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THE DATE OF KUNTILLET 'AJRUD

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Abstract

Since the publication of the pottery assemblage of Kuntillet 'Ajrud by Ayalon (1995), several large pottery assemblages from central, well-stratified Judahite sites have been published or studied. In this paper the Kuntillet 'Ajrud assemblage is re-examined in light of the newly-available material. A detailed review of the pottery shows that (1) the assemblage is later than had originally been estimated and should be down-dated to the end of the 8th century BCE; and (2) the bulk of the assemblage consists of Judahite rather than Phoenician and/or northern forms as were defined earlier. The circumstances and reasons for the establishment of the site in this remote location are re-evaluated with regard to this new evidence.

Kuntillet 'Ajrud is located *ca.* 10 km west of Darb el-Ghazza, in the wide Wadi Quraiya, a natural east-west route. Several wells were dug at the foot of the site and the settlement was undoubtedly founded there due to the crossroads and the wells (Meshel 1978).

The dating of the single-stratum site at Kuntillet 'Ajrud has two important implications: First, the currently-accepted dating of the pottery assemblage is used by supporters of the high chronology as an argument to support their claim (Mazar 1997: 162) and this helps to date settlement strata at other sites (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001: 273–276). Second, the discovery of religious and other inscriptions on walls and objects (pithoi and stone basins) at the site has aroused much curiosity and interest and is a major landmark in paleographic research. As a matter of fact, the inscriptions are considered the earliest example of the Hebrew alphabet.

The excavations at the site were conducted in 1975–1976 by Zeev Meshel (Meshel and Meyers 1976; Meshel 1978; 1979; 1993). Meshel stated that “The pottery and the form of the script suggest [dating the site at] the end of the 9th to the beginning of the 8th centuries. But to be more precise, we must look for a time when these ‘facts’ which we have discovered at Kuntillet 'Ajrud could have occurred together” (Meshel 1979: 34). Based on that, Meshel inferred that the site could have been founded during the reign of Queen Athalia (that is, *ca.* 842–836 BCE), who was of Phoenician descent. The site was thus dated based mainly on the biblical text before ceramic and paleographic research was completed, and before ¹⁴C dating tests were performed. The end of the 9th/beginning of the 8th centuries has since been accepted

in palaeographic research as the date of the existence of Kuntillet 'Ajrud (Naveh 1979: 29, n. 9; 1982: 66, 69; Cross 1980: 14, 18 n. 16; Aḥituv 1992: 152; 2005: 232; Rollston 2003: 152; Dobbs-Allsopp *et al.* 2005: 279), although Lemaire disagreed with the early dating and, based on historic considerations, dated the inscriptions to the reign of Jeroboam II, *ca.* 776–750 (Lemaire 1984).

The Kuntillet 'Ajrud pottery was analyzed and published by Ayalon (1995). Since it was commonly believed that there were considerable Israelite/northern influences at the site,¹ Ayalon, too, attempted to trace them. He thus compared the pottery finds to vessels from widely different regions—Israel, Judah, the Shephelah, the southern Coastal Plain, Syria/Phoenicia and Transjordan (Ayalon 1995: 141). Ayalon concluded that “the assemblage is unique in that its parallels represent diverse regional origins: Israel...Judea...the Shephelah and the Southern Coast”, and determined that the assemblage should be dated to the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 8th century BCE (Ayalon 1995: 198).

Fifteen ¹⁴C tests were carried out (most on samples of Tamarisk beams). The average calibrated dates ranged between 830–750 BCE (Segal 1995). As wooden beam samples are long-lived materials, the results they yield are not as accurate as those obtained from short-lived material, and since only part of the samples were used for reaching an approximate date (because some have a wide range of possibilities), it is difficult to establish an accurate absolute date based on these findings.

POTTERY

In the years since publication of the Kuntillet 'Ajrud vessels (Ayalon 1995), several large pottery assemblages from central Judahite sites have been published and general ceramic knowledge has been expanded and enriched. It is, therefore, appropriate that we re-examine the dating of the Kuntillet 'Ajrud assemblage and any parallels that may exist between it and those of Judahite sites whose dating is well established.

The aim of the present study is to attempt to accomplish these tasks. I shall also attempt to test whether the assemblage is unique in terms of regional influences, and whether it resembles other Judahite assemblages. The three principal sites I shall use to that end are Lachish (Zimhoni 1997; 2004),² Tel Beersheba (Aharoni 1973; Singer-Avitz

¹ The attribution to the Israelite Kingdom is based on the mention of 'Samaria' in the inscriptions and the theophoric element in names (Aḥituv 2005: 232).

² When a specific vessel is absent from the assemblages excavated by the Tel Aviv University Expedition during the renewed excavations, I will draw on vessels found by the British Expedition (Tufnell 1953). For a new stratigraphic analysis of the Iron Age loci, see Ussishkin 2004: 411–870.

1999)³ and Arad (Singer-Avitz 2002), all of which yielded large pottery assemblages and have well-established and assured stratigraphy. I will also present additional comparisons from other sites in Judah and the southern Coastal Plain.

In this paper the date of Kuntillet 'Ajrud will be considered from one point of view only—the pottery assemblage. A paleographic discussion is beyond the scope of this article and will not be dealt with.

The Kuntillet 'Ajrud excavations yielded 76 whole vessels (Ayalon 1995: 187: Table 1), most of which were published (Ayalon 1995: Figs. 3–22). Ayalon presented the incidence of each vessel type and its precise location at the site in his Master's thesis (1985). Unless otherwise noted, each type represents only a single whole vessel.

Typical Judahite vessels are presented first and then vessels with foreign characteristics.

Vessels with Judahite Characteristics

BOWLS

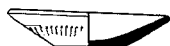


Fig. 1: 1a – Straight-walled and disc-based bowl (three vessels) (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 1–3). Petrographic analysis indicates it was made of loess (with coastal sand as temper) that originated in the northwestern Negev (Goren 1995: no. 17).⁴

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba, mainly in Stratum II and a few in Stratum III (Fig. 1: 1b; Aharoni 1973: Pl. 74: 3);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 1: 1c; Zimhoni 2004: Figs. 26.3: 12, 26.12: 9);
- Arad Strata X–VIII (Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 10: B3);
- Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum A (Albright 1932: Pl. 65: 28);
- Tel 'Ira Stratum VII (Freud 1999: Fig. 6.82: 1).



Fig. 1: 2a – Straight-walled and ring-based bowl (three vessels) (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 4–6). Petrographic analysis indicates these were made of loess (with coastal sand as temper) that originated in the northwestern Negev (Goren 1995: no. 17).

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 1: 2b);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 1: 2c; Tufnell 1953: Pl. 80: 61, 63);

³ Since only part of the Beersheba pottery assemblages have been published, in some cases I shall have to present data from the as-yet-unpublished rich assemblages.

⁴ Petrographic analysis was usually carried out on sherds sharing a typological resemblance with the whole vessels shown in our plates.

- Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum A (Albright 1943: Pl. 21: 6).



Fig. 1: 3a – Rounded-carinated bowl with slightly everted walls and plain rim (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 7).

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 1: 3b; Aharoni 1973: Pl. 59: 57);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 1: 3c; Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.3: 7).



Fig. 1: 4a – Rounded-carinated bowl with slightly everted walls, thickened rim and ring base (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 8).

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 1: 4b; Aharoni 1973: Pl. 72: 10);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 1: 4c; Zimhoni 2004: Group III: B-2, Fig. 26.3: 16);
- Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum A (Albright 1943: Pl. 26: 8).



Fig. 1: 5a – Rounded-carinated bowl with horizontal, outward rim and ring base (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 9).

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 1: 5b);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 1: 5c; Zimhoni 2004: Group III: B-5, Fig. 26.3: 15);
- Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum A (Albright 1943: Pl. 23: 9).



Fig. 1: 6a – Rounded-carinated bowl with oblique rim and ring base (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 10).

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 1: 6b; Aharoni 1973: Pls. 60: 72, 74: 8);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 1: 6c; Tufnell 1953: Pl. 99: 599).

Ayalon notes that Fig. 1: 5a and 6a and most of the sherds belonging to these types were manufactured from a whitish clay. Petrographic analyses indicate that the clay contained Taqiya marl and originated in the Shephelah (Ayalon 1995: 145–146, 196; Goren 1995: nos. 13, 19).

Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 11–12, 14, 17 are sherds of bowls which do not merit discussion.

COOKING-POTS

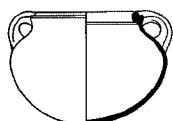


Fig. 2: 1a – Open cooking-pot with ridged rim (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 6: 5).

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 2: 1b);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 2: 1c; Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.11: 6);
- Arad Strata X–VIII (Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 14: CP3, Table 2 on p. 126).

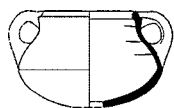


Fig. 2: 2a – Small open cooking-pot with ridged rim (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 6: 6).

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Stratum II (absent in Stratum III) (Fig. 2: 2b);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 2: 2c; Zimhoni 2004: Figs. 26.35: 3).

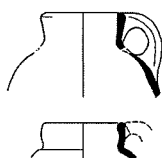
COOKING JUGS

Fig. 2: 3a – (sherds only) (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 6: 7–8). Petrographic analysis indicates these vessels were made of loess mixed with crushed calcite that originated in the northern Negev/southern Shephelah (Goren 1995: 10: no. 10).

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 2: 3b);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 2: 3c; Tufnell 1953: Pl. 84: 167);
- Arad Strata X–VIII (Singer-Avitz 2002: 143, Table 2 on p. 126, Fig. 15: CP13).

