

**Tebes, Juan Manuel**

*The pottery assemblage of Jerusalem's neo-babylonian destruction level: a review and discussion*

Antiguo Oriente: Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente Vol. 9, 2011

Este documento está disponible en la Biblioteca Digital de la Universidad Católica Argentina, repositorio institucional desarrollado por la Biblioteca Central "San Benito Abad". Su objetivo es difundir y preservar la producción intelectual de la institución.

La Biblioteca posee la autorización del autor para su divulgación en línea.

Cómo citar el documento:

Tebes, Juan Manuel. "The pottery assemblage of Jerusalem's neo-babylonian destruction level : a review and discussion" [en línea], *Antiguo Oriente: Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente* 9 (2011).  
Disponibile en: <http://bibliotecadigital.uca.edu.ar/repositorio/revistas/pottery-assemblage-jerusalem-neo-babylonian.pdf>  
[Fecha de consulta:.....]

# THE POTTERY ASSEMBLAGE OF JERUSALEM'S NEO-BABYLONIAN DESTRUCTION LEVEL: A REVIEW AND DISCUSSION\*

JUAN MANUEL TEBES

*jmtebes@hotmail.com*

*Maison de l'Archéologie et de l'Ethnologie,  
CNRS - Université de Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne -  
Université de Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense  
Nanterre, Île-de-France, France*

## **Summary: The Pottery Assemblage of Jerusalem's Neo-Babylonian Destruction Level: A Review and Discussion**

This paper studies the pottery of Jerusalem corresponding to the very Late Iron II (mid 7th to early 6th centuries BCE) that is scattered throughout the modern-day excavation reports. A typology of five functional groups and twenty-five taxonomic subgroups is built, based on pottery retrieved from clear loci that represent the Neo-Babylonian destruction level or shortly before. I will focus attention on the chronology of each pottery type, and how they can be related to parallels in other contemporary sites. The analysis of the resultant pottery types and their distribution in the city confirms that Jerusalem passed through an era of political and economic centralization, urban expansion and industrial development, albeit with few connections with the contemporary interregional trade networks.

**Keywords:** Jerusalem – Late Iron Age – Pottery – Neo-Babylonian Destruction

**Resumen: El conjunto cerámico del estrato de destrucción neo-babilónico de Jerusalén: Una revisión y discusión**

Este artículo estudia la cerámica de Jerusalén de finales de la Edad del Hierro II (mediados del siglo VII a principios del VI a.C.), a partir de los reportes de las excavaciones modernas. Se construirá una tipología de 5 grupos funcionales y 25 subgru-

\* I dedicate this article to Alicia Daneri Rodrigo, who was my Lic. and PhD advisor at the Universidad de Buenos Aires, and has been my friend for many years. Alicia represents the kind of scholar that the Argentinean ANE academic community is desperately in need of: erudite, good teacher, incisive counselor and, most importantly, good person.

pos taxonómicos, basados en las cerámicas encontradas en loci claros que representan el nivel de la destrucción neo-babilónica, o poco antes de ésta. Me enfocaré en la cronología de cada tipo cerámico, y cómo éstos pueden relacionarse con paralelos en otros sitios contemporáneos. El análisis de los tipos cerámicos resultantes y de su distribución en la ciudad confirma que Jerusalén experimentó una era de centralización política y económica, expansión urbana y desarrollo industrial, aunque de escasas conexiones con las redes comerciales interregionales contemporáneas.

**Palabras clave:** Jerusalén – Edad del Hierro tardío – Cerámica – Destrucción neo-babilónica

## INTRODUCTION

Decades have passed since the beginning of the modern excavations in Jerusalem directed by K. Kenyon, N. Avigad, Y. Shiloh and B. Mazar/E. Mazar; however, the publication of the final reports has only been a matter of the last ten years. More importantly, there is a lack of a unified, coherent picture that combines the different pottery typologies of Late Iron Jerusalem. Even though these studies provide with parallels from other ceramic typologies of the city, no attempt has ever been made to present these typologies in one cohesive picture. Different factors such as the small area involved, the time length between the publication of the pottery reports, the diverse systems of classification employed, the very complex stratigraphy of Jerusalem, and even the existence of alternative archaeological sites that may provide more solid pottery typologies (Lachish, Megiddo), made a unified pottery typology of Jerusalem very difficult to accomplish. Accordingly, I believe it is now time of a reassessment of the evidence. This article's main objective is to study the pottery of the city of Jerusalem corresponding to the very Late Iron Age II (mid 7th to early 6th centuries BCE), i.e. the pottery roughly contemporary to the period just before the fall and destruction of the city by the Neo-Babylonians in July/August 586 BCE.<sup>1</sup> To examine this topic it is necessary to investigate two main research questions:

What were the most significant pottery types that were used in the Iron Age city during the last period of its existence? In order to construct a typology as precise as possible in terms of chronology, the methodological step is taken to use only pottery retrieved from clear loci that represent the Neo-

<sup>1</sup> See, most recently, Lipschits (2005: 72–84), with literature.

Babylonian destruction or shortly before. The significance of this ceramic assemblage cannot be overstated: this is one of the few cases in the archaeology of the Iron Age in which there is a clear destruction layer dated by contemporary sources and that consequently dates both the local material assemblage and pottery parallels in other sites. As is well known, the key site for the chronology of Iron Age Palestine is Lachish, but even the chronology of this site has its problems.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, a solid typology of the pottery found in the Neo-Babylonian destruction layer of Jerusalem may provide a parallel guideline for dating contemporary settlements in the region. I will integrate all modern studies of Late Iron pottery of Jerusalem to date, combining the different excavated areas into one homogeneous pottery assemblage.

Secondly, what knowledge can be gained through the analysis of the pottery concerning the social, political and economic structures of the city? In looking to unravel the continuities and discontinuities between the 10th-to-8th and the 7th–6th century BCE city, I will determine the chronological history of this typology's pottery types. For purposes of chronological accuracy I also aim at determining the type-fossils for the very Late Iron Age in Judah. Lastly, I will use the different functional pottery types, as well as the archaeological contexts in which they were found, to assess conclusions with respect to the city's urban expansion, economic specialization, political status, diffusion of literacy, cultic activities, relationship with the broader Judaeian material culture and interregional contacts.

The paper is divided into four main parts. In the first part, I will review and compare existing typologies developed by those scholars who excavated Jerusalem since the 1960s. In the second part I define the specific loci with evidences of the Neo-Babylonian destruction. Against this background, I then develop a typology of these wares, focusing on both their functional and taxonomic aspects. In the third part I investigate the chronology of the pottery types I created, putting emphasis on their development vis-à-vis the history of the Iron Age strata of the southern Levant. In the fourth and last part I will study the political and socioeconomic background in which the local pottery was made and used.

<sup>2</sup> James 2007.

## PREVIOUS TYPOLOGIES

Several difficulties arise when trying to construct a typology of the pottery of Late Iron Age Jerusalem. First and foremost, there is the manifest fact that the city was object of many excavations in the past, digs that sometimes employed different systems of pottery classifications. Whereas modern archaeological research in Jerusalem began as early as 1838 with the explorations of E. Robinson in Hezekiah's tunnel, methodical typologies for the local pottery assemblage only appeared with the excavations carried out since the 1960s, which only began reaching the stage of final publication in the 1980s. Hence this investigation will only make focus on these later digs. Needless to say, the use of different pottery typologies is a reality with nearly every excavation, and in Jerusalem this is exacerbated by the fact that three of the final reports were only published after the death of the director of the excavation—Kenyon, Avigad and Shiloh—so the methodology of classification developed by the final editors (who usually were the area supervisors) sometimes is not the same from that originally devised by the director.

It is possible to divide the published pottery typologies into two main groups. One line of research concentrates efforts in gaining understanding about the manufacture of ancient vessels and particularly about the procedure followed by ancient potters in producing their ceramics. Their main concerns are both the functional and morphological aspects of pottery technology. This is the procedure followed by Franken<sup>3</sup> and Eshel.<sup>4</sup> Other scholars pay more attention to chronological issues, especially changes in the taxonomy of the ancient vessels over time. They construct typologies based on one classification, based on morphology and secondarily on function. Tushingham,<sup>5</sup> Mazar and Mazar,<sup>6</sup> De Groot and Ariel,<sup>7</sup> De Groot *et al.*<sup>8</sup> and Yezerski<sup>9</sup> belong to this group. In this respect, they are more in line with the traditional studies of the Syro-Palestinian archaeology, with their main focus on the chronological problems of the Iron Age. For that reason they concentrated efforts on examining the taxonomic aspects of pottery, the stratigraphic context in which they were found and parallels in contemporary sites.

<sup>3</sup> Franken 1990d.

<sup>4</sup> Eshel 1995.

<sup>5</sup> Tushingham 1985.

<sup>6</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989.

<sup>7</sup> De Groot and Ariel 2000.

<sup>8</sup> De Groot *et al.* 2003.

<sup>9</sup> Yezerski 2006.

### ***Kenyon's Excavations (1961–1967)***

K. Kenyon directed one of the first major archaeological excavations in the South-East Hill,<sup>10</sup> a low elongated hill located south of the Temple Mount outside the city walls, and in the Armenian Garden, in the southwestern part of the Old City (for Jerusalem's excavation areas, see Figure 1). The modern occupation in most of Jerusalem led to several dispersed excavation areas throughout the city. Due to the death of Kenyon in 1978, the final reports were left to the dig's area supervisors. Not only does this mean that we have different reports from the different areas, but also that the presentation of the pottery as well as the system of classification differs from one report to the other. Published reports include those from the Armenian Garden,<sup>11</sup> South-East Hill<sup>12</sup> and cave deposits in the South-East Hill.<sup>13</sup>

Kenyon's assistant A.D. Tushingham directed excavations in the *Armenian Garden* (Area L) and discovered substantial evidence of quarrying during the Late Iron Age. Due to the limited evidences of human settlement found here, he concluded that occupation in the area was ephemeral.<sup>14</sup> Tushingham did not develop a system of classification for the quarry's pottery, but rather catalogued the pottery into a wide range of groups, following the terminology proposed by an earlier work of J.S. Holladay.<sup>15</sup> Tushingham found pottery associated with the quarry fill and dated it to the very late Judaeen kingdom, most likely just before the Neo-Babylonian siege. Although it is stratigraphically divided into an early (IA.a = Iron Age quarry) and a late phase (IA.b = Iron Age wash), it seems that both phases were contemporary. Some Iron Age pottery was also recovered in later phases (IA.c = Early Jewish period; IA.d = Late Jewish to Medieval period) and was classified according to the same methodology.

H.J. Franken and M.L. Steiner published the results of the excavations directed by Kenyon in the *South-East Hill*.<sup>16</sup> The presentation of the Iron Age pottery, studied by Franken, encountered enormous methodological problems.

<sup>10</sup> In referring to the names of the areas that were excavated in this neighborhood, I decided to use the names originally used by the archaeologists. So, I will make reference to the "South-East Hill" when dealing with Kenyon's excavations, and to the "City of David" when mentioning Shiloh's excavations, even though both areas overlapped.

<sup>11</sup> Tushingham 1985.

<sup>12</sup> Franken and Steiner 1990a.

<sup>13</sup> Eshel and Prag 1995.

<sup>14</sup> Tushingham 1985: 9–16.

<sup>15</sup> Holladay 1976.

<sup>16</sup> Franken and Steiner 1990a; Steiner 2001a.

Kenyon originally used the classification system she had developed after her experience at Jericho. Basically, this “Jerusalem system”, as Franken named it, consisted of a classification of pottery types according to rim shapes. Kenyon “distinguished between groups of shapes resembling each other closely and then she devised a description of the variety of shapes occurring within each group”.<sup>17</sup> Franken went to great pains to separate the groups and to note wherever possible which shapes were different. Furthermore, the problem with this system, as Franken rapidly found out, is that it was ever expanding, that is to say, it developed new shape groups or subgroups as long as seemingly new shapes occurred. A related difficulty, moreover, resided on the registration phase: the registrar, when in front of sherds that could be attributed to more than one subclass, had to choose either to create a new “subclass” or to classify it inside a type knowing that it could also go somewhere else.<sup>18</sup> These and further problems led Franken to develop his own classification system. He created a system in which all vessels from each phase were divided into twelve main groups defined by two main elements: usage and method of construction.<sup>19</sup> In Franken’s typology, some classes may include just one shape whereas others may comprise more than one. Also, more distinctions could be made according to fabric, diameters, slips and burnishings.<sup>20</sup> One shortcoming of Franken’s study is that, concerned as he was with building a new system of classification, he did not provide pottery parallels from other sites. Rather, Franken chose to plot the proportional variation of each pottery type throughout all the strata. Another important caveat to note is that Franken examined pottery as if vessels were produced in one limited, frozen period of time, and as if there were no changes over time in their morphology. In this sense, this is an almost ahistorical approximation. No wonder Franken consciously chose not to study parallels from other sites, which reduces to a great extent the usefulness of the system he devised.<sup>21</sup>

I. Eshel and K. Prag published the findings of two Late Iron Age caves in the South-East Hill, *Cave I* and *Cave II*.<sup>22</sup> Eshel studied the local pottery in two parts, one concentrated on the functional characteristics<sup>23</sup> and other on the

<sup>17</sup> Franken 1990a: 61.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*: 61–66.

<sup>19</sup> Franken 1990b: 67.

<sup>20</sup> Franken 1990c; 1990d.

<sup>21</sup> To be fair, it seems that Franken’s work was methodologically very much limited because of the nature of the evidence at his disposal. During the excavations in Jerusalem, Kenyon only collected rim sherds (Franken 1990a: 61), and this was the only evidence available to Franken.

<sup>22</sup> Eshel and Prag 1995.

<sup>23</sup> Eshel 1995: 18–26.

morphological classification.<sup>24</sup> The study on function was based on an earlier quantitative work of T. McClellan<sup>25</sup> on Late Bronze and Iron Age pottery groups in Palestine. The result, comprehensive in scope and impressive in presentation, was a classification into nine pre-determined functional types. All pottery remains were quantitatively classified according to this system. In the second part, Eshel undertook the taxonomic study. To maintain congruence with the functional classification, he arranged the resulting 188 morphological types inside the functional classes. Eshel's description followed W.M.F. Petrie's<sup>26</sup> and R. Amiran's<sup>27</sup> methods, moving from open to closed forms.<sup>28</sup>

### *Avigad's Excavations in the Jewish Quarter (1969–1982)*

N. Avigad excavated a total of 26 areas in the Jewish Quarter (in the Old City's southwestern part), listed with Latin letters from A to Z, which were dispersed over the whole quarter. A continuous settlement history was uncovered from the Iron Age II to the Ottoman period. Following Avigad's death, the results of the excavations were published by the area supervisors.<sup>29</sup> A. De Groot, H. Geva and I. Yezereski published the Iron Age II pottery from Areas A, W and X-2,<sup>30</sup> whereas Yezereski published the wares from Area E.<sup>31</sup> Because of disturbances due to later construction activities—especially during the Roman and Byzantine periods—almost no complete Iron Age vessels were found in the Jewish Quarter. De Groot, Geva and Yezereski classified the pottery on functional groups that were subsequently divided into morphological subgroups. Yezereski followed the same classification system with slight modifications for Area E. These two studies have their merits but also some disadvantages. They examine only Iron Age pottery, and while they provide lots of parallels from other Iron Age sites, no comparisons with later pottery (either from Jerusalem or elsewhere) are shown. Another point is that in both studies vessels were examined by types but plates were arranged by context (i.e., area and loci). Although this presentation may cause in principle some confusion for those comparing text and plates, the shallow stratigraphy of the Iron Age level in the Jewish Quarter prevents any misunderstanding.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*: 27–64.

<sup>25</sup> McClellan 1975.

<sup>26</sup> Petrie 1921.

<sup>27</sup> Amiran 1970.

<sup>28</sup> Eshel 1995: 27–64.

<sup>29</sup> Geva 2000; 2003a; 2006a.

<sup>30</sup> De Groot *et al.* 2003.

<sup>31</sup> Yezereski 2006.



### ***Shiloh's Excavations in the City of David (1978–1985)***

Y. Shiloh led excavations in the City of David which partially overlapped with the earlier excavations directed by Kenyon, confirming the long history of occupation in the area, with archaeological evidence from the Chalcolithic to the Medieval period. Mirroring Kenyon's digs, the archaeological research directed by Shiloh was scattered over different parts of the elongated hill, particularly concentrating on its eastern side. Shiloh himself published the first report of the excavations,<sup>32</sup> whereas the area supervisors produced the succeeding ones following Shiloh's death.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately only the ceramic finds from two of the four areas excavated in the City of David have been published. These are Areas B and D1, published by area supervisors De Groot and D.T. Ariel.<sup>34</sup> The pottery that is of interest for us belongs to Stratum 10 (early 6th century BCE). De Groot and Ariel examined the vessels according to strata, and inside each stratum according to groups defined by function and subgroups defined by taxonomy and surface treatment. The plates were arranged according to area and strata. Most of the vessel types followed the classification of the Kenyon excavations.<sup>35</sup> The procedure followed by De Groot and Ariel permits studying the development of all the pottery types throughout the local strata. They also provide many parallels from other sites. However, the fact that very few complete vessels were uncovered *in situ* makes them of limited utility for determining an absolute chronology. This drawback was partially solved by Shiloh's short preliminary report of the pottery and bullae found at the "House of the Bullae" (Area G) in a context sealed by the Neo-Babylonian destruction.<sup>36</sup> However, the limited number of vessels did not allow for a comprehensive typology.

### ***B. Mazar's (1976–1977) and E. Mazar's (1986–1987) Excavations in Ophel***

B. Mazar and E. Mazar excavated three main areas in Ophel, south of the Temple Mount, with additional excavations in non-stratified loci in the eastern slope of the Western Hill and in Locus 15013. Only Areas C and D provided good contexts of Iron Age pottery.<sup>37</sup> Given that Ophel is the closest area to the Temple Mount that has so far been excavated, a key concern for the

<sup>32</sup> Shiloh 1984.

<sup>33</sup> Ariel 1990; 2000a; 2000b; Ariel and De Groot 1996; De Groot and Ariel 1992.

<sup>34</sup> De Groot and Ariel 2000.

<sup>35</sup> Franken 1990d; Eshel 1995: 18–64.

<sup>36</sup> Shiloh 1986.

<sup>37</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989.

archaeologists was to extend our understanding on questions of chronology, particularly the periods of use of the buildings during the Iron Age. It is therefore with this main aim in mind that pottery types were presented as assemblages in context (i.e. loci). While this methodology has much to commend, one possible shortcoming is that, if not supplemented with an additional study of the pottery typology (which Mazar and Mazar did not) it is difficult to interpret the pottery evidence as a whole. Hence we are left with detailed descriptions of the different pottery types for each good locus but these are not related with the types from other loci.<sup>38</sup>

## THE JERUSALEM POTTERY

### *Key Loci*

Since one of my goals is to address the chronological aspects of the Late Iron II pottery, I will focus special attention on well-dated loci of the 7th–early 6th centuries BCE, avoiding as much as possible vessels found out of context or in uncertain stratigraphical assemblages. The best marker for the end of the

<sup>38</sup> Since 1995, R. Reich and E. Shukron have been carrying out excavations in the eastern slope of the *City of David*, near the areas where Kenyon and Shiloh previously dug. They discovered a well-preserved segment of a wall to the south of the Gihon spring and a line of domestic buildings that continued the neighborhood found by Shiloh. The pottery found at this location, which has not yet been published, was dated to the 8th century BCE (Reich and Shukron 2003: 211–212). A second excavated spot was an immense rock cutting at the Gihon spring, called a “pool” in the preliminary report. Here, again, the pottery that was retrieved belongs to the late 9th or early 8th centuries BCE (Reich, Shukron and Lerna 2008: 139–140; De Groot and Fadida 2011). Given that the preliminary reports did not mention findings of pottery from the end of the Iron Age, this material assemblage cannot be used in this paper’s typology.

In 2005 E. Mazar resumed excavations in the northern part of the *City of David*. She claims that a monumental building (the so-called “Large Monumental Structure”) was constructed in this area in the 10th century BCE, to be later destroyed in 586 BCE. Notwithstanding the controversies surrounding the date of the construction of this building, no destruction layer was found and few Late Iron sherds were retrieved in the area (Mazar 2008: 56, 58, 67; 2009: 47, 66). None of these ceramics have been published yet.

D. Ben-Ami and Y. Tchekhanovets’ excavations in the *Giv’ati Parking Lot* across the street west of the village of Silwan (2007) are the most recent archaeological researches on Iron Age levels in Jerusalem. They claim to have found Iron II remains, but so far no pottery has been published (Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2008).

Iron Age II is the Neo-Babylonian destruction level—dated to 586 BCE—and the abandonment of areas in the face of the advance of Nebuchadnezzar's army shortly before. As I will show below, evidence of the catastrophic events of 588–586 BCE is scattered throughout Jerusalem, and these remains constitute the *terminus ante quem* of the Late Iron II pottery assemblage lying under it.

