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PRELIMINARY REMARKS
ON THE IRON AGE CYPRIOT IMPORTS
IN TELL KEISAN, A PHOENICIAN CITY
IN LOWER GALILEE (ISRAEL)

Abstract: The paper deals with one of several scientific topics mirrored in the history of Tell Keisan, specifically the relationships between Israel/Palestine, Cyprus, and Phoenicia, and is based primarily on the hitherto unpublished Cypriot decorated pottery finds from this site. The earliest occurrence of the Iron Age Cypriot imports at Keisan has been recorded in Stratum 8 (10th century BC), while their increased quantities appear in Strata 5 and 4 (c. 8th-7th century BC). The Black-on-Red ware is the most numerous, while the White Painted and Bichrome wares are quite rare. In Stratum 3 (580-380 BC), the number of Cypriot imports drops dramatically. This was probably the result of a rapid change in the political and then economic situation in this region. In 525 BC, Cyprus became part of the fifth Persian satrapy. This must have had a disastrous effect on the economic situation of some of the Cypriot regions and was one of the reasons for the total cessation of Cypriot imports to the Levantine mainland.

Keywords: Palestine; Cyprus; Phoenicia; Tell Keisan; Iron Age; Cypriot pottery; Black-on-Red pottery

Introduction

In the late 1960s, after the completion of two major archaeological projects at Tell el-Far'ah in the Samarian highlands and Khirbet Qumran

in the Judean Desert, Roland de Vaux, the then director of the École Biblique and Archéologique Française in Jerusalem (EBAF), decided to start a new research program aimed to advance the understanding of cultural relations between Phoenicia and Palestine on the one hand, and between Cyprus, Crete and Levantine coast on the other hand. The choice fell on Tell Keisan/Tel Kison situated on a fertile Acco plain, about 8 kilometers from the Mediterranean Sea coast. It is one of the most monumental tells in Lower Galilee covering an area of about 15 acres and rising about 25 meters above its surroundings (Pl. 1: 1).

The geographical location and the analysis of the results obtained by the first archaeological excavations at Tell Keisan (1935-1936) carried out by Neilson Expedition under the direction of John Garstang and A. Rowe were very promising. A large trial trench and excavated areas yielded evidence of continuous settlement spanning from the Early Bronze III to the Hellenistic period (Seton-Williams 1980) (Pl. 1: 2).

It was already after the death of de Vaux that the first series of the French excavations took place in 1971-1976 under the direction of Jean Prignaud, Jacques Briend, and Jean-Baptiste Humbert. The first volume of the final publication made available to scholars vast evidence concerning the local material culture of Lower Galilee and its relationships with its neighbors (Briend and Humbert 1980). Apart from the local Iron Age, Persian, Hellenistic and Byzantine period pottery, the publication contains several examples of the Cypriot imports from the first half of the first millennium BC. This paper aims to present some preliminary remarks on further examples of painted Cypriot pottery, not included in the 1980 publication, as well as new finds from two additional seasons of excavations carried out in 1979 and 1980 under the direction of J.-B. Humbert (1981, 1993).¹

The much-discussed and complex issues concerning both the relative and absolute chronologies are beyond the scope of this paper and, in fact, would not bear significantly upon its topic. The chronological chart (Pl. 2: 1) offers only a basic correlation between the excavated strata at Tell Keisan and chronological periods as established for Cyprus and the southern Levant. It should also be stressed that the present paper is only a preliminary study offered to academic community before the entire pottery material from 1979 and 1980 excavation seasons is thoroughly investigated and published.

¹ New excavations at Tell Keisan have recently been undertaken by the Chicago Oriental Institute under the direction of D. Schloen and G. Lehmann.

White Painted, Bichrome, and Red Slip wares

The Cypriot assemblage of White Painted, Bichrome, and Red Slip wares consists of at least 64 examples, of which only part has been selected for the present article. Most of the finds, 43 pieces, come from Area B while the rest is from Areas A and D (19 and 6 fragments, respectively) (cf. Pl. 1: 2). Of the whole collection, 40 pieces can be attributed to stratigraphic contexts. In the case of remaining cases, their stratigraphic position is not clear, and further analysis is needed to define more precisely at least their chronological horizon. Although the pottery material is very fragmented, a general type of vessel can be recognized in most cases. However, the exact attribution of some of them to particular classes and shapes defined by the Swedish Cypriot Expedition typo-chronological system (Gjerstad 1948, 184-206; 1960) would be quite hazardous. Therefore, identification of particular pieces is based first on their stratigraphic contexts and then on the comparisons with similar pottery from other sites.

The repertory of types of Cypriot White Painted (hereafter WP) and Bichrome pottery at Keisan is rather small. Open shapes are represented only by three bowls, while the rest belong to closed vessels: amphorae, kraters, jugs, and juglets.

Bowls

A fragment of a slightly flaring rim, with a thin horizontal ridge c. 2.5cm below it, belongs most likely to a deep bowl (Pl. 3: 1). Dark grey matte decoration on the inside contains a thin horizontal line on the lip and a wideband below. The outer decoration is painted in pale red on the white slipped surface. The decorative pattern consists of a thin horizontal line on the lip and two horizontal rows of continuous lozenges filled with smaller latticed lozenges. The lozenge in the lower row is joined on the left by a geometric motif that, incomplete as it is, parallels the motif 19 in WP and Bichrome I wares at Salamis (Yon 1971, 92) and Palaepaphos-Skales (Karageorghis 1983, Tomb 44, nos 38, 82, Pl. XXX and Fig. LV; Tomb 45, no. 62, Pl. XL, Fig. LXIV). It is a latticed rectangle bordered by four thin vertical lines on both sides. These two motifs are separated by an oblique band, possibly a vertical zigzag as on several WP I jugs and bowls at Palaepaphos-Skales (Karageorghis 1983, Tomb 49, no. 46, Pl. LIII and Fig. LXXVI, nos 91, 92, Pl. LVII and Fig. LXXXII; Tomb 58, no. 75, Pl. LXXXIV and Fig. CV, etc.).

The rim profile best corresponds to Gjerstad type 9 of bowls in WP III ware (Gjerstad 1948, Fig. XVIII: 10). Typologically and stylistically speaking, our bowl fits well the advanced part of the CG horizon (CG II-III).

Outside Cyprus, the closest parallel comes from Tyre Level X-2, dated to the first half of the 9th century BC (Bikai 1978, Pls XXVIII: 5, LXXXVI: 28). It is a deep bowl with a fine ridge below the rim, classified as WP III ware. The shape and the overall decoration closely resemble the bowl from Keisan. Another parallel to the decoration can be WP I deep bowl from Megiddo VIA (Loud 1948, Pl. 78: 20), and possibly a bowl from phase 6a in Dor, dated to the end of the 10th century BC (Gilboa 2018, Pl. 20:67: 18).