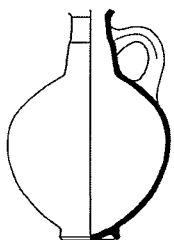
JUGS

Fig. 2: 4a – Globular-shaped jug. A handle drawn from the ridge at mid-neck is joined to the jug at the shoulder (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 14: 4–7). One of the jugs (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 14: 4) has a relatively wide neck, whereas the others, well-known at Judahite sites, have narrower necks.

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 2: 4b);
- Arad Stratum X (Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 21: J17).

JUGLETS

Fig. 3: 1a – Cylindrical-shaped juglet with wide neck. The finds include two juglets and the base of a similar, third red-slipped juglet (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 18: 1–2, 4). These juglets are common at Judahite sites.

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 3: 1b; Aharoni 1973: Pls. 56: 12, 62: 115–119, 69: 20);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 3: 1c; Zimhoni 2004: Figs. 26.4: 13–16, 26.5: 1, 26.25: 5, 26. 36: 5 and more. Group III: JD-1);
- Arad Strata X–VIII (Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 21: JD1, Table 2 on p. 127).

An additional juglet with a similar body was also found. A spout is attached to the middle of the body, perpendicular to the handle (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 18: 3). This type of juglet, although not very common, is known in Judah, as in Lachish Tombs 107, 116, 218 (Tufnell 1953: Pl. 89: 357).

FLASKS

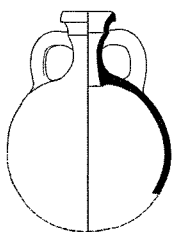


Fig. 3: 2a – Flask with two handles drawn from a ridge at mid-neck to the body (two vessels) (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 18: 7–8).

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 3: 2b);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 3: 2c; Tufnell 1953: Pl. 92: 434);
- Tel 'Ira Stratum VII (Freud 1999: Fig. 6.83: 17);
- Arad Strata X–VIII (Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 22: F11).

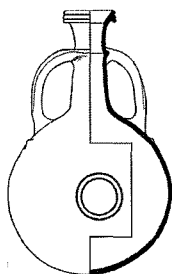


Fig. 3: 3a – 'White' globular-bodied flask, with a pair of handles drawn from a ridge halfway down the elongated, narrow neck. The rim is splayed and the walls are engraved with concentric circles. Under the handle are three knobs. In many cases, this type of pilgrim-flask was made of white clay. Two such flasks were found at Kuntillet 'Ajrud (Ayalon 1985: 69; 1995: Fig. 18: 6). As Ayalon has shown, this type of vessel is known in the north (Hazor, Samaria) as well as in Judah—in Jerusalem, Tel Beersheba Stratum II, Lachish Level III,

Tell Beit Mirsim A (Ayalon 1995: 176–177). To this list can be added Tel 'Ira Stratum VII (Freud 1999: Fig. 6.83: 17) and Arad Strata X–VIII (Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 22: F12). Following Amiran, who assumed the knobs below the handles imitated those on metal vessels, Ayalon attributes a Phoenician influence to these vessels (Ayalon 1995: 177). In view of the type's frequent appearance at Judahite sites, and the fact that similar 'white' flasks from Tel Beersheba examined by Yuval Goren were made of loess common to the Negev (personal communication), I believe that a Judahite origin is to be preferred.

LAMPS



Fig. 3: 4a – Round-based lamp (two vessels) (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 22: 3, 4). This type of lamp is common in the Iron Age IIA but at many sites is found alongside the disc-based lamp of the Iron Age IIB.

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 3: 4b);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 3: 4c; Zimhoni 2004: Group III: L-2, Fig. 26.36: 8);
- Tel 'Ira Stratum VII (Freud 1999: Fig. 6.80: 17).

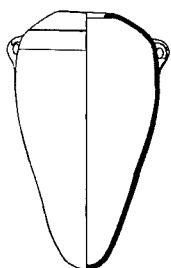
PITHOI

Fig. 4: 1a – Large pithos (1 m tall), with thick walls, thickened, inward-sloping rim and pair of loop handles (Ayalon 1995: Figs. 8: 1–2, 9: 1). Kuntillet 'Ajrud yielded eight whole pithoi, four of which were decorated with painted drawings and inscriptions (Beck 1982). Petrographic and NAA tests carried out on pithoi from Kuntillet 'Ajrud, Jerusalem, Arad and Tel Beersheba suggest they were all made of similar clay that originated in the 'Motza formation' in the Jerusalem region⁵ (Gunneweg *et al.* 1985; Mommsen *et al.* 1984;

Goren 1995: no. 4).

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Stratum II yielded eight whole pithoi (Fig. 4: 1b), as well as a pithos handle bearing a *lmlk* seal impression (Aharoni 1973: 76, Pl. 32: 2);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 4: 1c; Zimhoni 2004: Figs. 26.1: 8);
- Arad, mainly in Strata IX–VIII (Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 18: SJ7, Table 2 on p. 126).

At Tel 'Ira, a large number of these pithoi was found in Stratum VII (Kletter 1999). When reviewing the sites at which these pithoi were found, Kletter quotes numerous comparisons, all in Judah, and all dated to the 8th–7th centuries BCE. At Tel Beersheba, they are known earlier, from Strata V and IV (four whole pithoi in Stratum V and several sherds in Stratum IV).

STORAGE JARS

Ayalon's figures include about half of the 26 whole storage jars excavated.

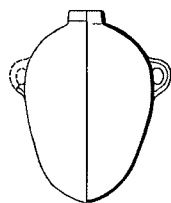


Fig. 4: 2a – Ovoid-bodied storage jar (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 11: 1–2). Four whole storage jars of this type were found (Ayalon 1985: 42).

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 4: 2b);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 4: 2c; Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.10: 10);
- Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum A (Albright 1932: Pl. 53: 6).

⁵ Of all the pithoi analyzed, only one pithos rim from Arad Stratum X originated on the southern Coastal Plain (Gunneweg *et al.* 1985: Table 1: 59).

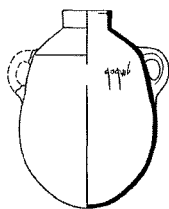


Fig. 5: 1a – Bag-shaped storage jar. Six whole jars were found, three of them bearing the inscription *lsr*; incised after firing (Ayalon 1985: 42; 1995: Fig. 11: 3). NAA analyses carried out on this type indicate it was manufactured in the Shephelah (Gunneweg *et al.* 1985).

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Stratum II (Fig. 5: 1b);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 5: 1c; Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.11: 1, Group III: SJ-10).

Additional storage jars, with a body similar to Fig. 5: 1a were found, albeit equipped with a thickened rim and one with a ridge at the base of the neck (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 11: 4, 7). Petrographic analysis carried out on one of them indicated it was made of loess mixed with sand that originated in the northwestern Negev (Goren 1995: no.1).

Fig. 5: 2a and 3a are storage jars with carinated shoulders. There are two types of this form. Determining the typological origin of each is complicated, and although they have been assigned a Judahite source their origin is still far from certain.

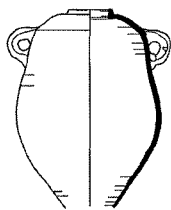


Fig. 5: 2a – the first type, has no neck, a short rim and a sloping, carinated shoulder. The body widens towards the mid-line and tapers toward the truncated base (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 13: 6). Two complete jars of this type were found at Kuntillet 'Ajrud. The petrographic analysis indicates they were made of *terra rossa* mixed with quartzitic sand that originated in Judah (Goren 1995: no. 18).

This jar appears at an early date at several sites throughout the country, including Arad Stratum XI (Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 4: 9), Tel Beersheba Stratum IV (Aharoni 1973: Pl. 55: 19), Tel Michal Strata XIV–XIII (Singer-Avitz 1989: Figs. 7.1: 17–18, 7.3: 14) and Jezreel (Zimhoni 1997: Fig. 2.11: 5). During the 8th century BCE it was extremely common at Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 5: 2b; Aharoni 1973: Pls. 57: 1–3, 74: 1), and present, though less prevalent at Lachish Level III (Fig. 5: 2c; Zimhoni 2004: Group III: SJ-5, Figs. 26.11: 4, 26.22: 4–6), Arad Stratum VIII (Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 17: SJ8) and Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum A (Albright 1932: Pl. 53: 2, 5). It is also known at Tel 'Ira Stratum VII (Freud 1999: Figs. 6.75: 5–6, 6.81: 2, 3, 5), Tel Halif Stratum VIB (Blakely and Hardin 2002: Fig. 10: 3–4), as well as western Negev sites such as Tel Haror (Oren, Morrison and Gilead 1986: Fig. 19: 2, 5) and Tell el-Far'ah (S) (Cemetery 200) (Duncan 1930: Pl. 46: P1) and sites on the southern Coastal Plain, such as Ashdod Stratum VIII (Dothan 1971: Fig. 48: 4; Dothan and Porath 1982: Fig. 15: 5), Tell Jemmeh (Petrie 1928: Pl. LV:

46P), Abu Salima (Petrie 1937: Pl. 35: 46P1), Blakhiyah (Burdajewicz 2000: Fig. on p. 38: 4) and in Ruqeish (both site and cemetery) (Culican 1973: Fig. 1: R1; Oren *et al.* 1986: photo on p. 87). Strangely, this type is absent from 8th-century-BCE strata at sites such as Tel Miqne-Ekron (S. Gitin, personal communication) and Tel Batash (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001: 101). Later on in the Iron Age, this type—with some morphological variation—appears frequently at Lachish Level II (Zimhoni 2004: Figs. 26.47: 1–9, 26.48: 1–7, Group II: SJ-5), Jerusalem (Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 14: 1), Tel ‘Ira Stratum VI (Freud 1999: Figs. 6.61: 14, 6.62: 18, 6.99: 8, 6.101: 7), Tel Malhata (L. Freud, personal communication), Tel Batash Stratum II (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001: 101–102, Fig. 6: SJ18) and Ashkelon (Master 2003: Fig. 5: 2). In Arad, this type is rare, found solely in Stratum VI (Singer-Avitz 2002: 144, Fig. 17: SJ9). Its prevalence at 8th-century-BCE strata at sites in the western Negev and the southern Coastal Plain has given rise to the suggestion that typologically this jar originated in the southern Coastal Plain (Singer-Avitz 1999: 28, 30; Zimhoni 1997: 235–239; 2004: 1797–1799).