### *Armenian Garden*

During the Late Iron II period this area was used as a quarry, so most of the local pottery comes from fills without clear archaeological contexts. However, there seems to be some good deposits with pottery, all attributed to the earliest level, Phase IA.a, which Tushingham listed extensively:<sup>39</sup>

- (1) Square XV: Below the Iron Age floor, those loci that are sealed by this floor or are extensions of the sealed loci (L. 457.18,19,23,25,28,30, 30a,31b; 463.39,41,43,46–48,51);
- (2) Square I: Fill of the quarry cut in bedrock in the southeast corner of the square, and below or containing the Square's ovens (L. 13.34a,57,62);
- (3) Square XII: Fill above bedrock associated with Wall 343 (L. 160.37);
- (4) Squares VII–VIII: Fill associated with Wall 401 (L. 608.22; 711.24,28–29,41–42; 713.28,41–42);
- (5) Square XIV: Fill rising above bedrock below Wall 205 (L. 357.3–9) and additional loci on bedrock (L. 371.19,42);
- (6) Square XI: Loci on bedrock on either sides of Wall 351 (L. 58.48).

Tushingham considers, in my opinion correctly, that activity in this area stopped in the eve of the Neo-Babylonian advance in 588 BCE. Archaeology cannot provide an exact date within this timeframe for the start of the quarrying, but Tushingham points out that the evidence of the extraction of the local stone resources points more to one large-scale effort in a short time than to a long process of quarrying, maybe not going further back than 25 years before 587 BCE.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, I consider the pottery assemblage found in the Phase IA.a deposits as a good representative of the pottery of the late 7th–early 6th centuries BCE. I will completely exclude from this analysis Late Iron II pottery coming from the succeeding post-occupation wash (IA.b) and later fills (IA.c–d).

<sup>39</sup> Tushingham 1985: 16–17, see the loci number in Appendix I, 235.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*: 20; an opinion not shared by Geva 2003b: 508.

### *South-East Hill*

Excavations in the South-East Hill were divided into several areas that have been published over a long period of time: Franken and Steiner published the results of the so-called Lower Squares;<sup>41</sup> Steiner published the results of Trench I, Upper Squares and Square A/XXIV;<sup>42</sup> and Eshel and Prag those remains found in Caves I and II.<sup>43</sup>

In the “Lower Squares” area the last phase corresponding to the Late Iron II period seems to be Phase 8, a water-laid deposit lying on the pavement street outside the town wall (the pavement itself is attributed to the preceding Phase 7). A large number of crushed potsherds were found in this fill, pottery that was probably brought by water that washed down the street. This pottery would have been used during the 7th century BCE until the final destruction of Phase 8. Over this deposit Steiner noted that “a big tumble of large stones and hard-packed earth was found, which must represent the collapse of the city wall”. These remains, attributed to Phase 9, were dated to the Neo-Babylonian destruction. In this layer not enough pottery was found to provide a glimpse of the repertoire.<sup>44</sup> Hence the pottery from Phase 8 is theoretically representative of the Jerusalem pottery from the 7th to the early 6th centuries BCE. Unfortunately, the methodology employed by Franken, providing the numerical proportions of each pottery type in each phase but not giving the loci number for each of his figures,<sup>45</sup> makes this assemblage of little help for the present study.

In the “Upper Squares” area, the very Late Iron II period corresponds to Phase B7, while the succeeding Phase B8 consists of destruction debris from 587 BCE onwards. Unfortunately, Kenyon discarded most of the pottery and the little that was saved was mixed with later material. Only pottery from the uppermost floor of Area 4 was not mixed with other material,<sup>46</sup> yet there are no pottery plates available for this area.<sup>47</sup> This same phenomenon occurs in the Trench I area. Phase T5 represents the 7th–6th centuries BCE and the posterior Phase T6 constitutes destruction debris dated to 586 BCE and beyond. The pottery on the floors, unfortunately, was very mixed with other later

<sup>41</sup> Franken and Steiner 1990a.

<sup>42</sup> Steiner 2001a.

<sup>43</sup> Eshel and Prag 1995.

<sup>44</sup> Steiner 1990: 57; cf. Steiner 2001a: 92.

<sup>45</sup> Franken 1990d.

<sup>46</sup> Steiner 2001a: 57.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*: 60.

material.<sup>48</sup> More positive results can be gained from Square A/XXIV, where the Phase A2, dated to the 7th–6th centuries BCE, was again covered by destruction debris dated to 586 BCE and later (Phase A3). During Phase A2, a large building was standing in this area (Building VII), and floors of this structure were covered by a large number of pottery fragments. A thick layer of debris (Phase A3) dated to 586 BCE and later was deposited over these floors.<sup>49</sup> Thus the pottery found in this building (Areas 28–31) constitutes a good representative assemblage of the pottery of the very Late Iron II Jerusalem, and it will be used in this typology.<sup>50</sup>

Since the neighboring Caves I and II were used from the late 8th century on and had been blocked by the mid 7th century BCE,<sup>51</sup> they are not, except for the presence of parallels, of my immediate concern.

### *Jewish Quarter*

The Jewish Quarter represents an entirely new neighborhood founded in the Late Iron Age. The remains of this period were found in three main areas: Areas A (Strata 7, 8 and 9), W (Strata 6 and 7) and X–2 (Strata 8–9), layers lying directly on bedrock and representing occupation from the 8th century to 586 BCE.<sup>52</sup> Evidence of the destruction of the city is found only in Area W, Stratum 6, in a burnt layer upon a paved floor (L. 3090) north of the remains of the “Israelite Tower” (Wall 4006–Wall 4030). In this burnt layer archaeologists found one arrowhead of the Irano-Scythian type, an artifact that was not used in the region before the mid 7th century BCE. This layer was covered by the remains of the stone collapse of the neighboring tower (L. 3085). L. 3111 is an extension of L. 3090 and can be considered to have ended in the same conflagration.<sup>53</sup> It is not completely clear when the paved floor was constructed, although the archaeologists agree that this happened somewhere in the 7th century BCE. The date of the floor’s construction, coupled with the Neo-Babylonian destruction level, strongly suggests that the pottery found in these layers can be safely dated to the late 7th–early 6th centuries BCE, and so this is the pottery I will treat in the typology.

Very similar wares were found in Area E,<sup>54</sup> but they come from mixed earth fills from Stratum 6 (8th–early 6th centuries BCE) and Stratum 4 (1st century

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*: 81.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*: 94–101.

<sup>50</sup> Listed in *ibid.*: Figs. 6.52; 6.56.

<sup>51</sup> Eshel and Prag 1995: 17.

<sup>52</sup> Geva 2000; 2003a.

<sup>53</sup> De Groot *et al.* 2003: 2–3; Geva and Avigad 2000: 155.

<sup>54</sup> Yezerski 2006.

BCE).<sup>55</sup> Since no evidence of the 586 BCE conflagration was found, the pottery from this area is of no concern for the present typology.

### *City of David*

During the course of Shiloh's excavations, evidence of the Neo-Babylonian destruction was found in several areas (Areas D2, E1–3 and G). Unfortunately, except for Area G, there is no published pottery. In their study of the pottery of the extramural Areas B and D1, De Groot and Ariel<sup>56</sup> presented meager remains (only six vessels) associated with the last Iron Age layer, Stratum 10. Although clearly belonging to the early 6th century BCE, all of these wares derive from unclear stratigraphical contexts (one of the openings to the Siloam Channel).<sup>57</sup> This ceramic assemblage, consequently, is of no help for the study.

Before his death in 1987, Shiloh was able to provide a preliminary report on the findings from the "House of the Bullae" in Area G, publishing a corpus of pottery that is clearly dated by the Neo-Babylonian destruction level that covered it.<sup>58</sup> The "House of the Bullae" (L. 967) was attributed to Stratum 10, a layer in which three main phases can be discerned: the first two—Stratum 10C and 10B—only involved slight modifications in some walls, whereas the last one—Stratum 10A—is comprised of collapsed walls and debris accumulated after the Neo-Babylonian destruction. The pottery assemblage coming from these three phases is essentially homogeneous.<sup>59</sup> The famous 51 bullae were found inside this structure (Stratum 10B). Yet for my purposes the main focus of study is the House's vessels, which lay completely sealed by the destruction layer and thus provide a clear early 6th century BCE assemblage. Shiloh published about 25 pottery vessels of L. 967,<sup>60</sup> and I will incorporate most of them in the typology.

### *Ophel*

Good stratigraphical contexts for Late Iron II pottery were found also in the Ophel excavations. Most of the 7th to late 6th century BCE pottery comes from a structure defined as a gatehouse (Building C, Area C). The southern room of the building (L. 23041) was very rich in pottery finds, which were

<sup>55</sup> Geva 2006b: 11, 14.

<sup>56</sup> De Groot and Ariel 2000.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*: 98.

<sup>58</sup> Shiloh 1986.

<sup>59</sup> Shiloh 1984: 18–19.

<sup>60</sup> Shiloh 1986: Pl. 6.

sealed by large and medium-size fallen stones, result of the 586 BCE events. Few sections of floors have been preserved, and particularly two phases of floors can be seen in the southern room. The pottery corpus of the structure is very homogeneous, and most of the vessels are attributed to the last occupation level of the room.<sup>61</sup> It can be safely assumed that this assemblage accurately represents the pottery existent in the building during the 7th to early 6th centuries BCE, and therefore I will add it to the data base.<sup>62</sup> Excavations also uncovered Building D, a structure dated from the 9th to the early 8th centuries BCE, as well as a system of cisterns, pools and other installations in the eastern slope of the Western Hill, although because of destruction and secondary use they were filled with objects from very different periods.<sup>63</sup> The pottery found in these contexts is therefore not useful for typological purposes.

### *Origin and method of manufacture*

Both petrographic studies and Neutron Activation Analyses have been used for studying the origin and manufacture method of the pottery of Jerusalem.

Franken undertook a visual study of the clay of which the South-East Hill pottery was made.<sup>64</sup> He discovered that three main types of clays can be distinguished. Unfortunately Franken did not indicate which pottery types were produced with each clay group. Clay A is a silty, calcareous clay containing large numbers of non-plastic materials such as microfossils, iron and quartz. The large number of non-plastic silty inclusions caused the pottery to have a rough break after firing. This was the clay type most used by the Jerusalem potters at the end of the Iron Age (87 % of the total clay types<sup>65</sup>) and their sources were probably near the city. Clay B is a clay that naturally contains carbonates, and that after firing reached a smooth break very different from the rough break of Clay A. Clay B was also frequently used by the potters of Jerusalem and its wide distribution suggests that its source was in the local area (29 % of the clay used at the end of the Late Iron Age<sup>66</sup>). Clay C is silty and free of carbonates and microfossils, but with occasional lime grains. Therefore it had very good plastic qualities and so it was used for throwing pots. It was relatively little used locally and the clay source probably was not

<sup>61</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: 14–19, 59.

<sup>62</sup> Listed in *ibid.*: Pls. 2–8.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*: 29–57.

<sup>64</sup> Franken 1990c; 2005: 65–87.

<sup>65</sup> Franken 2005: Table 6.2.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*: Table 6.2.

located in the Jerusalem area. Lastly, Clay D was the result of the mixing of Clays A and B to improve the quality of the pottery.<sup>67</sup> The large quantities of non-plastic impurities that these clays naturally contained reduced their plasticity and so prevented them from being used with a fast wheel using the throwing method. Pottery from Jerusalem, further, shows no evidence of a centrifugal force—a main feature of pots produced with fast wheel—, rather, they seem to have been manufactured with the traditional slow turning.<sup>68</sup>

The large number of figurines (this study's JER 25 type) found in the City of David has been the object of petrographic examinations. These demonstrated that the clay of the pottery matched the composition of the *terra rossa* soil of the Soreq Valley, in the Jerusalem region.<sup>69</sup> Since the figurines unearthed in the Jewish Quarter share with them the same fabric, they can also be safely attributed the same origin.<sup>70</sup> The City of David's collection of figurines has been studied by NAA as well, examinations that showed that the material of manufacture corresponds to the Motza clay formation, hence confirming that the place of manufacture was in the area of Jerusalem.<sup>71</sup>

More information can be gained by NAA carried out on handles with rosette stamps, present in some of the JER 19 type ovoid pithoi. Mommsen *et al.*<sup>72</sup> studied with NAA some rosette impressions, which led to the interesting conclusion that all specimens were manufactured outside Jerusalem, probably in the Shephelah region.<sup>73</sup> More unexpected results were given by the analysis of the clay of a jar handle with rosette impressions found in Kenyon's excavation in the South-East Hill. Franken found that the temper used in this handle matches that found in post-Iron Age imported pottery from Cyprus and the Aegean, thus contradicting the assumption that all rosette impressions should be considered an homogeneous corpus.<sup>74</sup>

The Jerusalem pottery of the Late Iron II period, as was characteristic of most contemporary pottery types in Palestine, was red slipped and wheel-burnished. Painted decoration was very rare and only done in very specific pottery types (e.g. pilgrim flasks<sup>75</sup>).

<sup>67</sup> Franken 1990c: 77–84.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*: 90.

<sup>69</sup> Goren *et al.* 1996.

<sup>70</sup> Yezerski and Geva 2003.

<sup>71</sup> Yellin 1996.

<sup>72</sup> Mommsen *et al.* 1984.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*: 113; cf. also Yellin and Cahill 2003.

<sup>74</sup> Franken in Steiner 2001a: 98–99.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Franken 2005: 73.



## Typological study

I suggest that, based on functional considerations, the Late Iron pottery of Jerusalem can be divided into five types: (1) Table wares; (2) Cooking wares; (3) Containers; (4) Varia; (5) Figurines. Inside these functional groups, twenty-five taxonomic subgroups can be distinguished. I provide a charter with the synchronization between this typology and past classifications (Table 1). Also, one representative example for each pottery type is provided in Figs. 2–9/Table 2. For parallels in other sites, see Table 3.

### (1) Table wares

*JER 1: Saucers with straight sides:* These shallow saucers or plates have straight walls, and are found in large quantities and different shapes in Jerusalem.

They can be divided into several subtypes, based on the differences in their rims. This ware type is characteristic of 8th–6th century BCE sites in Judah.

*JER 1a: Saucers with simple rounded rim (Fig. 2):* These are shallow saucers with straight sides and simple rounded rim, appearing in the Armenian Garden<sup>76</sup> and Ophel.<sup>77</sup> Most of them are unburnished, and in some cases a matt paint or wash takes the place of burnish. Only one specimen is wheel-burnished inside and on the rim.<sup>78</sup> This form goes back to the 8th century BCE, being found already in the City of David, Stratum 12<sup>79</sup> and in Cave II<sup>80</sup> and Cave I.<sup>81</sup> Parallels in other sites include Lachish III,<sup>82</sup> Arad X–VI<sup>83</sup> and Tel ‘Ira VII.<sup>84</sup>

*JER 1b: Saucers with squared rim (Fig. 2):* This is a form similar to JER 1a but with a cut rim. Most of the vessels are covered with a red burnished slip inside and outside. They are quite usual in Jerusalem, occurring in the Jewish Quarter,<sup>85</sup> the Armenian Garden<sup>86</sup> and Ophel.<sup>87</sup> In Jerusalem this form goes back to the 8th century BCE, as seen in examples from the City of David,

<sup>76</sup> Tushingham 1985: Fig. 1: 6,10 (L. 457.30a),14,17 (L. 457.23).

<sup>77</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 7: 25 (L. 23041).

<sup>78</sup> Tushingham 1985: Fig. 1: 6.

<sup>79</sup> De Groot and Ariel 2000: Figs. 19: 19; 23: 12.

<sup>80</sup> Eshel 1995: Fig. 1: 15–18, 25–28.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*: Fig. 9: 7–8, 10–12, 21.

<sup>82</sup> Aharoni 1975: Pl. 44: 11.

<sup>83</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 10: B 1.

<sup>84</sup> Freud 1999: Fig. 6.89: 2.

<sup>85</sup> De Groot et al. 2003: Pl. 1.12: 32 (L. 3090).

<sup>86</sup> Tushingham 1985: Fig. 1: 1 (L. 457.23).

<sup>87</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 2: 3–7 (L. 23041).

Stratum 12,<sup>88</sup> Cave II<sup>89</sup> and Cave I.<sup>90</sup> Similar examples can be found in Lachish III,<sup>91</sup> Arad X–VIII,<sup>92</sup> Tell ‘Eitun II<sup>93</sup> and Beersheba II.<sup>94</sup>

*JER 1c: Saucers with down-turned rim (Fig. 2):* This is a saucer type with different sizes but with a characteristic thickened, rounded “down-turned” rim. Most of the examples have a red slip or burnish inside and over the rim. It appears in the context of the 587 BCE conflagration at the Armenian Garden<sup>95</sup> and Ophel.<sup>96</sup> Earlier parallels in Jerusalem go back to the 8th century BCE in Cave II<sup>97</sup> and Cave I.<sup>98</sup> Parallels in Ramat Rachel VA,<sup>99</sup> Lachish II<sup>100</sup> and Tel Masos–Area G.<sup>101</sup>

*JER 2: Saucers with wide, grooved, ledged rim (Fig. 2):* JER 2 is a shallow saucer or plate with a characteristic wide, grooved and ledged rim. Most of the existing samples have a red burnish inside and on the rim. It is found in the Armenian Garden<sup>102</sup> and Ophel.<sup>103</sup> The only unburnished saucer possesses a band of brown paint on the interior of the rim.<sup>104</sup> According to De Groot, Geva and Yezereski, this form is rare in Judaean sites, but finds parallels in Phoenician examples of the late 8th century BCE.<sup>105</sup>

*JER 3: Small bowls with everted body (Fig. 2):* A bowl type with everted body and thin walls—known as “rice bowls” by Tushingham<sup>106</sup> and “wine cups” by Franken<sup>107</sup>—with either straight or rounded walls. It is found in the 586 BCE destruction level at Ophel.<sup>108</sup> They are found in 7th–early 6th centuries BCE contexts, such as Ramat Rachel VA,<sup>109</sup> Tel ‘Ira VI<sup>110</sup> and Arad X–VIII.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>88</sup> De Groot and Ariel 2000: Figs. 16: 10; 17: 1–2; 19: 11,20; 20: 1; 21: 9; 23: 13.

<sup>89</sup> Eshel 1995: Fig. 1: 1–2,5,20.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*: Fig. 9: 13–15,18.

<sup>91</sup> Zimhoni 2004b: Fig. 26.3: 12.

<sup>92</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 10: B 3.

<sup>93</sup> Zimhoni 1997: Fig. 4.3: 7.

<sup>94</sup> Aharoni 1973: Pl. 66: 9 = Singer-Avitz 1999: Fig. 2: 1.

<sup>95</sup> Tushingham 1985: Pl. 1: 2 (L. 463. 51),4 (L. 463.41),7 (L. 457.30a),8 (L. 463.41).

<sup>96</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 2: 1–2 (L. 23041).

<sup>97</sup> Eshel 1995: Fig. 1: 1,3–4,7.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*: Fig. 9: 1–2,4.

<sup>99</sup> Aharoni 1962: Fig. 28: 11,12; 1964: Fig. 16: 6,15,20.

<sup>100</sup> Aharoni 1975: 49: 3.

<sup>101</sup> Fritz and Kempinski 1983: Pl. 163: 4.

<sup>102</sup> Tushingham 1985: Pl. 1: 12 (L. 457.19).

<sup>103</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 2: 9–14 (L. 23041).

<sup>104</sup> Tushingham 1985: Pl. 1: 12.

<sup>105</sup> De Groot *et al.* 2003: 6–7.

<sup>106</sup> Tushingham 1985: 17, following Holladay 1976: 284.

<sup>107</sup> Franken 1990d: 99–100, Class 1.

<sup>108</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 2: 39 (L. 23041).

<sup>109</sup> Aharoni 1962: Pl. 11: 5–9; 1964: Pl. 17: 53–56.

<sup>110</sup> Freud 1999: Fig. 6.16: 4.

<sup>111</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 10: B 20.

Therefore, this form can be safely considered a type-fossil for the end of the Late Iron Age in Judah. Earlier antecedents of this form<sup>112</sup> with a carination at the lower part of the body have been unearthed in 8th century BCE levels, such as in the City of David, Stratum 12,<sup>113</sup> and Caves I and II.<sup>114</sup>

*JER 4: Folded-rim bowls:* As in other ceramic assemblages of 8th–6th century BCE Judah, bowls with folded or thickened rims comprise a significant part of the Jerusalem pottery corpus. In the city they occur in two subtypes, small and medium sized.

