# LEAD ISOTOPE ANALYSIS OF SLAG-TEMPERED NEGEV HIGHLANDS POTTERY

#### NAAMA YAHALOM-MACK

naama.yahalom@mail.huji.ac.il Institute of Earth Sciences, Hebrew University of Jerusalem Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem Israel

#### MARIO A.S. MARTIN

mario\_antonio@outlook.com Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University Israel

## OFIR TIROSH

ofirtirosh@gmail.com Institute of Earth Sciences, Hebrew University of Jerusalem Israel

## YIGAL EREL

yerel@vms.huji.ac.il Institute of Earth Sciences, Hebrew University of Jerusalem Israel

## ISRAEL FINKELSTEIN

fink2@post.tau.ac.il Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University Israel

#### Summary: Lead Isotope Analysis of Slag-Tempered Negev Highlands Pottery

Petrographic analysis of Iron IIA Negev Highlands pottery revealed that the clay used in some of the vessels was tempered with copper smelting slag. Here we show, using lead isotope analysis, that the slag was likely a byproduct of the contemporaneous smelting operations at Faynan, Jordan. We substantiate previous observations regarding the connection between settlements in the Negev Highlands and the mining and smelting operations in Wadi Arabah.

Article received: July 6th 2015; approved: September 8th 2015.

**Keywords:** Iron IIA – Negebite pottery – Slag temper – Negev Highlands – Wadi Faynan – Timna – Lead isotope analysis

## Resumen: Análisis de isótopos de plomo de cerámica de las tierras altas del Negev atemperada con escoria

El análisis petrográfico de la cerámica de las tierras altas del Negev de la Edad del Hierro IIA reveló que la arcilla utilizada en algunos recipientes fue templada con escoria resultante de la fundición de cobre. En este trabajo mostramos, utilizando análisis de isótopos de plomo, que la escoria era probablemente un subproducto de las operaciones de fundición contemporáneas en Feinán, Jordania. Corroboramos observaciones previas con respecto a la conexión entre asentamientos en las tierras altas del Negev y las operaciones mineras y de fundición en el Wadi Arabá.

**Palabras Clave:** Edad del Hierro IIA – Cerámica negevita – Templado de escoria – Tierras altas del Negev – Wadi Feinán – Timna – Análisis de isótopos de plomo

#### INTRODUCTION

Recent petrographic analysis of wheel- and handmade ('Negebite') pottery found at early Iron IIA Negev Highlands sites has established the connection of these settlements with the copper extraction centers in Wadi Arabah (Fig. 1). Most significantly, a group of (almost exclusively handmade) vessels was made of clay which was tempered with minute fragments of crushed slag, characterized as copper smelting slag with the aid of metallographic and scanning electron microscopes. A production of these vessels in Wadi Arabah was proposed. Here we report the results of lead isotope analysis of slag inclusions in selected vessels from the Negev Highlands sites. The study provides additional evidence for the origin of this pottery in the Arabah mining districts, most likely Wadi Faynan.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Crushed slag is available in the form of extensive heaps at the Arabah smelting sites, and indeed slag tempering is a well-known phenomenon in this region in the Iron Age, both in domestic and in refractory ceramics.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Martin and Finkelstein 2013; Martin et al. 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Slatkine 1978: 114; Rothenberg 1980: 198; 1988: 201; Bachmann and Rothenberg 1980: 220; Glass 1988: 103, 109–111; Tite *et al.* 1990; Al-Shorman 2009: 203–223; Smith 2009: 365–417 [Wares A2, A2b and A6b], 572; 2014; Ben-Yosef 2010: 364, 674–676, 691, 699, 702–703.

