# PHOENICIAN NECK-RIDGE JUGS OF THE IRON AGE: A REASSESSMENT OF THEIR SEQUENTIAL STAGES AND CHRONOLOGY

Enrique Gil Orduña\*

Abstract: The mushroom-mouthed jugs found in the Phoenician-influenced archaic Western Mediterranean during the Iron Age derive from earlier archetypes which were included in the pottery collection unearthed in Méndez Núñez St., Huelva. These artifacts reflect a chronology for the assemblage that aligns with the Levantine Middle Iron Age. Recent archaeological findings in sites like La Rebanadilla and Utica reinforce this timeline, providing further evidence of the Phoenician pottery's evolution. This study delves into a meticulous examination of the staged development of Phoenician and Levantine neck-ridge jugs, focusing on stratified contexts excavated in the Levantine corridor. By scrutinizing these contexts, a compelling case emerges for the contemporaneous nature of the assemblage of Huelva and the earliest western Phoenician colonies with the Levantine Iron Age IIA period which is dated in the 10th-9th centuries BCE. This challenges previous assessments that had doubt on the synchronization of these archaeological elements. The significance of this revised interpretation lies in its ability to link disparate archaeological discoveries across geographical regions and establish a more cohesive understanding of the development and diffusion of these specific types of pottery. It underscores the interconnection of cultures and trade routes during this period, shedding light on the nuanced relationships between the Western and Eastern Mediterranean during the Iron Age.

Keywords: Phoenician Pottery; Neck-ridge Jugs; Iron Age; Levantine Corridor; Mediterranean; Huelva.

#### 1. Introduction

The mushroom-mouthed jugs are one of the key types of Phoenician pottery that characterise the Orientalizing or archaic colonial period – 8th-6th centuries BCE – and constitute then one of the diagnostic artifacts of the Iberian and Mediterranean Iron Age. Like storage jars or broad-flanged dishes, it is one of the pottery types that allow us to differentiate chronological periods more easily than with other more conservative and unalterable shapes – bottles, tripod bowls, craters, and cups, among others – thanks to their hypothetical differentiated sequential stages.

The red-slipped mushroom-mouthed jugs, although particularly common in the 7th century BCE with an elongated, stylised, overhanging rim and a pyriform body, began to appear in the 8th century BCE – Strata III-II of Tyre¹ –, based on earlier prototypes also observed in the earliest colonial phases in the western Mediterranean. In fact, one of the clearest markers that illustrate the chronology of the archaeological de-

<sup>\*</sup> University of Almeria; ego315@ual.es. https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0952-6637. Fellow of the research group *El Legado de la Antigüedad* (HUM-741). This paper is result of the author's pre-doctoral research which was developed thanks to a *Gerty Cori* pre-doctoral contract with the University of Almeria from 2019 to 2023. This paper is also result of the project PID2021-123734NB-I00 *Utica fenicia en el I milenio a.C. Su rol histórico desde su fundación hasta época romana*, funded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation of Spain.

<sup>1</sup> Bikai 1978.

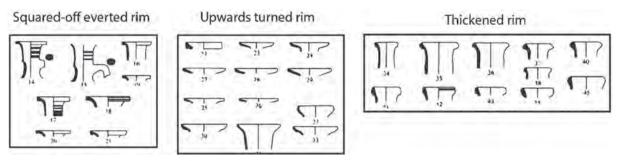


Fig. 1. Phoenician neck-ridge jugs from Huelva (González de Canales Cerisola – Serrano Pichardo – Llompart Gómez 2004, lám. 11).

posits relating to the earliest Phoenician presence in Huelva,<sup>2</sup> La Rebanadilla<sup>3</sup> and Utica,<sup>4</sup> is the absence of this type of jug. Instead, other archaizing versions appeared in Méndez Núñez Street<sup>5</sup> – also in Concepción Street<sup>6</sup> –, without the characteristic 'mushroom mouth', which have been assessed to be representative of type 8 of Tyre<sup>7</sup> and types Dj-4 and Dj-10 of Sarepta,<sup>8</sup> as well as fragments of handles possibly corresponding to the same type of vessel,<sup>9</sup> and ring bottoms – type 14 of Tyre.<sup>10</sup>

Sixteen years ago, F.J. Núñez Calvo<sup>11</sup> presented a very illustrative study on the shapes and the decorative patterns of this type of jug throughout the Iron Age sequence of Levantine Phoenicia mainly using stratified finds of Tyre and contrasting them with numerous funerary contexts from al-Bass and other Lebanese and Cypriot cemeteries. This study was undertaken on the assumption that Phoenician pottery developed through different cultural sequential stages manifest in the different chosen deposits that could be used as reliable chronological markers.<sup>12</sup> Thus, especially departing from the observations made on the stratified jugs of Tyre and its contrast with other funerary assemblages together with other observations made by A. Gilboa and I. Sharon,<sup>13</sup> F.J. Núñez Calvo considered the existence of up to seven distinct sequenced phases of this kind of Phoenician jugs during the Iron Age. Based on the conclusions reached on the chronology of the different shapes and the decorative attributes, he would later evaluate the group of jugs from Méndez Núñez St. (Fig. 1) indicating a predominant presence of shapes and decorative patterns representatives of the Tyrian strata V-IV and the period III of al-Bass – especially the squared-off everted rims – with some features that could represent a higher chronology but which, in many occasions, could be also residual examples of a later period.<sup>14</sup> More recently, F.J. Núñez Calvo has reconsidered the chronological issue and has suggested that

<sup>2</sup> González de Canales Cerisola - Serrano Pichardo - Llompart Gómez 2004.

<sup>3</sup> Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno et al. 2011, 2012 and Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno - Galindo San José - Juzgado Navarro 2020.

<sup>4</sup> López Castro et al. 2016; Ben Jerbania 2020; López Castro et al. 2020a; López Castro et al. 2020b.

<sup>5</sup> González de Canales Cerisola – Serrano Pichardo – Llompart Gómez 2004, pl. 11.14-45.

<sup>6</sup> González de Canales Cerisola et al. 2017, pl. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Bikai 1978, pp. 37-40, tab. 6A.

<sup>8</sup> Pritchard 1988, p. 140, fig. 47.17.

<sup>9</sup> González de Canales Cerisola - Serrano Pichardo - Llompart Gómez 2004, pl. 12.19-22.

<sup>10</sup> González de Canales Cerisola – Serrano Pichardo – Llompart Gómez 2004, pls. 11.49 and 12.15-18.

<sup>11</sup> Núñez Calvo 2008.

<sup>12</sup> Núñez Calvo 2008, pp. 24-25.

<sup>13</sup> Gilboa – Sharon 2003.

<sup>14</sup> Núñez Calvo 2018a, pp. 115-117 and 165.

the most ancient elements among the jugs of Huelva could be contemporary to the Tyrian strata VII-VIII and the period II of al-Bass.<sup>15</sup>

This is a study that aims to complement the observations made by F.J. Núñez Calvo on the Phoenician pottery of Tyre, Cyprus and the Lebanese cemeteries based on the numerous Phoenician imports found in other Levantine stratified sites. We assume that these Levantine stratified contexts are more reliable in terms of chronology – usually including large amounts of pottery sherds and sometimes radiocarbon data, as well as sequenced with other earlier or later assemblages – than those isolated of cemeteries like al-Bass from which only the shapes of vessels and its decoration patterns can be used as chronological anchors. Thanks to this close examination upon these supplementary assemblages of pottery, in addition to addressing the chronological issue of neck-ridge jugs, a clear pattern of relationships emerges as evident between Phoenicia, Cyprus and the rest of the Southern Levant. Notably, it does not only exhibit a close interaction between Phoenician and Cypriot ware - from which the Phoenician pottery develops numerous shapes and decorative patterns -, but also that Phoenician pottery clearly engages extensively with the broader Levantine corridor. This interaction is evident through the shared shaping patterns found across various pottery types stemming from the common Canaanite roots dating back to the Bronze Age. Besides sharing these roots, continuous feedback is clearly developed through the entire Iron Age. Thus, in addition to apparently imported Phoenician jugs throughout the entire Levantine Iron Age sequence, the adoption and adaptation of these jugs in the local repertoire is also noteworthy even in Philistia. Both Phoenician imports and local productions reveal shapes and decorative patterns that allow us to complement and qualify F.J. Núñez Calvo's assumptions about the different evolutionary stages he theorised.

# 2. Iron Age I – Stages A, B, C... And D?

Phoenician neck-ridge jugs began to be produced during the Early Iron Age based on previous models of local pottery - such as pilgrim flasks - and jugs of Late Helladic IIIB tradition. 16 These early productions were characterised by an oval body decorated with concentric black circles - occasionally in bichrome style, as in a specimen from the cemetery of Khirbet Silm<sup>17</sup> – and with a star motif on the back, as well as an open neck, which P.M. Bikai<sup>18</sup> designated as types JG-9 and JG-10. Among all possibilities, these early productions could constitute the original prototype from which the Phoenician decorated neck-ridge jugs with spherical body common in stratum XIII of Tyre and in numerous Levantine contexts of the Iron Age IB could originate.

The new containers of the Iron Age IB and Tyre XIII, which are particularly illustrative of Phoenician pottery throughout the Levant, counted with a globular body, an unstable base, and a greater predominance of the bichrome decorative style based on reddish circles accompanied with round black lines. The necks were usually open-ended and had a simple or thickened rim<sup>19</sup> besides having the characteristic ridge on their outer face. Together with imports found in Cyprus - Palaeopaphos<sup>20</sup> and Salamis<sup>21</sup> -, this kind of Phoenician jugs seems to find a particularly widespread distribution in the southern Levant during the Iron Age IB and its transition to the Iron Age IIA, possibly finding a partial coexistence with stratum XIII of Tyre. In

<sup>15</sup> Núñez Calvo 2018b, pp. 334-336. Núñez Calvo 2023, p. 57, tab. 2.

Núñez Calvo 2008, pp. 28-29. 16

Culican 1982, p. 50, n. 4. 17

<sup>18</sup> Bikai 1978, pp. 37-41, pl. 92.

Bikai 1978, pls. 33.22, 33.25 and 37.13. 19

Karageorghis 1983, figs. 88 and 108. 20

Yon 1971, pls. 26-27.



Fig. 2. Phoenician bichrome jugs from Tell Keisan 9a-b (Briend – Humbert 1980, pl. 62).

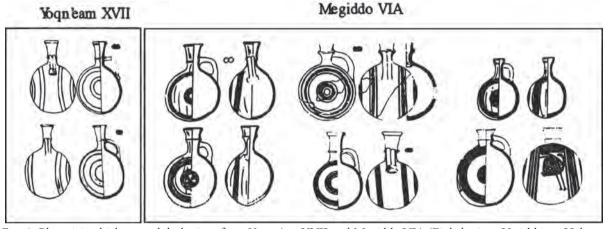


Fig. 3. Phoenician bichrome globular jugs from Yoqneʻam XVII and Megiddo VIA (Finkelstein – Ussishkin – Halpern 2000, fig. 11.12; Ben-Tor – Zarzecki-Peleg – Cohen-Anidjar 2005, figs. 17, 28 and 31; Finkelstein – Ussishkin – Halpern 2006, figs. 13.54, 13.56, 13.59 and 13.69; Zarzecki-Peleg 2016, fig. 10).

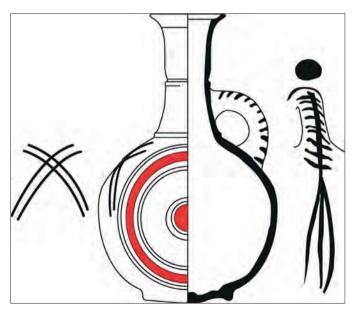


Fig. 4. Bichrome globular Phoenician jug with stable bottom from Tel Rehov C3a (Mazar – Panitz-Cohen 2020, fig. 28.6 and phot. 28.4).



Fig. 5. Globular monochrome and bichrome Phoenician jugs from Tel Kinrot (Münger – Zangenbert – Pakkala 2011, fig. 20.a-b).

the Acco plain, examples can be found (Fig. 2) in the level 9 of Tell Keisan<sup>22</sup> and in the levels XVII-XVI of Yoqne'am<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 3). At least one example of Tell Keisan<sup>24</sup> is already treated with external red slip with reserve bands on the body, which is new. They are also frequent in the Jezreel valley, especially in the stratum VIA of Megiddo<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 3), in the level C3a of Tel Rehov<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 4) – on this occasion already counting with a stable ring-shaped bottom and a small-sized body with a similar parallel in tomb 49 at al-Bass<sup>27</sup> – and Beth-Shean.<sup>28</sup> There is a formal variety among these jugs in terms of the height and relative dimensions of the neck, as well as in the arrangement of the rim, which often finds parallels in Huelva.

In the Galilee region, a few sherds of globular bodies with bichrome decoration and some fragments of cylindrical necks with simple open rim are preserved in the level IVB of Tel Dan.<sup>29</sup> Further south, around the Sea of Galilee, there are also at least two complete specimens with monochrome decoration in Tel Kinrot (Fig. 5) – also with thickened rim<sup>30</sup> – and many more examples of bichrome jugs in the tripartite building at Tel Hadar IV.31

The spread of these jugs also reached the southern Levant, being frequent in contemporary deposits of Philistine 2 and 3 periods, such as level X at Tel Qasile<sup>32</sup> (Fig. 6) - where we also find a first local imitation covered in red slip and decorated in Philistine style<sup>33</sup> characteristic of later cultural stages, as well as

<sup>22</sup> Briend - Humbert 1980, pl. 62.4-6 and 62.8.

