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Editor's Preface

This volume presents the results of the International Seminar on Cultural Interconnections in the Ancient Near East, held at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology during the spring term, January–April 1995. This was the third seminar in a program that was initiated in 1990 with a seminar on the Rise of Civilization in the Levant and Egypt and followed by the 1992 seminar on the Hyksos against the background of Middle Bronze Age Civilizations (E. D. Oren, ed., *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives.* Philadelphia 1997. The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. University Museum Monograph 96; University Museum Symposium Series 8).

The 1995 seminar focused on the Sea Peoples and their world. The main objective of the seminar was to examine current methodologies and interpretations concerning the Sea Peoples against the overwhelming new archaeological data that were generated from scores of sites throughout the Mediterranean basin. The discussions also aimed at reviewing the iconographic and textual record from Egypt, as well as the biblical, Ugaritic and Hittite texts pertaining the history of the Sea Peoples. For reasons of tight schedule, it was decided to leave out discussion on the complex linguistic aspects concerning the identification of the Sea Peoples.

Following the structure of previous programs, the Sea Peoples seminar was conducted like a regular academic course. Over 15 consecutive weeks of the spring term we organized a series of thematic discussions that were presented by guest scholars. This way, the didactic aspects of the course were emphasized and all participants—guest scholars, faculty and graduate students—were better prepared for the scheduled discussion. Also, pre-seminar papers and agenda of subsequent presentations were distributed ahead of time, enabling the participants to take an active part in the discussions.

As in previous years, the program of the Sea Peoples seminar was complemented by two additional components that made it much more comprehensive. Accordingly, the program included a number of workshops that utilized the extensive collections from the Levant and Egypt available in the museum. The workshops dealt with topics such as the anthropoid clay coffins from Beth Shean and Egypt (E. D. Oren and D. O'Connor), Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects from Beth Shean (E. D. Oren and P. E. McGovern), painted Philistine pottery from Beth Shemesh (T. Dothan and E. D. Oren) and early Iron Age tomb assemblages from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (J. Tubb). The program was further augmented by a series of Kevorkian public lectures organized by the University of Pennsylvania Museum. These included "Renewed Excavations at Beth Shean 1989–94" (A. Mazar), "Recent Developments in the Archaeology of Ugarit" (A. Caubet), "The Rise and Fall of Ekron of the Philistines" (T. Dothan), and "Zarethan—Trading Center of the Jordan Valley" (J. Tubb).

We regret that three of the key papers in the seminar are not included in the present volume: D. Silverman, "A Re-evaluation of the Egyptian Textual Sources," L. E. Stager, "The Interaction of the Philistines and Their Neighbours in Canaan (1180–1100 BCE)" and M. Mellink, "The Collapse of the Hittite Empire: History and Archaeology." At the same time the present volume is supplemented by four invited contributions from non-participants: "The Philistine Settlements: When, Where and How Many" (I. Finkelstein), "The Settlement of Sea Peoples in Northern Israel" (E. Stern), "Aegean-Style Early Philistine Pottery in Canaan during the Iron I Age: A Stylistic Analysis of Mycenaean IIIC:1b Pottery and its Associated Wares" (A. E. Killebrew), and "Mycenaean IIIC:1b and Related Pottery in Cyprus: Comments on the Current State of Research" (B. Kling).

For reasons beyond our control, the proceedings of the seminar appear in print nearly five years after the conclusion of the seminar. This long delay is most regrettable and we apologize to the authors for

the inconvenience with updating the text. Six of the articles were originally submitted in 1995 (Betancourt, Karageorghis, Kling, Mazar, Singer and Vagnetti), six in 1996 (Caubet, Finkelstein, Redford, Stern, Tubb and Wachsmann), four in 1997 (Dothan, Machinist, O'Connor and Voigt) and one in 1998 (Killebrew). Authors had the opportunity to update the manuscripts during the first part of 1999 and until May, 1999, when the last corrected and updated galleys reached the editor.

Above all, the success of the seminar was due to the guest scholars who came from near and far and shared with us their unique expertise and helped in delineating the complexities of the Sea Peoples and future agenda for its study. It gives me great pleasure to express my gratitude to this group of fine scholars who responded favorably to our invitation and made the seminar such a stimulating experience.

I would like to acknowledge my deep appreciation to the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and its director, Dr. Jeremy Sabloff, and Ms. Christina Shea, Assistant to the Director as well as to other staff members in the various departments of the museum for their continuous cooperation and support of the program and for having rendered invaluable assistance in every way throughout the program. First and foremost I am indebted to Dr. Robert H. Dyson, former director of the Museum, who made the program possible in the first place and also agreed to include the Kevorkian public lectures within the framework of the seminar. A special word of appreciation must go to the Kevorkian Foundation for its generous financial support of both the seminar and the series of public lectures. Thanks are due to the Department of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, its Chair, Dr. David P. Silverman, and secretary, Ms. Margaret Guinan, for much organizational support to the seminar and its graduate program.

Dr. Linda Bregstein deserves a special recognition for devoting much of her time and energy to the coordination of the seminar and for ensuring, with much patience and skill, the smooth running of the entire program including keeping the records and finances in order. Dr. Bregstein also assisted me very ably in the initial stage of editing the manuscripts. It is most unfortunate that other obligations forced her to withdraw from the role of co-editor. Throughout the program of the seminar I was indeed privileged to have had the close collegial collaboration of Dr. David O'Connor, former curator of the Egyptian section in the University Museum, in all aspects of the seminar.

Finally, I am most thankful to Ms. Karen Vellucci, Publications Department, and her assistant, Ms. Toni Montague, for their careful and efficient supervision of every phase of the editorial work and highly professional production of this volume. I would also like to thank Ms. Helen Schenck, Publications Department, for taking charge of the final and crucial stage of this publication.

Eliezer D. Oren
Beer Sheva, Israel
July, 1999

Introduction

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The chapter of the "Sea Peoples," as they are dubbed collectively by modern scholars, is one of the most intriguing phenomena in the history of the Mediterranean basin. Its study provides scholarship with a unique opportunity to coordinate the historical—Akkadian, Ugaritic, Egyptian, Hittite, Hebrew, and Greek sources—as well as iconographic representations from Egypt with the ever-growing volume of archaeological data from the vast area between central Europe and Egypt's Nile Valley, including peninsular Italy and the Danube region, Greece, Cyprus, Anatolia, and the Eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore, the Philistine contingent of the Sea Peoples confederation presents a peculiar case study for synchronizing the biblical text and the archaeological record from Palestine. Current views concerning the prime cause for the movement of the Sea Peoples argue that the collapse of the two great empires of the day—the Hittite in Anatolia and the Mycenaean in Greece—brought about their mass migrations to the coastlands of the Levant and Cyprus. The combined data from textual, iconographic, and archaeological sources testify to the pivotal role played by the Sea Peoples in the disintegration of the Bronze Age Mediterranean civilization, and their involvement in the social, religious, and economic development of the Mediterranean basin in the late second millennium B.C.E.

The history of research of the Sea Peoples has been outlined over the years in much detail and except for some observations need not be repeated here (Dothan 1982; Dothan and Dothan 1992; Brug 1985; Silberman 1998). It is common knowledge that as a result of the impact of the Bible, the study of the Sea Peoples has been until fairly recently focused on the better-known group—the Philistines. As early as 1911 R. A. S. Macalister presented in a series of Schweich lectures in London a comprehensive overview of the history of the Philistines and their civilization (Macalister 1914). In this pioneering study Macalister compiled the available historical sources, biblical, Egyptian and Greek, with the results of his own excavations at Gezer. One of his main conclusions dealt with the cultural, actually racial, superiority of the Philistines as bearers of the highly developed "Western" civilization and inventors of the alphabet, which they introduced to the Semitic population of Canaan (Macalister 1914:121–130; Macalister 1921:33).

The identification of the painted Philistine pottery as a distinctive element in the material culture of Palestine and recognition of its affinities with the Aegean cultures go back to the early decades of the century (Welch 1900:342–350; Mackenzie 1912–13: 1–39; Phythian-Adams 1923:20–27). However, the archaeological foundations for the thesis of the Aegean origin of the Philistine were laid in the '30s and '40s by Aegean scholars working in Palestine and Cyprus. Thus, through a detailed stylistic study of Philistine ceramics, W.A. Heurtly put forth his argument that the Philistines were part of the Mycenaean world (Heurtly 1936:90–110). Somewhat later, in his seminal corpus of Mycenaean pottery, A. Furumark systematically worked out the development of Philistine pottery, subdividing it into stylistic and chronological phases, and concluded that the Philistine pottery is a local variant of late Mycenaean ceramic tradition (Furumark 1941, 1944). At the same time excavations in Cyprus at sites such as Sinda and Enkomi led to the identification of settlement strata of the Sea Peoples and pointed out the distinctive ceramic traits of these invading groups (Furumark 1965:99–116). To this one may add a number of key synthetic articles. Such are A. Alt's study on Egyptian temples in

Palestine and the Philistines (Alt 1959:216–230), W. F. Albright's and R. D. Barnett's chapters in the prestigious Cambridge Ancient History (1975:359–378; 507–516), K. A. Kitchen's summary on the Philistines and B. Mazar's article on the Philistines and the Rise of Israel and Tyre (Kitchen 1973:53–78; Mazar 1964:1–22).

Trude Dothan's weighty contribution to the study of the Sea Peoples, beginning in 1967 with the Hebrew volume *The Philistines and their Material Culture* and continuing particularly in the expanded 1982 English version (Dothan 1967, 1982), deserves special recognition. As the title suggests, both volumes are clearly Philistine/Palestinian oriented, though the 1982 publication puts much more weight on the Aegean and Cypriote background. This coherent and well formulated synthesis of the Philistine material culture deals with its main aspects—chronology, pottery, cult, and burial customs—and stresses its eclectic nature based on the three distinctive components: Local Canaanite, Egyptian, and Aegean. In 1992 appeared the more popular account by Trude and Moshe Dothan, *Peoples of the Sea: The Search for the Philistines* (Dothan and Dothan 1992), which presents the unique lifetime experience of two scholars who were closely involved, jointly and individually, with the quest for the Philistines and other Sea Peoples in Canaan. It is with much sadness that we note here the passing of Moshe Dothan, a fine scholar and friend, whose considerable contribution to the study of the Sea Peoples is evident from the long list of excavation projects and publications. He will certainly be missed by the scholarly community.

J. F. Brug's dissertation, *A Literary and Archaeological Study of the Philistines*, which is, likewise, Philistine-centered, appeared in 1985. In addition to the detailed study of the literary sources, Brug presents a careful statistical analysis of the distribution of Philistine wares by site and region as well as an assessment of the relationship between Philistine and local ceramics. In addition to the large and stratified sites, Brug also included smaller settlements and campsites, and thus provided a trustworthy distribution map of settlement sites by rank and nature of ceramic collection (Brug 1985). Incidentally, one of the early attempts in Israel to view the material culture of the Philistines in its wider context was the 1970 exhibit in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, entitled "The Philistines and the Other Sea Peoples." This exhibit together with its informative catalogue, curated and authored by Ruth Hestrin, displayed thematically large collections of objects from Tell Qasile, Ashdod, and other Philistine sites in Israel (Hestrin 1970).

Nancy K. Sandars' *The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean* (1978 and revised edition 1985) presents a different perspective, in scope and method, to the study of the Sea Peoples. This volume sets the stage of the Aegean, west Mediterranean, and central Europe during the late second millennium B.C.E. and offers a scenario of the movement of the Sea Peoples in this vast area. Sandars' synthesis is a true departure from the traditional treatment of the Sea Peoples as it brings to the fore the controversial role of the northern barbarians and the fall of Troy, and the extent to which the Sea Peoples, rather than economic and environmental factors, caused the downfall of Late Bronze Age civilization (see also Schachermeyer 1967).

The past two decades witnessed a dramatic change in the whole approach to the study of the Sea Peoples. Recent publications and symposia on the Sea Peoples reflect the complexity of this issue from every perspective—geographic, ethnic, cultural, and historical. From a biased search for the origin of the biblical Philistines, the line of investigation today is focusing instead on the "bigger question," that is, the role of the Sea Peoples in the upheavals that brought about the Late Bronze "Dark Age" in the Mediterranean basin. Two such publications illustrate best the direction in which research is currently developing. The volumes comprised nearly sixty articles by leading scholars who participated in two symposia held at Brown University (1990) and the Hebrew University (1995), respectively. The key words in the titles of the papers of the first volume, *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century BC* (Ward and Jukowsky 1992), express the notion of the cultural disintegration, discontinuity, catastrophe, nucleation, crisis years, decline, dislocation, cultural change, and collapse that characterized this period. Also, the sub-title, "From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris," exhibits clearly another dimension of the debate, namely the vast geographical scope encompassed in the discussion. The second volume, Mediterranean Peoples in Transition, presents a much broader canvas of the late second millennium B.C.E. and the wide range of related subjects under debate (Gitin, Mazar, and Stern 1998). The two volumes also reflect vividly the disagreement among students on literally every aspect under consideration: the identification of the main "actors on the stage," the interpretation of the cause or causes responsible for the "1200 crisis," the synchronization of the historical events alluded to in the respective Egyptian, Hittite, and Ugaritic texts, and the correlation of the historical and archaeological records. In consequence, modern scholarship is still largely challenged by the very basic questions of just who the Sea Peoples were and whence they came, as well as those focusing on the process of their migration and settlement, acculturation, and subsequent assimilation.

The series of presentations, discussions, and workshops that constituted the program of the Philadelphia seminar addressed the following major themes: Egyptian sources relating to the Sea Peoples, including a historical overview on Egypt and western Asia during the late New Kingdom (D. B. Redford), a re-examination of the historical texts (D. Silverman), a study of the structure and composition of the Medinet Habu reliefs (D. O'Connor), as well as a study of the Sea Peoples' ships portrayed on Egyptian reliefs (S. Wachsmann). The discussions on the northern littoral dealt with the Hittite and Ugaritic texts concerning the end of the Hittite Empire (I. Singer), the archaeological testimony from Anatolia on the collapse of the Hittite Empire (M. Mellink), a review of the archaeological evidence at Ras Shamra–Ugarit (A. Caubet), as well as a presentation of the early Iron Age strata at Gordion (M. M. Voigt and R. C. Henrickson). They also included a systematic analysis of the biblical traditions regarding the history of the Philistines and Israelites (P. Machinist), a survey of material remains from Late Cypriote Bronze Age sites and current interpretation on the settlement and movement of the Sea Peoples (V. Karageorghis), and a study of Mycenaean IIIC pottery in Cyprus (B. Kling). Other topics covered included the contribution of Aegean archaeology to the discussion on the origin of the Sea Peoples (P. P. Betancourt), and the western Mediterranean at the time of the Sea Peoples (L. Vagnetti).

A major section of the seminar was devoted to various archaeological and historical aspects of the Sea Peoples and the Philistines in the land of Canaan, including a reconstruction of the initial phase of their settlement (T. Dothan), the cultural interaction of the Philistines and their neighbors in Canaan (L. E. Stager), the current state of research concerning the chronology and mechanism of settlement of the Philistines (I. Finkelstein), and regional aspects of Philistine settlement along the Phoenician coast (E. Stern) and the Jordan Valley (J. N. Tubb). Finally, a comparative study of temples and cult practices in Palestine, Cyprus, and the Aegean (A. Mazar), as well as a survey of Aegean-style ceramics in Iron Age I context in Canaan (A. E. Killebrew) were covered.

In conclusion, I hope that the program of the Philadelphia seminar contributed to a better understanding of the Sea Peoples phenomenon and that the present volume will serve as an impetus and agenda for future study.

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1

Egypt and Western Asia in the Late New Kingdom: An Overview

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Writing an overview of relations between Egypt and its territorial acquisitions in the north during the New Kingdom is a daunting task. It is not so much the chronological parameters that terrify, although the 19th and 20th Dynasties do cover nearly 300 years. Rather, the wealth and range of evidence, spanning as it does such varied disciplines as philology, linguistics, economics, archaeology, art, comparative litterature (belletristics), as well as the narrowed interest of Egyptology, Assyriology, Hittitology and Biblical Studies, requires the kind of polymath the 19th century claims to have produced. I feel constrained, therefore, to concentrate on a limited objective which can broadly speaking be said to be within the purview of the historian, viz. the written source material available on the Egyptian side and how it can and has been used to illumine the relationship.

A number of questions sketch the outlines of the historian's task as I see it. What kinds of sources are we dealing with for the imperial age, and where are the gaps? Would the Egyptians have understood our jargon; in fact, did they have a word for "empire"? How did they justify their annexations in Western Asia? More to the point: exactly what did Egypt want in the north, and by what mechanisms did she seek to acquire it? What was the role of the mercenary? The entrepreneurial trader? Were there such in fact? To what extent can we chronicle the last act of the imperial drama in Asia, the *Götterdammerung* as it were, of Pharaoh's Levantine dominion? Because of space not all these questions can be addressed. But, properly to tackle the numerous problems arising out of the topic, all these questions must be met head on and no issue can be side-stepped. In particular certain scenarios constructed by current Old Testament Studies and biblical archaeology must be seen for what they are: tendentious arguments resulting in flights of fancy which have nothing to do with reality.

Sources: Genres

While "genre-studies" have fallen out of favour in some quarters, the form-critical evaluation the term implies remains as necessary a first step as ever it was. Those investigations which have been undertaken

(Gundlach 1977; Helck 1977; Bleiberg 1983; 1985/6; Smith 1995; Galan 1995) show how profitable the results may be.

The archival penchant of the ancient Egyptian chancery resulted, at all periods of Egypt's long history, in the production of masses of documentation which left nothing unrecorded which might be of use to the state in maintaining itself and its revenues. A culling of the relevant texts which are extant yields a profile of the contents of the state archives at any given period (Schott 1990; Redford 1986). The check-list for the New Kingdom is given in Table 1. Of the documents listed the most important for the student of political history would undoubtedly have been the "day-book," especially that "of the king's-house. The "day-book" is a type of record in place and functioning long before the New Kingdom. But, apart from the reigns of Thutmose III, Amenophis II, Thutmose IV and Ramesses II (when use of day-book entries as a source for monumental inscriptions is attested), this rich potential source has not survived (Redford 1986a; 1986b).

Numerous extant inscriptions(Martin 1986; Redford in press) do, however, take their rise from events dated by day-book entries. The clearest example is the royal decree, the *wḏ-nsw*, often delivered in the first person and setting forth a law, regulation or course of action. The broad category subsumed under the rubric "triumph stela" (*wḏ n nḫtw*, perhaps better "stela of mighty deeds") usually commemorates an event (or events) specifically dated to year, month and day. Although in most cases the event that gave occasion to the composition—military escapade or public work—is quite evident, the finished piece is embellished with rhetorical devices to a degree of bombast that for us moderns renders the content suspect. The purpose shows through clearly as the promotion of the royal personna, and, at times, the royal individual, as well as the god-ordained system they represent. The same purpose is shared by a sort of royal encomium which, while appearing in the 18th Dynasty, undoubtedly has its roots in the past. At first a chatty recounting of deeds of strength and valor (Edel 1979), the type had developed by the 19th Dynasty into a rigid and metrically arranged "song," sung to harp accompaniment (Roeder, 1952) in which the king's double cartouche ended each strophe. Self-promoting but at the same time often factual, is a genre of royal speeches (ostensibly) transcribed on the occasion of a royal seance or appearance. These might be compared with our "speeches from the throne," or "state-of-the-union addresses," in that they range broadly over *res gestae* and/or plans for the future. That we should treat them as the genuine *obiter dicta* of the kings in question finds support in the clear traces of idiolect to be detected in their diction and style. Another text-type, deriving from a royal day-book entry recording a royal decision, was the building inscription. The simplest format consisted of a tripartite formula: 1. king's name(s) and epithets, 2. the phrase "he made it as his monument for (god X), 3. the specific reference to what was constructed ("making/building for him a . . ."). The formula could easily be embellished, however, and the not infrequent result is an encomium on the king's mighty deeds.

The formal, inscribed records described in brief above, along with the bas-reliefs depicting Pharaoh's eternal victory, were intended to convey a clear message to be consumed by the public at large. Significantly, reliefs were carved on external walls, visible to all, and stelae were set up on the avenues approaching a temple. Texts were intended to be read aloud by those who could read for the benefit of those who could not; and battle-reliefs were glossed by captions and "aides-memoires" to enable a reader to make it all understandable to the great unwashed (Bleiberg 1985/6).

Two important *caveats* deserve to be acknowledged at this point. First, the vast majority of the modern historian's "sources" for the period of the Egyptian empire come from *Theban* inscriptions and reliefs. Remove these, and no one can write a history of the New Kingdom. Without entering upon a disquisition as to whether a northern city, Memphis, Pi-Ramesses or any other, once enjoyed embellishment with "historical" stelae,[1] Thebes retains in the New Kingdom a hold on such records; and the reason appears to be twofold. First, the royal family of the 18th Dynasty was Theban in origin, and the Karnak temple functioned partly as a display place for royal memorials. Second, Amun (for whatever historical reason) had been promoted as guarantor of the empire at an early date, and the beneficiary of booty brought back from the foreign wars. Thebes might not, therefore, unreasonably be expected, even in its ruined state, to proffer more texts and reliefs which contain records of events, than other Egyptian cities.

A second *caveat* has to do with the wisdom of our reliance (as historians) on any given text. In Egypt, as in other ancient cultures, there is a constant tension between the need to adulate the head-of-state and the gods, and the need to identify a real event as the motive for doing so. In the case of the gods the motivation will arise out of mythological acts. This could be true for the king too; but more often than not the occasion for a hymn or triumph stela was claimed to be a deed in the recent past. What, however, would prevent the need for a paeon overriding the fact that the king in question had not done anything? In that case a scribe might either invent, borrow or lapse into banal, formulaic jargon. But how are we to know if the event is real or fabricated? A rigorous application of form critical analysis cannot be dispensed with in this regard; but even so, unless a more prosaic and fact-filled document comes to light covering a reign, it may be impossible to estimate the degree to which we can trust high-flown verbiage. One rule of thumb is proving itself increasingly useful in its application: an Egyptian often turned a single, perhaps ephemeral, experience into the basis for a generalizing title, epithet or figure of speech. A local bigwig living on the frontier calls himself "governor of all foreign lands"(Redford 1990, 5–6; read: I made three trips into southern tribal districts). A treasurer says that he "commanded multitudes in alien lands . . . attained the limits of the foreign lands on his feet, and trod through difficult valleys" (Gardiner-Cerny 1952 no.54; read: I visited the Sinai mines in year 45 and organized the native labor-force). A king prides himself on having brightened Thebes with great monuments, and boasts victories over every foreign land (*Herihor*, pl. 20–21 and passim; read: he continued decoration on a small temple begun by his ancestors, and got himself embroiled in a war in Nubia). No matter whether epitheta, both royal and private, can be viewed within the context of societal mimesis as part of the enhancement of roles within a hierarchy; the specific choice among available formulae may have been occasioned by a real event.

Ramesside Sources

In spite of the destruction of Amarna monuments, the historian of the reigns from Amenophis III to Tutankhamun finds himself in a somewhat better position than his counterpart with 19th Dynasty interests (Murnane 1985). The latter enters upon a period when the Amarna correspondence (Moran, 1987) has ceased, the deeds of Suppiluliumas as recalled by his son (Guterbock 1956) have terminated, and later Hittite annals are found to be fragmentary or missing. More specifically cuneiform texts mentioning Egypt from Hittite or north Syrian sites are sparse in the extreme (among others, see Spalinger 1979, 1992; Courtois 1988; Sigrist 1993). There is a thinning out of Egyptian texts which the historian might use, and an increase in the rhetorical "triumph stelae." Painting and relief, though fascinating for what they portray, tend to the generic or lack captions: the scenes from Horemheb's private tomb tell us nothing specific and force us to make inferences (Martin 1987, 1989). The reliefs from Horemheb's reign have, until now,[2] left us guessing as to whether they are his alone, or are copied from Tutankhamun. And the majestic reliefs of Sety I on the north wall of the Karnak hypostyle (Murnane 1985), though glossed by toponyms and gentilics, are programmatic in the extreme and conceal from us important information as to campaigns, dates and territorial range. Sety's stelae are highly rhetorical and, unlike those of Thutmose III, Amenophis II and Ramesses II (to name but a few) give no evidence of being based on, or even excerpting, the king's *obiter dicta*. Matters are different with Ramesses II. For the Kadesh campaign of year 5 (Goedicke 1985; Ockinga, 1987 among others) we have, of Bulletin, relief-scenes and the so-called "poem" (Fecht 1984) over 14 exemplars; and while problems connected with these accounts continue to bedevil Kadesh studies, they are of a relatively minor nature.

It is when we attempt to make sense of the post-Kadesh campaigns that the inferiority of our sources becomes a hindrance. In large part the material comes once again from Thebes:[3] the reliefs on the external walls of the first court at Luxor, the reliefs on the external south wall of the Karnak hypostyle and the west wall of the 7th pylon court; the reliefs on the inner face of the north massif of the Ramesseum pylon, and the inner east wall of the hypostyle of the same temple. (Reliefs from the temples in Nubia, with some notable exceptions, are largely generic). Cuneiform texts from Khattusas, Ugarit and Aphek have only a limited bearing on the subject at hand (Edel 1994; Courtois 1988; Spalinger 1979; 1992; Owen 1981).

A geographical sequencing of the contents of these reliefs is possible, although whether this corresponds to a chronological sequence is another matter. The Ramesseum pylon texts, unimaginative in conception, at least bear the repeated formula (in all but one case) "city which H.M. captured in year 8." The names which can be identified—Gibbethon, Migdol, 'ayin-no'am, Beth-Anath, Qinah, Marom, Salem—fit a Palestinian (Galilean?) milieu. The cities shown assaulted on the south wall of the Karnak hypostyle are identified by columns of texts lacking dates. Some of the names—Accho, Arkat(?), Mutara, [U]llaza(?)—point to the Phoenician coast. The west wall of the Luxor forecourt continues the progression: Mutara (Lebanon), Satuna, Dapur ("the town of Khatte in the land of Naharin"). We would have, then, the sequence Palestine (the Ramesseum), Phoenician coast (Karnak), Phoenicia/Naharin (Luxor-Ramesseum) which could be construed as a reflexion of military action from year 8 into the late second decade of Ramesses' reign.

This leaves the battle scenes on the east wall of the Luxor forecourt unaccounted for (Kitchen 1964). Like other Ramesside text-bands identifying "the city which the mighty arm of Pharaoh captured . . .," the captions to the cities represented have undergone recutting in almost every case. In the original text

Moab and Diban seem to occur, which conjures up a transjordanian milieu. In view of the importance attached to the upland route from Kerak north (Redford 1982) this might well be the case. Part of the rhetorical text accompanying the king's figure on the wall speaks of smashing Khatte and Qode, which might militate in favor of the end of the second decade of the reign as the *terminus post quem*.

One activity that often intrudes on the empirical reconstruction of the history of the New Kingdom is the attempt to interleave a preconceived version of early Hebrew history into the time frame. Since such an attempt often considers only the biblical sources, and then at the superficial level of confessional adherence, one can only expect that historians will be diverted from critical scholarship into pointless rejoinder and polemic. Three examples may be cited to illustrate, all having to do with the Exodos and Sojourn.

The first is a series of reliefs on the west external wall of the 7th pylon court at Karnak (Yurco 1986; Redford 1986a), which never would have excited much interest were it not for the unusual construction placed upon them. Now, in a diatribe masquerading as a review, K.A. Kitchen has fulminated against any who would dare not to accept this construction, and has imputed motivation to blacken his opponent (Kitchen 1994).[4] Unfortunately his zeal in espousing the least likely interpretation has lead him to prejudge the issue and to defend the indefensible by the usual ingenuities characteristic of apologetics. The south wall of the Karnak hypostyle was originally decorated with a major set of Kadesh reliefs which were apparently continued on the exterior west wall of the 7th pylon court. These were balanced(?) by another Kadesh record on the external west walls of the 8th and 9th pylon courts. Whether the two were contemporary, or whether the second superceded the first in the broad scheme of decoration is difficult to say; but certainly the first, i.e. that on the south wall of the hypostyle, was designed to lead the viewer's gaze around the corner of the 7th pylon wall to terminate at the stela containing the Egypto-Hittite treaty. The south wall of the hypostyle and the west wall of the 7th pylon court (up to the treaty) are now palimpsest, a new sequence of reliefs depicting assaults on cities having been carved over the original Kadesh scenes. The assault scenes are arranged in 3 registers which run the length of the wall, and the same three registers with the same scene-types, are picked up on the west wall of the 7th pylon court, the whole again ending in the treaty text which was allowed to stand. The decorative scheme is all of a piece on the hypostyle wall and on the pylon court wall, and *a fortiori* bespeaks a single design, time and hand. (Beyond the treaty-text is the assault and captivity of Ashkelon, which must have focused on some now-lost gate). All the cities shown assaulted on the south wall of the hypostyle from the west end of the wall to the door are identified in columns of text. Beyond the door at the east end of the wall three vignettes with forts are carved (Gaballa 1969) and on the adjacent 7th pylon court wall a further three (originally). Although the titles of the king and his epithets have been finished, none of these vignettes identifies the cities involved: the columns for the texts were never filled in. The style, however, in all these assault scenes as well as in the Ashkelon scene is purely Ramesses II, and nothing separates them from the acknowledged Ramesside scenes earlier in the sequence on the hypostyle wall(Sourouzian 1989, 150). In fact the names of Ramesses II's chariot team and the figure of his fourth son Khamwese are plainly carved on the west wall of the 7th pylon court! To conjure up without a particle of evidence, as Kitchen does, *another* Khamwese (a "cousin"!) is baseless subterfuge. That Merneptah, Sety II and perhaps others carved their names in available cartouches on this wall is no proof whatsoever of anything beyond a well-attested desire to appropriate what was left unfinished by a predecessor. If Kitchen hangs upon the curious argument that Ashkelon does not occur in Ramesses II's inscriptions whereas it does in Merneptah's, let him ponder the saw: absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.

The second example is the Merneptah stela, Cairo 32025, a fascinating and important text, which in recent years has come in for more than its share of attention (cf. among others, Fecht 1983; Hornung 1983; Ahlstrom-Edelman 1985; Huddleston 1991; Hasel 1994; cf. von der Way 1992). The text would probably qualify as a "triumph-stela," although it has aspects of a song-encomium, and is set up metrically.[5] It comprises 8 stanzas of varying length, with an introductory section (date and expanded embellishment of the royal titulary). The content is as follows:

Date and variations on titulary

I 6 couplets of varying length (beginning 2:2, ending 4:4)
content: Pharaoh as a predator who has rid Egypt and Memphis of the enemy threat
Royal cartouches

II 16 couplets, mainly 4:4, but ending 2:2
content: praise of the king as liberator, description of the rout of the Libyans, description of the flight and humiliation of chief Maraya
Royal cartouches built into a 3:3 line

III 16 couplets, almost wholly 4:4
content: popular sayings, Libyans removed and destroyed, king's physical prowess, the gods protect Egypt, Maraya judged by divine tribunal
Prenomen built into a 4:4 line

IV 3 couplets, 4:4
content: king liberates Egypt and the Egyptians
Nomen

V 7 couplets, mostly 3:3, ending in 3:2
content: king avenges the land, aphorism re criminal and ill-gotten gain, Maraya, would-be violator of Memphis
Royal cartouches

VI 4 couplets, 4:4, ending in 3:3:3
content: Ptah curses him and hands him over to **Nomen**; all power comes from Amun
Royal cartouches

VII 18 couplets, mostly 2:2, ending in 4:4
content: how beloved is the king, **Nomen**, by the people; they talk of his mighty deeds; description of the countryside, roads, forts, pastures in bucolic mode: peace has returned to Egypt
Royal cartouches

VIII 5 couplets, all 4:4
content: peace has been imposed in all lands by force
Royal cartouches

Over 90% of the stela is devoted to praise of the king as Egypt's champion, the description of the defeat of the Libyans, the discomfiture of the chief Maraya, the relief of Memphis and Heliopolis, and the return of peacetime conditions. At the end comes a tiny snippet, a piece of jingoist doggerel, worthy of a 19th century music-hall: all the world is at Merneptah's feet! And who among the people and places of the earth does the scribe select, pars pro toto, to represent the whole earth? Libya first of course; then Khatte correctly stated (because of the treaty) to be in friendly relations (*ḥtpw*). Then, south to north on the lowland route, Gaza, Ashkelon, Gezer and Yeno'am, Israel in the highlands, Kharu the Levant, and then "all lands." The nine items used in this stanza, 4 territorial subdivisions, 4 cities and one term of summation derive from the reference to the "Nine Bows" at the head of the stanza; the picture inspiring the poet is the scene of obeisance in which chiefs prostrate themselves flat ("there's not one that lifts his head . . ."). The specific toponyms are simply those named and depicted in the war-reliefs of Sety I and Ramesses II on the walls of the Amun Temple itself. For stanza VIII belongs to that genre which celebrates a city, district or monument by reference to the disposition of its components or its specific decoration: Redford 1986a.[6]

To extract the Palestinian towns and Israel (five names) out of stanza VIII and identify them with the towns (originally four, but augmented by the addition of Ashkelon on the other side of the treaty!) left unfinished at the north end of the 7th pylon court wall, is not only arbitrary but mystifying (Yurco 1986, 1990; Rainey 1991). If absence of identification is the enticement, why not add the three cities around the corner, on the east end of the hypostyle wall? How can we possibly know what names were intended in the individual panels? It is arguable that *none* was intended, for the scenes were clearly carved in *anticipation* of the need to "chalk up" another conquest, should such a record be needed. That none was inscribed means that no conquest presented itself! The sole purpose of stanza VIII is to underscore the results of *pax Aegyptiaca*, not to catalogue any specific conquests of Merneptah, and how the latter viewed the wall scenes in question is wholly unknown to us. Stanza VIII and the wall scenes constitute a very unreliable source for the reign.

Finally one may cite the Sethnakhte stela from Elephantine as an example of the type of document that entices some to elicit evidence for the Exodus (for sources and discussion see most recently Goedicke 1996). The cure for this temptation lies simply in a reading of the inscription itself:

> [Live] the Majesty of (full embellished titulary of Sethnakhte).
>
> Since the land was in desolation, and Egypt had drifted away from trusting in god, [this great god(?)] extended his hand, and chose His Majesty l.p.h. out of myriads, disregarding hundreds of thousands ahead of him. [All lands] were under his authority, (he was) one who removed [their] distress [. . .] like Re, who lifted up(?) all heads, [. . . who refur]bished the [temple] sites.
>
> Now His Majesty l.p.h. was like his father Seth, [one who flexed] his arms in order to snatch Egypt from [him that had vio]lated her; his might was all-encompassing in protecting [her]. The [crim]inals before him, fear of him seized their hearts, and they fled—(as) tits and sparrows with a falcon after them—having abandoned the gold, silver and [bronze] of Egypt which they gave to these Asiatics to bring about a quick victory for them; for the [chiefs] of Egypt were disastrous conspirators and ineffectual plotters(?). Then every god and every goddess manifested their oracle to the perfect god (i.e. Sethnakhte), proclaiming a bloody victory through him; and the gods pronounced their judgement at break of light.
>
> [Regnal year] 2, 10th month, day 10. There was no more opposition to His Majesty l.p.h. in all lands. One came to say to His Majesty l.p.h. "Thine heart be glad, O lord of this land! The things that the god proclaimed have come to pass: thine enemies no longer exist upon earth, for no army nor chariotry has power except through thy father! The temples are

opened [. . .] and free access is had to the stores of the gods. . ."

Apart from bribing Asiatics with gold, silver and bronze, which in a vague way recalls the Israelite "despoiling of the Egyptians" (Exod. 12:35–36), I can see little here that even suggests the Exodus. The text is cryptic, but clearly alleges a conspiracy by Egyptian authorities to take over the throne of Egypt with Asiatic help, a move thwarted by the gods and Sethnakhte. Much more tempting and profitable than any comparison with the Exodus would be an investigation as to whether the allusions herein are to the chancellor Beya, alias "Chief of the Guards" as he is called at Ugarit. (For the Merneptah-Beya correspondence with Ugarit, see now Lackenbacher 1995, and sources listed.)

Egypt and its Northern Acquisitions

By the first generation of the 20th Dynasty the Egyptian administration of their West Asiatic empire had not only achieved a time-honored and complex form, but had become something of a god-ordained tradition which informed the very fabric of society, art and literature.[7] The development of an imperial administration covered over two centuries, and was at the beginning *ad hoc*. But for all its eventual complexity, it had passed into total oblivion by the turn of the millennium.

Within a century of its creation the empire had passed through two relatively short-lived stages of evolution. The first, occupying the reigns of Thumose III, Amenophis II and Thutmose IV, had constituted a period of expansion in which most of the nation's energy had been expended on conquest and immediate consolidation, while the administration of the newly-won land remained rudimentary. The second, which we see reflected in the Amarna Letters, covered most of the 14th cent. B.C. (the reign of Amenophis III and the Amarna Period) down to the inception of the 19th Dynasty. This was a time when circuit commissioners (an extension of the old *ḫ3ty*, "border patrol"), drawn from the N.C.O.s of the military, were employed to oversee the towns of Canaan, each allotted a discrete number in a particular district. Some well-situated cities, such as Gaza, Jerusalem and Sumur, were turned over wholly to the army, and housed a garrison with its commandant. The formative period of the Asiatic empire, the product of 18th Dynasty "policy," meant disaster for the native population of the territory. The land was milked by Egyptian tax-collectors who imposed on the locals the same taxes they were familiar with on the Nile; and towns and villages (especially in the Palestinian highlands) suffered depopulation. Pharaoh was overlord, and would tolerate no rival suzerain. Consequently any with pretensions to "Great Kingships" were done away with. All town leaders were reduced to the status of "mayor" (*ḥazanu*) who were obliged to take an oath of loyalty in the king's name and despatch their children to court for their education but also against the future good behaviour of their fathers.

By the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, around the turn of the 13th cent. B.C., Egypt's Asiatic holdings had been placed within a tighter and more regularized system of administration. To the extent that this system could boast integrity and a measure of success, we may speak of a third, Ramesside, stage in the evolution of the northern empire. The military route from Egypt to Asia was consolidated by the construction of way-stations, each with its blockhouse and water-hole. Canaan itself played host to rather more Egyptian garrisons than formerly; and for the first time in any numbers resident governors (*imy-r ḫ3st*; Akk. *šakin mâti*) are attested in major towns. In fact the ubiquity of Egyptian commissioners in the northern lands finds archaeological reflexion in the number of excavated houses with Egyptian ground plans at Palestinian sites of LB II date (Oren 1984). While permanent residence appears to be the norm for the Ramesside period, the itinerant circuit officer of the Amarna Letters survived in the person of the "charioteer. . .and king's-messenger to every foreign land." Often drawn from the middle and upper echelons of the military establishment, and trained as a scribe, the "king's-messenger" cut a dashing figure in popular imagination, and turns up in New Kingdom literature.

The heightened interest of the Ramessides (in contrast to the Thutmosids) in Egyptian territory in the Levant may be put down to several changes in the geopolitical make-up of Western Asia. For one thing, the 19th Dynasty hailed from the eastern Delta and were closer to and more familiar with Palestine than their predecessors. The favour with which they (again in contrast to the Thutmosids) contemplated the Canaanite cults and the Hyksos tradition, sharpened their focus on the north and things northern in general. For a second thing, there had now arisen in north Syria with a base in Asia Minor, a major power oriented by geographical considerations towards Coele-Syria and the Levantine coast. Before the end of Akhenaten's reign the Hittites had posed scarcely a threat to Egyptian interests: under the Ramessides they were locked in a titanic struggle for territorial gain. A third possible factor in explaining the increased Egyptian presence in Canaan and the tightening of their administrative mechanisms may be found in the presence of intruding bedu (*Shasu*) from the close of the 14th cent. B.C. (Giveon 1972, 39–60; Ahlstrom 1986, 59–60). While it is difficult to assess how much weight to attach to their activity, or whether the word "threat" is at all justified, the uncontrolled movement and marauding capabilities of the Shasu bands, however small, would have undoubtedly have occasioned a substantial "police" presence.

The two centuries between 1300 B.C. and the collapse of the northern empire was one of the few periods of history in which Egypt and Western Asia enjoyed a true community of interest and a reciprocal interpenetration of culture. Trade flourished all over the eastern Mediterranean, especially following the Egypto-Hittite treaty of Ramesses II's 21st year, and involved Hittites and their congeners, Canaanites and Egyptians. Not only did goods change hands but ideas as well. On the Egyptian side we can point to the implanting of Canaanite cults (Stadelmann 1967), the appearance of Canaanite myths and folklore (Redford 1992), the impact of the Canaanite language (Hoch 1994), the borrowing of Asiatic military techniques (Grimal 1981). In Canaan the degree of "Egyptianization" is more difficult to guage in view of the paucity of contemporary written records. But biblical traditions (Williams 1971; Görg 1989), Egyptianizing artefacts (Mumford 1997), and the clear case of Byblos and the Phoenician coast (Wagner 1980; Padro 1987; Leclant 1990) suggest that at a pre-Iron Age date Egypt had already bequeathed a certain spiritual legacy to the northern world which was lasting. We should not, however, overestimate Egypt's contribution. In general Egyptian culture transplanted poorly in western Asia. At no time can we detect a collective will in the Egyptian populace towards promoting their own way of life beyond their Sinai frontiers, either by colonization or forcible conversion. It is even arguable that Egyptians resisted such cultural proselytizing among the Asiatics who, in their perception, were a wholly worthless lot (Helck 1955), to be exploited, uprooted and enslaved for the benefit of Egypt. It is the Canaanite experience of empire, coupled with this racist and exclusive attitude that transformed Egypt, at one level of Canaan's collective memory, into a "house of bondage" in a tradition that outlasted the trauma of the 12th–11th centuries.

The Sea Peoples and the End of the Empire

The Sea Peoples as a topic spans so many disciplines that it defies the conventional training of a modern student. Yet it is precisely the multi-disciplinary approach that will bear fruit. Nearly twenty years ago the author argued (Redford 1979) for a sort of Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk* (Stein 1960, 4) in which every conceivable technique, field of study and expertise would be brought to bear upon an intractable and multi-faceted problem. Some projects, basically archaeological in conception, have become showpieces of such an approach; and, to the extent that it fits such a model, the Sea Peoples too are ready for this kind of concerted attack. But with fundamental connexions in the classical and biblical worlds, there is always the danger that dispassionate study will provoke defensive and tendentious reaction. The result is all too familiar: the evidence from *my* area or discipline is of more significance than that from *your* area or discipline.

Until recently in-depth criticism, both of text and reliefs, has not figured prominently in studies of the Sea Peoples. In terms of texts the inscription of year 8 at Medinet Habu represents the only connected, contemporary account of the "invasion" by one who enjoyed a panoramic view of the whole from his seat on the Nile. Yet the text is anything but a sober, fact-filled record. The speaker (Ramesses III?) couches a smattering of details in a metrical structure larded with high-flown figures of speech, and clearly strives for rhetorical effect rather than reasoned argument. A superficial reading which takes metaphor, simile and metonymy at face value can only result in eggregious error in attempting to reconstruct the event (cf. Nibbi 1975; Drews 1993, 53 and passim). Though steps have been taken in this direction (Widmer 1976; Edel 1984; Cifola 1988; Raban 1989; van Essche-Merchez 1992), a more rigorous textual and historical criticism awaits application to the Medinet Habu reliefs. For example: to what extent can we trust the representations of the Sea Peoples? how precise are the scribes in their use of determinatives?[8] why does the text of year 8 lack calendrics, while the other historical texts show them? does the Medinet Habu text telescope events? how precise a chronology is it possible to build? Finally: while the attack of year 8 is perceived as an historical watershed (Helck 1979; Schachermeyer 1986), terminating in the permanent settlement of Tjeker and Peleset on Egypt's doorstep, yet throughout the remainder of Ramesses III's reign and possibly for 15 years beyond, the empire in Palestine remained intact. Is there an inherent contradiction here? (Stadelman 1969; Helck 1979; Bietak 1993).

What has been said above is born out by the state of present research: problems of interpretation abound, not only at the level of minutiae, but also in the heady expanse of the overview. The political historian might well opine that the rush to conclusion is "jumping the gun," that the evidence is not yet all in. The ethnic terms, for example, with which the components of the coalition are identified have long provided latitude for dogmatic assertion. The Eqwesh and the Tjeker are but the most recent examples (Redford 1983; Edel 1984; Gorg 1985; Redford in press). There will probably always be a gap between identification on the basis of contemporary cultural assemblages and the later folkloric evidence from biblical and classical sources. But while the archaeologist may denigrate the value of the latter—they are, after all, in disciplines beyond his normal purview—his insouciance nonetheless prompts an important question. What precise bearing does this material have on our problem, given the fact that from four to six centuries separate even the earliest of the late traditions from the events themselves? Attempts to subject the biblical evidence to scrutiny have been on the whole sound and useful (Brug 1985; Dothan 1992; Noort 1994), those on classical sources rather less so. Perhaps it will be our fate to be obliged to live with ambiguity, bias and a job half done until some new major source of information, undoubtedly textual, comes to light.

Quite apart from when and precisely how the last Egyptian commissioner left Palestinian soil, we are in a better position today to pronounce upon the conditions requisite for the loss of Egypt's political clout in the Levant. It seems almost axiomatic that the following create an atmosphere inimical to the existence of a Nilotic "empire" beyond Suez: 1. a substantial population in Palestine; 2. autonomous and hostile enclaves in the highlands; 3. inability (on Egypt's part) to control the transit corridors; and 4. the presence of a political entity with aspirations to the status of "great kingship." With the advent of Israel and the Philistines conditions 2 and 3 were met; the creation of the United Monarchy satisfied numbers 1 and 4.

The Medinet Habu Records Bearing on the "Sea Peoples"

The textual and pictorial records from Egyptian sources of attempted invasion of the Delta by the Sea Peoples are limited essentially to the reigns of Merenptah and Ramesses III. From Merenptah's reign there exist a prose record and a "Song"-stela;[9] from Ramesses III come the texts and reliefs from Medinet Habu,[10] a "Song"-stela from Deir el-Medina,[11] general or generic references from Karnak, and a possible reference (fragmentary) from Nubia.[12] Of these the Medinet Habu records far out-weight the others in size and importance.

THE RELIEFS FROM MEDINET HABU

The records mentioning the Sea Peoples at Medinet Habu are to be found on the exterior face of the north wall and the eastern face of the south wing of the Second Pylon (pictorial record), and the eastern face of the north massif of the same pylon (text). They cannot, however, be separated out from the other military records on the temple walls, and the Egyptian artists and scribes never intended them to be viewed and read in isolation. The reliefs depicting the war against the Sea Peoples account for 36% (424.4 m^2) of all the battle reliefs (8 sequences) in the temple; and of the ten scene-types in the military repertoire of the Medinet Habu artists seven are to be found in the Sea Peoples' series. By and large they are very well executed reliefs, exemplars of a long evolution of the battle genre, but by the same token they tend towards the generic more than an historian might wish. Demands of the Pharaonic tradition and the cultic link to Amun exert restrictions on the content of the reliefs which may be distorting. Similarly compass direction plays a role in dictating placement and sequence. The first Libyan campaign and the Sea Peoples Campaign are integrated to the extent that they share in common a commission-scene and a presentation-scene. They, along with the Nubian campaign on the west wall, display an interlocking unity and devotion to detail which betokens a single stage in lay-out and execution, in contrast to the Second Libyan and the two Asiatic campaigns (Table 1).

Stereotypes dominate the contents of scenes. The attitudes and activities of component figures are limited and predictable. The king, for example, is shown in only seven basic postures, and his costume has a limited range. The attitudes and activities of common soldiers and mercenaries have an even more restricted number of options, belying the usual conclusions regarding hierarchy of importance in such

TABLE 1.1. THE BATTLE RELIEFS FROM MEDINET HABU

Scene Type	Nubian	1st Libyan [exterior]	1st Libyan [interior]	Sea Peoples	2nd Libyan [exterior]	2nd Libyan [interior]	Syrian	Amurru
I. Commission		pl. 13 [25m²]*		pl. 29 [42m²]●				
II. Cult Processional		pl. 14 [27m²]						
III. Mustering						pl. 62 [65m²]*■		
IV. Departure		pl. 16 [46m²]*					pl. 87 [41.6m²]*	pl. 94 [69m²]*
V. March to War		pl. 17 [47m²]*■		pl. 31 [32m²]●	pl. 68 [45m²]●	pl. 72 [71m²]*■	pl. 88 [42.5m²]*■	
VI. Battle	pl. 9 [23m²]●■	pl. 18 [33m²]*■	pl. 19 [28.5m²]●■	pl. 33-34 [50.4m²]* pl. 37 *(Naumachia)* [87m²]*	pl. 70 [31m²]●		pl. 90 [29m²]●	
VII. Collecting booty/captives		pl. 22 [49m²]*	pl. 23 [53m²]*	pl. 42 [61m²]●	pl. 73 [17.5m²]● pl. 74 [15.7m²]	pl. 75 [48m²]●	pl. 91 [16.2m²]	pl. 96 [31m²]●■
VIII. March Home	pl. 10 [21.25m²]*		pl. 24 [23m²]*■		pl. 77 [21m²]*		pl. 92 [19.6m²]	pl. 98 [26.6m²]*
IX. Hunt				pl. 35 [35m²]●				
X. Presentation	pl. 11 [50m²]○		pl. 26 [29m²]○	pl. 43 [37m²]* pl. 44 *(interior)* [80m²]○	pl. 78 [18.2m²]●		pl. 93 [19m²]*	pl. 99 [26m²]●
Total No. of Scenes	3 [94.25m²]	6 [227m²]	4 [133.5m²]	8 [424.4m²]	6 [148.4m²]	3 [184m²]	6 [167.7m²]	4 [152.6m²]

* = War crown (19)
● = Nubian helmet (15)
■ = Sea Peoples present
○ = *hmhm* (3)

scenes. The desired visual affect of a scene often dictates arrangement and number. Echelon, for example, creates the visual impression of large numbers, and alternation of types of auxiliaries heterogenous mass. No eye-witness observation informs the number of figures in a scene, and it is unjustified therefore to use a number count to elicit cultural information. The number of groups of Sea Peoples is controlled solely by prior considerations of the draftsman, which sometimes border on tokenism. Similarly the presence of Sea Peoples as auxiliaries in the reliefs[13] cannot be pressed for historical conclusions. The composer of the scene uses them only to stress the message: " the foreign countries, once our enemies, now fight alongside us through awe of our might and that of Amun, and in admiration of our success."

THE TEXTS

Of the six campaigns recorded in the Medinet Habu reliefs only three (the two Libyan, and the Sea Peoples) are accompanied by a text record.[14] All three are dated but only the Second Libyan contains regnal year plus calendrics. Moreover, in the case of the text record of the Sea Peoples invasion, there is nothing to indicate to what the date "regnal year 8" refers; that is to say, nothing links the date to an event by a resumptive phrase such as "on this day came a messenger. . ./ the king was in . . ./ the day of the . . ." or the like. The style of all three text-records does not reflect an analystic style, and there is no reference, either directly or by implication, to anything like a "day-book."[15] Once (M-H II, pl. 75, C, col. 1-4) a banal text in which Pharaoh speaks to the crown-prince and the two viziers anouncing victory in the Second Libyan campaign is glossed by the phrase "in his own writing"; but it is unclear to what these words refer.

The *Sitz im Leben* of the Medinet Habu texts (including those accompanying and glossing the reliefs) is the discourse of the king to an audient assembly. Several times in the Medinet Habu inscriptions, as well as in P. Harris, the formula "the king himself speaks" is employed. It appears to be used in the main to introduce a speech in which the king is represented as delivering a command to someone (e.g. a prince; cf. M-H I, pl. 29, II, pl. 74, 91). Once it is used in conjunction with the king's statement at a formal royal seance (*ḥcy-nsw*: M-H IV, pl. 238 [thickness of the Window of Appearance, first court]); and once to introduce that part of the text-record, dated year 8, which follows the introductory lyric encomium and is placed in the mouth of the king (M-H I, pl. 46 col. 12). Similar *paroles royales*, but of a more general nature, are introduced by the formula "utterance" (*ḏd-mdw*: M-H I, pl. 22, 23, 42, 96). These too are directed towards individuals (rather than gods) in a "real life" setting.

Not all the extensive textual material is placed in the mouth of the king. The text of the First Libyan campaign (year 5), for example, is all in the third person. In the text record of the Sea Peoples campaign only from column 13 does the king speak, and in the record of the Second Libyan campaign (year 11) only from the end of column 56. A recurrent formula indicates that some of the king's speech is intended broadly speaking to be didactic: "Listen to me . . . pay attention to my words that you may understand my measures for keeping you alive, that you may know of the strength of my precious father Amun" (M-H II, pl. 46:13–14). In general passages thus introduced relate events in greater detail. The life-situation underlying these speeches is that of the "royal seance," the *ḥcy-nsw* or *ḥmst-nsw*;[16] and since the delivery at such seances was oral, rather than a reading, all the "rules" for oral composition and transmission become relevant.

As the most basic building block of oral composition, the oral formula (Egyptian *ṯsw*) presents itself for prime consideration. Governed by a prosody which organizes stichs on the basis of distribution of stressed syllables, Egyptian lyrical compositions must be studied by reference to their formulaic nature rather than their lexical content; and the most insightful study will focus upon phraseology and imagery rather than vocabulary.[17] Hemistichs, stichs and whole couplets, in fact, must be instantly recognizable and repeatable by the hearer; and consequently the orator must equip himself with a stock-in-trade of set phrases.

The texts which are found at Medinet Habu may be treated under several heads. First, they fall broadly speaking into two categories based on position: those which gloss relief-tableaux, and those which occupy their own wall space (text records). Under the former fall captions identifying component figures, royal epithets, "block-encomia" lauding the king, statements issued by the king and responses from his hearers. Second, as to internal structure, the encomia (both in the scenes and the text-records) are metrically arranged in the expected cola and couplets. In the text-record the format of the "Song-stela"[18] has exerted an influence: couplets are grouped into stanzas ending with the "Great Name" of the king in cartouches)although stanza length varies more than in a formal Song-stela). The king's *obiter dicta* are often arranged by metre too; but in the direct speech of the year 8 inscription they approximate "embellished prose," like Arabic *sejac*. Third, as befits lyrical, oral composition, the Medinet Habu texts show a style heavily larded with high flown imagery. Similes abound, metaphors occur to a lesser extent. The images themselves are in the mainstream of the evolution of the Egyptian panegyric, sometimes approaching the banal. A vocabulary of limited extent, peculiar to the Medinet Habu corpus might be taken to reflect an underlying idiolect; but whether this points to Ramesses III himself must remain a moot point.

A Critique of the Medinet Habu Records as Historical Sources

We have seen that concentration in the reliefs on generic elements, however detailed, coupled with satisfaction at mere tokenism, has fulfilled the limited and self-serving purpose of creating an impression. Similarly, it seems to have been more important to the composer of the texts to draw from his "poetical" stock-in-trade narrowly to conform to the genres of panegyric and speech, than to present a factual account from the Day-book of the King's-house. The capacity, therefore, of the Medinet Habu texts and reliefs to convey a specific historical record is seriously compromised from the outset.

As will have become apparent, a number of *caveats* are in order as a prolegomena to historical analysis. Reading significance into *number* of component elements of any kind in a given scene will inevitably be productive of error:[19] the artist/draftsman was guided more by preconditions of space and theme than the details of the events portrayed. There is, moreover, some question about any eisagesis that would seek to fill the blanks in the captions to figures of the crown prince and apply specific identifications (cf. M-H I, pl. 29; M-H II, pl. 74, 75, 91, 96; also IV, pl. 197; V, pl. 339):[20] the scene-type demanded a prince to assist his father and mediate his commands. The fact that no specific name was entered in the blank space left for such a purpose suggests that this specific detail does not correspond to reality: no blood prince in the actual event performed such tasks and possibly none was of age and available in the first decade of the reign. The same observation may invalidate those passages which constantly allude to the presence of "king's children" (M-H I, pl. 23, 42; II, pl. 75, 83, 96): "Ramesside" battle reliefs by the time of Ramesses III simply required their inclusion.[21]

Similarly, it is unwise to press into service the presence or absence of a foreigner or an ethnic designation or toponym in a scene or text to prove historical fact. Thus, those sequences devoted to the Nubian campaign, the First Libyan campaign and that against the Sea Peoples also mention "Asia" (*Stt*).[22] Ostensibly the main force of the Sea Peoples came within Egypt's ambit with the attack the record of which is dated to year 8. Yet a Philistine is shown fighting in the Nubian campaign (M-H I, pl. 9), and numerous Philistines, Sherden and Teresh turn up in the march to the first Libyan war (M-H I, pl. 17), in the battle (M-H I, pl. 19), and on the march home (M-H I, pl. 24). In the record dated to year 5 (M-H I, pl. 27–28, col. 51–52) there is already reference to the discomfiture which is the burden of the year 8 inscription: "Peleset and Tjeker, they are cut to pieces . . . their soul(s) are finished off! They formed shock-troops on land with others on the sea. Those who came on land were felled and slaughtered: Amunre was after them, destroying them. Those who entered into the Nile mouths were like fowl snared in the net . . ." In the same text the names of two of the federated chiefs are even determined by figures with characteristic "Philistine plumes" (M-H I, pl. 28, col. 47). It is perhaps less surprising to see a large representation of Sea Peoples participating as allies in the Second Libyan campaign: Philistines (M-H II, pl. 72), Sherden (M-H II, pl. 62, 72), Teresh and Shekelesh (M-H II, pl. 62). Yet Teresh and Shekelesh are shown only on the march, Philistines only in the battle; once again a species of tokenism appears to have influenced the composition. Finally the Second Libyan and Syrian campaigns are target-specific, but the accompanying texts use the pale and universal "every foreign land" (M-H II, pl. 73, 92), and allude to the Mesh-wesh simply as "foreigners" (M-H II, pl. 68). Curiously, when receiving prisoners from the Tunip campaign, Amun refers to "him that violated thy frontier," an outrage it would be hard to imagine remote Tunip committing!

It has long been noted that Ramesses III emulated his famous namesake to the extent, occasionally, of reproducing texts verbatim.[23] Scenes too occasionally reduplicate 19th Dynasty formats or ambiance.[24] An extreme, but understandable inference in this regard is couched in a suggestion that the *naumachia* is unhistorical and that the scenes were simply purloined from the reliefs of an earlier king.[25] The imagery of the textual references to the king borrows from earlier Ramesside jargon; but this may be because both Ramesses II and III found themselves within the ongoing evolutionary stream of the encomium.

Enough evidence is available to demonstrate that the interface between scene and text in the Medinet Habu war scenes is neither tight nor precise. The record strives to create a single impression: all for-

eign lands are defeated, cowed and chastened, and now former enemies fight alongside us as allies. To try to force picture or text to yield an array of specifics runs the risk of unconvincing ingenuity.

The Reliability of the Medinet Habu Records

The Medinet Habu texts and reliefs confront the historian of ancient Egypt with the ever-present problem, rendered more acute perhaps by the very size, integrity and intactness of the material: how to extract and assess the historical kernel embedded in lyrical encomia, speeches, hymns and other genres of (ostensibly) oral composition when they masquerade as historical reports. No foolproof formula seems to be at hand. One may strongly sense that such-and-such a high-flown panegyric was composed to celebrate a real event;[26] but without a prosaic, "archival" record of some sort, one becomes a victim of the urge toward speculation or wishful thinking. Some rules-of-thumb prove remedial in this regard. First, Egyptians had a tendency to use a single experience, occasionally repeated, as the basis of a generic title, epithet or figure of speech. Thus, while an expression need not be taken literally, it may have been formulated because of a real event. Second, the need to promote and memorialize the name and qualities of an individual for posterity called forth a vocabulary rich in designations of character. Laudatory epithets of this sort, however, must contain allusions (toponymic, ethnonymic, incident-specific) to warrant further testing of their historical value. Third, a stereotypical motif or locution, widely distributed in use over time, can by no means be ruled out as enjoying an historical basis for its employment. In fact, as a reflection of an ideal to be lived up to, it is highly unlikely that the figure lacks substance.

In the light of these observations, a distillation of the florid imagery and the elaborate tableaux will yield a limited number of conclusions.[27]

1. The Medinet Habu artists and sculptors witnessed, most likely directly, the prospect of strangely-clad captives from the Aegean and Asia Minor paraded before Pharaoh. These they reproduced as faithfully as they could. That they were not given by the military casualty figures (in contrast to the figures recorded for the two Libyan campaigns) has nothing to do the veracity or precision of the record: the circumstances of the *naumachia* and the land battle (the latter resulting in a virtual draw) rendered exact figures of the dead beyond the scope of recovery and therefore impossible to record.

2. Both the Libyans and the Sea Peoples are represented both in text and relief as a movement against Egypt involving clans as well as warriors. The reliefs are quite explicit on this point (M-H I, pl. 33–34, 75), as are the texts.[28] Ramesses in the Harris Papyrus refers to the captive Sea Peoples as "like the sands of the sea-shore for number," and to their "generation levies in the hundreds of thousands" (P. Harris 76: 8–9). The Libyans came with their clans, wives, children and cattle (P. Harris 77:4–5).

3. They had come from afar, and specifically from "islands." It is difficult to fathom where the notion arose that they had come from just next door, as it were.[29] References to "their land and their borders" and "their chiefs and their clans"(M-H I, pl. 46: 25–26) occur in a generalizing section on "the countries" and "the foreign lands" in general, and carry no implication at all as to where the Sea Peoples had come from. That "towns" somehow imply a settlement already in Palestine is most puzzling: in fact the phrase "the Philistines cower and keep hidden in their towns" (M-H I, pl. 29) is a stock phrase, also used of the Meshwesh (M-H I, pl. 28:41–42). Even the far-off Nubians are said to have "towns" (M-H I, pl. 11)![30] The term "islands" (*iw.w*)[31] has, by some, been forced to yield a nuance of "coastal (lands)," but this is unjustified, as Egyptian has a number of words already for "maritime littoral" (*pdsw-š, wḏb*, etc.). Wherever passages are clear enough, *iw* refers to land surrounded (or perceived to be surrounded) by water, even in Egyptian cases;[32] and there can be little doubt that by "islands in the midst of the sea" (M-H I, pl. 42:3, 46:16) the Egyptians meant Crete and the Aegean archipelago.[33]

4. The cause of the movement of the Sea Peoples is stated to be somehow connected with "the war of the countries" (M-H I, pl. 46:16),[34] and is further declared to be unrelievedly destructive to Anatolian and North Syrian states. The consonance of the archaeological record from Anatolia, Cyprus and North Syria with the Medinet Habu statement simply cannot be ignored on any grounds, least of all on the fine points of disagreement over chronology, stratigraphy and demographics within a parochial sphere of research. What precisely is covered by the phrase "the war of the countries" does not immediately appear, although several interpretations appear tempting.

5. Both the Libyans and the Sea Peoples are said to have acted according to preconceived plans. "The land of Temehu came, linked up in a single mass with the Labu, Sopdu and Meshwesh . . . their fighters trusted in their own plans, coming with confident hearts: 'We shall conquer!' . . ." (M-H I, pl. 28: 26–27). The Sea Peoples "had laid hands on the countries as far as the limit of the earth, their hearts confident and trusting: 'Our plans shall succeed!'" (M-H I, pl. 46:18; cf. pl. 42:3–5).

6. The written record fails to note the site of the final encounter between the Sea Peoples and the Egyptian forces; but by inference from the reliefs a very plausible identification may be tendered. The caption to the march against the Sea Peoples (M-H I, pl. 31; cf. pl. 46:19) identifies the destination as *Djahy*, an obsolete term originally designating the Levantine littoral in general.[35] The word descriptions of the *Naumachia*, however, claim that the enemy "penetrated the mouths of the Nile channels" (M-H I, pl. 43:10; cf. 42:5, 46:20, 23). And the only toponymic reference, apart from the meaningless *Djahy*, is the "Migdol of Ramesses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis" from which the king is shown emerging at the round-up of the prisoners (M-H I, pl. 42). Clearly the land-battle had taken place in the vicinity of the fort. Now the only fortification bearing a name of the pattern "fort/ structure of (king's nomen/ prenomen)" throughout the Ramesside age is that which occupies third position on the itinerary east from Sile.[36] It is tempting, therefore, to take seriously the collocation in the reliefs of the land battle and the *Naumachia*: they may well have taken place within sight of each other just beyond the mouth of the Pelusiac branch.[37]

Notes

1. The historical material from Memphis is meagre: colossoi texts (P-M III, 832, 836–837, 840), toponym lists (P-M III, 845), geographical processions (P-M III, 835), coronation text and triumph stelae (P-M III, 840, 870, 843, 849), sphinx-stelae (P-M III, 38–46). Pi-Ramesses has much less. This dearth of texts might, of course, be put down to haphazard preservation.

2. In general this problem is currently being addressed by Ray Johnson and (for material impinging on problems related to Sety I) by Peter Brand.

3. For what follows, see the pertinent entries in P-M II².

4. Mr. Kitchen states that I "chose to ignore. . ." Yurco's work, but this formula (which seems to be a favorite with him) is ill chosen: I made no prior choice, nor did I ignore. Not to mention does not mean to ignore! Or is Kitchen plagued by that scholastic *horror vacui*, common in some circles, that demands every fatuous or irrelevant comment ever made to be jammed somehow into footnotes or text? Kitchen's claim that I am oblivious to the views of others is curiously ironic. His infatuation with his own notions to the exclusion of those of others is evident throughout his piece: the Ashkelon relief *does* belong to Merneptah, the Shasu are *not* the Israelites, and so forth. Although we have to come to expect this sort of dogmatism from this scholar, it is a relief to be assured—and from his own mouth no less!—that Zeus himself nods "from time to time"!

5. Nevertheless the stanzas, each ending in some or all of the king's cartouche-designations, are of uneven length. The piece may have undergone a prior redactional history before being committed to stone.

6. Cf. the Miscellanies' panegyrics on Memphis and Pi-Ramesses.

7. On what follows see Kitchen 1969; Helck 1972; Weinstein 1981; Redford 1990, 1992; Condon 1995; Smith 1995.

8. Cf. the use of determinatives with "Philistine" headdresses in the text of year 5: *KRI* V, 25:14–15; cf. Schachermeyer 1969:454–455.

9. Text in *KRI* IV, 2–22; most recent and important treatments of these texts will be found listed in M. G. Hasel 1994:45–61.

10. P-M II, 488–498, 515–522; hereinafter reliefs and texts will be quoted according to the publication in M-H I and II.

11. *KRI* V, 90–91.

12. Peden 1996:48–51.

13. "Philistine" and "Sherden" auxiliaries occur in the Nubian campaign (M-H I, pl. 9), the First Libyan (M-H I, pls. 17–19, 24), the Second Libyan (M-H II, pl. 62, 72), the Syrian (M-H II, pl. 88) and the Amurru campaign (M-H II, pl. 96).

14. Of the extensive bibliography on the Medinet Habu texts bearing upon the wars with Libyans and Sea Peoples, the following are perhaps the most profitable: Edgerton and Wilson 1936; Stadelmann 1968:156–171; Edel 1985:223–238; Helck 1987: 129–146; Cifola 1988:275–306.

15. See Redford 1986: ch. 3 passim.

16. See Redford 1967:22–25; 1986b:87f, 149.

17. Cf. Cifola 1988; Spalinger 1982: passim.

18. The term derives from the stela of Merenptah from Hermopolis: Roeder 1952:327, pl. III.

19. Cf. for example Yadin 1963:250f; Dothan 1982:7; Dothan and Dothan 1992:17–21; Grandet 1993: 185–201.

20. Cf. Murnane 1971–1972:124.

21. Cf. the similar role of "king's-children" at the *sed*-festival: Goharry in Smith and Redford 1977:65–66.

22. M-H I pl. 11 (Asiatics and "their towns"), pls. 43–44 (Danuna and Philistines are presented, yet Amun speaks of decapitating the "Asiatics"), pls. 27–28 (Libyans are linked with Asia [col. 20], Amurru is burned, has no seed, its people are scattered etc. [col. 13]), pls. 30–31 (devoted to the Sea Peoples, yet the king is revered in the hearts of the Asiatics [col. 2]), pl. 62 (the king marches against Libya, yet it is the Asiatics that are referred to), pl. 73 (Libyan captives are brought, yet they are referred to under the blanket "every foreign land"), pl. 78 (Libyans are presented to Amun, but the god in his address speaks of "the food-stocks of Djahy"), *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak: Ramses III's Temple within the Great Enclosure of Amun*, pl. 82 (describing the Libyan war, yet identifying the enemy as "Retenu").

23. Grandet 1993:54–63 and passim.

24. Cf. for example M-H II, pl. 90 (the assault on a Canaanite city) with scenes on the west wall of the 7th pylon court at Karnak: P-M II, 57–58, 132.

25. Lesko 1992:151–157.

26. The problem besets any text when it is the sole surviving reference.

27. Some of these are aptly summed up by Liverani 1994:244–245.

28. The texts use such locutions as "erratic movement," "removal," "dislodgement" from a place (*tfy*: Wb. V, 297:11–298:10; Caminos 1954:133; cf. Coptic *TIFI: Westendorf 1977:256; cf. Erichsen 1954:628, "faces set towards Egypt (M-H I, pl. 42:4), "straight against Egypt" (M-H I, pl. 46:17), "straight ahead on the sea" (M-H I, pl. 46:23) and so forth.

29. Cf. Brug 1985:20; Drews 1993:53.

30. In fact *dmi*, "town," and *whyt*, "village" represent the sole lexical terms, consistently used of any settlements in all the foreign parts Egypt came into contact with in the New Kingdom: cf. O'Connor 1987:64–65; Redford 1997:217 n. 17.

31. Faulkner 1962:12; Gardiner 1947:10*; Lesko 1982–90:21.

32. Cf. the examples in D. Meeks 1980–1982: I, 18; II, 21; III, 12. Influenced by the same perception, the Greeks used νησος of the Delta: Strabo xvii.1.4.

33. Leclant 1996:618, 625.

34. *Skyw t3w: Aegyptische Woerterbuch* IV, 314:1–10; the term designates "combat, battle": Cf. Anastasi I 22.6–7; Fischer-Elfert 1986:187; Piankhy 8, l2; Grimal 1981:32.

35. Long since equated with Aram. *Sehiya3*, "arid land," Eisler 1926:2–4; usually equated with Palestine and southern Phoenicia: Gauthier 1931:108–109; Gardiner 1947:145*f; Caminos 1954:38; Giveon 1971:130; Helck 1972:268–269; Bryan 1991:345.

36. Gardiner 1920:107–108; Fischer-Elfert 1986: 232–233. The comparison of Anastasi V, 24:7–8 with 19:7–20:3 would suggest that, while the second station ("[store]-house of Ramesses [var. the lion]") could be reached by water from Egypt, the mig-dol in question was beyond either the Shi-hor or the mouth of the Pelusiac branch. On the basis of the plausible assumption of a day's march between stations, the third would lie somewhere in the vicinity of modern Beluza.

37. Certainly not at Deir el-Balah (as Grandet 1993:195–199 [who presses innocuous ground-lines into representations of sand-dunes!]).

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2

New Evidence on the End of the Hittite Empire

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The wealth of written documentation from the 13th century B.C. may easily mislead the historian to place excessive confidence in our knowledge of the basic facts relating to the last phases of the Hittite Empire. Yet, time and again, new discoveries reveal previously unsuspected facets of late Hittite history that call for an overall re-evaluation of the "known" facts. The major developments over the last years are related to sources from Anatolia, but I will open this concise survey with the less spectacular additions to the history of the period from two important centers of Hittite Syria, Ugarit and Emar.

Ugarit

In the philological domain, the most significant contribution of Ugarit in the last decades was the discovery of a new 13th-century archive (Schaeffer 1978; Bordreuil and Pardee 1995). The lot of tablets was accidentally brought to light by military constructions in the south-central part of the city. Salvage excavations carried out in 1973 unearthed about 120 tablets and fragments, of which a dozen are in Ugaritic and the rest in Akkadian. The Ugaritic texts were promptly published, but the publication of the Akkadian material suffered a long delay owing to the death of the epigraphist Jean Nougayrol and other circumstances (Bordreuil 1991:8). Photographs of the casts and a preliminary catalogue were included in *Ugaritica* VII (Schaeffer 1978). Finally, this important material was published as *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* VII by a joint team (Bordreuil 1991).

Meanwhile, permission was obtained from the Syrian authorities to demolish the military structure, and systematic excavation of the area was begun in the late 1980s (Lombard 1995). The large ashlar house yielded a few tablets every season, but the real "treasure trove" was hit in 1994 with the discovery of more than 300 tablets and fragments. A general survey of this exciting new archive was presented in the Ugarit Symposium held in Paris in June 1993 (Bordreuil and Pardee 1995). In their joint article P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee reached the conclusion that the archive belonged to a certain Urtenu, a very important political figure in the last decades of Ugarit. Preliminary notes on some of the important political documents were presented at the same symposium by F. Malbran-Labat (1995) and S. Lackenbacher (1995).

The texts published in *RSO* VII include mostly letters, but also some administrative and lexical lists, ritual texts, and a quasi-duplicate of the previously known ruling concerning the merchants of Ura (no. 1 = RS 34.179; cf. PRU IV, pp. 103–105). The geographical scope of the letters covers almost the entire range of Ugarit's foreign relations: Egypt, Beirut and Sidon in Canaan, Assyria, the Land of Suhi on the Middle Euphrates, and, of course, primarily the main

Hittite "Sun," whose brilliance had faded considerably by this time.

A most valuable *terminus post quem* for the fall of Ugarit is provided by a letter sent to Ammurapi by Beya, "Chief of the troops of the Great King, the King of Egypt" (RS 86.2230; Arnaud *apud* Bordreuil 1987:297; Arnaud 1992:181 n. 6; Freu 1988; Yon 1992:119; Helck 1995:93f.; de Moor 1996:217ff.). He must be identical with the "Great Chancellor" Bay, a dominant figure in late Nineteenth Dynasty Egypt, who operated well into the reign of Siptah (1197–1192).[2]

A central theme in the last correspondence of the Hittite Empire is the devastating famine and the attempts to procure some desperately needed food (Klengel 1974; Singer 1983a:4ff.; Neu 1995:121f.). A long letter from Urtenu's archive, sent by a certain *Ban(?)–ni-ya* or *E(?)–ni–ya* to his unnamed "lord," apparently deals with this problem, but many details in it remain enigmatic (no. 40 = RS 34.152). Its general tone strongly recalls the dramatic letters from Courtyard V of the palace and from the Rap'anu archive: "The gates of the house are sealed. Since there is famine in your house, we will starve to death. If you do not hasten to come we will starve to death. A living soul of your country you will no longer see" (ll. 9–14).

Finally, the Urtenu archive has also provided the already well-known letter concerning "the Šikila people who live on boats,"[3] the first mention by name of one of the raiders of Ugarit, who are usually referred to simply as "the enemy" (Lehmann 1985:29). This cuneiform spelling probably corresponds to *Skl* in the Egyptian texts, one of the Sea Peoples who fought against Ramesses III and then settled on the central coast of Palestine.[4] The texts from Ugarit also mention the *ṭrtnm/šerdanū*, but these are no doubt units of mercenaries serving in the army of Ugarit, just as the *ši/erdanū* served the king of Byblos in the Amarna period and the *Šrdn* served in the Egyptian army (for a comprehensive discussion, see Loretz 1995).

The texts from Ras Ibn Hani (perhaps ancient Apu) are mostly dated to the late 13th century (Lagarce 1995:149ff.), and do not seem to provide any substantial information on the last days of Ugarit. On the other hand, the joint Syrian-French excavations at this site have recovered important new data on the reoccupation of the Syrian coast after the fall of Ugarit (Lagarce 1988; Caubet 1995, with further references). The Late Bronze Age palaces had been abandoned and then destroyed, more or less at the same time as Ugarit. But whereas the latter remained deserted (except for occasional squatters), Ras Ibn Hani was immediately resettled by people who produced Myc. III C:1 ware of the same type that appears along the entire Levantine coast, from Cilicia to Philistia, and in Cyprus (Badre 1983; Lagarce 1988). The traditional association of this Early Iron Age pottery with the settlement of the Sea Peoples along the eastern Mediterranean coasts has recently been questioned by scholars who would rather see in it a basically local ceramic development (Caubet 1992:130; Noort 1994:113ff.). To my mind, the introduction of Myc. III C:1 ware clearly points to the new settlement of foreign population groups from the Aegean region, more sparsely in the northern Levant than in Philistia (Singer 1985a:112; 1988). It is worth noting that at Ras Ibn Hani, as in Philistia, there is a gradual evolution from monochrome to bichrome pottery (Lagarce 1988:153), and such similarities should be further explored in the areas of the Sea Peoples' diaspora. Besides the Myc. III C:1 ware, the Iron Age settlement at Ras Ibn Hani has also produced types of pottery that continue local ceramic traditions (Lagarce 1988:154f.; Caubet 1992:127). This may indicate that, as in Palestine, new settlers and groups of autochthonous population intermingled.

Emar

The texts of Ugarit provide the most dramatic descriptions of the impending catastrophe, but the gradual deterioration in living conditions can also be traced in the documents from Meskene/Emar, a kingdom situated on the southeastern frontier of the Hittite Empire.[5]

The juxtaposition of two recently published documents seems to indicate a drastic increase in the yearly tribute paid to the Hittite viceroy, from 700 to 2000 *shekel* of gold (Arnaud 1991:16, 41ff., nos. 14–15). The corresponding amount of silver is only preserved in the former document: 30,000 *shekel* ! To raise this formidable sum Emar was forced to sell property of the city and its patron god, Ninurta.

The growing burden of the Hittite tribute came, as it happened, at the worst time, for the general food shortage had already reached this fertile region as well. A series of year-names significantly single out the staggering grain prices as the most salient feature of these years: "The year of hardship when three *qa* of grain cost one silver *shekel*" (Tsukimoto 1988:166f., no. E; Sigrist 1993:169f., no. 2). Then, only two *qa* could be obtained for the same price (Arnaud 1991: 125, no. 74), and finally, only one *qa* (Arnaud 1991: 58, no. 25). The exact chronology of the Emar texts has yet to be worked out in detail, but it is worth noting that an inflational curve in grain prices is also found in other regions of the Near East (Neumann and Parpola 1987; Černý 1933–1934; Janssen 1975: 551–552).

The year with the highest price is also characterized as "the year in which the *ṭarwa*–troops (erim.meš *ṭár-wa* ; previously read *ga-yu*) laid siege on the city (of Emar)" (Arnaud 1991:58, nos. 25 and 44). The identity of these hordes, probably themselves driven by the general famine, is not known.[6] For the date of Emar's fall we are still relying on the fortunate discovery of a legal document dated to the second year of Melišipak, i.e., 1185 B.C., in the destruction level of a private house (Arnaud 1975; 1986:26).[7] The fact that this date corresponds, more or less, with Ramesses III's battles against the Sea Peoples does not prove, as maintained by some (e.g., Boese 1982:18), that the latter were also responsible for the destruction of Emar and other inland cities (Margueron 1995:127). Aramean tribes seem to be much better candidates for the disruption of Late Bronze Age conditions in this area (Singer 1988:418f.; cf., however, Yon 1992: 117; Caubet 1992:129).

Ḫatti

If the new evidence from Syria merely refines our previous conceptions, in Anatolia the discovery of new documents has radically changed the historical picture of the last decades of the Hittite Empire. The new data and their implications have been discussed extensively over the last years, both in specialized articles and in more general presentations to symposia dealing with the end of the Bronze Age in the eastern Mediterranean. In the symposium held in Zwettl (Austria) in 1980, H. Otten dealt with the last phase of the Hittite kingdom (1983). Ten years later, in a symposium held at Brown University (Providence), H. A. Hoffner provided an updated summary on "The Last Days of Khattusha" (Hoffner 1992), and H. G. Güterbock followed up with the "Survival of the Hittite Dynasty" (Güterbock 1992). Finally, two recent monographs offer general overviews of the sources for the Late Hittite Empire (Hawkins 1995a: 57ff.; Giorgieri and Mora 1996). It would be futile to repeat here a full presentation of the new documents. I will instead concentrate on some specific aspects relevant to this series of lectures, namely, the military strategy of the last Hittite kings in the face of the growing problems along their Aegean and Mediterranean coasts.

In an article written in 1983 I attempted to summarize what was known at the time about Western Anatolia in the 13th century (Singer 1983b). In the Hittite sources that I surveyed, the last king known to have campaigned in the turbulent regions of the Lukka Lands, in southwestern Anatolia, appeared to be Ḫattušili "III". In the well-known "Tawagalawa Letter" an unnamed Hittite king describes a western journey leading him from Ḫattuša to Millawanda (i.e., Miletos, on the Aegean coast). One of the last stations on his itinerary was Iyalanda, described as a formidable mountain fortress inaccessible by chariot. Iyalanda is generally identified with classical Alinda (Demirci-deresi) east of Miletos, one of the strongest fortified positions in Caria (Garstang and Gurney 1959:78). Following a suggestion of Güterbock, I identified the author of the "Tawagalawa Letter" with Ḫattušili (Singer 1983b:205ff.).[8] Supporting evidence for this dating has now turned up in an unexpected source—a letter of Ramesses II to Ḫattušili, published by E. Edel in his voluminous monograph on the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence (Edel 1994: no. 80 = KBo 28, 28). Ramesses quotes from a missive sent from Ḫatti, in which the Hittite monarch boasted about his victory over Iyalanta and the booty that he had taken there: captives, cattle, and sheep. Apparently, Ḫattušili attributed much importance to this campaign, which was intended to reduce the potential danger from the "wild west" of Anatolia.

On the evidence of the Hittite sources available at the time, I assumed that the last kings of Ḫatti, Tudḫaliya "IV" and Šuppiluliuma II, were no longer able to assert their control over the southwestern Anatolian regions, and that they were compelled to establish their frontline farther inland, somewhere in the Konya Plain. The new hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Yalburt, in central Anatolia, and from the so-called Südburg in Boğazköy (the former first published in 1988, the latter discovered in the same year), have necessitated a full revision of my earlier conclusions.

The Yalburt inscription (also known as Ilgin) was accidentally unearthed by a bulldozer in 1970. Its extraordinary importance as the longest hieroglyphic inscription of the Empire period was immediately recognized; only in 1988, however, were photographs and a short description of the site published, as an

appendix to the excavation report of Inandık.[9] On the basis of these photographs and visits to the site, D. Hawkins (1992:260–264; 1995a:66ff.) and M. Poetto (1993) were able to prepare full publications of the inscription. The text is inscribed on 19 blocks lining three walls of a large, rectangular water basin built over a sacred source. It records a campaign of Tudḫaliya "IV" to several localities in the Lukka Lands, including Wiyanawanda, Talawa, Pinali (or Pinadi), Awarna, and Mount Patara. A major contribution to western Anatolian historical geography is Poetto's demonstration that these place-names correspond with those of Lycian and Greek toponyms in western Lycia along the Xanthos River (1993: 75–84).[10] This important discovery reinforces the equation of Lukka with Lycia,[11] and at the same time shows that the valley of the Xanthos was inhabited in the second millennium, although definite archaeological evidence is still lacking.[12]

Tudḫaliya boasts that with the help of the Storm-God he scored a great victory over these places and took captives, oxen, and sheep. The victory inscription from Yalburt is closely paralleled by the block from Emirgazi (Masson 1979; Hawkins 1995a:86ff.), both sites located at a considerable distance from the place where these events took place. How effective this previously unknown campaign of Tudḫaliya actually was is hard to tell. Surely, a decisive military success was badly needed in order to restore the king's self-confidence and pride after a painful defeat on the Assyrian front (Singer 1985). It is obvious, however, that the restless Lukka Lands were far from being pacified, and continuous Hittite intervention was necessary in the following generation as well.

Before we move on to the next and last generation of Hittite emperors, it is necessary to briefly recall the evidence of another major discovery, the Bronze Tablet bearing the treaty between Tudḫaliya of Ḫatti and his cousin Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša (Otten 1988).[13] The relations between the two Hittite states were particularly delicate, for they were ruled by competing branches of the royal family—descendants of Muwatalli in the former, descendants of his usurping brother, Ḫattušili, in the latter. In this treaty Tudḫaliya granted far-reaching political and territorial concessions to his older cousin in order to gain his continuous support and at least his nominal recognition of Ḫattuša's supremacy. But, apparently, Tudḫaliya's magnanimous offers were insufficient, and eventually Kurunta chose to assert his legitimate rights to the Hittite throne and issued seals with the title Great King (Neve 1987:401–403; 1991:330, Abb. 35, 332). Because the bullae bearing this seal were found at Boğazköy, it was generally inferred that Kurunta must have temporarily occupied the capital of Ḫatti (Otten *apud* Neve 1987:403–404; Otten 1988:4f., 9; Hoffner 1992:50f.).

Although this is a possible scenario, I suggested elsewhere a different, less bellicose, outcome of the inner-Hittite strife (Singer 1996b). Kurunta's intransigence took the form of political propaganda rather than a military offensive against Ḫattuša. In other words, there were now two Great Kings sharing the domination of Anatolia, not to mention the king of Karkamiš, who ruled northern Syria. Despite their rivalry, Ḫattuša and Tarḫuntašša continued to cooperate in matters of common interest, such as the import of grain from Egypt through Ugarit.

The cuneiform Hittite documents pertaining to the last generation of Hittite kings are particularly fragmentary and problematical (Laroche 1953; Otten 1963; Giorgieri and Mora 1996:61ff.). Good command of the sources and, especially, much prudence are required in piecing together the scattered information to form a coherent historical reconstruction. This is hardly the case in M. Astour's recent discussion of late Hittite history (1996:49ff.). After a concise presentation of the recent discoveries from Boğazköy, he sets out to prove that Kurunta's coup d'état took place at the time of Arnuwanda III's ascent to the throne, and that the ensuing civil war in Ḫattuša provided Tukulti-Ninurta with an incentive to attack the Hittites. To establish this reconstruction Astour uses rather free interpretations of fragmentary passages, ignores better-preserved texts that do not fit his purpose, and misrepresents the views of some of the scholars he quotes.[14]

The alleged battle lost by Arnuwanda III to the Assyrians is based on a misinterpretation of KUB 26. 33 iii 4–9 (CTH 125), a fragmentary passage from a loyalty oath to or a treaty[15] with Šuppiluliuma II. Astour finds in it a mention "of an unspecified enemy whom the king (Arnuwandaš III) could not withstand in battle." He proceeds by concluding that the Land of Egypt, mentioned in l. 7', was certainly not the enemy in this period; therefore, it must have been the Assyrian army, which had invaded Syria. Despite the deplorable state of preservation, I think that the passage must be understood quite differently. Typically for a treaty or an oath, it raises the theoretical possibility (note the conditional *mān*, "if") that the sworn person would not support wholeheartedly the king of Ḫatti in the eventuality of a war. It is impossible to tell in which context the Land of Egypt is mentioned here, but in any event I fail to see in the passage any allusion to a lost battle against the Assyrians. The treaty betwen Ḫatti and Alašiya, KBo 12.39 (CTH 141) indeed refers to some involvement with the king of Assyria,[16] but it is not at all clear whether this refers to Šuppiluliuma II or, more likely, to his father, Tudḫaliya.[17]

Whereas he uses, rather forcibly, these fragmentary and oblique references to prove a Hittite-Assyrian military encounter in the short reign of Arnuwanda III, Astour is totally mute about two major sources, one from Ugarit (RS 34.165; Lackenbacher 1982 = no. 46 in Bordreuil 1991) and one from Ḫattuša (KBo 4.14), which refer directly to a decisive battle that was fought at Niḫriya. The former text mentions Tudḫaliya by name, and the latter is probably also attributed to the same king.[18] It would be tedious to repeat in this context the arguments for the redating of KBo 4.14, and the new information on the Hittite-Assyrian conflict deriving from these and other sources. Suffice it to say that it completely disagrees with the chronological framework set up by Astour.[19]

Most of the documents dated safely to the reign of Šuppiluliuma II point to a continuing instability within the Hittite capital and a growing sense of mistrust (Otten 1963:3ff.; Giorgieri and Mora 1996:61ff.). As for his military record, the only remaining cuneiform document is the well-known report on the battle against "the enemy of Alašia" (KBo 12, 38; Otten 1963:13ff.; Güterbock 1967). According to the most plausible understanding of the fragmentary text, in its first part Šuppiluliuma narrates the deeds of his father, Tudḫaliya, namely, the subjection of Alašia and the imposition of tribute on its king and its *pidduri*. In the second part Šuppiluliuma describes his own deeds in the following words: ". . . I mobilized, and I, Šuppiluliuma, the Great King, [sailed out(?)] at once to the sea. / The ships of Alašia met me in battle at sea three times, but I smote them. I captured the ships and set them afire at sea. / When I reached dry land again, the enemies of Alašia came in multitude against me for b[attle, and I fought against] them" (rev. iii 2'– 14'; Beckman 1996:33).

Though the "enemies of Alašia" are not more closely defined, Otten (1963:21) suggested, with good reason, that they must have been the Sea Peoples. As for the "dry land"[20] where the battle against the "enemies of Alašia" was continued, both the Cypriote and the Anatolian coasts have been taken into consideration; to my mind, the latter is more plausible. It would seem that despite the alleged victory in the open sea, Šuppilulima was followed back to his own haven by the enemy hordes. In fact, there is a remarkable resemblance between this Hittite description of both a sea and a land battle, and Ramesses III's wars against the Sea Peoples recorded at Medinet Habu.

The "manly deeds" described in the text were probably drafts or copies of lapidary hieroglyphic inscriptions set up by Šuppiluliuma in "Eternal Peaks" (^{NA4} *ḫekur* SAG.UŠ) of his father and of his own. The former has been plausibly identified with Chamber B at Yazılıkaya (Otten 1963:22; 1989b:34), the latter with Nişantaş (Güterbock 1967:81). The beginning of the Nişantaş inscription corresponds perfectly with obverse ii 22–26 of the cuneiform text. In the last years D. Hawkins has attempted to extract something from the rest of the badly eroded surface, but so far the name of Alašia has not turned up (personal communication).