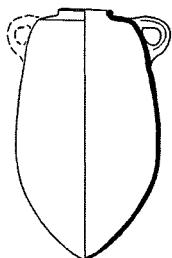


Fig. 5: 3a – the second type, is a storage jar with an ovoid body and a narrow, carinated shoulder. At the bottom it tapers towards the base, which can be rounded, and sometimes pointed (Ayalon 1995 Fig. 13: 1–4). Eight whole jars of this type, which is predominant among the jars at the site, were found at Kuntillet ‘Ajrud (Ayalon 1995: 164). Petrographic analyses indicate that one was made from *terra rossa* (using coastal sand as temper) that originated in the Shephelah (Goren 1995: no. 16), whereas the

others were made from *terra rossa* (with quartzitic sand as temper) that originated in Judah (*ibid.*: no. 18). This jar is known in Judah and in the southern Coastal Plain sites in strata attributed to the 8th century BCE such as Lachish Level III (Fig. 5: 3c; Zimhoni 2004: Figs. 26.11.3, 26.38.9, Group III: SJ-9), Tel Beersheba Stratum II (Fig. 5: 3b), Gezer Stratum VIA (Gitin 1990: Pl. 17: 2–6), Tel Batash Stratum III (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001: 98–99, Fig. 6: SJ7b), Ashdod Stratum VIII (Dothan 1971: Fig. 47: 6–7; Dothan and Porath 1982: Fig. 15: 4) and Ruqeish (Culican 1973: Fig. 4: R21). Later on in the period it became very popular in Tel Miqne-Ekron Stratum IB (where it is designated an ‘Ekron’ type storage jar) (Gitin 1995: Figs. 4.6: 1, 4.7), in Ashkelon (Master 2003: Figs. 5: 1; 6: 1; Stager 1996: 64, Photo on p. 66), Tel Batash Stratum II (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001: 98–99, Fig. 6: SJ7b) and Lachish Level II (Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.46: 1–11, Group II: SJ-4). It is also known at Tel ‘Ira Stratum VI (Freud 1999: Fig. 6.101: 8), Tel Malhata (L. Freud, personal communication) and Tel ‘Aroer Stratum II (Biran and Cohen 1981, Fig. 5: 2).

Morphologically, these two storage jar-types are related. One (Fig. 5: 2) is known in both 8th-century Judah and the southern Coastal Plain, and with some

morphological change in the 7th and beginning of the 6th centuries BCE. The other (Fig. 5: 3), although also known in both areas in the 8th century BCE, is especially common in the 7th century BCE in the southern Coastal Plain and the Judahite Shephelah, and to a lesser degree at Negev sites.

The formal similarity of these two types has led Gitin to assume that the type in Fig. 5: 2 is a variant of the storage jar type in Fig. 5: 3 (Gitin 1990: 120). However, the earliest appearances of the type of jar in Fig. 5: 2 predate those of the type in Fig. 5: 3. Zimhoni (1990: 40) suggested that during the 7th century BCE these two types were produced in a single potter's workshop that distributed one type (Fig. 5: 2) to the Shephelah sites, and the other type (Fig. 5: 3) to the sites on the Coastal Plain.

In conclusion, these two storage jar types are probably closely related. Apparently, their beginnings lie in the jar type represented in Fig. 5: 2, which is prevalent in both Judah and southern Coastal Plain sites, so that it is difficult to determine its typological origins. For that reason, I have included both types in the Judahite group of vessels. Tests to determine the origin of the clay, if carried out on a large number of these types of jars, may enable us to pinpoint their origin more accurately.

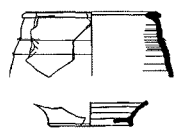


Fig. 6: 1a – Holemouth storage jar with barrel-shaped body and ring base. Four loop handles are drawn from the three to four ridges below the rim (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 6: 10). Kuntillet 'Ajrud yielded only sherds. This type is very common at Judahite sites.

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 6: 1b; Aharoni 1973: Pls. 58: 33–36, 65: 1–4, 7, 73: 6–8);
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 6: 1c; Zimhoni 2004: Figs. 26.5: 9–12, 26.22: 2–3, 26.25: 7, Group III: SJ-4);
- Arad Strata X–VIII (Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 17: SJ11, Table 2 on p. 126).

KRATERS

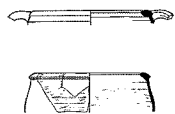


Fig. 6: 2a – Closed-mouth krater with barrel-like body (sometimes designated a storage jar), thickened holemouth rim and pair of loop handles drawn from the rim to the walls. Only rim sherds were found (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 6: 1–2).

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba: one specimen in Stratum III and another in Stratum II (Fig. 6: 2b);
- Arad Strata X–IX (Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 17: SJ12);
- Ashdod: Area D, Loc. 1114, Burial pit, Stratum 3b (Dothan 1971: Fig. 47: 1–2).

Vessels with Foreign Characteristics with Parallels at Judahite Sites

COASTAL PLAIN CHARACTERISTICS

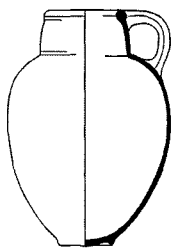


Fig. 7: 1a – Jug with large, plump body, wide neck and ring base. A loop handle is drawn from the thickened rim to the shoulder (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 14: 1). This type is known in Judah, but is common mainly at sites on the southern Coastal Plain.

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Strata III–II (Fig. 7: 1b; Singer-Avitz 1999: Fig. 8: 16);
- Lachish (Tomb 106) (Fig. 7: 1c; Tufnell 1953: Pl. 85: 205);
- Tel Batash Stratum III (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001: 111–112, Fig. 7: JG11);
- Ashdod Stratum VIII (Dothan 1971: Figs. 42: 1–2, 46: 1; 51: 1–2; Dothan and Porath 1982: Fig. 15: 2);
- Ruqeish, in the settlement and cremation burials (Oren *et al.* 1986: Photo on p. 87; Culican 1973: Figs. 1: R6, 2: R10; Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1983: 53 no. 16).

NORTHERN CHARACTERISTICS

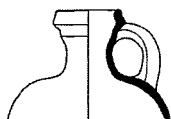


Fig. 7: 2a – Jug with globular body and gutter rim with a single handle drawn from below the rim to the shoulder (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 14: 8). This type probably originated in a northern pottery assemblage, perhaps Hazor Stratum VB (Yadin *et al.* 1961: Pl. 224: 9).

Comparisons:

- A few vessels in Tel Beersheba Stratum II (Fig. 7: 2b).

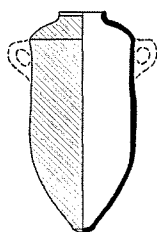


Fig. 7: 3a – Cylindrical storage jar. The lower part tapers towards the base and the sloping, convex shoulder is joined to the vessel at a sharp carination. Two loop handles are drawn from the carination line to the walls of the red-slipped vessel (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 13: 5). Although present in Judah (where similar storage jars are not slipped), this type appears infrequently, and probably originated in the northern part of the country and Phoenicia where

Lehmann attributes it to “assemblages 1 and 2”, which he dates to 750–700 BCE (Lehmann 1998: 9–15, Fig. 3: 25).

Comparisons:

- Tel Beersheba Stratum II (Fig. 7: 3b), three whole jars of this type were found;
- Lachish Level III (Fig. 7: 3c; Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.37: 8, Group III: SJ-6).

CYPRIOT IMPORTS

Painted sherds attributed to the Cypriot Bichrome group (Ayalon 1995: 174, Fig. 22: 5). Petrographic analysis indicates that the clay may have originated in central or

northern Israel (Goren 1995: no. 12). Although this group appears quite infrequently in Judah, it does exist—for instance, at Lachish (Tufnell 1953: Pl. 89: 350).

Vessels with Foreign Characteristics without Parallels at Judahite Sites



Fig. 8: 1 – Open, carinated bowl with plain rim and high base (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 19–20). Two bowls were found. This type is very common in settlement strata attributed to 8th-century BCE northern sites.

Comparisons:

- Megiddo Strata IV–II (Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl. 24: 32); Level H-3 (Stratum IVA) (Finkelstein *et al.* 2000: Fig. 11.43: 15);
- Tell el-Far'ah (N) Stratum VIIId (Chambon 1984: Pl. 58: 15–20);
- Samaria Period III (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957: Fig. 4: 12) and Period VI (*ibid.*: Fig. 10: 5, 6).



Fig. 8: 2 – Thick-walled bowl with rounded base. The walls bear traces of three legs that had been attached below the rim. There are remnants of slip and burnish on the inner surface (Ayalon 1995:

Fig. 3: 18). This bowl resembles basalt bowls known in the Bronze and Iron Ages. These vessels, called 'tripod mortar', are known in pottery assemblages of northern Israel in settlement strata dated to the late 8th and 7th centuries BCE.