Ben-Tor - Zarzecki-Peleg - Cohen-Anidjar 2005, figs. 1.17.8, 28.1-2, 31.5-7 and 37.11. 23

Briend - Humbert 1980, pl. 62.6.

Loud 1948, fig. 80.1-4. Finkelstein - Ussishkin - Halpern 2000, fig. 11.11.3.7. Harrison 2004, pl. 18.1-5. Finkelstein - Us-25 sishkin - Halpern 2006, figs. 13.54.3, 56.8, 59.13 and 69.4. Zarzecki-Peleg 2016, fig. 10. 14-15.

Mazar - Panitz-Cohen 2020, fig. 13.4.21.

<sup>27</sup> Núñez Calvo 2008, fig. 14, U.49-4.

James 1966, fig. 51.11. Panitz-Cohen – Mazar 2009, pls. 55.7, 59.24, 68.8 and 71.19. 28

Ilan 2019, figs. 3.64.3, 3.68.3 and 5.9.1-4. 29

Münger - Zangenbert - Pakkala 2011, fig. 20.a-b. 30

Kochavi 1999, p. 48. 31

Mazar 1985, figs. 41.13 and 45.15, phot. 71. 32

Mazar 1985, fig. 41.11. 33



Fig. 6. Globular bichrome Philistine jug and Globular bichrome Phoenician jug from Tel Qasile X (Mazar 1985, fig. 41).

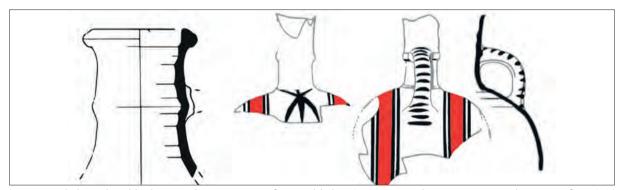


Fig. 7. Red-slipped and bichrome Phoenician jugs from Ashkelon (Master – Walton – Yassur-Landau 2020, figs. 6.62 and 82).

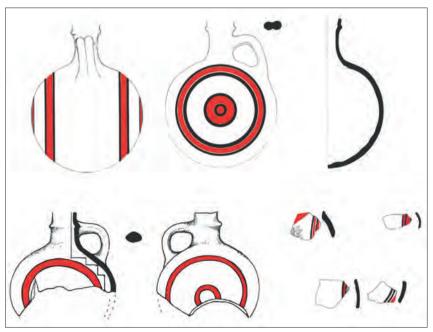


Fig. 8. Phoenician globular jugs and sherds of bichrome Phoenician pottery from Tel Rehov VI (Mazar – Panitz-Cohen 2020, fig. 28.6).

another Phoenician bichrome spouted-strainer jug<sup>34</sup> -, in 'Izbet Sartah<sup>35</sup> and even in Tel Masos in the Negev area.<sup>36</sup> The phase 17A of Ashkelon (Fig. 7) includes a neck sherd with a cylindrical profile and a thickened triangular rim with a pointed lip covered in red slip,<sup>37</sup> which finds formal parallels in Huelva.<sup>38</sup> There is also a partially preserved jug with a widened "barrel" type body.<sup>39</sup>

Besides the Aegean bowl of Protogeometric style found in Tel Hadar, <sup>40</sup> as well as the close relationship between Phoenician and Cyprus during this same period - reflected in Cypriot imports in Phoenicia, as well as Phoenician imports in Cyprus<sup>41</sup> -, the distribution of this kind of globular jugs throughout the Levant reflects a likely increased commercial activity in coastal Phoenician cities between the 11th-10th centuries BCE – a chronology determined by radiocarbon datasets from Tel Qasile X<sup>42</sup> and Tel Hadar IV<sup>43</sup> –.

# 3. Early Iron Age IIA - Stages B, C, D... and E?

During the next Levantine period - Early Iron Age IIA - associated with the arrival of Cypro-Geometric I and I-II imports, new jugs with a more stable ringed or flattened bottom – stage C44 –, which may have appeared exceptionally during the previous horizon - Tel Rehov C3a<sup>45</sup> - becomes also widespread<sup>46</sup> - although a significant quantity of jugs of the earlier version with an unstable base are still present<sup>47</sup> -.

In addition to the Amathus tomb - "robber's cache" - in which a jug with stable base is documented together with Cypro-Geometric and Aegean Protogeometric pottery,<sup>48</sup> many other examples found in stratified contexts mostly belonging to the Early Iron Age IIA period stand out in the Levant. In Tel Dor, in addition to the example reported by F.J. Núñez Calvo,<sup>49</sup> there is a large number of sherds with bichrome decoration – exceptionally monochrome – from levels 8 and 7 of area G that could correspond to this type of jug,<sup>50</sup> as well as in the close site of Tel Mevorakh.<sup>51</sup> Most of the examples from the Acco plain and the Jezreel valley still have an unstable base as in the earlier period – Stratum IIIC from Tell Qashish<sup>52</sup> and the level VI of Tel Rehov<sup>53</sup> (Fig. 8) -. At Megiddo VB there are only two examples of jugs with unstable base - one of

Mazar 1985, fig. 41.12. 34

<sup>35</sup> Finkelstein 1986, figs. 15.15 and 23.12, pl. 10.3.

Fritz - Kempinski 1983, pls. 145.1, 146.1 and 153.1. 36

<sup>37</sup> Stager - Master - Aja 2020, fig. 6.62.

González de Canales Cerisola - Serrano Pichardo - Llompart Gómez 2004, pl. 11.38, 11.40-41 and 11.43. 38

<sup>39</sup> Stager - Master - Aja 2020, fig. 6.82.1.

Kochavi 1999. 40

<sup>41</sup> Bikai 1987. Núñez Calvo 2008.

<sup>42</sup> Boaretto et al. 2005. Sharon et al. 2005 and 2007. Mazar - Bronk Ramsey 2008.

<sup>43</sup> Finkelstein - Piasetzky 2003 and 2010. Scott et al. 2007. Sharon et al. 2007.

<sup>44</sup> More recently known as "Hierro Antiguo". See Núñez Calvo 2023, fig. 8.

Mazar - Panitz-Cohen 2020, fig. 13.4.21. 45

<sup>46</sup> Bikai 1978, pl. 31.15.

See examples in the stratum X-2 of Tyre. Bikai 1978, pl. 25.12-13 and 15. 47

<sup>48</sup> Desborough 1957.

<sup>49</sup> Gilboa - Sharon 2003, fig. 11.5.

Gilboa et al. 2018, pls. 20.41.36, 20.45.5-13, 20.46.11-2, 20.47.6, 20.48.21-23, 20.50.12-13, 20.51.8-10, 20.54.16 and 20.55.7-14.

Stern 1978, fig. 18.10-15. 51

Ben-Tor - Bonfil - Zuckerman 2003, fig. 132.11. 52

Mazar - Panitz-Cohen 2020, figs. 9.8.15, 13.11.7, 17.23, 18.23, 30.24-25, 16.59.7, 18.1.10, 21.14.1 and 28.6.

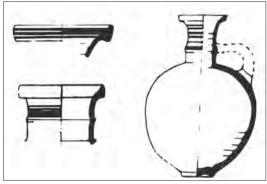


Fig. 9. Globular decorated jugs from Tel Hazor X-IX (Ben-Tor – Ben-Ami – Sandhaus 2012, fig. 5.9).

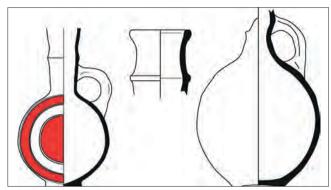


Fig. 10. Globular Phoenician jug and probably local productions of imitation from Tel Michal and 'Izbet Sartah (Herzog – Rapp – Negbi 1989, fig. 7.3 and Finkelstein 1986, fig. 19 and 23).

them is not decorated  $^{54}$  – accompanied by a large quantity of red-slipped pottery and Cypriot Black-on-Red imports.  $^{55}$ 

Further north, in the Galilee region, in strata X-IX of Tel Hazor (Fig. 9), there are interesting examples that foreshadow future characteristics announced by F.J. Núñez Calvo<sup>56</sup> in later horizons. Among other types of imported Phoenician pottery with red slip and bichrome decoration, globular jugs decorated with concentric circles are present – sometimes with an unstable base as in the previous period<sup>57</sup> –, as well as fragments of cylindrical and open ringed necks, and pointed thickened rims with flattened outer face<sup>58</sup> that constitute early examples of jugs with squared-off everted rim, which F.J. Núñez Calvo<sup>59</sup> considered to be typical of the Late Iron Age – stage E – and which are also present in Huelva with examples of a similar profile to those from Tel Hazor.<sup>60</sup> A few kilometres away, in the Sea of Galilee, 'Ein Gev has also yielded some fragments of similar vessels sometimes decorated with red slip.<sup>61</sup>

In Philistia, neck-ridge jugs also continue to appear during the early *New Philistine Decorated Ware* – NPDW – period. In level XIII of Tel Michal (Fig. 10) there is a jug with a relatively large neck in relation to the body – a characteristic component of F.J. Núñez Calvo's stage D – and a stable ringed base.<sup>62</sup> In the pits of Stratum II at 'Izbet Sartah (Fig. 10) a fragment of a neck with a slightly thickened rim is preserved<sup>63</sup> while in the building 109A of the stratum I, a large part of another undecorated jug with a ringed base and without the rim is also preserved.<sup>64</sup> In Tell es-Safi A/4, on the other hand, a fragment of Phoenician pottery

<sup>54</sup> Lamon – Shipton 1939, fig. 36.13. Finkelstein – Ussishkin – Halpern 2000, fig. 1.19.16.

<sup>55</sup> Finkelstein - Ussishkin - Halpern 2000, figs. 1.18 and 1.27.

<sup>56</sup> Núñez Calvo 2008.

<sup>57</sup> Ben-Tor – Ben-Ami – Sandhaus 2012, fig. 5.10.1-3.

<sup>58</sup> Ben-Tor - Ben-Ami - Sandhaus 2012, fig. 5.9.12-14.

<sup>59</sup> Núñez Calvo 2008.

<sup>60</sup> González de Canales Cerisola - Serrano Pichardo - Llompart Gómez 2004, pl. 11.17 and 11.21-22.

<sup>61</sup> Mazar et al. 1964, figs. 5.6-7 and 7.1-2.

<sup>62</sup> Herzog - Rapp - Negbi 1989, fig. 7.3.3.

<sup>63</sup> Finkelstein 1986, fig. 19.7.

<sup>64</sup> Finkelstein 1986, fig. 23.12.

is attested decorated in bichrome style, not with concentric circles but with horizontal bands and lines<sup>65</sup> also present in Tyre X-2.66

In short, during the early stages of the Levantine Iron Age IIA – through the 10th and part of the 9th century BCE – a permanency can be observed in the production and movement of the classical globular and unstable jugs decorated with concentric circles, as well as the more generalised - although not new - appearance of jugs with a stable ringed base, and the early appearance of characteristics of stage D and E, such as smaller bodies - an example from Tel Michal, to which we can add the example already mentioned from Tel Rehov C3a – or flattened outer rims – examples already mentioned from Tel Hazor –.

# 4. Late Iron Age IIA – Stages B, C, D... and E?

The Late Iron Age IIA is an extraordinary important period of the Levant in which Phoenician pottery is specially distributed in form of abundant red-slipped cups - Samarian Ware -, as well as neck-ridge jugs with spherical bodies, among other types<sup>67</sup> that, moreover, will normally be adapted to the local productions of the Levantine sites.

F.J. Núñez Calvo<sup>68</sup> proposed that a new series of jugs, mainly characterized by new thickened and bevelled rims with a triangular profile and pointed lip, was generated during the period marked by strata X-VI from Tyre, the period II of al-Bass and the strata D2-1 from Sarepta – stage D<sup>69</sup> –. However, this feature of the rim has an important precedent in Ashkelon (Fig. 7), which also featured a cylindrical neck and red-slipped surface,<sup>70</sup> as we have seen. Besides that, if we look at the assemblage of jugs from Tyre<sup>71</sup> – strata X-VI – and the period II of al-Bass, <sup>72</sup> besides the remain of globular unstable jugs we find new stables bodies of smaller relative size respecting the neck, this last being generally narrower and more elongated - a feature also previously announced by the specimen noted from Tel Michal<sup>73</sup> and by another one from Tel Rehov C3a<sup>74</sup> -. In addition to the now popular triangular-sectioned thickened rims, there are also upwards turned lips with open and flared necks - which had also been announced by earlier jugs such as the appointed example from Tel Rehov level C3a - and simple direct rims with open necks. There is also a greater presence of red slip surface under the decorative paint designs - a feature already observed on some local Philistine imitation jugs and imports at Tel Qasile X and Ashkelon 17A<sup>75</sup> -. However, among the found examples of jugs in contexts belonging to the Levantine Iron Age IIA, many are also documented with features that correspond to the later sequential stage theorised by F.J. Núñez Calvo - stage E<sup>76</sup> - which suggests that actually both sets of features – stages D and E – were partially current. That is to say, that jugs with a more balanced relative size between the body and the neck, a decoration based on horizontal bands - this feature, nonetheless, very poorly attested in extra-Phoenician Levantine productions - instead of concentric circles,

Maeir 2012, pl. 13.15.6. 65

Bikai 1978, pl. 25.9. 66

Stern 2015. 67

Núñez Calvo 2008, pp. 38-49, figs. 13-14. 68

<sup>69</sup> More recently known as "Hierro Medio". See Núñez Calvo 2023, fig. 8.