Surprising new evidence on the military enterprises of Šuppiluliuma II turned up with the 1988 discovery of the so-called Südburg inscription in *Kammer* 2, a cultic installation related to the nearby sacred pool (Otten 1989a; Hawkins 1990; 1995). Though perfectly preserved, the text is difficult to understand because of the frequent use of unknown logograms. It contains three accounts of conquests, two of them followed by the building of cities. In this context, one would rather take these building activities to mean fortifying existing places or constructing military strongholds. Unfortunately, the names of these cities are mostly written logographically and cannot be identified. As observed by Hawkins, the statement of time "in that year" seems to indicate that the text describes the events of a single year. If so, the places mentioned should probably be located not too far from each other. The first campaign is to several southwestern lands: Wiyanawanda, Tamina, Masa, Luka, and Ikuna. Two of these places, Wiyanawanda and Luka, were also defeated by Tudḫaliya, according to the Yalburt inscription. The second campaign is to a mountain whose name is illegible. Finally, the third victory is, surprisingly, over the Land of Tarḫuntašša ("Storm-God's City Land"). The latter is followed by the building or strengthening of three cities, one of which is Tana. Hawkins suggests that this could be Adana (attested in Hittite texts), assuming that after the defeat of Tarḫuntašša Šuppiluliuma continued eastward into Kizzuwatna.

All in all, the Südburg inscription provides exciting new information on a formerly blank area: an extensive campaign of the last Hittite king along the whole length of Anatolia's Mediterranean coast. Even if this is partly self-laudatory propaganda, it must contain a kernel of truth, because we know of joint efforts of Ḫatti and Ugarit to contain the sea-borne enemy in Lukka (RS 20.238 = *Ugaritica* V: 88, no. 24). If so, what was the objective of Šuppiluliuma's attack on Tarḫuntašša? Was it merely a further and final chapter of the inner-Hittite strife for the imperial throne (Hawkins 1995a:61ff.)?

H. A. Hoffner was the first to consider a different interpretation, namely, that in his attack on Tarḫuntašša Šuppiluliuma was already fighting Sea Peoples who had landed on the southern coast of Anatolia and were pushing north (1992:49, 51). However, for reasons related to the relative dating of the Südburg and Nişantaş inscriptions, he gave up this interpretation and preferred the inner-Hittite scenario. I think that Hoffner's original intuition was correct. Nişantaşappears to be slightly earlier than Südburg (for arguments, see Singer 1996b); in any case, I understand both attacks, on Alašia and on Tarḫuntašša, as part of the same last-ditch attempt to block the further advance of the Sea Peoples. That Šuppiluliuma's was, in the best case, a Pyrrhic victory is shown by the last documents from Ugarit, which were already

reporting that the ships of the enemy had landed and had set fire to towns in the land of Ugarit (RS 20.238 = *Ugaritica* V: no. 24). Contrary to some recent historical evaluations (e.g., Liverani 1995:49),[21] I think that both Ḫatti and Tarḫuntašša collapsed at about the same time at the turn of the 12th century B.C.[22] Only the dynasty of Karkamiš, who held the line of the Euphrates as far as Malatya, survived to carry on the torch of Hittite civilization (Hawkins 1988; 1995b; Güterbock 1992).

Notes

1. Trade in horses is the subject of several letters of this archive (nos. 11, 21, 39), including a delivery to the messenger of the king of Alašia (no. 35 = RS 34.153).

2. Cf. the slightly lower Egyptian chronology proposed by Helck 1995:94, n. 94. The new evidence lowers by a few years the date I proposed, before the discovery of the Beya letter, for the fall of Ugarit, although I added, "perhaps we can allow for a few more years into the first decade of the 12th century, at the most, both in Ḫattuša and in Ugarit" (Singer 1987:418). I fail to see, however, why Freu (1988:398) insists on lowering the date of Ugarit's destruction to "*sans doute pas avant 1190,*" if, as he maintains, the letter was sent around 1995 B.C. We have no evidence whatsoever to establish the interval between the arrival of the letter and the fall of Ugarit.

3. RS 34.129; Dietrich and Loretz 1978; Lehmann 1979; republished by F. Malbran-Labat in Bordreuil 1991:38f. (*RSO* VII, no. 12). Incidentally, the corrected reading of the name of the *kartappu* in l. 15 as Nirgaili (instead of Nisaḫili), who could be identical with the Hittite prince Nerik(a)ili (for whom see Klengel 1989; van den Hout 1995:96ff.), was first suggested by Singer 1983a:10, n. 14.

4. On the transliteration of the name, see Edel 1984; Lehmann 1985:34–35; Singer 1988:245–246. On the settlement of the Sikils and other Sea Peoples in Palestine, see Singer 1994:295ff.

5. For the contribution of the Emar texts to the study of the Hittite administration of Syria, see Beckman 1992; 1995; Yamada 1993.

6. Astour's belief (1996:32 n. 28) that this name refers to the same enemies who are elsewhere called "Hurrian troops" is completely unfounded.

7. This is now confirmed by a document that bears a dating by the Assyrian eponym system (Beckman 1996a:34).

8. An authorship of Ḫattušili "III" is also maintained by Heinhold-Krahmer 1983:97; 1986:47f.; van den Hout 1984:91f.; Popko 1984:202; Güterbock 1990. On the other hand, Ünal (1991:33) reiterates his earlier ascription of the letter to Muwatalli II (1974: 52–54; see also Smit 1990–1991). It is beyond the scope of this article fully to reexamine the issue, but it may be noted in passing that the passage in the Ramesses letter dealing with the Iyalanda campaign also mentions the princes Nirikili and Tudḫaliya, one of whom could be the "crown-prince" at the time of this western offensive.

9. R. Tamizer apud Özgüç 1988:xxv–xxvii, pls. 85–95, figs. 60–63. For additional photographs and drawings of the inscription, as well as a map showing the location of this and neighboring sites, see Poetto 1993.

10. Wiyanawanda = Gr. Oinoanda; Talawa = Lyc. Tlawa, Gr. Tlos; Pinal/di = Lyc. Pinale, Gr. Pinara; Awarna = Lyc. Arñna (Aramaic > *'wrn*) , Gr. Xanthos; Patara = Gr. Patara. The sequence of the towns Awarna and Pina also appears in the Millawata letter (CTH 182), another document dated to Tudḫaliya (Masson 1979:15,36f.; Singer 1983:216; Bryce 1985: 18; Poetto 1993:77). M. Mellink (1995:36), following an old idea of J. Garstang, suggests adding to this list a possible equation between the Šiyanta River Land, given by a Hittite king to Madduwatta, and the Xanthos Valley, the principal artery of western Lycia.

11. The equation is still considered philologically unproven by Otten 1993b (with extensive references to earlier literature on Lukka and Lycia, to which add Bryce 1979, 1986, 1992). See also Mellink 1995. To be sure, the second millennium Lukka Lands extended over an area much larger than classical Lycia.

12. For a sound reevaluation of archaeological conditions in this region, see Mellink 1995:37–41.

13. For the rapidly growing literature on this document, see references in van den Hout 1995:326 and Singer 1997. For the circumstances of Muwatalli's transfer of the capital from Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša, see Singer 1996a:191ff., and in press a.

14. For example, in dealing with the relative dating of the Tarḫuntašša treaties, Astour (p. 51, n. 98) ponders over "the question whether Ulmi-Tešub preceded or succeeded Kuruntaš," totally unaware of the view shared by many Hittitologists (including Gurney, whom he misquotes) that Ulmi-Tešub and Kurunta are identical. The possibility that Ulmi-Tešub preceded Kurunta, strenuously defended by Astour, can almost certainly be ruled out. See, most recently, van den Hout 1995:11, n. 29.

15. The almost completely lost col. IV has the remnants of what appears to be a list of witness gods (ll. 2'–3' *dGAZ.BA.A.A;* l. 8' *ERÍ-SE-TUM*), followed by the concluding formula: "They shall b[e witnesses] to this [treaty and oath!]." This would fit a state treaty better than an oath of allegiance with a dignitary. But on the other hand, the sworn person uses the first person singular (as in CTH 124), and he addresses Šuppiluliuma in a very familiar way (iii 21') to justify his position on the succession issue. A king of Kargamiš would be a good candidate for the authorship of this exceptional document.

16. An interesting restoration of the passage was suggested by P. Meriggi (apud Saporetti 1977:325): "*Il re di Assiria, che* [*non ha mai*] *varcato* [*il ma*]*re, la porta* [*di 20Alašia non ha mai varcato*]."

17. The text is attributed to Tudḫaliya by Güterbock 1967:80 and Beckman 1996:32; to Šuppiluliuma by Otten 1963:13; Carruba 1968:22; Singer 1985:121f. However, as I attempted to prove, the series of rhetorical questions must refer to Tudḫaliya.

18. Singer 1985, followed by van den Hout 1989: 273ff.; Hawkins 1990:313; 1995a:58; Klengel 1991:238 n. 91; *CHD*, L-N: 372 (but cf. Harrak 1987:261; Zaccagnini 1990:42 n. 12). C. Mora's suggestion (1988: 563ff.) to attribute both this text and RS 34.165 to a hypothetical Tudḫaliya, son and successor of Šuppiluliuma II, has categorically been refuted by Otten 1993a and Hawkins 1995a:57, n. 207.

19. Several fragmentary letters from Boğazköy seem to indicate that, contrary to Astour's selective reconstruction, under the last kings of Ḫatti peace was resumed with Assyria. For KBo 18. 25 and KUB 57. 8, see Hagenbuchner 1989: nos. 189 and 224, respectively. For further pieces of the Hittite–Assyrian correspondence, see von Soden 1988; Zaccagnini 1990: 40ff.

20. Other occurrences of *ḫadantiya* have fully confirmed Güterbock's (1967:80) tentative rendering as "dry land." See Puhvel 1991:263.

21. I fully agree, though, with Liverani's observation that Ramesses III's account on the advance of the Sea Peoples refers to states rather than simply regions, and that Qode corresponds to the land of Tarḫuntašša.

22. On Hartapu as the last king of Tarḫuntašša, see Singer 1996a.

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3

Ras Shamra–Ugarit Before the Sea Peoples

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Introduction

The site of Ras Shamra is located on the northern coast of Syria. It offered good connections with the Euphrates Valley and Mesopotamia, with which close ties are abundantly documented by the many ancient texts referring to trade between the merchants of Ugarit and those of Emar, Mari, Babylon, and so on. There is also ample textual evidence for its proximity to Cyprus and the Aegean, Egypt, and to Anatolia.

Indeed, Ras Shamra, capital of the kingdom of Ugarit, provides a unique insight into the history of the ancient Orient by its combined evidence: the texts, the large excavated surface of the city, and the great wealth of artifacts and luxury goods. It was one of the highlights of the palatial civilization that flourished during the Bronze Age in mainland Greece, Crete, Cyprus, and the Levantine coast.

The Exploration of Ras Shamra

Discovered in 1929 and excavated by Claude Schaeffer until the 1970s, Ras Shamra–Ugarit is now excavated under the direction of Marguerite Yon and Yves Cabilt (Lyon). This progress report on current work is written on behalf of a large team of scholars and students, archaeologists, epigraphers, geographers, architects, and so on—mostly French, but with non-French members such as Dennis Pardee for the Ugaritic epigraphy.

Current work is progressing on two fronts:

1. Reassessment of earlier (Schaeffer's) discoveries, by taking into consideration the architectural remains, the artifacts, and the epigraphy.
2. Excavation of new areas. The study of the settlement and of the artifacts recovered from these new areas is being conducted along with that from previous excavations.

The excavations and discoveries from the seasons 1929–1970 were regularly reported by Schaeffer in Syria and in seven volumes of *Ugaritica*. A tentative synthesis by J.-C. Courtois appears in the *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Courtois et al. 1979).

When excavations were resumed in 1978, annual reports were published in *Syria* and synthetic publications appeared in the new series *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* (*RSO*), edited by M. Yon and sponsored by the

French Ministry for Foreign Affairs, ERC editions. To date, eleven volumes have appeared. A general summary of the recent discoveries was published in English by M. Yon in 1992, and a popular book, also by M. Yon, appeared in 1998.

The Chronology of Ras Shamra

The prehistory of Ras Shamra has been explored by means of several soundings, particularly the deep sounding "SH" from the top of the acropolis: the earliest occupations appeared in the course of the seventh millennium. A Neolithic and Chalcolithic village (levels V to III) has been recognized (de Contenson 1992).

Very little is known of the EB and MB city. Level II, around the beginning of the EB period, shows a sudden development of the settlement; the site was probably transformed into a true city. Unfortunately, few architectural remains have been uncovered and no major architectural features can be safely dated to these earlier periods, owing to major earthquakes in the course of early Late Bronze Age and to heavy reconstruction work. The Late Bronze Age town, very densely built, covers and hides all earlier structures. Current laws on the conservation of archaeological remains do not allow the destruction of LB surface building in order to dig earlier periods, and the density of occupation of the LB city forbids undertaking any large sounding. However, imported artifacts such as Egyptian stone vases are evidence of the wealth of the city and its easy access to exotic and luxury goods as early as the Old Kingdom (Caubet 1991). The MB period is documented in the Mari archives. Some MB artifacts, such as a group of the Egyptian *wasir* Senousrit Ankh and the statue of a princess belonging to the Twelfth Dynasty, have been found in the area of the Temple of Baal.

The history of Ras Shamra and the kingdom of Ugarit are best documented during the Late Bronze Age by the wealth of Akkadian and Ugaritic tablets, all dating between the fifteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.E. (Courtois et al. 1979; Saadé 1979). Most of the archives belong to the very end of the life of the city. Stone buildings densely covered all the surface, and were enclosed in a city wall. Many buildings show evidence of reconstruction after a major earthquake, which occurred probably during the late fourteenth century. Sometime later, a violent and final destruction put an end to the city. The date of this destruction may now be established at ca. 1185/1180, thanks to recent textual evidence from "the house of Urtenu" (Yon 1992a and b).

After the destruction there is no evidence in the city proper for immediate reoccupation by Sea Peoples or local inhabitants (Caubet 1992). A short-lived reoccupation occurred at the nearby site of Ras Ibn Hani (Bounni, Lagarce, and Saliby 1987), although it is still debated whether these reoccupants were local survivors or "Sea Peoples." At Ras Shamra, the persistent looting of the wealthy LB tombs during the early phase of the Iron Age indicates that local people from nearby villages had preserved some knowledge of their whereabouts. Only during the Persian period was there material evidence for an occupation level, with some isolated buildings on top of the site: a few private houses and several fairly rich tombs with stone sarcophagus and Attic pottery were discovered. A hoard of silver coins is evidence for both wealth and troubled times (Stucky 1982)

The City and Its Environment

During the period documented by the cuneiform archives, the kingdom of Ugarit extended for ca 2000 km^2 and was limited to the north by Mount Saphon (1780 m high, rising directly from the sea); to the south by the territory of Siannu (now the river of the Nahr es-Sinn); to the west by the Mediterranean Sea; and to the east by the Alaoui mountain range, or Jebel Ansariyeh (1567 m high).

The city itself is set about 3 km from the sea, on the mound of a Neolithic settlement dating back to the seventh millennium, in a small but fertile plain, and close to an excellent harbor, Minet el Beida, "the white harbor" (probably ancient Mahadu of the cuneiform texts and Leukos Limen of the Greek sources) (Fig. 3.1). Textual evidence points to the existence of many little towns and villages in the LB kingdom of Ugarit; only a few have been archaeologically identified, notably Ras Ibn Hani (Bounni, Lagarce, and Saliby 1987).

Mild temperature all year round and abundant rains in spring and autumn ensured the growth of the Mediterranean trilogy: olive, vine, and cereals,

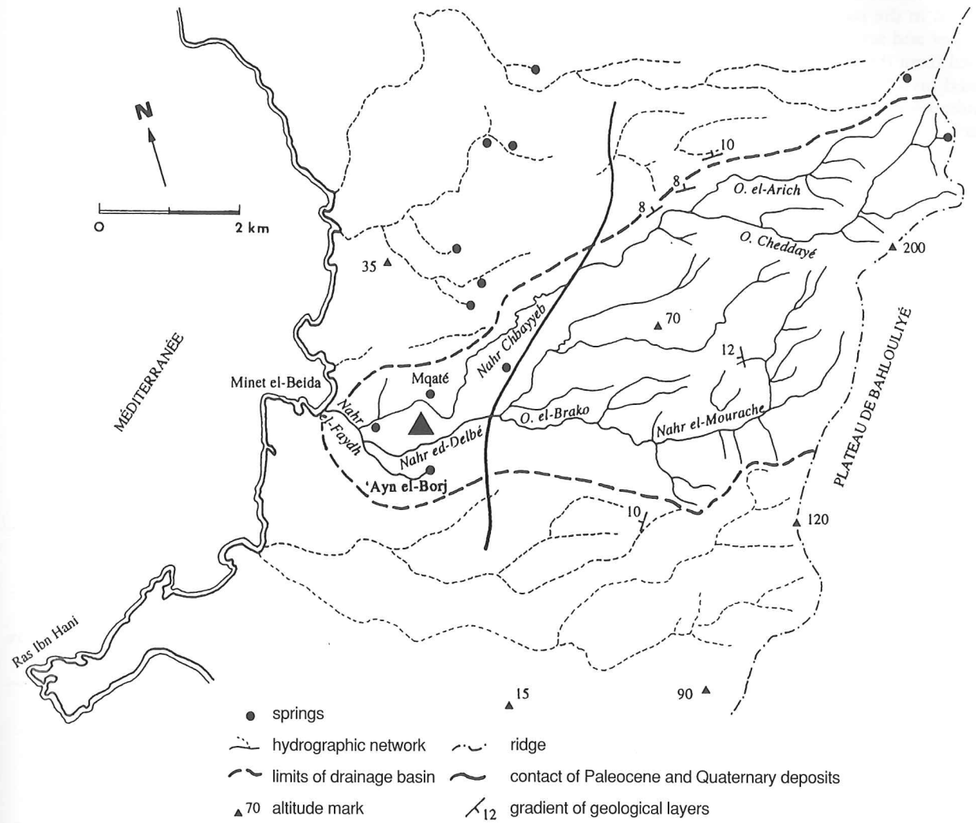

Figure 3.1. Hydrography of Ras Shamra (after Calvet and Geyer 1995).

which are nowadays replaced in the coastal plain by fruit and citrus trees. The hills are good forests for timber. Cedar, oaks and cypress now almost extinct, were mentioned in the texts and were extensively used for private and public architecture. The highest parts of the mountains were good pastureland for cattle, as mentioned in the mythological texts, ensuring a prosperous economy of cattle raising.

WATER SUPPLY

The study of the water supply to meet the needs of a large and populous city, as well as of the agricultural plain that surrounds it, is important for the understanding of the prosperity of the Ugarit culture (Calvet and Geyer 1992, 1995). Good geological conditions ensured the fueling of a water table, which was maintained at the highest possible level during the dry season by means of a dam-bridge built on the southern "nahr." One of the piles of the bridge has been discovered; wooden beams were attached by means of dovetail-shaped clamps on the ashlar stone masonry. Geomorphological analysis also indicates that the two small rivers north and south of the tell were diverted in order to follow the outline of the squarish tell, ensuring better security and water supply.

Inside the settlement, supply and disposal units of

liquids differed according to the social status of the owner: in the palatial complex (including the palace proper and several buildings connected to it and isolated from the rest of the town) the system was organized on a large scale, with a monumental corbelled vaulted sewer and numerous canalizations and pools. Each private house tended to have its own independent system although sometimes sharing drains, canalizations, and wells. A well was often shared by two or three houses on the same block, and placed at one end of a back alley in a small courtyard, onto which several housing units opened (Fig. 3.2).

CITY WALL

The only part of the rampart, or city wall, that has now survived stands next to the royal palace (Fig.3.3). Built probably during the early phase of the LB period, it shows a glacis protected by a tower. A narrow corbelled postern, still the most spectacular part of the ruins, gave access to the palatial zone, but, considering its small size, could not be the main access to it. At the end of the life of the city, this part of the city wall no longer served a defensive function; the tower was used as a basis for a large ramp leading to a plaza opening in front of the palace, and the postern was then walled up and blocked. Around the rest of the tell, erosion seems to have destroyed the city wall.

ACCESS AND CIRCULATION

Very little is known of the city gates, as the only surviving access through the city leads to the palace, and the palace only: exploration of the southern side of the city was undertaken in the late 1980s. It is hoped that a major thoroughfare will be found in the center of this southern side, on the same axis as that of the dam-bridge.

O. Callot, taking advantage of the large surface of the city excavated since 1929, has attempted the study of the street grid. Streets tend to follow the level contours of the site: Ugarit, an ancient settlement dating back to the seventh millennium, was very hilly and irregular at the end of the LB age. Space was beginning to be so cramped by this time that a large plaza had to be managed by demolishing older blocks, no doubt acting on the royal authority. The excavation seasons of 1993 and 1994 have uncovered a street, fairly wide by Ugarit standards (4 m), on the NS axis of the dam-bridge; this street may have been the main access from the plain.

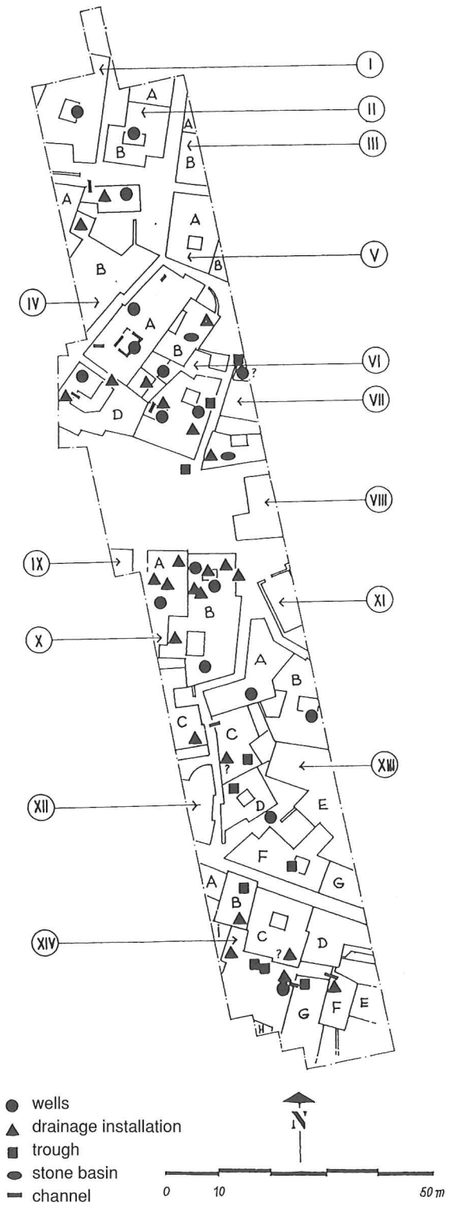

Figure 3.2. Water supply and disposal in "tranché ville sud" (after Calvet and Geyer 1995).

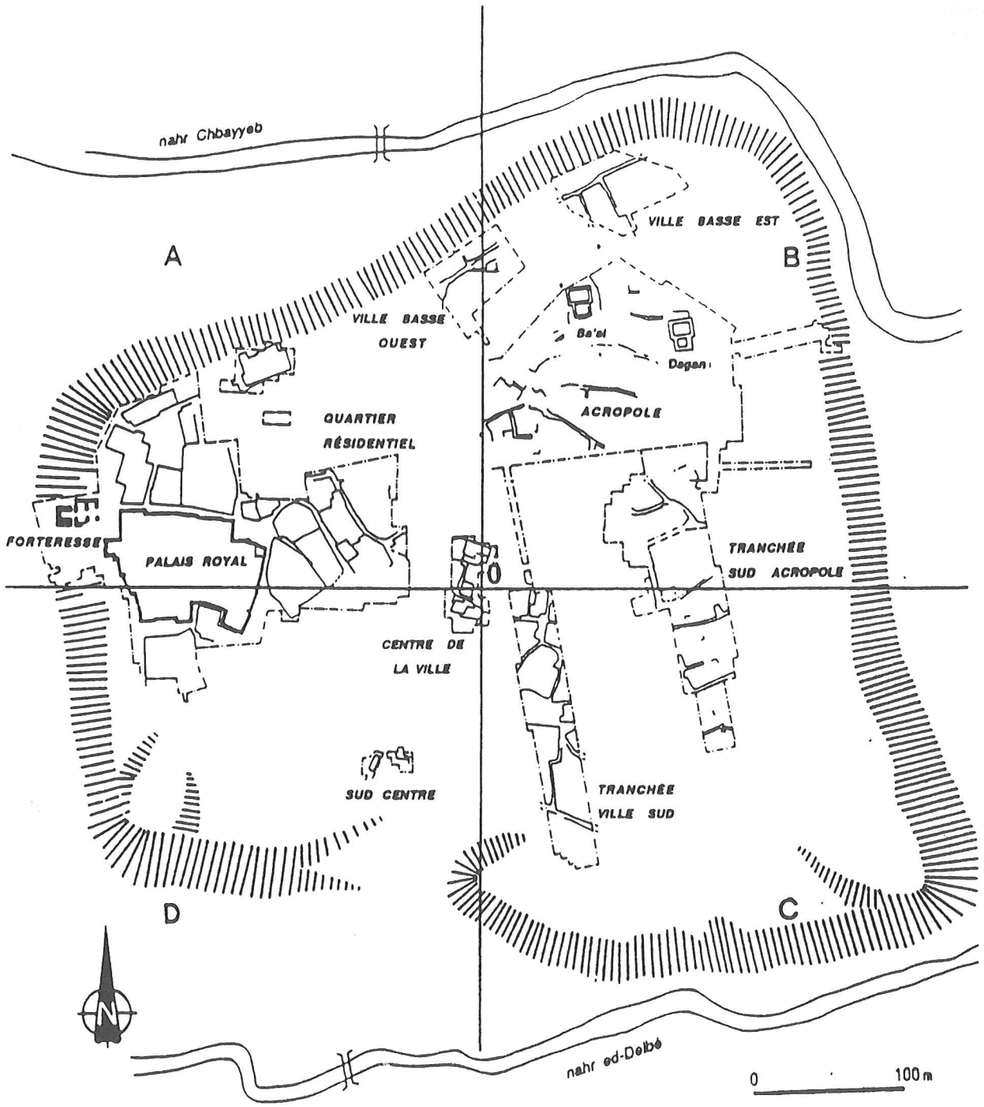

Figure 3.3. The tell of Ras Shamra (after Calvet and Geyer 1995).

The Royal Palace

Excavated by Schaeffer in the 1950s–1960s, the palace was subdivided and numbered according to what was at the time identified as "rooms" and "courts"; parts of the palace were named according to the nature of tablets that were found in the debris, such as "central archives." The architectural and functional reassessment was undertaken by J. Margueron and O. Callot. The tablets are now understood to have come mainly from the upper stories and should not have been used to designate spaces of the ground floor (Margueron 1995).

ACCESS TO THE PALACE

The main entrance is from the paved courtyard on the west side of the palace, close to the surviving part of the city wall (Fig. 3.4). The porch with two pillars is a typical Ugaritic means of distributing light into the buildings. An inner gate along the north wall of the palace ensured the privacy of the palatial zone from the rest of the town. A small entrance on the western side gave access to the street along the rampart and lead to the city. Another back entrance to the city is under investigation on the eastern side; it may have been used for deliveries of goods and foods into the palace from the town to avoid crossing the official (western) part (Callot 1986).

EXTENSION AND FUNCTION OF THE PALACE

At least twelve surviving staircases indicate that the ground floor surface area must be doubled by the surface area from one story or more (for plan, see Margueron 1995). The study of the ground plan as well as of the excavated material provides clues to the functions of the different parts of the palace: royal activities, administration, private apartments, gardens, funerary complex. The royal activities took place in the western part of the palace: from the entrance complex, composed of a porch, courtyard I, and another porch, 72, lead into the throne room, 71, and also into the so-called court VI (Fig. 3.5). Callot and Margueron now understand this to be a large covered hall with a podium, 78, perhaps a banquet hall with a royal dais for the appearances of the king at one end of it. In 71, a private staircase leads from the throne room to the private apartments upstairs.

On the southern part of the palace, the excavation of courtyard V by Schaeffer yielded many tablets mixed in burnt clay. Scheffer interpreted this feature as "a tablet oven," which he supposed to contain the latest batch of cuneiform tablets from the archives of the palace. The examination of old pictures from the excavation, together with our current understanding of the architectural function of this courtyard, leads us to interpret the burnt clay as coming not from an oven but from the ceiling, that is, from the debris of the fallen floors of the rooms overlooking this courtyard on the upper stories. Courtyard V boasted a pool, the water from which came from a building on the outside of the palace (Calvet 1981).

The "North Palace" and Other "Palaces"

The "North Palace" may have been the earlier royal palace before the construction of the new royal palace in the course of the thirteenth century B.C.E. Recent excavations have shown that the North Palace was not built during the Middle Bronze Age, but sometime during the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. It may have been destroyed during the major earthquake that destroyed most of the LB town, its stones looted or reused; its site was left abandoned during the entire life of the new palace, as a sort of vacant lot.

Several large buildings that were originally published as "palaces" are now identified as private houses, though they probably belonged to important members of the society, closely related to the royal family—i.e., the "residency of the queen mother," the "maison aux albâtres," or the "South Palace," which has been identified as the House of Yabninu (Courtois 1990). Particularly grand in scale, the South Palace, like the House of Urtenu, belonged to a high-ranking official, Yabninu, who traded in cereals, oil, cattle, and metal ore with countries to which Ugarit was connected by sea, such as Byblos, Tyre, Akko, Ashdod, and Ashkelon, and overseas countries like Cyprus, Egypt, and Aegean lands.

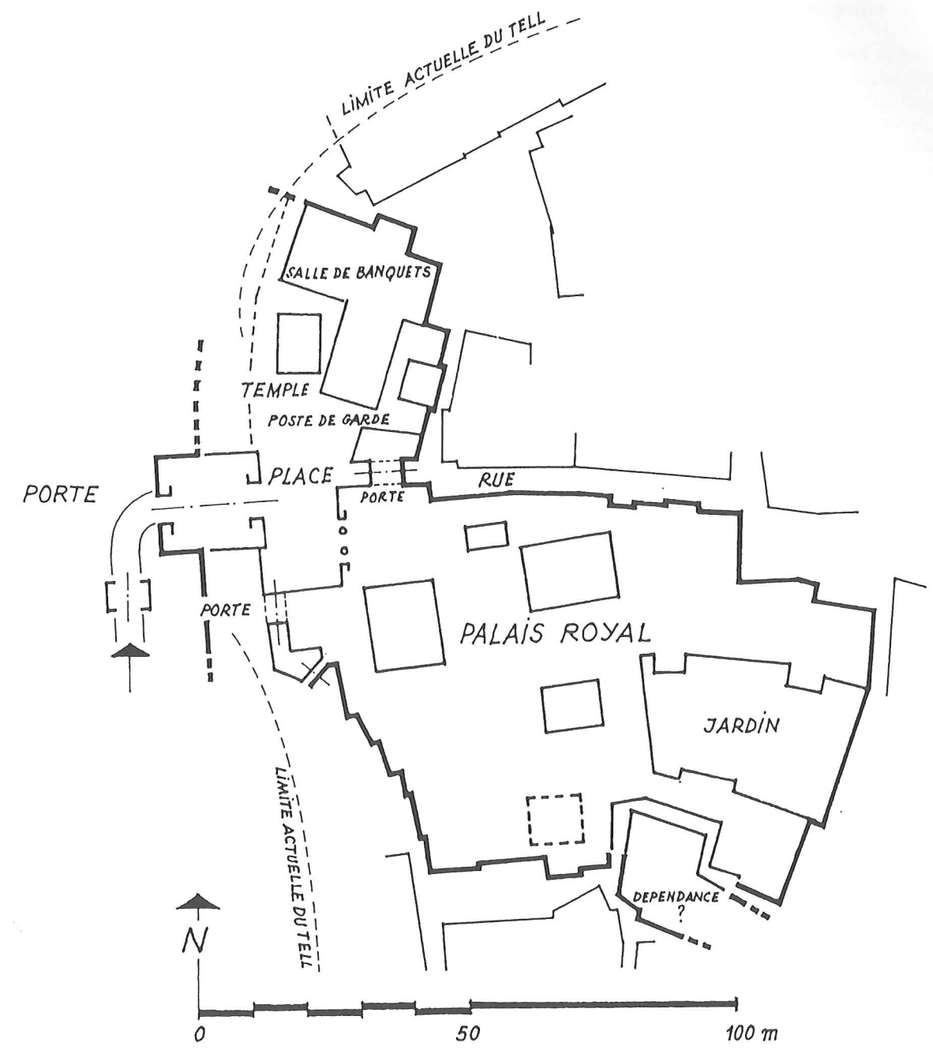

Figure 3.4. The royal palace and its environment (after Margueron 1995).

THE TEMPLES

Schaeffer identified three temples: the temples of Baal and Dagan on the acropolis and one, the *temple hurrite*, near the palace (Callot 1987a; Tarragon 1995). These buildings are currently being reassessed from the point of view of their architectural organization and their contents. Since 1978, recent excavations under the direction of M. Yon resulted in the discovery of a new type of cultic place, the *temple aux rhytons*.

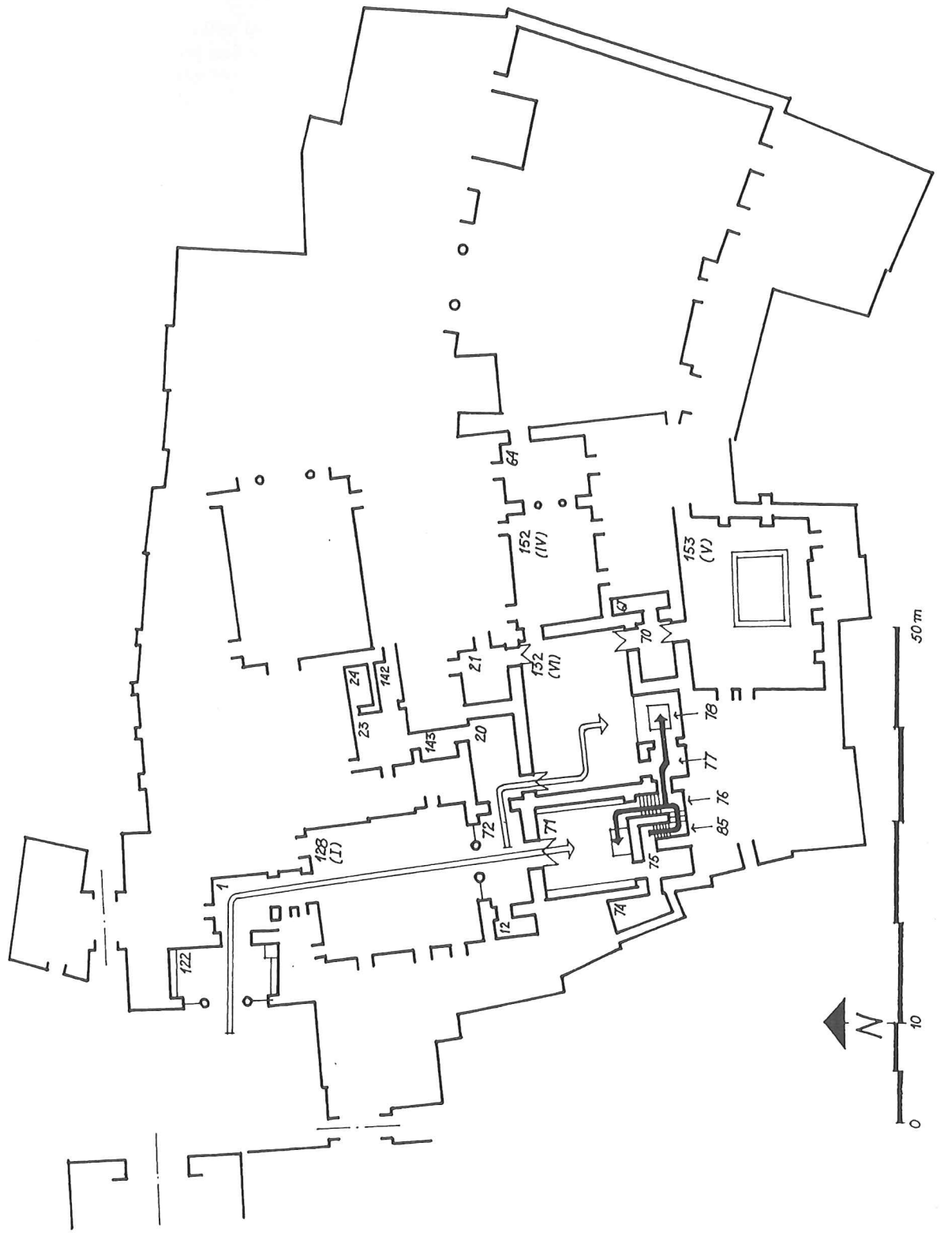

Figure 3.5. Circulations and functions within the royal palace (after Margueron 1995).

BAAL AND DAGAN TEMPLES

These two temples stood on the acropolis. They are of the "Syrian type," detached and visible on all sides. By using the well-preserved ground remains, it has been possible to reconstruct their height: monumental staircases led to a high terrace (Callot 1987a). Standing as they were on the summit of the acropolis, the two could probably have been seen from afar and could have been used for fire signals like those documented in the Lachish ostraca. Their disposition vis-à-vis each other indicates that they may have served as a landmark for the boats coming into the Minet el Beida bay—hence the worship of sailors in the Baal temple, as witnessed by the many anchors that were deposited there or were used in their masonry (Frost 1991). They enjoyed royal patronage, as evidenced by the many outstanding artifacts discovered by Schaeffer, such as gold bowls and a stela of the weather god (Yon 1991).

THE COMPLEX NORTH OF THE ROYAL PALACE

Reassessment by O. Callot (1986) of the area north of the palace, excavated by Schaeffer in the 1950s, has shown that the four-pillared building, once interpreted as the royal stables, may now be identified as a monumental hall with access through a wide porch and monumental stairway. It was possibly built for ceremonial uses connected with royal functions, such as cultic banquets (*marziu*; Hebrew, *marzeah*). Nearby, the *temple hurrite*, completely enclosed in the palatial complex and isolated from the town, may have been used as a palatial chapel. It contains a cella and a staircase, probably leading to upper floor(s) and/or terraces, as in the case of the acropolis sanctuaries.

THE TEMPLE OF THE RHYTA

In addition to the cultic places excavated by Schaeffer, a new sanctuary was discovered (Yon 1987; Mallet 1987; Yon 1996): the *temple aux rhytons* presents an architectural organization of a type heretofore not encountered at Ugarit. It is completely integrated in the urban grid of streets, as opposed to the detached plans of the Baal and Dagan temples. Its ground plan is similar to that of the Fosse Temple at Lachish, with a side room and a cella lined by stone benches. A stepped stone altar is set against one of the sides. On the opposite side of a street alongside the temple was a small oil mill, possibly connected to the sanctuary for cultic as well as economic purposes (Callot 1987b).

Many cultic implements were uncovered within the precinct of this temple or in the street nearby, where they had been abandoned by looters. Several funnel-shaped vessels, or rhyta, have given their name to the building; a miniature bronze tripod was probably made in Cyprus; a large cult stand in terra-cotta, decorated with a stamp relief, shows a standing figure praying under a winged disk. His costume and attitude are the same as the royal figure on the Baal stela, standing on an altar and praying under the protection of the god.

From this sanctuary was also recovered the small limestone statue of an aged deity, draped in a long dress, wearing the conical crown of a Levantine god, and sitting on a throne. He was probably making a peace gesture with his hands; which, although now lost, were originally glued to the body with bitumen. This is a unique version in stone of a statuette type well known in bronzes from Ugarit: he may be identified as the god El in the mythological texts (Yon 1993).

THE PRIVATE HOUSES

Private houses discovered in the earlier excavations are currently being reexamined, and two books (Callot 1981; 1994) have now been dedicated to the private architecture at Ugarit (Figs. 3.6–3.8). At the same time, the current excavations have produced more material for the study of the habitat from Ugarit, and detailed studies of several houses have been published (Yon, Lombard, and Renisio 1987; Yon 1992b). Callot is currently studying the ground plan of some of the private houses, such as that of Rapanu or Rashapabu, where important archives had been discovered in earlier excavations. This study should reestablish the true organization of the various houses and the distribution of the archives among them.

Recent excavations directed by Marguerite Yon have stressed the importance of the southern area of the tell in the urban organization of the city. Close to the main access to the town from the plain and the countryside, several buildings are beeing explored, all of the best architectural quality. One is now tentatively designated the "House of Urtenu."

The House of Urtenu, identified during the 1992–1993 seasons and still being excavated (Lombard 1995), is of particular interest in questions of chronology and the final destruction of Ugarit, because of the numerous cuneiform tablets that have been found there. Some of them mention a high-ranking official, Urtenu, probably a member of the royal family at the time of the last king of Ugarit. He was probably the same person as the "governor" (*sik-kini*),

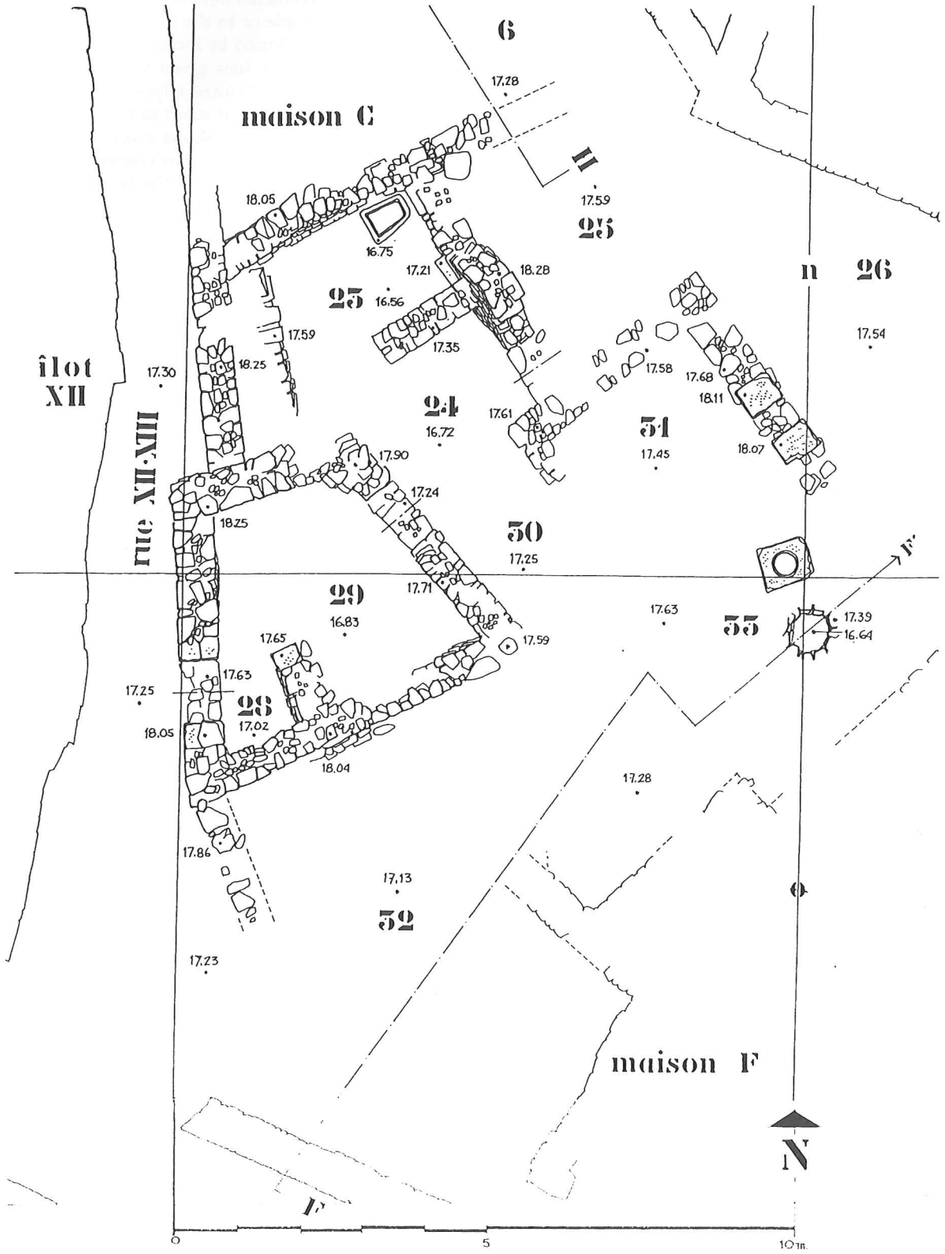

Figure 3.6. House D, Ville sud: ground remains (after Callot 1994).

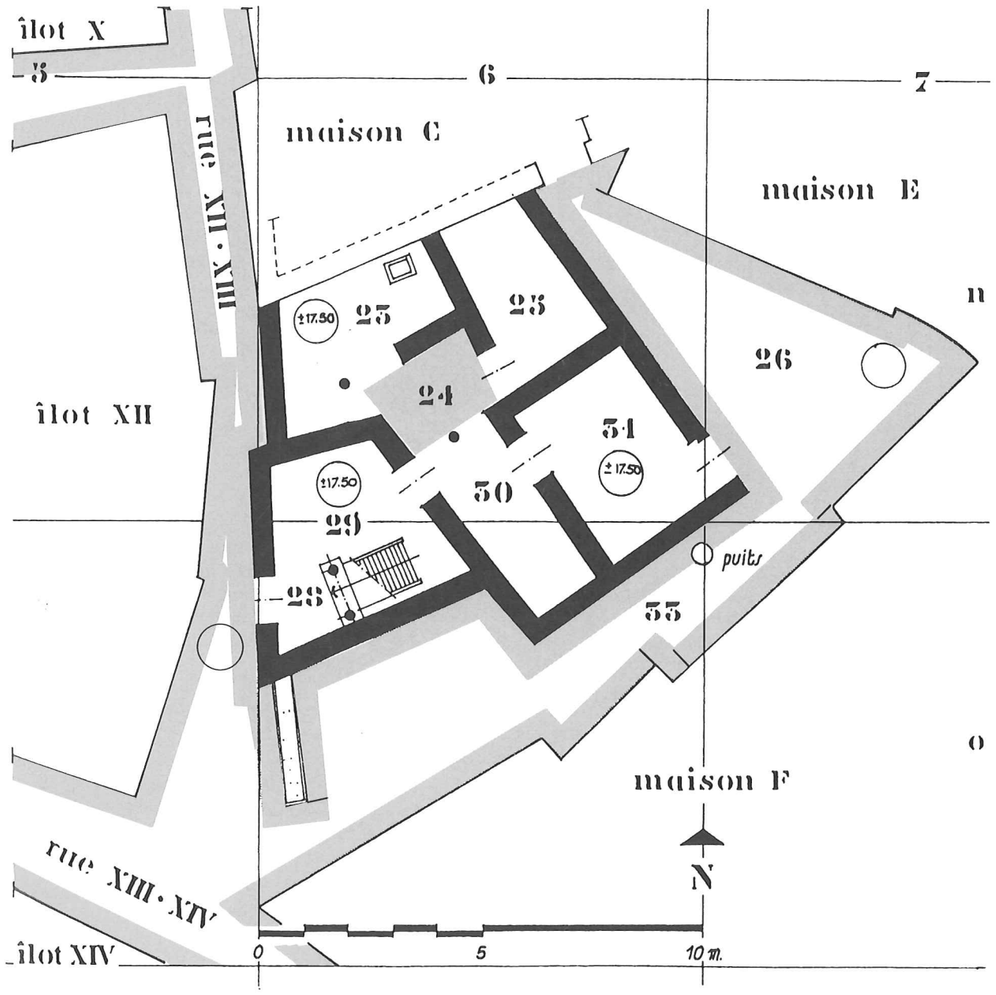

Figure 3.7. House D, Ville sud: proposed reconstruction of floor plan (after Callot 1994).

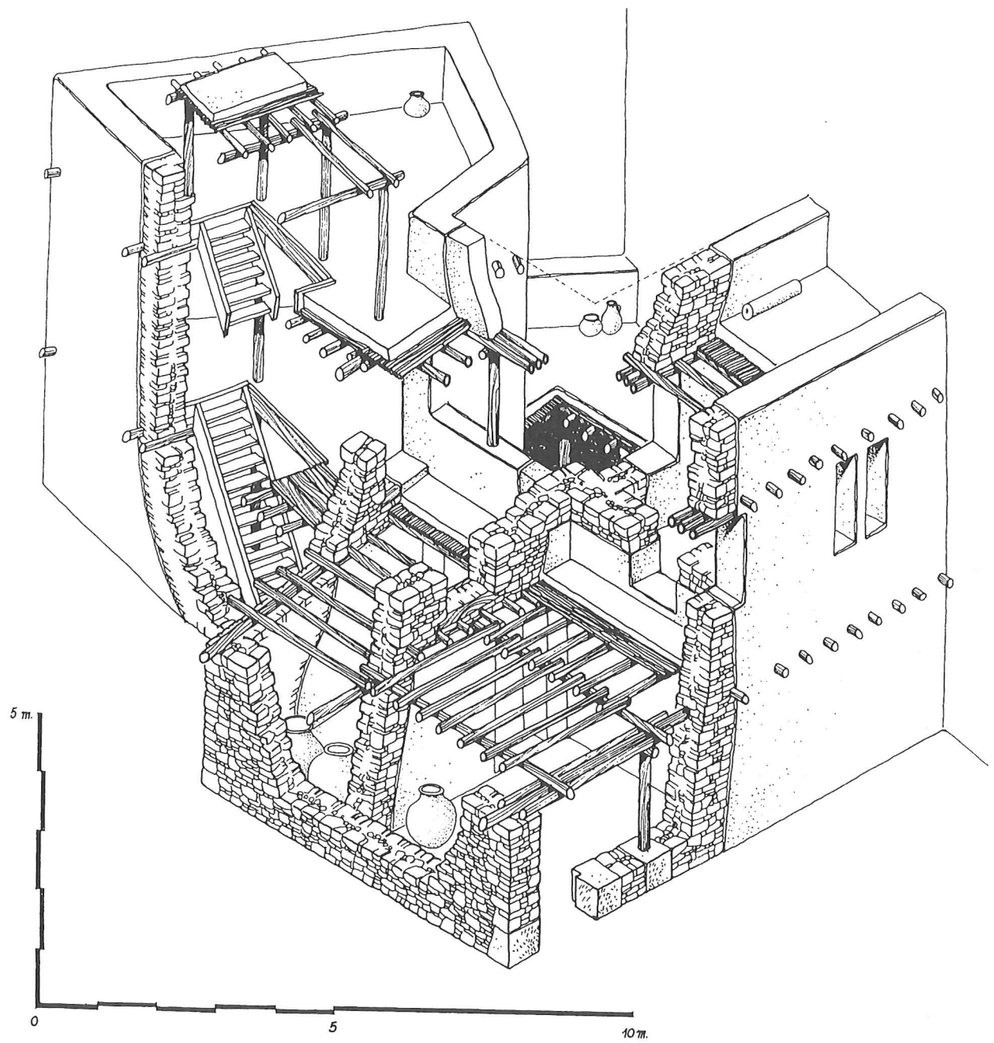

Figure 3.8. House D, Ville sud: proposed elevation (after Callot 1994).

who exchanged letters with the kings of the great powers of the time (Bordreuil 1991). Especially interesting is the letter from the Hittite king "my sun," seeking informations about "the Sikila who live on boats"; these Sikil people worry the great king. As the king of Ugarit "is young" (i.e., still a minor), the letter is addressed to the "*sikinni*" (Lehmann 1979; Malbran-Labat 1991). The young king must be Ammurapi, ca. 1200–1185 B.C.E.

The House of Urtenu is situated in the south-central part of the town, not far from what may have been the main street or access from the plain and the countryside into the town. This zone had been partially destroyed by work undertaken by the Syrian army for the building of a blockhaus. In the dumps of the army's excavation, many unprovenanced tablets had been found and recorded under the designation "tas de déblais 1973." Regular excavations have been made possible only after 1986 when the army evacuated the site. Because the excavation is in progress, the limits of this house are not yet known. It appears to have been very large and built with great care in ashlar stones. It had its private tomb built under the floor of one of the rooms. The tomb was looted in antiquity through a hole pierced into its ceiling. Though looted, with all metal artifacts removed, the tomb still contained a rich quantity of imported and local pottery.

THE TOMBS

Because the tombs at Ugarit were built under, and closely connected with, the private and official houses, the reassessment of their architectural organization has been undertaken together with that of the houses (Callot 1983; 1994; 168). The most spectacular ashlar tombs from Ugarit were excavated by Schaeffer at Ras Shamra and Minet el Beida. Several other tombs have been uncovered in recent seasons. They raise the problems of their location under the house: they seem to have been built at the same time as the house and are part of the general plan of the architecture. They also raise the question of who was buried there: were they intended to shelter the remains of all the inhabitants of the house or only a selected elite? If so, how was this selection made? How was the cult of the dead, well attested to in the texts, to be maintained in the course of time, when houses would change hands and access to the chamber had to be made possible for people from outside? This study is underway (Salles 1987). S. Marchegay is currently engaged in the analysis of the funerary practices at Ugarit. This study combines the evidence from the architectural organization of the tombs, the surviving funerary artifacts and the references in the texts, particularly those texts relating to the funeral rites in which the Rapanu (Hebrew, Rephaim) take part.

Artifacts and Luxury Goods

Recent studies dealing mostly with types of artifacts or material have been published. Samples from the early excavations now housed in the Louvre collection have made it possible to use archaometric methods.

GLYPTIC

The cylinder seals from Schaeffer's excavations have been published (Amiet 1992). D. Beyer is preparing the study of the seal impressions on tablets and of the cylinder seals themselves from the 1978–1994 seasons.

BITUMEN

Bitumen was widely used at Ugarit. In architecture, it was probably used as a background for pigment, as on the orthostats from the North Palace. The use of bitumen in arts and crafts, is evidenced by the limestone statue of the god El, found in the *temple aux rhytons*. Bitumen in the ancient Near East was used for calking, as glue, as pigment, and probably also as an antiseptic for medical purposes. Analyses by Connan, Deschesne, and Dessort (1991) and Connan and Deschesne (1996) have shown that the bitumen used at Ugarit was obtained from local sources, known among modern geologists as Lattakiah bitumen, quite distinct from larger sources in the Levant (i.e., the Dead Sea sources) and Mesopotamia or Iran.

STONE INDUSTRIES

An entire volume of the exacavation reports has been dedicated to the industry on various stones (Yon 1991). The ground stone industry used chlorite, gabbro, and basalt, probably from local sources (Elliott 1991), and the flint industry was still predom-

inant during the Late Bronze Age (Coqueugniot 1991), while luxury vases and implements were carved of exotic materials, mostly Egyptian alabaster and hard stones. Alabaster vases imported from Egypt have been found in the various temples and in the palace (Caubet 1991). Alabaster was also used for chariot implements (Caubet 1990; 1991). Some of the hard stones used to carve vases were imported from afar: fragments of vases from the palace have been identified as carved out of anorthosite (Querré et al. in Caubet 1991), a hard stone typical of Precambrian geology, occurring only in the Baltic area and the Ukraine.

AMBER

Amber beads were uncommon in the ancient Near East. In Egypt, they appear in royal tombs of the New Kingdom, such as the Tomb of Tutankhamen. This rarity makes even more significant the finds of amber beads, identified as Baltic amber, in some tombs of Ugarit. As in the case of anorthosite stone, the amber indicates a regular route of circulating material between the Baltic and the western Mediterranean. A study by Curt W. Beck, of Vassar College (Poughkeepsie), is in progress.

VITREOUS MATERIALS

Another typical production of the palatial culture in the western Mediterranean at the end of the second millennium consisted of vessels and ornaments in faience and other vitreous materials (Caubet 1987; Caubet, Kaczmarczyk, and Matoian, in prep.). Laboratory analysis has shown that specific ores from the Sinai and Turkey were used to color the glazes: yellow from lead antimoniate, green from copper, and black from iron-manganese were the main colors. The recipes for most of these vitreous materials are distinct from the Egyptian recipes and indicate the existence of local workshops in the Levant, probably at Ugarit. "Egyptian blue," a double copper silicate frit, was locally made: cakes were used as pigment and, after rebaking, were also molded into beads or small vessels and ornaments.

IVORY

Some of the ivory works from Ras Shamra discovered by Schaeffer are now famous (Caubet and Poplin 1987). The examination of the material by F. Poplin, of the Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle, in Paris, has shown that a large majority of the ivory artifacts from Ugarit were actually carved out of hippopotamus tusks. Small figurines, cosmetic boxes, and spindle whorls from Ugarit as well as from other sites of Syria and Palestine (e.g., Megiddo, Lachish, Kamid el Loz, Pella, and Amman citadel) were routinely carved out of the lower canines and incisors of hippopotami. The hippopotamus habitat extended not only into the Nile Valley but also along the coastline of Palestine, in the swamp delta of the many small coastal rivers, and possibly into the Amuq. Elephant ivory was very rare at the time, as shown by a general survey of ancient ivory from the Bronze Age: it was mostly reserved for palatial use and could serve as a social marker.

Like other exotic materials such as hard stone and amber, hippopotamus and elephant ivory circulated as raw materials across the Mediterranean. The best evidence for this circulation of raw material and artifacts is the cargo of the LB ship that sank off the Anatolian coast at Ulu Burun; this wreck contained finished ivory artifacts (spindle whorls, cosmetic boxes) and raw material, one sawn-off tusk of elephant and a dozen hippopotamus tusks (incisors and canines).

EPIGRAPHY

The epigraphic publication program is under the direction of Pierre Bordreuil. The complete list of the tablets and inscribed artifacts from Ugarit found between 1929 and 1988 has now been published (Bordreuil, Pardee, et al., 1989). This concordance volume gives the bibliographical reference to the *editio princeps* and summary information about context and provenance. What remains unpublished so far consists mainly of tiny fragments. The tablets uncovered from the 1973 season, now identified as the House of Urtenu, are published in *RSO* VII. Publication of the later (1992–1994) finds from this house is underway. The stratigraphic context of the tablets from the House of Urtenu has allowed for a better understanding of the chronology of most of the cuneiform archives from Ugarit.

Conclusions

The reassessment of the architectural remains and the reexamination of artifacts and luxury items sheds new light on the society of ancient Ugarit on the eve of the Sea Peoples' crisis, while current work on the epigraphic material allows scholars from around the world to combine the material evidence with the textual sources.

A Note on Mycenaean IIIC Pottery from Ras Shamra

The case of a reoccupation by the Sea People or other groups of immigrants has been discussed in M. Yon 1992a. In any case, such a reoccupation was short-lived in time and restricted in space. Until recently, no Mycenean IIIC pottery had been identified at Ugarit. However, three sherds (two carinated bowls with horizontal handles and one kylix) from a deposit on the NW fringe of the tell have been identified by Montchambert (1996) as being Mycenean IIIC and tentatively attributed either to a reoccupation level occurring after the destruction or to the last phase of the life of the LB city. Recently, the catalogue of the Mycenaean pottery from Ras Shamra harbored in the Louvre Museum has been undertaken by V. Karageorghis, M. Yon, and N. Hirschfeldt. It has not been possible for them to check the three particular sherds identified by Montchambert; but their corpus contains a few bowls decorated with the type of horizontal spirals which will become characteristic of the Mycenean IIIC: the fabric however indicates that they still belong to the late stage of Mycenean IIIB and it seems likely that such is the case for Montchambert's material.

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4

Biblical Traditions: The Philistines and Israelite History

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Introduction

It may seem superfluous, even as it may be impertinent, to turn to the biblical texts on the Philistines once again, since they have been examined so many times, especially in the last quarter century as new interest in and sources for the Philistines have emerged. But even in the face of the new evidence, the fact remains that the Hebrew Bible is our most extensive and most varied source on the Philistines, indeed, on any of the so-called Sea Peoples. And that source has rarely been examined for itself: to understand its own character and function within the biblical corpus as a whole. The usual procedure has been to juxtapose it immediately with the non-biblical evidence, all directed toward a reconstruction of Philistine history.[1] This paper, then, is first and foremost about the biblical historiography on the Philistines, as a prelude to the eventual task, not pursued here, of writing a history of them and the other Sea Peoples. In particular, I want to pose two large questions about this historiography, to which I will suggest answers, however tentative and partial. The first is descriptive: what does the Hebrew Bible, considered mainly in and of itself, say about the Philistines—their history, culture, and community? The second is interpretive: what about the shape and significance of this Philistine material as the biblical writers put it together—the patterns of coherence and emphasis it displays? Are we dealing, for one thing, with a portrait of a single community or of several, of Philistines alone or of other Sea Peoples as well? How to explain the historical framework in which the portrait is arranged? And of what use are the Philistines to the biblical writers in defining Israel and Israelites?

The Hebrew Bible on the Philistines

Let us begin by collecting our biblical material and describing what it tells us about the Philistines. In doing so, our base point will be texts mentioning directly, or referring indirectly, to the term *Philistine*, ex-

pressed in Hebrew most frequently by the nominal plural, *Pelištîm* and then in the nominative singular, *Pelešet*, or the gentilic adjective, *Pelištî* (total occurrences: 294).[2] In addition, several other terms and the texts associated with them must be considered, because directly or indirectly, as we will see, they are all connected with the Philistine community: the place name Caphtor (*Kaptôr*) with the gentilic Caphtorim (*Kaptōrîm*) (6 occurrences); the gentilic Cerethite (*Kerētî*) (once as *Kārî*) (8 occurrences); the gentilic Pelethite (*Pelētî*) (5 occurrences); the place name Ashdod with the gentilic *'Ašdôdî* and *'Ašdôdît* (23 occurrences); the place name Ashkelon with the gentilic *'Aškelônî* (13 occurrences); the place name Gaza (*ʿAzzāh*) with the gentilic *ʿAzzātî* (22 occurrences); the place name Ekron with the gentilic *ʿEkrônî* (23 occurrences); and the place name Gath with the gentilic *Gittî* (44 occurrences, although they may not all refer to the same place; other, compound place names, in which Gath is one of the elements, are here excluded).

These biblical texts may be considered under the following rubrics.

ORIGINS

The relevant sources are: Gen 10:4; 10:13–14/1 Chr 1:11–12; Deut 2:23; Jer 47:4; Ezek 25:16; and Amos 9:7. A number of these sources point to the origin of the Philistines, like the Israelites, outside of Palestine: either (1) coming from or by way of Caphtor (Amos 9:7), a land with a seacoast (Jer 47:4: the word *ʾî* here could mean, on the other hand, "island"), or (2) connected, alongside Caphtor, with Egypt (Gen 10:13–14/1 Chr 1:11–12).[3] The Philistines are thus not among the aboriginal inhabitants of Palestine whom Israel meets and has to confront in its conquest—that is, the groups given in various biblical lists, of whom the most frequently mentioned names are the Amorites, Hittites, Girgashites, Perizzites, Canaanites, Hivites, Horites, and Jebusites (e.g., Exod 23:23, 28; Deut 7:1).[4] Indeed, just as the Israelites are depicted as confronting and displacing at least some of these aborigines, so likewise are the Caphtorim (thus with regard to the Avvim, in Deut 2:23). The matter of origins, however, is not described entirely consistently. Thus, in Josh 13:1–2, the "regions (*gelîlôt*) of the Philistines" are characterized as among the land still remaining to be conquered by Israel, along with Canaanite territory in the south, coastal and hinterland including Phoenicia, and the Avvim. Here, then, the Philistines seem to be reckoned as part of the enemies that the invading Israel had to displace, although it would be difficult to infer from this that the Philistines were Palestinian natives or by how much they preceded Israel in Palestine. Note, further, that Josh 13:2–3 appears to separate the Philistine regions from the Avvim, unlike Deut 2:23, where, as noted, the Caphtorim had taken over the Avvim. Would Josh 13:2–3, then, refer to a period earlier than that in Deut 2:23, or must we separate the Caphtorim from the Philistines? Despite the view that Caphtor was once the home of the Philistines, the two are kept separate, though clearly marked as related, in Gen 10:14/1 Chr 1:12.

HISTORICAL PERIODIZATION

The biblical sources, taken together, suggest that there are four periods comprising Philistine history, or better, four periods in which contact with Israel occurred, with a kind of interlude between the second and third. The first is the period of the biblical patriarchs, described in Gen 20–21 and 26. The stories here are very brief, centering on Abimelech, called king of Gerar, and his contacts with both Abraham and the latter's son, Isaac. These stories are not evidence of entirely peaceful relations with the patriarchs, involving as they do disputes over water rights and the deception of the wife-sister tradition, although in both instances the disputes are resolved. The Philistine names involved—the place names, Gerar and Beersheva, and the personal, Abimelech, Ahuzzat, and Phicol—do not recur in those biblical stories describing later phases of Philistine history. To be sure, one of the place names, Gerar, can be localized in the western Negev facing coastal Philistia of the five cities;[5] the other one, however, Beersheva, is in the north-central Negev, far from where the Philistines are placed in the later biblical stories, though, to be sure, in Genesis, Beersheva is clearly marked as outside the Philistine homeland.[6]

This disjunction in names between the Genesis and later biblical sources is only part of a larger uneasiness many interpreters have had with the Genesis sources as potential historical references to the Philistines.[7] All extra-biblical indications, after all, place the Philistines in the Levant only toward the end of the Late Bronze/Iron I Ages,[8] the period regularly identified as that of the Israelite Exodus and settlement in Palestine. Are the Genesis references to Philistines, then, anachronisms? Without trying to resolve the question in its entirety, let us see what perspective on it can be gained by a closer examination of the Genesis stories. We may begin by noting that in Gen 20–21, which concerns Abraham, Abimelech is never said to rule over the Philistines. Indeed, all that we hear of the Philistines in these chapters is as a descriptive label: Abimelech and his commander, Phicol, returning "to the land of the Philistines" (21:32), where Abraham is then said to dwell (21:34). Accordingly, this geographical phrase—which has

usually been classified as an addition to the basic E narrative of these chapters[9]—need not be understood as a marker of the historical identity of Abimelech and Phicol; it could just as easily be read as a remark of the biblical author or editor himself, signifying to his audience that the land over which Abimelech and Phicol ruled was what they would now call "the land of the Philistines." If "Philistine" is thus ambiguous in Gen 20–21, the ambiguity is resolved in Gen 26, conventionally assigned to J.[10] Here Abimelech is straightforwardly identified as "king (*melek*) of the Philistines" (26:1,8), and the Philistines themselves are explicitly involved in the encounter with Isaac (26:14,15,18).

What, therefore, to make of the Philistines in Gen 20–21 and 26? There is no certain answer, but it does appear that 20–21 is the older source, and that, in its original form, without the twofold mention of "the land of the Philistines" of vss. 32 and 34, it did not in fact identify Abimelech and his entourage as Philistine. The twofold mention, one might then suggest, was added to bring the story "up-to-date" and situate it more clearly geographically for a later audience to whom the region was Philistine territory. The final stage, in this view, would have come in Gen 26—which on other grounds has much to characterize it as a secondarily constructed narrative.[11] Here Abimelech and company, from living in a land called Philistia (20–21), became now Philistines themselves. That is, Gen 26, one may venture, took the description in 20–21 *with* the twofold geographical up-dating, and interpreted it to mean that Abimelech and his group were Philistines.[12] This interpretation may perhaps be connected with the effort to clarify the problem of Philistine origins in Palestine, noted above, and so to affirm that the Philistines were indeed in the land when the Israelites under Joshua returned to it.

As against the problems of locating the Philistines in the era of the patriarchs, the next period is presented with much more clarity. It is the period that can be called, using biblical book terms, that of Joshua and Judges, or Iron I, archaeologically, and is by far the most extensively described for the Philistines in the biblical corpus. The period ranges, for the biblical authors, from the first knowledge that the Philistines and other Palestinian peoples have of the Israelites, arriving victoriously in the land of Palestine under Moses and then Joshua, through the time of Israelite tribal settlement and activity in the land, until David's establishment of his united kingdom. The narrative is laid out or alluded to in several biblical books—briefly in Exodus (15:13–16), but at length in the Deuteronomistic Joshua, Judges, and 1–2 Samuel (with the parallel in 1 Chronicles). Four major episode complexes make up the focus of this narrative.[13]

The first concerns Samson and his heroic adventures, climaxing in his purposeful destruction of himself and the Philistines of Gaza, one of their principal cities (Judg 13–16). The confrontation is broadened, in the next episode complex, to the Israelite tribes and Philistines as a whole—the narrative of this revolving around the control of the Israelite ark of the covenant from the days of Eli the priest, when the Philistines prove victorious over Israel, to the days of Samuel, who is able to muster Israel to reverse this victory and push the Philistines out of Israelite territory (1 Sam 4–7). Samuel's success, however, is not permanent, for in the third episode complex, his successor and the first Israelite king, Saul, faces renewed and repeated clashes with the Philistines, which lead eventually to a disastrous defeat of the Israelites and the death of Saul and his sons in the same Jezreel Valley where the previous confrontation narrative began in the time of Eli (see 1 Sam 4:1 and 29:1,[14] and otherwise 1 Sam 9, 10, 12–14, 17, 28–29, 31; 2 Sam 1; cf. 1 Chr 10). But if Samuel's success was not the end of the story, neither is Saul's disaster. That comes only with David, Saul's successor, who is the center of the fourth and final episode complex. The account here, in its initial half, overlaps the preceding episode about Saul, in order to create a sharp contrast between Saul's Philistine encounters, as they turn downward, and the activities of David, who moves out from under Saul as he goes from success to success in an increasingly broader confrontation with the Philistines: first in his defeat of Goliath, then in his duplicitous service to Achish, the Philistine king of Gath, onto his mourning the deaths of Saul and Jonathan after the Philistine battle that he manages to avoid, until, at last, having taken Jerusalem and united the tribes, he defeats the Philistine forces in the Valley of Rephaim, driving them back to their coastal plain heartland (1 Sam 17; 27–30; 2 Sam 1; 5: 17–25; 8:1,11–12/1 Chr 18:1,11; 2 Sam 19:10; cf. 1 Chr 11:12–19; 14:8–17). The reversal David is thus able to achieve may be epitomized in two notices: his incorporation of Philistines and related groups into the Israelite army (2 Sam 8:18; 15:18; 18:2; 20:7,23; 1 Kgs 1:38,44; 1 Chr 18:17 [Cherethites, Pelethites, Gittites]; cf. also 2 Sam 6:9–12; 1 Chr 13:12–14; 15: 24–25); and his subordination, among other places, of Gath, the capital of his former Philistine master (2 Sam 21:20–21; 15:18; 1 Chr 18:1). It may also be noted that it is only after his defeat of the Philistines in 2 Sam 5:17–25; 8:1 that his imperial expansion is possible and is thus narrated (cf. the order of conquest in 2 Sam 8/1 Chr 18).[15]

David, in sum, achieves the permanent solution over the Philistines that eluded his predecessors—and this is confirmed by the subsequent narrative in Samuel and Kings (paralleled in Chronicles), which shows the Philistines never regaining the power they had enjoyed to threaten Israel. The four episode complexes we have discussed, therefore, must be

seen together as elements in a chain of confrontation that reaches its climax and conclusion in David's actions. It is through the depiction of this confrontation, moreover, that the Philistines emerge as a distinct political/ethnic entity, with a particular polity, military organization, cult, and other features (see below), all combining to challenge the fledgling Israelite community.

Between David and the third period of Philistine-Israelite contact is an interlude represented by the reign of Solomon. What the biblical authors see David as having accomplished, they now understand Solomon as essentially maintaining: the Philistines back in their heartland, bowed and, particularly for Gath, in some way subordinated to Israel, but with a measure of their independence intact. This seems to be the situation underlying the story about Shimei and the extradition of his runaway slaves from Gath and its ruler, Achish (1 Kgs 2:39–41, within vss. 36–46), and it is also suggested by the dual notices of the extent of Solomon's empire (1 Kgs 5:1,4; 2 Chr 9: 26).[16]

The third period sees something of this peace shattered, and Philistine independence from Israel emboldened, but without finally threatening the balance of power. Covering the Israelite Divided Monarchy, or Iron II, the period is described in a series of cursory notices, now not only in the Deuteronomistic History and Chronicles, but also in the prophetic books, which narrate episodes across several centuries from the ninth through the sixth centuries B.C.E.[17] The largest concern of these notices is territorial conflicts: border encounters or attacks across borders between Judah and coastal Philistia, which occasionally involve the seizure of land (1 Kgs 15:27; 16: 15–17; 2 Kgs 18:8; 2 Chr 17:10–11; 21:16–17; 26:6–7; 28:18), or attacks on and conquests of Philistine territory by others, namely, Aramaeans, Assyrians, and Egyptians (2 Kgs 12:18; 13:22 [LXX Lucianic]; Isa 14: 28–31; 20:1; Jer 47: esp 1). Throughout, the Philistines can be referred to as a group, labeled *Pelištîm* (2 Kgs 18:8; 2 Chr 21:16–17; 26:6–7; 28:18), *'ereṣ Pelištîm* (Zeph 2:5), or *Pelešet* (Isa 14:28–31); and/or their cities can be listed (2 Chr 26:6–7; Amos 1:6–8; Jer 25: 20; Zeph 2:4–7); or a particular city can be singled out (Ashdod in Isa 20:1). Yet no real discussion of Philistine polity is to be found, comparable to what is offered by the biblical texts bearing on the preceding Iron I period. There are only tantalizing hints: the possible reference to "a federation (*ḥebel*) of the sea," which appears to include Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron and to be known also as "the nation of Cherethites" (Zeph 2:4–7; on *ḥebel* see further below); the dropping out of Gath in lists of Philistine cities pertaining to the late seventh and following centuries B.C.E. (Jer 25:20; Zeph 2:4–7; Zech 9:5–7; notices of Gath in the ninth century include 2 Kgs 12:18 and in the eighth century, 2 Chr 26:6 and Amos 6:2 [though it is not in the list in Amos 1:6–8]); and the disappearance of *seren* as a title for the Philistine ruler that had characterized Iron I, all rulers now being designated, where designations occur, by the title *melek* "king" (Jer 25:20; Zech 9:5)[18] or by what may be more properly epithets, *yōšēb* "one who sits (on the throne)" and *tōmēk šebeṭ* "scepter-bearer" (Amos 1:8).

The fourth and final period of active Philistine contact with Israel, or more exactly now, Judah, covers the Babylonian Exile and immediate post-Exile, thus of the latter sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. during the Neo-Babylonian and then the Achaemenid Persian empires. Aside from a notice of destruction on Philistine cities in Zech 9:5–7, whose exact context is disputed between pre- and post-Exilic dates,[19] two texts offer more specific historical indications. Joel 4: 4–8 condemns the "Philistine regions" (*gelîlôt Pelešet*), along with Tyre and Sidon, for selling Judaeans to Greeks and, perhaps in connection with this, for plundering Judaean treasuries, especially, it is implied, from the Jerusalem Temple. Whether these are actions resulting from attacks on Judah by Philistines or Phoenicians is not clear.[20] It is equally possible that we have here a condemnatory reference to an active traffic in slaves and valuables, from the hinterland to the Mediterranean coast and beyond, in which certain Judaeans themselves were involved: compare the activities of the Tobiad family in the following Ptolemaic period (third century B.C.E.) of Palestinian history, as revealed by the Zenon Papyri and Josephus, *Antiquities*.[21] In general, the involvement of Philistia with Phoenicia should not be surprising, given their nearby locations on the Mediterranean coast, and this involvement is suggested by several other biblical texts (Jer 47:4; Ps 83:8; cf. Zeph 2:5, referring to "Canaan, land of the Philistines"; also the reminiscence in Ben Sira 46:18). The more particular association with traffic in slaves or war deportees is likewise not unique to the book of Joel or its post-Exilic context: Amos 1:6,9, of the eighth century B.C.E., also indicates this, in its reference to Gaza, Tyre, and Edom.

A second notice of contact with the Philistines in the post-Exilic period is provided by Neh 4:1; 13: 23–24. The focus here is Ashdod, which is mentioned along with Sanballat and the leadership in Samaria, Tobiah the Ammonite, the Ammonites, and the Arabs, as an opponent of the restored post-Exilic Judaean community. The Ashdodites and their allies are said to plot against the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (4:1); in turn, Nehemiah condemns Judaeans who have intermarried with women of Ashdod and of Ammon and Moab, and the resultant weakening of Judaean culture in their children (13:23–24). It should be noted that Nehemiah does not use the label "Philistine" either for Ashdod or independently. That plus his association of Ashdod with various national/ethnic groups raises

the possibility that Ashdod represents for Nehemiah more than just the city, but the Philistines generally or a significant portion thereof.[22]

One cannot be certain here, but the underlying point, from both the Nehemiah and the Joel references, is that the Philistines are not simply memories from older tradition, but still existent, in some historical form, through the post-Exilic period of Achaemenid Persian domination. Indeed, as late as the second century B.C.E., 1 Maccabees knows of a temple of Dagon in Ashdod (10:83–84; 11:4). Yet it is clear from all these references that the major period of Philistine political power and cultural community had long passed, and so of its confrontation with Israel/Judah.

GEOGRAPHY

The Hebrew Bible provides fairly well defined horizons for Philistine settlement in all of the four periods just described. The heartland is the southern coast of Palestine, with the adjacent western Negev and western Shephelah. An eastern border between it and Israel/Judah can be recognized at least for the second historical period, or Iron I, running roughly along a north/south line on the western side of the central hill country (cf. indications of the crossing of this line in, e.g., Judg 13:25–14:1 and 1 Sam 6:9–16). And the geographical list in Joshua 13:3 supplies the northern and southern borders, respectively, up to the boundary of the city of Ekron, beyond which is Canaan, and down to the Shihor, which faces Egypt.[23] This heartland can be called "the land of the Philistines" (*'ereṣ Pelištîm*) (e.g., 1 Sam 31:9; and for a Hellenistic occurrence, 1 Macc 3:24) or "all the regions/districts of the Philistines/Philistia" (*kōl(-) gelîlôt haṗ-Pelištîm/ Pelešet*) (Josh 13:2; Joel 4:4), unless the latter label is intended to refer to the entire range of Philistine settlement. In addition, the term *'î*, in the sense not of "island" but of "coastland," appears to apply to our Philistine heartland in Isa 20:6 (cf. Isa 23:2). Finally, and most importantly, it is within this heartland that the biblical sources attest to the emergence in the second historical period, or Iron I, of five Philistine cities—Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Gath, and Gaza—all of which except Gath, as we have seen, remained central to Philistine settlement through the succeeding periods.

Beyond the heartland, the biblical texts record a secondary extension of the Philistines into the interior of Palestine. This is described as occurring in and, for the most part, limited to the Iron I period; it reached the central hill country, along with several associated east-west valleys, of which the Jezreel Valley was the northernmost, and the farthest eastern extension was perhaps the Jordan Valley (e.g., 1 Sam 10:5; 13:20; 14:1–5; 31). Occupation in this interior included a few larger settlements, but more often, it appears, smaller ones (see further below).

It remains to note the importance of the Mediterranean for Philistine geography. The heartland, as we have seen, was centered on its southeastern coast, and it was this coast, with its apparent extension virtually to the tip of the eastern Egyptian delta, that was "the way of the Philistines" avoided by the Israelites when they made their Exodus (Exod 13:37). Further, the Philistines themselves seem to be described as "the federation (*ḥebel*) of the sea" (Zeph 2: 5), and the Mediterranean, correspondingly, can be understood as "the sea of the Philistines" (Exod 23: 31). Finally, it is with the Mediterranean, one will recall, that the prophet Joel implicitly links traffic in slaves to the Greeks (Joel 4:4–6).

ECONOMY

The brief allusions in the Bible to the Philistine economy all conform to what would be expected of a population living in Iron Age Palestine, especially along the Mediterranean and its hinterland. Agriculture, of course, is central (Gen 26:12–13), and is mentioned in the form of wheat cultivation (*ḥittîm* in Judg 15:1),[24] along with olive orchards (Judg 15:5) and viticulture (Judg 14:5)—all otherwise well known in the region.[25] Complementing such agriculture, again in expected fashion, is the herding of sheep and goats, and of oxen (Gen 21:27–30; 26:14; Judg 15:1; Zeph 2:6). And, as we have seen, there is trade, rooted in the Philistine centers along the Mediterranean, pursued in tandem with neighboring Phoenicia, and involving slaves, precious objects, and, presumably, agricultural products such as those above (Exod 13:17; 23:31; Amos 1:6; Joel 4:4–8; Zeph 2:5; Jer 47:4; Ps 83:8; cf. Ben Sira 46:18).

POLITICAL AND MILITARY ORGANIZATION

The Bible makes clear at a number of points that the Philistines were an urban society, based in the five heartland cities already mentioned (sg. *'îr*, as pl. *'ārē Pelištîm*), each one of them apparently a "royal city" (*'îr ham-mamlākāh* 1 Sam 27:5). In biblical sources principally of the Iron I period, these cities are normally depicted together or as acting together (e.g., 1 Sam 5:8; 29), and their rulers, termed *seren*, are always given in the plural (*serānîm*), with no evident ranking among them. The cities formed, in other words, a collective polity, or what has often been called in the scholarly literature a pentapolis, and a

specific ancient term for this may perhaps be found, as we have seen, in Zephaniah's description of the Philistines as "the inhabitants of the federation of the sea" (*yōšebê ḥebel hay-yām*) (2:5).[26]

Within this collective, there are a few hints that the city of Gath may have occupied a place apart. Thus, while the ruler of Gath can be included among the *serānîm* (e.g., Josh 13:3; Judg 3:3; 1 Sam 6:16), he is the only one of the Philistines of the second, or Iron I, period who can also be designated "king" (*melek*) (1 Sam 21:11,13; 27:2; for *melek* in other periods, see above and n. 12). The Gath ruler so designated is Achish, and a further hint of his separate status may come in the depiction of him preparing with the other Philistines for the final battle against Saul (1 Sam 29). The scene for this is set at Aphek, and when Achish arrives there, he is greeted by objections from the other Philistine rulers and the army commanders for bringing along David and his men. Achish accepts the objections, in accordance with the principle of collective governance, and sends David away, but in doing so, he appears to establish a certain distance from his fellow rulers, calling them "the *serānîm* or "the *serānîm* (=*sarnê*) of the Philistines" (1 Sam 29:6–7), as though to exclude himself from this title.[27] The point may appear earlier in the narrative as well, where the Philistine *serānîm,* as they muster their forces, seem to be differentiated from David and his men and Achish, who muster behind (1 Sam 29:2). In all of this, admittedly, the language is not explicit, even ambiguous, and we have to be aware that we might be drawing from it excessively large historical conclusions. Still, the words do sound a discordant note between Achish and the other Philistine leaders, and together with the use of *melek,* they suggest that the note may not be simply personal, but institutional: a mark of the separate position of Gath within the Philistine polity.[28]

However we resolve Gath's status, we should observe that the five Philistine cities were not self-contained entities. Like a variety of non-Philistine cities in Palestine, the Bible indicates that they could have a kind of corona of villages around them or somewhere in their vicinity and under their control. This corona is what appears to be described as a "field" (*śādeh*), as in the case of Ziklag, which is said to be "a town of the field" (*ʿîr haś-śādeh*) belonging to Gath, which is "a royal city" (*ʿîr ham-mamlākāh*) (1 Sam 27: 5–6).[28a] David, to whom Ziklag is awarded by his master, the king of Gath, thus comes to live "in the field of the Philistines" (*bisdeh Pelištîm*) (1 Sam 27:7). Alternatively, the distinction between main cities and outlying villages can be put in terms of "fortified cities" (*ʿîr miḇṣar*) and "unwalled villages" (*kōper happerîzî*) (1 Sam 6:18).

Outside the urban heartland, in the area of secondary settlement that resulted from Philistine military expansion especially of the second, or Iron I, period, the Bible notes occasionally some larger localities that may be called cities (1 Sam 31:7); the principal city mentioned is Beth-Shan (1 Sam 31:10,12). But more frequent and usual, it appears, are a variety of smaller localities, particularly military installations, with a terminology to describe these: "camp" (*maḥaneh:* 1 Sam 13:17; 14:15,19,21; 17:1,4,46,53; 28:1; 29:1,6; 2 Sam 5:24; 23:16; 1 Chr 11:15,18; 14:15,16), and "garrison" (*maṣṣāb/maṣṣābāh:* 1 Sam 13:23; 14:1,4,11,12, 15; 2 Sam 23:14). Both terms, it should be noted, can describe not only a place, but the group of soldiers who might be stationed there.

The presence of these camps and garrisons points up the emphasis, as the Bible describes the Philistines, on the latter's military activities. While this emphasis runs through all four periods of biblical description, again it is largely in the second, or Iron I, where we learn something about Philistine military organization and resources. The leading military official seems to have been designated *śar* "commander," a title already noted in the first or patriarchal sources, where it is given to Phicol (*śar ṣeḇāʾô* [= of Ahimelech] in Gen 21:32; 26:26). In the sources on the second period, it appears in the plural phrase, *śārê Pelištîm* describing, apparently, the commanders of the forces from each of the main Philistine cities in their joint control of an overall Philistine army (1 Sam 18:30; 29:3,4,9). A more subordinate official was the *neṣîb* who from context and etymology appears to have been a commander of one of the garrisons (*maṣṣāb/maṣṣābāh:*) mentioned above (1 Sam 10:5; 13: 3,4; 1 Chr 11:16). As for the Philistine forces themselves, the biblical sources recognize chariotry, cavalry, infantry, and archers (1 Sam 13:5; 31:3). There were also units called "destroyer(s)" (*mašḥît* 1 Sam 13:17; 14:15), which R. de Vaux and B. Mazar have plausibly conjectured were something like mobile strike forces.[29]

Behind this military organization the Bible points to a particular weapons technology that the Israelites could not match or at least control. So in 1 Sam 13: 19–22, we learn that the Philistines monopolized the smiths (*ḥārāš*) in the land of Israel, explicitly to prevent the Israelites from building up a supply of weapons. Note that these verses do not say, as sometimes has been inferred,[30] that the Philistines controlled the supply of iron and/or other metals in the region, only that they controlled the metallurgical expertise. Indeed, the passage goes on to comment that they did allow the Israelites "to go down" (*yārad:* 1 Sam 13:20) to them to have their agricultural—not military—tools treated, where "going down" has been taken to refer to a journey to a Philistine center for metallurgy either on the Mediterranean coastal heartland or in the Jordan Valley.[31] Perhaps related to this metallurgical expertise and monopoly is a hint at special weaponry on the Philistine side. This emerges most clearly in the description of Goliath

(1 Sam 17:5–7), armed with a bronze helmet, body armor in scaled layers, bronze greaves, scimitar sword, and bronze javelin with an attached apparatus apparently for greater throwing distance and accuracy.[32] All this armament arouses the fascination of the biblical author, not only because of its size and weight, but also, it appears, because of its unusual character, which is only partially paralleled in the armament available to the Israelites (cf. 1 Sam 17:38–39).

Goliath is important militarily for another reason. For he comes to offer a different kind of confrontation to the Israelites from the attack of army against army, which is otherwise frequent in the biblical sources.[33] Stepping out literally between the Israelite and Philistines armies, which are drawn up, one may infer, in symmetrically opposing positions, Goliath challenges the Israelites, in recognizable and perhaps stereotyped gesture and phrase, to decide the battle by a duel between champions from each side. This notion of duel occurs several other times in the biblical sources, including narratives of this same Iron I period (2 Sam 2:12–17 [between 12 warriors each of Abner and Joab]; perhaps 2 Sam 23:20–21), not to mention cases from elsewhere in the ancient Near East and Greece.[34] In 1 Sam 17, the notion is expressed by the common term for "warrior" (*gibbôr*), in the sense that for the Philistines Goliath was "their warrior" (*gibbôrām*) (1 Sam 17:51). But it also is signified by another and more striking epithet attached to Goliath, *ʾîš hab–bēnāyîm* literally "the man between the two" (1 Sam 17:4,23). He is "between the two," I would suggest, in two senses: on the one hand, he stands with his facing opponent, the other *ʾîš hab–bēnāyîm,* "between" the two opposed armies, thus representing the larger war of Philistines against Israelites; on the other hand, he is part of a smaller "between two," i.e., between him and the other *ʾîš hab–bēnāyîm.*[35]

Overall, the Bible leaves an unmistakable impression of the military prowess the Philistines were able to exercise. Especially in 1 Sam, we watch them moving inexorably over the Palestinian landscape, with only occasional setbacks (1 Sam 7,14,17). This movement is framed symmetrically by two great peaks of victory over the Israelite forces, in 1 Sam 4 and 29/31, both of which occur in the Jezreel Valley and are staged from the Philistine camp at Aphek. In the biblical view, as we have seen, only with David and his assumption of kingship was this movement decisively stopped and turned back (2 Sam 5:17–25; 8:1, 11–12/1 Chr 18:1,11; 2 Sam 19:10). David's willingness, in turn, to incorporate visible units of these Philistines and related groups into his own army, even bodyguard (references above under "Historical Periodization"), was both a mark of his decisive defeat of them and yet also his testimony to their prowess, a prowess of which he had intimate knowledge.

RELIGION

Biblical information on the religion of the Philistines, while ranging over a number of topics, is sketchy and unsystematic—but, then, it seems, the Bible is not expansive on any non-Israelite religion, even the local Canaanite. What does exist for the Philistines may be considered under the following rubrics: deities, sanctuaries, religious professionals, and features of the cult.

The Bible understands Philistine religion to be polytheistic (Judg 10:6; 1 Sam 31:9; 2 Sam 5:21; 1 Chr 10:9), and at least Judg 10:6 suggests that their pantheon was distinctive among the peoples of ancient Palestine. Yet the three deities specifically mentioned all have, it appears, West Semitic names and all are known elsewhere in the West Semitic world contemporary with and earlier than the period of ancient Israel. The first is Dagon, whom the sources appear to regard as the principal deity, because he is given the central divine role in the activities of the Philistine polity against the Israelites in the days of Samson and Eli/Samuel (Judg 16:23–31; 1 Sam 5:1–5).[36] Further, the central, if not only sanctuary in one of the five main Philistine cities, Ashdod, and possibly a second, Gaza, belongs to Dagon (1 Sam 5:1–5; Judg 16:23–31; for the Dagon temple of Ashdod in Hellenistic times, see 1 Macc 10:83–84; 11:4). There is one other mention of a Philistine sanctuary to this god as well (1 Chr 10:10), in which it seems also to be understood as a central all-Philistine shrine, although the locality is not named and the text may be part of a secondary interpretation of 1 Sam 31:9–10.[37]

The above passages from Judg, 1 Sam, and 1 Chr are the only ones in the Bible in which Dagon occurs as an explicit deity. And all of these make it clear that Dagon is not to be associated with any other group but the Philistines. We do have, to be sure, two different settlements listed in Joshua as Beth-Dagon, both belonging to the inheritances of Israelite tribes (Josh 15:41 [Judah]; 19:27 [Asher]). But while the name implies a Dagon sanctuary at the sites, there is no indication for either as to whether such a sanctuary was still or ever operative, or who would have established it and worshipped at it—Israelite, Philistine, Canaanite, or the like. For the Bible, therefore, Dagon is to all intents and purposes only a Philistine deity. The striking point is that this is not the case for the non-biblical sources on Dagon.[38] Here Dagon, or in his linguistically earlier and more widespread form, Dagan, is not directly associated with the Philistines or other Sea Peoples; the most we have is another Beth-Dagon, more exactly, Bit-Daganna, listed as a site on the Palestinian coast in what may well have been Philistine territory at the end of the eighth century B.C.E., but once more there is no indication that an actual sanctuary to Dagan existed there.[39] What the non-

biblical evidence does show is that Dagon/Dagan was solidly established as perhaps the major deity of the Middle Euphrates, with pervasive attestation as well in Mesopotamia, western Syria, and Palestine, and that the chronological range, though not the same in all these regions, stretches over the third, second, and first millennia B.C.E. Now the form Dagan is found in the Bible, but never clearly as a deity, rather as the common noun "grain," which has traditionally been taken as the etymology for, or at least as related to, the divine name.