Two other sherds (Pl. 3: 2-3) belong to the simplest type of a bowl in the Cypriot pottery repertoire. They are rather shallow, with slightly convex sides, and straight or somewhat incurved, rounded rim. Usually, such bowls have two opposed horizontal loop handles below the rim and a base-ring. They are decorated in a standardized way: internal and or external horizontal bands and lines on and below the rim. The first, from Stratum 6-7, is decorated with a black band on the rim and red lines on the wall exterior. It corresponds to type 2 of Bichrome II or type 2a of Bichrome III according to the Swedish classification (Gjerstad 1948, Figs XV: 11 and XXI: 3). The profile of the rim of the second piece, without internal decoration, comes from Stratum 4. It corresponds to type 3 bowls in WP V ware (Gjerstad 1948, Fig. XLVI: 3). Typologically and stylistically speaking, they can be attributed to CG III/CA I and CA I-II chronological horizons, respectively.

Amphorae/kraters

One of the fragments (Pl. 3: 4) belongs to an amphora with a slightly flaring rim, triangular in profile. At least three horizontal black bands were painted on the exterior and one band on the rim's inner side. The simple style of decoration recalls the decorative design of either Submycanean or Proto-White Painted pottery and parallels the neck of an *amphoriskos* from the Cyprus Museum (Karageorghis and Gagniers 1974, 5). However, the profile of the rim is similar to that of the WP I amphora from Lapithos (Gjerstad 1948, Fig. VI: 9a). The CG I-II chronological horizons seem to be acceptable in this case. The same can be true with another similar and unstratified rim (Pl. 3: 5).

The form of a large amphora or krater is attested by a ledge rim in Bichrome I-II ware from Stratum 8 (Pl. 3: 6). The rim has a black band inside and outside. A section of a red wavy line is preserved just below the rim on the outer side. The two other amphorae rims from Stratum 7

represent Bichrome II-III ware of the CG II-III period (Pl. 3: 7-8). The analogies are too numerous to cite them here.

Despite they do not join together, one fragment of a neck and one of a shoulder probably come from the same vessel, doubtlessly of the same type, that is either a krater or an amphora (Pl. 3: 9-10). The characteristics of the decoration of such vessels comprise concentric circles on the neck and the shoulder. Additionally, broad horizontal bands surround the neck and body. The stratigraphic context is unclear; however, on the stylistic ground, they may be classified as WP/Bichrome III-IV ware and attributed to CG III/CA I chronological horizon. Such vessels were common in Cyprus, and as a parallel, we can mention, for example, an amphora WP IV from Tomb 11 at Alaas-Kampos (Hadjisavvas 1989, 102-103, no. 1, Pl. XVI; see also Gjerstad 1948, Figs XXIV: 2, XLVII: 3, LI: 9). It is also a type common at sites along the Levantine coast, for example at Achzib cemetery, type K2 (Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 118, Fig. 5.4: 2).

The body fragment from stratum 4-5 (Pl. 3: 11) can belong to an amphora, krater, or another large vessel with a piriform or globular body. Most probably, it represents Bichrome IV ware (Gjerstad 1948, Figs XXXI-XXXVI; Karageorghis and Gagniers 1974, 46; see also Karageorghis 1982, 55, 122, cat. no 46: amphora Bichrome IV; 63, 127-128, cat. no. 56: crater). Stratigraphic context and the overall ornamentation pattern indicate the CA I chronological horizon.

Decoration of another body fragment of a large vessel (Pl. 3: 12) consists of horizontal red-brown thin lines arranged between two broader black bands; preserved below is a trace of two concentric circles painted in red. It is most likely Bichrome V ware; it can be situated within the CA I-II chronological horizon. For comparison, we may refer to the decoration of an amphora in Bichrome V ware from Marion (Gjerstad 1948, Fig. L: 3a).

Two further body sherds (Pl. 3: 13-14) come from a large closed vessel such as an amphora or a krater. The preserved decoration shows horizontal bands and thin lines between them encircling the body. One of these sherds (Stratum 6) also has a diagonal line: a fragment of an undetermined geometric motif. The fabric and the style of the decor can suggest either WP II/III-IV or Bichrome II/III-IV wares. Both sherds parallel an amphora in Bichrome III-IV ware from the Pierides Collection (Karageorghis 1982, 48, 114, cat. no. 35).

The handles (Pl. 3: 15-19) belong to large vessels, like amphorae or kraters discussed above, and are decorated in a standard way with ladder or wavy band. These motifs occur throughout the CG and CA periods.

Jugs and juglets

Stratum 4 yielded fragments of a WP IV-V globular jug with a handle, a conical neck, and a trefoil rim (Pl. 4: 1). The bifid handle extends from the rim to the shoulders. The body is decorated with fine inner and broad outer concentric circles. The rim and neck are painted with parallel horizontal lines; besides, short parallel lines decorate the top and bottom of the handle. The ware, shape, and decorative design resemble type 9a jugs in the Swedish Cyprus Expedition classification (Gjerstad 1948, Fig. XLVI: 16). Stratum 4 corresponds roughly to the CG III-CA I chronological horizon.

Bichrome IV-V ware is represented by two fragments of a neck and body, probably from the same vessel (Pl. 4: 2). We can reconstruct a globular jug with a conical neck and a handle. The neck is decorated with two thin lines, in black and red. The body is decorated with concentric circles; two inner circles are painted in black; a thin outer circle is red. The overall decorative design, very fragmentary as it is, corresponds well with type 9a in SCE classification (Gjerstad 1948, Fig. XLIX: 11; see also Karageorghis 1982, 57, 128-129, cat. no. 48: Bichrome IV jug). The jug is not stratified, but the ware and the decoration indicate the CA I-II chronological horizon.

Two similar jugs with slightly shorter necks from Keisan Stratum 3 have already been published. They are decorated in black and red-brown and represent Bichrome IV-V ware of the CA I-II chronological horizon (Nodet 1980, 121-122, Pl. 19: 4-5).

Handles from Strata 4 and 5 (Pl. 4: 3-7) belong to the similar type of jug as described above, either in WP or Bichrome IV-V wares.

A fragmentary basket handle (Pl. 4: 8) could have originally been attached either to the edge of the vessel rim or to the back of an animal-shaped object (*askoi*). Another fragment possibly represents the same type of handle (Pl. 4: 9). In Cyprus, basket handle is characteristic of certain types of jugs and *askoi* in WP, Bichrome, and Black-on-Red wares throughout the CG and CA period (Karageorghis 1983, 358, 365-6; Gjerstad 1948, Figs IV: 16-19, VII: 3-7, 12-13, 15, VIII: 19, XIII: 1, 10, XVI: 10, XIX: 14-15, XXV: 5, 22, etc.). As for the Levantine region, two WP I basket handle jugs are known from Azor (Dothan 1961: Pl. B: 5-6) and Dor from the Iron Age I context (Gilboa 2015b: Pl. 4.2.1: 19).

One should also recall the already published fragment of a funnel-shaped neck of a jug from Stratum 8 (Briend 1980, 194, pl. 56: 4). However, its identification as an example of Bichrome III ware seems to be questionable from the stratigraphic point of view. Therefore, the more secure typochronological attribution of this piece would be Bichrome II (or at most II-III) ware of the CG I-II horizon.