<sup>70</sup> Master - Walton - Yassur-Landau 2020, figs. 6.62. See supra.

Bikai 1978, pls. 20, 22-23 and 25. Núñez Calvo 2008, fig. 13. 71

Núñez Calvo 2008, fig. 14. 72

Herzog – Rapp – Negbi 1989, fig. 7.3. 73

<sup>74</sup> Mazar - Panitz-Cohen 2020, fig. 28.6.

Mazar 1985, fig. 41. Master - Walton - Yassur-Landau 2020, fig. 6.62.

More recently known as "Hierro Tardío A". See Núñez Calvo 2023, fig. 8.

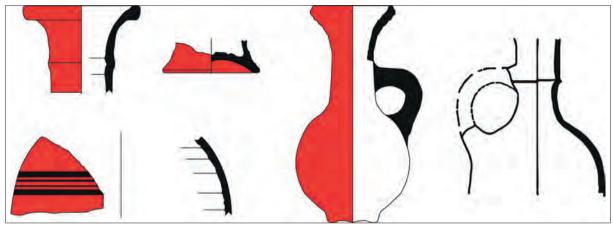


Fig. 11. Phoenician red-slipped neck-ridge jugs from Tell Abu Hawam and not decorated from Tell Keisan 7 (Herrera González – Gómez Toscano 2004, lám. 28 and Briend – Humbert 1980, pl. 51).

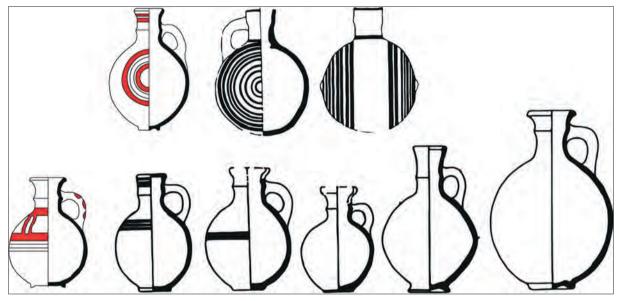


Fig. 12. Globular monochrome decorated Phoenician jugs and decorated and non-decorated local productions from Megiddo VA-IVB (Lamon – Shipton 1939, figs. 6 and 7; Loud 1948, figs. 88 and 90).

and squared-off everted rims – stage E – are present throughout the Levant during the Late Iron Age IIA together with examples that fit more into the "earlier" stage D. Therefore, the elements pointed in the jugs from Méndez Núñez St.<sup>77</sup> shall be reconsidered in terms of chronology.

Outside the Lebanese region, in the plain of Acco, numerous examples can be found in stratum III at Tell Abu Hawam<sup>78</sup> (Fig. 11). On one occasion, a jug with a squared-off everted rim is observed,<sup>79</sup> while

<sup>77</sup> Núñez Calvo 2018a.

<sup>78</sup> Herrera González – Gómez Toscano 2004, pl. 28.

<sup>79</sup> Herrera González – Gómez Toscano 2004, n. 242.

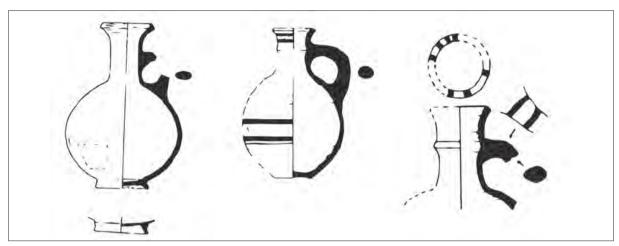


Fig. 13. Neck-ridge jugs from Tell Ta'annek (Rast 1978, figs. 39.2-3, 40.1 and 62.8).

in another instance, a jug with a small body and no painted decoration features a triangular bevelled rim.<sup>80</sup> Additionally, at least one incomplete example has been recognized in the level 7 of Tell Keisan<sup>81</sup> (Fig. 11), along with a multitude of decorated sherds – though not always corresponding to neck-ridge globular jugs – in phase 6 of area G at Tel Dor, 82 in the coast of Carmel.

Jugs found in the levels XV and XIV of Yoqne'am in the Jezreel Valley are illustrative, featuring thickened rims with a certain formal diversity in the profile, along with numerous decorated sherds.<sup>83</sup> Another example from the level A-VII of Tell Qiri also provides insight.84 Within one of the pits at Tell Qashish – locus 253 –, an archaising monochrome example with an unstable base was discovered, showing the continuity of the use of the ancient versions.85

In Megiddo VA-IVB (Fig. 12), a jug stands out with red painting decoration on both the body and the neck. 86 It features an angled rim and an incurved bevelled lip. It is accompanied by another monochrome jug with an archaising globular body and an unstable base. The monochrome black decoration consists of multiple concentric circles. 87 These jugs are accompanied by potential local undecorated productions of the same prototype, 88 sometimes exhibiting a biconical body. 89 These variations may include a monochrome painting style with horizontal black lines<sup>90</sup> or a bichrome painting style with red bands and black lines on the back of the handle, as well as a bevelled rim.<sup>91</sup>

Herrera González – Gómez Toscano 2004, n. 243.

<sup>81</sup> Briend - Humbert 1980, pl. 51.3.

Gilboa et al. 2018, pls. 20.56.28, 20.60.12, 20.61.1-32, 20.63.15-19, 20.66.6-7, 20.67.4-6, 20.69.4-8, 20.70.8-19, 20.75.9, 20.75.17-23, and 20.76.1.

Ben-Tor - Zarzecki-Peleg - Cohen-Anidjar 2005, figs. 1.56.1, 1.57.8-10, 1.57.34-35, 1.57.38, 1.65.21 and 1.68.4. 83

<sup>84</sup> Ben-Tor et al. 1987, fig. 27.9.

<sup>85</sup> Ben-Tor - Bonfil - Zuckerman 2003, fig. 146.6.

Loud 1948, fig. 88.15. 86

Loud 1948, fig. 90.7. 87

<sup>88</sup> Lamon – Shipton 1939, figs. 6.146, 7.171 and 7.174.

Lamon - Shipton 1939, fig. 7.171. 89

Lamon - Shipton 1939, figs. 6.147 and 7.172. 90

Lamon - Shipton 1939, fig. 8.177.

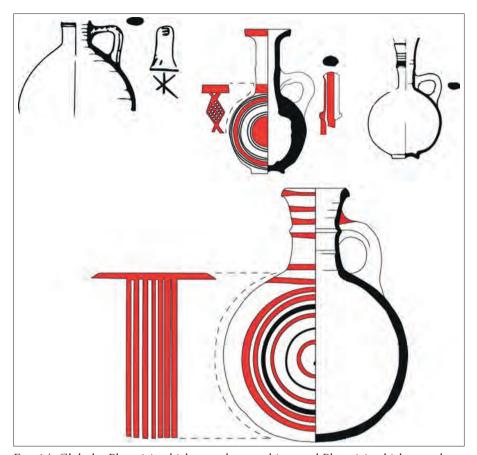


Fig. 14. Globular Phoenician bichrome decorated jugs and Phoenician bichrome decorated barrel-jug from Tel Rehov V-IV (Mazar – Panitz-Cohen 2020, fig. 28.7 and phot. 28.4).

There is also a large number of similar jugs in the period IIB of Tell Ta'annek (Fig. 13), sometimes with a simple not thickened rim upon a flared neck,92 together with other semi-complete examples with a thickened rim, sometimes also bevelled,93 which could correspond to local productions based on the Phoenician models.

It is in the levels V and IV of Tel Rehov (Fig. 14) that the largest number of vessels and fragments of Phoenician import decorated with red slip and/or bichrome painting style are preserved. 94 Here, besides specimens with flared and elongated thin-walled necks, 95

there are classic jugs with an unstable bottom<sup>96</sup> and at least one example with an elongated cylindrical neck and a squared-off everted rim on the outside<sup>97</sup> similar to another example from Tell Abu Hawam<sup>98</sup> and another one from Huelva<sup>99</sup> (Fig. 15) which in theory correspond to the Late Phoenician Iron Age represented by strata V-IV of Tyre according to the assumptions of F.J. Núñez Calvo.<sup>100</sup> On the other hand, there is an important local production of untreated or red-slipped local pottery that follows Phoenician models (Fig. 16). They usually have a cylindrical or slightly open neck with a thickened rim and a spherical, oval, or slightly biconical body in strata C2 and C1 – local type JG74a –. Unlike those of Megiddo or Tell Taʻannek,

<sup>92</sup> Rast 1978, fig. 62.8.

<sup>93</sup> Rast 1978, figs. 39.2-3 and 40.1.

<sup>94</sup> Mazar - Panitz-Cohen 2020, fig. 28.7.

<sup>95</sup> Mazar - Panitz-Cohen 2020, fig. 28.7.16.

<sup>96</sup> Mazar – Panitz-Cohen 2020, fig. 28.7.22.

<sup>97</sup> Mazar – Panitz-Cohen 2020, fig. 28.7.21.

<sup>98</sup> Herrera González – Gómez Toscano 2004, n. 242.

<sup>99</sup> González de Canales Cerisola - Serrano Pichardo - Llompart Gómez 2004, pl. 11.16-17.

<sup>100</sup> Núñez Calvo 2008 and 2018a.

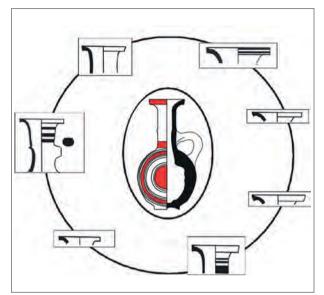


Fig. 15. Globular jug from Tel Rehov with squared-off rim surrounded by similar squared-off rims from Huelva (Mazar - Panitz-Cohen 2020, fig. 28.7; González de Canales Cerisola - Serrano Pichardo - Llompart Gómez 2004, pl. 11).

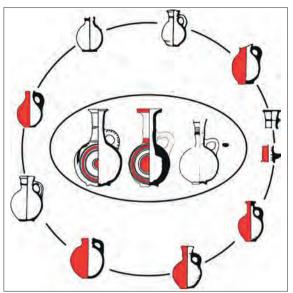


Fig. 16. Phoenician bichrome jugs and local adaptations covered or non-covered with red slip from Tel Rehov V-IV (Mazar - Panitz-Cohen 2020, figs. 13.33, 13.51, 13.59, 13.67, 13.101, 13.106, 13.129, 13.141 and 28.7).

they are not usually treated with painting decoration.<sup>101</sup> Among them there is also a version with a wider neck and a wider body - local type JG74a1 -. 102

In the close site of Tel 'Amal (Fig. 17) there is also a diversity of red-slipped neck-ridge jugs decorated with horizontal black bands, possibly also being local productions. 103 At least on two occasions 104 they have a squared-off everted rim – in one case grooved on the outside 105 –. The extraordinary diversity in the shape of rims is also clear in Tell Balâtah. 106 In Tell el-Farah – level VIIb – (Fig. 18) there is an example with stable bottom and bichrome painting decoration, 107 together with semi-complete jugs without surface treatment with thickened bevelled rims, 108 and a more archaising jug with monochrome painting decoration of concentric circles, unstable base and a tapered overlapping rim. <sup>109</sup> In Samaria – period III –, on the other hand, there are also examples of jugs with a squared-off everted rim<sup>110</sup> as in Tel Rehov or Tell Abu Hawam.<sup>111</sup>

Mazar - Panitz-Cohen 2020, figs. 13.33.8, 13.43.14, 13.48.11, 13.51.5, 13.59.5, 13.67.3, 13.69.5, 13.74.3 and 13, 13.79.1, 13.93.9, 13.94.2, 13.101.4, 13.106.3-4, 13.129.9-10, and 13.141.10-11.

Mazar – Panitz-Cohen 2020, figs. 13.67.1-2, 13.116.19, 13.121.18, 13.142.1 and 21.13.1.

Levy - Edelstein 1972, figs. 12.8-9, 11 and 13-14. 103

<sup>104</sup> Levy - Edelstein 1972, figs. 12.8 and 14.

<sup>105</sup> Levy - Edelstein 1972, fig. 12.8.

<sup>106</sup> Campbell 2002, fig. 274.6-9.

Chambon 1984, pls. 48.1. 107

Chambon 1984, pl. 49.15-16. 108

<sup>109</sup> Chambon 1984, pl. 50.5.

Crowfoot - Crowfoot - Kenyon 1957, fig. 5.1. 110

<sup>111</sup> See supra.

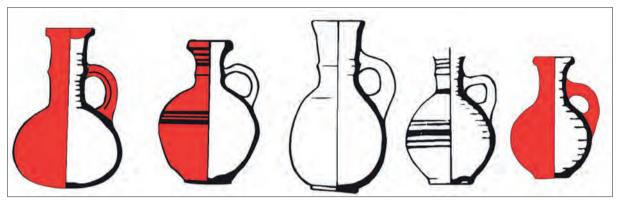


Fig. 17. Neck-ridge jugs from Tel 'Amal (Levy – Edelstein 1972, fig. 12).