How to explain, then, this discrepancy between biblical and non-biblical sources? A full answer would require discussion of all the non-biblical evidence and so take us too far from our biblical focus. But as an important illustration of the possibilities at hand, let us focus on the recent and comprehensive study by I. Singer, who proposes that Dagon was native to Syria and that no clear attestation of his worship in Palestine can be detected before the Iron Age.[40] He argues, consequently, that Dagon was introduced to Palestine by none other than the Philistines themselves, who, in turn, were introduced to him as they made their way down the Syrian coast or adopted him later from the Phoenicians, where the vocalization Dagon, reflecting the shift of stressed long *a* to long *o*, was at home. While, therefore, the biblical view of Dagon as exclusively a Philistine god is incorrect, still it may be understood to recall the critical role evidently played by the Philistines in bringing his worship to Palestine. Singer's case is an impressive one, but it must be admitted that none of it is explicitly reflected in the biblical formulation of who Dagon is.

The second deity mentioned by the Bible in connection with the Philistines is Ashtarot. Like Dagon, this is not exclusively a Philistine deity; as generally acknowledged, the name is a (deliberately) deformed representation of the goddess Astarte, who is at home in the Canaanite world of the second and especially the first millennium B.C.E.[41] Indeed, the Bible recognizes this wider context, for example, in 1 Kgs 11:5,33; 2 Kgs 23:13, where the goddess appears in the singular Ashtoret as the deity of Phoenician Sidon. Ashtarot is not in fact explicitly identified by the Bible as a Philistine deity, though such identity is possible to infer. What we are told is that a temple dedicated to her was the place to which the Philistines brought Saul's armor—doubtless as an offering—after they found him dead in the climactic battle at Mt. Gilboa in the Jezreel (1 Sam 31:10). The location of the temple is not specified, but it was probably not far from Saul's body, thus in the vicinity of Mt. Gilboa: more particularly, perhaps, in Beth-Shan, where in the following half-verse the Philistines affix the body to the city wall.[42] The deity's name in 1 Sam 31:10, Ashtarot, is ostensibly in the plural, as against the singular form, Ashtoret, that occurs in 1 Kgs 11:5,33, and 2 Kgs 23:13. But unlike the other plural occurrences (Judg 2:13; 10:6; 1 Sam 7:3,4; 12:10),[43] in 1 Sam 31:10 Ashtarot has no definite article, suggesting that it might possibly be understood as a singular, either as a variant of Ashtoret—both forms reflecting the underlying Phoenician *ʿaštrt* and the earlier Ugaritic *ʿṯrt*[44]—or else as an intensive plural used occasionally elsewhere in the Bible for divinities or divine-like phenomena, most notably for the Israelite God.[45]

There may be one other biblical occurrence of Ashtarot that suggests a connection with the Philistines, but this is less clear than 1 Sam 31:10. The passage is 1 Sam 7:3–4, in which Samuel admonishes the Israelite community to "remove the gods of the foreigner from your midst, namely, the Ashtarot; prepare your heart for Yahweh; and serve Him alone that He may save you from the hand of (the) Philistines. So the Israelites removed the Baʿals and the Ashtarot, and they served Yahweh alone." This admonition, placed just after the account of the Philistine return of the ark to the Israelites and intended as a coda to it, would seem to include the Philistines in its notion of "the foreigner" (*han-nēkār*), although it may not be restricted to them. In any case, Ashtarot is given in this passage with the definite article, correlating in vs. 4 with "the Baʿals" (*hab-bəʿālîm*); it is thus a semantic plural, not a singular, indicating a variety of local deities, or perhaps local images and their sanctuaries, all reflecting the Baʿal- and Ashtoret-types that are ultimately, of course, of Canaanite origin.[46]

The third and final deity that the Bible associates with the Philistines is Baʿal Zebub. He appears as "the god of Ekron"—the term "Philistine" is again not explicitly applied to him—to whom Ahaziah, son of Ahab and king of (northern) Israel, sends messengers to seek the intervention of the god, on behalf of Ahaziah's failing health (2 Kgs 1:2–3,6,16). The mission appears to involve divination to the god, and, just as with Dagon, what we have is a negative story, here to portray Ahaziah's apostasy to his own god, Yahweh, who responds by allowing Ahaziah to die. Baʿal Zebub is mentioned nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible, but it is now clear that this too is a deity well known in the Canaanite world, namely, as the major god, Baʿal, with an epithet, wherein the form Baʿal Zebub ("Baʿal of the flies") is a biblical dysphemism for the original Canaanite *Baʿal zebūl* ("Baʿal, the prince").[47] The original is, in fact, reflected in the Greek translation of Symmachus to the 2 Kgs 1 verses, in the form *Beelzeboul.* It also appears in the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament Gospel passages that mention the deity, also as *Beelzeboul,* or as *Beezeboul,* though the Latin and certain Syriac versions of the Gospels follow the Massoretic Baʿal Zebub, with the form *Beelzebub* (Matt 10:25; 12:24,27; Mark 3:22; Luke 11:15, 1–19).[47a] It may be added that

in these Gospel texts, the name continues to describe a supernatural force that is perceived negatively. The force, however, is no longer associated with Ekron or the Philistines; it now designates the chief demon, efficacious in exorcism, which function, however, may well echo the divinatory association of Baʿal Zebub in 2 Kgs 1.[48]

In discussing Dagon, Ashtarot, and Baʿal Zebub, we have already had occasion to note the biblical references to Philistine sanctuaries: at Ashdod, possibly at Gaza, and at two other, unnamed locations, at least one of which may be in the eastern Jezreel Valley at or near Beth-Shan (1 Sam 5:1–5; Judg 16:23–31; 1 Sam 31:9,10; 1 Chr 10:10).[49] In all these instances, the sanctuary is labeled a "house" (*bayit*), but what this means is only hinted at. Thus, we read, for "the house of Dagon" at Ashdod, of a "threshold" (*miptān*) into the building, which evidently had a special sacredness (1 Sam 5:5; see further below). A more elaborate description is given for the building at Gaza, in the time of Samson (Judg 16:23–31). This structure, although not explicitly designated the temple of Dagon, has usually been understood as such, and not without reason, for it is placed at the scene of the gathering of the Philistine rulers and their people "to offer a great sacrifice to Dagon" (Judg 16:23).[50] It is described as being very large, having a roof on which about 3000 men and women assembled, while simultaneously its ground floor interior was also full of men and women (Judg 16:27). The roof, in turn, was supported by a row of columns, which were spaced so that a powerfully built adult male like Samson could stand between two of them and grasp them on either side with his arms (Judg 16:29). The number of columns in this building is not stated, nor their location, whether in the interior or on the outer edge at the entrance; the two columns that Samson grasped are said to be "of the middle" (*ʿammûdê hat–tāwek*), which could mean "of the interior" of the building or "in the middle (between the other columns)." But at least these two had to be in such a position that the people on the ground level and on the roof could see Samson with them (Judg 16:27), and that the whole building collapsed when Samson pulled these columns down (Judg 16:19–20). All of these details do not, unfortunately, add up to a clear sense of how the Bible visualizes the entire building, nor thus of how exactly it may compare to other sanctuaries mentioned in the biblical text. Indeed, the Bible depicts other sanctuaries, if at all, in just the briefest and most selective detail, the only exceptions being the portable Israelite tabernacle/tent of meeting of the Wilderness (Exod 25–31, 35–40) and the temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 6–7; Ezek 40–48). But these do not seem to fit easily into the details presented for the Gaza building.[51]

Two kinds of religious professionals are noted for the Philistines by the biblical sources. The first, not surprisingly, are the priests, who are designated by the same term used for their Israelite counterparts, *kōhēn* (1 Sam 5:5; 6:2)—a term applied to other foreign clerics as well (e.g., Gen 47:22,26 for Egyptians). Not found, on the other hand, is *kōmer,* which occurs in the context of the aberrant Israelite worship of Canaanite deities (2 Kgs 23:5; Hos 10:5; Zeph 1:4). The second group of professionals is the diviners, identified by two terms, *qôsēm* ("diviner") (1 Sam 6:2) and *ʿônēn* ("soothsayer") (Isa 2:6), both again used for other groups, including Israelites, and condemned as illicit.[52] In 1 Sam 6:2, priests (*kōhanîm*) and diviners (*qōsemîm*) are cited together, being summoned by the Philistine community for advice on how to deal with the Israelite ark of the covenant, which had been the source of so much injury to the Philistines while in their hands. The juxtaposition of priests and diviners here is probably not accidental or casual, on the Bible's part, but deliberate, corresponding to the issue at stake: on the one hand, how to inquire of the gods as to what was the problem posed by the ark, such as diviners would know; on the other, how to perform the proper expiatory offerings to remove this problem and restore well-being, such as the priests could do.

The above discussion of deities, sanctuaries, and religious professionals leads finally to the question of how they all interact, namely, in the cult. Once more, the biblical accounts are spotty, but certain features do emerge. In the first place, the Philistines, like the peoples around them, are understood to have physical images of their gods. The images, also like the situation elsewhere, are found in sanctuaries, as the objects of worship (1 Sam 5:3–4; 31:9), and are taken into battle, to allow divine assistance to be rendered to the army (2 Sam 5:21). And like its treatment of other foreign gods, the Bible looks on none of this neutrally. Thus, the term used for the Philistine divine images is *ʿāṣāb*—literally something shaped or fashioned—one of the common biblical terms for image or idol, all of which regularly carry a pejorative connotation.[53] This connotation is echoed in the description of the god Dagon in his temple in Ashdod, falling down and breaking to pieces in the presence of the ark of Yahweh (1 Sam 5:1–4). Although neither *ʿāṣāb* nor any other term for idol occurs here, the point is precisely one made in other biblical passages about foreign deities: that Dagon is not really a god—at least not like the god Yahweh—but essentially only the physical image that the (foolish) Philistines believe represents Dagon, and as such is useless when confronted by the power of Yahweh.[54] A related critique appears in 2 Sam 5:21. In this the idols that are supposed to ensure Philistine success on the battlefield fail completely—and are ignominiously abandoned to the actual victors, David and his men.

The Bible also describes several rituals and other practices that the Philistines engage in. We read first

of a major community sacrifice at Gaza—the common West Semitic term *zebaḥ* is used here, with the adjective *gādôl* to signify its encompassing community character—to the principal god, Dagon. The sacrifice is called by the Philistine *serānîm* to celebrate the capture of the national enemy, Samson, before the god Dagon who brought this about (Judg 16:23–31); it thus recalls thanksgiving offerings for military and related successes known elsewhere in the ancient Near East.[55]

A second ritual has to do with the *miptān* of the temple at Ashdod (1 Sam 5:5). The etymology and meaning of this word are disputed, but the 1 Sam 5 passage implies, and two occurrences in Ezekiel confirm (46:2; 47:1), that the most likely sense is "threshold" at an entrance to a building.[56] According to 1 Sam 5:5, the *miptān* of the Dagon temple is sacred ground, on which no one is allowed to "tread" (*dārak*), but the etiology given—that this is where the broken hands of the Dagon (image) came to fall after facing Yahweh's ark—is patently secondary. For thresholds, particularly of public buildings like sanctuaries, were regularly considered sacred, as the gathering place of deities and demons, to mark the transition from one world to another.[57] So in Ezekiel, the *miptān* is where the "prince" (*nāśî'*) worships as he enters the restored temple in Jerusalem, and from below which the fructifying waters issue (46:2; 47:1; cf. also occurrences in 9:3; 10:4,18). And, according to 2 Kgs, the Jerusalem temple has a special group of attendants who are "keepers of the threshold" (here using a different term, *sap*: 2 Kgs 12:10; 22:4; 23:4; 25:18; Jer 35:4; 52:24; 2 Chr 34:9).[58]

Nonetheless, it seems clear from the manner of narration that 1 Sam 5 regards the refusal to tread on the threshold as sufficiently unusual, and therefore different from (normative) Israelite practice, to require comment. Closest to it, as generally acknowledged, is Zeph 1:9; this lists several miscreants to be punished by Yahweh on His day of judgment, among whom is "anyone who bounds over the threshold" (*kol-had-dôlēg ʿal-ham-miptān*). The phrase would appear to describe a certain custom or ritual that is anathema to the biblical author, and that involves jumping over a threshold without touching it.[59] If this is so, then the phrase neatly complements and explains the action in 1 Sam 5:5: the Philistines cannot "tread" on the threshold of the Dagon temple, and so in order in order to enter the building, they must "bound over" the threshold. The two passages can be brought even closer if in Zeph 1:9 the prophet is understood to regard this threshold jumping as a foreign custom, as suggested by the fact that it is mentioned immediately after the description of another group of miscreants, "who dress in foreign clothes" (Zeph 1:8). Could it be, therefore, that Zephaniah regarded the custom as Philistine? The targum to Zeph 1:9 makes that explicit, as later commentators have observed,[60] and the fact that this custom appears only in these two passages in the Bible might strengthen the case. But Zephaniah does not explicitly tie the custom to the Philistines, and the broader attestation noted above of the sacredness of thresholds makes one wonder whether jumping over them was in actuality restricted to the Philistines in the Levant. What source Zephaniah had in mind, in sum, must remain open.

A third Philistine ritual involves an offering recounted in 1 Sam 6 and labeled there *'āšām* (6:3,4, 17). *'Āšām* means literally "guilt," and is well known as a category of sacrifice in the biblical priestly source (Lev 5; 14; 19:20–22). But in the Philistine instance, the *'āšām* is not a sacrifice, rather a set of objects sent by the Philistines as a gift to Yahweh along with the ark that they return. How, if at all, this relates to the priestly *'āšām* has been a matter of some debate,[61] but the two can be brought together if we understand them as an offering of reparation to a deity for having wrongfully taken something of his—for the Philistines, the ark—or done something against him. The repayment, in the Philistine story, requires not only the restitution of the stolen object, the ark, but a fine, which are the objects, and which can be understood to purify the guilty party of its sin.[62] The objects sent back are described as "images" (*ṣalmê*) of five "golden swellings/tumors or hemorrhoids" (*ʿoplê/ṭeḥōrê zāhāb*)[63] and of five "golden mice" (*ʿakberê zāḥāb*)—the number said to represent the five Philistine *serānîm* and thus the five core Philistine cities (1 Sam 6:4–5,11,17–18), though in 6:18 it appears that the mice are more numerous, to correspond with all Philistine settlements both large and small. These objects carry also another level of meaning to their function as a fine of purifying reparation. For, as the text makes clear (1 Sam 6:5), the purifying reparation is accomplished by a process of magical transference: the tumors and mice embody the actual tumors of the plague spread by mice among the Philistine population at the behest of Yahweh, which they then carry away from the Philistines back to the one who caused them, Yahweh. Magical transference, of course, is attested to elsewhere in the Bible—the best-known example is the scapegoat ritual of Lev 16—but the nature of the transference in this Philistine case, and its conception as an *'āšām* are unique for the biblical corpus.

There is something more that should be noted about these golden tumors and mice. As we have already seen, they are the solution offered by the Philistine priests and diviners to the question posed by the Philistine populace about how to stop the plague of tumors and mice. The fact that this is a solution proposed by "pagan" enemies of Israel—Yahweh is not said to have told the priests and diviners what to do—and that the solution is successful has disturbed more than one commentator,[64] but it may be taken as a (grudging) admission, by the biblical writers, that Philistine religious professionals and practices were not entirely without results. In particular, it echoes other indications in the biblical text of the Philistine reputation for divination. After all, no one less than a king of Israel, Ahaziah, sends a divination inquiry to Baʿal Zebub about the future course of his illness (2 Kgs 1:2), and Isaiah's excoriation supposes that not a few Israelites consulted Philistine soothsayers (Isa 2: 6). We may even have another example of how biblical writers imagined Philistine thinking about divination, and this later in the story about the golden tumors and mice. Once the latter are loaded up on a wagon with Yahweh's ark and are ready to go back to the Israelites, the question for the Philistines is whether the oxen pulling the wagon—without any human driver—will in fact go to Israelite territory. The matter is envisaged as a kind of ominous test, well known in traditions of divination:[65] if the wagon goes to Beth Shemesh, in Israel, then the original plague was caused by Yahweh; if it does not, then the cause was not Yahweh, but something unknown and not understandable, designated by the Hebrew term *miqreh* (1 Sam 6:9). The contrast made here between Yahweh and a *miqreh* is intended, one may infer, as the biblical writer's comment on the way the Philistines thought about the problem: they had to be shown by this ominous sign that Yahweh was the cause. The biblical writer needed no such demonstration, and so it is no surprise that in his subsequent narration the movement of the wagon does indeed confirm Yahweh as cause (1 Sam 6:12): what else could have been the outcome![66]

Shaving the head and cutting the flesh constitute a fourth ritual set associated with the Philistines. The reference is Jer 47:5, where making the head bald (*qāraḥ*) is said to come upon Philistine Gaza, while "the remnant of the Anakim"—here an appellation of the Philistines, in apposition with the preceding Gaza and Ashkelon[67]—gash themselves (*hitgōdēd*), as Yahweh brings destruction upon them. What we have here, as indicated in other biblical passages (Lev. 19: 27–28; 21:5; Deut 14:1; 1 Kgs 18:28; Jer 7:29; 9:26; 16: 6; 25:23; 41:5; Ezek 5:1–4; Hos 7:14 [with some LXX manuscripts]; Job 1:20), are mostly gestures of mourning and veneration of the dead—gestures, however, that are not peculiarly Philistine, but appear to be viewed as the more general property of the Palestinian world in which Israel has settled and, indeed, of Israel itself.[68] The Bible does not display a consistent attitude toward these gestures. Some of the passages listed above regard them, explicitly or implicitly, as unacceptable to Yahweh and so forbidden to Israel (Lev 19:27–28; 21:5; Deut 14:1; 1 Kgs 18:28; Jer 9:26 [?]; 25:23 [?]; Hos 7:14); other passages, however, appear to accept them as a normal part of mourning, whether by Israelites or by others (Jer 7:29; 16:6; 41:5; Ezek 5:1–4; Job 1:20). In Jer 47:5, the attitude toward shaving and gashing is not clear. What we may infer is a certain sense of satisfied irony, on the prophet's part, as he portrays Gaza and Ashkelon carrying out or being subjected to these gestures in the face of their own death at the hands of Yahweh.

Yet a fifth practice connected with the Philistines is eating the blood, especially of a sacrificial animal, together with its flesh. The connection is made in Zech 9:7; indeed, the prophet understands blood-eating as a significant mark distinguishing Philistines from Israelites, which Yahweh, in the wake of His future punishment of the Philistines, will stop them from doing, thereby allowing them to join Judah in the family of His worshippers.[69] The significance of this practice is confirmed in a number of other biblical texts (especially Gen 9:4; Lev 19:26; Deut 12:23–25), where, like shaving and gashing, it is labeled an anathema to Yahweh and so forbidden to Israel. But once again, these other texts give a much broader view of the practice, linking it not to the Philistines, but to the general "Canaanite" world around Israel.

We cannot conclude this list of Philistine ritual practices without noting one more that enjoys wide mention in the biblical accounts: the Philistines' lack of circumcision. Whether this had ritual or any other significance for the Philistines themselves is unclear. But as we will see, it certainly had ritual, indeed profound cultural meaning for the biblical authors.

LANGUAGE

Given the Bible's assertion that the Philistines came into Palestine from outside the Levant—an assertion that the extra-biblical data have supported—scholars have quite logically tried to look beyond the Hebrew and even the West Semitic of the Levant for the original language of the Philistines.[70] From the Bible itself, various terms and personal names have been suggested as evidence, on the grounds that they do not appear to be Semitic, and that they may point to an Indo-European origin, particularly from Anatolia and/or the Aegean, where the biblical and non-biblical sources would locate the pre-Levantine phase of Philistine history (see above). Of these words, four have attracted a certain convergence of opinion: the term for "ruler," *seren* (*serānîm*), regularly connected with the Greek *tyrannos*; the term for "helmet," *k/qōbaʿ*, connected with the Hittite *kupaḫi*; the personal name Achish, proposed to relate to the Greek personal name Anchises, or the Greek ethnicon, "Achaean" (Greek: *Achaiwos*; Hittite: *Aḫḫiyawa*); and the personal name Goliath (Hebrew: *Golyat*), associated with the Lydian personal name *Aluattes* (so the Greek form for a presumed original, **Walweiattes*). Other words in the biblical text have been consid-

ered Philistine as well, but with much less agreement.[71]

It is not my intention to discuss these proposed etymologies here, except to note that there is no consensus on them, and likely will never be, and that some of the proposed connections may not establish so much an Indo-European origin as the possibility that the vocable was a *Kulturwort*, circulating among a variety of language families, without clearly originating in any of them.[72] What is important to emphasize in our context, however, is that these words represent at most a few tatters of the presumed original Philistine language, if such indeed they be. The Bible, in short, appears to have preserved little of this language, even on the best of estimates, and it never labels the words at issue as foreign to Hebrew or, more explicitly, as Philistine. Conversely, a number of the Philistines named in the Bible, along with their gods as we have seen, are clearly Semitic (Abimelech, Ahuzzat, Obed-Edom, and Dagon, Ashtarot, and Baʿal Zebub). And when the Philistines are quoted, they speak in perfectly respectable, not accented, Hebrew (e.g., 1 Sam 5:7–8; 6:2–9; 31:3–4).[73]

How, then, from the above evidence should we understand the Bible's view of the Philistine linguistic situation? One possibility is that the Bible is not basically interested in the matter, or at least not interested in calling attention to it: the Philistines, for all intents and purposes, are assumed to speak Hebrew, analogous, perhaps, to the state of affairs in Greek epic like the Iliad, where both sides speak the same language, which, of course, is at least the literary language of the author.[74] Alternatively, we may take our evidence to indicate that the Bible is cognizant of the Philistine linguistic situation, its view being that whatever language the Philistines may have originally spoken, they had assimilated, by the time of their contact with Israel, largely to Hebrew or one of its local Semitic relatives. Now we may not have to choose absolutely between these two alternatives, but the second one does have several factors to recommend it. First, the Bible shows, in a number of other cases, an explicit awareness of language difference, particularly as a clue to larger cultural difference: for example, the Aramaic and Hebrew differences between Laban and Jacob in Gen 31:47; or the incident of *šibbōlet/sibbōlet* between Ephraimites and Gileadites in Judg 12:1–6; or the description, apparently of Assyria, as "a people whose language is too strange and remote to be understood, whose funny-sounding speech cannot be comprehended" (Isa 33:19; cf. 28:11). On this basis, and considering that the Bible does otherwise seek to distinguish the Philistines from the Israelites (e.g., in the matter of idols or the eating of blood), its failure to highlight a linguistic difference could mean that it did not, in fact, perceive one, or one of any importance. The point is strengthened by the fact that there is little indication—certainly nothing clear and certain—of a distinctive Philistine language active in Palestine.[75] Really the only notice that comes close occurs in the Bible, and that late in the narrative, in fact in its fourth and last period of Philistine-Israelite contacts, specifically of the post-Exilic, or Achaemenid, era. At that time, we are told, there were Judaeans who intermarried with women of Ashdod, as well as of Ammon and Moab, and the resulting corruption of Judaean culture is indicated by the fact that half of the children could speak only the language of their mothers, *ʾAšdôdît*, not the *Yehûdît*, i.e., Judaean Hebrew, of their fathers (Neh 13: 23–24). The linguistic difference, thus, is unmistakable, and yet it finally falls short of bringing us back to a distinctive Philistine language. For while Ashdod here may represent Philistia (see above under "Historical Periodization"), the *ʾAšdôdît* at issue was probably, from its historical setting in the Achaemenid period, a form of Aramaic or another non-Hebrew West Semitic tongue, not something Indo-European from the Aegean or Anatolia.[76]

Shape and Significance: A Few Preliminary Expectorations

It is time now to stand back and review the biblical account of the Philistines as a whole: to ask what overall shape and emphasis it has, and what significance that may offer for understanding the world view(s) of the biblical writers. Of the many facets to these two questions, I propose to comment here—and even then only in part—on three: diversity and center in the biblical account; things left out in the account and why; and the Philistines as "other."

The biblical account of the Philistines moves, as we have seen, across a number of issues and periods. On one level it is not unitary, being composed of different sources and literary types. Broadly speaking, we have lists (e.g., Gen 10:13–14; Josh 13:1–3), psalms (e.g., 60:10; 83:8/108:10), martial poetry (Exod 15: 14), prophetic speeches (e.g., Amos 1:6–8; 6:2; 9:7; Isa 2:6; 9:11; Jer 25:20; 47:1–4; Zeph 2:5–7), and especially historical narratives and notices, the latter

drawn from several Pentateuchal sources (Gen 20–21 [E +]; 26 [J]), the Deuteronomistic history (e.g., Judg 13–16; 1 Sam 4–7; 13–14, 17–18, 23–24, 27–31; 2 Sam 5:17–25; 1 Kgs 15:27; 16:15–17; 2 Kgs 8:2–3), and the Chronicler and Nehemiah (e.g., 1 Chr 10–11; 14: 8–17; 2 Chr 17:10–11; 26:6–7; Neh 13:23–24). In this variety of sources and types, moreover, one can detect occasional discrepancies (e.g., the Philistines as geographical label in Gen 21 versus presence as a people in Gen 26; Saul's armor in the temple of Ashtarot and his body on the wall of Beth-Shan in 1 Sam 31:10 versus armor in the temple of their gods and head in the temple of Dagon in 1 Chr 10:10). Yet despite the variety and discrepancies, or better, visible in them, is a certain coherent impression of the Philistines as a people centered in coastal Palestine, who remain always different from Israel as a society and culture, and always her foe, and so the object of Yahweh's wrath and righteous punishment, whether in the present or in the future. This impression is laid out most extensively, as our discussion has revealed, in the Deuteronomistic history's narrative of the second, or Iron I, period of Israelite-Philistine contacts and its closure by David. Indeed, from the perspective of the Hebrew Bible as a whole, this is the defining narrative, which all the other biblical texts revolve around, and the period that it recounts is, in turn, understood as the defining period of Philistine culture and its relation to Israel, which the other periods highlight and to an important degree reflect. Thus, even though Philistia in periods three and four is not described as anything like the mortal danger to Israel it was in period two, it can still be portrayed in these later periods as an important enough enemy so as to be selected as a special target of future divine punishment (Ps 83:8/108:10; Jer 25:30; 47; Ezek 25: 15–17; and see Ben Sira 46:18; 47:7). This image of an implacable Philistia, through periods when it is at the most partially warranted, must be grounded in, and so finally explained by, the persistence of the memory of period two. In other words, when the later prophets and psalmists tell of Yahweh's coming visitation on Philistia, they have, above all, in mind what it represented and did in period two—a record and a legacy that in their view and from their place still have to be dealt with.

Given that the biblical account of the Philistines is directed toward their involvement with Israel, we should not wonder that the account is incomplete, treating many elements of Philistine history and culture unevenly, sketchily, or not at all. The point becomes plain even in a quick review of the account on its own: for example, in the lack of notice of Philistine writing or literature, and the laconic, ambiguous hints of a Philistine language(s); in the absence of any real discussion of family organization; in the scattered picture of the Philistine cult and the duties and character of its religious professionals; in the inadequate description of Philistine religious architecture and want of any description of non-religious architecture; in the sketchy allusions to the pre-Levantine origins of the Philistines; and so on. And the gaps in the biblical record are only confirmed once that record is juxtaposed to the non-biblical evidence, where we learn, for example, about several new sites, like Tell Qasile, apparently not mentioned in the Bible; about the forms of temples and houses; about a distinctive pottery tradition of Aegean origin but then local development; about something of Philistine diet with an apparent preference for pig; and about relations to Egypt, involving attempted invasion and a jockeying for power and territory in Palestine.[77] Most strikingly, the non-biblical evidence, particularly from Egypt, reveals that the Philistines were not a society acting alone, but belonged to a wider group of "Sea Peoples," adapting the Egyptian term for them,[78] who settled on the southern Levantine coast, in the course of often violent journeying along the coasts of southern Anatolia, the northern Levant, and the northern littoral of Africa, including the Egyptian Delta, during the 14th–11th centuries B.C.E., the high point coming in the 12th.

The relation of the biblical Philistine account to this wider Sea Peoples phenomenon is worth further comment. The fact remains that with two uncertain exceptions, discussed below, the Bible does not know these other Sea Peoples, whom the Egyptian and other texts identify at different chronological points as Ekwesh, Teresh/Tursha, Lukka, Sherdani, Sheklesh, Sikils (older reading: Tjek(k)er), Denyen, and Weshesh.[79] The Bible's apparent ignorance of these peoples becomes all the more puzzling in view of the presence of two of them, according to the Egyptian Wen-Amun Report and the Onomasticon of Amenope, in the Palestine of Iron I (11th century B.C.E.): the Sikils along the central coast, in and around Dor, and the Sherdani, perhaps north of this, in the Plain of Akko.[80] Why the Sikils and Sherdani are not noticed in the Bible can only be guessed at. Singer has supposed that the reason lies in their rather short history as distinctive groups in their Palestinian locales: the Sherdani, in his view, being overtaken by the local Canaanite population already in Iron I, such that the Bible identifies the Akko Plain in that period only as "Canaanite" (Judg 1:31–32); the Sikils at Dor, likewise in Iron I, succumbing to the northward expansion of the Philistines and local elements.[81] Singer's view of Sherdani and Sikil history makes sense, but it can account only partly for the Bible's ignorance of them. After all, the biblical authors do mention peoples and places which, by their time and as they see them, have long since disappeared—for example, the Anakim, the Horim, and Sodom and Gomorrah—and so the question is not so much the actual history of an individual group, but what impact it had or did not have on the world view of the Bible.

That world view, we cannot forget, includes the Philistines and their contacts with Israel. So considered, the Sherdani and Sikils are indeed marginal. The Dor and Akko regions they inhabited are removed from where the Bible locates the Philistine heartland and, more importantly, from where it understands the locus of Philistine-Israelite contact. To be sure, the Bible does depict the Philistine drive to control the Jezreel Valley (1 Sam 4; 29; 31), and that certainly should have brought them opposite Dor and the central coast of the Sikils and even up to the Akko Plain of the Sherdani. But the Dor coast and the Akko Plain are not where the Bible situates the Philistine-Israelite encounters in the Jezreel: the latter are farther to the east. It may also be, extending Singer's argument, that by the time the Philistines attacked Israel in the Jezreel, they had already taken over the Sherdani and Sikil settlements. But there is doubtless yet another factor at work: that the Philistines became so preeminently the western and then all-Palestinian enemy of Israel in the Iron I period that they subsumed in the biblical recollection all other Sea Peoples, and perhaps other coastal enemies besides—that they served, in short, as an umbrella term for the rest.

If this is how finally we should imagine things biblically, then it must admitted that there is a certain amount of leakage around the edges. For the Bible does appear to offer hints of some diversity within and around the Philistine complex. Thus, the Table of Nations in Gen 10:5 mentions "the coastland nations" (*'iyyê hag-gôyîm*), which are said to descend from the sons of Javan, one of the sons of Japheth. For Brug, this label recalls the "Sea Peoples," all the more because its connections with Javan and the names of the sons of Javan point to the Aegean/eastern Mediterranean, where other evidence situates Sea People origins or early history.[82] Brug's suggestion should be considered, but in so doing one must observe that these "coastland nations" are not explicitly connected with Palestine or the Levant as a whole, and, more important, do not include the Philistines, who are reckoned, in the same Genesis text, as descendants of Egypt and ultimately Ham (Gen 10:6,13–14; cf. 1 Chr 1:11–12).[83] There is, however, a second general label also suggesting a diversity of groups and recalling the "Sea Peoples," and it does appear to be associated with the Philistines. This is the phrase "inhabitants of the federation of the sea" (*yôšebê ḥebel hay-yām*), which occurs, as we have seen, in Zeph 2:5, and is linked in adjacent lines with the Philistines, with several of the Philistine cities, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, and Gaza, and with the Cherethites (see vss. 4–7).

The mention of Cherethites indicates that beyond the two general labels for confederation, the Bible also notes the names of several particular groups that may be considered Sea Peoples. As one such group, the Cherethites are often paired in the Bible with another, the Pelethites, the pairing describing special troops, different from the rest of the army, which are attested to only for David (two together: 2 Sam 8: 18/1 Chr 18:17; 15:18; 20:7,23; 1 Kgs 1:38,44; Cherethites without Pelethites: 1 Sam 30:14; Ezek 25:16; Zeph 2:5). To these two terms, we should add a third, the Caphtorim, which also appears as the place name Caphtor (Gen 10:14/1 Chr 1:12; Deut 2:23; Amos 9:7; Jer 47:4). Now Cherethites and Caphtorim/Caphtor are associated in several of the above-cited biblical passages with the Philistines (Ezek 25: 16; Zeph 2:5; Gen 10:14/1 Chr 1:12; Amos 9:7; Jer 47:4), and while it is not always easy to separate them out as distinct entities, some passages do suggest this.[84] Moreover, Caphtor/Caphtorim and Cherethites are generally acknowledged to mean Crete/Cretan; Pelethites is uncertain, though some would see it as somehow related to Philistines (*Pelētî = Pelištî*).[85] If we take all these linkages together, they do appear to bring us into the historical orbit of the Sea Peoples. But at the same time it is clear that Cherethite, Pelethite, and Caphtorim/Caphtor do not resemble the names of any of the Sea Peoples listed earlier, which are found in Egyptian and other non-biblical sources.

Another population name in the Bible has been proposed as a Sea People, but it is more problematic. This is the Anakim (*ʿĀnāq/ʿĀnôq, ʿĀnāqîm, benê/yelîdê ʿĀnāq*), who appear as one of the aboriginal "giant" peoples of pre-Israelite Canaan (Num 13:33; Deut 1: 28; 2:10–11,20–21; 9:2), whom Joshua is said to wipe out in the Israelite conquest, leaving some only in Ashdod, Gath, and Gaza (Josh 11:21–22).[86] Their identification as a Sea People, distinct from and earlier in Palestine than the Philistines, is a recent suggestion of M. Dothan.[87] It is based on the connection with the three cities, the biblical text which Dothan understands to mean that the Anakim took over these cities as newcomers at a time before the cities had become Philistine. The archaeological reflex of this event Dothan then finds in Stratum XIIIb at Ashdod bearing monochrome Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery—a stratum that in his judgment attests to a pre-Philistine Sea People culture, which, in turn, was succeeded by Stratum XII, of the Philistines. Finally, Dothan points to a possible etymology of *ʿĀnāq* in Archaic Greek *wanaks* (written in Linear B *wa-na-ka*) "ruler, ship commander," etc.[88]

There is something to the Anakim as a Philistine type, at least in biblical eyes. Their connection with Ashdod, Gath, and Gaza in Josh 11 is echoed by their connection in Jer 47:4–5 (LXX) with Gaza and Ashkelon, as well as with the Philistines and Caphtor; note also the mention, in 2 Sam 21:15–22/1 Chr 20:4–8, of legendary heroes of Gath—here using not Anakim, but a word that elsewhere describes them, *rāpāh* (pl. *repā'îm*)[89]—who are the ancestors of the

four Philistine warriors slain by David and his men. But if Anakim can be related somehow to the Philistines and so perhaps the Sea Peoples, Dothan's way of construing this poses serious difficulties. Thus, the biblical texts offer no implication that the Anakim were newcomers to Ashdod, Gath, and Gaza, as Dothan supposes, taking these cities from Canaanites; if anything, the texts imply that they were there all along, as (part of) the original inhabitants.[90] Dothan's archaeological understanding has also been contested by a persuasive counter-argument that the monochrome pottery stratum is, in fact, not earlier than the Philistines, but the first stage of the Philistine/Sea People occupation of the Palestinian coast.[91] And the Greek linguistic tie, while not impossible, has its phonological uncertainties, as Dothan himself notes, and other etymologies are available—none, however, convincing.[92]

Two more groups named in the Bible have been suggested as Sea Peoples, and in both cases they have been supposed to represent names given in the Egyptian sources. The first comes again in the Table of Nations, Gen 10:2: it is Tiras, and has been equated by many commentators with the Teresh/Tursha listed in texts of Merneptah and texts and relief of Ramesses III as part of groups of Sea Peoples attacking Egypt.[93] There is no objection to this, linguistically or otherwise, but not much for it either, except, perhaps, a hint, from the context in Gen 10, of an Aegean/eastern Mediterranean origin: Tiras is said to be a son of Japheth and thus brother of Javan, the "Greek" who is, in turn, the father of sons whose names may, as already noted, reflect various (eastern) Mediterranean peoples and places.

The second name is nothing less than the biblical tribe of Dan. It has been connected with the Denyen, who are attested to in the texts of Ramesses III as a Sea Peoples enemy and by broad scholarly opinion are assumed to be the same as the Danuna, mentioned in the 14th-century Amarna letters and the 8th-century Karatepe inscription, and as the Greek Danaoi. The proposal that biblical Dan also belonged to this group, and that the tribe thus represented a (portion of a) Sea People assimilated into Israel, is the work especially of Gordon and, more elaborately, Yadin.[94] It rests in the first instance on the similarity of name forms, fortified by several other arguments: that Dan is regarded in the Bible as a latecomer to the Israelite tribal confederation (Gen 49:16; Judg 18:1), and has close, yet tense affiliation with the Philistines (Judg 13–16); that from hints in the Bible (Josh 19:45–46; 21:24; Judg 1:34–35; 5:17), the original Palestinian home of Dan, before it was forced to find something new in Laish in Upper Galilee, included land along the Mediterranean around Joppa/Jaffa, corresponding to where one might locate the Denyen, between the neighboring Sea Peoples, the Philistines and Sikils, on the basis of texts of Ramesses III and Greek legend; that, finally, this occupation of and expulsion from the coast is likely attested to by the archaeology of Tell Qasile, just north of Joppa/Jaffa, which may be understood as an initial Denyen/Dan settlement, violently replaced by a Philistine one. These arguments add up to a provocative proposal, but it is one that has invited serious objections: for example, that Tell Qasile is best understood as a Philistine site right from the beginning, developing overtime; and that the biblical texts claimed to point to a coastal origin for Dan do not have to indicate that (Judg 5:17), or are problematic as evidence because they may reflect the Divided Monarchy, not the pre-monarchy (Josh 19:45–46; 21:24), or, in any case, show that Dan was never successful in settling along the coast or the Shephelah behind it (Judg 1: 34–35).[95] In sum, Dan as Denyen cannot be considered as established.

The difficulties with Dan and Denyen point up, thus, a general cloudiness in the biblical picture of a larger Sea Peoples phenomenon. On balance, it does appear that there are hints of other groups in and around the Philistines, of a wider context in which the Philistines should be situated. But these are hints only, never really developed, and some of them are quite uncertain, with uncertain links to the Sea Peoples of the non-biblical sources.[96] Their chief value, finally, is to confirm how thoroughly the Philistines dominate the picture: how much they have become for the biblical authors the "opponent," particularly of Iron I Israelite history.

It is this status of "opponent" to which we turn as the last element in our discussion. Perhaps a better—and clearly, more topical—term is "other," for the Philistines emerge in the biblical conception as a major symbol of that which Israel is not, or at least should not be; and while this is most impressive in the treatment of the Iron I period, it reverberates through the other periods as well.[97] The markers of this "alterior" status that the Bible points to are many, and a number of these we have already looked at. Thus, the demarcation of Philistia in its heartland as a separate zone from Israel and Judah (e.g., Josh 13:1–3); the characterization of this Philistia as a distinctive pentapolis with *serānîm* (Josh 13:3; etc.); the note about the distinctiveness of the Philistine pantheon within ancient Palestine (Judg 10:6), and the idolatrous character and worship of their gods, with particular ridicule of the chief one, Dagon (1 Sam 5: 1–4); the comments about the rituals and practices of divination (1 Sam 6:2,8–9; 2 Kgs 1:2; Isa 2:6), of the magical images of tumors (1 Sam 6), of eating the blood with the flesh (Zech 9:7), of jumping over the threshold (1 Sam 5:5; Zeph 1:9), and of being uncircumcised; the description of Goliath and other Philistine warrior giants, with their imposing armor and, we may add here, strange, polydigital bodies (1 Sam 17; 2 Sam 21:15–22/1 Chr 20:4–8);[98] and the empha-

sis on the non-Judaean language and, through it, culture of Ashdod (Neh 13:23–24).

Two of the above features deserve additional discussion. The description of the Philistines as "uncircumcised" (*ʿārēl*) occurs at numerous points in the narratives of the Iron I period (Judg 14:3; 15:18; 1 Sam 14:6; 17:26,36; 31:4; 2 Sam 1:20; 1 Chr 10:4; see 1 Sam 18:25,27). One presumes that such a condition marked the Philistines in actuality, but there is no external evidence of it; it is interesting, however, that the Great Karnak inscription of the Pharaoh Merneptah states that at least three of the Sea Peoples, the Ekwesh, Sheklesh, and Sherdani, were circumcised.[99] In any event, the biblical emphasis on the Philistines as uncircumcised and the fact that they are almost the only group so labeled in the biblical corpus suggest that they may have been the archetype of "uncircumcision" for the biblical authors.[100] Circumcision, in the biblical view, came to be one of the fundamental marks of Israelite identity, a sign of an Israelite's acceptance of the covenant with Yahweh (e.g., Gen 17:9–14; Exod 4:24–26; 12:48; Josh 5:2–9). The lack of circumcision, accordingly, is a fundamental mark of uncleanness and so unacceptability to Yahweh, and it comes to be used metaphorically in the biblical text for such unacceptability, for something incomplete, even when the individual or group may otherwise be acknowledged as physically circumcised (so Jer 9:25–26). It is important here to stress that the condition is not simply the absence of circumcision, since the Hebrew term is not a negative of the term for circumcision (*mûl*). Rather, uncircumcision is a condition in its own right, and the term for it, *ʿārēl* might be more accurately translated "foreskinned," of which, then, *mûl* indicates the alteration of this condition by the removal of the skin. *ʿĀrēl* and *mûl,* in short, signify two opposing states, between which there can be no middle ground. This is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the episode of David's killing of 200 Philistine soldiers and bringing their foreskins back to Saul as a bride-price for the latter's daughter (1 Sam 18:25,27). By this deed, in a sense, David helps to counter the threat of the uncleanness of Philistine uncircumcision and so of Philistine power, and anticipates his greater victory over the Philistines and neutralization of them when he becomes king.[101]

Geography forms another important marker of Philistine "otherness" in the Bible. As we have seen, the Philistine heartland is understood as a particular zone by the biblical authors; it abuts Israel/Judah on its east, but is distinct from it (e.g., Josh 13:1–3), and has a recognizable border running north–south with it (e.g., Judg 13:25–14:1; 1 Sam 6:9–16). But that border, that geographical distinctiveness, is always breaking down in the biblical narratives of Philistine-Israelite contact, particularly of the second, or Iron I, period. The impetus comes from the Philistine side, as they push east into the interior of Palestine to establish their hegemony, and in a variety of ways the Israelites are pictured caught up in this breaking of boundaries and the struggle to contain it. Samson is the first of the Israelites to be so depicted—the laconic reference to Shamgar ben Anat notwithstanding (Judg 3:31)—and he moves restlessly and ambiguously, both geographically and socially, as he tries to stake out his own space between his Danite tribal territory and that of his Philistine overlords. The movement, as the Bible describes it, is at first limited to the shephelah/central hill country between and overlapping the two sides, taking Samson nearby, to Philistine Timnah and its environs, and back to his Danite home (Judg 14–15). But eventually, Samson reaches the Philistine heartland itself, in Gaza, whose city gates he carries back to Judaean territory in Hebron, before finally being swallowed up in Gaza in a climactic confrontation, from which his Danite kin can rescue only his corpse (Judg 16).[102] A similar movement applies to David, the last of the Israelites depicted in the struggle with the Philistines of the Iron I period (1 Sam 23–24, 27–31). But against Samson's final failure, David is granted final success in removing the Philistine menace, and it can be no accident that proof of this is a notice, which comes at the end of the Iron I period narrative, about what he does geographically: he "smote the Philistines from Geba to Gezer" (2 Sam 5:25), thus pushing them back to their heartland.[103]

The numerous markers of Philistine "otherness" that we have been discussing are not uniform in character. Most of them, like polytheism and idolatry, eating blood, and uncircumcision, are presented as prohibitives: things that should not be associated with Israel, even if occasionally they are conceded to do so. Some, on the other hand, like the pentapolis and *serānîm,* are simply negatives, offered without any moral judgment as just foreign to Israelite experience and provoking curiosity. In addition, more than a few of the markers are not absolutely distinctive of the Philistines in their Levantine setting. Rather, as we have seen from comments elsewhere in the Bible and/or extra-biblical evidence, they characterize other non-Israelites of the Levant too: so particularly for markers of religious belief and practice, like idolatry, Ashtarot, Dagon, Baʿal Zebub, divination, and eating blood. In a sense, then, the Bible has partially assimilated the Philistines as "other" into the "otherness" of other groups—which we may denominate broadly as Canaanite—in and around Israel. One might even say that for the Philistines to fulfill their role in the Bible as an "other," they have to behave in at least some of the expected ways, especially religious, that "others" do.

All this, however, does not take away from the particularity and intensity with which the Bible presents the Philistines in the second, Iron I period. Of course, there are other groups then with which Israel has to deal, but they drop to the side as the Deuteronomistic narrative pushes through to its climax in David's victory. And if various of the markers of Philistine "otherness" are associated elsewhere with other groups, when the Bible mentions them with the Philistines, it does so without these other associations: the focus is directly on the Philistines themselves. This second, Iron I period, we need to remember, is viewed in the biblical text—and was, in fact—not only as important to the Philistines, but as critical to Israel, one of the most critical in her history. For this is the time when Israel becomes an organized society in the land: when Israel becomes the Israel promised in the Pentateuchal stories. Identity formation, for societies as for individuals, involves differentiation, and throughout the biblical corpus, the need to differentiate is a paramount concern.[104] For Iron I Israel, therefore, it is the Philistines who provide the most important differentiation, and the weight of that role continued, as we have seen, to echo forward into later Israelite history, even as it became a paradigm, in the Second Temple period, for new "others" that would beset Israel.[105]

Notes

1. See, e.g., Macalister 1965; Delcor and Erlenmeyer 1965–1966:1233–1288, especially 1254–1271, 1275–1288; Strobel 1976; Dothan 1982: esp. 13–21; Brug 1985: esp. 5–15, 46–50; Noort 1994: esp. 33–53.

2. The count of occurrences is based on Mandelkern 1962.

3. Although there are some demurrals, most scholars have identified Caphtor as Crete: see the recent survey of Hess 1992:869–870. As for the Egyptian connection, this is specified in Gen 10:13–14/1 Chr 1:11–12 as: the Philistines "came out" (*yāṣe'û*) from the Casluhim (*Kaslūḥîm*), who, in turn, were "begotten" (*yālad*), along with the following Caphtorim and others preceding, by Egypt, one of the sons of Ham. Now all these children of Egypt are in the plural *-îm*, thus, peoples, and "coming out" here should mean, as it does earlier in the list with Assur (Gen 10:11), "migrating/originating from." But who the Casluhim are is uncertain, since this is their only occurrence and they have no known cognate. They should be a group based geographically in or in the sphere of influence of Egypt, like several of the other sons named in the list that can be probably identified (Lehabim = Libyans; Pathrusim = Patros/Upper Egypt; Caphtorim = Cretans). And they may have a specific relation to the Caphtorim, given that elsewhere in the Bible the earlier location of Philistines is Caphtor (Amos 9:7, Jer 47:4) and Caphtorim in the present list is positioned just after Casluhim. For a more specific guess as to the relationship, see Rendsburg 1987:89–96; also the general review in Hess 1992:877–878.

4. See Ishida 1979:461–490; Hofstetter 1995.

5. On Gerar, see Gen 20:1,2; 26:1,6,17. Its location is discussed in Oren 1992:989, with particular reference to Gen 10:19; 20:1; and Eusebius, *Onomasticon* 60:7.

6. On Beersheva, see Gen 21:31,33; 26:23,26,33. Its Negev location is specified in Josh 15:21/28 and 2 Sam 24:7, and discussed in Manor 1992:641–642. Although Beersheva is outside the realm of the later Philistines, it should be noted that a portion of the Negev is assigned, in the second, or Iron I, period, to the related Cherethites (1 Sam 30:14).

7. E.g., Noort 1994:52–53, who focuses on Gen 26, and in questioning its historicity suggests, like other scholars, that it contains a number of back-projections from the time of its later biblical author. C. H. Gordon, on the other hand, is among those who support the authenticity of the Genesis references, 1956:22.

8. See the references in n. 1, apart from the older work of Macalister.

9. E.g., Noth 1972:35 and n. 131; 264.

10. Ibid., 29, 264.

11. Perhaps the principal problem is that unlike the earlier two versions of the patriarch lying that his wife is his sister (Gen 12 and 20), here the lie never produces the crisis of the wife's near sexual contact with another man—even though ample indications are given that there should have been such a crisis (cf. 26:7,8,10). In other words, compared to Gen 12 and 20, where this crisis does ensue, the plot in Gen 26 unfolds rather anticlimactically. All of this suggests that Gen 26, at least in its present form, has been fashioned with the versions in Gen 12 and perhaps 20 in mind. But it must be acknowledged that the relations of the three versions to one another and to the Documentary Hypothesis which they are often held to illustrate have been long debated: see Schmid 1991:37–38, 40–42, 34–36; Westermann 1985:420–430.

12. In this context, one may ask more precisely about the title for Abimelech given him in Gen 26:1,8: "king of the Philistines" (*melek Pelištîm*). Wherever else *melek* is used for the Philistines, it never occurs in such a phrase, indicating king of the Philistines as a whole, but only as king of an individual Philistine city (1 Sam 21:11,13; 27:2; Jer 25:20; Zeph 9:5). The question is what to make of this discrepancy. Some have taken it as positive historically: that with the phrase "king of the Philistines" Genesis is depicting a political organization different, and so not derivable, from that presented in the Bible for later periods, when the Philistines have a confederation of cities each headed by its *seren* or *melek*; thus, the Genesis references should be historically authentic in their own right (e.g., Sarna 1989:390). On the other hand, "king of the Philistines" may still be understandable, in conjunction with our discussion supra, as a mark of the lateness of Gen 26, rather than of its historical authenticity. For it may reflect an author who, anxious to claim a Philistine presence in pre-Joshua times and knowing only, from the expanded tradition in Gen 20–21, of Gerar as in Philistine territory, then sought a way to identify the ruler of Gerar as the Philistine king. "King of Gerar," on the analogy of "king of Gath," would not be enough; what the author of Gen 26 needed—what, one may propose, he created—was "king of the Philistines," i.e., the Philistine king.

13. Left out of our discussion, thus, is a minor notice like Judg 3:31, which tells of a massacre of Philistines by Shamgar ben Anat, an Israelite judge preceding Samson.

14. Both passages should be understood to refer to the same Aphek. If so, this Aphek, as many have come to see, properly belongs in the plain of Sharon = Tel Ras el-ᶜAin; from this assembly point, the Philistines would then have proceeded to the battles in the Jezreel Valley. For a concise discussion, see Frankel 1992:275–277.

15. There is a recent and full accounting of the historical issues surrounding the Philistines and David in Ehrlich 1996:23–56; note his correct stress, in 36–37, on the particular relationship between the city of Gath and David. See also Noort 1998:199–213.

16. I Kgs 5:1 is to be corrected, with most commentators, by 2 Chr 9:26, but the preposition *ᶜad* here is ambiguous: it could mean that Solomon's imperial border extends "up to" but not including the land of the Philistines, or "as far as" therefore including it. As for Achish, this is evidently the same man as had once been David's overlord and then presumably became his subordinate after David's Philistine victory: note that his patronymic as David's overlord, Maᶜok (1 Sam 27:2), is only a variant (spelling) of that in the incident involving Shimei, Maᶜakah (1 Kgs 2:39). For discussion of the notices about Solomon and the Philistines, see Ehrlich 1996:41–53, 137–141.

17. For a comprehensive survey, see Ehrlich 1996: 57–194 as well as Haak 1998:37–51 and Gitin 1998:273–290. Studies of more particular phases and episodes include: Tadmor 1966:86–102; and Na'aman 1995:11–26 (on 2 Chr 28:18).

18. As we have seen, *melek* is also used earlier, for the first or patriarchal, period (n. 12 supra), as well as later, for the second, or Iron I, period (see infra in the main text, under "Political and Military Organization").

19. The problem is bound up with the date of Zechariah 9:1–8, and indeed, 9 as a whole. For a brief orientation with bibliography, see Meyers and Meyers 1993:54, 91–92, 168–169.

20. This appears to be the understanding of Crenshaw 1995:179, 181, 182–183. As Crenshaw properly notes (182), such plunder and trade in captured Judaean slaves through the region of Philistia are also attested to as perpetrated by Seleucid opponents of Judah Maccabee in the 2nd century B.C.E. (1 Macc 3:41/2 Macc 8:11). However, Philistia here, specifically in 1 Macc 3:41, is probably to be understood as a Greek area, or at most as mixed Greek-Philistine.

21. See Tcherikover 1957:115–118, 118–121 (No. 1), 125–129 (Nos. 4–5); Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* VII:82–113: Bk XII 160–224 (on Joseph son of Tobiah and his family). The Tobiads evidenced in the above texts dealt particularly with the Ptolemaic administration in Egypt, but the routes to Egypt included sea as well as land passage from or along the Palestinian coast, where the Greeks re-established a number of older cities, including Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gaza, and founded some new ones: see Tcherikover 1961:91–96; and for Ashdod, Dothan 1992:481.

22. See Delcor and Erlenmeyer 1965–1966:1274; and Meyers and Meyers 1993:111.

23. On the debate over the identity of the Shihor, see Betz 1992:1212.

24. Note also the more general labels in Judg 15:5, *qāmāh* and *gādîš*, referring to grain.

25. The evidence here comes from the Samson story, where it is localized in the central hill country on the edge of the shephelah, around Timnah (= Tell el-Batashi). But this, naturally, does not exclude wheat, olives, and vines being cultivated in any other part of Philistine territory that could sustain them. For a good survey of these plants in biblical Israel, see Zohary 1982:53–57, 72–75 and passim.

26. On *ḥebel* here as "federation," rather than "region," see Sabottka 1972:73, who refers, in turn, to the work of H. Cazelles. One might compare the Semitic term *ḫubur*, and other forms of the root *ḫbr*, which appear in the Egyptian Wen-Amun Report and the Hebrew Bible to refer to various confederations of cities along the Levantine coast, organized especially for commercial activities; on *ḫubur/ḫbr*, see Mazar 1992:19–20 and 1986:65–67.

27. The same kind of distance appears to apply between Achish and the "commanders of the Philistines" (*śārê Pelištîm*) in 1 Sam 9; also 3,4.

28. To be more specific than this creates difficulties. One attempt has been made by Kassis 1965:259–271, along with Wright 1966:80–82. They argue, using 1 Sam 29 especially, that Gath was a vassal city of the Philistines in the Iron I period, but at the very least this is not explicit in the biblical texts; even more precarious is Kassis' further effort to differentiate Gath as Canaanite over against the Philistine cities it is supposed to have served. A contrasting view of Gath's separateness in Iron I is taken by Rainey 1975:71.[28a] He supposes that it was head, as *primus inter pares*, of the Philistine pentapolis; yet among other factors this involves equating the *śārîm* "army commanders" with *serānîm* "lords" in 1 Sam 29, which does not appear cogent.

28a. Incidentally, the designation of Gath alone as "a royal city" could be a further clue to its separate status from the other Philistine cities, as argued above.

29. R. de Vaux, unpublished lectures, Harvard University, February, 1965; Mazar 1986:73.

30. See the brief review in Brug 1985:165.

31. For the latter, see de Vaux 1971:479, referring *inter alia* to metal-working furnaces from Iron I Tell Deir ᶜAlla in the Jordan Valley. The furnaces, however, have turned out to be pottery kilns (Muhly 1982:53); but that, of course, does not invalidate the essence of de Vaux's position, all the more because 1 Kgs 7:46, to which de Vaux also refers, mentions casting installations in the Jordan Valley in the days of Solomon. As for metallurgical possibilities in the Philistine coastal heartland, one may refer to the smelting workshop for copper or bronze, from Iron I Tell Qasile, area A, strata XI and possibly X (Maisler 1950–1951:74–75, with the correction reported in Mazar 1980:75, 128 n. 18).

32. Goliath's armor has engaged, needless to say, many commentators. See especially Galling 1966:150–169. The explanation of the bronze javelin was first advanced by Yadin 1955:58–69.

33. E.g., 1 Sam 4; 7; 29/31; 2 Sam 5:17–25. Note the use of verbal and nominative forms of the root *ʿrk* to describe the troops arrayed and then attacking in battle formation (1 Sam 4:2; 17:8) and of the verb *nāṭaš* for the process of engagement of the formations in battle (1 Sam 4:2).

34. An extensive discussion may be found in de Vaux 1967:217–230; several corrections and a new example from New Kingdom Hittite are given in Hoffner, Jr. 1968:220–225. On 2 Sam 2:12–17, there is also Sukenik 1948:110–116.

35. The second sense is the one favored by de Vaux (1967:219), but there is no reason why the first sense cannot also apply simultaneously. Note the later occurrence of *'iš hab–bēnāyîm* in the Qumran War Scroll, signaled by de Vaux 1967:219–220. There it occurs only in the plural, *'anšê hab–bēnāyîm*, and describes a kind of infantry. As de Vaux correctly points out, while the Qumran author has picked up an archaic biblical word, his usage of it should not be read back into 1 Sam 17.

36. Note the formulation in Judg 16:23: "And the *serānîm* of the Philistines gathered to offer *a great sacrifice* to Dagon, *their god* [author's emphasis], and for rejoicing, and they said, 'Our god has given Samson, our enemy, into our hands.'"

37. See discussion infra n. 42.

38. On these sources, and the biblical ones as well, see the older review of Schmökel 1938:99–101; and, more recently, Ringgren 1974:148–151; Singer 1992:431–450; and Healey 1995:407–413.

39. The text is from Sennacherib's third campaign of 701 B.C.E., directed against Judah and the rest of the southern Levant; see Frahm 1997:53, 59:41.

40. Singer 1992.

41. For recent reviews of the evidence, see Müller 1987:453–463; Day 1992:491–494; and Wyatt 1995:204–213.

42. Note that the version of this account in 1 Chr 10:10 has "house of their gods (*'elōhêhem*)" instead of the "house of Ashtarot" of 1 Sam 31:10, and "house of Dagon" instead of 1 Sam's "wall of Beth-Shan." It is not easy to explain these and all the other differences between the two texts, and various solutions have been proffered: see, e.g., Rudolph 1955:92, 95; Braun 1986:148, 149–151; and Japhet 1993:226–228. The tentative and incomplete suggestions that follow are grounded in the assumption that 1 Sam 31 is the base text on which the Chronicler is working. So understood, a key problem for the Chronicler appears to be the presence in 1 Sam 31 of the divine term Ashtarot and the absence of the principal Philistine deity, Dagon, whom one would expect to be involved at this juncture in the story—the high point of Philistine success against the Israelites. Ashtarot, one may propose, adapting the view of Day (supra n. 41), 492, is treated by the Chronicler not as a divine name but as a general plural label for "(female) deities;" hence "house of Ashtarot" is "translated" as "house of their gods." The Chronicler's warrant for this translation is in the first instance the sequence of the underlying 1 Sam 31:9–10. Here "the house of their idols," to which news of Saul's death is broadcast, is followed by presentation of Saul's armor to "the house of Ashtarot," and we may thus suppose that the Chronicler interpreted this to mean that "house of their idols" and "house of Ashtarot" were synonymous, and therefore that "their idols" equaled "Ashtarot." In his own version of this sequence (1 Chr 10:9–10), the Chronicler has the news of Saul's death broadcast simply to "their idols," perhaps because this makes more sense than having it told to the "house" of these idols, and then follows with the armor brought to "the house of their gods," where "their gods" must thus be the synonym of the preceding "their idols." A further support for the view of Ashtarot as "(female) deities" may be, as Day suggests (1992:492), certain other biblical occurrences, in which the word is paired with "the Baᶜals" (*hab–beʿālîm*), apparently signifying "gods and goddesses." Yet this case is not clear: the pairing could indicate, as Day does allow and as is taken up below, pluriform manifestations of the Canaanite deities, Baᶜal and Ashtoret/Astarte.

As for Dagon, the Chronicler brings him into the picture with the mention of "the house of Dagon" (10:10) as the place to which the "skull" of the dead Saul is "fastened," thus substituting, as already noted, for "the wall of Beth-Shan" in 1 Sam 31:10 where Saul's "body" is "fastened." The close similarity in vocabulary and syntactic order here, as Japhet 1993:227–228 has observed—she points also to another example, involving David, in 1 Sam 17:54—confirms that 1 Sam 31 has served as the Chronicler's model: "his skull" (*gulgoltô*) substituting for, and playing phonologically and semantically on, "his body" (*gewiyyātô*), the substitution perhaps influenced by the example in 1 Sam 17:54; then "they fastened" (*tāqeʿû*) in both texts; finally, "the house of Dagon" (*bêt Dāgôn*) again substituting for, even as it echoes, "Beth-Shan" (*bêt šān*) with its wall. This last parallel deserves an additional word. In removing Beth-Shan, the Chronicler not simply gives prominence to Dagon and his temple; he also avoids localizing that temple in the eastern Jezreel Valley. Behind this may be an effort to assimilate that Dagon temple to the one at Ashdod mentioned in 1 Sam 5:1–5, the only other Dagon temple known in biblical tradition. Of course, 1 Sam 5 is a text that the Chronicler does not use directly, because his narative begins after the time described in that text. But that the Chronicler knew 1 Sam 5, there can be no doubt.

Our struggle with the wording of 1 Sam 31:9–10 and 1 Chr 10:9–10 is not unique. We can observe it also in the ancient versions and later Hebrew manuscripts of these texts, as they try to bridge and make sense of the differences (see brief conspectus of the evidence in the apparatus of *BHS*, ad loc.) Thus, the LXX and two manuscripts of the Old Latin of 1 Sam 31:9 have, instead of the MT "house of their idols," simply "their idols," so aligning the verse with the MT of 1 Chr 10:9. Conversely, several Hebrew manuscripts, the Peshitta, and the targum of 1 Chr 10:9 show, against the MT "their idols," the longer "house of their idols," thus conforming that verse to the MT of 1 Sam 31:9!

43. Omitted here are the occurrences of Ashtarot as a place name and as a common noun meaning "offspring/young," both doubtless related to its usage as a divine name.

44. See the summary of the argument in Wyatt 1995:209, and note with him that for the Hebrew *ʿAštārôt* in 1 Sam 31:10 the LXX has *to Astarteion*.

45. See, e.g., Ember 1905:195–231, with our example from 1 Sam 31:10 on p. 213; also Waltke and O'Connor 1990:122–124: §7.4.3. The main biblical illustration of this phenomenon, of course, is the use of *'elōhîm* for the Israelite God.

46. See Day 1992:492. Note in particular Judg 2:13, where MT has for the pair of Baᶜals and Ashtarot a singular *Baʿal* but a plural *'Aštārôt*. Should *Bacālîm* be corrected here to *Beʿālîm*? Or is it not better to leave the text as it is—this mixture of singular and plural, then, reflecting a certain fluid perspective on the part of the biblical author between the deities each as an integrated phenomenon and their manifestations each in a variety of local forms?

47. See Maier III 1992:554; Lewis 1992:638–640; and Herrmann 1995:293–296. The Caananite attestations are from the Ugarit corpus, where *zebūl* actually stands first, as *zbl bʿl* or *zbl bʿl arṣ*.

47a. For the text of Symmachus, see Field 1875:I, 651 ad IV Regum I:2. For the New Testament texts, see Nestle et al., eds., 1985: ad loc. *Beezeboul* is likely an assimilated variant of *Beelzeboul*: *lz* > *z*(*z*). The element *Beel* in all these words represents, as O. Eissfeldt has observed (1938:2400), the Aramaic form of Canaanite *Baʿal*.

48. Note one of the titles for Baᶜal Zebub in the New Testament, *archōn tōn daimoniōn* (Matt 12:24; Mark 3:22; Luke 11:15): could *archōn* here be some kind of translation of *zebūl*?

49. Recall the exegetical issues over 1 Sam 31:9–10 and 1 Chr 10:9–10 in n. 42 supra.

50. The apparently open access of this building to a large number of Philistines makes one wonder a bit if it could represent at least all of the sanctuary complex, given that sanctuaries frequently in the ancient Near East had portions closed to the general public.

51. Thus, people do not appear to be able to walk on the roof of the Jerusalem temple and certainly not on top of the tabernacle/tent. Both also lack the supporting columns that belong to the structure of the Gaza building; the two columns connected to the Jerusalem temple, called Jachin and Boaz, are outside the entrance and may be, though this is debated, free-standing (1 Kgs 7:15–22; see Meyers 1992: 597–598). It has sometimes been proposed that the Gaza temple is best imagined as a *megaron* building, known from the Anatolian and Aegean worlds especially, but also with likenesses from the Near East in the second and first millennia B.C.E.: so, e.g., Macalister 1965:123–124. But the details of Judg 16 really are not sufficient to sustain this or any other comparison. See the overall conclusion of Noort 1994:51.

52. E.g., Deut 18:9–14, which has, however, instead of *ʿônēn*, another participial form of the same root, *meʿônēn*, with evidently no difference in meaning. In the Deut verses th *meʿônēn* and *qōsēm*, as well as the other types of magicians listed, are said to characterize the nations in Palestine that predated the arrival of Israel; and Israel, in turn, is admonished to avoid such persons. That it did not always do so is evidenced in other biblical passages like 2 Kgs 21:6; Isa 3:2; and Mic 5:11. Exactly and fully how the *qōsēm* and *ʿônēn*/*meʿônēn*—and the other specialists named—were differentiated and functioned cannot be gleaned from the Bible, which, doubtless deliberately, does not describe them in detail, and usually mentions them only in a polemical, condemnatory way.

53. For *ʿāṣāb* with Philistines, see 1 Sam 31:9; 1 Chr

10:9; 2 Sam 5:21. Here and in all other biblical occurrences, the word appears only in the plural, *ʿaṣabbîm.* There is a singular with 1 sg. suffix, *ʿaṣbî* (Isa 48:5), but it is usually derived from another form of the root, *ʿōṣēb,* otherwise not attested.

54. Cf. the celebrated idol parodies of Jer 10:2–5 and (II) Isa 44:9–20.

55. E.g., the victory stela of Psammeticus II of Egypt: see the translation of Lichtheim 1980:84–86. Among other biblical examples, there is the ceremony of thanksgiving in Gen 14:18–20, orchestrated by Melchizedek of Salem to the god El Elyon in response to Abraham's victory over the four kings.

56. The most thorough discussion is Donner 1970:42–55.

57. For various examples, ancient and later, see Donner 1970:53–54 and Gaster 1969:683. Mesopotamia provides an illustration, moreover, of how the sacred importance of gates and doors, particularly of temples, reached the point where these could be deified and reckoned as the divine children of the deity of the temple (Lambert 1990:128–129).

58. Brought to my attention, though mentioned there in another context, by Riemann 1970:484 n. 7. Note that *saṗ* is used also to describe various thresholds in Ezekiel's envisioned Jerusalem temple (40:7; 41:16; 43:8), and it is likely that these are meant to include the *miptān* mentioned in 46:2 and 47:1, which may very well be the principal one.

59. For a review of the debate over the meaning of *dlg,* whether "jump over" or "ascend," see Donner 1970:45–49, who offers cogent reasons to prefer "jump over"; the same, more recently, in Ben Zvi 1991:95–96.

60. The targum interprets Zeph 1:9 as "all those who walk in the laws of the Philistines" (*kol di-mehalkîn benîmûsê Pelištāʾê*). It is noted, *inter alios,* by Smith, in Smith, Ward, and Bewer 1911:197; Ball 1988:36–37; and Ben Zvi 1991:95, who also remarks on other classical Jewish and Christian exegeses, some of which are in line with this view, others not. One might include here as well the LXX translation of 1 Sam 5:5, which over against the MT adds at the end the clause "so that they surely bound over (it)" (*hoti hyperbainontes hyperbainousin*). *hyperbainō* looks as if it reflects Hebrew *dlg,* and in fact, in two other places the verb does appear where MT has *dlg* (2 Kgs 22:30; Ps 17:18). Could the LXX to 1 Sam 5:5 thus be filling out the meaning of "not treading on the *miptān*" by a reference to Zeph 1:9? It must be admitted, however, that the LXX to Zeph 1:9 does not use *hyperbainō* for *dlg,* and indeed uses another translation altogether: "(I will punish) all of them openly at the gates (*epi pantas emphanōs epi ta propyla*)." But might this reflect a different translator from that of 1 Sam, and so a different, even mistaken (so Ball 1988:36), understanding?

61. See, e.g., Levine 1974:91–101, esp. 92–94; Milgrom 1976: especially 13–15, 142–143; and McCarter 1980:132–133.

62. The point would become even clearer if *wenikkapēr* (nitpael < *kippēr*), not the MT *wenôdaʿ* (< *ydʿ*), were read in 1 Sam 6:3, on the basis of 4Q Sam^{a} and the LXX: see McCarter 1980:129, 133 ad 6:3, among other scholars. On the other hand, an attractive case has been made for retaining the root *ydʿ,* albeit with a few changes, by Miller, Jr., and Roberts 1977:53–54.

63. On *ʿopālîm,* and the nature of the disease attacking the Philistines, see McCarter 1980:123, and the bibliography there discussed, to which should be added the older treatment of Preuss 1971:175–178. As McCarter notes, along with Preuss and other commentators, *ṭeḥōrîm* is a Masoretic substitution—a *qere perpetuum*—in these passages and wherever else *ʿopālîm* occurs in the Bible, whether for reasons of clarification or of euphemism.

64. See note in McCarter 1980:132.

65. Cf., e.g., the well-known ceremony on the 5th day of the New Year's festival (*akītu*) in Babylon of the first millennium B.C.E., in which the priest slaps the cheek of the king for a second time, now in order to observe the ominous result: if the king sheds tears, then Bel/Marduk is favorably disposed to the king; if not, then the god is angry and an enemy will come and bring about the king's downfall (see the translation by Sachs, in *ANET*^{3}, 334). The specific action in 1 Sam 6 of sending animals with reparations to the deity has been compared, by Miller and Roberts 1977:53–55, to a Hittite ritual against plague, and also to the plague prayers of the Hittite king, Mursili II. The parallel is indeed suggestive, although in the ritual the animal sent to the deity, a ram, is not used in the ominous way the cows and wagon are in 1 Sam 6.

66. For a fuller study of *miqreh* in the Bible, especially Qohelet, see Machinist 1995:165–175.

67. This is parallel to the "remnant of the coastland/island of Caphtor," which comes in the preceding vs. 4, where it is also in apposition with the Philistines. The reading of *ʿĀnāqîm* in vs. 5 is in accord with the LXX, as against MT *ʿimqām,* which makes little or no sense in this context: see the review of the matter in McKane 1996:1149–1152. More on Anakim infra.

68. Explicit references to non-Israelites: Jer 9:26; 25:23; Job 1:20; and 1 Kgs 18:28 (in the last, the gashing is evidently not for mourning, but to call on the god Baʿal to appear). Explicit references to Israelites: Jer 7:29; 16:6; 41:5; Ezek 5:1–4; Hos 7:14. In addition, various of the passages that forbid these gestures to Israel presume that at least some Israelites were practicing them (Lev 19:27–28; 21:5; Deut 14:1). One should note here also that some of the passages listed refer not to shaving the head but to the comparable act of rounding the corners of the hair on it into some kind of short tonsure (Lev 19:27; Jer 9:26; 25:23).

69. See Meyers and Meyers 1993:112–115.

70. Among modern general discussions, see Brug 1985:193–200, 239–242, 304–306, though its extensive bibliography includes a portion that is not worth serious perusal; and Delcor and Erlenmeyer 1965–1966:1278–1280; there is also the older survey of Macalister 1965: 79–87. To these may be added the briefer discussions of de Vaux 1971:473–474; Weippert 1971:6–7; and Singer 1994:335–337.

71. E.g., *ʿargāz, lappîd, Pelištî* ("Philistine"), *Pîkôl* ("Phicol"), and *pilegeš.* For these and the other words mentioned, see the discussions and bibliographies in the preceding note.

72. E.g., *seren* = *tyrannos,* and *k/qōbaʿ* = *kuṗaḫi.*

73. To be sure, the Philistines do talk about the Israelites as "Hebrews" (1 Sam 4:9; 13:19; 29:3), a term that is normally used in the Bible for Israelites only when foreigners are talking about them or they are talking about themselves in the context of foreigners. Thus, this is not a usage peculiar to the Philistines, unlike, say, the accented Hebrew that Greenfield has noted in connection with various Aramaeans in the Bible (1981:129–130).

74. In a technical sense, even this may not really be true, because the Greek of the author(s) of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* appears to be a mixture of several different dialects of the Iron Age with an earlier poetic formulary reaching back to the Mycenaean Late Bronze. It is, thus, likely not the native language of Homer or of any of the other poets involved in the production of these epics, or indeed of any single ancient Greek community. On this language, see Palmer 1980: 83–101, esp. 87–93, 97–101; and more fully, Palmer 1962:75–178.

75. See the brief survey in Brug 1985:193–196, 199; and add Singer 1994:334–335; Naveh 1985:8–21, pls. 2–4; Cross 1996:64–65; and Gitin, Dothan, and Naveh 1997:1–16. The evidence that these discussions bring forward is very largely that of inscriptions in West Semitic languages, with West Semitic scripts. There are, to be sure, some names, like Achish = Ikausu, that seem to be non-Semitic, but these, of course, do not have to derive from a contemporaneously spoken non-Semitic language. Further, the Tell Deir ʿAlla tablets, a tablet from Aphek, and a couple of Ashdod seals, all from Iron I deposits, may reflect Aegean signs and shapes; but what kind of connection they have with the Philistines, if any, is mostly unclear, and in any case, they are all early, from Iron I deposits. When inscriptions later turn up in Philistine territory, they uniformly exhibit West Semitic scripts, not Aegean or other outside ones, though Naveh has been able to make an attractive case, within those texts of Iron II, for isolating particular local graphic tendencies that may be called Philistine.

76. On the evidence for West Semitic in Philistia in the Achaemenid as in the earlier Iron II period, see n. 75. Aramaic should perhaps be given particular consideration here, because by Achaemenid times it had become widespread as a result of its status as the favored language of imperial administration. A number of commentators do favor Aramaic for *ʾAšdôdît,* e.g., Rudolph 1949:208–209, who notes that it was already so understood in the Arabic version of our text. A few scholars, however, still look to something distinctively Philistine, e.g., Schaeder 1930:29–227. Others, like Blenkinsopp 1988:363, remain agnostic. In this welter of opinions, it should be stressed that the wording of the verses at issue cannot be used to argue that *ʾAšdôdît* must have been a language fundamentally different from *Yehûdît*/Judaean Hebrew, that is, not a West Semitic language. For the verses say that the half of the children who speak *ʾAšdôdît* "do not recognize (how) to speak Judaean" (*weʾênām makkîrîm ledabbēr Yehûdît*) (Neh 13:24). That is, the emphasis may be put not on total ignorance of Judaean, but on inability to speak *proper* Judaean, over against some mispronounced, ungrammatical version of it, as an indication of proper education in Judaean culture. And such lack of proper Judaean could just as well result from a speaker of a related, West Semitic language as from a non-West Semitic one: cf. the *šibbōlet-sibbōlet* issue in Judg 12:1–6, which occurs between two groups speaking apparently contiguous West Semitic tongues.

77. On relations to Egypt, see Singer 1994:282–313, 329–330; in addition, Stager 1995:340–344, who comments as well on Philistine diet.

78. The Egyptian labels for these peoples are to be found in Ramesses III's inscriptions celebrating his victories over them; perhaps the most elaborate describes them as "the countries who came from their land in the isles in the midst of the sea" (Edgerton and Wilson 1936:42:2–3. On the modern derivation "Sea Peoples" by Gaston Maspero, see Singer 1988:239.

79. See the comparative list and discussion in Brug 1985:16–28; also Singer 1988:239–250. One may note as well Margalith 1994, but his expanded view of Sea Peoples and their culture in the Bible seems to strain the evidence at various points.

80. Sikil and Dor are signaled in Wen-Amun: see the translation of J. A. Wilson, in *ANET*^{3}, especially 26 (he uses the reading Tjeker). The Sikils and the

Sherdani, along with the Philistines (*Prst*), are listed in the Onomasticon: see Gardiner 1947:194*–205*: nos. 268–270. The order given, Sherdani, Sikils, and Philistines, may well be geographical from north to south, but the Onomasticon does not situate any of them precisely. For the location of the Sherdani around Akko, as well as the Sikils around Dor, see Singer 1988:244–246, 248, and 1994:295–308, 308–309.

81. Singer 1994:298.

82. Brug 1985:11. Javan in Gen 10:2,4 is the Hebrew, and general Semitic, word for "Greek/Aegean" (< "Ionian"). As for the names of Javan's sons in Gen 10:4, Elishah appears to be Alashiyah/Cyprus, while Kittim may also refer to that island, and Dodanim, if read as Rodanim following 1 Chr 1:7, LXX, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, may be Rhodes. Tarshish is not clear, but is probably somewhere in or around the Mediterranean. See the discussion and bibliography in Westermann 1974:665, 677–678; and Baker 1992:331–333. A recent review of Sea People origins is provided by Singer 1988:239–250, who focuses especially on western Anatolia; see also Macalister 1965–1966; Stroebel 1976; Dothan 1982; Brug 1985; and Noort 1994.

83. This last point is admitted by Brug 1985:11–12.

84. See for the Cherethites 1 Sam 30:14, which identifies a particular part of the Negev as theirs; the Philistines, as we have seen, are never placed in the Negev except in the patriarchal sources, where they journey to, but are not settled in, Beersheva (Gen 21:31.33; 26:23,26,33). On the other hand, in Zeph 2:4–5, "nation of the Cherethites" is juxtaposed with four of the Philistine cities, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, and Gaza—Gath is not mentioned—as well as with "Canaan, the land of the Philistines" and "inhabitants of the federation of the sea." Yet even here, though some kind of affinity is clearly being asserted, it would be going too far to claim that these groups are being fully equated with one another. As for the Caphtorim, these are kept distinct from the Philistines in Gen 10:14/1 Chr 1:12, but in Amos 9:7 and Jer 47:4, as discussed earlier, a closer connection is presented, in that the Philistines are said to come from Caphtor. That does not have to mean, however, that the Philistines are native to Caphtor, as the Caphtorim by definition are.

85. For a review of these identifications and other features, see Hess 1992:869–870; Ehrlich 1992:898–899; and 1992:219.

86. There is also a separate tradition about Caleb expelling the Anakim from Kiryat-Arba/Hebron (Josh 14:12,15; 15:13–14; Judg 1:20).

87. Dothan 1993:53–55. The archaeological and historical argument here is elaborated for other sites and the Philistines as a whole in other publications of M. and T. Dothan, e.g., Dothan 1985:165–176. Earlier, Maclaurin 1965:468–474, had proposed to see in *ʿĀnāq* something to do with the Sea Peoples, but instead of the name of another Sea People, he argued that it was a Philistine technical term. See n. 88.

88. This linguistic connection, presented by Dothan rather briefly and imprecisely, is attributed by him to another scholar, not named. That appears to be Maclaurin 1965. Maclaurin uses the connection, however, to argue that *ʿĀnāq* is a technical term in Philistine for a kind of ruler, different from the *seren*, and that the Bible, in turn, has mistakenly taken this *ʿānāq* as an ethnicon.

89. See Deut 2:10–11, 20–21, which uses *repāʾîm* for the Anakim and other early giant peoples of Palestine.

90. See Num 13:22, 28, 33; Deut 1:28; 9:2.

91. Perhaps the basic article is Mazar 1985:95–107. Other important contributions include Singer 1985:109–122; and Stager 1995:334–335, 340–344.

92. Dothan 1993:55. For other etymologies and bibliography, see Baumgartner 1983:813a s.v. II כתם.

93. For the equation of Tiras and Teresh/Tursha, see, e.g., Westermann 1974:675; and Speiser 1964:66. The occurrences of Teresh/Tursha in Merneptah may be found in Breasted 1962:249:588 (Great Karnak Inscription); 255:600 (Athri-bis Stela). For Ramesses III, see Sandars 1978:158–159 (Deir el-Medineh Stela: original in Kitchen 1972:91: no. 26:11–12), 110–112 and fig. 68 (Relief with captions from Medinet Habu Temple). The Ramesses III's references, however, appear to be not true records but unhistorical scribal creations (so, e.g., Helck 1976:16–17), all the more because the Teresh/Tursha are not mentioned in the other, and much fuller, inscriptions of Ramesses III commemorating his Sea Peoples victories, from the Medinet Habu Temple and Papyrus Harris I (see translations of Wilson, in *ANET*[3], 262). For other discussions of the Teresh/Tursha, including their possible mention in a Hittite text of the 13th century B.C.E. (as Taruisha, also connected with Troy) and their possible identification with the Tyrsenoi/ Tyrrhenoi of Greek sources (which also point to a western Anatolian origin), see, e.g., Sandars 1978:111–112; Neumann 1979:1029; and Radke 1979:1029–1030. It may be noted, finally, that early commentators, including Josephus, *Antiquities* I 125, Targum Jonathan, and Jerome, *Quaestiones . . . in Genesim*, ad Gen 10:2, had a sense that biblical Tiras belonged somewhere in the Aegean/Classical world, but they sought its identification with what they perceived as the linguistically related Thracians: see Skinner 1910:199.

94. Gordon 1963:21–22; Yadin 1968:9–23. The following discussion is based largely on Yadin's article. On the Denyen/Danuna, the fullest treatment remains Astour 1965:1–112, though some of the connections he makes, especially in matters of mythology, invite caution.

95. See generally Niemann 1985:273–291, who at points becomes a bit captious. For the archaeological side, note Singer 1994:308; and Mazar 1985:119–124.

96. One should add here, for the sake of completeness, two other biblical passages that various scholars have understood to refer to or imply non-Philistine Sea Peoples: Judg 3:31, in which the "Philistines" slaughtered by Shamgar ben Anat have been interpreted as some other Sea People(s), because the fighting involved has been thought to have occurred in northern Palestine, away from where the Philistines are otherwise attested to in the Bible; and Judg 4–5, in which Sisera and his home at Harosheth-hagoiim have been connected with a Sea People, not Philistine, on the basis of the etymology of the name Sisera and the location of Harosheth-hagoiim. Of these arguments, Singer 1988:248–250, provides a brief, but compelling review and critique. He points out that a northern location for the Shamgar battle is unnecessary and unlikely, as are an etymology for Sisera that would make it an Aegean or other northern word and a location for Harosheth-hagoiim in Palestine that would put it where non-Philistine Sea Peoples may be attested to archaeologically.

97. For an earlier brief treatment of this issue, see Dothan and Cohn 1994:62–65. Also of value is the article by Cohn 1994:74–90. Modern negative usage is chronicled by Jobling and Rose 1996:381–417.

98. I am grateful to Mobley 1997:227, for calling my attention to what he calls the "giants and polydigitals" making up "various Philistine freaks."

99. See Breasted 1962:249:588, as noted by Gardiner 1947:196* and Yadin 1968:16 and n. 16.

100. One other example is the males of Shechem in patriarchal days, who are described as "uncircumcised" (*ʿorlāh*) (Gen 34:14), but then as submitting willingly to circumcision in order to be eligible to marry Israelite women (Gen 34:13–24). This willingness to cross the line, and the way it is allowed to show up the treachery of the Israelites, contrast sharply with the Philistines, who are never pictured as giving up their uncircumcision and who, correspondingly, are never held up favorably against the Israelites.

101. Dothan and Cohn 1994:63–65, prefer to highlight, in this episode of the foreskins as well as in several others, a motif of bodily mutilation: cutting the foreskins is rendering the Philistines impotent and, symbolically, invading and seizing Philistine territory. I agree that such a motif is present, but it is wrapped in the conception of cleanness and religious acceptability discussed above. One may add that the foreskins episode is not without echoes elsewhere in ancient Near Eastern literature. Good analogies occur in the inscriptions of the Egyptians Merneptah and Ramesses III, which list the phalli, uncircumcised and circumcised, of Libyans slain in battle and brought to these pharaohs as trophies. See, for Merneptah, Breasted 1962:248:588, with Gardiner 1947:122* (uncircumcised)—the text is the Great Karnak Inscription, the same one that mentions the Sea Peoples Ekwesh, Sheklesh, and Sherdani as circumcised (supra n. 93); for Ramesses III, see Edgerton and Wilson 1936:13–14 (uncircumcised), 14–15 (circumcised).

102. Cf. the fate, later, of Saul and his sons, whose bodies are rescued from an area apparently under Philistine control (Beth-Shan), though the rescuers are allies, not kinsmen of Saul, and they do not bury the bodies in Saul's home territory (1 Sam 31:8–13). The geographical and cultural ambiguity of Samson is elaborately discussed by Mobley 1994, now partially resumed in his article 1997:228–232.

103. As discussed earlier, the Bible does show that David's success did not prevent further testing of the borders subsequent to his reign, but at the same time it makes clear that all such tests were essentially inconsequential, no longer posing the threat to Israel's or Judah's existence that they had in pre-Davidic days.

104. I have tried to explore other aspects of this issue in Machinist 1991:196–212; and 1994:35–60.

105. The Second Temple situation may be exemplified by the Greek term *allophyloi*, "foreigners, strangers" (literally, "those of another tribe"), which the LXX uses, with few exceptions, to translate *Pelištîm* from the books of Judges on, and which also appears to stand for Philistines in 1 Macc 3:41, 4:22, 30, 5:66, 68, and IV Macc 3:7. The term has been thoroughly studied by de Vaux 1972:185–194. Building on the studies of other scholars, de Vaux shows that the LXX, including Maccabean, occurrences of the term are born of the Jewish encounter with Hellenistic Greek culture, the latter centered in cities along the Palestinian coast, overlapping, thus, the area of the former Philistine heartland. The use of *allophyloi*, in other words, reflects an effort to refashion the earlier Israelite-Philistine encounter in terms of the later Jewish-Greek one of the Hellenistic period. Something similar is also at work in other Second Temple literature, e.g., Ben Sira 50:25–26 and Jubilees 24:28–32, on which de Vaux comments as well, 1972:192.

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5

The Sea Peoples and the Egyptian Sources

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Introduction

While the Sea Peoples have generated a very substantial mass of scholarly literature with reference to the history and archaeology of the Eastern, and even the Western Mediterranean, in terms of Egyptian sources our information is quite limited. Strictly speaking, the term "Sea Peoples" can only be applied to those peoples specifically associated with the sea in some emphatic way in those Egyptian sources, namely the Sherden who travel "in the midst of the sea," i.e., the Sherden, Lukka, Tursha, Shekelesh and Ahhiyawa (Merenptah); and the foreign countries who made a "conspiracy in their isles," the "confederation" of the Peleset, Tjekker, Shekelesh, Denyen and Weshesh (Ramesses III) (Stadelmann 1984).

The identities, appearances and historical roles of the Sea Peoples so far as Egyptian sources are concerned have already been extensively discussed, and require only brief summary here (also recently Redford 1992:241–256). References to some are found as early as the Amarna letters, and Ramesses II fought with the Sherden, whom he began to incorporate into the Egyptian armed forces. Merenptah, in his fifth regnal year, had to deal with a combined attack from Libyans and five of the Sea Peoples, launched against Egypt from the north-west; and—finally and most spectacularly—Ramesses III was faced by a massive, two-pronged attack from the Sea Peoples' forces, one group of whom were "warriors on land" and defeated on the Egyptian frontier in Djahi (i.e., the Levant), the other "on the sea," who "entered the Nile mouths" and were there defeated.

As to their appearances, as rendered in Egyptian art, the Sea Peoples are distinguishable from each other primarily in terms of their headdresses. Both Sherden and maybe Shekelesh wear horned helmets, but the former's (always?) also incorporate a knob or disc; a "feathered or reed helmet" is associated with the Peleset, Tjekker, Denyen and Weshesh. Generally, the Sea Peoples are beardless (as compared, for example, with Levantines), carry a round shield, and use spears, lances and swords in battle, but never use the bow and arrow, a classic Egyptian weapon extensively used in the Near East as well. Body armor is also frequent.

Ships associated with the Sea Peoples are only once depicted in any detail in Egypt, on the walls of Medinet Habu temple (Ramesses III). They are uniform type, with a 'bird's head prow' at each end, and apparently entirely dependent upon sails; unlike Egyptian and other Near Eastern shipping, oars seem not to have been employed (*contra* Wachsmann 1981).

Thus far, rather meager documentation is available. What I shall do for the remainder of this essay is to focus on what is in fact our primary source on the Sea Peoples, the basis of virtually all significant discussions of them, including many efforts to identify the Sea Peoples with archaeologically known cultures or groups in the Mediterranean and beyond. This

source is the corpus of scenes and texts relevant to the Sea Peoples displayed on the walls of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at western Thebes. Although it has been much discussed, this corpus has often led scholars to different and contradictory conclusions, and will always probably be subject to debate because of certain ambiguities inherent in the material. Nevertheless, as the key datum on the Sea Peoples—at least as they were defined and understood by the Egyptians—the corpus always merits reconsideration. Here, I present my own particular understanding of how it is to be "read," incorporating both the observations of others and adding some of my own.