Jugs

Two fragmentary necks (Pl. 5: 1-2) may be classified within the WP IV-V ware. As for the form, they seem to correspond to type 3 of WP IV or types 2 and 3 of WP V (Gjerstad 1948, Figs XXVIII: 17-19 (WP IV), XLVI: 8-10 (WP V)). These are jugs with a more or less globular, biconvex or conical shape, with ridged neck, mouth in trumpet-shaped mouth, and a handle going from the ridge to the shoulder. Parallels can be found in Achzib cemetery, type CP 8 (Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 138, Fig. 5.15: 2). Both our necks come from Strata 5 and 4 corresponding roughly to the late CG III and CA I horizons.

Five body fragments (Pl. 5: 3-7) have a common distinctive feature: a small button in the center. They belong to a series of flasks with lenticular, spherical, or barrel shape of the body. The manufacturing method of such vessels has a long tradition in Cyprus, from the Late Cypriot up to the CA II period, in the WP and Bichrome I-V wares. The decoration is characteristic: it features broad and narrow concentric circles, often with a small button in the center.

Two of these pieces, with small nipples in the center (Pl. 5: 3-4), come from Strata 5 and 4. The others, albeit unstratified, probably belong to the same chronological horizon. Another fragment (Pl. 5: 5) can be compared to a barrel jug with two nipples on either side of the body, at Achzib cemetery, type CP 9 (Dayagi-Mendels 2002, 138-140, Fig. 5.15: 3). Other two fragments (Pl. 5: 6-7) are not preserved well enough to state precisely whether they are barrel jugs or flasks; however, both of them must be closely related types. All these fragments in WP or Bichrome wares correspond to the CG III-CA I chronological horizon.

Other closed vessels

The decoration of a body sherd from Stratum 8 (Pl. 5: 8) consists of a vertical strip of latticed diamonds bordered by two thin lines on each side. This pattern, probably of a Mycenaean origin (FM 74: 27: Furumark 1941), appears early on Proto-Geometric pottery (Pieridou 1973, 51, Fig. 5: 12, Pls 12: 4, 19: 9, 23: 1), and continues throughout the CG period on various types of vases. A fairly brown-grey coarse ware, traces of polishing on a slightly rough surface, and dark brown-red paint fit well into the second category of the Proto White Painted ware at Salamis. This technique, according to M. Yon, 'marks the end of Proto-White Painted, and ensures the transition to White Painted I' (Yon 1971, 85).

Parallels for the decoration can be found on flasks and jugs from Tomb 1 of the 11th century BC at Salamis (Yon 1971, Pls. 26: 87 [Bichrome I],

28: 95, and especially 97 [Proto-White Painted 'Bichrome']; CG Tombs at Palaepaphos-Skales (Karageorghis 1983, Tomb 45, no. 60, Pl. XXXIX and Fig. LXIII; Tomb 48, no. 5, Pl. XLVII and Fig. LXXI [Bichrome II]; Tomb 71, no. 20, Pl. CXIX [WP III]); Tomb 82, no. 65, Pl. CLXV and Fig. CLX (WP I); Tomb 83, no. 57, Pl. CLXXII (Bichrome II).), and Palaepaphos-Plakes (Karageorghis 2014, Pl.VIII: 79, 116, WP I and Bichrome I jugs). Our sherd can be classified as a WP or Bichrome I ware of the CG I chronological horizon.

The shape and decorative design of another body sherd (Pl. 5: 9) may suggest that it came from a globular jug. The decoration consists of two thin black circles bordering a red band and a black vertical motif of chevrons (or fish bones). This motif of the Mycenaean origin (FM 58: 30: Furumark 1941) appeared as early as the Proto-Geometric I period, for example, on a bottle of the Proto-White Painted ware at Salamis (Yon 1971, no. 77, Pl. 24) and on a pilgrim flask from Tomb 9, 16 in Palaepaphos (Pieridou 1973, 27, 50, Fig. 5: 18, Pl. 13: 6-7). It occurs throughout the CG period in WP and later on in the Bichrome wares, mainly on bowls, bottles, amphorae, and amphoriskoi. On the other hand, it is rather rare on globular jugs, usually decorated with the motif of lozenges and/or triangles. The sherd is from Stratum 5 corresponding to CG III/CA I chronological horizon and represents Bichrome III ware. Comparisons come from Palaepaphos-Skales Tomb 52 (Karageorghis 1983, Pl. LXXI, and Fig. XCVIII: Bichrome III), and Palaepaphos-Plakes Tomb 145 (Karageorghis 2014, Pl.XXXIV: 87: WP II barrel-jug).

A bottom fragment (Pl. 5: 10) retains a characteristic relief decoration: vertical grooves that no doubt imitate the treatment of metal vases. The surface is red slipped. The grooves are careless, the fabric is quite coarse, and the slip is weak. All this may suggest Red Slip I (III) ware of the CG III period, or perhaps, its local imitation. Regarding the form, it can be either an amphoriskos or a jug. This type of relief decoration had a long tradition in Cyprus, from the Late Cypriot Age (Bucchero ware) until the end of the CG III period, in Black Slip I-III, Red Slip I (III), and Plain White II-III wares. As parallels, there are two jugs from a CG III tomb in Palaepaphos-Skales (Karageorghis 1983, 369, Pl. LXXII: 69, 18).

Black-on-Red ware

In the last section of this paper, we will present the pottery called either Black-on-Red (hereafter BoR) or, in earlier scholarship, Cypro-Phoenician.

The latter name reflects the complex issue of BoR origin, which has long been discussed by researchers since Gjerstad's groundbreaking publication on the classification system of Cypriot pottery (1948, 68-73, 242-270, 287-88, 295-296; see also Schreiber 2003, xix-xxix). In brief, the main objection was raised by the theory that BoR first began to be produced in the Syro-Anatolian region and only later in Cyprus itself, from where this ware would be re-introduced on the Levantine mainland. At present, most, if not all researchers, agree that BoR pottery was mainly produced in several workshops on Cyprus (Gilboa 2015b, 486). So far, scientific analyses of the provenience of the BoR samples from several Levantine sites seem to confirm this theory (Kleiman *et al.* 2019, with references). However, it cannot be excluded that some of the BoR vessels have also been manufactured somewhere on the Levantine coast (Schreiber 2003, 279; and see below).

As for the initial date of the BoR's appearance in the Levant, a certain consensus has also been reached. According to A. Gilboa, the BoR ware 'does not occur in significant quantities on Cyprus before the CG III' (2015b, 486). However, the date of the beginning of CG III, depending on the adopted absolute chronology, can oscillate between 850 and 900 BCE (see Pl. 2: 1). The recently published results of the radiocarbon dating of some Cypriot BoR vessels from Megiddo indicate the late 10th and 9th centuries (Kleiman *et al.* 2019). Given the time that had to pass between the start of BoR ware production on Cyprus and the moment of its earliest appearance on the Levantine mainland, the last quarter of the 10th century is acceptable for the beginning of the CG III period. Therefore, there is no reason to revise the original dating of Stratum 8 (10th century BC), assuming that the pottery material collected there, including the BoR fragments, date only the end of this stratum, and not its foundation and duration.

