, the architectural remains can therefore be divided as shown in Table 8.2. Wrights' assessment has found wide consensus (Shiloh 1993, 1016-1017), and is followed by the current excavation team (Finkelstein and Ussishkin 2000, 596-597; Finkelstein *et al.* 2006b, 851).

	Southern sector (Areas A-B)	Eastern sector (Area C)
VB	Domestic architecture	Domestic architecture
VA/IVB	Palace 1723, Courtyard 1693, and Gate 1567	Palace 5000
IVA	Stables 1576	Stables 364; Building 338.

Table 8.2: Megiddo. Major architectural elements in Strata VB, VA/IVB and IVA.

The consensus, however, is not universal. N. Franklin (2006) has proposed a reconsideration of strata VA-IVB, essentially deconstructing stratum IVB and reassigning its major elements to stratum V or stratum IVA, reducing the number of strata from three (VB, VA-IVB, IVA) to two. She proposes reassigning courtyard 1693, with associated gate 1567 to stratum IVA, along with building 1616

(Franklin 2006, 102). Palace 1723 and Building 1648, on the other hand, are understood as properly part of stratum V, along with the other loci assigned to stratum VB (Franklin 2006, 99-101). In addition, Franklin argues that both Schumacher's *Südliches Burgtor* and Silo 1414 should be assigned to the same stratum (2006, 105-107).

Ussishkin (2007) has argued forcefully against Franklin's reassessment of the stratum, and it is rather unfortunate that her response (Franklin 2007, 71) fails to address the stratigraphic issues he raises, but rather reiterates her negative assessment of Lamon and Shipton's credentials, and her reliance on archival material. Considering the buildings in stratum VB in Area A, it is hard not to see Palace 1723 as disrupting the configuration of the area, and the absence of any remains between the foundations of 1723 and the underlying stratum VI can be well explained by the deep foundations the palace required, therefore supporting the original excavators' interpretation.

8.3.1.2 The southern sector: residential quarter (Fig. 8.6)

The figurines of Stratum VB in Area B are sparse (Table 8.3). One human plaque figurine with a drum (App. 8.1, no. 4) was found below the lime floor of 1693 in Square R 10 (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 154). The excavators described this locus as one below the lime floor of stratum VA/IVB, which implies that the material is sealed by the lime floor. Since the material is not assigned to the locus of Stratum VB identified below, it seems more likely that this figurine, was in the floor make-up of lime floor, rather than in the buildings of the preceding stratum.

A residential quarter was excavated underneath courtyard 1693 as Area B. None of the figurines from this area can be immediately assigned to any of these houses. However, two coroplastic items were found in Locus 1653, below building 1482 of Stratum VA/IVB (App. 8.1, no. 2-3). Unfortunately, the locus was not included in any of the plans, but it appears in one of the aerial photos (Lamon and Shipton 1939, fig. 123) as a room in a building immediately to the west of Area B, following the same orientation of buildings in that plan. The locus is included in the locus list for Stratum V, where the only other registered from the locus is one bowl (1939, 152).

	Stratum VB	Stratum VA/IVB	Stratum IVA
Courtyard 1693	-1693 (R10, below lime paved courtyard): Human plaque + drum/disc (4)	1693 (Lime paved courtyard of 1723): Female plaque figurine (19)	
	1653 (Room): human head on vessel leg? (3); Female plaque figurine (2)	Building 1482: = 1482: Human Plaque (17); Quadruped body solid (16) 1631 (Room in 1482): Animal head (18)	
Southern Stables			1576 (Stable): Human head handmade (68) 1674 (Filling under 1576): Human figurine? (69); Human figurine hollow, odd (70); Human head moulded on leg (71)

Table 8.3: Southern sector. Figurines from Area A and B of the Chicago expedition, strata VB, VA/IVB, IVA. Numbers in brackets refer to App. 8.1.

8.3.1.3 The eastern sector (Fig. 8.7)

At the northern end of the sector, in Area L of the Tel Aviv expedition, one horse head fragment was found in 04/L/62 (App. 8.1, no. 13). Very little is known about the locus, which is described as probable occupational debris (Blockman and Finkelstein 2006, 458) under the plaster floor of a probable courtyard to the east of Palace 5000 (Cline and Cohen 2006, 125). The pottery from the locus included four bowls, one cooking jug, one jug and one juglet (Arie 2013b, 816-817). The remains have been interpreted as domestic (Cline 2006, 107).

Another horse head was found in Locus 2050 of Area BB of the Chicago expedition (App. 8.1, no. 5). Little more can be said about the context, since the walls were incomplete, not allowing for further understanding of the buildings, other than that the area appears to be of a domestic nature (Loud 1948, 105).

A pair of legs from a human plaque figurine were found below Stratum VA in building 10 (Locus 592). The report indicated that a number of walls were found under building 10 (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 5), but unfortunately, the plans were either never drawn or never published. The locus was rich in finds, including a faience stamp seal, two faience amulets, two arrows (one bronze, one iron), one iron knife blade, a bronze chisel, a bronze needle, four beads, bone

spatulas, handle and rod, a limestone weight and drill-socket, a basalt footed vessel and two pairs of animal horns (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 151).

Five figurine fragments were found (Table 8.4; App. 8.1, no. 8-12) at the southern end of the sector, in Area K of the Tel Aviv expedition. The excavators sub-divided stratum VB into three (K-3b, K-3a1, and K-3a2). Stratigraphically earliest among the figurines is model wheel (App. 8.1, no. 10) from locus 96/K/89 (stratum K-4/K-3) described as brick material (Gadot and Finkelstein 2000, 344), apparently the top of the destruction debris of Stratum VI (Lehmann *et al.* 2000, 126). A peculiar figurine, probably from an anthropomorphic vessel (App. 8.1, no. 8) was found in locus 96/K/7, identified as occupational debris in courtyard 96/K/84 of Stratum K-3 a2 (Gadot and Finkelstien 2000, 341).

Three figurines are identified for Stratum K-3a1. A small fragment, apparently the horn, of an animal figurine (App. 8.1, no. 11) was found in locus 96/K/9, part of Room 96/K/4. Sass (2000. 399) comments in the catalogue that “the material does not look [Iron Age]” and suggests a possible Early Bronze Age date. Few others finds are recorded for loci 96/K/4, 9, and 13 which formed this room: one miniature basalt bowl, one glass bead, and one Egyptian blue bead (Gadot and Finkelstein 2000, 341). One spout from a zoomorphic vessel, probably a bovine (App. 8.1, no. 9) was found on the floor level 96/K/82, and one animal leg (App. 8.1, no. 12) among the occupational debris 98/K/21, both within courtyard 96/H/61, to the west of room 96/H/4 (Gadot and Finkelstein 2000, 341. 344).

	Stratum VB	Stratum VB	Stratum VA/IVB
	Phase K-3/4 and K-3 a2	K-3 a1	Phase K2
Area K	96/K/89 (K-3/K-4) Brick material: Wheel (10) 96/K/7=84 (K-3 a2) Occupational debris: Human vessel (8)	96/K/9=4 (K-3 a1) Occupational debris: horn? (11) 98/K/21=61 (K-3 a1) Installations: animal leg? (12) 96/K/82=61 (K-3 a1) Floor: Animal vessel spout , Bovine? (9)	96/K/46=12 Occupational debris: Fragment (56)

Table 8.4: Eastern sector. Figurines from Area K.

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Fig. 8.8: Megiddo, Northern sector, Stratum VA/IVB, including findspots of figurines. Composite plan including Area AA, Stratum VA (Loud 1948, fig. 388) and Area H, phase H-5 (Finkelstein et al. 2006, 144, fig. 9.18).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 8.9: Megiddo, Southern sector and part of the Eastern sector, Stratum VA/IVB, including findspots of figurines. Composite plan including Schumacher's excavation (Schumacher 1908, Plate XXIX), Area B, Stratum IVB (Lamon and Shipton 1939, fig 12), Area C, Stratum V (Lamon and Shipton 1939, fig. 6) and Area K, phase K-2a (Finkelstein et al. 2000, 132, fig. 6.12).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 8.10: Megiddo, Eastern sector, Stratum VA/IVB, including findspots of figurines. Composite plan including Area C, Stratum V (Lamon and Shipton 1939, fig. 6) and Area K, phase K-2a (Finkelstein et al. 2000, 132, Fig. 7.12).

8.3.2 Stratum VA/IVB

The situation in Megiddo during Stratum VA/IVB seems to change dramatically. Whereas all the remains of Stratum VB relate to domestic architecture, Stratum VA/IVB is dominated by two large public buildings, one in the northern sector (section 8.3.2.1) and another, Palace 1723 with its compound, in the southern sector (section 8.3.2.2). Domestic architecture has been excavated in the eastern sector of the tell (section 8.3.2.3).

8.3.2.1 The northern sector: public building, cult corner 2081 (Fig. 8.8 and Fig. 8.11)

The northern sector of the site was marked by an imposing public building with wide foundations, and stone floors (Loud 1948, 45). The exact nature of this building was not discussed in the report. However, a cultic function has been attributed to the south-west corner of locus 2081, apparently the forecourt of this large building, on account of the find which included stone altars and incense stands (Loud 1948, 44-45; Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 134-137). One pierced clay leg (App. 8.1, no. 14) came from this locus, along with many other finds, including seventeen jugs, eight bowls, two scarabs and four seals, astragali in a clay bowl, four iron arrow heads, two iron axes, and bronze items (Loud 1948, 161-162.)

One plaque figurine (App. 8.1, no. 15) was found in courtyard 06/H/34 in Area H of the Tel Aviv expedition. A thick accumulation of beaten earth floors was found in this courtyard, and a number of tabuns were identified (Arie 2013a, 265). Unfortunately, the report does not specify the exact nature of locus 06/H/34, which equated with final locus 06/H/34 and described as possible fill (Agmon 2013, 1345). Peri (2013, 1026) classifies the figurine as belonging to the type depicting a nude female figurine holding a drum. However, only the legs, with anklets, survive.

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Fig. 8.11: Area AA (Chicago), Locus 2081. (1) Restored plan of the building, (2) plan of the south-west corner of Locus 2081 indicating the findspots of cult objects, (3) objects from Locus 2081 (Loud 1948, 44, fig. 100-102).

8.3.2.2 The southern sector: Palace 1723, Gate 1567 and *Massabenraum* (Fig. 8.9)

The southern sector of the tell was dominated by a large compound 1693, complete with gate 1567 and a large building 1723, which possibly served as a palace. Outside the compound, to its west, is a further large building 1482 may have housed a small garrison (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 11).

The figurines recorded for this level remain few and far between (Table 8.2) from the excavations of Palace 1723 with its Gate 1567, from the Chicago expedition. Only one female plaque figurine (App. 8.1, no. 19) was found in the large lime paved courtyard (Locus 1693) which presumably served as a large public space and parade ground for the Palace. One further figurine was recorded below the courtyard, possibly as part of its makeup, as already noted for Stratum VB (section 8.3.1.2).

One animal head figurine (App. 8.1, no. 18) was found in Room 1631 of Building 1482, while two figurines, the solid body of a quadruped (App. 8.1, no. 16) and a human plaque figurine (App. 8.1, no. 17) are recorded from close to Locus 1482 but not within the locus proper.

Schumacher's excavation of the so-called *Palastwohnung* (= Gate 1567) and *Massebenraum* provide the richest yield of figurines from this sector (Table 8.5; App. 8.1, no. 20-46). The dating of two structures is problematic. The Chicago expedition understands Gate 1567 as belonging to two phases. In the earlier phase (Stratum VA/IVB), it was built as a gate to compound 1693 and Palace 1723. Walls were found blocking the former entrance of the gate, suggesting a radical configuration of its use in Stratum IVA, and turning the gate into a tower (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 12-13), defined by Schumacher as *Palastwohnung* (a palace residence). Ussishkin disagrees with this reading, and suggests what the excavators understood as blocked entrances were sleeper walls at foundation level, known in the construction of Iron Age gates at Lachish and Megiddo (1994, 414-415), which would therefore remove any reason for a second, later phase, and suggests a Stratum VA/IVB date for the construction, which is followed here.

The room described by Schumacher as the *Massebenraum* (Maşşebah room) is harder to pin down stratigraphically. The room is only discussed by Schumacher (1908, 105-110), who assigns it to his fifth stratum, with his *Palast*. In this study it is assigned tentatively to Stratum VA/IVB.

Building	Room	Figurines
Gate 1567 (Palastwohnung)		Human Pillar figurine (35); female plaque figurine (36); animal vessel spout, bovine (37); 2 bird (38-39)
	NE Room	Human head moulded (40); animal vessel spout, bovine (41)
	SE Room	1 Moulds for head (42), 1 mould for plaque figurine (43)
Palast		Human pillar figurine + drum/disc (44); 2 moulds for head (45-46)
Massebenraum		5 Human heads moulded (20-24); 1 hollow moulded human head (25), 1 Horse head (26); 1 horse head vessel spout (27); 4 animal heads vessel spouts (28-31); 2 animal heads (32-33), 1 horse body (34)

Table 8.5: Southern sector. Figurine fragments from the Palastwohnung, Palast and Massebenraum of Schumacher's excavation. (see App. 8.1, no 20-46).

8.3.2.3 The eastern sector (Fig. 8.10)

At the north-eastern side of the Tell, Y. Yadin excavated Palace 6000, attributed to Stratum VA-IVB (Yadin 1970). Aharoni (1972, 306, 310) rightly argues that, *pace* Yadin, the rooms to the east and west of the Palace should not be understood as a casemate wall. The renewed excavations have since also led to a reconsideration of the palace itself, concluding that the eastern flank of the palace (Locus 00/L/146) should be understood as a lime-paved courtyard of the now square palace structure, similar to Palace 1723 (Finkelstein *et al.* 2006b, 851).

One figurine fragment, a leg probably of an animal, was found in locus 04/L/43 (App. 8.1, no. 57) The locus is listed as an “occupational accumulation on Palace 6000 floor” in Square G3 (Agmon 2013, 1387). The locus is unfortunately not discussed in the short appendix on the 2004 season (Cline and Cohen 2006). However, square G3 indicated forms part of the three long and narrow halls in the south-eastern part of the building. Two small rooms were found at the eastern end of the northernmost of these three halls, corresponding to squares G-H/3. Two large *tabuns* were uncovered in the western of these two rooms, while a smaller badly-preserved *tabun* was discovered in the eastern room, suggesting that the area served as the kitchen of the building (Cline and Cohen 2006, 125).

One figurine head (App. 8.1, no. 52), not clear in its type as human or animal (ape?), was found below street 368 (attributed to Stratum IVA). The exact nature of the area in Stratum VA/IVB is unknown.

Area	Stratum VB	Stratum VA/IVB	Stratum IVA
	Phase L-4	Phase L-3	Phase L-2
L	04/L/62 (L-4?): Horse head (13)	04/L/43: Animal leg (57)	00/L/26 (Floor makeup): Horse head spout (77)
	Stratum VB	Stratum VA/IVB	Stratum IVA
C & BB	2050: Horse head (5) S=2050: Leg, pierced (6) 592 (Area): Human plaque legs (7)	-368 (below street, IV): Human?/ape? head (52)	-282 (below street, III): Female plaque figurine (72)
		Building 10 6 (Storeroom in 10): Human head moulded (47) 7 (Storeroom in 10): 2 Animal vessels (48, 49). 37 (Room): Human plaque + drum/disc (50) Building 51: 270 (Room): Wheel (51) 393 (Room): Leg (53) 590 (Room): Female plaque figurine (54) 591 (Room): Human Plaque head (55)	-283 (below Court, III): Animal head (7) South of 9: 2 model shrines (80, 81) Templeburg: 1 model shrine (79)

Table 8.6: Eastern sector. Figurines in area C (Chicago) and L (Tel Aviv).

A clearer picture emerges in the southern part of the sector. Three figurines were found in two rooms of building 10, a moulded human head (App. 8.1, no. 47) in Room 6, and two zoomorphic jugs (App. 8.1, no. 48-49) from Room 7. The finds lists for these loci indicate a large number of jugs, jars and bowls, as well as five ivory inlays, an ivory pendant, as well as basalt footed vessel (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 149). There has been some debate on the use of this building, which has been understood as either a storeroom or domestic building (Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 140-141). A plaque figurine holding a disc was found to the north of Room 37, in an open space to the north of the building 10.

Further fragments have been found in several buildings in the vicinity. Immediately to the north, a human head in Room 591 (App. 8.1, no. 55) and a female plaque figurine in Room 590 (App. 8.1, no. 54). Few finds are recorded for these loci: the figurine is the only item recorded for Locus 590, while a bronze ring, two beads (one described as carnelian and one faience) and bronze spatula were recorded in Locus 591 (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 151). Locus 393, which could not be further defined, included a broken model of a human leg, possibly a broken pierced leg amulet (App. 8.1, no. 53), as well as one jug, one jar and two bowls (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 150). A model wheel (App. 8.1, no. 51) was found in Locus 270 of building 51, immediately to the west of building 10. This wheel model is the only object recorded for the locus (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 150).

One undefined fragment (App. 8.1, no. 56) was found by the Tel Aviv expedition in 96/K/46, a locus of occupational debris within room 96/K/12 in Stratum K-2b1 (Lehman *et al.* 2000, 133; Gadot and Finkelstein 2000, 341-342).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 8.12: Northern sector, Stratum IVA, indicating findspots of figurines. Composite plan of Area AA, Stratum IV (Loud 1948, fig. 389) and Area H, phase H-3 (Joffe et al. 2000, 144, fig. 7.4 and 146, fig. 7.6).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 8.13: Megiddo, Southern sector, showing findspots of figurines in Stratum IVA. Plan of Area A Stratum IVA (after Lamon and Shipton 1939, fig. 34).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 8.14: Eastern sector, Stratum IVA, indicating findspots of figurines. Plan of Area C after Lamon and Shipton 1939, fig. 49.

8.3.3 Stratum IVA

The change in configuration in Stratum IVA is quite radical, transforming the mound into what has been defined as the “chariot city” (Shiloh 1993, 1020), characterised by the monumental stable complexes excavated in the southern Area A and eastern Area C, and the massive city wall 325.

In the southern sector, Palace 1723 disappeared, while compound 1693 and its gate have been repurposed. The larger building 1648/1482 is now reduced in size, and stable compound 1576 was built to its west. The large silo 1414, a

prominent feature immediate to the north of gate 1567, and dated by the Chicago expedition to Stratum III, was re-dated to Stratum IVA by Ussishkin (1994, 424-426). This presumes that the gate that had served as a monumental entrance to the Palace compound had gone out of use.

In the eastern sector, a further set of stables (Compound 364) was built over Palace 6000 and the surrounding area. The renewed excavations have indicated that the stables opened onto an open cobbled courtyard, and that Building 434 should be dated to Stratum III rather than IVA (Finkelstein *et al.* 2006b, 855). Recent research work has also generally removed doubts about their original function as stables (Cantrell 2006). The other major feature of the stratum was the six-chambered gate in Area AA. Contrary to Yadin's proposal that the gate belongs to Stratum IVB (1970, 87), further research has led Finkelstein and Ussishkin to conclude that the gate belongs to Stratum IVA, and that "it is *stratigraphically* impossible to connect it to Stratum VA-IVB" (Finkelstein and Ussishkin 2000, 600). Building 338, Schumacher's *Tempelburg* was included by the Chicago expedition within Stratum IV (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 47), understood at the time as generally contemporary with Building 1723 of Stratum IVB. This dating remains one of the debated points, as Ussishkin (1989) suggested a reassignment of the building to Stratum VA/IVB, while Stern holds on to the original stratigraphy (1990).

Stratum IVA was originally dated by the Chicago expedition to the end of the 9th century (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 61). The renewed expedition to Megiddo proposes a lower date, based on the pottery assemblage from Stratum H-3 where "most of the vessels are typical of the 8th century B.C.E." (Finkelstein *et al.* 2000, 598). Bringing together historical sources with the archaeological data, they suggest that the end of Stratum IVA relates to Tiglath-Pileser's campaign in 732 BC (Finkelstein *et al.* 2000, 598). The excavators also noted that evidence for destruction is limited to Area H, with no sign of fire in the stable complexes, even in Area L, where the collapsed bricks did not include any signs of fire or wood beams from the roof (Finkelstein *et al.* 2006b, 856-857). Paleo-tectonic studies have also indicated that Megiddo suffered an earthquake during the life of

Stratum IVA, which the excavators link to the earthquake of c. 760 BC (Amos 1,1; Finkelstein *et al.* 2006b, 857).

8.3.3.1 The northern sector: Gate 2156 (Fig. 8.12)

Considering the extent of excavation, the figurine fragments found are surprisingly few (Table 8.7). One horse head fragment (a 1263, App. 8.1, no. 65) was found in stairway 2153, which the excavators interpreted as a possible pedestrian shortcut to Gate 2156 (Loud 1948, 57). No other finds are registered for the locus (Loud 1948, 166).

Stratum VA/IVB	Stratum IVA	Stratum III
	Gate 2156: 2153: Horse head (65)	
Building: 2081 (Room): Leg, pierced (14)		Building 1052: 1051 (Room, below 1047): Wheel (83) 94/H/68 Room with Chicago backfill: Female plaque figurine (85)
		Courtyard: 1374 (Area): Animal head (84) 96/H/37 (Make up of wall): Animal vessel spout, Bovine? (86)
00/H/74: Human plaque (15)	94/H/57 = 8: Animal vessel (66)	South of 1369: 548 (Area): Human plaque + object (82)

Table 8.7: Northern sector. Figurines from Strata VA/IVB, IVA, and III.

In Area H of the Tel Aviv excavation, a further fragment of animal vessel (94/H/57/AR1, App. 8.1, no. 66) was found in the remains of burnt room with roof collapse and accumulated mudbrick (Locus 94/H/57=94/H/8; Joffe *et al.* 2000, 145; Gadot and Finkelstein 2000, 332). The layout of the building could not be reconstructed by the excavators “since the area immediately to the north was not properly excavated by the University of Chicago expedition” (Joffe *et al.* 2000, 145). The report suggests that the accumulation represents the collapse of two storeys, mixed during the course of the destruction (Finkelstein, Zomhoni and Kafri 2000, 310). The published pottery from this room includes twenty-four bowls, five kraters, fifteen jugs, one beer jug, six juglets, one bottle, twelve

cooking pots, two jars, twenty-four storage jars, two lamps, one incense cup, and one cult stand (Finkelstein, Zimhoni and Kafri 2000, 301-313). The study of the pottery points to similar assemblages in 94/H/8 and the adjacent room 96/H/11, with a larger percentage of storage jars in 94/H/8 (27% versus 8%), and slightly more cooking pots in 96/H/11 (20% versus 13%) (Finkelstein, Zimhoni and Kafri 2000, 310). Two basalt grinding stones, and two basin-like vessel were also found in the room (Joffe *et al.* 2000, 146)

8.3.3.2 The southern sector: Stable compound 1576 (Fig. 8.13)

Stable compound 1576 is interestingly empty of figurines. Only one single human head fragment (App. 8.1, no. 68) was found in stable 1576, the central of five stables in the complex.

Three further figurines (App. 8.1, no. 69-71), very atypical in type, were found in locus 1674, the filling under lime floor 977, part of compound 1576. This locus is clearly a secondary deposit, with a mix of material from different strata (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 146-147). The report also suggests that the material came from outside the area, and indicates the clearing of the water shaft to the west of the courtyard as the likely source (1939, 32).

8.3.3.3 The eastern sector: Stable compound 364, Building 338 (Fig. 8.14)

Stable compound 364 in the eastern sector provides a picture that is very similar to the southern stables described above. No figurines were found within the stables themselves. The only three figurine fragments attributed to the stratum by the Chicago expedition come from sub-floor levels in Stratum III (App. 8.1, 69-71). Similarly, the one figurine (App. 8.1, no. 77) from the Tel Aviv expedition comes from 00/L/26, defined as floor make-up of Stratum L-2 floors of the stable complex. In all four cases, therefore, the figurines are unrelated with the lifetime and use of the stables and found in clearly secondary contexts.

No anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figurines were registered in Schumacher's *Templeburg* (= Building 338). A pottery shrine was among the finds from the forecourt (App. 8.1, no. 79), identified by May as a model shrine (May 1935, 17).

Fragments of another pottery stand with anthropomorphic features (2986; App. 8.1, no. 80) along with a plain clay shrine (2985; App. 8.1, no. 81) was registered for square Q13, south of Locus 9, and attributed as probably from Stratum IVA. It should be noted, however, that this attribution is not stratigraphically very clear, and is based on the Stratum IV date and cultic function assigned to Building 338 (May 1935, 6-7). Loud proposes that the shrine models belong to Room 6 of Stratum VA/IVB (section 8.3.2.3) on account of the description of the find spot in the register “Q 13 III 1.75m below X (corner) south of room 1/9” which he understands to be “in or just south of room 6 of building 10 (our stratum V)” (1948, 149).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 8.15: Northern sector, Stratum III, indicating findspots of figurines. Plan of Area D after Lamon and Shipton 1939, fig. 89.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 8.16: Southern sector, Stratum III, indicating findspots of figurines. Plan of Area A after Lamon and Shipton 1939, fig. 72.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 8.17: Southern sector, Stratum II, indicating findspots of figurines. Plan of Area A after Lamon and Shipton 1939, fig. 73.

8.3.4 Strata III and II

Stratum III shows a radical reconfiguration of the site. In the northern sector of the site, Gate 500 was rebuilt to a new plan, and to its west two large buildings 1502 and 1369 were built, probably serving an administrative purpose. Further study of the two buildings concluded that Palace 1502 is the earlier of the two, with Palace 1369 added later, necessitating the reconfiguration of the southwestern section of the earlier palace (Finkelstein and Ussishkin 2000, 602). Prior to this major transformation, an intermediate level (H-2) has been identified between strata IVA and III: this level has been tentatively identified the first phase of Assyrian occupation (Finkelstein and Ussishkin 2000, 601). According to the excavators, the buildings were subjected to various phases of rebuilding during Stratum III-II, and remained in use at least during part of Stratum II (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 69-70).

In the southern sector, a new quarter is built over stable complex 1576 following a deliberate orthogonal plan with parallel streets. It is important to note that the strata III and II were considered by the excavators more as a long uninterrupted phase, with various signs of rebuilding rather than two very distinct strata (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 62-63). The domestic quarter continues on the eastern side of the Tell. In Stratum II, however, the area is dominated by the Stratum II fortress. At the northern end, Area C is dominated by two large enclosures (loci 317 and 283) whose purpose remains unknown (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 63).

8.3.4.1 The northern sector: Gate 500. Buildings 1853, 1369 and 1052

(Fig. 8.15)

Figurines are largely absent in Buildings 1853 and 1369, and Gate 500. Only two fragments can be connected to Building 1052: a wheel in Room 1051 (App. 8.1, no. 83), defined by the excavators as below 1407, so probably representing an earlier floor of the same room. The other is a fragment from locus 94/H/68 of the Tel Aviv excavation (App. 8.1, no. 85), which however is described in the report as filled with backfill from the Chicago excavation (Finkelstein *et al.* 2000, 333), and therefore not likely to be its original find spot.

An animal head was found in the open space between the three buildings (P 5399; App. 8.1, no. 84), and an animal spout in the make-up of wall dated to Stratum IVA in the same general area (96/H/37/AR1; App. 8.1, no. 86). To the south of building 1369, a human plaque figurine holding an object was found in open area 548 (M 1906; App 8.1, no. 82).

One further moulded human head was found close to locus 1394 (M 4306; App. 8.1, no. 89), assigned to this stratum, but not included in the plans. Registered with the figurine are a bronze bracelet, a sandstone pendant and a palette (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 129).

8.3.4.2 Southern sector: Residential quarter (Fig. 8.16, Fig. 8.17)

Several figurines come from the residential quarter in the southern sector of Stratum III and II (Table 8.8)

The stratigraphy and locations of these figurines present a series of problems. Some of the figurines come from loci (indicated by a minus sign) where the excavators had dug through floors of previous strata, assigning the figurines therefore to the stratum below that context: while these figurines have been kept in this study, it is unclear whether they represent the previous stratum, or sub-floor deposits of its successor. Other figurines, considered to be stratigraphically contemporary to a given locus (and marked with an equals sign) do not come from the locus itself, but from its immediate vicinity, making them of limited use for a contextual analysis (Lamon and Shipton 1939, xxiv).

Considering the lack of detail in the excavation report, it is hard to comment on individual spaces and their use. An attempt is made in Table 8.8 to separate the loci that belonging to Stratum III and II, from those classified as sub-II or sub-I, as well as in listing the associated finds. The finds are generally unremarkable for a domestic context, and confirm the general impression of a residential quarter.

One locus (Room 1521 in Stratum III) is worth singling out, for a potential cultic connection. In the same locus as mould made human head (App. 8.1, no. 101) was a limestone horned altar (M 4555), crudely fashioned, measuring 24 x 22 x 35 cm (May 1935, 12). No other finds are recorded for the locus (Lamon and Shipton

1939, 134, and the room is not marked on the plan for the stratum (1939, Fig. 72), but visible in the aerial photo (1939, Fig. 115).

	Stratum III	= III / sub-II	Stratum II	= II / sub-I
	1508 (out of plan): Human head handmade (100)			
A				-555 (sub-I): Human Pillar figurine (116); 3 jugs jars; 6 jars, 8 bowls, 1 iron arrowhead, 1 limestone whorl, 2 basalt hammers, 1 basalt rubber, 2 limestone drill sockets, 1 basalt drill socket. -556 (sub-I): Quadruped body hollow (117); 2 jugs, 6 jars.
B				=784: Quadruped body solid (119)
C	1424 (Room): Fragment – phallus? (93); <i>sherds of jars and bowls, bronze arrowhead, limestone whorl, haematite weight, basalt hammer, chert and scoria rubbers.</i>	= 1480: Quadruped body hollow (98)	1259 (Room): Horse head (123); 3 jugs, 5 jars, 7 bowls, 1 armour scale, 1 steatite whorl, 1 limestone weight. 1270 (Cupboard): Human head moulded (124); 1 jug, 1 basalt hammer, 1 limestone rubber, 1 limestone palette, 1 basalt ring. 1363 (Room, N outside map): Human plaque legs (125); 1 bowl.	
D		= 1394 (Wall, n outside plan): Human head moulded (89)	1026 (Room): Human head moulded (122); <i>no other objects recorded.</i>	
E	1414 (fill inside silo): Horse head (91); Fragment (90)			N10 Area: Human plaque + object (128)
F	1521 (Room): Human head moulded (101); <i>limestone horned altar (M 4555)</i>		1002 (Stone floor): Quadruped body solid (120); 1 bronze fibula, 1 carnelian bead.	

G	Building 1601: 1431 (Room): Human Pillar figurine hollow (94); <i>2 bowls, 1 lamp, one basalt whorl.</i> 1503 (Lime floor): Horse head (99) (report marks it as intrusive); <i>1 jar.</i>	=1468: Quadraped body hollow (97)		
H	1423 (Room): Human head handmade (92); <i>2 jugs, 1 jar, 4 bowls.</i> 1538 (Room): Human head moulded (102); <i>9 jugs, 4 jars, 4 bowls, 1 glass bead, 1 potsherd whorl, 1 bone handle, 1 scoria rubber.</i>			=1004: Human plaque + drum/disc (121)
I			1501 (Room): Human head moulded (127); Human Pillar figurine + drum/disc (126); <i>1 jug, 5 jars, 3 bowls, 1 lamp, 1 basalt hammer.</i>	-774 (sub-I): Human head moulded (118); <i>no other objects recorded.</i>
J		-1345 (below stone floor, sub-II): Wheel (88); <i>2 jugs, 2 jars, 1 glass inlay, 2 palettes.</i>		
K	1599 (Room): Quadraped body hollow (106); <i>1 jug, 2 beads (fayence and glass; 1 limestone drill socket.</i>	=1445: Quadraped body solid (95) =1613: Animal head (107)		
L	1583 (street): Fragment (104); Wheel (103); <i>1 jug, 1 bowl</i> 1584 (Room): Horse head (105); <i>3 jugs, 6 bowls, 1 flask, 1 bone handle.</i>	-1462 (below stone floor, sub-II): Horse head (96)	435 (Room): Quadraped body solid (115); <i>2 carnelian beads, 1 limestone whorl, 1 chert hammer?</i>	
	285 (Room): Human plaque legs (87); <i>2 jugs, 1 bowl, one chalice, 2 whorls (basalt, potsherd), 3 weights (sandstone, haematite, limestone); 2 basalt grinders.</i>			Q11 Area: Animal head (129)

Table 8.8: Southern sector. Figurines from Area A (Chicago), strata III and II. Divided by block in the orthogonal plan. Associated finds are given for specific loci, but not for general areas (=).

8.3.4.3 The eastern sector

A significant area of domestic architecture being exposed in Area C, and assigned to Stratum III with little trace of rebuilding in Stratum II (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 62, and Fig. 71). The area follows the same orthogonal plan as in Area A. The five figurines from the area can be attributed to specific grid squares, rather than specific rooms or building, and are of limited use for detailed contextual analysis (Table 8.9).

Area	Stratum VA/IVB	Stratum IVA	Stratum III
C		N14 Area: Horse head (74)	
		O13 Area: Horse head (75) O14 (Temple area): Human plaque + drum/disc (76)	O13 (Temple area): Human plaque + drum/disc (110)
			R11 Area: Human head moulded (109); Quadruped body solid (108)
	Q13 Area: Horse head spout (64)		Q12 Area: 2 Quadruped body hollow (111, 112)

Table 8.9: Eastern sector. Figurines from Area C without specific locus designation.

8.3.5 The eastern slope and the tombs

A handful of figurines came from the Tombs and the area on the Eastern slope, dated to the periods described by the excavators as “Early” and “Middle Iron” Age (Table 8.10). Since these designations cannot be immediately correlated to individual strata, it is more appropriate to treat them separately here.

	Stratum	Early Iron (Strata VI-V)	Middle Iron (Strata IV-III-II)
-220	IVA		Animal head spout (78)
S16-area	V	Female plaque figurine (58)	
Tomb 3	Early Iron	Human head moulded (1)	
Tomb 47	Middle Iron		Animal head + forequarters (61); Animal body (60)
Tomb 64	VA/IVB	Human Pillar figurine base with two knobs (breasts?) (59)	
Tomb 73	Middle Iron		Leg? (62); Leg (pierced) (63)

Table 8.10: Figurines from the Eastern slope and Tombs

The general picture of the Iron Age tombs at Megiddo is sketchy at best (see summary of the data in App. 8.2). Twenty-two loci yielded early Iron Age material, of which only one (Tomb 3) yielded a figurine, as will be discussed below. Seven loci are defined as late Iron Age (Guy's "Middle Iron" period), of a variety of descriptions: two caves, one chamber, one tomb, one reused tomb, one burial in debris, and one grave in cave floor.

Two figurine fragments can be connected to the earlier Iron Age strata. A moulded human head (App. 8.1, no. 1) was found in Tomb 3. The tomb was irregular in shape, and contained material dated by Guy (1938, 72) to the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age. The pottery had been disturbed before the excavation, and the number of interments is not given (1938, 72). The figurine fragment itself is not dated in the report (1938, Plate 135).

A peculiar pillar figurine, with two knobs (breasts?) (App. 8.1, no. 59) was found in Tomb 64. The date of the tomb is uncertain, and its use during the late Iron Age may be secondary as a room. There were no signs of burial (Guy 1938, 127). The published finds for the locus are few: three jug and a bowl (1938, Plate 74), a bronze pin, a shell bead (?) and a small piece of flint (1938, Plate 171)

A further female plaque figurine come from the general area S16 (App. 8.1, no. 58). Incidentally, all three figurines represent human figurines: one head, one female plaque figurine, and one pillar figurine base.

Four figurine fragments come from tombs dated to the later Iron Age strata. Tomb 47 yielded two fragments of animal figurines (App. 8.1, 60-61). The tomb is described as of uncertain date with material from the late Bronze and Middle Iron (Guy 1938, 127). No information is given on the number of interments.

Tomb 73 yielded two human leg models, one of which is clearly pierced (App. 8.1, 62-63). The tomb consists of a large irregular cave, 18 x 10m, of uncertain date. The contents are described as Late Bronze and Iron Age (Guy 1938, 111). No skulls were found, and the bones were too fragmentary to estimate the number or positions of interments (1938, 113).

One further figurine fragment, a spout in the shape of an animal head was found below Wall 220 dated to the same Stratum (App. 8.1, no. 78). The function of the wall, and any connection with the use of the area for burials, is unclear.

8.4 Conclusions

8.4.1 Some statistical considerations

A summary of the data helps highlight some of the key elements emerging from the data. This section will therefore look briefly at the distribution of the figurines by stratum and sector (section 8.4.1.1), the distribution of main categories by sector and stratum (section 8.4.1.2).

8.4.1.1 Distribution across stratum and sector

Fig. 8.18 shows the distribution of the figurines in the different sectors, dated stratigraphically to strata VB to II.

Only 8% of the figurines come from the northern section, marked primarily by public buildings during Strata VA/IVB, III and II. 24% of figurines are the eastern sector.

The large majority of figurines (68%) come from the southern sector. This can be further analysed by stratum (Fig. 8.20), showing where figurines were more likely to be found: notably in strata III and II of the southern sector (section 8.3.4.2) as well as Stratum VA/IVB of the same sector, marked primarily by the finds from Schumacher's *Palast* and *Massebenraum*, as discussed (section 8.3.2.2).

	Northern	Southern	Eastern
VB		Residential quarter	Residential quarter
VA/IVB	Public building	Palace 1723, Gate 1567, Massabensaum	Palace 5000, residential quarter, and storeroom
IVA	Gate 2156	Stable compound	Stable compound and building 338
III / II	Gate 500 and Public buildings	Residential quarter	

Table 8.11: Summary of remains in different sectors and strata of Megiddo.

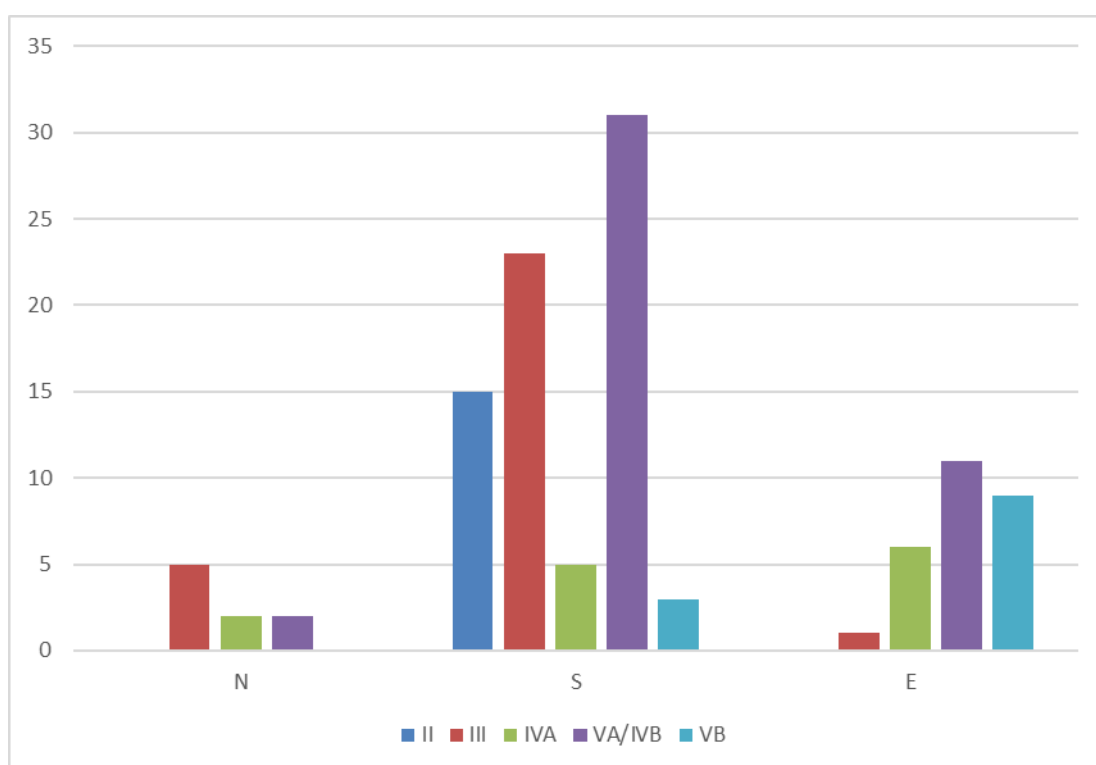


Fig. 8.18: Total number of figurines, as distributed by stratum and sector on the Tell (n=113).

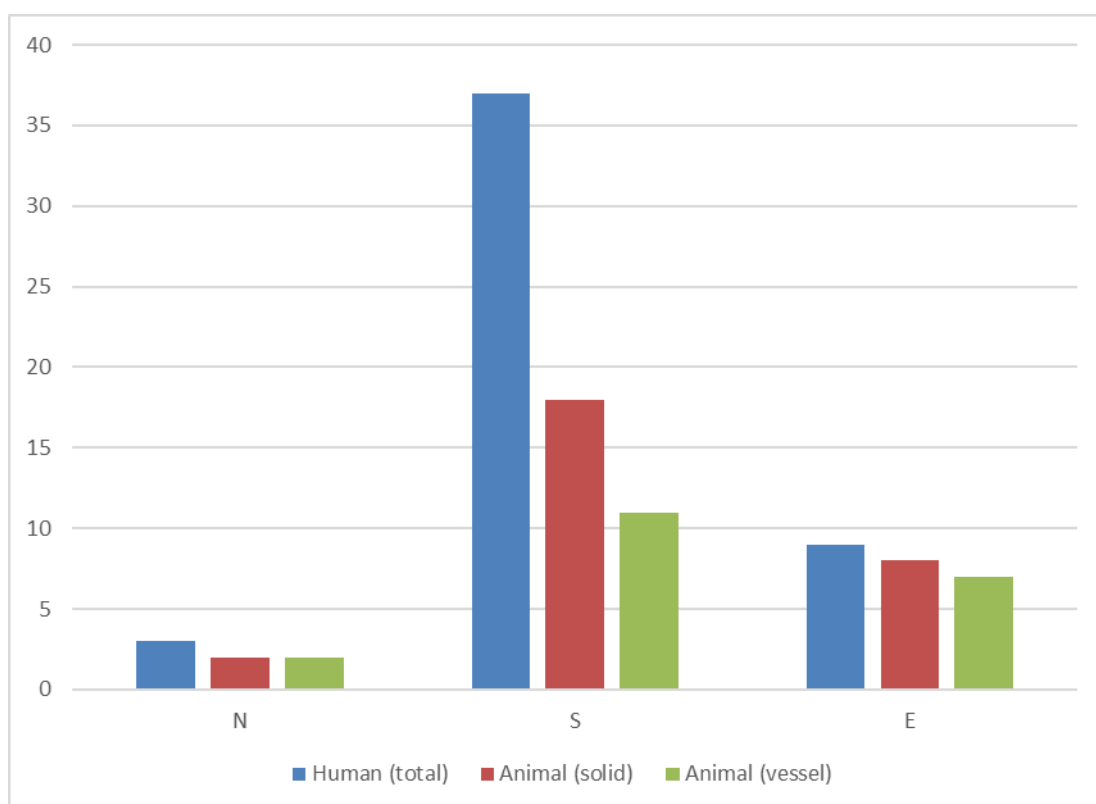


Fig. 8.19: Distribution of human, solid animal figurines and animal vessels across the site (total=97).

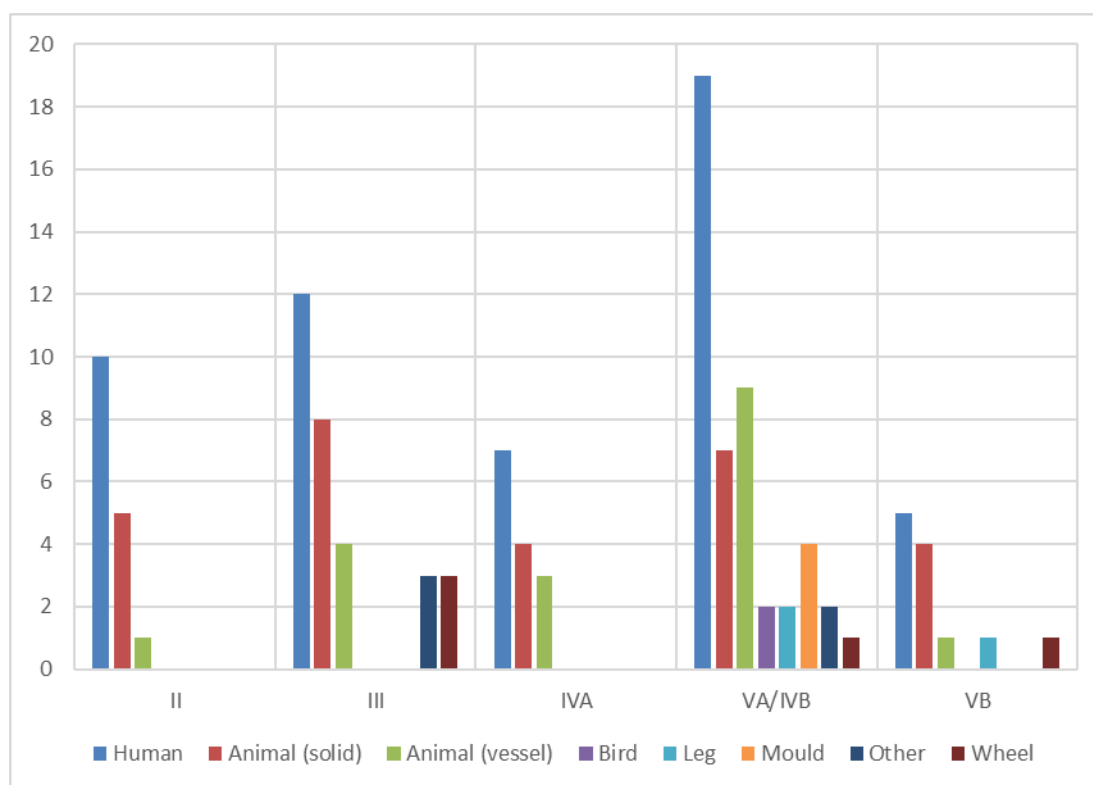


Fig. 8.20: Distribution of different figurine types across the five strata discussed on the Tell (n=118).

8.4.1.2 Distribution of types

A consideration of the distribution for major types also given some interesting results. It is interesting to note how in the southern sector, forty-two fragments (54%) came from anthropomorphic figurines, more than all the zoomorphic fragments put together. The figurines in the north sector are far too few to compare in any significant manner. However, it should also be noted that, applying a chi-square test to see the significance of the difference between human and animal figurines in the Southern and Eastern sectors shows that the difference is not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 1.74$, $df=1$, $p = 0.19$).

Finally, a consideration of the distribution of the main categories across the strata (Fig. 8.19) shows a clear balance between anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines in strata III and VA/IVB, which had yielded the largest numbers of figurines. In Stratum II, this balance appears to shift towards more anthropomorphic figurines, with the zoomorphic figurines being almost exclusively of a solid type, indicating a possible decline in the use of zoomorphic vessels. Stratum VA/IVB too shows a large number of anthropomorphic over

zoomorphic figurines. The small number sizes within the sample, however, require us to exercise caution.

8.4.2 General conclusions

Having considered the figurine repertoire for the site (section 8.2), and the contextual information (section 8.3), and after presenting some of the statistical consideration (section 8.4.1) it is possible to come to some general conclusions, returning to the key research questions, following a similar schema to section 6.4 and section 7.4.2.

What aspects of life of the ancient users are miniaturised in the figurines?

The figurines fall under a limited repertoire (section 8.2), namely:

- Anthropomorphic:
 - female plaque figurines, manufactured in high relief. Some examples hold a disc or tambourine;
 - Some solid or hollow pillar type anthropomorphic figurines;
 - Pierced models of legs, probably serving as amulets
 - Moulds of heads and a plaque figurine
- Zoomorphic:
 - Vessels:
 - Horses
 - bovines,
 - solid zoomorphic figurines:
 - horses
 - bird figurines
- Model shrines
- Model wheels

How is identity construction in and through figurines?

- In contrast to Jerusalem and Lachish, gender is constructed biologically in the female plaque figurines, through the representation of both breasts and genitalia. Moreover, in contrast to the pillar figurines of Lachish and Jerusalem, the plaque figurines can be clearly understood as naked.

Where were the figurines used and discarded?

- The quality of the locus information from the site is rather problematic.
- The figurines were mostly used and discarded in everyday domestic contexts
- Two exceptions may be linked to a dedicated ritual space:
 - a pierced leg in Locus 2081 (section 8.3.2.1);
 - a mould made human head in Room 1521 (section 8.3.4.2).
- Some figurine fragments have also been found in the Iron Age tombs. The known information about the tombs is, however, far too sketchy to allow for a meaningful comparison of any patterns of use between Megiddo and Lachish.

Do the figurines themselves give any indication of how the figurines could be used?

- It should be noted that, in contrast with the pillar figurines which can be freestanding, the plaque figurines suggest a different performative potential as they cannot be stood on their own, but need to be either held or placed against an object for support.
- The zoomorphic vessels from the site also suggest a different performative potential, and are possibly linked with the use of liquids. It is tempting to presume their use in ritual ablutions or libations, but a far more mundane decorative use should not be excluded.