The Sea Peoples Narrative: The Compositional Dimension

Structurally, the record of the Sea Peoples supplied at Medinet Habu seems to be a relatively simple composition, or rather compositions (Fig. 5.1).[1] One consists of a string of large scale scenes, complemented with relatively brief texts, extending in a narrative sequence along part of the north façade of the temple, which it shares with part of a similar narrative treatment of Ramesses III's Year 5 campaign against the Libyans. This latter sequence originates however on the west, or rear wall of the temple.

The other, physically quite separate composition relating to the Sea Peoples is displayed across the external (eastern) face of the great pylon which separates the first court of the temple from the second. On the pylon's southern wing is a large-scale scene—occupying most of the facade—showing Ramesses III leading three lines of captive Sea Peoples to Amun-Re, lord of Thebes (and of the empire), and his consort Mut (*Medinet Habu* I, pl. 44). Displayed on the equivalent space of the north wing is a long text, without pictorial embellishment, which is a verbal statement by Ramesses III describing at length his victory over the Sea Peoples, and the extraordinary beneficence of Amun-Re thus displayed, to "the entire land gathered together" (*Medinet Habu* I, pl. 46).

In fact, this apparent simplicity—two separate and somewhat different compositions relevant to the Sea Peoples—belies the actual complexity of the compositional relationship between the two Sea Peoples compositions on the one hand, and their joint relationship to the entire compositional scheme or "program" of the entire temple on the other. Any effort to understand the historical significance of the Sea Peoples' records at Medinet Habu must take this compositional dimension into account, as well as the conceptual dimensional, the relationship of the general composition scheme or program to the functions and meanings of the temple, as understood by the Egyptians.

Compositionally, the largest frame of reference is the temple as a whole, which essentially consists of the temple proper, with forecourt (at Medinet Habu, the "second" court), and an attached palace (at right angles to the temple) with its courtyard (the "first" court). As is typically the case with New Kingdom temples, the roofed, inner part of the temple—beyond the second court—displays a program of scenes and texts focused on ritual and offerings. The courts however display scenes of religious festivals (second court only), and of foreign wars and their results (first and second courts). The latter theme is, in one form or another, also typical of the exterior facades of the temple, except for its south wall-face, which incorporates the pharaoh's gifts to Amun-Re; an enormous calendar of religious festivals; and finally, the royal palace referred to above.

The "foreign wars" aspect of the program seems at first highly repetitive; depictions and textual descriptions of the Years 5 (Libyan), 8 (Sea Peoples) and 11 (Libyan) campaigns, and of undated Levantine wars, are repeated on the outer faces, and around the walls of the courts, although a Nubian campaign is represented only once, on the exterior near the south-west corner (Fig. 5.1). There is however a reason for this repetition, a reason which helps us to understand the overall composition of the program dealing with foreign wars.[1]Essentially, the exterior part of the program emphasizes the actual course of each war in pictoral form; while the interior part emphasizes more the ceremonial aftermath of each, namely the formal presentation of spoil and prisoners to Amun-Re and the public celebration of pharaoh's success. The presentation of spoil and prisoners also recurs in the external program, but as simply one of the series of events making up each war; and the specific events of each war are, in some cases, depicted again within the courtyards, but now more as a visual equivalent to the pharaoh's own self-laudatory speeches, also recorded in extensive texts on these same walls.

The structuring of the program, insofar as foreign wars are concerned, is in part influenced by the notion that each war culminates in a presentation of spoil and prisoners to Amun-Re in his temple, as a thanks offering. In addition, considerations of time

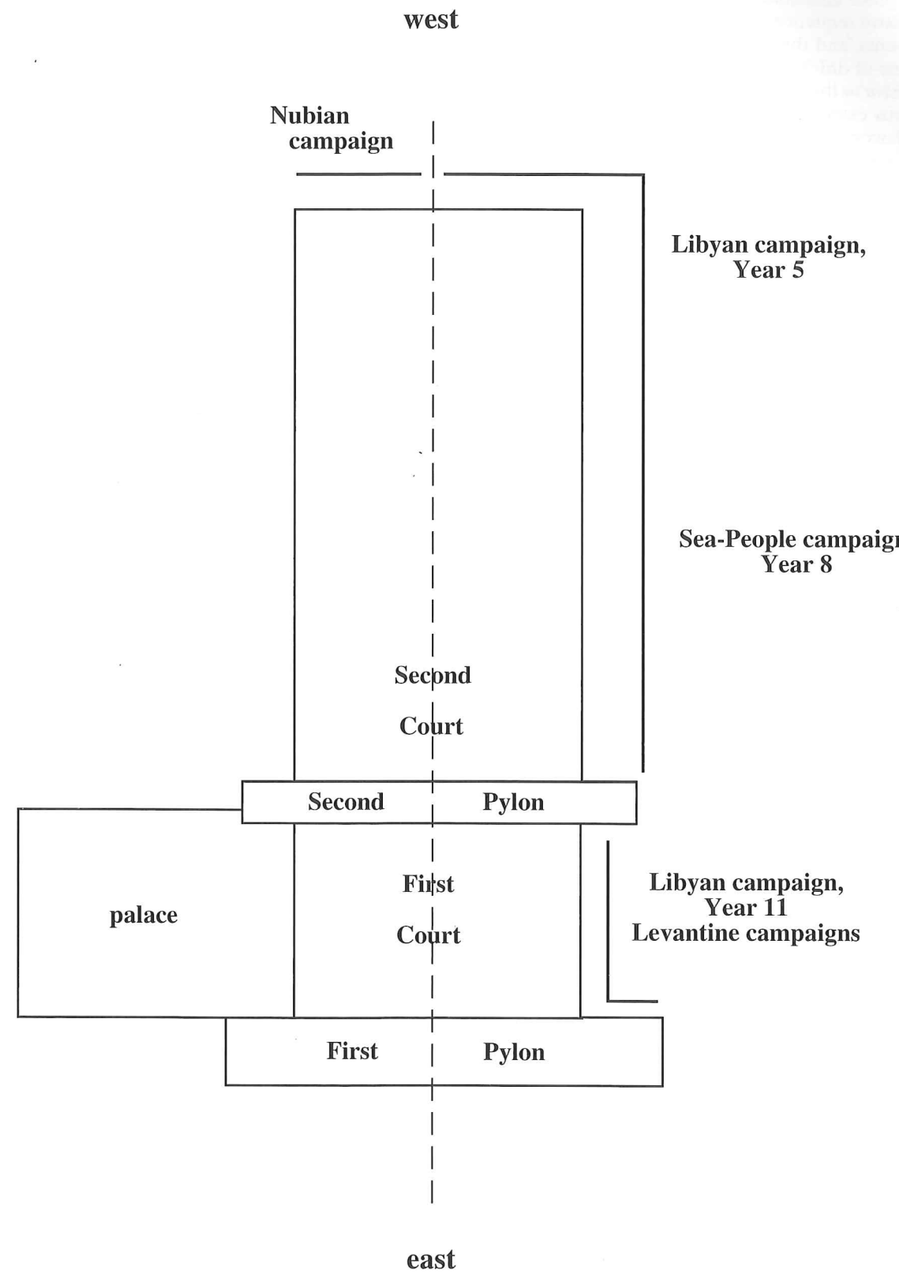

Figure 5.1. Diagrammatic representation of Medinet Habu, indicating the location of the various foreign war narratives and other materials. Drawing by Deborah Vischak.

and place also come into play; each war involves a narrative sequence in terms of a rather formulaic set of events, and the locational disposition of representations of different wars—at least on the exterior—is sensitive to the actual world map of the Egyptians.

Thus externally a narrative structure begins at the south-west corner, and first summarily recounts a Nubian campaign, culminating in the presentation of spoil and prisoners at the temple's central axis. Then follows the Year 5 Libyan campaign, flowing along the western, then the northern face, and succeeded by the Year 8 Sea Peoples campaign. Both campaigns share a single presentation scene, placed next to the pylon of the second court: this pylon is treated thereafter as the focus of all the wars depicted, insofar as compositional structure is concerned. Thus, further along the south face, the Year 11 Libyan campaign, and undated Levantine campaigns, are depicted; but the flow of the narrative is reversed, so their culminating presentation scenes are also adjacent to the second court pylon.

Within the temple, the repetition of all the wars—excluding the Nubian—is structured in such a way that it repeats the sequential or narrative placing found around the exterior west and north faces. The Year 5 war is depicted in the second court, the Year 8 on the facade of the pylon between the second and first courts, and the Year 11 campaign, along with the undated Levantine ones, in the first court. Each narrative flow is oriented so as to culminate ultimately at the pylon of the second court, as was the case with the externally placed representations of these wars.

This narrative or sequential consistency both inside and outside the temple is important to note, for it suggests a concern with historical accuracy, with a temporally correct sequence of events, even though actual events (the Years 5, 8 and 11 wars) may be intermingled with fictitious ones (the Levantine and Nubian ones, perhaps). The complex relationships between actual history and an idealized concept of the "correct order" of human affairs are yet another factor influencing our "reading" of such programs in terms of their potential historical value.

Why was the pylon of the second court so consistently the compositional focus of the war "narratives"? Probably because New Kingdom royal mortuary temples—at least, Ramesside ones—represented the Amun-Re temple of Karnak *and* the royal palace and court attached to it. In such a setting, the pylon of the second court corresponded to the façade of the temple proper, and semi-public ceremonials celebrating royal victories and the spoil and prisoners thus made available to the deities would have been carried out before the façades of both temple and palace, i.e., in the space corresponding to the first court at Medinet Habu. Thus there is in fact a strong connection between the external and internal renditions of each war; the external is the "actual" war, a rendition of it (however formalized) as it happened, the internal actually relates to the subsequent ceremonies performed before the temple and palace, with the events of each war "recalled" in scene and text as part of those celebrations.

The externally located scenes, appropriately since they are the ones facing "outwards" upon the actual world, or reflecting that world, are also located correctly in terms of their relationship to the Egyptians' world map, so far as the temple proper is concerned, i.e., the roofed area and second court. This circumstance is not quite so consistently applied on the north wall of the first court, for possible reasons discussed below.

The Egyptian world map in the New Kingdom may be visualized as one with Egypt at a center where four quadrants intersect. Of the quadrants, the north-west corresponds roughly to Libya and the Aegean lands; the north-east to Anatolia, the Levant and the Near East. To the south lay Nubia, which could have both south-western and south-eastern segments, although Punt could also be considered part of the south-east quadrant. However, campaigns were not fought in or against Punt, so it does not appear in compositional structures of the kind considered here (foreign wars).

The temple itself, as is often the case, is visualized as related—at least in ideal terms—to the actual structure or layout of the external world (Figs. 5.1 and 5.2). This is signaled clearly on the first pylon's façade: the temple lies along a east–west axis, but extends to north and south, while the south and north wings of the first pylon emblematically represent southern and northern Egypt, via the regalia worn by the king, depicted on each wing and to southern and northern foreign lands, via the enemies the king grasps and dominates (*Nubians* on the south, *Libyans* on the south wing). This relationship to the world's lay-out is also clear in the external program of the temple proper in general. The Nubian war is, appropriately, in the south-west; the Year 5 Libyan campaign in the north-west; the Year 8 campaign is in the north-east, appropriate in that the events concerned, so far as Egyptians were involved, were located in the north-eastern quadrant of their map, even if some of the foreigners involved were of Aegean (north-western) origin. The south wall of the temple proper is occupied by material for which the locale was Egypt itself, i.e., royal offerings for Amun-Re in his temple, and the celebration of the festivals in the great calendar occupying much of this wall. "Cartographically," the south wall might then read as Egypt, the center or core of the world map evolved by the other three external walls.

Internally, the disposition of war scenes within the temple proper is also sensitive to real world relationships, in the sense that the Year 5 Libyan war is within the second court, and the Sea Peoples' war on the

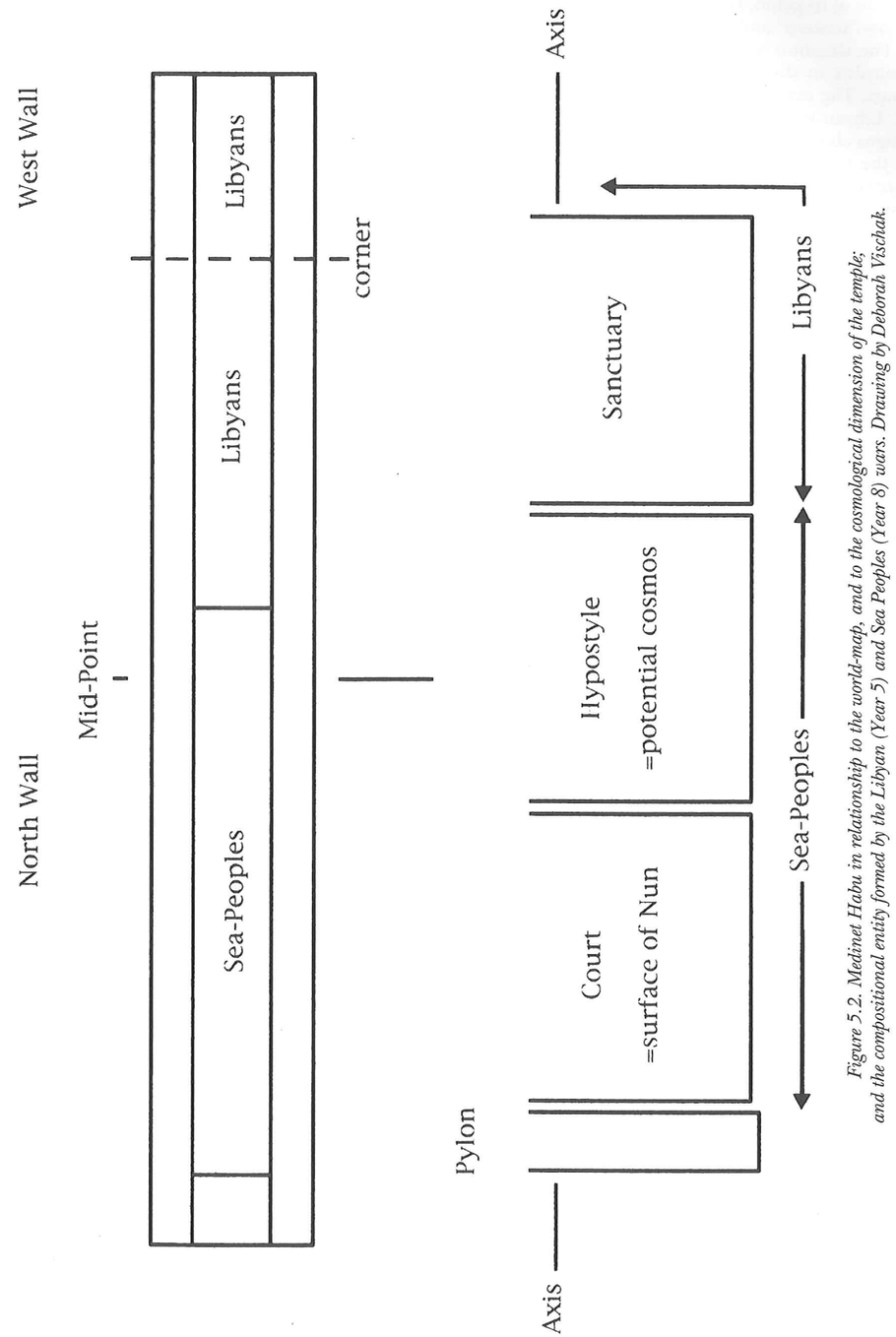

Figure 5.2. Medinet Habu in relationship to the world-map, and to the cosmological dimension of the temple; and the compositional entity formed by the Libyan (Year 5) and Sea Peoples (Year 8) wars. Drawing by Deborah Vischak.

façade of its pylon, i.e., the two wars maintain appropriate "western" and "eastern" venues.

The situation in terms of the world map is more complex in the exterior and interior of the first court. The exterior (northern) face depicts the Year 11 Libyan war below, the undated Levantine campaigns above; the latter is correctly "north-east" so far as the temple as a whole is concerned, but the former is out of place. Similarly, in the interior, the Levantine campaigns occur "correctly" on the northern, i.e., "north-eastern" wall, but the Year 11 Libyan campaigns are on the eastern wall (inner face of the first pylon). It may be that, occurring later than the other dated, historical wars, the Year 11 campaign would not be incorporated consistently into a program already partly, or largely carried out so far as the temple proper was concerned.

Thus far, we have examined the larger compositional picture so far as the temple as a whole is concerned. Now we must move to a sub-set of this, namely the representations and texts used to render the Libyan war of Year 5, and the Sea Peoples' war of Year 8 (Fig. 5.3). At one level, these were—so far as their external representation is concerned—conceived of as a single, unified composition. Two things make this likely. First, the narrative sequence ends with a presentation of spoil and prisoners to Amun-Re (*Medinet Habu* I, pl. 43) which combines that of both the Year 5 and Year 8 campaigns (which hitherto have been kept separate from each other in compositional terms). This suggests the first scene in the Year 5/Year 8 sequence might also be shared between the two; like the presentation scene, it is unique in the sequence, and shows—on the west exterior wall of the temple—Amun-Re "commissioning" Ramesses III for successful warfare, handing the king a sickle-shaped scimitar evidently within the temple (*Medinet Habu* I, pl. 13). The enemies referred to are quite generalized and so although the next scene shows Ramesses leaving the temple with the scimitar specifically to begin campaigning against the Libyans, the first scene may refer to the divine authorization of war against both Libyans (Year 5) and Sea Peoples (Year 8).

Thus, the framing scenes for the Year 5/Year 8 sequence suggest compositional unity; and so does a second point. In terms of actual length, the midpoint between the two framing scenes coincides closely with the transition from the Libyan (Year 5) to the Sea Peoples' narrative, actually occurring within the scene showing the king equipping his troops in preparation for the Sea Peoples war, the first event in that particular narrative (*Medinet Habu* I, pl. 29).

Yet it is also clear that, while it is part of this larger composition depicting both the Year 5 (Libyan) and Year 8 (Sea Peoples) wars, the Sea Peoples' narrative is also a major composition in its own right, a sub-set of the larger sub-set (Fig. 5.3). This compositional unity is indicated in the following way. The Sea Peoples war narrative extends from a scene depicting Ramesses equipping his army for the Sea Peoples campaign to a scene depicting the reviewing of prisoners by the king, prisoners resulting from that campaign. The next scene, celebrating the presentation of spoil and prisoners to Amun-Re, is not part of the Sea Peoples narrative proper, because it combines the results of both the Libyan (Year 5) and Sea Peoples wars.

With the beginning and end of the Sea Peoples narrative thus defined, it becomes clear that its exact spatial center is a lion-hunt scene (Fig. 5.4) which, seemingly incongruously, intervenes between the depictions of the defeat of the Sea Peoples on land and on sea respectively (*Medinet Habu* I, pl. 35). Thus, in formal terms, the entire composition is both clearly bracketed and centered. And equal space is allotted on the one hand to the first three actual events of the narrative, historically speaking (equipping the troops, marching to Djahi, and defeating the Sea Peoples in Djahi) (*Medinet Habu* I, pls. 31–32); and on the other, to the last two events (defeating the Sea Peoples "in the Nile mouths" (*Medinet Habu* I, pl. 37) and the reception and treatment of Sea Peoples prisoners).

Within this broad compositional framework, there is some variability, but also the application of a rather strict adherence to a compositional system dominated by the vertical central axis, and sub-central axes, of individual scenes. Variability is most evident in that the three earlier events (right of the lion-hunt) are clearly framed off from each other by vertical bands of text; while the two later events (left of the lion hunt) are not so divided, and are thus to an extent treated as a single compositional unit, albeit one incorporating two separately structured scenes—the battle on the sea, in the Nile mouths; and the reception of prisoners.

Another variable feature, probably intentionally so, is the "representation of royalty," which always—except in the first event or scene (equipping the troops)—involves the king and his chariot, with its magnificent horses. In the first scene, the ruler occupies a relatively small amount of compositional space; in the second (the march to Djahi) a much larger amount. In the land battle scene, the ruler is also spatially conspicuous. Throughout these scenes, he is always off to the left; but in the next—the lion-hunt, the formal center of the whole composition—the ruler, for the first and only time, is placed at the center, as well as being spatially conspicuous. In the great single composition combining two events to the left of the lion hunt, the use of the royal representation is different yet again. The ruler is shown twice, again in a spatially conspicuous mode, in such a way as to create an equal left and right emphasis to the composition. This in turn suggests the composition has a compositionally "central" feature as does the fact that the ruler in both cases faces inwards, and

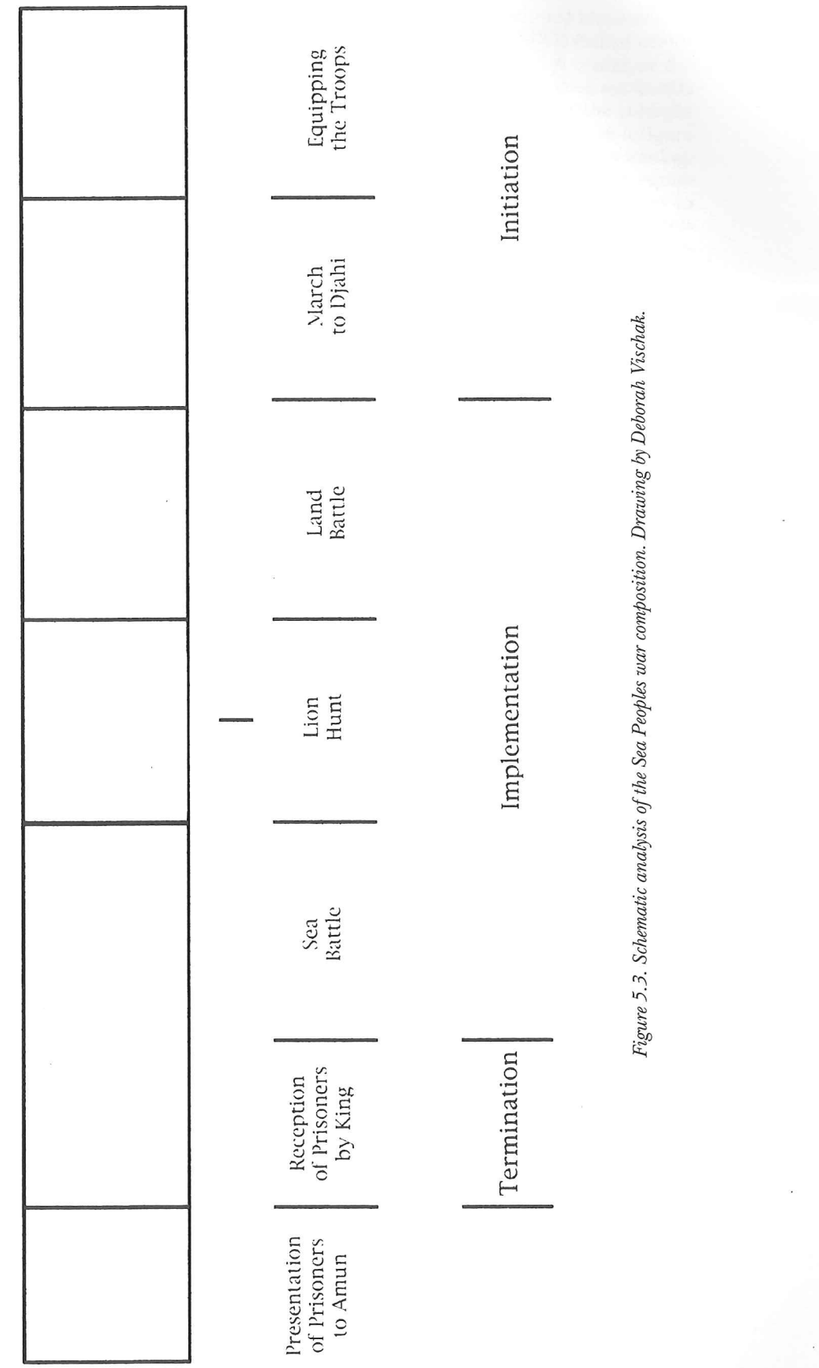

Figure 5.3. Schematic analysis of the Sea Peoples war composition. Drawing by Deborah Vischak.

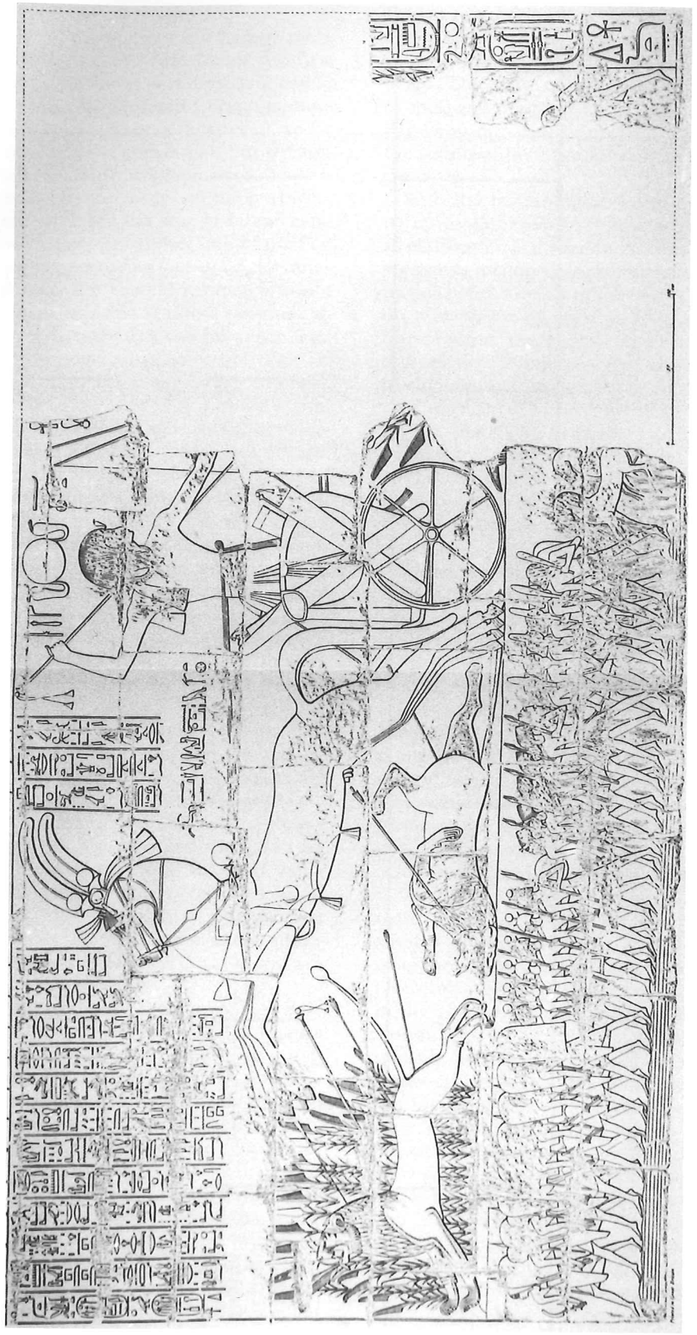

Figure 5.4. The lion-hunt scene. Photo courtesy of The Oriental Istitute of The University of Chicago.

this central feature can only be that which extends between the two royal representations, i.e., the representation of the sea battle and the compositional unit on its left, namely a substantial text below which are the processions of prisoners gathered after the defeat in the Nile mouths, and now being led into the royal presence. Finally, in the scene of the presentation of prisoners to Amun-Re which immediately follows (although it is not part of the Sea Peoples war composition as such), the ruler—as in the first scene of that composition—occupies a relatively small amount of compositional space.

The representation of royalty therefore serves to highlight certain formal compositional elements, especially in centering the composition's formal center (the lion hunt), and in defining the center of the succeeding compositional element (the sea battle, and its aftermath). But it also presents the ruler, in terms of spatial conspicuousness, almost as a figure moving from waning to waxing, then back to waning, i.e., within the strictly Egyptian context (the equipping of troops, the presentation of prisoners to Amun-Re) the king, while spatially obvious, is less awe-inspiring than when abroad on campaign, when his superhuman aggressiveness is called for, and represented by a greater spatial prominence.

The Sea Peoples Narrative: The Conceptual Dimension

Understanding the complex set of issues involved in the Sea Peoples narrative and its historicity requires reference also to the conceptual world of the temple. This too influences both the content and the compositional structure of that narrative, as well as those of all foreign wars displayed around or within the temple.

Briefly, the New Kingdom temple was understood to be both a representation of cosmos and of the cosmic process that created, maintained and governed cosmos (Fig. 5.2). Thus, we can divide the temple proper at Medinet Habu (excluding the palace, and the first court that it shares with the temple) into a sanctuary area, the columned hypostyle hall in front of it, and the court and pylon that front the roofed area. The basic cosmological connotations are that the sanctuary corresponds to the formlessness which precedes the formation of cosmic structure, but which enfolds the creative or regenerative deity who will stimulate that structure to emerge. The hypostyle hall represents potential or moribund cosmos: cosmos has taken on form—sky (ceiling), earth (floor), implicit netherworld—and its inhabitants, divine and human, have been conceived, but all is inert, awaiting vitalization. The court corresponds to the places and processes whereby vitalization is achieved; it is the place of solar ascent that vitalized created cosmos, revitalizes moribund cosmos and stimulates cosmos via the divine ruler's governance. These processes of solar emergence occur in the sky, along the junction between the netherworld and the upperworld, but are hidden, shielded from view by the mountains rimming the earth. The great two-towered pylon represents these mountains and the actual vitalization of cosmos does not occur until sun rise becomes visible above both mountains and pylon. At this point the temple and its image, the real cosmos, become dynamically linked, for it is the latter that represents the actuality that the symbolic cosmos of the temple becomes.

Because it represents different processes, the temple simultaneously represents different cosmologically structured entities. In terms of cosmology, it corresponds to the depths of the primaeval waters, wherein the creator forms (sanctuary), the structured potential but inert cosmos (hypostyle hall); and the place where the first sunrise, the key vitalizing event, begins, pushing the primaeval darkness to the periphery (court). In terms of renewal, the temple represents both the moribund cosmos, immobilized by darkness, that the returning sun will renew, *and* the danger filled netherworld realms the sun-god has to traverse in order to be reborn and thus renew the cosmos. Finally, in terms of the cosmic ruler, the temple is like a vast palace, wherein the ruler is conceived (sanctuary), conceptualizes the cosmos he will govern (hypostyle hall) and from which he emerges to bring that cosmos to reality (court).

These concepts evidently influence the meaning and composition of the scenes of foreign wars in general. Dispersed around the exterior, they are both part of the cosmological image the temple represents, for they correspond to the foreign lands ringing Egypt over which pharaoh exercises god-given dominion *and* they correspond to the dangers of the netherworld realm which the sun-god has to overcome. To some extent this exterior imagery of foreign wars, and even more so that on the pylon and within the second court, also represents the chaotic evil forces that continually try to prevent cosmogony, to abort the solar cycle, or to expunge the cosmic ruler by attacking particularly vulnerable or crucial

parts of the creative processes involved on behalf of all three of these beings. In these circumstances, it is not surprising then that the foreign war narratives, both in image and text, can become highly generalized, as well as—often—incorporating or referring to specific historical events. They simultaneously represent actual or imaginary "real" events (foreign wars); chaotic force opposed to cosmogony, renewal and governance; the sun-god's netherworld opponents, and the hostile terrestrial forces over which, cosmologically speaking, pharaoh has been guaranteed dominion.

This conceptual dimension may also influence the composition of these scenes. For example, the temporal relationship between the land battle and the naval battle "in the Nile mouths" involved in the Sea Peoples' war is not clear, and the latter might conceivably have been placed either right or left of the central lion-hunt scene. In fact, it and the related scene of the reception of prisoners are on the left, and so placed as to coincide with the colonnaded court. This may not be accidental, for the court represents, in cosmological terms, inundated water covered territory (Fig. 5.2), flanked by higher, emergent land, while the two scenes in question represent a comparable landscape, i.e., water (the Nile mouths) flanked by land. Thus, an analogy is subtly drawn here by location, between the defeat of cosmic chaotic force which tries to impede the emergence of the sun god and divine ruler in the court, and the actual defeat of terrestrial chaotic force in a similar setting.

The palace, and the first court—which it shares with the temple proper—are somewhat different kinds of entities, and although supplied with cosmologically significant programs, may differ from the temple proper in some aspects of these programs. In particular, these—insofar as foreign wars are concerned—have a greater degree of specificity than those associated with the temple proper. For example, the Levantine campaigns may be fictitious, but the places involved are mostly given quite specific names, unlike the more generalized settings provided the Sea Peoples events (Djahi, and the Nile mouths), while the narratives about the Libyan campaign of Year 11 are much more specific about the Libyan leaders than is the case with the Year 5 Libyan campaign, or the Sea Peoples narrative.

The Historical Meaning of the Sea Peoples Narrative

Given the complex factors involved in the composition, content and functions of this narrative, to what degree can we use it—as our primary source on the Sea Peoples—in order to understand them and their specific interactions with the Egyptians at this point? Most commentators have found the historical information provided by both the pictorial and textual elements (especially the great inscription on the north wing of the second pylon) disappointingly minimal, and enshrouded by grandiose generalities about pharaonic dominance over foreigners. Some indeed think the Sea Peoples narrative is downright misleading. B. Cifola, for example, analyzed it in some detail, along with the Libyan ones. She concluded that the enemies are described in such vague terms that they cannot have represented a coherent force or body; that they were not united into a genuine confederation; that their movement into the Levant was not a unitary one, because they migrated over long distances and from different lands; and that what were in reality many small scale clashes between Egyptians and Sea Peoples have been condensed into two great, ahistorical battles. She also notes the Sea Peoples seem to be leaderless (Cifola 1988).

However, I think if we both read the Sea Peoples narrative in terms of the conceptual and compositional complexity discussed above, and allow for an interfusing of historical reality and ideological generalization, a revealing picture of the actual historical situation involved emerges (Widmer 1975).

First, as we have seen, the Sea Peoples narrative so far as the exterior program is concerned is a compositional whole that is built around a hierarchy of events (Fig. 5.3). Strikingly, it is the least historic element, the lion-hunt, that heads the hierarchy, thanks to its central placement and other stylistic devices which single it out from the rest of the composition. This symbolic representation of order overcoming chaos emphasizes the degree to which the historical events involved were equated with generalized cosmological processes. Next in importance come the two great battle scenes, immediately flanking the lion-hunt; this placement, as much as the complex compositional structure of both, reinforces the equation between these real events, and the imagined cosmic ones represented by the lion hunt. Finally, lowest in the hierarchy of significance and allotted compositionally peripheral locations are the more mundane, less exalted events; equipping the troops and marching to Djahi (right), and the reception of prisoners (left, although, compositionally, this is also linked to the sea battle scene).

Let us now turn to the historical value of these scenes and texts specifically involving Sea Peoples, and also the lion hunt scene. The compositional issues discussed above make it clear that this hunt is a

cosmological event equated with the overthrow of the Sea Peoples by the king (Fig. 5.4). The otherworldly character of the hunt (which is nowhere referred to in the texts dealing with the Sea Peoples) is emphasized by its great formality in design structure, with the king centrally rather than peripherally placed, and by a marked stylization in the representational mode used. However, it probably also tells us something about the specific Egyptian attitude towards the Sea Peoples.

Other royal hunts are depicted elsewhere at Medinet Habu, specifically on the west face of the south wing of the front pylon; below, with a stylization reminiscent of the lion hunt, a wild bull hunt and above—in a somewhat freer style—a hunt of desert animals, including many wild asses (*Medinet Habu* II, pls. 116–117). While these two hunting episodes are not directly linked, in compositional terms, with any of the foreign war scenes, the lion-hunt definitely is, and thus we may conclude the Sea Peoples are equated symbolically with lions, the Levantines with wild bulls, and the Libyans, appropriately enough, with desert animals. The bull and the lion were certainly valued more highly than desert animals (and at Medinet Habu the Libyans are referred to particularly contemptuously), and the lion—as a quintessentially royal animal (Ramesses' regalia, in the Medinet Habu reliefs, is often associated with leonine imagery)—probably higher than the bull. This suggests the Egyptians found the Sea Peoples especially challenging opponents, as compared to their more traditional enemies.

This impression is reinforced by specific textual references, which should be given their due historical weight unless directly contradicted by other evidence or highly implausible in themselves. Indeed, the Egyptian sources are quite explicit on specific points of importance. The Sea Peoples made a conspiracy, i.e., had a concerted plan in carrying out their movement into the Levant and towards Egypt, and this initiative originated in their homelands—"in their isles"—not in some secondary location they had established elsewhere. The specific peoples involved in this "confederation" were the Peleset, Tjekker, Shekelesh, Denyen and Weshesh, the only Sea Peoples mentioned anywhere in the Medinet Habu texts relating to this particular campaign.

The aggressive Sea Peoples had a substantial negative impact on significant powers in the Eastern Mediterranean, i.e., the Hittites, and Syrian city states, and had set up a "camp . . . in one place" in Amurru, i.e., had some clearly defined center of operations from which they devastated the region, which lay south of Syria. Finally, they started to move again, towards their next logical opponents or victims: Egyptian held territory in Djahi and Egypt itself.

Ramesses' texts are equally clear about how he reacted, and what the results were. He "organized," i.e., reinforced with troops, his "frontier in Djahi," and massed many vessels at the Nile mouths as well as stationing many troops along their shores. The Sea Peoples engaged the Egyptians in two separate battles; one, on land, was implicitly along the frontier in Djahi referred to by Ramesses, the other, specifically "in the Nile mouths," i.e., along Egypt's Mediterranean shore, at one or all of the points where the chief Nile channels linked up to the sea. In both instances, the Sea Peoples were defeated.

This straightforward historical narrative provides us with the basic structure underlying the great composition of the external Sea Peoples narrative, which highlights like the texts of Ramesses' preparations (equipping troops, marching to Djahi) the two great battles, and the reception of prisoners. What can we learn from a more detailed examination of these scenes?

Like the sea battle, the land battle scene represents not so much the actual battle, as the divinely pre-ordained collapse of the enemy and the slaughter of the demoralized opponents of the Egyptians, i.e., these are massacre, rather than battle scenes. We cannot expect such scenes to represent in any realistic way the actual organization of the Sea Peoples forces, but clearly they were not the disorganized horde represented here; the representation is emblematic of chaos, not reality, and the Sea Peoples' successes, described by the Egyptian sources themselves, imply a high degree of effective military organization.

What *can* we learn from this scene (Fig. 5.5)? Compositionally, it reveals careful structuring. Its central vertical axis is marked by the left edge of the substantial text panel placed near the heads of pharaoh's horses. This axis creates two equally sized panels, left and right. The latter is largely filled with a visually striking representation of pharaoh in his chariot riding down an especially confused mass of the enemy (obviously, intentionally so on the part of the designer) filled with the gigantic arrows of the pharaoh, which hardly occur in the rest of the battle scene. The left hand panel represents the slaughter proper, with Egyptian troops dispatching the fleeing and collapsing enemy.

Here again deliberate and revealing structuring is evident. For example, some indication of the organization of the Sea Peoples on this occasion is evident. Ox- (Zebu-) drawn carts containing women and children are highlighted in an uppermost tier; chariots in the central; and only infantry in the lower—all indications of a relatively high degree of organization on the part of the Sea Peoples, albeit one now disrupted by the Egyptian attack. Moreover, at the peripheries of the slaughter—in the upper and lower left corners—retreating Sea Peoples warriors maintain their organization, being formed into ranks probably typical of their entire infantry before the Egyptian attack.

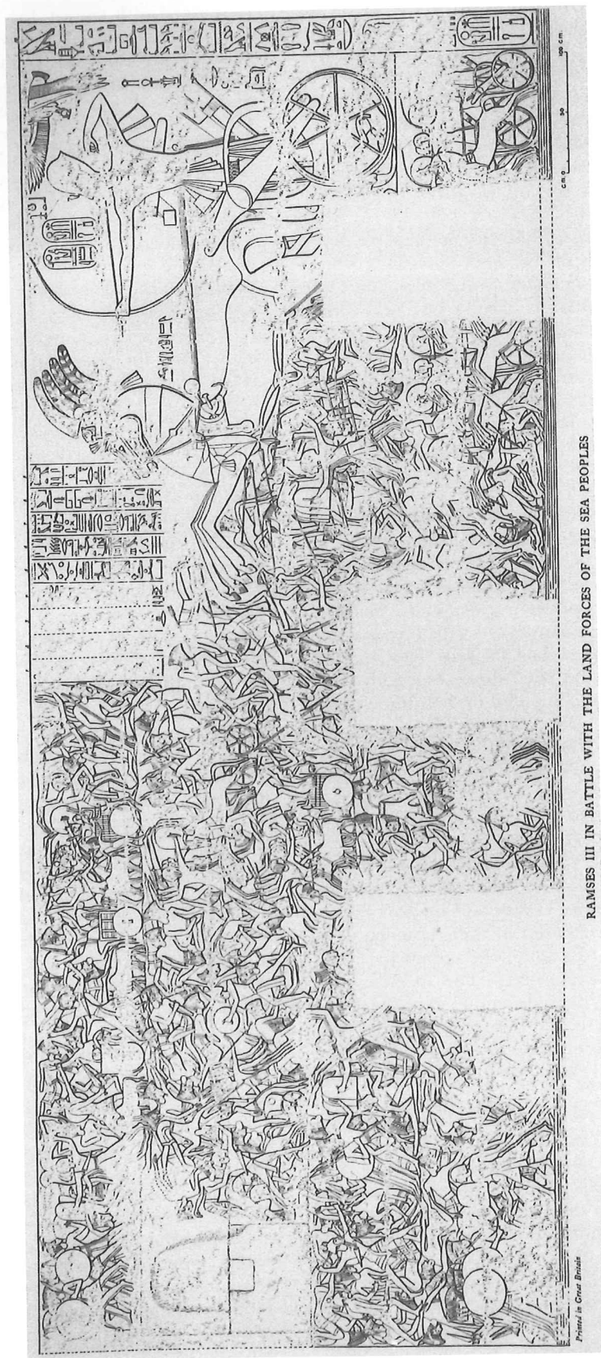

Figure 5.5. The land battle scene. Photo courtesy of The Oriental Istitute of The University of Chicago.

The implication of the Egyptian textual references is that representatives of all the confederated peoples were present here, but in appearance the warriors depicted are noticeably homogeneous: all wear the feathered or reed cap, none the distinctive horned helmet. Since the Egyptians were normally fairly careful to observe such differences, the implications are that this representation is close to reality, i.e., that Sea Peoples warriors, despite their different origins, on this occasion wore a common costume and perhaps shared essentially similar material culture.

Cifola has raised the issue of the apparent absence of Sea Peoples leaders in the Egyptian sources and suggested centralized leadership at least was absent in actuality. However, the Egyptians themselves refer to the "leaders" and "great ones" of the Sea Peoples—admittedly in general terms—and on the High Tower of Medinet Habu are emblematic representations of foreign peoples, most of whom are identified as the *wr*—the political and military leader—of the people in question. The representatives of the Tjekker and Peleset are also specifically identified as rulers, but as *ỉ3*—or "great one"—a kind of leadership perhaps associated more with mobile groups, as the Sea Peoples were. The same title is also typically applied to leaders of the Shasu, a nomadic people of Canaan (Gundlach 1984).

Indeed, the great organizational and military initiatives attempted and in large part succeeded in by the Sea Peoples suggest that, even if confederated, they had nevertheless developed military and political leadership to a substantial degree. And major military efforts, such as the encounters with the Egyptians on land (in Djahi) and sea (in the Nile mouths), would certainly have required a "commander in chief" in each case, although one perhaps appointed by or reporting to the confederation's leaders. And in fact leadership for the Sea Peoples is indicated in visual terms, but rather subtly; generally, the leaders of hostile forces were not assigned obvious prominence in art, because their role in promoting resistance to Egypt's divinely ordained authority was so disgraceful that to make them too obvious, and thus to assign them a certain degree of prestige (however negative) was considered inappropriate.

However, one of the Sea Peoples warriors in the land battle scene has been assigned a unique and highly centralized position. He stands almost exactly at the center of the composition, as defined by its central vertical and horizontal axes, and turning towards the charging pharaoh, he makes an apotropaic or submissive gesture. In these circumstances, he likely represents the otherwise anonymous and despised leader of, at least, the military forces of the Sea Peoples on this occasion.

The other scenes informing us about the Sea Peoples in some detail are those of the sea battle (or rather slaughter) and its aftermath, the presentation of prisoners. As noted earlier, these are linked together into a single great composition, but each of the two scenes also has its own internal compositional structure as well, all factors influencing our reading of both scenes in historical as well as other terms.

The overall composition of the two scenes combined places two scenes which are highly ordered in visual terms (pharaoh "attacking" the Sea Peoples on the right, and receiving prisoners on the left) on either side of a central assemblage which combines both chaos and order in visual terms as well as in content. The chaotic right-hand element—the sea battle proper (Fig. 5.6)—is not only filled with a cascade of falling enemy figures, but is also knit together by strongly undulating lines (the three rows of ships) which compare strikingly with the great rectalinearity of the rest of the composition, and might even be intended to evoke the actual waves of the sea. The left-hand element is visually highly ordered, and indeed reflects the containment of chaos by order. Above, a text in vertical columns celebrates Ramesses' victory specifically over those "that entered the Nile mouths" (the subject matter of the right hand element); while below it, also arranged in an orderly fashion combining both horizontals (ground lines which are absent in the sea battle or replaced there by the undulating effect noted above) and verticals, are rows of presumably high ranking Sea Peoples prisoners being led before the king. The intention here may be in part to highlight subtly a captured leadership group as distinct from the larger mass of less distinguished persons shown being processed in the two registers below the scene. Topographically, the overall composition suggests a body of water (the central scene) flanked by land on each side, i.e., a "Nile mouth"; where the fortified structure shown on the left-hand side may actually have stood near Pelusium, giving the composition even greater topographical specificity.

Turning to the two individual scenes making up the larger composition, we observe that the sea battle one (Fig. 5.6) is constructed carefully if subtly around a system of vertical axes which are arranged in spatially equidistant fashion. A central axis is marked subtly but decisively by two royal cartouches at the top of the scene. Excluding the two registers of Egyptian soldiers and Sea Peoples prisoners below, we can see this central axis creates, as in the land battle scene, two equally sized panels. That on the left is again a visually striking, highly formalized "representation of royalty," itself carefully structured. It has its own central vertical axis that creates two sub-panels, the left hand is devoted to pharaoh's representation, the right to his magnificent horses and chariot.

On the right the sea battle panel has often been discussed. It surely is not a realistic rendition, since it shows only nine vessels (four Egyptian, and five of the Sea Peoples), and undoubtedly many more were

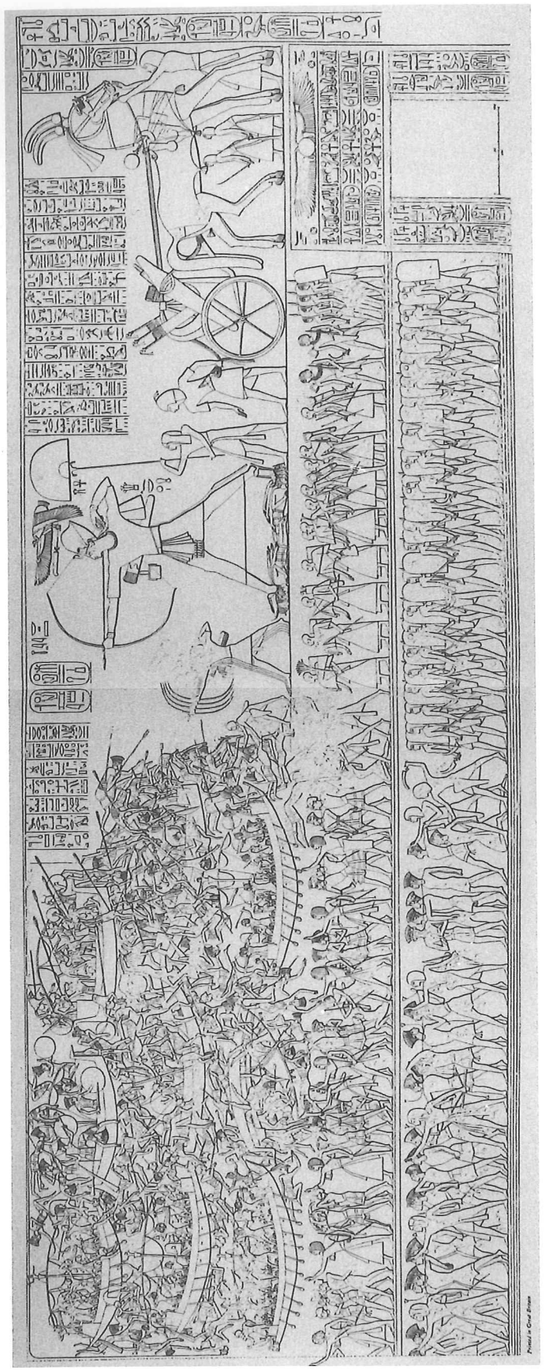

Figure 5.6. The sea battle scene. Photo courtesy of The Oriental Istitute of The University of Chicago.

actually involved on both sides (just as there must have been many more Sea Peoples chariots and carts than the few shown in the land battle scene). However, it is important to note that three of the Sea Peoples ships are manned by men wearing feathered or reed caps, and two by men wearing horned helmets. This is a clear indication that two distinct groups of Sea Peoples were involved in the sea battle, each organized into homogeneous units, apparently not the case in the land battle.

The ships themselves and the battle tactics displayed have also been much discussed;[2] but in their totality are arranged so as to become yet another representation of order (the Egyptian vessels) overcoming chaotic forces, the enemy ships. The latter are being grappled, so they can be overturned, a circumstance graphically depicted in the lowest register of ships. This disintegrating vessel has been interpreted as displaying a bulwark protecting rowers, implying the Sea Peoples' ships had oarsmen (never actually depicted); but more likely this is a mistaken rendering of the vessel, the timbers of which are shown as literally coming apart.[3]

Of specific importance is a subtle compositional element involving both the sea battle and the two registers below it (Fig. 5.6). The central vertical axis of the sea battle panel is marked by a conspicuous shield at the top of the scene, and held by a Sea Peoples warrior. The emphasis is visual, not symbolic, but if we follow this central axis downwards we discover that, in the lowest register, its presence—in staggered form—is indicated again by the unique circumstance (in this register) of two prisoners facing each other, on either side of this axis. Thus defined, the central axis further leads us to yet another point, a figure in the register above who is placed on this axis and, thus signaled, provided with other unique attributes.

The figure is seemingly just one of a whole row of Sea Peoples prisoners being pinioned on the shore of the Nile mouth before being sent for presentation before the pharaoh. However, this individual is indicated to be of very high status by the manacles he wears. The manacle was a relatively comfortable and efficient means of confinement; for example, all the Sea Peoples warriors actually captured during the sea battle proper are shown as manacled, seated or squatting in the Egyptian ships. However, once on shore and being prepared for presentation to pharaoh, prisoners had their manacles removed, and their arms cruelly lashed together behind their backs, or over their heads—traditional practice for such presentation ceremonies. That the particular prisoner continues to wear the more comfortable and less degrading manacles indicates unique status on his part, a recognition of the value of his inherent leadership, however despised he might be in other ways. Moreover, his manacles are uniquely lion-shaped (*Medinet Habu* II, pl. 41) (the manacles used in the sea battle scene proper are all plain), emblematic of pharaonic power and hence simultaneously expressive of the captive's subordination to pharaoh and of his inherently high stature in terms of his own people.

This is surely, at the least, the commander in chief of the Sea Peoples' navy or all forces, and perhaps even the supreme leader of the entire Sea Peoples confederation. However, such a leader, responsible for a horrible reversal of the quality of rulership in his temerity in attacking pharaoh, is also singled out for special ridicule. Of all the prisoners in this long register, he is the only one shown full face, itself highly uncanonical in terms of Egyptian art, in which the appropriate rendering of the human face is in profile. Moreover, representations of full faces are also emblematic of chaotic disorder—several Sea Peoples warriors are shown in this way in the sea battle scene above—so the manacled, full-faced leader becomes a representation of chaos yet again confined and controlled by pharaonic power.

This register of prisoners flows into the second scene within the composition, the presentation of prisoners on the left, and it is therefore noteworthy that in a small group of presumably high-ranking prisoners singled out by visual prominence, the prisoner with lion-shaped manacles occurs again, another indication of his importance; and yet, as if to continue to express his humiliation as well, he is shown not full-face, but at the rear of the group of prisoners, whereas his status would, in normal circumstances, place him at their head.

Finally, this same prisoner appears yet a third time, this time in the lowermost, second register, which in time and space is different from the battle and presentation scenes, with attached register, above. This lowermost register shows prisoners *after* the presentation, marched off to be branded and then listed as prisoners of war assigned, no doubt, to royal and temple service. Thus, the Sea Peoples leader's final humiliation, even while his status is still signified, is to be absorbed into the great mass of servile laborers, or impressed soldiers, that his followers will become.

The second scene itself, i.e., the presentation of prisoners scene, is itself highly structured in compositional terms. Its central vertical axis is subtly marked by the two great fans at the top of the scene which mark pharaoh's divine aspects. Following that axis downwards, one sees it divides the main scene into two equal-sized panels, one visually dominated by the royal chariot, the other by pharaoh himself and the text praising his victory. Further down, in the upper register, the central axis coincides with the pharaoh's bow carrier, surely not accidental in view of the bow's prominence as pharaoh's chosen weapon, emblematic of his destructive power, in both battle scenes. Thus, here a subtle reference to the theme of pharaoh's victories, a theme reiterated over and over

again in this scene in general, is made. Finally, in the lowermost register, the central axis is flanked on either side by two similar groups, an Egyptian escorting two prisoners towards registration after branding. Placed ahead of all other prisoners, these are likely to be equivalent to the four high ranking prisoners displayed before pharaoh in the presentation scene above, and thus singled out compositionally for this definite, if subtle emphasis.

To return to the main scene, each of the subscenes of which it is composed has a central vertical axis of its own. That of the presentation scene proper, again probably not accidentally, singles out one of the viziers, the highest ranking civil officer, and below this are the marks of the Sea Peoples humiliation the power the vizier represents has wrought—two piles of severed hands (for counting purposes) on either side of the axis in the upper register and the branding scene in the lower.

The left hand sub-scene's central vertical axis coincides with the fortified building, "the Migdol of Ramesses III," which, thus visually emphasized, is likely to be a specific place that helped the Egyptian viewer to locate the scene, geographically, perhaps near Pelusium, as Gardiner long ago suggested (Gardiner 1920). This fortress however also has an emblematic role to play, for the *base* of the central vertical axis running through it connects with the beginning of the representation of the standing and squatting Sea Peoples prisoners who have already been branded, registered and passed into permanent captivity, as a result of and subject to pharaoh's military power that the Migdol, itself a personification of the king, represents.

Conclusions

Thus, careful analysis of our primary textual and pictorial source on the Sea Peoples, the Medinet Habu records, reveals that a surprising amount of historical information can be gleaned from them. To cite the most obvious results:

1. The Egyptian description of the Sea Peoples' confederation and progress as far as Djahi can best be taken at face value and reveals a well organized, centralized and relatively short-term program on the part of the Sea Peoples that was highly successful until it ran up against the Egyptian forces.

2. The high degree of organization—military and other—which this historical circumstance suggests for the Sea Peoples is not well illustrated in the Medinet Habu sources, for two reasons. The Egyptians chose to highlight not the battle proper, but the slaughters that followed the Sea Peoples defeats, when all organization on their part was largely lost—although even here it may be hinted, as seen above. Second, the intention was to represent the Sea Peoples as emblematic of a chaotic force and hence the time of their confusion, not their prior state of military preparedness and organization, was the moment chosen for depiction.

3. These same historical circumstances indicate the Sea Peoples must have had a core leadership, and perhaps a supreme leader, or at least a warlord as well. By a variety of subtle devices—because it was inappropriate to assign such figures, emblematic of disorderly chaos, too much visual prominence—the existence and presence of both the core leadership, and some kind of supreme leader, or warlord, is made evident via the art.

Finally, we have seen that to fully grasp the historical value such narratives as that of the Sea Peoples do in fact have, a complex kind of analysis has to be undertaken. Such wars in art may be fictitious and provided for in a temple program for conceptual reasons. But often, as evidently with the Sea Peoples, they are real historical occurrences which, however, are interwoven in marvelously complex and reflexive ways with other themes equally important in temple art—the representation of cosmos and cosmic process, and the display of royal ideology. And in teasing all these issues out, we need to be guided also by the art itself, both in terms of the compositional devices which provide an interlocking structure at several different levels, and in terms of the many telling details that the designers and artisans provide.

Notes

1. Basic source material: The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* I, 1930, Pls. 1–54 and *Medinet Habu* II, 1932, Pls. 29–44, 45B; Edgerton and Wilson 1936.

2. For a recent, convenient discussion see Wachsmann 1981.

3. Wachsmann 1981:195; as further indication that Wachsmann has misread the representation, note the large rent shown in the ship's sail—as a result, a body shown on the other side of the sail is visible through the rent, an almost unique circumstance in Egyptian art.

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6

To the Sea of the Philistines

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> And I will set your bounds from the Red Sea to the sea of the Philistines . . .
>
> Exodus 23:31

Much remains enigmatic about the Sea Peoples. Perhaps it is because of this they are so fascinating to the modern researcher. Their origins are still inadequately understood, and even their significance vis-à-vis the disintegration of the Late Bronze Age world is debated by scholars.

Whether the Sea Peoples are viewed as the primary reason for the collapse of palace-based cultures at the end of the Late Bronze Age or, alternately, as simply a catalyst, sweeping off history's stage peoples and systems that could no longer function in a changing world, one thing is absolutely certain: seagoing ships were a predominant factor in the role they played.

And herein lies our story, for the ships of a culture have the potential to reveal much about it. From the outset, however, it is important to emphasize that this is, admittedly, a narrow approach to a culture's study. We shall examine existent evidence for some of the uses to which the Sea Peoples put their ships, the types of ships they employed, and the significance of their prominent bird-head post decorations.

Regrettably, to date not a single shipwreck identifiable as Sea Peoples—or as Philistine—has been identified from among the many recorded vessels preserved for us in the sediments of the Mediterranean Sea (Parker 1992). The discovery of such a vessel would undoubtedly be one of the most exciting archaeological discoveries of the century. Until such time, we remain dependent solely on contemporaneous texts and artistic representations to shed light on the subject.

The Sea Peoples first appear in the textual record during the 14th century B.C.E., in the Amarna tablets. In one document, the king of Alashia writes (EA 38: 7–22):

> Why, my brother, do you say such a thing to me, "Does my brother not know this?" As far as I am concerned, I have done nothing of the sort. Indeed, men of Lukki, year by year, seize villages in my own country.
>
> My brother, you say to me, "Men from your country were with them." My brother, I myself do not know that they were with them. If men from my country were (with them), send (them back) and I will act as I see fit.
>
> You yourself do not know men from my country. *They* would not do such a thing. But if men from my country did do this, then you yourself do as you see fit.[1]

In this fascinating document, the king of Alashia both denies the likelihood of people of Alashia being in collusion with Lukki forces that have apparently attacked Egyptian territory and bolsters this claim by noting that the Lukki regularly "seize" villages of Alashia. One wonders, however, if the former is not a result of the latter phenomenon, and that the Lukki raiders have actually absorbed elements of the Alashian population, which then join them in their marauding.

Indeed, in texts dealing with the Sea Peoples and the Ahhiyawa, a heavy emphasis is placed on the taking of hostages. A seaside settlement may not have been a lucrative target vis-à-vis its material wealth, but the inhabitants themselves were a valuable commodity. The "Indictment of Madduwatas" is now dated to the reigns of Tudkhaliya II or Arnuwadas I (ca. 1450–1430 B.C.E.), thus making it the earliest Hittite document pertaining to the Ahhiyawa (Güterbock 1983:133–134, 138; 1984:116, 119). In this text, Mad-

duwatas is charged with uniting with Attarissiyas ("the man of Ahhiya"), his former enemy, to carry out raids against Alashia, which the Hittite king considers to be under his own jurisdiction. Interestingly, the ensuing argument indicates that hostages were the primary "product" of these ship-based raids on Alashia, as Madduwatas is at pains to make clear (Güterbock 1983:134):

> When Attarissiyas and the man of Piggaya made raids on Alašiya, I also made raids. Neither the father of Your Majesty nor Your Majesty, ever advised me (saying): "Alašiya is mine! Recognize it as such! *Now if your Majesty wants captives of Alašiya to be returned, I shall return them to him.*"[2]

Interestingly, the Madduwatas text echoes precisely the words of the Alashian king.

These texts may also explain the appearance in the Linear B documents from Pylos (in the Aa and Ab series) of women who bear ethnics from sites in the Aegean, mainly along the Turkish coast—Knidos (*ki-ni-di-ja*), Miletos (*mi-ra-ti-ja*), Lemnos (*ra-mi-ni-ja*), and Kythera (*ku-te-ra*$_3$) as well as the possible identifications of Lycia (*a-*64-ja*), the Halikarnassos region (*ze-pu*$_2$*-ra*$_3$), and the more speculative identification of Khios (*ki-si-wi-ja*)—while other women are known simply as "captives" (*ra-wi-ja-ja*).[3] Chadwick suggests that these ethnics indicate the locations of the slave markets where they had been acquired. Presumably, these women, and youngsters recorded with them, had been abducted in similar piratical ship-borne raids. An equivalent number of adult male slaves with similar ethnics is not recorded at Pylos. This might conceivably be the result of selective purchasing by the Pylian palace or due to the consideration that adult males were intentionally killed during these razzias. Homer describes just such a process (*Odyssey* 9:39–43):

> From Ilios the wind bore me and brought me to the Cicones, to Ismarus. There I sacked the city and slew the men; and from the city we took their wives and great store of treasure, and divided them among us, that so far as lay in me no man might go defrauded of an equal share.[4]

Later, in the early 12th century B.C.E., when the Sea Peoples advanced down the Levantine coast they display a similar interest in acquiring hostages. In an Akkadian document from Ugarit, we learn that a man of that city named Ibnadussu had been captured by marauding Sikils, but had managed to escape them. The Hittite king orders that Ibnadussu be sent to him for questioning (RS 34.129; translation from Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1998:343):

> Thus says His Majesty, the Great King. Speak to the Prefect:
>
> Now, (there) with you, the king your lord is (still too) young. He knows nothing. And I, His Majesty, had issued him an order concerning Ibnadussu, whom the people from Šikala—who live on ships—had abducted.
>
> Herewith I send Nirga'ili, who is *kartappu* with me, to you. And you, send Ibnadussu, whom the people from Šikala had abducted, to me. I will question him about the land Šikala, and afterwards he may leave for Ugarit again.[5]

This document also gives insight into how the marauding, ship-based Sea Peoples were viewed by the rulers of the peoples upon whom they preyed. For them the Sea Peoples were, quite literally, those "who live on ships."

It seems, however, that together with the taking of hostages there were those among the local populations who joined forces with the Sea Peoples—whether willingly or under duress is not clear—against the established order. The king of Ugarit reports to his Alashian counterpart that "enemy ships" are destroying his settlements (RS 20.238; Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1998:344):

> My father, now enemy ships are coming (and) they burn down my towns with fire. They have done unseemly things in the land!
>
> My father is not aware of the fact that all the troops of my father's overlord are stationed in Hatti and that all my ships are stationed in Lukkā. They still have not arrived and the country is lying like that! My father should know these things.
>
> Now, the seven enemy ships that are approaching have done evil things to us.
>
> Now then, if there are any other enemy ships send me a report somehow, so that I will know.

Note that here, the king of Ugarit makes no reference to the fate of his subjects in the towns being thus destroyed.

RS 20.18, although usually taken to be the letter that initiated RS 20.238, may plausibly be interpreted as a response to it. Both documents were found in or near the home of Rap'anu (van Soldt 1991:165–166, 168, 177, 179). In RS 20.18, the chief prefect of Alashia, Eshuwara, claims that Ugaritic crews were in collusion with the enemy, and that, in fact, it was Ugaritic crews in Ugaritic ships who were the culprits (Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1998:343):

> As for the matter concerning those enemies: (it was) the people from your country (and) your own ships (who) did this! And (it was) the people from your country (who) committed these transgression(s).
>
> So do not *be angry* with me!
>
> But now, (the) twenty enemy ships—even before they would reach the mountain (shore)—have not stayed around, but have quickly moved on and where they have *pitched camp* we do not know.
>
> I am writing you to inform and protect you. Be aware!

In other words, at least in part, once again we observe the Sea Peoples seemingly absorbing parts of the local social strata, who then turn against their own state, or against its allies. Such a situation could also explain a document in which Shuppiluliuma II, the last Hittite king, describes sea battles against the "ships of Alashia" (Güterbock 1967:78):

> My father [. . .] I mobilized and I, Shuppiluliuma II, the Great King immediately [crossed/reached(?)] the sea. The ships of Alašiya met me in the sea three times for battle, and I smote them: and I seized the ships and set fire to them in the sea.

Güterbock (1967:80) has noted the apparent disagreement between this document and the Ugaritic texts, in which Alashia is clearly an ally of Ugarit, and thus of the Hittite Empire. One possible interpretation is that the ships against which Shuppiluliuma II fought belonged to Sea Peoples who were stationed in Alashia. A second possibility, however, is that the text documents an actual political shift and that the Alashian fleet, in part or en masse, indeed joined with the invaders in opposition to the Hittites, in the same manner in which the Ugaritic ships and their crews are recorded as doing in RS 20.18.[6] If so, there are the makings of a pattern here.

We also learn from these documents about the attack methods employed by the Sea Peoples. They seem to have eschewed direct confrontations when possible. When they were forced to fight pitched ship battles, however, the Sea Peoples fared poorly, as is evident from their nautical engagements against the Hittites under Shuppiluliuma II and against the Egyptians under Ramesses II (Petrie 1888:26, pl. 2, no. 78; Sandars 1985:50, n. 14) and Ramesses III (see below). Instead, these maritime marauders appear to have preferred hit-and-run "commando-style" raids, arriving at seaside communities to pillage and burn them, then escaping before the local military could come to grips with them. They seem to have been constantly on the move, and therefore hard to pin down. This ship-based phenomenon of incessant evasive movement, then, would have caused them to appear to the cultures upon whom they preyed as "Peoples of the Sea" who "live on their ships."

For this reason—or perhaps as a result of it—the Sea Peoples appear to have kept to small groups, at least during the period in which they were active in the northeast region of the Mediterranean, prior to their arrival at the gates of Egypt. Thus, they operated in relatively small flotillas: 7 ships are mentioned in RS 20.238 and 20 ships in RS 20.18. These numbers are particularly interesting when contrasted with the massive, 150-ship fleet that Ugarit is asked to supply in KTU 2.47 (Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartin 1976).[7]

Now, in order to carry out such piratical attacks, the ships must have been able to move under their own propulsion. In other words, these vessels must have been oared ships (galleys) that were not dependent solely on the vagaries of the wind power for purposes of attack, escape, and evasion. And, with that consideration, we can now turn our attention to contemporaneous depictions of the ships used by the Sea Peoples.[8]

The most detailed, as well as the clearest, representations of a type of ship that can be reasonably identified as used by the Sea Peoples are depicted in the midst of a naval battle with contingents of Ramesses III's forces on the outer wall of his temple at Medinet Habu (Fig. 6.1). This scene records the naval attack in Ramesses III's 8th reginal year (ca. 1176 B.C.E.) by a coalition of peoples who had already destroyed most of the kingdoms along the eastern Mediterranean coast. The peoples mentioned as taking part in the coalition include the following:

Medinet Habu	Papyrus Harris
(Breasted 1962, IV: §64)	(Breasted 1962, IV: §403)
(1) Peleset	Peleset (3)
(2) Šikala	Šikala (2)
(3) Sheklesh	———
(4) Denyen	Denyen (1)
(5) Weshesh	Weshesh (5)
———	Sherden (4)

While the scene has a snapshot-like quality, suggesting a moment in time within the mêlée of battle, Nelson (1943) has shown that in fact it is built around three elements: spatial, ideological, and temporal.

The Egyptian artists take us through four specific moments in the battle. Ships E.1 and N.1 represent the beginning of the battle (Fig. 6.2). An Egyptian sailor is in the process of tossing a four-armed grapnel—the only truly nautical weapon in the scene—into the rigging of a Sea Peoples' ship. Ships E.2 and N.2 represent a halfway point in the battle where the scales have already tipped in favor of the Egyptians. The Sea Peoples' ship is beginning to list, and the Egyptians have already taken on board some prisoners of war, who are securely manacled. Ships E.3 and N.3 represent the end stage of the battle in which one of the ships of the invaders has been capsized by means of the grapnel (Wachsmann 1998:317–319).

The appearance of a "flotilla" of five ship images is misleading, as all five of them are demonstrably reproductions taken from a single prototype (Wachsmann 1981:191). In a similar manner, only one type of Egyptian ship is represented four times, even though three types of ships are mentioned as having taken part on the Egyptian side in the accompanying inscription (Breasted 1962, IV: §65). Moreover, two

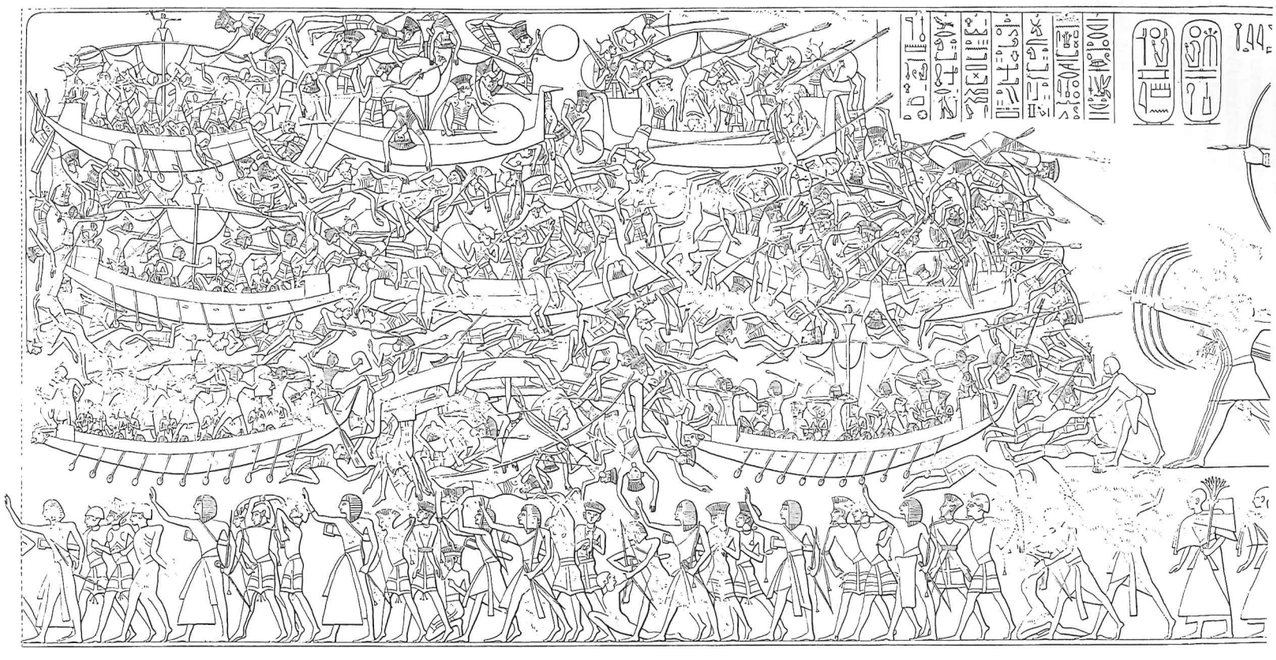


Figure 6.1. The naval battle depicted on Ramesses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu. From Medinet Habu *I: pl. 37.*

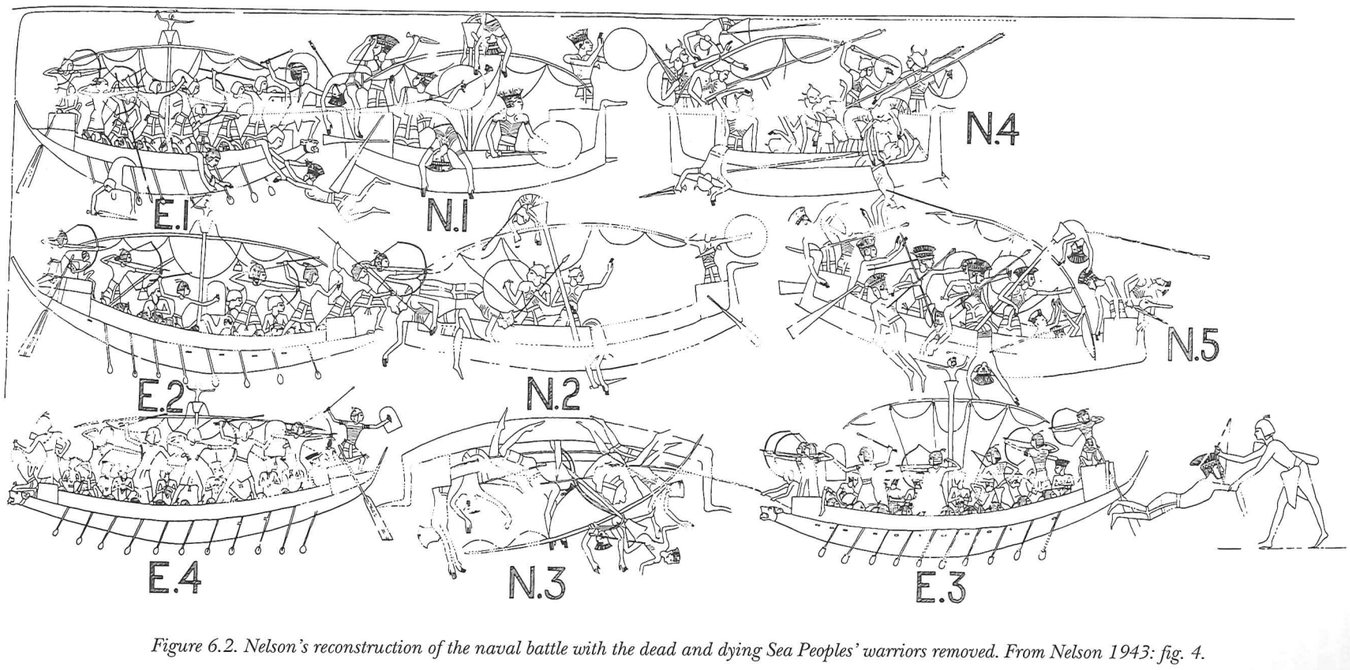


Figure 6.2. Nelson's reconstruction of the naval battle with the dead and dying Sea Peoples' warriors removed. From Nelson 1943: fig. 4.

distinct groups of warriors—one wearing horned helmets (ships N.2 and N.4), the other sporting feathered (?) ones (ships N.1, N.3, and N.5)—are represented in a single type of vessel. A review of the depictions of similar ships belonging, as we shall see, to the Aegean (Mycenaean) tradition shows that, although almost all the depictions are remarkably similar, no two are virtually identical, as is the case of the five Sea Peoples' ships at Medinet Habu (Wachsmann 1998:130–158). Clearly, the Egyptian artists employed a single prototype ship, depicting it repeatedly, even manning the various ship images with two different types of warriors, which, in itself, is suspect. Indeed, the range of ships in the invading fleet was probably far more diverse than would seem from the relief.

There can be no doubt, however, that the Egyptian artists have faithfully recorded a single foreign ship five times, and that this depiction was based on actual observation. What were their sources?

We know that artists accompanied army expeditions, as well as trade ventures, as is clear from the foreign flora and fauna in Thutmose III's "Botanical Garden," at Karnak, and the Red Sea marine life swimming in the waters beneath Hatshepsut's Punt ships in her mortuary temple at Deir el Bahri (Wachsmann 1987:5–6). Furthermore, the action surrounding the capsizing of at least one ship by means of a grapnel is a strong argument for the presence of Egyptian artist(s?) during the battle itself. Presumably, in the aftermath of the battle, he/they made a sketch study of a single Egyptian vessel, as well as one of the enemy's vessels. The Medinet Habu artists, then, would have used such sketches in creating the naval battle scene.

The ships of both sides are depicted with their sails furled to the yard. Although the Egyptian ships are under oar, the invading ships are dead in the water and show no form of propulsion. As Casson (1995: 38) has reasonably suggested, the Sea Peoples' fleet appears to have been caught by surprise, at anchor. Accompanying texts seem to allude to just such a situation (Breasted 1962, IV: §77):

> The countries which came from their isles in the midst of the sea, they advanced to Egypt, their hearts relying upon their arms. The net was made ready for them, to ensnare them. Entering stealthily into the harbor-mouth, they fell into it. Caught in their place, they were dispatched and their bodies stripped.[9]

The texts, as well as the archers depicted on shore, make it clear that the battle did not take place in the open sea but rather in an enclosed waterway—possibly somewhere in the Nile Delta. Such a surprise attack, in which Ramesses III wisely utilized his archers armed with powerful long-range composite bows, and with slingers in his ships' crow's nests, would have decimated the Sea Peoples' forces for they had no long-range weapons with which to counter such an attack effectively. As long as the Egyptians stayed out of range of their javelins, the invaders became, quite literally, sitting ducks. Similarly, the outcome of the heroes' contest between David and Goliath (I Samuel 17) revolves around a similar selection of short- and medium-range weapons on the Philistine side, while David put his faith in the long-range sling.

The scene differs considerably today from how it would have appeared to an observer in the days of Ramesses III. The wall was originally painted as well as carved. Through the centuries the color has disappeared, leaving only the carving—and not all of that either: much of the final version of the scene had been carved on plaster, which had been applied for repairs and corrections. This plaster has long since crumbled and disappeared.

In this form of art the Egyptian artist did not seem to differentiate between carved relief and painting. If anything, it appears that the former was subordinate to the latter. Nelson (1929:22), in describing another scene of battle at Medinet Habu, gives us a remarkable view of how much detail might have been lost, along with the paint:

> Here, in the upper portions of the relief, even the water-color paint is unusually well preserved, and we find that the bare sculpture has been extensively supplemented by painted details distinctly enriching the composition. The colors of the garments worn by the Libyans stand out clearly. Between the bodies of the slain as they lie upon the battlefield appear pools of blood. The painter has suggested the presence of the open country by painting in wild flowers which spring up among the dead. Moreover, it is apparent that the action takes place in a hilly region, for streams of blood run down between the bodies as the enemy attempt to escape across the hills from the Pharaoh's pursuing shafts. The details of the monarch's accouterments are indicated in color, relieving him of the almost naked appearance often presented by his sculptured figure when divested of its paint. It is not infrequent to find such details as bow strings or lance shafts partly carved and partly represented in paint. The characteristic tattoo marks on the bodies of the Libyans are also painted in pigment only. When all these painted details have disappeared, though the sculptured design may remain in fairly good condition, much of the life of the original scene is gone and many aids to its interpretation are lost.

Unfortunately, much information has disappeared along with the paint and plaster.

In 1981 I proposed that the basic features of the Sea Peoples' hull could be reasonably reconstructed by studying the manner in which the artists portrayed the dead and dying warriors in relation to the ships'

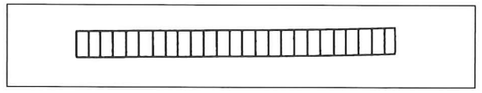
horizontal lines. Four of the five ships (N.1, N.2, N.4, and N.5) are defined by three horizontal lines—A, B, and C (Figs. 6.3–7). These ships give the impression of a vessel with a screen rising above the caprail, similar to the Egyptian ships against which they are engaged in combat. Such an interpretation, however, immediately raises problems. On ship N.2 one warrior appears to be reclining on the junction line, while a second man seems to be falling into that line. On ship N.4, even more problematic, the helmsman and a second warrior are seen appearing behind line B. None of this would make any sense if line B represented the junction of caprail and the bottom of a screen.

It is the capsized ship, N.3, in which the intention of the scene's creators becomes clear (Fig. 6.8). In this vessel a fourth carved horizontal line, X, survives between lines A and B (Fig. 6.9). Furthermore, the artists have supplied three independent clues in the form of dead or dying warriors. The most telling of these is a figure posed on the vessel's keel-line. His right leg stretches out behind him while his left leg—up to the knee—appears above the line. The leg disappears behind the hull, but the figure's left foot appears clearly planted on line X. A second figure is "wrapped around" area AX, while a third straddles the same area, his left leg appearing from behind line X and crossing lines B and C. All three figures lead to a single, inescapable conclusion: that the Egyptian artists were portraying area XB as open. The latter two figures also suggest that although the prototype ship must have had a deck running its entire length, as is clear from the men shown standing amidships on the upright ships, this deck could not have run the entire beam of the ship.

Figure 6.10 represents a tentative isometric reconstruction of structural details of the prototype vessel based on this evidence. Figure 6.11 is a tentative sheer view of the same ship, with the bodies from ship N.3 added.

Several constructional elements are missing, including the row of vertical stanchions that was necessary to brace the ends of the beams required to support the longitudinal deck. Why are the stanchions missing? They may have been represented originally in paint that has since vanished, or, alternately, perhaps the artists had simply left them out to prevent the ships from being overburdened by details. In Geometric times, for example, Attic artists left out the stanchions from their ships when portraying rowers at their benches, but included the stanchions when they were not pulling their oars (cf. Casson 1995: figs. 67, 68, 72, and 77).

In every age, artists depicting ships tended to focus on certain elements of the ship's construction or rigging. Mycenaean artists were no different in this matter. The majority of the ships depicted during the Late Helladic IIIB and IIIC periods display a long narrow band, usually extending the entire length of the ship, which is intersected by numerous vertical lines, giving this element the appearance of a ladder fallen on its side:[10]



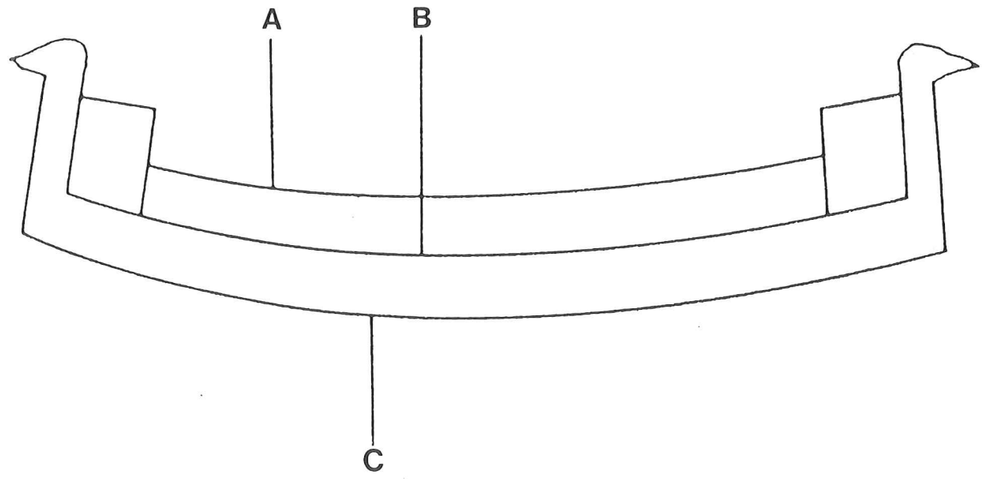


Figure 6.3. The horizontal lines on ships N.1–N.2, N.4, and N.5. Drawing: S. Wachsmann.

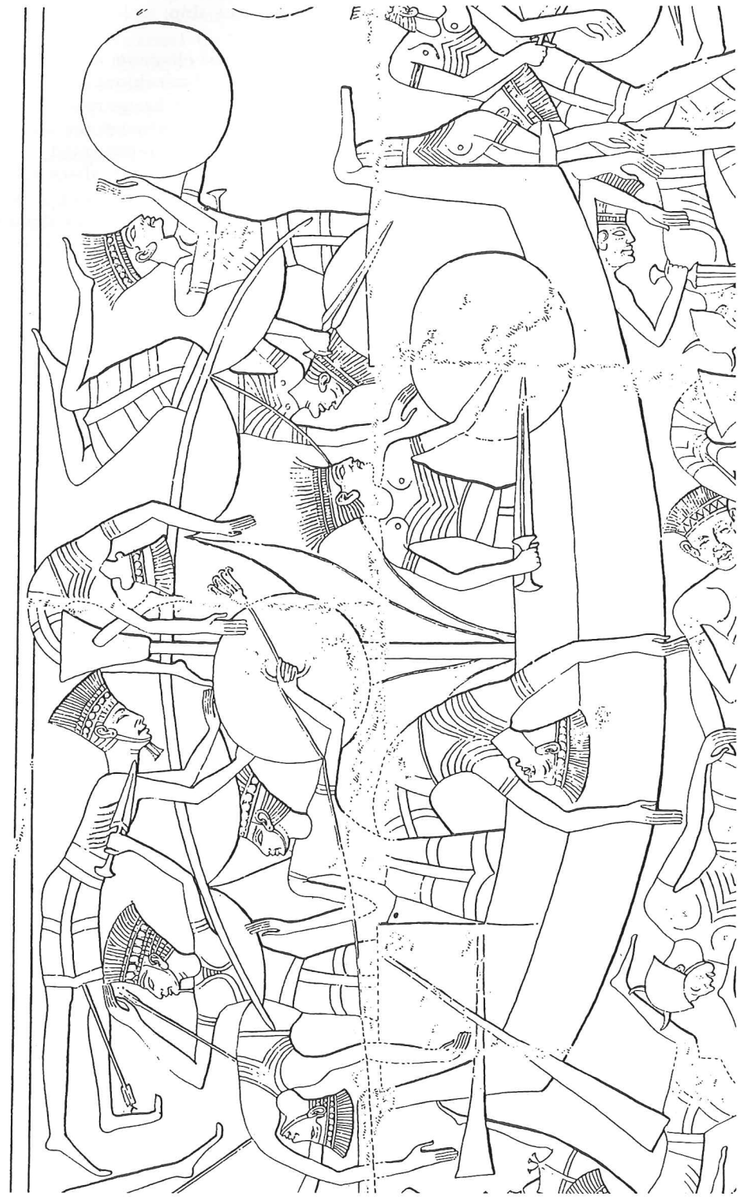


Figure 6.4. Ship N.1. From Medinet Habu *I: pl. 39.*

Figure 6.5. Ship N.2. From Medinet Habu *I: pl. 39.*

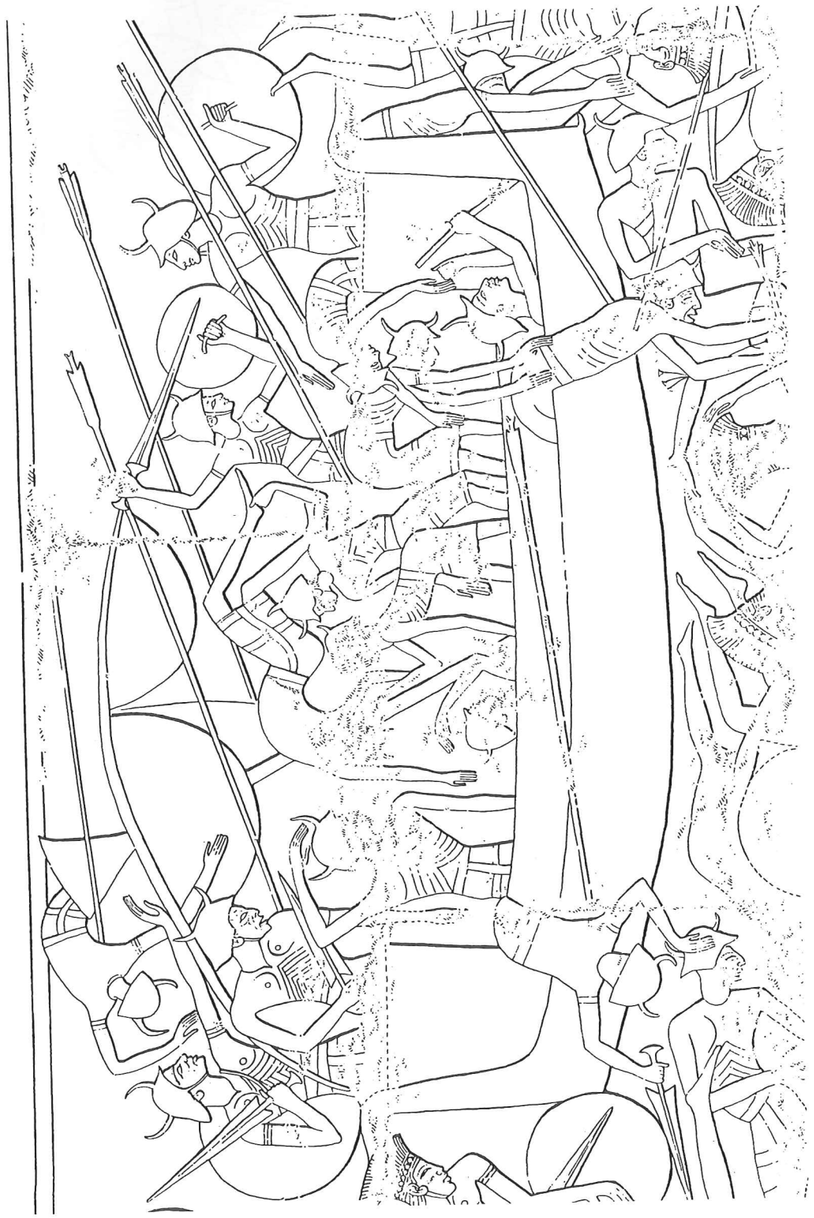


Figure 6.6. Ship N.4. From Medinet Habu *I: pl. 39.*

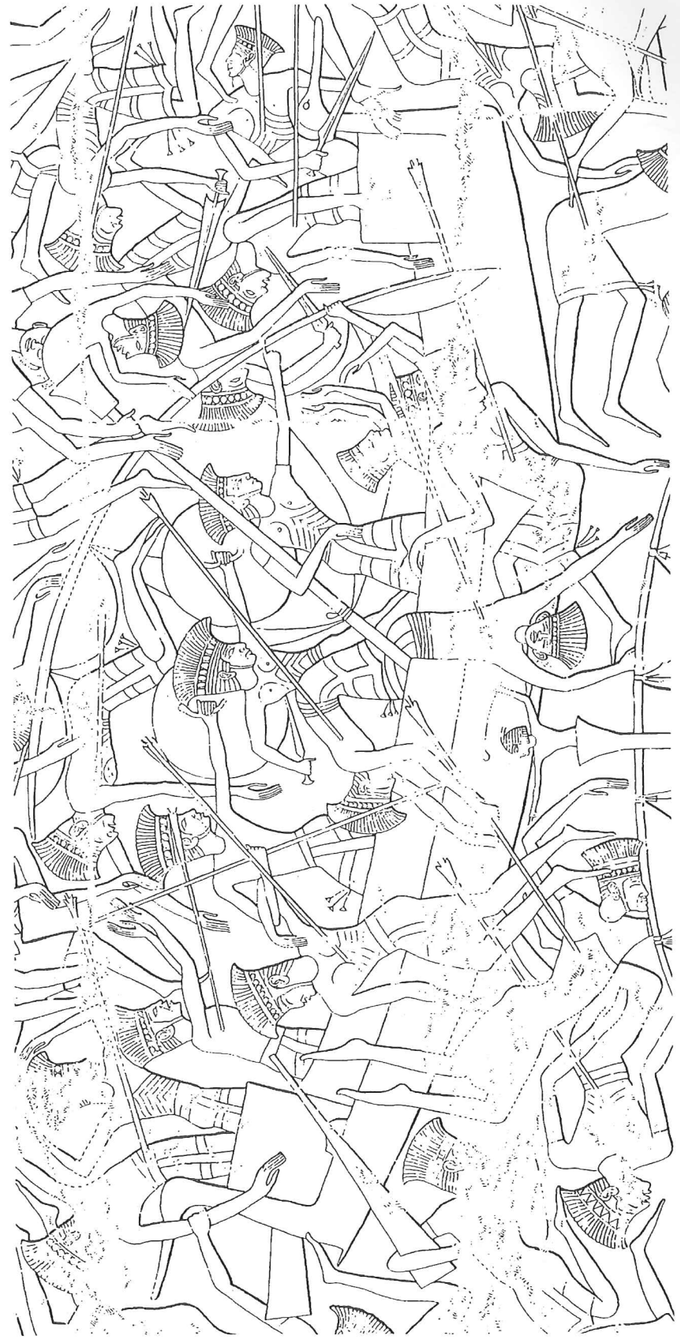


Figure 6.7. Ship N.5. From Medinet Habu *I: pl. 39.*

Figure 6.8. Ship N.3. From Medinet Habu *I: pl. 39.*

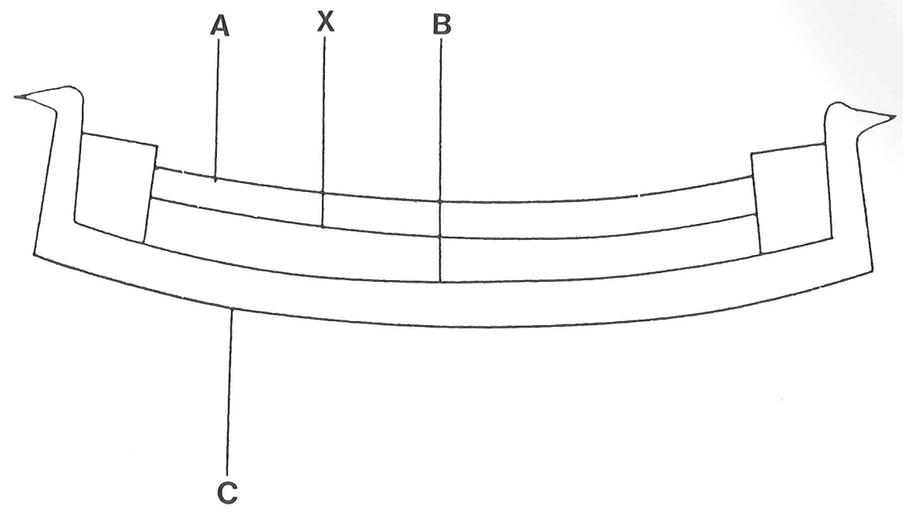


Figure 6.9. The four horizontal lines on N.3, the vessel that has capsized. Drawing: S. Wachsmann.