The production of slag-tempered Negev Highlands vessels in Wadi Arabah is not only substantiated by the slag inclusions but also by certain rock and mineral fragments encountered in the fabrics. These include argillaceous shales, sandstones, coarse-very coarse angular quartz and, most importantly, intrusive and volcanic igneous rock fragments, mainly of felsic (granite, rhyolite) and, rarely, also of intermediate composition (diorite, andesite). This temper assemblage can be sourced to the southerly desert regions of southern Jordan, the eastern and southern Arabah and the southern Sinai, where rocks of the Precambrian crystalline basement of the Arabian-Nubian Shield and of the Paleozoic-Late Mesozoic continental environs outcrop extensively.<sup>3</sup> Combining geological with archaeological considerations, Wadi Arabah and, more precisely the copper districts of Wadi Faynan and Timna—the only focus of human activity in this region during the Iron IIA—remain the only viable candidate.<sup>4</sup>

It is futile to consider the option that crushed slag was transported to the Negev Highlands separately, to be added to locally procured clays.<sup>5</sup> Such a scenario would also require the 'import' of other tempering agents (see above), such as granitic rocks, for which a local Negev Highlands origin can be categorically excluded. Ethnographic studies have shown that in traditional pottery production, raw clay and temper are generally not transported over distances more than ca. 10 km.6 Moreover, no evidence of pottery kilns has ever been recorded in the Negev Highlands.<sup>7</sup>

On the basis of shape repertoire—almost exclusively the most essential, open household types (mostly cooking vessels)—and production mode ("household production") it was argued that the handmade wares were not prone to be exchanged as trade items, but reached the Negev Highlands as a result of movement of people; it was brought by its owners, who "commuted" between the Negev Highlands and Wadi Arabah.

Both the Negev Highlands and the copper districts in Wadi Arabah were dominated by a nomadic milieu with tribal organization.8 In the early Iron IIA

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For a detailed discussion and references, see Martin and Finkelstein 2013: 24–27; Martin et al. 2013: 3780-3781, 3786-3787.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In the Iron IIA no evidence of settlement activity has been found on the southern Jordan plateau (Bienkowski 1992a, 1992b; Herr and Najjar 2001). A near settlement vacuum was encountered in the Sinai during the entire Iron II (Meshel 2002: 287; Yezerski 2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Martin et al. 2013: 3787.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Arnold 1985: 32-60; cf. Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004: 6-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Haimann and Goren 1992: 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Fantalkin and Finkelstein 2006; Tebes 2006; Levy 2009a; 2009b; Ben-Yosef 2010: 648–656; for the Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery, see Beherec, Najjar and Levy 2014.

pastoral nomadic groups in the Negev Highlands were in a process of sedentarization. Different lines of data suggest that at least some of these groups were involved in the Arabah copper production system—as miners and smelters. They may have also been involved in the transportation of copper, likely in ingot form, from the mines to northern urban centers and to the Mediterranean shore, where the copper could have been loaded onto ships. The latter possibility was raised by the chemical and isotopic analyses of ingots from a cargo comprising 54 loaf-shaped copper ingots retrieved from the Carmel coast, near Neve Yam, suggesting that the ingots were made of copper from Wadi Arabah ores, specifically those at Faynan.<sup>9</sup>

The Negev Highlands population was an integral part of a prosperous network propelled by the profitable copper market. This network included Wadi Arabah, which after the disruption of the Cypriot trade at the end of the Late Bronze Age rose as the main copper provider of the southern Levant, the Beer-sheba Valley, the Negev Highlands and the Mediterranean coast. The economic boom in the south stimulated the sedentarization process in the Negev Highlands. <sup>10</sup> Control of this network must have been one of the main goals of the Sheshonq I campaign to the southern Levant. <sup>11</sup>

In the period discussed here, the leading copper producer in the Arabah was the Wadi Faynan district, with the largest production site located at Khirbet en-Nahas.<sup>12</sup> On a smaller scale, mining and smelting activity also occurred in the Timna area,<sup>13</sup> arguably under the same production system and operated by the same groups.<sup>14</sup>

From a chemical analysis it emerged that the crushed slag added to the ceramic wares as tempering agent is manganese-rich and often contains an appreciable amount of phosphorus (P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub>).<sup>15</sup> This composition points to the Cambrian Dolomite-Limestone-Shale (DLS) unit as host rock for the mined

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Yahalom-Mack et al. 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> A somewhat similar process can be identified in the Early Bronze Age III-Intermediate Bronze Age. For copper-related activities in this period in Wadi Faynan, see Levy *et al.* 2002. The contemporaneous subsistence and settlement pattern in the Negev Highlands is currently under investigation by our team (see already Dunseth 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Fantalkin and Finkelstein 2006; Finkelstein and Piasetzky 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> E.g., Levy et al. 2005; 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> E.g., Ben-Yosef 2010: 507–621; Ben-Yosef et al. 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ben-Yosef 2010: 955–959.