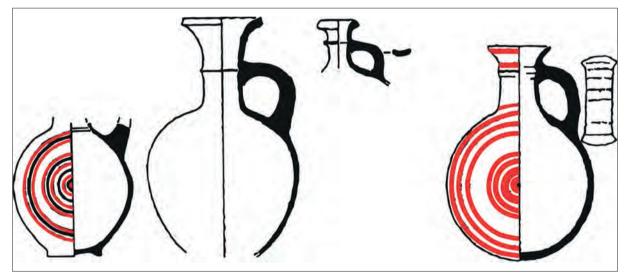


Fig. 18. Neck-ridge jugs from Tell el-Farah VIIb (Chambon 1984, pls. 48-50).

In the Galilee region, however, the frequency of this type of jug is reduced compared to the earlier period. In Tel Hazor, there is only one decorated bevelled thickened rim that could correspond to this kind of jug.<sup>112</sup> A single specimen has also been published from the stratum IVA of Tel Dan,<sup>113</sup> which is waiting for a detailed publication.

On the other hand, in the southern Levant, numerous examples of Phoenician neck-ridge globular jugs continue to appear – most of them could also be local productions –. See a clear example appeared in a tomb of Khirbet Bir el-Kharayib a few kilometres east of Aphek with horizontal bands of bichrome style and squared-off rim. <sup>114</sup> In Gezer II/6B-A (Fig. 19) there is a semi-complete red slipped jug with widened shoulders, <sup>115</sup> as well as in the level VIIB-A with some fragments of decorated thickened rims

<sup>112</sup> Ben-Tor - Ben-Ami - Sandhaus 2012, fig. 18.28.

<sup>113</sup> Arie 2008, fig. 11.1.

<sup>114</sup> Cappella 2020, fig. 8.

<sup>115</sup> Dever et al. 1974, pl. 31.13.

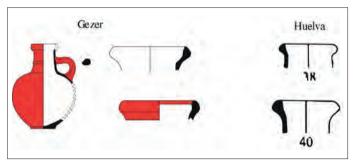


Fig. 19. Neck-ridge jugs from Gezer (Dever et al. 1974, pl. 31 and Gitin 1990, pls. 8-9) and Huelva (González de Canales Cerisola -Serrano Pichardo - Llompart Gómez 2004, lám. 11).

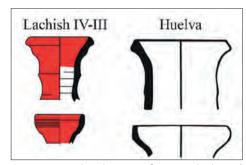


Fig. 20. Neck-ridge jugs from Lachish and Huelva (González de Canales Cerisola - Serrano Pichardo - Llompart Gómez 2004, lám. 11 and Ussishkin 2004, fig. 25.54).

that seem to correspond to the same kind of  $jug^{116}$  and which have very close parallels in Huelva. <sup>117</sup> In Beer-Sheva V there are some sherds decorated with concentric circles and bands in the Phoenician bichrome style, 118 while in Lachish IV-III there are some rims with red slip, 119 which also have parallels in Huelva<sup>120</sup> (Fig. 20).

As far as the Philistine area is concerned, in addition to some possible Phoenician imports, local productions of globular jugs with an unstable base covered in red slip and decorated in Late Philistine style are more widespread. In the levels IVB and IVA of Tel Migne (Fig. 21), in addition to apparent Phoenician imports decorated in bichrome style, 121 there are also local imitations of red-slipped neck-ridge jugs. They are usually reproduced in miniature and with unstable bases, 122 which continue the regional tradition already observed at Tel Qasile X. One of the miniature examples with a stable base without painted decoration is probably a Phoenician import. 123

In the levels V-IV of Tel Batash (Fig. 22) there are also local productions imitating the Phoenician models with a Philistine bichrome painting style and red-slipped surface.<sup>124</sup> More local imitations – generally with an unstable base - of red slipped and painted surface are presented at Beth-Shemesh 4<sup>125</sup> (Fig. 23), Tell es-Safi A/3<sup>126</sup> (Fig. 24), Tell el-Hammam – here with a globular body, unstable base, and monochrome painting of possible Cypriot manufacture<sup>127</sup> – and Tel Masos. <sup>128</sup>

Gitin 1990, pls. 8.3-4 and 9.11. 116

González de Canales Cerisola - Serrano Pichardo - Llompart Gómez 2004, pl. 11.38, 11.40 and 11.45. 117

<sup>118</sup> Aharoni 1973, pl. 54.20.

<sup>119</sup> Ussishkin 2004, fig. 25.54.5-6.

<sup>120</sup> González de Canales Cerisola - Serrano Pichardo - Llompart Gómez 2004, plate 11.32 and 11.36-37.

<sup>121</sup> Dothan - Garfinkel - Gitin 2016, fig. 5.114.5.

<sup>122</sup> Dothan - Garfinkel - Gitin 2016, figs. 5.96.13-14; 5.111.8-9 and 5.114.14.

Dothan - Garfinkel - Gitin 2016, fig. 5.111.7. 123

Mazar - Panitz-Cohen 2001, pls. 12.8, 79.10 and 79.15. 124

Bunimovitz - Lederman 2016, figs. 6.53 and 6.74.2. 125

<sup>126</sup> Maeir 2012a, pl. 14.12. 4-5.

<sup>127</sup> Collins - Kobs - Luddeni 2015, fig. 8.9.

Fritz - Kempinski 1983, pls. 139.10, 142.8, 146.1 and 148.1. 128

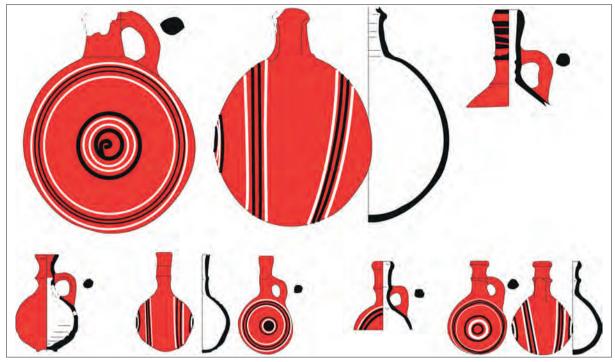


Fig. 21. Neck-ridge jugs and juglets from Tel Miqne (Dothan - Garfinkel - Gitin 2016, figs. 5.96, 5.111 and 5.114).



Fig. 22. Neck-ridge decorated jugs from Tel Batash (Mazar – Panitz-Cohen 2001, pls. 12, 79 and 88).

Outside the Levant, in addition to the tombs 55 and 63 from Palaeopaphos-Skales $^{129}$  and tomb 79 from Lefkandi $^{130}$  appointed by F.J. Núñez Calvo, $^{131}$  there are more jugs in stratified deposits from Kition-Bamboula. In Phase I there is a fragment with monochrome decoration, as well as a shoulder fragment

<sup>129</sup> Karageorghis 1983.

<sup>130</sup> Popham – Lemos 1996: pls. 79, 103 and 109.

<sup>131</sup> Núñez Calvo 2008, pp. 43-45.

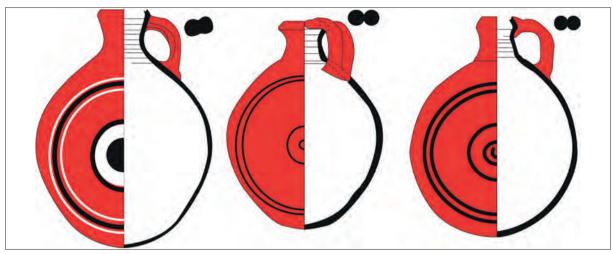


Fig. 23. Neck-ridge decorated jugs from Beth-Shemesh 4 (Bunimovitz - Lederman 2016, figs. 6.53 y 6.74.2) and Tel Masos (Fritz - Kempinski 1983, pls. 142.8 and 148.1).

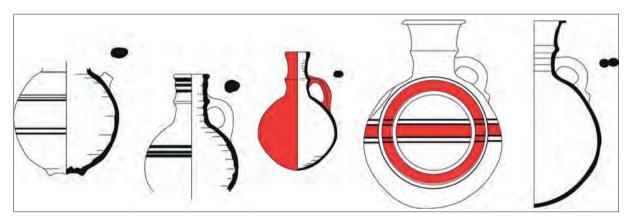


Fig. 24. Neck-ridge decorated jugs from Tell es-Safi (Maeir 2012, pl. 14.12.4-5) and Tel Masos (Fritz – Kempinski 1983, pls. 139.10 and 146.1).

with a handle start and a horizontal strip painted, and a fragment of a neck which also counts with the start of a red-slipped handle. 132 In Phase II there are only a few ringed bottoms treated with red slip. 133

Therefore, what can be observed in the pottery of the Levantine Iron Age IIA is an adoption by the different Levantine regions of the Phoenician productions of neck-ridge globular jugs that had previously been especially popular since the Iron Age IB with unstable bases. There is an immense diversity of shapes, technics, and decoration styles in the Levantine Iron Age IIA. There are globular, rounded or biconical bodies, sometimes with broadened shoulders; stable ringed bases - especially in the Philistine region, on the other hand, a continuity of jugs with unstable bases is attested among local productions - and usually thickened bevelled rims of triangular profile with the complementary presence of other squared-off or upwards turned rims with a pointed lip which find parallels in the assemblage of Huelva.

<sup>132</sup> Caubet - Fourrier - Yon 2015, fig. 1.1.3-5.

Caubet - Fourrier - Yon 2015, fig. 9.1.90-91. 133

### 5. Late Iron Age IIA to IIB - Stage E?

According to the original interpretation of F.J. Núñez Calvo, <sup>134</sup> it theoretically was from the period represented by the strata V-IV of Tyre and the period III of the cemetery of al-Bass, as well as the Late Salamis period of Cyprus, when a series of new shapes and decorative styles were produced in the repertoire of Phoenician neck-ridge jugs – stage E –. Firstly, during this period new vessels theoretically made their debut in which the proportional size of the body and the neck would be more balanced than previously. However, this dimensional balance was present in numerous already attested imported Phoenician jugs of earlier Levantine layers, such as Megiddo VA-IVB or Tel 'Amal. <sup>135</sup> On the other hand, a characteristic squared-off everted rim – which hypothetically appeared from now on – has also been observed in previous periods and contexts – mainly Tel Hazor and Tel Rehov <sup>136</sup> –. The replacement of the previously predominant bichrome decoration by red-slip that supposedly took place from this stage has also been observed in specimens of earlier deposits, such as those of Ashkelon and Tel 'Amal. <sup>137</sup> However, the stilted-rim jugs <sup>138</sup> which begins to appear in stratum IV of Tyre – which, incidentally, are noteworthy absent in Huelva – do seem to be absent in previous periods of the Levant.

In addition to Tyre, al-Bass and the tomb 1 of Salamis, that F.J. Núñez Calvo<sup>139</sup> pointed out, there are numerous stratified deposits of the Iron Age IIA and IIB Levantine stages and the Cypro-Geometric III and Cypro-Archaic I stages of Cyprus, besides those already indicated here, where these kind of features of the stage E are present in imported or locally produced Phoenician jugs, while the previous versions of the earlier stages do not definitely disappear. The phase III of Kition-Bamboula, for example, still counts with jugs with spherical bodies decorated with concentric bands and circles among other examples. <sup>140</sup> In the earliest levels of Kition-Kathari – floors I-3, 3 and 3-2A – similar jugs as the attested in the already noted Levantine Iron Age IIA contexts are also still present, <sup>141</sup> with no observed typological-sequential break.

In the rest of the Levantine corridor, the classic versions of jugs continue to appear, as well as "new" jugs with a squared-off everted rim and more balanced neck and body, throughout the latest stages of the Iron Age IIA and throughout the Iron Age IIB. For example, one example from Tell el-Hammam $^{142}$  and another from Ashdod X-IX $^{143}$  – Late Iron Age IIA –, as well as from Jemmeh $^{144}$  and Tell el-Fār'a  $^{145}$  – Iron Age IIB – (Fig. 25) are clearly illustrative.

Hence, in Huelva can be observed a generalised presence of rims, lips, and necks which might belong to the Levantine Iron Age IIA horizon and strata X-VI of Tyre, with some shapes, especially those with squared-off rims, which will continue to frequently appear in later horizons – in fact, in Tyre they are more frequent in strata V-IV, which mark the transition towards the Levantine Iron Age IIB –. However, the absence of types particularly characteristic of the later period – Iron Age IIB –, such as mushroom-mouthed

<sup>134</sup> Núñez Calvo 2008, fig. 19.

<sup>135</sup> See supra.

<sup>136</sup> See supra.

<sup>137</sup> See supra.

<sup>138</sup> Bikai 1978, pl. 14.8.

<sup>139</sup> Núñez Calvo 2008, pp. 49-58.

<sup>140</sup> Caubet - Fourrier - Yon 2015, figs. 17 and 31.1.162-164.

<sup>141</sup> Karageorghis 2003, pl. 5.2-6.

<sup>142</sup> Collins - Kobs - Luddeni 2015, pl. 210.21.

<sup>143</sup> Dothan - Ben-Shlomo 2005, fig. 3.85.12.

<sup>144</sup> Ben-Shlomo – Van Beek 2014, fig. 11.12.g.

<sup>145</sup> Lehmann et al. 2018, fig. 11.16.