*JER 4a: Small size folded-rim bowls (Fig. 2):* JER 4a bowls are characterized by their thin walls and folded rim, the latter usually smoothed into the wall. An additional feature can be two handles. They are conspicuously found in Jerusalem: Ophel,<sup>115</sup> the City of David<sup>116</sup> and the South-Eastern Hill.<sup>117</sup> A most important feature in most of them is their high-quality red wheel burnish, which is spread on the inside, over the rim and the exterior, and gives the vessels a lustrous surface. As De Groot *et al.*<sup>118</sup> have pointed out, “this type does not appear earlier than the mid 7th century BCE and is very common in the late Iron Age Judean assemblages”, such as Ramat Rachel VA,<sup>119</sup> En Gedi V,<sup>120</sup> Lachish II,<sup>121</sup> Tel Masos–Area G<sup>122</sup> and Arad VII–VI.<sup>123</sup> I wish to suggest that this form is a type-fossil for mid-7th to early 6th century BCE archaeological contexts in Judah.

*JER 4b: Medium size folded-rim bowls (Fig. 2):* This is a medium-size version of JER 4a. It occurs in the Armenian Garden.<sup>124</sup> One sample exhibits a potter’s

<sup>112</sup> “Early type” of De Groot *et al.* 2003: 5; “Low carinated small deep bowls” of Eshel 1995: 28–29, 37–38.

<sup>113</sup> De Groot and Ariel 2000: Figs. 16: 1–2, 8–9; 17: 4–5; 18: 4, 11, 21, 30; 19: 9–10; 20: 2–3, 12; 21: 2; 22: 17–18.

<sup>114</sup> Eshel 1995: Figs. 2: 10–25; 10: 14–33.

<sup>115</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pls. 2: 20, 22–23, 25–26 (L. 23041).

<sup>116</sup> Shiloh 1986: Pl. 6: 6–8 (L. 967).

<sup>117</sup> Steiner 2001a: Fig. 6.52: 5 (Area 28).

<sup>118</sup> De Groot *et al.* 2003: 6.

<sup>119</sup> Aharoni 1964: Figs. 16: 36–60; 17: 1–48.

<sup>120</sup> Mazar *et al.* 1966: Figs. 8: 1–4; 14: 1–2, 4–5, 7.

<sup>121</sup> Aharoni 1975: Pls. 47: 1–4, 11–17; 48: 11; 49: 1; 50: 2.

<sup>122</sup> Fritz and Kempinski 1983: Pl. 163: 6–7, 14.

<sup>123</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 10: B 23.

<sup>124</sup> Tushingham 1985: Figs. 1: 31 (L. 457.19); 2: 1 (L. 457.19), 2 (L. 463.51), 4 (L. 463.41), 5 (L. 457.23), 6 (L. 457.25).

mark (×) on the base.<sup>125</sup> Parallels exist at the City of David, Cave II,<sup>126</sup> Cave I<sup>127</sup> and Lachish Strata IV<sup>128</sup> and III.<sup>129</sup>

*JER 5: Bowls with everted ledged rim:* Two subtypes of this form occur at Late Iron Jerusalem, with slight differences in their rims.

*JER 5a: Bowls with simple everted ledged rim (Fig. 2):* With bowl type JER 4, this is the most common bowl form in 8th–6th century BCE Judah. It is comprised of small to medium size bowls with everted walls, thickened ledged rims and a carination below the rim. Bases are of the flat or ring type. The burnished slip is usually reddish-brown covering the interior and part of the exterior of the vessel. This bowl type occurs in the Armenian Garden<sup>130</sup> and Ophel.<sup>131</sup> Parallels can be found in Gezer VIA,<sup>132</sup> Lachish IV–III,<sup>133</sup> Tell 'Eitun II–I<sup>134</sup> and Arad XII–VIII.<sup>135</sup>

*JER 5b: Bowls with everted ledged, grooved rim (Fig. 2):* This is a group of medium and small size carinated bowls with a slight depression on their ledge rim. All bear a burnish inside and on the rim. Found in Ophel<sup>136</sup> and the City of David.<sup>137</sup> No parallels available.

*JER 6: Small carinated or rounded bowls with everted rim (Fig. 2):* The hallmark of these bowls is their rounded or carinated body and plain, everted rim. They show red slip inside and on the exterior, and burnish inside. They occur in small-size and medium-size examples. Bowls of this type appear in Ophel<sup>138</sup> and probably the Jewish Quarter.<sup>139</sup> These bowls have a long history, appearing as early as the 10th century BCE and still used in the very Late Iron Age. They have parallels in Cave II<sup>140</sup> and in the City of David, Stratum 12.<sup>141</sup> This

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*: Fig. 1: 31.

<sup>126</sup> Eshel 1995: Fig. 4: 10–15.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*: Figs. 14; 15.

<sup>128</sup> Aharoni 1975: Pl. 44: 4.

<sup>129</sup> Zimhoni 2004b: Fig. 26.3: 16–22.

<sup>130</sup> Tushingham 1985: Figs. 1: 30 (L. 463.41); 4: 23 (L. 457.18).

<sup>131</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pls. 2: 29–30; 7: 14–16 (L. 23041).

<sup>132</sup> Gitin 1990: Pl. 20: 19.

<sup>133</sup> Aharoni 1975: Pl. 52: B200; Zimhoni 2004a: Fig. 25.52.

<sup>134</sup> Zimhoni 1997: Figs. 4.1: 3–6; 4.3: 1–3; 4.4: 2.

<sup>135</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 10: B 8.

<sup>136</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 2: 31–35 (L. 23041).

<sup>137</sup> Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 5 (L. 967).

<sup>138</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 7: 12, 13 (L. 23041).

<sup>139</sup> De Groot *et al.* 2003: Fig. 1.12: 33 (L. 3090).

<sup>140</sup> Eshel 1995: Fig. 2: 1–9.

<sup>141</sup> De Groot and Ariel 2000: Fig. 8: 23.

type can also be found in sites like Lachish IV–III,<sup>142</sup> Gezer VIA,<sup>143</sup> Tell ‘Eitun I<sup>144</sup> and Arad X–VII.<sup>145</sup>

*JER 7: Medium-large size folded-rim bowls (Fig. 3):* These are bowls with a medium to large size. Franken identified them as “large storage bowls”<sup>146</sup> and De Groot and Ariel<sup>147</sup> classified the larger types as “kraters”. Some of them possess an outcurving inflection in the rim, to which two or four handles are attached, such as those found in the Armenian Garden<sup>148</sup> and Ophel.<sup>149</sup> This form frequently appears smoothed or wheel burnished. Some of these bowls are decorated with rope decoration<sup>150</sup> and incisions<sup>151</sup> below the carination. Typologically related to the JER 4 folded-rim bowls, this type is common in 8th–7th century BCE Judaeon sites, appearing chronologically earlier than type JER 4a and becoming less frequent in the early 6th century BCE. JER 7 bowls are common in the 8th century BCE contexts of the City of David, Stratum 12<sup>152</sup> and Cave I.<sup>153</sup> It is also attested in sites like Gezer VIA,<sup>154</sup> Lachish III,<sup>155</sup> En-Gedi V,<sup>156</sup> Tel ‘Ira VI,<sup>157</sup> Beersheba II<sup>158</sup> and Arad X–IV.<sup>159</sup>

*JER 8: Deep closed kraters with high trumpet base (Fig. 3):* This is a closed krater with deep body, tall, everted neck and thickened, diagonally cut rim. A high trumpet base is a main feature of this krater that differentiates it from other similar krater types. Two kraters of this type have been found in the “House of the Bullae” in the City of David. They are red slipped and burnished on the exterior.<sup>160</sup> No exact parallel could be found for these vessels. There exist kraters with a similar tall, everted neck and diagonally cut rim, although with more globular body and ring base. They appear in sites of the late 8th to early

<sup>142</sup> Zimhoni 1997: Figs. 3.20; 5.4: 8–9, 11–12.

<sup>143</sup> Gitin 1990: Pl. 20: 13–14, 16–17.

<sup>144</sup> Zimhoni 1997: Figs. 4.4: 1; 4.5: 1.

<sup>145</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 10: B 16.

<sup>146</sup> Franken 1990d: 116–119.

<sup>147</sup> De Groot and Ariel 2000: 95.

<sup>148</sup> Tushingham 1985: Figs. 2: 17 (L. 457.19), 18 (L. 457.23); 3: 6 (L. 457.19).

<sup>149</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pls. 3: 1–3; 6: 1–2 (L. 23041).

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*: Pl. 3: 1–2.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*: Pl. 3: 2, 3.

<sup>152</sup> De Groot and Ariel 2000: Figs. 16: 6; 17: 8–9; 18: 7.

<sup>153</sup> Eshel 1995: Fig. 16: 1–10.

<sup>154</sup> Gitin 1990: Pls. 20: 20–21; 21: 5–9.

<sup>155</sup> Zimhoni 2004b: Figs. 26.3: 25; 26.31: 3–4; 26.42: 3.

<sup>156</sup> Mazar *et al.* 1966: Fig. 16: 6.

<sup>157</sup> Freud 1999: Fig. 6.99: 3; 6.104: 4.

<sup>158</sup> Aharoni 1973: Pls. 60: 74–76; 64: 8; 67: 5; 68: 14; 69: 13–14; 72: 12–13; 73: 16; Singer-Avitz 1999: Fig. 2: 5.

<sup>159</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 12: B 43.

<sup>160</sup> Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 2–3 (Locus 967).

6th centuries BCE, such as Lachish II,<sup>161</sup> En Gedi V,<sup>162</sup> Tel 'Ira VI<sup>163</sup> and Arad VII–VI.<sup>164</sup> No mention of this krater type exists<sup>165</sup> in the Jerusalem archaeological reports.

*JER 9: Ridge-neck jugs with trefoil mouth (Fig. 4):* A jug with a high, narrow neck composed of an upper part attached inside the lower part. It possesses a characteristic trefoil mouth. Some examples present a handle attached to the rim. They are typically covered with hand-burnish on the neck and a dense burnish on the body. Two examples found in Ophel.<sup>166</sup> Parallels are found in several 7th–6th century BCE sites such as En Gedi V,<sup>167</sup> Arad VII–VI<sup>168</sup> and Tel 'Ira VI.<sup>169</sup> They are clearly a type-fossil marking the very late Iron Age in Judah.

*JER 10: Dipper juglets with elongated cylindrical body (Fig. 4):* The main features of this dipper juglet are the elongated cylindrical body, a high cylindrical neck, a plain and slightly everted rim, and a rounded base. A handle protrudes from the rim to the shoulder. One sample found at the Armenian Garden exhibits white slip on the exterior, vertically burnished up to neck.<sup>170</sup> This type of dipper juglet appears in Judaeon sites since the 8th century BCE, such as in the City of David, Stratum 12,<sup>171</sup> Lachish III,<sup>172</sup> Arad X–VII<sup>173</sup> and Beersheba II.<sup>174</sup>

*JER 11: Juglets with cylindrical body and pointed base (Fig. 4):* This juglet type bears a cylindrical body, straight or everted rim and a pointed base. A slight depression on the shoulder can appear too. It is found in the City of David<sup>175</sup> and Ophel.<sup>176</sup> Similar juglets exist in 7th and early 6th century BCE contexts, such as Tel 'Ira VII–VI<sup>177</sup> and Arad VII–VI,<sup>178</sup> which indicates they are type-fossils indicative of the end of the Iron Age.

<sup>161</sup> Zimhoni 2004b: Fig. 26.50: 2.

<sup>162</sup> Mazar *et al.* 1966: Fig. 15: 12.

<sup>163</sup> Freud 1999: Fig. 6.101: 3.

<sup>164</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 13: B 47.

<sup>165</sup> Other than Shiloh 1986.

<sup>166</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pls. 3: 7; 8: 3 (L. 23041).

<sup>167</sup> Mazar *et al.* 1966: Fig. 9: 11.

<sup>168</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 19: J 5.

<sup>169</sup> Freud 1999: Figs. 6.62: 13; 6.100: 21–23.

<sup>170</sup> Tushingham 1985: Fig. 4:15 (L. 457.19).

<sup>171</sup> De Groot and Ariel 2000: Fig. 27: 11.

<sup>172</sup> Zimhoni 2004b: Fig. 26.4: 13–14.

<sup>173</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 21: JD 1.

<sup>174</sup> Aharoni 1973: Pl. 62: 114–118; Singer-Avitz 1999: Fig. 3: 11.

<sup>175</sup> Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 11 (L. 967).

<sup>176</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 8: 7 (L. 23041).

<sup>177</sup> Freud 1999: Figs. 6.53: 2; 6.44.

<sup>178</sup> Herzog *et al.* 1984: Figs. 25: 13; 29: 9.

*JER 12: Decanters:* The Judaeen area produced its distinctive form of decanter. These vessel types have carinated body, narrow ridged neck and ribbon handle from the ridge in the neck to the shoulder. Pink-orange or red slip; most of them are red burnished, vertically and/or horizontally. Locally manufactured Judaeen-type decanters have been also found in several sites in Egypt, such as Tell el-Maskhuta, Tell Tebilla and Tell Qedwa.<sup>179</sup> There exist two versions, small-size and medium-size.

*JER 12a: Small-size decanters (Fig. 4):* These small-size decanters have an elongated body and a carination near the base. Few decanters of this type have been found in the City of David.<sup>180</sup> Similar decanters appear in Judaeen sites of the 7th and early 6th centuries BCE such as Lachish II,<sup>181</sup> Arad VII–VI,<sup>182</sup> Tel Masos–Area G<sup>183</sup> and Tel ‘Ira VI.<sup>184</sup> Their presence indicates archaeological contexts of the Late Iron Age.

*JER 12b: Medium-size decanters (Fig. 4):* These are medium-size decanters of the same type. Found in the Armenian Garden<sup>185</sup> and the City of David.<sup>186</sup> They are characteristic of Judaeen sites from the late 8th to the early 6th centuries BCE like En Gedi V,<sup>187</sup> Lachish II,<sup>188</sup> Beersheba II,<sup>189</sup> Arad VII–VI,<sup>190</sup> Tel ‘Ira VII–VI<sup>191</sup> and Tel Masos–Area G.<sup>192</sup>

## (2) *Cooking wares*

### *Cooking pots:*

I classify the Jerusalem cooking pots into two main groups, open and closed. It is significant to note that several cooking pot sherds from the South-Eastern Hill<sup>193</sup> and from Ophel<sup>194</sup> were incised. These sherds are very small as to be classified into one type.

<sup>179</sup> Holladay 2004.

<sup>180</sup> Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 12–14 (L. 967).

<sup>181</sup> Zimhoni 2004b: Fig. 26.52: 1–7.

<sup>182</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 21: J 16.

<sup>183</sup> Fritz and Kempinski 1983: Pl. 165: 16–18.

<sup>184</sup> Freud 1999: Fig. 6.91: 10.

<sup>185</sup> Tushingham 1985: Fig. 2: 10 (L. 463.48), 12 (L. 58.48).

<sup>186</sup> Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 4 (L. 967).

<sup>187</sup> Mazar *et al.* 1966: Fig. 20: 1–5.

<sup>188</sup> Zimhoni 2004b: Fig. 26.52: 8.

<sup>189</sup> Singer-Avitz 1999: Fig. 2: 10.

<sup>190</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 20: J 14.

<sup>191</sup> Freud 1999: Fig. 6.45: 1–4.

<sup>192</sup> Fritz and Kempinski 1983: Pl. 165: 16.

<sup>193</sup> Steiner 2001a: Fig. 6.52: 4 (Area 28).

<sup>194</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 8: 16, 17 (L. 23041).

### *Open cooking pots:*

*JER 13: Cooking pots with wide mouth and short neck:* There are three subtypes of this form.

*JER 13a: Cooking pots with thickened ridge rim (Fig. 5):* The distinctive feature of this form is its thickened ridge rim. One example was found in Ophel.<sup>195</sup> This form appears since the 8th century BCE, as for example in Cave I,<sup>196</sup> Lachish III<sup>197</sup> and Gezer VIA.<sup>198</sup>

*JER 13b: Cooking pots with thin grooved rim (Fig. 5):* A form with different sizes, and occasionally with handles. It possesses a thin grooved rim, probably used to accommodate a lid on the inner surface. Two examples found in the Armenian Garden.<sup>199</sup> Parallels come from strata dated as early as the 8th century BCE, such as Stratum 12 in the City of David,<sup>200</sup> Lachish III,<sup>201</sup> Arad X–VIII,<sup>202</sup> Beersheba II<sup>203</sup> and Aroer III.<sup>204</sup>

*JER 13c: Cooking pots with neckless or very short neck (Fig. 5):* In this form, the thickened rim sometimes possesses a ridge with one horizontal groove. Cooking pots of this type have been found in Ophel.<sup>205</sup> Parallels in Lachish V–IV,<sup>206</sup> Beersheba IV<sup>207</sup> and Tel ‘Ira VIII.<sup>208</sup>

### *Closed cooking pots:*

*JER 14: Closed cooking pots with globular body (Fig. 5):* A cooking pot type with globular body, and narrow, everted high neck. It shows a single protruding ridge on the upper part of the neck. Ribbon-shaped handles protrude from the rim extending to the shoulder. Found in the City of David.<sup>209</sup> It appears in late 7th century BCE sites in southern Judah, like En-Gedi V<sup>210</sup> and Tel ‘Ira VI.<sup>211</sup> It is a type-fossil of Late Iron archaeological contexts.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*: Pl. 6: 5 (L. 23041).

<sup>196</sup> Eshel 1995: Fig. 18: 1–8.

<sup>197</sup> Zimhoni 1997: Fig. 5.6: 2.

<sup>198</sup> Gitin 1990: Pl. 22: 2–3.

<sup>199</sup> Tushingham 1985: Fig. 4: 3,6 (L. 463.48).

<sup>200</sup> De Groot and Ariel 2000: Figs. 16: 19–20; 19: 27; 25: 15–16.

<sup>201</sup> Zimhoni 2004b: Fig. 26.4: 8.

<sup>202</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 14: CP 3.

<sup>203</sup> Singer-Avitz 1999: Fig. 2: 6.

<sup>204</sup> Biran and Cohen 1981: Fig. 7: 5.

<sup>205</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 6: 6–7 (L. 23041).

<sup>206</sup> Zimhoni 1997: Figs. 3: 38; 3.41.

<sup>207</sup> Aharoni 1973: Fig. 55: 11.

<sup>208</sup> Freud 1999: Figs. 6.58: 6; 6.65: 2.

<sup>209</sup> Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 16 (L. 967).

<sup>210</sup> Mazar *et al.* 1966: Fig. 17: 1–5.

<sup>211</sup> Freud 1999: Fig. 6.91: 4–5.



### (3) Containers

*JER 15: Ovoid storage jars:* Three types of the characteristic Judaeen storage jar were found in the Neo-Babylonian destruction level of Jerusalem.

*JER 15a: Storage jars with outcurving neck and thickened rim (Fig. 6):* Storage jar with cylindrical body, rounded base, outcurving rim and thickened rim. It was found in the Armenian Garden.<sup>212</sup> JER 15a is a type that appears in Judaeen strata since the late 9th century BCE such as Arad X–VIII,<sup>213</sup> Gezer VA,<sup>214</sup> and Beersheba II.<sup>215</sup>

*JER 15b: Ovoid storage jars with erect neck (Fig. 6):* A storage jar with large ovoid-shaped body, thick walls, erect or slightly inverted short neck and plain rim. Found in the Armenian Garden.<sup>216</sup> Parallels appear in Judaeen sites since the late 9th century BCE such as in Gezer VIA,<sup>217</sup> Tell ‘Eitun I<sup>218</sup> and Arad X–VIII.<sup>219</sup>

*JER 15c: Storage jars with short neck and thickened rim (Fig. 6):* A type of storage jar with short neck and thickened rim, in different sizes. Found in the Armenian Garden<sup>220</sup> and Ophel.<sup>221</sup> Similar vessels can be found in Judaeen sites since the late 8th century BCE such as Gezer VA,<sup>222</sup> Beersheba III–II<sup>223</sup> and Tel ‘Ira VII.<sup>224</sup>

*JER 16: Storage jars with narrow, outcurving neck (Fig. 7):* An oval-shaped storage jar with a narrow, outcurving neck. The handles are attached at the widest part of the shoulder. One storage jar of this type was found in the “House of the Bullae”.<sup>225</sup> Similar storage jars bear rosette stamps on their handles, even from Jerusalem.<sup>226</sup> In an important study, S. Gitin<sup>227</sup> contended that the history of the Judaeen ovoid store jars started in the 9th/8th centuries BCE and that they were the predecessors of the *lmk* jars. He classified these storage jars into six morphological types that spanned from the 9th to the first quarter

<sup>212</sup> Tushingham 1985: Fig. 3: 23 (L. 457.19).

<sup>213</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 16: SJ 5.

<sup>214</sup> Gitin 1990: Pl. 26: 16.

<sup>215</sup> Aharoni 1973: Pl. 57: 5.