In fact, this element of the ships' architecture is so prominent that at times it takes up the entire height of the hull—from keel-line to caprail, leaving only a narrow line to represent the ship's wooden hull (Fig. 6.12). It also appears in paint along the sides of some terra-cotta ship models. But what does this motif represent vis-à-vis the actual architecture of the vessel after which it was patterned?

Until recently, despite the large corpus of Mycenaean ship depictions available, none of these were of sufficent detail to answer this question. Then, Dakoronia (1990; 1991; 1993; 1995), excavating in Pyrgos Livanaton, a site identified with Homeric Kynos, uncovered sherds of Late Helladic IIIC kraters decorated with ships (Figs. 6.13–15). The first of these depictions, preserved almost in its entirety, is the most detailed published representation of a Mycenaean ship known to date, finally allowing us to identify the horizontal ladder motif.

Two warriors—armed with throwing spears and protected behind shields and armor—as well as an unarmored helmsman stand on (or above) the ship. Interestingly, all three figures have lines emerging from their heads that are reminiscent of the feather helmets worn by some of the Sea Peoples at Medinet Habu as well as by mariners portrayed on sherds of Late Helladic IIIC date from the Seraglio at Cos (Morricone 1975:360, figs. 356, 357a–c, 358–360).

The ship, which moves to the left, is defined horizontally by three broad horizontal bands (Fig. 6.16). The wooden hull is defined by the dark area between lines B and C, the former representing the line of the keel or keel-plank and the latter the caprail. The strip above this, between lines B and X, is intersected, in addition to the mast, by 19 vertical lines. Adjacent to each line is a "lunette," the convex side of which faces aft. Two bands of hemicircles decorate the uppermost strip—between lines X and A. This motif perhaps indicates that this band (AX) represents a leather screen, as it commonly appears in Mycenaean art on the hides of bulls or on the leather sides of chariots (Furumark 1941:245, fig. 27:6, 8; 332, fig. 18). Line X continues past the stem at left, suggesting that it is a free-standing wale, supported by the stanchions, into which the beams holding the deck would have been braced.

All of the lunettes lead into oars, indicating that they represent—however schematically—the torsos of the ship's rowers. The curvilinear form of the lunettes/oarsmen is in keeping with the sinuous form of the vessel's armorless helmsman. The lower portions of the men's bodies, from their waist to their feet, are hidden behind the hull; their heads are protected behind the screen, and therefore out of view.

If the rowers are facing the stern of the ship, in the normal manner of rowing, then they are at the end of their stroke. Less likely, although not impossible, is that the rowers are facing forward, while carrying out a particular maneuver such as moving the vessel stern first toward shore (Tilley 1992).[11]

One would like to confirm such a treatment of "disappearing heads" disappearing behind superstructure in representations of oarsmen vis-à-vis a

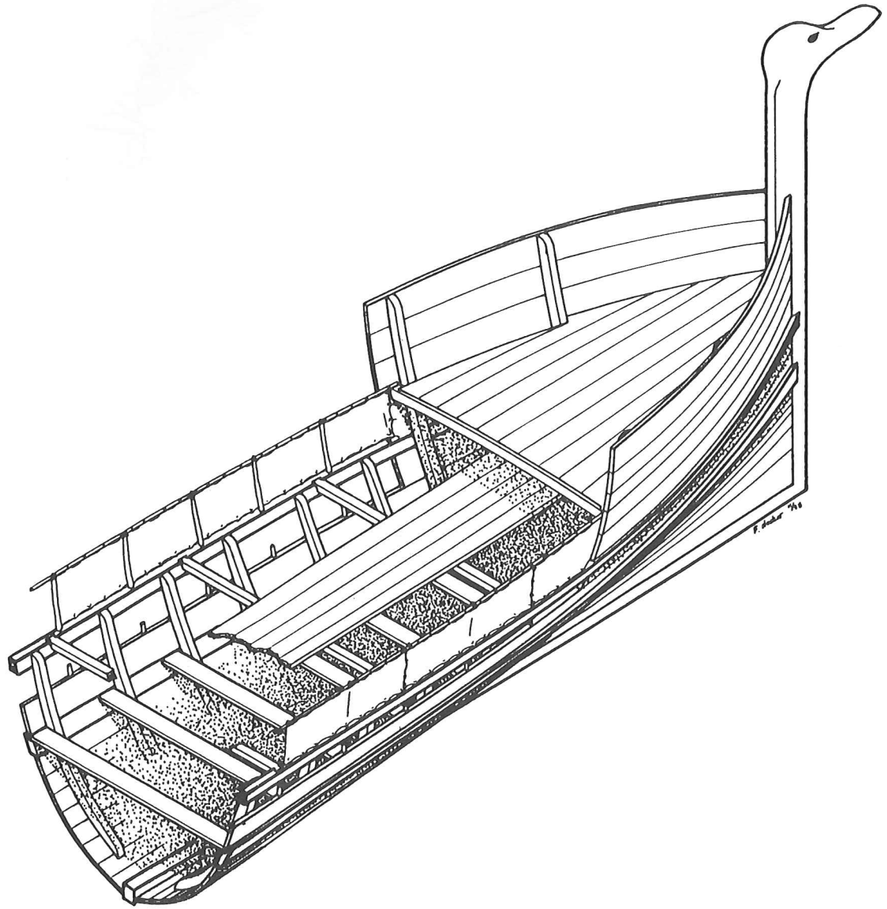


Figure 6.10. Tentative isometric view of a Sea Peoples' ship depicting the main elements derived from the dead bodies on ship N.3. Drawing: F. M. Hocker.

Geometric galley architecture, which, all authorities agree, evolved from Mycenaean prototypes. Such a demonstration is not viable, however, for no two scholars who have dealt with galleys in Geometric art agree on how to interpret them (Kirk 1949:123–131; Morrison and Williams 1968:12–17; Casson 1995: 71–74; Basch 1987:161–170).

In the waning years of the 8th century B.C.E., however, depictions of *dieres*—a type of galley in which two rows of oarsmen were superimposed, one above the other, on either side of the ship—supplies us with a nearly exact parallel to the hidden heads of the Kynos oarsmen. A Proto-Attic sherd from Phaleron bearing one of the earliest depictions of a *dieres*, shows the heads of the oarsmen in the lower bank disappearing behind the superstructure (Fig. 6.17; Williams 1959; Wachsmann 1995:27).

This leads to the inevitable conclusion that the "horizontal ladder" motif actually represents an open rowers' gallery crossed by stanchions—identical to the feature already noted on the Sea Peoples' ship images at Medinet Habu (Fig. 6.18). The Kynos ship must have had a similar deck arrangement, which ran the entire length of the ship, but must have been

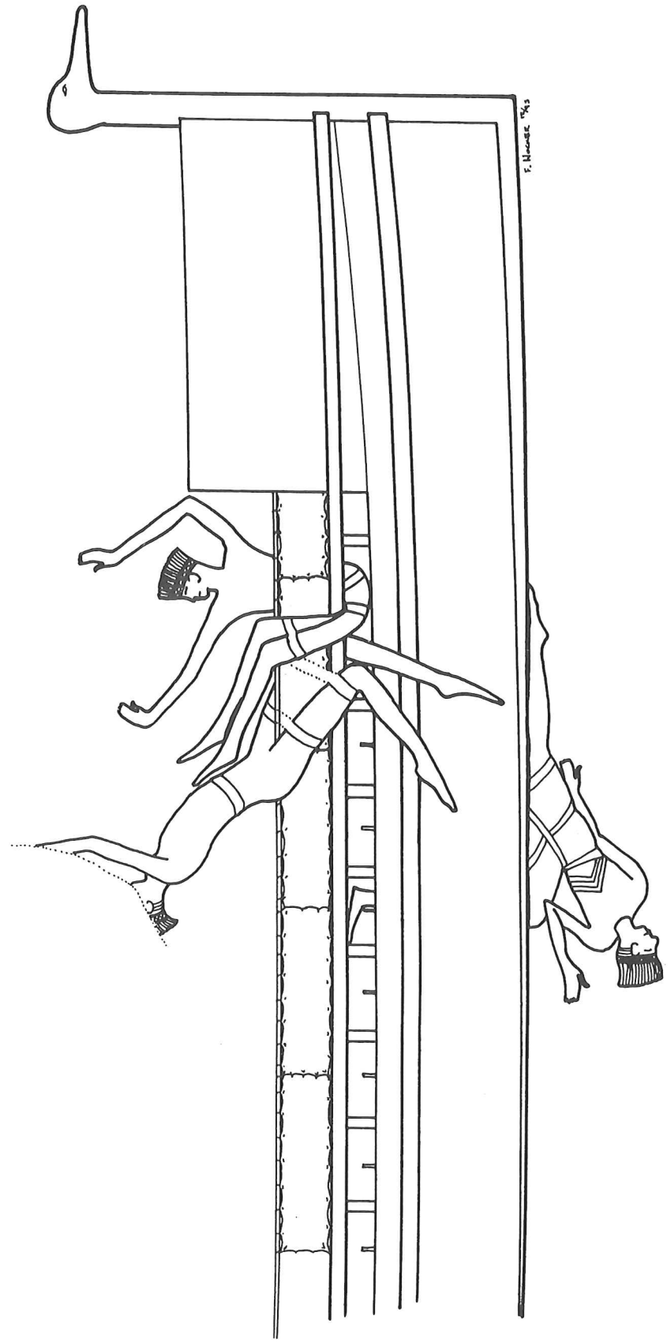


Figure 6.11. Tentative sheer view of a Sea Peoples' ship with the three bodies of warriors added to demonstrate better the constructional details Note that the figures are depicted on a scale smaller than the ship. Drawing: F. M. Hocker.

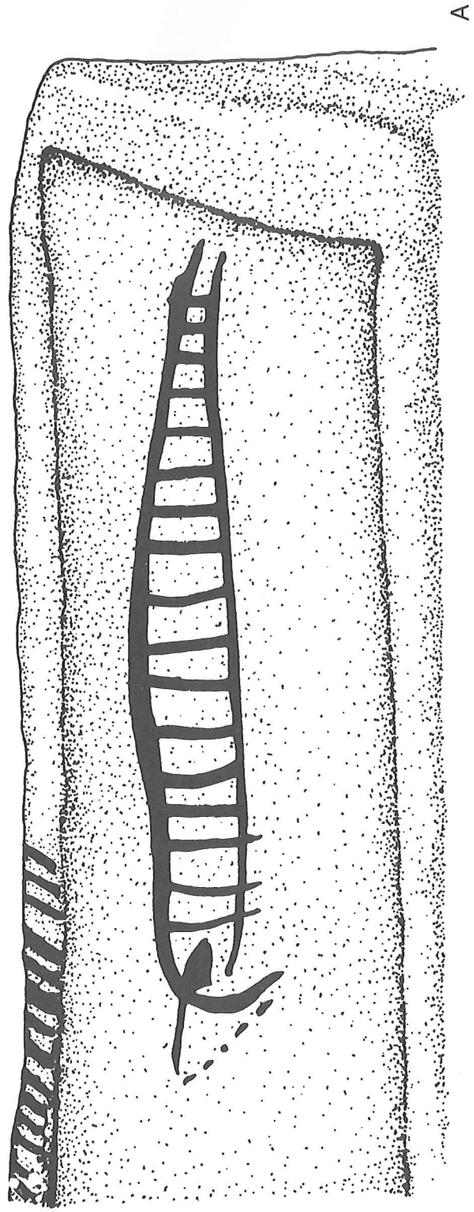


Figure 6.12. (A) The element represented by the "horizontal ladder pattern" appears to have been so striking to the observer that, in some cases, depictions of a ship's hull consist of little other than this component, sometimes with oars and rigging added. This is illustrated admirably on this painting of a ship, which was painted upside-down inside a Minoan larnax. (B) The same ship, reversed to its proper orientation. After Gray 1974:G47, abb. 11.

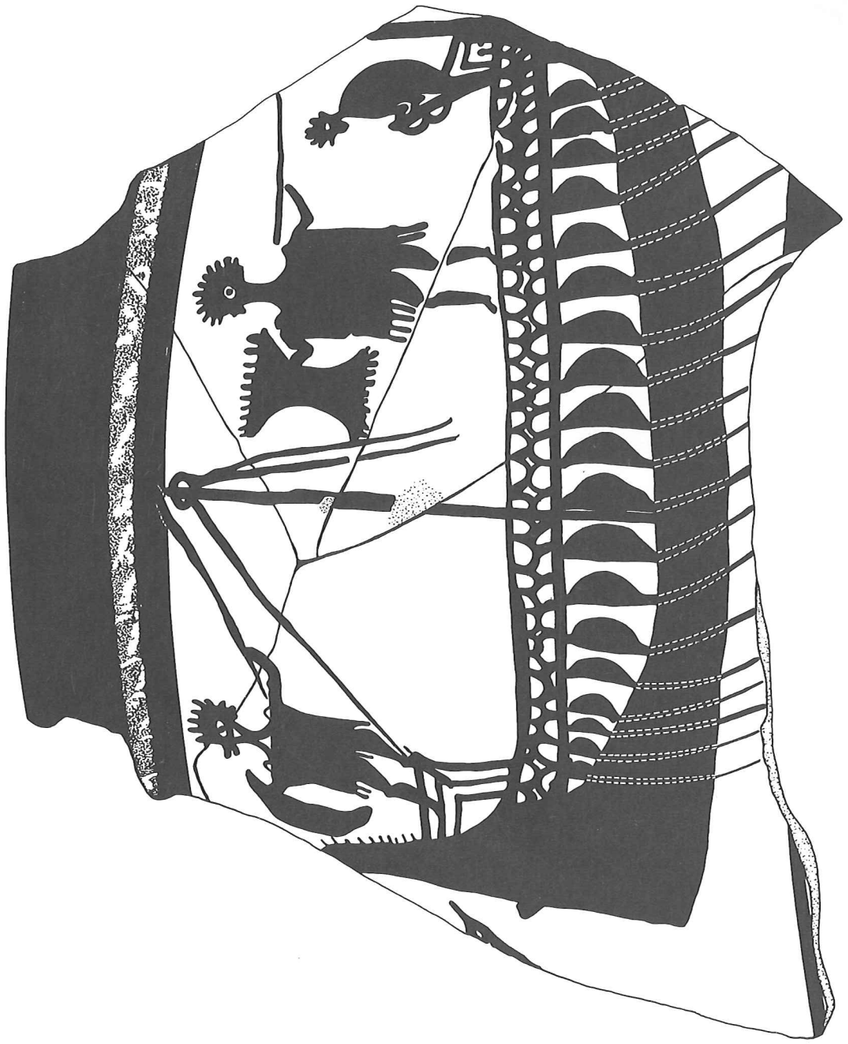


Figure 6.13. Kynos ship A. After Wachsmann 1998:131 fig. 7.8:A. Drawing: K. Bowling.

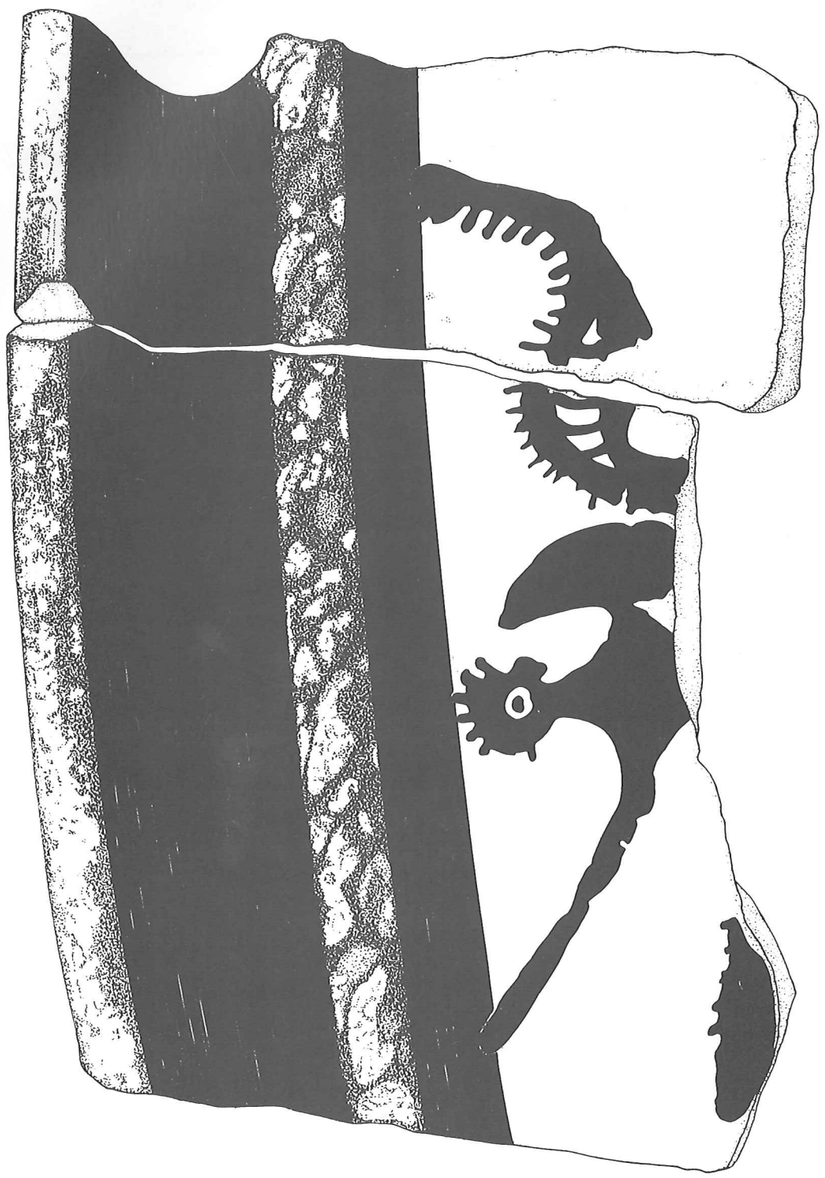


Figure 6.14. Kynos ship B. After Wachsmann 1998:134 fig. 7.15. Drawing: K. Bowling.

Figure 6.15. Kynos ship C. After Wachsmann 1998:135 fig. 7.16:B. Drawing: K. Bowling.

left open along the vessel's sides in order to leave room for the heads of the oarsmen. Note that this interpretation of the hull agrees entirely with Casson's reconstruction of the Late Geometric galley.

The Sea Peoples' ship(s) at Medinet Habu so closely parallels what we know of Mycenaean galleys that in our present state of knowledge we cannot differentiate between their construction. Either the ships in use by the Sea Peoples were Mycenaean, or such ships were patterned closely on Mycenaean prototypes. It would be unwise, however, to establish ethnic identity solely on the evidence of hull construction. Cultures often adopted foreign ships for their own uses (Casson 1995:105, n. 41, 141–142). There is, however, another clue to the ethnicity of the Medinet Habu ship(s) crew: bird-head devices.

The five Sea Peoples' ships at Medinet Habu bear water-bird head devices facing outboard at the bow and the stern (Fig. 6.19). During the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age such bird-heads, or indeed actual representations of water birds in the round, are a distinctly Mycenaean device (Figs. 6.14–15, 6.20–22; Wachsmann 1996; 1998:177–197).

The first appearance of a bird-head device is on the post of a ship painted on some Middle Helladic sherds from Aegina (Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973:301, fig. 869). When Mycenaean ship depictions become common, during the Late Helladic IIIB, many ships bear the head and body of a bird, often with the beak noticeably curving upward. While the

representations are too schematic to identify the specific bird(s) depicted, the devices inevitably represent water fowl of the same type(s) that regularly appear on contemporaneous Mycenaean and Philistine pottery (Furumark 1941:253 fig. 30, 255 fig. 31: nos. 36–52; Benson 1961; T. Dothan 1982:201–202, figs. 61–63).

There is, however, one noteworthy difference between the manner in which the bird-heads are situated on representations of Mycenaean ships and the Medinet Habu ship depictions: on the Mycenaean vessels the bird/bird-head always appears at the bow, upon or near the stem. Although originally they seem always to face forward, by the Late Cypriote III they can also face inboard (Göttlicher 1978:35 no. 149; Wachsmann 1981:205 fig. 21, 206). The ships at Medinet Habu, however, also have a mirror-image bird-head facing aft atop the sternpost. This is not a common element on Aegean ships of the Late Helladic IIIB–IIIC. To find a multitude of exact parallels to this configuration we must look farther afield: to the Urnfield Culture of Central Europe.

The manner in which the bird-heads are placed on the Medinet Habu ships are remarkably similar to the bird-boats, or *Vogelbarke,* of the Central European Urnfield cultures, a fact first noted by Hencken (1968:568–570, 625–628). The earliest bird-boat ornaments—from the Somes River at Satu Mare in northern Romania and from Velem St. Vid in Hungary—are dated by Bouzek (1985:178) to the European Br D period (ca. 1250–1200 B.C.E.; Figs. 6.23–24). Bouzek (1994:217) notes that the Br D, to which most of the classical comparisons with the Late Helladic IIIB materials are associated, may be somewhat earlier than previously thought. Of only slightly later date—Halstatt A1 (ca. 12th century B.C.E.)—is another ornament of bird-boat shape from Grünwald, Bavaria (Fig. 6.25: A). Following this, the bird-boat motif is a common element in Urnfield and Villanovan art (Figs. 6.25: B–E; 6.26).

The bird-boat motif is not a symbolic device common to the Mycenaean cultural realm. Notable in this regard, therefore, is a bird-boat-like depiction painted on the sherd of a Late Helladic IIIC krater sherd found at Tiryns (Fig. 6.27). Bouzek (1985:178) doubts that in this case the artist understood the motif, however.

All this is very informative vis-à-vis the Sea Peoples' ship represented at Medinet Habu. True, as we have seen above, the depictions represent a galley type that is undoubtedly of Mycenaean tradition. The manner in which the bird-heads are positioned on the stem and stern of the ship form a seagoing "bird-boat." As this motif is foreign to the Mycenaean world, we must conclude that the specific ship used by the Medinet Habu artists as a prototype for their five depictions of a Sea Peoples' ship, was manned by a crew that held religious beliefs consistent with those of the Urnfield culture. Or, to put it plainly, the crew was likely to have been composed of Urnfield people.

As we have seen above, the five ship images in the invading fleet are almost surely all *studies* of a *single* northern vessel. Keeping this in mind, and following

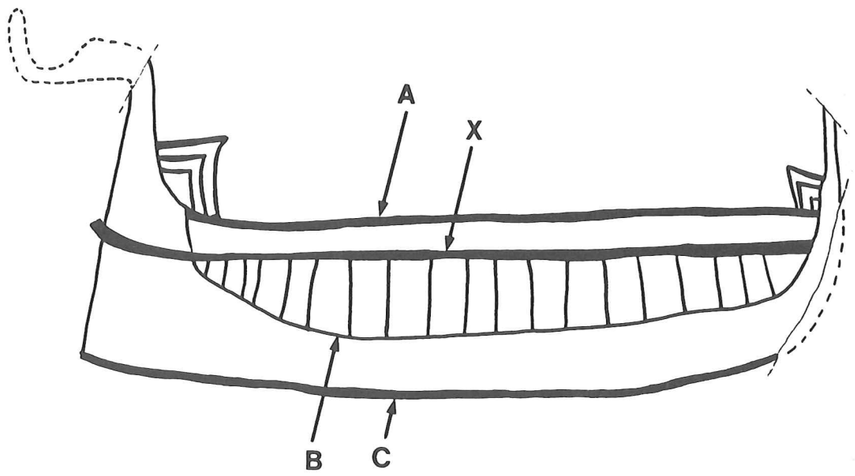


Figure 6.16. The horizontal lines indicating constructional details of the Kynos A ship.

Figure 6.17. Part of a dieres, *depicted on a Proto-Attic sherd from Phaleron. After Williams 1959:160 fig. 1.*

a minimalist approach, we may conclude that *at least* one ship that was manned by Urnfield warriors took part in the naval battle memorialized by Ramesses III's artists. It is important to emphasize that the appearance of a single ship crewed by Urnfield culture warriors does not necessarily indicate that all—or even a majority—of the ships in the invading fleet were crewed by Urnfield warriors. A single ship does not make a fleet.

We *cannot* assume that this particular class of ship was preferred because it was the predominant ship class in the invading fleet. The choice of the artist, to record a specific ship over others that would have been available to him in the aftermath of the battle, may have been the result of a variety of considerations that, at a chronological distance of over three thousand years, we are simply unable to determine. Indeed, serendipity may have been a factor: perhaps the artist chose the particular ship that he recorded *specifically because it was so rare or unique.*

Indeed, studies of the material culture of those groups of Sea Peoples who settled in the southeast corner of the Mediterranean coast in the wake of the mass migrations at the end of the Late Bronze Age indicate an overwhelming predominance of Mycenaean characteristics (T. Dothan 1982; Dothan and Dothan 1992; Mazar 1985; Stager 1991:6–7, 9–18; 1995). This argues for the Urnfield folk having constituted a relatively small component from among the groups that settled in the Near East. There is, however, one additional consideration in our evaluation of the impact of the Urnfield culture there: the Urnfield cremation cemeteries at Hama.

Over a thousand urns relating to cremation burials

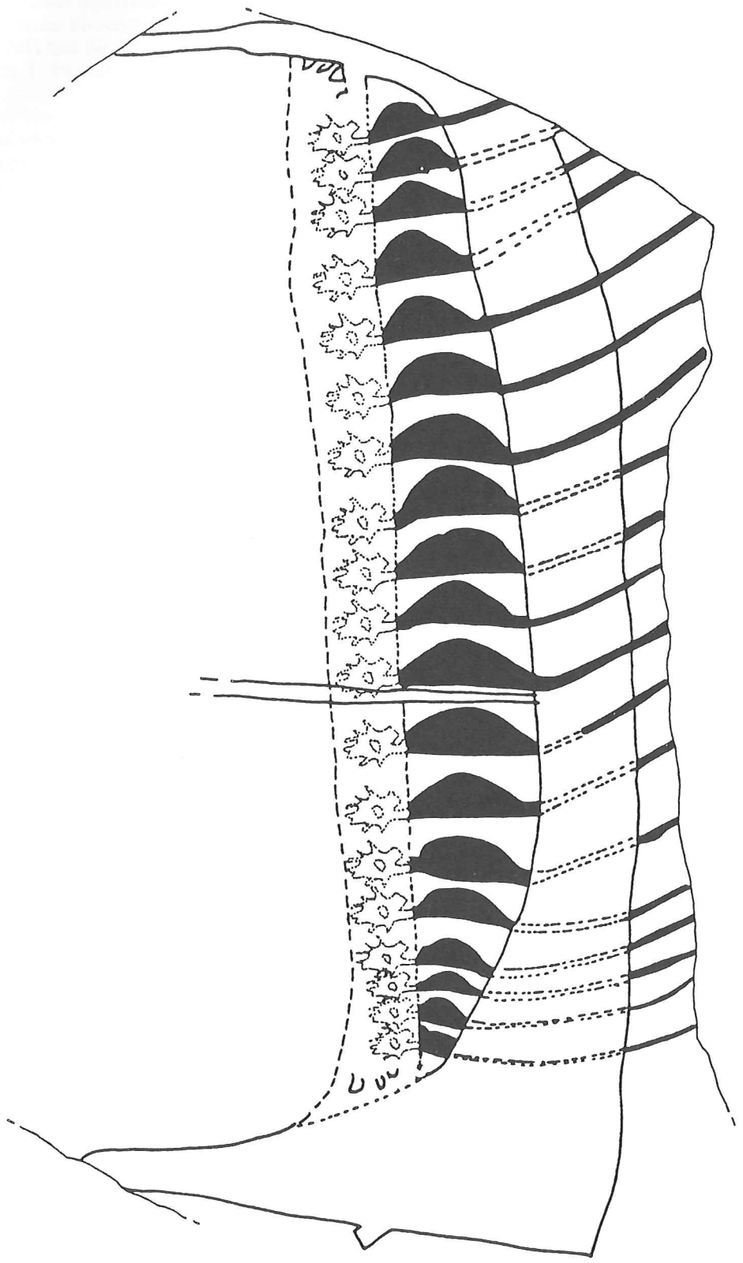


Figure 6.18. Hypothetical reconstruction of Kynos ship A. Oars leading to the 19 lunettes indicate that they represent the torsos of rowers as seen through an open rowers' galleys. A screen rising from deck level hides the heads of the oarsmen from view. Drawing: S. Wachsmann.

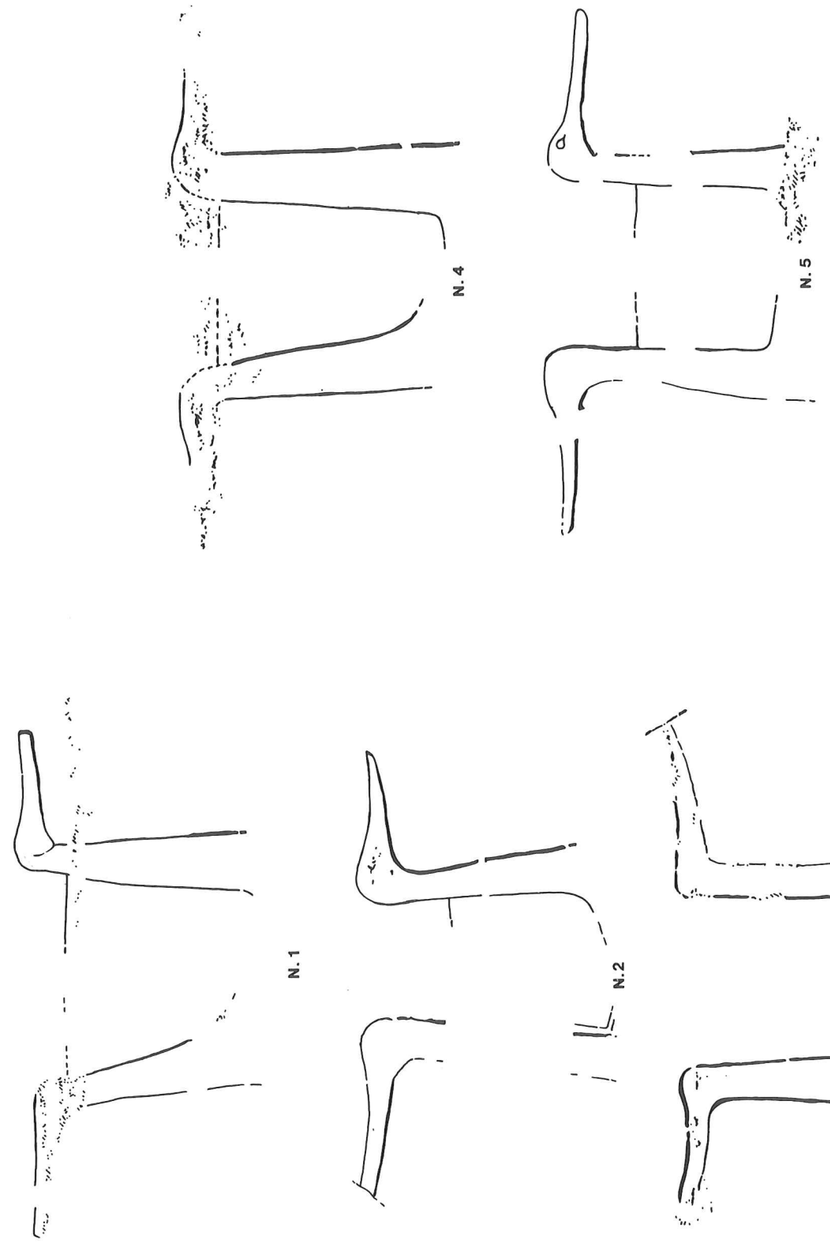


Figure 6.19. Bird-head devices on the five representations of a Sea Peoples' ship as depicted at Medinet Habu. After Medinet Habu *I: pl. 39.*

Figure 6.20. Ship with a stem ending in a water-bird head device painted on a stirrup jar from Skyros. Late Helladic IIIC. After Hencken 1968:537 fig. 486.

Figure 6.21. (A) Ship scene on a decorated Mycenaean amphoroid krater from Tomb 3, Enkomi. Note the water-bird device attached to the stem on the ship at left. Late Helladic IIIB. (B–D) Additional sherds from the same krater. A from Sjöqvist 1940: fig. 20:3. B–D after Karageorghis 1960: pl. X: VII.

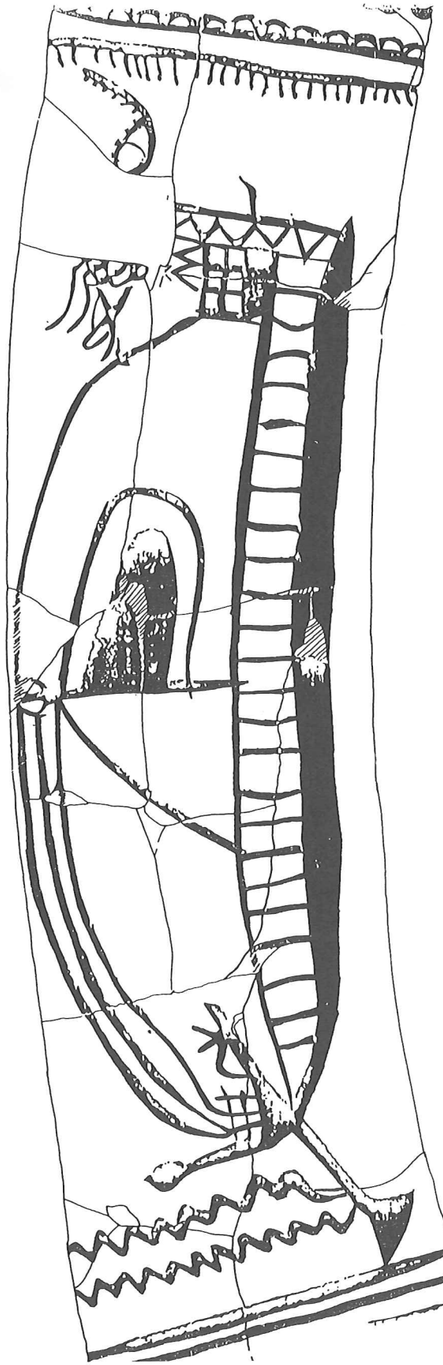
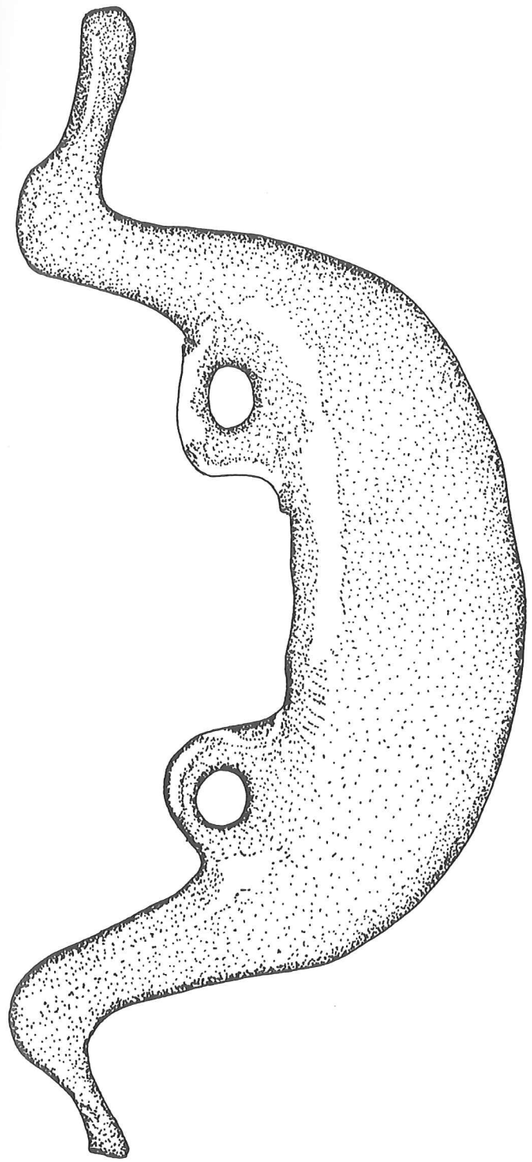


Figure 6.22. Ship with a water-bird device in the bow depicted on a pyxis from a tomb at Tragana, near Pylos. Late Helladic IIIC. After Korrés 1989:200.



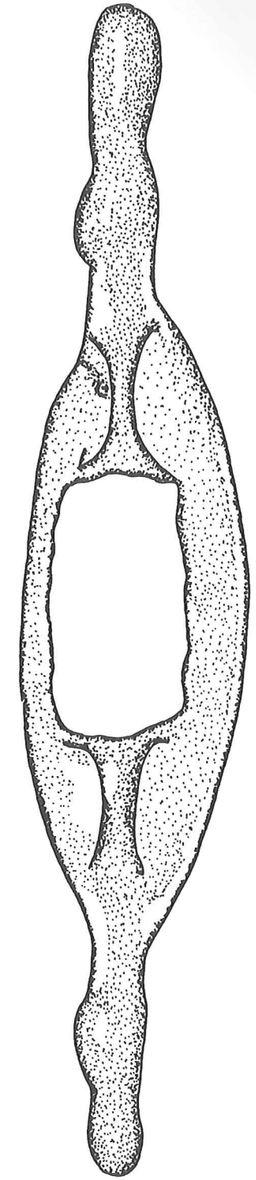


Figure 6.23. A bronze "bird-boat" ornament from the Somes River at Satu Mare in northern Romania. Br D(?). After Göttlicher 1978: taf. 33:439.

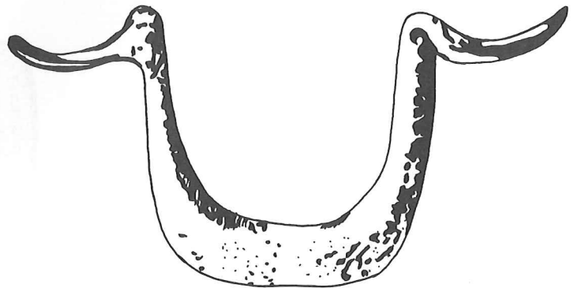


Figure 6.24. A bronze "bird-boat" ornament from Velem St. Vid, Hungary. Br D(?). After Göttlicher 1978: taf. 34:440.

were found in Hama F, early phase, which is equivalent to Period I of the cremation cemeteries (Ingholt 1940:69–84, pls. XXI–XXVI; Riis 1948). These cremation burials are exceptional, and are clearly not the result of a local development, indicating rather the arrival of a foreign, intrusive, cultural element at Hama. The material culture of this new group—fibulae, flang-hilted swords, as well as the Urnfield burials themselves—are undoubtedly of European origin. The Urnfield level at Hama was attributed by the site's Danish excavators to the migratory upheavals at the end of the Late Bronze Age.

Of unique interest to the present study is a ship depicted on one of the crematory urns found at Hama (Fig. 6.28; Ingholt 1940:71, pl. XXII: 2; Riis 1948:48 fig. 25, 97 fig. 130B: 112, 105–106, pl. 12C—no. G VII, 551 [5B902]; Hencken 1968:627). The vessel's stem is topped with the ubiquitous bird-head with a strongly recurved beak, and a typical Mycenaean open rowers' gallery with vertical stanchions takes up the hull. Above it, another "horizontal ladder" design presumably is intended to represent a screen with supporting stanchions.

Another rare example of cremation burials interred inside a ceramic container is noteworthy: at Azor, near Tel Aviv, a jar filled with the cremated remains of one or two individuals (Burial 63). The jar had been deposited inside a roughly square stone construction (M. Dothan 1960; 1961:173, pls. 33:=5–6, 35:2; Dothan and Dothan 1992:112–117; Stern 1993, I:129). Ceramic and metal artifacts—including a small mouthpiece made of gold foil—were found in association with the burial. This burial was dated to the latter part of the 11th century B.C.E., on the basis of a comparison with similar jars found at Tel Qasile, Stratum X. Note also that the men of Yavesh-Gilead cremated the bodies of Saul and his sons—a decidedly non-Semitic method of burial—before burying them (II Samuel 31:12–13).

The appearance of *at least one ship* manned by Urnfield folk in the Sea Peoples' fleet raises the interesting question of how people from a decidedly inland culture were able to take to the sea with such ease. Hencken (1968:627–628) offers a fascinating historical parallel:

> The Vandals had long been inland migrants in Europe when they crossed over from Spain to Africa in A.D. 429. But a mere eight years later, in 437, Vandal pirates were scouring the Mediterranean and attacking the coasts of Sicily. In 440 Gaiseric, the Vandal king, fitted out a powerful fleet to attack not only Sicily but Sardinia, and in 455 he sailed to Italy and plundered Rome. His fleet commanded the whole Mediterranean and by 468 was attacking Greece. Native North Africans are sometimes mentioned as accompanying him, and they may well have taught seamanship to their masters. But if the Vandals could take to the sea so quickly and so effectively, there is little need to doubt that Urnfielders could have done the same.

In recent years, additional depictions of ships of a decidedly Aegean tradition have come to the attention of scholars.

A sherd of Late Helladic IIIC 1b ware, uncovered at Ashkelon by the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon, is believed to be of local make, and bears a ship's post ending in a bird-head device (Fig. 6.29). The sherd was discovered in a fill, but has been identified as of typical Late Helladic IIIC 1b ware and is believed to have been manufactured locally.[12]

The original painting from which this is but a fragment must have contained at least one ship. The post is essentially horizontal; it is not possible to determine whether this is a stem or sternpost, or whether the head faces inboard or outboard. A circle forms the bird's head with a central dot representing the

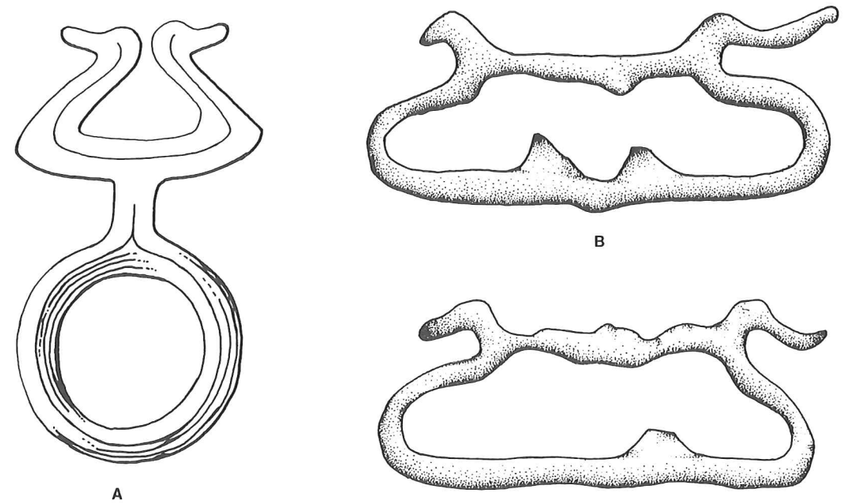


Figure 6.25. Double-headed "bird-boats" in Urnfield and Villanovan art. (A) On an ornament from Grünwald, Bavaria. Halstatt A1. (B–C) Cheekpieces from Impiccato, Grave 39. Probably Villanovan I. (D) Lunate razor blade handle from Selciatello Sopra, Grave 147. Villanovan IC. (E) Lunate razor blade handle from Selciatello Sopra, Grave 38. Probably Villanovan II. After Hencken 1968:516 fig. 478:f, 236 fig. 214:b, 105 fig. 92:b, 247 fig. 226.

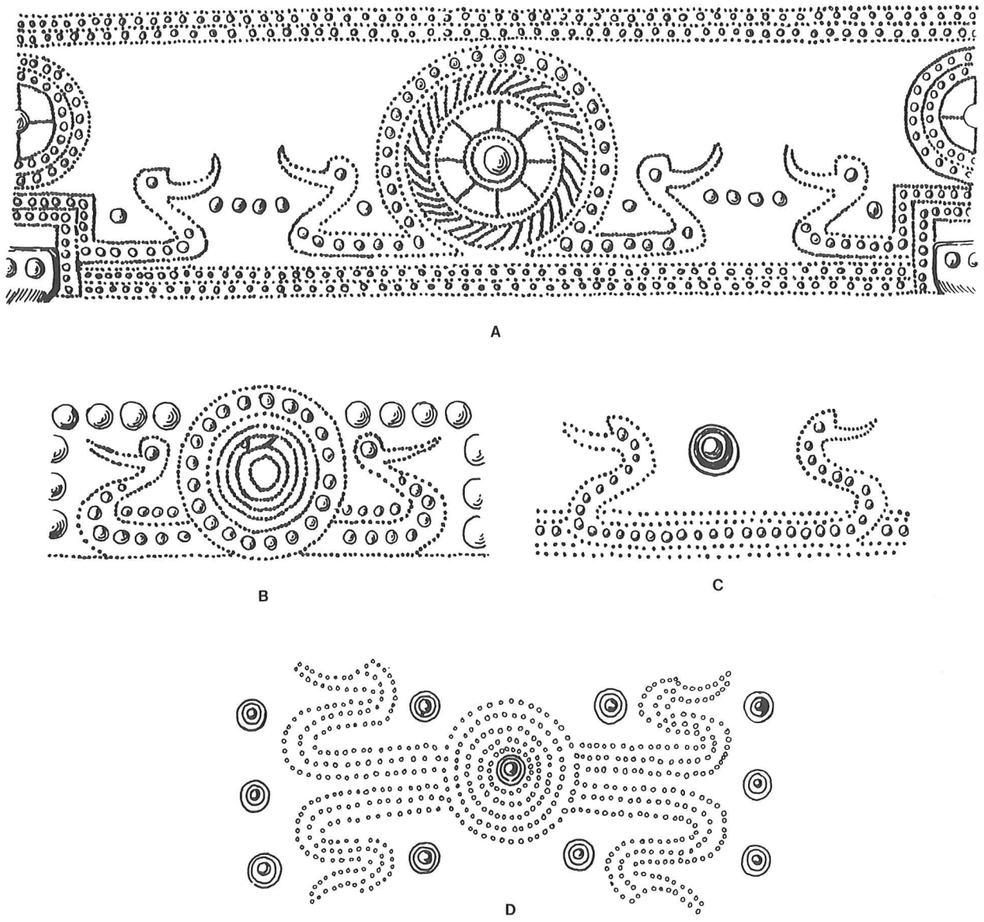


Figure 6.26. Single and double "bird boats" represented in embossed Urnfield ornament.
(A) From Lavindsgaard, Denmark. Halstatt A2. (B) From "Lucky," Slovakia. Halstatt A2.
(C) From Rossin, Pomerania. Halstatt B.
(D) From Este, Italy. Este II (= Villanovan II).
After Hencken 1968:516 fig. 478:a, b, e, and g.

Figure 6.27. A "bird-boat" motif painted on a krater sherd from Tiryns. Late Helladic IIIC.
After Bouzek 1985:177 fig. 88:6.

fowl's eye. The beak, which is largely missing, continues the curving lower line of the post. It is not inconceivable that this might represent the head and neck of an actual bird mounted as a device on the ship, similar to those on the ship depictions from Enkomi and Tragana (Figs. 6.21–22). This seems less likely, however, considering the relative size of the legs of the man standing upon it.

Zigzag lines decorate the visible edges of the post. This matches decorations on the vertical bow of the Tragana ship. Note that two additional wavy, or zigzagging, lines rise from the latter ship's single quarter rudder. Similar lines also appear on a ship painted on a *larnax* from Gazi, a terra-cotta ship uncovered at Tiryns, and on *askoi* in the form of ships from Cyprus and the Athenian Acropolis, as well as on a bird-head device from Maroni, which has broken off from a model (Wachsmann 1998:136 fig. 7.19, 139, 150 fig. 7.45, 151 fig. 7.48, 152 fig. 7.49, 185, 187 fig. 8.48).

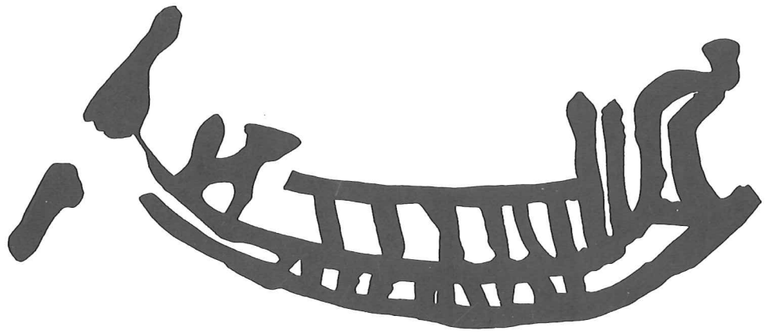


Figure 6.28. Detail of a ship appearing on a cremation urn from Hama. Note the bird-head device atop the stem and the open rowers' gallery with vertical stanchions. Ca. 1200–1075 B.C. After Ingholt 1940: pl. XXII:2.

Figure 6.29. Scene of a man standing on a ship's bird-head post decoration painted on a sherd from Ashkelon. Late Helladic IIIC 1b. Courtesy L. E. Stager and the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon. Photo: Sztulman-Kessel. Drawing: P. Sibella.

The legs of a man standing on the post are preserved to thigh level. If we assume a frontal view, the figure stands with his left heel planted on the bird-head's device, while his right foot is positioned behind it, on the post. A line rises vertically from near the toe on the left foot. The artist's intention in this detail is unclear, and this may be the simple result of the paint running while still wet. If the artist indeed intended to depict a shoe curving at the toe, for which parallels exist in both the Aegean world and Asia Minor, his attempt was unsuccessful.[13] Furthermore, if this was the case, we would expect the figure to wear the same type of shoe on both feet.

A curving line appears on the left edge of the sherd, behind the legs. This may represent a shield depicted in profile (cf. Figs. 6.13–14). Alternately, it might represent a bow (Wachsmann 1998:137 n. 65).

On Aegean galleys, warriors are commonly depicted standing in the castles, situated next to the stem or sternposts (Figs. 6.13–15). The same is true of the Sea Peoples' vessels at Medinet Habu (Figs. 6.4–7).[14] The nearest parallels for warriors actually standing on the post ornaments are on the representation of an Attic Geometric galley dating to the mid-8th century B.C.E. and a 7th-century B.C.E. Beotian bronze fibula from Crete (Morrison and Williams 1968: pl. 8e; Basch 1987:175 fig. 362, 193 fig. 411; Casson 1995: fig. 62).

The appearance of a ship with a bird-head device on this Late Helladic IIIC 1b sherd, found in the heartland of Philistia, indicates that the ships employed in the water-borne invasion of Egypt continued in use by the Sea Peoples after their settlement along the southeastern Mediterranean coast (Mazar 1985; Stager 1991:9–18; 1995:334–340).

Another illustration of a ship is engraved on a limestone seal from Beit Shemesh (Fig. 6.30; Grant 1932:21, 82–83 pl. XLVIII: no. 1107; Keel 1990: 386 no. 30, 389 fig. 98; 1994: 33 n. 39, 34 fig. 20). The ship, although schematic, contains sufficient information to make it clear that the artist intended to depict an Aegean-style ship with an open rowers' gallery.

The vessel faces right. It displays a vertical stem and an angular stern, a form common in Aegean-type ships (compare, e.g. Figs. 6.20, 6.22). The stem appears to be capped by a slightly curved, perpendicular device, but this is too schematically portrayed for us to venture an identification. The hull is taken up with an open rowers' gallery, crossed by four vertical lines (stanchions), with four oars appearing beneath it. Two men, who hold curving objects in their right hands, stand amidships and in the stern. Above the stem is another ladder-like design that does not make sense in relation to the ship under question. Perhaps this element is the hull of a ship that was never completed. Above and below the ship's stern are sets of

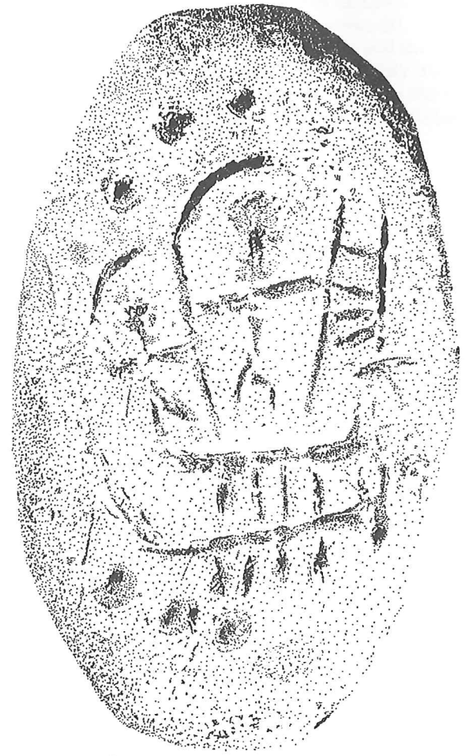


Figure 6.30. Aegean-type ship engraved on a seal from Beit Shemesh. After Keel 1994:34 fig. 20.

three dots drilled into the seal. Similar motifs appear with ship graffiti on a small stone receptacle from Acco (Artzy 1987:77, fig. 2).

Philistine wares are prevalent at Beit Shemesh (T. Dothan 1982:50–51 for summary and bibliography). Therefore, it seems probable that the prototype of the ship engraved on the seal was Philistine.

A number of rock graffiti, including one representing a ship, were identified by Wreschner (1971:218, fig. 1, no. 5, pl. 47: C) and Prausnitz in 1967 near the top of Nahal ha-Me'arot's northern bluff. More recently, Artzy (1991; 1994) reports numerous additional ship graffiti discovered in Nahal ha-Me'arot and another one, found near the entrance of Nahal Oren, about 5 km to the north. Artzy notes three types of ships depicted in the graffiti (Fig. 6.31). Her future publication of this important group of ship depictions will be a valuable addition to our ever-growing corpus of Aegean ship iconography.

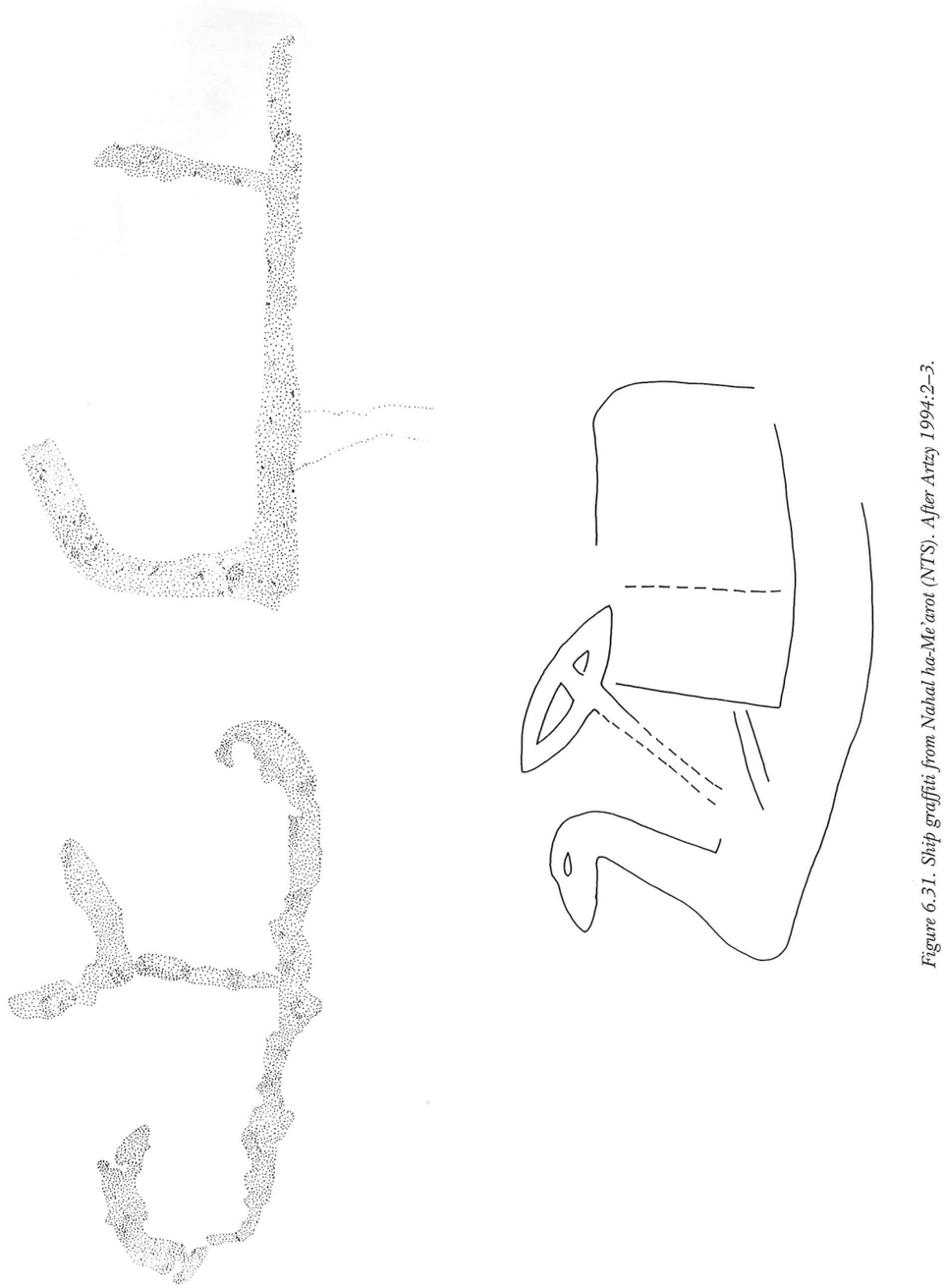


Figure 6.31. Ship graffiti from Nahal ha-Me'arot (NTS). After Artzy 1994:2–3.

Winkler, during a survey in the Oasis of Dakhla undertaken in 1937–1938, photographed a ship graffito carved into a rock at Teneida, on the eastern border of the oasis (Winkler 1939:1–2, 7–9 and plan—sites 61–69; Winlock 1936: pl. I). The photograph went unpublished until 1994 when Basch, in a penetrating study, noted the distinct similarities this ship has to the Aegean ship tradition (Fig. 6.32).

The ship faces right. The line of its keel/keel-plank is straight. It has a vertical stem and a diagonal sternpost. The hull/keel continues beyond the stem into a ram-like cutwater, for which there are numerous parallels (Wachsmann 1981:203 figs. 17–18, 205 fig. 20, 207 fig. 22, 216–217; 1998:134 fig. 7.17, 136 fig. 7.19, 139 fig. 7.22, 141 fig. 7.27, 142 fig. 7.29, 150 figs. 7.44–45, 151 fig. 7.48:A, 174 fig. 8.19). There is a mast in the center, and a forecastle in two levels nestles behind the stem. At the stern, a quarter-rudder descends at an angle in a manner reminiscent of that on the ship depiction from Phaistos (above).

There are at least nine male figures on and around the ship. These figures are decidedly non-Aegean. On their heads they wear something with a long appendage, perhaps a hat or mask(?). They also have exaggerated genitalia, and appear to be circumcised. Four figures hold objects that Basch has reasonably identified as ship models bearing long-beaked birdheads facing forward atop the vertical posts (Fig. 6.33).

Basch connects the appearance of this Aegean ship graffito in the oasis with the bands of Libyans and Meshwesh, who fought against Ramesses III. There was contact between the Oasis of Dakhla and the Nile Valley during the New Kingdom (Giddy 1987: 170–173). The earliest historical reference to the oasis dates to the accession of Amenhotep II (Winlock 1936:58).

Concerning the origins of the groups in the Sea Peoples' coalition confronted by Ramesses III in his 8th year, Redford (1992:251 n. 48) writes, "Regardless of what specific identifications are opted for, it is generally agreed that it is wrong to look north of the Aegean for some mysterious group of invaders who broke in upon the Mediterranean." The evidence, however, suggests otherwise. Indeed, it would be of particular interest to determine which, if any, among the groups enumerated as taking part in the invasion in the 8th year of Ramesses III, should be identified with elements of the Urnfield culture.

The above review of ship iconography confirms the significant interconnection between Mycenaeans and Sea Peoples, documented so well in other aspects of material culture. At the same time, it points clearly to at least one additional cultural element among the Sea Peoples, from Central Europe, that has, until now, been all but overlooked. It is important to emphasize, however, that such an Urnfield presence within the Sea Peoples' coalition does not preclude their absorption of other cultural groups, including groups of Anatolian origin.

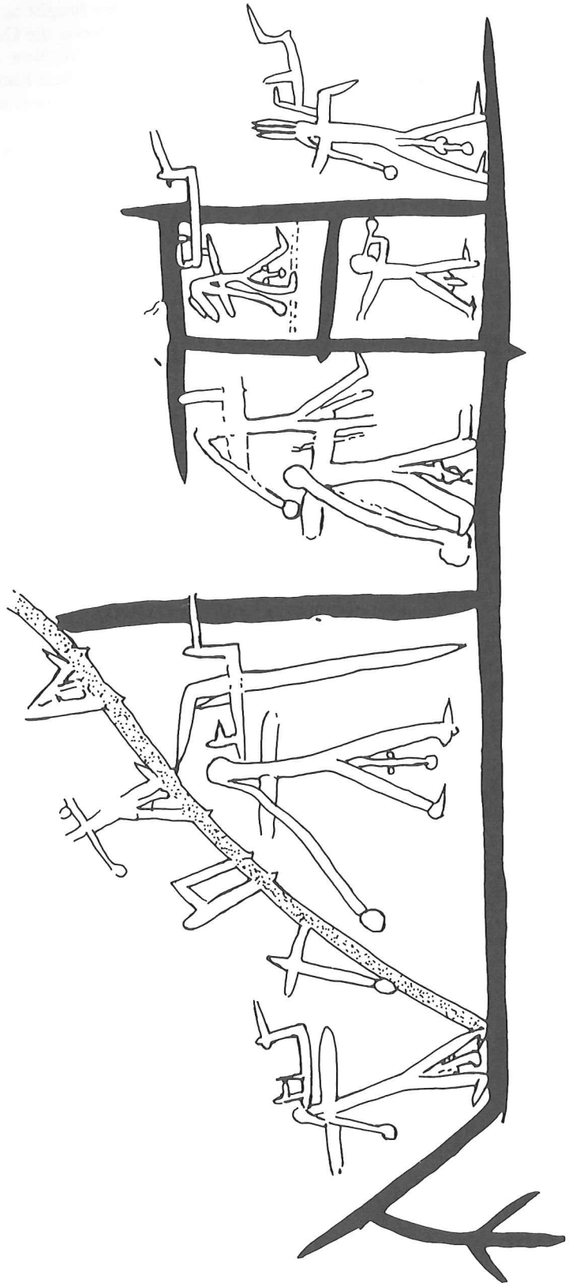


Figure 6.32. Rock graffito of a ship of Aegean tradition carved on a rock at Teneida, in the Oasis of Dakhleh, Egypt. After Basch 1994:24.

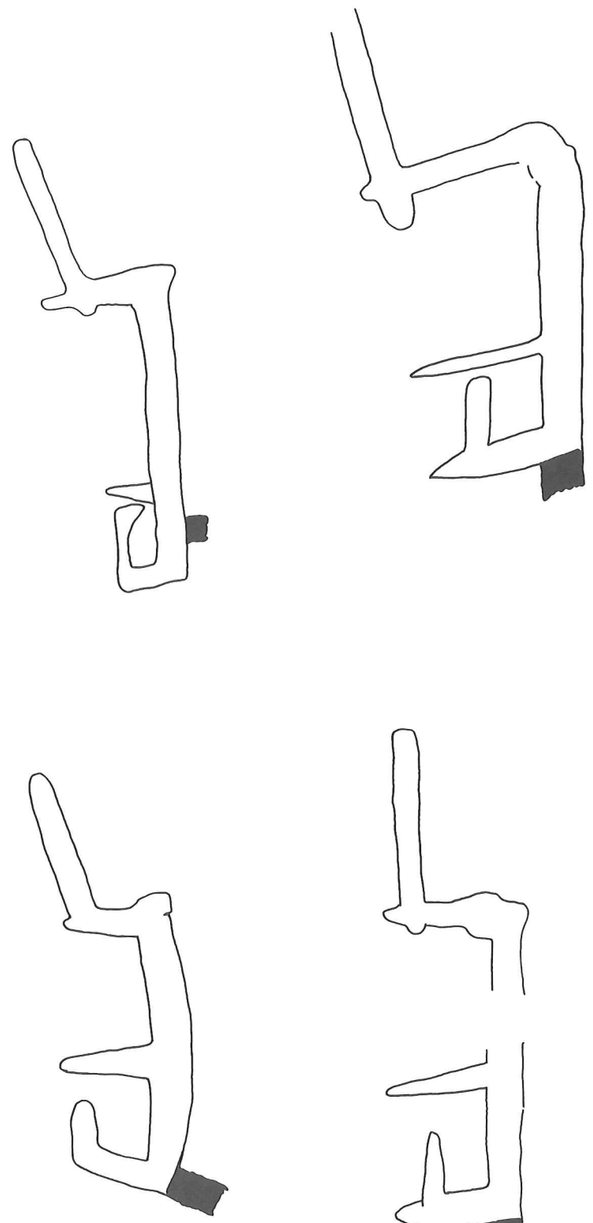


Figure 6.33. Ship models(?) held by four of the male figures in the Teneida ship graffito. After Basch 1994:25 fig. 15.

Notes

1. Translation from Moran 1992. Based on EA114, Alashia must be identified as part, or all, of Cyprus (Wachsmann 1986).

2. My italics—S. W.

3. Chadwick 1988:79–84, 91–93. See also Ventris and Chadwick 1973:156, 159; Chadwick 1973:417; 1976: 80–81; Vermeule 1983:142; Palaima 1991:279–280.

4. Translation by A. T. Murray.

5. These Sikils are to be equated with the *Tkrw* of the Egyptian texts (see Rainey in Wachsmann 1972:304 n. 1). This group appears relatively late on the scene. They took part in the coalition that attacked Egypt during Ramesses III's 8th regnal year, but are not recorded in the previous attacks on Egypt. Wenamun found them settled at Dor, ca. 1075 B.C.E. They are further confirmation that the destruction of Ugarit took place chronologically near to the time of the attack of year 8 (Wachsmann 1982:297; Stager 1995: 335–336).

6. I thank Lionel Casson for bringing this latter possibility to my attention (personal communication).

7. Interestingly, the approximately 600 men thought to have been listed originally on one of the Pylos "Rower Tablets," PY An 610, also would be sufficient to man a fleet—whatever its purpose—of about 20 triaconters or 12 penteconters (Chadwick 1987:79; Wachsmann 1981:213–214; 1998:123–124, 159–161; in press). Note also that *11* Sikil ships were sent to Byblos to arrest Wenamun (Simpson 1973:153).

8. I do not discuss here the possible evidence for the use of ship-based Sea Peoples in mercenary actions, for which see Wachsmann 1998:129–130.

9. See also Breasted 1962, IV: §65.

10. For a full listing of Late Helladic/Late Minoan III B–C ship depictions bearing this motif, see Wachsmann 1998:130–151, 155–156.

11. I thank Mr. Rezart Spahia for bringing this possibility to my attention.

12. The sherd is inventoried as #5/86.50.59. L50.B291.(21). It is 3.5 x 3.1 cm, and 5–6 mm thick. The following is a description of the sherd based on the Munsell Soil Color Charts. Clay color: pink (7.5 yr 7/4). Interior surface: very pale brown (10 yr 7/3). Exterior surface: very pale brown (10 yr 8/4). Color of decoration: very dark gray (2.5 yr N3/). I thank Barbara Johnson for supplying me with this information.

13. See, e.g.: (Minoan) Wachsmann 1987: pls. XLI–XLIII; (Mycenaean) Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973:103 no. 1248f., 379 fig. 1248f.; (Hittite) Gurney 1990:24, 164. See also Wachsmann 1987: 40 n. 81.

14. See also the men facing outboard at the bow and stern of a Late Minoan IIIC ship depiction from Phaistos (Laviosa 1972:9 fig. 1b; Wachsmann 1998:141 fig. 7.27, 142).

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7

Reflections on the Initial Phase of Philistine Settlement

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In this paper I will focus mainly on the initial phase of settlement in Philistia proper, but before I go into detail I would like to put a number of problems connected with the subject into proper perspective.[1]

At the beginning of the Iron Age, at the time of the incursion of the Philistines and the other Sea Peoples into the area, the ethnic makeup and the material culture of Canaan were undergoing significant changes. The Canaanite city-states were on the wane, the Israelite tribes were settling in the hill country, and the Egyptian presence was still evident in parts of the country.

It is my contention that there was no chronological gap between the end of Egyptian dominance of Canaan and the beginning of Philistine settlement, as others have suggested (Finkelstein 1995:213–239; 1996:180; Ussishkin 1995:240–267; see also Bietak 1993:293–306; T. Dothan 1989:1–22). From the archaeological evidence so far amassed in and around Canaan, and against the background of the larger canvas of changes in the Mediterranean area, a picture of ethnic coexistence emerges. The movements of migrating peoples in and out of historical epochs and geographical spaces is, by and large, durational rather than abrupt, overlapping in both time and space. I will try to validate this contention in the following discussion.

The excavations of Ekron, Ashdod, and Ashkelon, three of the five cities of the Philistine Pentapolis, all well-planned cities built on the ruins of much smaller Canaanite cities, enable us to make a regional reassessment of the initial appearance and settlement in Canaan of the Philistines in Philistia (Fig. 7.1). These flourishing urban centers clearly reflect the Aegean background of the inhabitants as they came into contact with the reality of Canaan, a reality that was by no means monolithic. The three cities all reveal similar patterns of settlement, evidence of an impressive urban momentum, or *urban imposition* (Stager 1995: 345), in which the new cities vigorously expanded beyond the confines of the smaller Canaanite cities, and grafted onto these sites urban traditions from the Aegean milieu. They provide evidence of fortification, sophisticated town planning, extensive ceramic production and a distinctive repertoire, metallurgy and glyptics, architectural features such as the adaptation of the megaron plan and the hearth in different configurations such as cultic and domestic, and cult practices, which, when taken together, make up the Philistine/Sea Peoples culture.

I will focus mainly on Tel Miqne-Ekron as the type-site of the Philistine city because the well-preserved nature of the site enabled us to discern the city in its entirety. The discovery of a royal dedicatory inscription during the final season of excavations at Tel-Miqne (1996) has made the identification of the site with ancient Ekron almost indisputable (Gitin, Dothan, and Naveh 1997:1–16). My discussion will also include information from the Ashdod excavations (M. Dothan 1993:93–103) and from the picture now emerging from Ashkelon.

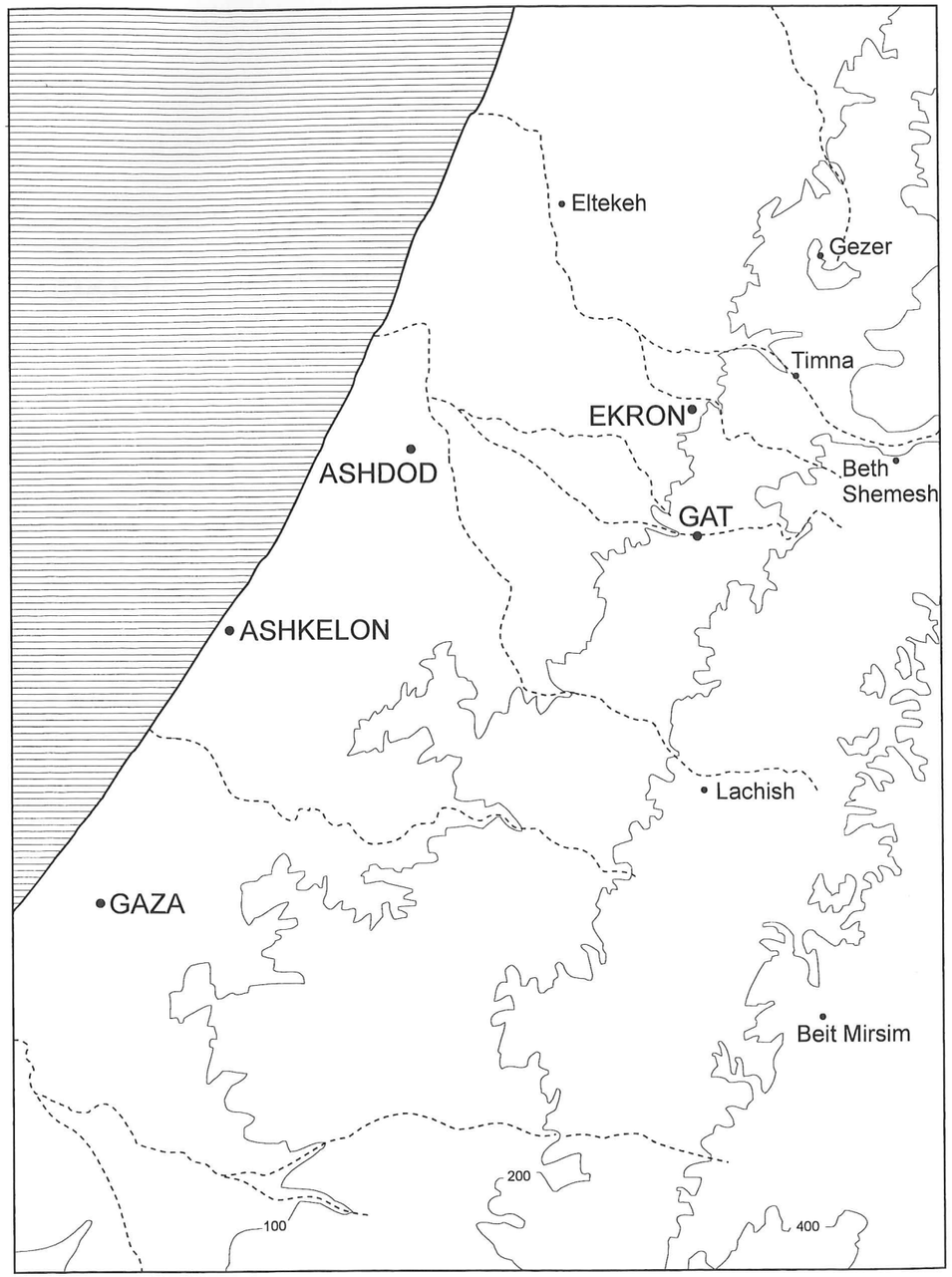

Figure 7.1. Map of sites in Philistia.

Type-Site: Tel Miqne-Ekron

The excavations that began in 1982 and terminated in 1996 have provided us with a picture of the changes in the life of the city, its expansions, and its contractions at different periods of its history, including the destruction in 1000 B.C.E., which brought to an end the first phase of Philistine settlement (T. Dothan and Gitin 1993:1051–59; T. Dothan 1995: 41–59). We found evidence of the continuous occupation of the city from the Chalcolithic period in the fourth millennium through to the 6th century B.C.E., when the city was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar and never resettled. From the Chalcolithic period to the Middle Bronze city we have only pottery evidence, but from the Middle Bronze to the 7th century we have stratigraphic and architectural evidence of settlement.

Philistine Ekron was founded and fortified at the beginning of the Iron Age, and our excavation of four fields (I, III, IV, and X) enabled us to adumbrate the early stages in the settlement and building of the new city, which encompassed the entire area of the *tel*, about 50 acres. (Fig. 7.2) There are two distinct areas of settlement in the excavated fields:

1. Field I, the upper city or acropolis, on which the Canaanite city of 10 acres was located, and the adjacent slope and sondage.
2. Fields III, IV, and X—the lower city of about 40 acres, which was destroyed in the Middle Bronze Age (16th century B.C.E.) and resettled only in Iron Age I. The MB city covered all 50 acres, and its fortifications gave the city its shape (Fig. 7.3).

The Late Bronze Age Canaanite city (Strata IX–VIII) that followed, presumably unfortified, covered only the 10-acre area, the acropolis or upper city. It reflected the character of the period: dominant Canaanite features, with Egyptian elements (scarabs of the Nineteenth Dynasty and a tomb of the period) and imported Mycenaean and Cypriote pottery, reflecting a period in which international maritime trade flourished (Fig. 7.4).

In Field I, the upper city or acropolis, we could follow the total destruction of the last Late Bronze Canaanite city by fire. Here the destruction is evident: the remains of a large mud-brick storage building, traces of figs and lentils in storage jars, and a large well-preserved silo are buried under the collapsed mud-bricks. The level of this destruction can be followed on the adjacent slopes of Field I, where the state of preservation is different. Here the final Late Bronze Age II surfaces (Stratum VIII), with Cypriote and Anatolian gray-polished ware, are sealed by a significant layer of crushed orange-colored mud-brick construction material. This orange level can be followed over a large area (ca. 54 m) across the sondage to the top of the acropolis. This orange layer was part of a layer of fill that contained LBII/Iron I transitional forms and two sherds of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery—the foundation level for Stratum VII, the Iron Age I Sea Peoples/Philistine city (Fig. 7.5).

Beginning in Stratum VII, both the character and the size of the city change dramatically. The new Philistine city lies flush on the destruction of the Late Bronze Age settlement in the upper city and on the open fields of the Middle Bronze Age lower city, which had lain barren for about 400 years. The incorporation of the lower city vividly shows the urban imposition of the large-scale Philistine city in all the excavated fields—the southern Field III, Field IV, the heart, and the western fortified boundary Field X. The boundaries of the Philistine city followed the outline of the Middle Bronze city—a phenomenon that can be seen in each of the excavated areas (Fig. 7.6).

The fact that the Philistines settled on the destruction of the Canaanite city confined to the 10-acre upper city and then continued to expand that city until it reached the entire 50-acre contours of the Middle Bronze city is indeed a striking example of vision and enterprise. The mud-brick city wall was constructed with the initial settlement of Philistine Ekron as both eastern and western boundaries. The fortified entrance to the city at the south, Field III, was only reached with the uncovering of Stratum VI, with the Philistine bichrome pottery, and links up with the ramparts built near the city wall in Field I. We can postulate that the early Philistine city remained fortified until its destruction and abandonment (with the exception of the acropolis) around 1000 B.C.E. The picture that emerges shows that Ekron, like Rome, was not built in a day, and each of the fields offers variations on the intensity and nature of the initial settlement of the Sea Peoples (Stratum VII).

The first urban Iron Age settlement at Ekron coincides with the appearance of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery, which has been encountered in large quantities in the various fields of excavations, but mainly in Field I, northeast.

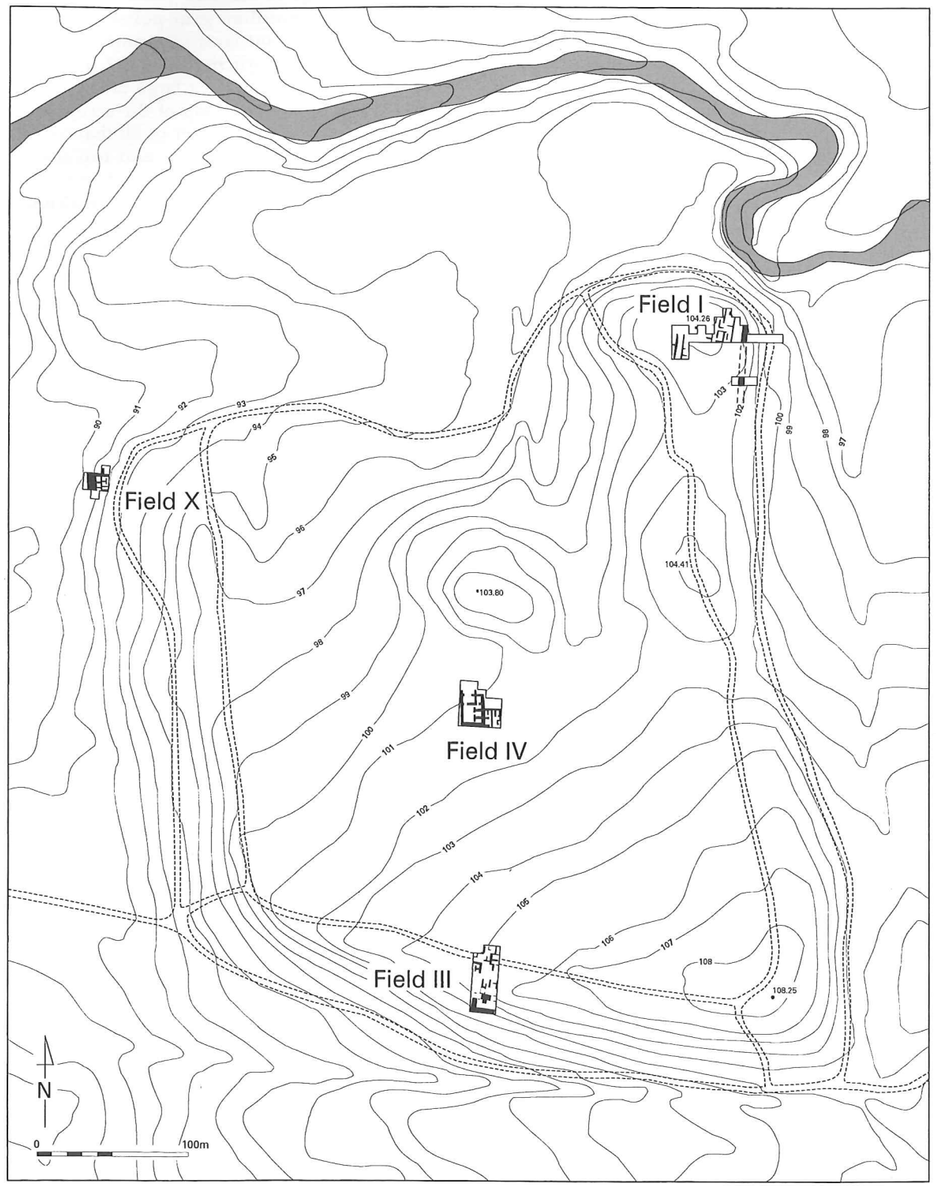

Figure 7.2. Plan of Ekron: areas of occupation during Iron Age I.

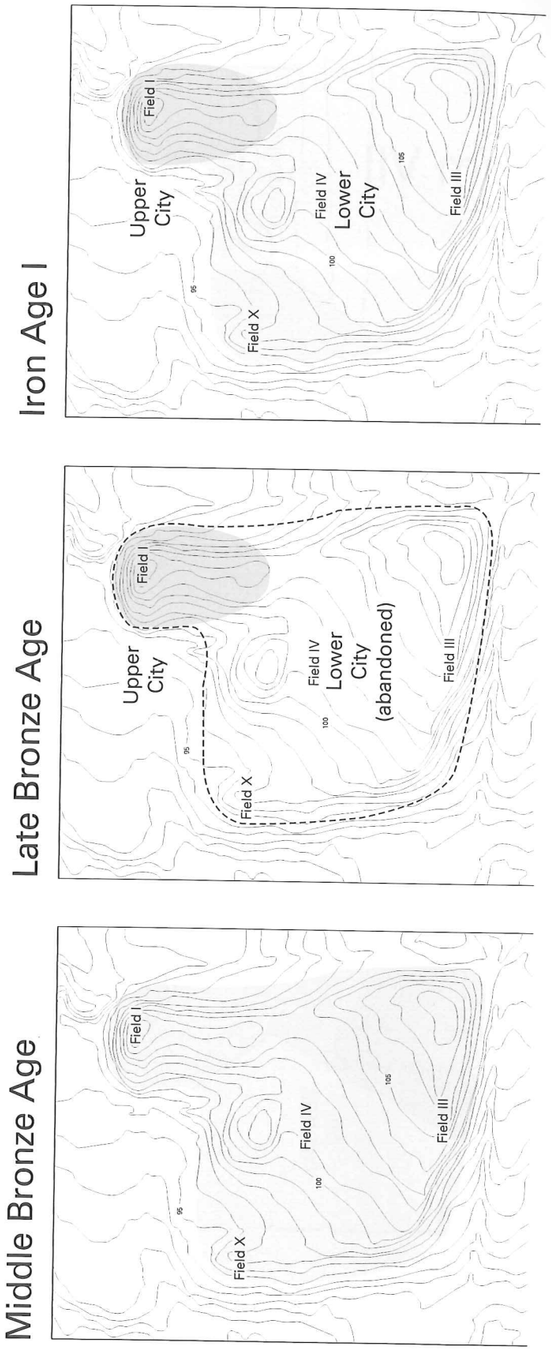

Figure 7.3. Middle Bronze, Late Bronze, and Iron I: contraction and expansion of Ekron.

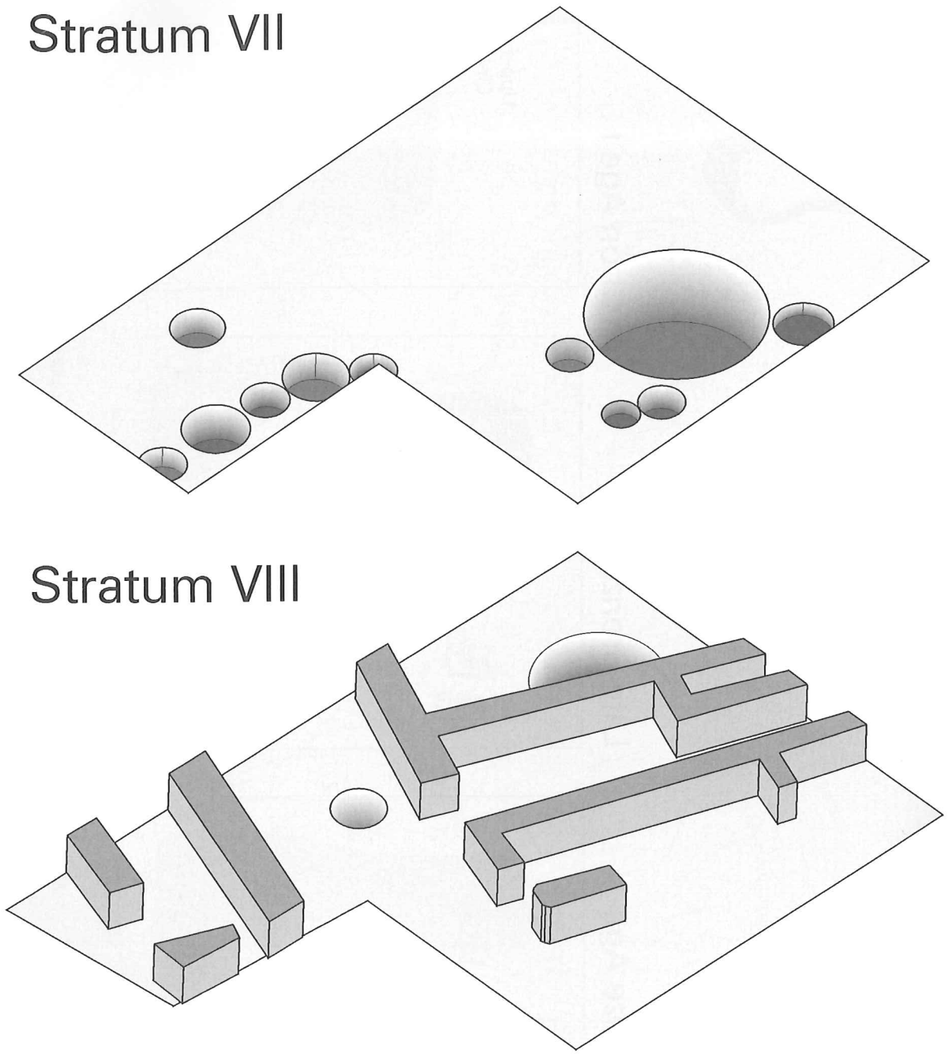

Figure 7.4. Field I Upper, Stratum VIII Storage Building, superimposed Stratum VII: pits and open areas.