Comparisons:

- Hazor Stratum VI (Yadin *et al.* 1958: Pl. 51: 29; 1960: Pl. 67: 9; 1961: Pl. 182: 20) and Stratum VB (Yadin *et al.* 1960: Pl. 82: 18);
- Samaria (Trench E207) (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957: Fig. 26: 17–18);
- Megiddo Strata IV–III (Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl. 25: 69);
- Yoqne'am (from an unstratified fill) (Zarzecki-Peleg *et al.* 2005: Fig. II.10: 4);
- Atlit burial no. X (Johns 1938: Fig. 10: 1);
- Tell en-Naşbeh (Wampler 1947: Pl. 63: 1442);
- In Judah, smaller mortars with thinner walls were found in settlement strata attributed to the end of the period: in Tel 'Ira (Freud 1999: Fig. 6.70: 7) and in Tel Malḥata (L. Freud, personal communication). Since the shape is similar but the dimensions are smaller, it is difficult to decide whether these small mortars are related to the larger tripod mortar;
- In Transjordan sites these mortars are quite rare: Tell el-'Umeiri (Herr 1989: Pl. 19.16: 16; Lawlor 1997: Fig. 3.22: 24);
- The tripod mortar is well-known in Syrian sites such as Tell Halaf, Al-Mina, Sidon and Tell Tayanat (Lehmann 1996: 394–395, Form 185). It is also very popular at the Phoenician colonies in North Africa and Spain, where it was manufactured at

several centres (Culican 1970; Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez 2005: 130–135). It can be defined as a Phoenician type.

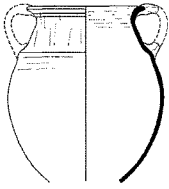


Fig. 8: 3 – Close-mouthed krater with neck and flaring rim. Two loop handles are drawn from the plain rim to a ridge at the base of the neck. The krater is burnished with vertical strokes at the neck area, and with horizontal strokes below (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 6: 4). Typologically, this type of krater probably originated in the Phoenician pottery assemblage, where these kraters are known mainly as cinerary urns and are mostly decorated (Seeden 1991: Figs. 1–12).

Comparisons:

Similar kraters are known at sites on the southern Coastal Plain, such as Ashdod Stratum VIII (Dothan and Porath 1982: Fig. 14: 13) and Ruqeish (Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1983: 50 no. 4).

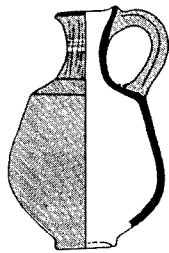


Fig. 8: 4 – Red-slipped decanter with carinated shoulder and body that widens towards the base (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 14: 10). Another red-slipped sherd, from the top part of a decanter, was also found (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 14: 13). Petrographic analysis indicates it was manufactured of clay that originated in central or northern Israel (Goren 1995: no. 6). Typologically, we can say that the vessel originated in northern Israel. Such decanters were found at Hazor Stratum VII (Yadin *et al.* 1960: Pl. 64: 22; 1961: Pl. 215: 14), Tell el-Far'ah (N) Stratum VIIId (Chambon 1984: Pl. 61: 27), Megiddo Strata IV–II (Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl. 4: 99) and Level H-2 (Stratum III) (Finkelstein *et al.* 2000: Fig. 11.59: 5).

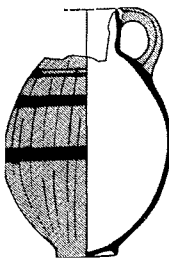


Fig. 8: 5 – Red-slipped jug with plump body, decorated with black paint and burnished with vertical strokes. This type belongs to the “Ashdod Ware” (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 14: 11). This sort of decoration is known mainly at coastal Philistine sites, although it is present on various vessels found at other sites (for a discussion of this group see Ben-Shlomo *et al.* 2004).

Comparisons:

- Ashdod Stratum VIII (Dothan and Porath 1982: Fig. 14: 10).

Vessels Earlier in Date

The pottery assemblage included two vessels earlier in date. One is a four-handled pithos with a flaring rim (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 9: 2). Similar pithoi were found in Tel Masos Stratum II (Fritz and Kempinski 1983: Pl. 155: 4), Kadesh-Barnea (Cohen 1983: Photo on p. 6) and Ḥorvat Mesora in the Negev highlands (Cohen 1979: 48). As Ayalon correctly remarks, "According to its parallels, this pithos predates the Kuntillet 'Ajrud assemblage, and was probably brought here from an earlier site" (Ayalon 1995: 158).

The other vessel is a large storage jar with a sack-like body and four handles (Ayalon 1995: Fig. 13: 7). A similar vessel was found in Ḥorvat Mesora (Cohen 1979: 48). It is highly likely that this storage jar, much like the above-mentioned pithos, was brought from one of the Negev sites that predated the founding of the settlement at Kuntillet 'Ajrud.

ORIGIN AND DATE OF THE CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE

Petrographic analyses of the Kuntillet 'Ajrud pottery assemblage indicate that all tested vessels were manufactured in the Shephelah, the northern Negev or the Jerusalem region (Goren 1995). The vessels can be divided into four groups:

- (1) Vessels that typologically originated in Judah (Figs. 1–6). This is the largest group and forms the major part of the assemblage.
- (2) Vessels that bear typological characteristics of the southern Coastal Plain, one of which has parallels at Judahite sites (Fig. 7: 1a) and two of which have no precise parallels in Judah (Fig. 8: 3, 5).
- (3) Vessels with northern characteristics. Of these, two have Judahite parallels (Fig. 7: 2a, 3a) and three are unknown in Judah (Fig. 8: 1, 2, 4). These vessels did not undergo petrographic analyses. The NAA tests indicated for the most part where these vessels were *not* manufactured (Gunneweg *et al.* 1985: 280–283).
- (4) Sherds of Cypriot vessels, known in Judah, although to a lesser extent.

The Kuntillet 'Ajrud pottery assemblage reflects a mixture of cultures, including an impressive number of vessels with Judahite characteristics, vessels with southern Coastal Plain characteristics and vessels with northern characteristics. This kind of commingling is not foreign to Judahite sites and is known in Beersheba Valley sites, mainly in Tel Beersheba itself.

As the above comparisons indicate, nearly every type of vessel found at Kuntillet 'Ajrud has parallels in settlement strata attributed to the 8th century BCE in central Judahite sites that were destroyed by Sennacherib in 701 BCE (Strata III–II in Tel Beersheba, Level III in Lachish, Strata X–VIII in Arad, Stratum VII in Tel 'Ira and Stratum A in Tell Beit Mirsim). Ayalon presents another argument for dating the

Kuntillet 'Ajrud assemblage to an earlier period—the absence of certain types of vessels typical of the late 8th century BCE (Ayalon 1995: 197). One should remember, however, that aside from a large number of pithoi and storage jars, other types of vessels at Kuntillet 'Ajrud are very limited, so that not all types are represented in the assemblage. Therefore, the absence of the vessels noted by Ayalon does not necessarily have chronological significance.

It is not easy to assign an absolute date to the establishment of the Stratum III settlement at Tel Beersheba, or to the beginnings of the settlement in Lachish Level III and Arad Stratum X. Recently it has been suggested that the beginning of these strata should be dated to somewhere between the end of the 9th and the early decades of the 8th century BCE (Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004: 229–231).

Can we determine precisely when during the 8th century BCE such a 'mixed' assemblage emerged? Was it as early as the first half of the 8th century BCE, when the settlements in Tel Beersheba Stratum III, Lachish Level III and Arad Stratum X were first established? Or was it perhaps later in that century?

At Lachish, where the pottery assemblage uncovered in the excavations dates to the last days of Level III, we are not familiar with the pottery types dating to the earlier part of the period. Furthermore, the pottery assemblage has mostly Judahite characteristics, with only a small number of vessels bearing foreign features (Singer-Avitz 1999: 12).

At Arad, where the stratigraphic sequence (Strata X–VIII) is denser than at contemporary Lachish, most pottery types appear in all three strata. Only three vessel types offer hints of the changes between Strata X–VIII: two bowl types and one type of cooking-pot. The two bowl types (B 2 and B 21) appear primarily in Stratum X (Singer-Avitz 2002: 128, 131). These bowl types are unusual among the Judean vessel assemblages and parallels to them are not known at neighbouring sites. Since their number is limited, it is not clear if their appearance has any chronological significance. The closed cooking-pot with grooved rim (CP 11) (Singer-Avitz 2002: Table 2 on p. 126) is found in relatively large quantities in Stratum X (50% of the closed cooking-pots and 37.5% of all cooking-pots) and does not appear in Strata IX–VIII. This cooking-pot type is not common at other sites and only isolated examples were found in the parallel settlement strata: Tel Beersheba Strata III and II, Jerusalem Stratum 12 (De Groot and Ariel 2000: Fig. 25: 11) and Lachish Level III (Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.38: 1). In Tomb 1002 at Lachish, which contained a rich assemblage of vessels from Levels IV and III (Tufnell 1953: 229–236; Zimhoni 1997: 163–164) (and thus represents the life span of Level III, including its beginning), 10 such cooking-pots were found (Tufnell 1953: Types 186, 447, 450, 453). Most probably, these cooking-pots were in use over a short period at the beginning of Level III and the single cooking-pot found in Level III was an

isolated remnant of the early phase of that stratum.⁶ The Kuntillet 'Ajrud repertoire does not include any of these types. As in Lachish, the Arad pottery assemblage has mainly Judahite characteristics; few of the vessels have any foreign characteristics (Singer-Avitz 2002).

In Tel Beersheba the comparable period of time covers two strata—Strata III and II, where the pottery assemblages are quite similar. All groups (with both Judahite and other characteristics) are found in both strata, except the vessels with northern characteristics. This last group consists of storage jars, jugs and juglets. All, without exception, are known *only* in Stratum II; not a single one was found in Stratum III. As Kuntillet 'Ajrud yielded several vessels with northern characteristics, presumably these should be dated to the time of Tel Beersheba Stratum II rather than Stratum III.⁷

When did the transition from Stratum III to Stratum II occur at Tel Beersheba?