<sup>15</sup> Martin et al. 2013: 3787-3788.

copper.<sup>16</sup> The DLS unit was the primary source for copper ore in Wadi Faynan (the local Burj formation), where it is widely exposed. In Timna, most of the copper-bearing Cambrian ores (the local Timna formation in particular) do not outcrop on the surface and, instead, the iron-rich sandstones of the Cretaceous Amir and Avrona formations were exploited for copper throughout all periods of activity. There is, however, limited evidence that during the Iron IIA the miners of the Timna Valley have also used the Cambrian manganese-rich ores (Layer I at Site 30; 9th century BCE).<sup>17</sup>

#### MATERIALS AND METHODS

Four slag-tempered vessels, each from a different Negev Highlands site, were selected for lead isotope analysis (**Table 1**; for the location of sites, see **Fig. 1**; for the illustration of the vessels, see **Fig. 2**; for micrographs of fabric inclusions, see **Figs. 3–5**). This method is based on the fact that no isotope fractionation occurs during the copper smelting and re-melting processes. The lead isotope ratios thus serve as a 'fingerprint' of the mineral ore deposits, which can be compared with the end-product.<sup>18</sup>

Fig.	Site	Reg. Nº	Vessel type	Reference	Fabric and inclusions	
2: 1	Refed	5/1	Cooking krater	Meshel and Cohen 1980: Fig. 3: 4	Silty, non-calcareous, micaceous clay + slag, quartz, sandstone, quartzite(?)	
2: 2	Atar Haroʻa	84/2	Cooking(?) krater	Cohen 1970: Fig. 11: 13	Calcareous clay + slag, calcareous sand, quartz, vegetal temper	
2: 3	Horvat Ritma	53/1	Lamp	Meshel 1977: Fig. 7: 10	Silty, non-calcareous, micaceous clay + quartz, granite, slag, andesite, feldspar, sandstone	
2: 4	Ramat Matred	1216/1	Cooking krater	Cohen and Cohen-Amin 2004: Fig. 40: 13	Silty, non-calcareous, shaley clay + slag, quartz, limestone	

**Table 1.** Slag-tempered Negev Highlands vessels sampled for this study.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Cf. Hauptmann 2007: 63–79; Ben-Yosef 2010: 96–104; Levy, Ben-Yosef and Najjar 2014: 12–21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Tite et al. 1990; Ben-Yosef 2010: 564–571, 901–903; Ben-Yosef et al. 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> For discussion and bibliography, see Gale and Stos-Gale 1982; Hauptmann 2007: 31–38; Stos-Gale and Gale 2009; Pernicka 2014.

A 2–3 cm vessel fragment was crushed lightly and pieces of slag, visible to the naked eye, were collected. The slag fragments with some adhering clay were dissolved in a mixture of hydrofluoric and nitric acid and diluted for chemical and isotopic analysis. Lead concentration was determined using a quadrupole Inductively Coupled Plasma – Mass Spectrometer (ICP-MS, Agilent 7500cx). Following the separation of Pb in columns lead isotopic ratios were measured using Neptune plus multi-collector ICP-MS. Thallium was used for mass-bias correction. SRM-981 standard was run with the samples yielding the following values: <sup>208/206</sup>Pb = 2.1660±3.6E-05, <sup>207/206</sup>Pb = 0.9145±1.4E-05, <sup>204/206</sup>Pb = 0.0591±6.0E-06.

#### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results are presented in **Table 2** and are plotted in **Fig. 6** against the lead isotope ratios of the following ores and artefacts:

- 1 Ores from the DLS at Faynan (Burj formation), which was the main mineralization exploited during the Bronze and Iron Ages;<sup>19</sup>
- 2 Slag fragments from Khirbet en-Nahas, Wadi Dana and Feinan 5, which are dated to the Iron Age;<sup>20</sup>
- 3 Sandstone ores from Timna (the Cretaceous Amir and Avrona formations), which were the main Cu-hosting rocks exploited in this region;<sup>21</sup>
- 4 Pb-rich Mn nodules (Type B) from the Cambrian Timna Formation, which are equivalent to the DLS ores at Faynan. These do for their most part not outcrop in the Timna Valley and were generally not exploited in ancient times;<sup>22</sup>
- 5 Ingots from the Early to Intermediate Bronze Age metallurgical activity at Khirbet Hamra Ifdan, Wadi Faynan area;<sup>23</sup>
- 6 Late Bronze Age ingots from Timna;<sup>24</sup>
- 7 Ingots from the Carmel coast near Neve Yam.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> After Hauptmann et al. 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Hauptmann et al. 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Gale *et. al.* 1990; Segev, Beyth and Bar-Matthews 1992; Hauptmann *et al.* 1992; Hauptmann 2007; Asael *et. al.* 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ehrlich et al. 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Levy et al. 2002; Hauptmann et al. 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Yahalom-Mack et al. 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Yahalom-Mack et al. 2014.

Figure	Site	$^{208}Pb/^{206}Pb$	е	$^{207}Pb/^{206}Pb$	е	<sup>204</sup> Pb/ <sup>206</sup> Pb	е
2: 1	Refed	2.1214	0.00002	0.8707	0.000006	0.0557	0.000002
2: 2	Atar Haroʻa	2.1184	0.00002	0.8691	0.000008	0.0556	0.000001
2: 3	Horvat Ritma	2.1192	0.00002	0.8699	0.000007	0.0557	0.000002
2: 4	Ramat Matred	2.1195	0.00003	0.8700	0.000009	0.0557	0.000002

 Table 2.

 Lead isotope ratios of slag from Negev Highlands vessels sampled for this study.

**Figure 6** shows that the slag fragments from the Negev Highlands vessels are consistent with both Timna and Faynan copper ores. However, the major source of exploited ore from Timna (i.e., the Cretaceous Amir and Avrona formations) has a large scatter, while the Faynan ores plot very close to the sampled vessels. In addition, the vessels are fully consistent with the crescent-shaped ingots from the Early Bronze Age III and Intermediate Bronze Age metallurgical activity at Khirbet Hamra Ifdan, which utilized the DLS ores in this region, as well as with the slag from the Iron Age smelting sites at Faynan and with the ingots from Neve Yam. This correspondence and the archaeological data showing that the DLS ores were extensively exploited at Faynan during the Iron Age suggests that the slag in the Negev Highlands vessels likely originated in this region. Only eight samples from the DLS unit at Faynan were analyzed for their lead isotope ratios<sup>26</sup> and interestingly, most of them cluster slightly lower than slag and ingot samples. This difference may be bridged with additional analyses.

The particular member within the Timna formation which is geochemically equivalent to the Faynan DLS unit appears to be the lead-rich Type B manganese nodules within the Timna Formation. It should be, however, noted that the lead isotope ratios of these nodules are not identical to those of the Faynan DLS unit, as should be expected (**Fig. 6**). This difference may be an artifact of the small number of samples obtained from these units. Otherwise, this may point to a slight geochemical difference between these formations.

Since in the Timna Valley Cambrian manganese-rich ores of the Timna formation were used during the Iron IIA in addition to ores derived from Cretaceous sandstones (see above), theoretically they could have been the source of the slag in the Negev Highlands vessels. However, the perfect consistency of the lead isotope ratios of the slag temper with the Faynan ingots suggests that Faynan is indeed the source of the slag added to the Negev Highlands ceramics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Hauptmann et al. 1992.

This is supported by the geographical proximity of Wadi Faynan and the Negev Highlands and by the fact that in the Iron IIA the Faynan mines were exploited at an incomparably grander scale than those at Timna.