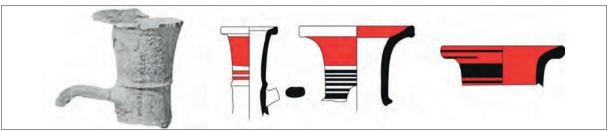


Fig. 25. Phoenician decorated jugs with rectangular rim from Tell el-Hammam (Collins - Kobs - Luddeni 2015, pl. 210), Ashdod X-IX (Ben-Shlomo 2005, fig. 3.85), Jemmeh (Bergoffen 2014, fig. 11.12) and Tell el-Fār a (Lehmann et al. 2018, fig. 11).

jugs or sausage-like storage jars, determines a generalised contemporaneity with the Levantine Iron Age IIA. Regarding Phoenicia and Cyprus, this is a long period divided in various typological-sequential stages by F.J. Núñez Calvo – stages C, D and E; Kouklia and Salamis<sup>146</sup> –, although it does not always find correspondences in the assemblages of jugs documented in Levantine sites other than Tyre and Phoenician cemeteries. Far from being a clearly serial and sequenced production of different shapes and decoration styles more or less exclusive - or at least predominant - of specific stages, there is rather an incessant overlapping throughout the Levantine and Phoenician sequences of the Middle Iron Age, with a constant appearance of ancient models and the arrival of 'modern' ones earlier than previously assumed.

#### 6. Iron Age IIB – stages E and F

It is from the cultural horizon marked by the III-II strata of Tyre and the Levantine Iron Age IIB – Kition horizon in Cyprus<sup>147</sup> -, as well as a second phase of colonization in the Mediterranean linked to the foundation of numerous Phoenician settlements - Cadiz, Morro de Mezquitilla, Carthage and Sulcis, among others - around the late 9th century BCE that the first mushroom-mouthed jugs were produced, with a horizontal rim that occasionally counted with a overhanging lip.

In Tyre, these jugs now tend to feature a predominant decorative style in horizontal strips rather than concentric circles<sup>148</sup> – although this is not its first occurrence – while the globular bodies are replaced by new pyriform bodies with a carinated or oval shoulder. 149 On the other hand, in addition to mushroom-mouthed jugs, there is also attested a new shape of stilted-rim jugs with a biconical neck, with the lower wall of the neck more compact and with the decoration arranged on the upper part - type IG1 from Tyre -. 150 Sometimes they have a thickened rim and thickened walls in the form of bottles. 151 These new forms can also be seen on floor 3 at Kition-Kathari. 152

As usually happens with new shapes and types, mushroom-mouthed jugs began to timidly appear actually before, in stratum IV of Tyre - types 4 and 5<sup>153</sup> -, as well as in phase 12 of Tel Shigmona which is

<sup>146</sup> Núñez Calvo 2008, fig. 6.

Bikai 1987, p. 69. 147

Bikai 1978, pl. 5.14-17. 148

<sup>149</sup> Bikai 1978, pls. 5.19-23 and 6.4-5.

Bikai 1978, pls. 5.1-8, 6.6 and 6.8-9. 150

Bikai 1978, fig. 5.9-11. 151

Bikai 2003, pl. 5.8-11. 152

Bikai 1978, tab. 6aA. 153

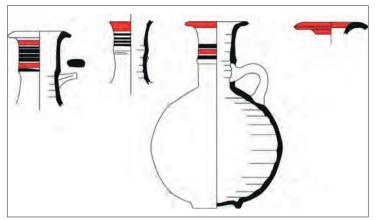


Fig. 26. Phoenician jugs from Ashdod IX-VIII, VIII y VII (Dothan – Freedman 1967, fig. 37; Dothan 1971, fig. 60; Ben-Shlomo 2005, figs. 3.94 and 3.102).

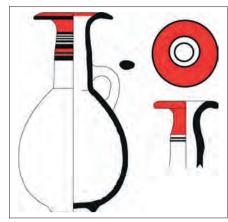


Fig. 27. Phoenician jugs from Tell Shiqmona 12 and Horvat Rosh Zayit I (Shalvi – Gilboa 2023, fig. 11.8; Gal – Alexandre 2000, fig. 3.122.28).

sequentially ascribed to Levantine Iron Age IIA<sup>154</sup> (Fig. 27), to become much more frequent during strata III and II of Tyre. Throughout the Iron Age IIB it seems there was a gradual replacement of the globular jugs decorated with bichrome painting by other jugs with a pyriform body and a carinated shoulder covered with red slip, although the ancient models did not definitively cease to appear. For example, the two tombs of al-Bass -3/5 and 28/29 - theoretically representative of the transition between the previous stage - stage - and the later - stage - stage - and the later - stage - stage - and the later - stage - stage with horizontal bands and globular bodies. What is observed apparently later in the strata III and II of Tyre, in addition to the adoption of more oval and stylised bodies, is the adoption of necks with a more undulating conical profile.

"Transitional" mushroom-mouthed jugs with globular bodies have been documented especially in the levels IX-VIII, VIII and VII of Ashdod<sup>158</sup> (Fig. 26). A sherd with an overhanging rim completely covered with red slip<sup>159</sup> may correspond to a narrow-necked jug typical of Tyrian strata III-II. Another similar example of overhanging rim has been found in Stratum I of Horvat Rosh Zayit, that preserves a large part of the neck<sup>160</sup> (Fig. 27). On the other hand, in the chamber 4 of the level V at Et-Tell – Bethsaida – there were collected at least two red-slipped jugs with a pyriform body and a carinated shoulder, which, however, have a widened cylindric neck and a sloping everted but not hanging rim.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>154</sup> Shalvi – Gilboa 2023, fig. 11.8. See another – possibly intrusive – mushroom-mouthed jug in the stratum E of Sarepta II, Y. Anderson 1988, pl. 31.15.

<sup>155</sup> See this transition through the periods tagged as "Hierro Tardío A and B". Núñez Calvo 2023, fig. 8.

<sup>156</sup> Núñez Calvo 2008, pp. 59-60, fig. 27. See also the tombs 64/78 and 70/71. Aubet Semmler – Núñez Calvo – Trellisó Carreño 2014, figs. 2.6 and 2.13.

<sup>157</sup> Núñez Calvo 2008, figs. 26.7-8 and 11.

<sup>158</sup> Dothan - Freedman 1967, fig. 37.23. Dothan 1971, fig. 60.3. Ben-Shlomo 2005, figs. 3.94.8 and 3.102.4.

<sup>159</sup> Ben-Shlomo 2005, fig. 3.94.8.

<sup>160</sup> Gal – Alexandre 2000, fig. 3.122.28. See again the possibly intrusive similar mushroom-mouthed jug of Sarepta II, Y stratum E. Anderson 1988, pl. 31.15.

<sup>161</sup> Arav 2009, fig. 1.100.

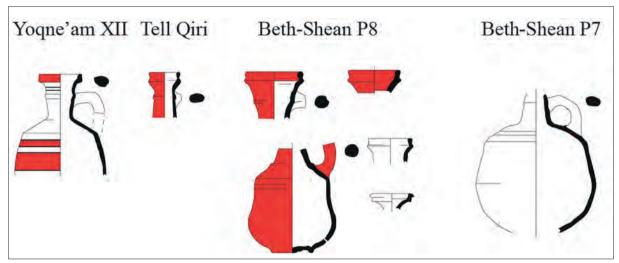


Fig. 28. Levantine decorated, red-slipped and non-decorated jugs from Yoqne'am, Tell Qiri and Beth-Shean (Ben-Tor et al. 1987, fig. 22.17; Mazar 2006, pl. 22.6-7, 26.4-6 and 40.8; Ben-Tor - Zarzecki-Peleg - Cohen-Anidjar 2005, fig. 178.12).

In the rest of the Levantine corridor there is no clear evidence of a large number of Phoenician imports during the Iron Age IIB, although local productions (Fig. 28) share some features with the Phoenician versions - pyriform body with a carinated and grooved shoulder and frequent treatment with red slipped surface -. They however show important formal features that differ, such as the rim, with a vertical lip, sometimes thickened with a prominence at the base, forming a groove on the outer face - a profile already observed previously in one of the Tel 'Amal jugs<sup>162</sup> -, while more archaising versions still occur sometimes. <sup>163</sup>

At Yogne'am XII there is a carinated shoulder jug with a pyriform body and bichrome decoration with the typical groove on the vertical rim.<sup>164</sup> Another similar example, although with a more elongated lip, was found in the level V of Tell Qiri, 165 as in the level P-8 at Beth-Shean, 166 where they are accompanied by at least one pyriform body with a red-slipped carinated shoulder<sup>167</sup> – another similar specimen without preserved rim in level P-7<sup>168</sup> -. They are also frequent in the level A-3 of Tel Rehov<sup>169</sup> as local type JG55 - some examples are also found in the levels B-2 and J-3<sup>170</sup> -, as well as in the levels VIId and VIId-e of Tell el-Farah. <sup>171</sup> The production of this type of jug also occurs in the southern Levant, as in the level II at Beer-Sheva.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Levy - Edelstein 1972, fig. 12.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ancient" jugs with a thickened triangular rim and globular body – local JG74a type –, continue to assiduously appear in the levels A-3, A-4, B-2 and B-3 of Tel Rehov. See Mazar – Panitz-Cohen 2020, pls. 7.6.3-7, 7.7.10, 9.24.1-2 and 9.28.1.

Ben-Tor - Zarzecki-Peleg - Cohen-Anidjar 2005, fig. 178.12. 164

<sup>165</sup> Ben-Tor et al. 1987, fig. 22.17.

Mazar 2006, pls. 22.6-7 and 26.4-5. 166

Mazar 2006, pl. 26.6. 167

<sup>168</sup> Mazar 2006, pl. 40.8.

Mazar - Panitz-Cohen 2020, pls. 7.8.1-6. 169

<sup>170</sup> Mazar - Panitz-Cohen 2020, pls. 11.6.14 and 46.2.5.

Chambon 1984, pl. 61.27-30. 171

Herzog - Singer-Avitz 2016, figs. 12.83.3, 12.38.3, 12.50.8-11, 12.57.7, 12.60.12-13, 12.61.1-3, 12.76.12-13, 12.77.20, 12.86.12, 12.94.7 and 12.118.9-11.

#### 7. Huelva and the Phoenician Colonies in the Mediterranean

Based on the made observations throughout the Iron Age sequence in Phoenicia and the Levant, it is worth reconsidering the assessment made upon the material from Huelva based on the formal features of, among other vessels, its neck-ridge jugs. As F.J. Núñez Calvo<sup>173</sup> has considered, there is an occurrence of vessels whose characteristics are representative of several theoretically sequential evolutionary stages of the Iron Age. For example, the jugs with a thickened rim with a usual triangular profile<sup>174</sup> – one more case in Concepción St.<sup>175</sup> –, as well as the jugs with a direct rim and an open neck<sup>176</sup> and those with an upwards turned rim and an open upper neck<sup>177</sup> could correspond indistinctly to evolutionary stages B, C and D in which these shapes predominated before the appearance of the squared-off rims of the stage E<sup>178</sup> – see one more example in tomb 1 of Cortijo de San Isidro<sup>179</sup> (Fig. 29) –. However, the squared-off everted rims appear, although less frequently, in Levantine archaeological contexts of the Early and Late Iron Age IIA, such as Tel Hazor X-IX or Tel Rehov VI-IV, which, at least in terms of the general periodization of the Levant, could correspond to the Tyrian strata XII-IV. In other words, they do not necessarily reflect specially the strata

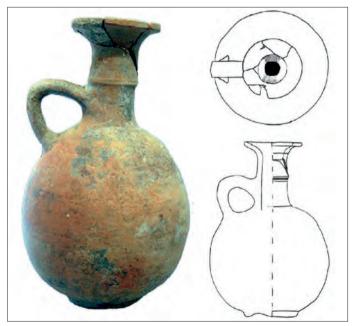


Fig. 29. Phoenician neck-ridge jug from Cortijo de San Isidro (Juzgado Navarro – Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno – Galindo San José 2016, fig. 5).

V-IV of Tyre, the third period of al-Bass and the end of the Salamis period of Cyprus, although the locally stratified distribution documented in Tyre by P.M. Bikai can trigger that feeling. This could be attributed to the limited and biased assemblage provided by the excavations of Tyre, and to its contrast with essentially funerary contexts. These contexts share no direct chronological relationship with Tyrian strata - and with other stratified Levantine contexts -, other than the formal and decorative features of their containers. Contrary to what is often assumed, these features do not represent a strictly defined chronology due to their prolonged period of use.

It is difficult therefore to date the assemblage of Huelva to an exact Levantine Iron Age chronological stage, although most of it suggests an approximate chronology with the Iron Age IIA

<sup>173</sup> Núñez Calvo 2018a, 2018 and 2023.

<sup>174</sup> González de Canales Cerisola - Serrano Pichardo - Llompart Gómez 2004, pl. 11.34-45.

<sup>175</sup> González de Canales Cerisola et al. 2017, pl. 6.6.

<sup>176</sup> González de Canales Cerisola - Serrano Pichardo - Llompart Gómez 2004, pl. 11.27. González de Canales Cerisola *et al.* 2017, pl. 6.7, 6.10-11 and 6.14.

<sup>177</sup> González de Canales Cerisola – Serrano Pichardo – Llompart Gómez 2004, pl. 11.23-26 and 11.28-33. González de Canales Cerisola *et al.* 2017, pl. 6.5, 6.9 and 6.12-13.