<sup>216</sup> Tushingham 1985: Fig. 3: 19 (L. 457.31b).

<sup>217</sup> Gitin 1990: Pl. 16: 1.

<sup>218</sup> Zimhoni 1997: Fig. 4.4: 4.

<sup>219</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 16: SJ 1.

<sup>220</sup> Tushingham 1985: Fig. 3: 18 (L. 457.19), buff surface.

<sup>221</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 6: 11 (L. 23041).

<sup>222</sup> Gitin 1990: Pl. 26: 6–8.

<sup>223</sup> Aharoni 1973: Pls. 56: 18; 58: 29.

<sup>224</sup> Freud 1999: Fig. 6.88: 21.

<sup>225</sup> Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 20 (L. 967).

<sup>226</sup> Gitin 2006: 519.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*

of the 6th century BCE. Form JER 16 belongs to Gitin's SJO 5 type, which "represents the final typological development of the SJO [Oval-shape Storage Jar]; unlike Types SJO 1–4, it is currently attested only during the relatively short period of the second half of the 7th through the 7th/6th century".<sup>228</sup> Parallels in Arad VII<sup>229</sup> and Tel 'Ira VI.<sup>230</sup> No mention of this storage-jar type exists<sup>231</sup> in the Jerusalem archaeological reports.

*JER 17: Bag-shaped storage jars:* Two subtypes of this form are present in Jerusalem, one large-sized and one medium-sized. I suggest they are type-fossils indicating archaeological contexts of the end of the Iron Age.

*JER 17a: Large bag-shaped storage jars (Fig. 7):* This type comprises large storage jars with bag shape, erect or slightly everted neck and a thickened everted rim. The sloping shoulder descends into a carination to which two loop handles are attached. Large white grits are present in the surface. Present in Ophel;<sup>232</sup> one example presents an incision above the handle.<sup>233</sup> This type appears in Judaeen sites of the 7th and 6th centuries BCE such as Ramat Rachel VA,<sup>234</sup> En Gedi V,<sup>235</sup> Arad VII–VI,<sup>236</sup> Aroer II,<sup>237</sup> Tel 'Ira VI<sup>238</sup> and Tel Masos–Area G.<sup>239</sup>

*JER 17b: Medium bag-shaped storage jars (Fig. 7):* This is a smaller and finer version of JER 17a. It is covered with a thin cream slip; wheel and/or hand burnishings (some of them decorative) on exterior, horizontally or vertically. Found in Ophel<sup>240</sup> and the City of David.<sup>241</sup> It appears in early 6th century BCE Judaeen sites like Tel Masos–Area G,<sup>242</sup> Arad VI<sup>243</sup> and Tel 'Ira VI.<sup>244</sup>

*JER 18: Holemouth jars:* Holemouth jars can be divided into three subtypes based on the features of their rims.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*: 518–519.

<sup>229</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 16: SJ 3.

<sup>230</sup> Freud 1999: Figs. 6.92: 23 (with rosette stamp seal impression); 6.104: 12.

<sup>231</sup> Other than Shiloh 1986.

<sup>232</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pls. 4: 1–4; 5: 1–4 (L. 23041).

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*: Pl. 5: 1.

<sup>234</sup> Aharoni 1964: Fig. 19: 5–6.

<sup>235</sup> Mazar et al. 1966: Fig. 22: 3–4.

<sup>236</sup> Singer Avitz 2002: Fig. 17: SJ 7.

<sup>237</sup> Biran and Cohen 1981: Fig. 5: 1.

<sup>238</sup> Freud 1999: Figs. 6.93: 7; 6.98: 7; 6.101: 6; 6.106: 11.

<sup>239</sup> Fritz and Kempinski 1983: Fig. 166: 14.

<sup>240</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 6: 10 (L. 23041).

<sup>241</sup> Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 1 (L. 967).

<sup>242</sup> Fritz and Kempinski 1983: Pl. 166: 14.

<sup>243</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 18: SJ 14.

<sup>244</sup> Freud 1999: Fig. 6.61: 15; 6.62: 19; 6.67: 21,23; 6.91: 13; 6.94: 14; 6.98: 8; 6.105: 6.

*JER 18a: Holemouth jars with plain inverted rim (Fig. 7):* These jars have straight or slightly rounded shoulders, as two vessels found in the City of David.<sup>245</sup> They are common in Judaeen sites since the second half of the 8th to the early 6th century BCE, such as Gezer VA,<sup>246</sup> Lachish III,<sup>247</sup> Tel 'Ira VII,<sup>248</sup> Arad X–VIII<sup>249</sup> and En Gedi V.<sup>250</sup>

*JER 18b: Holemouth jars with thick flat, ledged rim (Fig. 8):* The main feature of this form is its thick flat, ledged rim. Holemouth jars of this type were found in the Armenian Garden.<sup>251</sup> This type is found in Judaeen sites from the 8th to the early 6th centuries BCE: it appears in Stratum 12 in the City of David<sup>252</sup> as well as in Tell 'Eitun II–I,<sup>253</sup> Arad X–IX<sup>254</sup> and En Gedi V.<sup>255</sup>

*JER 18c: Holemouth jars with inverted thickened rim (Fig. 8):* The rim of this holemouth jar is inverted thickened, and sometimes possesses one or more channels; the base is ring-shaped. Examples found in the Armenian Garden;<sup>256</sup> traces of a potter's mark (×) outside one of the vessels.<sup>257</sup> Parallels can be found in Judaeen sites from the 9th to the early 6th centuries BCE such as Gezer VIA–VA,<sup>258</sup> Lachish IV,<sup>259</sup> Tell 'Eitun II–I,<sup>260</sup> Beersheba IV and II,<sup>261</sup> Arad IX–VIII,<sup>262</sup> Tel 'Ira VII–VI,<sup>263</sup> Aroer III<sup>264</sup> and En Gedi V.<sup>265</sup>

*JER 19: Ovoid pithoi with folded rim (Fig. 8):* This pithos type varies in size; it normally does not possess neck. Some of them portray one or two grooves below the rim. They are found in several locations in Jerusalem: the Armenian

<sup>245</sup> Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 17,19 (L. 967).

<sup>246</sup> Gitin 1990: Pl. 26: 23.

<sup>247</sup> Zimhoni 2004b: Fig. 26.5: 13.

<sup>248</sup> Freud 1999: Fig. 6.59: 19.

<sup>249</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 18: SJ 16.

<sup>250</sup> Yezereski 2006: 87.

<sup>251</sup> Tushingham 1985: Pl. 3: 9 (L. 457.19), 10 (L. 457.30a).

<sup>252</sup> De Groot and Ariel 2000: Fig. 26: 2–6, 8–9, 12.

<sup>253</sup> Zimhoni 1997: Figs. 4.2: 4; 4.8: 8.

<sup>254</sup> Herzog *et al.* 1984: Figs. 13: 4; 19: 4.

<sup>255</sup> Yezereski 2006: 87.

<sup>256</sup> Tushingham 1985: Fig. 3: 13 (L. 457.19), 15 (L. 457.30).

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*: Fig. 3: 15.

<sup>258</sup> Gitin 1990: Pls. 18: 2; 26: 29–30.

<sup>259</sup> Zimhoni 1997: Fig. 3.54: 6.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*: Figs. 4.2: 9; 4.7: 9–11.

<sup>261</sup> Aharoni 1973: Pls. 55: 20; 58: 33–36.

<sup>262</sup> Herzog *et al.* 1984: Figs. 19: 3; 22: 21.

<sup>263</sup> Freud 1999: Fig. 6.75: 2.

<sup>264</sup> Biran and Cohen 1981: Fig. 8: 3.

<sup>265</sup> Yezereski 2006: 87.

Garden,<sup>266</sup> Ophel<sup>267</sup> and the South-Eastern Hill.<sup>268</sup> It is found in Judaeen sites of the 8th–early 6th centuries BCE such as the City of David, Stratum 12,<sup>269</sup> Tel 'Ira VII<sup>270</sup> and Horvat Teiman (Kuntillet 'Ajrud).<sup>271</sup> Some of the handles of these pithoi present rosette stamps. As already seen above, Neutron Activation Analyses carried out on rosette impression samples traced their origin to the Shephelah.<sup>272</sup>

#### (4) *Varia*

*JER 20: Lamps with disc base:* There is a distinctive tradition of lamps for this period. They can be divided into two types according to the thickness of their bases: JER 20a, a low disc base type, is chronologically earlier than JER 20b, a thick disc base type.

*JER 20a: Lamps with low disc base (Fig. 8):* This is the earliest type, presenting a low disc base. It is present in Ophel.<sup>273</sup> They are common since the 8th century BCE and seem to have extended until the early 6th century BCE. In Jerusalem they appear already in Caves I and II,<sup>274</sup> in the City of David, Stratum 12,<sup>275</sup> as well as in other Judaeen settlements such as Lachish IV–III,<sup>276</sup> En Gedi V,<sup>277</sup> Beersheba III–II<sup>278</sup> and Arad X–VIII.<sup>279</sup>

*JER 20b: Lamps with high, thick disc base (Fig. 8):* This type is but a late development of JER 20a, with a coarsely made high, thick and stepped disc base. Found in the Armenian Garden<sup>280</sup> and Ophel.<sup>281</sup> One of the most distinctive type-fossils of the Late Iron Age, it occurs in 7th and early 6th century BCE Judaeen sites, such as Ramat Rachel VA,<sup>282</sup> Lachish II,<sup>283</sup> Tel Masos–Area G<sup>284</sup> and Arad VII–VI.<sup>285</sup>

<sup>266</sup> Tushingham 1985: Fig. 3: 16 (L. 463.41).

<sup>267</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 6: 13–17 (L. 23041).

<sup>268</sup> Steiner 2001a: Fig. 6.52: 7 (Area 28).

<sup>269</sup> De Groot and Ariel 2000: Fig. 26: 11.

<sup>270</sup> Kletter 1999a.

<sup>271</sup> Ayalon 1995: Fig. 8.

<sup>272</sup> Mommsen *et al.* 1984: 113; Yellin and Cahill 2003.

<sup>273</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 3: 4–6 (L. 23041).

<sup>274</sup> Eshel 1995: Figs. 8: 11–16; 32: 5–12.

<sup>275</sup> De Groot and Ariel 2000: Figs. 18: 31; 19: 2, 18.

<sup>276</sup> Zimhoni 2004b: Fig. 26.5: 6–8.

<sup>277</sup> Mazar *et al.* 1966: Pl. 23: 3–4.

<sup>278</sup> Aharoni 1973: Pls. 56: 5–7; 63: 133–136.

<sup>279</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 23: L 1.

<sup>280</sup> Tushingham 1985: Fig. 4: 18 (L. 457.19), base finished by hand.

<sup>281</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 8: 13 (L. 23041).

<sup>282</sup> Aharoni 1962: Fig. 28: 50.

<sup>283</sup> Aharoni 1975: Pl. 48.2–4.

<sup>284</sup> Fritz and Kempinski 1983: Pl. 166: 16–19.

<sup>285</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 23: L 2.

*JER 21: Cup and saucer lamps (Fig. 9):* Cup and saucer lamps with red, brown and orange slip were found in Ophel<sup>286</sup> and the Armenian Garden.<sup>287</sup> Parallels exist in Lachish III–II<sup>288</sup> and Arad VII.<sup>289</sup>

*JER 22: Vessel stands (Fig. 9):* Type JER 22 comprises medium to large size vessel stands, with concave body and a flat surface in the base and the top. Vessel stands were found in the City of David<sup>290</sup> and Ophel.<sup>291</sup> Parallels are common in 8th–early 6th century BCE strata such as Lachish III<sup>292</sup> and Beersheba II.<sup>293</sup>

*JER 23: Cult stands (Fig. 9):* Cult stands “comprised of a bowl upon a high cylindrical foot with a wide ring base”; they are normally painted with black, white and red bands, sometimes red or buff slipped.<sup>294</sup> Three unpainted stands, probable of cultic nature, were found in Ophel.<sup>295</sup> Parallels range from the 8th to the early 6th centuries BCE, such as Cave 1 in Jerusalem,<sup>296</sup> Horvat Qitmit<sup>297</sup> and Tel ‘Ira VI.<sup>298</sup>

*JER 24: Rattles (Fig. 9):* Rattles are devices for making noise, comprised of a small cylindrical vessel closed on both sides with small stones inside. One rattle was found in the Armenian Garden.<sup>299</sup> Parallels are found since the 8th century BCE, as for example in Cave I in Jerusalem<sup>300</sup> and Tell ‘Ira VI.<sup>301</sup>

## (5) Figurines

*JER 25: Figurines:* Jerusalem has the largest number of (mostly broken parts of) clay figurines in Palestine, yet many of the specimens that belong to the Late Iron period have not been found *in situ*. Two main forms can be identified among them: anthropomorphic figurines (JER 25a) and animal (mostly horse-shaped) figurines (JER 25b). An estimated 1,300 figurines from the City of David are known, although almost half of them come from loci not dated to the Iron II.<sup>302</sup> Petrographic examinations on figurines found in the City of

<sup>286</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 3: 8 (L. 23041).

<sup>287</sup> Tushingham 1985: Fig. 1: 33 (L. 457.23).

<sup>288</sup> Tufnell 1953: Pl. 81: 116.

<sup>289</sup> Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 11: B 33.

<sup>290</sup> Shiloh 1986: Pl. 6: 18,21–22 (L. 967).

<sup>291</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 8: 9–12 (L. 23041).

<sup>292</sup> Aharoni 1975: Pl. 45: 7.

<sup>293</sup> Aharoni 1973: Pl. 63: 131.

<sup>294</sup> De Groot *et al.* 2003: 14–15.

<sup>295</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 8: 9–11 (L. 23041).

<sup>296</sup> Eshel 1995: Pl. 31: 12.

<sup>297</sup> Freud and Beit-Arie 1995: Figs. 4.4: 6; 4.9: 46; 4.16: 23.

<sup>298</sup> Freud 1999: Fig. 6.97: 2–3.

<sup>299</sup> Tushingham 1985: Fig. 2: 22 (L. 457.30a).

<sup>300</sup> Eshel 1995: Pl. 31: 7,8.

<sup>301</sup> Freud 1999: Fig. 6.98: 12.

<sup>302</sup> Gilbert-Peretz 1996.

David showed that their clay was taken from sources of *terra rossa* soil of the Soreq Valley, in the Jerusalem area,<sup>303</sup> and figurines from the Jewish Quarter share with them the same fabric.<sup>304</sup> These studies are supplemented by NAA on samples of figurines from the City of David whose material composition was traced to the Motza clay formation.<sup>305</sup> Most figurines were in use during the 8th–7th centuries BCE,<sup>306</sup> and copious parallels from earlier contexts in Jerusalem<sup>307</sup> and other Palestinian sites of different Iron Age periods exist, although the area of distribution seems to be restricted to the borders of the kingdom of Judah.

*JER 25a: Anthropomorphic figurines (Fig. 9):* One fragment of a clay animal leg was found in the Jewish Quarter.<sup>308</sup>

*JER 25b: Animal figurines (Fig. 9):* Among those animal figurines that can be attributed good loci are two small fragments unearthed in the Armenian Garden<sup>309</sup> and two figurines from Ophel.<sup>310</sup> There are traces of paint in some of them.

## CHRONOLOGY

Chronologically, the pottery under study forms a clear, well defined corpus. The largest part of the types had a long history of development that went back to the 8th century and, in some cases, even to the 10th–9th centuries BCE, whereas only almost a dozen existed for a short time before being deposited in the assemblages I study (see Table 3). A perusal of the typology shows the following pattern of pottery use:

- (1) Types that had a clearly long period of use when they were deposited in the Neo-Babylonian destruction contexts: JER 1, JER 2, JER 4b, JER 5a, JER 6, JER 7, JER 8, JER 10, JER 12b, JER 13, JER 15, JER 18, JER 19, JER 20a, JER 21, JER 22, JER 23, JER 24 and JER 25;
- (2) Types that have only parallels in mid 7th to early 6th century BCE contexts: JER 3, JER 4a, JER 9, JER 11, JER 12a, JER 14, JER 16, JER 17 and JER 20b. I wish to suggest that the ceramics in this group can be safely considered as diagnostic types of the Judaeen pottery in the very Late Iron II period.

<sup>303</sup> Goren *et al.* 1996.

<sup>304</sup> Yezerski and Geva 2003.

<sup>305</sup> Yellin 1996.

<sup>306</sup> Kletter 1999b: 29.

<sup>307</sup> Cave I: Eshel 1995: Fig. 32: 17–18; cf. Holland 1995.

<sup>308</sup> Yezerski and Geva 2003: Catalogue, F220 (L. 3090); no figure available.

<sup>309</sup> Tushingham 1985: 18, Fig. 4: 13 (L. 457.23), 14 (L. 457.25).

<sup>310</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 8: 19–20 (L. 23041); cf. Nadelman 1989.

Another archaeological pattern that is worth examining is the evolution of ceramic types and subtypes through the archaeological strata. In some cases it is possible to trace changes in the vessel's shape and technological features which, coupled with parallels from other sites, may provide helpful hints on chronological issues. The development of pottery types can be seen in the Jerusalem pottery assemblage itself and (if parallels are available) in other sets of ceramic material. Particularly, several types present parallels in Jerusalem since at least the 8th century BCE (cf. the cases of JER 1, JER 4b, JER 6, JER 7, JER 10, JER 13a, JER 13b, JER 18b, JER 19, JER 20a, JER 23, JER 24 and JER 25). At first sight this suggests a gradual evolution, with both changes and continuities, in the local ceramic assemblage for the last two centuries before the Neo-Babylonian destruction. It is impossible to exactly measure the rate of change in the local vessels, because the picture given by the archaeological data is partial at best. Given the limited exposure of the archaeological levels of Iron Age Jerusalem, the number of vessels found is unevenly distributed in each stratum. Furthermore, the nature of the contexts of discovery may have an impact in the material assemblage too. One of the most important assemblages of Iron Age II Jerusalem are Caves I and II, excavated by Kenyon in the South-Eastern Hill and published exemplarily by Eshel.<sup>311</sup> Even though the data recovered in these contexts is very useful, one wonders how compatible is the cultural material found in these caves and that found in later residential and administrative areas.

In spite of these methodological problems, in some cases it is possible to examine the development of similar types and subtypes through the strata and thereby gain some understanding on the chronology. This is especially the case of subtypes that show a sequential development. Lamp subtypes JER 20a and JER 20b constitute an excellent example: while JER 20a appears from 8th century BCE contexts on, JER 20b only showed up in the 7th and early 6th centuries BCE. In the case of Jerusalem it is worthwhile to trace the evolution of these two subtypes: while the earlier JER 20a type is already found in Caves I–II and Stratum 12 in the City of David, JER 20b only appears in contexts of the end of the Iron Age. A similar picture emerges from the analysis of the folded-rim bowls. Medium and large size subtypes JER 4b and JER 7 are characteristic in archaeological contexts since the 8th century BCE; later on a smaller version, JER 4a, appeared around the mid-7th century. Notice that these pottery developments are perceptible in the same site, therefore offering a unique key for dating other archaeological contexts here and elsewhere.

<sup>311</sup> Eshel 1995.

I have compared the pottery corpus with several sites, especially settlements located inside the limits of Judah. Sites with a complex stratigraphy going back to the preceding centuries and beyond provide both contemporary and earlier parallels for the pottery. The campaign of Neo-Assyrian king Sennacherib in 701 BCE is rightly viewed as a pivotal event in the history of Judah, an event that left significant marks in the stratigraphy of many local sites, particularly those located in the kingdom's western part. However, Jerusalem escaped this destruction.<sup>312</sup> The Neo-Assyrian destruction level is important in that several pottery types stopped being found in subsequent archaeological levels, and therefore have a potentially high significance for chronology. A key site is Lachish, with Level III ending in 701 BCE, and the succeeding Level II ending in 587/586 BCE.<sup>313</sup> Gezer also provided parallels from Stratum VIA, from the mid 8th century to 733 BCE, and Stratum VA, dated to the 7th century until ca. 630–ca. 587–586 BCE.<sup>314</sup> Ramat Rachel, Stratum VB, is attributed to the 8th century BCE, followed by Stratum VA, dated to the 7th century BCE and ending in 587/586 BCE.<sup>315</sup> There exist other sites that had a shorter period of existence in the Iron Age and therefore a more horizontal stratigraphy, dated from the late 7th century BCE to the time of the Neo-Babylonian destruction. Among these sites, most of them located in the northern Negev, I have used ceramic parallels from Tel Masos (Area G),<sup>316</sup> Aroer<sup>317</sup> and En Gedi on the Dead Sea shore.<sup>318</sup> Given that these sites were established in the 7th century BCE, their pottery assemblages are rarely mixed with earlier types hence constituting exceptional parallels for the pottery under study.

<sup>312</sup> Na'aman 1979.