Does spatial distribution suggest: use in more public/private sphere of the community city, household?

- The general absence of figurines in the larger buildings, the gateway and the stables, seems to exclude any widespread use of figurines in the public spaces of the city, and in the specialised area of the stables where such figurines as were found were in secondary deposits and so not definitively associated with what went on in those buildings.
- In contrast, the figurines are more abundant in the domestic areas of the site, suggesting a link between the figurines and the domestic sphere.

The consideration of the figurines of Megiddo in this chapter concludes the first group of case-studies that focused on individual sites. The next chapter opens the other major section of case-studies, changing geographical scale from the small scale, site level, to the wider, regional level.

Chapter 9. Regional study: the sites

This study has focused so far on a site level of analysis. For the next three chapters the focus will shift to a wider regional scale, to consider variation across the whole of the southern Levant. First, this chapter introduces the sites that have been included in the study sample. Chapter 10 will then look at anthropomorphic figurines, including representations of riders, Chapter 11 will focus on horse-and-rider and other equid figurines, while Chapter 12 will consider the other models. For the purpose of this regional study, a sample of twenty sites have been chosen for evaluation, in an effort to provide an adequate representation of the various geographical sub-regions. The rationale behind the criteria used for inclusion and exclusion of material in this study has already been discussed (see section 5.2.2.1). The sub-regions and selected sites are as follows (Fig. 9.1):

- Northern coastal plain: Achziv and Tell Keisan.
- The Galilee and Jezreel Valley: Beth Shean, Hazor, and Megiddo.
- Northern Hill Country: Tell el-Far‘ah (North) and Samaria.
- Southern coastal plain: Ashkelon and Tell Jemmeh.
- The Shephelah: Beth Shemesh and Lachish.
- Southern hill country: Jerusalem and Ramat Raḥel.
- The Negev: Tel ‘Aroer, Beersheba, Tel ‘Ira, and Malhata.
- The Transjordan: Amman, Busayra, Mount Nebo, and Tell es-Sa‘idiyeh.

The shift in scale from the site level to the regional one forces a shift in resolution. Working on a larger scale means that it is no longer possible to provide detailed contextual discussion for each figurine. Notwithstanding this, clear information about the stratigraphic dating and general contextual information for the figurines from each site remains important, to be able to include the material in the study on the basis of stratigraphic rather than typological dating, which remains a key methodological choice in this study.

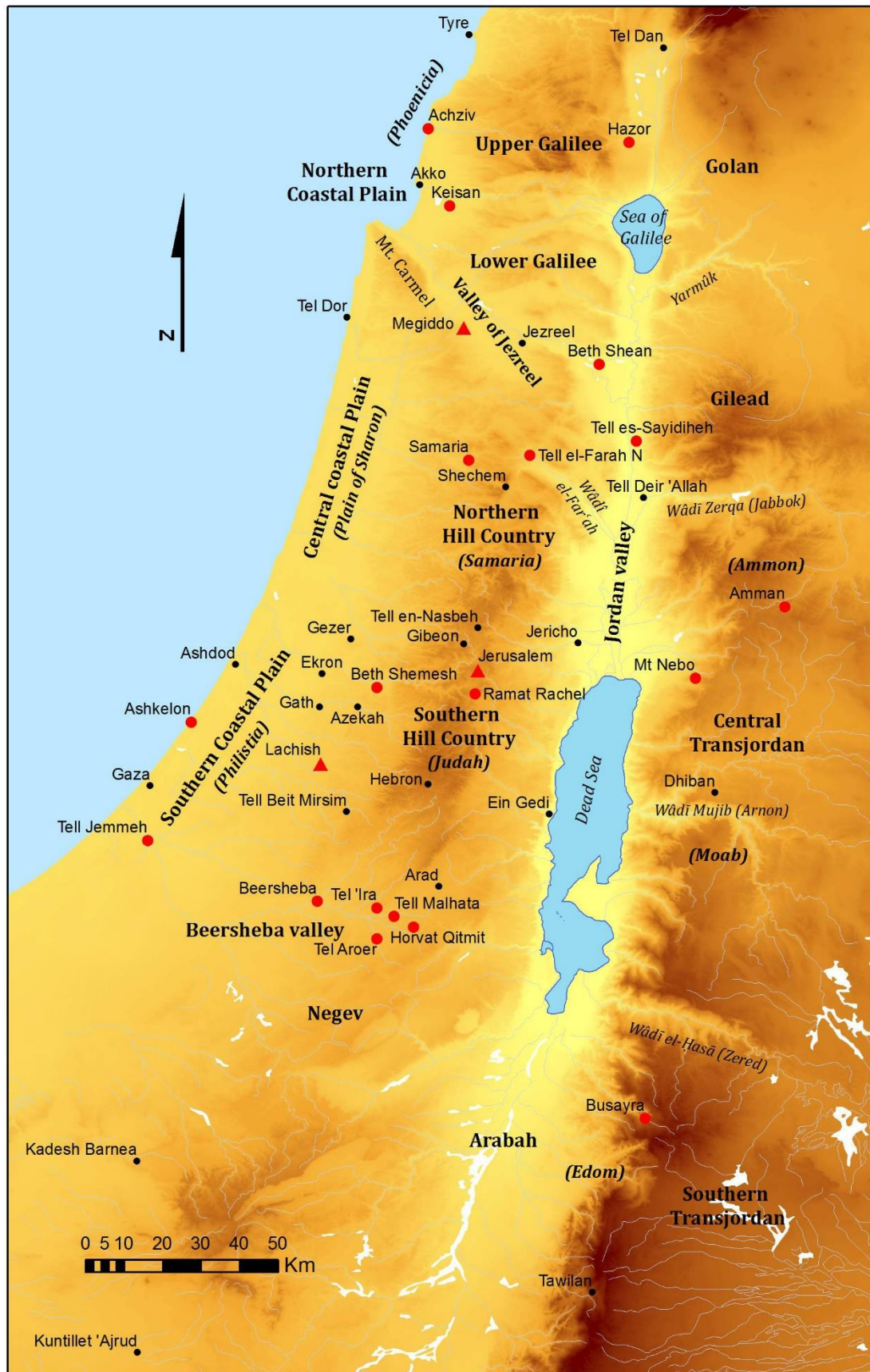


Fig. 9.1: The southern Levant, and its different sub-regions. Sites included in the regional case-study are indicated by red dots. Red triangles mark the three sites included both in the region case study and the site-level case studies. Black dots mark a number of other significant sites in the region (map by author, using ArcGIS).

		Anthropomorphic	Horse and Rider	Zoomorphic	Models	Other	TOTAL
Northern Coastal Plain	Achziv	14	5	6	5		30
	Tell Keisan	6	4	6	1		17
Galilee and Jezreel valley	Beth Shean	12	1	8			21
	Hazor	20	3	21	1		45
	Megiddo	61	1	54	8	2	126
Northern Hill Country	Samaria	37		148	1		186
	Tell el-Far'ah (North)	5		13	3		21
Southern Coastal Plain	Ashkelon	44	7	90		1	142
	Tell Jemmeh	52	8	130	8		198
Shephelah	Beth Shemesh	23	4	16	4		47
	Lachish	22	6	60	7		95
Southern Hill Country	Jerusalem	255	58	845	33		1191
	Ramat Rahel	6	13	9	2		30
Negev	Tel 'Aroer	11	2	42			55
	Beersheba	42	24	215	5	1	287
	Horvat Qitmit	212		89	8	115	424
	Tel 'Ira	9	1	18	1		29
	Malhata	17		49			66
Transjordan	Amman	32	4	22			58
	Busayrah	9		7			16
	Mount Nebo	2		1			3
	Tell es-Sa'idiyeh	7		3		2	12
TOTAL		898	141	1852	87	121	3099

Table 9.1: Distribution of figurine types across the sites in the case-study.

		Iron IIA 1000-980 – 840/830 BC	Iron IIB 840/830 – 732/701 BC	Iron IIC 732/701 – 605/586 BC
Northern coastal plain	Tell Keisan	8c-8a	7, 6	5, 4b, 4a
Galilee and Jezreel	Megiddo	VB, IVB-VA	IVA	III
	Hazor	Xb, Xa, IXb, IXa, VIII	VII, VI, Vb, Va	IV, III
	Beth Shean — (Pennsylvania)	Part of Lower V	Upper V, IV	—
	— (Hebrew U.)	S-1, P-10, P-9	P-8, P-7	(P-6)
Northern hill country	Samaria (pottery periods)	I-II	III, IV, V, VI	VII
	Tell el Far'ah (North)	VIIb, VIIc	VIIId	VIIe
Southern coastal plain	Ashkelon		38/16, 50/8	38/14, 50/7
	Jemmeh (Petrie)	EF	CD	AB
	(Van Beek)	II-4	II-3, IV-7, IV-6	IV-5
Shephelah	Lachish	V, IV	III	II
	Beth Shemesh — (Mackenzie)	2 nd city	2 nd city	2 nd city
	— (Grant)	Ila-IIb	IIc	—
	— (Tel Aviv)	3	2	—
Southern hill country	Jerusalem — (Kenyon)		2, 3, 4, 5, 6 T4	7, 8, 9 A3, B7, B8, T5, T6
	— (Shiloh)	14, 13	12	11, 10
	— (Avigad)		9, 8	7
	Ramat Rahel	—	—	V Va
Negev	Tel 'Aroer		IV, III	Ila, IIb
	Beer Sheba	VI, V	IV, III, II	—
	Tel 'Ira	VIII	VII	VI
	Tel Malḥata	V	IV	III
Transjordan	Amman (Citadel)			V
	Busayrah			2
	Tell es-Sa'idiyeh	X, IX, VIII	VII, VI, V	IV

Table 9. 2: Synchronic table of the Iron II strata from the excavations included in this case-study (based in part on Mazar 2005, 22)

9.1 Northern Coastal Plain

This presentation of sites starts from the northern end of the study region. Two sites have been selected from the northern coastal plain, both of which were under Phoenician influence: Achziv, on the northern coast, and Tell Keisan, a few miles inland from Acco (Aubert 2013, 712).

9.1.1 Achziv

Achziv (in Arabic, Ez-Zib) is located in the north coastal plain, north of Mount Carmel, and about 25km south of Tyre (Prausnitz 1993, 32).

The first salvage excavations in the cemeteries of Achziv were carried out by Ben Dor in the 1940s (Dayagi-Mendels 2002), and a number of figurines from the site took pride of place in Museums, and occasionally found their way into publications (Johns 1948, Plate III; Moscati 1968, Plate 71; Prausnitz 1993, 33-34, Stern 2001, 81). A detailed excavation report was only published decades later on the basis of archival data and the finds (Dayagi-Mendels 2002). The report included a chapter on the figurines (2002, 145-162), which come from eleven tombs (App. 9, no. 1-17). A few figurines in the report (and the Museums) were the result of purchase rather than excavation and have been consequently excluded in this study. Further excavations in cemeteries were conducted by E. Mazar (2001, 2004). Her excavations brought to light figurines from two further tombs (App. 9, no. 18-30), which were published with full contextual information (2001, 113-125; 2004, 79-172).

The tell itself was excavated by Prausnitz between 1958 and 1980, but remains as yet unpublished. Final reports are being currently being prepared by M. Press, who kindly provided the unpublished catalogue of the figurines. Unfortunately, these figurines could not be included since the pertinent stratigraphic information is not yet available, but they provided useful comparanda for this study. Further small scale excavations have also been conducted in 2012 by the A. Yasur-Landau (University of Haifa) and G. Davies. A new joint expedition has been launched in 2014 by the Hebrew Union College and the French Research

Centre at Jerusalem (Jasmin and Thareani 2014). No figurines have yet been published from either project.

9.1.2 Tell Keisan

Tell Keisan (in Hebrew, Tel Kison) is located some 8km inland from the Mediterranean, to the south-east of Acco. An ill-fated expedition was initiated by Garstang and Rowe in 1935-36, interrupted by the 1936 disturbances in Palestine, with the finds being subsequently damaged during the Blitz in London during World War II (Humbert 1993, 863). Eight seasons of excavation were undertaken by the Dominican *École biblique et archéologique française* between 1971 and 1980 (Briand and Humbert 1980).

Excavations uncovered a substantial Bronze Age fortified settlement, as well as an Iron Age I city (strata 12-9), which was destroyed probably around 1000 BC. The site seems to have been reoccupied quite soon after its destruction (stratum 8), remaining within the confines of the early Iron Age city. The latter part of the Iron Age (strata 5-4) is marked by Neo-Assyrian influence in the region, with stratum 4 showing a new town plan (Humbert 1993, 866).

The report included a section on the figurines (Paraire 1980). Seventeen figurines are assigned to late Iron Age strata (8c – 4a), and have been included in this study (App. 9, no. 2141-2157). Unfortunately, several others were unstratified and so had to be omitted.

9.2 Galilee and Jezreel Valley

Moving inland to the Galilee and the Jezreel valley, the region is represented in the study sample by three sites: Hazor, an imposing site in the northern Galilee commanding the upper Jordan Valley in the Galilee; Megiddo, controlling the pass between the central coastal plain and the Jezreel valley; and Beth Shean, close to the convergence of the Jezreel Valley and the Jordan valley.

The site of Megiddo has already been introduced in detail (chapter 8) and does not need further introduction here.

9.2.1 Beth Shean

Beth Shean (in Arabic, Tell el-Ḥusn), to the south east of Lake Tiberias and west of the Jordan, is strategically located at the junction of the two major roads, one leading west-east along the Jezreel Valley, the other north-south along the Jordan Valley (see section 3.1.3). The tell was excavated by the University of Pennsylvania between 1921 and 1933. This expedition unearthed remains on the tell dating from late Neolithic to the Medieval period (Fitzgerald 1930; Rowe 1930, 1940; James 1966). The expedition also excavated the cemetery area to the north of the tell (Oren 1973). A three-week excavation was undertaken in 1983 by Y. Yadin and S. Geva, focusing on untangling some of the stratigraphic issues emerging from the Pennsylvania excavation (Shiloh and Geva 1986). A further nine seasons of excavation were undertaken between 1989 and 1996 on behalf of the Hebrew University by A. Mazar (2006).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.2: Beth Shean. Plan of the site during the Iron IIA, integrating the plans of stratum V of the University of Pennsylvania excavations with those of the Hebrew University Stratum S-1a (Mazar 2010, 263).

The late Iron Age strata of the Pennsylvania excavation included parts of upper stratum V (Fig. 9.2) and stratum IV. As Mazar notes, the interpretation of the stratigraphy for the three late Iron Age strata is difficult, and the plans are “less than satisfactory” lumping together walls from separate phases (2010, 262). Following Mazar, upper stratum V appears to have been in use until the time of the Aramean wars of c. 830 BC (Mazar 2010, 263). Stratum IV, poorly preserved, should be attributed to the rebuilding of the city in the eighth century, and was subsequently destroyed by the Assyrians in 732 BC (Mazar 2010, 264).

The figurines including in this study come from upper stratum V and stratum IV of the Pennsylvania excavations (App. 9, no. 573-593), and were published by James (1966, 328-347). A few late Iron Age figurines were also found in Mazar’s Area P and Area S (2006, 468-471).

9.2.2 Hazor

A third major tell site in the northern Galilee is Hazor (in Arabic, Tell el-Qedah). Initial soundings were made by Garstang in the 1920s, with a major expedition conducted by Y. Yadin between 1955-58 and a final season in 1968 (Yadin *et al.* 1958, 1960, 1961, 1989; Ben-Tor and Bonfil 1997). A new series of campaigns was then undertaken between 1990 and 2009 (Ben-Tor *et al.* 2012).

During the late Iron Age (stratum X-III), Hazor was clearly an important local centre of power. In stratum X, the settlement on the upper tell was surrounded by a casemate walled city and entered by a large six-chambered gate. During stratum VIII, the tell was dominated by the large citadel (Area B) at the western edge of the mound, as well as a large pillared storeroom (Area A), which remained in use during stratum VII (Fig. 9.3). The storehouse gave way to a residential area with workshops during stratum VI. During stratum V, facing the Assyrian menace, the citadel was fortified with an offset-inset wall, which, however, did not stop the capture and destruction of the city by the Assyrians who eventually built a citadel in Stratum III, following a short hiatus with an unfortified settlement in Stratum IV (Yadin 1993, 603).

The detailed stratigraphic information from Hazor has made it possible to include the figurines belonging to the late Iron Age strata Xb to III in this study (App. 9, no. 678-722). The figurines from the earlier campaign were published briefly in Yadin's excavation reports (Yadin 1958, 1960, 1961, 1989; Ben-Tor and Bonfil 1997), while those from more recent seasons were given a more detailed presentation in a dedicated chapter of the Ben-Tor expedition (Tadmor 2012).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.3: Hazor. Schematic plan of stratum VIIb (Ben Tor et al. 2012, 2000, figure 3.22).

9.3 Northern Hill Country

The picture that can be formed of the northern hill country during the latter part of the Iron Age is relatively poor, despite the archaeological and historical evidence that it was prosperous during the late Iron Age (Finkelstein and Mazar 2007, 162-163; Killebrew 2013, 737-738). The modern political situation has not helped either, as – compared to the extensive excavations within the 1967 borders of modern Israel – excavations in the West Bank have been limited, and the data available has come from older excavations, with consequent problems relating to sometimes inadequate excavation methods.

Two sites from the northern hill country are included in the sample: Tell el-Far‘ah North and Samaria. The biblical text suggests that the capital of the kingdom of Israel shifted from Shechem to Tirzah (Tell el-Far‘ah North) from the reigns of Baasa to Omri (1 Kings 15,33; 16,8; 16,23), while Omri founded a new capital at Samaria (1 Kings 16,24). The position of Samaria, in the valleys that open towards the coastal plain of Sharon, and the Mediterranean are read as a sign of its openness and direction towards the outside world, in contrast to the sites of Shechem and Tizrah, huddled deep within the highlands themselves.

9.3.1 Tell el-Far‘ah (North)

Tell el-Far‘ah (North), identified as ancient Tirzah, was excavated by the *École biblique* between 1949 and 1960, uncovering remains from the Neolithic through to the Persian period (Chambon 1984, Chambon 1993).

For the Iron Age, the site yielded extensive remains of three successive towns, subdivided into a total of five phases, stratum VIIa-e (Chambon 1984, 12). Stratum VIIb (Fig. 9.4) probably represents the stratum destroyed by Omri, with stratum VIIc, part abandoned during construction, corresponding to the shift of the capital from Tirzah to Samaria (Chambon 1993, 439).

The figurines published from the site (App. 9, 657-677; Chambon 1984, 73-78) help supplement the figurines from Samaria, providing a wider picture of figurine use in the northern hill country.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.4: Tell el-Far'ah. Plan of stratum VIIb (Chambon 1984, Plan III).

9.3.2 Samaria

Samaria (in Arabic, Sebastiya) has been the focus of two major expeditions: the Harvard expedition between 1908 and 1910 (Reisner *et al.* 1924), and the Joint Expedition of Harvard University, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem between 1931 and 1935 (Crowfoot, Crowfoot and Sukenik 1938; Crowfoot, Kenyon and Sukenik 1942; Crowfoot, Crowfoot and Kenyon 1957). The stratigraphy of Iron Age Samaria has been the subject of study by Tappy (1992, and 2001). Both expeditions uncovered key elements of the citadel of Omride Samaria, including high-status finds, such as the Samarian ivories (Crowfoot, Crowfoot and Sukenik 1938), attesting to the prosperity of the northern kingdom.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.5: Samaria. Plan of the Israelite citadel as excavated by the Harvard and joint expeditions (Crowfoot et al. 1942, Plan II)

This study includes 186 Iron Age figurines from Samaria. Six of them (App. 9, 2914-2919), come from the Harvard expedition and are included in the reports

(Reisner et al. 1924, 384-385). A further 180 come from the Joint Expedition (App. 9, 2920-3099). Unfortunately, the excavation reports of this expedition included only a selection of the figurines (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957, 76-82), and many remained unpublished. Holland's dissertation (1975) included all the figurines in the excavation registers at the Palestine Exploration Fund in London, and studied many of these directly at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Unfortunately, as discussed earlier (see section 2.3.2), it is not always possible to match his material to the original registers and site contexts. All the figurines from the site are currently being studied by Daphna Tsoran for her MA dissertation at the Hebrew University Jerusalem, and she also has kindly forwarded information on eight of the figurines, linking figurines from Holland's thesis to the excavation register. Where there have been discrepancies in source information, that from the original find registers – consulted at the Palestine Exploration Fund – has been given priority.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.6: Samaria. Plan and sections of site E 207(Sukenik 1942, 23, figure 11).

One hundred seventy-two of the stratigraphically dateable figurines come from the single site E 207 (App. 9, no. 2924-3076), a rock-cut trench around a trapezoidal area (Fig. 9.6), located to the south-east of the village of Sebastiya and outside the Israelite citadel itself. The excavators tentatively describe this as an Israelite Shrine (Sukenik 1942), an interpretation also followed by Steiner (1997), who compares the material in E 207 with that from Cave I in Jerusalem (see section 6.3.1.2). Although the abundance of serving vessels and figurines in this context is enticing, it seems inappropriate here to refrain from further conjecture, particularly in the absence of any further information about any late Iron Age structures in the vicinity.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.7: Ashkelon. General plan of site with plans of the Grid 38 winey and Grid 50 marketplace during the late Iron Age (Stager, Master and Schloen 2011, 6, fig 1.1).

9.4 Southern Coastal Plain

Moving further south, and back to the Mediterranean coastal area, two sites have been selected for analysis from the southern coastal plain: Ashkelon and Tell Jemmeh. Both are believed to have been under Philistine control (Stager and Schloen 2008, 5; Ben Shlomo 2013, 719).

9.4.1 Ashkelon

Ashkelon, one of the five cities traditionally identified as the Philistine Pentapolis, is located on the Mediterranean Sea some 16 km north of Gaza and 63 km south of Tel Aviv. The first scientific excavations of the site were conducted by J. Garstang in 1921-22, uncovering primarily remains from the Roman period, and Phythian Adams whose trenches uncovered some remains of Bronze and Iron Age Ashkelon (Garstang and Phythian Adams 1921; Garstang 1922; Garstang 1924; Phythian-Adams 1923; Schloen 2008, 153-158). No figurines were recorded from these excavations.

The Leon Levy Expedition, ongoing since 1985, and led by Harvard University, has uncovered important remains of the late Iron Age city in excavations areas 37 and 50 (Fig. 9.7), destroyed by the Babylonians in 604 BC (Stager, Master and Schloen 2011). The finds suggested during their later phases, a winery complex was present in area 37 during phase 14 that had replaced earlier phase 16 houses (2011, 13-29). A marketplace was found in area 50 (phase 7), partly built over a quarry (phase 8) excavated in the seventh century into the earlier Iron Age and Bronze Age strata (2011, 31-49).

The seventh century figurines from Ashkelon (App. 9, 144-285) have been published as part of the final excavation report on the Iron Age strata of these two areas (Cohen 2011). They have also been part of a PhD study, and subsequent monograph, placing the figurines of Ashkelon within a wider Philistine context (Press 2007, 2012).

9.4.2 Tell Jemmeh

Moving south of Ashkelon, Tell Jemmeh (in Hebrew, Tel Re'im) is located some twelve kilometres south of Gaza, and nine kilometres inland. The site was excavated by F. Petrie in 1926-27, who identified six superimposed cities dating from the Late Bronze Age to the Persian period (Petrie 1928). Petrie's report was pioneering at the time in providing the spatial documentation of almost every find by different rooms and strata, which he summarised in tabular format (Petrie 1928, plate LXIX). His understanding of stratigraphy, however, remains limited and problematic, defined by major architectural phases and recording of absolute heights (Sparks 2007, 8; Ben-Shlomo and Van Beek 2014, 4).

The site was further excavated by Van Beek for the Smithsonian Institution between 1970 and 1990 (Ben-Shlomo and Van Beek 2014), which has helped clarify some of the stratigraphic issues of Petrie's excavation. Among the more remarkable finds of the more recent excavation was an Assyrian vaulted building, probably the underground section of a palace of a high-ranking Assyrian official (Ben-Shlomo 2014, 1062).

One hundred and sixty-seven figurines (App. 9, no. 752-981) included in this research come from strata A-B, C-D, and E-F, of Petrie's excavation, and may be attributed to Iron Age IIB and IIC. These include material published by Petrie (1928, 17-18, and plates XXXV-XXXIX), supplemented by unpublished examples from Holland's dissertation (1975) and others in the UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections. Thirty-one additional figurines (App. 9, no. 919-949) were discovered in late Iron Age strata by the Smithsonian excavation (Ben Shlomo, Gardiner and Van Beek 2014).

9.5 The Shephelah

Moving inland, the lower hill country of the Shephelah region provides an important point of contact and border between the southern coastal plain and the southern hill country. Two sites are included in the study: Lachish and Beth Shemesh. The site of Lachish has already been extensively discussed (Chapter 6).

9.5.1 Beth Shemesh

Beth Shemesh (in Arabic, Tell er-Rumeileh), on the ancient road from the coast towards the hill country has been the focus of three expeditions. The first expedition, sponsored by the Palestine Exploration Fund, and directed by Mackenzie, unearthed the cities of the Bronze and Iron Ages, as well as Iron Age tombs. The Haverford College excavation, led by Elihu Grant (Grant 1929, 1931, 1932, 1934, Grant and Wright 1938, 1939), exposed further Bronze and Iron Age remains on the tell, including extensive domestic architecture datable to the late Iron Age city of stratum II. More recent archaeological work has confirmed that the Iron Age city was finally destroyed in 701 BC by Sennacherib (Bunimovitz and Lederman 2003).

Figurines datable to the late Iron Age were found by both the Palestine Exploration Fund and Haverford expeditions (App. 9, no. 594-640). Figurines from Tombs 1, 5, 7 and 8, datable to the late Iron Age were published by Mackenzie (1912, 54-55, 76, 82-83, 88). Unfortunately, none of the published figurines from his excavations on the tell included contextual information. The figurines from stratum II of the Haverford excavation (App. 9, no. 605-640) were published throughout the various volumes, with a notable number from the 1933 season (Grant and Wright 1938, Plate LI).

The reports for the 1990-2000 excavations seasons, conducted by Tel Aviv University, have only recently been published (Bunimovitz and Lederman 2016), and the figurines from this report are not included here.

9.6 Southern Hill Country

Moving to the southern hill country, the key site is undoubtedly Jerusalem, whose excavation and stratigraphy have already extensively discussed in section 6.1. The second site selected for inclusion in the study sample is the complex of Ramat Raḥel.

9.6.1 Ramat Raḥel

Ramat Raḥel (in Arabic, Khirbet es-Sallah) is located on a hill, some four kilometres south of Jerusalem and half way on the road to Bethlehem. The site has been excavated by two major expeditions. The first expedition, led by Y. Aharoni between 1954 and 1962, uncovered remains of an Iron Age citadel and complex, along with later remains through to the Byzantine period. Until recently, the earlier expedition had only been published in preliminary reports (Aharoni 1962, 1964). A second expedition returned to the site between 2005 and 2010 under the auspices of Tel Aviv and Heidelberg Universities (Lipschits *et al.* 2011). The final reports for earlier seasons have been just published (December 2016) by the team of the second expedition, as a prequel to the final reports of the 2005-2010 seasons (Lipschits *et al.* 2016).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.8: Ramat Raḥel. The complex of during the late Iron Age. (Lipschits et al. 2011, 11 fig. 10)

The renewed excavations clarified the stratigraphy of the Iron Age complex, with an initial building phase that included the Western Tower, datable to the late eighth or early seventh century BC. The larger royal palace with its high quality ashlar construction was part of a second phase of construction, starting in the second half of the seventh century, and which remained in use through to the Persian period (Lipschits *et al.* 2011, 10, 20). This seems to have served as a major administrative centre during the latter part of the Judah kingdom, and throughout the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian domination of the region (Fig. 9.8).

Few figurines have yet been published from the excavations. However, the chapter on the figurines in the report on the 1954-1962 seasons has been made available for this study prior to publication (Kletter and Saarelainen 2016), as were the locus lists (courtesy of Y. Gadot), and form the sample for the site (App. 9, no. 2872-2901). Several of the figurines from both excavations were also available for direct study. The figurines from the more recent expedition have not been included here, in the absence of available stratigraphic dating of the fragments, but do not appear to substantially alter the picture provided by material from the earlier seasons.

9.7 Negev

In contrast to the dearth of fully published sites in the northern hill country, extensive archaeological work has been undertaken in the Negev, providing a wealth of sites to choose from. The region provides an interesting point of contact at the edge of the ancient polity of Judah, in contact with the major thoroughfare south of the hill country from the coast to Transjordan, south of the Dead Sea.

Five sites are being included in this study: Tel ‘Aroer, Tel Beersheba, Ḥorvat Qitmit, Tel ‘Ira and Tel Malḥata.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.9: Tel 'Aroer. General plan of excavations (Thareani 2011, 7, fig. 1.5)

9.7.1 Tel ‘Aroer

Tel ‘Aroer (in Arabic, Khirbet ‘Ar‘ara), in the southern Beersheba valley, is located some 22km southeast of the modern city of Beersheba. The site is located on a natural hill rising some 50 meters above the surrounding plain. The site was excavated between 1975 and 1982, primarily under the direction of A. Biran of the Nelson Glueck School of Hebrew Union College (Thareani 2011).

The site developed during the eighth century (Strata IV-III) including both a walled settlement as well as an important extra-mural quarter (Fig. 9.9). Stratum III was destroyed violently, probably during the Sennacherib’s campaign to Judah. ‘Aroer was rebuilt during the seventh century (Stratum IIa-IIb), probably not long after its destruction. The site seems to have prospered on account of its connection with the south Arabian trade routes that passed through the Arad-Beersheba valley system. Along with many other sites in the region, stratum IIb was destroyed by fire during the early sixth century BC, corresponding with the time of the Babylonian conquest (Thareani 2011, 305-306).

The figurines are published as part of the finds chapter (Thareani 2011, 188-205). This study includes fifty-five figurines that can stratigraphically assigned to strata IV-II (App. 9, no. 89-143).

9.7.2 Tel Beersheba

Tel Beersheba (in Arabic, Tell es-Saba‘) is situated in the northern Negev, on a low hill over the Beersheba and Hebron valley. The site has been the focus of a major expedition between 1969 and 1976, under the direction of Y. Aharoni and, during the last season, by Z. Herzog. Two preliminary reports were published relatively soon after the excavations (Aharoni 1973; Herzog 1984). The final report has taken far longer to bring to conclusion, and has only recently been published (Herzog and Singer Avitz 2016).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.10: Beersheba. Plan of stratum II (Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2016, 1437 Fig. 36.9)

Some earlier Chalcolithic material has been found at the site, but Tel Beersheba appears to only become a substantial, if unfortified, settlement during the early Iron Age (Herzog 1993, 169). The site was then radically transformed into a fortified settlement during the late Iron Age, for which four stages (Strata V-II) have been identified. The best preserved, and most extensively excavated, was stratum II, the last of the Iron Age cities, destroyed probably during the Assyrian invasion of 701 BC (Herzog 1993, 171). The stratum II provides an important example of Judahite town planning (Fig. 9.10), with the fortifications, a circular road leading to houses all along the town wall, a gate with an important town square within, and large storage houses immediately inside the city gate, which supports the idea of well organised provisioning of the population in such a border town, which would have become crucial, along with the water system, in the case of a siege.

After Jerusalem and Ḥorvat Qitmit, the largest number of figurines included in this study come from Beersheba (App. 9, no. 286-572). A few of the figurines have long been known from the preliminary reports, and others were included in Kletter's monograph (1996). A number of them were also available for study

directly at the IAA stores. Thankfully, the chapter on the figurines (Kletter 2016) was provided a few months prior to the publication of the final report, which has allowed this study to include the figurines along with their basic stratigraphic information.

9.7.3 Ḥorvat Qitmit

Ḥorvat Qitmit is located in the eastern Negev, in the Arad Valley, around 10km south of Tel Arad. The site was discovered during 1979, and excavated between 1994 and 1996 by I. Beit-Arieh for Tel Aviv University (Beit-Arieh 1995).

The excavations showed a one-period site dated to the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth century. With two main parts to the complex, the site seems to have been completely dedicated to cult, including a *bamah*, an altar, stone basin, as well as a *maṣṣebah* (Beit-Arieh 1995, 303). Among the many pottery finds were 793 registered objects (many unidentifiable fragments) of a coroplastic figurative nature (Beck 1995).

This site is very much a wildcard for the region because of the unusual range of figurative material found there (App. 9, 2448-2871). It was, therefore, decided to include the site to better represent the variety within the Negev.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.11: Ḥorvat Qitmit. General plan of site (Beit Arieḥ 1995, 5, figure 1.6).

9.7.4 Tel 'Ira

Tel 'Ira (in Arabic, Khirbet Ghara) is located on the southernmost spur of the Hebron hills, cutting into the Arad-Beersheba valley system. The hill rises some 514m above sea level, and is protected from the surrounding valley by sheer sides, except to the north where it is connected to the hills. The site was surveyed by Y. Aharoni in the mid-1950s, and subsequently excavated between 1979 and 1987, mostly under the direction of I. Beit Arie (1999).

The excavations uncovered an extensive fortified settlement for the late Iron Age (strata VII and VI). The unfortified settlement of stratum VIII is transformed into the fortified city of stratum VII, dated to the late eighth and early seventh century BC. The city gate and public building were concentrated at the eastern end of the tell, with private houses circling around the defensive walls, while several parts of the centre of the site were evidently devoid of buildings (Fig. 9.12). The city of Stratum VII was destroyed violently, and then rebuilt (Stratum VI) during the mid-seventh century BC, only to be destroyed once more by fire around 600 BC (Beit Arie 1999, 176).

The figurines from the site are published in a dedicated chapter of the site report (Kletter 1999b). This study includes those that are dated stratigraphically to strata VIII, VII and VI (App. 9, no. 723-751). The dates for loci follow the excavator's locus list (Beit-Arie 1999, 511-519), rather than those in Kletter's catalogue, with which there were discrepancies.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.12: Tel 'Ira. General plan of site (Beit Arie'h 1999, 14, figure 2.7).

9.7.5 Tel Malḥata

Tel Malḥata (in Arabic, Tell el-Milḥ) is located in the north-eastern Negev desert, on the eastern bank of the Wadi Malḥata, close to where it meets the Wadi Beersheba. The site has been excavated by two expeditions. The first was led by M. Kochavi in 1967 and 1971, under the auspices first of the Hebrew University Jerusalem, then Tel Aviv University. A second expedition, led by I. Beit-Arieh and B.C. Cresson, ran for seven excavations seasons between 1990 and 2000, under the auspices of Tel Aviv University and Baylor University, Texas. The final reports for both expeditions have recently been published (Beit-Arieh and Freud 2015).

During the late Iron Age IIA (stratum V), settlement was renewed at the site and a defensive mudbrick city wall built (Fig. 9.13). The site may have been abandoned for a brief period following the destruction of stratum V, and was completely renovated at the beginning of the eighth century (stratum IV) with a defensive fortification system based in part on the stratum V wall, and which remained in use to the end of stratum III. The presence of many heavy shekel weights in strata IV-III have been understood as indicating economic activity that suggests a network of international trade rather than serving the local needs of the settlement (Beit-Arieh and Freud 2015, 741).

The figurines from the site were published in a dedicated chapter (Kletter 2015), with full stratigraphic information provided. All the figurines included in this study come from strata IV and III (App. 9, no. 2253-2318). No figurines are recorded for stratum V.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.13: Tel Malḥata. General plan showing excavated areas (Beit Arieḥ and Freud 2015, 13, figure 1.2)

9.8 Transjordan

The entire region east of the river Jordan has been considered together for the purposes of this study, primarily on account of the small number of stratified Iron Age figurines. A number of sites have been chosen: Amman, Busayra, a tomb on Mount Nebo, and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh.

9.8.1 Amman

The ancient city of Rabbath Ammon is located at the present city of Amman in Jordan. The heart of the ancient city is known to have been the citadel at Jebel al Qal'a, which became the Classical period Philadelphia, radically reshaping the citadel, and also burying the ancient Iron Age site.

The citadel has been the focus of numerous expeditions, which have generally focused on the Hellenistic and Roman periods. A few excavations on the Lower Terraces have also been concerned with the Iron Age levels (Zayadine 1973, Zayadine *et al.* 1988, Mansour 2005). Three stratified figurines (App. 9, no. 54-56) come from Stratum V (Iron Age) of the 1968 excavations (Zayadine 1973, 31-33), and a further figurine from the 1988 dig (App. 9, no. 57), found in a late Iron Age room that is poorly defined, but clearly stratified (Zayadine *et al.* 1989, 362). Four figurines (App. 9, 58-61) come from Iron Age strata of the excavations in the area of the great temple of Amman (Koutsoukou and Najjar 1997, 127-131; Momani and Koutsoukou 1997, 167). The largest number of stratified figurines – twenty-seven (App. 9, no. 62-88) – come from the 2000-2001 seasons that investigated the area of the southern fortification wall of the citadel (Mansour 2005, 541-555).

A number of late Iron Age tombs have also been excavated in the area around ancient Rabbath Ammon which included figurines among their finds (App. 9, 33-53). Of these, four tombs were excavated at Jebel Joffeh, to the south of the citadel: Tombs A and B (Harding 1945), Tomb E (Ma'ayah 1960, 114; Dajani 1966a), and Tomb F (Dornemann 1983, fig. 85-89). One tomb, Tomb C, dated to the eighth century, was excavated on Jebel Amman el Jedid (Harding 1951, 37).

One further tomb was found at Meqabelein (Harding 1950), close to Amman, and provides two fine examples of a complete horse and rider figurine (App. 9, no. 31-32).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.14: Busayra. Integrated plan of the areas excavated (Bienkowski 2002, 43, figure 1.3)

9.8.2 Busayra

Busayra, identified with ancient Bozrah, was a major centre of Edom. The site is located some 10km south of Tafilah and 45 km north of Petra, and around 4km west of the Kings' Highway, the major north-south thoroughfare in the Transjordan. The site was excavated by C.M. Bennett over five seasons between 1971 and 1980. This project uncovered the remains of late Iron II public buildings, possibly a palace and a temple, dated to the Integrated Phase 2 (Bienkowski 2002, 475-482). Bienkowski highlights the problematic nature of the stratigraphic data from the site, which regularly did not allow for stratigraphic connections between the excavation areas, and even for different parts of the same area (2002, 475).

Bienkowski published a section dedicated to terracotta figurines in his chapter on the small finds (2002, 366-392). Only seventeen of the figurines could be securely dated to the Iron Age strata and could therefore be included in this study (App. 9, 641-656).

9.8.3 Khirbet el-Mukhayyat / Mount Nebo

Several Iron Age tombs, as well as an Iron Age tower have been excavated at Khirbet el-Mukhayyat, on Mount Nebo, some 7km west of the town of Madeba. Two Iron Age tombs, discovered during survey work in 1964 by J. Riparmoniti and excavated in 1965, were of particular interest on account of a large quantity of Iron Age material. The pottery was initially dated by Fr Saller to between the ninth and seventh century BC (Saller 1966), but have since been re-dated by Benedettucci to the seventh and sixth centuries (Benedettucci 1998, 112-124).

Among the finds of Tomb 84 were two hollow pillar figurines (App. 9, no. 2445-2446) and one zoomorphic figurine (App. 9, no. 2447), all three of which are included in this study (Saller 1966, 260-263).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.15: Mount Nebo. Plan and section of Tomb 84 (Benedettucci 1998, 116).

9.8.4 Tell es-Sa'idiyeh

Tell es-Sa'idiyeh is located around half way between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea on the south bank of Wadi Kufrinjah, 1.8 km east of the Jordan river.

Two main excavations have focused on the site. The first was led by J.B.Pritchard of the University of Pennsylvania, between 1964 and 1967 (Pritchard 1985). A second expedition was led between 1985 and 1996 by J. Tubb on behalf of the British Museum in London. The excavation has only been published in a series of preliminary reports (Tubb 1988, 1990, 1997; Tubb and Dorrell 1991, 1993, 1994; Tubb, Dorrell and Cobbing 1996); the final reports are in preparation (R. Chapman, pers. comm.).

On the upper tell of the site, Pritchard excavated a number of houses in stratum VII to stratum V. Particularly interesting is the organisation of the houses in stratum V (Fig. 9.16), which appear as a standardised block with twelve houses built in identical fashion along a central spine, with six houses opening onto one street, and six onto the other (Pritchard 1985, 29).

The figurines from the earlier expedition were published by Pritchard in his report (1985) and a few unpublished ones were included by 'Amr (1980). Only two figurines are, as yet, published from the more recent seasons, but both figurines and card catalogue were made available for this research. Five figurines datable to strata V and IV from Pritchard's excavation (App. 9, no. 2902-2905), and seven figurines, dated between strata X and IV from Tubb's excavation (App. 9, no. 2907-2913), have been included.

9.9 A regional picture

Taking in from Achziv and Hazor in the north to Tel Aroer in the south, and from Ashkelon on the Mediterranean Sea to Amman and Busayra on the edge of the desert expanse to the east, the selected sites provide a wide and varied sample of figurines for the study of regional variation. In the case of all the sites, the material included in the study sample can be dated stratigraphically to the late Iron Age, to avoid – within the limits offered by the excavations – the pitfalls of working with material which is dated only typologically.

Following this introduction to the sites, the study will now proceed with a consideration of anthropomorphic representation (Chapter 10), before moving on to representation of horses and horses-and-riders (Chapter 11), and other models (Chapter 12).

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 9.16: Tell es-Sa'idiyeh. Plan of stratum V (Pritchard 1985, Fig. 179).

Chapter 10. Anthropomorphic figurines

Remaining within the regional focus set at the beginning of chapter 8, this chapter will move from discussing the selected sites and the relevant late Iron Age strata to consider the anthropomorphic figurines, including riders. In focus on this specific subset of figurines, this chapter aims to open some perspectives of issues of identity and discuss this within a broader geopolitical context.

10.1 Classification, typologies, and search for meaning

Previous figurine research has often focused on classification (e.g. section 2.3.2). While it is recognised that this provides a necessary structure for the publication of catalogues, it risks separating meaningful features across different branches of the classification, making it difficult to appreciate their significance. This study takes a different approach, giving equal weight to the different attributes pertinent to the sample (as pioneered by Ucko 1968), rather than privileging some attributes over others (see section 5.1.2). This chapter will consider a number of different elements and potentially significant units:

- Type of manufacture (section 10.2).
- Markers of gender identity (section 10.3).
- Items held by the figurines (section 10.4).
- Hand posture (section 10.5).

These elements will be considered individually, and where possible, linked together, to see how different elements may be combined, and how this may affect the reading of the individual characteristics.

IMAGE REMOVED

Fig. 10.1: Anthropomorphic figurines, showing different types of manufacture. (1) Hollow pillar figurine from Achziv (Rockefeller Museum, PM 1944-53); (2) solid pillar figurine with moulded head from Lachish (Metropolitan Museum of Art, MET 34-126-53); (3) solid pillar figurine with handmade head from Lachish (British Museum, BM 1980,12-14.16710); (4) plaque figurine in high relief from Busayra (Bienkowski 2002, fig. 10.45); (5) Horse and rider figurine from Amman (Harding 1950, pl. XIII).

10.2 Manufacture and main representational types

The first element of the figurines to be studied is the general type of manufacture, and how this aligns with major figurine types. This section will first consider the different manufacturing types and major representational types, then the distribution of major figurine types across space (section 10.2.1) and time (section 10.2.2), to then move beyond the main figurine types and discuss more exceptional examples (section 10.2.3), before considering the varying performative value of the figurines (section 10.2.4).

The main manufacturing techniques identified in the study sample include:

- Mould-made figurines, made in an open mould and hand finished at the back (Fig. 10.1.4).
- Composite figurines, made of two parts, using two different techniques:
 - Mould-made head and handmade body (Fig. 10.1.2, Fig. 10.1.5);
 - Mould-made head and a hollow, often wheel-made, body (Fig. 10.1.1).
- Handmade figurines (Fig. 10.1.3)

It is interesting to note that some manufacture techniques align closely with the main representational types in the study, as shown in Table 10.1, namely:

- Plaque figurines made in an open mould and hand finished;
- Hollow pillar figurines with a mould-made head.

Other major figurine types straddle two type of manufacturing technique:

- Solid pillar figurines can either have handmade (Fig. 10.1.3) or mould-made heads (Fig. 10.1.2), but many examples in the sample are fragmentary, and could not be closely classified under one or the other subtype.
- Rider figurines are almost invariably handmade with the exception of examples from Amman (Fig. 10.1.5), where the head is moulded (Harding 1950, 46).

A combination of manufacturing and representational types will be used in sections 10.2.1 and 10.2.2. This option looks both at variation by manufacturing technique, but also a provides a better consideration of the pillar figurine type, with its distinctive level of variability in manufacture.

Manufacturing technique		Representational types
Mould-made	Open mould; hand finished	Plaque figurines
Composite	Mould-made head, handmade body	Solid pillar figurines; riders (Amman)
	Mould-made head, hollow body	Hollow pillar figurines
Handmade		Solid pillar figurines; riders; other solid figurines

Table 10.1: The main manufacturing techniques in the study sample, and how these align with the main representational types.

10.2.1 Geographic distribution of main types

Within the study sample of 503 classifiable figurine fragments, the major anthropomorphic figurine types can be identified, as follows:

- Plaque figurines (71 examples, or 14%), made using a single open mould, and portraying the body in high relief (Fig. 10.1.4).
- Pillar figurines:
 - Composite, with hollow body and separately made moulded head, made using an open mould and hand modelled at the back (48 examples, or 10% of the study sample; Fig. 10.1.1).
 - Solid handmade body (204 examples, or 41%), either
 - Composite with a moulded head, using an open mould and hand modelled at the back (Fig. 10.1.2), or
 - Handmade heads made in one piece with the body (Fig. 10.1.3).
- Solid figurines, non-rider, without clear pillar form (21 examples, or 4%)
- Horse rider figurines (69 examples, or 14% of study samples), of varying manufacturing technique, but all attached or intended to be attached to a horse (Fig. 10.1.5)

The different figurine types show a clear pattern of distribution. Table 10.2 presents the main figurine types, divided by sub-region. The results build on the general statistical conclusions reached by Holland (1975, 319-320), who already noted the popularity of the solid pillar figurine type (his type A), which he associates with Israelite occupation, while the hollow pillar figurines (his type B) are seen as linked with more peripheral areas.

A closer look at the distribution of major figurine types can give higher resolution to this general picture, and strongly suggests certain regional preferences. Despite the relatively good overall sample size (n=503), caution should be expressed immediately because of the very variable number of classifiable figurines present in different sub-regions. The percentages expressed here, therefore, should be read primarily as a general indication:

- Plaque figurines are particularly popular in the Transjordan (59% of sample) and the Galilee and Jezreel valley (44% of sample) sites, and quite popular too in the northern hill country (30% of sample) and the southern coastal plain (22%). In contrast, the type is absent on the northern coastal plain and the southern hill country.
- Solid pillar figurines are predominant in the southern hill country (76% of the classifiable fragments for sub-region) and the Shephelah (58% of sample). The preference of solid pillar figurines over hollow one is also strong in the Negev, although this region shows greater variety, particularly when exceptional sites like Ḥorvat Qitmit are taken into account. This type is absent in the study sample for the northern coastal plain, and the Transjordan.
- Hollow pillar types are predominant on the northern coastal plain (48% of sample), and strongly present in the northern hill country (30%), southern coastal plain (24%).
- Rider figurines are recorded for all the sub-regions (between 7-26% of sample) with the exception of the northern hill country.

The exercise was also taken further, to explore whether the combination of types showed any pattern within the data, using using a correspondence analysis plot (Fig. 10.2). Three main grouping can be noted here:

- The southern hill county, and the Shephelah, marked by their preference for solid pillar figurines.
- The Galilee and Jezreel, and the Transjordan marked by their preference for plaque figurines.
- The northern hill country, and southern coastal plain, with a preference for hollow pillar figurines over solid ones, a number of plaque figurines.

The northern coastal plain remains very much as an outlier in this plot, with the distinct preference for hollow pillar figurines and absence of plaque figurines. The Negev too stands out, with its distinctive combination of figurines and several that do not fit into the main types.

