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New Perspectives on the Chalcolithic Period in the Galilee: Investigations at the Site of Marj Rabba

Yorke M Rowan, *University of Chicago*

Morag M Kersel, *DePaul University*

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Edited by

John R. Spencer,
Robert A. Mullins, and Aaron J. Brody

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New Perspectives on the Chalcolithic Period in the Galilee: Investigations at the Site of Marj Rabba

Yorke M. Rowan

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Morag M. Kersel

DEPAUL UNIVERSITY

Introduction

Following on the heels of the Neolithic, the Chalcolithic period (ca. 4500–3600 B.C.E.) heralds fundamental changes in socioeconomic organization, mortuary practices, and settlement patterns. Our best information about this period derives from the well-preserved sites in the northern Negev (i.e., Shiqmim, Gilat, Abu Matar, Bir es-Safadi, Gerar), the Jordan Valley (Tuleilat Ghassul, Abu Hamid), and the Golan Heights; and from cemeteries (many discovered as a result of development), most of which are located along the Mediterranean coastal plain and the inland foothills (see Rowan and Golden 2009 for recent synthesis). The Negev sites and the burial assemblages of the littoral hint at access to distant sources of exotic raw materials and the production of status items (Levy 1998; Perrot 1959; Rowan et al. 2006; Rowan and Ilan 2013); in contrast, the Golan sites exhibit little or no evidence of prestige items (Epstein 1998). The absence of settlements near the coastal and piedmont burial caves was once considered part of a pattern produced by nomadic pastoralists, who buried their dead along the coast (Perrot 1984) but left little in the way of settlement remains. Although this hypothesis is no longer widely accepted, settlement excavations near the cave burial sites remain few and far between. This lacuna leaves a skewed interpretation of the Chalcolithic, placing emphasis on information from settlements in the Negev and the Golan.

Authors' note: As we embarked on our first self-directed project in Israel, there was one person to whom we could turn for advice, guidance, and support: Sy Gitin. Even though the period was “pre-interesting” and the operation small (we were a mere eight people in our first season), Sy was ever helpful in assisting us launch a new field project in Israel. We called upon his many years of experience, his wise counsel, and his shipping-container contacts in order to get the project up and running. As we continue to investigate this often overlooked and understudied period in the Levant, we know that we can count on Sy for continued support and quips about the Chalcolithic.

The discovery and excavation of Peqi'in, a burial cave in the Upper Galilee, revealed remarkable new motifs in ossuary iconography and a striking material repertoire that includes copper and ivory objects and violin-shaped figurines. These artifacts were found much farther north than previously known, suggesting wide-ranging connections to other areas (Gal et al. 1996; 1997; 1999). Very little is known, however, about the Chalcolithic settlements of the north—only one small, well-stratified site (Tel Te'o) is published with substantial Chalcolithic features (Eisenberg et al. 2001). Preliminary notes are available on a few key sites, such as Enot Kochav and Beer Tsunam (Shalem 2008). The remainder of our information derives from either surveys (Frankel et al. 2001; Frankel and Getzov 1997) or the salvage excavations of a few caves, such as Asherat (Smithline 2001), Abu Sinan (Frankel and Gophna 1980), and Peqi'in (Gal et al. 1996; 1997; 1999). Moreover, there are very few published radiocarbon dates from Chalcolithic sites in the Galilee or Golan (see Burton and Levy 2001 for recent compilation).

New investigations launched by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago intend to tackle this missing piece of the late prehistoric puzzle by establishing a baseline for understanding the Galilee during the Chalcolithic period, specifically the Lower Galilee. The primary research goals for this initial foray into the Chalcolithic of the region include: (1) an exploration of building techniques and spatial dynamics; (2) the examination of regional affinities through the collection of material culture; (3) an examination of subsistence economies through collection of botanical and faunal samples; and (4) the collection of radiocarbon samples for chronological links. By recovering and studying contextualized fauna, plant, and material culture assemblages, we intend to provide inter- and intraregional comparative insights into the lives of the agropastoral people in the hilly Mediterranean zones of the Lower Galilee.