#### CONCLUSION

The results of the lead isotope analysis of slag fragments extracted from Negev Highlands vessels substantiate previous observations, based on archaeological considerations, petrographic analysis and mineralogy of the slags, regarding the connection between the Negev Highlands Iron Age settlements and the mining and smelting operations in Wadi Arabah. This suggests that Iron IIA sedentary activity in the Negev Highlands was related to the thriving metallurgical activities at Wadi Faynan. The economic boom in the southern desert regions stimulated the sedentarization process in the Negev Highlands. We can reconstruct a scenario in which some of the Negev Highlands pastoral nomadic groups periodically worked in the Wadi Arabah copper districts as miners and smelters, probably in order to supplement their subsistence economy.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study was partially funded by the European Research Council under the European Community's Seventh Framework Program (FP7/2007–2013)/ERC grant agreement no. 229418. It was part of a project headed by Israel Finkelstein, Tel Aviv University and Steve Weiner, Weizmann Institute of Science. Additional funding was provided by the Lady Davis Foundation.

#### REFERENCES

- AL-SHORMAN, A.H. 2009. Refractory Ceramic through the Ages: An Archaeometric Study on Finds from Fenan, Jordan and Other Sites. PhD Dissertation, Ruhr-Universität, Bochum.
- ARNOLD, D.E. 1985. *Ceramic Theory and Cultural Process*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- ASAEL, D., A. MATTHEWS, M. BAR-MATTHEWS, Y. HARLAVAN, and I. SEGAL. 2012. "Tracking Redox Controls and Sources of Sedimentary Mineralization Using Copper and Lead Isotopes". In: *Chemical Geology* 310–311, pp. 23–25.
- BACHMANN, H.G. and B. ROTHENBERG. 1980. "Die Verhüttungsverfahren von Site

- 30". In: H.G. CONRAD and B. ROTHENBERG (eds.), *Antikes Kupfer im Timna-Tal.* 4000 Jahre Bergbau und Verhüttung in der Arabah (Israel). Veröffentlichungen aus dem Deutschen Bergbau-Museum Bochum 20. Bochum, Deutsches Bergbau-Museum Bochum, pp. 215–236.
- BEHEREC, M.A., M. NAJJAR, and T.E. LEVY. 2014. "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology in the Edom Lowlands". In: T.E. LEVY, M. NAJJAR and E. BEN-YOSEF (eds.), *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan*. Los Angeles, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, pp. 665–721.
- Ben-Yosef, E. 2010. *Technology and Social Process: Oscillations in Iron Age Copper Production and Power in Southern Jordan*. PhD Dissertation, University of California, San Diego.
- BEN-YOSEF, E., R. SHAAR, L. TAUXE, and H. RON. 2012. "A New Chronological Framework for Iron Age Copper Production at Timna (Israel)". In: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 367, pp. 31–71.
- BIENKOWSKI, P. 1992a. "The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan: A Framework". In: P. BIENKOWSKI (ed.), *Early Edom and Moab The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan*. Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 7. Sheffield, J.R. Collis, pp. 1–12.
- BIENKOWSKI, P. 1992b. "The Date of Sedentary Occupation in Edom: Evidence from Umm el-Biyara, Tawilan and Buseirah". In: P. BIENKOWSKI (ed.), *Early Edom and Moab The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan*. Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 7. Sheffield, J.R. Collis, pp. 99–112.
- COHEN, R. 1970. "Atar Haro'a". In: 'Atiqot 6, pp. 6–24 (Hebrew).
- COHEN, R. and R. COHEN-AMIN. 2004. Ancient Settlement of the Negev Highlands. Volume II: The Iron Age and the Persian Period. Israel Antiquities Authority Reports 20. Jerusalem, Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Dunseth, Z.C. 2013. Subsistence Practices in the Negev Highlands during the Intermediate Bronze Age: A Microarchaeological Investigation at Mashabe Sade. M.A. Thesis, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv.
- EHRLICH, S., Y. HARLAVAN, M. BAR-MATTHEWS, and L. HALICZ. 2004. "Lead and Uranium Isotopic Behavior in Diagenetic and Epigenetic Manganese Nodules, Timna Basin, Israel, determined by MC-ICP-MS". In: *Applied Geochemistry* 19/12, pp. 1927–1936.
- Fantalkin, A. and I. Finkelstein. 2006. "The Sheshonq I Campaign and the 8th-Century-BCE Earthquake More on the Archaeology and History of the South in the Iron I–IIA". In: *Tel Aviv* 33, pp. 18–42.
- FINKELSTEIN, I. and E. PIASETZKY. 2008. "Radiocarbon and the History of Copper Production at Khirbet en-Nahas". In: *Tel Aviv* 35, pp. 82–95.