<sup>178</sup> González de Canales Cerisola - Serrano Pichardo - Llompart Gómez 2004, pl. 11.14-22. González de Canales Cerisola *et al.* 2017, pl. 6.4.

<sup>179</sup> Juzgado Navarro – Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno – Galindo San José 2016, fig. 5.

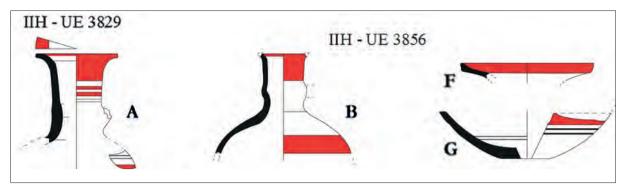


Fig. 30. Phoenician neck-ridge jugs from Sant'Antioco (Guirguis – Unali 2016, fig. 6).

and the strata XII-IV of Tyre, rather than Tyrian strata VIII/VII-IV as F.J. Núñez Calvo<sup>180</sup> and F. Cappella<sup>181</sup> have recently proposed. Cultural features of the Levantine Iron Age IIA - Cypro-Geometric and Aegean pottery, development of red-slipped "Samarian" ware and pyriform storage jars with short vertical rims – are present in Tyre from the stratum XII.<sup>182</sup>

Nevertheless, later horizons of Phoenician colonisation reflect a clearer chronology which seems to correspond to the transition between the Iron Age IIA-IIB and possibly the Tyrian strata IV-III. This transitional stage was represented by the jugs of tombs 3/5, 28/29, 64/78 and 70/71 of al-Bass<sup>183</sup> and the layers IX-VIII, VIII and VII of Ashdod, 184 as we have seen.

In the Middle Mediterranean this stage is reflected by several jugs found in the vano IIH of Sant'Antioco (Fig. 30). In addition to jugs with a squared-off everted rim, there is one example of a stilted-rim jug and an upwards-turned rim with a vertical tapered lip. 185 Another fragment possibly representative of this chronological stage, with an open mouth upon a sloping open neck, is attested in the US 74 of Astarté Street in Tunisia, 186 dated by radiocarbon dating in the 9th century BCE. 187

This same transitional period can also be seen in the earliest colonial levels documented in the South of the Iberian Peninsula. In general, the new jugs are based on the models previously present in Huelva and Cortijo de San Isidro, with elongated horizontal rims with rectangular profile, a flared upper neck, a spherical body and painted decoration of horizontal bands in a bichrome style. It is especially evident in phase II of Teatro Cómico, where in some cases "old-fashioned" bevelled or thickened rims with a triangular profile remain. 188 Although less numerous and fragmentary, there are also examples found in Cánovas del Castillo St. – one horizontal rim<sup>189</sup> – and Ancha St. – fragments of conical necks and spherical bodies<sup>190</sup> –. In Castillo de Doña Blanca they use to have red slipped surface instead of bichrome painting decoration, as well as a

<sup>180</sup> Núñez Calvo 2018b, pp. 334-336. Núñez Calvo 2023, p 57, tab. 2.

Cappella 2022. 181

Bikai 1978, pls. 14-32. 182

<sup>183</sup> Núñez Calvo 2008, pp. 59-60, fig. 27. Aubet Semmler – Núñez Calvo – Trellisó Carreño 2014, figs. 2.6 and 2.13.

Ben-Shlomo 2005, figs. 3.94.8 and 3.102.4. 184

Guirguis - Unali 2016, fig. 6. 185

Maraoui Telmini et al. 2020, fig. 5. Cat.14:013/95. 186

Maraoui Telmini et al. 2020, tab. 4. 187

Torres Ortiz et al. 2014, fig. 5.c-d. 188

Córdoba Alonso - Ruiz Mata 2005, fig. 9.5. 189

Ruiz Mata - Pérez Pérez - Gómez Fernández 2020, fig. 8.A.1-5. 190

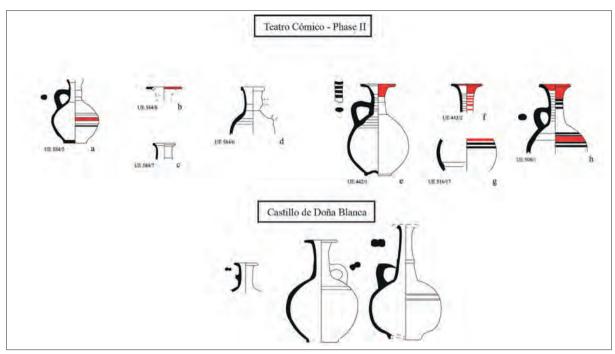


Fig. 31. Phoenician jugs from Teatro Cómico and Castillo de Doña Blanca (Torres Ortiz *et al.* 2014, fig. 5; Ruiz Mata – Pérez Pérez 2020, fig. 6.1).

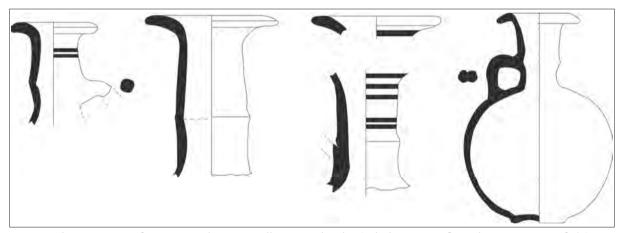


Fig. 32. Phoenician jugs from Morro de Mezquitilla B1a and B1b1 (Schubart - Maaß-Lindemann 2017, taf. 45).

more globular body, a more cylindrical neck – sometimes rather elongated and narrowed – and a doubled handle<sup>191</sup> (Fig. 31). Perhaps because of being later versions than those of phase II of Teatro Cómico, Cánovas del Castillo St. and Ancha St., as F. Cappella<sup>192</sup> has also recently suggested – also noting its theoretical contemporaneity with the phase B1b1 of Morro de Mezquitilla –. Similar red-slipped jugs to that of Castillo de

<sup>191</sup> Ruiz Mata – Pérez Pérez 2020, fig. 6.1.1-4.

<sup>192</sup> Cappella 2022.

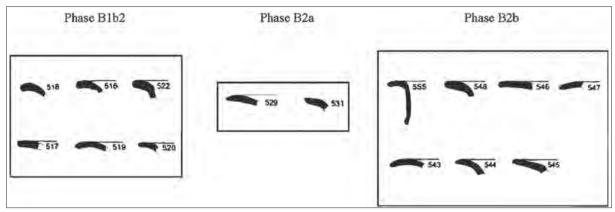


Fig. 33. Mushroom-mouthed jug's rims from Morro de Mezquitilla (Schubart – Maaß-Lindemann 2017, taf. 95-96).

Doña Blanca have also been attested in the cemetery of Ayamonte – tombs 2, 5 and 9 –. 193

In the region of Malaga, on the other hand, there is an important group of fragments and semi-complete containers resembling the jugs of phase II of Teatro Cómico. These are found in phases B1a and B1b1 at Morro de Mezquitilla (Fig. 32). It's worth noting that F. Cappella<sup>194</sup> considers this last level to be later and contemporaneous with the "Phoenician quarter" at Castillo de Doña Blanca. The containers of Morro de Mezquitilla are nonetheless quite different. They are treated with an external red slip and adorned with painted bichrome decoration.<sup>195</sup> In terms of shape, they are characterized by cylindrical or slightly open necks - types K2 and K4 - and a typically hanging rim, finding parallels in Carthage rue Ibn Chabâat<sup>196</sup> -.

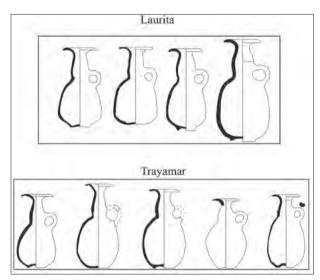


Fig. 34. Mushroom-mouthed and red-slipped jugs from Laurita and Trayamar (Pellicer Catalán 2007, figs. 22, 23, 31, 32 and 87).

Although being usually in a more fragmented state, in the immediately later colonial phases represented by the levels B1b2, B2a and B2b of Morro de Mezquitilla<sup>197</sup> (Fig. 33), Chorreras, <sup>198</sup> Lixus, <sup>199</sup> the phase III under the Decumanus Maximus of Carthage<sup>200</sup> or the *vano* IIF of Sant'Antioco<sup>201</sup> – M2 horizon

<sup>193</sup> Marzoli - García Teyssandier 2019, figs. 52.c, 53.d, 54.c, 61.e, 63.c, 64.c 65.c, 179.g, 180.f and 181.c.

<sup>194</sup> Cappella 2022, fig. 1.

Schubart - Maaß-Lindemann 2017, taf. 45-46. 195

Vegas 1999, abb. 5.17-19. 196

Schubart - Maaß-Lindemann 2017, taf. 95-96. 197

Maaß-Lindemann 1983, abb. 1.1-2. 198

<sup>199</sup> Belén Deamos et al. 2001, figs. 6 and 12. Álvarez García et al. 2001, fig. 3.7.

Niemeyer - Docter - Schmidt 2007, abb. 133.1072. 200

Guirguis 2022, fig. 7.c. 201

of J. Ramon Torres<sup>202</sup> – there is a gradual adoption of a more elongated and stylised profile of the rim in the mushroom-mouthed jugs, which will eventually adopt the profile of a pyriform or oval body and a cylindrical neck with an undulating wall - like those observed in the cemetery of Laurita, 203 and the cemetery of Trayamar<sup>204</sup> (Fig. 34) – which fully correspond to the predominant Tyrian versions between strata III, II and I – stages F and G of F.J. Núñez Calvo<sup>205</sup> – contemporary with the Levantine Iron Age IIB and IIC – 9/8th and 7th centuries BCE -.

# 8. Conclusions

While the limited assemblage of pottery published by P.M. Bikai<sup>206</sup> from the stratigraphy of Tyre may suggest a predominantly sequential and linear evolution, especially when compared with assemblages primarily from Levantine and Cypriot cemeteries based on typological features, it is essential to recognize potential biases in this interpretation. This interpretation – which also aligns with the Cypriot horizons proposed by P.M. Bikai<sup>207</sup> – arises from a constrained dataset used for analysis. A more comprehensive analysis involving a larger number of containers from stratified contexts in the Levant may further clarify this matter.

The key features of some of the theorized sequential stages may have appeared in Levantine contexts chronologically earlier than that suggested by F.J. Núñez Calvo, although the ancient models continued to appear later. For example, the remain unstable-base jugs of the stage B throughout the Levantine Iron Age IIA is illustrative. However, numerous features theoretically belonging to later stages, such as smaller bodies with ringed stable bases – stage D –, might appear as early as during the Levantine Iron Age IB period – Tel Rehov C3a –. This could correspond to stratum XIII of Tyre, rather than the suggested strata X-VI. Additionally, squared-off everted rims characteristic of stage E might emerge as early as during the Early Iron Age IIA Levantine period – Tel Hazor X-IX –. This could correspond to Tyrian strata XII-XI, rather than strata V-IV, and to the period I of al-Bass, not period III. It is worth noting however that squared-off everted rims continued to appear as late as during the Iron Age IIB in sites such as Jemmeh and Tell el-Far'a.

The <sup>14</sup>C dates from Huelva<sup>208</sup> dating back to the 10th-9th centuries cal BC are not therefore certainly contradicted by the typological-sequential chronology of the associated pottery assemblage, at least as far as the neck-ridge jugs are concerned. It is sustained by the complementary dates obtained from La Rebanadilla<sup>209</sup> and from Utica<sup>210</sup> associated with typologically similar assemblages of pottery collected - unlike the assemblage of Huelva - from archaeologically stratified contexts - although neck-ridge jugs are still missing in publications -.

On the other hand, there appears to be greater clarity regarding the transition between Stage E and F according to F.J. Núñez Calvo. This transition could develop between strata IV-III of Tyre, corresponding to the Late Iron Age IIA and Early Iron Age IIB in the Levant, which apparently took place during the late 9th century BCE. This transition also aligns with early western Phoenician archaeological levels, primarily observed in

<sup>202</sup> Ramon Torres 2010.

<sup>203</sup> Pellicer Catalán 2007, figs. 22.d, 23.d, 31.h and 32.g.

<sup>204</sup> Pellicer Catalán 2007, fig. 87.

<sup>205</sup> Núñez Calvo 2008.

<sup>206</sup> Bikai 1978.

<sup>207</sup> Bikai 1987.

Nijboer - van der Plicht 2006. Marzoli - Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno - Galindo San José 2016. Pérez-Jordá et al. 2017. 208 González de Canales Cerisola - Montaño Justo - Llompart Gómez 2020.

Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno et al. 2012. Marzoli - Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno - Galindo San José 2016. 209

López Castro et al. 2016, 2020a and 2020b.

Cadiz, Morro de Mezquitilla, Cronicario of Sant'Antioco, and Carthage. The initial widespread appearance of jugs with cylindrical or slightly open necks, decorated with horizontal designs in the bichrome style and featuring spherical bodies, gradually gives way – perhaps during the 8th century BCE – to their replacement by new red-slipped jugs. These new red-slipped jugs also exhibit a globular body and elongated neck – in Ayamonte or Castillo de Doña Blanca –, as well as an oval or pyriform body with a carinated grooved shoulder – in Laurita or Trayamar –. They further present a narrow neck with a curved and undulating profile, along with increasingly elongated and pendant rims. This stylistic shift, first observed in strata III, II, and I of Tyre, becomes particularly frequent in the later stages of Phoenician colonization in the western and central Mediterranean, determining the birth of the generally known as mushroom-mouthed Phoenician jugs.