Marj Rabba

In this essay, we offer preliminary observations based on the first two seasons (2009 and 2010) of excavations at the site of Marj Rabba. Marj Rabba (also referred to as Har ha-Sha'avi, west) is located in the Lower Galilee (fig. 1), approximately 7 km SSW of Karmi'el, 2 km SW of Sakhnin (southwest, lat 749780, long 226350; northeast, lat 749950, long 226800) and 1 km NE of the Roman period site of Yodfat. The site was discovered as part of a hinterland survey of Yodfat by Dina Shalem and Motti Aviam, who first identified it as Chalcolithic based on the concentrated surface scatter of flint, pottery, and basalt artifacts (Shalem oral communication).

With very little architecture visible on the surface, one of the initial goals was to determine the depth of anthropogenic strata and to evaluate the human and animal disturbance to these layers. The investigations of 2009 were performed in two areas, designated East and West: the West Area is forested, with large rock cairns, while the East Area is in a fallow field between two olive groves. Our investigations in the West

Fig. 1. Selected Chalcolithic sites. Map provided by the Galilee Prehistory Project, The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

Fig. 2. Squares C1, D1, E1, and F1, northern halves of D2, E2 and F2.

Area focused on three rock cairns, one of which exhibited a long, built linear feature visible on the surface. We were particularly interested in determining the reasons for the existence of these rock cairns and how long ago they were established. Excavations in the 2010 season were located only in the East Area, with particular effort concentrated on the excavation of sqs. B1, E1, F1 and the northern half of sqs. E2 and F2. An additional square, M1, is located 35 m to the east, contiguous with sq. L1, which was opened in 2009. The primary excavation area, where the greatest concentration of contiguous architecture is exposed, will be the primary focus of our present discussion.

Squares C1, D1, E1, E2, F1, F2

Topsoil removal across the site included some modern material (plastic, bottle glass), some small Roman or Byzantine period well-fired, red-burnished sherds, and Chalcolithic material. The high proportion of Chalcolithic ceramics and other material culture in this disturbed upper layer suggests that later building phases were destroyed through the years. Mole rat disturbance, a daily occurrence, was most notable in the upper layer but continued as the excavation went deeper. Below the removal of topsoil, ca. 25–40 cm, a layer of small limestone pebbles, in some places relatively dense, was encountered. This was accompanied by a soil change across the site, less compacted, with more reddish, silty texture in contrast to the dark-brown, hard compacted surface sediment. After the dark, compact topsoil was cleared, all loci were sieved through 5-mm mesh.

By the end of the 2009 season, the double row, large, fieldstone wall foundation (wall L.7) disappeared into the eastern section of D1. Perpendicular to this wall, the north–south wall L.6 ran along the western edge of sq. C1 (fig. 2). Additionally, a large circular feature (L.23) that is nearly 5 m in diameter and made of small cobbles was only half excavated in 2009 and was expected to continue into sq. E1. During the 2010 excavation season, sqs. E1 and F1, and later E2 and F2 were opened in an effort to follow features previously excavated in 2009 in sq. D1. The 2010 season revealed

more architecture, albeit not at all what was anticipated, along with more round features and several phases of construction.

Two sets of features dominated the main excavated squares exposed in the East Area. One predominant feature was the well-built wall foundation extending across sqs. C1, D1, E1 and F1 and connecting to perpendicular, north–south walls on the east and west (fig. 2). A second intriguing feature explored in the 2010 season was the series of overlapping circular stone features to the south of the extended east–west wall foundation (fig. 2). These two features, located in sqs. C1 and D1 (excavated in 2009) and sqs. E1, F1 and the northern halves of E2 and F2 (fig. 3) became the focal point of the 2010 season and will form the basis of the following discussion.

The north–south wall foundation L.6 exposed in sq. C1 forms a right angle with wall L.7, although most of the juncture remains in the unexcavated area of sq. C2 to the north of sq. C1. Near the interior of the corner of walls L.6 and L.7, a well-built, elliptical, limestone slab-lined pit (L.24) was constructed up against the base of wall L.7. Roughly one meter in diameter and preserved about one-half meter deep, the bottom of the pit was paved with flat stones. Just to the south of this slab-lined pit (or silo?) a large, flat limestone slab suggested a work surface related to this pit. Nearby, a small section of original laid surface (L.26) was preserved, consisting of larger pottery fragments and a hard-packed layer of mud.