- (1) The presence of northern pottery types, known only in Stratum II, may be a result of the fact that Israelite refugees came to Judah after the fall of the Northern Kingdom, that is, after 722 BCE (see also Finkelstein and Silberman 2006: 265–269 and *passim*).
- (2) Edomite and Assyrian vessels and objects began to appear as early as Stratum III, and are also known in Stratum II. Such vessels are unknown in earlier strata, dated to the late Iron Age IIA (Strata V–IV). Their appearance in Strata III and II may be explained by the fact that once Judah became a vassal of the Assyrian empire, the southern trade route passed through the Beersheba Valley. Tel Beersheba, as a gateway city, was thus exposed in this period to foreign influences from both east and west (Singer-Avitz 1999). Inevitably, one must deduce from this that the last stage of Stratum III (that is represented in our finds) must coincide with the time when the Kingdom of Judah was already an Assyrian vassal, incorporated into the Assyrian empire's economic system and subject to certain Assyrian and Edomite influences. Thus, the end of Stratum III could not have predated 733/732 BCE. A date of *ca.* 720 or 715 BCE may very well suit the end of Stratum III and the beginning of Stratum II.

It seems that the pottery assemblage excavated at Kuntillet 'Ajrud should be ascribed to the cultural and economic system of late 8th century BCE Judah. The pottery types attest to intensive contacts with Judah and the southern Coastal Plain and to a lesser degree with the Israelite Kingdom. It is difficult to establish precisely when and under what circumstances Kuntillet 'Ajrud was abandoned; this may have

⁶ Since the finds of Level III represent its final stage of occupation.

⁷ Additional types of vessels, such as the small cooking-pot (Fig. 2: 2) and storage jar (Fig. 5: 1) were only found in Tel Beersheba Stratum II. However, as they are not represented in any significant numbers, their absence in Stratum III may be incidental.

happened concurrently with the dramatic events in Judah during Sennacherib's 701 BCE campaign, or perhaps a short while later.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The number of Iron Age sites discovered in Sinai is scant: two sites north of Quseima (one dubbed 'Aharoni Fortress' and another, smaller, nearby [Meshel 1994; 2000: 48–73, 103–104]) and in Kadesh-Barnea (Dothan 1965; Cohen 1981a; 1981b; 1983). These sites were founded during the early Iron Age IIA period, but it was only in Kadesh-Barnea, some 50 km north of Kuntillet 'Ajrud, that the settlement continued into the Iron Age IIB, when the rectangular fortress was built (as to whether these were indeed two fortresses—the 'middle fortress' and the 'upper fortress'—or just one, see Ussishkin 1995).

In plan, the Kadesh-Barnea fortress resembles that of Structure A in Kuntillet 'Ajrud, although it is slightly larger (Cohen and Cohen-Amin 2004: 197; Hadley 2000: 110). The ceramic assemblages from the Kadesh-Barnea fortress have not been fully published. According to the successive excavators, the fort was built in the 8th century BCE and survived into the 7th century BCE. Indeed, the few published vessels (Dothan 1965: Figs. 5–6) exhibit Judahite characteristics, and at least some of them should be dated to the end of the 8th century BCE. Presumably, Kadesh-Barnea and Kuntillet 'Ajrud were founded at the same time, in the vicinity of Darb el-Ghazza—the ancient road leading from the Arabian desert via Sinai to the Gulf of Elat and to the southern coastal region.⁸

Both Egyptian literature and the Bible regard the Sinai Peninsula as being outside their territory—a buffer zone separating the two countries (Na'aman 1986: 237–251). Economically, as a desert region dominated by a nomad population, the peninsula hardly had any value, its main significance being the caravan routes that traversed it.

During the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II, the Assyrian authorities displayed a tendency to incorporate various nomad tribes into the control system overseeing the frontier regions. The nomadic Arab tribes were employed to secure travel along the main trade routes (Eph'al 1982: 82–100). The Assyrian control system did not always form a territorial continuum. In certain areas, Assyrian supervision was limited to 'islands' or 'outposts' interconnected into a "network of communication over which material goods are carried" (Liverani 1984: 110–111).

Na'aman maintains that the Kadesh-Barnea fortress was built as a part of Assyrian activity in the empire's peripheral regions, much like 'En Ḥaṣeva to the east and Tell

⁸ The Kadesh-Barnea mound, too, is not situated on the Darb el-Ghazza, but rather in the middle of an oasis, yet it too is probably connected to the road.

el-Kheleifeh on the Gulf of 'Elat (Na'aman 2001: 267–268). It seems to me that the foundation of Kuntillet 'Ajrud, too, may have been an Assyrian initiative, part of the control of and supervision over the desert routes and inhabitants. I suggest that its foundation should probably be associated with the Assyrian phenomenon of founding military/administrative centres in the southern Coastal Plain and the western Negev (Ashdod, Ekron, Tell Jemmeh, Tel Haror, Tel Sera', Tell el-Ḥesi, Ḥorvat Hogah, Abu Salima, Blakhiyah and Ruqeish), on the trade route leading from the south and into the Mediterranean ports (Na'aman 1979; 1995; Oren 1993).

The Judahite pottery assemblage, which forms the main part of the Kuntillet 'Ajrud ceramic assemblage, and primarily the pithoi, may indicate that the majority of the inhabitants came from Judah, as did their supplies. Since the route led from Judah (probably for the most part from the Beersheba Valley) through the southern Coastal Plain and further south, to the Gulf of Elat, the presence of vessels originating in the southern Coastal Plain in the assemblage is hardly surprising. Desert nomads, who in fact controlled the trade routes, may have also been part of the local population.⁹ The Israelite presence on site is difficult to assess. The few vessels defined as northern or Israelite may reflect immigration to Judah of Northern Kingdom refugees in or after 722 BCE.

Acknowledgements:

I would like to thank Liora Freud and Itzhak Beit-Arieh, who showed me the illustrations of the Tel Maḥata ceramics prior to publication, and Yulia Gottlieb, for arranging the ceramic figures.

A note regarding the ceramic plates: The drawing method in the British Excavation Report (Tufnell 1953) is different from the method employed today. In the British report, a broken line on the left side marks the vessels section. To unify the drawings included in this article, the vessels shown were adjusted to suit the accepted method.

⁹ The incorporation of the nomad Arab tribesmen into the Kuntillet 'Ajrud population may, perhaps, be traced by the style of drawings on the pithoi. Beck noted, alongside the Phoenician influences, a stylistic affinity to some of the rock drawings of the Sinai and Arabian deserts, and remarked that the pithoi had been treated as though they were rock surfaces. For this reason she named this style "Phoenico-Arabian" (Beck 1982).

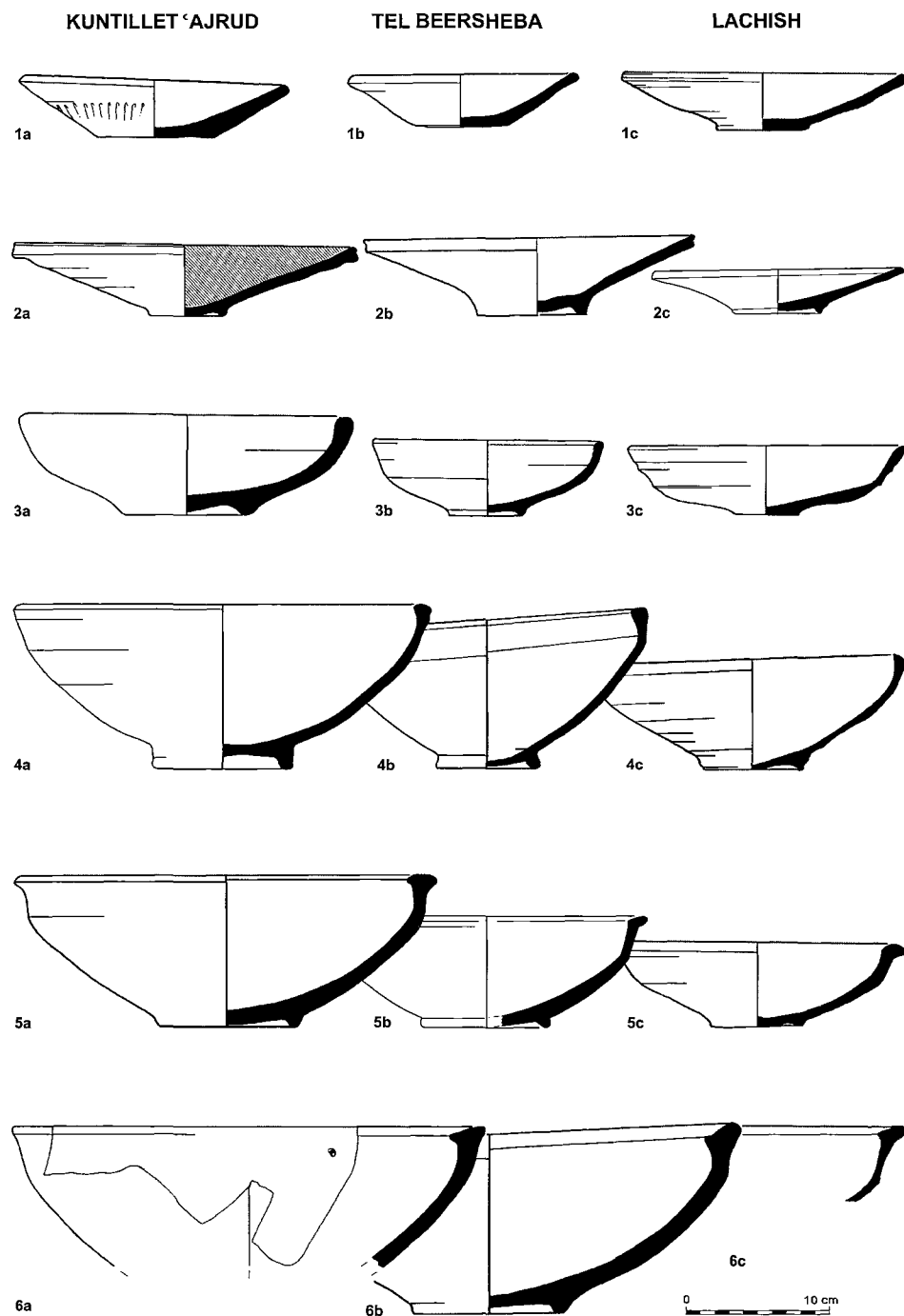


Fig. 1. Vessels with Judahite characteristics found at Kuntillet 'Ajrud, compared to pottery from Tel Beersheba Stratum II and Lachish Level III.