<sup>313</sup> Zimhoni 1997; 2004a; 2004b. For the traces of the Neo-Babylonian destruction in Judah, see most recently Dever 2009: 31\*–32\*.

<sup>314</sup> Gitin 1990.

<sup>315</sup> Aharoni 1962; 1964.

<sup>316</sup> Fritz and Kempinski 1983.

<sup>317</sup> Biran and Cohen 1981.

<sup>318</sup> Mazar *et al.* 1966.



## LATE IRON II JERUSALEM IN THE LIGHT OF ITS POTTERY ASSEMBLAGE

### *Urban expansion*

Pottery distribution does point to the urban development of the city in the Late Iron Age. For the first time in history, the inhabitants of Jerusalem began to settle in zones outside the ancient nucleus of the City of David, where the elite and official quarters stood, now extending to the erstwhile empty or agricultural areas in Ophel and the modern Jewish Quarter—a total area of ca. 60 hectares.

In the area of the City of David there is evidence of the expansion of the urban settlement downhill towards the east. The domestic installations and caves founded in the eastern slope in the 8th century BCE, unearthed by Kenyon<sup>319</sup> and Shiloh,<sup>320</sup> are considered to be the easternmost quarter of the City of David. A review of the earliest pottery types discovered in this area indicates parallels with forms from Lachish III.<sup>321</sup> A new neighborhood was founded sometime during the 9th or 8th century BCE in the Ophel area. Evidences of public buildings and towers were discovered in this area by the Mazars,<sup>322</sup> who dated the earliest pottery type to the 9th century BCE.<sup>323</sup> These structures were completely abandoned in the early 6th century BCE, most likely due to the Neo-Babylonian advance and devastation. The area of the Armenian Garden seems to have been used as a quarry, probably since the early 7th or even the late 8th century BCE, and abandoned shortly before the advance of the invading Neo-Babylonians.<sup>324</sup> As already noted by the excavators, the earliest pottery types in the Jewish Quarter are wheel-burnished and morphologically similar to those found in Lachish III.<sup>325</sup>

Some evidence retrieved from the City of David and the Jewish Quarter may point to a decrease of settlement in the 7th century BCE. In the City of David, Shiloh's excavations found a residential area (Areas D and E) part of

<sup>319</sup> Steiner 2001a: 114; Franken and Steiner 1990b: 125.

<sup>320</sup> Shiloh 1984: 28.

<sup>321</sup> The finds in the City of David's eastern slope are supplemented by the long-known Late Iron Age cave burials in Silwan (Ussishkin 1993).

<sup>322</sup> Mazar and Mazar 1989.

<sup>323</sup> Although A. Killebrew argues that the initial occupation of this area could not possibly antedate the extramural settlement in other parts of the city, and therefore lowers the foundation of the buildings in Ophel to the 8th century BCE (Killebrew 2003: 336).

<sup>324</sup> Tushingham 1985: 19.

<sup>325</sup> Geva 2003c: 195 n. 24.

which (in Area E2) Shiloh thought was extramural. When more recently Reich and Shukron dug in an area south of Shiloh's excavations, they exposed more houses and segments of a city wall on the lowermost part of the eastern slope running parallel to the wall discovered by Kenyon and Shiloh, demonstrating that this neighborhood was in fact located inside the city walls.<sup>326</sup> Pottery found by both excavations find parallels in Lachish III and therefore the remains of the houses were dated to the 8th century BCE. Since no pottery from the 7th–6th centuries BCE was reported, Reich and Shukron claimed that the area was abandoned before the end of the 7th century.<sup>327</sup> In the Jewish Quarter, according to De Groot, Geva and Yezereski, the 7th century pottery is less represented than that of the 8th century BCE, which would suggest a decline in the local urban settlement. They particularly focus attention on the absence of cooking pots with thin, out-turned, grooved rim typical of the 7th century BCE.<sup>328</sup> Our survey appears to confirm this reconstruction, because in the Jewish Quarter only very limited evidence of the Neo-Babylonian destruction, and pottery dated by it, was found (Area W). However, even if it is granted that contraction in size and population occurred in this area during the 7th century, there is no question that the neighborhood was used for defensive purposes until the last days of the Iron Age city. This is hinted by the remains of collapsed stones from a tower and arrows scattered throughout the destruction layer.

### ***Industrial specialization***

Most of the pottery types I have reviewed are domestic in nature and consist of table wares (mostly bowls and saucers) and cooking wares (particularly cooking pots). This is consistent with the fact that most architectural structures associated with this pottery corpus were households. However, the large quantity of containers and industrial installations attests that the economy of Jerusalem was heavily oriented towards the importation of agricultural products, particularly grain and oil, from the Judaeian rural hinterland.

The involvement of the State in these activities can be seen reflected in the fragments of holemouth jars with rosette impressions found in the City of David. The discovery of large container types such as the relatively large numbers of bag-shaped storage jars (JER 17a) discovered in the Ophel area strongly suggests the presence of industrial or redistributive installations in

<sup>326</sup> Reich and Shukron 2003: 211.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>328</sup> De Groot *et al.* 2003: 16.

the surroundings that have not yet been discovered. Jewish Quarter, Area A, provided likely architectural remains of one industrial installation (L. 116) probably used for processing or storing liquids, as the presence of fragments of holmouth jars in an adjacent room suggests.<sup>329</sup> Similarly, in City of David, Building VII (Square A/XXIV), archaeologists found several large fragments of JER 19 type ovoid pithoi, an imported (wine) jar with rosette impressions and other several rosette-handled jars, plus large quantities of loomweights (in Areas 28 and 29), thus pointing to the presence of a house inhabited by a craftsman or trader with interregional connections.<sup>330</sup> Another noteworthy finding was made by Kenyon in the South-East Hill, although without significant ceramics related to it: a bronze workshop with stone implements, pieces of bronze and iron, and stone weights.<sup>331</sup> Beneath the workshop's floors were found three ostraca mentioning jars of grain and oil.<sup>332</sup>

### ***Political and economic centralization***

The epigraphic evidence found in the city, in the form of stamped impressions and incisions on vessels, attests the dominant position (but not the monopoly) that the Judean State had in the redistribution and processing of agricultural products. Generally speaking, in the archaeological assemblage under study there are two types of vessels that stand above the predominantly domestic nature of the local pottery assemblage. These are the storage jars with royal impressions on their handles, in the form of "private" seal impressions and rosette impressions. The principal agent managing this two-way flow of products between Jerusalem and the rural areas was the Palace, who supplied with provisions to officials appointed by the crown or soldiers stationed in the various parts of the kingdom.<sup>333</sup> "Private" impressions carry names of private people, probably State officials or traders, of which there is at least one example in the Jerusalem assemblage.<sup>334</sup> There is consensus that the jars with rosette

<sup>329</sup> Geva 2003b: 509–510.

<sup>330</sup> Steiner 2001a: 94–101.

<sup>331</sup> Steiner 2001b: 284; Scott 1985.

<sup>332</sup> Lemaire 1978.

<sup>333</sup> McNutt 1999: 158.

<sup>334</sup> A seal impression belonging to a woman: Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 8: 18 [L. 23041]; Nadelman 1989: 131. Lipschits *et al.*, who date all "private" impressions to pre-701 BCE times, do not accept the late 7th–early 6th century BCE date proposed by Nadelman (Lipschits, Sergi and Koch 2010: 23, n. 41; also Ussishkin 2011: 236–237). However, the clear late 6th century loci in which it was found clearly indicates that this seal impression, even if manufactured one century earlier, was still being used at that time.

stamps (chronologically later than the oval jars with *lmlk* impressions, of which they are a posterior development<sup>335</sup>) dated to shortly before 587/6 BCE<sup>336</sup> or, according to others, extended as early as the mid-7th century BCE.<sup>337</sup> This type of impressions has been found in good numbers in Jerusalem, but very few in well-dated loci. Rosette impressions found in the Jewish Quarter are either unpublished or come from later fills,<sup>338</sup> and therefore their use for deducing their chronological range is very limited. More valuable for chronological purposes are rosette stamps in JER 16 storage jars, JER 19 pithoi, and those found by Kenyon in Building VII (Square A/XXIV).<sup>339</sup> Broadly speaking, they can be safely attributed to the 7th century BCE based on parallels from other sites. Both *lmlk* and rosette impressions have been regarded for long time as indicators of the centralization of power in Jerusalem during the last part of the Iron II period.<sup>340</sup> Both types of vessels with stamped impressions were manufactured—according to NAA I reviewed<sup>341</sup>—in the Shepelah area. This indicates that the center that traditionally manufactured vessels for the State administration, probably Lachish, resumed activities after the Neo-Assyrian devastation of 701 BCE and continued supplying storage jars to Jerusalem for another century.

Less research has been done on potsherds and handles with potter's incisions. They most probably belong to the body of storage jars (e.g. JER 15b, JER 17a, JER 18c) and body or handles of cooking pots.<sup>342</sup> Some of these signs, in this assemblage and others, resemble Hebrew letters, although written in a very rough manner, and there has been some debate as to whether these "letters" denote a form of writing. If these are really Hebrew letters, they were made to convey some meaning, and so they should be considered a form of writing, even if sketchy. They may have been written as a way for identifying the owner of the produce the vessels contained, or even as a means of

<sup>335</sup> Jar with *lmlk* impressions are characteristic of the late 8th century BCE and stopped being produced in 701 BCE (they are not found any more in Lachish after the destruction of Stratum III; Na'aman 1979; Ussishkin 2011) or in the mid-7th century BCE (Lipschits, Sergi and Koch 2010; 2011). As expected, *lmlk* impressions were not found in the Jerusalem assemblage under study, thus confirming that its pottery does not go back before the mid 7th century BCE.

<sup>336</sup> Ussishkin 2011: 237.

<sup>337</sup> Lipschits, Sergi and Koch 2010: 8.

<sup>338</sup> Cahill 2003.

<sup>339</sup> Steiner 2001a: Figs. 6.52: 1 (Area 28); 6.56: 1–2,6 (Area 29).

<sup>340</sup> Kletter 1999b: 37; Lipschits, Sergi and Koch 2010.

<sup>341</sup> Mommsen *et al.* 1984; Yellin and Cahill 2003.

<sup>342</sup> Ophel: Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 8: 16,17 (L. 23041); South-Eastern Hill: Steiner 2001a: Fig. 6.52: 4 (Area 28).

quantifying the payment of taxes. Barkay notes that the context of discovery of pithoi with this kind of incisions in Tel 'Ira (public storage houses) is particularly relevant inasmuch they were probably used in an administrative context "related in some way to the administrative or religious functions of Jerusalem".<sup>343</sup> The original context of deposition of these incised potsherds in the Jewish Quarter is unfortunately not known, but the fact that all specimens of this type found outside Jerusalem seem to have been manufactured in the capital or its vicinity gives an idea about the high degree of centralization that Judah achieved in the last century of its existence.

### *Literacy*

The extent of the development of literacy has been generally paralleled to the development of State institutions in Israel, which acquired their fullest form during the late Judaeen monarchy.<sup>344</sup> To be sure, all types of inscriptions in pottery I have shown—official and rosette impressions, and incised sherds—point to the diffusion of literacy in society, at least in groups of the population that were somehow related to the bureaucratic affairs of the State. This is in particular evidence of a network of distribution of vessels with public or royal commodities from Jerusalem to the peripheries of the kingdom, managed by State officials who had some minimum degree of literacy. Literacy was also probably linked to other private groups, most importantly local merchant guilds, and there is no reason to force the evidence to see the hand of the State's intervention everywhere. This is consistent with the findings in what is known as the "House of the Bullae". Although Shiloh<sup>345</sup> viewed the House as a State archive, the numerous cooking and table wares found in the site seem to indicate that it was, rather, a domestic household.

### *Cultic activities*

That Jerusalem ranked high in terms of cultic significance can be seen in the hundreds of cultic vessels found in the city and its vicinity. A pottery type that deserves attention is JER 23, the cultic vessels. It has been suggested that the concentration of cultic wares in Area W, Stratum 6, in the Jewish Quarter area points to the existence of a gate with a cult installation.<sup>346</sup> The "cup and saucer"

<sup>343</sup> Barkay 2003: 52; *contra* Kletter 1999a. A. Maeir has recently also supported a public cultic praxis related to the incised handle cooking pots (Maeir 2010).

<sup>344</sup> Schniedewind 2004.

<sup>345</sup> Shiloh 1986.

<sup>346</sup> De Groot *et al.* 2003: 16.

lamps (JER 21) found in the city, despite being attributed a cultic significance,<sup>347</sup> are not concentrated in any area in particular. As already indicated, cooking pots with incisions have been related to public cultic practices, particularly the distribution of foodstuff to priests or sanctuaries in Jerusalem or other sites in Judah.<sup>348</sup> More attention has received from JER 25, the hundreds of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines discovered in Jerusalem, making this site the quantitative and geographical center of the distribution of the Judaeans figurines.

In spite of the concentration of cultic pottery in Jerusalem, there is no indication that the beliefs and rituals associated with them had any connection with the Judaeans State and its main religious institution, the Temple of Jerusalem. Cultic vessels and particularly figurines were found everywhere the archaeologists dug, and there were not concentrations around any particular spot, as if were the case of rites rigidly controlled by one institution. Clearly, the cultic activities manifested by these vessels were performed privately by the local inhabitants and not by official priests. Also, no evidence of monotheism exists, all the more so when the “pillar” anthropomorphic figurines have been associated with the cult of the goddess Asherah. A recently published sherd of an Iron II jug found in Ophel in the 1920s and incised with two figures, one masculine and one feminine, interpreted as Yahweh and Asherah,<sup>349</sup> cannot but support this line of interpretation.

### *Judaean material culture*

Geographically, the pottery forms I have studied find their closest parallels in sites of the Judaeans highlands, the Shephelah and the northern Negev. That the pottery corpus of Jerusalem shares many features with the pottery of these sites demonstrates the existence of close contacts with the communities living there. Different factors, such as an unified political structure, kinship relationships and trade may explain these similarities. Given the close association between the pottery types of the different Judaeans settlements a question arises as to whether it would be possible to identify a typical “Judaean” pottery assemblage during the 7th and early 6th centuries BCE. Since the pottery types share many morphological features with pottery from other areas, recognizing specific vessel types as traits of a typical Judaeans material culture is a very difficult task. Only in cases where we have epigraphic references

<sup>347</sup> Uziel and Gadot 2010.

<sup>348</sup> Maeir 2010.

<sup>349</sup> Gilmour 2009.

to the vessel's function, or when the pottery type shows a strong cultic or ritual significance, can a specific Judaeen trait be assumed. This is the case, for example, with JER 12, a Judaeen type of decanter that has been identified as a trait indicating the presence of Judaeen population in non-Judaean regions, particularly in Egypt.<sup>350</sup>

The case for a "typical" Judaeen cultural assemblage can be strengthened by reference to the distribution of two particular types of material items: rosette stamp impressions and JER 25 type figurines. Kletter's study is key to comprehend what there is behind the distribution of both kinds of artifacts. His statistical analysis of the geographical location of every finding of rosette impressions and pillar figurines shows that 96 % of the human-shaped figurines, 98 % of the horse and rider figurines and 96 % of the rosette impressions originated in areas belonging to the kingdom of Judah.<sup>351</sup> Even though different patterns of distribution can account for the distribution of these items, their high concentration inside the Judaeen area is a consistent proof that these artifacts can be securely considered as indicators of a "Judaeen" material culture.

### *Trade*

A significant feature of the pottery assemblage of Jerusalem is the extreme dearth of imported vessels, that is to say, vessels not manufactured in Judah and transported to the city by trade, suggesting that the commercial factor played a little role in the city's growth. Very little of the pottery types present in Jerusalem pertains directly to the long-distance trade networks of the Late Iron period. Although some earlier types can be paralleled with Edomite and Phoenician forms,<sup>352</sup> these are isolated examples that stress the poverty of the imports in the local corpus. Yet some recent reassessments of the evidence seem to have gradually changed this picture. The rather unexpected detection that one jar handle with rosette stamp—found in Building VII in the extramural quarter of the City of David—was imported from Cyprus or the Aegean (probably containing wine<sup>353</sup>) demonstrates that connections with the Eastern Mediterranean were existent. Additionally, the presence in the neighboring Shiloh's Areas G and E1 of three ostraca incised with south Arabian names—Hallal, Hali and Dad—confirms relationships with the Arabian

<sup>350</sup> Holladay 2004.

<sup>351</sup> Kletter 1999b: 40.

<sup>352</sup> City of David, Stratum 12: De Groot and Ariel 2000: 97.

<sup>353</sup> Cf. Franken in Steiner 2001a: 98–199.

Peninsula.<sup>354</sup> There has been some debate as to whether these finds attest the presence of people of Arabian origin in Jerusalem during this time.<sup>355</sup>

The above considerations lead to the conclusion that the good fortunes of Jerusalem should be attributed to political factors rather than to trade. Jerusalem never ceased to be a primarily administrative city to become a commercial hub. To be clear, while Jerusalem was at the center of the *local* redistributive networks of the kingdom of Judah, networks that were mostly in the hands of the Palace and Temple's officials who also profited privately with it, the city was not an international center of trade. By trade I understand the medium and long-distance commerce in high-bulk commodities such as grain, oil and non-precious metals, trade that in most cases leaves considerable pottery traits. What Jerusalem did import were luxury items whose traits very often do not survive in the form of broken vessels. Most imported non-ceramic items brought to the city were luxury goods demanded and consumed by the political and religious elite or procured for payment of tribute to Assyria.<sup>356</sup> The political expansion of the Judaeen elite, the king and its family, the king's officials and the Temple's high priests, brought about a concomitant increase in the consumption of luxury items. Findings of expensive, low-bulk objects such as wood furniture, shells and scarabs were concentrated in Jerusalem's elite quarters, the City of David and Ophel. Therefore, these items, coupled with the absence of imported pottery indicating movements of more bulky commodities, should not be taken as evidence of the city's ranking in the trade network of the period, but rather as materializations of the demand of the Palace and the Temple for such items.

## CONCLUSION

This paper analyzed old and recent studies on the pottery of Jerusalem dated to the very Late Iron Age, that is to say, from the mid 7th to the early 6th centuries BCE. It drew particularly on material from the excavations directed by Kenyon, Shiloh, Avigad and the Mazars. The first part of the study was devoted to review the pottery typologies presented in these reports. In the second part, I left aside criticism on other's typologies in order to construct

<sup>354</sup> Shiloh 1987.

<sup>355</sup> Cf. Sass 1990; Stern 2001: 297. For the non-ceramic evidence attesting trade in Jerusalem, see Tebes 2010.

<sup>356</sup> Hopkins 1996: 137–138.



mine. Provided that only pottery from the last times of the Judaeen kingdom was needed, I only selected pottery coming from loci sealed by the Neo-Babylonian destruction level of 586 BCE or deserted soon earlier. This procedural step, needless to say, ruled a large pottery corpus out of the study, but on the other hand it dramatically increased its heuristic value in assuring that no earlier or later pottery types would appear. Secondly, I constructed the pottery typology based on two main factors: function and morphology. Five large groups based on function were distinguished, on the assumption that a functional type classification is the closest we can get to the ancient potters' mind. Twenty-five smaller groups based on taxonomy were constructed, types that also give us clues about function, but more importantly about chronology. In the third part, it was concluded that the pottery corpus under examination has precedents in the previous centuries, going back in most cases as early as the 8th century, and in others to the 10th–9th centuries BCE. The fourth part of this study focused attention on the social, political and economic background in which the pottery types were used. Specific types of pottery shed light into the central importance that Jerusalem achieved in the 7th century BCE in the political, social, and ideological arenas. Jerusalem revolved, above all, around a Palace redistributive economy, and most other activities were to a large or minor extent related to it.

## FIGURES

**Figure 1.** Archaeological excavations in Jerusalem: 1. South-Eastern Hill/City of David; 2. Ophel; 3. Jewish Quarter; 4. Armenian Quarter. Adapted from Shiloh 1984: Fig. 1. Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

**Figure 2.** JER 1–6 types. Figs. JER 1a–c, 4b, 5a: Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum; JER 2–4a, 5b, 6: Courtesy of Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; JER 4b (parallel): Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.

**Figure 3.** JER 7–8 types. Figs. JER 7: Courtesy of Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; JER 8: Courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society.

**Figure 4.** JER 9–12 types. Figs. JER 9 with parallel: Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; JER 10, 12b: Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum; JER 10 (parallel), 11, 12a, 12b (parallel): Courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society.

**Figure 5.** JER 13–14 types. Figs. JER 13a, 13c (with parallel): Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; JER 13a (parallel):

Courtesy of the British Academy; JER 13b (parallel): Courtesy of the American Schools of Oriental Research; JER 14: Courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society.

**Figure 6.** JER 15 types. Figs. JER 15a–c: Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum; 15a–c (parallels): Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.