The final publication of the excavations has already mentioned the BoR ware presence at Keisan. Unfortunately, no details were given, except these concerning two bowls from Stratum 8 and one bowl from Stratum 4 (Salles 1980, 142, 150, Pl. 28: 2; Briend 1980, 194-195, Pl. 56: 1-2). More of the finds were included in a general investigation on the BoR chronology in Palestine by E. de Montlivault (1982, 178-180, 183-185, Pls XIV-XVII). The information she gathered, mostly quantitative data, was used in a solid study on the BoR pottery by N. Schreiber (2003, 152-154, 199-200). Some additional comments and observations are presented below.

Overview of the Black-on-Red ware at Tell Keisan

The BoR vessels occur at Tell Keisan in a rather small number of types. The latest recalculation of the whole collection stored in the EBAF yielded 204 pieces (Pl. 2: 2). Of these, about three-quarters belong to bowls (155 pieces). Their minimum number was calculated at 56 pieces. Other fragments belong to closed forms, represented mainly by small jugs or juglets: 35 in total while their minimum number was 8 items. Five other fragments may belong to amphorae or kraters. The rest of the sherds are not diagnostic enough to recognize their full forms.

Bowls

Bowls appear for the first time in Stratum 8 (Pl. 6: 1-2; see also Briend 1980, Pl. 58: 1-2) and continue through all subsequent strata up to Stratum 3. The largest amount occurs in Strata 5 and 4 (Pl. 6: 3-9; see also Salles 1980, Pl. 28: 2). The most widely represented are round-sided bowls with a simple rim and two horizontal handles at the top of the vessel (Pl. 6: 5). There is only one example of thin-walled deep bowl (Pl. 6: 8). The rim is usually rounded or slightly tapered. Several fragmentarily preserved bowl bases represent single type, i.e. base-ring (Pl. 6: 9) (cf. Gjerstad 1948, Pl. XXIV: 9, 10, 13, XXXVII: 15-18, 20). The bowls from Keisan differ primarily in size and can be divided into three groups according to the rim diameter: over 30cm, between 20 and 30cm (most numerous), and below 20cm in diameter. However, these variations do not seem to have any chronological significance. Rather, they may indicate some differentiation of the bowl's use in daily life. The large ones could have been used for mixing ingredients and for serving food. The smaller bowls may have served for individual consumption of meals at the table.

The decoration of the bowls is very simple and consists of a combination of horizontal bands and lines encircling the walls of the vessel and the inside and outside of the rim. On some wall fragments, painted concentric circles are preserved. The handles are painted in a distinctive way to underline their contour (Pl. 6: 5). Surface colors vary from gray-brown to light brown and yellow-red. Most of the surfaces are matte, although slightly polished and shiny surfaces are also to be found.

There are many parallels for such bowls from the Levantine mainland, for example at Achzib (Dayagi-Mendels 2002, Fig. 5.3: 11); Akko (Risser *et al.* 2020, Fig. 5: 8-9); Tel Mevorakh (Stern 1978, Fig. 17: 1-8, 11); Dor (Gilboa 2018, Pls 20.67: 19-23, 20.71: 7, 20.77: 11-12); Tell Qiri (Hunt 1987, Fig. 43); Megiddo (Kleiman *et al.* 2019, Fig. 3); Tel Kabri (Lehmann 2002,

Fig. 5.90: 9-11); Rosh Zayit (Gal and Alexandre 2000, 68-74, Figs III.75: 3, III.77: 12, 14, 16, 20, III.81: 1-3, III.85: 18-19, and further references therein).

Closed forms

Two illustrated items (Pl. 6: 10-11) represent a type of to the so-called ridged-neck juglet or barrel-juglet, with a single handle attached to the ridge and body (not preserved here). The rim and the neck are decorated with fine horizontal black lines. The surface is characterized by a shiny light yellowish-brown slip; well-levigated light brown fabric. Complete vessels usually have either a globular (Pl. 6: 12), oval, conical, elongated (Pl. 6: 13), or squat body, and a flat or slightly concave base (Pl. 6: 15-17). They can also be decorated on the body with fine horizontal lines and small concentric circles (Pl. 6: 12, 14-15). However, neither of the neck fragments illustrated here can be straightforwardly attributed to one of the full shapes. Their stratigraphic context (strata 5 and 4/5) indicate the second half of the 8th – the beginning of the 7th century, which corresponds roughly to the CA I typological horizon (cf. Gjerstad 1948, Pls XXV: 6-10, XXXVII: 7, 9-14).

These small containers are surprisingly few in Keisan as compared to their abundance at other sites. They are known, for example, from Achzib (Dayagi-Mendels 2002, Figs 5.14: 3, 5.15: 1-2); Rosh Zayit (Gal and Alexandre 2000, 75-77, Figs III.74: 6, III.76: 15, III.81: 4, 7, III.90: 15); Megiddo (Lamon and Shipton 1939, Pl. 5: 123); Tell Qiri (Hunt 1984, Fig. 43: 11); Tel Mevorakh (Stern 1978, 55, Fig. 17: 15-16); Dor (Gilboa 2018, Pl. 20.78: 17); and other sites (Schreiber 2003, 28-31). The likely function of these vessels has already been widely discussed by N. Schreiber (2003, 62-67).

Among the BoR assemblage from Keisan, there are also a few fragments that can be tentatively identified as parts of large closed vessels, like amphorae and/or kraters (de Montlivault 1982, Pl. XVII: 13-15) abundant at many other sites in Cyprus and along the Levantine coast. However, the poor state of preservation of our sherds does not allow any further and meaningful analysis.

J.-F. Salles has observed that in most of the BoR sherds from Stratum 4 'la pâte est très différente de celle qu'on trouve à Chypre, souvent plus grossière : il s'agit sans doute d'imitations locales' (1980, 150). A similar opinion was expressed by N. Schreiber, who describes such fabric with a grey core as an anomaly in comparison to the true Cypriot BoR products.

Therefore, the local BoR production cannot be excluded, unless the vessels come from a still unidentified pottery workshop somewhere in Cyprus (2003, 242, 279). At present, however, it seems that this ‘anomaly’ may also affect the BoR vessels from other places on the mainland. Potentially locally produced BoR vessels are also reported from Tel Mevorakh (Stern 1978, 54); Kabri (Lehmann 2002, 186), and Rosh Zayit (Gal and Alexandre 2000, 70-72, 78). This issue certainly requires further study. The recently undertaken petrographic analyses of several samples from Keisan may soon shed more light on their origin.²

Excursus

The paper focuses on the decorated Cypriot imports. However, from a broader perspective of trade relations between Cyprus and Keisan, a brief mention of other groups comprising undecorated Cypriot pottery seems to be justified.

At the turn of the 8th and 7th centuries, a new form of heavy bowls, commonly known as *mortaria*, appeared in the ceramic repertoire along the Levantine coast. They most likely arrived from Cyprus, as shown by petrographic analyses (Zukerman and Ben-Shlomo 2011). *Mortaria* were used for grinding basic agricultural products (barley, wheat, and so on) and/or as measuring vessels (Sapin 1988, 110-117). Attention is also paid to their role in maritime trade in the Levant (Gilboa 2015a, 304). At Tell Keisan, *mortaria* appear already in Stratum 5 and are especially numerous in Stratum 4 (Salles 1980, Pls 28: 1, 31: 3-7, 45: 5; see also Sapin 1988, Figs 1-3). They continue into the Persian period (Nodet 1980, pl. 20: 15-21), although at the time, some of them could already be local production.