- GALE, N.H., H.G. BACHMANN, B. ROTHENBERG, Z.A. STOS-GALE, and R.F. TYLECOTE. 1990. "The Adventitious Production of Iron in the Smelting of Copper". In: B. ROTHENBERG (ed.), *The Ancient Metallurgy of Copper*. Researches in the Arabah 1959–1984, Vol. 2. London, Institute for Archaeometallurgical Studies, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, pp. 182–190.
- GALE, N.H. and Z.A. STOS-GALE. 1982. "Bronze Age Copper Sources in the Mediterranean: A New Approach". In: *Science* 216, pp. 11–18.
- GLASS, J. 1988. "Petrographic Investigations of the Pottery". In: B. ROTHENBERG (ed.), *The Egyptian Mining Temple at Timna*. Researches in the Arabah 1959–1984, Vol. 1. London, Institute for Archaeometallurgical Studies, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, pp. 96–113.
- GOREN, Y., I. FINKELSTEIN, and N. Na'AMAN. 2004. *Inscribed in Clay. Provenance Study of the Amarna Tablets and Other Ancient Near Eastern Texts*. Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 23. Tel Aviv, Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.
- HAIMANN, M. and Y. GOREN. 1992. "'Negbite' Pottery: New Aspects and Interpretation and the Role of Pastoralism in Designating Ceramic Technology".
  In: O. BAR-YOSEF and A. KHAZANOV (eds.), Pastoralism in the Levant. Monographs in World Archaeology 10. Madison, Wisconsin, Prehistory Press, pp. 143–151.
- HAUPTMANN, A. 2007. The Archaeometallurgy of Copper Evidence from Faynan, Jordan. Berlin-Heidelberg-New York, Springer.
- HAUPTMANN, A., F. BEGEMANN, E. HEITKEMPER, E. PERNICKA, and S. SCHMITT-STRECKER. 1992. "Early Copper Produced at Feinan, Wadi Araba, Jordan: The Composition of Ores and Copper". In: *Archeomaterials* 6, pp. 1–33.
- HAUPTMANN, A., S. SCHMITT-STRECKER, T.E. LEVY, and F. BEGEMANN. 2015. "On Early Bronze Age Copper Bar Ingots from the Southern Levant". In: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 373, pp. 1–24.
- HERR, L.G. and M. NAJJAR. 2001. "The Iron Age". In: B. MACDONALD, R. ADAMS and P. BIENKOWSKI (eds.), *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Levantine Archaeology 1. Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 323–345.
- LEVY, T.E. 2009a. "Pastoral Nomads and Iron Age Metal Production in Ancient Edom". In: J. SZUCHMAN (ed.), *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*. Oriental Institute Seminars 5. Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, pp. 147–177.
- LEVY, T.E. 2009b. "Ethnic Identity in Biblical Edom, Israel, and Midian: Some Insights from Mortuary Contexts in the Lowlands of Edom". In: J.D. SCHLOEN (ed.), *Exploring the Longue Durée. Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager*. Winona Lake, Indiana, Eisenbrauns, pp. 251–261.
- Antiguo Oriente, volumen 13, 2015, pp. 83-98.