**Figure 7.** JER16–18a types. Figs. JER 16a, 17b, 18a: Courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society; JER 17a: Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

**Figure 8.** JER 18b–20 types. Figs. JER 18b, 18c: Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum; JER 18b (parallel): Courtesy of the British Academy; JER 18c (parallel): Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University; JER 19: Courtesy of Continuum Books; JER 20a, 20b: Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; JER 20b (parallel): Courtesy of Continuum Books.

**Figure 9.** JER 21–25 types. Figs. JER 21, JER 23, 25b: Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; JER 22, JER 25a (parallel): Courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society; JER 24: Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum; JER 25b (parallel): Courtesy of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article was initially written during my studies at the Pennsylvania State University under the direction of Ann E. Killebrew. My stay at Penn State was possible thanks to a Fulbright Fellowship. The paper was thoroughly revised and updated during my tenure as Fellow in the CONICET (Argentine National Research Council, 2010–2011). I would like to thank Prof. Killebrew, Gonzalo Rubio, Kenneth Hirth and Oded Lipschits for reading previous versions of this paper. However, I bear responsibility for the interpretations and errors that might arise in the article. Lastly, my thanks to the American Schools of Oriental Research, Raz Kletter and Zeev Herzog; British Academy; Continuum Books and Thomas L. Thompson; Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University; Israel Exploration Society; and Royal Ontario Museum for granting me permission to publish the pottery figures.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- AHARONI, Y. 1962. *Excavations at Ramat Raḥel, Season 1959 and 1960*. Rome, Università Degli Studi, Centro Di Studi Semitici.
- AHARONI, Y. 1964. *Excavations at Ramat Raḥel, Season 1961 and 1962*. Rome, Università Degli Studi, Centro Di Studi Semitici.
- AHARONI, Y. (ed.) 1973. *Beer-sheba I: Excavations at Tel Beer-sheba, 1969-1971 Seasons*. Publications of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 2. Tel Aviv, Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.
- AHARONI, Y. 1975. *Investigations at Lachish: The Sanctuary and the Residency (Lachish V)*. Publications of the Institute of Archaeology, 4. Tel Aviv, Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.
- AMIRAN, R. 1970. *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land. From its Beginnings in the Neolithic Period to the End of the Iron Age*. 1st. ed. in Hebrew: 1963. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press.
- ARIEL, D.T. (ed.) 1990. *Excavations at the City of David 1978-1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Vol. II, Imported Stamped Amphora Handles, Coins, Worked Bone and Ivory, and Glass*. Qedem 30. Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- ARIEL, D.T. (ed.) 2000a. *Excavations at the City of David 1978-1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Vol. V, Extramural Areas*. Qedem 40. Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- ARIEL, D.T. (ed.) 2000b. *Excavations in the City of David 1978-1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Vol. VI: Inscriptions*. Qedem 41. Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- ARIEL, D.T. and A. DE GROOT. 1996. *Excavations at the City of David 1978-1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Vol. IV, Various Reports*. Qedem 35. Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- AYALON, E. 1995. "The Iron Age II Pottery Assemblage from Ḥorvat Teiman (Kuntillet 'Ajrud)." In: *Tel Aviv* 22, pp. 141-212.
- BARKAY, G. 2003. "Iron Age II Incised Potsherds and Potters' Marks". In: H. GEVA (ed.), *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982, Vol. II, The Finds from Areas A, W and X-2, Final Report*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, pp. 50-62.

- BEN-AMI, D. and Y. TCHEKHANOVETS. 2008. "Jerusalem, Giv'ati Parking Lot." In: *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 120.  
[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.asp?id=873&mag\\_id=114](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=873&mag_id=114)
- BIRAN, A., and R. COHEN. 1981. "Aroer in the Negev". In: *Eretz Israel* 15, pp. 84\*, 250–273.
- CAHILL, J.M. 2003. "Rosette Stamp Seal Impressions". In: H. GEVA (ed.), *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982, Vol. II, The Finds from Areas A, W and X–2, Final Report*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, pp. 85–98.
- DE GROOT, A. and D.T. ARIEL. 1992. *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Vol. III, Stratigraphical, Environmental, and Other Reports*. Qedem 33. Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- DE GROOT, A. and D.T. ARIEL. 2000. "Ceramic Report". In: D.T. ARIEL (ed.), *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Vol. V, Extramural Areas*. Qedem 40. Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, pp. 91–154.
- DE GROOT, A. and A. FADIDA. 2011. "The Pottery Assemblage from the Rock-Cut Pool near the Gihon Spring". In: *Tel Aviv* 38, pp. 158–166.
- DE GROOT, A., H. GEVA and I. YEZERSKI. 2003. "Iron Age II Pottery". In: H. GEVA (ed.), *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982, Vol. II, The Finds from Areas A, W and X–2, Final Report*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, pp. 1–49.
- DEVER, W.G. 2009. "Archaeology and the Fall of Judah". In: *Eretz-Israel* 29, pp. 29\*–35\*.
- ESHEL, I. 1995. "Two Pottery Groups from Kenyon's Excavations on the Eastern Slope of Ancient Jerusalem". In: I. ESHEL and K. PRAG (eds.), *Excavations by K.M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967, Vol. IV, The Iron Age Cave Deposits on the South-east Hill and Isolated Burial Deposits and Cemeteries Elsewhere*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 6. Oxford, Oxford University Press for the British Academy and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, pp. 1–157.
- ESHEL, I. and K. PRAG (eds.) 1995. *Excavations by K.M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967, Vol. IV, The Iron Age Cave Deposits on the South-east Hill and Isolated Burial Deposits and Cemeteries Elsewhere*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 6. Oxford, Oxford University

Press for the British Academy and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

FRANKEN, H.J. 1990a. "The Typological System used by the Expedition—the 'Jerusalem System'". In: H.J. FRANKEN and M.L. STEINER, *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961–1967, Vol. II, The Iron Age Extramural Quarter on the South-East Hill*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 2. Oxford, Oxford University Press for the British Academy and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, pp. 61–66.

FRANKEN, H.J. 1990b. "The Scope of the Present Study". In: H.J. FRANKEN and M.L. STEINER, *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961–1967, Vol. II, The Iron Age Extramural Quarter on the South-East Hill*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 2. Oxford, Oxford University Press for the British Academy and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, pp. 67–75.

FRANKEN, H.J. 1990c. "The Wares and Manufacture of Pottery". In: H.J. FRANKEN and M.L. STEINER, *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961–1967, Vol. II, The Iron Age Extramural Quarter on the South-East Hill*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 2. Oxford, Oxford University Press for the British Academy and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, pp. 77–97.

FRANKEN, H.J. 1990d. "The Twelve Pottery Classes". In: H.J. FRANKEN and M.L. STEINER, *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961–1967, Vol. II, The Iron Age Extramural Quarter on the South-East Hill*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 2. Oxford, Oxford University Press for the British Academy and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, pp. 99–121.

FRANKEN, H.J. 2005. *A History of Pottery and Potters in Ancient Jerusalem: Excavations by K.M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967*. London, Equinox.

FRANKEN, H.J. and M.L. STEINER. 1990a. *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961–1967, Vol. II, The Iron Age Extramural Quarter on the South-East Hill*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 2. Oxford, Oxford University Press for the British Academy and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

FRANKEN, H.J. and M.L. STEINER. 1990b. "Conclusions". In H.J. FRANKEN and M.L. STEINER, *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961–1967, Vol. II, The Iron Age Extramural Quarter on the South-East Hill*. British Academy

Monographs in Archaeology 2. Oxford, Oxford University Press for the British Academy and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, pp. 123–131.

- FREUD, L. 1999. "Iron Age". In: I. BEIT-ARIEH (ed.), *Tel 'Ira: A Stronghold in the Biblical Negev*. Tel Aviv University–Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series No. 15. Jerusalem, Emery and Claire Publications in Archaeology of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University, pp. 189–289.
- FREUD, L., and I. BEIT-ARIEH. 1995. "Pottery". In: I. BEIT-ARIEH (ed.), *Horvat Qitmit: An Edomite Shrine in the Biblical Negev*. Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology 11. Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv University, pp. 209–257.
- FRTZ, V. and A. KEMPINSKI. 1983. *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen auf der Hirbet el-Mšāš (Têl Māsōs) 1972–1975*. Vol. 2: *Tafelband*. Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz.
- GEVA, H. (ed.) 2000. *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982, Vol. I, Architecture and Stratigraphy: Areas A, W and X-2, Final Report*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society.
- GEVA, H. (ed.) 2003a. *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982, Vol. II, The Finds from Areas A, W and X-2, Final Report*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society.
- GEVA, H. 2003b. "Summary and Discussion of Findings from Areas A, W and X-2". In: H. GEVA (ed.), *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982, Vol. II, The Finds from Areas A, W and X-2, Final Report*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, pp. 501–552.
- GEVA, H. 2003c. "Western Jerusalem at the End of the First Temple Period in Light of the Excavations in the Jewish Quarter". In: A.C. VAUGHN and A.E. KILLEBREW (eds.), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology. The First Temple Period*. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 18. Leiden, Brill, pp. 183–208.
- GEVA, H. (ed.) 2006a. *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982, Vol. III, Area E and Other Studies*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society.
- GEVA, H. 2006b. "Stratigraphy and Architecture". In H. GEVA (ed.), *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman*

- Avigad, 1969–1982, Vol. III, Area E and Other Studies*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, pp. 1–78.
- GEVA, H. and N. AVIGAD, 2000. “Area W—Stratigraphy and Architecture”. In H. GEVA (ed.), *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982, Vol. I, Architecture and Stratigraphy: Areas A, W and X–2, Final Report*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, pp. 131–197.
- GILBERT-PERETZ, D. 1996. “Ceramic Figurines”. In D.T. ARIEL and A. DE GROOT (eds.), *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Vol. IV, Various Reports*. Qedem 35. Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, pp. 29–84.
- GILMOUR, G. 2009. “An Iron Age II Pictorial Inscription from Jerusalem Illustrating Yahweh and Asherah”. In: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 141/2, pp. 87–103.
- GITIN, S. 1990. *Gezer III: A Ceramic Typology of the Late Iron II, Persian and Hellenistic Periods at Tell Gezer*. Annual of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology 3. Jerusalem, Hebrew Union College.
- GITIN, S. 2006. “The *lmlk* Jar-Form Redefined: A New Class of Iron Age II Oval-Shaped Storage Jar”. In: A.M. MAEIR and P. DE MIROSCHEDJI (eds.), “*I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times*”: *Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday, Volume 2*. Winona Lake, IN, Eisenbrauns, pp. 505–524.
- GOREN, Y., E. KAMAISKI and R. KLETTER. 1996. “The Technology and Provenience of the Figurines from the City of David: Petrographic Analysis”. In: D.T. ARIEL and A. DE GROOT (eds.), *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Vol. IV, Various Reports*. Qedem 35. Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, pp. 87–89.
- HERZOG, Z., M. AHARONI, A.F. RAINEY and S. MOSHKOVITZ. 1984. “The Israelite Fortress at Arad”. In: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 254, pp. 1–34.
- HOLLADAY, J.S. 1976. “Of Sherds and Strata: Contributions Toward an Understanding of the Archaeology of the Divided Monarchy”. In: F.M. CROSS, W.E. LEMKE and P.D. MILLER (eds.), *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God. Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright*. Garden City, NY, Doubleday, pp. 253–293.

- HOLLADAY, J.S. 2004. "Judeans (and Phoenicians) in Egypt in the Late Seventh to Sixth Centuries B.C." In: G.N. KNOPPERS and A. HIRSCH (eds.), *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World. Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 20. Leiden, Brill, pp. 405–437.
- HOLLAND, T.A. 1995. "A Study of Palestinian Iron Age Baked Clay Figurines, with Special Reference to Jerusalem: Cave I". In: I. ESHEL and K. PRAG (eds.), *Excavations by K.M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967, Vol. IV, The Iron Age Cave Deposits on the South-east Hill and Isolated Burial Deposits and Cemeteries Elsewhere*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 6. Oxford, Oxford University Press for the British Academy and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, pp. 159–189.
- HOPKINS, D.C. 1996. "Bare Bones: Putting Flesh on the Economics of Ancient Israel". In: V. FRITZ and P.R. DAVIES (eds.), *The Origins of the Ancient Israelite States*. JSOT Supplement Series 228. Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 121–139.
- JAMES, P. 2007. Review of Ussishkin, D. 2004. *The Renewed Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)*. In: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 139/3, pp. 213–217.
- KILLEBREW, A.E. 2003. "Biblical Jerusalem: An Archaeological Assessment". In: A.C. VAUGHN and A.E. KILLEBREW (eds.), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology. The First Temple Period*. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 18. Leiden, Brill, pp. 329–345.
- KLETTER, R. 1999a. "Late Iron Age Pithoi with Potter's Marks". In: I. BEIT-ARIEH (ed.), *Tel 'Ira: A Stronghold in the Biblical Negev*. Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology 15. Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv University, pp. 350–359.
- KLETTER, R. 1999b. "Material Remains of Late Iron Age Judah in Relation to Its Political Borders". *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 314, pp. 19–54.
- LEMAIRE, A. 1978. "Les Ostraca Paléo-Hébreux des Fouilles de l'Ophel". In: *Levant* 10, pp. 156–161.
- LIPSCHITS, O. 2005. *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem. Judah under Babylonian Rule*. Winona Lake, IN, Eisenbrauns.
- LIPSCHITS, O., O. SERGI, and I. KOCH. 2010. "Royal Judahite Jar Handles: Reconsidering the Chronology of the *lmlk* Stamp Impressions." In: *Tel Aviv* 37, pp. 3–32.



- LIPSCHITS, O., O. SERGI, and I. KOCH. 2011. "Judahite Stamped and Incised Jar Handles: A Tool for Studying the History of Late Monarchic Judah." In: *Tel Aviv* 38, pp. 5–41.
- MACKENZIE, D. 1912–1913. *Excavations at Ain Shems (Beth Shemesh)*. Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund 2: 1–100.
- MAEIR, A. 2010. "'And brought in the offerings and the tithes and the dedicated things faithfully' (2 Chron. 31:12): On the Meaning and Function of the Late Iron Age Judahite 'Incised Handle Cooking Pots'". In: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 130/1, pp. 43–62.
- MAZAR, B., T. DOTHAN and I. DUNAYEVSKY. 1966. "En-Gedi, the First and Second Seasons of Excavation, 1961–1962". In: *Atiqot* V.
- MAZAR, E. 2008. *Preliminary Report on The City of David Excavations 2005 at the Visitors Center Area*. Jerusalem & New York, Shalem.
- MAZAR, E. 2009. *The Palace of King David: Excavations at the Summit of the City of David: Preliminary Report of Seasons 2005–2007*. Jerusalem & New York, Shoham.
- MAZAR, E. and B. MAZAR. 1989. *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount: The Ophel of Biblical Jerusalem*. Qedem 29. Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- MCCLELLAN, T. 1975. *Quantitative Studies in the Iron Age Pottery of Palestine*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania.
- MCNUTT, P. 1999. *Reconstructing the Society of Ancient Israel*. Library of Ancient Israel. Louisville, KY, Westminster John Knox Press.
- MOMMSEN, H., I. PERLMAN and J. YELLIN. 1984. "The Provenience of the *lmlk* Jars". In: *Israel Exploration Journal* 34, pp. 89–113.
- NA'AMAN, N. 1979. "Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah and the Date of the *lmlk* Stamps". In: *Vetus Testamentum* 29/1, pp. 61–86.
- NADELMAN, Y. 1989. "Iron Age II Clay Figurine Fragments from the Excavations". In: E. MAZAR and B. MAZAR, *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount: The Ophel of Biblical Jerusalem*. Qedem 29. Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, pp. 123–127.
- PETRIE, W.M.F. 1921. *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes*. London, British School of Archaeology in Egypt, University College, Constable & Co., Bernard Quaritch.

- REICH, R., and E. SHUKRON. 2003. "The Urban Development of Jerusalem in the Late Eight Century B.C.E." In: A.C. VAUGHN and A.E. KILLEBREW (eds.) *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology. The First Temple Period*. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 18. Leiden, Brill, pp. 209–218.
- REICH, R., E. SHUKRON and O. LERNAU. 2008. "The Iron Age II Finds from the Rock-Cut 'Pool' near the Spring in Jerusalem: A Preliminary Report". In: L.L. GRABBE (ed.), *Israel in Transition: From Late Bronze II to Iron IIa (c. 1250–850 B.C.E.). Volume 1. The Archaeology*. Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 491; European Seminar in Historical Methodology. New York and London, T & T Clark, pp. 138–143.
- SASS, B. 1990. "Arabs and Greeks in Late First Temple Jerusalem". In: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 122, pp. 59–61.
- SCHNIEDEWIND, W.M. 2004. *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- SCOTT, R.B.Y. 1985. "Weights from the 1961–1967 Excavations". In: A.D. TUSHINGHAM, *Excavations by Kathleen M. Kenyon in Jerusalem, 1961–1967, Vol. I*. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, pp. 197–212.
- SHILOH, Y. 1984. *Excavations at the City of David I, 1978–1982: Interim Report of the First Five Seasons*. Qedem 19. Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- SHILOH, Y. 1986. "A Group of Hebrew Bullae from the City of David". In: *Israel Exploration Journal* 36, pp. 16–38.
- SHILOH, Y. 1987. "South Arabian Inscriptions from the City of David, Jerusalem". In: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 119, pp. 9–18.
- SINGER-AVITZ, L. 1999. "Beersheba—A Gateway Community in Southern Arabian Long-Distance Trade in the Eighth Century B.C.E." In: *Tel Aviv* 26, pp. 1–75.
- SINGER-AVITZ, L. 2002. "Arad: The Iron Age Pottery Assemblages". In: *Tel Aviv* 29, pp. 110–214.
- STEINER, M.L. 1990. "Stratigraphical Analysis, Architecture and Objects of the Phases". In: H.J. FRANKEN and M.L. STEINER, *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961–1967, Vol. II, The Iron Age Extramural Quarter on the South-East Hill*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 2. Oxford, Oxford University Press for the British Academy and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, pp. 3–60.

- STEINER, M.L. 2001a. *Excavations by K.M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967, Vol. III, The Settlement in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. Copenhagen International Series 9. New York, Sheffield Academic Press.
- STEINER, M.L. 2001b. “Jerusalem in the Tenth and Seventh Centuries BCE: From Administrative Town to Commercial City”. In: A. MAZAR (ed.), *Studies in the Archaeology of the Iron Age in Israel and Jordan*. JSOTSup Series 331. Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 280–288.
- STERN, E. 2001. *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible. Volume II, The Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian Periods 732–332 BCE*. Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York, Doubleday.
- TEBES, J.M. 2010. “Was Jerusalem a Trade Center in the Late Iron Age?” In: *The Bible and Interpretation* (January 2010).  
<http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/wtc2357913.shtml>
- TUFNELL, O. (ed.) 1953. *Lachish III (Tell ed-Duweir): The Iron Age*. London. The Wellcome-Marston Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East III. London, Oxford University Press.
- TUSHINGHAM, A.D. 1985. *Excavations by Kathleen M. Kenyon in Jerusalem, 1961–1967, Vol. I*. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum.
- USSISHKIN, D. 1993. *The Village of Silwan: The Necropolis from the Period of the Judean Kingdom*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society.
- USSISHKIN, D. 2011. “The Dating of the *lmlk* Storage Jars and Its Implications: Rejoinder to Lipschits, Sergi and Koch”. In: *Tel Aviv* 38, pp. 220–240.
- UZIEL, J. and Y. GADOT. 2010. “The ‘Cup-and-Saucer’ Vessel: Function, Chronology, Distribution and Symbolism.” In: *Israel Exploration Journal* 60, pp. 41–57.
- YELLIN, J. 1996. “Chemical Characterization of the City of David Figurines and Inferences about their Origin”. In: D.T. ARIEL and A. DE GROOT (eds.), *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Vol. IV, Various Reports*. Qedem 35. Jerusalem, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, pp. 90–99.
- YELLIN, J. and J.M. CAHILL. 2003. “Provenance of the Rosette Stamp Seal Impressions”. In: H. GEVA (ed.), *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982, Vol. II, The Finds from Areas A, W and X–2, Final Report*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, pp. 99–106.

- YEZERSKI, I. 2006. "Iron Age II Pottery". In: H. GEVA (ed.), *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982, Vol. III, Area E and Other Studies*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, pp. 84–93.
- YEZERSKI, I. and H. GEVA. 2003. "Iron Age II Clay Figurines". In: H. GEVA (ed.), *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982, Vol. II, The Finds from Areas A, W and X-2, Final Report*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, pp. 63–84.
- ZIMHONI, O. 1997. *Studies in the Iron Age Pottery of Israel: Typological, Archaeological and Chronological Aspects*. Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, Occasional Publications Series 2. Tel Aviv, Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.
- ZIMHONI, O. 2004a. "The Pottery of Levels V and IV and its Archaeological and Chronological Implications". In: D. USSISHKIN (ed.), *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)*. Monograph Series No. 22. Tel Aviv, Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University, pp. 1643–1788.
- ZIMHONI, O. 2004b. "The Pottery of Levels III and II". In: D. USSISHKIN (ed.), *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)*. Monograph Series No. 22. Tel Aviv, Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University, pp. 1789–1899.