Wall L.7, which runs along the northern line of sqs. C1 and D1, continues 11 m into sq. E1. Rather than forming a corner with a wall parallel to L.6, as was anticipated during 2009, this wall ends, and another wall (L.203) continues to the east. The disjuncture of these two walls suggests that they are not contemporaneous, but additional exposure is needed and will be a focus of future investigations in order to understand the relationship between these walls. Nonetheless, it appears that the northern wall has a break to the east, in sq. F1, possibly an entrance, where a corner is formed with north–south wall L.208, running to the south into sq. F2, about 5 m before forming a corner with east–west wall L.217. Understanding the architectural relationship of these walls and the nature of the structure(s) they form is critical to identifying the functions of these buildings.

In the upper subsoil levels of sq. F1 (L.200), one of two obsidian blades was recovered during sieving. Obsidian is extremely rare during the period, although it is known from earlier 6th-millennium B.C.E. sites, most recently Tel Tsaf (Ben-Shlomo, Hill, and Garfinkel 2009) and other late-6th- to early-5th-millennium B.C.E. sites such as Newe Yam (Wreschner 1977: 270), ‘Ein el-Jarba (Kaplan 1969: 14), Munhata (Garfinkel 1992: 219) and Horbat ‘Uza (Lieberman-Wander 2009: 95–96). Obsidian is found at only two Chalcolithic sites thus far (Gilat and Teleilat Ghassul) and is traced to different Anatolian sources (see Yellin, Levy, and Rowan 1996). A dense accumulation of very small pebbles in the western edge of sq. F1 early in the excavations led to the recognition of densely packed, medium cobbles all positioned at the same level with a very distinct, purposefully built edge and a very regular pattern (L.207). This appears

Fig. 3. Squares F1 and F2, looking north. Photograph provided by the Galilee Prehistory Project, The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

to be another round installation similar to installations found in sqs. D1, E1, E2, and F2. Left in place and pedestaled, it will be removed in a future season in order to expose more completely the lower floor level and associated features below.

In the eastern half of sq. F1, beginning in the subsoil, a large concentration of medium-to-large cobbles covering most of the square (L.206) was mostly removed during excavation. This was a denser and larger concentration of stone than had been found anywhere in Area East previously. After careful cleaning of this concentration, we eventually found two walls (L.208 and L.217) that apparently formed a room with wall L.231 (fig. 4). Locus 206 is, therefore, probably the product of the destruction of the upper levels of these walls and is probably the later, northern-most wall (L.201).

Walls L.208 and L.217 are both well constructed, with two rows of similar-sized, small boulders. Unlike the walls in sqs. C, D, and E, these walls do not have occasional large, standing boulders that are more than one course high. There are at least two courses preserved in walls L.208 and L.217. The north/south wall, L.208, seems to abut the short wall segment L.231, which is just below and parallel to the first wall discovered in sq. F1, L.201. Wall L.201 has only one row and one course preserved,

Fig. 4. Square F1 and the northern half of F2.

is not particularly straight, and appears to be a later construction. However, there are large boulders that may relate wall L.201 to wall L.208 and wall L.217. This wall (L.231) is constructed similarly to wall L.208 and wall L.217. A gap in the wall may be a door, and then the wall continues into the western balk. W231 appears to line up with the walls from sqs. C, D, and E much better than wall L.201 (see fig. 2). On the eastern side of wall L.208, in F1, another wall (L.218) runs diagonally southeast from the corner of wall L.231 and wall L.208 from the eastern section of F1 (fig. 4). The purpose of this wall is unclear. It is not as well constructed as walls L.231, L.208, and

Fig. 5. Room and surface inside sq. F1 looking south (arrows indicate preserved floor surface, L.228). Photograph provided by the Galilee Prehistory Project, The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

L.218. Instead of two clear rows of uniformly sized fieldstones, this wall has very large stones (which may or may not be in situ) and some small cobbles in a more haphazard orientation. The wall seems to abut the corner of L.231 and L.208, but it also might be articulated with L.201. It will not be possible to understand how this wall relates to the rest of the architecture in F1 without opening G1, which will be the focus of future endeavors at the site.