Another and even more important set of Cypriot undecorated pottery at Keisan consists of large basket-handled amphorae in Plain White IV-V wares. These vessels appear in large quantities in Stratum 4/5, i.e., at the beginning of the 7th century, and persist in Stratum 4. The amphorae reached Keisan probably as wine containers and then could have been re-used either for the local oil trade or as storage vessels for domestic purposes (Humbert 1981, 382-385; 1991). Another site where such amphorae have been found in large numbers is Tel Kabri, north of Tell Keisan (Lehmann 2002, 198-199, Fig. 5.84: 1-2). As in the case of *mortaria*, the petrographic analyses of the samples from Keisan and Kabri indicate the Cypriot origin

² The research is conducted by Dr. Hab. Jacek Michniewicz from the Institute of Geology, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.

of these amphorae (Courtois 1980, 358-360; Gunneweg and Perlman 1991; on analyses of samples from Tel Kabri, see Goren and Cohen-Weinberger 2002).

Finally, we should also mention a Plain White V jug and two Plain White VI amphorae from the Persian period, Stratum 3 (Nodet 1980, Pls 19: 10, 18: 12-13).

Summary

Over the centuries, ceramics and other overseas goods reached Keisan probably through one of the main ports along the coast, of which the most important and closest was Acco. At least since the Late Bronze Age, Keisan was also one of the main stops on the trade route from Acco to Beth Shean and further inland (Artzy 2018, 93, Fig. 7).

Various types of Cypriot pottery began to appear at Tell Keisan as early as the Middle Bronze Age II and continued through the Late Bronze Age (Middle Cypriot-Late Cypriot chronological horizons) (Burdajewicz, 2020). The last Bronze Age pottery imports, like Myc. IIIC and White Painted Wheelmade III wares (Balensi 1981; Burdajewicz 1994, 101-111) date to the first half of the 12th century, a period of great political/cultural turmoil in the Eastern Mediterranean that we attempt to reconstruct from archaeological evidence. After a period of stagnation, trade relations between Cyprus and the Levant were renewed at the turn of the 11th and 10th centuries, which roughly corresponds to the CG I period (c. 1050-950 BC). So far, the best-documented examples of the earliest Cypriot pottery of the CG I period have come from Tel Dor situated south of the Carmel mountain ridge. The finds, dated to the second half of the 11th century BC, come from Phase 9 in Area B1, representing local chronological Horizon Irlb (Pl. 2:1) (Gilboa 1989; 2015b, 484).

In the case of Keisan, there is no such solid archaeological evidence (cf. Pl. 2: 2). A few fragments, identified on stylistic grounds as CG I-II imports (Pl. 3: 1, 4-5), do not come from securely dated stratigraphic contexts. However, five (or six?) fragments of BoR, one fragment of WP/Bichrome (jug) and two of Bichrome (jug, amphora) I-II wares from the timespan of Stratum 8 seem to confirm the relatively early appearance of Cypriot imports at the site. Moreover, these BoR fragments are probably one of the earliest examples of this ware found in the southern Phoenicia.

Cypriot imports remain rare in Strata 7-6 dated to the early and middle Iron Age II. A similar phenomenon of the rarity of Cypriot imports in

this period can also be observed at Dor, Acco, Kabri, and Achzib (Gilboa 2015b, 488). They slightly increase in number in the following Strata 5-4, dated to the late Iron IIB and Iron IIC periods. In terms of Cypriot pottery classification, they can be placed within the CA I-II periods. Both the WP and Bichrome classes are represented, but most are unclassifiable due to their fragmentation. The forms are typical and characteristic of Cypriot ceramics found along Levantine coast, for example, at Sarepta, Tyre, Tel Mevorakh, Dor, and further inland, like Megiddo (for a recent summary, see Gilboa 2015b). At Tell Keisan, open forms are few, and amphorae and jugs/juglets dominate.

The commercial links with the island of Cyprus, or more generally, the position of Tell Keisan within a Cypro-Phoenician sphere of cultural influence, are also well marked by a considerable amount of the BoR vessels, especially in Strata 5-4. This coincides with the increase in the amount of painted pottery (WP, Bichrome wares), *mortaria*, and the White Plain basket-handled amphorae over the same period.

In Stratum 3, imports of the CA II period are few. It was probably the last phase of the massive import from Cyprus to the Levant. Cypriot pottery from the succeeding Cypro-Classical period is absent at Tell Keisan and elsewhere (cf. Elayi 1988, 26, Maps II-X.). It is probably the result of a fairly fundamental change in the political situation in the Levant. The end of the CA II, and especially the Cypro-Classical period, was a time of Persian domination in the region. Cyprus itself was incorporated into the fifth Persian satrapy of the Achaemenid empire (525 BC) (cf. Iacovou 2013, 812-813). The Persian occupation of Cyprus turned out to be catastrophic for the political and economic situation of Cyprus. Several cities, like Salamis, that sided with the Greeks during the Ionian revolt in 495 BC fell into ruin and probably lost their previous significance. It seems that this was one of the underlying causes of the almost total decline in Cypriot ceramic imports to the Levant.

In conclusion, we may note cautiously that the assemblage of the Cypriot painted pottery from the Iron Age strata at Tell Keisan, despite being relatively small, makes a significant contribution to the distribution pattern of Cypriot imports in the southern Levant.