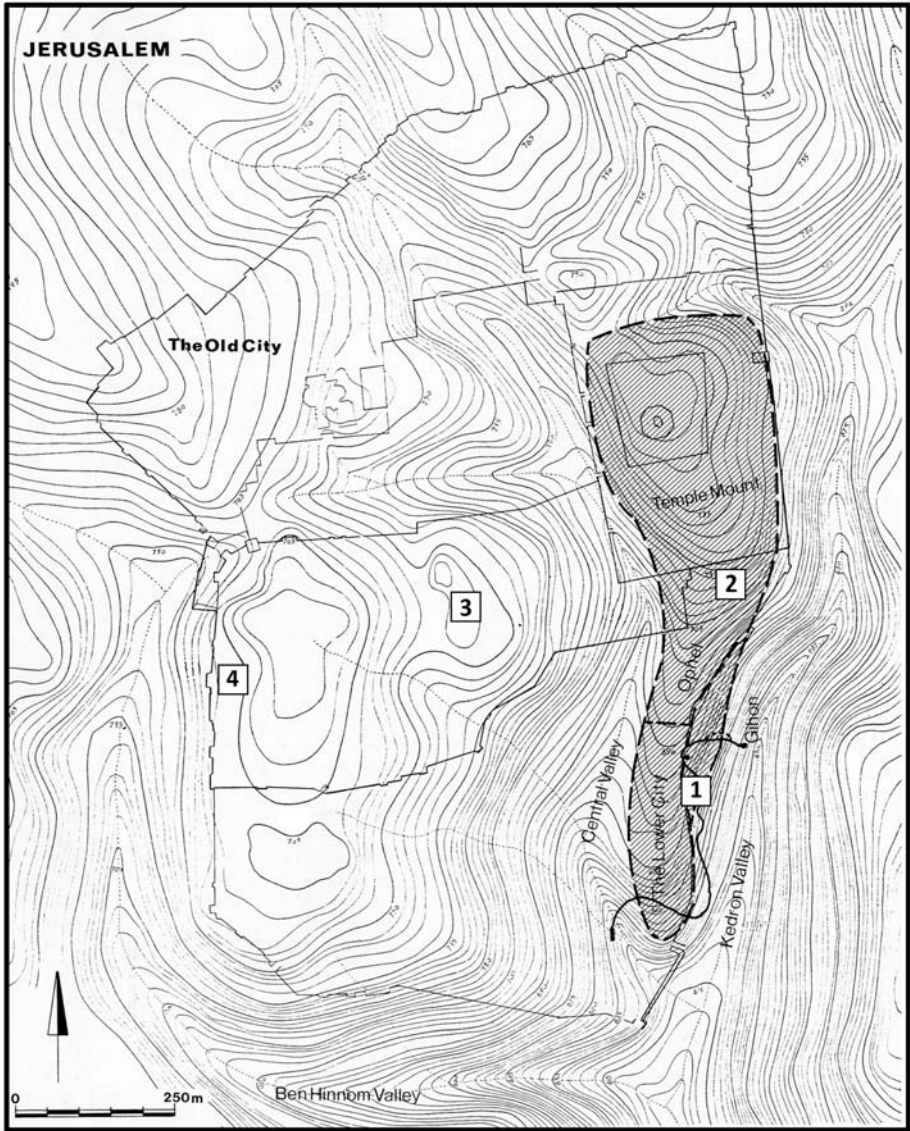


Figure 1

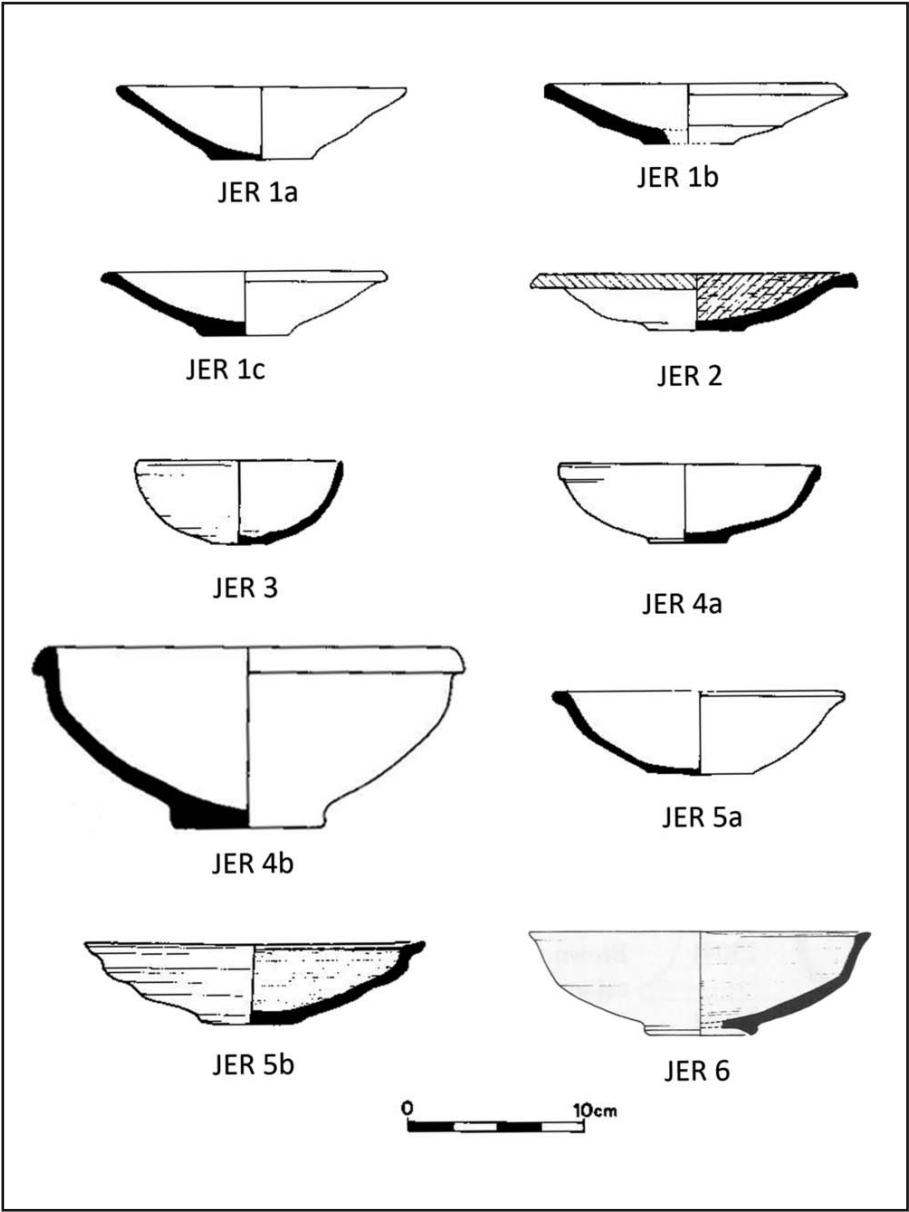


Figure 2

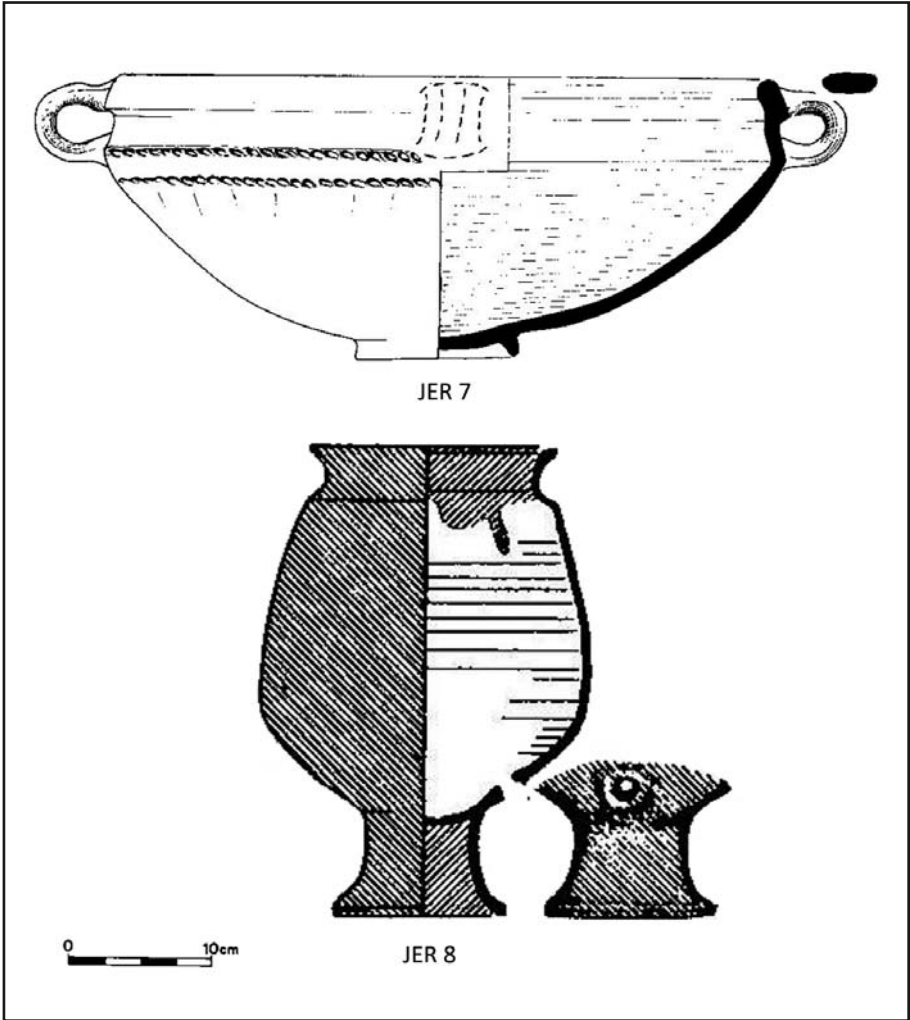


Figure 3

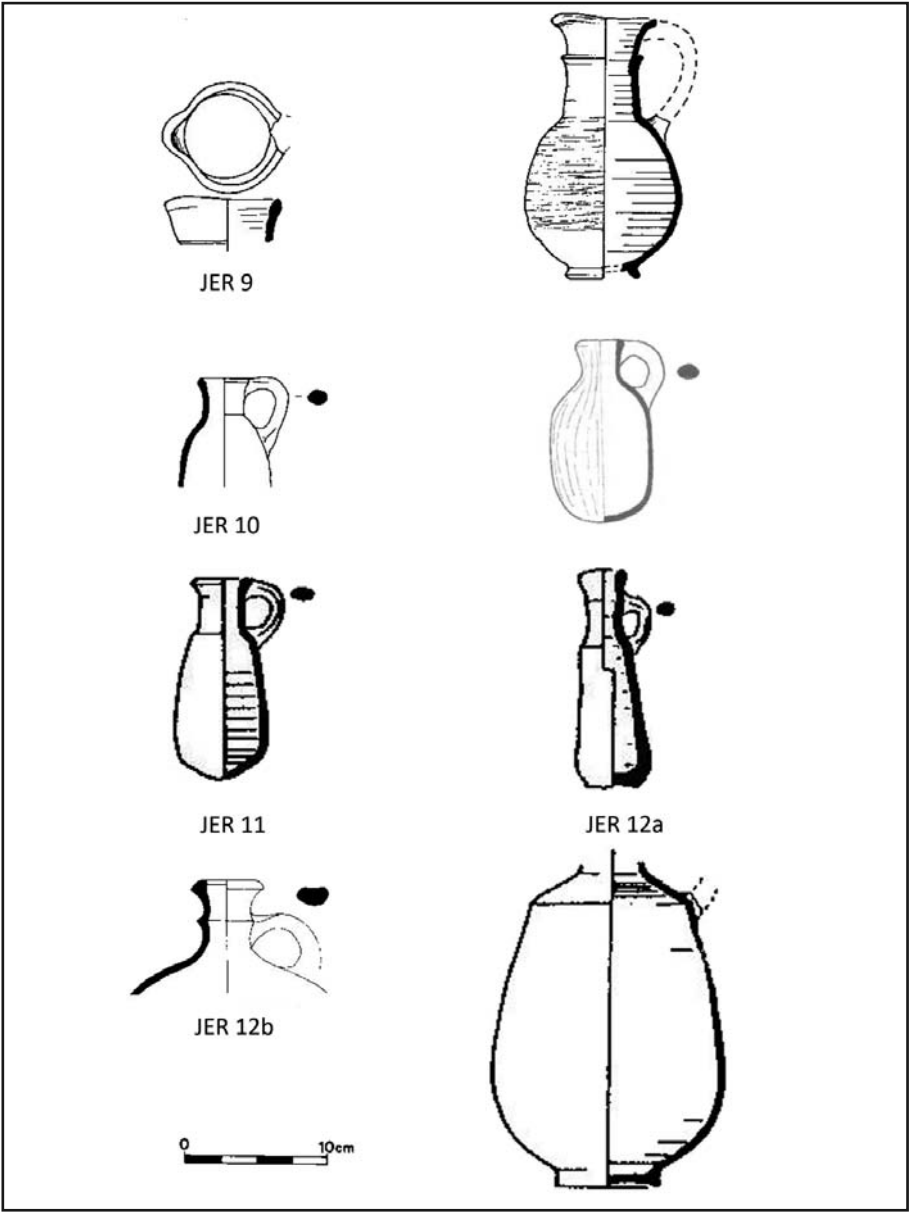


Figure 4



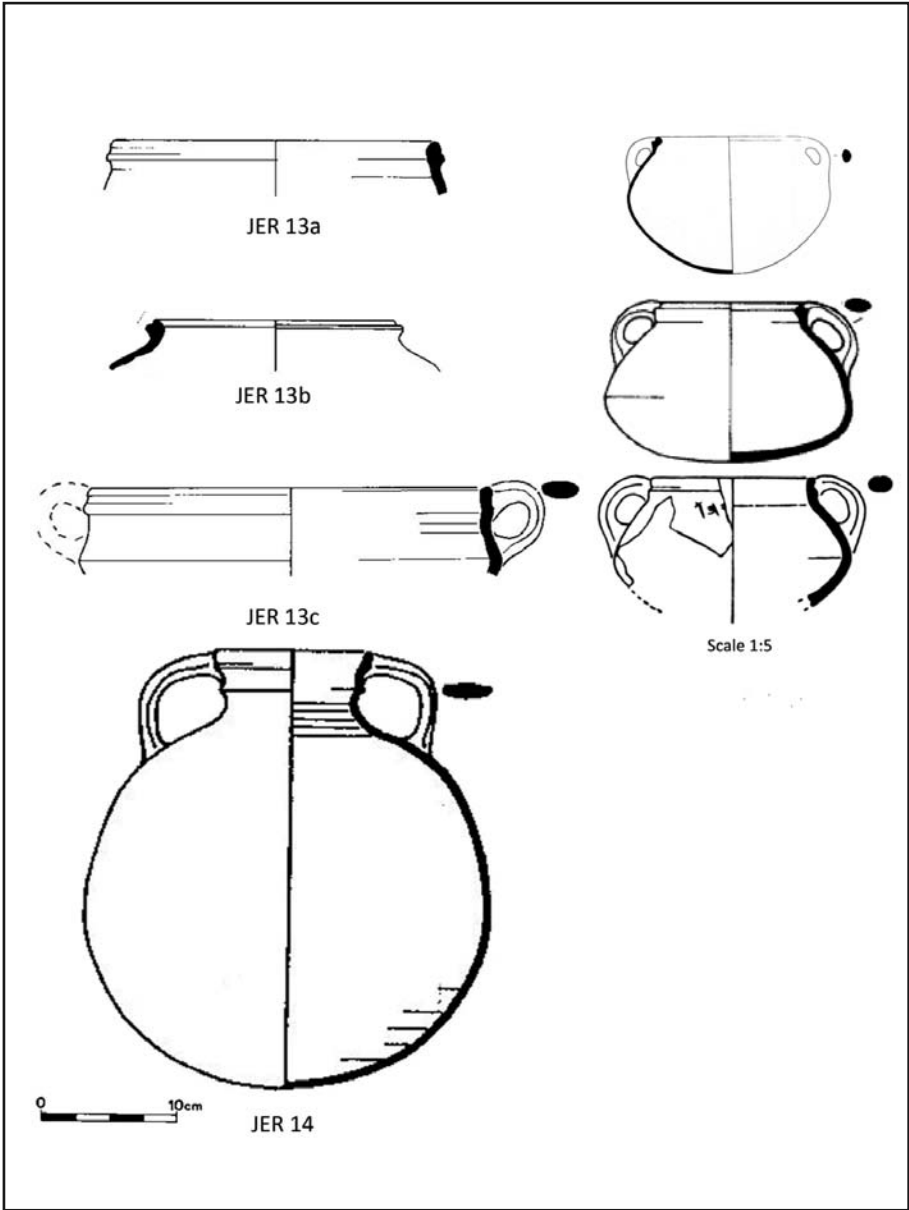


Figure 5

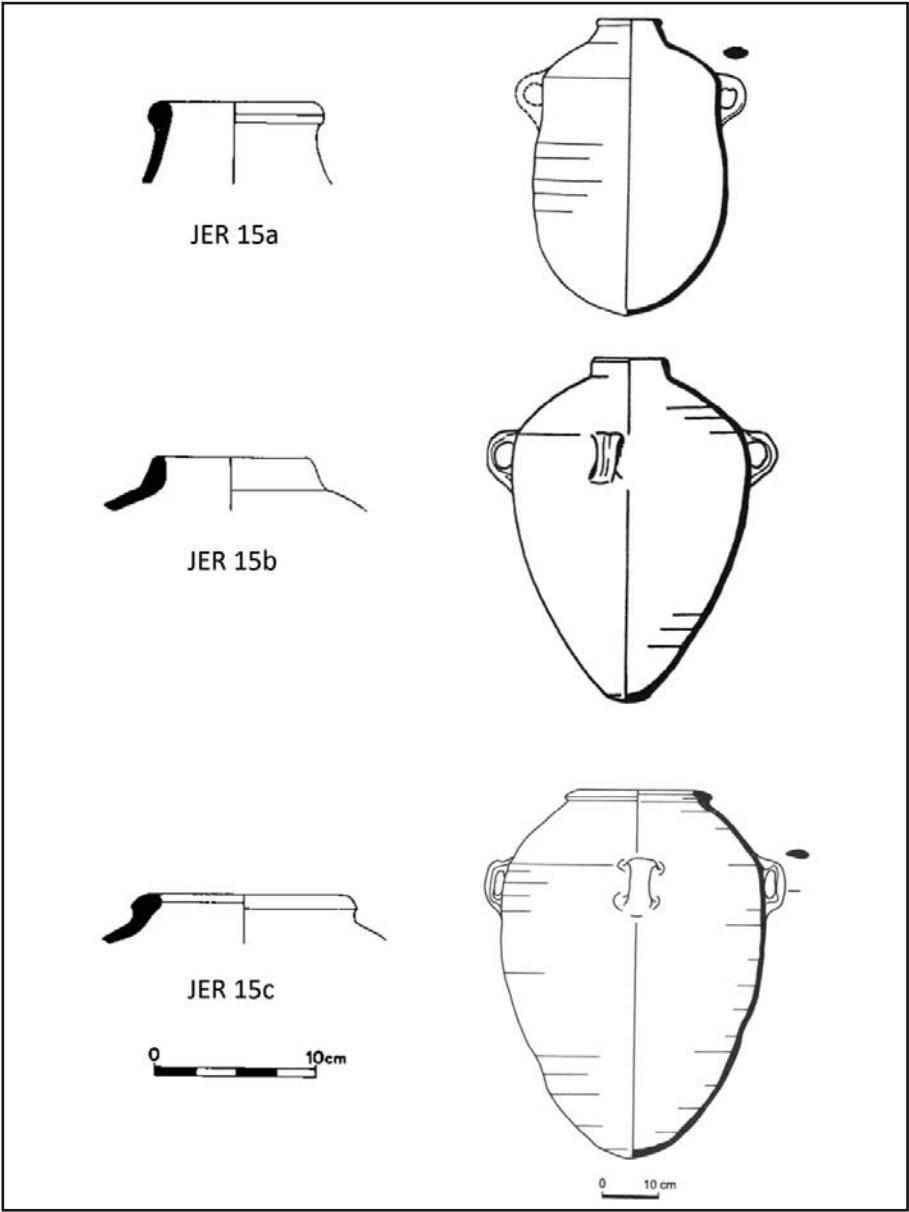


Figure 6

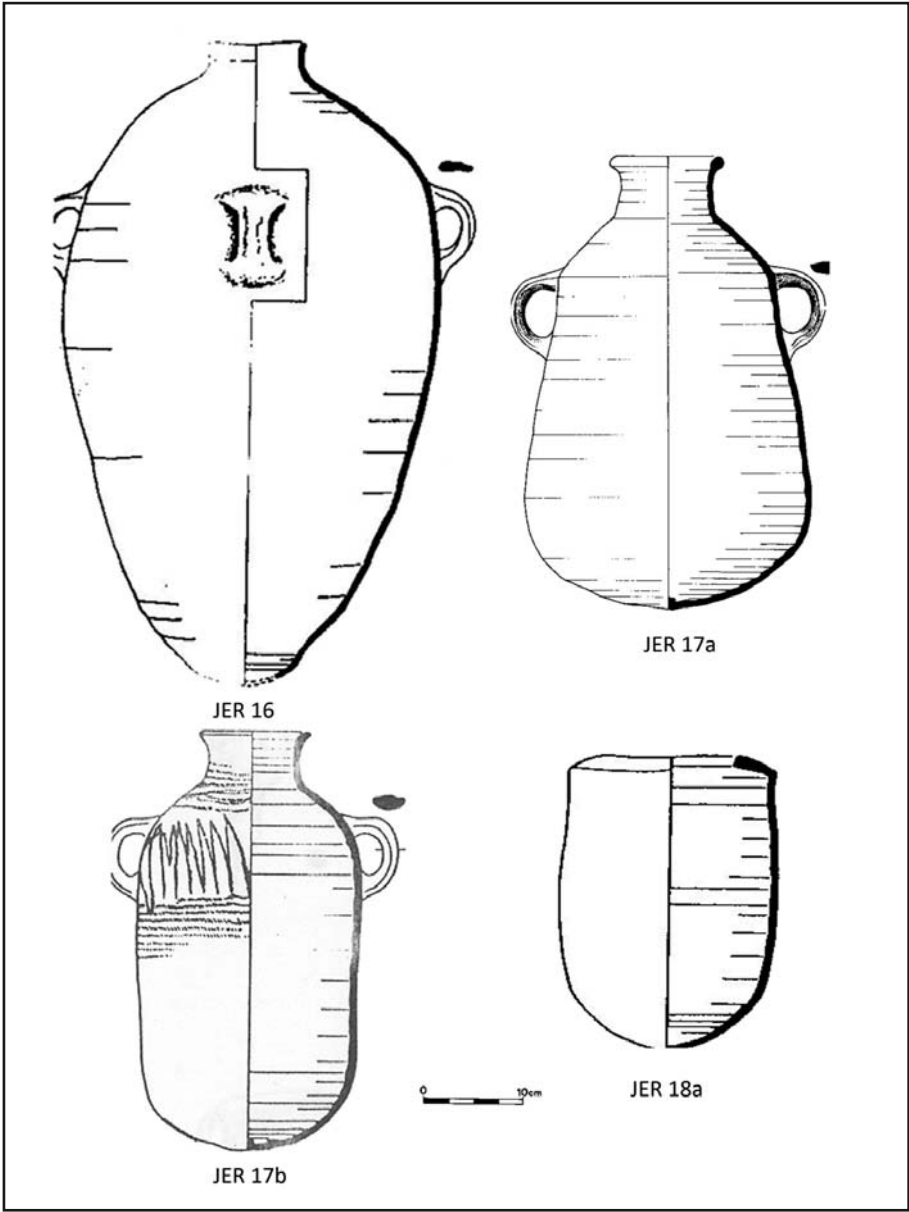


Figure 7

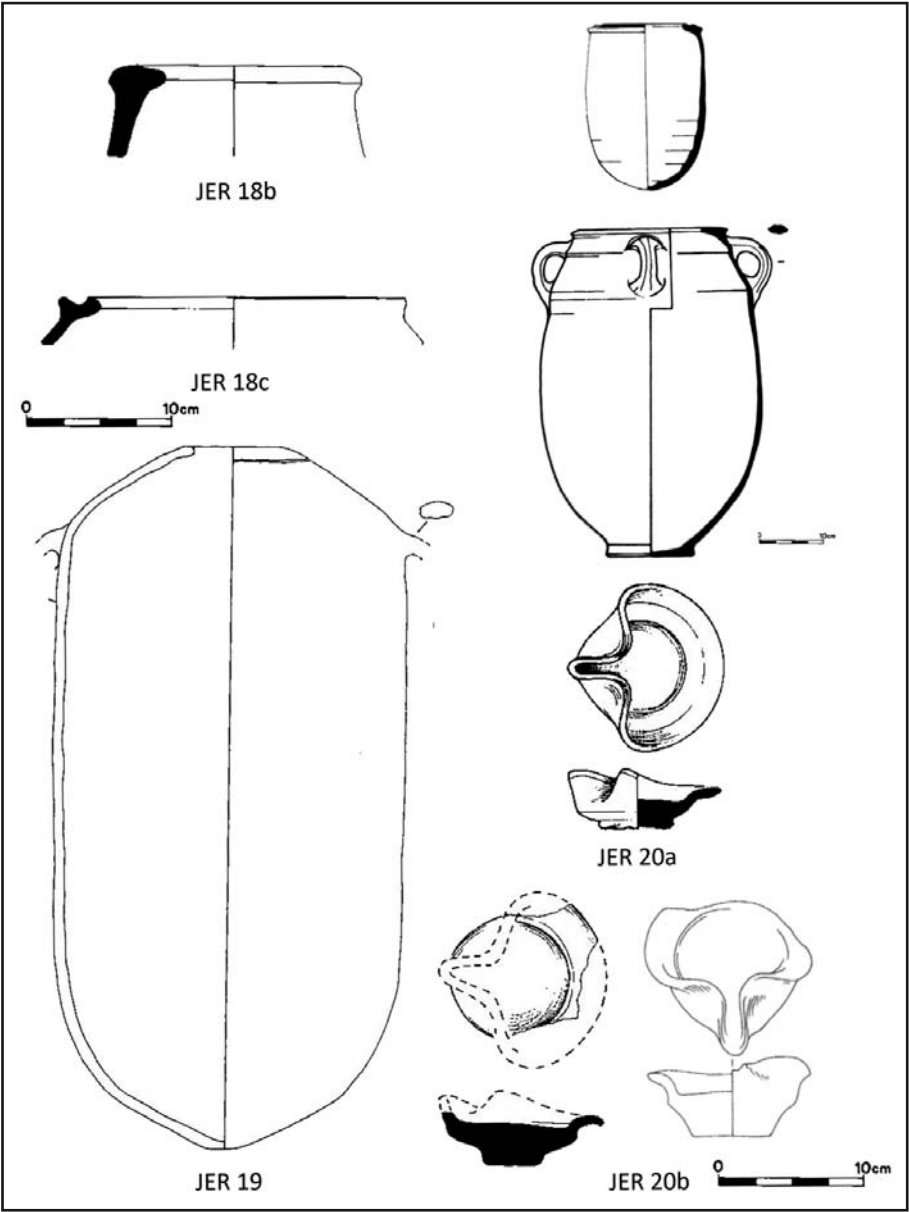


Figure 8

JER Type	Tushingham 1985	Mazar and Mazar 1989	Franken 1990d	Eshel 1995	De Groot and Ariel 2000	De Groot <i>et al.</i> 2003	Yezerski 2006
1a	Saucers		Class 5, Saucers or plates for serving food	Type 1, Plates	Plates	Bowls Sub-type I	
1b	Saucers	Small bowls, shallow	Class 5, Saucers or plates for serving food	Type 1, Plates	Plates	Bowls Sub-type II	Shallow bowls
1c	Saucers	Small bowls, shallow	Class 5, Saucers or plates for serving food	Type 1, Plates		Bowls Sub-type III	
2	Saucers	Small bowls, shallow				Bowls with wide, grooved, ledged rim	
3	Rice Bowls	Small bowls, carinated	Class 1, Small bowls or wine Cups	Type 1, Bowls		Thin-walled bowls, late type	
4a		Small bowls, folded rim				Folded-rim bowls, Subtype III	Folded-rim bowls, Subtype III
4b	Holladay's "Half moon" rim type					Folded-rim bowls, Subtype I	Folded-rim bowls, Subtype I
5a	Holladay's Curved rim bowls	Small bowls, carinated with everted rim	Class 4, Small bowls			Bowls with everted ledged rims	Bowls with everted ledged rim
5b		Small b., carinated with depression on ledge rim					
6		Bowls	Class 2, Small bowls	Type 1, Bowls		Rounded-carinated bowls	
7	Holladay's Large handled bowls (A)	Large bowls	Class 11, Large storage bowls	Type 1, Bowls	Medium size bowls (kraters?)	Folded-rim bowls, Subtype II	Folded-rim bowls, Subtype II
9		Jugs					
10	Dipper juglets					Dipper juglets, Type A	
11		Juglets					
12a-12b	Decanters					Decanters	
13a			Class 6, cooking pots	Type 4, Cooking-pots		Open cooking pots, Type B	
13b	Cooking pots		Class 6, cooking pots		Open cooking pots	Open cooking pots, Type C	
13c			Class 6, cooking pots			Open cooking pots, Type A	
14	Cooking pots		Class 6, cooking pots			Closed cooking pots, Type B	

Table 1. Synchronization between the JER typology and past classifications

15a	Class 7, jar, jugs and some large storage jars	Storage jars, Type B
15b	Class 7, jar, jugs and some large storage jars	Storage jars, Type D
15c	Class 7, jar, jugs and some large storage jars	Storage jars with short neck and plain rim
17a-17b	Bag-shaped storage-jars	Storage jars with thickened rim
18a	Class 9, Hole-mouth jars	Holemouth storage jars, Type A
18b	Holladay's Holemouth jars, wide-rimmed	Holemouth storage jars, Type B
18c	Holladay's Tall crater-stone jars	Holemouth storage jars, Type C
19	Holladay's Neckless jar	Pithoi
20a	Class 3, Lamps	Lamps
20b	Lamps, high-based type	Lamps, Type B
21	Cup-and-saucer lamp	Lamps, Type C
22	Stands	Stands
23	Type 9, Incense stands	Cult stands
24	Rattles	Rattles
25a-25b	Figurines	Type 9, Figurines

Table 1. (cont.) Synchronization between the JER typology and past classifications

JER Type	Location/ Locus	Description	Origin of the Figure
1a	457.23	Buff ware, very many white grits, firing dull light red at rim and outside. Unburnished	Tushingham 1985: Fig. 1: 14
1b	457.23	Pink-buff ware, many small and medium white grits. Orange slip, spaced wheel-burnish inside and over rim	Tushingham 1985: Fig. 1: 1
1c	13.63	Light red ware, many fine and some medium white grits, buff core. Buff slip outside and on rim, wheel-burnished	Tushingham 1985: Fig. 1: 2
2	23041	Light brown ware and core, small and medium white gray grits, red slip inside and on rim, wheel-burnish inside and on rim	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 2: 2
3	23041	Light brown ware and core, small and medium white grits	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 2: 39
4a	23041	Dark brown ware, brown core, small and medium white grits	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 2: 20
4b	457.19	Red ware, many fine and few medium white grits, buff core. Self-slip inside, over rim, and on exterior almost to base, spaced wheel-burnish inside, over rim and part of exterior. Potter's mark (X) on base	Tushingham 1985: Fig. 1: 31. Complete Parallel: Zimhoni 2004b: Fig. 26.3: 17
5a	457.18	Light orange-buff ware, many fine white grits. Orange wash inside and to rim which has worn off in places	Tushingham 1985: Fig. 4: 23
5b	23041	Red-brown ware, small and medium white grits, wheel-burnish inside and on rim	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 2: 35
6	23041	Light brown ware, small and medium white and black grits, wheel-burnish inside and on rim	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 7: 13
7	23041	Brown ware, white grits, wheel-burnish inside, decorated	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 3: 1
8	967	Red clay, white grits; red slip on exterior; wheel burnishing on exterior (base missing)	Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 3
9	23041	Brown ware and core, many small and medium white grits, white slip	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 8:3. Complete Parallel: <i>ibid.</i> : Pl. 3: 7
10	457.19	Pink ware, many small and medium white grits. White slip on exterior, vertically burnished up to neck	Tushingham 1985: Fig. 4: 15. Complete Parallel: De Groot <i>et al.</i> 2003: Fig. 1.3: 9
11	967	Red to gray clay, white grits	Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 11
12a	967	Buff clay, buff core, white grits	Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 14
12b	463.48	Coarse, gritty, greyish brown ware, small, medium, and large white and medium brown and grey grits. Possibly self-slip outside, no trace of burnish, inner surface very pitted	Tushingham 1985: Fig. 2: 10. Complete Parallel: Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 4
13a	23041	Dark brown ware, gray core, small and medium white grits	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 6: 5 Complete Parallel: Eshel 1995: Fig. 18: 3
13b	463.48	Reddish brown ware, many small white and dark grey grits	Tushingham 1985: Fig. 4: 3. Complete Parallel: Herzog <i>et al.</i> 1984: Fig. 12: 8
13c	23041	No description provided	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 6: 6. Complete Parallel: <i>ibid.</i> : Pl. 26: 10

Table 2. References to the pottery figures

14	967	Brown clay, white grits	Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 16
15a	457.19	Buff ware, small, medium, and large white and medium dark grey grits, firing to pink and white on surfaces, grey core	Tushingham 1985: Fig. 3: 23, Complete Parallel: Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 16: SJ 5