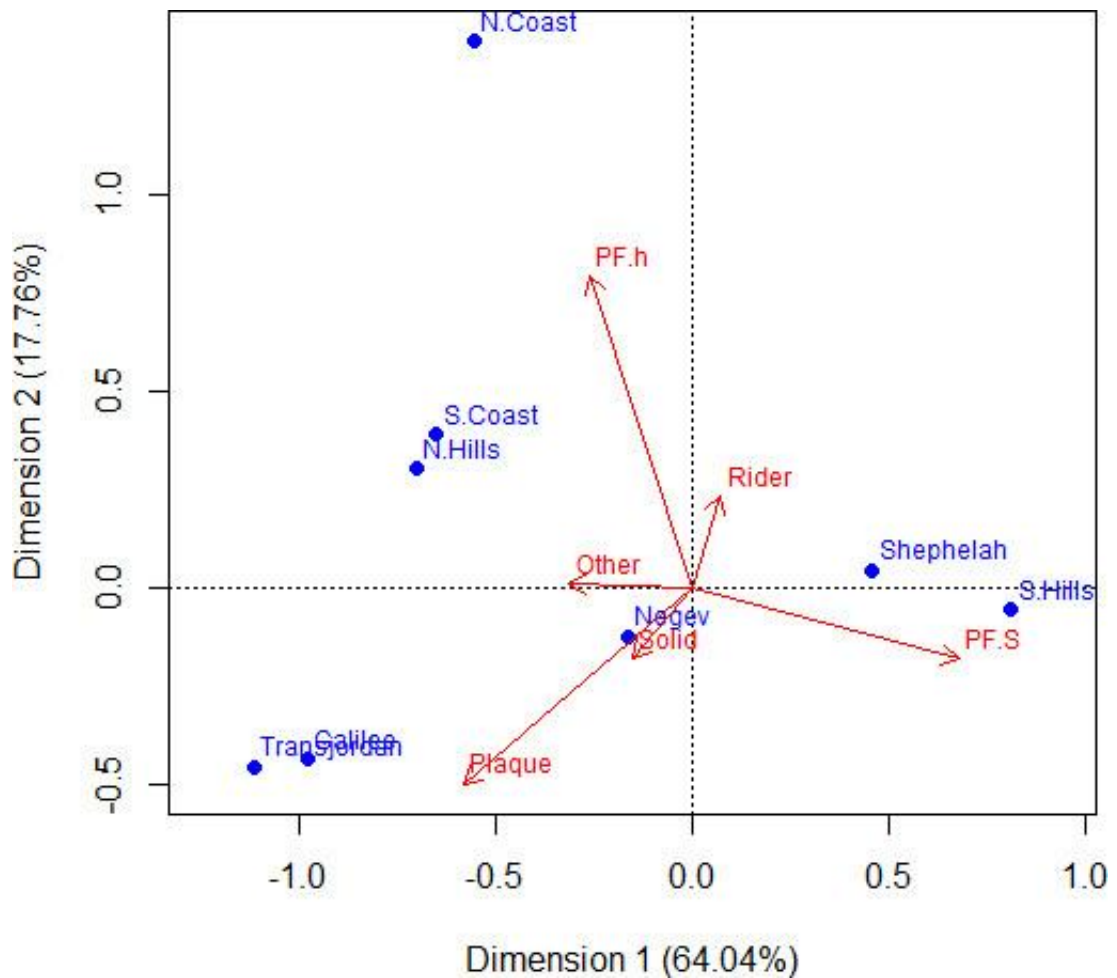


Fig. 10.2: Correspondence analysis plot of major manufacturing types across the different sub-regions ($n = 495$). See Table 10.2, excluding 'PF?'.

	PF hollow		PF solid		PF?		Plaque		Solid		Rider		Other		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
N. coastal plain	11	48									6	26	6	26	23	100
Galilee & Jezreel	5	9	2	4			25	44	8	14	4	7	13	23	57	100
N. hill country	7	30	4	17	1	4	7	30	1	4			3	13	23	100
S. coastal plain	12	24	3	6	1	2	11	22	3	6	10	20	10	20	50	100
Shephelah	2	6	21	58			1	3	1	3	7	19	4	11	36	100
S. hill country	6	3	145	76	6	3			3	2	29	15	2	1	191	100
Negev	2	2	29	32			8	9	5	5	9	10	38	42	91	100
Transjordan	3	9					19	59			4	13	6	19	32	100
TOTAL	48	10	204	41	8	2	71	14	21	4	69	14	82	16	503	100

Table 10.2: Distribution of different figurine manufacturing types across the different regions ($n=503$), and percentages rounded to the nearest 1%. "PF?" indicates a probably pillar figurine which could not be more clearly classified as solid or hollow.

10.2.2 Popularity of figurine types over time

The study sample include 503 anthropomorphic figurines classified by figurine type, and dated to the Iron II, of which 414 figurines could be dated more specifically to Iron IIA, Iron IIB or Iron IIC (Table 10.3, Fig. 10.3). The information that can be drawn from excavations often does not allow for the precise assigning of the material to Iron Age IIA, IIB or IIC, but only to more general periods such as IIA-B or IIB-C (40 examples), or just Iron II (49 examples).

The data studied suggests some general trends. The greater popularity of plaque figurines over pillar types during the earlier Iron Age IIA, gives way to the greater popularity of the solid and hollow pillar figurines over plaque figurines during the latter part of the Iron Age (IIB and IIC). The difference between pillar figurines and plaque figurines is statistically significant between Iron IIA and Iron IIB ($\chi^2 = 49.56$, $df = 1$, $p\text{-value} = 1.92 \times 10^{-12}$) and Iron IIA and Iron IIC ($\chi^2 = 36.39$, $df = 1$, $p\text{-value} = 1.62 \times 10^{-9}$).

One important note of caution remains: the dataset does not allow for a homogeneous distribution of the figurines over space and time. It remains an open question whether the distributions noted are influenced more strongly by the shifts in popularity over time, or rather by the popularity of specific types in different geo-political regions.

	PF hollow		PF solid		PF?		Plaque		Rider		Solid		Other		TOTAL	
Period	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Iron II A	6	12	4	8			24	46	7	13	3	6	8	15	52	100
Iron II B	16	10	85	54	3	2	11	7	22	14	9	6	11	7	157	100
Iron II C	13	6	87	42	5	2	19	9	24	12	7	3	50	24	205	100
TOTAL	35	8	176	43	8	2	54	13	53	13	19	5	69	17	414	100

Table 10.3: Main manufacturing types as distributed across the various periods, and percentages, rounded to the nearest 1%. "PF?" indicates a probably pillar figurine which could not be more clearly classified as solid or hollow.

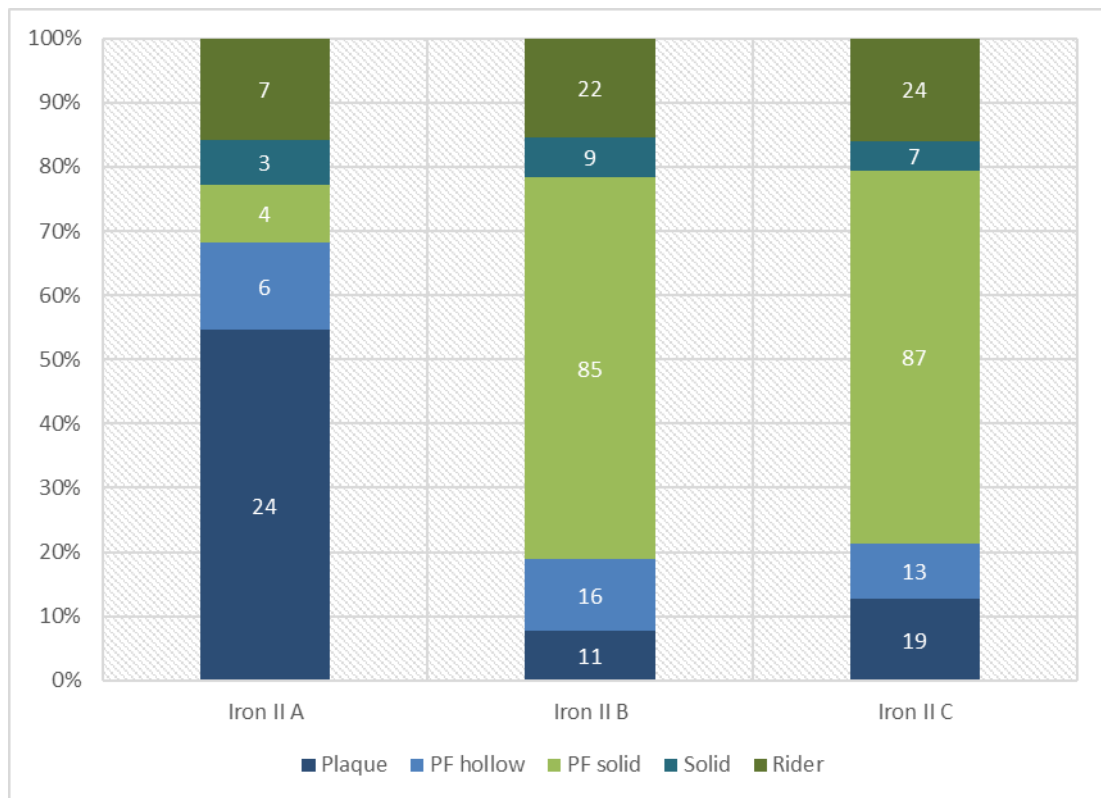


Fig. 10.3: Bar graph comparing the distribution of the main figurines types across the various periods. The graph excludes the categories "PF?" and others.

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Fig. 10.4: Examples of less common types. Example of less common types of figurines: (1-3) scenes or tableaux from Achziv (Israel Museum, IAA 1944-57, IAA 1944-51, IAA 1944-58); (4) "Ashdoda" type from Ashkelon (Press 2012, 51); (5) "peg" figurine from Lachish (IAA 2002-150); (6) vase figurine from Horvat Qitmit (Beck 1995, 44).

10.2.3 Beyond the main types

Focusing on major types often means that rarer types do not fit into these schemes and end up being grouped together as miscellaneous items or omitted from the discussion entirely. The repertoire of anthropomorphic representation would, however, not be complete if these types were to be ignored.

Very interesting within the discussion of the figurines from the point of view of miniaturisation are the three scenes from the tombs of Achziv (Fig. 10.4.1-3). The scenes may be interpreted as scenes in ordinary life: a person bathing (Fig. 10.4.1), a person preparing bread (Fig. 10.4.2), and possibly a potter at the wheel (Fig. 10.4.3). The possible ambiguity of the scenes has giving rise to varying, and creative, interpretations. The pillar in Fig. 10.4.3 has also been interpreted as a possible phallic symbol (Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 151). Is it also interesting to note the general gendered reading of these figurines, despite the absence of biological gender markers: all three human figures are interpreted as female by Kletter (1996, 282), while Dayagi-Mendels (2002, 150-151) reads the bather as female, the bread-maker as possibly female, and the potter/"phallus holder" as gender indeterminate.

Currently specific to Ashkelon are three so-called "Ashdoda" fragments (Fig. 10.4.4), that appear to provide some continuity with earlier Iron Age types from the Philistine culture of the southern coastal plain. In these cases, fragments that could otherwise be interpreted as couch fragments are anthropomorphised through the addition of knobs suggesting human breasts. None of the figurines from this period survive as complete examples, but they are interpreted as similar in type to the famous Ashdoda (Press 2012, 51-54), which also has a human head attached to the back of the couch.

Outside the general pattern type from the site of Lachish are two peg-figurines (Fig. 10.4.5) found together in the same room along the main road leading in from the city gate (see section 7.3.1.3). Kletter suggests that they were meant to be stuck into the ground (1996, 33; 2004, 2059). Kletter catalogues a total of ten peg figurines, all from the southern coastal plain or the Shephelah: one from Gezer, four from Tell Jemmeh, two from Lachish, one from Tel Gherishe, and two from Azor. Only the two examples from Lachish are datable to the late Iron Age: the

example from Gezer, and one from Jemmeh are dated to the early Iron Age, while all the other examples lack stratigraphic information (1996, 260-261).

Another very particular type are the vase figurines from the Ḥorvat Qitmit (Fig. 10.4.6), of which 22 fragments are counted in this study sample, but only two examples complete enough to allow for reconstruction (Beck 1995, 43-50). These figurines are conceptually very different from all the other figurines. Rather than figurines, they may be described as “anthropomorphised” pots, made by adding modelled features to a pottery vessel, a concept documented as far back as Middle Bronze Jericho (Beck 1995, 112). It seems plausible to imagine that these vessels were intended to hold some form of liquid, but their precise use is unclear.

10.2.4 Figurine type, manipulation and performative value

The discussion regarding figurine manufacture has generally concentrated on typological issues, the discussion of regional variation, and the presumed continuity of the plaque figurines from the Late Bronze Age examples. Little, if at all, has been said at different performative potential of the varying figurine types, beyond the note by Moorey (2003, 59):

“These free-standing, three-dimensional anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and inanimate miniatures have a performative potential last seen in the prehistorical and early historic periods in marked contrast to the moulded plaques.”

As already noted (section 4.1) the size of the figurines is such that makes them readily manageable. Within the repertoire of anthropomorphic representation, a series of potential interactions can be deduced from the physical characteristics of the figurines, as summarised as the following table:

Type	Characteristic	Performative potential
Appliques to stands, etc.	Fixed	Static
Hollow and solid pillar figurines	Free standing	Handled or placed
Horses-and-riders		
Plaque figurines in high relief		
Peg figurines	Non-freestanding	Handled
Anthropomorphic vessels	Vessel	Receiving or pouring of liquids

Table 10.4: Potential interaction with the figurines, based on different physical characteristics.

Among the major figurine groups, three main performative groupings can be noted:

- Figurines that can stand unaided, which include both the hollow and solid pillar figurines, as well as the horses-and-riders and solid zoomorphic figurines (which will be discussed in Chapter 11). This enables them to be placed, but they are also small enough to be handled.
- Figurines that are unable to stand unaided, which includes the plaque figurines in high relief, and the peg figurines. These can be better understood as something that is more meant to be handled than placed. It could be significant to note the more limited repertoire of the plaque figurines, almost exclusively female, and showing generally a naked female, some of whom are clearly pregnant, and others holding a drum or tambourine. It could, of course, be argued that the plaque figurines are depicted lying down and could, therefore, be placed horizontally: this position, however, seems strange for the plaque figurines depicting figures playing a drum or tambourine.
- Figurines that can be used to receive or pour liquids, such as anthropomorphic vessels.

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Fig. 10.5: Examples of presence/absence of biological gender markers. (1) plaque figurine with female genitalia clearly marked and breasts covered by drum/tambourine, from Megiddo (Rockefeller Museum, PM 1936-958); (2) plaque figurine with breasts, genitalia and pregnancy from Busayrah (Bienkowski 2002, fig. 10.49); (3) hollow pillar figurine holding drum/tambourine, with breasts clearly marked, from Mount Nebo (Benedettucci 1988, plate III); (4) hollow pillar figurine, holding a drum/tambourine, with no clear gender marker, Achziv (E. Mazar 2001, fig. 53).

10.3 Gender

A clear question that needs to be addressed with regards to the figurines is gender. As already discussed in the literature review, many previous studies have focused on female figurines, and often even assumed the femaleness of certain types without any particular discussion. A key underlying question is rarely addressed: how is gender indicated in the figurines? What elements can be read as carrying signification, if gender is meant to be understood?

10.3.1 Biological gender markers

The more evident starting point is a biological one, taking into account any biological gender markers present in the figurines. In the study sample, female gender markers are clearly present (Fig. 10.5.1-3): often through the clear presence of breasts, sometimes also through the indication of female genitalia, and occasionally through pronounced pregnancy. However, in some cases (Fig. 10.5.4), gender markers are altogether absent in figurines that have been previously been understood as female (Kletter 1996, 281; Dayagi-Mendels 2002). Male gender markers are conspicuously rare. Only one of the figurines in the study sample shows possible male genitalia (see section 10.2.3), while out of a sample of 426 heads, only 13 seem to be clearly bearded, with a further 8 having only possible signs of a beard.

The geographical distribution of female gender markers is shown in Table 10.5, and patterns within the data for the female gender markers were explored using correspondence analysis (Fig. 10.6). An interesting pattern emerges:

- Sites in the Transjordan have the highest percentage of figurines where female genitalia are indicated (10 of the 25 classifiable examples).
- The northern coastal plain is generally characterised by an absence of gender marking (16 of 18 examples).
- The southern hills and the Shephelah are both marked by an absence of genitalia markings, and show similar percentages both for the presence of breasts, and the figurines without biological gender markers.
- The other sub-regions show a greater variation in the repertoire.

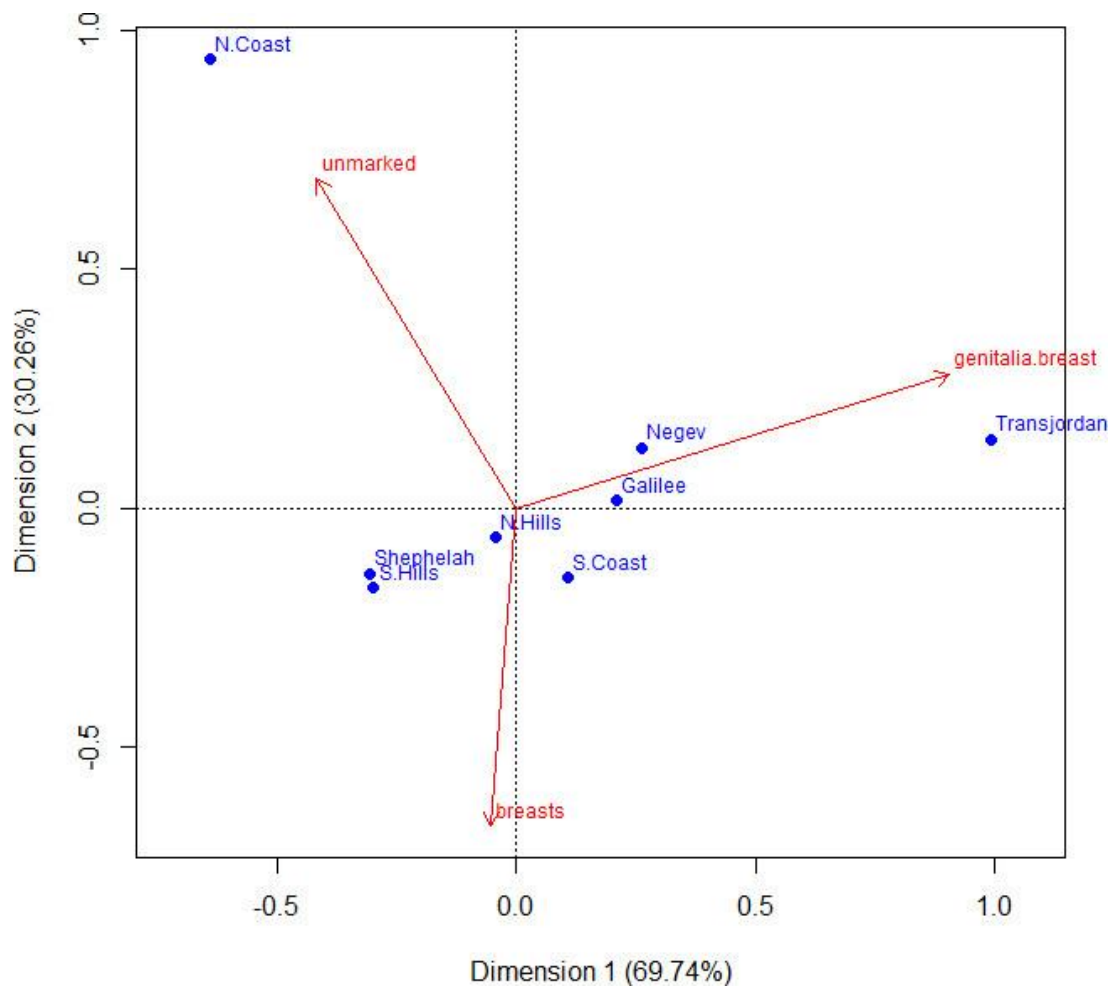


Fig. 10.6: Correspondence Analysis plot ($n = 317$), exploring the data set for female gender markers: breasts, genitalia + breasts, and no marker (=unmarked) across the region. See Table 10.5.

	breasts		breasts + genitalia		no markers		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
N. coastal plain	2	11			16	89	18	100
Galilee and Jezreel	23	53	7	16	13	30	43	100
N. hill country	7	58	1	8	4	33	12	100
S. coastal plain	26	62	5	12	11	26	42	100
Shephelah	19	63			11	37	30	100
S. hill country	64	65			35	35	99	100
Negev	23	48	9	19	16	33	48	100
Transjordan	11	44	10	40	4	16	25	100
TOTAL	175	55	32	10	110	35	317	100

Table 10.5: Female gender markers on the figurines as distributed across the various sub-regions. Percentages are rounded off to the nearest 1%. See Fig. 10.6.

10.3.2 Gender markers and manufacture

The expression of gender identity in the figurines may, of course, be affected by a series of factors. One key factor that should be taken into account is the type of manufacture used in the figurines, which shows a clear pattern (Fig. 10.7; Table 10.6).

- Plaque figurines too are predominantly female (93%), with 26 of 57 examples (46%) having breasts, and a further 27 examples (47%) also having clearly marked female genitalia. It is important to note that all figurines showing female genitalia are plaque figurines, or appliques.
- Solid pillar figurines are predominantly gender marked as female, but only through the depiction of breasts (96 of 104 classified fragments, or 92%);
- Hollow pillar figurines show less biological gender marking, with 12 of 37 examples (32%) without biological gender markers.
- Rider figurines (66 examples classified) do not show any biological gender marking.

One interesting question is why genitalia are so closely linked with plaque figurines, when genitalia could be as easily indicated on other figurine types (for one possible example from Beth Shean, see Fig. 10.12.1). One possible explanation is that while plaque figurines generally represent naked figurines, pillar figurines should be understood as clothed or partly clothed with breasts exposed (Kletter 1996, 50). Since the whitewash and paint is often eroded off, it is hard to understand whether the breasts, where present, are understood as covered or exposed (Moorey 2003, 60). The full range of gender markers is evident in the figurines holding a drum or tambourine: plaque figurines with both breasts and genitalia (Fig. 10.5.1), and pillar figurines marked only with breasts (Fig. 10.5.3), and others without any biological markers (Fig. 10.5.4).

It would appear that these examples show preferences with regard to craft practices, alongside cultural choices about how identity is visually constructed in the figurines.

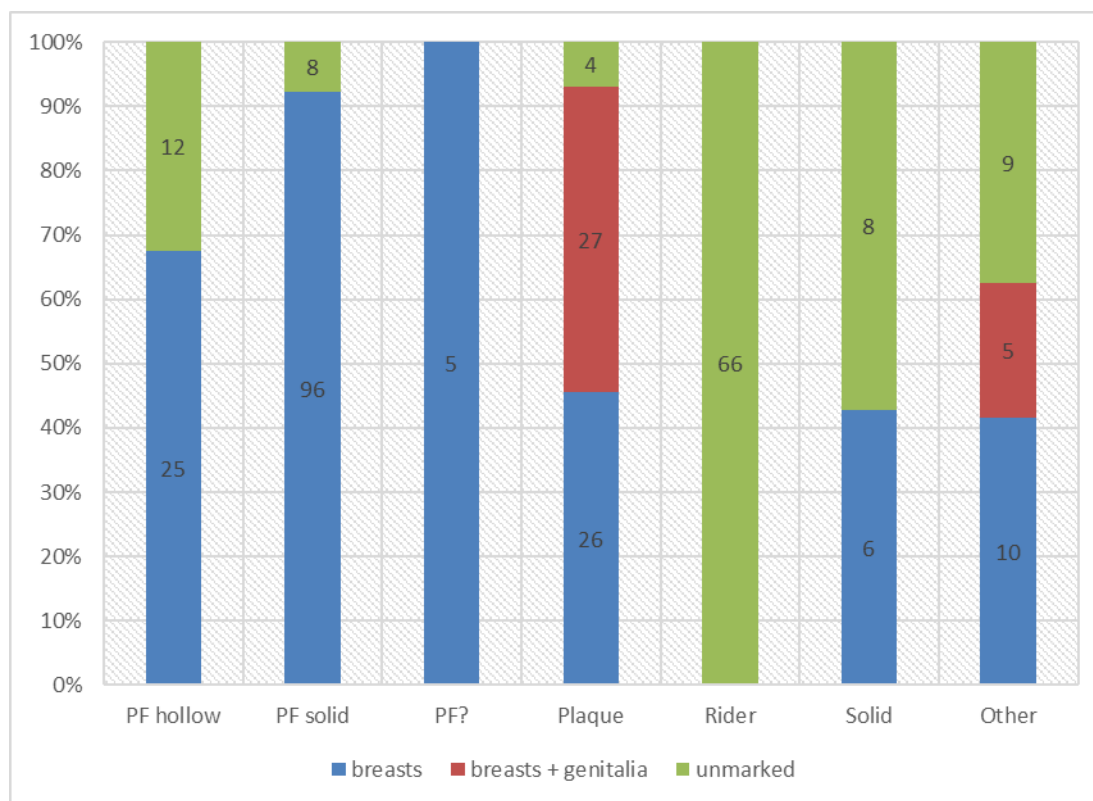


Fig. 10.7: Gender markers as distributed by type of manufacture (n=307). The stacked bar graphs visually shows the percentage, while the numbers indicated the raw counts of the figurine fragments taken into account.

	PF hollow		PF solid		PF?		Plaque		Rider		Solid		Other		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
breasts	25	68	96	92	5	100	26	46			6	43	10	42	168	55
breasts + genitalia							27	47					5	21	32	10
no markers	12	32	8	8			4	7	66	100	8	57	9	38	107	35
TOTAL	37	100	104	100	5	100	57	100	66	100	14	100	24	100	307	100

Table 10.6: Gender markers as distributed by types of manufacture (n = 307). The columns show first the raw numbers of figurines with a given gender marker for a specific manufacturing type, then the percentage within that manufacturing type. "PF?" indicates a probably pillar figurine which could not be more clearly classified as solid or hollow.

10.3.3 Popularity of gender markers over time

It would be interesting to explore whether there are any changes in the use of gender markers over time during the Iron Age II. The difficulties with assigning figurines to specific sub-periods has already been discussed (see section 10.2.2); 247 of the 317 classifiable figurines could be assigned to an individual sub-period and therefore studied in this way (Fig. 10.8, Table 10.7).

The results of the analysis show considerable consistency throughout the Iron Age II period in the numbers of the three different categories, with no marked difference between the earlier and later part of the period. This result is interesting, as it appears to counter the trend noted in section 10.2.2 where the more strongly gender-marked plaque figurines were more popular in earlier periods, and the less marked pillar figurines with the latter part of Iron Age II.

The apparent variation over time between the number of fragments having only breasts and those having both breasts and genitalia, was also shown not to be statistically significant between Iron IIA and IIC ($\chi^2 = 2.20$, $df = 1$, $p\text{-value} = 0.14$) and Iron IIB and Iron IIC ($\chi^2 = 1.89$, $df = 1$, $p\text{-value} = 0.17$).

	breasts		breasts + genitalia		no marker		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Iron II A	22	52	9	21	11	26	42	100
Iron II B	51	56	3	3	37	41	91	100
Iron II C	70	61	12	11	32	28	114	100
TOTAL	143	58	24	10	80	32	247	100

Table 10.7: Distribution of gender markers over time ($n=317$). Percentages rounded to the nearest 1%. See Fig. 10.8.

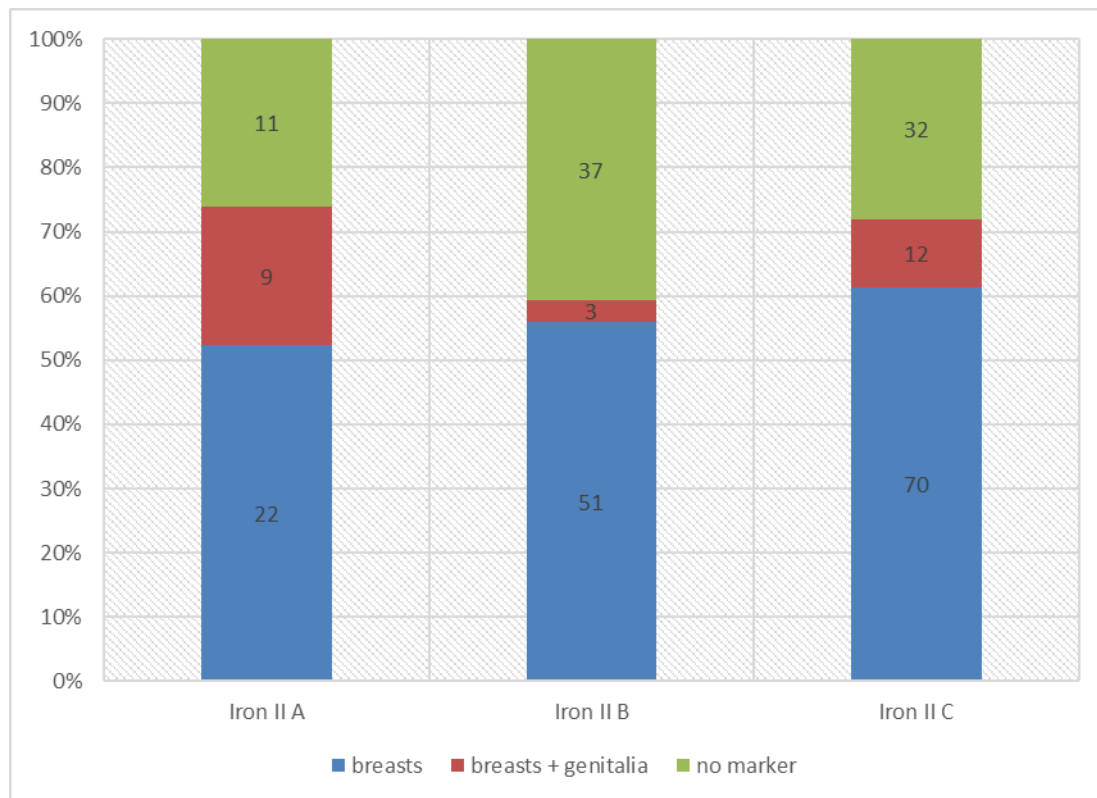


Fig. 10.8: Distribution of gender markers over time (n=247). See Table 10.7.

10.3.4 Hermaphrodite figurines?

A short note should be added here about the so-called “hermaphrodite” figurines. Three figurines in the study sample have been defined as such, and it is important to point out their exceptional character.

The first figurine (Fig. 10.9.1) is from Tomb C at Amman. Harding (1951, 37) noted the figurine’s black beard and moustache, but also that it had female breasts and was clearly pregnant, suggesting that it may represent a hermaphrodite deity, postulating a combination similar to Ashtor-Khemosh on the Mesha stela. The divine, rather than human subject of the figurine is further suggested by its peculiar headdress, formed of four spirals. This is the figurine’s most particular feature. ’Amr (1980, 56-57) classified the figurine as female, although he later describes it as “sexless” (1980, 101).

The second example is “centaur” figurine from Beersheba (Fig. 10.9.2), identified by Kletter and Herzog (2003, 32) as a hermaphrodite figurine, on the basis of a female head combined with male genitalia. It should be noted, however, that the

femaleness of the figurine is based entirely on the head's similarity to the Judean Pillar figurine types which are generally female. The figurine lacks any other female biological marker such as breasts or genitalia. The male genitalia are those of a quadruped animal – in contrast with the Cypriot example provided as a parallel (Kletter and Herzog 2003, 34, Fig. 5) where the male genitalia are present on the front of the figurine, forming part of the human component of the compound figure.

The final example appears as the least exceptional of the three, and only reveals its particularity on close examination. The tambourine player plaque figurines from Tel 'Ira (Fig. 10.9.3) seems to generally fit the usually type of female plaque figurine holding a drum or tambourine and showing female breasts and genitalia. This figurine has, however, been seen as an exception, showing a phallus, therefore a hermaphrodite (Beck 1999, 387). Burgh takes the discussion further: he argues that the female breasts are not clear, and seems to suggest a possible beard. He cautiously identifies the figurine as male, but therefore sees the figurine as questioning the general assumption that sees the frame drum as a "women's instrument" (2006, 206).

These figurines are so exceptional that little can really be said about them, and they clearly do not form a specific pattern that is repeated regularly as with most types that have been discussed. What should be noted is, however, is the ability to take expected types and transform them into something new and unexpected.

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Fig. 10.9: Hermaphrodite figurines? (1) Figurine with beard, breasts, and pregnancy from Tomb C in Amman (Harding 1951, plate XIV) ; (2) "centaur" figurine from Beersheba (Kletter and Herzog 2003, fig 4); (3) tambourine player with phallus(?) from Tel 'Ira (drawing Beck 1999, fig. 7.5; photo © Israel Museum, IAA 1984-62).

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Fig. 10.10: Figurines without biological gender markers. (1) one figurine without biological markers and one female figurine from Tomb 5 in Beth Shemesh (MacKenzie 1912, Pl. XLII); (2) figurine from Lachish (British Museum, 1980.12-14,12031).

10.3.5 Pillar figurines without identity markers

If the so-called hermaphrodite figurines represent an interesting example of the multiplicity and/or ambiguity of gender marking, another interesting category is represented by figurines where gender marking is completely absent. In most cases, the ungendered figurines can be categorised either as musicians or as riders, and therefore probably received their identity in terms of their profession. However, a few exceptional figurines completely lack every form of identity markers, gender or otherwise (Fig. 10.10), and their exceptionality makes them all the more interesting.

The two figurines from Tomb 5 in Beth Shemesh (Fig. 10.10.1) were initially identified as male, “to judge by the chest”, and female “with very full bosom,” and interpreted as a pair which probably represented a divine couple as man and wife (MacKenzie 1912, 76). The history of their interpretation is also interesting. Holland (1975, 72) held on to the interpretation of the figurine as male, and

regarded it as an important example of a non-female pillar figurine. Kletter, however, seemed unconvinced that the pillar figurine should be understood as it stands, and suggested that the figurine “may have portrayed a rider (?) or a woman holding a drum or tambourine that was broken away (?)” (1996, 177). There seems to be no pressing reason for either explanation.

A second example, from Tomb 106 at Lachish (Fig. 10.10.2), shows a similar pillar figurine, with handmade head and pinched features, and clearly lacks any gender markings.

This also opens further possibilities. Due to their fragmentary nature, it is often impossible to distinguish between some of the rider figurines and solid pillar figurine types, and figurines without biological gender markers have occasionally been seen as potential riders on account of their lack of gender marking. While this connection is generally justifiable (see section 10.3.2), it should not be taken for granted, and could mask the presence of a number of other pillar figurines without biological gender markers.

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Fig. 10.11: Figurines holding objects: (1) bird, from Keisan (Briend & Humbert 1980: pl 102:16); (2) child (?) from Jerusalem (Gilbert-Peretz 1996, Fig. 12.12); (3) child, from Askelon (Press 2012, no. 59); (4) dagger, from Keisan (Briend & Humbert 1980: pl 102:3); (5) bow and quiver, from Keisan (Briend & Humbert 1980: pl 105:55); (6) shield, from Achziv (E. Mazar 2001, fig. 55); (7) drum/tambourine, from Hazor (Yadin et al. 1960, Pl. 76:12); (8) drum/tambourine from Achziv (Israel Museum, IAA 1944-264); (9) double flute from Achziv (Israel Museum, IAA 1944-56).

10.4 Children, drums or tambourines, and other objects

Only 292 anthropomorphic figurine fragments could be classified as holding or not holding objects. One particularly interesting factor is the very limited repertoire of objects held by the figurines, and the small number of figurine fragments that indicating any object (Table 10.8).

The objects held can be categorised very simply:

- Musical instruments:
 - Drum or tambourine (Fig. 10.11.7-8): 40 examples or 50% of objects held.
 - Other instruments: double flute (Fig. 10.11.9), 5 examples; lyre, 1 example.
- Child (Fig. 10.11.3) or probable child (Fig. 10.11.2): 14 examples or 18%.
- Military equipment: shields (Fig. 10.11.6), 3 examples; bow and quiver (Fig. 10.11.5), 1 example; or daggers (Fig. 10.11.4), 2 examples.
- Bird (Fig. 10.11.1): 1 example.
- Other unrecognisable objects: 13 examples or 16%.

Region	Bird	Bow/quiver	Child	Child?	Dagger	Double flute	Drum/tambourine	Lyre	Other	Shield	TOTAL	With objEct	No object	TOTAL			
	n	n	n	n	n		n	n	n	n	n	n	%	n	%	n	%
N. coastal plain	1	1			1	2	5			1	11	11	69	5	31	16	%
Galilee & Jezreel			2			1	12		1		16	16	43	21	57	37	100
N. hill country			3	1			5		1		10	10	63	6	38	16	100
S. coastal plain			2	1							3	3	8	35	92	38	100
Shephelah									1	1	2	2	8	22	92	24	100
S. hill country				5			2		3		10	10	11	78	89	88	100
Negev					1	2	9	1	7	1	21	21	38	34	62	55	100
Transjordan							7				7	7	39	11	61	18	100
TOTAL	1	1	7	7	2	5	40	1	13	3	80	80	27	212	73	292	100
%	1	1	9	9	3	6	50	1	16	4	100						

Table 10.8: (Left) Distribution of different objects held by the figurines, across the sub-regions. In blue, the percentage of type of object from total objects. (Right) Distributions of figurines with and without objects. In red are the percentages of total for the sub-region;

Type	Bird	Bow/quiver	Child	Child?	Dagger	Double flute	Drum/tambourine	Lyre	Other	Shield	TOTAL	With object		No object	%	TOTAL	
	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	%	n	%	n	%
PF hollow	1		1		1	3	10		1		17	17	43	23	58	40	100
PF solid				6			3		1		10	10	9	103	91	113	100
PF?											0	0	0	5	100	5	100
Plaque			5			1	18				24	24	56	19	44	43	100
Rider		1								3	4	4	11	34	89	38	100
Solid				1		1			1		3	3	23	10	77	13	100
Other			1						1		2	2	14	12	86	14	100
Unidentified					1		9	1	9		20	20	77	6	23	26	100
TOTAL	1	1	7	7	2	5	40	1	13	3	80	80	27	212	73	292	100

Table 10.9: (Left) Distribution of different objects held by the figurines by different manufacture type. "PF?" indicates a probably pillar figurine which could not be more clearly classified as solid or hollow. (Right) Distribution of figurines with and without object by figurine type, indicated both raw counts and percentages rounded off to the nearest 1%.

Despite the small sample, if you compare the number of figurines depicted holding objects to those without, the distribution of examples appears to show different regional preferences.

- Few classifiable figurines hold any objects in the southern coastal plain (8%), Shephelah (8%) and southern hill country (11%).
- The percentage of figurines holding objects increased in the Negev (38%), Transjordan (39%), the Galilee and the Jezreel valley (43%).
- Finally, the highest percentages of figurines holding object are the northern hill country (63%) and the northern coastal plain (69%).

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Fig. 10.12: Examples of figurines showing different positions of arms in relation to breasts and genitalia: (1-2) one hand on breast, one on lower abdomen, from Beth Shean (James 1966, fig. 112.6) and Achziv (Dayagi-Mendels 2002, fig. 7.8); (3) hands below breasts, from Jerusalem (Yezereski & Geva 2003, fig. 3.2 F143); (4) hands supporting breasts, from Jerusalem (Yezereski & Geva 2003, fig. 3.1 F57); (5-7) hands on/pinching breasts from Busayra (Bienkowski 2002, fig. 10.52 and fig. 10.54) and Ashkelon (Press 2012, no. 63)

	on breasts		supporting		below breast		below breast/on abdomen		along sides		on chest (no breasts)		holding object		extended		extended front (horseman)		other		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
N. coastal plain							1	6	1	6			9	53			4	24	2	12	17	100
Galilee & Jezreel	8	29			1	4	1	4	2	7			14	50	2	7					28	100
N. hill country	1	10					1	10			1	10	6	60					1	10	10	100
S. coastal plain	4	25	1	6	4	25			2	13			2	13			3	19			16	100
Shephelah	1	4	3	12	13	52					2	8	1	4	2	8	2	8	1	4	25	100
S. hill country	1	3	1	3	28	78							1	3	1	3	4	11			36	100
Negev	3	9	1	3	11	34							14	44			2	6	1	3	32	100
Transjordan	4	25					1	6			1	6	7	44			3	19			16	100
TOTAL	22	12	6	3	57	32	4	2	5	3	4	2	54	30	5	3	18	10	5	3	180	100

Table 10.10: Position of arms in the fragments across the different sub-regions

10.5 Positions of arms

A further aspect of how figurines are presented that deserves attention is the position of the arms and hands. Due to the fragmentary nature of the figurines, 180 figurines could be classified in relation to the positions of arms and hands. The following positions could be identified:

- On breasts, with hands generally pinching the breasts (Fig. 10.12.5-7), which appears more characteristic of the figurines of the Transjordan, Galilee and Jezreel valley, and the southern coastal plain.
- Supporting (Fig. 10.12.4) or below breasts (Fig. 10.12.3), more characteristic in the southern hill country, Shephelah and Negev.
- One hand on breast, the other on the lower abdomen or genitalia (Fig. 10.12.1-2). These were limited in the study sample to two examples from the north (coastal plain; Galilee and Jezreel valley).
- Along the sides of the body.
- On the chest, but without any sign of breasts (Fig. 10.10).
- Holding an object (Fig. 10.11).
- Extended to the front, which is only found in rider figures, probably indicating that they are holding reins.

Particular attention was paid in this study to the positions of hands in relation to breasts and genitalia. In practice, figurines with hands below breasts and those with hands supporting breasts are very hard to tell apart, and both interpretations are plausible, even though it appears, as in Table 10.10, that more figurines appear simply to show the hands below the breasts rather than in any clear gesture of support. Moreover, any study needs to proceed cautiously where reconstructions have clearly taken place (e.g. Fig. 10.12.4), and where it remains unclear whether the reconstruction derives from elements seen in the actual figurine, or from the imagination of the restorer.

It is plausible to argue that figurines with hands on or pinching the breast (Fig. 10.12.5-7), or those with one hand below the breast and one on the lower abdomen (Fig. 10.12.1-2) underline, through hand gestures, the femaleness of the particular figurines. The gesture of holding the breast may, possibly, be interpreted as a gesture of breastfeeding. It is a common gesture known throughout the Ancient Near East, and documented as early as the Neolithic (Moorey 2003, 25).

The position of arms below the breasts is generally not clear as a gesture of support and may be rather a practical solution to prevent breakage. If so, perhaps it should not be overly interpreted.

10.6 Synthesis and conclusions

The process of looking at different elements of these figurines exposes any study to the risk of missing the wood for the trees, and it therefore important to take a step back and attempt to synthesise the results. Of the various elements picked out during the study, three appear to deserve particular mention:

- The gendering of the figurines (section 10.6.1).
- The possibility of manipulation and performance (section 10.6.2).
- The limited set of themes (section 10.6.3).

10.6.1 Gendering the figurines

A question that returns is how the gender identity of figurines is expressed, beyond the mechanical understanding of the way in ways in which the figurines in the study sample are marked through physical/biological gender markers. It also seems appropriate explore gender beyond the binary male/female, using a reversed version of Gremais' semiotic square (section 4.2.3), in consideration of the fact that figurines – where gendered – are almost all female (Fig. 10.13).

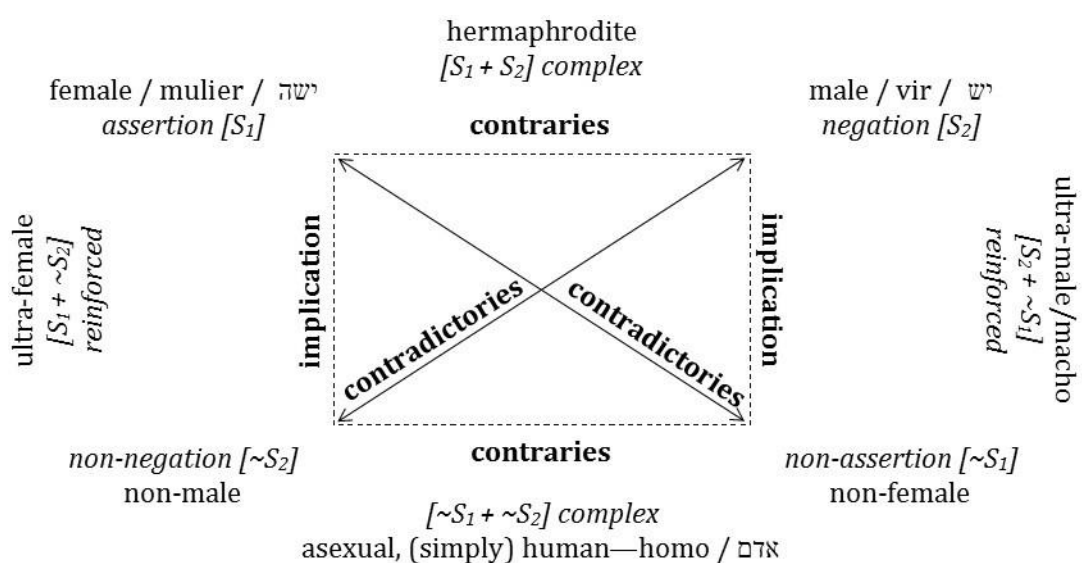


Fig. 10.13: Male or female? Exploring gender beyond the male-female binary.

Considering the study sample, it is important to note that whereas several figurines are marked as biologically female, the biological marking of maleness is predominantly absent. Within this framework, it may also be argued that the presence of both breasts and genitalia reinforces the femaleness/non-maleness of the figurines. Conversely, the choice not to depict female genitalia may represent a first shift in emphasis in the biological marking of figurines, a move away from the representation of genitalia and nakedness, and towards the emphasis on the representation of breasts, possibly emphasising motherhood, in a clothed, or partly clothed figure. In the same line, the figurines playing a drum or tambourine, usually interpreted as female on account of their moulded heads,

may represent a second-stage where gender is represented in cultural rather than biological terms.

Several figurines lack biological gender markers, and could potentially be seen as both male or female. While there is nothing to argue against the standard interpretation of the figurines as male, and the drum/tambourine players (even those not gender-marked) as female, it is necessary to underline the non-biological nature of this marking that underlines the construct of gender in cultural terms. From a biological marking point of view, these figurines can be seen as neither male nor female, and therefore as simply human, without a necessary gender specification.

However, there seems to be little evidence, if at all, of any form of non-binary gender understanding or gender fluidity. The only possible exceptions were discussed earlier as “hermaphrodite” figurines (see section 10.3.4).

10.6.2 Manipulation and performance

The manipulation and performative value of the figurines has been remarkably understudied, despite the possible implications of the form of the figurines in how they might have been used.

The presence of both plaque and free standing figurines suggests a reality of use where figurines could be both handled and placed. This distinction may seem insignificant at first sight, other than as a possible typological and stylistic difference. However, having some objects that are designed to be held suggests a primary use where objects are kept close to the user, picked up, and if placed, they can only be placed horizontally on or near a person or object, which brings to mind their suggested use as talismans of some sort. The freestanding figurines on the other hand rather suggesting a relationship to the object where the person using them is not primarily holding them, as in placing them, creating a certain physical separation between the person using the object and the object itself. It may be worth noting that only female figurines and musicians are represented in plaque form, but none of the riders, suggesting a differentiation in their use.

Where the persons using the figurines were placing them, and for what purpose, remains an important question. The various contexts considered in detail in Jerusalem, Lachish and Megiddo, suggest that this placing of the figurines occurred primarily in a domestic setting, but are also documented as deposited in burial contexts.

10.6.3 Limited set of themes

What is undoubtedly remarkable is the recognition that beyond the various styles and modes of representation, the anthropomorphic figurines fall into a very limited repertoire of themes, identified by attributes such as gender indicators and objects:

- Women, which could represent women as mothers:
 - With breasts, genitalia and occasionally pregnancy, mostly high relief plaques.
 - With a child: both pillar and plaque types.
 - With breasts, generally of the pillar figurine type.
- Musicians:
 - Drum or tambourine players:
 - Plaque type drum/tambourine players, generally indicated as female.
 - Pillar type drum/tambourine players, sometimes indicated as female, but also ungendered.
 - Double flute players:
 - Plaque type, female.
 - Pillar type: one male, one ungendered.
- Horses and riders, which could represent male warrior figures:
 - always free standing, and generally ungendered.

The consistency of this repertoire is remarkable, to the point that all examples that somehow deviate from it, and which have been discussed, on the one hand bring up the possibility of some variation, but on the other rather underline the regularity of the expected scheme of portrayal.

10.6.4 “Ritual” use

“Ritual – all purpose explanation used where nothing else comes to mind.” (Bahn 1989, 62)

Any understanding of the figurines in terms of ritual can only be considered with a certain trepidation, in view of the often catch-all approach in which the concept is applied, rendering it – therefore – potentially meaningless. One potential risk, however, is to exclude the possibility of ritual on equally tenuous grounds.

It seems, however, that certain expectations of ritual can be picked out in the figurines:

- Firstly, a limited and repetitive repertoire, suggesting that they belong to a very specific set of elements of the worlds that belong to this miniaturised version, but elements that are widely shared and repeated across the community, and even the region;
- Secondly, a limited range of potential ways to manipulate and see them. Their size suggests use by an individual, or very small group. Their scale – and their widespread repetition, differentiates them from any ritual use that includes a larger community.

The discussion, of course, needs to be extended. It seems also appropriate here to reiterate the importance of moving beyond the distinction between ritual and play (toys and games), that is often understood in binary terms: seeing ritual as part of the serious real world of grown-ups, and toys as the unreal and unimportant world of children. If this binary distinction is opened up (Fig. 10.14), any rigid classification of use into either category becomes clearly questionable, and a better understanding could perhaps combine both.