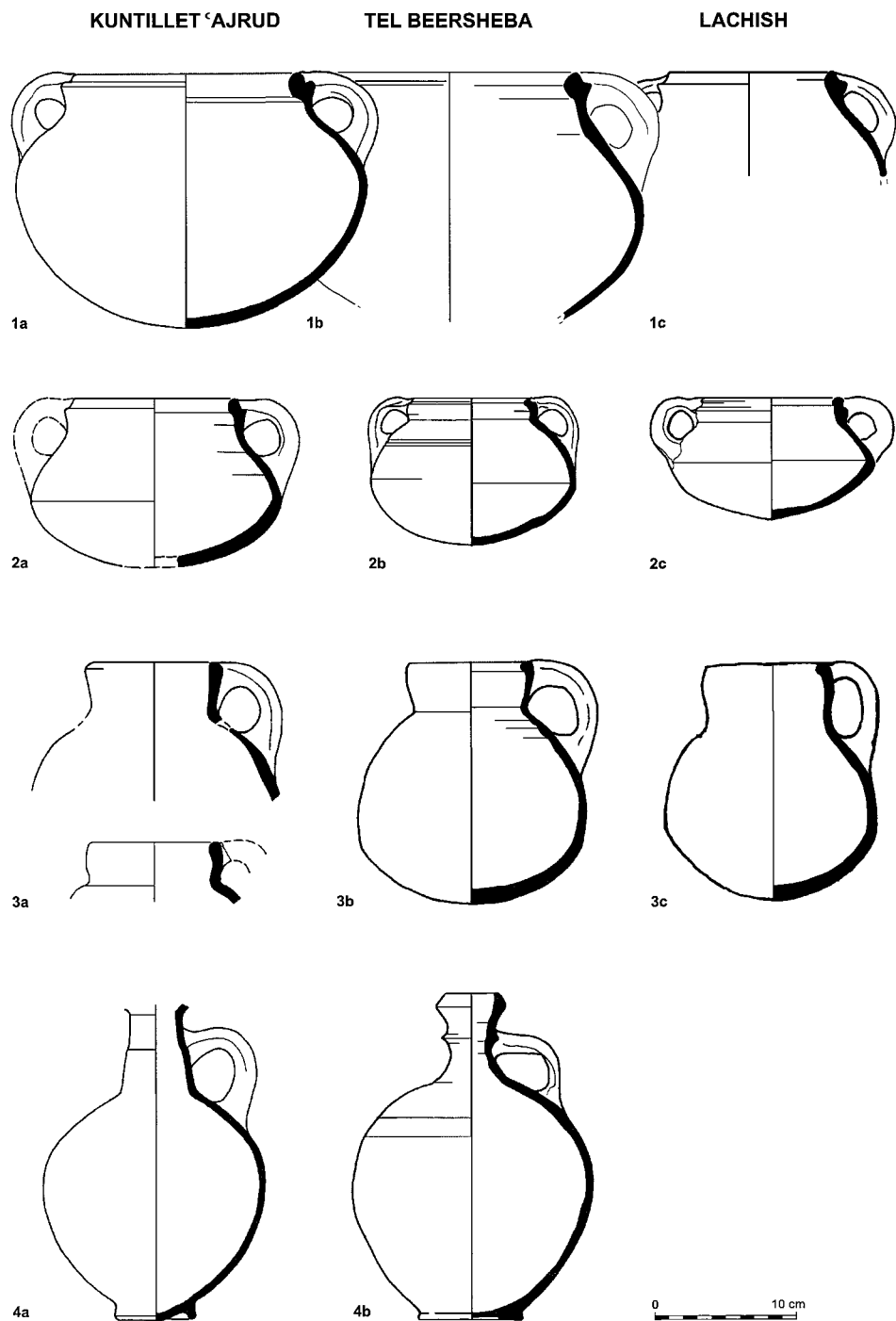


Fig. 2. Vessels with Judahite characteristics found at Kuntillet 'Ajrud, compared to pottery from Tel Beersheba Stratum II and Lachish Level III.

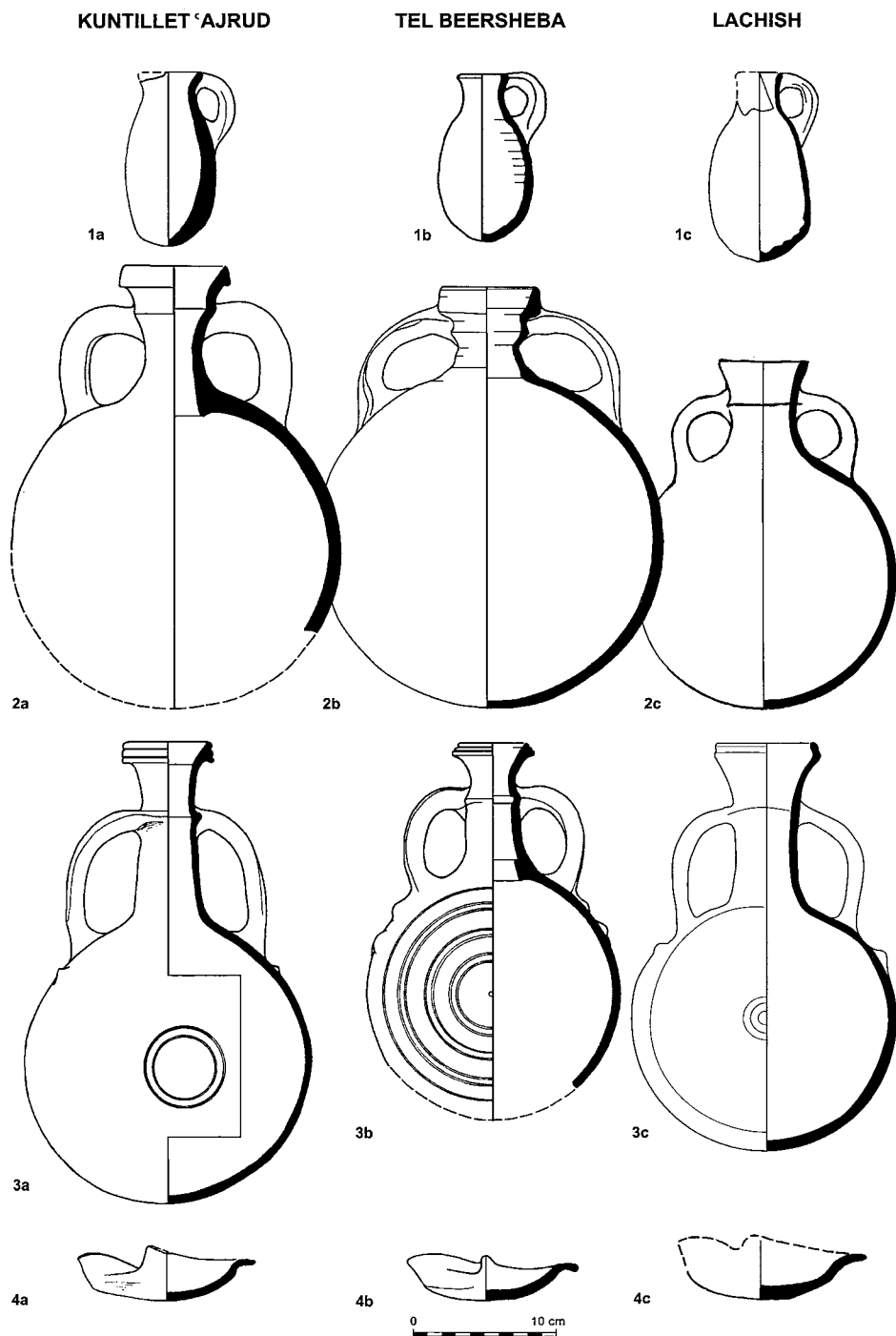


Fig. 3. Vessels with Judahite characteristics found at Kuntillet 'Ajrud, compared to pottery from Tel Beersheba Stratum II and Lachish Level III.