15b	457.31b	Grey ware, many fine white grits, firing to brownish buff on exterior and over rim. Very hard, heavy ware	Tushingham 1985: Fig. 3: 19, Complete Parallel: Singer-Avitz 2002: Fig. 16: SJ 1
15c	457.19	Brownish buff ware, small white and grey grits. Buff surface	Tushingham 1985: Fig. 3: 18, Complete Parallel: Aharoni 1973: Pl. 56: 18
16	967	Pink clay, grey core, white grits	Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 20
17a	23041	Brown ware, white grits	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 4: 1
17b	967	Pink to buff clay, brown to red core, white grits; wheel and hand burnishing on exterior; decorative burnishing between handles	Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 1
18a	967	Yellow clay, grey to brown core, white grits	Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 19
18b	457.19	Pinkish buff ware, small medium, and large white and dark grey grits	Tushingham 1985: Fig. 3: 9, Complete Parallel: Eshel 1995: Fig. 58: 26
18c	457.30	Gritty grey ware, many small and medium white and a few medium light grey grits, firing to grey inside and to pale pink outside and on rim. Traces of potter's mark (x) outside	Tushingham 1985: Fig. 3: 15, Complete Parallel: Aharoni 1973: Pl. 55: 20
19	Area 28	Buff slip on outside and rim. Height > 1 m.	Steiner 2001a: Fig. 6.52: 7
20a	23041	Brown ware, many small and medium white grits	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 3: 5
20b	23041	Brown ware and core, small and medium white grits	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 8: 13, Complete Parallel: Steiner 2001a: Fig. 6.36: 3
21	23041	Dark brown ware, many small and medium white grits, red-brown slip all over	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 3: 8
22	967	Pink clay, grayish core, white grits	Shiloh 1986: Fig. 6: 18
23	23041	Light brown ware, gray core, many small and medium white and gray grits	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 8: 11, Complete Parallel: Eshel 1995: Fig. 31: 12
24	457.30a	Light red ware, some fine grey grits, orange-red core	Tushingham 1985: Fig. 2: 22
25a			No figure available, Complete Parallel: Yezerksi and Geva 2003: Pl. 3.1: F57
25b	23041	Light brown ware, gray core, many small and medium white and gray grits, hand-made	Mazar and Mazar 1989: Pl. 8: 20, Complete Parallel: Kletter 1999b: Fig. 9: 1; original: Mackenzie 1912-1913: Pl. 54: 3, 55

Table 2. (cont.) References to the pottery figures



Site / JER Type	1a	1b	1c	2	3	4a	4b	5a	5b	6	7	8	9	10	11	12a	12b	13a	13b
Jer. C. David 12 (8th cent. BCE)	*	*		*	*		*		*	*	*	*	*	*				*	*
Jer. Cave I (late 8th-mid 7th cent. BCE)	*	*		*	*		*		*	*	*	*	*	*				*	*
Jer. Cave II (late 8th-mid 7th cent. BCE)	*	*		*	*		*		*	*	*	*	*	*				*	*
Arad XII (late 10th cent. BCE)								*											
XI (early 9th cent. BCE)								*											
X (late 9th cent. BCE)	*	*						*		*	*	*	*	*				*	*
IX (8th cent. BCE)	*	*						*		*	*	*	*	*				*	*
VIII (end 8th cent. BCE)	*	*						*		*	*	*	*	*				*	*
VII (7th cent. BCE)	*	*						*		*	*	*	*	*				*	*
VI (destroyed 605-587/6 BCE)	*	*						*		*	*	*	*	*				*	*
Aroer III (late 8th cent. BCE)																			*
II (early 7th cent. BCE)																			
I (destroyed 650-587/6 BCE)																			
Beersheba IV (end. 10th-early 9th cent. BCE)																			
III (9th-8th cent. BCE)																			
II (destroyed 701 BCE)	*										*	*	*	*				*	*
En-Gedi V (7th cent.-587/6 BCE)						*					*	*	*	*				*	*
Gezer VIB (mid 9th cent. BCE)																			
VIA (mid 8th cent.-733 BCE)								*		*	*	*	*	*				*	*
VA (ca. 630-ca. 587/6 BCE)																			
Lachish V (10th cent. BCE)																			
IV (9th cent.-ca. 750 BCE)	*	*					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*				*	*
III (destroyed 701 BCE)	*	*					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*				*	*
II (destroyed 587/6 BCE)			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*				*	*
R. Rachel VB (8th cent. BCE)																			
VA (ca. 630-ca. 587/6 BCE)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*				*	*
T. 'Eitun II (mid 8th cent. BCE)								*											
I (late 8th cent. BCE)								*		*									
T. 'Ira VIII (end 10th-8th cent. BCE)																			
VII (end 8th-early 7th cent. BCE)											*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
VI (destroyed 650-587/6 BCE)											*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
T. Masos-Area G (end. 587/6 BCE)			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

**Table 3.** JER type parallels in contemporary archaeological sites (for other sites, see Dever 2009: 31\*-32\*)

Site / JER Type	13c	14	15a	15b	15c	16	17a	17b	18a	18b	18c	19	20a	20b	21	22	23	24	25a	25b
Jer. C. David 12 (8th cent. BCE)										*		*	*							
Jer. Cave I (late 8th–mid 7th cent. BCE)												*	*			*				
Jer. Cave II (late 8th–mid 7th cent. BCE)												*	*							
Arad XII (late 10th cent. BCE)																				
XI (early 9th cent. BCE)			*	*					*	*			*							
X (late 9th cent. BCE)			*	*					*	*			*							
IX (8th cent. BCE)			*	*					*	*			*							
VIII (end 8th cent. BCE)			*	*		*	*		*	*			*		*					
VII (7th cent. BCE)						*	*		*	*					*					
VI (destroyed 605–587/6 BCE)						*	*		*	*										
Aroer III (late 8th cent. BCE)											*									
II (early 7th cent. BCE)						*														
I (destroyed 650–587/6 BCE)																				
Beersheba IV (end. 10th–early 9th cent. BCE)	*				*				*	*			*			*				
III (9th–8th cent. BCE)			*	*	*				*	*			*			*				
II (destroyed 701 BCE)			*	*	*				*	*			*			*				
En-Gedi V (7th cent.–587/6 BCE)		*				*	*		*	*			*							
Gezer VIB (mid 9th cent. BCE)																				
VIA (mid 8th cent.–733 BCE)			*	*					*	*			*							
VA ca. 630–ca. 587/6 BCE)			*	*	*				*	*			*							
Lachish V (10th cent. BCE)	*												*							
IV (9th cent.–ca. 750 BCE)	*								*	*			*		*	*				
III (destroyed 701 BCE)									*	*			*		*	*				
II (destroyed 587/6 BCE)													*	*	*	*				
R. Rachel VB (8th cent. BCE)																				
VA ca. 630–ca. 587/6 BCE)				*		*								*						
T. 'Eitun II (mid 8th cent. BCE)				*					*	*			*							
I (late 8th cent. BCE)									*	*			*							
T. 'Ira VIII (end 10th–8th cent. BCE)	*								*	*			*				*	*	*	*
VII (end 8th–early 7th cent. BCE)					*				*	*			*				*	*	*	*
VI (destroyed 650–587/6 BCE)		*			*	*	*	*	*	*			*				*	*	*	*
T. Masos-Area G (end: 587/6 BCE)						*	*	*	*	*			*				*			

Table 3 (cont.) JER type parallels in contemporary archaeological sites (for other sites, see Dever 2009: 31\*–32\*)