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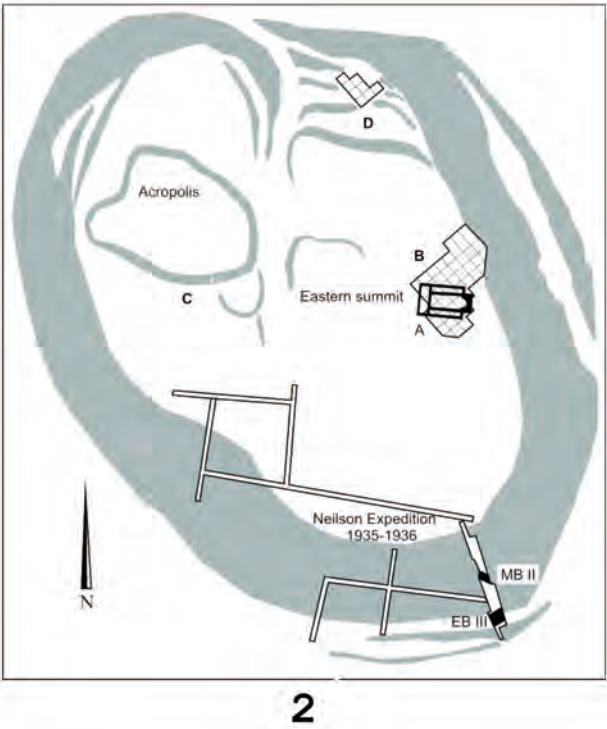
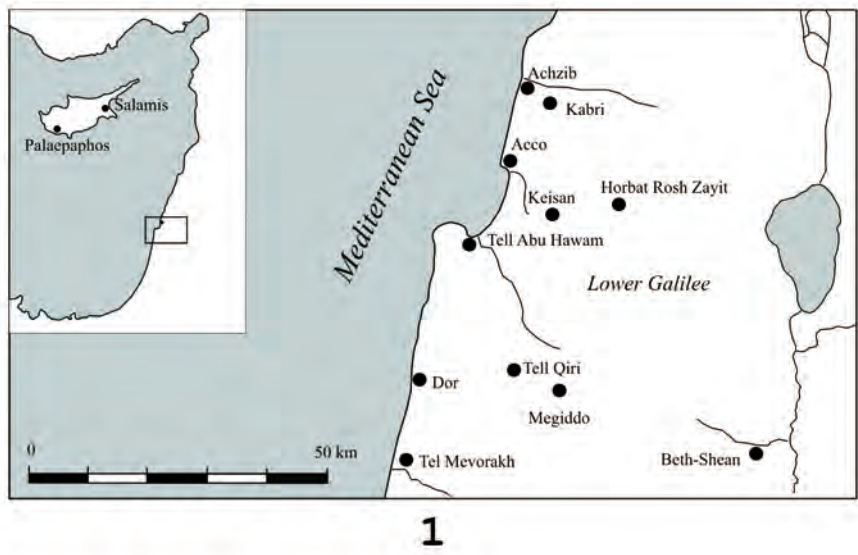
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Pl. 1: 1. Map of the southern Phoenicia/northern Israel with location of the sites mentioned in the text, drawing by the author
Pl. 1: 2. Tell Keisan and location of the excavated areas, drawing by the author

Absolute dates	Israel/Palestine ¹	Phoenicia			Cyprus ⁴ (SCE Pottery Types in <i>italic</i>)				
		Dor ²	Keisan ³						
			B	D					
1200-1175	Iron IA	LB/IrI	↑ 13	↑ 10'	LC III	White Painted Wheelmade III Wares			
1175-1150			IrIa early IrIa	12 11			9'		
1150-1125		IrIa late IrIa/b		10					
1125-1100			Iron IB	IrIb			9	8'	CG I
1100-1075									
1075-1050									
1050-1025									
1025-1000	Iron IIA	IrI/2	8	?	CG II ⁵	CG II	<i>II</i>		
1000-975									
975-950			Iron IIB	Ir2a	7	7'	CG III	CG III	<i>III</i>
950-925									
925-900	Ir2b	6		6' – 5'					
900-875		gap							
875-850	Iron IIC	Ir2c	5		4'	CA I	<i>IV</i>		
850-825									
825-800									
800-775									
775-750	Iron IIB	Ir2b	5	6' – 5'	CG III	CG III	<i>III</i>		
750-725									
725-700									
700-675									
675-650	Iron IIC	Ir2c	5-4	4'	CA I	<i>IV</i>			
650-625									
625-600									
600-575									
575-550	Babylonian	3b	3'	CA II	<i>V</i>				
550-525									
525-500									
500-475									
475-450	Persian	3a	↓	CC I	<i>VI</i>				
450-425									
425-400									

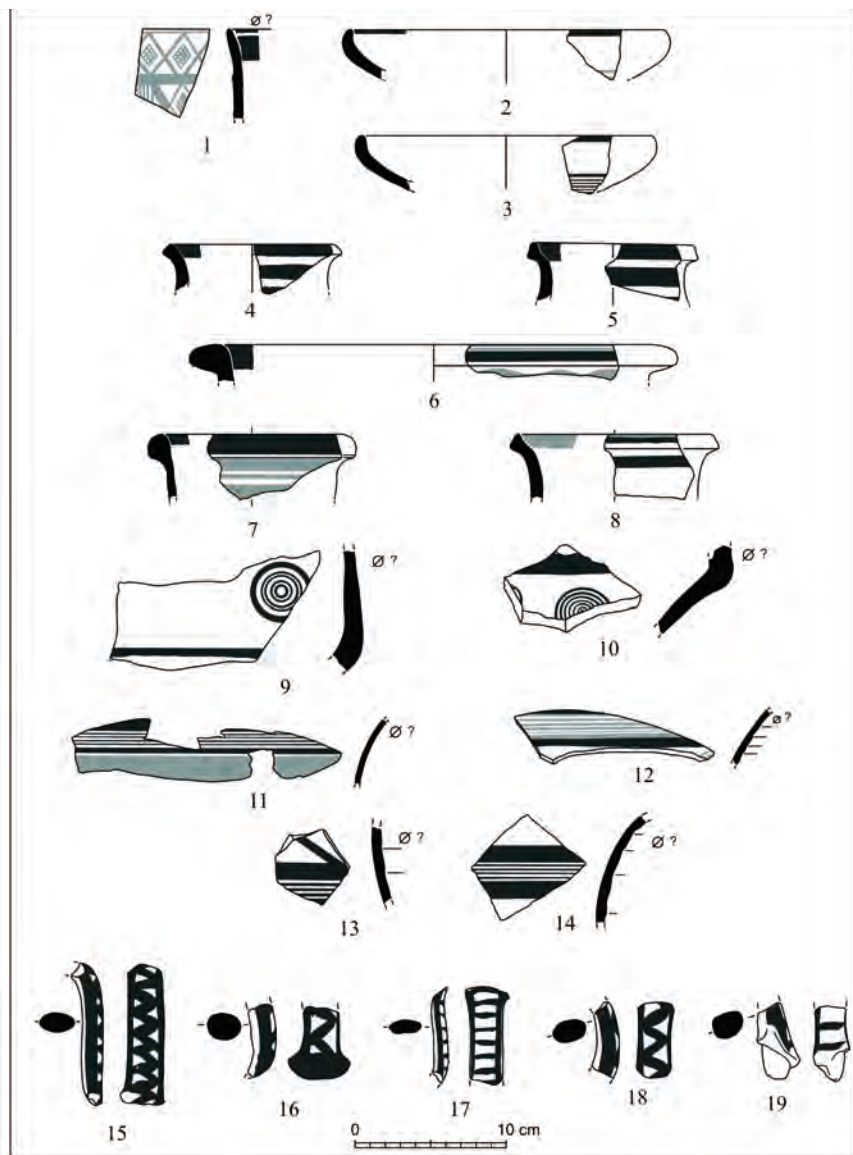
¹Stern 1993, 1529; ²Gilboa et al. 2018; ³Humbert 1981, 375; ⁴Karageorghis 2000, xii; ⁵Georgiadou 2016, 2.