Inside the room formed by walls L.231, L.208, and L.217, a very dense and even distribution of cobbles and boulders was found at the bottom of a fill (L.210). Although this may have been a disturbed paved floor, this idea was eventually discounted because there was very little evidence to suggest a surface (no stones, sherds, or other artifacts lying flat). After photography, the dense cobble layer was removed, revealing a

light brown silty layer like that found at a similar level in C1. This layer was highly friable and easily removed (L.223). During removal of L.223, a basalt macehead fragment was recovered in the northwest corner. Stone maceheads are a typical artifact of the Chalcolithic (see Rosenberg 2010; Rowan et al. 2006; Rowan and Levy 2011). After about 10 cm and additional cobble removal, a harder surface was exposed that appeared to be a floor (L.228). In a few areas, there was a clearly preserved light-grey, very soft mix of silty soil, ash, and charcoal floor surface. Where still preserved, the surface was embedded with sherds. The in situ floor was carefully cleaned and photographed, although much of it is broken up by bioturbation. In the middle of the room, at the level of L.228, was a small, round, pit-like feature (L.229). This was a slightly irregular circle, only 26 cm in diameter that was clearly defined by a very hard, irregular, dark border (fig. 5). When broken, the boundary that defined L.229 seemed to be made of hard, burned, ash/charcoal/mud floor material. Initially, it was thought to be a cup-mark like those found at Gilat and other Chalcolithic sites; however, after excavation, it seems likely that it was an installation that may have been used for some sort of pyrotechnology. Approximately 26 cm in depth, it was lined with small flat rocks and contained some fire-cracked, small cobbles but no material remains.

In order to expose wall L.217 completely, the northern half of sq. F2 was opened. Early in the excavations, another possible circle was identified—in this case, made up of very large cobbles. This turned out to be a large, round feature (L.215; see figs. 3, 4) that consisted of a large cobble border filled with uniformly sized, medium cobbles. Although the circle is not particularly well preserved (some boulders have moved from the line of the circle, and some gaps exist), the feature is well defined in relation to its surrounding context. The border of L.215 runs very close to wall L.218, but they do not abut, so the relationship between L.215 and the architecture in F1 remains unclear.

The presence of many features made from very small, easily dislodged cobbles required slow excavation in sqs. E1 and E2. The southern edge of L.23 (the large round feature exposed during 2009) continued into sq. E2 and then curved back into sq. E1. This edge was easily defined since it had the same regular pattern: three rows of small cobbles. Attempts to follow L.23 along its northern edge into sq. E1 were hampered by a small wall fragment (L.204). Although we suspected that L.204 was a closing wall for the structure containing L.7/L.203, it turned out to be only a fragmentary late construction that did not connect to any other features in sqs. E1 or D1. Instead, only one course was preserved and only for a length of about 2 m. Wall L.204 was clearly sitting on a concentration of flat-lying pottery (Basket 2129, L.224). With the removal of L.204, it was possible to clean away the last of the subsoil sitting on top of several features in sq. E1 (L.202) and define them (see figs. 6, 7).

On the western edge of sq. E1, above L.23, there is a smaller round feature (L.230) made with a similar construction. The full circumference of this round structure is not preserved but becomes indistinct on the western edge. The pottery concentration under wall L.204 sat directly on top of L.230.

In the northeast corner of sq. E1, a concentration of flat-lying pottery sherds (Basket 2052) was found during excavation of subsoil L.202. This may include the fragments of two relatively complete vessels (the vessels are currently being reconstructed); although lying flat, this concentration did not appear to be a floor but lay against a very regular pattern of medium cobbles (L.225). This feature lies below L.202 and in L.224. The orientation of these cobbles suggested that they were the fill inside a feature similar to L.23 and L.207, although L.225 was more difficult to delineate than others. Locus 225 appears to be a round installation, similar to Loci 23, 207, and 230, approximately 2 m in diameter. On its northeastern edge, it has nicely laid, medium cobbles, each with their long axis pointing outward. The interior of the feature was filled with uniformly sized, medium cobbles. Against the northeastern edge of the feature, there was more broken pottery lying vertically (Basket 2129). This feature seems to abut L.230, but at the time of writing their relationship is unclear.

Another round feature, very similar to Locus 215, was found in sq. E2. The dark, reddish-brown, silty loam soil that was below the plow zone in E2 (L.205) continued for several centimeters with a great deal of material culture but little in the way of architecture. Eventually, part of another round feature (L.226), which had a diameter of approximately 2.0 m, was exposed. This was similarly constructed, with a border of larger fieldstones and a densely packed inner fill of medium cobbles. Less than half this feature is in sq. E2; the rest disappears into the south section and the balk between E2 and F2.