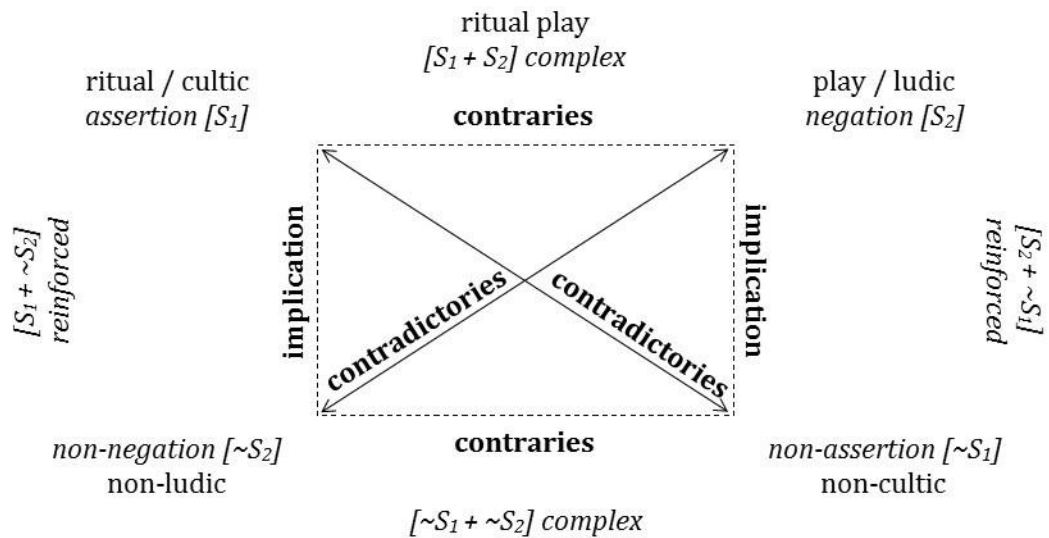


Fig. 10.14: Cultic or ludic? Ritual or play?

10.6.5 Beyond the anthropomorphic figurines

Any further discussion on the figurines, however, needs to wait for an even wider picture. Since the anthropomorphic figurines form part of a wider repertoire, they should not be understood in isolation, but rather in conjunction with zoomorphic figurines and other models. The coming chapter, therefore, looks at the zoomorphic figurine fragments and particularly the figurines of horses and horses-and-riders, which appear to form the dominant subset of the zoomorphic figurines.

Chapter 11. Riders, horses, and zoomorphic figurines

This chapter now moves from the discussion of the anthropomorphic figurines to the discussion of the zoomorphic ones, with a particular emphasis on the horses, as well as the composite horse-and-rider figurines. While several studies have focused on the anthropomorphic figurines, few studies provide detailed consideration zoomorphic figurines in general, or to the horses and riders in particular (Kletter and Saarelainen 2014). One major difficulty encountered by most researchers, including this study, is the heavily fragmented nature of the recovered figurines, and their highly schematised nature, rendering more often than not most identifications as highly speculative, particularly when missing the heads.

This chapter will first look at riders (section 11.1), then move the focus onto horse figurines, addressing problems with identification, and aspects of their modelling (section 11.2). The variation in manufacturing types, and the varying performative potential of the figurines will then be considered (section 11.3). Finally, an exceptional case of a figurine with an inscription will be discussed (section 11.4), before drawing some conclusions from the study of this subset of figurines (section 11.5).

11.1 Riders and horses

It seems appropriate to start the discussion with the rider component of the horse-and-rider figurines. Within the study sample, only seven examples of complete horse and rider figurines – two each from Achziv, Amman and Lachish, and one from Beth Shemesh (Fig. 11.1) – could be identified, which underlines the generally very fragmentary nature of the remains.

Only some trace of the rider remained in 76 examples, often a small stump of the base (29 examples) or legs (7 examples), hands holding on to the sides of the horse's head (9 examples). In seven examples, what remains is even less: the former presence of a rider can only be deduced from the grey discolouration left by the now missing rider that had, originally been applied to the animal during

firing, causing the clay below not to be equally oxidised during firing, first noted by Ciasca (1964, 96). All examples of figurines where the rider survives are solidly modelled, and within all the studied material (including examples from outside the case-study sample) there is no known instance of a vessel depicting a horse-and-rider figure.

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Fig. 11.1: Complete examples of horse and rider figurines. (1, 2) from Achziv (Mazar 2001, fig. 55 and 56); (3, 4) from a tomb at Meqabelein, close to Amman (Harding 1950, plate XV, 12; XIII, 1); (5) from Beth Shemesh (MacKenzie 1912, fig. 55); (6, 7) from Lachish (Tufnell 1953, plate XXIX, 17-18).

11.1.1 Plank shaped or pillar, standing or seated?

The bodies of the riders, where they survive are represented in a highly schematic form, generally in a plank-like fashion (33 examples), often forming a sort of crescent shape on the mount, generally in a very stylised representation of the legs. In some cases, the rider is represented in a more pillar form (18 likely examples), as is very clear in a couple of examples from Beth Shemesh (Fig. 11.1.5) and Lachish (Fig. 11.1.7).

Some discussion has emerged on whether the pillar type riders on the back or riders are meant to represent standing figures. Wenning (1991) argues further that the distinction separates the seated rider, depicting a human figure, from the standing rider (e.g. Fig. 11.1.7), meant to represent a god, as further highlighted by a pinched face technique that avoids full anthropomorphic representation. Kletter (1996, 20) rightly argues that the variation can be explained as different modes of highly schematic modelling.

11.1.2 Heads, helmets and other items

The modelling of the riders' heads varies primarily by region, and can be divided into two primary types: moulded heads with detailed modelling, and wearing a pointed hat or helmet, as in examples from the Transjordan (Fig. 11.1.3-4); or very simple hand-modelled heads with pinched features, found particularly in the southern hill country, Shephelah and Negev (Fig. 11.1.5-7). There is no indication of any difference in what the figurines are meant to represent.

As discussed in the previous chapter, a few of these riders carried either shields, or a bow and quiver (section 10.4). The presence of armour or weapons might point to a martial context for these figurines, with the horse-and-rider representing innovations in battlefield technique taking place during the ninth and eighth centuries (Littauer and Crouwel 1979, 134-136; Cantrell 2011, 136-137). Kletter and Saarelainen (2014, 212) rightly point out, however, that

“the military meaning of [horse and rider] figurines is by itself not decisive for determining their meaning, since both divinities and humans are often represented as warriors.”

11.1.3 Double horses, and double riders

A short note should also be included about a number of figurines which suggest either a double-headed horses or a double rider, of which a total of twelve examples have been identified in the study region, noted by Ciasca (1964) and catalogued by Kletter and Saarelainen (2014, 208-212). The doubling of the figures has been understood in terms of “shortened” form, suggesting therefore two horses or two riders (Ciasca 1964, 97; Kletter and Saarelainen 2014, 215), rather than any understanding as potential mythical creatures. Nothing in this study suggests that a different interpretation is called for.

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Fig. 11.2: Examples of zoomorphic heads showing different detail in modelling, and different types of manufacture. (1) solid, simple horse head with cylindrical snout (Gilbert-Peretz 1996, fig. 16.9); (2) hollow spouted head of sheep(?) with painted features (Holland 1975, Plate 53.05); (3, 4) hollow spouted horse head with incised features from Hazor (Yadin et al. 1961, plate 177.22; 356.02)

11.2 Horses and other animals: identification and modelling

Moving beyond the figurines where a rider, or traces of a rider can be made out, the situation is further complicated. The level of variation may discourage from attempting any broad brush presentation. It does appear possible to distinguish between two major tendencies: one towards a certain level of detailed rendering, and the other that goes for a far more schematic approach. This study has taken into account the use of application, incision, and painting to add features and detail (Fig. 11.2). A statistical consideration of these elements is presented in Table 11.1 and Fig. 11.3.

11.2.1 Detailed modelling

It is easier to start with the more detailed rendering of the animals, which – understandably – can remove a considerable level of ambiguity. The following methods were employed to add to the plastic rendering:

- Incisions:
 - sometimes very simple, to indicate the mouth or eyes,
 - others very elaborate and detailed (Fig. 11.2.4; Fig. 8.4.6) showing elements, such as bridle and collar;
- Applied details (Fig. 11.1.1-2; Fig. 8.4.5): adding elements such as eyes, mane, but also bridles;
- Paint (Fig. 11.2.2), added very schematically, and hard to identify with individual elements.

Detailed rendering is characteristic of sites in the northern coastal plain and hill country, the Galilee and Jezreel valleys, as well as the Transjordan. The site of Achziv provides some excellently modelled examples of solid figurines of horses – including two complete examples with rider (Fig. 11.1.1-2), one horse head with attached rider (Mazar 2001, 121), and one horse head with a clearly modelled harness (Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 154). A further quadruped with trace of a rider (Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 152-153) is identified as a likely horse - but is rendered in an extremely schematic fashion. Similar detail of execution can be seen in an

example of donkey figurine (E. Mazar 2004, 79-80) with long pointed ears, and a pack on its back. Detailed modelling which clearly identifies horses -with their short, upward pointing ears, and harness – is also found on two examples of solid snout fragments from Tell Keisan (Briend and Humbert 1980, plate 104, nos. 28 and 31). Some detail in the modelling of horse heads is present in Megiddo with examples of incised mouth, eyes, and harnesses (May 1935, Pl. XXXVI), and Hazor (Fig. 11.2.3-4; Yadin *et al.* 1960, Pl. CIII, no. 8). The examples of horse heads from the Transjordan show a high level of detail with incised detail of eyes and bridle in examples from the citadel in Amman (Mansoor 2005, 546-548), and applied bridles and decorative elements in Busayrah (Bienkowski 2002, 385-386).

11.2.2 Schematic modelling

In contrast to the northern sites and the Transjordan, other areas indicate a strong tendency towards schematisation, with little detail in representation, even for the heads. This tendency is marked in the southern hill country, the southern coastal plain, the Shephelah, and the Negev.

The horse type of the southern hill country has been described as having a “short, rounded muzzle and two small, usually rounded or pointed ears” (Kletter and Saarelainen 2014, 197) or a “long (cylindrical) nose depicted without detail” (Gilbert-Peretz 1996, 31). The identification of these quadrupeds as horses appears to be based primarily on their role as mounts for riders in the more complete examples, and the absence of horns, which can be seen as diagnostic of bovines (e.g. Tchernov 1996, 85). Similarly schematic, if different in form with a more pointed snout, are the horse figurines from Ashkelon (Press 2012, 81-108). The horse heads from Tell Jemmeh also indicate very schematic modelling (Ben-Shlomo, Gardiner and Van Beek 2014, 819).

Considering the schematic rendering of these animals, it seems highly speculative to identify other animals where diagnostic elements are far from clear: schematically modelled figurines that have been identified as possible dogs from Tel ‘Aroer (Thareani 2011, fig. 3.92), or the supposed mouse from Beth Shemesh (Holland 1975: G.I.g.1; Field Reg. 1933-4-417), might be better understood as more generic quadrupeds, and quite possibly equids.

	N. Coast		Galilee		N. Hills		S. Coast		Shephelah		S. Hills		Negev		Transjordan		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
applied	6	50	23	46	14	21	37	42	9	22	22	10	22	21	4	15	137	23
applied + painted					2	3			1	2	4	2			2	8	9	2
incised	1	8	9	18			5	6			6	3	4	4	4	15	29	5
Incised (detailed)	1	8	6	12	4	6									7	27	18	3
incised + applied							5	6	1	2	3	1	2	2			11	2
moulded	3	25	3	6	2	3							1	1	2	8	11	2
painted			5	10	34	52	3	3	2	5	25	12	12	12	5	19	86	14
no features	1	8	4	8	10	15	39	44	28	68	152	72	62	60	2	8	298	50
TOTAL	12	100	50	100	66	100	89	100	41	100	212	100	103	100	26	100	599	100

Table 11.1: Techniques for rendering of detail in the heads of the zoomorphic figures (n=599): application, incision, paint, across the different sub-regions. The table indicated both the raw numbers in the study sample, as well as the percentage within the particular sub-region

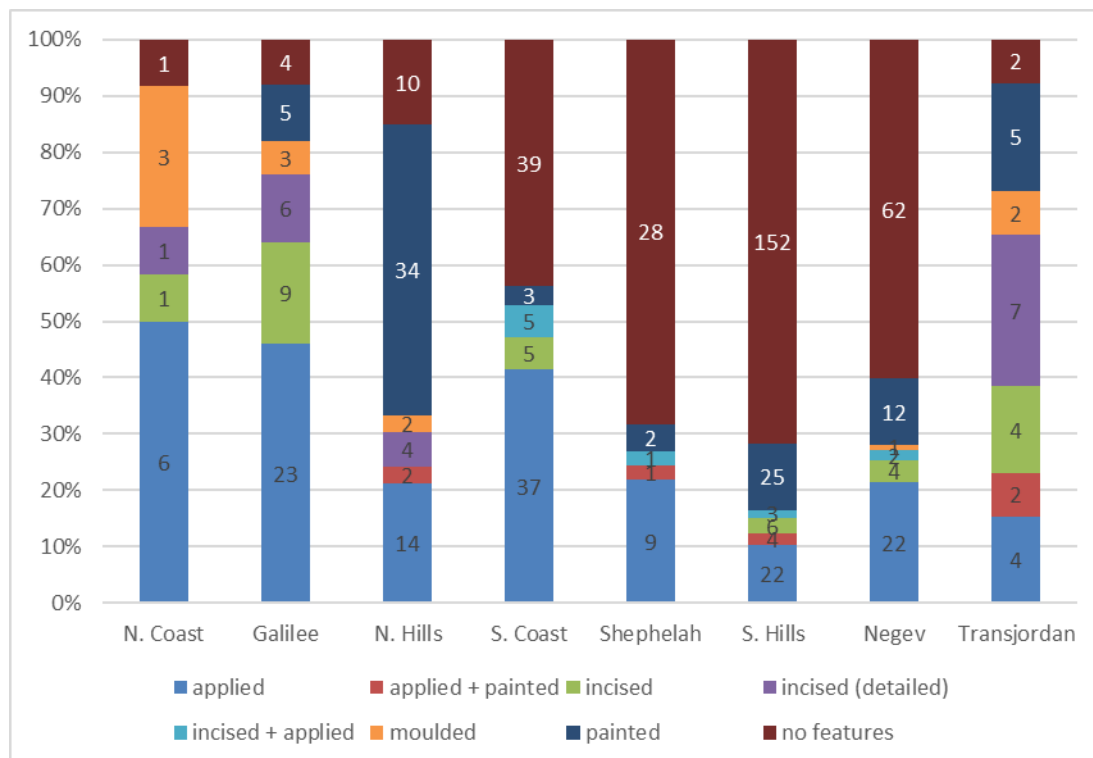


Fig. 11.3: Techniques for rendering of detail in the heads of the zoomorphic figures (n=599).

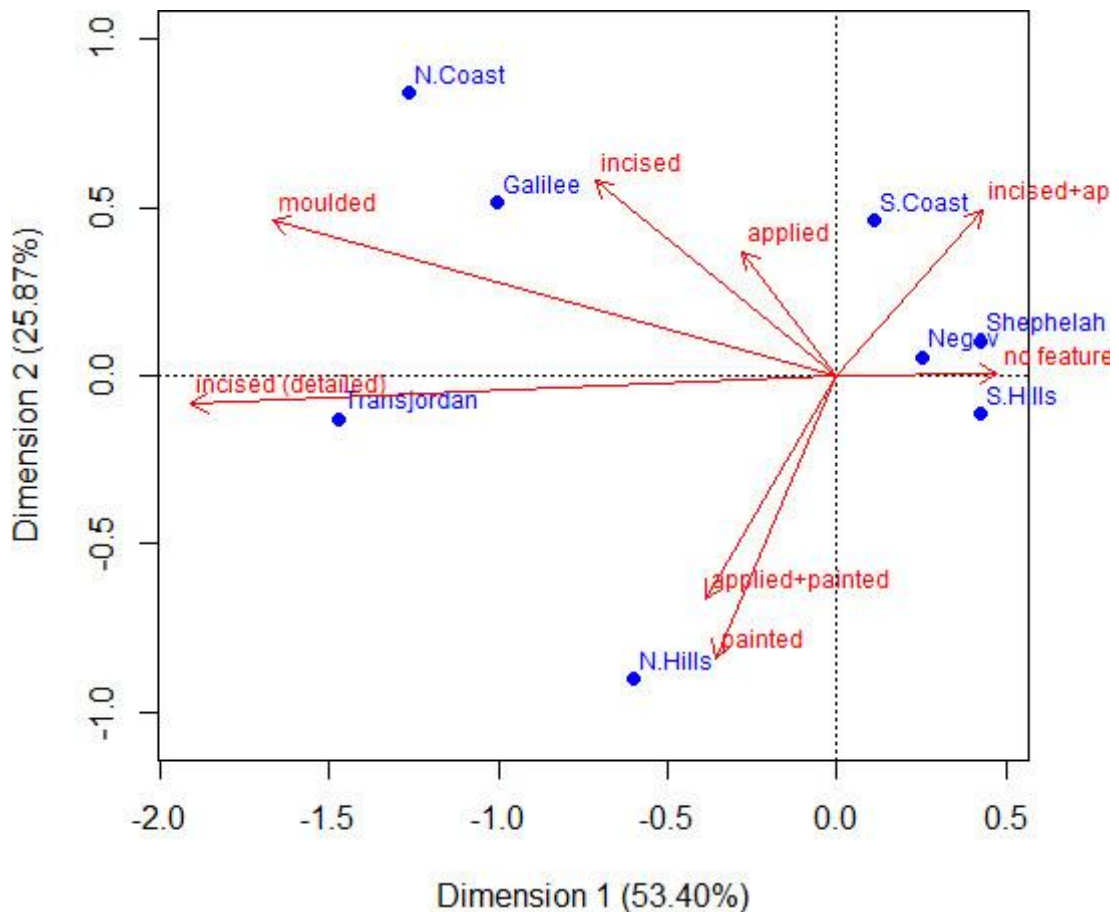


Fig. 11.4: Correspondence analysis plot of the same data ($n = 599$). The plot shows no particular clustering pattern, other than the Negev, Shephelah and southern hills, where over 60% of heads have no detail.

11.2.3 Sun discs?

The possibility of connection between horses and the solar cult was first raised by May (1935, 28). He also discussed in greater length the connection of solar cult with models of chariots and chariot wheels (see sections 2.2.3 and 12.2.3), and their potential connection with Hebrew mythology and the cult of Yahweh (May 1935, 23-25).

The connection with the “horses of the sun” (2 Kings 23, 11) was picked up particularly by Kenyon (1974, 141-142) in observing a feature observed between the ears of some the examples from her excavations in Jerusalem that she interpreted as a disc on the head of horses. Holland (1977, 149) identified two further figurines with solar discs from Lachish (Tufnell 1953, Plate 27:2) and Hazor (Yadin *et al.* 1960, Plate CIII:9). Checking the examples, however, there is little to suggest a disc rather than a high-crested mane. Holland (1977, 149-150)

highlights the difficulty in distinguishing between a disc, with possible cultic significance, and modelling of the horses' mane. Kletter and Saarelainen (2014, 201), considering the various examples of supposed discs, are of the opinion that they simply represent manes. Moorey (2003, 62) also rightly points out that the biblical verse in question refers to chariots rather than ridden horses, which seem to be the case with the examples discussed.

One example does, however, stand out. A horse-and-rider figurine from the entrance wash to Cave I in Jerusalem has a clear disc on the head, incised with small holes. Holland (1975, 239) identifies the disc as a 'solar' disc (his quotation marks). Moorey, in his catalogue of the material now at the Ashmolean, pointedly specifies that it is "not a sun-disk" (2001, 211), but rather reads it as a stemmed rosette. *Pace* Moorey, this particular example is perhaps the best example of a clear horse head with an applied disc that cannot be construed as a modelling of the animal's mane, and it is equally unclear why the possibility of a sun-disc should be excluded, in preference of an equally speculative rosette.

What the disc stands for, of course, remains an open question. It should be noted, however, that even if stands for ceremonial (and physical) ornamentation of the horse, as is likely, this does not exclude *a priori* symbolism attached to such ornaments.

11.2.4 Animals other than horses

Some criteria can, of course, be proposed for the at least a partial identification of some species of quadrupeds, with the more common examples being:

- Horses: short ears pointing vertically up on the head.
- Bovines: horns extending out to the sides; a small back hump immediately behind the neck.

Many other examples, however, especially where the head does not survive remain far more ambiguous. Following a tentative classification of the animals within the study sample, the results are presented in Fig. 11.5 and Table 11.2.

What emerges very clearly is the large amount of figurines that can only be classified as quadrupeds, almost half the classified repertoire (49% of 1279 classified examples). Where it was possible to attempt a closer classification, three animal types dominate: horses (31%), bovines (8%), and birds (7%).

The percentage of figurines that can be potentially identified as bovine is rather high in the southern coastal plain (22% of 195 classified examples), and in the Galilee (24% of 76 examples). While a great degree of caution needs to be exercised in explaining this variation, one possibility is the greater suitability of cattle for the more fertile plains and valleys, in comparison to the hill country, as well as the Negev, more suited to herding of smaller animals.

Very few other animals can be potentially identified, and often this attribution is highly speculative on account of the very schematic rendering of the animals (see Tchernov 1996, Horwitz 2015). Even accounting for such possible variation, it is worth noting that they comprise 63 examples, or 5% of the classified zoomorphic repertoire. The identification suggested in the various publications suggest the wide range of animals: thirteen wild hoofed animals, twelve dogs, eleven ovides, seven camels, five lions, four monkeys, two donkeys, two elephants, two hippopotamuses, one cat, one fish, one tortoise. Two further examples suggest hybrid creatures: the centaur from Beersheba (discussed in section 10.3.4, App. 9, no. 452), and a second possible monster from Amman (App. 9, no. 38).

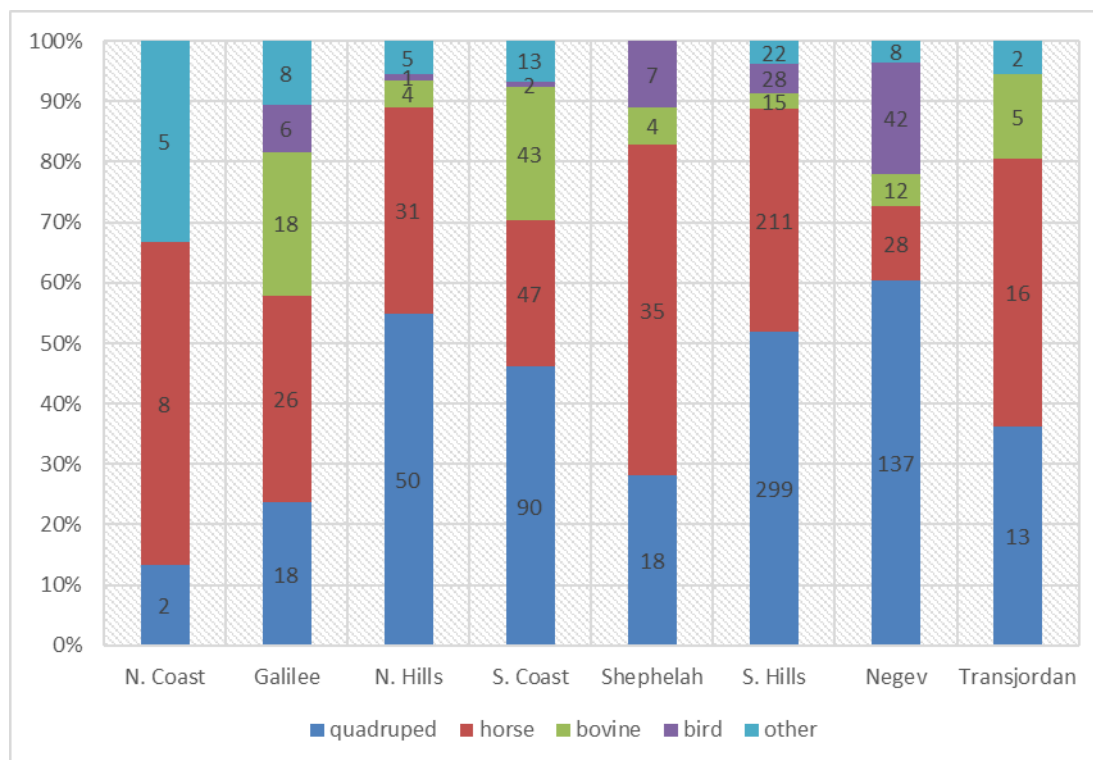


Fig. 11.5: Distribution of animals potentially identified across the different sub-regions (n= 1279). See Table 11.2

	N. Coast		Galilee		N. Hills		S. Coast		Shephelah		S. Hills		Negev		Transjordan		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
quadruped	2	13	18	24	50	55	90	46	18	28	299	52	137	60	13	36	627	49
horse	8	53	26	34	31	34	47	24	35	55	211	37	28	12	16	44	402	31
bovine			18	24	4	4	43	22	4	6	15	3	12	5	5	14	101	8
bird			6	8	1	1	2	1	7	11	28	5	42	19			86	7
other	5	33	8	11	5	5	13	7			22	4	8	4	2	6	63	5
TOTAL	15	100	76	100	91	100	195	100	64	100	575	100	227	100	36	100	1279	100

Table 11.2: Distribution of animals potentially identified across the different sub-regions (n= 1279). Table indicates both raw counts, as well as percentages, rounded off to the nearest 1%. See Fig. 11.5.

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Fig. 11.6: Examples of different manufacturing types of heads and bodies. (1) solid handmade head from Beersheba (Kletter 2016, Fig. 21.9, no. 87); (2) pierced solid head of quadruped from Busayrah (Bienkowski 2002, fig. 10.86); (3) Hollow spouted head of Ibex? from Hazor, with applied eyes (Tadmor 2012, fig. 7.6); (4) zoomorphic figurine with pierced solid head and hollow body from Beersheba (Kletter 2016, Fig. 21.16, no. 290)

11.3 Manufacturing types, and performative potential

A primary distinction that can be used to classified the zoomorphic figurative material is that between figurines and vessels. The vessels have some way of being filled and emptied, often through an animal head-shaped spout. The vessels, where complete, have a cylindrical or globular hollow body. Although the distinction between figurine and vessel is evident in the complete examples (such as Fig. 11.6.4 from Beersheba), most examples in the study sample were broken, and the distinction was made along some elements of manufacture that were deemed potentially indicative of their use (Table 11.3).

	Head type	Body type
Vessel	Solid, and pierced right through to the mouth (Fig. 11.6.2); Hollow, spouted (Fig. 11.6.3)	Hollow (Fig. 11.6.4).
Figurine	Solid (Fig. 11.6.1).	Solid
Vessel/Figurine?	Hollow, but not spouted	

Table 11.3: The classification of material into vessels or figurines, using head types and body types.

The result of the cross tab query (Table 11.4) are unsurprising, if interesting. It is no surprise that all of the 112 examples (85% of sample) where a solid body can be paired with its matching head are of solid construction.

The picture is more complex when the nineteen hollow bodied examples (15% of sample) are considered: seven of these are clearly associated with hollow spouted heads, while a further seven have solid but pierced heads, through which liquids can be poured. Not all examples with hollow bodies can be clearly identified as vessels. Three examples have solid heads, two have hollow heads but no exit spouts, and a further three could not immediately be classified. Examples of hollow zoomorphic figurines which are not intended to function as vessels are few: one notable example is a double moulded cat figurine from Achziv (Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 154)

	Solid		pierced solid		hollow spouted		hollow not spouted		TOTAL		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	%
Hollow body	3	16	7	37	7	37	2	11	19	100	15
Solid body	112	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	112	100	85
TOTAL	115	88	7	5	7	5	2	2	131	100	100

Table 11.4: Cross tab query connecting manufacturing types of heads and bodies (n=131), as raw counts and percentages, rounded off to the nearest 1%.

Among the fragments, head types proved a better diagnostic element to identify zoomorphic vessels than body parts. A total of 576 heads could be classified. These can be divided as follows:

- Spouted (111 examples, 19%), including: hollow spouted heads (83 examples, or 14%), solid pierced heads (28 examples or 5%).
- Non-spouted (465 examples, 81%), including: solid heads (460 examples, or 80%), hollow heads which are clearly not spouted (5 examples, 1%).

The numbers and percentages of head types were also considered taking into account whether both head and body are present, as well as those where only the head survives (see Fig. 11.7). This confirms that the solid types remain predominant in both cases, however the hollow spouted heads may be underrepresented in the case where both head and body are present. If all the heads that could be classified are taken into account, it is possible to conclude that around one fifth of all zoomorphic representation were vessels.

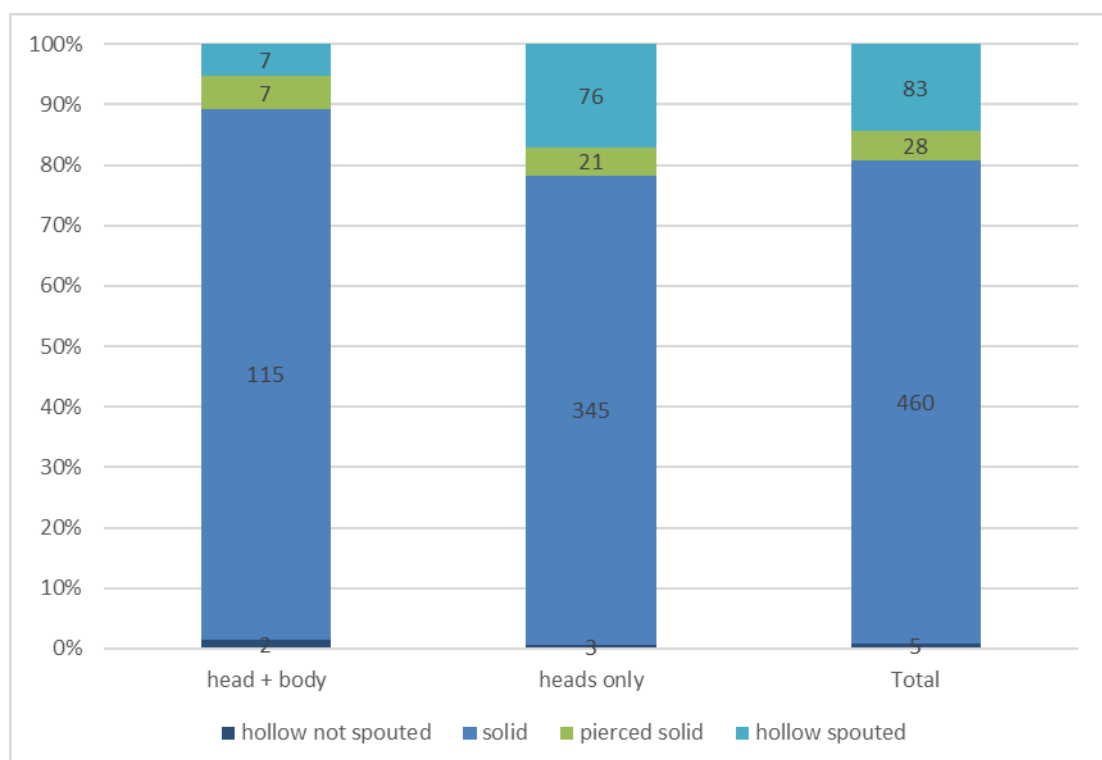


Fig. 11.7: Different types of head types in the sample (n=576). The bar graph compares the relative percentages of the types for the examples where (a) head type and both types can be paired (n= 131), (b) where only the heads survive (n= 445), and (c) the total classified sample (n= 576).

	solid			pierced solid			hollow spouted			hollow			hollow not spouted			not clear			Total		
	n	%	%	n	%	%	n	%	%	n	%	%	n	%	%	n	%	%	n	%	%
quadruped	76	17	60	6	21	5	23	28	18	6	21	5				16	84	13	127	20	100
horse	279	61	82	14	50	4	34	41	10	11	39	3	1	17	<1	1	5	<1	340	54	100
bovine	40	9	56	5	18	7	16	19	22	8	29	11	1	17	1	2	11	3	72	12	100
bird	26	6	68				8	10	21	3	11	8	1	17	3				38	6	100
other	39	8	83	3	11	6	2	2	4			0	3	50	6				47	8	100
TOTAL	460	100	74	28	100	4	83	100	13	28	100	4	6	100	1	19	100	3	624	100	100

Table 11.5: Manufacturing types of heads in the different classifiable animals (n=624). The table include raw counts, and (in red, read down) percentages within the given head type, (in blue, read across) percentage within the given animal group. All percentages are rounded off to the near 1%.

11.3.1 Types of heads and identifiable animals

An important connection to study is that between the animals represented and the mode of manufacture of the head, with the consequent difference in performative potential (Table 11.5). Horses and generic quadrupeds remain the dominant type of zoomorphic vessels: 50% of pierced solid heads, and 41% of hollow spouted heads can be identified as horse, and a further 21% and 28% respectively as more generic quadruped. Bovine heads types come in second (18% of pierced heads, 19% of hollow spouted heads), and with bird-shaped vessels (10% of hollow spouted heads) in third place.

Three examples of ram's head shaped pierced solid heads, here classified as other, come from Megiddo (May 1935, plate 37). The two surviving necks, however, are very elongated and different to what is expected from a zoomorphic vessel. One spouted hollow head of a possible ibex was found in Hazor (Tadmor 2012, fig. 7.6). The very low total count of all the other animal types limits any statistically meaningful conclusion.

11.3.2 Manufacturing types across the region

The variation in manufacturing types for both heads and bodies can be studied in relation to two further variables – distribution over space and time (section 11.3.3). The study of this distribution excludes smaller fragments such as animal legs, as it was felt this could unduly distort the results, disproportionately inflating the number of “solid” figurines represented.

Some clear patterns emerge when the manufacturing types of the heads are considered (Table 11.6, Fig. 11.8). Solid types predominate in the southern hill country (95% of 224 classified heads), and the southern coastal plain (87% of 100 heads). More variation is registered in other areas, although solid heads generally predominated, with the exception of the Galilee and the Transjordan, where around half of the figurines are spouted hollow figurines, or pierced solid figurines. The same may well be the case in the northern hill country, but the current data that could be recovered did not allow for the proper classification of some 20% of heads. Pierced solid heads seem to be characteristic of the Transjordan and Galilee, from where 19 of the 28 classified examples originate.

The picture is further corroborated when the classification of body types across the sub-regions is considered (Table 11.7, Fig. 11.9). Unsurprisingly, the southern hill country and the southern coastal plain are dominated by solid figurine types, and to these one could add the northern hill country. The Galilee and Transjordan indicated a roughly equal distribution of solid and hollow types. Finally, the northern coastal plain, the Negev and the Shephelah suggest ratios of between 2:1 and 3:1, with the solid figurine types dominating.

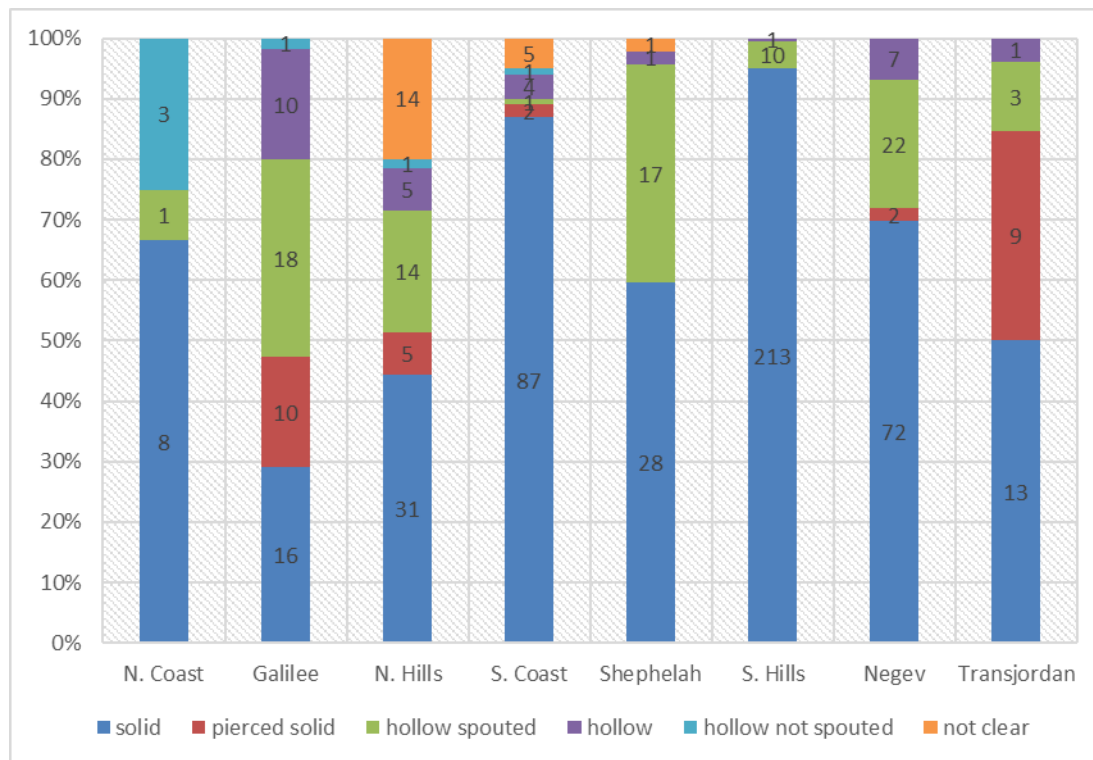


Fig. 11.8: Distribution of manufacturing types of heads across the different sub-regions (n=637). See Table 11.6.

	N. coast		Galilee		N. hills		S. coast		Shephelah		S. hills		Negev		Transjordan		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
solid	8	67	16	29	31	44	87	87	28	60	213	95	72	70	13	50	468	73
pierced solid			10	18	5	7	2	2					2	2	9	35	28	4
hollow spouted	1	8	18	33	14	20	1	1	17	36	10	4	22	21	3	12	86	14
hollow			10	18	5	7	4	4	1	2	1	< 1	7	7	1	4	29	5
hollow not spouted	3	25	1	2	1	1	1	1									6	1
not clear					14	20	5	5	1	2							20	3
Total	12	100	55	100	70	100	100	100	47	100	224	100	103	100	26	100	637	100

Table 11.6: Distribution of manufacturing types of heads across the different sub-regions (n=635), including raw counts and percentages, rounded off to the nearest 1%. See Fig. 11.8.

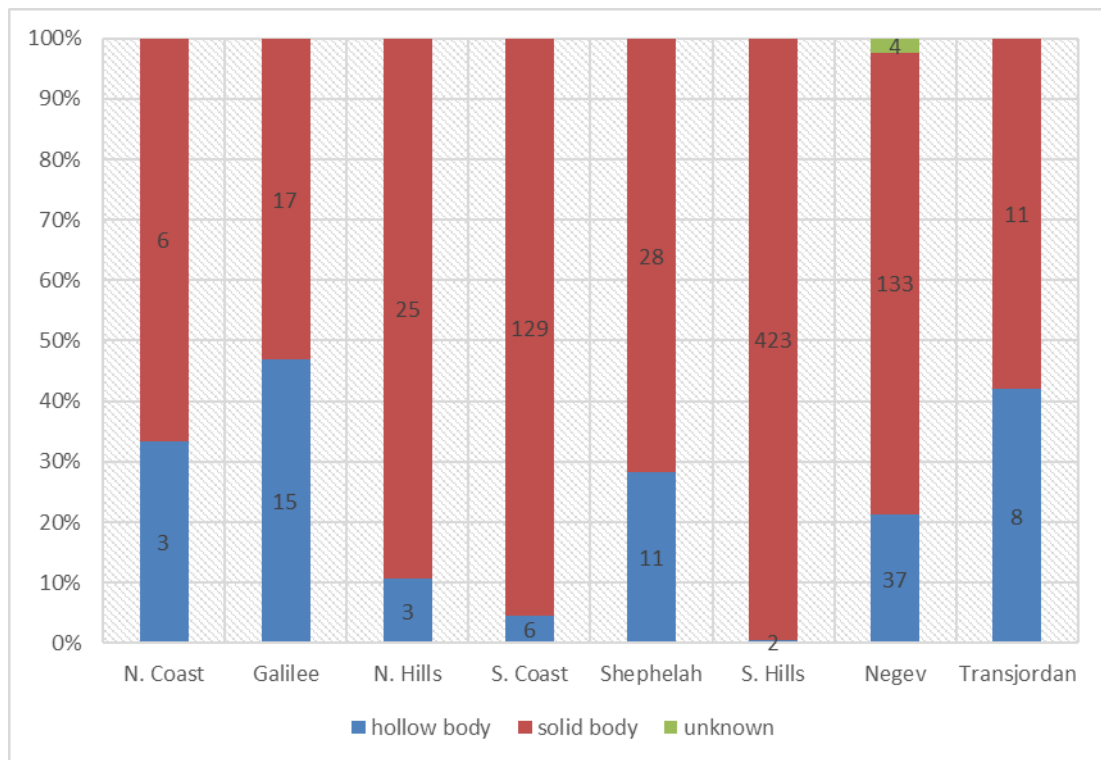


Fig. 11.9: Distribution of manufacturing types of body fragments across the different sub-regions (n=861). Fragments of legs only have been excluded. See Table 11.7.

	N. Coast		Galilee		N. Hills		S. Coast		Shephelah		S. Hills		Negev		Transjordan		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Hollow body	3	33	15	47	3	11	6	4	11	28	2	< 1	37	21	8	42	85	10
Solid body	6	67	17	53	25	89	129	96	28	72	423	100	133	76	11	58	772	90
Unknown													4	2			4	< 1
Total	9	100	32	100	28	100	135	100	39	100	425	100	174	100	18	100	861	100

Table 11.7: Distribution of manufacturing types of body fragments across the different sub-regions (n=861), showing raw counts and percentages rounded off to the nearest 1%. Fragments of legs only have been excluded.

11.3.3 Manufacturing types across time

The distribution of manufacturing types across the different periods was also considered, taking into account the manufacturing of heads (Table 11.8, Fig. 11.10), as well as body fragments (Table 11.9, Fig. 11.11). The difficulties in assigning the fragments to specific periods has already been discussed earlier (section 10.2.2), and need not be repeated here.

The analysis of the data does not suggest any pattern of development over the period, but rather suggests a general homogeneity over time. In the case of the figurines from the fragments dated to Iron IIA-B, the small sample size can easily account for the apparent discrepancy. There may be an apparent case for an increase in solid types in Iron IIC, however, this may also be explained by the larger number of figurines from the southern hill country where the solid types dominate, and may therefore be accounted for by geographic rather than temporal criteria.

One element that should be pointed out is the discrepancy between head types and body types when trying to identify possible zoomorphic vessel from the fragments. Whereas c. 17% of 546 classified heads probably relate to vessels (hollow spouted, or solid pierced heads), only 9% of 748 classified body fragments are bodies of hollow construction. It is likely that several parts from the hollow bodies of zoomorphic vessels are not diagnostic enough to be identified as such during excavation, and are consequently underrepresented.

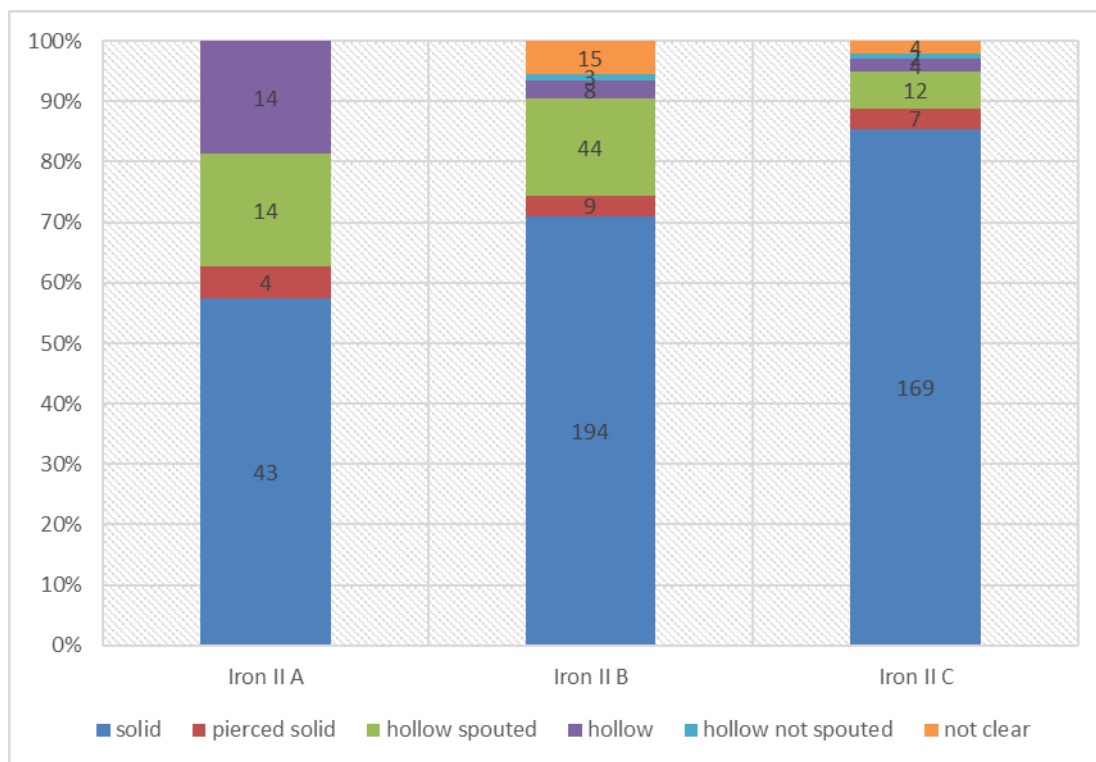


Fig. 11.10: Distribution of manufacturing types for animal heads across the different sub-periods considered (n=637). See Table 11.8.

	Iron II A		Iron II B		Iron II C		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
solid	43	57	194	71	169	85	406	73
pierced solid	4	5	9	3	7	4	20	4
hollow spouted	14	19	44	16	12	6	70	13
hollow	14	19	8	3	4	2	26	5
hollow not spouted			3	1	2	1	5	1
not clear			15	5	4	2	19	3
TOTAL	75	100	273	100	198	100	546	100

Table 11.8: Distribution of manufacturing types for animal heads across the different sub-periods considered (n=546), including raw counts and percentages, rounded off to the nearest 1%. See Fig. 11.10.

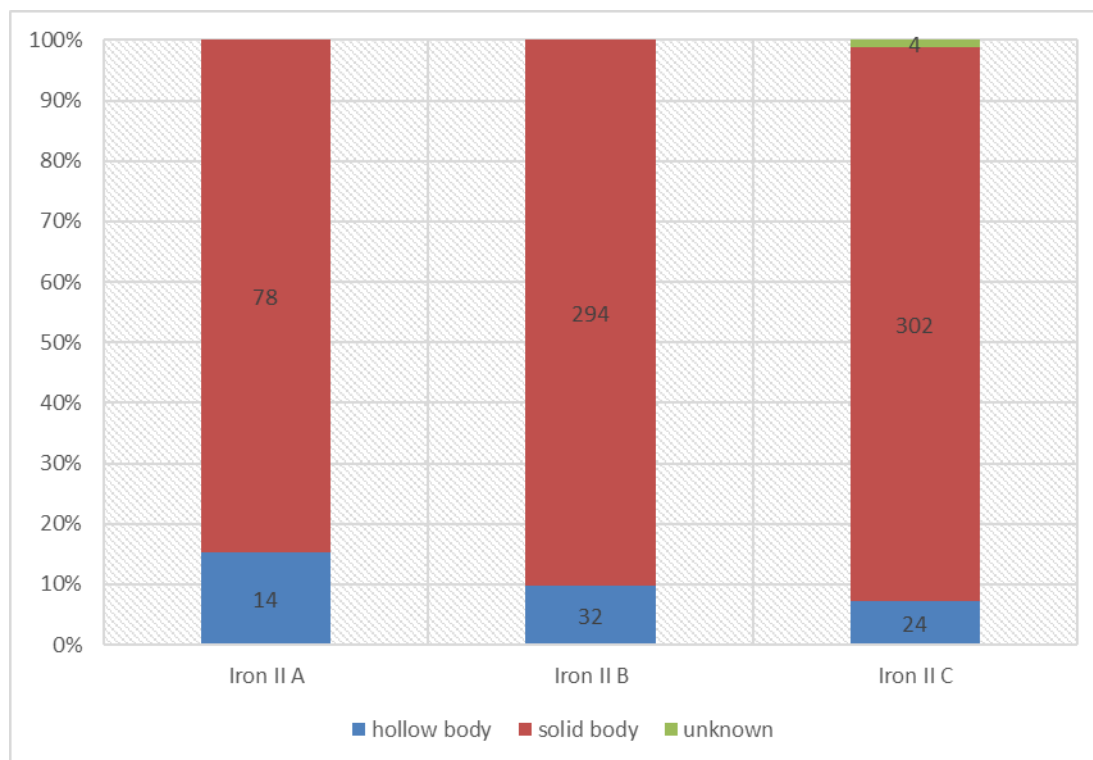


Fig. 11.11: Distribution of manufacturing types for body fragments across the different sub-periods considered (n=861). See Table 11.9.