- LEVY, T.E., R.B. ADAMS, M. PRANGE, S. SCHMITT-STRECKER, and M. NAJJAR. 2002. "Early Bronze Age Metallurgy: A Newly Discovered Copper Manufactory in Southern Jordan". In: *Antiquity* 76, pp. 425–437.
- Levy, T.E., E. Ben-Yosef, and M. Najjar. 2014. "The Iron Age Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project. Research, Design, and Methodology". In: T.E. Levy, M. Najjar and E. Ben-Yosef (eds.), *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan*. Los Angeles, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, pp. 1–88.
- Levy, T.E., M. Najjar, T. Higham, Y. Arbel, A. Muniz, E. Ben-Yosef, N.G. Smith, M. Beherec, A.D. Gidding, I.W.N. Jones, D. Frese, C. Smitheram, and M. Robinson. 2014. "Excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas 2002–2009: Unearthing an Iron Age Copper Production Center in the Lowlands of Edom (Southern Jordan)". In: T.E. Levy, M. Najjar and E. Ben-Yosef (eds.), New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan. Los Angeles, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, pp. 89–246.
- Levy, T.E., M. Najjar, J. van der Plicht, N. Smith, H.J. Bruins, and T. Higham. 2005. "Lowland Edom and the High and Low Chronologies: Edomite State Formation, the Bible and Recent Archaeological Research in Southern Jordan". In: T.E. Levy and T. Higham (eds.), *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science*. London, Equinox, pp. 129–163.
- MARTIN, M.A.S., A. ELIYAHU, M. ANENBURG, Y. GOREN, and I. FINKELSTEIN. 2013. "Iron IIA Slag-Tempered Pottery in the Negev Highlands, Israel". In: *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40, pp. 3777–3792.
- MARTIN, M.A.S. and I. FINKELSTEIN. 2013. "Iron IIA Pottery from the Negev Highlands: Petrographic Investigation and Historical Implications". In: *Tel Aviv* 40, pp. 6–45.
- MESHEL, Z. 1977. "Horvat Ritma: An Iron Age Fortress in the Negev Highlands". In: *Tel Aviv* 4, pp. 110–135.
- MESHEL, Z. 2002. "Does Negebite Ware Reflect the Character of Negev Society in the Israelite Period?". In: E. Oren and S. Ahituv (eds.), *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume. Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines.* Studies by the Department of Bible and Ancient Near East 15. Beer-sheba, Ben Gurion University of the Negev Press, pp. 283–300.
- MESHEL, Z. and R. COHEN. 1980. "Refed and Hatira: Two Iron Age Fortresses in the Northern Negev". In: *Tel Aviv* 7, pp. 70–81.
- Pernicka, E. 2014. "Provenance Determination of Archaeological Metal Objects". In: B.W. Roberts and C.P. Thornton (eds.), *Archaeometallurgy in Global Perspective: Methods and Syntheses*. New York, Springer, pp. 239–268.

- ROTHENBERG, B. 1980. "Die Archäologie des Verhüttungslagers Site 30". In: H.G. CONRAD and B. ROTHENBERG (eds.), *Antikes Kupfer im Timna-Tal. 4000 Jahre Bergbau und Verhüttung in der Arabah (Israel)*. Veröffentlichungen aus dem Deutschen Bergbau-Museum Bochum, Deutsches Bergbau-Museum Bochum, pp. 187–213.
- ROTHENBERG, B. 1988. *The Egyptian Mining Temple at Timna*. Researches in the Arabah 1959–1984, vol. 1. London, Institute for Archaeometallurgical Studies, Institute of Archaeology, University College London.
- Segev, A., M. Beyth, and M. Bar-Matthews. 1992. "The Geology of the Timna Valley with Emphasis on Copper and Manganese Mineralization Updating and Correlation with the Eastern Margins of the Dead Sea Rift". In: *Geological Survey of Israel Report* GSI/14/92, pp. 1–31.
- SLATKINE, A. 1978. "Étude microscopique de poteries anciennes du Negev et du Sinai". In: *Paléorient* 4, pp. 113–130.
- SMITH, N.G. 2009. Social Boundaries and State Formation in Ancient Edom: A Comparative Ceramic Approach. PhD Dissertation, University of California, San Diego.
- SMITH, N.G. 2014. "The Petrography of Iron Age Edom". In: T.E. Levy, M. Najjar and E. Ben-Yosef (eds.), *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan*. Los Angeles, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, pp. 461–491.
- STOS-GALE, Z.A. and N.H. GALE. 2009. "Metal Provenancing Using Isotopes and the Oxford Archaeological Lead Isotope Database (OXALID)". In: *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 1, pp. 195–213.
- Tebes, J.M. 2006. "Iron Age 'Negevite' Pottery: A Reassessment". In: *Antiguo Oriente* 4, pp. 95–117.
- Tite, M.S., M.J. Hughes, I.C. Freestone, N.D. Meeks, and M. Bimson. 1990. "Technological Characterisation of Refractory Ceramics from Timna". In: B. Rothenberg (ed.), *The Ancient Metallurgy of Copper*. Researches in the Arabah 1959–1984, vol. 2. London, Institute for Archaeometallurgical Studies, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, pp. 158–175.
- Yahalom-Mack, N., E. Galili, I. Segal, A. Eliyahu-Behar, E. Boaretto, S. Shilstein, and I. Finkelstein. 2014. "New Insights into Levantine Copper Trade: Analysis of Ingots from the Bronze and Iron Ages in Israel". In: *Journal of Archaeological Science* 45, pp. 159–177.
- YEZERSKI, I. 2003. The History of North Sinai during the Iron Age Period Archaeological and Historical Aspects. PhD Dissertation, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beersheba.