Locus 230 and L.23 seem to share a common edge at their eastern extent; however, both of these loci as well as L.225 are cut by a very deep, well-constructed, cobble-lined pit (L.214; see figs. 6, 7). This pit is oval with a diameter of 1 m and is constructed with many irregular, tightly packed cobbles to a depth of almost 1 m. Three soil samples were removed from L.214 at different levels.

Some aspects of the circular structures remain unclear, but there are at least four phases of construction (fig. 7). Locus 23, the round feature first identified in 2009, is the earliest and also largest feature (ca. 4.5–5.0 m external diameter). Unfortunately, it does not appear to be complete because the northeastern corner disappears just inside sq. E1. Next, L.230 is built on top of L.23, possibly reusing one edge of the earlier feature. Locus 225 may be contemporary with L.230 or may have been built during a similar phase. Then the pit feature, L.214, cut all three of these earlier features, Loci 23, 225, and 230. Later, the ephemeral wall that is L.204 was constructed.

Wall L.7 continues from sq. D1 into sq. E1; about 2 m from the western edge of sq. E1, wall L.7 jogs to the north (fig. 7). From there, the wall jogs to the north and, designated wall L.203, runs to the east across the rest of sq. E1. It also only exists at a lower level after the jog (approximately 30–40 cm lower), and the construction method appears to change. West of the jog, the wall continues, constructed in the same method as in sqs. C1 and D1 with very large boulders, in two rows but often irregularly placed and with little uniformity of stone size. After the jog, there are very few

Fig. 6. Squares D1, D2, E1, and E2, looking north. Photograph provided by the Galilee Prehistory Project, The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

large boulders, and the rows are much more neatly and uniformly placed (much like the walls in sqs. L1 and M1). Wall L.203 disappears into the eastern balk and seems to line up with wall L.231 in both elevation and orientation.

There is clearly a difference in construction between the walls at the jog, but whether wall L.231 or wall L.7 was constructed earlier may only be answered by further excavation. At the very end of the 2010 season, some larger stones that might be a north/south wall adjoining wall L.203 right at the jog were just beginning to be exposed. If this wall exists, then it would likely be a closing wall to walls L.231, L.208, and L.217, forming a complete room that runs *under* all of the round features in E1. This would make the F1 room an earlier phase than all of the other phases in E1. This will be investigated in subsequent seasons.

After two seasons at Marj Rabba, we have at least six enigmatic round installations (Loci 207, 215, 224, 23, 225, and 230). There seem to be two construction methods (with and without large field stone used as borders), and the diameter of the features ranges from as little as 2 m (L.225) to as much as 5 m (L.23). The function of these installations remains unclear. There is no in situ evidence that these installations had any kind of superstructure; however, they are very near the surface, so it is likely that upper portions of these features were destroyed by plowing. One potential function could be silos, similar to those found at Tel Tsaf (Garfinkel et al. 2007), although L.23

Fig. 7. Foundations of round structures in squares D1, D2, E1, and E2.

is fairly large for grain storage. Unfortunately, botanical preservation at this elevation is poor and, although soil was removed from these installations for flotation, no preserved botanical remains have been recovered. It is hoped that future seasons will clarify this question by uncovering lower and better preserved installations.

Square B1

In the 2010 season, sq. B1 was opened to explore the area immediately west of wall L.6, the north–south wall exposed in sq. C1 during the 2009 season. The intent was to uncover information pertaining to the construction of this wall and, perhaps, information on the unique features (L.24) found in C1, but the square revealed no in situ architecture (fig. 8). Nevertheless, rich cultural deposits were found even in the matrix excavated from just above the bedrock, which is exposed across about 60% of the square. Cultural fill in the square also included decayed mud-brick remains, although no complete bricks were isolated. A great deal of bioturbation from both

Fig. 8. Square B1, looking north. Bedrock with sediment. Photograph provided by the Galilee Prehistory Project, The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

small animals (mostly rodents) and roots was present. Material from modern, Roman, Chalcolithic, and Neolithic (a flint arrowhead) periods was recovered, but the greatest percentage of the excavated artifacts was Chalcolithic in origin. As in other squares, all excavated matrices beneath the topsoil (L.38) layer were sieved with a 5-mm mesh. Removal of the mixed matrices (which began as a light-brown to yellowish silty sediment and then turned to grayish friable sediment) exposed larger stones, many of which turned out to be the upper sections of bedrock. Along the northern baulk, there appeared to be a concentration of natural formations with natural and cultural debris. This included a large square stone (ca. $40 \times 40 \times 15$ cm) with a 10-cm-diameter concavity incised—possibly a door socket. Although clearly no longer in primary context, the large boulder was unlikely to have been moved far.