	Iron II A		Iron II B		Iron II C		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
hollow body	14	15	32	10	24	7	70	9
solid body	78	85	294	90	302	92	674	90
unknown					4	1	4	1
TOTAL	92	100	326	100	330	100	748	100

Table 11.9: Distribution of manufacturing types for body fragments across the different sub-periods considered (n=861), including raw counts and percentages, rounded off to the nearest 1%. See Fig. 11.11.

11.3.4 Performative potential

The distinction between zoomorphic figurines and zoomorphic vessels is particularly significant for the performative potential, complementing the picture that started to emerge from the anthropomorphic figurines (see section 10.2.4):

Type	Characteristic	Performative potential
Horses and riders	Free standing	Handled or placed
Solid zoomorphic figurines		
Zoomorphic vessels	Vessel	Receiving or pouring of liquids

Table 11.10: Potential interaction with the figurines, based on different physical characteristics.

Two main performative groupings can be noted:

- Figurines that can stand unaided, which include horses and riders, as well as other zoomorphic figurines. These figurines can be placed, but are also small enough to be handled.
- Zoomorphic vessels that can be used to receive or pour liquids. The ways in which the zoomorphic vessels were used is not entirely clear.

There is no zoomorphic equivalent of the anthropomorphic plaque figurines.

11.4 An Inscription on a spouted horse head

One particular figurine fragment deserves mention as a noteworthy exception, being the only one of all figurine fragments studied which bears a brief inscription. The fragment is of a horse head from Samaria (Fig. 11.12), of solid construction but pierced through the mouth forming a spout, and decorated with incised features (Reg. no. C 1142; Rockefeller Museum no. 1933-2182). The figurine was found in trench E 207 (see section 9.3.2). The inscription was first published by Sukenik (1933, 201), and included in Diringer's corpus (1934, 308). The final publication in the excavation report reads the inscription as follows (Birnbaum 1957, 16):

לעזרה[] or לעזאה[] *l'zrh[]r[]* or *l'z'h[]' []*

Birnbaum has little to comment about the inscription, other than reading it as the proper name עזר / *zr* (Ezer) or עזרה / *zrh* (Ezrah), or potentially עזא / *z'* (Uzza), preceded by the preposition ל / *l*. The preposition *lamed* is known with a variety of meanings in ancient Hebrew/Canaanite, with a primary meaning of “to”, but when used with proper names it is usually an indicator of possession: “to” as in “belonging to”. The inscription is dated on palaeographic grounds to the 770-750 BC, which fits well with the general date for the context. The inscription is also included without comment in G. Davies (1991, 63, inscription 3.303), dated to c. 750 BC, and reading: *l'zr. {or l'z'}. h[]r[]*. Both Davies and Diringer read the dot after the first *resh/aleph* as a diacritical mark, separating two words, with only a first letter *he* of the second word being readable. This would exclude the possible reading of the name Ezrah proposed as an option by Birnbaum.

Birnbaum notes that the figurine, like other vessels, cannot be seen as ostraca – strictly speaking where inscriptions are added on the broken sherd – but rather as vessels with inscriptions added before firing. Moreover, the preposition *l* indicates “a connection [...] between the vessel and a certain person: the owner.” However, he rightly notes that it is impossible to say whether such vessels containing offerings (1957, 24-25). Moorey suggests that this example may indicate that the horses “might be ‘owned’ or ‘dedicated’ by individuals” (2003, 62).

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Fig. 11.12: Inscribed horse head from Samaria. (1-2) Crowfoot et al. 1957, Plate I.3, (3) part of object card for C 1142 with transcription of inscription and drawing of the object (archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London).

It is worth highlighting the inscription being added before firing links its use with the production itself of the figurine, rather than an afterthought, added at some point during the life of the figurine but subsequent to its production. It should also be highlighted that the figurine fragment in question was perforated, indicating that pouring formed a likely part of its performative use.

11.5 Synthesis and conclusions

Once more, having considered the various aspects that emerge from the consideration of the data, it is important to take a step back and attempt a coherent picture on the wider scale. Notwithstanding the fragmented nature of the figurines discussed in this chapter, there is still room for some meaningful discussion and conclusions.

11.5.1 Horses and riders, or riders and horses?

A first question that has not been addressed is whether the focus of the figurine is meant to be the rider or horse. No one would doubt, for example, that the key element of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol Hill in Rome, is a statue of Marcus Aurelius, and his horse is merely his mount. The differentiation may, at first, appear frivolous. However, it could well effect the way the numerous horse and equid figurines are meant to be read. If the possibility of a visual form of synecdoche can be considered, the emphasis placed on the rider would read the numerous figurines of horses as representations of cavalry, even where they exist on their own. The presence or absence of the rider could well be understood as secondary to its primary meaning.

What may also be noted is the general impossibility of gendering the figurines on the basis of any biological sexual markers. The oft-unstated assumption that the rider figurines are male on account of the absence of female gender markers may, of course, well be true. Accepting such a reading does, however, highlight the cultural construction of gender, even on the part of the modern interpreter.

The martial link of the horses and riders is further suggested by the shields, as well as the bow and quiver attested in a few examples (see section 10.4).

11.5.2 Horses and other animals

The predominance of horses among the recognisable animals (as previously discussed in section 11.2.4), and conversely the rarity of other recognisable animals, seems to underline the importance of the horse in the zoomorphic

figurative repertoire. From the other animals only the bovine and birds deserve any special mention from a numerical point of view. While the bovines can be read in terms of wealth in cattle, and a source of sacrifice, the horses do not fit into this category in the known texts of the period, and rather reflect a military application of the animal. The birds – especially where understood as doves – have been read as animals related to Astarte/Asherah (Holland 1977, 152; Kletter 1996, 65). Unless an immediate link is made between the female figurines and the birds, there seems to be no pressing reason to associate the birds with a female goddess, ignoring the rest of the repertoire.

11.5.3 Zoomorphic vessels and performative potential

While all known horse and rider figurines were of solid construction, a significant percentage of the zoomorphic heads were clearly hollow and spouted, or solid and pierced through, indicating their use as part of some form of zoomorphic vessel used in the pouring of liquids. It is far too tempting to assume that similar vessels must therefore be ritual vessels used in the pouring of libations. Considering the variety of contexts in which such vessels were found it remains important not to assume a ritual function, but could have well served more mundane uses as serving vessels within the household.

The only inscription on a figurine head (section 11.4) does little to resolve this debate in one direction or the other, since the inscription may be purely an indication of ownership of the vessel rather than dedication of the vessel and its contents. The sample study also suggests a certain homogeneity in the popularity of the zoomorphic vessels over time.

11.5.4 Limited set of themes

The predominance of a limited variety of animals appears to confirm the idea, already noted for the anthropomorphic figurines (section 10.6.3) that suggests a limited number of themes and types:

- Solid figurines, predominantly:
 - Horse, with and without rider
 - Bovines
 - Birds
- Zoomorphic vessels:
 - Horses, without rider
 - Bovines
 - Birds

The same, limited, range of animals is present in both solid figurines and zoomorphic vessels types, suggesting that, despite the different performative value that they could well be seen as part of the same miniature world.

11.5.5 Other models

Having considered anthropomorphic figurines, riders and horses and other animals in the last two chapters, it seems appropriate to now consider briefly the other clay models that complete the repertoire present in this miniature world. The next chapter, therefore, will consider models not of humans or animals, but of things. This will allow for a more comprehensive discussion of the figurative repertoire.

Chapter 12. Models of inanimate objects

The focus of the last two chapters has been on anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines respectively. To complete our understanding of the repertoire, it seems appropriate to dedicate a short chapter to one final category of figurines: miniature models of inanimate objects.

12.1 Should they be included with the figurines?

A preliminary question to the chapter is whether objects such as model furniture, model chariots or model boats should be included in a study like this. Individual studies and reports on coroplastic figurative materials have taken different views on the subject.

Inclusion and exclusion may be read superficially. However, this choice reflects on the underlying concept of what a figurine should be, often embraced in an unstated manner by those working with this material. It also has potential consequences for the way the figurines themselves are interpreted. It is interesting, for example, that Holland's thesis (1975) does not include inanimate objects, while his publication of the material from Jerusalem Cave I (Holland 1977) includes three couch model fragments and a clay model 'shrine', but only as "specific cult objects other than figurines" (Holland 1977, 153). On other occasions, such as the publication of two clay wheel models from Lachish (discussed in section 7.3), the finds are classed as models under "Religion and Figurative Art" within the report (Sass 2004, 2033), and may not even have been made available to the scholar working on the figurines.

For the purposes of this study, these models of inanimate objects have been regarded as part of the overall 'figurine' repertoire. The models share with the figurines similar material and manufacturing methods, and were found in a similar range of archaeological contexts, suggesting that they were used alongside other figurine types.

12.2 Types of models

The eighty-seven models in this study fall under four main categories: architectural models, furniture, wheeled vehicles, and boats.

12.2.1 Architectural models

The study sample includes fifteen fragments of architectural models: three from Tell el-Far‘ah (App. 9, no. 661, 668, 674), eight from Ḥorvat Qitmit (App. 9, no. 2458, 2546, 2547, 2649, 2705, 2815-2817), three from Megiddo (App. 9, no. 2404-2406), and one from Jerusalem (App. 9, no. 1048).

The examples from Tell el-Far‘ah, while found in strata VIIb and VIId, are, unfortunately, not from primary contexts (Chambon 1984, 77-78). One is almost a complete model with a simple niche-like structure and a more elaborate frontage with two pilasters with volutes (Fig. 12.1.1, App. 9, no. 661). The other two are fragments, one capital of a column (App. 9, no. 674), and one base of a pilaster (App. 9, no. 668). The eight examples from Ḥorvat Qitmit are all fragments, apparently of pillars or columns, somewhat similar in style to the example from Tell el-Far‘ah (Beck 1995, 177). Three examples from Megiddo have already been discussed in section 8.3.3.3. The example from Cave I in Jerusalem (see also section 6.3.1.2), now in the Ashmolean Museum, is rather different to the examples from other site, being far plainer, without any form of decoration, forming a sort of square clay box (Fig. 12.1.2), apparently with a second storey (Fig. 12.1.2b).

These architectural models have often identified as shrines (May 1935, 13); Chambon 1984, 77; Beck 1995, 177; Miroschedji 2001). The presence of columns, pillars and decorated capitals in the examples from Far‘ah and fragments from Ḥorvat Qitmit suggest a high status building, presumable a temple or palace.

The size and configuration of the more complete models may provide some indication of their performative potential:

- The example from Tell el-Far‘ah is 20.6 x 13.9 x 11.1 cm, with an opening c. 10 x 6cm at the front. The opening suggests that it may have served also

as a display niche for a smaller element (Miroschedji 2001, 79), as with the simple cylindrical clay shrine with an associated bronze and silver bull-calf figurine from Middle Bronze Age Ashkelon (Stager 2008, 577). However, such a possibility remains only speculative for the late Iron Age southern Levant.

- The example from Cave I, Jerusalem is plainer and undecorated, but similarly is open on one side (Holland 1977, 154). It is smaller in size (8.5 x 7 x 6 cm), which makes it harder for it to serve as a niche. It is certainly too small to contain any of the figurines from Cave I.

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Fig. 12.1: Examples of different models of inanimate objects: architectural model (1) from Tell el-Far'ah (Chambon 1984, fig. 66.1) and (2) from Cave I in Jerusalem (Holland 1977, fig. 9.20); (3) model couch from Beersheba (Aharoni 1973, Plate 71.2 and Plate 27.3).

12.2.2 Furniture (Couches, Tables)

The most common of the clay models is model furniture, representing occasionally chairs, and more often couches or beds (Fig. 12.1.3). The first of the furniture models was discovered in Tomb 1 at Beth Shemesh. MacKenzie considers the two chairs as thrones for seated deities (1912, 55).

A more cultic reading of the couch models has seen them as relate to birthing rituals, a link that has been proposed for similar models from the Early Bronze Age (Beck 1993). Remaining within this reading, Zevit cautiously proposes that the couches, read alongside the female pillar figurines, may represent a birth stool or bed. The combination of pillar figurine and couch “constitute a woman’s collection intending to ensure here fertility, ability to give birth, and continued ability to lactate” (2001, 175-176). Kletter expresses a series of misgivings in pairing the Judean Pillar Figurines and bed models, but does leave the possibility open that “perhaps they stood nearby and ‘endowed’ the beds without physical contact.” However, his misgivings highlight the way the bed models and pillar figurines do not appear intended to work together in a performative sense: the pillar figurines are better suited to stand, rather than lie (1996, 66). Kletter also notes a potential link with so-called “Ashdoda” type figurines where the couch figurine incorporates anthropomorphic elements with breasts and a human head, suggesting that

“may have had similar functions – except that the Judahites preferred to use the non-iconic version, while the Philistines preferred theirs with a human protome” (2016, 1130).

On a more mundane reading, Tufnell (1953, 376) sees the model furniture as “copies of furniture in domestic use during the eighth and seventh century.” In this line, Moorey notes the absence of any divine symbols and considers the models as representing “ordinary household furnishings” (2003, 65).

Couch models have been found in a range of contexts, which include both domestic and funerary, as has already been discussed in the site case studies.

12.2.3 Wheeled vehicles

Moving from architecture and furniture to means of transport, the more common type are wheels of chariots or carts. Petrie (1928, 18) published the only model chariot body in this case study (Fig. 12.2.1), with little comment other than its later date compared to the comparative examples from Mesopotamia. The chariot is very crudely fashioned, forming a rectangular box shape, open at the back, and two holes presumably to fit an axle and two wheels. A crudely modelled solid human figurine with applied detail, and no biological gender markers, was placed inside the chariot, probably to be understood as the charioteer.

Model wheels, probably from models of chariots or carts are more common, with fourteen examples coming from six sites in this study (Table 12.1). May discusses his examples from Megiddo in a dedicated section and see them as “without doubt votive objects” (1935, 24). However, they have been found in similar contexts to other figurine types (see sections 8.3.1.3, 8.3.4.1, and 8.3.4.2). Interestingly, these models are not discussed alongside the figurines, but as part of a different chapter dedicated to “Instruments of the Cult”. On the basis primarily of texts from the Hebrew scriptures, May sees a connection with solar cult.

The difficulty with the interpretation of this material is compounded by the different ways in which they have been classified. As noted for Lachish (see section 7.2.3, Fig. 12.2.2), these wheel models are occasionally published separately from the other coroplastic material, therefore impeding their reading as part of the same repertoire. It is important to ask why several wheels survive from a number of sites, while the only example of a chariot is known from Tell Jemmeh. It is possible that the wheels tend to survive better and in more recognizable form than fragments of the chariot or cart bodies, causing the imbalance within the record.

While the presence of wheels is important to acknowledge, and indicates the presence of model carts or chariots, the attribution of a cultic meaning appears unduly speculative in the absence of any suggestively cultic element within the models themselves. The contexts where they appear are also similar to the sorts of contexts where other types of figurines have been found (see, for example, sections 6.3.1.1, 7.3.4.1, and 8.3.2.2).

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Fig. 12.2: Examples of different models of inanimate objects: (1) chariot from Tell Jemmeh (Petrie 1928, plate XXXIX, no. 14); (2) wheel from Lachish (Kletter 2004, 2034, fig. 28:21.5; (3) model boat from Tomb 1 in Achziv (Kahanov 2002, 169, fig. 33.1); (4) boat fragment from Tell Keisan (Briend and Humbert 1980, plate 106, no. 61).

12.2.4 Boats

If wheels recall transport overland, the boat models recall modes of transport on water. The models are rare, but not limited to a single site. One complete example (Fig. 12.2.3) and three fragments come from Tomb N.1 at Achziv (Kahanov 2004), and a further example from tomb ZR 3 (Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 155). Kahanov also lists a number of parallels including examples from Akko and Dor (2004, 170-171). A further fragmentary example in the study sample is from Tell Keisan (Fig.

12.2.4). The location of both sites suggests a connection with maritime transport on the Mediterranean, rather than the Sea of Galilee or the River Jordan.

The models in question are very simply executed with an open deck, and clearly indicated bow and stern. Kahanov also postulates that the worn endposts may have had figureheads, but admits that “this is mere speculation.” He concludes that the boats probably represented the small fishing boats that formed part of the life of the local community (2004, 172). The simple modelling of the boats, however, should not necessarily be read at face-value. The presence of four examples in an ashlar built family tomb, with rich grave goods, should warn against excluding *a priori* the possibility that these models represented merchant vessels.

12.2.5 Other models

The figurative world in Tell Jemmeh is interestingly varied. Petrie (1928, 18) includes two other models in his chapter on the pottery figurines: a model jug (1928, Pl. XXXIX, no. 20) and model bell (1928, Pl. XXXIX, no. 21). These examples are exceptions.

It is not clear whether Petrie fully distinguishes between this model jug and other miniature juglets, which he published as part of his pottery repertoire (1928, Pl. LIX), since Petrie also includes this model jug in his pottery series (1928, Pl. LIX, no. 74n). A closer look at the model jug (UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections, no. EXXXVI.19/14) shows some possible differences from the miniature juglet: the model jug is handmade not wheel-made, and is smaller in scale than the miniature juglets, which might make it fit better with the miniature world of the figurines. It may be worth noting that five zoomorphic figurines were found in the same locus (UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections, EXXXVI.16/15, 18, 19, 27, 28), as well as the upper part of an anthropomorphic plaque figurine (Petrie 1928, Pl. XXXV.24; British Museum no. 1927,0811.17)

		Boat		Chariot		Wheel		Couch		Table		Shrine		Other		TOTAL	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
N. coastal plain	Achziv	5	83													5	6
	T. Keisan	1	17													1	1
Galilee & Jezreel	Hazor					1	7									1	1
	Megiddo					5	36					3	20			8	9
N. hill country	T. Far'ah (N.)											3	20			3	3
	Samaria							1	2							1	1
S. coastal plain	T. Jemmeh			1	100	4	29			1	50			2	100	8	9
Shephelah	Beth Shemesh					1	7	3	6							4	5
	Lachish					2	14	5	11							7	8
S. hill country	Jerusalem					1	7	30	64	1	50	1	7			33	38
	Ramat Rahel							2	4							2	2
Negev	Beersheba							5	11							5	6
	T. Ira							1	2							1	1
	H. Qitmit											8	53			8	9
TOTAL		6	100	1	100	14	100	47	100	2	100	15	100	2	100	87	100

Table 12.1: Distribution of different model types across the study region (n=87).

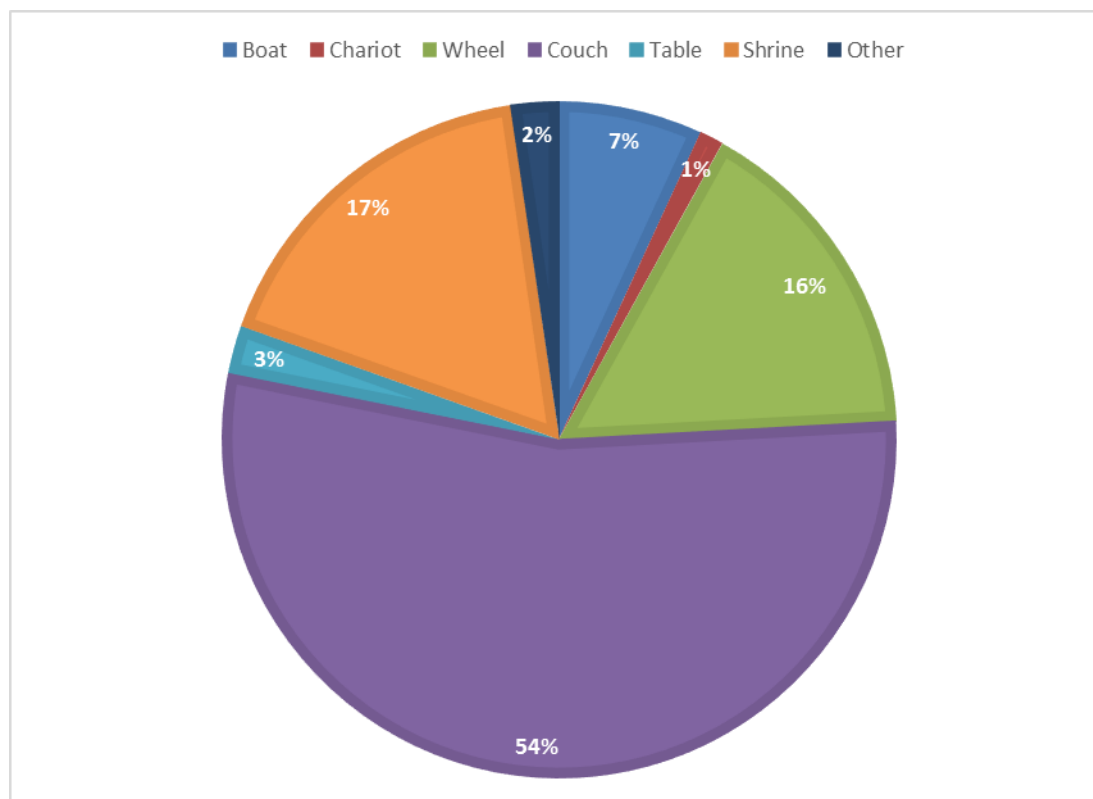


Fig. 12.3: Main model types.

12.3 Distribution of models by site and region

Following the detailed discussion of the variety of model types, it is important to provide a brief overview of the popularity of different models (Fig. 12.1) and their distribution in different sites across the region would seem appropriate (Table 12.1).

Within the study sample, the most common models are examples of model couches or chairs (56% of 84 models), followed by chariot or cart wheels (17%), model shrines (14%) and boats (7%). Only two models in the study sample did not fit under these categories: one model jug and one model bell from Tell Jemmeh (section 12.2.5).

The distribution across the various sites in the region also indicates quite marked geographical preferences:

- All six boat models and fragments come from the two coastal sites in the north, unsurprising considering the links of these sites with the Phoenician maritime world.
- Model wheels have been found in the Galilee (6 of 14 examples, 43%), the Southern Coastal plain (4 examples, 29%), the Shephelah (3 examples, 21%), with a further one example from Jerusalem. The only example of a chariot body is from Tell Jemmeh on the Southern Coastal plain.
- Model couches are found in the southern hill country (32 of 47 examples, 68%), the Shephelah (8 examples, 17%), and the Negev (6 examples, 13%). Only one example in this study comes from Samaria.

12.4 Conclusions

Very little can, and should, be said on the basis of these eighty-four coroplastic models on their own. They do, however, form an important component of the wider figurative repertoire of the region.

Among the models, the best candidate for a cultic connection are the architectural models, generally identified as shrines. They suggest high-status buildings, and the idea of a model temple is a plausible candidate. The other models, understood on their own, need not imply cultic significance. The furniture, wheels and boats rather reflects elements of daily life of the late Iron Age. One common element that may actually be drawn from all model types considers is the probable connection with a higher status, since the poorer members of society would not necessarily have had access to furniture, and probably did not have their own means of transportation whether on land or sea. If the wheels are rightly connected to chariots, they could be read as part of the same elite world represented by the horses and riders, with links to warfare, or possibly hunting.

This brief consideration of the coroplastic models of objects concludes the section of this study dedicated to the region wide study of the figurines, which first discussed the sites included (Chapter 9), and then proceeded to discuss anthropomorphic figurines (Chapter 10) and riders, horses and other zoomorphic figurines (Chapter 11).

Chapter 13. Synthesis and Conclusions

The study started as a challenge to ground the discourse on late Iron Age figurines of the southern Levant. This thesis has presented a multi-faceted approach to the primary question of their cultural and social significance, by approaching the figurines as a repertoire, considering different elements of the individual figurines, looking in detail at individual archaeological contexts where figurines were found, and at the patterns that emerge on a more regional scale.

This final chapter will address the foundations of the project (section 13.1), present the outcomes of the research questions proposed at the start of the work (section 13.2), consider possible avenues for carrying the research forward (section 13.3), and draw some wider conclusions (section 13.4).

13.1 Grounding the study

The first section returns to the foundations of the project. Some issues emerging from the literature review will be raised, placing the study within its research context (section 13.1.1). Secondly, key aspects of the geopolitical context of the region during the late Iron Age will be outlined (13.1.2). Finally, a synthesis of the theoretical and methodical framework on which the study is grounded will be offered (section 13.1.3 and 13.1.4).

13.1.1 The research context

This study on figurines needs to be understood in the context of previous research, of which pivotal moments were presented in Chapter 2. Five general trends could be discerned running through the previous research. An awareness of these trends, and a recognition of the limitations and problems of previous work, helped to guide the way this research project was designed and implemented. This led to a series of key methodological and theoretical choices, as outlined in Table 13.1 below.

	Trends in previous research:	Methodological choices:
1.	A focus on female figurines with a tendency to isolate them from the rest of the repertoire.	To see the figurines as part of a repertoire.
2.	A type of cataloguing that obscured individual elements of figurines.	To adopt a multiple tag approach to avoid obscuring the individual elements of figurines.
3.	No attempts at comprehensive study of the figurines of the region since Holland's 1975 thesis.	To take the entire southern Levant as the area of study, rather than a narrow focus on a single region.
4.	Limited attention to archaeological context.	To recognise the importance of archaeological context.
		Theoretical choices
5.	A tendency to define figurines as cultic objects or toys, without attempting a deeper understanding of the social and cultural meanings that these may have had.	To consider the figurines as part of a miniature world that considers the dynamics of constructing and expressing of social and cultural meanings.

Table 13.1: Trends in previous research, and the methodological and theoretical choices of this project that addressed these issues.

13.1.2 The geopolitical context

The geopolitical review of the southern Levant during the later Iron Age was presented in Chapter 3. This described a small but geopolitically complex region, where cultural spheres and polities may be outlined, but should not be studied in isolation, as they were in constant contact and conflict with each other throughout the period. Consequently, the figurine repertoire, with its potential for the expression of social and cultural identities, needed to be read within this web of relationships. An understanding of the geopolitical context therefore provided a backdrop for the discussion of the regional level of analysis that followed (Chapters 9-12).

13.1.3 Theoretical issues

It was also important to address the paucity of theoretical discussion present in previous study of these figurines. Evaluation of previous figurine definitions (section 4.1.1) and the work of Bailey (section 4.1.2), led to a working definition of a figurine in section 4.1.3. The discussion then shifted to a consideration of semiotics and post-structuralist critique (section 4.2), as the meaning of figurines was seen as key to understanding their cultural role. This led to the view that figurines should be seen not as static things, but as participants in a process of

negotiation between object and user (sections 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.2). Discussions on gender and the body (section 4.3), and the significance of toys then followed (section 4.4).

The final part of the theoretical discussion related to archaeological aspects of the research. The first section examined the *chaîne opératoire*, to raise awareness of how different aspects of figurines and their contexts can point to different moments in the life of a figurine (see section 4.5). This was followed by discussion of the different types of archaeological contexts where figurines might appear, arguing that archaeological context should not be simplistically conflated with context of use (see section 4.6).

13.1.4 Methodology

Chapter 5 examined the concrete application of these theoretical ideas. Four key methodological choices were identified (as noted in section 13.1.1), followed by a discussion of the dataset and the inclusion and exclusion criteria adopted for this project (section 5.2). The limitations of working with a historical dataset were acknowledged, and a strategy developed for dealing with incomplete information, supplementing published data with material from archives and archaeological collections (see sections 5.2.1.1.3, 5.2.1.1.4, and 5.2.1.1.5).

The primary tools employed in this research project were then outlined: use of a relational Access database (section 5.3.1), the statistical methods employed (section 5.3.2), and the way ArcGIS was deployed for a series of site-level case-studies (section 5.3.3). These methods also open up possibilities for further research, as will be discussed further in section 13.3.

13.2 Answering the research questions

It now seems appropriate the return to the research questions proposed at the beginning of this thesis, and to consider if they have been satisfactorily resolved (section 1.2). The primary research question of this study — What do the figurines mean? — was articulated into three groups of further questions that

look into the figurine repertoire (section 13.2.1), the figurines in their site contexts (section 13.2.2), and the commonalities and differences in figurine production and use over the southern Levant as a whole (section 12.3).

13.2.1 Figurines: identity, performance, and meaning

The first group of research questions focused on the figurine repertoire:

- What aspects of life of the ancient users are miniaturised in the figurines?
 - Does the choice of what is represented, and what is omitted provide any meaningful patterns?
 - Do such patterns provide insights into how identity (including gender identity, profession, social status) is constructed in and through the figurines?
 - Can the study of female anthropomorphic figurines be meaningfully isolated from the rest of the repertoire?
 - Do the figurines themselves give any indication of how they could be used?

This section will first discuss the construction of identity in and through the figurines (section 13.2.1.1), before considering their performative value (section 13.1.2). The final section will present a synthesis of figurine representation to build a picture of the aspects of life that figurines miniaturise (section 13.2.1.3), before considering these themes in the light of some ancient Near Eastern texts.

13.2.1.1 Identity construction

By looking at and tagging different figurine elements, this study was able to ask how identity might be constructed in and through figurines, focusing on biological gender marking and gender identity (section 4.3, section 10.3), and use of objects (section 10.4). From a semiotic point of view, this can be expressed in terms of *rapresentamen* and *interpretant* (see section 4.2.1). Seeing the figurines as iconic (in the Peircian sense, see section 4.2.1.1) provides an opportunity to go

beyond a reading of the figurines at face value, and a mechanism to look into further meanings (see section 4.2.1.1).

13.2.1.1.1 Gender

Gender was an important and recurring theme in this study, addressed briefly in the site-level case-studies and more extensively on the regional level case-study.

The site-level case studies noted a common pattern between Jerusalem (section 6.4) and Lachish (section 7.4.2), where gender in anthropomorphic figurines could be seen to be partly constructed using biological markers through the representation of breasts, whereas genitalia, both male and female, were absent. In the case of the horse riders, there were no biological gender markers at all. In contrast, among the figurines of Megiddo (section 8.4.2), gender was constructed biologically in the female plaque figurines, through the representation of both breasts and genitalia.

The regional level case-study widened the discussion to consider material from a larger number of sites (section 10.3). The study challenged any superficial equation of biological gender markers with gender identity, and a non-binary approach to gender was explored, using Greimas' (1964) semiotic square (section 10.6.1). In particular, the absence of biological markers in these figurines should not be equated with an absence of gender identity: gender identity and gender roles in the figurines may have been expressed in other cultural terms, such as through objects held, and include gender roles that escape the modern reader.

The study has also shown clearly that female figurines form part of a wider repertoire of available figurines, and appears in similar types of archaeological contexts. This study concludes that female figurines cannot be meaningfully isolated from the rest of the repertoire.

13.2.1.1.2 Items as attributes

The use of attributes as identity markers was also studied: items held (section 10.4), or the animal being ridden, in the case of horse and rider figurines (section 11.5.1). The presence of an attribute, such as a horse, a shield, a drum/tambourine or a child will have identified the figurine to the ancient user, and given it a different meaning to one with a different attribute.

It is worth pointing out here that the very schematic nature of many of these figurines is interesting in itself. While the ambiguity this creates may be frustrating to the modern scholar, it also shows how such a level of detail was not always a priority to the people who originally made and used them. They were probably still able to identify individual figurines in ways which modern scholars cannot.

13.2.1.2 Performative value

One aspect of figurines that proved of great utility was their possible performative value, as suggested by Moorey (2003) (see section 2.4.5). This thesis explored whether the figurines themselves give any indication of how they could be used. The performative value of figurines has been discussed separately for anthropomorphic figurines (section 10.2.4 and 10.6.2) and zoomorphic figurines (section 11.3.4). The following table now considers this aspect for the entire figurine repertoire, including coroplastic models.

Type	Characteristic	Performative potential
Appliques to stands, etc.	Fixed	Static
Hollow and solid pillar figurines	Free standing	Handled or placed
Horses-and-riders		
Solid zoomorphic figurines		
Model couches, chariots, boats		
Plaque figurines in high relief	Non-freestanding	Handled
Peg figurines		
Anthropomorphic vessels	Vessel	Receiving or pouring of liquids
Zoomorphic vessels		
Architectural models	Container	Receiving an image (?)

Table 13.2: Performative value of the figurines.

A consideration of performative value has helped understand the ways different types of figurines may have been manipulated:

- Free standing figurines, which can be handled or placed, form the widest variety, and cover the entire spectrum of types.
- Non-freestanding figurines were found only with anthropomorphic plaque or peg types.
- Figurative vessels, on the other hand, were primarily zoomorphic. The site of Ḥorvat Qitmit, with its anthropomorphic vessels, was an exception to this trend.

This differentiation in the possible use of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines can, at this stage, be noted but not explained, and needs to be researched further.

13.2.1.3 Themes within the repertoire

This study has also argued that the figurines should not be seen in isolation, but form part of a repertoire. Individual figurines are, on one hand, a complete unit that is greater than the sum of their parts (through the study of individual attributes), but the individual unit also forms part of a greater whole, a miniature world made of a varied figurine repertoire.

The first research question asked what aspects of life of the ancient users are miniaturised in the figurines, and attempted to focus on what forms part of this figural world. The repertoire of different figurine types was presented for the individual sites of Jerusalem (sections 6.2), Lachish (section 7.2) and Megiddo (sections 8.2), with regional discussions of anthropomorphic figurines (sections 10.2.1, and 10.6.3), zoomorphic figurines (section 11.5.4), and other models (section 12.3).

Beyond the various styles and modes of representation, the study noted both the variation and repetition of themes. The repertoire shows remarkable consistency, and is generally shared throughout the southern Levant (with due attention to variation, as will be discussed in section 13.2.3). This study proposes to group the figurines into these major thematic groups:

- Women and motherhood, represented in various ways:
 - Women with breasts, genitalia and occasionally pregnancy
 - Women holding a child
 - Women represented simply with breasts
- Warriors, horses, and wheeled vehicles:
 - Horse with rider, which could represent warrior figures
 - Horses, without rider, both as free standing figurines and as zoomorphic vessels
 - Wheels from a vehicle, possibly a chariot
- Musicians:
 - Drum or tambourine players
 - Double flute players
- Animals:
 - Domestic animals:
 - Bovine, both as figurines and as vessels
 - Birds, both as figurines and as vessels
 - Other domestic animals
 - Wild animals
- Other themes:
 - Architectural models, probably shrines
 - Boats
 - Model furniture: couches or chairs

This limited repertoire of themes then leads to the next question: why were these particular themes chosen, and what could they have in common? It can be argued that all these figurine themes represent elements of social identity and social value. The difficulty, however, is to find a possible avenue for an understanding of the social identities and values of the southern Levant in the late Iron Age: dealing with ancient societies, archaeology lacks direct access to the people involved. Ancient Near Eastern texts may provide one such avenue, as will now be discussed with reference to Assyrian texts and the Hebrew Scriptures.

13.2.1.3.1 Women and motherhood

The connection of female figurines with the theme of motherhood is certainly not new. This theme appears across different figurine types, showing women as pregnant or holding a child, or simply indicating the breasts, suggests different stages of motherhood, from pregnancy to caring for young children. Those figurines where the sense of female is only created by the presence of breasts may represent the stage of breastfeeding, but this has to remain speculative.

This study sees no necessity to identify these figurines as goddesses generically, or with Asherah in particular. The figurines that have been discussed lack divine attributes, and the literature review suggests that a divine meaning has been assumed rather than clearly argued. Instead, it would appear that female figurines form part of a more complex figural world that expresses and negotiates a wider spectrum of social values.

The social significance of women and motherhood for the study period and region can only be postulated. The Hebrew Scriptures, however, provide some near contemporary literature that is relevant to this issue. Unsurprisingly, breasts are associated with young children being nursed (Song of Solomon 8,1; Psalm 22, 9) or newly weaned (Isaiah 28, 9), but can also be used metaphorically, speaking of Jerusalem as a nurturing mother for her people (Isaiah 66, 11). The theme of infertility in women and associated shame, with resolution in the subsequent bearing of children is a repeated theme in the biblical narrative, including the story of Sara and Hagar, and the subsequent birth of Isaac to Sara and Abraham (Gen 16,1-16; 17,15-21; 18,10-15); the birth of Samson (Judges 13,1-24); and the sorrow of Hannah and the birth of Samuel (1 Sam 1,1-20). A lack of offspring, a closed womb, or an inability to breastfeed can be interpreted as a curse (Gen 20,17-18), or invoked as one:

“let the priest make the woman take the oath of the curse and say to the woman—
‘the LORD make you an execration and an oath among your people,
when the LORD makes your uterus drop, your womb discharge’ ”

(Numbers 5, 20-21 NRSV)

“Give them, O LORD-- what will you give?

Give them a miscarrying womb and dry breasts.” (Hosea 9,13-14 NRSV)

The purity laws in Leviticus provide a reminder of how female sexuality, including menstruation, intercourse and childbirth, were enmeshed in a series of ritual requirements (Leviticus 12, 1-5).

The biblical texts in question highlights how motherhood was deeply embedded in a network of social relationships (wife and husband, mother and child), and tied into concepts of blessing and curse, with related ritual requirements. The female figurines form a miniature embodiment of these relationships within the figural world.

13.2.1.3.2 Warriors and horses

The theme of war can be connected to the rider and horse figurines, and probably to the model wheels, if these originally belonged to chariots. As has been discussed, horse figurines include examples both with and without rider. The horse is known primarily in a military role during this period (Littauer and Crouwel 1979, 97-143), and was an elite animal. The presence of shields or a bow and quiver in some of the the horse and rider examples (section 10.4) further confirms this idea.

In the Assyrian texts, horses form an important part of the army. The expression “men, horses and troop” (Akk. *ṣābē sīsē emūqē*) is a stock phrase used to represent the entirety of the king’s army in the various queries to the god Šamaš (Starr 1990, XVIII). Letters to the king also refer to the number of horses as an important measurement of the strength of an army:

“I wrote to the king, my lord, but only got [2]60 horses and [13] small boys. [2]67 horses and 28 men — I have 527 horses and 28 men, all told. I have been writing to wherever there are king's men, but they have not come. The scribe is with the king, my lord; the king, my lord, should ask him. [...]

(Parpola 1987; SAA I 241, r2, r11)

Horse are also documented in Assyrian texts as part of tribute:

“I have received 45 horses of the [pala]ce. The emissaries from Egypt, Gaza, Judah, Moab and Ammon entered Calah on the 12th with their tribute. The 24 horses of the (king) of Gaza are with him. The Edomite, [Ashdo]dite and Ekronite [.....].”
(Parpola 1987, SAA I 110, r 4)

“I went down to ... as far as the ... of the Na'iri land. I received tribute horses from the cities of Tikki and Hubuškia; the rest of the tribute I received (in) Ṭurušpâ.”
(Livingstone 1989, SAA III 17, r 23).

The Hebrew scriptures offer a similar sense of horses considered as an integral part of the army, with frequent references alongside chariots (Joshua 11,4; 1 Samuel 13,5; 1 Kings 4,26). An eloquent expression of this is found as a reply from the king of Judah to the kings of Assyria, to requests to act as allies in battle against Aram (1 Kings 22,4) and Moab (2 Kings 3,4), where in both cases, the king of Judah states: “my people are your people, my horses are your horses.” Horses also feature as a sign of royal authority (2 Samuel 15,1; 1 Kings 1,5), underlining their role as an elite animal.

13.2.1.3.3 Musicians

Among the anthropomorphic figurines defined by an object, musicians form the largest category in this study, with forty examples of drum/tambourine players, and five examples of players of the double flute (section 10.4). Previous research on these types was presented in section 2.4.2.

What these figurines stand for, however, remains open to debate. A cultic connection with music may, of course, be postulated. The Assyrian texts are generally more interested in administration and royal chronicles, but one example places musicians in the temple in a hymn to the goddess Nana (Livingstone 1989, SAA III 4, i 7). The Bible provides several references to musical instruments in cultic contexts (Exodus 15,20; 1 Samuel 10,5; 2 Samuel 6,5; Psalm 68,25. 81,2. 149,3. 150,4). However, music in the Bible is also presented in non-cultic settings, being associated with general sense of celebration (Genesis 31,27; 1 Samuel 18,6; Jeremiah 31,4), without any immediate cultic or religious bearing.

13.2.1.3.4 Domestic and wild animals

As discussed in section 11.2.4, most of the animals that can be identified seem to represent horses (402 examples), with bovines (101 examples) and birds (86 examples) forming the two main groups.

The significance of these animals remains highly speculative. Both bovines and birds have been connected with cult: the bull and calf are well known cult symbols (Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 50-51, 144-146), and the dove has been associated to the cult of Astarte or Asherah (Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 325; Holland 1977, 152; Kletter 1996, 65). However, both bovines and birds would have also formed part of the daily life of the late Iron Age, as domesticated animals and sources of food: bovines will have served as beasts of burden, and sources of meat and milk; birds as sources of eggs and meat. Clearly identifiable example of sheep and goats are rare in the repertoire (few examples are identified in May 1935, Plate XXXVIII; Holland 1975, 257-258; Tchernov 1996, 85-86).

The same thing can be said of wild animals, of which very few figurines have been identified (see section 11.2.4; Holland 1975, 251-257; Tchernov 1996, 86), often only tentatively. The relative rarity of these animals within the repertoire suggests that these animals did not form a prominent part of the figural world, although variation is not excluded. An extreme example of the variation possible is the centaur figurine from Beersheba (discussed in section 10.3.4), which suggests that the discussion needs to be open to the presence of unexpected or rare representations.

13.2.1.3.5 Other themes

The repertoire also included a number of models of inanimate objects, limited in number when compared to the rest of the repertoire, that do not immediately fall under any of the themes discussed above. These included: the architectural models, boats, and the model furniture.

As has been discussed earlier, the architectural models (section 12.2.1), represent elite buildings, and probably a shrine or temple. If this interpretation is correct, these models are the clearest examples within the repertoire which have a direct relationship to cult. Unfortunately, the number of examples in the case study was limited, and there is insufficient evidence regarding the context of use to provide a connection with a context of use: the examples from Ḥorvat Qitmit were from a cultic context, but the examples from both Megiddo and Tell el-Far‘ah were from problematic contexts, while Cave I in Jerusalem was probably a secondary context.

A few examples of boats (section 12.2.4), all from the Achziv and Tell Keisan on the northern coastal plain, are examples of a means of transport at sea, with a possible commercial connotation (although a possible military connection cannot be excluded). In the imagery of the Hebrew Scripture, boats and ships were connected to commercial activities and wealth from exotic places (1 Kings 9,25. 10,22; Ezekiel 27, 9.25.29), but also represented the risks of the sailors at the mercy of the sea (Psalm 48,7. 107,23).

Finally, the model furniture, consisting of chairs, couches and tables are more enigmatic in their meaning. Their potential interpretation as birthing stools (discussed in section 12.2.2) presumes a connection with the female figurines, which is possible but not necessary. Beds and furniture may also have a connotation of wealth (2 Samuel 17,28; Amos 6,4)).

13.2.2 The site-level of analysis

The second group of questions proposed for this study focused on the contextual study on the site level:

- Does the contextual study of figurine fragments within specific sites suggest any meaningful spatial distribution patterns?
 - Where were the figurines used and discarded?
 - Do such patterns provide insights into:
 - Who was using different types of figurines within the community?

- Whether these uses situated in public or private spheres?

These questions were addressed in three case studies that offered a detailed consideration of depositional contexts of figurines at Jerusalem (Chapter 6), Lachish (Chapter 7), and Megiddo (Chapter 8). The following three sections will now consider how these were able to answer the research questions outlined above.

13.2.2.1 Patterns of use and discard

The study of the three different sites – Jerusalem, Lachish and Megiddo – provided a consistent picture of the patterns of use and discard. Most settlement contexts where the figurines were found can be best described as domestic.

The potential connection of figurines with designated cultic spaces is problematic, due to the difficulty of identifying convincingly such spaces, despite the fact that some authors have claimed this to be the case. For example, this study showed that Cave I in Jerusalem (section 6.3.1.2), while rich in the quantity of figurines and pottery vessels, had a similar assemblage to the domestic assemblages attested in the area, and probably contains material in a secondary context of discard. Similarly, the room with a possible cultic installation L1167 in Area E of Shiloh's excavation in Jerusalem (section 6.3.3.6), has animal figurines that fall well within the types known in the area, while the numerous figurines reported by the excavators in an adjacent space were clearly related to a fill layer and so cannot be linked to the way that space was being used. None of the loci studied in Lachish could be defined as cultic, and in Megiddo, only two figurines may be linked to a possible ritual space: a pierced leg in Locus 2081 (section 8.3.2.1) and a mould made human head in Room 1521 (section 8.3.4.2). Both types of figurines are known from other parts of the site, and so it is hard to argue a specifically cultic role for them. Beyond the site-level case studies, the site E 207 in Samaria deserves mention as a potential shrine (section 9.3.2), although the published details (Suknik 1942) suggest that this context was identified largely on the basis of the pottery and figurines found in it, rather than on any specifically cultic architectural remains. The only notable exception in this study is the site of

Horvat Qitmit (see section 9.7.3), with an abundant, and peculiar, figurative repertoire in a cultic setting.

Outside the settlements, figurines were amongst the material deposited in tombs, which suggests that they were also considered part of funerary assemblage, which has been discussed for Lachish (section 7.3.7) and Megiddo (section 8.3.5), and noted for Beth Shemesh (section 9.5.1). The presence of figurines in the tombs suggests intentional deposition, possibly as part of the funerary rites. The figurines could not, however, be associated with individual burials, since all the tombs where they were found, include multiple burials.

The patterns of discard, such as the examples in pits, and *de facto* refuse in streets, show the figurines were not treated differently to other domestic refuse, suggesting that the figurines were part of the normal domestic life, without a strong cultic connotation that would have likely required them to be disposed of differently, and within dedicated contexts.

13.2.2.2 Variation in use within the community

This study also considered whether spatial distribution suggested the use of different types of figurines by different individuals within the community.

In both Jerusalem and Lachish, figurines were found in all the different areas, with no differentiation between domestic context that were richer, elite contexts, or others, suggesting that the figurines were a shared element of the entire society.

The studies also showed that both equid/animal figurines and anthropomorphic figurines were found in similar contexts, both domestic and funerary, and no clear differentiation could be made as to the contexts where different types of figurines can be expected.

There was, however, some indication that while equid/animal figurines were found everywhere, anthropomorphic figurines were less widespread, but this may reflect the smaller number of anthropomorphic figurines compared to zoomorphic figurines overall. In Lachish, there was some evidence that while equid and animal figurines were found in domestic contexts across the different areas (Area GE, Area S, and the “Shrine” Area), anthropomorphic figurines were

less frequent in Area S and the Gateway. The finds in the houses of these two areas showed exclusive use of horse and horse-and-rider figurines: if a link between these buildings and the garrison of the city is plausible, then it is tempting to see a connection between the military and this type of figurine.

13.2.2.3 Public or private use?

This research also considered whether the spatial distribution of figurines suggested use in the public or private sphere.

The evidence from all three sites studies indicated a connection with a domestic setting, since figurines were found in domestic contexts in all three site-level case studies, as well as beyond. In Jerusalem, the abundance of serving vessels in contexts where the figurines were found suggested a connection between figurines and food consumption. This picture seems to be corroborated by the evidence from Lachish, where it was possible to differentiate some of the space within a single household (Area S): here there may be evidence of a connection between figurines and spaces linked with the preparation and consumption of food. This connection needs to be further explored in future research, and may provide a connection between private and public spheres of life, in what may be an intermediate social sphere.

Evidence for use in more public contexts is not clear in the three site-level case studies. The figurines in the streets are probably *de facto* refuse and can, therefore, provide little indication for use. Figurines were rare or absent in the palace areas of both Lachish and Megiddo, as well as in the stable areas of Megiddo. Absence of evidence, however, should not be construed as evidence of absence. If other sites are included, Ḥorvat Qitmit provides a notable exception, as discussed in the previous section.

13.2.3 The regional level of analysis

The third group of research questions proposed for this study, included the wider geographical region of the southern Levant:

- What are the commonalities and differences shared by the figurine repertoire over the wider geographical region of the southern Levant?
 - Are particular modes of representation specific to sub-regions?
 - Does the pattern of variation reflect any connection with known ancient polities in the region?

Variation in the way figurines were made, and the attributes represented, were discussed with regard to the case studies on anthropomorphic figurines, zoomorphic figurines and figurative models in chapters 10-12. This analysis led to the identification of some common characteristics in the figurines of particular sub-regions, summarised in Table 13.3.

The regional study clearly shows a wide range of commonalities: a shared repertoire of themes (as discussed in section 13.2.1.3), a shared repertoire of attributes that are considered important, and also the use of clay as a medium, shared techniques of hand modelling and some use of moulds, and use of applied, incised and painted elements.