## **FIGURES**

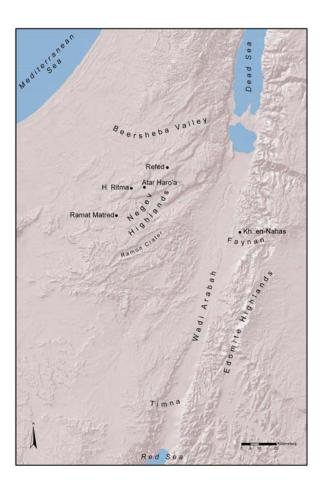


Fig. 1.

Map of southern Israel and Jordan showing the main regions and sites mentioned in the article.

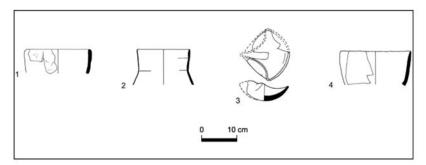


Fig. 2.

Selected slag-tempered Iron IIA Negev Highlands pottery, including handmade Negebite (cooking) kraters (1, 2, 4) and a wheel-made lamp (3). Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority and the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University.

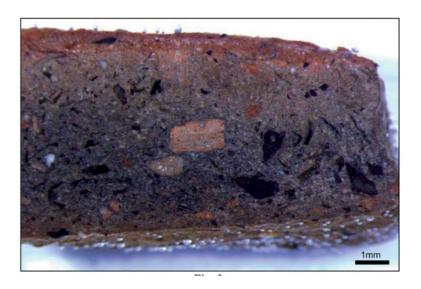


Fig. 3.

Fresh break of slag-tempered ware in the stereo-microscope (from vessel in **Fig. 2: 2**). The slag appears in the form of dark angular inclusions.

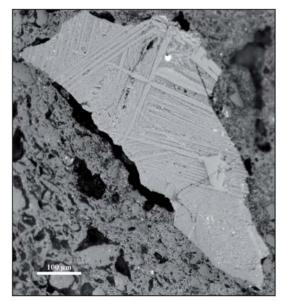


Fig. 4.

Micrograph (reflected light mode) showing fragment of crushed copper smelting slag added as temper into the clay mass of a handmade Negebite vessel (Fig. 2: 4).

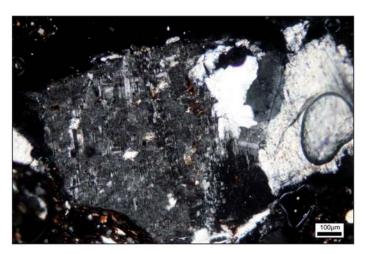


Fig. 5.

Micrograph (polarizing microscope, crossed polarized light) showing granite inclusion in the fabric of a lamp (Fig. 2: 3).

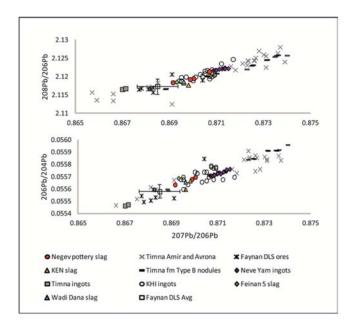


Fig. 6.

Lead isotope ratios of slag fragments analyzed for this study (**Table 2**), plotted against selected ores, ingots and slag from Wadi Arabah (for references, see text). KHI=Khirbet Hamra Ifdan, KEN=Khirbet en-Nahas.