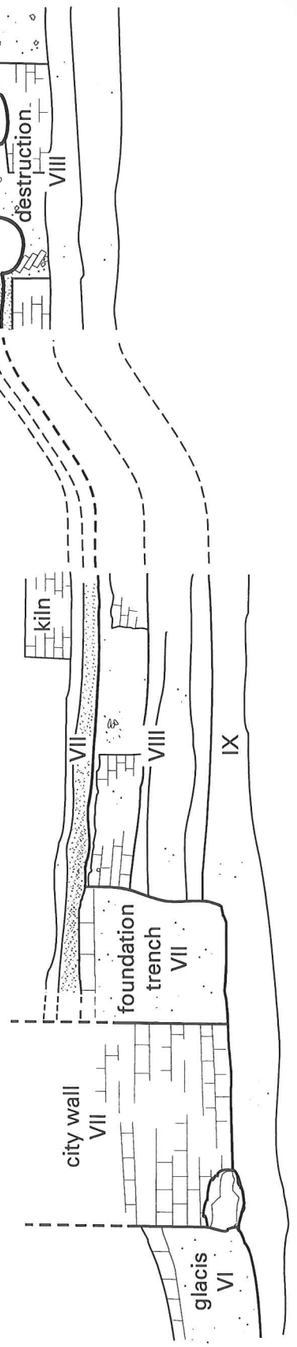

Figure 7.5. Field I: section connecting Lower and Upper destruction level.

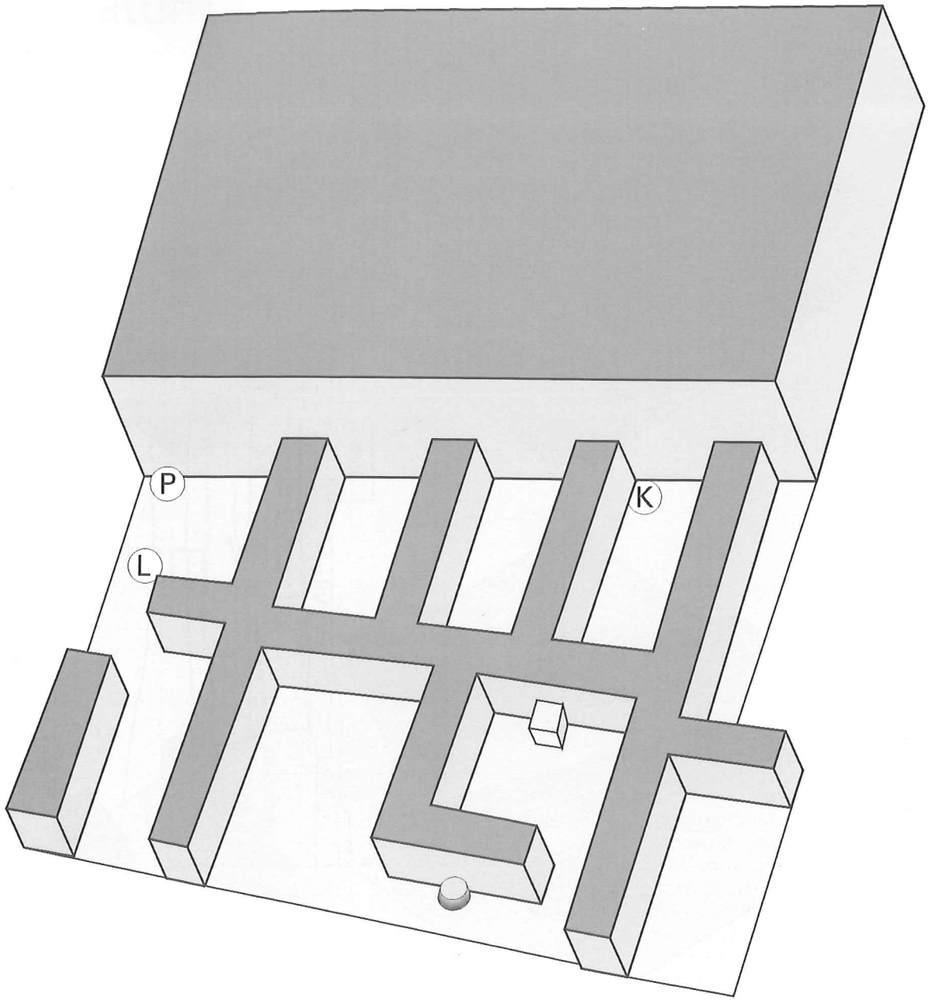

Figure 7.6. Field X: isometric of fortification and adjacent building—Strata VIIa and VIIb.

Mycenaean IIIC:1b Pottery

The first phase of the Mycenaean IIIC:1b with its monochrome decoration is represented in Stratum VII with at least two substantial subdivisions. From there we can follow, through Strata VI and V, the crystallization of the full-fledged bichrome Philistine pottery; it runs the gamut of the repertoire of the elaborate group, which was typical of the 12th century B.C.E. and which continued into the mid-11th century B.C.E. There were concommitant architectural changes that reflected the growth and *florit* of the settlement.

The indigenous pottery accompanying the Mycenaean IIIC:1b and Philistine diagnostic assemblages shows both a continuation of the Late Bronze Age tradition and the appearance of typical Iron Age I types.

The Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery accounts for about 60 percent of the sherds found in the industrial area (i.e., kiln area) in the upper city (Killebrew 1996: 146). This would appear to be connected with the industrial area as well as with open dump areas, as the ratio is extremely high. The pottery represented in the sondage and on the acropolis is extremely rich and homogeneous, though the vessels are fragmentary and almost no complete shapes were found. In the new, enlarged, 50-acre Iron Age I city, there are no traces of imports whatsoever. Egyptian features, present in the Late Bronze Age city, are *now absent.* On the other hand, local Canaanite ceramic traditions persist as a component of the makeup of the new Sea Peoples/Philistine city.

The relatively large quantities of Mycenaean IIIC:1b sherds at Ekron parallel their frequency at Ashdod, where this type of pottery was first recognized in Israel. Since then, there have been hints of a wider distribution of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery, indicative of the first phase of Philistine settlement in Philistia proper.

From the study undertaken and now entering the final phase of publication, it is possible to build a typology based on the Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery from Ekron (the upper and lower cities), supplemented by the Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery from Ashdod (M. Dothan 1971, 1983, 1993, including M. Dothan, in press), and Ashkelon, and correlated with the wider appearance of this type of pottery in Cyprus and the Aegean, Syria, and Anatolia. From the study of the vast material accumulated at Ekron, we can say that the amazing range of types (from fine decorated tableware to plain kitchenware) and techniques and styles of decoration are closely linked to the Aegean prototypes. This is true as well of the terracotta figurines, animal as well as human.

The ware is distinguished by its well-levigated and well-fired clay, ranging in color from light buff to pink. This ware is easily distinguishable from the locally made wares appearing with it, and is reminiscent of the Mycenaean imports of the Late Bronze Age. The monochrome decoration is in colors varying from black to brick red. The brush technique exhibits shading from light to dark, which links it with Mycenaean styles of application. The luster of the Mycenaean finish, however, is largely lacking. The results of archaeometric analysis show clearly that these vessels were made locally (Gunneweg 1986:3–16), as were the Ashdod assemblages (Asaro, M. Dothan, and Perlman 1971:169–175). In both cases, we have additional confirmation of this fact by the presence of the potters' workshops at Ashdod (area G) and at Ekron, where seven fire installations (kilns) were uncovered in Field I NE during the 1985–1988 seasons (Killebrew 1996:135–162). They date to the 12th century B.C.E. and are associated with Mycenaean IIIC:1b (Stratum VII, where the earliest kilns were found), or with Mycenaean IIIC:1b and bichrome (Stratum VI) assemblages. The series of fire installations spanning the habitation of this site in Strata VII and VI (12th century B.C.E.) indicate that the area served as an industrial area during these phases. These kilns were used, in all likelihood, for local production of Mycenaean IIIC:1b and bichrome pottery assemblages.

It should be stressed here that at Ekron, and not only at Ekron, parallel to the Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery, which is a new element, we have the continuation of the local Canaanite tradition of the Late Bronze Age into the Iron Age I period. This tradition consists of coarseware pottery, predominantly among them storage jars, juglets, foundation deposits (Bunimovitz and Zimhoni 1993:99–125), bowls (decorated Gezer-type bowls), kraters, and lamps. Thus, it would appear that, although the Canaanite city was utterly destroyed, a Canaanite presence persisted in one form or another.

Our corpus of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery is built mainly on thousands of sherds. Few complete vessels were found, and those that were were from Field IV, Stratum VII (Fig. 7.7), and, in our last season, from Field X (Fig. 7.8) (Bierling 1998; T. Dothan 1998: 20–51). Although what we uncovered was on a small scale and for two seasons only, it provided us with important results, in understanding the fortifications, architecture, and ceramic assemblages of Strata VII, VI, and V. The later phases, including the vast 7th-century B.C.E. occupation, were eroded. The architectural features we encountered were monumental fortifications (Wall 90006) with an adjacent building complex (Complex 200).

These all belong to the first phase of the Iron Age I settlement, Stratum VII, during which time Complex 200 had eight rooms. The earliest phase of this com-

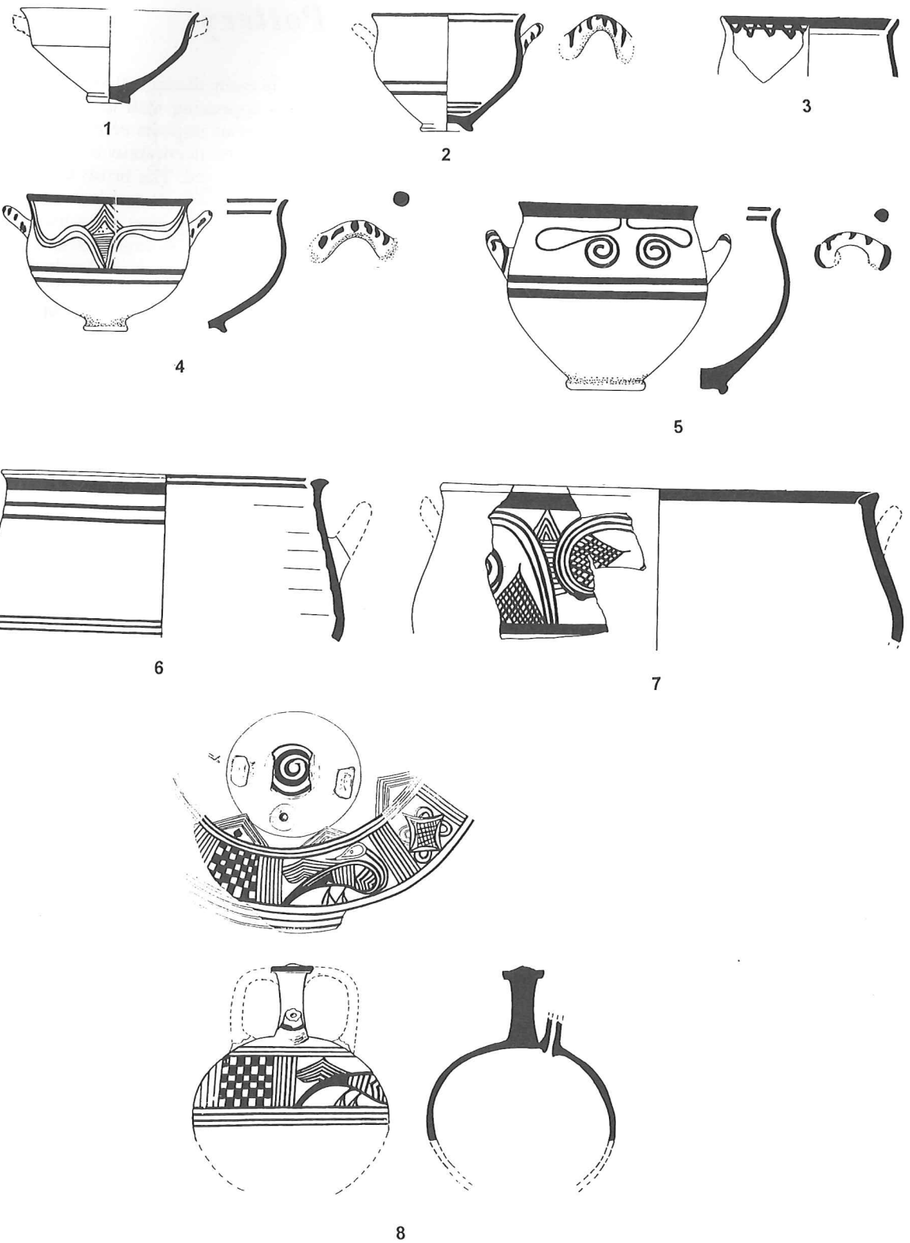

Figure 7.7. Field IV, Stratum VII: assemblage of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery.
1. Strap-handled carinated bowl; 2. bell-shaped bowl, band decoration; 3. bell-shaped bowl, suspended "half-circles" motif; 4. bell-shaped bowl, antithetic tongue motif; 5. bell-shaped bowl, antithetic spiral motif; 6. krater, band decoration; 7. krater fragment, closed-style stemmed spiral motif; 8. stirrup-jar, close to Mycenaean IIIC:1b stirrup-jar from Ialysos; part of a group of complete vessels found on floor of Stratum VIIb.

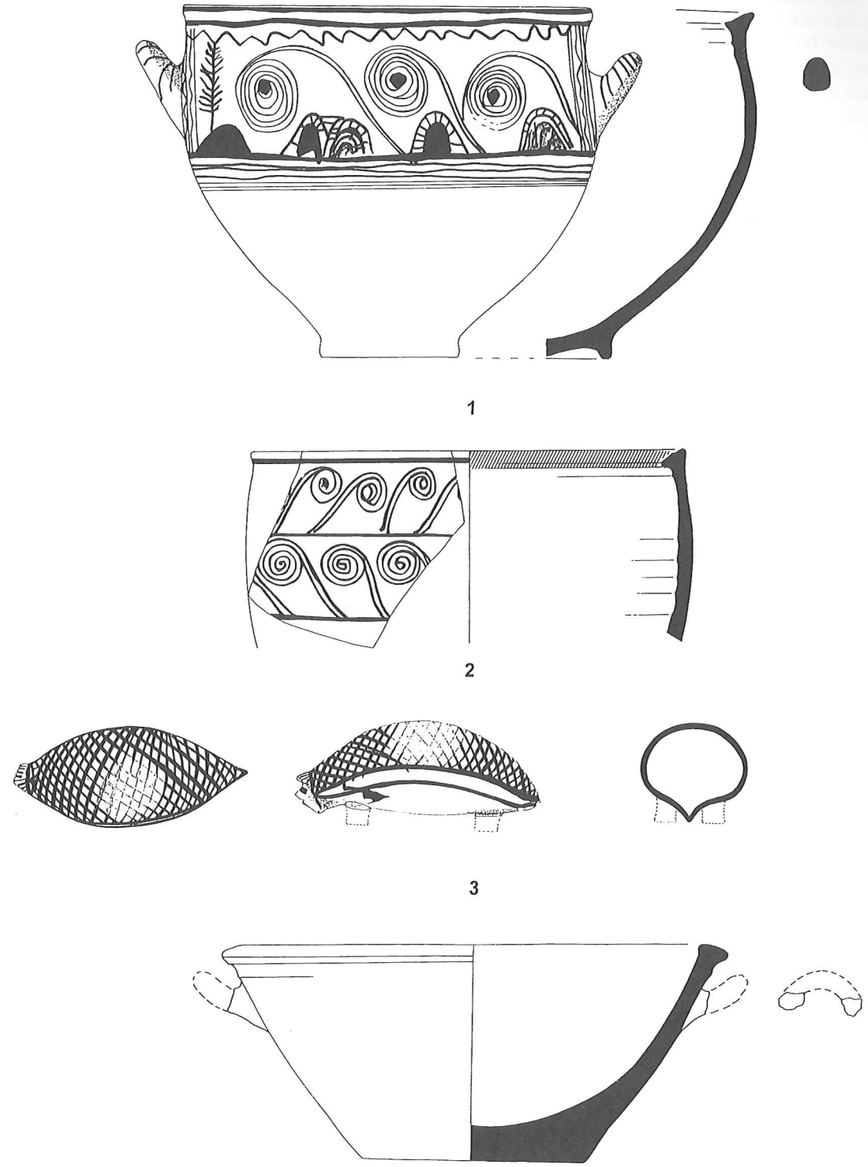

Figure 7.8. Field X, Stratum VII: assemblage of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery.
1. Krater—part of a foundation deposit with a handmade lamp (not shown); 2. krater fragment; 3. hedgehog zoomorphic vessel. This is the first example known in Mycenaean IIIC:1b, continuing a tradition of zoomorphic vessels of this type well known in the Mycenaean pottery tradition; 4. lekane.

plex includes clean Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery. The following Stratum VI is clearly defined by the incoming Philistine bichrome pottery. The last preserved stratum (Stratum V) has only Philistine bichrome pottery—a picture established in all the other fields.

Conclusion

Evidence from excavations in Philistia and the surrounding areas enables us to attempt to distinguish the internal development of culture in Philistia proper, to compare this development with that of settlements outside Philistia, and on this basis to establish a reliable relative chronology. Some argue that the transition from the Late Bronze Age to Iron Age I in Canaan was uniform and simultaneous. I have stated before—and the excavations at Ekron have only strengthened my view—that this transitional period was a complex process in which diverse cultures overlapped for certain periods, and that these cultural changes should not be seen as applying simultaneously to all sites.

It is clear that the first appearance of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery at Ekron and Ashdod represents the arrival of a new cultural element in Canaan. There are another three *waves of new settlers,* which I believe can be seen in the three different pottery phases from Ekron and Ashdod after the initial monochrome phase. The first introduced bichrome pottery with new elements; the second was uniquely Philistine bichrome pottery; and the third phase saw bichrome pottery persist, but burnished red slip pottery became dominant in the ceramic assemblage.

Stratigraphic excavations have made possible the establishment of a relatively clear stratigraphic sequence through which we can follow the initial appearance, the flourishing, and the subsequent assimilation of Philistine pottery. We must bear in mind that the different chronologies relating to this period are based on finds found outside Philistia, whose absolute dates are based on finds relating to the the Egyptian dynasties, whereas from Philistia (Ekron and Ashdod) we have a clear, well-stratified sequence of different ceramic assemblages, with no relative or comparable Egyptian finds.

The excavations at Miqne provide us with an abundance of 13th–12th-century B.C.E. Aegean connections. As I stated above, my main contention is that the initial phase of Philistine settlement occurred at the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E., and that during this period there coexisted in Canaan four distinctive entities: the rising Israelites in the hill country; the Philistines on the southern coastal plain; the declining but still evident power of the Egyptians around Philistia proper and in some northern strongholds, such as Beth Shean; and, finally, the remnants of the indigenous Canaanites.

It is not one element alone on which we build the picture of these new, flourishing urban centers, but on a combination of elements that enable us to see a new entity emerge, whose substratum was rooted in Aegean traditions and adapted to the new environment in Canaan.

Note

1. I am very happy to be able to contribute these reflections on the Philistines to this publication. The same year that this seminar took place, there was an international conference at the Berman Center for Biblical Archaeology in Jerusalem (April 1995), the proceedings of which, no doubt, add a further dimension to the study of this subject. (Gitin, Mazan, and Stern 1998).

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8

The Philistine Settlements: When, Where and How Many?

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This article deals with three topics relating to one another. The first is the date of the end of Egyptian rule in southern Canaan. The second discusses the date of the settlement of the Philistines. The third deals with settlement and demographic patterns in Philistia during the transition from the Late Bronze Age to Iron I.

Introduction

The study of the Philistine phenomenon is overwhelmingly influenced by the "Philistine Settlement Paradigm," which was formulated by Albright (1932: 58; 1975:511) and Alt (1944). Albright and Alt argued that in the early days of the Twentieth Dynasty, Egypt was still holding its territories in southern Canaan. The invading Sea Peoples, among them the Philistines, were defeated in land and sea battles by Ramesses III in his eighth year (1175 B.C.E., according to Wente and Van Siclen 1976:218), and were settled by the Egyptians in their strongholds in southern Canaan as vassals. After a short period of time, the Philistines threw off the yoke of Egypt and took over the Egyptian territories. The Albright-Alt paradigm was based on the following foundations: (1) the mention of Peleset (which has almost unanimously been identified with the biblical Philistines) among the Sea Peoples in the Medinet Habu inscription, and the statement in Papyrus Harris I that, after defeating his foes, Ramesses III settled them in his strongholds; (2) the biblical references to the Pentapolis of the Philistines in the southern coastal plain of Canaan in the narratives of the pre-Monarchic period; (3) the appearance of a distinctive, Aegean-derived, bichrome pottery in Philistia in Iron I, after the destruction of the Late Bronze centers. This pottery has been associated with the Philistines from the beginning of the twentieth century (Dothan 1982:94, n. 1).

Two sites provided the connection between the literary sources and the archaeological finds: at Tell el-Far'ah (s) (Fig. 8.1), a building that was identified as an Egyptian residency was associated with Philistine pottery (Albright 1975:510; Dothan 1982:27), and at Megiddo, Philistine sherds were affiliated with Stratum VIIA, which dates to the days of Ramesses III (Dothan 1982:70–76).

The Albright-Alt paradigm has been widely accepted as historical truth. Even though objections to their reconstruction of the events have recently been raised (e.g., Aharoni 1982:183–185; Wood 1991), the main chronological pillar of the paradigm, that the Philistines settled in southern Canaan in Ramesses III's eighth year, has never been challenged. When confusing and contradictory archaeological data started to surface, they have either been adjusted to the paradigm or have simply been ignored. In any

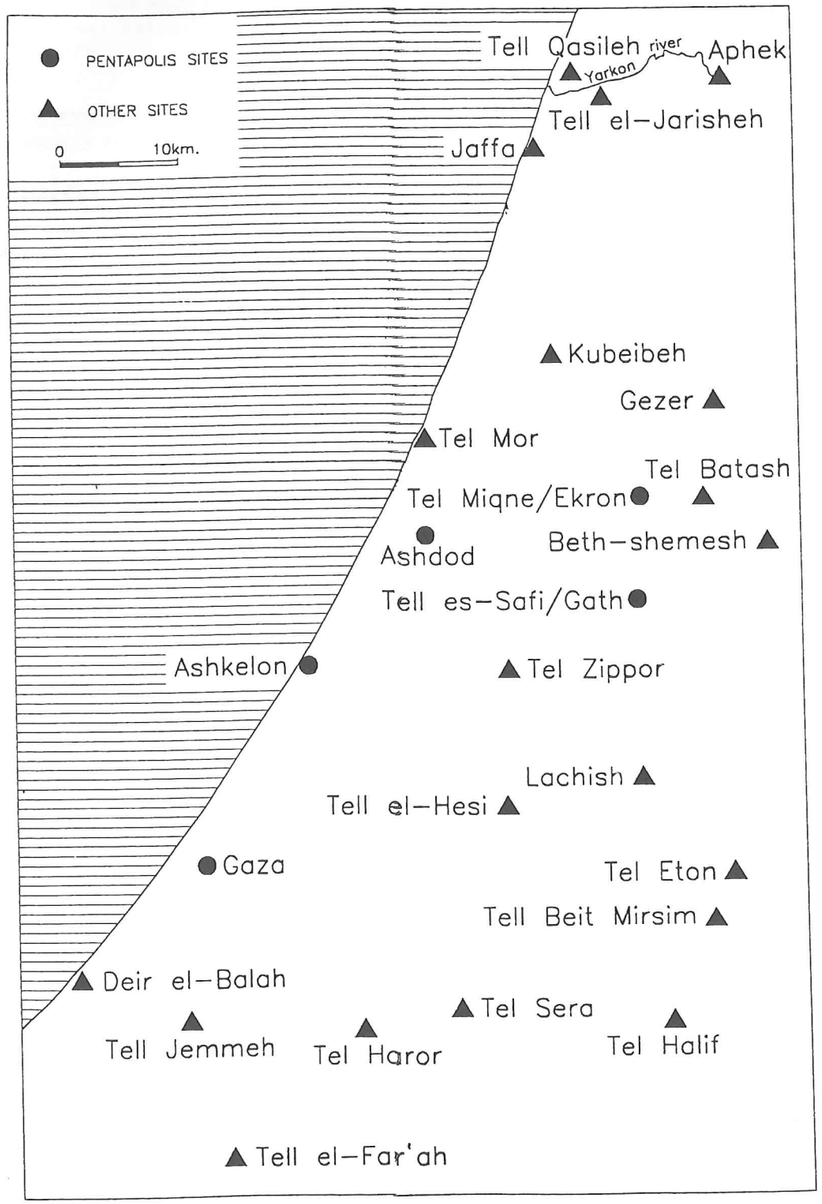

Figure 8.1. Main Late Bronze and Iron I sites in southern Canaan.

case, the text continued to dominate the discussion (e.g., Singer 1985:114). The Albright-Alt paradigm is crucial for any discussion of Philistine history and material culture. In what follows, I wish to review the archaeological data on their own terms before submitting them to the text.

The End of Egyptian Rule in Southern Canaan

There have been two schools regarding the date of the collapse of Egyptian administration in Canaan.

The advocates of the first school look at the events from an Egyptian perspective and argue that Egypt lost control over much of Canaan immediately after Ramesses III's battles with the Sea Peoples in his eighth year (Stadelmann 1968; Bietak 1993; Weinstein 1992; Stager 1995). Their theory is based on two arguments: first, there are no Canaanite toponyms in Egyptian texts from the days of Ramesses III and his successors; second, there are very few post-Ramesses III Egyptian finds in the main Canaanite centers (Bietak 1993:296).

Weinstein (1992), Bietak (1993), and Stager (1995) argued that Egypt lost the coastal strip north of the Besor to the invading Sea Peoples, but managed to hold the area to the south and east (because of the Lachish and Tel Sera' finds; see below). Weinstein (1981:23, and especially 1992) maintains that the end of Egyptian administration in Canaan came in two steps. The first took place in the later phase of the reign of Ramesses III, or in the days of Ramesses IV (following the evidence of the scarabs; see Uehlinger 1990), when the main Egyptian centers in Canaan were destroyed. To substantiate this hypothesis, Weinstein had to minimize the importance of the bronze pedestal of a statue of Ramesses VI that was found at Megiddo (1992:147). The second step in the withdrawal of Egypt from Canaan took place in the reigns of Ramesses V and Ramesses VI, when Egypt retreated from the mines of Serabit el-Khadem and Timna. Thus, Weinstein cuts a line between the finds in the Negev-Sinai area and the finds in Canaan proper, "since the Egyptians could travel by sea to within short distances of both places [Timna and Serabit el Khadim—I. F.] without coming close to territory controlled by any of the Sea Peoples" (1992: 147).

The supporters of the second school, looking at the events from the perspective of the archaeology of Israel, argued that the Egyptian administration in southern Canaan was strong enough to absorb the shock of the invasion of the Sea Peoples and survived until the later days of Ramesses III (Ussishkin 1985), or even later, until the reign of Ramesses VI (1143–1136 B.C.E.—Oren 1984:55–56; Singer 1988a; Na'aman 1994:223). Indeed, an examination of the Egyptian finds from Palestine, free from the "Philistine Paradigm," gives no reason to date the end of Egyptian control in the south before quite late in the twelfth century. This statement is based on the following evidence:

LACHISH AND TEL SERA'

The hieratic inscriptions from Lachish, Tel Sera', and Tel Haror (Gilula 1976; Goldwasser 1982; 1984; 1991a; 1991b), the Egypto-influenced temple and the cartouche of Ramesses III from the gate area at Lachish (Ussishkin 1983:168–170; 1985), all show beyond any doubt that the Egyptian administration in the southern coastal plain functioned at least until the year 22nd + x of Ramesses III (Goldwasser 1984:87).

DEIR EL-BALAH

This site is comprised of two parts: the settlement, which includes an Egyptian fort, and the cemetery, with anthropoid coffins. Because of the cover of the sand dunes, only limited sections of the site—in both the settlement and the cemetery—have been uncovered. The excavated section of the settlement produced evidence for occupation in the fourteenth-thirteenth centuries B.C.E. The excavated section of the cemetery (four tombs) dates to the days of the Nineteenth Dynasty. However, there are several clues that activity at the site continued in the twelfth century. T. Dothan (1993:347) reports that Twentieth Dynasty scarabs were found at Deir el-Balah, apparently referring to the Dayan collection, which originated from the cemetery. Relating to the same source, Giveon (1977:67) stated that the site yielded scarabs from the Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasties (which fit the data obtained in the excavation of the settlement) and from the days of Ramesses IV. In addition, Giveon (ibid.) published two items from the Hecht collection, which also originated, apparently, from Deir el-Balah: a finger ring carrying the name of Ramesses VI and another finger ring from the Twentieth Dynasty. Summarizing these pieces of information, Giveon argued that the cemetery of Deir el-Balah was in use until the days of Ramesses VI (1977:70). The fact that Dayan purchased most of his Deir el Ba-lah items at the Gaza Strip as whole assemblages, including the anthropoid coffins, reinforces

the reliability of the origin of the finds (but note that the evidence regarding 20th Dynasty finds at the site is inconclusive, O. Keel and C. Uehlinger, personal communication). It seems that the four excavated tombs comprise only a small section of a much larger cemetery, which included both Eighteenth and Twentieth Dynasty burials. About fifty anthropoid coffins are known from the site, only four were properly excavated. It is noteworthy that Eighteenth-Dynasty burials have not been found at the cemetery, though the nearby settlement site was occupied at that time. The circumstantial evidence is also important. It is difficult to imagine that the Deir el-Balah settlement and cemetery stopped functioning after the days of Ramesses II, while at the Egyptian fortress of Haruvit, to the southwest, activity continued at least until the days of Seti II (Goldwasser 1980). Moreover, the Egyptian presence along the international road in northern Sinai and south of Gaza must have continued as long as Lachish and Tel Sera' remained under Egyptian rule, that is, at least until year 22+x of Ramesses III. Based on the above-mentioned evidence, I am inclined to suggest that Egyptian activity at Deir el-Balah continued until the days of Ramesses VI.

TIMNA

Egyptian activity at the mines of Timna could not have been continued until the days of Ramesses V (Rothenberg 1988:277) without firm control over the international highway in northern Sinai.

BETH-SHEAN, MEGIDDO, AND THE NORTH

The Ramesses IV stone fragment from Delhamiya in the Jordan Valley (Leclant 1982:485), the Ramesses IV scarab from Beth-shean (Weinstein 1993:221), and the Ramesses VI base of a statue from Megiddo,[1] seem to indicate that in the north, too, Egyptian control lasted until the reign of Ramesses VI.

The evidence for Egyptian control in southern Canaan can be summarized as follows: the diverse finds from Aphek (Giveon 1978; Owen 1981; Singer 1983; Kochavi 1989:59–78), the Ramesses II gate at Jaffa (Kaplan 1972:79–82), the inscribed stone fragment from Ashdod (Kitchen 1993), the fragment of a monumental statue of a queen of Ramesses II found northeast of Ashdod (Schulman 1993), and the Kubeibeh blocks (Goldwasser 1992) indicate that in the late thirteenth century Egypt ruled over the entire area south of the Yarkon River. In the first half of the twelfth century the Egyptians' direct domination shrank to the southern coastal plain and the Shephelah, with their territory extending as far north as the Ashkelon-Lachish line. In this area (as well as in the Jezreel Valley), Egyptian administration survived until, during, or after the days of Ramesses VI.

The Settlement of the Philistines in Southern Canaan

Two theories have dominated research of this issue, both accepting the eighth year of Ramesses III as a firm date for the beginning of Philistine settlement in the southern coastal plain.

THE HIGH CHRONOLOGY

This theory has been advocated by Trude and Moshe Dothan. In her seminal work on the Philistines and their material culture, T. Dothan (1982) dated the Bichrome Philistine Ware to the beginning of Philistine settlement in the south. Her analysis was based mainly on her interpretation of the Megiddo VIIA finds, namely, that Philistine Bichrome sherds were found in this stratum—the last Bronze Age city at Megiddo, which shows clear Egyptian influence and which yielded an inscribed finds from the days of Ramesses III and possibly Ramesses VI. When Monochrome pottery was unearthed in Stratum XIIIb at Ashdod and in Stratum VII at Tel Miqne under strata with Bichrome pottery (XII and VI–IV respectively), the Dothans argued that the Monochrome pottery, which derives from Mycenaean IIIC:1b, represents an early wave of Sea Peoples, who settled in Palestine following their confrontation with Marneptah in his fifth year. Accordingly, the Dothans suggested that the Bichrome Ware represents the second wave of Sea Peoples, the one which settled after the land and sea battles with Ramesses III (Dothan 1982:295–296; 1985; 1989; M. Dothan 1989; 1993; Dothan and Dothan 1992:169).

The High Chronology theory was rejected for several reasons. First, there is no historical evidence for two waves of immigration (rather than assault) and for the settlement of an early group of Sea Peoples in Canaan (see, e.g., Singer 1985:110–111; Redford 1992: 250). Second, A. Mazar (1985a) has demonstrated that the Philistine sherds from Stratum VIIA at Megiddo come from contaminated loci, whereas clean loci of Stratum VIIA did not produce Bichrome Philistine pottery. Third, if one follows the Dothan's theory systematically, there is no time-slot left for an early wave of Sea People: the evidence from Ugarit (Yon 1992), the presence of Mycenaean IIIB pottery in Stratum VIIA at Megiddo (Leonard and Cline 1998), the Seti II (1199–1193) cartouches from Tell el-Far'ah and Haruvit in the south (Macdonald, Starkey, and Harding 1932:28–29; Goldwasser 1980), and the faience vessel with the name of Taosert (1193–1185) from Tell Deir 'Alla in the north (Yoyotte 1962), all indicate that Mycenaean IIIB vessels were imported to Canaan until the early twelfth century B.C.E. Arguing that Philistine Bichrome pottery appeared right after the eighth year of Ramesses III (1175 B.C.E.—Dothan 1982:294; 1985:173; see also M. Dothan 1989:67), leaves only about ten years for the Monochrome phase, a time-span too short for the immigration and settlement of these people, for the local manufacture and prosperity of their pottery (the Monochrome Ware), and for the development, from it, of a new style (the Bichrome Ware), which shows local and Egyptian influence.

THE MIDDLE CHRONOLOGY

This theory has been proposed, as a reform of the High Chronology, almost simultaneously and independently by several scholars. According to A. Mazar (1985a), Singer (1985), Oren (1985), and Stager (1985), it is the locally made Monochrome ware of Philistia that represents the initial settlement of the Philistines, when their pottery was still close to its Aegean prototype, the Mycenaean IIIC family. This pottery group should therefore be dated to the time of Ramesses III, whereas the appearance of the Bichrome pottery, which developed from the Monochrome while absorbing Canaanite and Egyptian traditions (Dothan 1982; 1985:173–174; Mazar 1985a:106), must be lowered to the mid-twelfth century B.C.E.[2] Of pivotal importance for this school is Mazar's (1985a) reassessment of the finds from Megiddo and Tell el-Far'ah: in the former, the Philistine Bichrome sherds postdate Stratum VIIA of the time of Ramesses III–VI; in the latter, there is no Bichrome pottery in Cemetery 900, which yielded scarabs of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV (not Ramesses VIII—Kitchen 1984:127, n. 51), while it appears in the somewhat later Cemetery 500 (see also McClellan 1979). According to Singer (1985; 1994:300–306) and Stager (1985; 1995), the Monochrome pottery was confined to the Philistine Pentapolis, the core of their settlement in southern Canaan.

THE LOW CHRONOLOGY

A third theory was briefly presented by Ussishkin (1985:223; 1992:118–119). The absence of Philistine pottery—Monochrome and Bichrome alike—in Stratum VI at Lachish, which dates to the days of Ramesses III, led him to date its appearance to "the last third of the twelfth century B.C., or even later" (1992:119). Ussishkin did not elaborate on the archaeological and historical implications of his revolutionary proposal, and as a result his low chronology has been unanimously dismissed or ignored. New data which have been accumulated in recent years justify a new treatment of the subject.

The identification of the Monochrome pottery with the initial stage of the Philistine settlement should no doubt be accepted. But both the High and the Middle Chronologies face a severe problem: the two key strata in southern Canaan, which yielded well-dated finds from the reign of Ramesses III, revealed no Monochrome pottery. These are Stratum VI at Lachish, which was not destroyed before the later years of Ramesses III (Gilula 1976; Ussishkin 1983: 168–170; 1985), and Stratum IX at Tel Sera', which produced a hieratic inscription dating to the 22nd + x year of the reign of a Pharaoh—Ramesses III being the only monarch to fit this date (Goldwasser 1984).

To overcome this difficulty, scholars advocating the High and Middle chronologies—that is, almost all scholars dealing with the date of the Philistine settlement—had to assert that the Monochrome pottery was a distinctive ethnic phenomenon of the Philistine Pentapolis, and that "outlying sites" (Dothan's term-1989:3), such as Lachish and Tel Sera', did not yield Monochrome pottery because they were settled at that time by Canaanites and Egyptians rather than by Philistines (Singer 1985:113–14; Dothan 1992:97; Stager 1995). According to this view, the Monochrome pottery did not spread even to nearby sites, such as Tel Batash (only 5 km to the east of Tel Miqne) and Tel Mor (only 7 km to the north of Tel Ashdod): Tel Mor "maintained an Egypto-Canaanite material culture simultaneously with the Philistine occupation of Ashdod" (Dothan 1985:174; see also Stager 1995:342). Singer (1994:305) and Stager proposed a similar interpretation for the discrepancy between the presence of Monochrome pottery at Tell Haror and its absence at nearby Tel Sera': "It seems clear that Haror was inside and Shariah was outside Philistine territory" (Stager 1995:343).

This perception raises a grave contradiction, as Ramesses III was believed to have settled the

Philistines in his strongholds in Canaan, that is, exactly in sites such as Lachish and Tel Sera'. In other words, on one hand, the advocates of the High and Middle Chronologies have accepted the Albright-Alt theory, that Ramesses III settled the Philistines in his fortresses in Canaan, but on the other hand they argued for a sharp cultural and ethnic separation between Egyptians and Philistines at that time. Singer's "symbiosis" (1985:114) and T. Dothan's "coexistence" (1992:97) between the two cultures are no more than a mirage, lacking any support in the Egyptian strongholds in Canaan; the opposite is true: there is no evidence for connection between the two phenomena.[3] The other side of the Egyptian-Philistine coin should also be noted in this connection: pottery of Egyptian style, which was retrieved from almost every Late Bronze II (Nineteenth–Twentieth Dynasties) site in the southern coastal plain, including the later Pentapolis city of Ashdod (M. Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 11), is not found, to the best of my knowledge, at the Monochrome strata of Ashdod and Tel Miqne.

This brings me to the question of assigning ethnic labels to certain pottery types. Ethnographic studies have shown that such a straightforward connection should in most cases be rejected (e.g., Muhly 1992 for the Mycenaean pottery). Though there is little doubt today that the Monochrome pottery entered Philistia with the Philistines and that the presence of large quantities of this ceramic type can serve as an indicator for early Philistine settlements, the claim that for several decades all Monochrome vessels remained confined to the Pentapolis and to the Philistine ethnos can hardly be accepted. One could have acknowledged such an idea if the Monochrome vessels were restricted to cult, foodways, or burial practices, all of which may, in certain circumstances, represent religious convictions, ideology, and long-rooted traditions of ethnic groups. But the locally made Monochrome pottery is widely spread, in large quantities, throughout the relevant strata—up to 30–50% of the repertoire in the Pentapolis cities (Stager 1995:334). Hence, one cannot accept the notion that, during several decades of "symbiosis" and "coexistence," not a single Monochrome vessel crossed the lines between Pentapolis cities and neighboring sites located within eyeshot, only a few kilometers away.

No less important is the fact that Monochrome pottery has recently been found beyond the Philistine Pentapolis—at the fortress of Haruba in northern Sinai (Oren 1987:96), at Tel Haror (Oren et al. 1991:12; 1989/90:70), and probably at Tel Hesi (Mathers 1989:61–62; Gibson and Rajak 1990:117) in the south, at Tel Jerishe in the north (Zeev Herzog, personal communication), and at Tel Eton in the southeast (Bunimovitz and Zimhoni 1993:112; 111–112 for Tell el-Hesi). As mentioned above, Tel Haror lies only 7 kms to the west of Tel Sera', an Egyptian stronghold in the days of Ramesses III, where no Monochrome pottery has been found, not even one sherd. These finds eliminate the claim that Monochrome pottery was not found at Lachish and Tel Sera' because they are located to the south and east of the nucleus of the early Philistine settlement in the Pentapolis.[4]

Having been liberated from the Pentapolis restriction, one should note a few additional sites (to Lachish and Tel Sera'), which seem to provide clues for the date of the appearance of the Monochrome pottery in Philistia:

As mentioned above, at Tell el-Far'ah, Cemetery 900, which dates to the first half of the twelfth century and which yielded scarabs of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV, did not produce Monochrome sherds.

At Tell Aphek, a scarab of Ramesses IV was found in a Stratum X10 pit containing Bichrome Philistine pottery (for the latest view on this scarab, confirming the original dating by Giveon, see Uehlinger 1990: 26). Because, in any case, Bichrome Ware cannot be dated earlier than the mid-twelfth century B.C.E. (Mazar 1985a), it is clear that the scarab predates this stratum and that it must have originated from Stratum X11. The latter, which was excavated in quite a significant area, did not yield Monochrome pottery. This may be a clue that Monochrome pottery had not been produced yet at the time of Ramesses IV.

Not a single sherd of Monochrome pottery has been foundat Deir el-Balah, an Egyptian stronghold and cemetery that seems to have functioned until the days of Ramesses VI (see above).

Last but not least is Tel Miqne, the type-site for the Monochrome pottery and for the Philistine Paradigm. The crucial evidence comes from Field INE 5: a ca. 1-m-thick accumulation was found there between the destruction of the Late Bronze city (Stratum VIIIB) and the "Monochrome city" (Stratum VII). This stratum (VIIIA—Dothan 1989:2; Killebrew 1986:8–9, 25, section INE 5, west subsidiary) can be characterized as post-Mycenaean IIIB–pre-Monochrome. In other words, similar to Stratum VI at Lachish and Stratum IX at Tel Sera', it dates to the first half of the twelfth century B.C.E.[5]

To sum up, as long as Monochrome ware is not found in a clear Twentieth-Dynasty context, one cannot escape the conclusion that this pottery type, which represents the initial settlement of the Philistines, did not appear until the later days of Ramesses VI, or after his reign. The earliest date for the appearance of the Monochrome pottery is therefore ca. 1135 B.C.E. Since the Monochrome pottery appears in large quantities and in well-defined strata, it should be given a life-span of several decades—until at least 1100 B.C.E. The Bichrome Philistine pottery should accordingly be dated to the eleventh century and possibly to the beginning of the tenth century.

There are only two ways to interpret the abovementioned chronological data. One would be to argue that the Philistines settled in southern Canaan right after the eighth year of Ramesses III, but for almost half a century did not leave any identifiable remain (e.g., McClellan 1979:73). This seems quite improbable, as the presence of Aegean-related groups in Philistia is well attested to two generations later by several singular finds: Monochrome pottery, certain types of kitchen ware (Ann Killebrew, lecture in the ASOR/SB L annual meeting, San Francisco 1992; Yasur-Landau 1992), special type of loomweights (Stager 1995:346), Aegean-derived hearths (e.g., Dothan 1992:96; Stager 1995:347), and characteristic food practices, which are attested to in the faunal remains (Hesse 1986; 1990).

The second track to interpret the low chronology suggested here for the Monochrome pottery is to argue that the Philistines settled in the southern coastal plain several decades, in fact half a century, *after* Ramesses III's battles with the Sea Peoples. Naturally, this interpretation turns the spotlight on the Egyptian sources, which describe the events in the days of Ramesses III (assuming that they indeed belong to that monarch—cf. Lesko 1980). Scholars have divided into two groups about the location of Ramesses III's land battle with the Sea Peoples. One school argued for a far northern location (e.g., Singer 1994: 291). The second school pleaded that both the sea and land battles took place in the Delta, or on the margins of the Delta. They maintained that the land battle must have taken place in a location not far from the sea battle, the latter described as having been fought in a river mouth (Stadelmann 1968; Helck 1971:229–230; Redford 1985:217; Bietak 1993:293; Stager 1995:340–341; see also Sandars 1978:120; for additional bibliography see Singer 1994:291, n. 52).

Even more important than the Medinet Habu evidence for the present discussion is the description in Papyrus Harris I, according to which Ramesses III defeated the Sea Peoples and "settled them in strongholds bound in my name". No doubt influenced by the (much later) biblical testimony on the Iron II Philistine Pentapolis, Albright, Alt, and most scholars who followed them identified these fortresses as being located in Philistia. But what the text really tells us, is how the prisoners of the war were taken *to Egypt*.[6] Moreover, Wood (1991:48) argued that the language of the text is similar to other references to prisoners of war (Libyans, Shasu from Seir [=Edom]) taken to Egypt and placed in strongholds of the pharaoh there. The distribution of food provisions to the newly settled captives also fits Egypt proper rather than its provinces. Finally one should note the general background: most Egyptian estates mentioned in Papyrus Harris I are located in Egypt (Bietak 1993: 293). It seems, therefore, that the description in Papyrus Harris I relates to the Delta rather than to southern Canaan (see Kitchen 1986:245; Wood 1991; see also Cifola 1994:6).[7]

Another matter is the identification of the migration of the Philistines with the movements of the Achaean Greeks (Muhly 1984:52–53; Mazar 1985a; 1988; Stager 1991:36–37; 1995:337). This theory stemmed from the close resemblance between the locally made Monochrome pottery found in Philistia and the Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery unearthed in Cyprus and the northern Levantine coast (on the date of the latter see Finkelstein 1996a), from the impression that both types date to approximately the same time, and from certain similarities between the settlement sequence in Philistia and Cyprus. Dating the Philistine settlement to the late-twelfth century and the Mycenaean IIIC1:b at Beth Shean to the first half of the twelfth century casts doubt on this straightforward equation. This is not to say, of course, that the Philistines did not originate from the Aegeans, or rather from southwestern Anatolian stock (see recently Singer 1988b and bibliography), but that we are dealing here with a much more complex, and apparently longer processes than what has been suggested in the past.

Future research will need to bridge the geographical and chronological gap between the settlement of groups of Philistines and other Sea Peoples in Egypt after the eighth year of Ramesses III, and the settlement of the Philistines in the southern coastal plain after the reign of Ramesses VI. As an interim solution, I would argue that despite the description in the Egyptian texts of a single event, the migration of the Sea Peoples was at least a half-century-long process that had several phases (see also Cifola 1994:20; Na'aman 1994:241). It may have started with groups that spread destruction along the Levantine coast, including northern Philistia, in the beginning of the twelfth century and that were defeated by Ramesses III in his eighth year. Consequently, some of them were settled in Egyptian garrisons in the Delta. Later groups of Sea Peoples, in the second half of the twelfth century, succeeded in terminating Egyptian rule in southern Canaan. After destroying the Egyptian strongholds (such as Lachish and Tel Sera'), they settled in Philistia and established their major centers at Ashdod, Ashkelon, Tel Miqne, and other places. These people—the Philistines of the later biblical text—are easily identifiable by several Aegean-derived features in their material culture.

Settlement Transformations in Philistia During the Late Bronze/Iron I Transition

Large-scale excavations that have been carried out in Philistine sites, such as Ashdod, Tel Qasile, Tel Miqne, and Ashkelon, resulted in comprehensive discussions of the material culture of the Philistines (e.g., Dothan 1982; Mazar 1980; 1985b). Nevertheless, the spatial aspect of Philistine history has never been sought. This chapter aims at a reconstruction of the settlement patterns in the southern coastal plain and the Shephelah, in an attempt to shed light on the demographic, socioeconomic, and political processes that took place in these areas in the transition from the Late Bronze to Iron I.

The area under consideration stretches from the Yarkon River in the north to the desert fringe in the south (the Beersheba-Raphia line). The eastern boundary of this territory runs along the low hills overlooking the coastal plain, from Rosh Haʿayin to the Ayalon Valley; farther south it passes in the Senonian Valley, which borders on the hill country, from Tel Zanoah to Tel Halif. From the chronological point of view the discussion concentrates on the last phase of the Late Bronze and the Iron I. The transition between the two periods is demarcated in the collapse of the Egyptian rule in the area ca. 1130 B.C.E. (see above). Stratum VI at Lachish and Stratum IX at Tel Sera' represent the last phase of the Late Bronze, and the Monochrome Ware strata at Tel Miqne, Ashkelon, and Ashdod designate the initial phase of the Philistine settlement.

To draw the settlement maps of the Late Bronze II and the IA I, the author collected all available information from excavations and surveys, including unpublished data that have been provided by archaeologists working in the area and unpublished records of the Israel Antiquities Authority (for a detailed list of sites see Finkelstein 1996b).[8] The eastern part of the area under discussion was almost fully surveyed (Shavit 1992; Dagan 1992a)[9] and the data that have been collected on the coastal strip in the last fifty years is rather intensive. Hence, it seems that the settlement maps published here represent the settlement patterns in antiquity in a fairly accurate way. Needless to say, additional sites will be revealed by future research, but it is reasonable to assume that most or all large sites (categories D–F below) have already been recorded. It is noteworthy in this connection that most of the large mounds of the area have been excavated.

Because I am dealing here with relatively short periods of time, it stands to reason that many of the sites were inhabited contemporaneously. However, it is possible that some of the sites in northern Philistia were not occupied in the early twelfth century (Finkelstein 1995). Therefore, the map of the Late Bronze sites should be taken as representing the settlement pattern in the late-thirteenth century and the map of the Iron I as depicting the population dispersal at the peak of the Philistine Bichrome phase—that is, the late-eleventh century B.C.E. Obviously, in the Iron I Sea Peoples made only a portion of the population of Philistia (Bunimovitz 1990).

In the case of excavated sites, it was not difficult to determine the size of the site in the two periods under discussion. In the case of survey data, size categories were decided after considering the overall size of the site, the quantity of Late Bronze and Iron I sherds found in it, and the history of its occupation in other periods (for a detailed discussion of this method, with its advantages and drawbacks, see Finkelstein 1997).

The main political centers in the region—Late Bronze city states and Philistine Pentapolis cities—are marked on the maps with their suggested territories. The latter were drawn by combining historical data, the Thiessen polygons system (e.g., Hagget et al. 1977:436–437), the settlement patterns, and geographical features (for an interesting correspondence between the first two in the Late Bronze see Bunimovitz 1989). The textual material includes the Tell el Amarna tablets for the Late Bronze (Na'aman 1975; 1988) and biblical material for the Iron Age. The latter, though dating to the late Iron II, may reflect a territorial system that was created as early as the Iron I (for long-term territorial boundaries in Palestine see, e.g., Alt 1925; Ellenblum 1991; Finkelstein 1993). For the Late Bronze, I took only the main four city-states south of the Yarkon, that is, Gezer, Gath (Tell es-Safi—Rainey 1975; see n. 4), Lachish and Ashkelon (for the possibility of additional, smaller entities, see Na'aman 1982).[10] Gaza, the capital of the Egyptian administration in Canaan, is included in the territory of Ashkelon.

Figures 8.2 and 8.3 show all Late Bronze and Iron I sites in the area under investigation.[11] Tables 8.1–2 present a summary of the size-categories according to the main territorial units.

In the Late Bronze the area seems to have been the most densely populated in the entire country (cf. data in Bunimovitz 1989). There were 102 sites with a total built-up area of 173 hectares. The sites are spread in every niche of the region and the settlement system is fully developed, that is, it portrays a well-balanced order, with several large sites, a significant number of medium-size settlements, and a large number of small sites. Yet, there are more sites in the Shephelah than in the coastal plain; sites in an intermediate strip between the lower Shephelah and the coast are especially sparse, a fact that helps in delineating the border between the "inner" and coastal entities (see also Singer 1994:306). The most densely settled territory is that of the city-state of Gath. The largest sites are located in the territory of Ashkelon, most probably reflecting the political and economic influence of the Egyptian administration centers.

Textual evidence on the intensity of countryside occupation in the southern coastal plain and the Shephelah in the Late Bronze can be found in EA 283, where Shuwardata, ruler of Gath (Aharoni

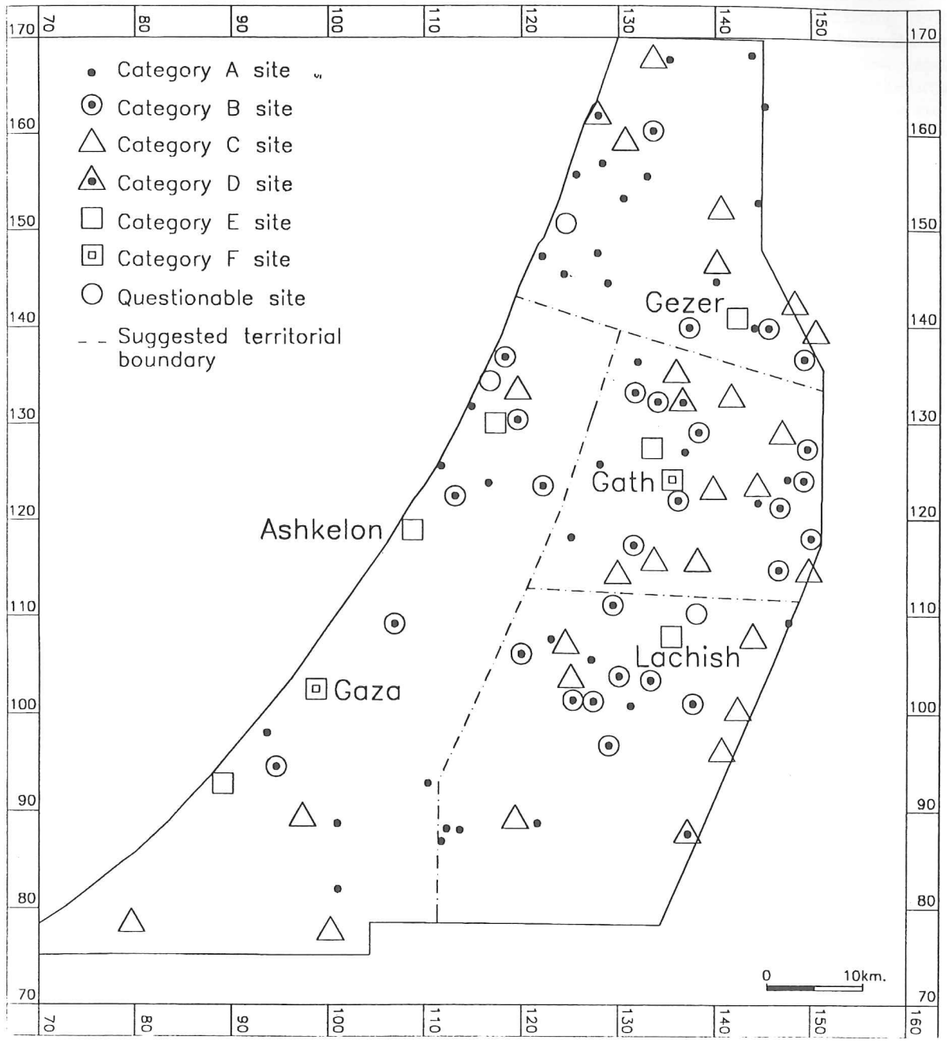

Figure 8.2. Late Bronze sites in the southern coastal plain and the Shephelah.

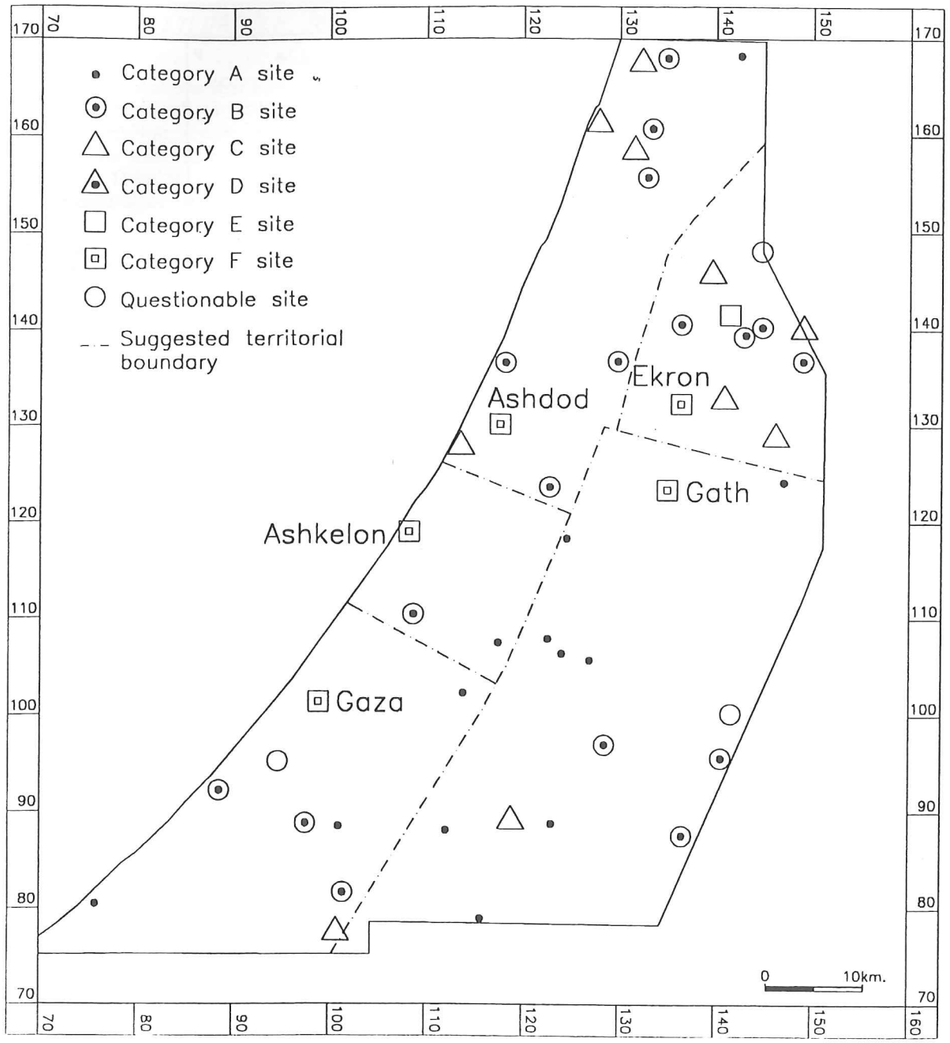

Figure 8.3. Iron I sites in the southern coastal plain and the Shephelah.

1969), claims to stand alone against thirty hostile cities (Na'aman 1975:123ff.; Singer 1993:136). Even if we doubt the accuracy of the number, it must reflect an intensively settled landscape.

The overwhelming majority of Iron I sites in the area (ca. 80%) were already inhabited in the Late Bronze, but the settlement patterns of the two periods are very different (Figs. 8.4, 8.5). First, there was a dramatic decrease in the number of sites from 102 in the Late Bronze to 49 in the Iron I. Second, there is a sharp change in the size-categories; in the Iron I the balance is on the large, central sites, with very few

small sites surrounding them. The categories E–F sites make 49% of the total built-up area of the Late Bronze sites, compared to 77% in the Iron I. In the categories A–B sites there is a drop in the total inhabited area from 16% in the Late Bronze to 10% in the Iron I, but the more significant decrease is in the categories C–D sites—from 36% in the Late Bronze to 13% in the Iron I. The medium-size sites almost disappear.

Though over half of the Late Bronze sites were destroyed or abandoned, there is no real change in the total built-up area—173 hectares in the Late Bronze, compared to 155 hectares in the Iron I (Fig. 8.6). The reason is, that the sites which were deserted are mainly the small ones: 44 of the 59 abandoned sites belong to categories A–B, and 13 to category C. The drop in the number of sites is compensated for by the growth in the major sites: only two large sites were deserted (Tel Lachish and Tel Harasim), while there is an overall increase in the Category F sites—from two to five—and in their overall inhabited area—from 35 hectares in the two Late Bronze sites to 113 hectares in the Iron I. We are facing here a twofold process: on one hand, an annihilation of the countryside; on the other, a very impressive expansion of urban life. The difference between the urban landscape of the Philistines and the more rural Canaanite/Egyptian Late Bronze system is well reflected in the average size of the sites: 1.7 hectares in the Late Bronze, which almost doubled in the Iron I—to 3.2 hectares (for the urban nature of the Philistine phenomenon, according to the excavation of the main sites, see Mazar 1988). This evidence stands against the assumption that the Philistines fully adopted the Canaanite city-states system (Singer 1993:132).

Finally, only nine new Iron I sites were established in Philistia: seven of them were small sites and only two belong to Category C. Tel Qasile, therefore, is a misleading exception. The Philistines did not bother

TABLE 8.1
LATE BRONZE SITES ACCORDING TO SIZE CATEGORIES AND TERRITORIAL UNITS*

Unit	?	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total no. sites	Total built-up (ha**)	Territory (sq. km)	Average size/site	Density (people/ sq. km)
Gezer	1	14	4	6	1	1	-	27	29	680	1.1	8.5
Gath	-	6	10	9	1	1	1	28	55	620	2.0	18
Lachish	1	8	8	6	1	1	-	25	30	990	1.2	6
Ashkelon	1	7	6	4	-	3	1	22	59	1300	2.7	9
Total	3	35	28	25	3	6	2	102	173	3590	1.7	9.5

TABLE 8.2
IRON I SITES ACCORDING TO SIZE CATEGORIES AND TERRITORIAL UNITS*

Unit	?	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total no. sites	Total built-up (ha**)	Territory (sq. km)	Average size/site	Density (people/ sq. km)
Ekron	1	-	4	4	-	1	1	11	38	420	3.45	18
Gath	1	8	3	1	-	-	1	14	21	1400	1.5	3
Ashdod	-	1	6	4	-	-	1	12	40	750	3.3	11
Ashkelon	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	3	31	300	1.03	21
Gaza	1	3	3	1	-	-	1	9	25	720	2.8	7
Total	3	13	17	10	-	1	5	49	155	3590	3.2	8.6

* Size categories: A: 0.1–0.3 hectare; B: 0.4–1 hectare; C: 1.1–3 hectares; D: 3.1–5 hectares; E: 5.1–10 hectares; F: over 10 hectares; ?: questionable occupation.

** Categories A and ? were calculated according to mean 0.2 hectare per site; the mean for Categories B, C, and D was taken as 0.7, 2, and 4 hectares respectively. Categories E and F were calculated according to the actual size of the sites. For the Late Bronze Age: Gezer 7 ha; Tel Harasim 10 ha; Lachish 7 ha; Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Deir el-Balah, a combined area of 25 ha; Tell es-Safi (Tel Zafit) 15 ha; Gaza 20 ha. For the Iron Age I: Gezer 7 ha; Tel Miqne 20 ha; Tel Zafit 15 ha; Ashdod 28 ha; Gaza 20 ha; Ashkelon 30 ha. The latter was given a size slightly larger than that of Ashdod, which is the second largest Iron I center in Philistia. Stager (1991) estimated the size of Philistine Ashkelon at 60 ha—the full size of the Middle Bronze site; but according to Broshi and Gophna (1986), about 40% of the area of sites of this type were covered by the earthen ramparts. Moreover, for the time being there is no evidence that the Philistine city covered the entire area within the Middle Bronze rampart.

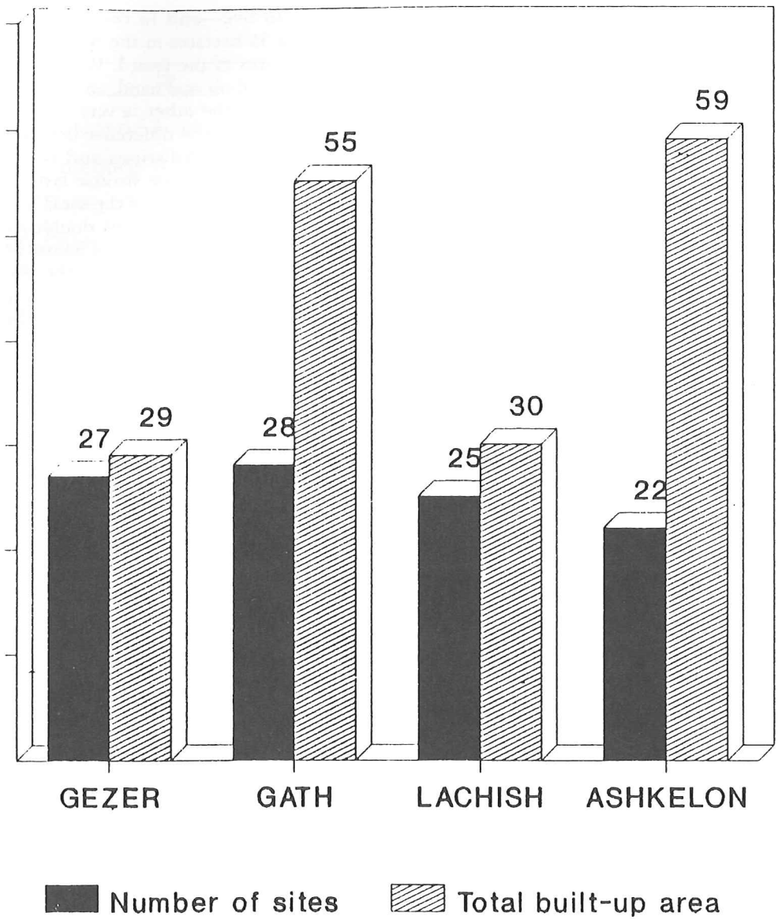

Figure 8.4. Number of sites and total built-up area in Late Bronze territories.

to revive the rural life in the south; they seem to have invested all their efforts in expanding the urban centers.

From the territorio-political point of view, the most dramatic event in the Late Bronze/Iron I transition in the south is the complete destruction of the northern (and most densely settled) part of the Lachish city-state (including its capital), and the southern part of the city-state of Gath. As for Lachish, north of the Tell Beit Mirsim–Tel Milha line, there were 17 sites in the Late Bronze, with a total inhabited area of 19 hectares (including Lachish); only 4 sites with a total inhabited area of 0.8 hectares remained in this territory in the Iron I. In the southern territory of Gath, south of the Beth-shemesh–Tel Miqne line, there were 21 Late Bronze sites with a total built-up area of 27.5 hectares (excluding Tel Zafit itself). All that remained in the Iron I is two small, Category A sites. It should be noted that this area was fully combed by Dagan (1992a; 1992b), which means that the field data are almost complete.

The total destruction of Late Bronze Lachish and its immediate countryside explains why in I Sam. 27:6 Ziklag (apparently Tel Sera'—Oren 1982) belongs to the territory of Gath. The latter took over the land of Lachish (see also Singer 1993:139) and hence its hinterland stretched as far to the south as Tel Sera' and Tel Haror. The question remains: why was this vast territory not reinhabited in the eleventh century B.C.E.? One possible solution is that the Iron I society was more urban (below), and that there was no great population pressure at that time.

The Gezer countryside was the less damaged in the Late Bronze/Iron I transition. There is a clear continuity, not only in Gezer itself (Singer 1994:307–309) but also in the rural areas next to it. Though there was a slight decrease in the number of sites around the city—from 18 to 12—there was an increase in the population: the total built-up area increased from 28 hectares in the Late Bronze to 38 hectares in the Iron I. The coastal strip to the west and northwest of Gezer depicts two different patterns. A relative continuity in the Jaffa area, where most of the sites were inhabited in both periods; but a total abandonment of the cluster of 9 Late Bronze sites in the dunes south of Jaffa. Southwest of Gezer, part of the Tel Miqne countryside (the northwest corner of the territory of Gath) was also abandoned.

The archaeological evidence presently at hand cannot shed additional light on the problem of the political system of the Philistine Pentapolis. I refer to the questions of a Philistine amphictyony (Rahtjen 1965; Chambers 1983:50–51; Singer 1993:132–33) and the existence of a pan-Philistine monarchy (B. Mazar 1971:178; Rainey 1975; Singer 1993:133). In any case, there is no clue for the suggested supremacy of Gath (ibid.). Of the five Philistine centers, Ekron and Ashdod stand out as the strongest from the combination of the settlement and demographic points of view. Ashkelon—with almost no countryside—emerges as the weakest. Possibly, its main power came from being the most important Philistine port; the mound is the only one of the Philistine Pentapolis that is located right on the coastline. Another possibility is that

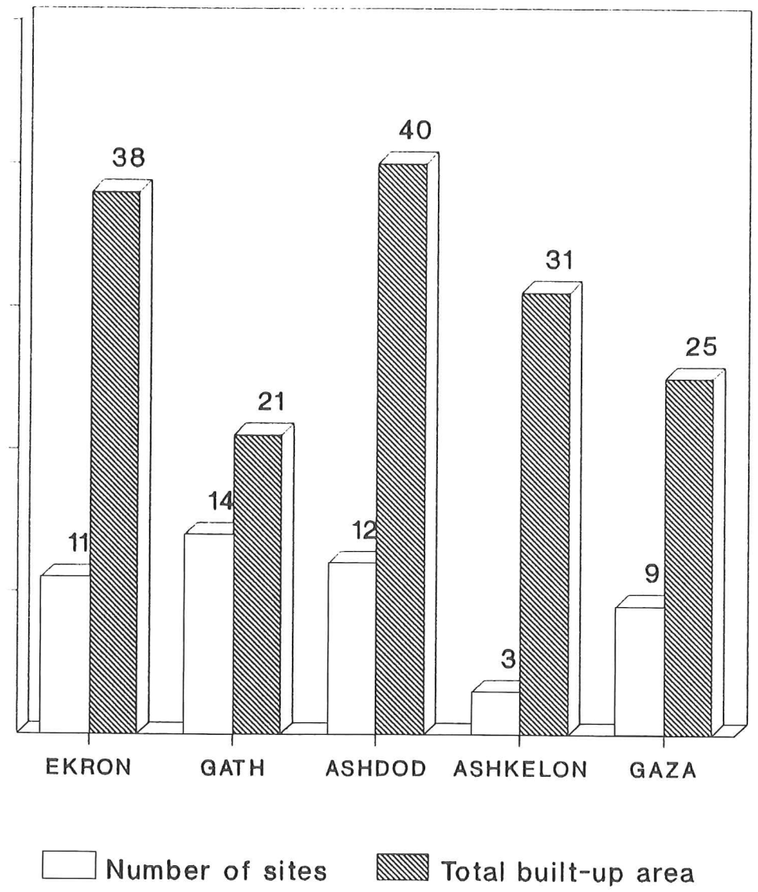

Figure 8.5. Number of sites and total built-up area in Iron I territories.

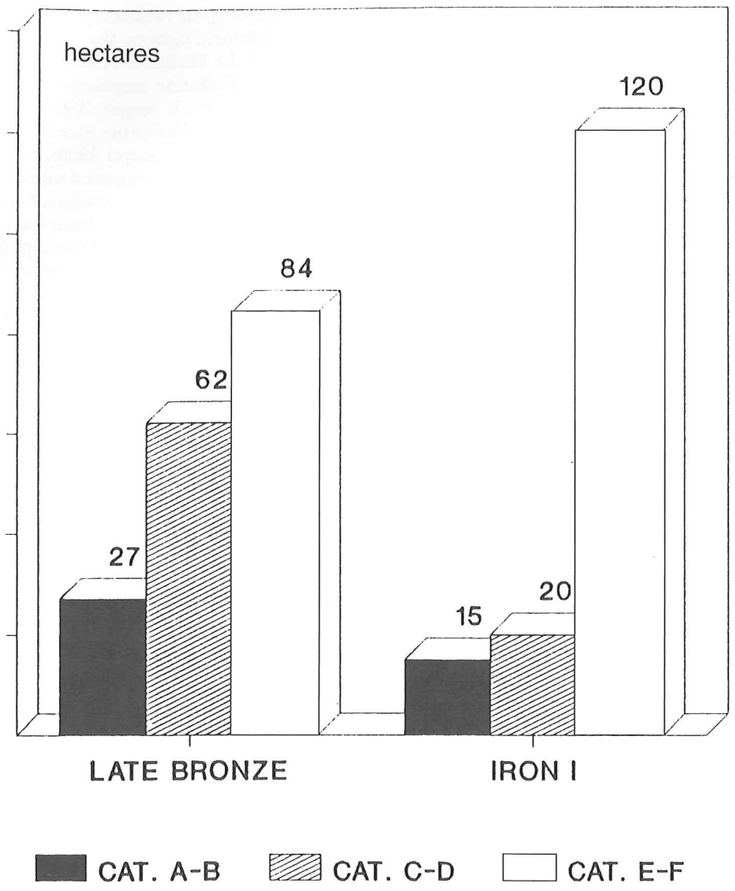

Figure 8.6. Late Bronze and Iron I built-up area according to size categories.

similar to the situation in the eighth century (as revealed by the Sennacherib annals), Jaffa—the only other real port-town in Philistia—and its surroundings were dominated by Ashkelon. This situation could have had its origin in the Egyptian administration system in the Late Bronze. Another relatively weak entity is that of Gath: from being the most densely settled area in the Late Bronze it became the center of the less populated territory in the Iron I.

Shifting to demography, I should reiterate that much of the region has been fully combed and all large sites have already been recorded. New sites, which may be revealed by future fieldwork, will probably fall into the Categories A–B size-rank. Therefore, the overall picture will not change significantly. Multiplying the total built-up area by a coefficient of 200 people per one inhabited hectare (for the problem of establishing a density coefficient according to ethnohistorical and archaeological data see Finkelstein 1990; Biger and Grossman 1993; Zorn 1994), we reach an estimate of ca. 35,000 people in the Late Bronze and ca. 30,000 in the Iron I (Figs. 8.7, 8.8).[12] These numbers shed some light on the question of the volume of the Philistine migration to Canaan. Considering this issue, one should keep in mind that in the Late Bronze/Iron I transition, the total built-up area had not changed significantly and that very few sites were established in the Iron I. Consequently, I would suggest that the number of newcomers was relatively limited—a few thousands at the most (cf. Stager 1995, who estimates the number at ca. 25,000). Obviously, one can claim that the entire

Late Bronze population was eliminated and that all, or most, of the people who inhabited the Iron I sites were newcomers. But this seems highly unlikely in view of the continuity in the material culture of the south in the Late Bronze/Iron I transition.

Summary

The main observations of the present study are summarized below: (1) Egyptian domination in the southern coastal plain, the Shephelah, and the Jezreel Valley lasted until the reign of Ramesses VI, that is, until ca. 1130 B.C.E. (2) The locally made Monochrome pottery of Philistia, which marks the first phase of the Philistine settlement, should be dated to the late-twelfth century B.C.E., after the collapse of Egyptian rule in the south; the Bichrome Philistine Ware must accordingly be placed in the eleventh and possibly early tenth century B.C.E. (3) The migration of the Sea People was not a single event. Rather, it

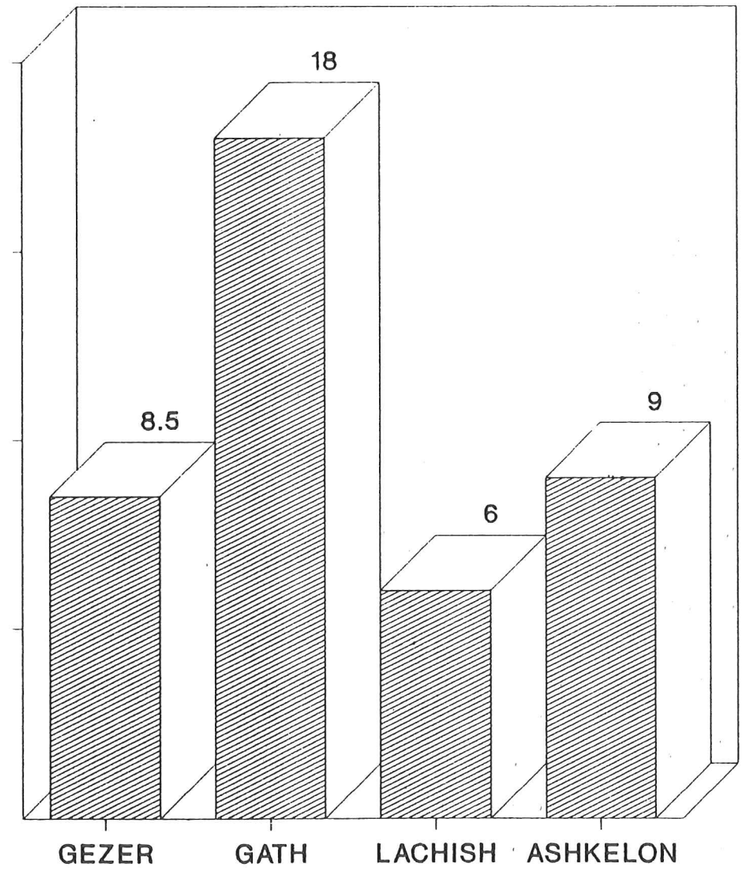

Figure 8.7. Population density (people/km²) in Late Bronze territories.

was a long process, with several phases, which started in the early years of Ramesses III and lasted until the days of Ramesses VI. (4) The sea and land battles of Ramesses III against the Sea People seem to have taken place in the Delta; the captives were settled in garrisons in Egypt proper. (5) The study of the demographic and settlement patterns in Philistia in the Late Bronze and Iron I indicates the urban nature of the Philistine migration. It also shows that the volume of the migrating groups was relatively limited.

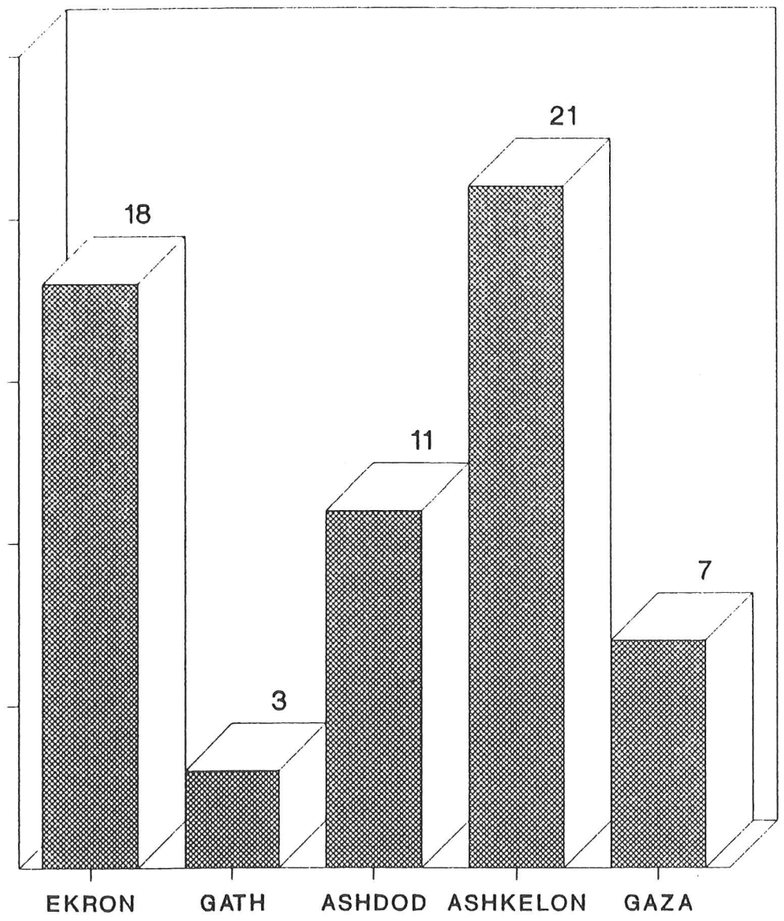

Figure 8.8. Population density (people/km²) in Iron I territories.

Notes

1. Singer's reconstruction of the political status of Megiddo at the time of Stratum VIIA (1988–1989, esp. 106–107) rules out the theory that the Ramesses VI pedestal was brought to the site at an unknown, later time (Kitchen 1984:124; Weinstein 1992:147).

2. The first to suggest a Middle Chronology for the Philistine settlement, even before the Monochrome phenomenon had been fully understood, was Y. Aharoni (1982:183–185). He argued that the Philistines could not have settled in the south before the mid-twelfth century B.C.E.: because the Philistine pottery derived from the Mycenaean IIIC, rather than from the Mycenaean IIIB, and as the latter was found at Ugarit in the destruction layer caused by the Sea Peoples, it must have taken several decades for the Bichrome Philistine pottery to develop from the Mycenaean IIIC prototypes.

3. The same holds true for Redford (1985:217–218), Wood (1991), Weinstein (1992), Bietak (1993), and Stager (1995), who all argued that the Philistines settled in the early days of Ramesses III in the coastal strip north of Nahal Besor, while at the same time the Egyptians managed to retain the area to the south and east.

4. In a desperate attempt to maintain the theory that the Monochrome pottery was restricted to the Pentapolis and to save the Philistine Paradigm, Stager (1995:343) has suggested identifying the important Late Bronze city-state and the Philistine town of Gath at Tel Haror—a relatively small site in both periods (Oren et al. 1991)—and rejecting the solid identification with the prominent Late Bronze and Iron I site of Tell es-Safi (Rainey 1975).

5. Another chronological clue may be found at Beth Shean. In another place (Finkelstein 1996a) I have proposed a late-twelfth century date for the *imported* Mycenaean IIIC:1b sherds (to be distinguished from the locally made Monochrome pottery of Philistia—Warren and Hankey 1989:166; Mazar 1993: 216) found in Stratum Lower VI at that site. If this is the case, it is difficult to imagine that the locally made Monochrome in Philistia predated the imported Mycenaean IIIC:1b in the north.

6. This is best demonstrated in Redford 1992:289. Redford acknowledges that the text speaks about Egypt, but since he knows about Ramesses III's activity in southern Canaan and about the Philistine presence there later (from the biblical source), he assumes that it also describes the southern coastal plain.

7. The theory that the Sea Peoples of Ramesses III's eighth year were settled in Egypt faces one difficulty: material culture items that can be related to such groups have not been found so far in the Delta (Weinstein 1992:142). But our knowledge of the nature and length of this settlement phenomenon, in particular, and of the archaeology of the Delta, in general, is extremely limited. Moreover, Aegean mercenaries who served in the Egyptian army long before Ramesses III's reign also have not left any identifiable remains in Egypt.

8. I wish to thank David Alon, Yehuda Dagan, Dan Gazit, Anat Ginsburg, Ram Gophna, and Yosi Levi for providing me with unpublished information on Late Bronze and Iron I settlements in the area under discussion.

9. Dagan (1992a) deals with the Shephelah in the Iron II. As such, his work contains all Iron II sites in this area, and that includes almost all the major mounds with Late Bronze and Iron I occupation. Late Bronze and Iron I sites that have not yielded Iron II remains are mentioned by Dagan in other places (1983:92–93). Dagan provided the author with additional unpublished information. Gaza is here included in the territory of Ashkelon. (For a five-entity system see Finkelstein 1996b)

10. Gaza is here included in the territory of Ashkelon. (For a five-entity system, see Finkelstein 1996b.) The border between Gezer and Ashkelon was drawn according to EA 298, which indicates that Mahoz (possibly Tell es-Sultan in the Yavne dunes ([*Enc. Miqr.* 4:785–787]) was located in the territory of the former. The border between Gath and Lachish was drawn according to EA 280—Qiltu/Keilah belongs to Gath; and EA 355—Mu-uh/u-ra-asti/Moreshet Gath[?], seemingly a border town between the two, is taken by Lachish. The latter cannot be identified with Tel Goded (e.g., Singer 1993:137) because the site was not inhabited in the Late Bronze (Gibson 1994). An alternative location is Tel Burnat.

11. Sites that seem to be mentioned in texts, but which have not provided relevant finds (e.g., Ono), were not included in the maps. The *hazerim* sites of southern Philistia (e.g., Gophna 1966) are taken here as representing a phase following the Philistine Bichrome Ware and are therefore not included in this study.

12. Compared to ca. 50,000 in the Middle Bronze and ca. 70,000 in the Iron II (Broshi and Gophna 1986; Broshi and Finkelstein 1992). At least for the Iron II the data do not seem to be complete.

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9

Sea Peoples in the Jordan Valley

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At a conference entitled, "The Bronze Working Centres of Western Asia," held at the British Museum, the writer presented a paper, "The Role of the Sea Peoples in the Bronze Production Centres of the Levant during the Latter Part of The Late Bronze Age," which was subsequently published in the conference proceedings (Tubb 1988a), and which seems to have initiated something of a controversy. The paper had two main aspects: first, that toward the very end of the Late Bronze Age, corresponding with the final phase of the Egyptian Empire in Canaan, the populations of those cities directly controlled by the Egyptians might well have included a Sea Peoples' element; and second, that there appeared to be a correlation between those sites, admittedly few in number, which provided evidence for bronze production, and those Egyptian-controlled sites where some evidence for a Sea Peoples presence could be adduced. These aspects were further developed into what was, in reality, a suggestion rather than a hypothesis: namely, that the role of such Sea Peoples might not always have been necessarily military, as has often been presumed, but might instead have been related to specialized technological or industrial processes such as bronze production. It is not, however, this last, and indeed originally cautiously stated idea, that has caused consternation, but rather the original suggestion that Sea Peoples might have been present in Canaan generally, and in the Jordan Valley specifically, at the end of the Late Bronze Age, prior to the reign of Ramesses III.

Ora Negbi (1991) has recently devoted a whole article to the issue, in which she not only dismisses the notion of a Sea Peoples' involvement in the bronze industry on the grounds of insufficient evidence, but also goes to some considerable lengths to deny the very presence of Sea Peoples in the Jordan Valley at the end of the Late Bronze Age. As far as the bronze industry is concerned, her criticism is, in part, fair. The evidence for a relationship between bronze production and the Sea Peoples is, indeed, slight, but enough surely to justify what was intended to be little more than a suggestion for consideration. Negbi's more sweeping denial of a Sea Peoples' presence in the Jordan Valley at the end of the Late Bronze Age is, however unacceptable, especially given the somewhat idiosyncratic nature of her reasoning, which ultimately leads her to the conclusion that there most probably were foreigners present in the region, but that these should be seen as representatives of the "Land Peoples" rather than "Sea Peoples"! Now, this is clearly not an appropriate place to argue semantic niceties. Suffice it to say that here (in accordance with the generally accepted practice) the term "Sea Peoples" is taken to include those of their number who arrived in the Levant by means of some overland route.

Negbi's arguments, although flawed, do at least highlight one of the most important problems in dealing with the Sea Peoples—the question of definition. How can a Sea Peoples presence in the Jordan Valley (or anywhere else in the Levant for that matter) be detected and defined? What are the criteria to be established? Unfortunately, the answers to both of these questions are, at best, elusive, given the generally ambiguous nature of the interpretation of any potentially associable artifacts. Only with the Philistines has it been possible (with certain reservations)

to match the people with a distinctive class of artifact, the pottery, but even the effect of this connection has been reduced somewhat in recent years by the realization that the distinctive Philistine style did not develop until some 50 years or so after their settlement on the coastal plain (see especially Mazar 1985: 119–124).

With regard to groups of Sea Peoples that might have been present in the Levant prior to the 8th year of Ramesses III, the difficulties of identification are even more severe, so much so that the rationale for seeking their presence may be called into question. This rationale, however, is provided by a combination of the Egyptians' tight control of Canaan in the Late New Kingdom (see Weinstein 1981), together with the long-standing association of the Egyptians with the Sea Peoples, extending back at least as far as the 14th century B.C.E. (see Barnett 1975:359–378; M. Dothan 1989:63–64; Tubb 1988a:263–264, n. 13) . In such circumstances, it would certainly be reasonable to assume the presence of groups of Sea Peoples within the populations of Egyptian-controlled cities in Canaan, either as military personnel or, perhaps, as industrial specialists. Again, the question arises as to what classes of artifacts should be sought in order to demonstrate the existence of such groups? Clearly, presence or absence at sites of Philistine pottery, or its Mycenaean IIIC1 prototypes, cannot be seen as relevant: not only had this pottery not yet been developed, but, more importantly, it cannot be assumed that all groups of the Sea Peoples would necessarily have developed the same style of pottery as the Philistines undeniably did. All other classes of ceramic evidence tend to be ambiguous. Exotic wares, alien to the local tradition, can always be explained as imports, and not as indicative of an alien population. Similarly, the occurrence of local imitations of imported wares, even in relatively high proportions, need not imply the presence of foreign potters attempting to copy the traditions of their homeland, but may simply be the result of local potters responding to the demand for aesthetically pleasing imports. There are no means of distinguishing between these two possibilities, and so the occurrence, for example, of imitation Mycenaean IIIB simple-style stirrup jars in 13th-century contexts at sites such as Beth Shan or Tell el-Far'ah (s) cannot be used as evidence to support a pre-Philistine, Sea Peoples' presence at these sites.

One of the fundamental difficulties in relation to any discussion of the Sea Peoples is the vexing question of their origins. Fortunately, the consensus seems, mercifully, to have shifted away from the more fanciful locations, arrived at purely on the grounds of name similarity, and, on the basis of sounder archaeological and textual investigations, has settled instead on the more reasonable, if more generalized suggested homelands of the Aegean and southern and southwestern Anatolia (see, e.g., Sanders 1978:197–202, noting, however, her inclination to bring the Sherden from North Syria). In any event, the localization of the Sea Peoples' homeland(s) may be of limited value in relation to the chronological and functional contexts that are being sought. For, the intention, after all, is to identify those Sea Peoples who might have been serving in the Egyptian employ during the 19th and 20th Dynasties, and not those Sea Peoples who became settled following the invasions of Ramesses III's reign. In these circumstances, pottery can all but be excluded from the assessment anyway, because there is no good reason why Sea Peoples serving with the Egyptians in Canaan should have included potters; certainly if their role was primarily military, or, as suggested above, perhaps technological. Soldiers or industrial workers would surely have adopted whatever pots came to hand—Egyptian in Egypt, or Canaanite in Canaan.