Some sub-regions share a wider range of commonalities, in particular:

Galilee and Jezreel, and the Transjordan:

- Plaque figurines were prevalent among the anthropomorphic types (section 10.2.1)
- Many anthropomorphic figurines mark gender with both breasts and genitalia, particularly in the Transjordan (section 10.3.2).
- Zoomorphic heads are often rendered with the use of incisions (section 11.2)

	Anthropomorphic		Zoomorphic		Other models
	Types	Gender	Head detail	Head type	
N. Coast	Hollow PF (48%); riders (26%) Tableaux	No gender markers (89%); no genitalia indicated.	Applied (50%), or incised features (16%)	Solid heads (67%)	Boats
Galilee	Plaque (44%)	Breasts (53%), breasts and genitalia (16%), no marker (30%)	Applied (46%), or incised features (30%)	Solid heads (29%), pierced solid (18%), hollow spouted (33%), hollow (18%)	Wheels
N. Hills	Plaque (30%), hollow PF (30%)	Breasts (58%), breasts and genitalia (8%), no marker (33%)	Painted features (52%)	Solid heads (44%), hollow spouted (20%)	
S. Coast	Plaque (22%), hollow PF (24%), rider (20%)	Breasts (62%), breasts and genitalia (12%), no marker (26%)	Applied features (42%), or no features (44%)	Solid heads (87%)	Wheels
Shephelah	Solid PF (58%)	Breasts (63%), no marker (37%). None with genitalia	No features (68%)	Solid heads (60%), hollow spouted (36%)	Couch, Wheels
S. Hills	Solid PF (76%)	Breasts (65%), no marker (35%). None with genitalia	No features (72%)	Solid heads (95%)	Couch
Negev	Solid PF (32%)	Breasts (65%), no marker (35%). None with genitalia	No features (60%)	Solid heads (70%), hollow spouted (21%)	Couch
Transjordan	Plaque (59%)	Breasts (40%), breasts and genitalia (40%), no marker (16%)	No features (42%)	Solid heads (29%), pierced solid (18%), hollow spouted (33%), hollow (18%)	

Table 13.3: Some characteristic elements of the figurine repertoires of the sub-regions in the case-study. For the full table see App. 13.1, The percentages are included here as an indication, and are all rounded off to the nearest 1%. (See also sections 10.2.1, 10.3.1, 11.2.1, 11.2.2, 11.2.4, 11.3.3, and 12.3).

Southern hill country, and the Shephelah:

- Solid pillar figurines were prevalent among the anthropomorphic types (section 10.2.1).
- Genitalia markings were absent.
- Animal figurine heads, including the horses, are often simply rendered, without applied or incised features (section 11.2).
- Couch figurines are characteristic of these two regions (section 12.3)

Other areas have particular characteristics. The northern coastal plain is characterised by hollow anthropomorphic figurines (section 10.2.1), and an absence of biological gender markers (section 10.3.2). Moreover the examples of tableaux (section 10.2.3), and boats (section 12.3) are all from this region.

The Negev, on the other hand tends to have points of connection with various sub-regions, but also a marked variety of types between different sites within the area. This is consistent with the peripheral role of the Negev, as discussed in section 3.4.

Perhaps the most distinctive of the figurine traditions seems to be the one connected with the southern hill country and the Shephalah (and some, but not all, sites in the Negev). These are areas that during the late Iron Age had a strong connection with the kingdom of Judah (see section 3.3.4). This would confirm Kletter's idea that there was a specific tradition of pillar figurines (1996, 43-46; 1999, 28-29) as well as horse and riders (1999, 40) that is characteristic of ancient Judah. However, it is important not to isolate the figurine tradition from its regional context, since this more localised tradition of production clearly forms part of the wider region, with shared themes and techniques.

13.3 Proposals for a way forward

In many ways, this study opens up more questions than answers. There are many possible ways in which this research could be taken forward.

- The dataset could be extended in two directions:
 - On a larger scale, comparative material from neighbouring regions could be included, such as the Northern Levant, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia.
 - On a more local scale, more case studies on individual sites could be explored to determine local preferences and practices.
- There could be further study on the archaeological contexts of this material to better understand patterns of use and discard, particularly with regard to a more detailed analysis of associated finds assemblages. This would also offer better possibility of cross-regional comparison.
- The performative value of figurines could be further explored, and the way in which performance possibilities might enable or constrain figurine use, as well as those who make and use them. This may be enriched by a more thorough application of Gell's (1998) Art Nexus, with its potential to give expression to the agent and passive roles of the figurines, as well as the artist and recipient.
- Ancient sources should be further explored as a potential source for a better understanding of the social meaning and values of the themes present in the figurine repertoire, including:
 - Ancient Near Eastern texts – including the Hebrew Bible and Assyrian sources.
 - Contemporary imagery in minor and major arts, with a focus on the understanding of human and animal representation, symbolism, attributes and gestures.
- The research should also engage more actively with the wider debate on figurine research, beyond the regional and temporal constraints of this study.

13.4 General conclusions

It now seems appropriate to return to the core question of this research: what do these figurines actually mean? A comprehensive answer needs to take into account all the facets of this study.

- There is ample evidence that the figurine repertoire, in all its variety, was part of the daily life of the people of the southern Levant during the late Iron Age. A possible connection was noted between figurines and the production and consumption of food, an idea that would be worth exploring further.
- Figurines were also considered significant enough to be deposited in tombs.
- It seems impossible to completely separate the use of different figurine types, although there is some evidence of variation in figurine assemblages in specific households. This also corroborates the argument that figurines should be seen as part of a repertoire, rather than isolated objects.
- Both the site-level and regional-level studies show that the figurines share a repertoire of common themes, of which four stand out in particular: women and motherhood, warriors and horses, music and ritual, as well as domestic and wild animals. A common element in these themes seems to be an issue with social identities and values, and in the case of the first three, they appear to speak of also of different social roles.

In conclusion, figurines should be considered as part of a miniature world, present at the heart of domestic life, a window onto the social values and identity of the southern Levant during the late Iron Age. Through them, we may better explore and understand the people who made and used the figurines, and the identities –sexual, cultural, and social – that they had to negotiate.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

AASOR	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
ADAJ	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
CAJ	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IES	Israel Exploration Society
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal of the Studies of the Old Testament.</i>
JSOT Supp.	<i>Journal of the Studies of the Old Testament. Supplementary Series.</i>
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
PEFQS	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
QDAP	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine</i>
RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

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Appendices

6.1 Jerusalem: figurine list from Kenyon's excavation

Concordance list of figurines from Kenyon's excavation in Jerusalem, indicating register no., short description, locus no., and listing in Holland 1975, Kletter 1996, and Darby 2011 (Table entries). Roman numerals used in Holland's and Kletter's classifications have been changed to Arabic numbers to simplify computer sorting. In description, HM=handmade, MM=Mould made.

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
0059	Horse and rider	A.+	Birmingham		D.07.b.06		
0060	Animal body	A.604.3	Birmingham		G.02.c.08		
0101	Animal body	A.202.6	Edinburgh		G.03.a.05		
0102	Animal head	A.4.5	Emory		D.02.a.03		
0103	Animal body	A.4.7			G.02.e.49		
0104	Female torso	A.603.4	Amman	J.12913	A.11.19	416	05.43
0105	Animal body	A.4.7	Amman	J.12913?	G.03.a.07		
0106	Animal body	A.603.4	Emory		G.01.c.10		
0167	Animal head	A.610.1	Discarded		G.02.e.55		
0168	Animal head + forequarters	A.301.5	Amman	J.12913	D.09.a.04		
0169	Animal head	A.202.11c	Edinburgh		D.06.a.08		
0171	Human head HM	A.603.5	Amman	J.12914	A.01.b.03	332	01.37
0172	Human head HM	A.609.1	Edinburgh		A.01.c.04	336	01.44
0173	Human head MM	A.5.7	Amman	J.12919	A.12.l.1	5.1.4.05	03.14
0231	Animal body	A.831.2h					
0330	Rider	A.611.2b	Amman	J.12913	D.15.a.04		
0331	Rider	C.3.17	Amman	J.12913	D.15.c.02		
0332	Human head HM	A.202.15	Emory		A.01.a.33	320	01.17
0333	Human head HM	A.821.3	Louisville		A.01.a.46	357	01.30
0334	Human head HM	A.821.3	Amman	J.12913	A.01.a.45	356	01.29
0335	Animal body	A.11.1	Amman	J.12913	G.01.c.06		
0336	Animal head	A.822.3	Durham		D.01.a.10		
0337	Couch/Chair	A.611.2b	Amman	J.12913			
0338	Animal head	C.3.23	Louisville		D.01.a.13		
0339	Animal head	A.821.3	Dublin		D.09.c.01		
0340	Animal head	A.807.2b	Louisville				
0341	Animal body	A.821.3	Discarded		D.12.d.03		
0342	Female torso	A.821.4b	Amman		A.10.c.08	414	05.38
0343	Animal head	A.5.5	Dublin		D.01.a.28		

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
0344	Animal body	A.820.4b	Dublin		G.02.e.23		
0345	Animal head?	A.305.12	Discarded		D.04.a.23		
0346	Female torso	A.820.4	Dublin		A.10.b.16	384	05.05
0347	Horse and rider	A.821.3	Emory		P.03.12	5.1.5.04	
0378	Human head MM	A.107.6	Birmingham	1962 A.345	A.12.r.03	5.1.4.03	03.16
0379	Human head HM	A.301.12	Birmingham	1962 A.346	A.01.d.03	369	01.45
0380	Human head HM	A.807.2b	Amman	J.12914	A.01.b.02	362	01.36
0381	Human head HM	A.821.4	Leeds		A.01.a.31	322	01.15
0382	Human head HM	A.807.2b	Amman	J.12913	A.01.a.32	321	01.16
0383	Rider	A.302.14a	Birmingham		K.06.c.03		
0384	Female torso	A.821.4d	Edinburgh		A.11.22	419	05.46
0385	Female torso	A.822.2	Amman		A.11.21	418	05.45
0386	Animal head	A.3.16	Amman	J.12913	G.02.d.07		
0387	Animal head	A.302.11	Melbourne		D.01.a.32		
0388	Animal head	A.301.12	Leeds		D.02.c.06		
0389	Animal head	A.302.11	Discarded		D.01.a.34		
0390	Animal head	A.302.11	Melbourne		D.02.b.05		
0391	Horse and rider	A.822.2	Discarded		D.12.c.03		
0392	Animal body	A.303.12a	Amman	J.12913	G.04.c.30		
0393	Animal body	A.302.12	Durham		G.04.c.27		
0394	Animal body	A.10.10	Louisville		G.01.c.09		
0395	Animal body	A.806.2b	Leeds		G.01.c.12		
0396	Animal body	A.807.2b	Emory		G.03.d.20		
0397	Animal body	A.603.6	Edinburgh		G.01.c.11		
0398	Animal body	A.822.2	Discarded		G.03.d.21		
0399	Animal body	A.821.4c	Durham		G.03.a.08		
0400	Animal body	A.807.2b	Melbourne		G.01.c.08		
0401	Animal body	A.821.4c	Emory		G.03.b.07		
0402	Animal body	A.301.12	Birmingham		F.03.b.33		
0403	Animal body	A.810.5	Discarded		F.03.b.32		
0404	Animal body	A.821.4b	Discarded		F.03.b.21		
0405	Animal body	A.821.4b	Discarded		G.04.c.25		
0406	Animal body	A.301.5a	Amman	J.12913	F.01.b.30		
0407	Animal body	A.305.12	Melbourne		G.03.c.03		
0408	Animal body	A.821.3	Discarded				
0409	Animal body	F.11.3	Amman	J.12913			
0410	Female torso	E.11.2	Discarded				
0411	Bird	A.810.5	Discarded		L.05.a.04		
0413	Animal body	A.611.5	Discarded				
0414	Animal body	A.809.1c	Dublin		G.04.c.46		
0415	Animal leg?	A.821.5	Discarded				
0416	Animal leg?	A.821.4c	Discarded				
0417	Animal leg?	A.810.2	Discarded				
0418	Animal leg	A.202.2b	Discarded				
0419	Animal leg?	A.305.12	Discarded				

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
0420	Animal leg	A.202.2b	Discarded				
0421	Animal leg?	A.807.2b	Discarded				
0422	Animal leg?	A.821.5	Discarded				
0423	Animal leg	A.202.3	Discarded				
0424	Animal leg?	A.807.2b	Discarded				
0622	Human head HM	A.955.25					
0676	Human head HM	A.615.20	Otago		A.01.a.35	318	01.19
0677	Human head HM	A.615.99+	Toronto		A.01.a.36	323	01.20
0678	Human head HM	A.303.12a	Amman	J.10651	A.01.b.05	364	01.39
0679	Animal head + forequarters	A.303.17a	Melbourne		D.01.a.35		
0680	Animal head	A.1003.12	Emory		D.01.a.29		
0681	Female torso	A.303.12a	Amman		A.10.b.17	385	05.06
0682	Female torso	A.303.13a	Amman	J.10652	A.10.c.03	409	05.33
0683	Rider	A.619.98	Ashmolean	AN1962.581	D.16.b.02		
0684	Horse head	A.304.11a	Philadelphia		D.09.a.02		
0685	Animal head + forequarters	A.304.12a	Amman		D.02.c.10		
0686	Animal body	A.618.1	Amman	J.10630	G.02.e.21		
0719	Fragment	A.807.2b					
0720	Animal body	A.5.12	Amman	J.10643			
0741	Fragment	A.305.12	Discarded				
0742	Fragment	A.615.19	Discarded				
0743	Animal body	A.615.19	Discarded				
0744	Animal body	A.303.12a	EBAF				
0745	Animal body	A.304.1a	Discarded				
0746	Animal body	A.5.12	Discarded				
0747	Animal body	F.206.14	Durham				
0748	Animal body	A.5.12	Discarded				
0749	Animal body	A.616.19	Discarded				
0750	Animal body	A.303.12a	Discarded				
0751	Horse head	A.304.11a	Durham		D.02.a.04		
0752	Animal head	A.616.3	Amman	J.10632	J.07.e.21		
0753	Animal body	A.615.20	Melbourne		F.03.b.26		
0774	Table	A.301.15	Ashmolean	AN1962.584			
0790	Animal body	A.830.9	Discarded				
0791	Animal body	A.830.10	Discarded				
0792	Female torso	A.15	Amman	J.10644	A.10.b.23	379	05.12
0793	Fragment	A.15	EBAF				
0794	Horse and rider	A.830.8	Louisville				
0795	Human head HM	A.830.11	Amman	J.10653	A.01.a.34	319	01.18
0796	Fragment	A.830.9	Discarded				
0797	Female torso	A.108.1	Birmingham	1962 A.906?	A.10.b.24	391	05.13
0798	Fragment	A.950.4	Discarded				
0799	Animal leg	A.830.11	Discarded				
0800	Human head MM	A.830.7	Amman	J.10638	A.03.b.02	371	03.02

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
0801	Couch/Chair	A.304.19a	Ashmolean	AN1962.574			
0802	Animal body	A.950.3a	Discarded				
0803	Animal leg	A.830.10	Discarded				
0809	Human PF + drum/disc	A.14.11	Toronto		A.01.g.02	360	01.50
0868	Horse and rider	A.15.2	Amman	J.10636	G.02.e.20		
0869	Animal body	A.304.18a	Discarded				
0881	Horse head	A.15.3a	Edinburgh		D.04.e.05		
0882	Animal leg	A.14.11	Discarded				
0883	Animal body	A.17.2	Discarded				
0898	Animal body	A.2.17	Discarded				
0899	Animal leg	A.108.6b	Discarded				
0901	Human head MM	A.351.4b	Ashmolean	AN1962.579	A.02.a.03	370	03.01
0902	Fragment	A.305.14a	Amman	J.10645			
0913	Animal body	A.304.11a	Birmingham		G.01.c.18		
0930	Animal leg	A.1006.3	Discarded				
0994	Animal head	A.305.11a	Ashmolean	AN1962.580			
0995	Horse head	C.6.8	Amman	J.10629	D.01.a.12		
0996	Animal head	A.615.24	Discarded				
0997	Animal body	A.620.1a	Discarded				
0998	Animal head spout	C.6.8-18	Amman	J.10657	J.07.e.22		
0999	Animal head	C.6.8-18	Louisville		D.01.a.36		
1000	Female torso	A.305.16	Amman	J.10648	A.10.b.20	388	05.09
1001	Female torso	A.305.16	Philadelphia		A.10.b.39	406	05.28
1010	Animal body	A.15.6	Amman	J.10642	F.01.b.33		
1011	Animal body	A.15.6	Discarded				
1020	Animal body	A.305.16a	Discarded				
1021	Animal body	A.305.16a	Louisville				
1046	Human head HM	A.304.21	Edinburgh		A.01.d.04	366	01.46
1066	Female torso	A.611.8	Louisville		A.10.b.25	392	05.14
1067	Animal body	C.9.1a	Dublin		G.02.e.31		
1068	Animal body	C.6.8 - 18	Dublin		G.02.e.19		
1069	Animal body	C.6.8 - 18	Edinburgh		F.03.b.30		
1085	Animal leg	A.603.4	Discarded				
1086	Animal leg	A.15.6	Discarded				
1087	Animal leg	A.15.6	Discarded				
1115	Animal body	A.50.3	Amman	J.10633	G.03.c.06		
1116	Animal body	A.15.7	Dublin		D.02.c.09		
1130	Animal body	C.6.8 - 18	Leeds		F.03.b.29		
1131	Animal leg	A.831.2	Discarded				
1132	Animal leg	A.831.2	Discarded				
1133	Pillar base	C.6.8-18	Birmingham	1962 A.907?	A.11.31	428	05.55
1157	Human head HM	A.15.8	Otago		A.01.a.37	324	01.21
1172	Couch/Chair	A.620.1a	Birmingham				
1217	Human head HM	A.620.1	Philadelphia		A.01.a.52	331	

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
1218	Animal body	A.831.2e	Discarded		E.02.b.10		
1228	Animal body	C.6.8-18	Louisville				
1229	Animal body	C.6.8-18	Leeds		D.04.a.26		
1230	Animal head	A.72.5	Otago		D.06.a.09		
1231	Animal body	A.831.2h	Durham		G.04.c.43		
1232	Animal body	K.7.20	Melbourne		G.04.c.71		
1233	Animal body	K.7.19	Otago				
1241	Horse head	C.10.6	Ashmolean	AN1962.588	D.01.a.09		
1242	Human head HM	A.72.2	Amman	J.10639	A.01.c.03	335	01.43
1243	Animal body	A.652.2	Amman	J.10640			
1265	Animal leg	A.751.1a	Discarded				
1266	Animal leg	A.751.1a	Discarded				
1267	Animal body	A.857.10	Discarded				
1289	Fragment	A.304.22	Leeds				
1291	Animal body	A.54.1	Philadelphia		F.01.b.35		
1295	Horse head	A.857.5c	Ashmolean	AN1962.576	D.04.d.02		
1307	Female torso	A.952.2a	Amman	J.10650	A.10.c.05	411	05.35
1310	Animal body	A.857.5	Discarded				
1312	Animal head + forequarters	C.6.8-18	Edinburgh		D.12.c.04		
1329	Animal body	C.6.19	Leeds				
1330	Female torso	C.6.8-18	Leeds		A.10.b.37	404	05.26
1333	Animal leg	A.654.13b	Discarded				
1348	Female torso	A.553.6	Dublin		A.10.b.26	393	05.15
1349	Animal body	C.6.8-18	Discarded				
1351	Animal head	A.653.4	EBAF				
1383	Animal body	A.833.6	Discarded				
1385	Animal body	K.15.13	Discarded				
1398	Animal body	C.10.6	Ashmolean	AN1962.575	G.03.b.09		
1399	Human head MM	K.15.15	Amman	J.10641	A.03.d.06	373	03.05
1403	Animal body	A.952.7	Emory		G.02.e.69		
1404	Animal body	C.6.8-18	Birmingham		G.03.c.07		
1405	Animal leg	A.621.4a	Discarded				
1406	Animal leg	K.15.15	Discarded				
1407	Animal body	K.15.15	Discarded				
1465	Animal body	A.952.4c	Discarded				
1469	Animal body	A.952.4c	Edinburgh		G.03.c.05		
1487	Animal body	A.952.4c	Melbourne		D.07.b.05		
1488	Animal leg	A.952.4c	Discarded				
1489	Animal body	A.857.5-12a	Discarded				
1490	Animal body	A.952.4c	Discarded				
1491	Animal body	A.952.4c	Discarded				
1492	Animal body	A.751.12	Discarded				
1493	Animal body	A.952.4c	Discarded				
1507	Fragment	J.1.4a	EBAF				

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
1508	Fragment	J.1.3a	EBAF				
1510	Female torso	A.952.5	Dublin		A.10.a.04	380	05.01
1597		J.1.4a	EBAF				
1599	Animal head	H.401.24	Amman	J.1061	H.04.c.03		
1601	Animal body	A.5.11	Emory		F.03.b.40		
1647	Animal body	A.751.10+10 a	Discarded		G.02.e.33		
1648	Animal body	A.834.1	Dublin		F.01.b.34		
1661	Female torso	C.10.6	Ashmolean	AN1964.523	A.01.g.01	359	01.49
1662	Human head MM	C.10.6	EBAF		A.04.d.02	376	03.08
1663	Fragment	C.10.6	Discarded		G.03.b.11		
1664	Bird	C.6.19	Louisville		E.01.a.10	5.2.2.10	
1665	Animal body	C.10.6	Leeds				
1666	Animal body	C.10.5	Edinburgh		D.12.a.13		
1675	Animal vessel spout	A.752.1-5	EBAF		J.01.b.53		
1683	Female torso	C.10.6	Amman	J.9702	A.10.b.32	390	05.11
1684	Animal body	C.10.6	Discarded		G.03.d.23		
1685	Animal body	A.150.18b	Discarded		D.12.c.08		
1686	Animal body	C.10.6	Discarded		D.12.c.06		
1718	Pillar base	A.621.1b	Leeds		A.11.30	427	05.54
1719	Human head MM	A.751.23	Amman	J.9695	A.04.d.03	375	03.09
1724	Female torso	C.10.6	Amman	J.9699	A.10.b.30	397	05.19
1725	Animal body	C.10.6	Discarded		G.03.a.13		
1747	Animal body	A.751.10	Discarded		D.12.d.04		
1748	Animal head	C.10.6	Melbourne		G.02.c.07		
1750	Couch/Chair	A.831.3a	Louisville				
1773	Animal body	C.10.6	Discarded		D.12.b.03		
1774	Animal body	C.10.6	Durham		G.04.c.41		
1775	Animal body	A.831.3d	Discarded		G.02.e.32		
1776	Animal body	A.25.2	Discarded		D.12.a.14		
1777	Animal leg	A.52.2	Discarded		G.06.a.11		
1778	Animal body	C.10.6	Discarded				
1779	Animal head	A.25.2	Discarded		G.02.e.60		
1780	Animal head	C.10.6	Sydney		D.06.c.03		
1781	Animal head	C.10.6	Discarded		G.02.c.05		
1782	Female torso	C.10.6	Melbourne		A.10.b.35	400	05.24
1783	Animal body	A.52.2	Sheffield		G.04.c.35		
1784	Animal head	C.10.6	Discarded		G.02.e.39		
1785	Animal body	C.10.6	Discarded		G.02.e.36		
1793	Animal body	K.15.14	Sydney		G.01.b.03		
1856	Animal body	C.10.6	Birmingham		D.09.b.02		
1857	Animal head	C.10.6	Louisville		D.01.a.37		
1858	Animal head	C.16.4	Discarded		G.02.c.06		
1861	Animal body	C.11.6	Discarded		G.03.a.12		
1862	Animal body	C.11.4	Discarded		G.02.e.62		

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
1863	Animal body	C.11.4	Discarded		D.12.c.07		
1864	Animal body	C.11.6	Discarded		G.03.c.08		
1908	Fragment	H.305.20	Ashmolean	AN1964.525	K.06.c.04		
1909	Animal body	A.150.24	Discarded		G.02.e.18		
1910	Animal body	C.11.3	Melbourne		G.02.e.30		
1915	Animal head	A.310.1	Leeds		G.02.a.13		
1924	Animal leg	A.751.22	Discarded		G.06.a.10		
1925	Human head MM	F.509.17	Amman	J.9698	A.03.b.03	372	03.03
1933	Animal head	A.623.2	Leeds		D.01.a.38		
1942	Animal body	A.655.4	Discarded		G.04.c.34		
1943	Fragment	C.6.25	Discarded		G.02.e.59		
1944	Animal head?	A.654.18a	Louisville		D.04.a.25		
1945	Fragment	C.10.6	Discarded		H.06.b.08		
1946	Pillar base	A.831.3a	Sydney		A.13.c.05	5.1.5.7	
1948	Animal leg	A.655.3	Discarded		G.06.a.13		
1949	Animal body	A.654.9	Discarded		A.11.28	425	
1954	Animal head?	H.401.49	Amman	J.9697	G.02.c.03		
2003	Animal head	C.6.25	Sheffield		G.02.e.61		
2004	Animal head	F.509.35	Melbourne		D.01.a.40		
2005	Animal body	C.6.25	Discarded		G.03.c.09		
2006	Animal body	C.6.25	Melbourne		G.04.c.40		
2007	Animal body	C.6.25	Sheffield		G.03.c.12		
2008	Animal body	C.6.25	Discarded		G.02.e.58		
2009	Animal leg	A.615.13	Discarded		G.06.a.12		
2031	Human head MM	A.26.7	Edinburgh		A.04.d.01	374	03.07
2032	Animal head	A.656.13	Discarded		D.12.d.05		
2033	Female torso	A.26.7	Ashmolean	AN1964.522	A.10.b.22	399	05.21
2037	Animal body	A.656.24	Discarded		G.02.e.56		
2038	Animal body	A.651.22	Discarded		G.02.e.57		
2040	Animal body	C.6.28	Sheffield		D.12.d.06		
2055	Animal body	F.509.40	Discarded		G.03.c.11		
2056	Animal body	F.509.35	Discarded		G.03.a.09		
2057	Animal head	F.509.40	Emory		D.01.a.46		
2058	Animal head	F.509.35	Birmingham		D.01.a.39		
2157	Animal body	A.656.31	Sheffield		G.04.c.39		
2158	Animal leg	C.11.7	Discarded		G.06.a.14		
2159	Animal body	C.10.6	Discarded		H.06.b.07		
2194	Animal body	C.6.28	Discarded		G.03.d.06		
2195	Animal body	F.509.42	Discarded		F.03.b.35		
2196	Animal body	F.509.42	Discarded		G.02.e.34		
2197	Animal body	C.11.10	Discarded		E.02.b.08		
2198	Pillar base	C.11.10	Louisville		A.11.29	426	05.53
2204	Horse head	C.11.10	Amman	J.2204	D.04.e.02		
2205	Fragment	C.6.28	Discarded		J.05.d.05		
2206	Animal body	C.6.28	Louisville		D.02.b.03		

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
2221	Animal body	C.6.27	Sydney		G.04.c.37		
2222	Animal body	C.1+	Liverpool		G.04.c.29		
2223	Animal body	A.660+	Durham		G.01.c.16		
2232	Horse head	C.6.28	Toronto		D.04.a.24		
2235	Monkey?	A.1.+	Amman	J.9696	K.06.c.02		
2298	Animal head	C.6.28	Sydney		D.02.a.05		
2305	Animal body	C.6.31	Discarded				
2326	Animal body	C.6.32	Discarded		G.03.b.08		
2327	Horse and rider	C.6.31	Emory		D.06.c.02		
2330	Animal body	A.153.7a	Discarded		G.02.e.25		
2331	Human head HM	A.153.7a	Toronto		A.01.c.01	333	01.41
2332	Animal body	A.153.8	Liverpool		G.01.c.17		
2333	Human head HM	A.661.8	unknown		A.01.a.41	352	01.25
2343	Animal head	C.6.37	Birmingham		D.01.a.24		
2344	Animal head	A.153.8	Discarded		D.01.a.23		
2354	Animal head	C.11.4	Ashmolean	AN1964.524	F.03.a.29		
2355	Animal body	A.153.8a	Discarded		G.02.e.24		
2356	Female torso	A.153.8a	Discarded		A.11.25	422	05.49
2397	Animal body	A.153.10	Edinburgh		G.01.c.15		
2398	Animal body	A.153.9	Discarded		G.06.b.01		
2408	Pillar base	A.153.8	Sydney				
2409	Animal head	A.153.9	Sydney		E.01.a.05		
2419	Animal body	A.154.2	Discarded				
2453	Bird	C.11.6	Leeds				
2454	Animal head?	C.6.25	Louisville				
2455	Animal body	A.153.14	EBAF		G.04.c.31		
2488	Animal body	A.153.15	Dublin		G.02.e.22		
2498	Animal head	L.550.1	Edinburgh		G.02.c.04		
2513	Pillar base	A.153.10	Discarded		G.02.e.37		
2514	Animal body	C.11.4	Discarded		G.02.e.38		
2515	Fragment	A.153.12	Amman	J.9700	K.06.c.05		
2548	Animal head	M.101.8	Amman	J.9707			
2778	Human PF figurine	A.156.2	Edinburgh	J.9701	A.01.c.02	334	01.42
2779	Human head HM	A.156.2	Sheffield		A.01.a.43	354	01.27
2780	Pillar base	A.156.2	Dublin				
2818	Animal head	L.607.10	Birmingham				
2838	Animal body	A.156.3	Discarded				
2863	Human head HM	A.156.3a	Sydney		A.01.a.44	355	01.28
2864	Animal body	C.1.12	Emory		G.03.d.28		
2865	Animal body	A.156.3	Discarded		G.02.e.35		
3220	Wheel	A.151.7	Ashmolean				
3221	Animal head	A.152.1b	Melbourne		D.01.a.42		
3332	Animal leg	A.953.17	Discarded				
3333	Animal leg	A.953.13	Discarded				
3334	Animal leg	A.669.46	Discarded				

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
3335	Animal leg	A.953.13	Discarded				
3336	Human head HM	A.156.6	Edinburgh		A.01.a.20	341	01.04
3337	Human head MM	A.840.2c	IAA	IAA 1968-811	A.06.a.02	377	03.10
3338	Human head HM	A.953.13	IAA	IAA 1968-813	A.01.b.06	365	01.40
3339	Female torso	A.953.17	IAA	IAA 1968-807	A.10.b.21	389	05.10
3340	Female torso	A.953.13	Emory		D.16.b.03		
3341	Female torso	A.840.14a	Dublin	WM.655	B.07.07	5.1.2.2	05.68
3342	Female torso	L.609.5	IAA	IAA 1968-814	A.10.b.19	387	05.08
3343	Female torso	A.953.13	Leeds		A.11.24	421	05.48
3344	Animal head	L.153.10	Dublin		D.04.e.04		
3345	Animal head	F.509.47	Melbourne		D.01.a.30		
3346	Animal head	L.607.9a	Leeds		G.02.b.05		
3347	Animal head	A.840.8a	Otago		D.01.a.31		
3348	Animal body	A.953.17	Discarded		D.16.b.01		
3349	Animal body	A.953.17	Discarded		G.03.d.27		
3350	Animal body	A.156.6	Discarded				
3351	Animal body	F.509.47	Sheffield		F.03.b.25		
3352	Horse and rider	L.701.4	Leeds		F.01.b.31		
3353	Animal body	A.661.14a	Discarded				
3354	Animal body	L.701.10	Emory		G.04.c.44		
3355	Animal body	L.608.1	Discarded				
3356	Animal body	L.608.3	Discarded		G.03.d.25		
3357	Animal body	A.840.10a	Emory		G.02.e.28		
3448	Animal body	A.157.3					
3506	Animal leg	A.840.8a	Discarded				
3507	Human head MM	A.156.4	IAA	IAA 1968-810	A.06.e.02	378	03.11
3508	Human head HM	A.156.4	Otago		A.01.a.17	338	01.01
3509	Female torso	A.669.12b	IAA	IAA 1968-812	A.10.c.04	410	05.34
3510	Animal head spout	A.953.17e	Glasgow		J.07.a.06		
3511	Animal head	A.840.8c	Dublin		G.02.a.10		
3512	Animal head	A.953.17	Emory		G.02.d.06		
3513	Animal body	A.156.5	Discarded				
3514	Animal head	A.953.17	Discarded				
3516	Female torso	L.455.5a	Emory		A.11.23	420	05.47
3788	Animal body	L.457.13	Melbourne		D.02.b.4		
3789	Animal body	L.457.13	Discarded		G.02.e.29		
3790	Animal body	L.552.2	Dublin		G.01.c.13		
3791	Human head HM	L.457.14	Edinburgh		A.01.a.25	346	01.09
3792	Animal leg	L.457.14	Discarded				
3793	Animal body	L.457.13	Discarded		G.02.e.27		
3794	Fragment	L.550.19	Birmingham				
3889	Human head HM	L.159.17	Discarded		A.01.a.29	350	01.13
3923	Human head HM	L.158.16	Otago		A.01.b.04	363	01.38
3924	Anthropomorphic jug	L.457.23	IAA	IAA 1968-834	K.01.c.10		
3971	Animal body	L.706.3	Melbourne		G.03.d.22		

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
3972	Animal body	L.457.25	IAA	IAA 1968-808	G.03.b.06		
3973	Female torso	L.457.23	Sheffield		A.10.b.18	386	05.07
3974	Male head. Late.	R.2.7	Ashmolean				
4164	Rider	L.610.7	Otago		D.12.c.09		
4165	Animal body	M.110.6	Discarded				
4166	Animal leg	L.608.18	Discarded				
4167	Animal head	M.110.9	Sheffield		D.01.a.11		
4168	Animal body	L.706.9	Otago		F.03.b.27		
4169	Female torso	L.608.18	IAA	IAA 1968-816	A.10.b.27	394	05.16
4360	Couch/Chair	L.608.22	Emory				
4361	Human head HM	A.1101.4	Otago		A.01.a.38	325	01.22
4373	Female torso	L.159.32	Amman	J.1141	A.10.b.31	398	05.20
4374	Animal body	F.5.11.cII	Otago		F.03.b.24		
4375	Animal body	A.997.1	Discarded		G.03.d.24		
4376	Animal body	L.159.14a	Discarded				
4377	Animal head	A.558.1	Otago		D.02.c.08		
4378	Animal leg	A.996.9	Discarded				
4379	Animal body	A.996.9	Discarded				
4381	Animal body	A.+	Discarded		G.02.e.40		
4382	Animal body	A.+	Discarded		G.04.c.38		
4444	Female torso	A.845.7	Birmingham	1966 A.101?	A.10.c.06	412	05.36
4445	Couch/Chair	A.1101.19a	Ashmolean		J.03.d.07		
4446	Female torso	A.845.23a	Amman		A.10.a.05	381	05.02
4447	Animal body	A.997.8b	Discarded				
4448	Animal body	F.900.136	Amman		G.03.b.05		
4449	Animal body	A.845.7	Amman		G.02.e.45		
4450	Animal head	A.996.21	Sheffield		D.02.c.07		
4451	Animal head	A.682.2b	Discarded				
5100	Animal body	L.850.15a	Birmingham		G.01.b.04		
5101	Horse and rider	L.850.15a	Emory		D.12.b.2		
5102	Animal body	L.366.9	Discarded				
5103	Animal body	A.1200.9	Discarded		G.05.b.08		
5104	Animal body	A.1200.7	Discarded				
5105	Human head HM	L.850.15b	Emory		A.01.a.39	326	01.23
5106	Human head HM	A.1200.11	Birmingham		A.01.a.24	345	01.08
5107	Human head MM	A.1200.9	Birmingham		A.12.r.02	5.1.4.04	03.15
5108	Female torso	L.711.2	Edinburgh		A.10.b.33	401	05.22
5109	Animal body	L.366.9	Discarded		G.03.d.29		
5110	Animal body	L.366.9	Sheffield				
5281	Animal body	L.713.2	Discarded				
5282	Animal body	L.907.1	Discarded				
5283	Animal body	L.850.3	Discarded		G.03.a.11		
5284	Animal body	L.10.3	IAA	IAA 1968-823			
5285	Animal body	A.1200.16	Discarded		D.12.d.01		
5286	Animal head	A.1200.19	Discarded				

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
5287	Human head HM	A.1200.13	Toronto		A.01.a.23	344	01.07
5288	Female head. Late.	N.102.13	IAA	IAA 1968-831			
5419	Animal body	AA.1.8	Discarded		G.02.e.47		
5420	Animal body	L.713.16	Discarded				
5421	Animal head	AA.1.8	Leeds		G.01.b.05		
5432	Female torso	L.369.13	Sheffield		A.10.b.28	395	05.17
5461	Animal head	AA.1.8	Discarded				
5462	Animal head	AA.1.8	Durham		D.01.a.33		
5463	Female torso	L.371.2	Dublin		A.10.b.29	396	05.18
5464	Animal head	L.371.2	Sheffield		G.02.a.11		
5465	Human head HM	AA.1.8	Sheffield		A.01.a.28	349	01.12
5492	Animal body	A.833.5	IAA	IAA 1968-815	J.03.d.08		
5603	Animal head	AA.1.13	Otago		G.02.e.26		
5604	Animal head	AA.1.11	Otago		D.01.d.04		
5605	Animal head	A.1301.1	Durham		D.02.a.06		
5606	Animal head	AA.1.10	Discarded		D.01.a.18		
5607	Animal head	L.371.14	Discarded		D.01.a.19		
5615	Animal body	L.713.35	Discarded				
5616	Animal head	L.713.36	Discarded				
5633	Animal body	AA.1.14	Durham		F.03.b.31		
5634	Animal body	L.55.21	Discarded				
5635	Animal body	L.710.25a	Discarded				
5636	Animal body	AA.1.14a	Discarded				
5637	Animal body	A.562.4	Ashmolean	AN1967.865	J.04.d.03		
5638	Animal body	AA.1.9a	Discarded				
5639	Animal body	L.371.13	Dublin		L.05.d.10		
5641	Female torso	AA.1.14	Discarded		A.11.26	423	05.50
5642	Animal head	AA.1.17	Durham				
5643	Human head HM	AA.1.9	Discarded		A.01.a.27	348	01.11
5656	Animal head	AA.1.14a	Discarded				
5746	Horse and rider	L.55.22	Discarded		G.02.e.48		
5747	Animal body	L.713.30	Discarded		G.02.e.46		
5748	Animal body	L.457.14	Discarded		G.02.e.44		
5749	Animal body	L.457.19	Discarded				
5750	Animal body	L.910.7	Discarded				
5751	Animal body	L.371.41	Discarded				
5752	Animal body	L.457.14	Durham		G.03.a.06		
5753	Rider	L.711.42	Birmingham		D.15.e.04		
5754		L.2.56b	Discarded				
5755	Human head HM	K.29.15	Otago		A.01.a.22	343	01.06
5756	Human head HM	A.1301.43	Ashmolean	1967.866	A.01.a.19	340	01.03
5757	Couch/Chair	L.711.29b	Discarded		G.03.d.19		
5760	Animal head	L.710.13a	Discarded		J.04.d.05		
5761	Animal head	A.1301.28	Discarded		G.02.a.09		
5762	Animal head	AA.1.20	Discarded				

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
5763	Animal head	A.1301.36	Discarded		D.01.a.15		
5764	Animal head	L.2.37	Discarded		D.06.a.07		
5765	Animal head	A.1301.44	Discarded		E.03.29		
5766	Animal body	L.711.33	Discarded				
5767	Animal body	L.713.14	Discarded				
5768	Animal vessel	L.56.9	Ashmolean	AN1967.864	J.03.d.09		
5769	Animal body	AA.100.+	Discarded				
5770	Animal body	A.998.48	Discarded				
5771	Animal body	AA.300.2	Discarded				
5772	Pillar base	A.2.3	Edinburgh		A.11.16	5.1.5.08	05.40
5887	Female torso	A.955.49	Discarded		A.11.17	415	05.41
5888	Female torso	A.955.18	Leeds		A.11.27	424	05.51
5889	Human female torso	A.955.49	Edinburgh		A.14.a.02		
5890	Female torso	A.955.18	IAA	IAA 1968-821	A.10.c.07	413	05.37
5891	Animal body	A.957.5	Discarded				
5892	Animal head	A.957.5	Discarded				
5978	Female torso	A.955.2	Edinburgh		D.16.b.04		
5979	Bird. Late.	L.315.9	IAA	IAA 1968-832			
6003	Human head HM	L.853.7	IAA	IAA 1968-822	A.01.a.30	351	01.14
6228	Animal head	L.57.33a	Discarded		D.01.a.16		
6229	Animal head spout	AA.2.12	IAA	IAA 1968-820	J.07.b.23		
6295	Horse head	W.100.4	IAA	IAA 1968-819			
6296	Animal body	M.510.3	Dublin		G.04.c.33		
6297	Animal head		Edinburgh				
6298	Animal head?	L.323.7	Discarded		J.04.d.04		
6299	Human head HM	A.956.3	Leeds		A.01.a.48	328	01.32
6300	Animal head	A.1301.43	Discarded				
6301	Animal head	A.1301.57	Discarded		D.01.a.25		
6302	Animal body	AA.3.4	Sheffield		F.03.b.23		
6303	Female torso	L.323.7	Discarded		A.11.20	417	05.44
6411	Animal head	A.1301.65	Discarded				
6412	Animal body	AA.103.3	Discarded				
6413	Animal head	AA.101.1	Dublin		D.09.c.02		
6485	Human head HM	A.305.12	Birmingham		A.01.a.40	327	01.24
6527	Animal head	X.3.6	Edinburgh				
6541	Animal body	L.326.4	Discarded		G.04.c.26		
6566	Late?	R.18.3	IAA	IAA 1968-829			
6569	Animal body	L.58.15a	Discarded				
6604	Animal head spout	A.955.10	Birmingham		J.07.a.07		
6621	Animal body	AA.4.4e	Emory		D.01.a.21		
6622	Human head HM	A.955.25	Ashmolean	1967.867	A.01.e.01	367	01.47
6623	Female torso	A.955.25	Discarded				
6630	Animal body	L.855.28a	Discarded				
6671	Human head MM	A.955.33	IAA	IAA 1968-809	A.12.g.1	5.1.4.06	03.13
6672	Fragment. Late.	S.404.23	Ashmolean				

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
6673	Animal body	AA.104.1	Discarded				
6718	Human head HM	L.857.10	IAA	IAA 1968-804	A.01.i.23	5.1.4.16	01.54
6719	Animal head	A.955.28	Discarded		D.01.a.22		
6720	Human head HM	A.955.32	Sheffield		A.01.a.49	329	01.33
6721	Animal body	A.955.29	Discarded		F.03.a.27		
6722	Animal leg	A.955.28	Discarded		E.02.b.07		
6723	Animal head	A.955.29	Otago		D.01.a.17		
6724	Female torso	A.955.29	Leeds		A.10.b.40	407	05.29
6806	Female torso	A.957.10	Edinburgh		A.10.b.34	402	05.23
6807	Horse and rider	A.957.10	Edinburgh		D.12.c.05		
6808	Animal body	A.957.7	IAA	IAA 1968-1433	F.03.c.05		
6809	Human head HM	A.957.7	IAA	IAA 1968-797	A.01.a.21	342	01.05
6810	Animal head	A.957.18	Glasgow		G.02.e.42		
6811	Human head MM	A.957.17	Toronto		A.08.b.01	292	03.12
6812	Pillar base	A.105.14	Dublin	WM.622?	A.01.g.03	361	01.51
6813	Animal leg	A.957.18	Leeds		G.01.d.01		
6814	Horse and rider	A.957.7	Leeds		D.12.d.02		
6815	Animal body	A.957.16	Birmingham				
6816	Human head HM	A.957.18	Dublin		A.01.e.02	368	01.48
6817	Female torso	A.957.14	Leeds		A.11.32	429	05.56
6818	Animal body	L.57.71	Discarded		G.02.e.41		
6835	Animal head	A.105.21	Ashmolean	AN1968.1430	G.02.b.04		
6836	Horse head	A.105.14	Ashmolean	AN1968.1429	D.04.e.03		
6837	Animal body	AA.104.20	Durham		G.04.c.28		
6838	Female torso	A.957.16	Melbourne		A.10.b.36	403	05.25
6839	Female torso	AA.101.22	Leeds				
7036	Animal body	A.1101.43	Otago		G.03.c.04		
7051	Animal body	AA.306.5	Durham		G.03.d.03		
7052	Human head HM	A.101.15	IAA	IAA 1968-801	A.01.j.05	5.1.4.18	01.55
7053	Animal body	AA.4.9	Toronto		F.01.b.32		
7054	Animal head	AA.306.9	IAA	IAA 1968-800			
7055	Animal body	AA.4.10	Glasgow		F.03.b.22		
7056	Sack on head?	A.4.8	IAA	IAA 1968-802	A.01.h.01	5.1.4.17	01.52
7099	Human head HM	A.961.5	IAA	IAA 1968-804	A.01.i.21	5.1.4.15	01.53
7146	Animal head	L.915.8a	Durham				
7147	Animal body	L.13.29	Discarded				
7175	Animal body	A.963.8a	Edinburgh		G.03.a.10		
7207	Animal head	A.963.11	Durham				
7217	Female torso	L.912.30	Glasgow	D.1968.12	A.10.b.14	382	05.03
7218	Human head HM	L.332.22	Melbourne	10.3220	A.01.a.47	358	01.31
7228	Animal body	A.963.18	IAA	IAA 1968-794	D.01.a.20		
7229	Animal body	A.965.4	Leeds		G.03.d.04		
7230	Animal body	AA.107.12	Dublin		G.03.b.10		
7231	Animal body	A.965.4	Dublin		G.03.b.12		

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
7232	Animal head	A.965.4	Glasgow		D.01.a.58		
7257	Animal body	AA.107.12	Leeds		G.03.b.04		
7258	Bird	AA.107.12	Ashmolean	AN1968.1397	E.02.b.11		
7259	Animal head	AA.107.14	Dublin		F.03.a.28		
7260	Female torso	AA.107.14	Melbourne		A.11.18	5.1.5.05	05.42
7261	Animal body	AA.107.14	Birmingham		G.04.c.32		
7262	Female torso	A.963.27	Leeds		A.10.b.42	408	05.31
7263	Rider	L.16.32	Toronto		D.15.a.05		
7264	Female torso	L.332.18a	Leeds		A.10.b.15	383	05.04
7265	Animal body	A.965.1	Leeds		G.02.e.53		
7297	Couch/Chair	A.965.2					
7362	Animal head	A.965.29	Leeds		D.01.a.52		
7363	Animal head	A.965.29	B.A.I.		D.03.a.04		
7364	Animal head	AA.106.6	Durham		D.01.a.14		
7365	Animal body	A.1103.3	Ashmolean	AN1968.1393	G.05.b.06		
7366	Human head MM	A.965.25	Amman	IAA 1968-803	A.03.d.07	301	03.06
7367	Bird	A.965.32	IAA		E.02.b.09		
7368	Horse and rider	A.965.29	Ashmolean		D.10.b.1		
7369	Horse and rider	A.965.29	Otago		D.12.a.12		
7370	Human? fragment	A.965.25	IAA	IAA 1968-798	K.03.c.05		
7371	Human head HM	L.14.34	Melbourne	10.3221	A.01.a.42	353	01.26
7372	Animal head	A.965.20	Edinburgh				
7373	Animal body	A.963.18	Melbourne		F.03.b.28		
7374	Animal head	A.965.24	Birmingham		D.04.h.1		
7375	Bird	A.965.29	IAA	IAA 1968-796	E.01.a.09	5.2.2.09	
7376	Human head HM	L.14.33	Toronto		A.01.a.18	339	01.02
7377	Animal head	A.965.29	Leeds				
7447+ 7448	Horse and rider	S.106.11	Ashmolean	AN1968.1392	D.06.b.02		
7449	Animal body	A.965.29	Durham		G.02.e.51		
7450	Animal body	A.965.35					
7451	Animal body	A.965.24	Birmingham				
7452	Animal head	L.14.33	Durham				
7453	Animal head	A.965.36	B.A.I.		D.01.a.50		
7454	Human head HM	S.106.11	Leeds		A.01.a.50	330	01.34
7455	Animal body	L.18.14b	Leeds		G.01.c.14		
7456	Horse and rider	A.965.36	Melbourne		D.12.c.15		
7457	Rider	A.965.23	IAA	IAA 1968-799	D.15.a.03		
7458	Couch/Chair	A.965.39	Birmingham				
7459	Bird	A.965.23	Toronto		E.01.a.11	5.2.2.11	
7460	Pillar base	A.965.35	Dublin	JM.608?	A.11.39	315	05.63
7518	Animal body	A.1103.5	Durham		E.02.b.06		
7553		L.918.11	IAA	IAA 1968-1215			
7565	Animal head spout	L.918.13	Sheffield		J.07.c.30		
7566	Animal head	A.970.2	Melbourne		D.01.a.26		

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
7567	Human head HM	S.112.16	Durham	WM.619	A.01.a.26	347	01.10
7568	Animal body	L.915.35	Dublin		G.03.b.03		
7569	Animal head	A.969.7	Edinburgh				
7570	Horse and rider	A.968.3a	Glasgow		D.06.a.06		
7599	Horse head	AA.104.43	Otago				
7600	Animal body	L.917.13	Toronto		G.03.d.26		
C.063	Animal head	A.966	Otago		D.01.a.54		
C.161	Animal leg	A.966	Melbourne		G.06.a.46		
C.161a	Animal leg	A.966	Melbourne		G.06.a.47		
C.162	Female torso	A.966	Edinburgh		D.15.e.03		
C.164	Horse complete	A.966	IAA		D.01.a.55		
C.218	Animal body	A.966	Otago		G.04.c.80		
C.258	Female torso	A.966	Toronto		B.07.10	5.1.2.5	05.67
C.284	Animal body	A.966	Dublin		G.03.d.05		
C.322	Female torso	A.966	IAA	IAA 1968-788	B.07.09	5.1.2.4	05.70
C.332	Horse complete	A.966	Ashmolean		G.01.e.12		
C.335+ C.366	Female torso	A.966	Ashmolean	1969.A.704	A.11.38	306	05.62
C.365	Female torso	A.966	IAA	IAA 1968-791	A.10.i.02	303	05.39
C.374	Horse complete	A.966	Edinburgh		G.01.e.09		
C.375	Animal head	A.966	Melbourne		D.01.a.53		
C.391	Human head MM	A.966.3Y	Glasgow	D.1968.6	A.03.c.04	300	03.04
C.394	Horse complete	A.966	IAA		D.04.d.03		
C.395	Horse complete	A.966	Edinburgh		D.01.a.56		
C.396	Animal head	A.966	Edinburgh		D.04.d.01		
C.404	Animal head	A.966	Ashmolean		G.01.e.10		
C.490	Shrine	A.966	Ashmolean				
C.63a	Animal body	A.966	Leeds		G.02.e.50		
C.758	Animal head	A.966	IAA		D.09.a.03		
C.759	Couch/Chair	A.966	IAA				
C.760	Horse and rider	A.966	IAA		D.12.c.13		
C.761	Animal body	A.966	IAA		G.05.b.07		
C.762	Animal body	A.966	Dublin		G.02.e.52		
C.763	Animal body	A.966	Durham		G.02.e.54		
C.764	Animal body	A.966	Melbourne		G.01.c.07		
C.765	Bird	A.966	Birmingham		E.01.a.08	5.2.2.08	
C.766	Horse complete	A.966	Birmingham		G.01.e.11		
C.767	Horse and rider	A.966	Toronto		D.12.c.12		
C.768	Animal body	A.966	Melbourne		G.04.c.77		
C.1106	Pillar base	A.966?	Dublin	WM.657?	A.11.33	430	05.57
C.769	Animal body	A.966	Edinburgh		G.04.c.75		
C.770	Female torso	A.966	Otago		A.11.37	312	05.61
C.771	Bird	A.966	Ashmolean		E.01.a.07	5.2.2.07	
C.772	Animal body	A.966	Leeds		G.04.c.79		
C.773	Animal body	A.966	Durham		G.04.c.78		

Reg.	Description	Locus	Place	Mus.Reg.	Holland	Kletter	Darby
C.774	Female torso	A.966	Otago		A.10.b.43	305	05.32
C.775	Female torso	A.966	Birmingham	1969 A.156	B.07.08	5.1.2.3	05.69
C.776	Horse complete	A.966	Glasgow		D.02.b.07		
C.777	Female torso	A.966	Ashmolean	1964.525?	A.10.b.41	304	05.30
C.778	Horse complete	A.966	Toronto		D.01.a.51		
C.779	Female torso	A.966	Glasgow		A.11.36	313	05.60
C.780	Animal head	A.966	Dublin		D.01.a.49		
C.781	Human? fragment	A.966	Ashmolean		K.03.c.04		
C.783	Couch/Chair	A.966	Toronto				
C.784	Animal head	A.966	Ashmolean		E.03.30		
C.786	Animal body	A.966	Discarded				
C.787	Animal body	A.966	Discarded				
C.788	Animal body	A.966	Sheffield		G.03.c.13		
C.789	Animal body	A.966 (entrance)	Discarded				
C.790	Human head MM	A.966	Leeds		A.12.r.04	302	03.17
C.792	Female torso	A.966 (entrance)	Discarded		A.11.35	314	05.59
C.793	Pillar base	A.966 (entrance)	Discarded		A.11.41	316	05.65
C.795	Animal body	A.966	Discarded				
C.796	Pillar base	A.966 (entrance)	Discarded		A.11.40	317	05.64
C.798	Couch/Chair	A.966	Ashmolean				

6.2 Jerusalem: figurines from Kenyon's excavation, Area A

List of the figurines from Area A of Kenyon's excavation in Jerusalem, which can be dated stratigraphically to the late Iron Age strata. The list is sorted by locus number.