#### References

- Aharoni 1973 = Y. Aharoni (ed.), Beer-Sheba I. Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba 1969-1971 Seasons, Tel Aviv 1973.
- Álvarez García et al. 2001 = N. Álvarez García C. Gómez Bellard J.L. Madaria Escudero M. Habibi, La ocupación fenicia, in C. Aranegui Gascó (ed.), Lixus. Colonia fenicia y ciudad púnico-mauritana. Anotaciones sobre su ocupación medieval, Valencia 2001, pp. 72-82.
- Anderson 1988 = W.P. Anderson, Sarepta I. The Late Bronze and Iron Age Strata of Area II, Y, Beirut 1988.
- Arav 2009 = R. Arav, Final Report on Area A, Stratum V: The City Gate, in R. Arav R.A. Freund (edd.), Bethsaida. A City by the North Shore of the Sea of Galilee, volume 4, Kirksville 2009, pp. 1-122.
- Arie 2008 = E. Arie, Reconsidering the Iron Age II Strata at Tel Dan: Archaeological and Historical Implications, in «Tel Aviv» 35, 2008, pp. 6-64.
- Aubet Semmler Núñez Calvo Trellisó Carreño 2014 = M.E. Aubet Semmler F.J. Núñez Calvo L. Trellisó Carreño, The Phoenician Cemetery of Tyre-Al Bass. Archaeological Seasons 2002-2005, Beirut 2014 («Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises», Hors-Série 9).
- Belén Deamos et al. 2001 = M. Belén Deamos J.L. Escacena Carrasco A. Rodero Riaza C. López Roa, Materiales de época fenicia de las excavaciones de Tarradell conservados en el museo de Tetuán, in C. Aranegui Gascó (ed.), Lixus. Colonia fenicia y ciudad púnico-mauritana. Anotaciones sobre su ocupación medieval, Valencia 2001, pp. 83-105.
- Ben Jerbania 2020 = I. Ben Jerbania, L'horizon phénicien à Utique, in J.L. López Castro (ed.), Entre Utica Y Gadir. Navegación y colonización fenicia en el Mediterráneo Occidental a comienzos del I Milenio AC, Granada 2020, pp. 31-54.
- Ben-Shlomo 2005 = D. Ben-Shlomo, Material Culture, in M. Dothan D. Ben-Shlomo, Ashdod VI: The Excavations of Areas H and K (1968-1969), Jerusalen 2005, pp. 63-246.
- Ben-Shlomo Van Beek 2014 = D. Ben-Shlomo G.W. Van Beek (edd.), The Smithsonian Institution Excavation at Tell Jemmeh, Israel, 1970-1990, Washington D.C. 2014.
- Ben-Tor Ben-Ami Sandhaus 2012 = A. Ben-Tor D. Ben-Ami D. Sandhaus (edd.), Hazor VI. The 1990-2009 Excavations. The Iron Age, Jerusalem 2012.
- Ben-Tor Bonfil Zuckerman 2003 = A. Ben-Tor R. Bonfil S. Zuckerman, Tel Qahish. A Village in the Jezreel Valley. Final Report of the Archaeological Excavations (1978-1987), Jerusalem 2003.
- Ben-Tor Zarzecki-Peleg Cohen-Anidjar 2005 = A. Ben-Tor A. Zarzecki-Peleg S. Cohen-Anidjar, Yoqne'am II: The Iron Age and the Persian Period – Final Report of the Archaeological Excavations (1977-1988), Jerusalem 2005.
- Ben-Tor et al. 1987 = A. Ben-Tor Y. Portugali M. Avissar U. Baruch M. Hunt, Tell Qiri. A Village in the Jezreel Valley. Report of the Archaeological Excavations 1975-1977, Jerusalem 1987.
- Bergoffen 2014 = C.J. Bergoffen, Imported Cypriot and Mycenaean Wares and Derivative Wares, in D. Ben-Shlomo G. W. Van Beek (edd.), The Smithsonian Institution Excavation at Tell Jemmeh, Israel, 1970-1990, Washington D.C. 2014, pp. 657-720.
- Bikai 1978 = P.M. Bikai, The Pottery of Tyre, Warminster 1978.
- Bikai 1987 = P.M. Bikai, The Phoenician Pottery of Cyprus, Nicosia 1987.
- Bikai 2003 = P.M. Bikai, Statistical Observations on the Phoenician Pottery of Cyprus, in V. Karageorghis, Excavations at Kition VI. The Phoenician and Later Levels. Part II, vol. II, Nicosia 2003, pp. 207-257.

- Boaretto et al. 2005 = E. Boaretto A. J. T. Jull A. Gilboa I. Sharon, Dating the Iron Age I/II Transition in Israel: First Intercomparison Results, in «Radiocarbon» 47, 2005, pp. 39-55.
- Briend Humbert 1980 = J. Briend J.-B. Humbert (edd.), *Tell Keisan (1971-1976): une cité phénicienne en Galilée*, Fribourg-Götingen 1980.
- Bunimovitz Lederman 2016 = S. Bunimovitz Z. Lederman, *Tel Beth-Shemesh. A Border Community in Judah. Renewed Excavations 1990-2000: The Iron Age. Vol. I*, Tel Aviv-Winona Lake 2016.
- Campbell 2002 = E.F. Campbell, Shechem III. The Stratigraphy and Architecture of Shechem/Tell Balâtah. Vol. 1: Text, Boston 2002.
- Cappella 2020 = F. Cappella, An Iron Age II Tomb with Phoenician Items at Khirbet Bir El-Kharayib, Central Palestine, in «VicOr» 24, 2020, pp. 27-55.
- Cappella 2022 = F. Cappella, From East to West and Return. Phoenician Jugs into a Mediterranean Perspective, in «Folia Phoenicia» 6, 2022, pp. 9-21.
- Caubet Fourrier Yon 2015 = A. Caubet S. Fourrier M. Yon, *Kition-Bamboula VI. Le sanctuaire sous la colline*, Paris 2015.
- Chambon 1984 = A. Chambon, Tell el-Far'ah I. L'Age du Fer, Paris 1984.
- Collins Kobs Luddeni 2015 = S. Collins C.M. Kobs M.C. Luddeni, *Tell el-Hammam Excavations. Volume One:*An Introduction to Tall al-Hammam with Seven Seasons (2005-2011) of Ceramics and Eight Seasons (2005-2012) of Artifacts, Winona Lake 2015.
- Córdoba Alonso Ruiz Mata 2005 = I. Córdoba Alonso D. Ruiz Mata, *El asentamiento fenicio arcaico de la calle Cánovas del Castillo (Cádiz). Un análisis preliminar*, in S. Celestino Pérez J. Jiménez Ávila (edd.), *El período orientalizante*, Madrid 2005, pp. 1269-1322.
- Crowfoot Crowfoot Kenyon 1957 = J.W. Crowfoot G.M. Crowfoot K.M. Kenyon (edd.), Samaria-Sebaste Reports of the Work of the Joint Expedition in 1931-1933 and of the British Expedition in 1935. Vol. III: The Objects from Samaria, London 1957.
- Culican 1982 = W. Culican, *The Repertoire of Phoenician Pottery*, in H.G. Niemeyer (ed.), *Die Phönizer im Westen*, Mainz am Rhein 1982, pp. 45-82.
- Dever et al. 1974 = W.G. Dever H.D. Lance R.G. Bullard D.P. Cole J.D. Seger, Gezer II: Report of the 1967-70 Seasons in Fields I and II, Jerusalem 1974.
- Dothan 1971 = M. Dothan, Ashdod II-III: The Second and Third Seasons of Excavations, 1963, 1965, Soundings in 1967, Jerusalem 1971.
- Dothan Ben-Shlomo 2005 = M. Dothan D. Ben-Shlomo, *Ashdod VI: The Excavations of Areas H and K (1968-1969)*, Jerusalem 2005.
- Dothan Freedman 1967 = M. Dothan D.N. Freedman, *Ashdod I. The First Season of Excavations 1962*, Jerusalem 1967. Dothan Garfinkel Gitin 2016 = T. Dothan Y. Garfinkel S. Gitin, *Tel Miqne-Ekron Excavations, 1985-1988, 1990, 1992–1995: Field IV Lower The Elite Zone, Part 1: The Iron Age I Early Philistine City*, Winona Lake 2016.
- Finkelstein 1986 = I. Finkelstein, 'Izbet Şarıah: An Early Iron Age Site Near Rosh Ha'ayin, Israel, Oxford 1986.
- Finkelstein Piasetzky 2003 = I. Finkelstein E. Piasetzky, *Recent Radiocarbon Results and King Solomon*, in «Antiquity» 77, 2003, pp. 771-779.
- Finkelstein Piasetzky 2010 = I. Finkelstein E. Piasetzky, *The Iron I/II Transition in the Levant: A Reply to Mazar and Bronk Ramsey and a New Perspective*, in «Radiocarbon» 52, 2010, pp. 1667-1680.
- Finkelstein Ussishkin Halpern 2000 = I. Finkelstein D. Ussishkin B. Halpern (edd.), *Megiddo III. The 1992-1996 Seasons*, Tel Aviv 2000.
- Finkelstein Ussishkin Halpern 2006 = I. Finkelstein D. Ussishkin B. Halpern (edd.), *Megiddo IV. The 1998-2002 Seasons*, Tel Aviv 2006.
- Fritz Kempinski 1983 = V. Fritz A. Kempinski, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen auf der Hirbet el-Mšás (Tel Mašóš) 1972-1975, Wiesbaden 1983.
- Gal Alexandre 2000 = Z. Gal Y. Alexandre, Horbat Rosh Zayit. An Iron Age Storage Fort and Village, Jerusalem 2000. Gilboa Sharon 2003 = A. Gilboa I. Sharon, An Archaeological Contribution to the Early Iron Age Chronological De
  - bate: Alternative Chronologies for Phoenicia and Their Effects on the Levant, Cyprus, and Greece, in «BASOR» 332, 2003, pp. 7-80.

- Gilboa et al. 2018 = A. Gilboa I. Sharon J.R. Zorn S. Matskevitch (edd.), Excavations at Dor, Final Report. Directed by Ephraim Stern (1986-2000) & Ilan Sharon and Ayelet Gilboa (2002-2004), Jerusalem 2018.
- Gitin 1990 = S. Gitin, Gezer III: A Ceramic Typology of the Late Iron II, Persian and Hellenistic Periods at Tell Gezer, Jerusalem 1990.
- González de Canales Cerisola et al. 2017 = F. González de Canales Cerisola L. Serrano Pichardo J. Llompart Gómez – M. García Fernández – J. Ramon Torres – A.J. Domínguez Monedero – A. Montaño Justo, Archaeological Finds in the Deepest Anthropogenic Stratum at 3 Concepción Street in the City of Huelva, Spain, in «AncWestEast» 16, 2017, pp. 1-61.
- González de Canales Cerisola Montaño Justo Llompart Gómez 2020 = F. González de Canales Cerisola A. Montaño Justo - J. Llompart Gómez, The Beginning of Grape Cultivation in the Iberian Peninsula: A Reappraisal After the Huelva (Southwestern Spain) Archaeological Finds and New Radiocarbon Datings, in «Revista Onoba» 8, 2020, pp. 35-42.
- González de Canales Cerisola Serrano Pichardo Llompart Gómez 2004 = F. González de Canales Cerisola L. Serrano Pichardo - J. Llompart Gómez, El emporio fenicio precolonial de Huelva (ca. 900-770 a. C.), Madrid 2004.
- Guirguis 2022 = M. Guirguis, Datazioni radiocarboniche calibrate da contesti stratificati di Sulky-Sant'Antioco. Primi risultati e considerazioni generali sulle fasi fenicie arcaiche, in «Folia Phoenicia» 6, 2022, pp. 91-118.
- Guirguis Unali 2016 = M. Guirguis A. Unali, La Fondazione di Sulky tra IX e VIII sec. a.C. Riflessioni sulla cultura materiale dei più antichi livelli fenici (area del Cronicario – Settore II – Scavi 2013-2014), in «ScAnt» 22, 2016, pp. 81-96.
- Harrison 2004 = T.P. Harrison, Megiddo 3. Final Report of the Stratum VI Excavations, Chicago 2004.
- Herrera González Gómez Toscano 2004 = M.D. Herrera González F. Gómez Toscano, Tell Abu Hawam (Haifa, Israel). El horizonte fenicio del Stratum III británico, Huelva-Salamanca 2004.
- Herzog Rapp Negbi 1989 = Z. Herzog G. Rapp O. Negbi (edd.), Excavations at Tel Michal, Israel, Minneapolis-Tel Aviv 1989.
- Herzog Singer Avitz 2016 = Z. Herzog L. Singer-Avitz, Beer-Sheba III. The Early Iron IIA Enclosed Settlement and the Late Iron IIA-Iron IIB Cities, Winona Lake 2016.
- Ilan 2019 = D. Ilan (ed.), Dan IV: The Iron Age I Settlement: The Avraham Biran Excavations (1966-1999), Jerusalem 2019.
- James 1966 = F.W. James, The Iron Age at Beth Shean. A Study of Levels VI-IV, Philadelphia 1966.
- Juzgado Navarro Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno Galindo San José 2016 = M. Juzgado Navarro V. M. Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno – L. Galindo San José, La Fase I de la necrópolis fenicia arcaica del Cortijo de San Isidro (Bahía de Málaga). Reflejos en Occidente del ritual fenicio de enterramiento a finales del s. IX a. C., in «CuPaUAM» 42, 2016, pp. 103-118.
- Karageorghis 1983 = V. Karageorghis, Palaepaphos-Skales. An Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus, Konstanz 1983.
- Karageorghis 2003 = V. Karageorghis, Excavations at Kition VI. The Phoenician and Later Levels. Part II, Nicosia 2003.
- Kochavi 1999 = M. Kochavi, Divided Structures, Divided Scholars, in «Biblical Archaeology Review» 25, 1999, pp. 44-50.
- Lamon Shipton 1939 = R.S. Lamon G.M. Shipton, Megiddo I. Seasons of 1925-34. Strata I-V, Chicago 1939.
- Lehmann et al. 2018 = G. Lehmann R. Golding-Meir B.-A. Neumeier-Potashnik H.M. Niemann, Excavations at "Tell el-Fār'a" (South), 1998-2002, in «ZDPV» 134, 2018, pp. 109-150.
- Levy Edelstein 1972 = S. Levy G. Edelstein, Cinq années de fouilles a Tel 'Amal (Nir David), in «RB» 79, 1972, pp. 325-367.
- López Castro 2020 = J.L. López Castro (ed.), Entre Útica y Gadir. Navegación y colonización fenicia en el Mediterráneo occidental a comienzos del I milenio AC, Granada 2020.
- López Castro et al. 2016 = J.L. López Castro A. Ferjaoui A. Mederos Martín V. Martínez-Hahnmüller I. Ben Jerbania, La colonización fenicia inicial en el Mediterráneo Central: nuevas excavaciones arqueológicas en Útica (Túnez), in «TrabPrehist» 73, 2016, pp. 68-89.
- López Castro et al. 2020a = J.L. López Castro I. Ben Jerbania A. Mederos Martín A. Ferjaoui V. Martínez-Hahnmüller – K. Jendoubi, La primera ocupación fenicia de Útica, in S. Celestino Pérez – E. Rodríguez González (edd.), Un viaje entre el Oriente y el Occidente del Mediterráneo, Mérida 2020, pp. 1315-1326.