Metal artifacts might be expected to provide a more reliable indicator of cultural intrusion, but here again, the evidence is nearly always ambiguous. An Aegean-style dagger may well be the long-cherished weapon of a Sherden warrior, but it could equally be a prized luxury import. It is possibly for this reason that, when in 1968 James Pritchard suggested, on the basis of a high proportion of Aegean-style metal artifacts found in the cemetery at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, that a Sea Peoples' element might have been present in the population (1968:99–112), the idea attracted very little attention. It is, however, a suggestion that can now be revived and substantiated on the basis of the results of the writer's renewed excavations at the site since 1985 (Figs. 9.1–2), which have demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that Saʿidiyeh was directly controlled by the Egyptians during the final phase of the New Kingdom empire, under the pharaohs of the 20th Dynasty (see, most conveniently, Tubb 1995:137–141; and for preliminary reports of the renewed excavations at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, see Tubb 1988; Tubb 1990; Tubb and Dorrell 1991; Tubb and Dorrell 1993; Tubb and Dorrell 1994).

Stratum XII. which dates to the 12th century B.C.E., is characterized by Egyptian architectural traditions (Fig. 9.3), and the associated cemetery demonstrates strongly Egyptian funerary practices. To this phase also can now be attributed the well-known water system staircase, first investigated by Pritchard, and now completely revealed and restored by the British Museum expedition (see Tubb, Dorrell and Cobbing 1996:35–36; Fig. 9.4). Given the evidence for direct Egyptian control of Saʿidiyeh during the late 13th–12th century, it would certainly not be out of place to suggest that a group of the Sea Peoples might have been present within the population, serving the Egyptians in some capacity. Substantiation for

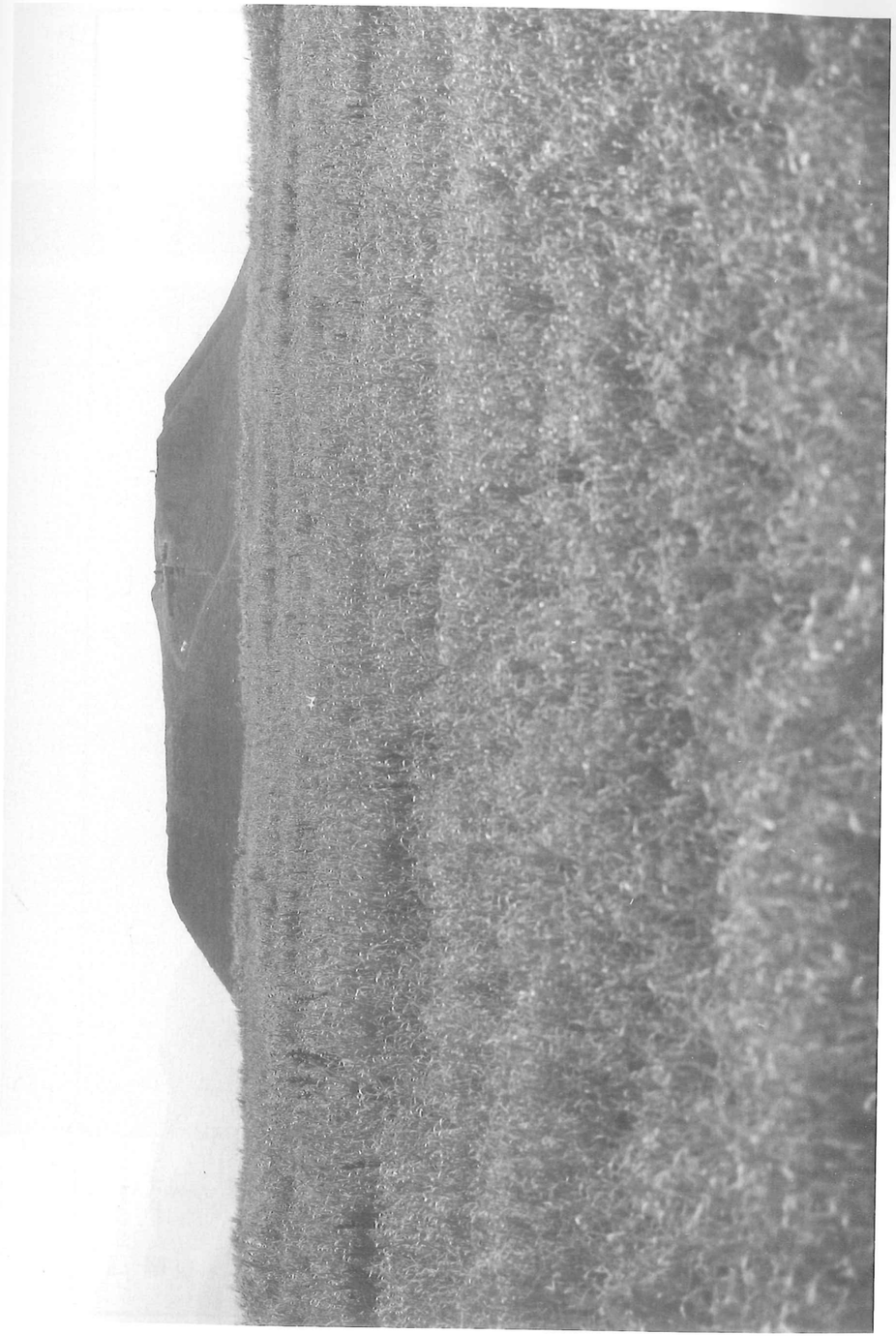


Figure 9.1. View of Tell es-Saʿidiyeh from the west.

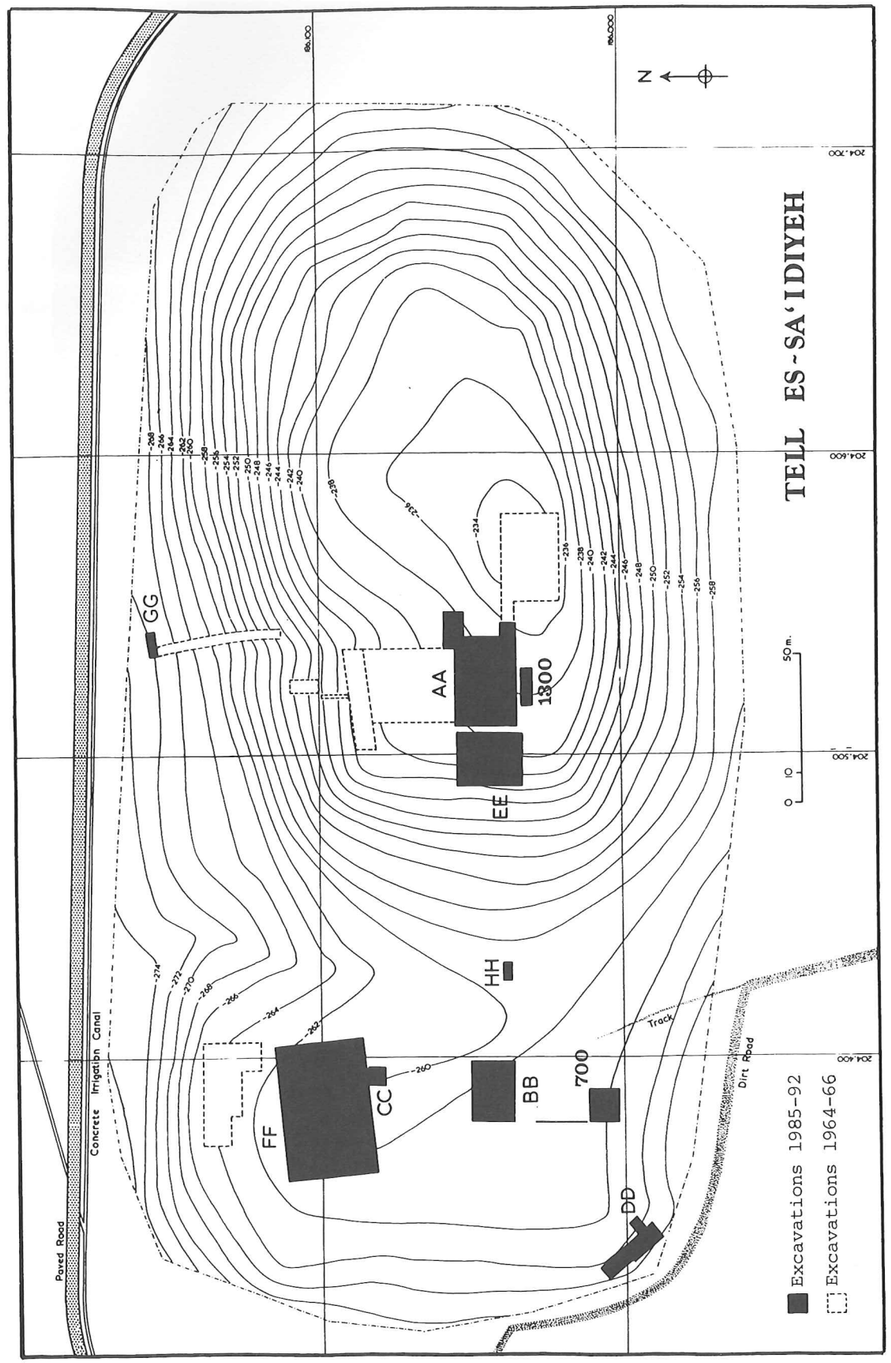


Figure 9.2. Tell es-Saʿidiyeh: Contour plan showing excavated area.

Figure 9.3. Overhead view of "Egyptian Governor's Residency" at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (Area AA–Stratum XII).

this idea cannot, however, be sought from the ceramic corpus, for although it does indeed include a high proportion of imitation Mycenaean IIIB vessels, this class of evidence must, for the reasons of ambiguity stated previously, be disregarded. For similar reasons, a Sea Peoples' presence cannot be adduced on the basis of the Aegean-style bronzes cited by Pritchard (1968:108–109).

The evidence for a Sea Peoples' presence at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh derives instead from an aspect of the material culture, the nature of which is unambiguous, and which is traditionally so conservative that it demands recognition as an ethnic indicator—burial custom. In addition to the pit and built graves, the Saʿidiyeh cemetery has been found to contain a large number of double-pithos burials. These burials, completely alien to the Canaanite tradition, consist of two large store jars with their necks removed, joined shoulder to shoulder to form, in effect, a pottery coffin, which was then set into a pit. The deceased, always a single individual, extended on the back, was placed inside, and grave goods were either placed with the body, or were arranged around the outside of the "coffin" (occasionally in both places). Altogether, 37 double-pithos burials have been found at Saʿidiyeh to date (Figs. 9.5–9). In addition, 52 jar burials containing the remains of infants have been excavated (Figs. 9.10–11). In these cases, a single store jar was used, again the neck having been removed in order to allow for insertion of the deceased, and closure was effected by means of a stone or a large sherd. One further, clearly related, burial type, of which two examples have been discovered, deserves mention: in this case, the head only of the deceased was contained within a similarly adapted store jar, the remainder of the body having been covered with a "shroud'' of large store jar sherds. Generally, the grave goods from the double-pithos and jar burials are comparable to those from the rest of the cemetery, and if any preference at all can be detected, it would seem to be for Egyptian items—scarabs, jewelry, bronze knives, and delicately carved ivory boxes. Two of the double-pithos burials contained long-tanged daggers that show an interesting feature, not previously recorded: the two blades, one of which had been ritually "killed" by bending, revealed, on cleaning, delicately executed incised geometric decorations, extending along the mid-ribs of both faces (Fig. 9.12). The only parallel found so far for this unusual decorative treatment comes from a poorly documented, effectively undated, dagger blade from Olympia (Avila 1982: pl. 48-1003).

The large number of double-pithos and jar burials at Saʿidiyeh is surely significant, for elsewhere in Palestine these burial types are extremely rare. A single double-pithos burial from Kfar Yehoshua in the Jezreel Valley was published by Adam Druks (1966: 213–220), and this example is closely comparable to those from Saʿidiyeh, both in terms of the overall configuration of the burial, and in the nature of the grave goods. It has been dated by the excavator to the late 13th century.

A double-pithos burial, but without associated finds, was excavated in the 12th–11th century cemetery at Azor, where, in addition to this finding, a number of other fascinating funerary practices were recorded, including mud-brick built tombs and a cremation burial (see T. and M. Dothan 1992:114–115).

Some 60 double-pithos burials are reported to have been found at Tel Zeror, all apparently in poor condition and, again, without associated finds. According to the excavator, these burials date to the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Hellenistic period, but it is not clear on what basis these unquantified attributions are made (Ohata and Kochavi 1970: 73–74). At Tell el-Far'ah (N) a somewhat disrupted jar (double-pithos?) burial was found on the tell, and dated by the excavators to the late 13th century B.C.E. (de Vaux and Steve 1948:573–574). The most recent discoveries of double-pithos and jar burials have been made at Tel Nami, on the coast of Israel. So far, these have only been reported in brief preliminary reports, but are said to date to the 13th century and to contain rich assemblages of grave goods, including many Egyptian items (Artzy 1993:10).

The presence of significant numbers of double-pithos burials in the cemetery at Saʿidiyeh must surely indicate the presence of a sizable alien element within the population. That this element was composed of a group of the Sea Peoples is indicated by the origin of this burial type. For, if it is seen to have been rare in Palestine, the double-pithos burial was, by contrast, one of the most ubiquitous burial types of Hittite Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age. Closely similar burials (although accompanied by purely local grave goods) have been found, for example at Alishar (Von der Osten 1937:84–108) and Yanarlar (Emre 1978—see especially pp. 123–137 for a discussion of the occurrences of double-pithos burials throughout the Hittite Empire), and further west at Sardis, where the double-pithos burial tradition can be traced back to the third millennium (Hanfmann 1983:17–18 and fig. 14). If, as is now widely accepted, some of the groups of the Sea Peoples originated in this region, then the occurrence of double-pithos burials at Saʿidiyeh can only serve to demonstrate the presence of such people at the site during the late 13th–12th century B.C.E. It would seem likely, too, that the other instances of double-pithos and jar burials in Palestine recorded above should also be attributed to groups of Sea Peoples. It is possible, as suggested by Rivka Gonen (1992:30), that these people arrived in Palestine by means of an overland route following the collapse of the Hittite Empire at the end of the 13th century (and might, in these terms, have been Hittite refugees rather than Sea Peoples). Although a gradual infiltration of this sort could well account for some of the isolated occur-

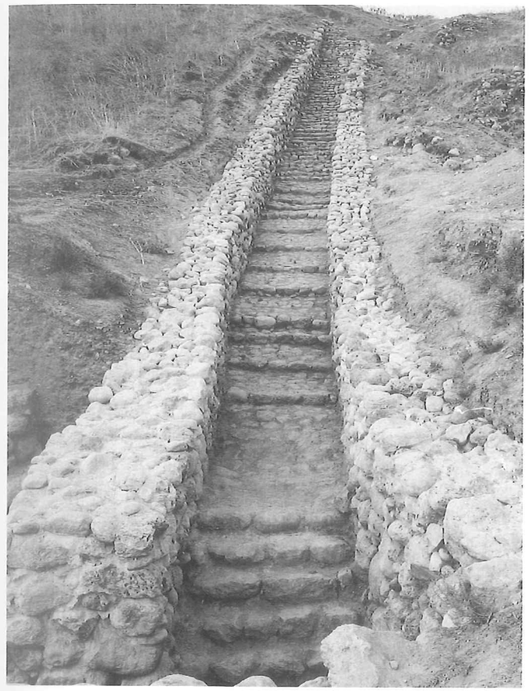
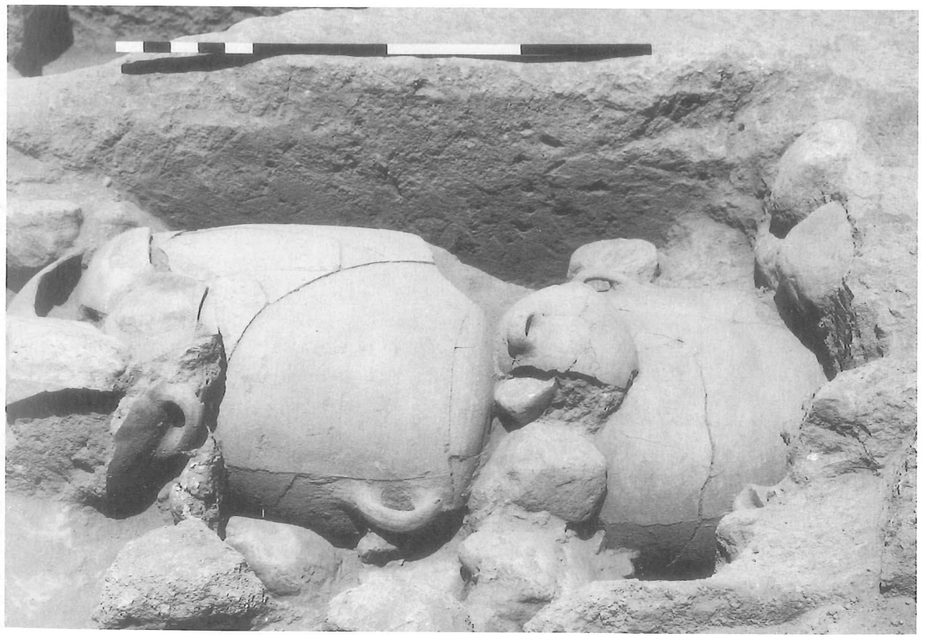


Figure 9.4. Tell es-Saʿidiyeh: The water system staircase.

Figure 9.5. Tell es-Saʿidiyeh: Double-pithos burial (Grave 76).



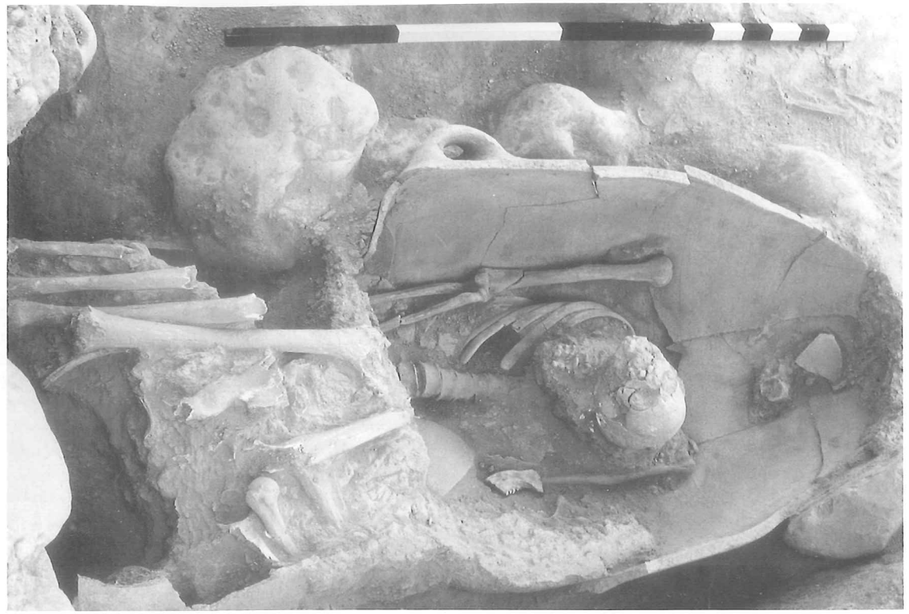


Figure 9.6. Tell es-Saʿidiyeh: Interior of double-pithos burial (Grave 76).

Figure 9.7. Tell es-Saʿidiyeh: Double-pithos burial (Grave 327).

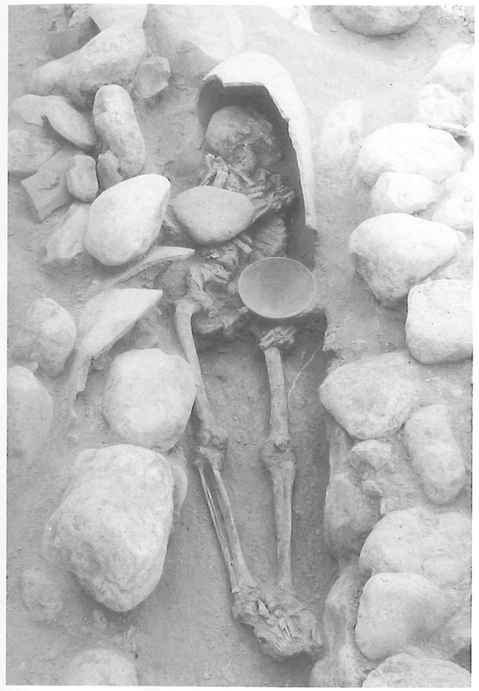


Figure 9.8. Tell es-Saʿidiyeh: Double-pithos burial (Grave 364A), showing "ration bowl" in position over the pelvis.

Figure 9.9. Tell es-Saʿidiyeh: Double-pithos burial (Grave 364B), showing anthropomorphic pilgrim flask against left leg.

rences of double-pithos and jar burials, it cannot possibly explain the situation at Saʿidiyeh. For here, the high proportion of such burial types in the cemetery of what was clearly a strongly controlled Egyptian city, implies a much-longer-standing relationship between the aliens and the Egyptians. It would seem more reasonable to suggest in this case that the Sea Peoples formed a previously integrated component of the Egyptian contingent that was responsible for the development of the site as a commercial center in the latter part of the 13th century.

The identity of the Sea Peoples group at Saʿidiyeh cannot, of course, be established. Of the possible candidates, the most likely in the writer's opinion would be the Sherden (see the extended note in Tubb 1988a: n. 13, which cites the relevant Egyptian textual sources), an opinion now also shared by Moshe Dothan (1989:64), and although the process of identification of Sea Peoples origins based on name similarity has been dismissed above, it is perhaps worth pointing out that the equation of Sherden with Sardinia is far less satisfactory than it would be with Sardis!

Having established Sea Peoples (possibly Sherden) at Saʿidiyeh, a number of questions can be raised. First, is Saʿidiyeh an isolated case, or were Sea Peoples present elsewhere in the Jordan Valley?

At Deir ʿAlla, about 10 km south of Saʿidiyeh, the recently published report on the Late Bronze Age temple makes it clear that the excavator, Franken, believes that the site, which he perceives as being a sort of religious center during this period, was also under Egyptian control during the 14th–early 12th centuries (1992:166). There appears, however, to be nothing in the architecture to substantiate this view. There are, it is true, among the repertoire of Canaanite Late Bronze II material, a healthy number of Egyptian objects, including the well-documented faience vase fragment with the cartouche of Taousert (Franken 1992:5, figs. 3–9), but, altogether the objects suggest little more than the result of trade contact. The contemporary cemetery (if there was one, given the excavator's interpretation of the function of the site) has not been explored (or, indeed, located), so nothing can be said on the basis of burial customs, and the only vague hint of Sea Peoples comes from the extraordinary tablets, the script of which, having had a brief flirtation with South Arabian (van

Figure 9.10. Tell es-Saʿidiyeh: Jar burial (Grave 471).

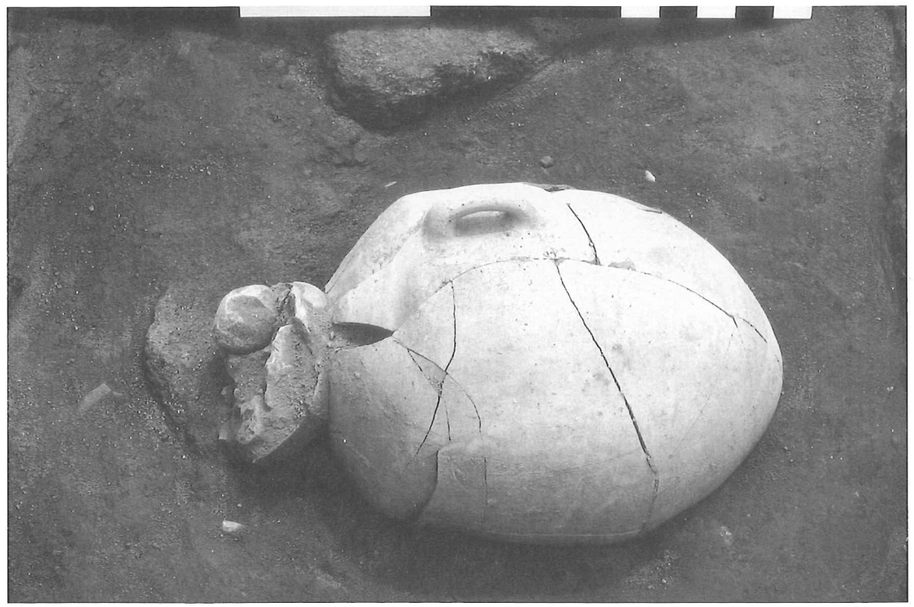


Figure 9.11. Tell es-Saʿidiyeh: Jar burial (Grave 63).

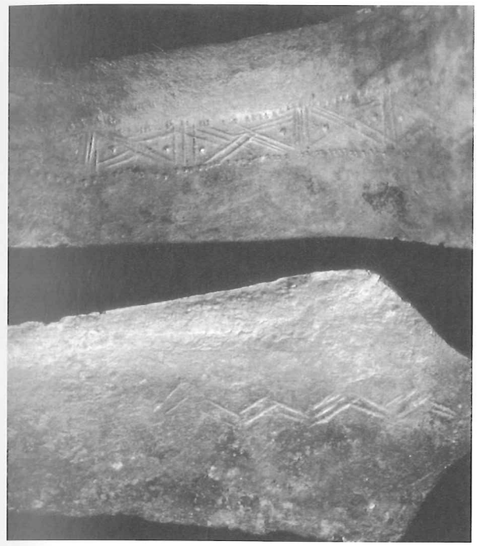


Figure 9.12. Detail of dagger blades from Tell es-Saʿidiyeh Double-pithos burials showing intricate incised decorations.

den Branden 1965) and "Aegean" (Franken 1975), Franken now accepts as being related to Proto-Canaanite (1992:176). They provide slender evidence, indeed, given that they are still undeciphered.

At Tell Mazar, which lies in between Deir 'Alla and Saʿidiyeh, a number of interesting graves of the Iron III period have been excavated and published, and these will be mentioned later (Yassine 1984). Also excavated but not yet published were a number of Middle and Late Bronze Age graves, but little unfortunately is known of the contemporary occupation. Farther to the north, north of Saʿidiyeh, John Strange's excavations at Tell Fukhar have isolated a 12th-century horizon, with material apparently similar to Saʿidiyeh Stratum XII, but, as yet, there is little to report (personal communication).

Altogether then, in answer to our first question, Sea Peoples might well have been present elsewhere in the central Jordan Valley, but we are not yet in a position to demonstrate it at any site other than Saʿidiyeh.

Our second question must be: what were Sea Peoples doing in the central Jordan Valley? Again, it must be stressed that it is unlikely that they were doing anything by themselves. It is hard to conceive of them as having been an independent force within the population. Surely, they were only there because the Egyptians were there, and were needed to perform some function or other specifically for the Egyptians.

They could, of course, have been mercenaries, and this role of the Sea Peoples seems to have become well established. In this respect, however, in reviewing the evidence, it is worth pointing out that of the Sea Peoples, only the Sherden are specified in the Egyptian texts as having served in this capacity.

But was their function always necessarily military? To revive the writer's original idea, it is possible that the Sea Peoples were engaged in other specialized activities that suited the demands of the Egyptians, perhaps being employed as expert metal workers.

Certainly it is true that there was a great increase in bronze production in Palestine/Transjordan at the end of the Late Bronze Age and beginning of the Iron Age. Important groups of bronzes have been found at sites such as Beth Shan (James 1966: figs. 102–105—Level VI; Oren 1973: figs. 41, 45 and 49—N. Cemetery), Beth Shemesh (Grant 1929:137—Tomb 2; Grant and Wright 1939:150–154 with associated illustration references—strata IVb-III), Deir el-Balah (T. Dothan 1979:18–23—Tomb 114 and 66–87—Tomb 118), Tell el-Far'ah (s) (Petrie 1930: pls. XXI—500 cemetery, XXVI, XXVIII, XXX, XXXII, and XXXIV—various; Starkey and Harding 1932: pls. XLVII–XLVIII and LV—900 cemetery), Gezer (Macalister 1912: pl. CXXI—Tomb 252) and Megiddo (Loud 1948: pls. 189–190—hoard in locus 1739, and pls.173–189—various; Yadin 1970: figs. 6–7—stratum VIA) in Palestine, and Tell Deir 'Alla (Franken 1961: pl. 12), Madeba (Harding 1953: pls. IV–V—Tomb A), Sahab (Dajani 1970: pls.XVIII–XXII—Tomb C) and of course at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh in Transjordan (Pritchard 1980: figs. 45, 48, 49, 52, 59, 60, and 63). For the most part, these objects are again utilitarian: the tools and weapons can, with few exceptions, be shown to develop from Late Bronze Age prototypes. There is, however, a much expanded repertoire of vessels. Various shapes of bowls were produced. In addition to the simple hemispherical form, carinated and flaring types are found that have taken as their inspiration the developed ceramic forms of the Canaanite Late Bronze Age (see Gershuny 1985 for a valuable treatment of the bronze vessels). Sets of three vessels—bowl, strainer, and juglet—have been found in combination at several sites; Megiddo, locus 1739 (Loud 1948: pls. 189–190), Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, graves 101 (Pritchard 1980: fig. 49) and 32 (Tubb 1985b: pl. 19); Beth Shan tomb 90 (Oren 1973: fig. 45:1–3) and Deir el-Balah, tomb 114 (T. Dothan 1979: figs. 38–42), and, on the basis of a representation on an ivory box lid from Tell el-Far'ah (s) (Petrie 1930: pl. LV), these have been interpreted as wine sets (Pritchard 1965:17; 1968:103–104).

As in the previous period, decoration is again minimal, largely confined to simple chased designs based on geometric motifs. A good example here is the basic but well-executed design on the interior of the recently excavated bowl from the wine set of grave 32 at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (Tubb 1988b: fig. 50:1).

Now, obviously, the presence of large numbers of

bronze artifacts does not directly imply industrial production at those sites. If we widen the discussion, however, and look at those sites in Palestine/Transjordan that have produced evidence for bronze production, an interesting picture emerges.

At Tel Mor, which is situated about 7 km northwest of Ashdod, stratum VI, dated to 1230–1150 B.C.E., produced the remains of at least four furnaces together with large quantities of slags and tuyeres (Waldbaum 1978:60). Stratum VI contained many Egyptian objects, suggesting to the excavators the presence of an Egyptian governor (M. Dothan 1977:890).

At Tell ez-Zuweyid, on the coast of Sinai, a crucible for copper working was found in level M (Petrie and Ellis 1937: pl. L-216), dating to the 11th century B.C.E., and two were found in the slightly earlier level N (Petrie and Ellis 1937: pl. L-198, 194), which should be placed some time in the 12th century B.C.E. (see T. Dothan 1982:27 for dating of the strata). Both levels M and N contained Philistine pottery in an amount sufficient to indicate some degree of Philistine presence.

At Tell Qasile, remains of two furnaces were found in stratum XI, together with crucibles with traces of copper or bronze adhering (Maisler 1951:75). The industrial area, which the excavator describes as a "smelting plant," continued in use in the following stratum X. Strata XI–X cover, together, the whole of the 11th century B.C.E. (see Mazar 1985:123). Tel Qasile, as noted previously, was a Philistine foundation, and remained in their control until the destruction of stratum X at the beginning of the 10th century B.C.E. (Mazar 1985: 127).

Remains of an 11th-century foundry were excavated at Tel Masos in stratum II of area A (Fritz and Kempinski 1983:21). This stratum contained Philistine ware and also examples of Midianite pottery (Kempinski 1977:818).

Beth Shan level VI produced a pottery crucible with fragments of copper or bronze adhering to the surface (Fitzgerald 1930:9, pl. XLIV:12). Beth Shan was, at this time, one of the major Egyptian strongholds in Canaan with evidence for a Sea Peoples' presence.

At Beth Shemesh, an industrial quarter, dating to the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E., was excavated in stratum III: three furnaces were found, together with slags, tuyeres, and pieces of metal scrap (Grant 1934: 52, 54, and Map II; Grant and Wright 1939:56). Stratum III was associated with Philistine pottery in sufficient quantity to suggest a period of Philistine domination.

At Deir 'Alla, following an earthquake and the destruction of the Late Bronze Age sanctuary, Phase B, described by the excavators as a phase of the seminomadic, itinerant metalworkers (see above) produced the remains of furnaces for smelting copper, a blowpipe with a drop of copper attached to the inside of the nozzle, and many tiny metal globules in the surrounding soil (Franken 1969:36–38). This phase was dated by the excavator to the late 12th century B.C.E.

Drawing the above data together, it can be noted that the sites producing evidence for bronze production in the final Late Bronze and early Iron I periods were, to a certain extent, controlled either by the Egyptians or by the Philistines. At a time when Egyptian domination of Canaan was weakening, it is surely not a coincidence that these metal-producing sites appear to have been strongly garrisoned, allowing them to withstand the devastations that accompanied the end of the Late Bronze Age and to persist into the early Iron Age. Were the Egyptians deliberately safeguarding an industry they felt to have key economic significance? Certainly, Rothenberg's work in the western Wadi Arabah indicates that the copper mines of Timna were in the control of Egypt, at least until the time of Ramesses V, when the Hathor sanctuary at site 200 was destroyed, that is, around the middle of the 12th century B.C.E. (Rothenberg 1972:128).

The available evidence allows us, perhaps, to construct a model for the bronze-producing centers of Palestine/Transjordan during the final stages of the Late Bronze Age and into the early Iron Age. The centers appear to have been initially under Egyptian control. In the earlier part of the Late Bronze Age, this would, of course, be taken for granted as a natural consequence of the imposition of the Egyptian New Kingdom "empire" in Canaan. During the 13th century B.C.E., and possibly earlier, the Egyptians employed as metalworkers a group, or groups, of Sea Peoples, who, it is argued, settled in the central Jordan Valley. The identity of these people is unknown, but, because Philistines are not attested to in the Egyptian texts until they appear in those dealing with the invasions of year 8 of Ramesses III (ca. 1190 B.C.E.), this group of Sea Peoples is less likely to have been present in Canaan during the 13th century B.C.E. than, say, the Sherden, who are attested to as mercenaries as far back as the 14th century B.C.E. Amarna letters.

Following the land and sea battles of year 8 of Ramesses III, and the subsequent settlement of Philistines, Tjekker, and Sherden on the Canaanite coast (see Gardiner 1947:24—Onomasticon of Amenope), bronze production seems to have continued uninterrupted at sites still under Egyptian control, where the presence of Philistine pottery now attests to the presence of this group of the Sea Peoples within the garrisons. Although other groups of Sea Peoples, some apparently settled before the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E. (see above), should not be overlooked, the Philistines become the dominant group within Palestine/Transjordan during the Iron I period, and it is clear that they not only continued bronze production at established centers, but also greatly expanded the industry by developing new centers at sites they founded or took over during their rise to political dominance in the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E.

Altogether, therefore, it seems not an unreasonable suggestion that if Sea Peoples were present in the central Jordan Valley in the 12th century B.C.E., one of their functions might have been as metalworkers. There are, however, other technological functions that might also have been undertaken by such people. If we return to the Saʿidiyeh water-system staircase, the closest antecedents for this slope-cut arrangement are not to be found in Palestine, or even Egypt, but in the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age systems of Tiryns or Mycenae.

It should not be overlooked that there is another example of the Saʿidiyeh-type staircase closer to home. At Megiddo, the slope-cut staircase, Gallery 629, provides a good parallel (Lamon 1935:10–12). This feature, which underlies the solid "inset-offset" city wall, was dated by the excavators to the 12th century B.C.E., a period when Megiddo, too, was under Egyptian domination. The numerous subsequent arguments concerning the dating of the city wall cannot, of course, be disregarded, but altogether, despite the results of Yadin's 1960's excavations (1970: 89–92), the consequent reattribution of the gallery to the period of Solomon remains, at best, unconvincing, and there would seem little reason to challenge the Chicago excavators' original 12th-century dating for this structure.

It is also worth noting that Megiddo, too, has produced an example of a double-pithos burial, recorded by Schumacher (1908:18). Although the information on this burial is hard to track down, the apparently associated finds in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum include a long-tanged dagger and at least one imitation Mycenaean stirrup jar, similar to those from Saʿidiyeh.

In any event, is it possible that the Sea Peoples had a hand in the construction of the Aegean-style water systems at Saʿidiyeh and possibly also at Megiddo?

The final question to be raised is what happened to the Sea Peoples following the departure of the Egyptians? To answer this question, it is necessary to understand the basis on which they arrived in the first place. If they arrived purely as military personnel, there is no reason to assume they would not have left with the Egyptians when they departed, toward the end of the 12th century B.C.E. At Saʿidiyeh, however, it is interesting to note that many, nearly half of the double-pithos burials, contained the remains of women. In four cases the women were interred with newborn, presumably stillborn, babies.

In addition, there are 50 or so jar burials, all containing the remains of young children. In other words, the Sea Peoples at Saʿidiyeh seemed to have settled as families, a fact that may add support to the idea of their function being technological rather than military. But there is another aspect to this observation that is even more pertinent. The Great Harris Papyrus (BM EA 9999) refers to the settlement by Ramesses III of Sea Peoples, specifically Sherden, in fortresses, "bound in his name," within Egyptian-controlled territory (see especially Grandet 1994:243, n. 919). Could it be that the region of this settlement lay in the central Jordan Valley, perhaps even at Saʿidiyeh? In such a circumstance, there is no reason to suppose that the Sea Peoples moved when the Egyptians withdrew their empire, and the continuation of a Sea Peoples presence in the Jordan Valley may help to explain a number of features of the later Iron Age culture of the region.

It may help to explain, for example, the occurrence of later double-pithos and anthropoid coffin burials at sites such as Sahab or the Amman airport, going well into the 10th century (see Yassine 1988: 33–46). It may help to explain the transmission of strongly Egyptianizing burial practices at sites such as Tell Mazar or Tell es-Saʿidiyeh right into the Iron III–Persian period, with the same use of linen binding, wrapping up of bronze objects, use of wine sets, and covering of the faces and genitals of the deceased with bronze bowls (see Yassine 1984 for Tell Mazar).

It may be that Franken's "itinerant metal workers" of Phase B at Deir 'Alla were none other than Sea Peoples made homeless after the destruction of Saʿidiyeh at the end of the 12th century.

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10

The Settlement of Sea Peoples in Northern Israel

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In recent years, many artifacts that can be attributed to the Sea Peoples have been uncovered in surveys and excavations conducted along the northern coast of Israel as well as in sites in the valleys of Akko, Jezreel, Beth Shean, and in the northern Jordan Valley. These finds have provoked a new discussion about the settlement of the Sea Peoples in the region (Raban 1991; Negbi 1992; Singer 1994). Most studies tend to deal either with relatively small regions, such as Akko (Dothan 1986; 1993), the Jezreel Valley (Raban 1991), and the Jordan Valley (Negbi 1992), or with individual sites, such as Tel Dor (Stern 1991;1994), Tel Zeror (Abata 1967; 1970; Kochavi 1998), Tel Keisan (Humbert and Briend 1980; Humbert 1993; Balensi 1981), and Tel Qiri (Ben-Tor and Portugali 1987). The time is now right to examine the overall picture.

Biblical and Egyptian Evidence

Historical records concerning the settlement of Sea Peoples in northern Palestine are few. There is no biblical reference to the Sikils, Sherden, and Denyen or their role in the settlement history of this region. The Bible refers only to the Philistines, whose area of settlement extended along the southern coast and up to the Yarkon River where the northern limit is marked by Tell Qasile. In fact, historical references to the Sikils and other Sea Peoples are confined to extra-biblical sources, principally those from Egypt.

In the Bible, the geographic designation "Naphath-Dor" appears twice in the Book of Joshua in conjunction with the city of Dor (11:1–2; 12:23: "the king of Dor in Naphat-Dor"). Also, the phrase "the third is Naphath" ("even the three regions" in the original Hebrew text) was appended to the list of Canaanite cities that were not conquered by Manasseh (Joshua 17:11). Aharoni considered the phrase "the three regions" as a late gloss intended to explain that the third city mentioned in the list represented the region of Dor. Scholars are divided as to the meaning and significance of the word *naphath* ("region"). Meir Ben-Dov recently reiterated the theory that it is a Greek word meaning "wooded area," which was used to describe the landscape around Dor. If the Greek origin of this geographic term is correct, then we can infer that the city had probably already fallen to Sea Peoples from the Greek world, the Sikils, while the other cities in the vicinity remained under the rule of the Canaanite kinglets (Ben-Dov 1976; and cf. Rainey 1982). Some scholars believe that there is a connection between the Sikils and the island of Sicily, but others maintain that they originated from Cilicia and that some of the Cilicians later built Salamis in Cyprus (Goedicke 1975; Lehmann 1979; Hlessondra 1985; Nibi 1996).

We have more detailed contemporary information relating to the Sikils from non-biblical sources. Ramesses III, who ejected the Sea Peoples from Egypt in ca. 1180 B.C.E., recorded that he "destroyed" three of them: the Denyen, the Sikils, and the Philistines. A Ugaritic text of roughly the same period mentions the Sikils as pirates who live on their ships (Lehmann 1979; RS 34.129, 20.238).

Most of our information about these tribes, however, is derived from two slightly later Egyptian documents (Dietrich and Loretz 1978). The first is the Onomasticon of Amenope dating to the late 12th or early 11th century B.C.E. It includes a list of names: "Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gaza, Asher . . . Sherden, Sikils, and Philistia." The text thus mentions three coastal Philistine cities (Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Gaza), the Israelite tribe Asher, which may have exercised control over territories in the Akko Valley, and the three tribes of the Sea Peoples (Sherden, Sikils, and Philistine). Thus it may be that both the Sikils and the Sherden ruled parts of the northern and central Palestine coast (Gardiner 1947; Alt, 1950).

The second and more detailed document, the "Tale of Wenamun," from el-Hibeh in middle Egypt dates to the early Twenty-first Dynasty in the first half of the 11th century B.C.E. (Wilson 1955; Goedicke 1975; Hlessondra 1985; Nibi 1996). It contains the only reference to the Sikil settlement at Dor and is probably the most important document for the history of Palestine during the "dark age" of the 11th century B.C.E. The author, Wenamun, was a priest in the temple of Amon at Karnak who was sent to Byblos to purchase cedar wood for the sacred bark. Wenamun relates: "I reached Dor, a town of the Sikils, and Beder, its prince, had fifty loaves of bread, one jug of wine, and one keg of beer brought to me." Later in the story, he tells how one of his ship's crewmen made off with a large quantity of his gold and silver, leaving Wenamun penniless. Wenamun appealed to the governor of Dor to capture the thief and restore his goods. As that potentate was not particularly eager to fulfill this request, Wenamun despaired of any help from the people of Dor and took refuge first at Tyre, then later at Byblos. After further adventures in Byblos Wenamun realized that Beder's men were in pursuit:

> And I went to the shore of the sea to the place where the timber was lying and I spied eleven ships belonging to the Sikils coming in from the sea in order to say: "Arrest him; don't let a ship of his go to the land of Egypt."

The Tale of Wenamun, undoubtedly based on an official report, makes it clear that the Sikils were settled at Dor and that they operated a large fleet from its harbor. Apart from Beder, the story mentions three other rulers, whose names are typical of the Sea Peoples. One of them, Weret, was probably the ruler of Ashkelon; he had a trading treaty with the powerful maritime city of Tyre. Two others may have been the governors of Ashdod and Gaza. This important document presents a unique picture of the autonomous coastal cities in the 11th century B.C.E. Some were ruled by the Sea Peoples and others by the Phoenicians. They maintained commercial ties with one another and evidently controlled the Palestinian and Phoenician coast independently of Egypt.

The Archaeological Evidence

The Bible, the Egyptian sources, and the archaeological evidence all provide much information about Philistine control in southern Palestine, but the Sea Peoples settled in northern Israel are not as well known. The Sikils occupied the northern Sharon, and the Sherden probably settled farther north, in the Akko Valley. Y. Yadin and others have suggested that another tribe, the Denyen, settled in Beth Shean and at Dan (see below; and cf. Yadin 1968; Oren 1973; Tubb 1988; Negbi 1992).

We shall proceed with an examination of the finds attributed to the Sea Peoples from excavations conducted along the Carmel Coast, starting with Dor, the major site in the region, which is currently under excavation by the writer. Other sites include Tel Zeror and 'Ein Hagit. It is worth noting that in certain sites in the region, such as Tel Mevorakh (Stern 1978) and Tel Nami (Artzy 1993), the destruction of the Canaanite settlements was followed by a gap during the period under review.

TEL DOR

The characterization of Dor as a Sikil town is based both on the Egyptian sources, especially the account of Wenamun, and on the material finds (Dietrich and Loretz 1978, Lehmann 1979; Muhly 1984; Brug 1985; Sanders 1985; T. and M. Dothan 1982; Raban 1988). Previously published studies of the archaeological finds relating to the Sikils recovered during the 1987–1989 seasons (Stern 1990; 1991; 1994: 85–104; 1995), are now augmented by new material found during the 1990s (Fig. 10.1).

In Area BI, Iron Age I (1200–1000 B.C.E.) is represented by two strata, XII and XI–X. The latter are assigned to the destruction of the Sikil city and its conquest by King David. On the basis of the remains, this city can be dated to ca. 1050–1000 B.C.E. The earlier Stratum XII dates to ca. 1150–1050 B.C.E. and is the city of the Sikils. Below the floors of Strata IX and X–XI we encountered a thick layer of ash that resulted from the strong fire that burned to red the bricks of this Sikil town. The accumulation of some 2 m of burnt debris was sealed by the floors above, in which were found Cypriote and Phoenician vases of the second half of the 11th century B.C.E.

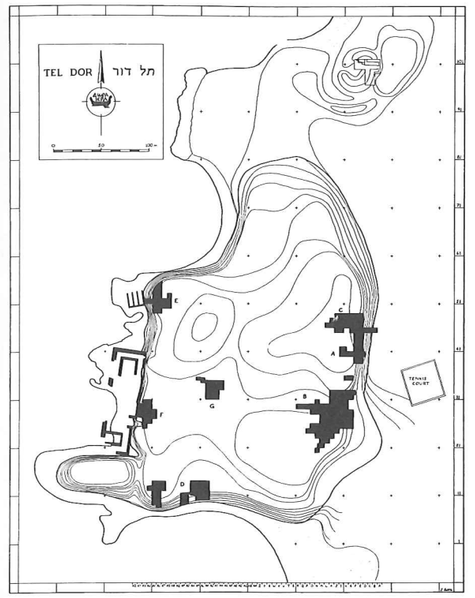

Figure 10.1. Tel Dor, general plan.

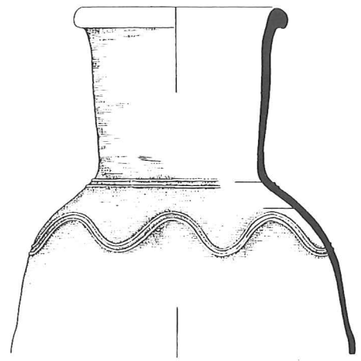

Figure 10.2. Tel Dor, large pithos from stratum XII.

In a small area, 10 m x 2 m, we excavated a section of a building with two large rooms. The whole structure was leaning against the 4 m wide eastern city wall, which was founded on solid Cyclopean stone masonry. The outer (eastern) side was supported by a sand glacis that also protected its foundations. The top of this huge glacis was covered by a thick layer of clay to protect it from rain or erosion (Stern 1994:93).

Much of the material recovered from the two rooms in Area B1 attests to the presence of Sea Peoples at Dor. Most of the pottery assemblage, which dates to the second half of the 12th and the beginning of the 11th centuries B.C.E., was locally manufactured. This collection also includes a huge pithos decorated with a relief design of wavy lines (Fig 10.2). It belongs to a foreign type that is known mainly from the upper Galilee and the coast in sites such as Dan, Sa'sa, Kh. Avot, Akko, and Ashdod (Davies 1985; Brown 1984; Bahat 1986; Biran 1989. I thank A. Raban for the information on the unpublished data from Akko). The pithos type is also attested to along the Phoenician coast of Syria (Schaeffer 1949: fig. 86; Bikai 1978:43, 65–66, pl. XL), and is especially known from Cyprus (Taylor 1957:56–58; figs. 29:35g–362; Astrom 1972:26; type IEa; fig. LXXII:16, p. 264; Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:113–115; Karageorghis and Demas 1984:34; pls. XXI–XXIV). Scholars are divided over the origin of such pithoi. Biran, for example, designates similar finds at Dan as "Phoenician" (Biran 1989), whereas we follow Raban's suggestion that the vessels originated in the Aegean and were brought to Dor by the Sea Peoples, a claim that is now strengthened by finds from Akko and Ashdod (Raban 1992).

Additional evidence of Sea Peoples material culture at Dor includes characteristic Philistine pottery with bichrome painted decoration (Figs. 10.3 and 10.4) as well as a decorated lion-headed rhyton (Fig. 10.5) of the type known from Philistine sites such as Ashdod, Tel Miqne (Ekron), Tell Qasile, Tel Gerisa, and Tel Zeror (cf. Dothan 1982:229–234; Mazar 1980:101–103; Herzog in Stern 1993:483; Loud 1948).

Excavations at Dor have also yielded fine examples of cow scapulas incised along the upper edge with parallel lines (Fig. 10.6). This class of object has been attributed to the Sea Peoples and is known from the Philistine sanctuary at Ekron and in Cyprus. The cow scapula was used for divination and as a musical instrument. It has been proposed that the Sea Peoples brought it from Cyprus (Webb in Karageorghis 1986:326–327; Dothan 1990:28).

Excavations in the 1992–1994 seasons in Areas G and D produced additional data that support our

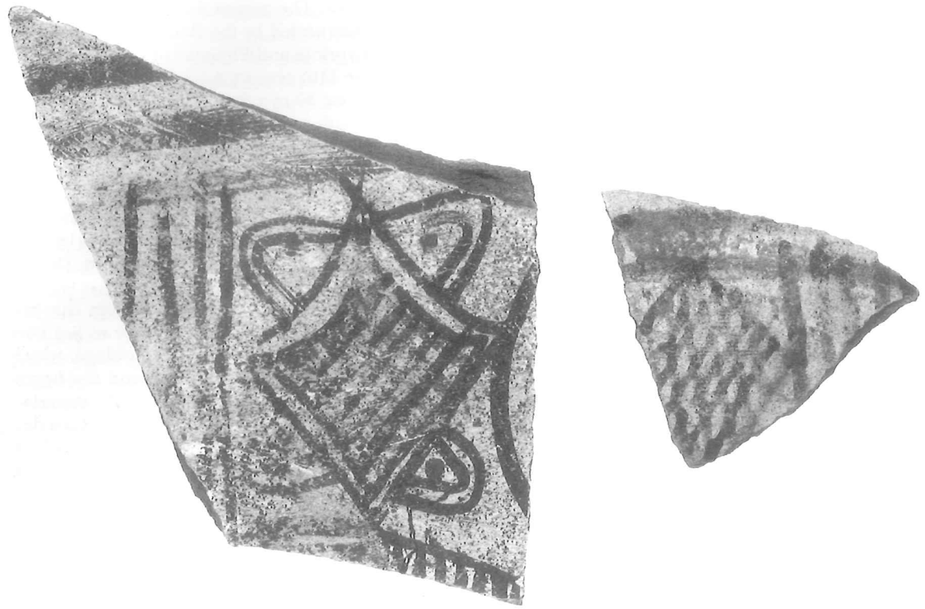

Figure 10.3. Tel Dor, "Sikil" bichrome pottery.

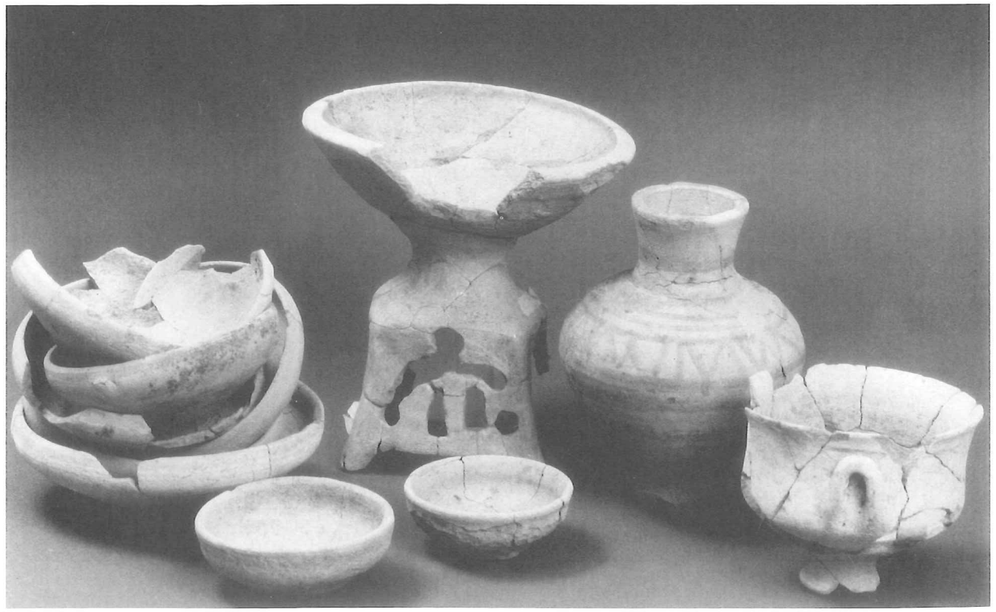

Figure 10.4. Tel Dor, "Sikil" pottery from the shrine.

conclusions based on the evidence from Area B[1]. In Area G, for example, it was possible to distinguish between two strata (9–10) of the Sikil settlement that were recorded below three early Phoenician phases (6–8). The early Sikil phase is probably to be dated in the first half of the 12th century B.C.E., while the later and main Sikil settlement (Stratum 9) can be dated to the mid-12th–mid-11th century B.C.E. (see chart below).

Area B[1]	*Area G*	*Date*
IX–Phoenician	6–Phoenician	
X–Phoenician	7–Phoenician	1050–1000 B.C.E.
XI–Phoenician	8–Phoenician	
XII–Late Sikilian	9–Late Sikilian	1150–1050 B.C.E.
	10–Early Sikilian	1200–1150 B.C.E.

In the main Sikil stratum (phase 9 in Area G), we uncovered small sections of what was formerly a large public structure with the remains of a cult place in the northwest end of the area. The latter consists of a half-dozen bowls, including two tiny votives, a goblet decorated with red lines, a chalice with two horizontal handles and decorated with thin white slip and a red band, and a small fenestrated cult stand complete with a bowl on top. On one side of the stand is a cut-out of a dancing (?) human figure; the fenestrations on the other sides have cut-outs of different figures, although they are too poorly preserved to identify. This vessel has no close parallels in the local repertoire. Both the cut-out technique and the "dancing figure" motif appear on a cult stand from Tell Qasile, although in the reverse technique in which the background, rather than the figure, is cut out (Mazar 1980:87–89). A more distant comparison is the "musician's stand" from Ashdod (Dothan 1977:38–39). Whereas some of the above-mentioned artifacts are types that appear in Iron Age cult places at various sites, the latter two are unique: their closest parallels come from sites known to be inhabited by Sea Peoples. Thus, a claim might be made for a unique glimpse into Sikil cult.

Evidence for the widespread destruction level was encountered in areas G, F, and E. The discovery of a destruction deposit in all parts of the tel shows that during this period the town extended over the entire area of the mound. In Area G we uncovered some installations that stood on a stone paved floor that probably belonged to a large roofed room, 5 m x 6 m in size. One of the installations (3.5 m x 0.8 m) made of brick material and coated with clay was added on the east. Nearby stood a basin, two large basalt bowls, and two basalt mortars. We have not yet determined the purpose of these installations, which may have served as tables for kneading. A similar table is depicted on a clay figurine from Akhziv showing a woman at a kneading table (Stern 1993:30). It is likely that the entire excavated area was part of the kitchen of a large building, possibly a palace. On the floor of a storeroom (?) to the south of the installations we uncovered a large assemblage of pottery vessels, consisting mainly of jars that had been broken prior to the great conflagration. The burnt layer was intermixed with remains of many wooden beams as well as remains of roofing material such as reeds coated with mud. Many of the jars are identical to those from Stratum XII in Area B1. Three of the jars were Egyptian, while others belong to the collared rim type as well as sherds of pithoi decorated with applied wavy lines from B1. It seems that this destruction layer and the large assemblage of ceramics should be dated to the very late 12th century down to the mid-11th century B.C.E.

Another find recovered in this destruction layer is the bone handle of a knife, the head of which is shaped as a ring (Fig. 10.7). This handle no doubt belongs to the group of identical iron knives with bronze nails that are well known from Iron Age I Strata in Philistine sites such as Tel Miqne (Ekron), Tell Far'a(s), Tel Qasile, and others (Dothan 1989; 1990) and from contemporary sites in the Aegean and Cyprus (cf. Dothan 1989: nos. 28–38).

In summary, the excavation results at Tel Dor suggest that two strata should be attributed to the Sikils: an earlier one dating to the first half of the 12th century B.C.E. and a later stratum dating to the mid-12th to the mid-11th century B.C.E. It should be noted that 12th century remains also came to light during A.

Figure 10.5. Lion-headed rhyta: Tel Dor (R), Tell el-Safi (L).

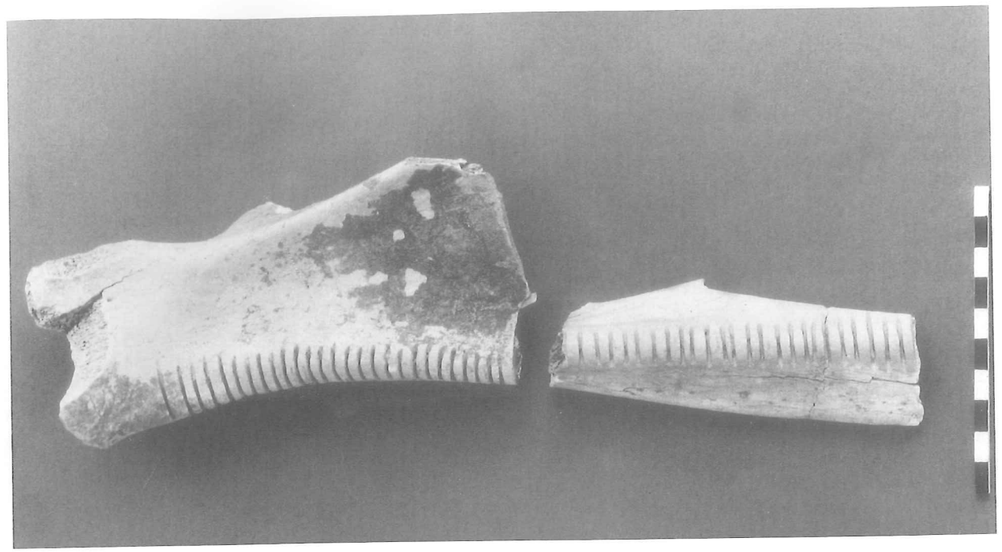

Figure 10.6. Tel Dor, cow scapula with incised decoration.

Figure 10.7. Tel Dor, bone handle of iron knife.

Raban's undersea survey of the town's southern harbor, our Area D2 (Raban 1982; 1983; 1987; 1988; forthcoming). The city of Dor, like other areas of the northern coast, was conquered by the Sikils, Sherden, and perhaps also the Denyen (see below). But the occupation of northern Israel by the various Sea Peoples tribes evidently did not last long, and the area returned to the control of the Canaanites (or rather, the Phoenicians) during the mid-to-late 11th century B.C.E.

CARMEL COAST

In addition to Dor, which was the center and capital of the Sikil settlement in the region, Sikil artifacts are also known from excavations at Tel Zeror (Kochavi 1993) and at 'Ein Hagit (Wolff, forthcoming). Several strata at Tel Zeror belong to Iron Age I, although the exact dates of each stratum are not yet clear (Kochavi 1993). The early Iron Age settlement is represented by refuse pits dug into the ruins of the Late Bronze Age II public building that contained bones of sheep, goats, and cattle and sherds of bowls, pithoi, and cooking pots typical of the twelfth century B.C.E. In the cemetery, about ten graves of children and adults buried in collared rim pithoi belong to this period. Burials from the 11th and early 10th centuries B.C.E. include nine large cist tombs built of stone and covered with large stone slabs. The wealth of funerary offerings in these family tombs included Philistine pottery, hemispheric bowls, a socketed javelin of bronze, and a rhyton in the shape of a lioness of the type often found in Sea Peoples strata (see above). Contemporary with these burials is the eleventh century B.C.E. citadel with a casemate wall of large bricks built on the northern peak.

Another site with Sikil material, 'Ein Hagit, was recently excavated by S. Wolff. Although this excavation has not yet been published, the following details were kindly provided by the excavator. 'Ein Hagit is a rural site located ca. 1 km north of Wadi Milek, the ancient and present pass through the Carmel Mountains that links the coastal site of Dor (located 12 km to the west) to Yokne'am (8 km to the northeast) and the Jezreel Valley. Excavations in 1995 yielded impressive architectural remains and finds of a small Iron Age I agricultural farmstead. A handful of "Philistine" decorated sherds (Fig. 10.8) accompanied the local Canaanite ceramic types, the latter characterized by collared rim and straight-shouldered storage jars and flanged-rim cooking pots. The pattern of collared rim storage jars found in conjunc-

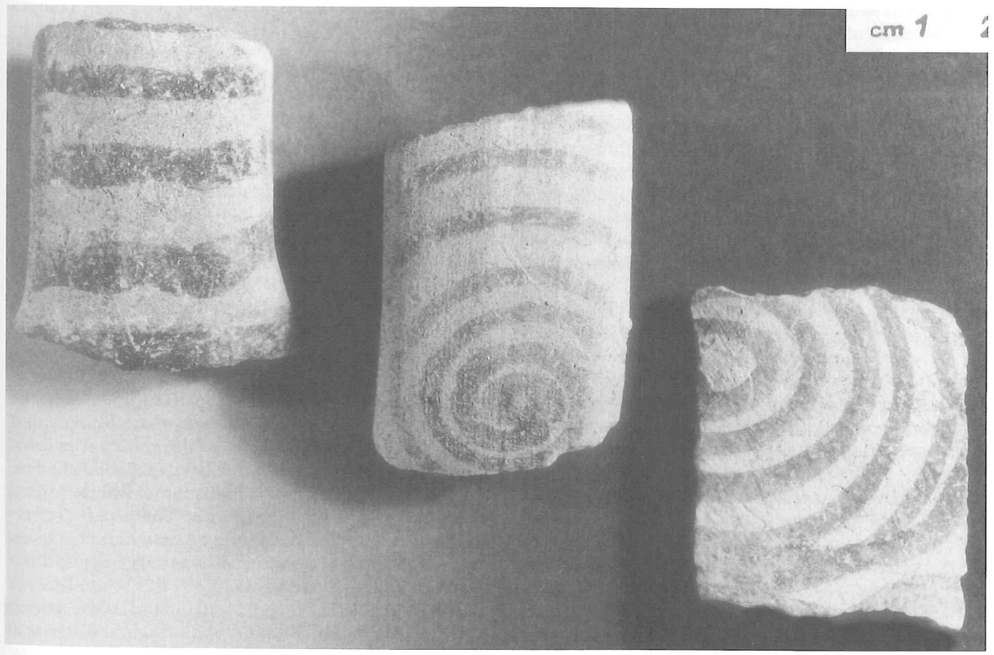

Figure 10.8. Ein Hagit, "Philistine" pottery (courtesy of S. Wolff and IAA).

tion with "Philistine" pottery is a well-known phenomenon in the region. The ceramic finds from 'Ein Hagit seem to parallel the assemblage at Dor, which dates sometime after the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 11th century B.C.E. Wolff believes that the "Philistine" pottery from 'Ein Hagit may represent a faint reflection of the Sikils' penetration into the area (Wolff, forthcoming; Gilboa forthcoming) .

At Tel Shikmonah, the excavator, J. Elgavish, attributes three strata (nos. 15-14-13) to Iron Age I (the material of this period has not yet been published). He connects the lowest of these strata with the Sea Peoples. As at Dor, the latest Sea Peoples stratum was destroyed by David and the Israelites (Elgavish 1994:47).

No other sites along the Carmel Coast have as yet yielded any Sikil material, but to the list above we may perhaps add the ship engravings on the rocks of the Carmel ridge not far from the famous Carmel Caves and Tel Nami. M. Artzy believes that the engravings represent Sea Peoples ships, and one in particular is a type very reminiscent of the Sea Peoples boats on the Medinet Habu reliefs of Ramesses III (Artzy 1994).

AKKO VALLEY

Excavations at three sites in the Akko Valley have uncovered Sea Peoples pottery: Akko, Tel Keisan, and Tell Abu Hawam. The Sea Peoples here are believed to be the Sherden mentioned in the Onomasticon of Amenope (Alt 1950). At Tell Akko itself the findings from the relevant strata are complex, but several areas provide clear evidence for the existence of the Sea Peoples at the site (M. Dothan 1993).

Just after the end of the Late Bronze city, a new population arrived at Akko and made use of several of the existing installations. A cesspit dug into one of the walls of building A, for example, contained sherds from the end of the Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I. In Areas A and B, no evidence of a transition from the Late Bronze Age IIB to Iron Age IA could be distinguished. The remains in these areas were uncovered primarily in the thick ash deposits near workshop installations and inside granaries. Pottery fragments found in situ near one of the kilns include a Mycenaean IIIC1 bowl. Nearby were sherds of the same or a similar type, numerous fragments of bronze and copper vessels on a charred flagstone pavement, two burned and charred clay-smelting crucibles that still had remains of copper adhering to their inner walls, fragments of the clay blastpipes (tuyeres) used for smelting, and copper slag and fragments of flawed metal vesssels that were apparently destined for recycling. To the west of these installations was found the lower part of a unique pottery vessel with extremely thick sides; it contained crushed murex shells. In area H, to the west of area AB, Dothan uncovered a pit containing a group of complete local pottery vessels that date to the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 12th centuries B.C.E. Another important find in area H is a stone vessel in the shape of a mortar that apparently served as a portable altar. One side features an incised drawing of rowboats or sailboats.

The date for this stratum is confirmed by Mycenaean IIIC and similar pottery that cannot be later than the transition from the 13th to the 12th centuries B.C.E., and by the scarab of Twosret, widow of Seti II and queen of Egypt from about 1207 to 1200 B.C.E., which was found next to the workshop area.

The occupants of Akko in the early Iron Age (in areas A, B, and AB) built their homes on top of the old ramparts, which had by then lost their defensive character, and were apparently engaged mainly in craft production. Area F, on the northwestern edge of the mound, was also occupied in this period and yielded Mycenaean IIIClb pottery. The archaeological finds—workshop installations, pottery kilns, remains of the purple-dye industry, and incised drawings of ships on the altar—all seem to attest to the arrival, perhaps by sea, of a new population group in the city during the reign of Seti I or shortly afterward.

The main source for identifying the ethnic composition of this population is the Onomasticon of Amenope (ca. 1000 B.C.E.), which mentions that it was the Sherden who dwelt on the coast of Canaan north of the territory of the Sikil (M. Dothan 1986; 1993:20–21).

Finds from Tel Keisan similarly attest to the presence of Sea Peoples in the Akko Valley. Sherds belonging to both the monochrome and the bichrome "Philistine ware" were uncovered at Tel Keisan in Level 13, a level transitional from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age I (Briend and Humbert 1980:197–234; Balensi 1981; Brug 1985:100; Humbert 1993). The architectural remains provide evidence of a well-planned, unfortified town. The pottery assemblage contains a large amount of Phoenician bichrome pottery as well as some examples of "Philistine-related" pottery (Fig. 10.9), indicating the presence of, or connections with, some Sea Peoples, probably the Sherden. One of the rooms contained pottery buried under a thick layer of debris. The assemblage included a high collared-rim pithos, several storage jars with narrow, elongated bodies (in the tradition of Egyptian pottery) and four handles, a few barrel-shaped storage jars with rounded bases, three decorated jugs (one of which, of the White-Painted III type, was wheel-made), a flask, and a Mycenaean IIIC stirrup jar that was found, through neutron activation analysis, to have originated in Kouklia, Cyprus.

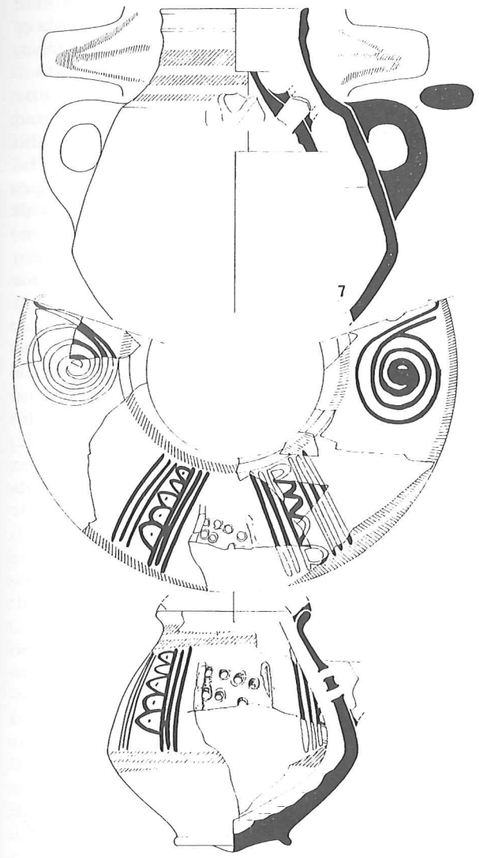

Figure 10.9. Tell Keisan, "Philistine" pottery (after Briend and Humbert 1980: pl. 74).

The excavators associate the destruction layer, which dates to approximately 1200 B.C.E., with the invasion of the Sea Peoples.

After the destruction of Stratum 13, the site was probably occupied immediately, and so-called Philistine sherds appear in Stratum 12. Stratum 11 was short-lived, and although it cannot yet be clearly established whether the town was destroyed or abandoned, a date in the last quarter of the 12th century B.C.E. is likely. It is highly significant that the next level, Stratum 10, showed considerable foreign influence: the pottery exhibited a combination of Mycenaean and Cypriote types that can be defined as Levanto-Mycenaean IIIC ware. Petrographic analysis showed that the vessels, which included pyxides, imitation base ring jugs, large flasks, and juglets, were of local manufacture. These vessels were found with Philistine ware.

This strong influence of foreign pottery not only attests to a highly developed local culture that maintained far-flung commercial contacts, but also indicates the prosperity of the port of Akko. The only structural remains from Stratum 10 were brick walls that had collapsed in various places and been repaired, thereby explaining the rapid accumulation of the stratum.

Stratum 9 evidences the renewed construction of massive, well-planned buildings. Throughout the century-long existence of Stratum 9 there were signs of prosperity and wealth. The excavators traced the development of three occupational phases (C, B, and A) in the area at the top of the slope. Stratum 9 covers the 11th century, but only in phase 9 C were sherds of Philistine pottery uncovered. In 9 A and B, Phoenician bichrome ware replaced the Philistine ware.

At nearby Tell Abu Hawam, the Iron Age I comprised at least five distinct periods of construction divided between phases VB (12th century B.C.E.) and IV (the 11th century B.C.E.). No Philistine or Sea Peoples pottery has been uncovered in the first excavations, although a few late "Philistine" sherds have recently been identified (Balensi, Herrera, and Artzy 1993).

THE JEZREEL VALLEY

Large-scale excavations have been conducted in almost all the important mounds of the Jezreel Valley, including Megiddo, Qiri,Yoqneam, and Afula, as well as a few of the smaller ones. The "Philistine" pottery vessels that were found in almost all the Iron Age I strata at these cites is primarily bichrome ware that belonges to the later phase.

At Megiddo, in addition to the usual "Philistine" vessels, a rhyton in the shape of a lioness—of the type found at Dor and Tel Zeror discussed above—was found. In her study, T. Dothan showed that pottery and other finds that may be attributed to the "Philistines" were found in all three Iron Age I strata (VIA–VIB and VIIA), but came mostly from early 11th century B.C.E. stratum VIIA (Dothan 1982: 72–74). In Strata VIB and VIA (11th century B.C.E.), which may represent an Egyptian stronghold, there was only a small amount of material (Brug 1985:48). Mazar has recently claimed that even in Stratum VIA, the material culture consists of three components.

The first is local Canaanite: the bulk of the pottery continues local Late Bronze Age traditions and provides evidence for the presence of a Canaanite population in the city until its destruction. The major temple of the Late Bronze city appears to have been in use until this period. The second component is Phoenician: this includes bichrome pottery, mainly globular jugs and flasks painted in concentric circles in red, black, and white. The third component can be related to the Sea Peoples. It includes pottery that is similar, but not identical, to that of the Philistines, like the so-called Orpheus jug, a painted strainer jug showing a procession of animals and a lyre-player in front of a sacred tree. This vessel was found in an elaborate building near the city gate, probably the governor's palace. Certain bronze objects, such as a double-axe, two axe-adzes, and shafted spearheads, may also be related to the Sea Peoples. It is possible that one of the two Sea Peoples mentioned in the Onomasticon of Amenope—Sikil or Sherden—composed some of the population at Megiddo and perhaps even gained control of the city (Mazar 1994:41–42; see also Miron 1985). It seems that while Stratum VIIA was an Egyptian stronghold, VIB can be considered a Sea Peoples stronghold, while VIA may be either a Sea Peoples or even a Phoenician town.

At Yokneam, Philistine vessels were found in different areas of Iron Age I Strata XVIII–XVII. Ben-Tor claims that one of the pottery groups resembles "Philistine" vessels (Ben-Tor 1993:808–809). At nearby Tel Qiri, "Philistine" vessels were found in strata 9–8, both dating to Iron I Age (Ben Tor and Portugali 1987:101–103, 119, 126–128).

At Tel Qashish, remains of the early Iron Age settlement were exposed in only three or four squares, just inside the MB II city wall. Among the finds from the floors of this residential area were a few Philistine sherds, many collared rim jars and pithoi, some stone storage bins, and installations for procesing agricultural products (Ben-Tor, Portugali, and Avissar 1981: fig. 7). At the mound of Afula in the center of the Jezreel Valley, M. Dothan exposed architectural remains of the Iron I period (Stratum III). A pyxis, two flasks, and a group of pottery vessels from the eastern cemetery Stratum IIIb, including a monochrome geometric decoratedjug that can be dated stylistically to the early part of the 12th century B.C.E. (Stratum IIIb). Philistines sherds of the 11th century B.C.E. came from Stratum IIIa (M. Dothan 1955:48–50; fig. 20; Dothan 1982:189.)

In his survey in the western part of the Jezreel Valley, A. Raban found many "Philistine" sherds at various small sites (Raban 1991). At Hurvat Hazin (near the city of Tiveon), Raban found remains of a 12th-century B.C.E. fortification that contained decorated bichrome "Philistine" ware. In a trial excavation on a small (less than two acres), low mound near Beer Tiveon, he uncovered the lower part of a pit filled with broken pottery vessels dated to the 12th century B.C.E. Most of the finds were typical of the Philistine material culture, including a pyxis, a decorated carinated bowl, and a large part of a "beer jug" (Raban 1982:24–29, xiii–xiv; Raban 1991: fig. 2). Similar ware was uncovered at Tel Risim as well as at Tel Re'ala (a site near Kfar Yehoshua), Hurvat Zeror, Tel Shan, Midrach Oz, and Tell Abu Zuneiq (near Tel Qiri).

Raban claims that although typical Philistine bichrome ware was found, other types of decorated pottery of the earliest phase of the Iron Age were also found at some of the sites in the same contexts. The variants are monochrome decorated vessels of shapes similar to those decorated in Philistine style and with the same motifs. This stylistic variant is generally accepted among scholars as "locally made Mycenaean III C1b" pottery and is considered a benchmark for the presence of Sea Peoples in Palestine (Dothan 1982:295; 1989; M. Dothan 1986; Kempinski 1985). Although in Philistia proper the monochrome style probably predates the true Philistine bichrome ware (Dothan 1989), at the sites in the Jezreel Valley, the two types are found in the same strata. Such is the case in Stratum VIIa at Megiddo (Loud 1948: pls. 69:7, 138.20, 140:23–25; 247:7, etc.), the jug from 'Afula (M. Dothan 1955: fig. 20:1), and several vessels from Stratum VI at Beth Shean (Hankey 1982).

THE JORDAN VALLEY

Evidence for the presence of Sea Peoples in the Jordan Valley comes from the burials in the Northern Cemetery of Beth Shean, which yielded anthropoid sarcophagi of two types, "naturalistic" and "grotesque." In his study of the anthropoid coffins from the cemetery, Oren suggested that the 40 coffins with "naturalistic"-style lids held the remains of Egyptian soldiers who were stationed at Beth Shean in the 13th century and the first half of the 12th century B.C.E. (corresponding to Level VII and Lower Level VI on the tel) (Oren 1973:146–150; in agreement with James 1966:136–137). In contrast, Oren attributed the "grotesque"-style coffin lids of Tombs 66 and 90 to Sea Peoples, specifically the Denyen, based on iconographic affinities with representations of Sea Peoples headgear as depicted on the reliefs of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (Oren 1973:130–131, 149; also Dothan 1982:268–275).

The identification of Beth Shean Tomb 90 as a Sea Peoples burial has critical implications for identifying possible Sea Peoples artifacts at nearby Tell es-Saʿidiyeh. Based on the similarity of bronze objects in Tomb 101 at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh and Tomb 90 at Beth Shean, J. Pritchard suggested that Aegean mercenaries were present at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (Pritchard 1968:104). However, as Oren has shown, since the four lids in Tomb 90 were not found in situ, their relationship to the deposit of bronze objects is uncertain. Thus Oren dated the bronze objects from Tomb 90 to the 13th century B.C.E. based on typological criteria, and assigned the lids to a later date. The "grotesque"-style lids of Tomb 90, then, can be seen as contemporary with those of Tomb 66, which Dothan dates to the second half or the 11th century B.C.E. (Dothan 1982:274–276). Thus, as Negbi has argued so clearly in her long review article (Negbi 1991), the "grotesque"-style lids from Beth Shean Tomb 90 cannot be used either to date the material from the cemetery at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh or to establish the ethnic identity of those buried at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (*contra* Pritchard 1968 and Tubb 1988, 1990).

Apart from the coffin lids, there is no other material evidence for the presence of Sea Peoples at Beth Shean, although T. Dothan has connected the Mycenaean IIIC1 vessels from Beth Shean with the Philistines (Dothan 1982:81–82). In 1966 James published an unusual Mycenaean stirrup jar found in one of the two Egyptian Governors' Residencies (House 1500) (James 1966:25; fig. 49:4). Hankey (1966:169–171; pl. 45; 1967:127–128) identified this jar and fragments of two others as Mycenaean IIIC1 vessels of the "Elaborate Style," dating from the reign of Ramesses III to that of Ramesses VI (James 1966:5–13; fig. 77). As Negbi observes, Dothan's suggestion that these jars were made in Philistia now seems unlikely, since recent discoveries of monochrome Mycenaean IIIC1 pottery from Israel indicate that the repertoire of vessels produced by the first Philistine and Sherden potters at sites like Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron, and Tel Akko consisted mainly of "Simple Style" table ware (predominantly bowls and kraters) (Negbi 1991:215). Judging from the small number of "Elaborate Style" vessels found in Israel, Mazar's proposal that vessels of precious content, such as the Beth Shean stirrup jars, were imported from the Mycenaean colonies overseas is quite convincing (Mazar 1991:119).

In his renewed excavations at Tel Beth Shean, A. Mazar found no additional evidence for Sea Peoples presence at the site (Mazar 1990). Two building stages in the Iron Age I (Mazar's S3) correspond to the earlier University of Pennsylvania excavation's Lower VI city. This stratum is devoid of imported Cypriote or Mycenaean IIIB wares but has Mycenaean IIIC pottery. Following the destruction of the Egyptian administrative center of the Twentieth Dynasty (Stratum Lower VI), the city was rebuilt in the 11th century on a similar layout (Stratum Upper VI= Mazar's S2) (Mazar 1993). The material culture at Beth Shean in this stratum is largely Canaanite in nature; the Phoenician and "Sea Peoples" components which are common at Megiddo, are almost totally missing here, perhaps owing to the city's inland location. Yet even if no "Philistine" remains were uncovered in this city, the possibility remains that it was ruled by the Denyens (Mazar 1990). This level at Beth Shean was destroyed by fire, perhaps by the Israelites in the time of David. Not only has no site east of the Jordan River thus far yielded any clear evidence for Sea Peoples (including the burials at Tell Deir 'Alla and Tell es-Saʿidiyeh), but there is also no evidence for Sea Peoples from the recent excavation at Tel Hadar (on the east coast of the Sea of Galilee). The rich pottery assemblage uncovered at Tel Hadar does not include a single "Philistine" sherd.

As for the western side of the Jordan, the renewed excavations at Hazor have found that although the Iron Age I levels are scanty, there is a sherd or two with the typical "Philistine" decoration (A. Ben-Tor, personal communication).

In addition, evidence for the presence of Sea Peoples in this region comes from Tel Dan, at the northern edge of the Jordan Valley, a site that Y. Yadin believed was settled by the Denyen (Yadin 1968). In Stratum V, a level that A. Biran attributes to the Danites and dates to the 12th to mid-11th century B.C.E., a large storage jar in a stone-lined pit in Area Y contained several sherds with "Philistine" motifs (Fig. 10.10; Biran 1994: 138ff. and fig. 102). According to Biran, "two of the sherds are of the classic, fine Philistine bichrome ware, while the third is part of a locally made krater decorated with a Philistine motif." (Biran 1994:138ff. and fig. 102). Bichrome Phoenician ware begins to appear only in Stratum IV at Tel Dan.

The preceding discussion of the archaeological sites that provide evidence for the presence of Sea Peoples north of Philistia shows that the Sea Peoples are best documented at Tel Dor. Today it is almost beyond doubt that the Sikils and Sherden settled along the northern coast of Palestine, from north of the Yarkon River toward Akko. In contrast, the nature of the presence of foreign groups in the inner regions of the Jezreel and Jordan Valleys—the supposed territory of the Denyen—is uncertain. Although we can point to archaeological evidence for foreigners at various sites and survey areas, it is still uncertain whether foreign groups actually ruled the area or were merely a small component of the population. As for the area east of the Jordan River, there is to date no sound archaeological evidence for the existence of any Sea Peoples groups.

Yet, even the Sea Peoples who did settle down, the Sherden and the Sikils, did not manage to stay for very long, as I. Singer recently observed (Singer 1988; 1994:298). As late as the story of Wenamun, ca. 1075 B.C.E., the Sikils are still referred to as a serious sea power. Shortly after afterward, the Sikils were probably absorbed by their more dominant kinsmen, the Philistines, when that group expaned northward or they assimilated with the local population—with the end result that their name does not appear in the

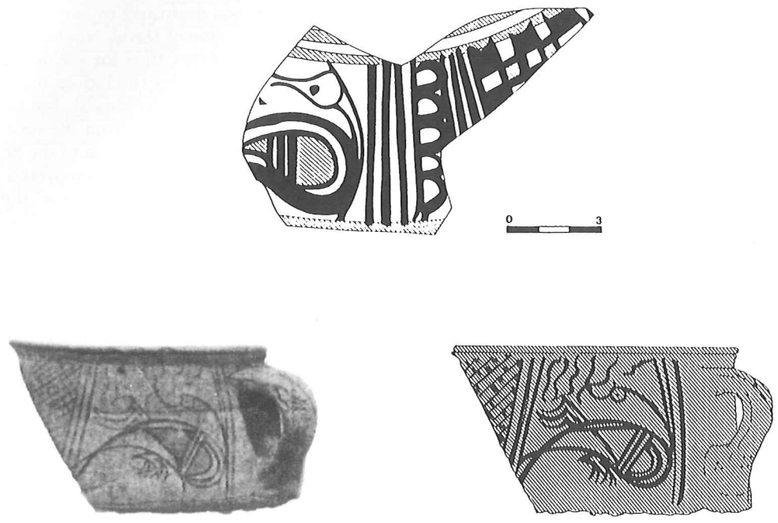

Figure 10.10. Tel Dan, "Philistine" sherds (after Biran 1994: fig. 102).

Bible. The fate of the Sherden is even more uncertain. The Plain of Akko, where they tried to gain a foothold, maintained its distinct Canaanite character and was even transferred to the jurisdiction of the city of Tyre. Presumably, in this region the Sea Peoples assimilated with the Cannaanites even sooner than their brethren in the Sharon Plain.

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11

The Temples and Cult of the Philistines

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Previous Research and Definition of Problems

Despite intensive archaeological activity relating to the "Sea Peoples," their religion still remains one of the lesser-known aspects. The biblical sources—the only available texts—are obscure and their historical reliability disputed. The archaeological evidence is meager and includes mainly ritual objects (Dothan 1982:219–251). To date, the only sanctuary that may be related to the Philistines is the one excavated at the peripheral and small port town of Tell Qasile (Mazar 1980, 1985a). Most recent discussions relating to the present subject include review articles of the Tell Qasile publication and some references and discussions of the architecture and ritual objects from Philistia (Brug 1985:182–188; Negbi 1988; Bunimovitz 1986, 1990; Burdajevitcz 1990). Singer proposed a more detailed discussion of Philistine religion including the identification of their deities (Singer 1989).

In considering the issue of the ritual and religion of the Philistines and other Sea Peoples, two major methodological quesions must be addressed:

1. Which sites, buildings, and objects can be securely defined as belonging to the Philistines or to other groups of Sea Peoples (Sikil or Sherden)? That is, how can the ethnic identity of the population be established, particularly at peripheral sites such as Tell Qasile?
2. To what extent can the non-indigenous components in religious architecture and cult objects of the Sea Peoples be traced? To what degree do these components reflect the origin of the immigrants and the identity of their deities?

The Biblical and Other Written Sources

The only direct textual sources relating to Philistine religion are a few biblical references embedded in the extensively redacted legendary and saga-like narratives (particularly the cycle of Samson stories), making their reliability most questionable (see discussion by Machinist in this volume).

The principal source is the story of the capture of the Israelite ark by the Philistines and its transfer to the temple of Dagon at Ashdod, where, as a result, the statue of Dagon collapsed upon the threshold of the building (I Sam. 5:1–5). This account makes reference to Philistine priests and magicians, as well as to objects of a religious nature such as the golden images of "ʿAfolim" (or "Tehorim") and "mice" (I Sam.

6:2–5; 17–18). The temple of Dagon at Ashdod is mentioned again in the book of Maccabees as being destroyed by Jonathan the Hasmonean (147 B.C.E.), indicating the continuity of the cult of Dagon into the Hellenistic period.

Another temple of Dagon, this time at Gaza, is described in the story of Samson's death. This temple is described as a very large edifice that could accommodate as many as three thousand people on its roof. The building was supported by two pillars, which, when broken, caused the collapse of the entire building (Judges 17:23–29).

The account of the Gilboa battle (1 Sam. 31:10) mentions a temple of Ashtaroth in relation to Beth Shean, although it is not clear whether it stood at Beth Shean itself. In any case, Beth Shean was not a Philistine city. A parallel account in 1 Chronicles 10: 10 refers to Beth Dagon instead of Beth Ashtaroth (1 Sam. 31), making this secondary source even less secure.

In the Bible, then, the Philistine gods are presented as different from the gods of Canaan. Thus, in the Samson stories, the principal deity of Gaza and Ashdod is identified as Dagon, whereas the god of Ekron (9th century B.C.E.) is Baal-Zebub ("Baal of the Flies"), most probably a deliberate distortion of "Baal Zebul," a well-known Canaanite title (Fensham 1967).

The West-Semitic names of these deities raises the question of whether the Philistines identified their own gods with local ones or whether they worshipped the local gods. The question of when and where the Philistines adopted the cult of Dagon/Dagan has been addressed by M. Dothan and Singer. Dothan proposed a chronological development. Accordingly, the Philistines brought along the cult of the Aegean great goddess, represented by the "Ashdoda" figurines (see below), and subsequently adopted the local Canaanite cult of Dagan (Dothan and Dothan 1992:157). However, as pointed out by several scholars (Brug 1985:182–183; Singer 1989:22–26), though Dagan was worshipped in northern Syria and the Euphrates Valley from the third millennium B.C.E. on, there is no reference to him in any Bronze Age sources relating to southern Canaan. Singer proposed (1989:25–26) that the Sea Peoples either adopted this god on their way to the southern Levant while passing through Northern Syria, or that the worship of this god was transferred to them through Phoenicia. He further suggested a process of syncretism, in which Dagan, the Semitic god of the fertility of the earth, was identified with the great goddess of the Aegeo-Anatolian sphere, who had a similar function. This goddess is perhaps represented by both the Aegean and the Philistine female figurines. In his view, such an identification can be supported by the comparison of the genealogies of the gods, since Dagan appears both in the pantheon of Ugarit and in the Phoenician genealogy (cited by Philon of Byblos) in the second generation of gods alongside El. In the Greek theogony the parallel figure is Rhea, the consort and sister of Kronos (Singer 1989: 30–34). Such an identification, based on the similarity of function of the Aegean female great goddess and a Semitic male god, appears to be somewhat farfetched, although not impossible. The popularity of Dagon in Philistia can in later times be detected from the place name Beth Dagon in northern Philistia that is mentioned in an inscription of Sennacherib.[1]

Outside the Bible, mention should be made of Classical writers, who refer to Cretan deities worshipped in Ashkelon (Macalister 1914:96–99, 107) and to the god Marnas, god of Gaza, who was identified with Zeus of Crete (Zeus Kretagenes) (Singer 1989:18). Coincidentally, the term "Negev of the Cheretites" appears as a biblical designation for a region in the northwestern Negev, perhaps nearby and south of Gaza (1 Sam. 30:14). The origin of the title "Cheretites" for the people of this region is perhaps a result of the biblical notion that the Philistines came from Crete.

B. Mazar's suggestion that the god Horon was worshipped in Philistia is based on a reference to a certain delivery of gold to Beth Horon ("House of Horon") in an Iron Age II ostracon from Tell Qasile, as well as on a Hellenistic inscription from Delos that mentions the god Horon in relation to a dedication by the people of Yamnia (Yavneh) in Philistia (Maisler 1951:210). It is likely that the toponym Beth Horon mentioned in the Tell Qasile ostracon was the well-known place name on the ascent to Jerusalem (Josh. 10:10).

The Archaeological Sources

Archaeological data relating to the religion of the Sea Peoples include the following categories:

A. Religious architecture
B. Clay figurines
C. Cult vessels
D. Seals

A study of these categories points to the following tendencies, which will be examined below:

1. The maintenance of traditions from the homeland of the Sea Peoples;
2. The borrowing of local Canaanite traditions;
3. The expression of original ideas, independent of earlier concepts.