Locus	Stratum	Square	"Room"	Reg.No.	Description
A.10.10	B7	1-3	3	0394	Animal body
A.1003.12	P5	18		0680	Animal head
A.1006.3	P5	18		0930	Animal leg
A.101.15	8	29	street	7052	Human head handmade
A.105.21	8	29	street	6835	Animal head
A.108.6b	T6	T1		0899	Animal leg
A.1101.4	8	25	street	4361	Human head handmade
A.1101.43	4	25	Cave 1+	7036	Animal body
A.1103.3	4	25	C	7365	Animal body
A.1103.5	4	25	C	7518	Animal body
A.1200.11	8	25	street	5106	Human head handmade
A.1200.13	8	25	street	5287	Human head handmade

Locus	Stratum	Square	"Room"	Reg.No.	Description
A.1200.16	8	25	street	5285	Animal body
A.1200.19	4	25		5286	Animal head
A.1200.7	9	25	street	5104	Animal body
A.1200.9	8	25	street	5103	Animal body
A.1200.9	8	25	street	5107	Human head moulded
A.1301.28	8	25	street	5761	Animal head
A.1301.36	8	25	street	5763	Animal head
A.1301.43	9	25	street	5756	Human head handmade
A.1301.43	9	25	street	6300	Animal head
A.1301.44	8	25	street	5765	Animal head
A.1301.57	8	25	street	6301	Animal head
A.1301.65	6	25		6411	Animal head
A.15.7	B8	2	11	1116	Animal body
A.15.8	B7	2	11	1157	Human head handmade
A.150.24	3	22	N	1909	Animal body
A.151.7	3	22	Cave II	3220	Wheel
A.152.1b	2C	22	Cave II	3221	Animal head
A.153.14	3	22	O	2455	Animal body
A.153.15	3	22	O	2488	Animal body
A.154.2	3	22	N	2419	Animal body
A.156.6	3	22	S	3336	Human head handmade
A.156.6	3	22	S	3350	Animal body
A.157.3	2C	22	N	3448	Animal body
A.2.17	B7	1-3	4	0898	Animal body
A.202.11c	T9	T1		0169	Animal head
A.202.15	T6	T1		0332	Human head handmade
A.25.2	B7	1-3	6	1776	Animal body
A.25.2	B7	1-3	6	1779	Animal head
A.301.5	T9	T1		0168	Animal head + forequarters
A.301.5a	T9	T1		0406	Animal body
A.302.11	T6	T1		0390	Animal head
A.302.11	T6	T1		0387	Animal head
A.302.11	T6	T1		0389	Animal head
A.302.12	T6	T1		0393	Animal body
A.304.18a	T5	T1		0869	Animal body
A.304.19a	T5	T1		0801	Couch/Chair
A.304.21	T5	T1		1046	Human head handmade
A.304.22	T5	T1	26	1289	Fragment
A.305.11a	T5	T1	26	0994	Animal head
A.305.12	8	14	street	0407	Animal body
A.305.12	8	14	street	0345	Animal head?
A.305.12	8	14	street	0419	Animal leg?
A.305.12	8	14	street	0741	Fragment
A.305.12	8	14	street	6485	Human head handmade

Locus	Stratum	Square	"Room"	Reg.No.	Description
A.305.14a	T5	T1	26	0902	Fragment
A.305.16	T5	T1	26	1000	Human female torso
A.305.16	T5	T1	26	1001	Human female torso
A.305.16a	T5	T1		1020	Animal body
A.305.16a	T5	T1		1021	Animal body
A.5.11	B8	1-3		1601	Animal body
A.5.7	B9	1-3		0173	Human head moulded
A.52.2	B7	1-3	10	1783	Animal body
A.52.2	B7	1-3	10	1777	Animal leg
A.54.1	B7	1-3	10	1291	Animal body
A.603.4	T6 + Hell	T1		0104	Human female torso
A.603.4	T6 + Hell	T1		0106	Animal body
A.603.4	T6 + Hell	T1		1085	Animal leg
A.603.6	T4	T1		0397	Animal body
A.604.3	T4	T1	Guardroom?	0060	Animal body
A.609.1	T11	T1		0172	Human head handmade
A.610.1	T7	T1		0167	Animal head
A.611.2b	T6 + Hell	T1		0330	Rider
A.611.2b	T6 + Hell	T1		0337	Couch/Chair
A.611.5	T6 + Hell	T1		0413	Animal body
A.611.8	T4	T1	Guardroom?	1066	Human female torso
A.621.1b	T4	T1		1718	Pillar base
A.669.46	B8	23	B.III	3334	Animal leg
A.682.2b	B7	23		4451	Animal head
A.806.2b	9	15	street	0395	Animal body
A.807.2b	9	15	street	0719	Fragment
A.807.2b	9	15	street	0421	Animal leg?
A.807.2b	9	15	street	0400	Animal body
A.807.2b	9	15	street	0424	Animal leg?
A.807.2b	9	15	street	0340	Animal head
A.807.2b	9	15	street	0380	Human head handmade
A.807.2b	9	15	street	0382	Human head handmade
A.807.2b	9	15	street	0396	Animal body
A.809.1c	8	15	street	0414	Animal body
A.810.2	8	15	street	0417	Animal leg?
A.810.5	9	15	street	0403	Animal body
A.810.5	9	15	street	0411	Bird
A.820.4	8	14	street	0346	Human female torso
A.820.4b	8	14	street	0344	Animal body
A.821.3	8	14	street	0341	Animal body
A.821.3	8	14	street	0408	Animal body
A.821.3	8	14	street	0347	Horse and rider
A.821.3	8	14	street	0334	Human head handmade
A.821.3	8	14	street	0333	Human head handmade

Locus	Stratum	Square	"Room"	Reg.No.	Description
A.821.3	8	14	street	0339	Animal head
A.821.4	A3?	24	26?	0381	Human head handmade
A.821.4b	9	14	street	0405	Animal body
A.821.4b	9	14	street	0404	Animal body
A.821.4b	9	14	street	0342	Human female torso
A.821.4c	8	14	street	0416	Animal leg?
A.821.4c	8	14	street	0401	Animal body
A.821.4c	8	14	street	0399	Animal body
A.821.4d	8	14	street	0384	Human female torso
A.821.5	8	14	street	0415	Animal leg?
A.821.5	8	14	street	0422	Animal leg?
A.822.2	9	14	street	0398	Animal body
A.822.2	9	14	street	0391	Horse and rider
A.822.2	9	14	street	0385	Human female torso
A.822.3	8	14	street	0336	Animal head
A.830.10	8	14-15	street	0791	Animal body
A.830.10	8	14-15	street	0803	Animal leg
A.830.11	8	14-15	street	0799	Animal leg
A.830.11	8	14-15	street	0795	Human head handmade
A.830.7	9	14-15	street	0800	Human head moulded
A.830.8	9	14-15	street	0794	Horse and rider
A.830.9	8	14-15	street	0790	Animal body
A.830.9	8	14-15	street	0796	Fragment
A.831.2e	9	14-15	street	1218	Animal body
A.840.10a	9	15	street	3357	Animal body
A.840.14a	9	25	street	3341	Human female torso
A.840.8c	9	15	street	3511	Animal head
A.845.7	8	25	street	4444	Human female torso
A.845.7	8	25	street	4449	Animal body
A.953.13	8	26	street	3343	Human female torso
A.953.13	8	26	street	3333	Animal leg
A.953.13	8	26	street	3340	Human female torso
A.953.13	8	26	street	3335	Animal leg
A.953.13	8	26	street	3338	Human head handmade
A.953.17	8	26	street	3512	Animal head
A.953.17	8	26	street	3349	Animal body
A.953.17	8	26	street	3332	Animal leg
A.953.17	8	26	street	3348	Animal body
A.953.17	8	26	street	3339	Human female torso
A.953.17	8	26	street	3514	Animal head
A.953.17e	8	26	street	3510	Animal head spout
A.955.18	8	26	street	5890	Human female torso
A.955.18	8	26	street	5888	Human female torso
A.955.2	9	26	street	5978	Human female torso

Locus	Stratum	Square	"Room"	Reg.No.	Description
A.955.25	8	26	street	6622	Human head handmade
A.955.25	8	26	street	0622	Human head handmade
A.955.25	8	26	street	6623	Human female torso
A.955.28	8	26	street	6719	Animal head
A.955.28	8	26	street	6722	Animal leg
A.955.29	8	26	street	6724	Human female torso
A.955.29	8	26	street	6721	Animal body
A.955.29	8	26	street	6723	Animal head
A.955.32	8	26	street	6720	Human head handmade
A.955.33	8	26	street	6671	Human head moulded
A.955.49	8	26	street	5887	Human female torso
A.955.49	8	26	street	5889	Human female torso
A.956.3	7	26	street	6299	Human head handmade
A.957.10	8	26	street	6806	Human female torso
A.957.10	8	26	street	6807	Horse and rider
A.957.14	8	26	street	6817	Human female torso
A.957.16	8	26	street	6838	Human female torso
A.957.16	8	26	street	6815	Animal body
A.957.17	8	26	street	6811	Human head moulded
A.957.18	8	26	street	6810	Animal head
A.957.18	8	26	street	6816	Human head handmade
A.957.18	8	26	street	6813	Animal leg
A.957.5	8	26	street	5891	Animal body
A.957.5	8	26	street	5892	Animal head
A.957.7	8	26	street	6809	Human head handmade
A.957.7	8	26	street	6814	Horse and rider
A.957.7	8	26	street	6808	Animal body
A.961.5	6	26		7099	Human head handmade
A.963.11	6	26		7207	Animal head
A.963.18	5	26	L	7228	Animal body
A.963.18	5	26	L	7373	Animal body
A.963.27	6	26		7262	Human female torso
A.965.1	6	26		7265	Animal body
A.965.2	5	26	H	7297	Couch/Chair
A.965.20	5	26	H	7372	Animal head
A.965.23	5	26	J	7459	Bird
A.965.23	5	26	J	7457	Rider
A.965.24	4	26	J	7374	Animal head
A.965.24	4	26	J	7451	Animal body
A.965.25	4	26	J	7366	Human head moulded
A.965.25	4	26	J	7370	Human? fragment
A.965.29	4	26	J	7449	Animal body
A.965.29	4	26	J	7375	Bird
A.965.29	4	26	J	7377	Animal head

Locus	Stratum	Square	"Room"	Reg.No.	Description
A.965.29	4	26	J	7363	Animal head
A.965.29	4	26	J	7362	Animal head
A.965.29	4	26	J	7368	Horse and rider
A.965.29	4	26	J	7369	Horse and rider
A.965.32	4	26	J	7367	Bird
A.965.35	4	26		7460	Pillar base
A.965.35	4	26		7450	Animal body
A.965.36	4	26		7453	Animal head
A.965.36	4	26		7456	Horse and rider
A.965.39	5	26	K	7458	Couch/Chair
A.965.4	5	26	H	7229	Animal body
A.965.4	5	26	H	7232	Animal head
A.965.4	5	26	H	7231	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.332	Horse complete
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I		Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.795	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.284	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.788	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.787	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I		Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.763	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.769	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.63a	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.761	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.766	Horse complete
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.404	Animal head
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.762	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.786	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.768	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.773	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.218	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I		Female torso moulded
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.161	Animal leg
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.161a	Animal leg
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.781	Human? fragment
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.798	Couch/Chair
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.783	Couch/Chair
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.759	Couch/Chair
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.490	Shrine
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.374	Horse complete
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.162	Human female torso
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.772	Animal body
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.63	Animal head
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.764	Animal body

Locus	Stratum	Square	"Room"	Reg.No.	Description
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.790	Human head moulded
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.365	Human female torso
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.774	Human female torso
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.335+366	Human female torso
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.770	Human female torso
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.779	Human female torso
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.775	Human female torso
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.322	Human female torso
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.780	Animal head
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.375	Animal head
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.758	Animal head
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.784	Animal head
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.765	Bird
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.771	Bird
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.778	Horse complete
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.767	Horse and rider
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.164	Horse complete
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.394	Horse complete
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.396	Animal head
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.776	Horse complete
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.395	Horse complete
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.760	Horse and rider
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.777	Human female torso
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I		Bird
A.966 (Cave 1)	4	26	Cave I	C.258	Human female torso
A.966 (Cave 1)?	4	26	Cave I	C.1106	Pillar base
A.966 (entrance)	4	26	Cave I	C.793	Pillar base
A.966 (entrance)	4	26	Cave I		Bird
A.966 (entrance)	4	26	Cave I	C.789	Animal body
A.966 (entrance)	4	26	Cave I	C.796	Pillar base
A.966 (entrance)	4	26	Cave I	C.792	Human female torso
A.966.3Y	4	26	Cave I	C.391	Human head moulded
A.968.3a	4	26	K	7570	Horse and rider
A.969.7	4	26	K	7569	Animal head
A.970.2	5	26	K	7566	Animal head
A.996.21	8	26	street	4450	Animal head
A.996.9	8	26		4378	Animal leg
A.996.9	8	26		4379	Animal body
A.997.1	8	26	street	4375	Animal body
AA.1.11	3	28	PQ?	5604	Animal head
AA.1.14a	3	28	PQ	5636	Animal body
AA.1.14a	3	28	PQ	5656	Animal head
AA.1.17	3	28	PQ?	5642	Animal head
AA.1.20	3	28	PQ?	5762	Animal head

Locus	Stratum	Square	"Room"	Reg.No.	Description
AA.101.22	8	29	street	6839	Human female torso
AA.2.12	3	28	P	6229	Animal head spout
AA.2.3	3	28		5772	Pillar base
AA.3.4	2B	28	O	6302	Animal body
AA.306.5	A3?			7051	Animal body
AA.4.10	3	28	S?	7055	Animal body
AA.4.4e	3	28	S	6621	Animal body
AA.4.8	3	28		7056	Sack on head?
AA.4.9	3	28	S?	7053	Animal body

6.3 Jerusalem: figurines from Shiloh's excavations

List of the figurines from Areas B, D1, D2, and E of Shiloh's excavation in Jerusalem, selected for this study, and sorted by area and locus number.

Area	Locus	Stratum	Type	Reg. No.	Description
B	111A	12	F	B/416	Fragment
B	111A	12	C	B/420	Couch/Chair
B	111B	12	B3h1	B/436	Animal leg
B	111B	12	B3h1	B/439	Animal leg
D1	317	12	B3g	D1/1013	Animal fragment
D1	317	12	B3h1	D1/1034	Animal leg
D1	317	12	B3h1	D1/1035	Animal leg
D1	317	12	B3h1	D1/1054	Animal leg
D1	317	12	B3g	D1/864/1	Animal fragment
D1	317	12	B3a	D1/892	Animal body
D1	317	12	B1f2	D1/905	Bird head
D1	317	12	D	D1/927/6	Fragment
D1	317	12	B3h1	D1/929/1	Animal leg
D1	317	12	B3h1	D1/944	Animal leg
D1	317	12	F	D1/957	Fragment
D1	317	12	B3h1	D1/958/1	Animal leg
D1	317	12	B3c	D1/964	Animal body
D1	317	12	B3c	D1/980	Animal body
D1	317	12	B3f	D1/984	Animal body
D1	317	12	B2c	D1/985	Horse head
D1	376	12	B2e	D1/6715	Horse head
D1	376	12	B3h1	D1/6716	Animal leg
D1	388	12	B3c	D1/6773	Animal body
D1	396	12	B3c	D1/6796	Animal body
D1	453	12	A1a?	D1/13363	Human head handmade
D1	469	12	B3h1	D1/13293	Animal leg

Area	Locus	Stratum	Type	Reg. No.	Description
D1	469	12	B3a	D1/13305	Animal body
D2	1888	12	B3a	D2/13529	Animal body
D2	1888	12	B3c	D2/13742	Animal body
D2	1888	12	D	D2/14065	Fragment
D2	1888	12	B3g	D2/14138	animal body fragment
D2	1888	12	E?/M	D2/14141	Human? fragment
D2	1888	12	B3h1	D2/14143	Animal leg
D2	1888	12	B3f1	D2/20176	Animal body
D2	2309	12	B2d	D2/20327	Animal vessel
D2	2323	12	B3c	D2/20197	Animal body
D2	2323	12	B2c	D2/20224	Horse head
D2	2323	12	A1a	D2/20242	Human head handmade
D2	2323	12	A1a	D2/20243	Human head handmade
D2	2323	12	B3h1	D2/20244	Animal leg
D2	2323	12	B3g	D2/20245	Animal body fragment
D2	2323	12	B3h1	D2/20260	Animal leg
D2	2323	12	A2b1	D2/20264	Human head moulded
D2	2323	12	B3f1	D2/20272	Animal body
D2	2323	12	A1a?	D2/20274	Human head handmade
D2	2323	12	B3h1	D2/20281	Animal leg
D2	2323	12	A1a	D2/20283	Human head handmade
D2	2323	12	B1f1	D2/20290	Bird
D2	2323	12	B3h1	D2/20291	Animal leg
D2	2323	12	B3d	D2/20302	Horse and rider
D2	2323	12	B3f	D2/20337	Animal body
D2	2323	12	B2c	D2/20339	Horse head
D2	2323	12	B3h1	D2/20372	Animal leg
D2	2337	12	A5a2	D2/20352	Pillar base
D2	2337	12	D	D2/20367	Fragment
D2	2708	12	B2c	D2/20627	Horse head
D2	2708	12	B3c	D2/20629	Animal body
D2	2720	12-11	B3c	D2/20666	Animal body
D2	2751	12	B3c	D2/20975	Animal body
D2	2767	12	B3c	D2/21011	Animal body
E	539B	11	B3g	E/1811	Fragment
E	539B	11	B3e	E/1839	Horse and rider
E	563	11	B2c?	E/2736	Horse head
E	565	10?	B2c	E1/2631	Horse head
E	565	10?	B3c	E1/2635	Animal body
E	565	10?	A5a2	E1/2636	Pillar base
E	565	10?	A5a2	E1/3508	Pillar base
E	565	10?	A5b	E1/3525	Pillar base
E	615	11	A3a2?	E1/6143	Human female torso
E	619	12A	B2c1	E1/3418	Horse head

Area	Locus	Stratum	Type	Reg. No.	Description
E	619	12A	B3c	E1/3582	Animal body
E	619	12A	A1a	E1/3646	Human head handmade
E	619	12A	B2c	E1/3748	Horse head
E	621A	12A	A1a	E1/3436	Human torso no breasts
E	621A	12A	A3c	E1/3481	Human female torso
E	621C	12B	B2e-f	E1/3485	Horse head
E	621C	12B	B3c	E1/3535	Animal body
E	630B	11	B3b	E1/3617	Horse and rider
E	630B	11	B3h1	E1/3750	Animal leg
E	630B	11	B3c	E1/3839	Animal body
E	630C	12A	B3f	E1/3714	Animal body
E	631	12A	A5a2	E1/3645	Pillar base
E	631	12A	A5a2	E1/5645	Pillar base
E	631	12A	B3h1	E1/6002	Animal leg
E	640	12B	B3h1	E1/4126	Animal leg
E	640A	12B	D	E1/3754	Fragment
E	663A	11	B2c	E1/3989	Horse head
E	663B	11	A5a2	E1/5861	Pillar base
E	665	12B	A5b	E1/4130	Pillar base
E	699	11	A2c	E1/5954	Human head moulded
E	1201	10	B3h1	E1/4129	Animal leg
E	1201	10	B3d	E1/5968	Horse and rider
E	1241	12B	B3h1	E1/6177	Animal leg
E	1264	12B	B3f	E1/6389	Animal body
E	1269	10	B3c	E1/9683	Animal body
E	1275	12B	B3c	E1/6425	Animal body
E	1292A	11	B3g1	E1/7937	Horse and rider
E	1296	11	B3b	E1/7905	Horse and rider
E	1296	11	B3h1	E1/7917	Animal leg
E	1296	11	B3a	E1/7953	Animal body
E	1310A	11	B2c	E1/3498	Horse head
E	1310A	11	A2a1	E1/9329	Human head moulded
E	1310A	11	D	E1/9361	Fragment
E	1321	11	B3c	E1/8545/1	Animal body
E	1321	11	B3c	E1/8545/2	Animal body
E	1321	11	B3h1	E1/8545/3	Animal leg
E	1321	11	B3h1	E1/8560	Animal leg
E	1321	11	B3c	E1/8650	Animal body
E	1321	11	B2e	E1/8653	Horse head
E	1322	12A	B3h1	E1/8547	Animal leg
E	1322	12A	B3f	E1/8648	Animal body
E	1324	12A	B3f	E1/4052	Animal body
E	1324	12A	A5b	E1/4084	Pillar base
E	1324	12A	B3f	E1/4113	Animal body

Area	Locus	Stratum	Type	Reg. No.	Description
E	1324	12A	A1a	E1/4118	Human head handmade
E	1324	12A	A5a2	E1/4127	Pillar base
E	1324	12A	B3h1	E1/5831/1	Animal leg
E	1324	12A	A5a2	E1/5933	Pillar base
E	1324	12A	B3c	E1/8599	Animal body
E	1324	12A	B2c	E1/9422	Horse head
E	1324	12A	B2c	E1/9506	Horse head + forequarters
E	1355	10	A1a	E1/9524	Human head handmade
E	1367	10	A1a	E1/5839	Human head handmade
E	1367	10	B3h1	E1/5872	Animal leg
E	1367	10	B3h1	E1/5887	Animal leg
E	1367	10	A3e	E1/9284	Human PF + child
E	1376	12	B2c1	E1/9377	Horse head
E	1380	12B	B3a	E1/9430	Animal body
E	1380	12B	A6a	E1/9444	Horse and rider
E	1396	10	B3f	E1/9902	Animal body
E	1489	11	B2f	E/1802	Horse head
E	1489	11	A5b	E/1817	Pillar base
E	1489	11	B2c	E/1834	Horse head
E	1489	11	B2c	E/1874	Horse head
E	1489	11	B3c	E/3528/1	Animal body
E	1489	11	B2c?	E/3530	Horse head
E	1492	12A	A5a2	E/12067/8	Pillar base
E	1492	12A	M	E/12146	Fragment
E	1497	11	B1f1	E/12115	Bird
E	1591	12	A3c	E3/13192	Human female torso
E	1591	12	B3a	E3/15516	Animal body
E	1598	10	B3h2	E3/13110	Animal leg
E	1606A	10	A1c	E1/10127	Human head handmade
E	1608	11	B3c1	E1/10011	Animal body
E	1608	11	B3c	E1/10246	Animal body
E	1609	11	B3d	E1/10007	Horse and rider
E	1609	11	A6a?	E1/14685	Horse and rider
E	1612	12?	B2a	E1/16224	Horse head
E	1618	12	B3h1	E1/10315	Animal leg
E	1618	12	B2c	E1/10335	Horse head + forequarters
E	1618	12	B3h1	E1/10336	Animal leg
E	1618	12	B2c	E1/10530	Horse head
E	1618	12	B3h1	E1/14312	Animal leg
E	1618	12	B3c	E1/14314	Animal body
E	1618	12	B2c?	E1/14371	Horse head
E	1627	12	A3c	E1/10244	Human female torso
E	1627	12	A1a	E1/10257	Human head handmade
E	1632	10	B3h1	E1/10316	Animal leg

Area	Locus	Stratum	Type	Reg. No.	Description
E	1636	10	D	E1/10407	Fragment
E	1636	10	B3h1	E1/10586	Animal leg
E	1636	10		E1/10630	Pillar base
E	1636	10	B2c	E1/10662	Horse head
E	1636	10	B3a	E1/10686	Animal body
E	1636	10	B3c	E1/10822	Animal body
E	1638	12	B3h2	E1/10518/1	Animal leg
E	1679	11	B3h1	E1/14434	Animal leg
E	1679	11	B3h1	E1/14435	Animal leg
E	1679	11	B3h1	E1/14456	Animal leg
E	1679	11	B3h1	E1/14480	Animal leg
E	1679	11	B3h1	E1/14562	Animal leg
E	1679	11	B3h1	E1/14563	Animal leg
E	1679	11	B3h1	E1/14564	Animal leg
E	1706	12A	B1c	E/12141	Animal head
E	1709	12A	B3c	E1/2797	Animal body
E	1709	12A	B2c	E/12183	Horse head
E	1709	12A	B3h1	E/2799	Animal leg
E	1709	12A	B3c	E/3524	Animal body
E	1901A	12	B3c	E3/12995	Animal body
E	1901A	12	A2g	E3/12999	Human head moulded
E	1901A	12	B3h1	E3/13049	Animal leg
E	1901A	12	B3b	E3/13111	Horse and rider
E	1902	12?	A1a	E3/13109	Human head handmade
E	1902	12?	A1a	E3/13115	Human head handmade
E	1902	12?	A1a	E3/13138	Human head handmade
E	1902	12?	B3g	E3/13179	Fragment
E	1906	12?		E3/13147	Pillar base
E	1906	12?	B3h1	E3/13151	Animal leg
E	1906	12?	B3h1	E3/13156	Animal leg
E	1911	12	B1f2	E3/15509	Bird
E	1913	12	B3f	E3/15529	Animal body
E	1914	12	D	E3/15532/7	Fragment
E	1923	12	A5a2?	E3/15591	Pillar base
E	1923	12	A3a2	E3/15592	Human female torso
E	1923	12	B2c	E3/15603	Horse head
E	1923	12	B3h1	E3/15626	Animal leg
E	1923	12	B2c	E3/15637	Horse head
E	1923	12	A1a	E3/15643	Human head handmade
E	1923	12	B3g	E3/15654	Fragment
E	1923	12	B3h1	E3/15659	Animal leg
E	1923	12	B2c	E3/15666	Horse head
E	1923	12	A1a?	E3/15736	Human head handmade
E	1926	12	B3h1	E3/15609	Animal leg

Area	Locus	Stratum	Type	Reg. No.	Description
E	1927	12	A5a2	E3/15606	Pillar base
E	1927	12	B3h1	E3/15610	Animal leg
E	1927	12	B3f	E3/15630	Animal body
E	1927	12	A3e	E3/15634	Human PF + child
E	1927	12	B3h1	E3/15635	Animal leg
E	1927	12	B3f1	E3/15658	Animal body
E	1927	12	A5b	E3/15660	Pillar base
E	1927	12	B3g	E3/15661	Fragment
E	1927	12	A5b	E3/15684	Pillar base
E	1927	12	B3h1	E3/15685	Animal leg
E	1927	12	B3a	E3/15699	Animal body
E	1927	12	B3g	E3/15703	Fragment
E	1927	12	B3h1	E3/15704	Animal leg
E	1927	12	A1a	E3/15705	Human head handmade
E	1927	12	A1a	E3/15706	Human head handmade
E	1927	12	B3h1	E3/15707	Animal leg
E	1928	10	B3f	E3/15650	Animal body
E	1930A	12	B3h1	E3/15691	Animal leg
E	1930A	12	B3h1	E3/15809	Animal leg
E	1932	12	B3h1	E3/15644	Animal leg
E	1933	12	B1g	E3/15721	Animal head
E	1934	12	B3h2	E3/15863	Animal leg
E	1934	12	B2c	E3/15864	Horse head
E	1935	12	B3a	E3/15681	Animal body
E	1935	12	A5b	E3/15738	Pillar base
E	1935	12	B3a	E3/15741	Animal body
E	1935	12	B3h1	E3/15742	Animal leg
E	1935	12	B2a1	E3/15798	Horse head
E	1935	12	B3f	E3/15799	Animal body
E	1935	12	B3h1	E3/15800	Animal leg
E	1935	12	C	E3/15847	Couch/Chair
E	1935	12	A5a2	E3/15850	Pillar base
E	1944	12	B2c	E3/15785	Horse head
E	1944	12	B3h1	E3/15894	Animal leg
E	1949	10	C	E3/15811	Couch/Chair
E	1952	12	B3h1	E3/15865	Animal leg
E	1952	12	D	E3/15926	Fragment
E	1952	12	B3h1	E3/15929	Animal leg
E	1952	12	D	E3/15932	Fragment
E	1952	12	B3g?	E3/15933	Fragment
E	1953	12	C	E3/15956	Couch/Chair
E	1953	12	D	E3/15958	Fragment
E	2009	11	B3h1	E1/16046	Animal leg
E	2009	11	B3f	E1/16047	Animal body

Area	Locus	Stratum	Type	Reg. No.	Description
E	2009	11	A5b	E1/16564	Pillar base
E	2015	12	B3h1	E1/16469	Animal leg
E	2015	12	B1a	E1/16498	Animal head
E	2015	12	B3h1	E1/16499	Animal leg
E	2015	12	B3h1	E1/16532	Animal leg
E	2015	12	C	E1/16592	Couch/Chair
E	2015	12	B3c	E1/16597	Animal body
E	2024A	12	B2c	E1/16231	Horse head
E	2035	12	B3g	E1/16297	Fragment
E	2035	12	B3h1	E1/16368	Animal leg
E	2035	12	B3h1	E1/16450	Animal leg
E	2035	12	B3h2	E1/16451	Animal leg
E	2035	12	B3b	E1/16536	Horse and rider
E	2035	12	B2c	E1/16854	Horse head
E	2035	12	B3f	E1/16926	Animal body
E	2035	12	B3h1	E1/17284	Animal leg
E	2035	12	B2b2	E1/17285	Horse head
E	2035	12	B3g	E1/17286	Fragment
E	2035	12	A5a2?	E1/17323	Pillar base
E	2040	10	B3c	E1/16230	Animal body
E	2040	10	B3g?	E1/16850	Fragment
E	2063	10	A5b	E1/16979	Pillar base
E	2079	11	A3c	E1/16759	Human female torso
E	2079	11	B3f	E1/16860	Animal body
E	2085	10	B3f	E1/16799	Animal body
E	2085	10	B3h1	E1/16920	Animal leg
E	2085	10	B2c	E1/19586	Horse head
G	W. 329	10C-B	A3c	G/11067	Human female torso
G	W. 329	10C-B	B3c	G/8226	Animal body
G	W. 330	10C-B	B3f	G/17709	Animal body
G	773	10B	B3g	G/4560	Animal body
G	782	10C-B	A2f	G/4471	Human head moulded
G	782	10C-B	B3h1	G/4444/5	Animal leg
G	782	10C-B	B3h1	G/4449/4	Animal leg
G	783	10C-B	B3c	G/4586	Animal body
G	783	10C-B	B3f	G/4543	Animal body
G	787A	14-10B	A5b	G/4524	Pillar base
G	787A	14-10B	B2a1	G/4510	Animal head
G	787B	14	A6	G/4695	Horse and rider
G	790	10C-B	A5a2?	G/4578	Pillar base
G	791	10B	B3c	G/4807	Animal body
G	791	10B	B3h1	G/4850	Animal leg
G	791	10B	C	G/4872	Couch/Chair
G	792	10C-B	B3g	G/4848	Animal body

Area	Locus	Stratum	Type	Reg. No.	Description
G	793	10C-B	A5a2	G/4630	Pillar base
G	798	10C-B	B2c	G/4930	Horse head
G	804	10C-B	A5a2	G/4574	Pillar base
G	804	10C-B	B3f	G/4575	Animal body
G	804	10C-B	B3f	G/5630	Animal body
G	804	10C-B	F	G/5588	Fragment
G	804	10C-B	B2c	G/5559	Horse head
G	817	10B	B3h1	G/4819	Animal leg
G	818	10C-B	B3a	G/4768	Animal body
G	818	10C-B	B3a	G/4860	Animal body
G	819	10C	B3g	G/4718	Animal body
G	820	14?-12B	D	G/4787	Fragment
G	823	14?-12B	B2c	G/4788	Horse complete
G	824	10C	A3b	G/4931	Human female torso
G	824	10C	B3c	G/4806	Animal body
G	824	10C	B3f	G/4965	Animal body
G	824	10C	B2	G/4992	Animal head
G	824	10C	B2c	G/4947	Horse head
G	824	10C	B3h1	G/4818	Animal leg
G	824	10C	B3h1	G/4908	Animal leg
G	824	10C	B3h1	G/4946	Animal leg
G	824	10C	B3h1	G/4964	Animal leg
G	824	10C	B3h1	G/4970	Animal leg
G	827	10C-B	B2e	G/5514	Animal head
G	827	10C-B	B3h1	G/5535	Animal leg
G	838	10C	C	G/5563	Couch/Chair
G	840	16A	B3h1	G/5784	Animal leg
G	845	16A	C	G/5790	Couch/Chair
G	850	12B-10C	A2g	G/5631	Human head moulded
G	850	12B-10C	A6a?	G/5789	Rider
G	850	12B-10C	B1a	G/4996	Animal head + forequarters
G	850	12B-10C	B1a	G/5517	Animal head
G	850	12B-10C	B3f	G/5566	Animal body
G	850	12B-10C	B3f	G/5702	Animal body
G	850	12B-10C	B1b	G/5568	Animal head
G	850	12B-10C	B3h1	G/5548	Animal leg
G	850	12B-10C	B3h1	G/5549	Animal leg
G	850	12B-10C	B3h1	G/5628	Animal leg
G	850	12B-10C	B3h1	G/5629	Animal leg
G	850	12B-10C	B3h1	G/5632	Animal leg
G	850	12B-10C	C	G/5518	Couch/Chair
G	851	14?	B3h1	G/4820	Animal leg
G	856	10C	B3h1	G/5674	Animal leg
G	856	10C	B3h1	G/5675	Animal leg

Area	Locus	Stratum	Type	Reg. No.	Description
G	856	10C	B3h1	G/5677	Animal leg
G	858	10B	A2d2	G/5618	Human head moulded
G	858	10B	B3h1	G/5678	Animal leg
G	859	10C-B	B3h1	G/8204	Animal leg
G	862	10C	A2a1	G/5723	Human head moulded
G	862	10C	B3h1	G/5564	Animal leg
G	870	10C-B	B3h1	G/5722	Animal leg
G	872	10B	A5a2	G/5791	Pillar base
G	872	10B	A1a	G/5751	Human head handmade
G	872	10B	B2c	G/5750	Horse head
G	872	10B	B3h1	G/5792	Animal leg
G	874	10C	B3h1	G/5787	Animal leg
G	880	10C	B3g	G/8181	Animal body
G	881	10C?	B3f	G/8190	Animal body
G	881	10C?	B2c	G/8189	Horse head
G	881	10C?	B3c	G/8188	Animal body
G	881	10C?	B3h1	G/8191	Animal leg
G	883	10C	B3a	G/8155	Animal body
G	883	10C	C	G/5796	Couch/Chair
G	886	10C	B2c	G/11083	Horse head
G	886	10C	B3c	G/11051	Animal body
G	901	10C	B2c-a	G/8180	Horse head
G	903	10C	A3a2	G/8228	Human torso no breasts
G	903	10C	A1e	G/8227	Human head handmade
G	903	10C	A5a2	G/11061	Pillar base
G	903	10C	A5a2	G/11173	Pillar base
G	903	10C	A5a2	G/11115	Pillar base
G	903	10C	A1c	G/11147	Human head handmade
G	903	10C	A3e	G/11152	Human PF + object
G	903	10C	A3e	G/11059	Human PF + object
G	903	10C	B3g1	G/11250	Animal body
G	903	10C	B3f	G/11060	Animal body
G	903	10C	M	G/11731	Fragment
G	903	10C	B2c	G/11463	Animal head
G	903	10C	B3c	G/8225	Animal body
G	903	10C	B3c	G/11135	Animal body
G	903	10C	C	G/8210	Couch/Chair
G	903	10C	C	G/8256	Couch/Chair
G	903	10C	C	G/11159	Couch/Chair
G	906	10C	A1e	G/11026	Human head handmade
G	906	10C	A5a2	G/8216	Pillar base
G	906	10C	B3d	G/11025	Horse and rider
G	906	10C	B3d	G/11054	Horse and rider
G	906	10C	B2c?	G/11049	Horse head

Area	Locus	Stratum	Type	Reg. No.	Description
G	908	10C	A3a2	G/11076	Human female torso
G	908	10C	B2a1	G/11156	Animal head
G	908	10C	B3d	G/11117	Horse and rider
G	908	10C	B3c	G/11158	Animal body
G	908	10C	B3h1	G/11082	Animal leg
G	915	16A	A7	G/11329	Human Plaque + breasts
G	918	10B	B2c	G/11137	Horse head
G	920	10C	B2c	G/11160	Animal head
G	922	10C	A3c	G/5797	Human female torso
G	922	10C	A6a	G/8127	Horse and rider
G	922	10C	M	G/8171/8	Fragment
G	922	10C	D	G/8128	Fragment
G	922	10C	B3c	G/11199	Animal body
G	923	10C	B3f	G/11257	Animal body
G	923	10C	D	G/11248	Fragment
G	927	10C	A5a2	G/11249	Pillar base
G	927	10C	B2c	G/11269	Animal head
G	934	12B	D	G/11256	Fragment
G	938	10C	B3f	G/11281	Animal body
G	938	10C	B3c	G/11384	Animal body
G	938	10C	B3h1	G/11334	Animal leg
G	938	10C	B3h1	G/11347	Animal leg
G	949	14	E2	G/11434	Human head moulded
G	960	12B	A1a	G/11481	Human head handmade
G	960	12B	A1d	G/11508	Human head handmade
G	960	12B	B3f	G/11513	Animal body
G	960	12B	B2c	G/11406	Horse head
G	960	12B	B2c	G/11435	Horse head
G	960	12B	B3h1	G/11473	Animal leg
G	960	12B	B3h1	G/11567	Animal leg
G	962	13	B3h2	G/11690	Animal leg
G	962	13	B3f	G/11651	Animal body
G	962	13	B3h1	G/11733	Animal leg
G	967	10C-B	A6a	G/11673	Horse and rider
G	967	10C-B	B3h2	G/11648	Animal leg
G	972	13	A1b	G/11769	Human torso no breasts
G	972	13	B3h1	G/11797	Animal leg
G	975	10C	A5b	G/5625	Pillar base
G	975	10C	F-M	G/11474	Fragment
G	975	10C	B2c	G/11453	Horse head
G	982	10B	B3h1	G/11865	Animal leg
G	984A	12B	B3c1	G/11919	Animal body
G	989	10C	B3h1	G/11974	Animal leg
G	999	10C	A3a2	G/11953	Human female torso

Area	Locus	Stratum	Type	Reg. No.	Description
G	999	10C	B1g	G/11968	Animal head
G	999	10C	B3h1	G/11969	Animal leg
G	1107	10C	B1e	G/15348	Animal head
G	1107	10C	B3h1	G/15311	Animal leg
G	1107	10C	B3h1	G/15349	Animal leg
G	1114	14?-10C	A5a2	G/15444	Pillar base
G	1114	14?-10C	A5a2	G/17504	Pillar base
G	1114	14?-10C	B2c	G/15465	Horse head
G	1114	14?-10C	B2c	G/15487	Horse head
G	1119	12B	B3c	G/17555	Animal body
G	1122A	10C	B2c	G/17554/1	Animal head
G	1122A	10C	B2c	G/17559	Horse head
G	1122A	10C	B3g	G/17554/2	Animal body
G	1122A	10C	B3h1	G/17582	Animal leg
G	1123	10C	B3a	G/15488	Animal body
G	1128	14	B3h1	G/17619	Animal leg
G	1131	12B	B3c	G/17597	Animal body
G	1131	12B	B3h2	G/17580	Animal leg
G	1136	10C	B1f1	G/17609/2	Bird
G	1137	12B	B3h1	G/17631	Animal leg
G	1141	13	B3f	G/17624/2	Animal body

6.4 Jerusalem: loci of Shiloh's Area G

Collation of the published data relating to relevant Iron Age strata from Shiloh's Area G. The last six columns indicate the references to the published data in the published reports: vol. I (Shiloh 1984); vol. II (Ariel 1990), vol. III (De Groot and Ariel 1992), vol. IV (Ariel and De Groot 1996), vol. V (Ariel 2000a), vol. VI (Ariel 2000b).

Locus	Stratum	Description	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
W.329	10C	"Wall" (III: 117)			117			
W.330	10C-B	"Wall"						
773	10B	"stone collapse" (IV: 160); "massive structural collapse above Area G's 'northwest corner'" (VI: 98)	64-65			160		98
782	10B	"Floor" (II: 130)		130		?		
783	10B	"Floor of four-roomed house" (IV: 182)			140			
790	10B	"Floor of four-roomed house" (IV: 182)	18, 57		120	182		
791	10B	"stone collapse to floor" (IV: 160)				160		
792	10C-B	"stone collapse to floor" (IV: 137, 161); "the structural collapse cleared from a small cell found adjacent to storeroom L. 9191 located in the three-room addition to the House of Ahiel." (VI: 98)				137, 161		98
793	10C-B	"Latrine Cesspit" (III: 117)			117			
798	10B	"Floor" (III: 117); "debris found covering the cobble-paved, northwestern portion of the floor in the back room of the 'House of Ahiel'" (VI: 98)			117			98
804	10C-B	"Collapse on top of staircase" (IV: 182); "structural collapse found covering an exterior staircase and landing which yielded an indicative assemblage of late Iron Age pottery." (VI: 98)			117	182		98
817	10B							
818	10B	"Floor north of four-roomed house." (IV: 182)	18, 57		117	182		
819	10C?	"Floor make-up" (II: 132)		132				
824	10C	"Floor" (III: 118)			118			
827	10B	"Floor" (III: 118)			118			
838	10C							
856	10C	"Drainage Channel" (III: 117)			117			
858	10B	"Stone collapse" (III: 117)			117			
859	10B	"Floor" (III: 118) / "Staircase and stone pavement" (II: 130)		130	118			
862	10C							
870	10B	"Locus" (III: 118)			118			
872	10B	"Floor" (III: 117)			117			
874	10C							
880	10C							

881	10C?						
883	10C	"Floor" (III: 117)			117		
886	10C	"Floor" (II: 136; III: 118; IV: 271, 288)			118	271, 288	
901	10C						
903	10C	"Pit" (III: 117)			117		
906	10C	"Wall" (III: 117) [= W.369]	57		117		
908	10C	"Fill" (III: 118)			118		
918	10B						
920	10C	"Fill" (III: 118)			118		
922	10C	"Fill" (III: 118)			118		
923	10C	"Fill" (III: 118)			118		
927	10C	"Fill" (III: 118)			118		
934	12B						
938	10C						
960	12B	"Floor" (IV: 271, 288)				271, 288	
967	10B	"Floor of 'House of the Bullae'" (IV: 182)	19, 57		120	182	
975	10C						
982	10B	"Structural collapse" (III: 119) / "Floor" (IV: 271)			119	271	
984A	12B						
989	10C	"earlier phase of same structure" (III: 136) ['Burned room' building]		136			
999	10C	"earlier phase of same structure" (III: 136) ['Burned room' building]		136			
1107	10C						
1119	12B						
1122A	10C	"Fill" (III: 118)			118		
1123	10C	"Fill" (IV: 271)				271	
1131	12B						
1136	10C	"Foundation trench for W.765" (IV: 291)				291	
1137	12B						

6.5 Jerusalem: pottery types in Shiloh's Area E

Summary table of the published pottery assemblages from floor levels and pits in Shiloh's Area E. The data is collated from De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012b, 102-198.

Locus	Stratum	Building	Bowls	krater	jug	Juglet	Lamp	Cooking pot	Cooking Jug	baking tray	Storage Jar	Holemouth jar	Other	notes
1269	10A	Ashlar	13					1				2		
1281	10A	Ashlar	1			2					1			
1290B	10A	Ashlar	12			3	1	1			1			
1300	10A	Ashlar	5					1			3	1	2	
1304	10A	Ashlar									1			
1355	10		8											
1384B	10A	Ashlar	6			1							1	
1590	10	B.2011	2			1		1				1		
1598	10	B.2011	1											
1928	10	B.2011	1											
1937	10	B.2011					1							
2011	10	B.2011	11		1									
2013	10	B.2011	2	1							2			
2034	10	B.2011	3	1				1			1	1		
539B	11	Monoliths	12	1	1		2		2	2		1		
630A	11	B.1380	1			1								
630B	11	B.1380	2		1	1	1		1					
663B	11	Terrace	4						3					
669	11	Terrace	10		1	1	4							
1206	11	Terrace	2		1									
1292A	11	B.1296	4		1				2					
1296	11	B.1296	7		2	1			1					
1310A	11	B.1380	6		1	1	2		1					
1310B	11	B.1380	3		1	1								
1321	11	B.1380	5	1	1		1					1		
1489	11	Monoliths	4											
1497	11	Monoliths	13		1	1	2							
1608	11	B.1608	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
1609	11	B.1608	5											
2009	11	Pavement	15			1								
619B	12A	Terrace	17						2					
621A	12A	Alley 1325	7	1			2							
621C	12B	Terrace	6						2	1		1		

Locus	Stratum	Building	Bowls	krater	jug	Juglet	Lamp	Cooking pot	Cooking Jug	baking tray	Storage Jar	Holemouth jar	Other	notes
630C	12A	B.1380	3						1					
631	12A	Terrace	9		1		6		2					inscription
633	12B	Terrace	13		2		1	2		2				
634A-B	12B	Alley 1325	9		3		1		4	3		1		
640A	12B	Terrace	5						1					
640B	12B	Terrace	3		2									
640C	12B	Terrace	1		2									
640D	12B	Terrace	6						2					
655	12B	Terrace	1							1		1		
665	12B	B.1380	5		2		1		1			1		
670	12B	Alley 1325	10	2	2		2		1	1				
691	12B	Terrace	3						1					
1249	12A	Terrace	17	1		1			1			1		
1274	12B	Terrace	9	2	3	1	5	1	1	1				
1275	12B	Terrace	6	3	2		3		2			1		
1322	12A	B.1380	15				3		1			1		
1324	12A	B.1380	16		4	1		1	3	1		1		
1352	12B	Terrace	8		3		1					1		
1380	12B	B.1380	8		1							1		
1492	12A	Monoliths	1			1								
1706	12A	Monoliths	11	2	1	2	2	1	2	1		1		
1709	12A	Monoliths	13		1		2		1	1				
1901A	12	B.1911	16		4	3	4		1			2		
1901B	12	B.1911	16	1	8	2	4					3		
1911	12	B.1911	1											
1913	12	B.1927		1								1		
1914	12	B.1927			1									
1927	12	B.1927	2		3				2			2		
1930A	12	E North	6				1		1					
1932	12	B.1927	2		1		1							
1933B	12	E North	1											
1934A	12	E North	1				1							
1935	12	B.1927	3				1		1			1		
1944	12	B.1927	5			1								
1951	12	B.1927		1	1									
1952	12	B.1927	10			1	2							mini bowl
1953C	12	B.1927	1											
2015	12	Pavement	15		1		1	1		1				
2035	12	Pavement	25	4	4		5	1	4	1				cooking jug

7.1 Lachish: figurines

Full list of figurines from Lachish, indicating area, locus, stratum, registration number, short description, number in Kletter's 2004 catalogue, and other literature. The list is sorted by area, stratum and locus, as used chapter 7.