The fill layers ended with the appearance of a reddish clay soil at 466.83 AMSL. Excavated as L.50, this was the sediment found directly on top of the bedrock. As the excavation continued, bedrock was exposed until it covered about 30–40% of the trench (fig. 8). Excavation continued in the hopes of bottoming out to bedrock across the entire trench for the purpose of finding possible Chalcolithic uses of the bedrock for food processing or water collection. No evidence for this was found, however. As the removal of soil went deeper, the soil became increasingly sterile.

Fig. 9. Perforated, bifacially flaked, flint disc fragment. Both photographs provided by the Galilee Prehistory Project, The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

Fig. 10. Perforated and carved bone pendant fragment.

Concluding Remarks

The study of the ceramic, flint, ground stone, and faunal assemblages is ongoing, so it would be premature to draw broad inferences based on artifacts. Although ceramic vessel fragments and chipped stone are plentiful, the overall impression of the material culture suggests far lower concentrations in contrast to the large Negev sites such as Gilat, Shiqmim, Bir es-Safadi, or Abu Matar. Moreover, the absence of “exotic” artifacts such as copper, ivory, non-local stone, or shells may indicate a population that was not as actively engaged in the exchange systems as were people who were living at the Negev sites. Some artifacts, such as the perforated, bifacially flaked, flint disc fragment (fig. 9) recovered during the excavation of the largest circular feature (L.23) are typical of northern regions such as the Jordan Valley and the Golan (Hanbury-Tenison 1986: 142–43; Noy 1998: 277–83, pls. 49–56). Others, such as the carved bone pendant fragment (fig. 10, also found during exposure of the large circular feature L.23) are less diagnostic of region.

The pottery repertoire includes typical forms, such as open form bowls, fenestrated pedestaled stands, and large storage vessels. Rope decoration—created by incising or finger indentation directly or with appliqué—is found here and is a motif known from Chalcolithic sites in the Golan. Brown or dark-reddish vessels are more typical here than among ceramic assemblages of the southern regions. Basalt inclusions in ceramic fabrics, which are typical in eastern Galilean wares where basalt is local, are found

only rarely here. Sherds of the Golan Chalcolithic, discovered at sites such as Tel Te'ò and Tel Turmus in the Hula Valley (Dayan 1969), Tel Delhamiya in the Jordan Valley (Amiran 1977: 51–52, fig. 4.5, pl. 10:1–2), and Abu Sinan (Frankel and Gophna 1980: pl. 23:12), Asherat (Smithline 2001: fig. 11.11), and the Peqi'in burial cave in the Upper Galilee (Gal, Smithline, and Shalem 1997: 149, fig. 5) are also found at Marj Rabba. The discovery of “Golan” vessels beyond that region suggests that these manufacturing techniques extended beyond the Golan and that the vessels were exchanged to a limited degree on an intraregional level.

The substantial wall foundations, the partial room with a fragmentary floor, and large overlapping circular structures highlight a site unlike others investigated to date in the Galilee, but this reflects the paucity of comparative data. The few parallels for the circular structures in the Galilee suggest that these may have served the same purpose as round mud-brick structures identified as silos at Tel Tsaf (Garfinkel et al. 2007). At Tel Tsaf, the round, plastered structures ranged in outer diameter from 2 to 4 m, which are dimensions similar to the structures at Marj Rabba. This suggestion is difficult to test without archaeological contexts associated with the architecture, which is lacking at such shallow levels.

Although Marj Rabba is clearly a Chalcolithic site, many questions remain unanswered: Where did the inhabitants find water? How large was the site, and how many people lived there? Where were the dead buried? In addition, chronological issues remain. Does this site date to a time that was early in the Chalcolithic sequence, perhaps the mid-5th millennium B.C.E., as some scholars would suggest based on the pottery? We hope that, with additional seasons of excavation and survey, some of these questions will be answered.

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