1

Types/ceramic Classes	Tell Keisan strata													Total
	8	8/7	7	7/6	8/7/ 6	6	6/5/ 4	6/5	5	5/4	4	3	?	
White Painted										1	5	2	2	10
Bichrome	2	1	2						1	1		4	1	12
White Painted or Bichrome	1			2		1		1	7	2	6	1	20	41
Red Slip I(III)													1	1
Total	3	1	2	2		1		1	8	4	11	7	24	64
Black-on-Red	6	1	2	3	1	3	24	1	37	21	42	5	58	204
Total	9	2	4	5	1	4	24	2	45	25	53	12	82	268

2

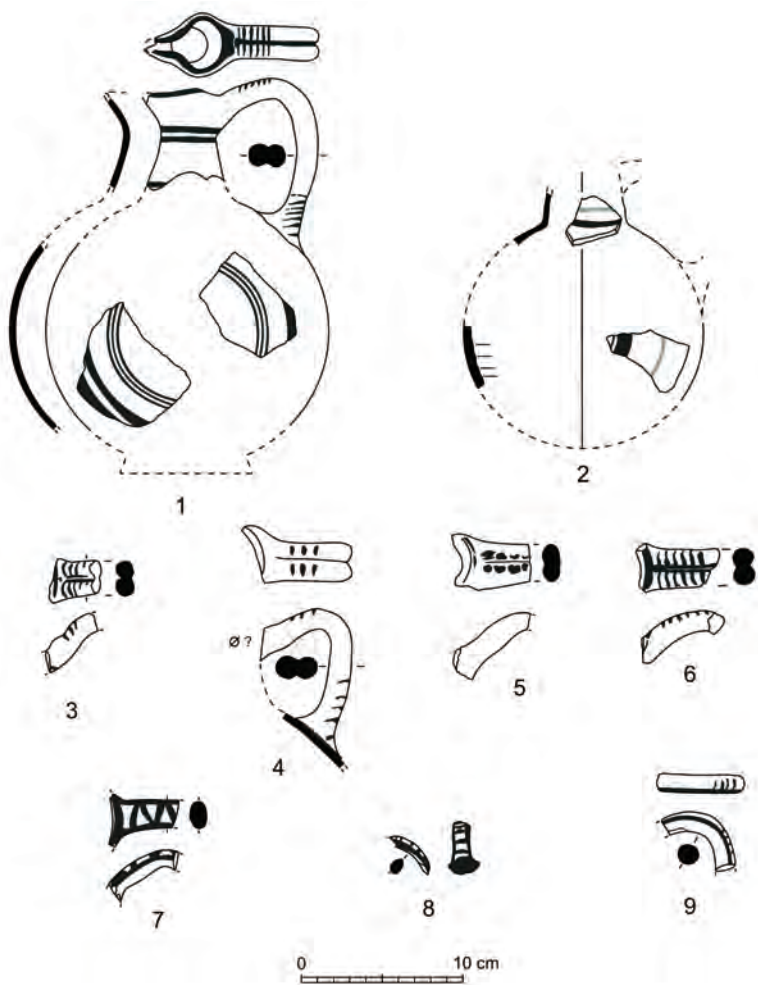
Pl. 2: 1. Chronological periods/horizons in Cyprus and the southern Levant related to the strata at Tell Keisan (CA – Cyprio Archaic; CG – Cypro-Geometric; LC – Late Cypriot)
Pl. 2: 2. Stratigraphic distribution of Cypriot decorated pottery



Pl. 3. White Painted and Bichrome wares, drawing by the author

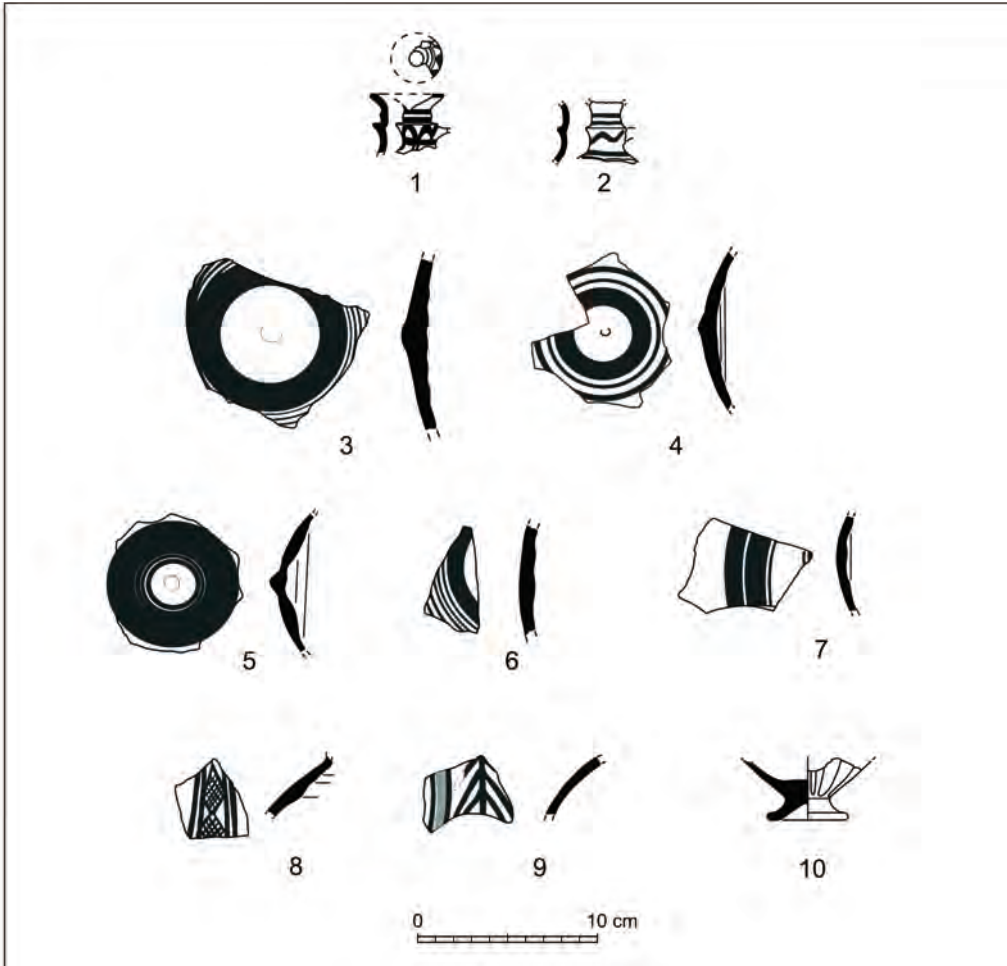
Pl. 3. White Painted and Bichrome wares, drawing by the author

	Area	Stratum/ Period	No. Inv.	Type/Ware
1	B	CG II-III	6.028	Bowl Bichrome I, II or III
2	B	6/7	6.961	Bowl White Painted or Bichrome II-III
3	A	4	4.517	Bowl White Painted IV-V
4	B	CG I-II	8.459 c	Amphora White Painted I-II
5	A	CG I-II	5.430	Amphora White Painted I-II
6	B	8	6.962 a	Amphora Bichrome I or II
7	B	7	6.962 c	Amphora Bichrome II-III
8	B	7	6.962 b	Amphora Bichrome II-III
9	B	3?	6.962	Amphora/krater White Painted or Bichrome V
10	B	3?	6.314	Amphora/krater White Painted or Bichrome V
11	B	4-5	2.757	Amphora/krater Bichrome IV
12	B	CA I-II	6.528-1	Amphora/krater Bichrome V
13	B	5/6	6.963	Amphora/krater White Painted or Bichrome III-IV
14	D	CG III-CA I	3.422	Amphora/krater White Painted or Bichrome III-IV
15	B	5	2.755 e	Handle White Painted III-IV
16	B	5	2.755 g	Handle White Painted III-IV
17	B	4-5	2.755 j	Handle White Painted IV
18	B	?	2.757a	Handle White Painted
19	B	?	2.757 b	Handle White Painted