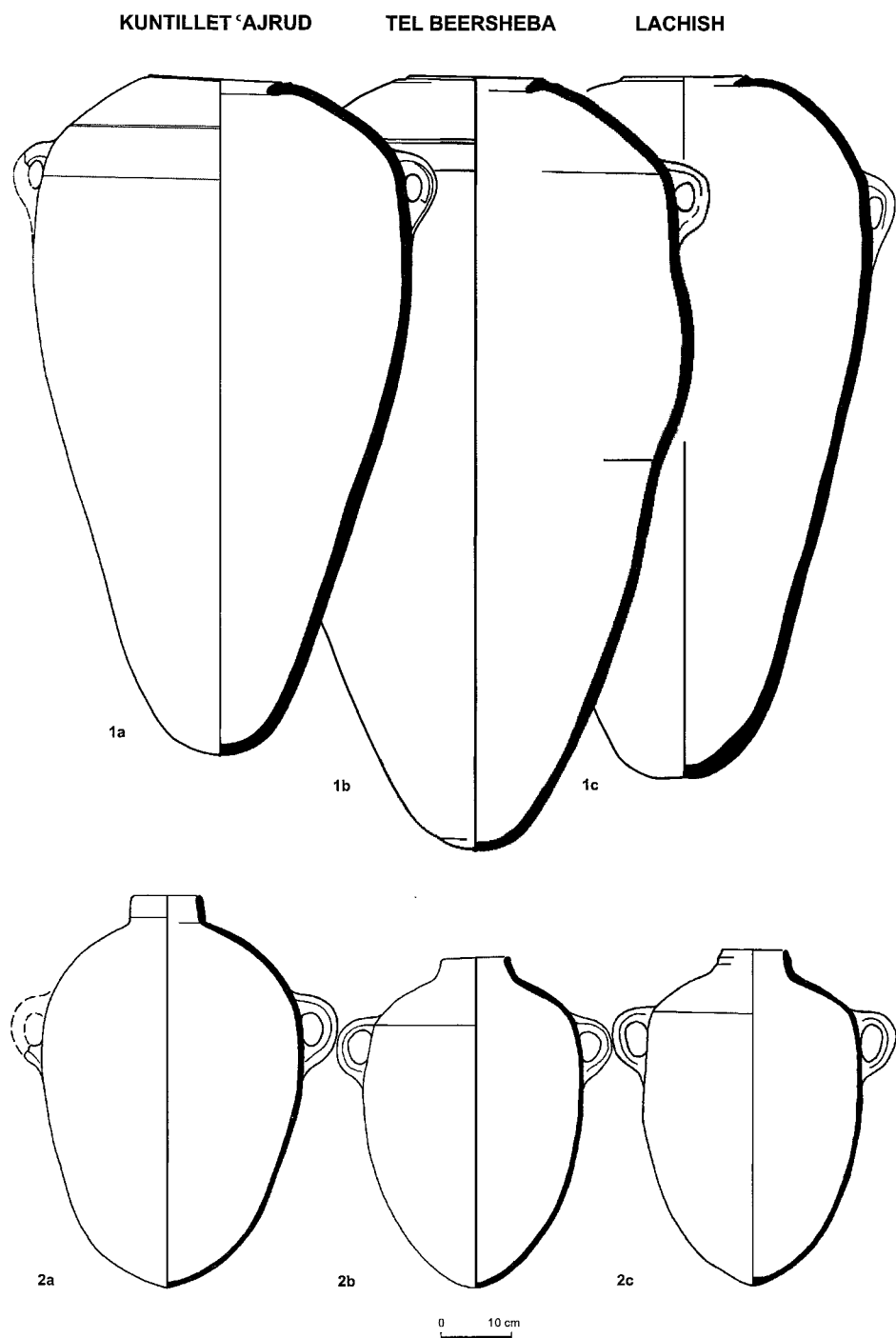


Fig. 4. Vessels with Judahite characteristics found at Kuntillet 'Ajrud, compared to pottery from Tel Beersheba Stratum II and Lachish Level III.

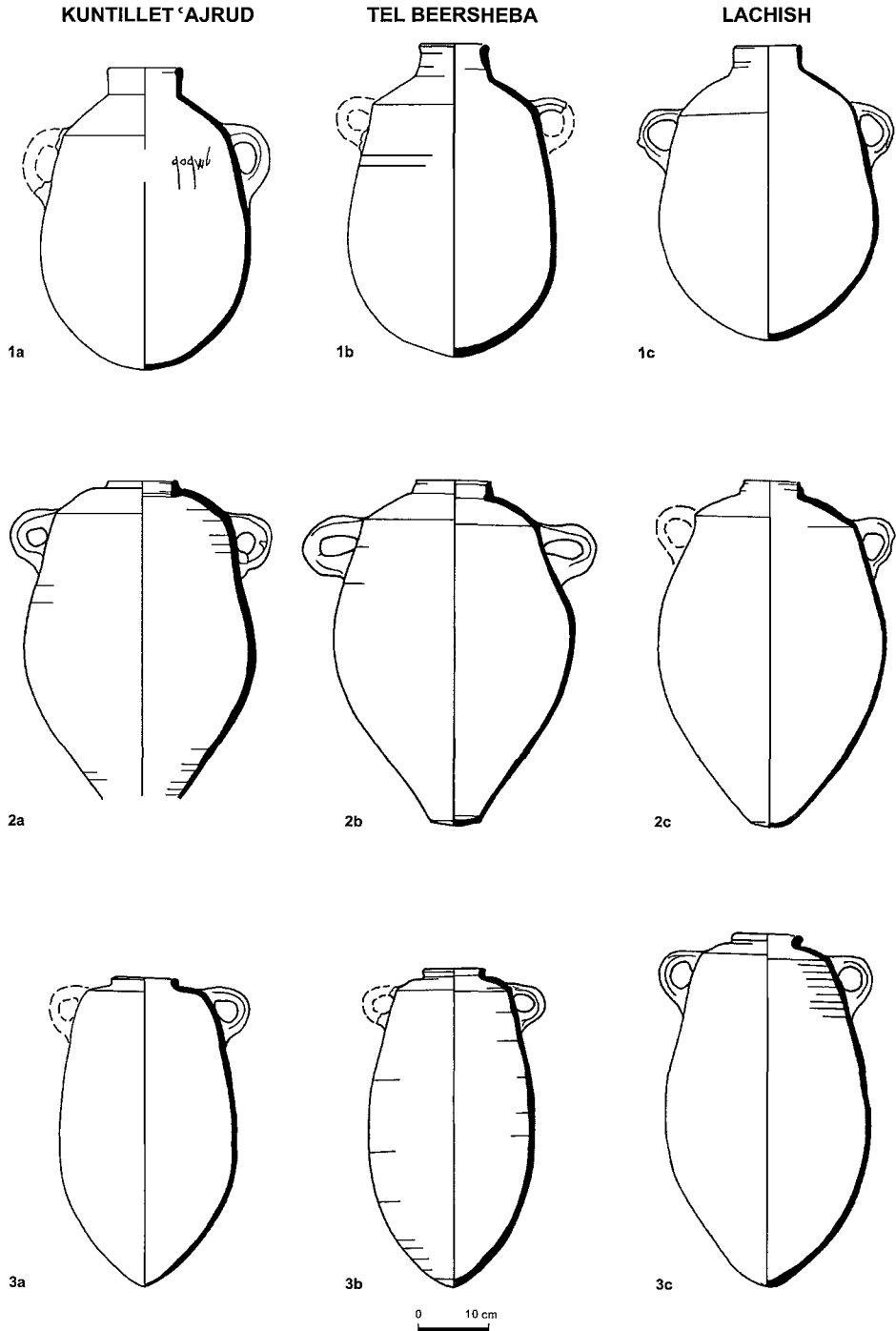


Fig. 5. Vessels with Judahite characteristics found at Kuntillet 'Ajrud, compared to pottery from Tel Beersheba Stratum II and Lachish Level III.

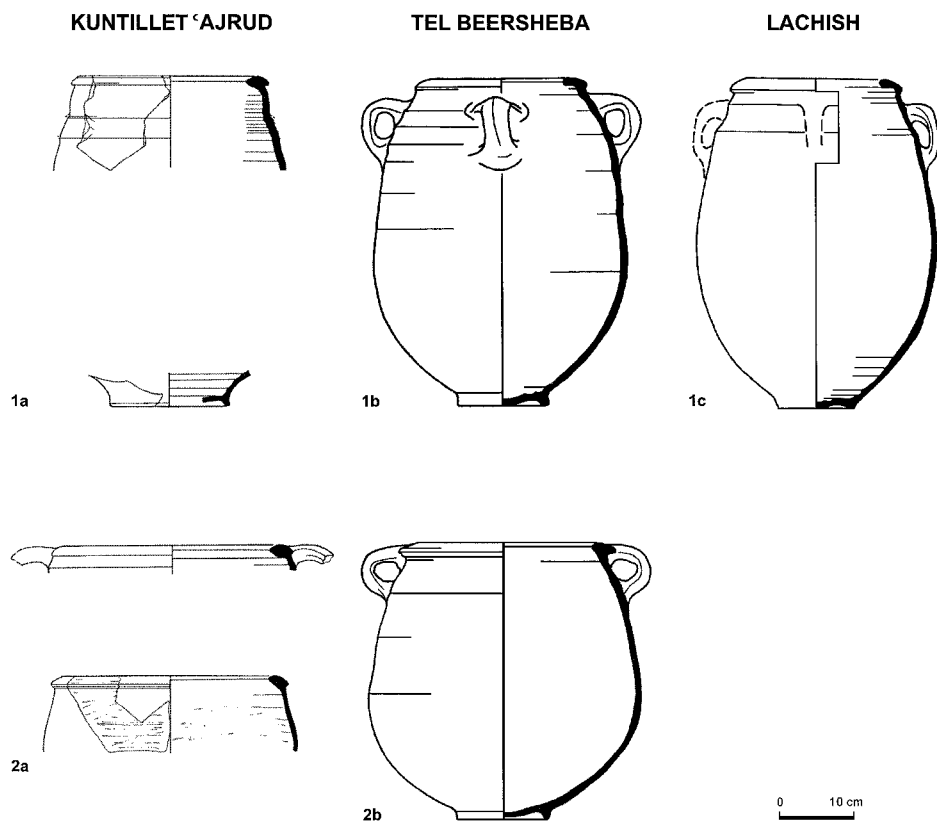


Fig. 6. Vessels with Judahite characteristics found at Kuntillet 'Ajrud, compared to pottery from Tel Beersheba Stratum II and Lachish Level III.