No.	Area	Locus	Stratum	Reg. No.	Description	Kletter 2004	Other Literature
1	GW	4202	IIb fills	31509/1	Animal leg	66	
2	GW	4237	II fills	31328/1	Bird	18	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.37:3; 28.41:7
3	GW	4237	II fills	31328/2	Horse body	26	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.38:3
4	GW	4247	III	31327/1	Horse head	14	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.36:13
5	GW	4328	III	31487/1	Pillar base	5	
6	GW	4335	IV	31855/1	Horse body	29	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.39:2
7	GW	4409	IV-II	38380/1	Animal leg	50	
8	GW	4421	IV?	38525/4	Animal leg	53	
9	GW	4421	IV-II	38824/4	Horse head	10	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.36:9
10	GW	4439	Fills II/0	38967/1	Horse body	30	
11	GW	4441	III	38849/1	Animal leg	59	
12	GW	4928	III	39419/1	Animal leg	62	
13	GW	4938	III-1	39391/1	Animal vessel	46	
14	GW	4998	0	863/1	Animal body	37	
15	GW	surface	0	39392/1	Animal body	39	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.39:10
16	GW	unstratified	0	39023/1	Horse body	24	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.38:1
17	GE *	4021	post III	10226/1	Horse and rider	7	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.36:6; 28.41 :3
18	GE *	4034	III	30018/1	Animal leg	64	
19	GE *	4035	III	10441/1	Animal head	11	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.36: 10; 28.41:5
20	GE	2016	III	365/1	Animal leg	56	
21	GE	2016	III	367/1	Bird	20	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.37:5; 28.41:8
22	GE	2017	III	214/1	Animal leg	57	
23	GE	2018	III	348/1	Bird	21	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.37:6
24	GE	2053	III	204/1	Animal body	33	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.39:5
25	GE	2053	III	474/1	Horse head spout	44	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.40:3; 28.41:11
26	GE	2053	III	557/1	Human head handmade	6	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.36:5
27	GE	2066	III	154/1	Peg figurine	3	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.36:3
28	GE	2066	III	158/1	Peg figurine	4	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.36:4
29	GE	2083	III	909/1	Animal leg	55	
30	GE	4037	III	31503/1	Human head handmade	1	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.36: 1; 28.41: 1

No.	Area	Locus	Stratum	Reg. No.	Description	Kletter 2004	Other Literature
31	GE	4150	II	30872/1	Human head moulded	2	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.36:2; 28.41:2
32	GE	4617	IV	31643/4	Bovine? head spout	42	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.40:1
33	GE	G:18: 27	I?		PF torso	98	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 32:2
34	GE	H.17: 1078	III	7094	Human head moulded	87	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:6
35	GE	H.17: 1087	III	7144	Human head moulded	85	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:4
36	GE	Area 4595	III	31473/1	Horse body	32	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.39:4
37	S	3504	II-I	8060/1	Animal leg	65	
38	S	3525	III	8831/1	Animal leg	68	
39	S	3533	III	8315/1	Animal body	31	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.39:3
40	S	3543	III	8219/1	Wheel		Ussishkin 2004: Fig. 28.21:4
41	S	3561	III	8326/1	Wheel		Ussishkin 2004: Fig. 28.21:5
42	S	3565	Fills IV	8348/1	Animal?	17	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.37:2
43	S	3573	III	8860/1	Animal leg	47	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.40:4
44	S	3582	III	8827/1	Animal leg	67	
45	S	3582	III	8827/1	Animal leg	63	
46	S	3606	IVa	8929/2	Bird	19	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.37:4
47	S	3606	IVa	8929/1	Horse body	25	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.38:2
48	S	3618	IVa	13506/1	Animal body	27	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.38:4
49	S	3642	IVb	40532/1	Animal leg	48	
50	S	3710	IVc	41477/1	Animal leg	51	
51	S	3839	0	8077/1	Wheel		Ussishkin 2004: Fig. 28.21:3
52	S	3845	0	43645/1	Animal leg	69	
53	S	G.14:1009	III	8309/1	Animal vessel	45	
54	S	G:14:1008	III (?)		Human head moulded	96	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:10
55	S	Surface	0	43631/1	Animal body	35	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.39:7
56	S	Unstratified	0	40709/1	Animal leg	60	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.40:6
57	Pal	4850	6-1	56305/1	Bird/snake head	23	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.37:8
58	Pal	K:15:1033	VI-II	6252	Human head handmade		Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:16
59	Shrine	13	III		Figurine?		Aharoni 1975, 106-110
60	Shrine	14	III Fill		Human? fragment		Aharoni 1975, 106-110
61	Shrine	20	II	173/1	Horse head	140	Aharoni 1975: Pl. 13:1
62	Shrine	24	II	177/1	Pillar base	131	Aharoni 1975: Pl. 12:5
63	Shrine	41	IV	309/1	Horse head	136	Aharoni 1975: Pl. 13:3
64	Shrine	41	IV (?)	373/2	Human head moulded	130	Aharoni 1975: Pl. 12:2
65	Shrine	47	IV	352/1	Animal head	137	Aharoni 1975: Pl. 13:2
66	Shrine	47	IV		Horse body		Aharoni 1975, 106-110
67	Shrine	63	III		Animal body		Aharoni 1975, 106-110
68	Shrine	63	III	454/2	Horse head spout	138	Aharoni 1975: Pl. 13:6
69	Shrine	63	III	522/1	Rider	133	Aharoni 1975: Pl. 12:7
70	Shrine	80	II	627/1	Horse head spout	139	Aharoni 1975: Pl. 14:1
71	Shrine	83	III		Animal body		Aharoni 1975, 106-110

No.	Area	Locus	Stratum	Reg. No.	Description	Kletter 2004	Other Literature
72	Shrine	99	III		Animal body		Aharoni 1975, 106-110
73	Shrine	99	III		Animal body		Aharoni 1975, 106-110
74	Shrine	113	III	807/1	Horse complete	134	Aharoni 1975: Pl. 13:5
75	Shrine	116	III		Animal body		Aharoni 1975, 106-110
76	Shrine	135	III	888/2	Horse head	135	Aharoni 1975: Pl. 13:4
77	Shrine	135	III	884/4	Human head moulded	128	Aharoni 1975: Pl. 12:1
78	Shrine	61a	II	384/1	Pillar base	132	Aharoni 1975: Pl. 12:6
79	Shrine	94c	VI (?)	789/1	Human head moulded	129	Aharoni 1975: Pl. 12:3
80	Shaft	P.17	0	7247	Human head moulded	84	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:8
81	R	6007	III	60173/1	Animal leg	61	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.40:7
82	R	6013	III	60261/1	Animal body	28	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.39:1
83	R	6015	III	60263/1	Animal leg	52	
84	R	6015	III	60263/2	Bird	22	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.37:7
85	R	6017	III	60431/1	Animal leg	58	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.40:5
86	R	6034	III	60262/1	Animal leg	54	
87	R	6061	III	60709/1	Horse head	12	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.36:11
88	R	6079	II	60784/1	Animal head	13	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.36:12
89	R	6113	II	60951/1	Horse and rider	8	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.36:7
90	R	6133	II	60940/1	Bull head hollow	43	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.40:2; 28.41: 10
91	R	6145	III	61545/1	Horse head	40	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.39:11; 28.41:9
92	R	Unstratified	0	31237/1	Horse head	16	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.37: 1; 28.41 :6
93	500	522	0	3493	Animal head		
94	500	522	0	3495	Bird		
95	500	500 (Area)	0		Animal head spout	118	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 32:9.
96	500	500 (Area)	0		Camel? head	122	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 32:15
97	500	500 (Area)	0	3888	Horse head	115	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 32:11
98	500	500 (Area)	0		Horse? head	105	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 32:13
99	500	500 (Area)	0	3880	Human head handmade	93	
100	500	500 (Area)	0	3885	Human head moulded	82	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:12
101	500	500 (Area)	0	3891	Human head moulded	88	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:13
102	500	500 (Area)	0	3886	Human head moulded	91	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:7
103	500	500 (Area)	0	3890	Human head moulded	81	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:9
104	500	500 (Area)	0	4172	PF? moulded head drum		Tufnell 1953: Pl. 32:3
105	1000	T. 1002, 1-5	III	1268	Bird	120	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 28:12
106	1000	T. 1002, 1-5	III	1266	Couch/Chair	123	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 29:19
107	1000	T. 1002, 1-5	III	1267	Couch/Chair	124	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 29:20
108	1000	T. 1002, 1-5	III	1269	Horse and rider	99	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 29:18 SR 75;
109	1000	T. 1002, 1-5	III	1270	Horse head spout	141	Tufnell 1953: Table p. 374

No.	Area	Locus	Stratum	Reg. No.	Description	Kletter 2004	Other Literature
110	1000	T. 1002, 1-5	III	1271	Horse head spout	142	Tufnell 1953: Table p. 374
111	1000	T. 1002, 1-5	III	1255a	PF handmade head	80	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 28:14
112	1000	T. 1002, 1-5	III	1225	PF moulded head	74	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 28:11
113	1000	T. 1002, 1-5	III	1254	PF moulded head	94	Tufnell 1953: Table p. 374
114	1000	T. 1002, 6-10	III	1290	Bird	144	Tufnell 1953: Table p. 374
115	1000	T. 1002, 6-10	III	1289	Couch/Chair	126	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 29:22
116	1000	T. 1002, 6-10	III	1301	Horse head spout	143	Tufnell 1953: Table p. 374
117	1000	T. 1002, 6-10	III	1318	PF-hollow moulded head	76	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 28:10
118	1000	T. 1002, 6-10	III	1318a	PF-hollow moulded head	75	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 28:13
119	1000	T. 1002, 11-13	IV	1323	Animal vessel	108	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 30:23
120	1000	T. 1002, 11-13	IV	1586	Animal vessel	107	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 30:24.
121	1000	T. 1002, 11-13	IV	1322	Animal vessel	106	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 30:26
122	1000	T. 1002, 11-13	IV	1321	Couch/Chair	125	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 29:21
123	1000	T. 1002, 11-13	IV	1585	Horse and rider	100	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 29:17 SR 76;
124	100-200	100 (Area)	0		Horse complete	102	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 32:5
125	100-200	T. 106, A	II	114	Couch/Chair	127	
126	100-200	T. 106, A	II	294	Horse and rider	101	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 27:2 SR 77.
127	100-200	T. 106, C	II	335	Horse complete	103	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 27:5
128	100-200	T. 106, C	II	336 + 1271	Horse head spout	112	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 27:7
129	100-200	T. 106, C	II	332	PF, handmade head, male?	79	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 27:1
130	100-200	T. 106, C	II	333	PF handmade head	78	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 27:3
131	100-200	T. 106, C	II	334	PF moulded head	73	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 27:4
132	100-200	T. 120	II	5189	Animal vessel	110	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 30:28
133	100-200	T. 120	II	5187	PF moulded head	77	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 27:8
134	100-200	T. 218	IV	4714	Animal vessel	109	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 30:27
135	100-200	T. 223	IV	4947	Animal vessel	121	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 30:25.
136		SW corner	0		Animal vessel	119	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 30:29.
137		Surface	0		Animal head	116	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 32:12

No.	Area	Locus	Stratum	Reg. No.	Description	Kletter 2004	Other Literature
138		Surface	0		Animal head	104	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 32:14
139		Surface	0		Animal head spout	117	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 32:10
140		Surface	0		Animal vessel	111	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 30:30
141		Surface	0		Horse head spout	113	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 32:7.
142		Surface	0		Horse head spout	114	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 32:8.
143		Surface	0		Human head moulded	90	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:1
144		Surface	0		Human head moulded	86	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:11
145		Surface	0		Human head moulded	97	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:15
146		Surface	0		Human head moulded	92	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:2
147		Surface	0		Human head moulded	83	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:3
148		Surface	0	3069	Human head moulded	89	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:5
149		Surface	0	7274	Mould for head	95	Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:14
150		Over locus 172	0	3087	Human head moulded		Tufnell 1953: Pl. 31:18
151		Surface	0	11219/1	Animal leg	49	
152		Surface	0	903/1	Animal leg	70	
153		Surface	0	11223/1	Horse and rider?	9	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.36:8; 28.41:4
154		Surface	0	35027/1	Horse head	15	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.36:14
155		Surface	0	11218/1	Horse body	38	Kletter 2004: Fig. 28.39:9
156	100-200	T. 107	IV-II	383	Zoomorphic vessel		Tufnell 1953: 188

7.2 Lachish: Area S, pottery types and other finds

Lachish, Area S. Distribution of pottery types, and other registered objects across the loci.

Room	Stratum	Locus	Bowls	Kraters	Cooking	Jugs	juglets	lamps	others	storage jars	Iron arrowheads	Slingstones	Armour scales	Stone weights	Worked astragali	Spindlewhorls	Loomweights	Iron/Bronze items	Bone items	Beads	Millstones	Sickle	Animal bones	Tabun	Altar
A	3	3533	1	1	1	1					10										1			2	
A	4a	3608	1	2	1			1										1		1				10	
A	4b	3647	12		2	1	2		1	4														30	
A	4b	3648	8	1					1	3														37	
B	3	3569	3	1	4		1		2	1	1	1	1		19									8	
B	4a	3606	2		1	2					2	1	1		4	1			5		4	2		46	
B	4b	3642	10		1	1				1	1	4		4					1	5	1			57	
C	3	3572	2			1		2									20							10	
C	4a	3586.2					1													1	1				
D	3	5509					1	1		1														3	
E	3	3573	2		2	1	1	1	1	4	3				29	2		3			4			96	1
E	4a	3587.2	1		1		1													2				9	
F	3	3583	2	1						1											3				
G	3	3560	2		1		2	3		3	5								1		3			17	
G	4a	3610	11		2	1			1															10	
G	4b	3646	17		2	3			4	4						1				2				91	
H	3	3561	1		2	1	1	1		2	1					2					7	1		13	
H	4a	3618	6		5	3	1	1		3										2	2			45	
H	4b	3649	16		1	4	1	1	1	2	1							1		11	2	1		106	
I	3	3543	4	2	1	1	1			1	1						3	1			6	1		7	
I	4a	3557	8	1	4					3										2					
I	4b	3621	3		1							1						2						21	
J	4b	3643	2							3	1									6				27	1
K	3	3582	1	1	4		1		1	7											2				
K	4a	3614	3	1	1			1													1			11	
K	4b	3664	10				1			1	1			1			1				2	5		19	
L	3	3529	6	1	2		2	3		1	4				8			4			3	1			
L	4a	3549.2	3		4	2			1	2															
L	4b	3549.1									1														

7.3 Lachish: “Shrine” Area, pottery and other finds

Stratum	Locus	Bowls	Decanter	Cooking	Jugs	Juglets	lamps	storage jars	Imk stamped handles	handle with seal	perforated clay balls	grinding stone	
IV	41	1							1		1		1 incised sherd, 1 clay spindle whorl, 1 jug stopper, perforated clay balls, clay bellows, clay tuyère, 2 stone hammers, 3 iron arrowheads, 1 iron riveted clamp, 1 iron awl, 1 boss or mount of copper-base metal.
IV	47	1					1						
III	99							1					1 basalt bowl.
III	116			1									
III	135				1								5 limestone gamepieces?, 1 carnelian bead.
III	113	1					2						
III	83												clay oven; glass bead, fragments of copper-base metal.
III	13	3		2			1						1 jug stopper, 1 stone hammer, 1 pumice rubber, 1 iron javelin, 1 iron arrowhead
III	14	1		1									1 perforate clay ball, 1 clay tuyère, 1 stone hammer.
III	63							2	1	10	2		1 jar handle (potter's mark); 1 clay jar stopper, 1 bone whistle, 5 stone hammer, 1 stone socket, 1 stone pestle, 1 limestone miniature ball, 1 stone spindle whorl, 1 iron arrowhead, 1 iron sickle, fragments of olive tree.
II	80	2				1		1		1			1 alabaster bowl, fragments of metal.
II	61a	4				3	1	2	1				
II	20	1	2			1		3					1 bone handle, 2 stone mortars.
II	24	3	2	1		1	1	11			3	4	1 pot-stand, 2 jar handles (rosette seals), 1 bone object, 1 stone hammer.

(based on register of finds in Aharoni 1975, 106-110)

7.4 Lachish: the tombs of strata IV to II

List of Late Iron Age tombs excavated by the Wellcome-Marston Expedition and published by Tufnell 1953, 171-254. The information on the number of crania is supplemented from Risdon 1939.

Chamber tombs:

Locus	Iron Age use (Tufnell)	Stratum	Figurines	Interments	No. of crania	Bowls	Jugs	Dipeprs & Juglets	Cooking pots	Storage Jars	Other pottery	Lamps	Rattle	TOTAL IA pottery	Jewellery	Amulets	Seals, scarabs	Beads	Reference: Tufnell 1953,
105	700-600	2		no trace										0					179
106	670-580	2	7	25	25	71	73	139	14	1	10	163		471	9	16	11	34	179-187
107	c. 900, 700-600	4-2	1	74	74	2	2	12			1		1	18	5	11	9	26	187-188
108	700-600	2		9	9	1	2	2						5					188
109	600-550	2		?		4	7	8			1	8		28					188-189
114	600-550	2		?		2	4	5			1	5		17				2	190
116	c. 875, 700-600	4-2		45	45	9	12	17		2	6	6		52	9	2	14	10	190-192
117	700-600	2		?		1		10			1	4		16					191
120	c.900, 700-600	4-2	2	c. 1500	567	17	12	33	8	5	9	2	1	87	8	12	10	23	193-196
218	c. 900	4	1	mass		30	18	44	1	3	5	5		106	10	19	25		203-210
219	850-750?	4-3		no trace			1				2	1		4				2	210
223	c. 900	4	1	?		12	4	10		8		5		39	5	1	2	11	211-214
224	c. 860-820	4-3		8		37	36	50		4	7	33		167	2	3	7	24	215-217
230	c. 850	4-3		2?		1		3		2	1	2		9					218
521	c. 1000	5		2		5	2	3		4	3	4		21					222-224
1002	c. 810-710	3	19	mass?		86	270	127	27	2	30	101		643	32	15	34	56	229-236
4005	c. 900, post-600	4, 1		?		1		5		2	5			13	7		1	4	240
6006	c. 875	4-3		2		1		8		1	1	1		12			1		247

Single graves:

Locus	Iron Age use (Tufnell)	Stratum	No. Interments	Bowls	Jugs	Dippers & Juglets	Cooking pots	Storage Jars	Other pottery	Lamps	Rattle	TOTAL IA pottery	Jewellery	Amulets	Seals, scarabs	Beads	Reference: Tufnell 1953,
110	925-900	4	1	2		4		1	3			10	5		2	9	172, 189-190
132	c. 750	3	1	2		3		1	1	1		8					172, 196-7
137	950-700	4-3	1									-					172, 197
138	950-700	4-3	1									-					172, 197
139	950-700	4-3	1									-					172, 197
147	c. 850	4-3	1	1	3			1				5	4				172, 197
152	c. 850	4-3	1		4			1	1			6					172, 197
154	c. 850	4-3	1	2	2							4					172, 197
159	c. 850	4-3	1	1	1	2						4					172, 198
160	c. 850-750	4-3	2	3	1	5						9			1		173, 198
167	c. 850	4-3	1		1	3		1				5					173, 198
169	c. 850	4-3	?		1	1						2					173, 198
182	c. 850	4-3	1	1		2		1				4					174, 198
189	c. 900	4-3	1		1		1			1		3	1			1	173, 199
191	c. 825	4-3	1	1		1		1				3			1		173, 199-200
192	c. 900	4-3	1	1								1					173, 200
193	c. 900	4-3	1									-	1			1	173, 200
194	c. 900	4-3	1		1	1						2	1		1	1	173, 200
195	950-700	4-3	1									-					173, 200
196	c. 900	4-3	1	1					1			2					173, 200
197	950-700	4-3	1	1								1					173, 201
198	950-700	4-3	?									-					173, 201
222	950-700	4-3	1									-					173, 211
229	950-700	4-3	1	1	2	1						4					173, 218
231	950-700	4-3	1						1			1					174, 218
236	950-700	4-3	1									-	1				174, 218
239	950-700	4-3	1			1						1					174, 218
507	c. 850	4-3	1	1	1	1		1				4					220
518	c. 950	4-3	1						1			1					221
519	950-700	4-3	1		1							1					221
1004	c. 820-810	4	1?	10	5	16		1	1	4		37					236-238
4007	c. 750-550	3-2	1						1			1					242
4027	c. 900-700	4-3	1			2						2	1				244

7.5 Lachish: Significance test results

Significance testing for the prevalence of equids, probably equids and riders over other figurines in the different areas of Lachish:

H_0 = different figurines types are equally distributed across all areas

H_1 = different figurines types are not equally distributed across all areas

Selected significance level: $\alpha = 0.05$

In all cases tested, the null hypothesis is not rejected, and the difference is not statistically significant.

	Pearson's χ^2 test			Fisher's exact test	
	χ^2	df	p-value	p-value	95% confidence interval
Area S versus Street GE	2.0813	1	0.1491		
Area S versus Shrine	0.0351	1	0.8513		
Gate versus Street GE	2.3224	1	0.1275	0.1054	0.7157344, 41.8605186
Gate versus Shrine	0.1562	1	0.6926	0.6942	0.3055145, 14.5170307

Significance testing for the difference between anthropomorphic and other figurines in Lachish:

H_0 = different figurines types are equally distributed across all areas

H_1 = different figurines types are not equally distributed across all areas

Selected significance level: $\alpha = 0.05$

In all cases tested, the null hypothesis is not rejected, and the difference is not statistically significant.

	Pearson's χ^2 test			Fisher's exact test	
	χ^2	df	p-value	p-value	95% confidence interval
Street GE versus Gate	1.4039	1	0.2361	0.1937	0.526014, 285.779265
Street GE versus Area S	2.709	1	0.09978	0.05269	0.7980902, 399.9385789
Shrine versus Gate	0.696	1	0.4041	0.3667	0.3750427, 211.6696218
Shrine versus S	1.6034	1	0.2054	0.195	0.5674654, 296.2787316
Tomb 1002 versus Gate	0.7401	1	0.3896	0.3449	0.3687477, 235.7034211
Tomb 1002 versus Area S	1.6414	1	0.2001	0.1686	0.5552376, 329.8840198
Tombs 100-200 versus Gate	0.8167	1	0.3661	0.3108	0.3609399, 280.2908433
Tombs 100-200 versus S	1.7147	1	0.1904	0.1333	0.5400494, 392.2085102

8.1 Megiddo: figurines

List of figurines from the Iron Age strata of Megiddo, including stratum, sector (as defined in section 8.3), excavation area, locus, registration number, publication, and catalogue numbers in Holland 1975 and Peri 2013. Roman numerals used in Holland 1975 have been changed to Arabic numbers to simplify computer sorting.

A note to the Chicago excavations locus numbers: “an equals sign (=) before a locus number indicates a position stratigraphically the same as the locus, but off to one side. A minus sign (-) prefixed to a locus number indicates a position near (or directly below) the locus, but in a preceding stratum” (Lamon and Shipton 1939, xxiv).

No.	Stratum	Sector	Area	Locus	Reg. No.	Description	Literature	Holland 1975	Peri 2013
1	EI		Slope	Tomb 3	x 619	Human head moulded	Guy 1938. pl. 135.11	C.09.g.8.	AB.3.02
2	VB	S	A	1653	M 5402	Human plaque + breasts	May 1935: pl. 28, M 5402	C.01.d.1	AB.3.09
3	VB	S	A	1653	M 5403	Human head on vessel leg?	May 1935: pl. 28, M 5403	K.07.b.01	
4	VB	S	A	- 1693 (R10)	M 5418	Human plaque + drum/disc	May 1935: pl. 28, M 5418	C.05.b.21?	AB.2.04
5	VB	E	BB	2050	a 262	Animal head - Horse	Loud 1948: Pl. 246.29	D.04.a.30	B.69
6	VB	E	BB	S of 2050	a 272	Human? Leg (pierced)	Loud 1948: Pl. 206, no 49		
7	VB	E	C	592	M 135	Human plaque legs	May 1935: pl. 29, M135	C.13.a.9.	
8	VB	E	K	96/K/7 = 84	96/K/7/AR3	Human vessel	Sass 2000: fig. 12.36:2		
9	VB	E	K	96/K/82 = 61	96/K/82/AR1	Animal spout (Bovine?)	Sass 2000: fig. 12.38:1		C.41
10	VB	E	K	96/K/89	96/K/89/AR3	Model: Wheel	Sass 2000: fig. 12.39:5		
11	VB	E	K	96/K/9 = 4	96/K/9/AR3	Animal head horn?	Sass 2000: fig. 12.38:4		B.68
12	VB	E	K	98/K/21 = 61	98/K/21/AR21	Animal leg?			B.67
13	VB	E	L	04/L/62	04/L/62/AR2	Animal head - Horse	Sass & Cinamon 2006: fig. 18.46:1016		C.42
14	VA/IVB	N	AA	2081	a 512	Human? Leg (pierced)	Loud 1948: Pl. 206, 61		
15	VA/IVB	N	H	00/H/74 = 06/H/34	00/H/74/AR1	Human plaque	Peri 2013: 1026, fig. 20.1:5		AB.II.3

No.	Stratum	Sector	Area	Locus	Reg. No.	Description	Literature	Holland 1975	Peri 2013
16	VA/IVB	S	A	= 1482	M 4557	Animal body quad (solid)	May 1935: pl. 35, M 4557	G.01.d.02	B.74
17	VA/IVB	S	A	= 1482	M 4495	Human plaque	May 1935: pl. 27, M.4495	C.02.b.16.	AB.3.11
18	VA/IVB	S	A	1631	M 4565	Animal head - Ram	May 1935: pl. 37, M 4565	G.02.b.04?	C.47
19	VA/IVB	S	A	1693	M 5376	Human plaque + breasts	May 1935: pl. 28, M.5376	C.02.b.17.	AB.3.12
20	VA/IVB	S	A	Palast-wohnung		Human PF + breasts	Schumacher 1908: fig. 149c	A.10.a.08	
21	VA/IVB	S	A	Palast-wohnung		Human plaque + breasts	Schumacher 1908: fig. 149b	C.04.a.17	AA.12
22	VA/IVB	S	A	Palast-wohnung		Animal spout (Bovine)	Schumacher 1908: pl. 31q	J.07.b.32	C.63
23	VA/IVB	S	A	Palast-wohnung		Bird	Schumacher 1908: fig. 149e	E.01.a.14	B.84
24	VA/IVB	S	A	Palast-wohnung		Bird	Schumacher 1908: fig. 149f	E.01.b.3	B.83
25	VA/IVB	S	A	Palast-wohnung NE		Human head moulded	Schumacher 1908: pl. 32b	A.12.k.1	
26	VA/IVB	S	A	Palast-wohnung NE		Animal spout (Bovine)	Schumacher 1908: fig. 149:a	J.07.b.26	C.62
27	VA/IVB	S	A	Palast-wohnung SE		Mould	Schumacher 1908: fig. 158:c	N.02.b.5	
28	VA/IVB	S	A	Palast-wohnung SE		Mould	Schumacher 1908: fig. 158:b, pl. 32:d	N.01.a.4	AB.3.14
29	VA/IVB	S	A	Palast		Human PF + drum/disc	Schumacher 1908:102, fig. 156	B.05.c.3	
30	VA/IVB	S	A	Palast		Mould	Schumacher 1908: fig. 157	N.02.b.6	
31	VA/IVB	S	A	Palast		Mould	Schumacher 1908: fig. 158a	C.08.a.2.	AB.1.15
32	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben-raum		Human head moulded	Schumacher 1908: fig. 162:a-b	A.12.o.1.	
33	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben-raum		Human head moulded	Schumacher 1908: fig. 162c	A.12.a.4	
34	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben-raum		Human head moulded	Schumacher 1908: fig. 163a	B.06.36	
35	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben-raum		Human head moulded	Schumacher 1908: fig. 163b	A.04.b.01	
36	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben-raum		Human head moulded	Schumacher 1908: fig. 163d	A.12.d.1	
37	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben-raum		Human head moulded (hollow)	Schumacher 1908: fig. 163c	A.12.e.02	

No.	Stratum	Sector	Area	Locus	Reg. No.	Description	Literature	Holland 1975	Peri 2013
38	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben- raum		Animal head - Horse	Schumacher 1908: fig. 165.1	D.04.a.28	B.71
39	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben- raum		Animal spout (Horse)	Schumacher 1908: fig. 165.2	J.07.c.37	C.72
40	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben- raum		Animal spout	Schumacher 1908: fig. 165.8	J.01.b.56	C.19
41	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben- raum		Animal spout (Bovine)	Schumacher 1908: fig. 165.9	J.07.b.28	C.64
42	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben- raum		Animal spout (Bovine)	Schumacher 1908: fig. 165.7	J.07.b.29	C.65
43	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben- raum		Animal spout (Bovine)	Schumacher 1908: fig. 165.3	J.07.b.33	C.66
44	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben- raum		Animal head - Bovine	Schumacher 1908: fig. 165.5	F.03.a.31	B.87
45	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben- raum		Animal head - Bovine	Schumacher 1908: fig. 165.4	J.07.b.34	C.67
46	VA/IVB	S	A	Masseben- raum		Animal body - horse	Schumacher 1908: fig. 165.6	D.12.d.11	B.86
47	VA/IVB	E	C	6	1119	Human head moulded	May 1935: pl. 25, 1119	B.06.39	
48	VA/IVB	E	C	7	3015	Animal vessel	May 1935: pl. 38, 3015	J.05.a.05	C.37
49	VA/IVB	E	C	7	3016	Animal vessel	May 1935: pl. 38, 3016	J.03.b.08	C.36
50	VA/IVB	E	C	N = 37	M 65	Human plaque + drum/disc	May 1935: 149, pl. 27, M 65	C.06.a.20	AB.2.08
51	VA/IVB	E	C	270	M 908	Model: Wheel	May 1935: pl. 21, M 908		
52	VA/IVB	E	C	- 368	M 2652	Fragment	May 1935: pl. 37, M 2652	L.02.c.03	C.35
53	VA/IVB	E	C	393	M 1276	Animal leg	May 1935: pl. 21, M 1276		
54	VA/IVB	E	C	590	M 1454	Human plaque + breasts	May 1935: pl. 26, M.1454	C.09.e.1.	AB.3.10
55	VA/IVB	E	C	591	M 227	Human head moulded	May 1935: pl. 31, M227	C.09.a.1.	AB.1.14
56	VA/IVB	E	K	96/K/46=12	96/K/ 46/AR6	Fragment	Sass 2000: fig. 12.36:3		
57	VA/IVB	E	L	04/L/43	04/L/ 43/AR1	Animal leg	Sass & Cinamon 2006: 423		C.46
58	VA/IVB		Slope	S16-area	M 394	Human plaque + breasts	May 1935: pl. 31, M 394		AB.1.02
59	VA/IVB		Slope	Tomb 64	3991	Human PF + breasts	May 1935: pl. 20, 3991		
60	MI		Slope	Tomb 47	1340	Animal body	Guy 1939: Pl. 172.2	F.03.b.43	B.78

No.	Stratum	Sector	Area	Locus	Reg. No.	Description	Literature	Holland 1975	Peri 2013
61	MI		Slope	Tomb 47	1760	Animal head + forequarters	May 1935: pl. 37, 1760	G.01.e.13	B.81
62	MI		Slope	Tomb 73	M 96	Human? Leg (pierced)	Guy 1938: 179; pl 163, 2		
63	MI		Slope	Tomb 73	4051	Human? Leg (pierced)	Guy 1938: 179; pl 163, 1		
64	V or IV	E	C	Q13-area	M 188	Animal spout (Horse)	May 1935: pl. 36, M 188	J.07.b.39	C.43
65	IVA	N	AA	2153	a 1263	Animal head - Horse	Loud 1948: Pl. 246, 31	D.04.a.29	B.70
66	IVA	N	H	94/H/57=8	94/H/57/AR1	Animal vessel	Sass 2000: fig. 12.38:5		C.51
67	IVA	S	A	- 1561	M 4561	Human head moulded	May 1935: pl. 23, M 4561	B.06.34	
68	IVA	S	A	1576	M 5029	Human head handmade	May 1935: pl. 29, M 5029	K.03.b.03	
69	IVA	S	A	1674	M 5393	Human?	May 1935: pl. 28, M 5393	A.10.h.4	
70	IVA	S	A	1674	M 5401	Human figurine hollow (odd)	May 1935: pl. 28, M 5401	B.01.c.1	
71	IVA	S	A	1674 (P6)	M 5400	Human head on vessel leg?	May 1935: pl. 25, M 5400	K.07.b.02	
72	IVA	E	C	- 282	M 967	Human plaque + breasts	May 1935: pl. 29, M 967	C.03.b.3.	AB.3.13
73	IVA	E	C	- 283	M 1014	Animal head - Ram	May 1935: pl. 37, M 1014	J.07.d.04	C.49
74	IVA	E	C	N14-area	M 1089	Animal head - Horse	May 1935: pl. 36, M 1089	J.07.d.05	C.50
75	IVA	E	C	O13-area	M 786	Animal head - Horse	May 1935: pl. 36, M 786	D.01.b.05	B.72
76	IVA	E	C	O14-Temple area	M 1138	Human plaque + drum/disc	May 1935: pl. 27, M 1138	C.06.a.19	AB.2.09
77	IVA	E	L	00/L/26	00/L/26/AR2	Animal spout (Horse)	Sass & Cimanon 2006: fig. 18.39		C.45
78	IVA		Slope	- 220	M 772	Animal spout	May 1935: pl. 36, M 772	J.07.c.40	C.44
79	IVA?	E	C	West of 340		Model shrine	Schumacher 1908: fig 186		
80	IVA?	E	C	South of 9	2985	Model shrine	May 1935: pl. 15		
81	IVA?	E	C	South of 9	2986	Model shrine	May 1935: pl. 13-14		
82	III	N	D	548	M 1906	Human plaque + object	May 1935: pl. 30, M 1906	C.14.b.2.	
83	III	N	D	1051	M 3340	Model: Wheel	May 1935: pl. 21, M 3340		

No.	Stratum	Sector	Area	Locus	Reg. No.	Description	Literature	Holland 1975	Peri 2013
84	III	N	D	1374	P 5399	Animal head - Bovine	May 1935: pl. 36, P 5399	J.02.a.04	C.55
85	III	N	H	94/H/68	94/H/68/AR1	Human plaque + breasts	Sass 2000: fig. 12.35:1		AA.3
86	III	N	H	96/H/37	96/H/37/AR1	Animal spout (Bovine?)	Sass 2000: fig. 12.38:2		C.14
87	III	S	A	285	M 878	Human plaque legs	May 1935: pl. 30, M 878	C.13.a.10.	AA.11
88	III	S	A	-1345	M 4724	Model: Wheel	May 1935: pl. 21, M 4724		
89	III	S	A**	= 1394	M 4306	Human head moulded	May 1935:119, pl. 25, M 4306	A.12.k.3.	
90	III	S	A	1414	M 4566	Fragment	May 1935: pl. 21, M 4566		
91	III	S	A	1414	M 4524	Animal head - Horse	May 1935: pl. 36, M 4524	J.07.c.36	C.54
92	III	S	A	1423	M 4334	Human head handmade	May 1935: pl. 33, M 4334	B.03.a.1	
93	III	S	A	1424	M 4523	Fragment	May 1935: pl. 21, M 4523		
94	III	S	A	1431	M 4385	Human PF hollow	May 1935: pl. 24, M.4385	B.10.b.2	
95	III	S	A	=1445	M 4563	Animal body quad (solid)	May 1935: pl. 37, M 4563	G.04.c.88	B.77
96	III	S	A	-1462	M 4558	Animal head - Horse	May 1935: pl. 36, M 4558	J.07.c.41	C.52
97	III	S	A	=1468	M 4587	Animal body quad (hollow)	May 1935: pl. 35, M 4587	J.04.a.05	C.58
98	III	S	A	=1480	M 4556	Animal body quad (hollow)	May 1935: pl. 35, M 4556	J.07.e.24	C.60
99	III	S	A	1503	M 4550	Animal head - Horse	May 1935: pl. 36, M 4550	J.07.c.42	C.53
100	III	S	A	1508	M 4553	Human head handmade	May 1935: pl. 33, M 4553		
101	III	S	A	1521	M 4554	Human head moulded	May 1935: pl. 25, M 4554	A.12.k.2.	
102	III	S	A	1538	M 4647	Human head moulded	May 1935: pl. 25, M 4647	B.06.42	
103	III	S	A	1583	M 5041	Model: Wheel	May 1935: pl. 21, M 5041		
104	III	S	A	1583	M 5040	Fragment	May 1935: pl. 21, M 5040		
105	III	S	A	1584	M 5035	Animal head - Horse	May 1935: pl. 36, M 5035	D.08.a.01	B.75
106	III	S	A	1599	M 5043	Animal body quad (hollow)	May 1935: pl. 35, M 5043	J.04.c.02	C.61
107	III	S	A	= 1613	M 4564	Animal head - Ram	May 1935: pl. 37, M 4564	G.02.b.05?	C.57

No.	Stratum	Sector	Area	Locus	Reg. No.	Description	Literature	Holland 1975	Peri 2013
108	III	S	A	R11-area	5250	Animal body quad (solid)	May 1935: pl. 35, 5250	G.04.c.90	B.76
109	III	S	A	R11-area	M 1008	Human head moulded	May 1935: pl. 26, M 1008	A.12.o.2.	
110	III	E	C	O13-Temple area	M 787	Human plaque + drum/disc	May 1935: pl. 27, M.787	B.05.c.4	AB.2.10
111	III?	E	C	Q12-area	M 406	Animal body quad (hollow)	May 1935: pl. 35, M 406	G.03.d.10	C.40
112	III?	E	C	Q12-area	M 405	Animal body quad (hollow)	May 1935: pl. 35, M 405	J.04.e.02	C.38
113	III?			Schumacher's trench	M 1088	Human head moulded	May 1935: pl. 26, M 1088		
114	III?			Mittelburg		Human plaque + breasts	Schumacher 1908: pl. 17a	C.05.a.15.	
115	II	S	A	435	M 1403	Animal body quad (solid)	May 1935: pl. 37, M 1403	D.09.b.03	B.91
116	II	S	A	-555	M 2060	Human PF	May 1935, pl. 29, M 2060	A.01.j.10	
117	II	S	A	-556	M 1944	Animal body quad (hollow)	May 1935: pl. 35, M 1944	J.04.a.04	C.59
118	II	S	A	-774	M 4090	Human head moulded	May 1935: pl. 23, M.4090	A.04.f.6	
119	II	S	A	=784	M 4552	Animal body quad (solid)	May 1935: pl. 35, M 4552	D.07.b.07	B.88
120	II	S	A	1002	M 2913	Animal body quad (solid)	May 1935: pl. 35, M 2913	D.02.a.09	B.89
121	II	S	A	=1004	M 4365	Human plaque + drum/disc	May 1935: pl. 27, M4365	C.05.b.16?	AB.2.11
122	II	S	A	1026	M 3287	Human head moulded	May 1935: pl. 26, M 3287	B.06.37	
123	II	S	A	1259	M 4823	Animal head - Horse	May 1935: pl. 36, M 4823	J.07.c.43	C.73
124	II	S	A	1270	M 4117	Human head moulded	May 1935: pl. 23, M 4117	N.02.b.4	
125	II	S	A*	1363	M 4255	Human plaque legs	May 1935: pl. 30, M 4255	K.01.e.02	
126	II	S	A	1501	M 4549	Human PF + drum/disc	May 1935: pl. 24, M.4549	B.02.c.2	
127	II	S	A	1501	M 4551	Human head moulded	May 1935: pl. 26, M 4551	B.06.35	
128	II	S	A*	N10-area	M 2653	Human plaque + object	May 1935: pl. 24, M.2653	C.07.a.4.	AB.3.15
129	II	S	A	Q11-area	M 831	Animal head - Bovine	May 1935: pl. 36, M 831	J.04.b.27?	C.68
130	II			collective grave		Human plaque + drum/disc	Schumacher 1908: fig. 71	C.06.a.17	AB.2.07
131	VA/IVB	E		6003	B314/2	Plaque figurine legs	Zarzecki-Peleg 2016: fig 31.9		

8.2 Megiddo: Tombs

Summary of the information about the tombs with Iron Age material from Megiddo. All figurines were listed in Guy 1938, 142.

Figurines	Tomb	Type	Tomb date	IA material	Other Material	IA Interments	Bowl	Jug	Flask	Chalice	Lamp	Cooking bowl	Storage jar	Total	Other	Guy 1938, p.
1	3	Cave	?	EI1	LB	n	1		1					2		72
	5	Chamber	?	MI	Roman, Arab	?					1				disturbed	127
	11	Cave	?	EI1	MB	n								0		116
	14	Rock cut Chamber	?	EI1	EB, LB	decayed								0	sherds only	116
	17	Rock cut grave	EI1	EI1		1 adult female	2		2					4	1 bead, 1 scaper	117
	27	Cave	?	EI2				4						4	2 whorls (stone, bone)	127
	29	Abnormal shaft tomb	MB1?	EI1			4	2						6		117
	30	Tomb	EI1	EI1		?	4							4		117
	31	Cave	?	MI	EB, LB									0	1 dagger, mixed sherds	106
	39	Abnormal shaft tomb	MB1	EI1			7	2	15	2	2	1	6	35	11 scarabs, 1 scaraboid, 3 amulets, 4 plaques, beads, 4 rings, 2 earrings	117-19
1	47	Tomb	?	MI	LB	?	1	1			1		2	5	Greek lamp	127
	52	Reused	?	MI	EB, LB2	?		1						1	1 wheel MI??	20
	61	Burial in debris	EI1?	EI1?		1 adult								0	no furniture	119
	62	Rock cut grave	EI1	EI1		1 adult	5	1					1	7	bead necklace, Ivory fish shaped spoon?, 2 toggle pins, gold foil	119
1	64	Room during IA??	?	EI2			1	3							1 figurine, 1 flint, 1 shell, 1 bronze pin	127
	71	Pit	EI1	EI1		1 adult			2				1	3	3 flints, 1 ring	121
	72	Burial in debris	EI1	EI1		1 adult			1				1	2		121

Figurines	Tomb	Type	Tomb date	IA material	Other Material	IA Interments	Bowl	Jug	Flask	Chalice	Lamp	Cooking bowl	Storage jar	Total	Other	Guy 1938, p.
2	73	Cave	?	E-MI	LB1, LB2	n	5	2	1				5	13		111-113
	76	Abnormal shaft tomb	MB?	IA	MB1?	EI-MI	2	5	2	2	2			13	2 beads, 1 amulet, 1 basalt rubber	127
	80	Rock cut tomb	?	IA	LB	n	15					2	1	18	2 pottery covers	127, 129
	221	Rock cut tomb	EI1	EI1		?	28	1	11	1	2		8	51		121, 125
	237	Burial in debris	EI1	EI1		1 adult								0		126
	1090	Rock cut tomb	EI1	EI1		8 adults	9	1		1			1	12		126
	1101	Rock cut Chamber	EB	EI1	EB	?	16	7	4	3	2			32	1 dagger blade	25-27
	217 (D)	Abnormal shaft tomb	MB		mixed	n								0	MI sherds in 1 chamber	31
	37 B	Grave in cave floor	?	MI?		1 infant								0	1 Iron bracelet	77
	37 C1	Grave in cave floor	?	EI1?		1 infant								0		77
	37 C2	Jar burial in cave floor	?	EI		1 infant								0	4 "bronze" bracelets, cloth, beads	79
	37 D	Grave? in cave floor	?	EI?		?								0	empty	79
	37 K1	Burial in debris	?	MI		1 adult skulls								0	MI sherds, disturbed	80
	37 O	Grave? in cave floor	?	EI?		?								0	empty	81
	41?	Abnormal shaft tomb	MB1	EI1	MB1		1							1		29

9. Regional case study: figurine catalogue

The catalogue for the figurines used in the regional case study is in electronic format, on the attached CD (see inside cover).

The catalogue includes data on stratigraphy (site, expedition, stratum, area, locus), publication (including Holland 1975, Kletter 1996, and 'Amr 1980), registration (Field Registration and Museum no.), as well as the tags used in this research project.

13.1 Regional variation: summary table

	Tag	Section		N. Coast		Galilee		N. Hills		S. Coast		Shephalah		S. Hills		Negev		Transjordan		Total	
				n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Anthropomorphic	types	10.2.1	Plaque			25	44	7	30	11	22	1	3			8	9	19	59	71	14
			Solid PF			2	4	4	17	3	6	21	58	145	76	29	32	0	0	204	41
			Hollow PF	11	48	5	9	7	30	12	24	2	6	6	3	2	2	3	9	48	10
			Rider	6	26	4	7			10	20	7	19	29	15	9	10	4	13	69	14
			Solid			8	14	1	4	3	6	1	3	3	2	5	5			21	4
			PF?					1	4	1	2			6	3					8	2
			Other	6	26	13	23	3	13	10	20	4	11	2	1	38	42	6	19	82	16
	gender	10.3.1	Breast	2	11	23	53	7	58	26	62	19	63	64	65	23	48	11	44	175	55
			Breasts + genitalia	0	0	7	16	1	8	5	12	0	0	0	0	9	19	10	40	32	10
			No marker	16	89	13	30	4	33	11	26	11	37	35	35	16	33	4	16	110	35
Zoomorphic	head details	11.2.1, 11.2.2	Applied	6	50	23	46	14	21	37	42	9	22	22	10	22	21	4	15	137	23
			Applied + painted					2	3			1	2	4	2			2	8	9	2
			Incised	1	8	9	18			5	6			6	3	4	4	4	15	29	5
			Incised (detailed)	1	8	6	12	4	6									7	27	18	3
			Incised + applied							5	6	1	2	3	1	2	2			11	2
			Moulded	3	25	3	6	2	3							1	1	2	8	11	2
			Painted		0	5	10	34	52	3	3	2	5	25	12	12	12	5	19	86	14
			No features	1	8	4	8	10	15	39	44	28	68	152	72	62	60	2	8	298	50
	head type	11.3.2	solid	8	67	16	29	31	44	87	87	28	60	213	95	72	70	13	50	468	73
			pierced solid			10	18	5	7	2	2					2	2	9	35	28	4
			hollow spouted	1	8	18	33	14	20	1	1	17	36	10	4	22	21	3	12	86	14
			hollow			10	18	5	7	4	4	1	2	1	0	7	7	1	4	29	5
			hollow not spouted	3	25	1	2	1	1	1	1									6	1
			other		0		0	14	20	5	5	1	2							20	3
	body	11.3.2	hollow body	3	33	15	47	3	11	6	4	11	28	2		37	21	8	42	85	10
			solid body	6	67	17	53	25	89	129	96	28	72	423	100	133	76	11	58	772	90
			unknown													4	2			4	0
	animal	11.2.4	Quadruped	2	13	18	24	50	55	90	46	18	28	299	52	137	60	13	36	627	49
			Horse	8	53	26	34	31	34	47	24	35	55	211	37	28	12	16	44	402	31
			Bovine			18	24	4	4	43	22	4	6	15	3	12	5	5	14	101	8
			Bird			6	8	1	1	2	1	7	11	28	5	42	19			86	7
			Other	5	33	8	11	5	5	13	7			22	4	8	4	2	6	63	5
Other	type	12.3	Boats	6																	
			Wheels			6				4		3		1							
			Couches + Table					1		1		8		33		6					
			Architectural model			3		3						1		8					