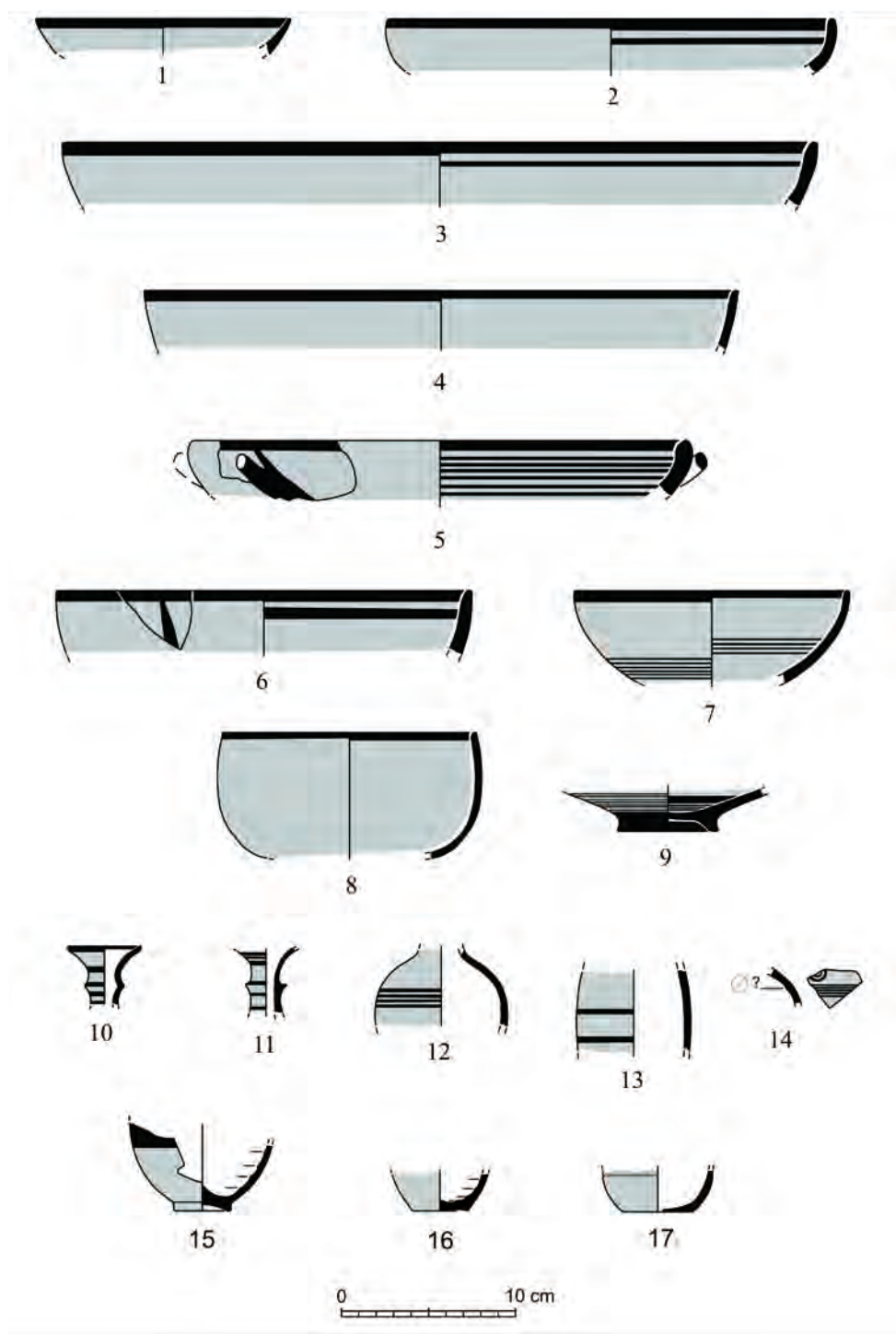
Pl. 4. White Painted and Bichrome wares, drawing by the author

	Area	Stratum/ Period	No. Inv.	Type/Ware
1	D	4	8.138	Jug White Painted V
2	A	CA I-II	5.432	Jug Bichrome V
3	B	4	6.965	Handle White Painted IV-V
4	B	3	6.965 c	Handle White Painted or Bichrome V
5	B	?	4.77.61	Handle White Painted
6	A	?	4.519	Handle White Painted
7	B	5	6.965 b	Handle White Painted III-IV
8	B	5	2.755 d	Handle White Painted III-IV
9	B	6/7	6.965 a	Handle White Painted



Pl. 5. White Painted, Bichrome, and Red Slip wares, drawing by the author

	Area	Stratum/ Period	No. Inv.	Type/Ware
1	B	4-5	8.459	Juglet White Painted IV or V
2	B	4	6.964	Juglet White Painted IV or V
3	B	5	2.755 h	Jug White Painted I-V
4	A	4	5.431	Jug White Painted IV-V
5	B	CG III-CA I	6.015	Jug White Painted or Bichrome III-IV
6	B	CG III-CA I	2.755	Jug White Painted or Bichrome I-IV
7	A	CG III-CA I	442	Jug White Painted
8	B	8	8.228	Closed form White Painted /Bichrome I
9	B	5	6.963 a	Closed form Bichrome III-IV
10	A	CG III	5.455	Jug/juglet Red Slip I (III)



Pl. 6. Black-on-Red ware, drawing by the author

	Area	Stratum/ Period	No. Inv.	Type/Ware
1	A	8	5.609	Bowl Black-on-Red I (III)
2	B	8	5.604	Bowl Black-on-Red I (III)
3	B	4/5	6.973	Bowl Black-on-Red II (IV)
4	A	4/5/6	2.1008	Bowl Black-on-Red II (IV)
5	B	5	5.518	Bowl Black-on-Red II (IV)
6	B	4	6.971	Bowl Black-on-Red II (IV)
7	A	4	5.611	Bowl Black-on-Red II (IV)
8	A	4	3.977	Bowl Black-on-Red II (IV)
9	A	4	4.528	Bowl Black-on-Red II (IV)
10	B	5	2.1004	Juglet Black-on-Red II (IV)
11	A	4/5	3.815	Juglet Bowl Black-on-Red II (IV)
12	B	4	3.104	Juglet Black-on-Red II (IV)
13	A	4/5/6	2.1007	Juglet Black-on-Red II (IV)
14	B	4	6.966	Juglet Black-on-Red II (IV)
15	D	CA I	8.144	Juglet Black-on-Red II (IV)
16	A	4/5/6	2.1006	Juglet Black-on-Red II (IV)
17	B	4	3.971 b	Juglet Black-on-Red II (IV)