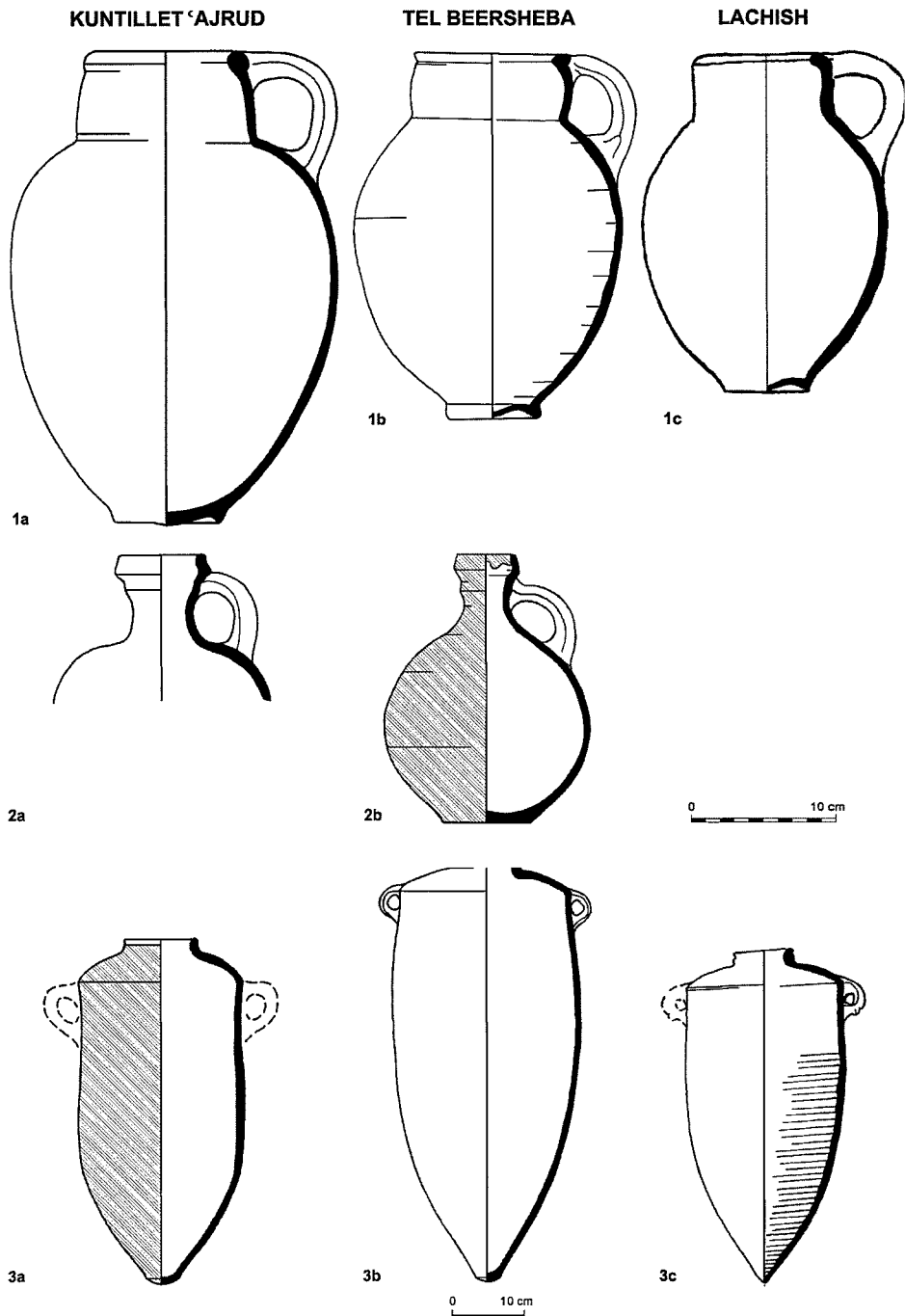


Fig. 7. Vessels with foreign characteristics found at Kuntillet 'Ajrud, compared to pottery from Tel Beersheba Stratum II and Lachish Level III.

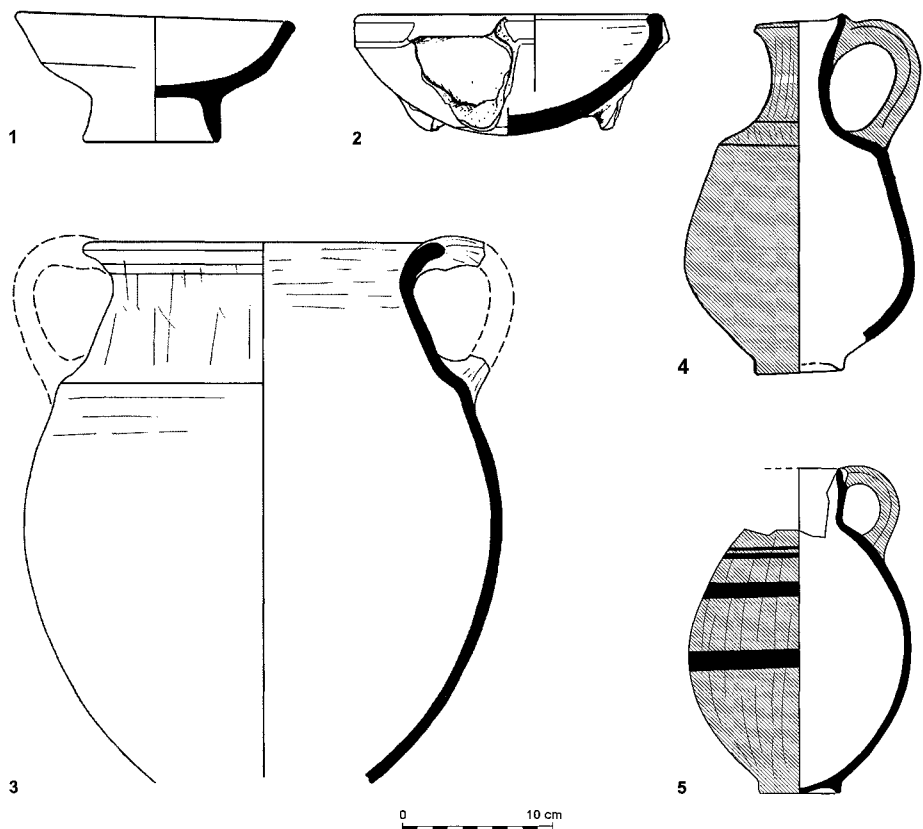


Fig. 8. Vessels with foreign characteristics from Kuntillet 'Ajrud, unknown in Judah.

<i>Kuntillet 'Ajrud</i>		<i>Tel Beersheba</i>	<i>Lachish</i>
<i>Fig. 1</i>			
1. Bowl	a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 3	b. 12286/2	c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.3: 12
2. Bowl	a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 6	b. 2162/2	c. Tufnell 1953: Pl. 80: 63
3. Bowl	a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 7	b. 5516/1	c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.3: 7
4. Bowl	a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 8	b. 5973/1	c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.3: 16
5. Bowl	a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 9	b. 14520/1	c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.3: 15
6. Bowl	a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 10	b. Aharoni 1973: Pl. 60: 72	c. Tufnell 1953: Pl. 99: 599

<i>Fig. 2</i>			
1. Cooking-pot	a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 6: 5	b. 10005/2	c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.11: 6
2. Cooking-pot	a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 6: 8	b. 8033/1	c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.35: 3
3. Cooking jugs	a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 6: 7–8	b. Aharoni 1973: Pl. 61: 98	c. Tufnell 1953: Pl. 84: 167
4. Jug	a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 14: 5	b. Aharoni 1973: Pl. 62: 103	

<i>Fig. 3</i>			
1. Juglet	a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 18: 1	b. Aharoni 1973: Pl. 62: 118	c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.4: 13
2. Flask	a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 18: 7	b. 5679/1	c. Tufnell 1953: Pl. 92: 434
3. Flask	a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 18: 6	b. 10499/1	c. Tufnell 1953: Pl. 92: 431
4. Lamp	a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 22: 3	b. 9820/1	c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.21: 12

Fig. 4

- | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Pithos | a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 8: 1 | b. 2432/2 | c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.1: 8 |
| 2. Storage jar | a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 11: 1 | b. 7901/2 | c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.10: 10 |

Fig. 5

- | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Storage jar | a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 11: 3 | b. 7922/1 | c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.11: 1 |
| 2. Storage jar | a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 13: 6 | b. Aharoni 1973: Pl. 57: 2 | c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.11: 4 |
| 3. Storage jar | a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 13: 4 | b. 4706/1 | c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.11: 3 |

Fig. 6

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|----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Storage jar | a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 6: 9–10 | b. Aharoni 1973: Pl. 67: 2 | c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.25: 7 |
| 2. Krater-Jar/Barrel | a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 6: 1–2 | b. 8889/4 | |

Fig. 7

- | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Jug | a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 14: 1 | b. 10868/1 | c. Tufnell 1953: Pl. 85: 205 |
| 2. Jug | a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 14: 8 | b. 8724/1 | |
| 3. Storage jar | a. Ayalon 1995: Fig. 13: 5 | b. 10398/3 | c. Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.37: 8 |

Fig. 8

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|-------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Bowl | Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 19 |
| 2. Bowl | Ayalon 1995: Fig. 3: 18 |
| 3. Krater | Ayalon 1995: Fig. 6: 4 |
| 4. Decanter | Ayalon 1995: Fig. 14: 10 |
| 5. Jug | Ayalon 1995: Fig. 14: 11 |

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