- López Castro et al. 2020b = J.L. López Castro A. Ferjaoui A. Mederos Martín V. Martínez-Hahnmüller I. Ben Jerbania, Nouvelles recherches sur la période archaïque d'Utique, in J.L. López Castro (ed.), Entre Utica y Gadir. Navegación y colonización fenicia en el Mediterráneo Occidental a comienzos del I Milenio AC, Granada 2020, pp. 55-80.
- Loud 1948 = G.K. Loud, Megiddo II, Seasons of 1935-39, Chicago 1948.
- Maaß-Lindemann 1983 = G. Maaß-Lindemann, Chorreras 1980, in «MM» 24, 1983, pp. 76-103.
- Maeir 2012 = A.M. Maeir (ed.), Tell es-Safi/Gath I: The 1996 2005 Seasons, Wiesbaden 2012.
- Maraoui Telmini *et al.* 2020 = B. Maraoui Telmini F. Schön B.M. Starkovich S. Vermeersch, *New Pottery Contexts and Radiocarbon Data from Early Layers on the Byrsa Hill (Carthage): The "Astarte 2" Sequence*, in «RStFen» 48, 2020, 65-106.
- Marzoli García Teyssandier 2019 = D. Marzoli E. García Teyssandier (edd.), *La necrópolis fenicia de Ayamonte* (Huelva): Memoria de la excavación del año 2013, estudios previos y complementarios, Sevilla 2019.
- Marzoli Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno Galindo San José 2016 = D. Marzoli V.M. Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno L. Galindo San José, Elfenbeinwerkstätten in Huelva und La Rebanadilla (Málaga), den ältesten phönizischen Niederlassungen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel, in «MM» 57, 2016, pp. 88-138.
- Master Walton Yassur-Landau 2020 = D.M. Master J.T. Walton A. Yassur-Landau, *Early Philistine Pottery*, in L.E. Stager D.M. Master A.J. Aja (edd.), *Ashkelon 7. The Iron Age I*, Winona Lake 2020, pp. 185-248.
- Mazar 1985 = A. Mazar, Excavations at Tell Qasile Part Two. The Philistine Sanctuary: Various Finds, the Pottery, Conclusions, Appendixes, Jerusalem 1985.
- Mazar 2006 = A. Mazar (ed.), Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989-1996. Vol. I. From the Late Bronze Age IIB to the Medieval Period, Jerusalem 2006.
- Mazar Bronk Ramsey 2008 = A. Mazar C. Bronk Ramsey, <sup>14</sup>C Dates and the Iron Age Chronology of Israel: A Response, in «Radiocarbon» 50, 2008, pp. 159-180.
- Mazar Panitz-Cohen 2001 = A. Mazar N. Panitz-Cohen, *Timnah (Tel Batash) II: The Finds from the First Millenium BCE*, Jerusalem 2001.
- Mazar Panitz-Cohen 2020 = A. Mazar N. Panitz-Cohen, *Tel Rehov. A Bronze and Iron Age City in the Beth-Shean Valley*, Jerusalem 2020.
- Mazar et al. 1964 = B. Mazar A. Biran M. Dothan I. Dunayevsky, 'Ein Gev: Excavations in 1961, in «IEJ» 14, 1964, pp. 1-49.
- Münger Zangenbert Pakkala 2011 = S. Münger J. Zangenbert J. Pakkala, *Kinneret An Urban Center at the Crossroads: Excavations on Iron IB Tel Kinrot at the Lake of Galilee*, in «Near Eastern Archaeology» 74, 2011, pp. 68-90.
- Niemeyer Docter Schmidt 2007 = H.G. Niemeyer R.F. Docter K. Schmidt (edd.), *Karthago. Die ergebnisse der Hamburguer Grabung unter dem Decumanus Maximus*, Main 2007.
- Nijboer van der Plicht 2006 = A. J. Nijboer J. van der Plicht, *An Interpretation of the Radiocarbon Determinations of the Oldest Indigenous-Phoenician Stratum Thus Far, Excavated at Huelva, Tartessos (South-West Spain)*, in «BABesch» 81, 2006, pp. 31-36.
- Núñez Calvo 2008 = F.J. Núñez Calvo, *Phoenicia*, in C. Sagona (ed.), *Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician Chronology*, Leuven 2008.
- Núñez Calvo 2018a = F.J. Núñez Calvo, *Una lectura tipológico-secuencial de los materiales cerámicos orientales más antigu*os hallados en Huelva, in M. Botto (ed.), *De Huelva a Malaka. Los fenicios en Andalucía a la luz de los descubrimientos* más recientes, Roma 2018, pp. 107-182.
- Núñez Calvo 2018b = F.J. Núñez Calvo, *El trasfondo secuencial y cronológico de la primera expansión fenicia a Occidente*, in «Byrsa» 33-34, 2018, pp. 317-350.
- Núñez Calvo 2023 = F.J. Núñez Calvo, El origen levantino de las ánforas de cuello fenicias ultramarinas: un análisis de su trasfondo tipológico, contexto secuencial y escenarios funcionales, in «Spal» 32, pp. 43-76.
- Panitz-Cohen Mazar 2009 = N. Panitz-Cohen A. Mazar, Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989-1996. Volume III. The 13th-11th Century BCE Strata in Areas N and S, Jerusalem 2009.
- Pellicer Catalán 2007 = M. Pellicer Catalán, La necropolis Laurita (Almuñécar, Granada) en el context de la colonización fenicia, Barcelona 2007.

- Pérez Jordà et al. 2017 = G. Pérez Jordà L. Peña Chocarro M. García Fernández J. Vera Rodríguez, The Beginnings of Fruit Cultivation in the Iberian Peninsula: Plant Remains from the City of Huelva (Southern Spain), in «Veget Hist. Archaeobot» 26, 2017, pp. 527-538.
- Popham Lemos 1996 = M.R. Popham I.S. Lemos, Lefkandi III: The Toumba Cemetery. The Excavations of 1981, 1984, 1986 and 1992. Plates, Athens 1996.
- Pritchard 1988 = J.B. Pritchard, Sarepta IV. The Objects from Area II, X, Beirut 1988.
- Ramon Torres 2010 = J. Ramon Torres, La cerámica fenicia del Mediterráneo extremo-occidental y del Atlántico (s. VIII -1/3 del VI a. C.). Problemas y perspectivas actuales, in L. Nigro (ed.), Motya and the Phoenician Ceramic Repertoire between the Levant and the West 9th-6th Century BC. Proceedings of the International Conference, Roma 2010, pp. 211-153.
- Rast 1978 = W.E. Rast, Taanach I: Studies in the Iron Age Pottery, Cambridge 1978.
- Ruiz Mata Pérez Pérez 2020 = D. Ruiz Mata C.J. Pérez Pérez, Fenicios en la Bahía gaditana: su construcción política, económica e ideológia (siglo VIII a. C.). El caso del Castillo de Doña Blanca, in López Castro 2020, pp. 405-431.
- Ruiz Mata Pérez Pérez Gómez Fernández 2020 = D. Ruiz Mata C.J. Pérez Pérez V. Gómez Fernández, Calle Ancha, n.º 29. Una zona ritual y simbólica de Cádiz en el siglo VIII a. C., in López Castro 2020, pp. 353-374.
- Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno Galindo San José Juzgado Navarro 2020 = V. M. Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno L. Galindo San José - M. Juzgado Navarro, *El santuario fenicio de la Rebanadilla*, in López Castro 2020, pp. 189-200.
- Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno et al. 2011 = V.M. Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno L. Galindo San José M. Juzgado Navarro -M. Dumas Peñuelas, La desembocadura del Guadalhorce en los siglos IX y VIII a. C. y su relación con el Mediterráneo, in D.C. Domínguez Pérez (ed.), Gadir y el Círculo del Estrecho revisados. Propuestas de la arqueología desde un enfoque social, Cádiz 2011, pp. 185-200.
- Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno et al. 2012 = V.M. Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno L. Galindo San José M. Juzgado Navarro - M. Dumas Peñuelas, *El asentamiento fenicio de La Rebanadilla a finales del siglo IX A.C.*, in E. García Alfonso (ed.), Diez años de Arqueología Fenicia en la provincia de Málaga (2001-2010). María del Mar Escalante Aguilar in Memoriam, Málaga 2012, pp. 67-85.
- Schubart Maaß-Lindemann 2017 = H. Schubart G. Maaß-Lindemann (edd.), Morro de Mezquitilla. Die phönizischpunische Niederlassung an der Algarrobo-Mündung, Madrid 2017.
- Scott et al. 2007 = E.M. Scott G.T. Cook P. Naysmith C. Bryant D. O'Donnell, A Report on Phase I of the 5th International Radiocarbon Intercomparison (VIRI), in «Radiocarbon» 49, 2007, pp. 406-426.
- Shalvi Gilboa 2023 = G. Shalvi A. Gilboa, Between Israel and Phoenicia: The Iron IIA-B Fortified Purple-dye Production Centre at Tel Shigmona, in «Tel Aviv» 50, 2023, pp. 75-110.
- Sharon et al. 2005 = I. Sharon A. Gilboa E. Boaretto T.A.J. Jull, The Early Iron Age Dating Project: Introduction, Methodology, Progress Report and an Update on the Tel Dor Radiometric Dates, in T. Levy - T. Higham (edd.), The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science, London 2005, pp. 65-92.
- Sharon et al. 2007 = I. Sharon A. Gilboa T.A.J. Jull E. Boaretto, Report on the First Stage of the Iron Age Dating Project in Israel: Supporting a Low Chronology, in «Radiocarbon» 49, 2007, pp. 1-46.
- Stager Master Aja 2020 = L.E. Stager D.M. Master A.J. Aja, Ashkelon 7. The Iron Age I, Winona Lake 2020.
- Stern 2015 = E. Stern, Iron Age I-II Phoenician Pottery, in S. Gitin (ed.), The Ancient Pottery of Israel and its Neighbours from the Iron Age through the Hellenistic Period, Jerusalem 2015, pp. 435-482.
- Torres Ortiz et al. 2014 = M. Torres Ortiz E. López Rosendo J.M. Gener Basallote M.A. Navarro García J.M. Pajuelo Sáez, El material cerámico de los contextos fenicios del "Teatro Cómico" de Cádiz: un análisis preliminar, in M. Botto (ed.), Los fenicios en la bahía de Cádiz. Nuevas investigaciones, Pisa-Roma 2014, pp. 51-82.
- Ussishkin 2004 = D. Ussishkin, The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973-1994), Tel Aviv 2004.
- Vegas 1999 = M. Vegas, Phöniko-Punische Keramik aus Karthago, in F. Rakob (ed.), Karthago III. Die deutschen Ausgrabungen in Karthago, Mainz 1999, pp. 93-219.
- Yon 1971 = M. Yon, Salamine de Chypre II. La tombe T. I. du XIe s. av. J.C, Paris 1971.
- Zarzecki-Peleg 2016 = A. Zarzecki-Peleg, Yadin's Expedition to Megiddo. Final Report of the Archaeological Excavations (1960, 1966, 1967 and 1971/2 Seasons), Jerusalem 2016.