Religious Architecture

TEL MIQNE-EKRON

The only monumental buildings in the heartland of Philistia have been discovered at the enormous site of Tel Miqne-Ekron. Two superimposed and elaborately constructed buildings dated to the 12–11th centuries B.C.E. were uncovered in Field IV, at the center of the Lower City (Dothan and Gitin 1993:1054–1056; 1994:11–17; Gitin and Dothan 1987; Dothan, this volume).

The earlier structure, Building 351 of Strata VII–VI, contained a large main hall with smaller rooms to the east. Among the finds was the lid of an ivory box decorated with incised figures of a griffin, a lion, and two bulls rendered in Aegean style.

The massive building of Stratum V, Building 350, 11th century B.C.E., had thick walls (1.5 m) made of large stones and a mudbrick superstructure. Its plan consisted of an entrance portico fronted by two pillars that lead from the north into the narrow side of a large rectangular hall. The latter had three pillar bases along its long axis, a bench built along its southern wall, and a circular hearth, 1 m in diameter, on the northern end. Three square rooms of similar dimensions opened to the large hall on the eastern side. The inner corner of the central room featured a raised platform 1 m high; a bench and a small platform were found in the two side chambers.

The group of outstanding objects from this building include miniature wheels and other parts of a bronze wheeled stand, recalling those of 12th century Cyprus; a bronze linchpin decorated with double flat-topped human heads like the faces that adorn Cypriote bronze stands; and two iron knives with ivory handles of a type known also from Tell Qasile sanctuary and from Enkomi. In a later phase of Building 350 (Stratum IV, ca. 1000 B.C.E.), the central room contained a group of luxury and miniature objects, which appear to be gifts or votive offerings (Dothan and Dothan 1992:242).

The excavators are uncertain about the function of these buildings, but tend to define them as temples, or at least public buildings that also included some cult functions.[2] The identification of the later building as a temple can be supported by its monumentality. The components of a portico, a main hall with pillars along the long axis, and an adyton (the central eastern room) flanked by two auxiliary chambers may fit a description of a monumental temple, though no direct parallels in the Levant, the Aegean, or Cyprus are known. Trude Dothan compared the main pillared hall to the main hall of the temple at Tell Qasile Stratum X, even though the entire architectural concept is different. In my view, the divisions of space and the room functions in Building 350 at Tel Miqne V recall to some extent the 13–12th centuries temples at Beth Shean Strata VII–VI and Lachish Stratum VI. These temples also contained a side entrance leading into a large square hall with two pillars, which then opened into an adyton located in a higher, separate chamber (for summary and references, see Mazar 1992:172–277). This resemblance may indicate that the absorption of local Canaanite traditions into Philistine culture in the early 11th century B.C.E. included temple architecture as well. However, this resemblance is proposed with reservation, since the identification of the building at Tel Miqne as a temple is uncertain, and it may rather have also been an elaborate dwelling.

A small shrine identified in Field I at Tel Miqne (Stratum V, 11th century B.C.E.) is described by Trude Dothan as having "a wide plastered floor, benches, and a platform". Since no walls were found, its architectural form cannot be determined. The finds from the area outside the building included:

> in addition to bichrome pottery, a number of animal and human figurines. Among them was the fragment of a lion headed vessel . . . Connection to Cyprus is demonstrated by four bovine shoulder blades (scapula) that bore enigmatic incisions along their edges. These bones were used apparently either for oracular purposes or to make musical sounds, and were common in the temples of Enkomi and Kition (Dothan and Dothan 1992:242).

A kernos and a fragment of an "Ashdoda" figurine were also found in this area (Dothan and Gitin 1994:10). This probably was an open cult place, where benches were used for placing offerings and the platform served as a pedestal for the cult image. It may have been associated with the nearby industrial area where evidence for pottery production was found. Such open air shrines are also known in Cyprus in relation to industrial areas, as at Athienou (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:140) and Myrtou Pigadhes (Taylor 1957).

TELL QASILE

The discovery in 1972–1974 of three successive temples at Tell Qasile opened a new page in the study of sanctuaries in Philistia. It should be recalled, however, that Tell Qasile is a rather small site (4

acres in size), located on the northern bank of the Yarkon River and in the northern periphery of Philistia. It was founded in the second phase of Philistine settlement, when monochrome pottery in Myc.IIIC style was no longer manufactured and the Bichrome Philistine pottery was in its heyday (Mazar 1985b). The excavators (Benjamin Mazar, Trude Dothan, and the present author) identified the inhabitants of Tell Qasile as Philistines, who founded the place as a port town during the second half of the 12th century when Philistine settlement expanded from the heartland of Philistia to the northern, eastern, and southern periphery. This identification is based on the fact that about 18% of the entire pottery assemblage in Strata XII–X is of the Philistine bichrome painted style.[3]

In its first phase (Stratum XII), the Tell Qasile sanctuary included a small mudbrick shrine with a large courtyard in front. In the later two phases (Strata XI–X), the temple was enlarged with mudbrick walls built on stone foundations (Fig. 11.1). In each phase the building had a somewhat different plan. In the last two phases a subsidiary chapel was attached to the main shrine against its back (western) wall. A more detailed description of the architecture of Tell Qasile and of the large variety of cult objects is outside the scope of this present article (Mazar 1990; for a summary, see Mazar 1993b).

The spatial location of the Tell Qasile sanctuary in the city's overall layout is significant in terms of the temple's role in local society: the sanctuary occupies the northern half of an insula, so that its southern wall abuts residential buildings, while on the north it is bounded by a street. It should be noted that the size of the largest temple at Tell Qasile (Stratum X) does not exceed that of dwellings at the site like the one just mentioned (Fig. 11.2). Thus the temples at Tell Qasile were rather modest structures, inserted into one of the insulae of the orthogonal city plan—just like any of the other dwellings. The insula in which they were located, however, was on a higher elevation on the slope upon which the town was constructed. This size and location stand in contrast to most of the Canaanite temples, which were usually monumental, free-standing structures. On the other hand, the modest status and size of the sanctuary at Tell Qasile can be compared to the situation in Mycenaean culture, where the few known temples were usually of a small scale. Renfrew's description of the Phylakopi sanctuary could well apply to the one at Tell Qasile: "its scale is modest . . . the position of the sanctuary on the site is as unassuming as its scale" (Renfrew 1985: 390).

The drastic changes that took place in temple architecture at Tell Qasile in the transition between Strata XII–X—covering a time span of no more than 150–170 years—is a most unusual feature in the ancient Near East, where continuity in temple architecture at the same site for centuries is typical.[4] These drastic changes indicate, in my view, that the inhabitants of Tell Qasile lacked a well-defined concept of temple architecture.

In the publication of Tell Qasile, I tried to define a group of temples in Canaan to which the temples at Tell Qasile Strata XI–X could be compared (Fig. 11.3). This group contained the three superimposed Fosse Temples at Lachish, the temple at Tel Mevorakh, the temples at Tell Abu Hawam (Building 50 of Stratum V and its later phase Building 30 of Stratum IV), and the so called Lion Temple at Jaffa (though in the latter two cases the plan is not entirely clear). I called this group "temples with irregular plan and indirect access," for they are all characterized by the lack of a central axis (Mazar 1980:61–68; see also Mazar 1992:177–182).[5] Temples in this group are comprised of several rooms with benches and platforms built along the walls of the main hall and sometimes the inner chambers. The temple that we uncovered at Tel Beth Shean in 1989, and assigned to the 15th century B.C.E., is probably the earliest example in Canaan of this asymmetric temple type (Mazar 1993a). These temples differ considerably from typical Levantine temples, such as those at Ebla, Ugarit, Megiddo, Shechem, Hazor, and Tel Haror, which are monumental, symmetric buildings.

The location of the Fosse Temple at Lachish outside the Canaanite town in the old Middle Bronze Age moat, like the location of the temple at Tel Mevorakh in a very small site unrelated to a major Canaanite town, led me to postulate that these asymmetric temples served some foreign component in the population of Late Bronze Canaan. This interpretation was challenged by Stern (1984:31–33), Bunimovitz (1986, 1990), and Negbi (1988, 1989), who suggested that the irregular "benched" temples were just one type of Canaanite sanctuary. The discovery of a Late Bronze I temple at Beth Shean may support this view, and I am now inclined to give up my earlier proposal. I do, however, still maintain that these "irregular" temples belong to a special category that should be separated from the main temples in the urban centers of Canaan. Perhaps they relate to a certain cult(s) or were utilized by certain social groups that were not in the mainstream of Canaanite society and religious practice.

Negbi (1989:220–227) compared the arrangement of a main temple and a subsidiary shrine at Tell Qasile XI–X to the Late Bronze temples of Khamid el-Loz (Kumidi) in the Baq`ah Valley of Lebanon. This is indeed a unique case of such an arrangement in Canaan.

Certain additional features in the Tell Qasile sanctuary are typical of Near Eastern traditions, such as the square sacrificial altar at the courtyard, the use of *bothroi* for burial of cult objects, and foundation deposits (Mazar 1980:71–73).

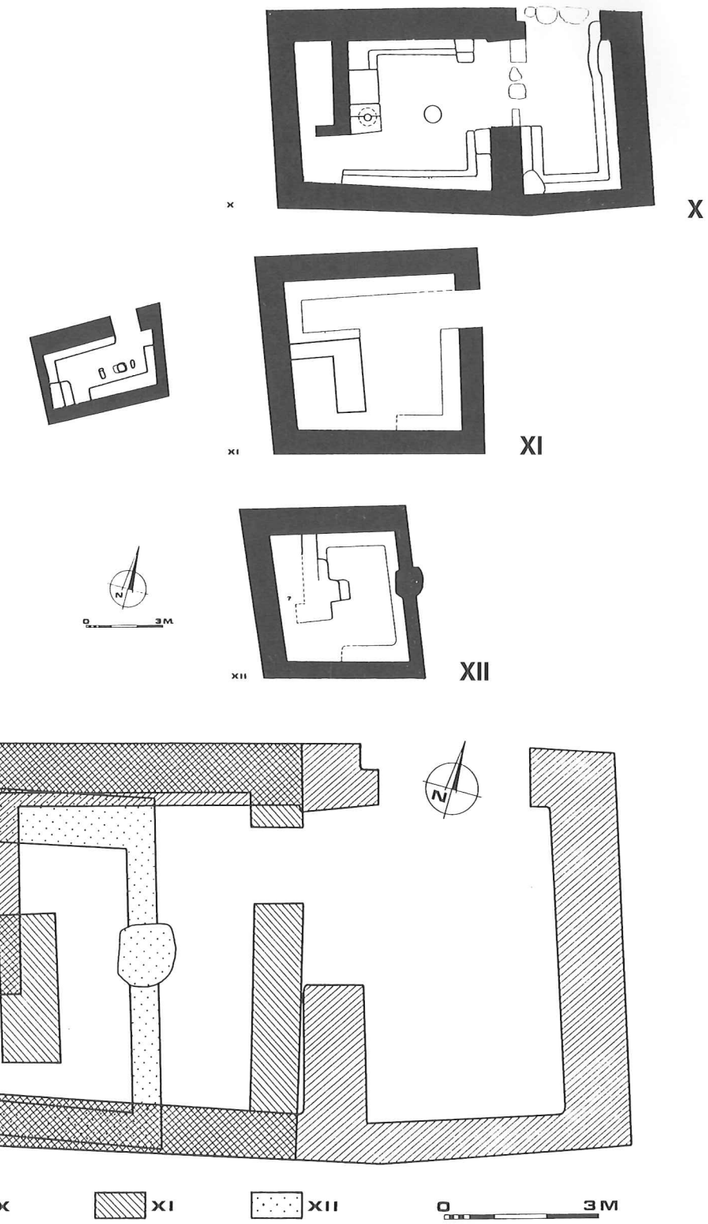

Figure 11.1. Above: Plan of the Tell Qasile temples. Upper: Stratum X (11th century B.C.E.); middle: Stratum XI (11th century B.C.E.); lower: Stratum XII (12th century B.C.E.); left: small shrine of Strata XI–X.
Below: Superimposed plan of the three temples at Tell Qasile.

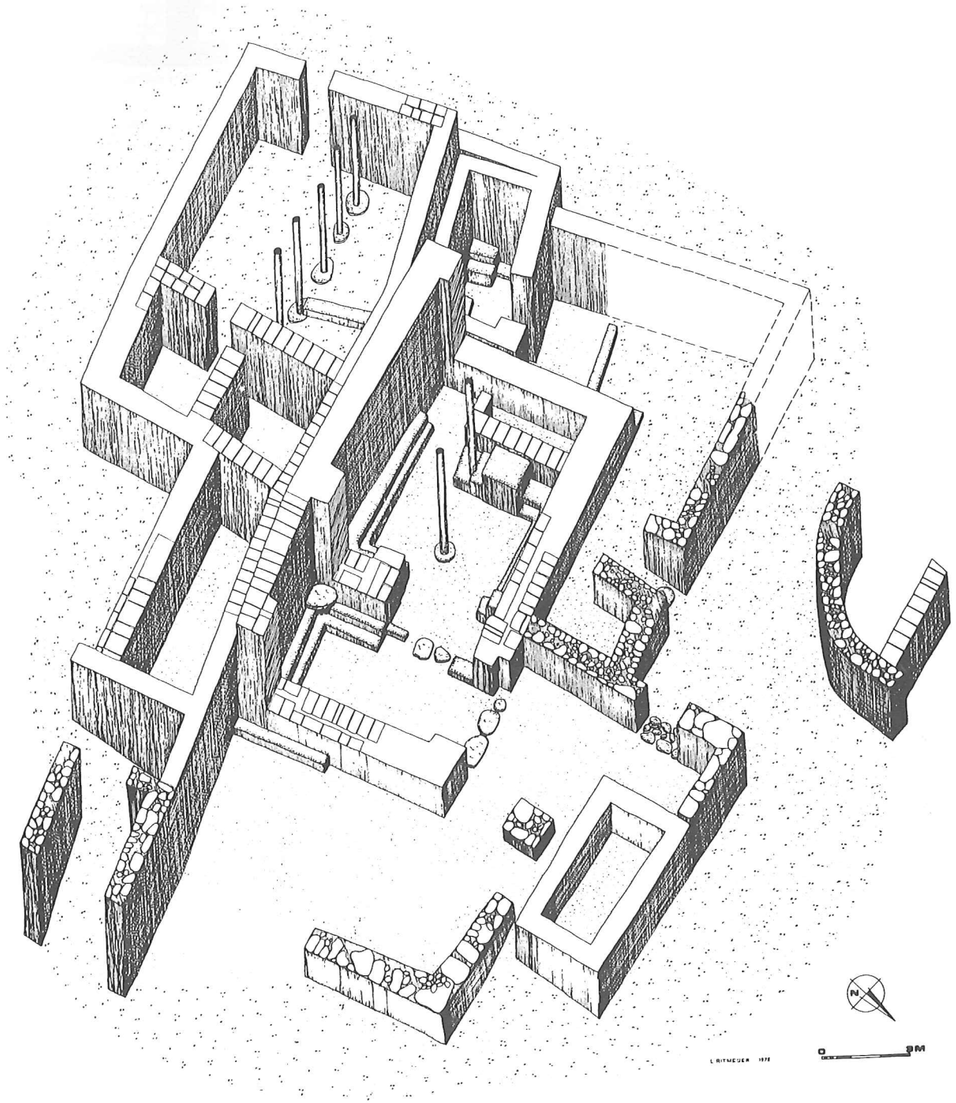

Figure 11.2. Isometric reconstruction of the Tell Qasile sanctuary and dwelling south of the sanctuary in Stratum X.

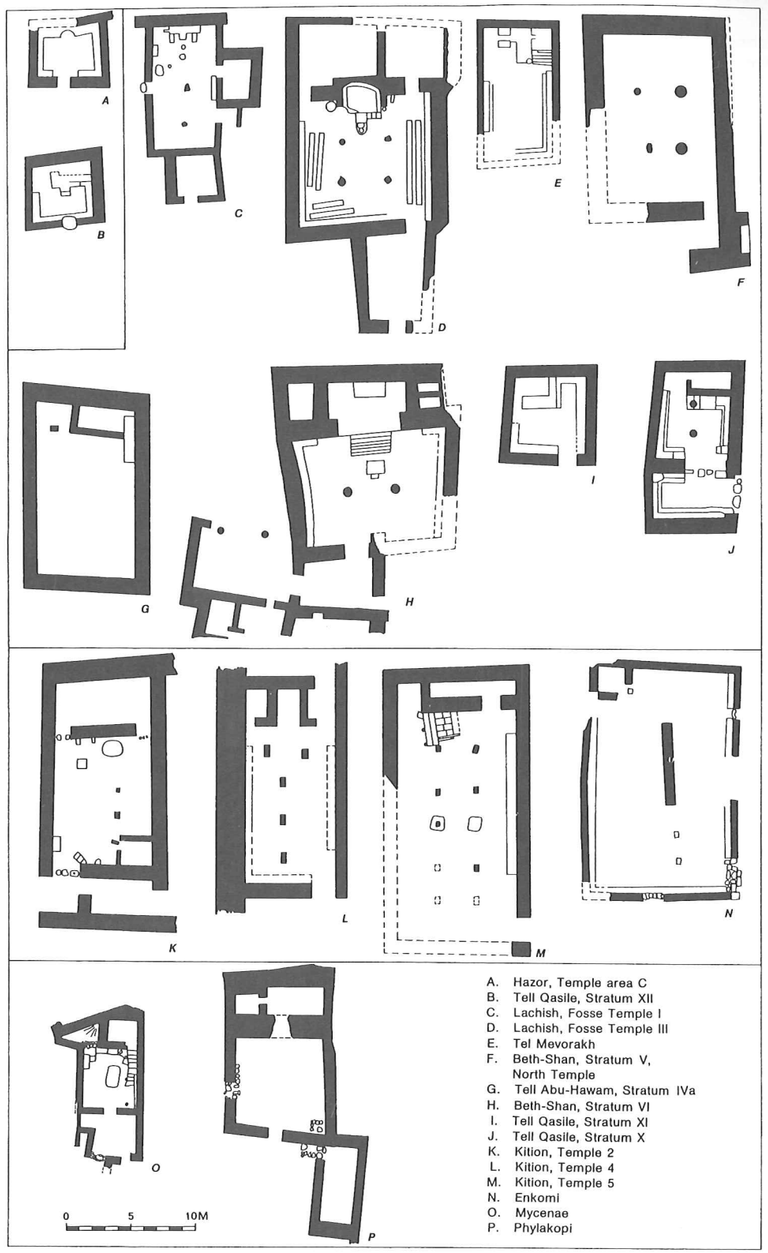

Figure 11.3. Comparative plans of temples and shrines in Israel, Cyprus, and Greece, 15th–11th centuries B.C.E.

TELL ABU HAWAM AND JAFFA

The connection between the Sea Peoples and the early 12th-century temples at Tell Abu Hawam (Building 30) (Fig. 11.3:G) and Jaffa (the Lion Temple) remains unclear. The former is a rebuilding of an earlier temple (Building 50 of Stratum V) (Hamilton 1935:10, Plan XI). It has a large hall with a corner chamber, recalling the 12th-century "Copper God" temple at Enkomi (Fig. 11.3:M; Courtois 1971:153, fig. 1). The so-called Lion Temple at Jaffa (Kaplan and Ritter-Kaplan 1993: 656–658) was assigned to the transition between the 13th and 12th centuries and may not be relevant to the present discussion: it predates Philistine settlement in the region, although it might have served Sea People mercenaries in the service of the Egyptian troops at Jaffa. It consists of a rectangular hall (4.4 x 5.8 m) with two pillars along the long axis and a platform (?) in the center of the western long wall. This plan not only recalls the temples at Khamid el-Loz, but also Building G at Asine, which can be interpreted as a small shrine (Frödin and Persson 1983). The skull of a lion with a scarab in its mouth found at the corner of the building hints to an unusual cult that was carried out in this building and is unparalleled elsewhere in Canaan.

PARALLELS IN THE AEGEAN

Do the temples at Tell Qasile retain any Aegean or Cypriote traditions? In an attempt to answer this question I could offer only ambivalent and insecure answers (Mazar 1980:66–68). Our knowledge of Mycenaean temples is still very limited. Syntheses of Mycenaean religious practices like those by Hagg (1968) and Rutkowski (1972) hardly pointed to actual temples. More recently, at least three structures have been identified as Mycenaean temples of the LHIIIB and IIIC periods: the "House of Idols" at Mycenae, the small shrine at Tiryns, and the double shrine at Phylakopi on the island of Melos. House G at Asine may be added to this list. At Mycenae, it was suggested that "Tsountas House" and the nearby "megaron" also served as temples, or at least part of the ritual complex (for general recent discussions and references, see Renfrew 1985:405–413; Negbi 1988; Burdajewicz 1990). The temple at Hagia Irini on the island of Kea is the only Aegean temple established in an earlier phase of Mycenaean culture, and it continued to be in use until the end of LHIII (Caskey 1962). These discoveries indicate that during the 13th century B.C.E. religious architecture developed in the Mycenaean cultural sphere independent of Minoan inspiration. Yet these temples do not exhibit any clear concept of Mycenaean religious architecture.

The 13th-century "House of Idols" at Mycenae (Fig. 11.3:O) is a modest structure, which included an entrance room, a naos, and two back chambers that were used to store cult images. The resemblance between this structure and the "irregular" temples of the Levant mentioned above (Beth Shean LBI temple, Lachish Fosse temples, and Tel Mevorakh), led Negbi (1988) to suggest that the temple at Mycenae was inspired by the Levantine tradition during the LHIIIA–B period—a period of close interconnections between east and west.

The temple at Mycenae resembles that of Tell Qasile Stratum X in size, spatial division, and the use of benches, platforms along the walls, and pillars in the main hall (although at Mycenae the pillars are not along the central axis of the main hall). But the temple at Mycenae predates Tell Qasile X by almost two hundred years. Is it possible that the third temple constructed at Tell Qasile ca. 1050 B.C.E. retained architectural traditions that appeared in the 13th century at Mycenae? Or is the temple at Tell Qasile just the latest example of the local group of irregular temples known since LBI in Palestine? To me, the latter solution appears to be more likely.

The temple of Tell Qasile Stratum XI is similar in plan and dimension to the temple at Phylakopi (Figs. 11.3:P, 11.4; Renfrew 1985). Both feature a main temple beside a subsidiary shrine. At Tell Qasile, however, the shrine is attached to the back of the main temple, while at Phylakopi the shrine is attached to the front of the main temple. In both, the main hall is of comparable inner size and proportions. Its entrance was at the side of the front (eastern) wall, and the cult was oriented to the west or southwest. In both, there is an inner chamber that served as a repository for cult objects (Renfrew called the room a sacristy). The focal point of cult in this temple was near the western wall of the main hall, where evidence for a raised podium was found. In both, the subsidiary shrine was of similar shape: a small rectangular room with an indirect entrance and a podium in one of its inner corners. Chronologically, the temple of Phylakopi came to an end more or less when the temple of Tell Qasile XI was founded (ca. 1100 B.C.E.). A further connection between Phylakopi and the Levant is demonstrated by the bronze figurine of a "striding god" (Baal or Resheph) of Levantine origin. In my view these similarities are far from mere coincidences; rather, they might actually reflect common cultural traditions related to the immigration of the Philistines from the Aegean. Yet the dynamics and meaning of these resemblances are elusive.

In the Tell Qasile report of 1980 I presented the evidence without reaching a definitive conclusion regarding the possible Aegean origin of the temple architecture at Tell Qasile. I suggested that the Late

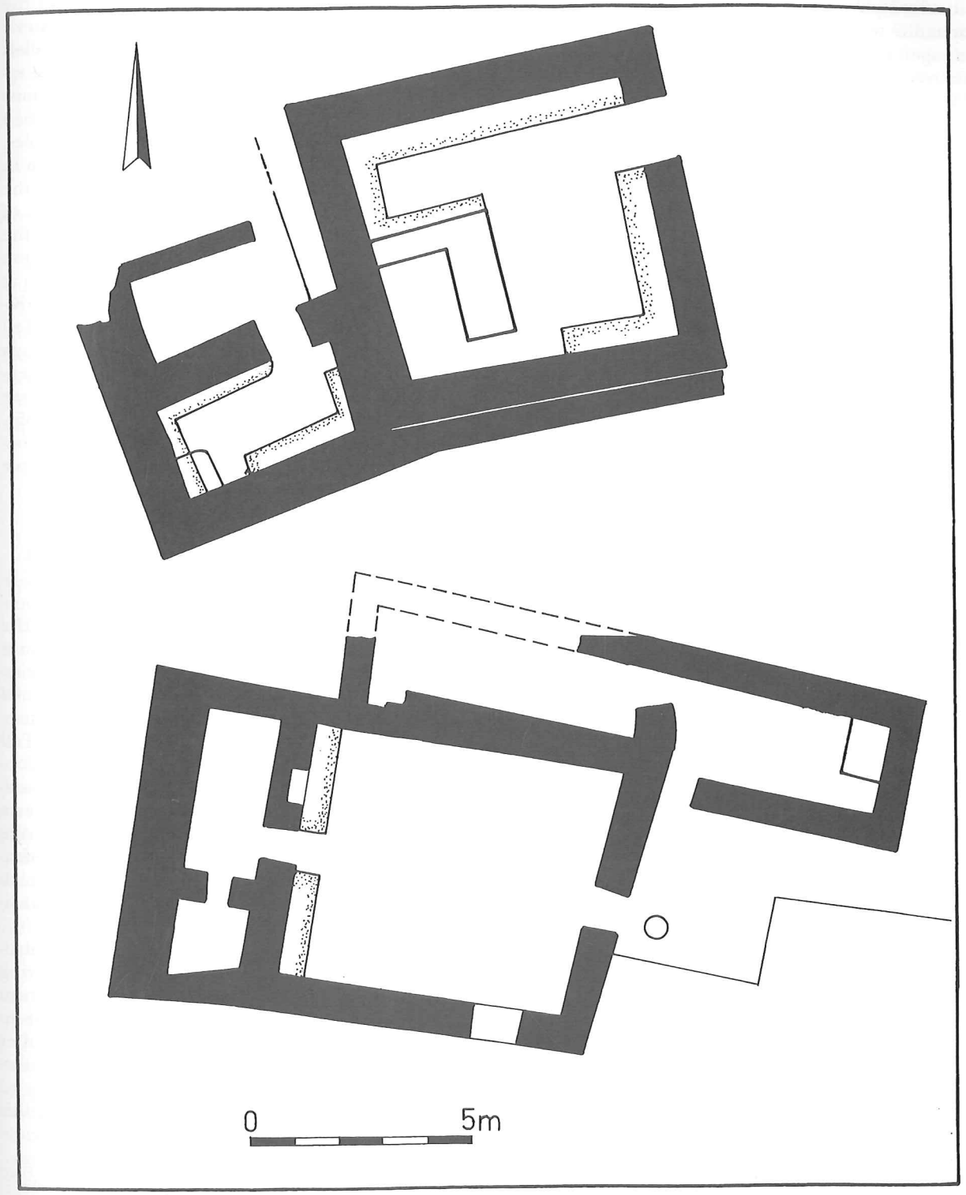

Figure 11.4. Comparative plans of the temple at Phylakopi (Melos) and the temple of Tell Qasile Stratum XI.

Bronze asymmetric Levantine temples possibly inspired the temple architecture of 13th century Mycenae and Phylakopi. I further suggested that the Levantine temples were foreign to the main stream of Canaanite temple architecture, and thus might have belonged to a non-indigenous population, a suggestion, which may now need revision (see above).

The publication of the Tell Qasile material stimulated quite a range of scholarly reactions. J. Shäfer (1983) thinks that any resemblances with the Aegean are irrelevant, claiming that the temples at Tell Qasile and Beth Shean are of a local, Levantine type. Negbi (1988), on the other hand, supports the validity of resemblances between the temple at Mycenae and the "irregular" Levantine temples. She concludes that the Mycenaean temples of the 13th century B.C.E. were inspired by the Levantine temple type.[6] Thus the generic connection between the temples at Tell Qasile and Aegean temples remains enigmatic.

Burdajewicz (1990) dedicates a whole monograph to the subject. He rejects any typological categorization of the buildings under discussion and claims that the group of irregular temples was "artificially created." He correctly writes that in the Aegean "the sacred architecture is very differentiated and heterogeneous" and concludes that the only justification for the inclusion of these temples in one discussion group is not their architectural features, but the fact that they belong to the same cultural milieu, i.e., the "Aegean Sea Peoples." He sums up as follows:

> We are faced here at the most with a cultural parallelism in the Eastern Mediterranean evident in the religious architecture, and not with an architectural and a cultural diffusion from West to East or vice versa. Having also in mind the rich and heterogeneous picture of the Aegean architecture, we cannot even hope that the sacred buildings of the Aegean Sea Peoples settled on Cyprus and Palestine will suddenly be revealed to us as representing a precisely defined and clearly distinguishable homogeneous architecture (p. 111).

CYPRUS

The LCIII temples at Cyprus are of particular importance to our subject, owing to the close resemblance between cultural phenomena in Cyprus and in the Levant during this time. The 13th–12th centuries B.C.E. temples of Kition are much larger and more elaborate than those of Tell Qasile (Fig. 11.3: K–M; Karageorghis and Demas 1985). Two of them (Nos. 2 and 3) were founded during the 13th century B.C.E., while during the LCIII period, four temples existed simultaneously (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5). Temples 2, 4, and 5 consist of a main rectangular space divided by one or two rows of pillars into three elongated spaces. The excavator argued that the central space remained unroofed, yet this supposition can be challenged in light of Karageorghis' own claim that the Kition temples are of the "Standard Near Eastern type" (although there are almost no direct parallels to the Kition temples in the Levant). If they are indeed of Near Eastern type, then these buildings must have been roofed. The Holy of Holies was identified by Karageorghis in the inner rooms of these temples. Yet this too may be challenged. A raised platform in Temple 5, which is located at the inner end of the main rectangular space, was probably the focus of cult activity in this temple, as was the niche in the central unit of Temple 4. If the focal point was on this platform and, by analogy, in a similar location at the other temples, then the plan of the temples at Kition can be compared to that of Stratum X at Tell Qasile. At the same time, the latter building is much smaller and, unlike the Kition temples, had an entrance chamber (for a more detailed discussion, see Mazar 1980:67–68; Karageorghis and Demas 1985). Finally, as mentioned above, the temple of the copper god at Enkomi recalls the contemporary temple 50 at Tell Abu Hawam.

CONCLUSIONS

As we have seen, the great changes among the three strata at Tell Qasile imply that the inhabitants of Tell Qasile lacked a definite concept of temple architecture. Innovation and the lack of a well-defined architectural tradition are perhaps the most noticeable characteristics of the sacred complex at Tell Qasile. The earliest temple, that of Stratum XII, consists of a simple small room that is almost unparalleled elsewhere. The temples of Strata XI–X show a great degree of continuity from the Late Bronze Age temple tradition in the Levant, but they also resemble 13th–12th century temples in the Aegean, which in turn might have been inspired by Levantine traditions.

Do the Tell Qasile temples follow Canaanite planning principles, or did the Philistine migrants bring along these principles of temple architecture from their homeland? No clear-cut answer can be given to this question, although I must admit that the latter suggestion appears to be less probable than the former.

The conclusions of those who have treated this subject can be summarized as follows:

1. Absolutely no relationship in temple architecture between the Aegean and the Levant (Shäfer; Bunimovitz?).
2. Architectural similarities, yet unable to point to the source of inspiration (Mazar).
3. Levantine inspiration for Aegean temple architecture in the 13th century (Negbi).
4. No architectural similarities; no possibility of classifying the temples of the region beyond the recognition that they belong to a common cultural milieu (Burdajevitcz).
5. The evidence from the Levant totally ignored (Renfrew).

Cult Objects

Philistine cult objects were hitherto discussed mainly by Trude Dothan and myself (Dothan 1982: 219–251; Mazar 1980:78–121). One of the major questions is which of the cult objects can be identified as truly Philistine? While certain objects can be definitely attributed only to the Philistines, others belong to the general Canaanite tradition of religious equipment in the second millennium B.C.E.

CLAY FIGURINES

The most prominent clay figurine in Philistia is the so-called "Ashdoda" (Fig. 11.5:A), of which the only complete example comes from Ashdod Stratum XII (M. Dothan 1971:129–130; Dothan 1982:234–237; Dothan and Dothan 1992:153–157). Several fragments of such figurines are known from Ashdod, Tel Miqne, Aphek, and Tell Qasile. The latter is a fragment of a torso, probably showing a woman holding a child (Mazar 1986a:13, fig. 6:1).

The "Ashdoda" type is a highly stylized and almost abstract clay figurine which shows a sitting female figure whose body is integrated with the couch on which she sits. She has a "polos"-like headdress, and a painted necklace. M. and T. Dothan saw in these figurines a development from the Mycenaean type of seated ("enthroned") female figurines (e.g., French 1971:167–172). Indeed, the head of the "Ashdoda" figurines is molded in a style that closely recalls the Mycenaean prototype. Yet the integration of body and chair is unknown in the Mycenaen world (for a possible exception, see French 1971:170).

J. Brug suggests that the "Ashdoda" type is a combination of Aegean and Canaanite traditions. The Aegean elements may have been borrowed from Mycenaean "Psi" figurines, which arrived in the Levant during the Late Bronze Age (Brug 1985:186). This conclusion, however, is untenable, for there is no precedent for such a blending in the Late Bronze Age. Moreover, the "Ashdoda" type does not show any resemblance to previous Canaanite figurines.

Singer pointed out some elements that are common to much later depictions of the Anatolian great goddess, Kubaba/Kybele (Singer 1989:37–42). But only the "polos" headdress is common. Other features, such as the lions accompanying Kybele, are based on his unsubstantiated assumption that the lion cups from Philistia (see below) are related to the great goddess represented by "Ashdoda." As Singer admits, this suggestion remains vague and tentative.

The Aegean roots for the "Ashdoda"-type figurine are clear, and provide evidence for a stylistic development from the more naturalistic Mycenaean figurines into a more abstract and schematic form in Philistia. It should be noted that the Mycenaean figurines themselves tend to be more abstract than any Near Eastern figurines. The earliest examples of "Ashdoda"-type figurines are reported from Ekron Stratum VII in Field I, the level of Monochrome pottery (Dothan and Gitin 1994:10). Yet this type of figurine remains quite rare at Ekron, where only a few fragments were found in the Iron Age I levels. It should be noted that no such figurines were found in the Tell Qasile temples or in the supposed temple at Tel Miqne Field IV. The only fragment of such a figurine from Tell Qasile came from a residency of Stratum X; moreover, the context of the other "Ashdoda" figurines was likewise domestic. Thus the absence of this type of figurine in the temples at Tell Qasile is an indication of its function mainly in domestic cult. If so, then this recalls Mycenaean *Psi* and *Phi* figurines, as well as Canaanite Astarte and Iron Age II pillared figurines.

Because the "Ashdoda"-type figurine is almost the only iconographic representation of a deity in Philistia, it is usually interpreted as representing the great goddess, the main deity worshipped by the Philistines (Singer 1989:28). We mentioned above two possible explanations for the disagreement between the archaeological evidence for a female goddess and the biblical text which identifies the principal Philistine deity as the male god Dagon.

There are few other figurines that may have been related to Philistine cult. The clay head of a figurine from Tel Batash (biblical Timnah) (Kelm and Mazar 1989:38) and a head from Gezer (Dothan 1982: 220:2) probably show a male figure. The physiognomy and the painted decoration of these figurines resemble wheel-made figurines from 12th-century B.C.E. Cyprus that are related to the so-called Achaean colonization (Courtois 1971:351, fig. 149). An example of such a Cypriote wheel-made figurine head was found at Tel Yoqneam in a 12th-century B.C.E. context. The figurines from Tel Batash and Gezer also resemble rare Mycenaean figurines showing a human head with a "polos" (French 1971: pl. 23:c from Mycenae).

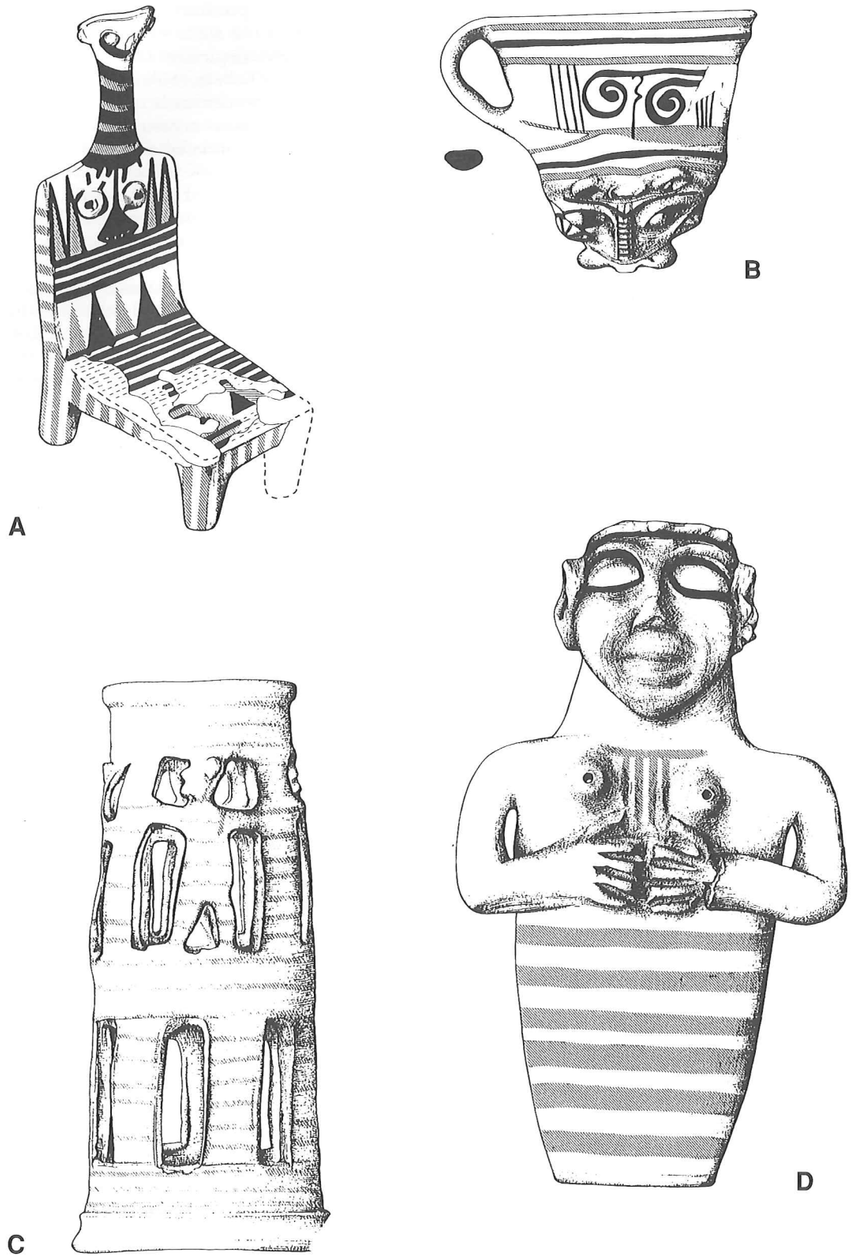

Figure 11.5. (A) "Ashdoda" figure from Ashdod Stratum XII (12th–11th centuries B.C.E.). (B) Lion-shaped pottery goblet decorated with Philistine designs from Tell Qasile. (C) Pottery stand decorated with a procession of dancers from Tell Qasile. (D) Female-shaped pottery vessel with breasts used as spouts from Tell Qasile.

LIBATION VESSELS

Various types of pottery libation vessels are common in Iron Age I sites in general, and in the Tell Qasile temples in particular (Dothan 1982:219–251; Mazar 1980:110–111).

Cups with molded lion heads at the base (sometimes described incorrectly as rhytons; Fig. 11.5:B) can be clearly related to the culture of the Sea Peoples as shown by their distribution in Palestine in Iron Age I contexts (Megiddo, Tel Zeror, Tell Qasile, Tel Gerisa, Ekron, and Tell es-Safi) (Dothan 1982:229–234; Mazar 1980:101–103; Zevulun 1986–1987; 1987). While Dothan relates these vessels to Aegean prototypes of a much earlier date, Zevulun points to Late Bronze examples from Ugarit (Ras Shamra). No such vessels are known from Late Bronze Age contexts in the southern Levant. Can it be conjectured that their appearance at Ugarit is related to Aegean settlers there during the Late Bronze Age? Based on the dedication to Resheph that appeared on one such cup from Ugarit, Yadin suggests that the cups from Philistia were also dedicated to Resheph (Yadin 1985); yet this suggestion remains enigmatic. Singer (1989:37) hypothesized that the lion on these cups represented the attribute animal of Dagon/Dagan, the chief Philistine deity.

Other common types of libation vessel are the *kernos* ("Ring vessel") and the "Kernos bowl." These were already known during the Late Bronze period in the Levant, but were rare until the Iron Age I, when they became popular at sites along the coastal plain and inner valleys of Palestine, as well as in Cypriote LCIII–CGI contexts (Dothan 1982:222–224; Mazar 1980:108–111). At the beginning of this period there are rare examples of *kernoi* produced in the Mycenaean IIIC style, which were perhaps manufactured in Cyprus. It can be conjectured that the popularity of these two types is one aspect of the close connections between the Levant and Cyprus during the 13th–11th centuries. The fact that such objects were particularly favored in Philistia, and continued to be so until the 8th century B.C.E., indicates that Sea Peoples settlers in both Cyprus and Palestine were particularly fond of these types of objects. However, these objects were clearly of Levantine tradition.

Tell Qasile produced several other libation vessels of unique forms. One of these is a zoomorphic cup with an inner funnel, an arrangement known in Cyprus as "trick vessels." The animal face depicted on this vessel appears to be that of a hippopotamus; not an unlikely identification in light of the fact that hippopotamus bones and teeth were found at Tell Qasile in the temple courtyard and elsewhere. Trick vases with inner funnels are known earlier in the Levant, e.g., at Tell Deir 'Alla, and appear in a somewhat different form in Cyprus during the Cypro-Geometric I period (Mazar 1990:104). Here again we have a demonstration of close contacts between Philistia and Cyprus.

Two anthropomorphic vessels from Tell Qasile may be interpreted as libation vessels. One is a small juglet with an anthropomorphic neck, most probably showing a male figure with unusual hair curls that may render a ram's horns (Mazar 1980:81–82). The second vessel (Fig. 11.5:D), 33 cm tall, has a neck shaped like a female head and breasts used as spouts (Mazar 1980:78–81). It was found broken in the favissa of Stratum XI, and was probably an important cult vessel in the temple of that stratum. The vessel most probably was used in cult ceremonies related to human fertility. It is possible that milk was libated through the breast-shaped funnels (see Weippert 1977 for analogies with Egyptian "nursing vessels").[7] The physiognomy of the female represented on this jar resembles, perhaps coincidentally, that of the clay statues found in the Mycenaean temple at Hagia Irini (Caskey 1962:280, pl. 101b and frontispiece). It is impossible to identify with certainty the figure on the Tell Qasile vessel, although she may have represented a fertility goddess or even the Great Goddess worshipped by the Philistines.

Another libation vessel from Tell Qasile (Fig. 11.6:B) comprises a narrow pottery pipe that ends in six interconnected hemispheric bodies at its bottom (Mazar 1980:104–105). This unique object, which possibly represented a cluster of fruit (figs? sycamore?), at the very least illustrates the originality and creativity of the Philistine artists.

MASKS

Anthropomorphic clay masks were known in Canaanite cult during the Late Bronze Age (e.g., Hazor). The masks from Tell Qasile were life-size, with holes for tying and openings for the mouth and eyes, and may have been used by priests during religious ceremonies. During the 12th century B.C.E. masks became common in Cyprus (e.g., Enkomi), where both anthropomorphic and "Humbaba"-type faces were known. Zoomorphic masks are also attested to at Tell Qasile, where fragments of a mask with a lion face were found (Mazar 1980:84–86). The idea for masks, although of Levantine origin, was elaborated and became common in both Philistia and Cyprus during this period.

A POT FOR A SACRED TREE(?)

A unique vessel from Tell Qasile is a large red-slipped and burnished cone-shaped jar (Fig. 11.6:C) with a central round opening surrounded by four

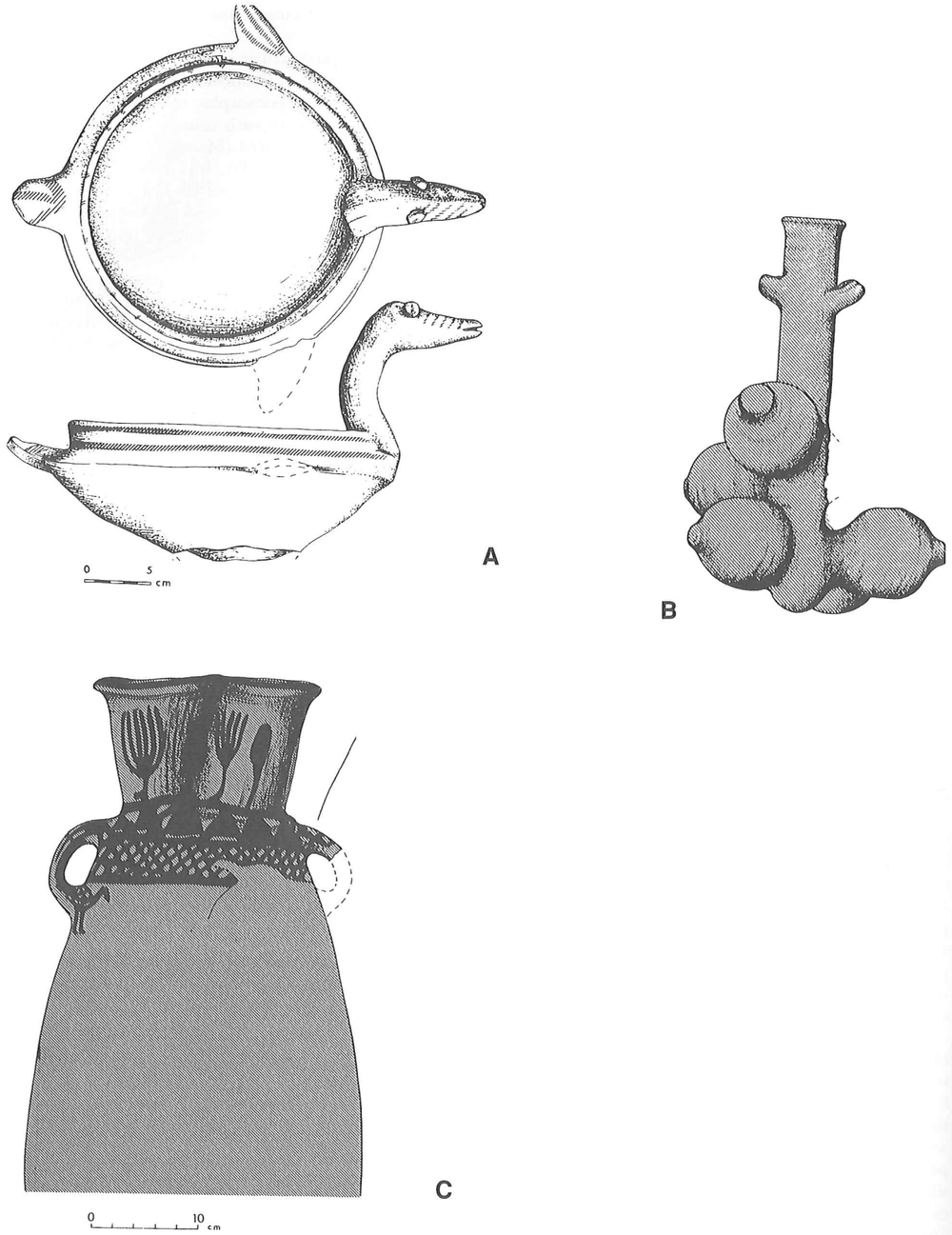

Figure 11.6. Cult objects from Tell Qasile. (A) Bird-shaped offering bowl. (B) Libation vessel. (C) Large jar with central opening and four side openings.

"kidney-shaped" openings (Mazar 1980:104–106). I suggested that this jar was used for growing a sacred plant in the temple, whereby the plant could be watered through the four side openings. The painted frieze of opened and closed plants on the body of the jar may support this interpretation.

CYLINDRICAL STANDS AND OFFERING BOWLS

Cylindrical stands with an attached or detached offering bowl are well known in the Levant throughout the second millennium B.C.E., but they became a common feature during the Iron Age I in Philistia and elsewhere in Israel (Mazar 1980:87–100). In Philistia, as well as at Megiddo and Beth Shean, such stands were elaborately decorated with figures of musicians, dancers, other human figures, and animals. Many offering bowls from Tell Qasile had an attached bird figure (Figs. 11.5:C, 6:A), a decoration that was probably inspired from New Kingdom Egypt, where it is well attested to. The bird figure was also common in the Egyptian garrison town of Beth Shean until the mid-12th century B.C.E.

The collection of various stands from the temples of Beth Shean Stratum Lower V is particularly rich and important. In my view, these temples should be dated to the 11th century rather than to the 10th, as was suggested by James (Mazar 1993a:221–222). Yet it is an open question to what extent the Sea Peoples were a significant component of the population at Beth Shean in the 11th century B.C.E.

INCISED SCAPULAE

Cattle scapulae with incisions along their edges were found at both Ekron and Dor. Such objects were unknown in Late Bronze Canaan, but were attested to in religious contexts in Cyprus during the LCIII period (Enkomi and Kition). Thus these scapulae, whatever their purpose, provide additional evidence for the similarities between religious practices of the Sea Peoples in the Levant and those of the inhabitants of Cyprus in the LCIII period.

BRONZE WHEELED STANDS AND IRON KNIVES

Similarly, the wheels of a bronze wheeled stand from Tel Miqne (Dothan 1992) further testify to connections with Cyprus in the realm of cult objects. The iron knives with bronze rivets and ivory handles ending in a ring from Tell Qasile and Tell Miqne may have been used as ceremonial knives and likewise find close parallels in Cyprus (Mazar 1985a: 6–8; Dothan 1989a).

CONCLUSIONS

Cult objects related to the Philistines and other Sea Peoples can be divided into four major categories:

1. Cult objects with Canaanite antecedents (pottery stands and ritual bowls, masks, lion cups, *kernoi*, tubular bowls). Most of the cult objects belong to this category.
2. Cult objects with Aegean connections ("Ashdoda" figurines and mourning women figurines).
3. Cult objects with Cypriote connections (incised scapulae, wheeled bronze stands, the abundant use of *kernoi*, tubular-rimmed bowls and pottery masks, "trick vases," "horn-shaped" vessels, and vertical bottles).
4. Cult objects without antecedents (libation vessels from Tell Qasile and some of the applied plastic decoration on stands from Ashdod, Tell Qasile, Dor, and Beth Shean).

Sacrifices

Very little is known about the cult practices and the nature of the sacrificial rites in Philistia. The animal bones found at the courtyard and the favissa of the Tell Qasile temples included sheep, goats, cattle, and hippopotamus (S. Davis in Mazar 1985:148–150). Hippopotamus bones and tusks were also found in domestic contexts at Tell Qasile. Evidently, hippopotami were living in the marshy area along the Yarkon River, and some of them were probaly slaughtered at the temple's courtyard. The abundance of animal bones at the temple courtyard shows that, as at other ancient Near Eastern cult centers, the sacrifice of large numbers of animals was a common practice and that large quantities of the meat were consumed there. The square altar found in front of the temple of Stratum X was probably used for the sacrifice of such animals.

Seals and Iconography

SEALS

Iron Age I stone seals (Shuval 1990) provide the best source for studying the iconography of the period. The relationship between the seals of this period

and the culture of the Sea Peoples is not entirely clear, for although many seals have been found in Philistia or sites related to the Sea Peoples, other seals connected by scholars with the Sea Peoples were found outside the Sea Peoples' territory.

Keel (1994) identifies 16 seals in the form of truncated pyramids as Philistine. He believes they imitate anchors, and thus describes them as "anchor-shaped" seals. Seven of these seals were found in clear Philistine contexts (Ashdod, Tel Qasile, Tell el–Far`ah [S], Tel Batash), whereas the others originated outside of Philistia (Lachish, Tell en-Nasbeh, Acco, Tel Keisan, Megiddo, Dan). In Keel's opinion, these are "seal amulets," used as amulets or votive offerings. Some of them are decorated only with linear designs whose meaning is unknown to us. Two depict a human figure standing on or related to an animal (Keel's No. 4 is from Tell Qasile and the second is a seal impression on a bulla from Tel Batash not listed by Keel). Keel's Nos. 12, 14, and 16 may also belong to this category. He suggests that this design is a schematic rendering of Baal on a lion, a motif known in Ramesside seals. Yet the animal is too schematic to be identified. A few other seals in this group render schematic human figures (Keel's Nos. 5, 6), single animals (No. 11: hippopotamus?; No. 13: ibex), or groups of animals (No. 15).

Other Iron Age I seals found in the coastal plain and the valleys of Jezreel and Beth Shean are conoid and pyramidal. Pyramidal seals, which are decorated on all sides as well as on the base, are known mainly from Philistia (Tell Qasile, Tel Gerisa, Tell el-Far`ah [S]) and from private collections (Shuval 1990: 123–124 Nos. 1–3; Keel 1994:29 figs. 17–18). Many of the motifs on the pyramidal seals are Egyptian, including depictions of Egyptian deities taken from an inventory of motifs defined by Keel as "Ramesside mass production" (1994:30 and n. 19). The motifs include a winged Baal/Seth figure, a god standing on a crouching animal, human figures, various animals (lion, bull, scorpion), and geometric designs. It appears that these seals were the product of a blending of indigenous Canaanite traditions and Egyptian influence. Although these seals were probably related to the material culture of the Sea Peoples, it is interesting that there are no Aegean or Cypriote motifs.

The motif of a lyre player appears on two Philistine seals from Ashdod and Tel Batash, as well as on the famous "Orpheus Jug" from Megiddo (B. Mazar 1976). The latter must be related to some Sea People group (perhaps *Sherden*?) living at Megiddo during the 11th century B.C.E.. It was argued that this motif is related to Aegean traditions, yet there is no clear proof for this (Shuval 1990:114). Keel suggests that the motif of the male lyre player is the only "new and typically Philistine" motif in this glyptic group (Keel 1994:34). The meaning of the lyre player scene remains ambiguous. It may be that the single lyre player on the seals is an abbreviated form of the full scene known on the "Orpheus Jug" from Megiddo.

A cylinder seal from a Philistine context at Ashdod (Dothan and Dothan 1992: pl. 11) depicts three human figures sitting on a throne, with hands raised in a blessing gesture. The undeciphered linear signs that appear between the figures are the best evidence for the existence of a Philistine writing system. This seal may have had some elusive religious significance.

DESIGNS ON PAINTED POTTERY

A few of the painted designs on pottery related to the Sea Peoples might have had iconographic significance. The bird motif, which is most popular on Philistine pottery, was discussed by T. Dothan (1982: 198–203), who analyzed its stylistic development from Mycenaean origins. Yet she did not attempt to interpret its iconographic meaning. Birds also decorate Sea Peoples' ship prows on the Medinet Habu reliefs and several of the cult bowls from Tell Qasile. It can be suggested that certain kinds of sea birds were sacred to the Mycenaeans and to the Philistines owing to their role as a navigational aid in seafaring (see Wachsmann, this volume).

The "Orpheus" jug from Megiddo, mentioned above in relation to the male lyre player, was discussed by T. Dothan (1982:150–153) and B. Mazar (1976). It may belong to a local artistic school closely related to the Philistines but not identical with it. The scene may illustrate a singer of epic poems with the various animals attending his music. B. Mazar compared this idea to the wisdom of Solomon (1 Kings 5:13) (Mazar 1976).

Conclusions

The material surveyed in this paper is inconclusive, and it is still impossible to draw a comprehensive picture of Philistine religion. The archaeological evidence points to the worship of a main goddess of fertility who is probably related to the great goddess of the Minoan-Mycenaean religion. Yet there is no satisfactory explanation for the disparity between this female deity, identifiable in the archaeological record, and the male god Dagon/Dagan, whom the Bible presents as the main deity of the Philistines. The Philistine "Ashdoda"-type figurine, an important form of divine representation in Philistia, and the "mourning women" figurines suggest an Aegean heritage in the realm of religious iconography. Other Philistine cult objects point to relations with Cyprus, to the adoption of local Canaanite traditions, and to original invention and independence from earlier religious concepts. The evidence of temple architecture points to the continuation of local traditions, although the resemblance between the temples of Tell Qasile and those of Mycenae and Phylakopi should not be overlooked. The evidence from glyptic art supports the existence of local glyptic schools, which adopted Canaanite and Egyptian motifs, yet also incorporated new motifs and styles appropriate for the Sea Peoples. This trend is also evident in the religious motifs painted on pottery, although the significance of the symbolic content of the designs is unknown to us.

Notes

1. The suggestion found in medieval exegesis that the name Dagon relates to the Hebrew word Dag (fish) cannot be accepted.

2. In one publication, the excavators define the earlier building as a palace while the later one is described as "predominantly a temple" (Dothan and Dothan 1992: 242, 248). Elsewhere, the excavators called the earlier building a "hearth sanctuary" and the later one a palace with cult rooms (Dothan and Gitin 1993:1054–1056). In a later publication, the excavators describe the later building as "possibly a temple or a palace-temple . . . the plan and the finds of the building are evidence that it was used mainly for cult purposes" (Dothan and Gitin 1994:14).

3. This figure becomes much higher when we exclude shapes which were never decorated anyway, such as storage-jars, cooking pots, and oil-lamps.

This ethnic identification of population is challenged by Bunimovitz (1986, 1990), who suggests that at least part of the population at Tell Qasile was Canaanite. The extreme view presented in the earlier Hebrew version of his paper was more moderate in the English version. For discussion, see Mazar 1986.

4. There are some exceptions to this rule, such as the major changes in temple architecture at Late Bronze Age Alalakh, or the changes in the temples of Beth Shean during the 14–11th centuries B.C.E.

5. The Northern and Southern temples at Beth Shean Stratum V (11th century B.C.E. in my view; not 10th century as suggested by F. James) may be considered to belong to this group, though their architecture cannot be sufficiently defined. In my original discussion in 1980 I included in this group also the temples at Beth Shean Strata VII–VI, but in my later treatment of the subject (1992) they were defined as a separate group, together with the acropolis temple at Lachish (Area P).

6. It should be noted that in this publication, Negbi wrongly cites me as claiming that the temples of Tell Qasile Strata XI–X show foreign elements anchored in the "lands over the sea" (she probably means the Aegean). I never expressed such a view. My conclusion was as follows:

> the relation between the appearance of the "irregular" temples in Palestine, Cyprus, and the Aegean is still unclear; yet that there is such a connection is undeniable. The distribution of this type may be related to the close trade connections amongst the lands of the East Mediterranean during the 14th–13th centuries B.C., as well as to the dispersion of the "Sea Peoples" during the 12–11th centuries B.C. (Mazar 1980: 68).

7. A parallel for this vessel that perhaps originated in the Gaza area was purchased on the antiquities market and is now in the possession of Mr. J. Berman, Director of the California Museum of Ancient Art, who kindly showed me this object.

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12

Aegean-Style Early Philistine Pottery in Canaan During the Iron I Age: A Stylistic Analysis of Mycenaean IIIC:1b Pottery and Its Associated Wares

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The end of the Late Bronze Age in Canaan is usually identified by the disappearance of imported Mycenaean IIIB and Late Cypriote IIB pottery types which are ubiquitious at 13th century B.C.E. sites throughout Canaan. The dawn of the Iron Age is traditionally seen as a period devoid of international trade and cultural connections with the west. Recent excavations in Israel have modified this interpretation and it has become clear that relations between Canaan and areas in the eastern Mediterranean, especially with Cyprus and the southern and western coasts of Anatolia, continued throughout the 12th century B.C.E., albeit representing a different type of relationship and carried out on a more limited scale. This paper presents recent ceramic evidence regarding interconnections between southern Canaan, Cyprus, and coastal Anatolia during the initial stages of the Iron I period, focussing on early Philistine pottery and its implications for the initial appearance and origins of the early Philistines in Canaan.

At several sites in Canaan, most notably Lachish (Stratum VI [Ussishkin 1985]), Tel Sera' (Stratum IX [Oren 1985; 1993:1330–1331]), Tel Miqne-Ekron (Stratum VIIIa, Field INE [Killebrew 1996b:26–27; 1998a]), Beth Shean (Level VI [James 1966; Oren 1973; Yadin and Geva 1986; Mazar 1993; 1997: 157–158]), Megiddo (Stratum VIIA [Ussishkin 1998]) and Akko (M. Dothan 1986), pottery in the typical Late Bronze II Canaanite tradition continues to appear well into the Iron I period (12th century B.C.E.), sometimes alongside small amounts of imported wares which differ from those most frequently imported during the Late Bronze IIB (13th century B.C.E.). Most notable are Grey Burnished Trojan wares originating from Troy (e.g. Lachish and Miqne-Ekron [Allen 1994]), imported Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery, probably originating from Cyprus or the Dodecanese, and previously unknown Cypriote types such as the White-Painted Wheel-made ware (see Killebrew 1998c for a summary of the Late Mycenaean IIIB and Mycenaean IIIC wares in Canaan). This indicates a limited, but significant contact with Cyprus, coastal Anatolia and perhaps other islands, such as Rhodes, in the eastern Aegean. In northern Canaan, most of the imported Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery consists of closed forms, especially stirrup jars, and bear elaborate painted decoration. Limited petrographic analysis of these vessels suggest that they were imported, possibly from Cyprus.

In the southern coastal plain of Canaan, at Tel

Miqne-Ekron and Ashdod, and most likely at Tel Ashkelon and Tell es-Safi, a previously unknown locally produced Aegean-style pottery, termed Mycenaean IIIC:1b appears in large quantities during the Iron I. At Miqne-Ekron, Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery appears in Stratum VII (T. Dothan 1989; 1992; 1995; 1998) and, based on the well-stratifed remains in Field INE, largely replaces the indigenous Canaanite-style pottery (Killebrew 1998a). A similar picture is revealed at Ashdod where significant quantities of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery appears in Stratum XIIIb, on top of the Stratum XIV Late Bronze II settlement (M. Dothan 1979). To better understand and define the phenomenon of locally produced Aegean-style pottery, I present in this paper a stylistic analysis,[1] including typological and technological aspects, of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery and its associated assemblages, with a focus on the repertoire from Field INE at Tel Miqne-Ekron.

Typology

Locally produced Aegean- and Aegeo-Cypriote-style pottery, appearing at the end of the 13th and beginning of the 12th centuries B.C.E. in the eastern Mediterranean, has received extensive attention by archaeologists. It is often referred to as Mycenaean IIIC:1b, a term which includes a class of pottery characterized by Aegean-inspired forms and decorative motifs which was locally produced at numerous manufacturing centers (see Asaro et al. 1971, Asaro and Perlman 1973, and Gunneweg et al. 1986 regarding its local production in Canaan). Its development and typology were first discussed by A. Furumark (1941a; 1941b; 1944) who clear mainland Greek antecedents and cultural influences in the shape and decoration of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery. This type appears on mainland Greece following the decline of the Mycenaean palace centers, sometime near the close of the 13th century B.C.E.[2] During the 12th century B.C.E. it is found in significant quantities at sites located throughout much of the Aegean, Cilicia, Cyprus, and at a number of coastal sites in Syria and Palestine.

On Cyprus, Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery first appears in small quantities during the Late Cypriote IIC period and then in larger amounts during the Late Cypriote IIIA period, replacing the dominant Base Ring and White Slip wares of the Late Cypriote IIC period. It shares features of fabric, technique, shape, and decoration with Decorated Late Cypriote III, a class of Late Cypriote IIIA wheelmade pottery having a light fabric decorated with a dark matt paint.[3] Though White Painted Wheelmade III, as suggested by P. Åström (1972a:271–288) is, in my opinion, the more accurate term for this ceramic assemblage I use Mycenaean IIIC:1b to refer to all shapes included in the White Painted Wheelmade Cypriote assemblage as is customary in publications dealing with this style of pottery in the Levant (see Kling 1989b for the most comprehensive treatment of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery in Cyprus). In this typological discussion of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery in Canaan I use the neutral term, Aegean-style (AS) to refer to all pottery, including decorated fine wares (Mycenean IIIC:1b), undecorated fine wares, and the coarse wares (mainly cooking wares), which have clear Aegean and/or Cypriote antecedents.

Until now, no detailed discussion of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery and its associated wares found in the southern coastal plain of Canaan, coinciding with the initial Philistine settlement in Philistia, has been published. Typologies of the later Iron I phenomenon of bichrome painted pottery, which developed out of the monochrome Mycenaean IIIC:1b wares, have been described by T. Dothan (1982) and later expanded upon by A. Mazar (1985b). The following typological and technological discussion of Mycenaean IIIC:1b and related wares from Field INE at Tel Miqne-Ekron is intended to fill this gap.

Based primarily on vessel proportion and morphology, the assemblage from Tel Miqne-Ekron can be grouped typologically according to two basic functional categories, which probably reflect the primary use these ceramic objects may have served in antiquity:[4] (I) kitchenwares which include (A) tablewares and (B) cooking wares; and (II) containers, which are sub-divided into (A) handleless domestic containers; (B) handled storage containers, and (C) specialty containers.

Kitchenwares

TABLEWARES

BOWLS

The bowl forms included in this family (Forms AS 1–4) are all semi-hemispherical to hemispherical in shape, with two horizontal handles, and have no locally produced Canaanite antecedents.

FORM AS 1 (FIGS. 12.1:1–2; 12.2:1) SMALL SEMI-HEMISPHERICAL BOWL WITH TWO HORIZONTAL HANDLES

This bowl, measuring ca. 5–10 cm. in depth, is semi-hemispherical in shape, usually with two flat horizontal strap handles at the rim or just below it. The deeper version, ca. 15 cm. in depth, is referred to here as Form AS 2. Two different types of rims are associated with this general shape: a simple, often thickened, rim (Fig. 12.1:1) or a flattened everted rim (Fig. 12.1:2). The base is usually a low ring base or disc base. This bowl can be undecorated or decorated on the interior and exterior with simple horizontal bands, occasionally with spirals on the interior of the base. This shape, measuring ca. 10 cm. high, has been recovered from Stratum VII levels at Tel Miqne-Ekron in the early Iron I levels however it is rare in Canaan and only one similar example is published from Ashdod (Stratum XIIIb: M. Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 14:8).

Bowl Form AS 1 is well-known from the Aegean and Cyprus where it tends to be shallower in depth (ca. 4–7 cm.) than the Tel Miqne-Ekron examples. It was classified by A. Furumark as FS 296, one of the shapes of Form 85, and he described it as belonging to the group termed Levanto-Mycenaean.[5] Most of Furumark's examples originate from Cyprus and only a few are from mainland Greece and the Levant.[6] On Cyprus, where this bowl was most ubiquitous, the interior design often includes a spiral or set of concentric circles in the interior of the base[7] and occasionally other decorative motifs appear on this type of pottery within the bands on the interior.[8] B. Kling distinguishes two versions of our Form AS 1: a wide conical bowl with plain rim (Kling 1989b:131, fig. 5a)[9] and a wide conical bowl with out-turned rim (Kling 1989b: fig. 5d).[10]

Locally produced bowls from Cyprus and Philistia are decorated with matte paint which differentiates them from their imported Aegean counterparts which are decorated with a glossy paint. Due to the clear similarities between the matte-painted, locally produced bowls and imported Mycenaean bowls of similar type, it has been suggested that the former were simple imitations of the latter. However, as has been noted by Sjöqvist (1940:103–104), Stubbings (1951:40, n. 2), and Kling (1989b:133–134), conical and rounded bowls with horizontal strap handles have been locally produced on Cyprus for some time before the appearance of the imported Mycenaean bowls.[11] Direct Mycenaean inspiration seems most likely for bowls with out-turned rims, which appear in Greece from the LH IIIB:2.[12] B. Kling (1989b:134) concludes that although the popularity of Bowl Form AS 1 in LC IIC through LC IIIB on Cyprus may be due to inspiration from imported Mycenaean ceramics, may features of these bowls are indigenous to the Cypriote ceramic tradition.

Date: Cyprus: LC IIC–LC IIIB; Aegean: LH IIIB2–LH IIIC; Canaan: Iron IA

Distribution: Cyprus, the Aegean, and Tel Miqne-Ekron (and most likely other major Iron I cities in Philistia)

FORM AS 2 (FIGS. 12.1:3; 12.2:2) LARGE SEMI-HEMISPHERICAL BOWL WITH TWO HORIZONTAL HANDLES

Bowl Form AS 2 is a deeper version of Form AS 1. It is present in very small quantities at Tel Miqne-Ekron. One complete example was recovered from Stratum VII in Field INE (Fig. 12.1:3). This large semi-hemispherical to hemispherical bowl was termed FS 294 (Form 85) by Furumark (1992: pl. 161:294). This bowl is characterized by flat horizontal strap handles and is generally ca. 15 cm. deep. The larger bowl, generally with a flat everted rim, is rare on Cyprus and is far less popular than Forms AS 1 and AS 3. P. Mountjoy (1986:131–133) notes that FS 294 appears only sporadically in Late Helladic IIIB2, becoming prevalent only in the Late Helladic IIIC period.

Date: Aegean: Late Helladic IIIB2–Late Helladic IIIC; Canaan: Iron IA

Distribution: Aegean, Cyprus, and Tel Miqne-Ekron (probably also at other major Iron I cities in Philistia)

FORM AS 3 (FIGS. 12.1:4–7; 12.2:3) CARINATED SEMI-HEMISPHERICAL BOWL WITH HORIZONTAL HANDLES

This bowl, with its high carination below the horizontal handles, is well known from early Iron I levels at the Philistine pentapolis cities such as Tel Miqne-Ekron (Killebrew 1998a), Tell es Safi (Bliss and Macalister 1902: pl. 35: 7, 8) and Ashdod (Area G, Stratum XIIIb: M. Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 14:24–26 [pl. 36:10, 11]; 16:11; Area H: M. Dothan 1971: fig. 74:1). Several Form AS 3 bowls were found at Ras Ibn Hani (Bounni et al. 1979: fig. 25:3–6). These bowls can be decorated with simple horizontal bands but are often undecorated.

This bowl has been classified by A. Furumark as belonging to Form 85, FS 295 (1992: pl. 162:295). It is characterized by its conical shape and angular, high carinated vessel profile, with a simple everted rim, measuring 5–12 cm in depth. He attributed this bowl type to his Hellado- and Rhodo-Mycenaean group, appearing mainly in Mycenaean IIIC contexts where

it is slightly deeper and more sharply carinated. B. Kling (1989b:132:132, fig. 5b) defined the Cypriote versions as a conical bowl with carinated rim (Late Mycenaean IIIB or Decorated Late Cypriote III) where by the LC IIC it had became a very popular form, continuing into the LCIIIA periods.[13] Similar bowls are also known from Cilicia (e.g. Tarsus: French 1975: figs. 16; 17). Undecorated carinated bowls were present in Mycenaean pottery during the LH IIIB1. However, since their appearance on Cyprus dates to the LC IB where this shape is part of the Cypriote White Painted Wheelmade I ceramic repertoire (Sjöqvist 1940:106), a Mycenaean inspiration for this form has been ruled out. It is now suggested that Form AS 3 evolved independently in Cyprus and Greece (e.g. Kling 1989b:134; Sherratt 1994:38).

Date: Cyprus: Late Cypriote IB–Late Cypriote IIIA; Aegean: Late Helladic IIIB–Late Helladic IIIC; Canaan: Iron IA

Distribution: Cyprus, southern coastal Anatolia, the Aegean, the Syrian coast, and major Iron I cities in Philistia

FORM AS 4 (FIGS. 12.1:8–11; 12.2:4) HEMISPHERICAL (BELL-SHAPED) BOWL

Hemispherical Bowl Form AS 4 with its relatively small size, horizontal handles and ring base, is a well-known type often referred to as a bell-shaped bowl (e.g. T. Dothan 1982:98–106; Mazar 1985b:87–90 [Type BL 16]) or a skyphos.[15] These bowls are often decorated only with a monochrome linear decoration or more elaborately painted with bands at the rim and below the handle, paint at the stumps of handles and on top of the handles, and geometric or occasionally figurative designs in the handle zone. Especially popular were variations on the spiral. It has been classified by A. Furumark (1941a:634) as FS 284, the small version of Furumark's Form 80 (Deep Rounded Bowl with Horizontal Handles).

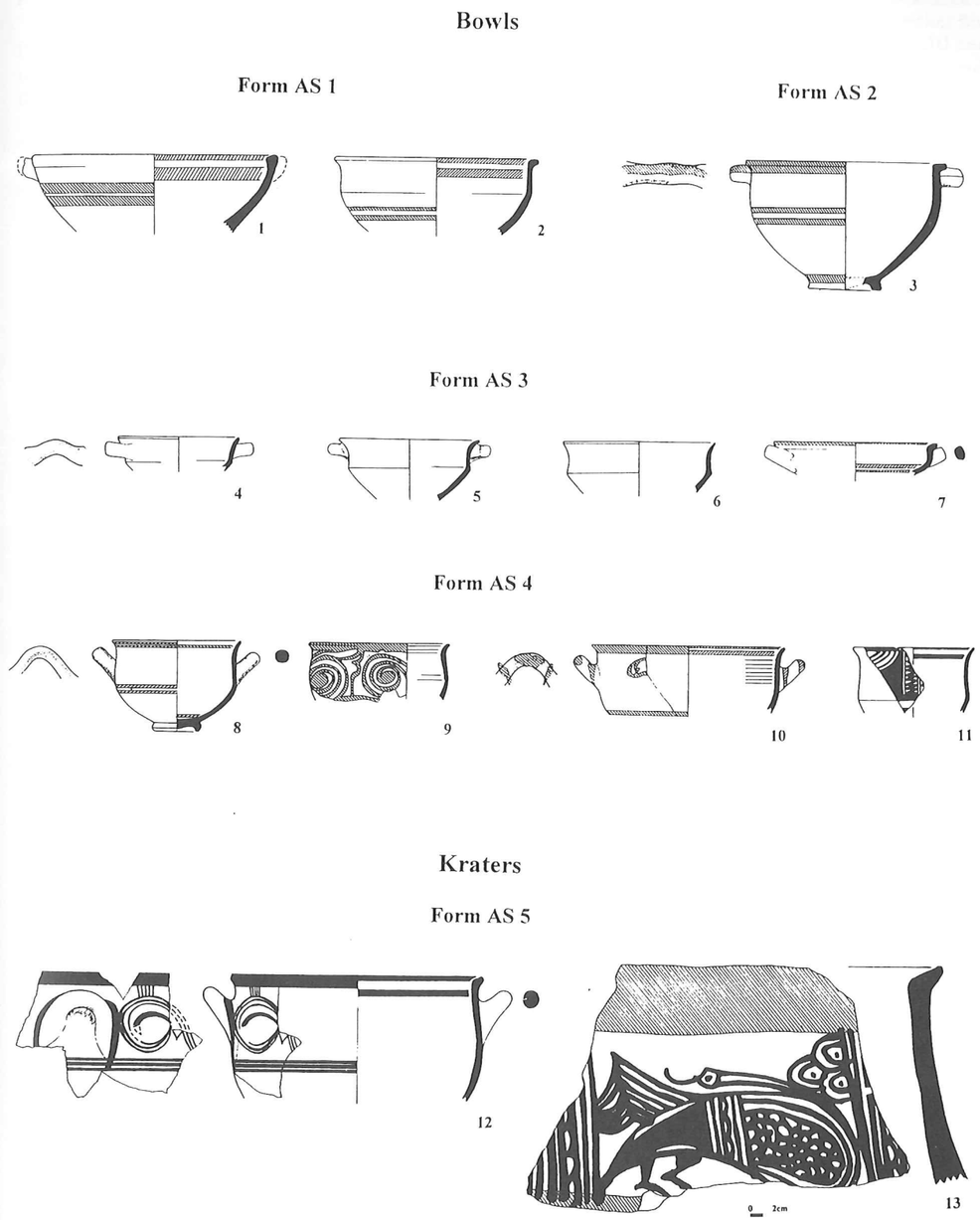
In Canaan, Bowl Form AS 4 in Mycenaean IIIC:1b ware, especially examples with a linear design, is ubiqutious during the Iron I period at sites in Philistia, such as Tel Miqne-Ekron, Ashdod,[16] Ashkelon (Phythian-Adams 1923: pl. II:7, 12), and Tell es-Safi (Bliss and Macalister 1902: pl. 35:10). It appears at several other sites along northern coastal Canaan,[17] including Akko (M. Dothan 1986:106; figs. 8.2–8.3 who associates this pottery with the Sherden from Sardinia), where their provenience is unknown. This shape continues to be popular in later Iron I contexts, decorated with a bichrome decoration or red slip.[18]

On mainland Greece, it was the most popular shape throughout the LH IIIB and Early and Middle LH IIIC periods, found mainly in settlement and only rarely in tombs.[19] It is less common in Crete, first appearing at the end of LM IIIB and the beginning of LM IIIC, probably reflecting influence from Greece (Popham 1965:318; 1970:196; Kanta 1980: 258–260; Mook and Coulson 1993:351; Gesell et al. 1995:117; fig. 22). In Cyprus this shape appears in large quantities especially in the LC IIIA period.[20] Bowl From AS 4 is also well-known in Cilicia.[21] The decorative treatment of bowls from eastern Cyprus and Cilica is similar to that on bell-shaped bowls from Philistia, however the shape is first known in the Aegean indicating that Form AS 4 has its antecedents in the Mycenaean world.

Several carinated bell-shaped bowls are included in the Tel Miqne-Ekron Iron I repertoire of vessels (Fig. 12.1:11) though it is less common that the standard bell-shaped bowl (Fig. 12.1:8–10). B. Kling (1989b: fig. 5c) refers to it as a Mycenaean IIIC Carinated Bowl (equalling carinated FS 295). It appears on Cyprus during the LC IIIA–IIIB contexts (e.g. Furumark 1941a:636; Åström 1972a:377–378), in the Aegean during the LH IIIB–IIIC (e.g. Perati: Iakovidis

Figure 12.1. Locally produced Aegean-style Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery and associated wares (Forms AS 1–AS 5) (Killebrew 1998b: ill. III:25).

No.	Form	Site	Reg. No.	Locus No.	Date
1	Bowl AS 1	Miqne-Ekron	3.421/12	3078	Iron I
2	Bowl AS 1	Miqne-Ekron	3.370/56	3076	Iron I
3	Bowl AS 2	Miqne-Ekron	2.581.1	2138.1	Iron I
4	Bowl AS 3	Miqne-Ekron	37.80/12	37029	Iron I
5	Bowl AS 3	Miqne-Ekron	4.408	4123	Iron I
6	Bowl AS 3	Miqne-Ekron	4.395/2A	4117	Iron I
7	Bowl AS 3	Miqne-Ekron	36.206/7	36081	Iron I
8	Bowl AS 4	Miqne-Ekron	3.506	3100	Iron I
9	Bowl AS 4	Miqne-Ekron	3.371/31	3074	Iron I
10	Bowl AS 4	Miqne-Ekron	4.392/1	4117	Iron I
11	Bowl AS 4	Miqne-Ekron	37.74/23	37027	Iron I
12	Krater AS 5	Miqne-Ekron	37.74/64	37029	Iron I
13	Krater AS 5	Miqne-Ekron	4.240	4076	Iron I



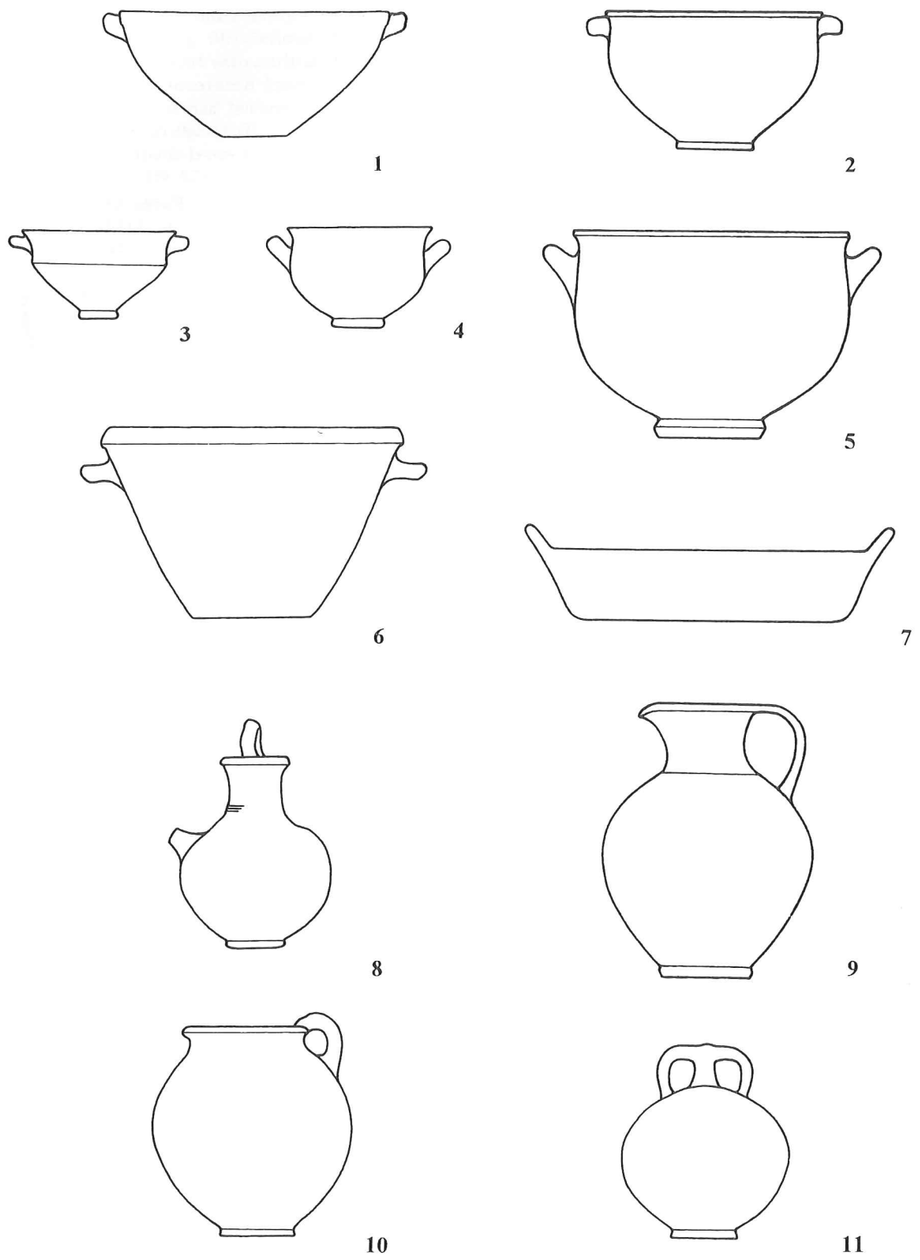


Figure 12.2. Locally produced Aegean-style Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery and associated wares (Forms AS 1–AS 11) from Philistine sites in Israel (Killebrew 1998c: pl. XVI).

1969–1970: vol. B:225, fig. 88; Mycenae: Mountjoy 1986, 153, fig. 197.1; and Athens: Broneer 1939: 379, fig. 61), and Cilicia (Tarsus [Goldman 1956: pl. 332: 1266; French 1975: fig. 20:13]) and they are often unpainted or decorated with a linear motif.[22]

Date: Aegean: Late Helladic IIIB–Late Helladic IIIC; Cyprus: first appearing in small numbers during the Late Cypriote IIC, becoming popular during the Late Cypriote IIIA–B; Canaan: Iron I

Distribution: Aegean, Cyprus, southern coast of Anatolia, several sites along the Syrian coast, and especially at sites in Philistia, southern coastal plain, with smaller quantities at Iron I sites in Canaan

KRATERS

The three basic krater forms presented here, AS 5–7, are distinctly different from the same family of forms known in Canaan during the Late Bronze IIB and Iron IA periods, thus indicating a clear cultural break with all preceeding ceramic traditions in Canaan.

FORM AS 5 (FIGS. 12.1:12–13; 12.2:5) HEMISPHERICAL (BELL-SHAPED) KRATER

This krater is termed a bell-shaped krater by T. Dothan (1982:106–115). Krater Form AS 5 equals the large version of Furumark's Form 80: Deep Rounded Bowl with Horizontal Handles. Furumark (1941a: 633) distinguished two variants of this shape, FS 281, characteristic of LH IIIB, and 282, dated to LH IIIB–IIIC:1 early. It is similar in vessel profile and proportions to Bowl Form AS 4 but its significantly larger size indicates a different functional use than its smaller relative.

These kraters can be divided to two major classes according to shape of the rim (Mazar 1985b:90–91): (a) kraters with flattened everted rim (Fig. 12.1:13) and (b) kraters with simple everted rim (Fig. 12.1:12). It is a common shape found at Tel Miqne-Ekron and at other Philistine Pentapolis sites such as Ashdod (e.g. M. Dothan and Porath 1993: Stratum XIIIa: figs. 21–22; Stratum XII: figs.27; 28:1–5, 7; 29:1–3, 5; all are bichrome examples) and Ashkelon (Phythian-Adams 1923: pl. II:10), where this shape rarely appears in a monochrome decoration, but is numerous in bichrome ware. Krater Form AS 5 is also one of the most prevalent shapes in bichrome ware at Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985b:90–92) and is also appears at other Iron I sites in Canaan (T. Dothan 1982: 106–115 and Mazar 1985b:90–92 for a comprehensive survey of the evidence). Several examples of Krater Form AS 5 are also known from Ras Ibn Hani (Bounni et al. 1979: fig. 25:1–2; 7–8).

On Cyprus, Krater Type C1 appears during the LC IIC, when it is often classified as the so-called Rude Style[23] continuing to be manufactured during the LC IIIA and the LC IIIB.[24] The majority of bell kraters found in LC IIIA contexts are classified as either Mycenaean IIIC:1b or Decorated Late Cypriote III and include a new range of motifs that are sometimes similar to those found on contemporary bell-shaped bowls, Form AS 4. The bell krater appeared in the local Cypriote ceramic repertoire in LC IIC apparently imitating imported Mycenaean kraters of similar shape. However on Cyprus, as in Philistia, Krater Form AS 5 developed along its own distinctive, local style, continuing to be popular during the 12th and 11th centuries B.C.E.

Date: Aegean: Late Helladic IIIB–IIIC; Cyprus: Late Cypriote IIC–IIIB; Canaan: Iron I, especially Iron IB

Distribution: Aegean, Cyprus, the Syrian coast, and sites in Philistia, southern coastal plain, with smaller quantities at Iron I sites in Canaan

FORM AS 6 (FIGS. 12.2:6; 12.3:1) DEEP STRAIGHT-SIDED KRATER (KALATHOS)

This deep krater-basin is a slightly everted, straight-walled vessel with horizontal handles, thickened rim and flat base which rises in the center. It makes its first debut in the early phases of Stratum VII at Tel Miqne-Ekron (Killebrew 1998b: figs. II:22:25; II:25:17–18; II:26:9; II:28:13). The vessel, often termed a kalathos (Kling 1989b:145–147, fig. 10c), is found with the Mycenaean IIIC:1b and bichrome assemblages at Tel Miqne-Ekron. It marks a clear departure from the typical Canaanite-style kraters of the preceding Late Bronze II levels at Tel Miqne-Ekron. Krater Form AS 6 is related to Furumark's Form 82, FS 291 (deep conical bowl).[25] E.S. Sherratt (1981:231) proposed that the shape developed in Early LH IIIC in the Dodecanese from an earlier form, the conical krater, and spread from there to Cyprus and mainland Greece, mainly during the middle phase of LH IIIC.[26] However, the Tel Miqne-Ekron example differs from its Aegean prototypes by its undecorated everted, straight-sided vessel profile which lacks exact parallels on mainland Greece and the Aegean. Modest numbers of this krater type are known from Ashdod (M. Dothan and Porath 1993: Stratum XIIIb: 58, fig. 24:2; Stratum XI: 88, fig. 41:5).

The most similar comparative vessel form with an everted straight-sided profile originates on Cyprus. One possible early prototype, but with vertical handles, appears at several sites on Cyprus such as Pyla-Kokkinokremos (Karageorghis and Demas 1984: pl. XXI:18; XXXVI:18 where it is classified as Plain

White Handmade Ware). The closest example, similar in general shape and size, is from Enkomi (Dikaios 1969: Level IIIB: pl. 120:2 [no. 1734]).

Date: Aegean: LH IIIC; Cyprus: LCIIIA–B; Canaan: Iron I

Distribution: Aegean, Cyprus and Philistia in the southern coastal plain of Canaan

FORM AS 7 (FIGS. 12.2:7; 12.3:2) SHALLOW KRATER TRAY

A single fragmentary example of this rare krater-tray was uncovered in Stratum VII, Field INE at Tel Miqne-Ekron. It is a large shallow tray with a slightly everted, straight-sided vessel profile with high horizontal handles. This vessel, which does not have any comparative published material from Canaan, belongs to Furumark's Form 97, FS 322 termed a tray. Examples are known from Asine, Thebes, and Ialysos, dated to the Late Helladic IIIB–IIIC (Furumark 1941a: FS 322). A richly decorated tray was recovered at Phylakopi (Mountjoy 1985:188, fig. 5.19).

Date: Aegean: LH IIIB–IIIC; Canaan: Iron IA
Distribution: Aegean and Tel Miqne-Ekron

JUGLETS

FORM AS 8 (FIGS. 12.2:8; 12.3:3–6) SPOUTED JUGLET

Form AS 8 is a spouted juglet with globular body profile and a basket handle at a right angle to the spout over the opening at the top (Figs. 12.2:8; 12.3:3–6). Examples are known from Strata VII and VI at Tel Miqne-Ekron. They are either undecorated or often decorated with horizontal bands at the rim, neck and occasionally the base. In Canaan feeding bottles in early Iron I levels are also attested to at Ashdod, one with its basket handle located in line with the spout (M. Dothan and Porath 1993: Stratum XIIIb: fig. 15: 4, 10; Stratum XIIIa: fig. 23:5, 6). A second example, with the basket handle in line with the spout, comes from the Beth Shean Valley (Fig. 12.3:5–6; see also Gal 1979: fig. 4:3). This shape continues to appear in later bichrome ware. Juglet Form 8 appears in T. Dothan's (1982:155–157) typology of Philistine bichrome pottery and A. Mazar (1985b:97–98) classifies it as Jug Type 7.

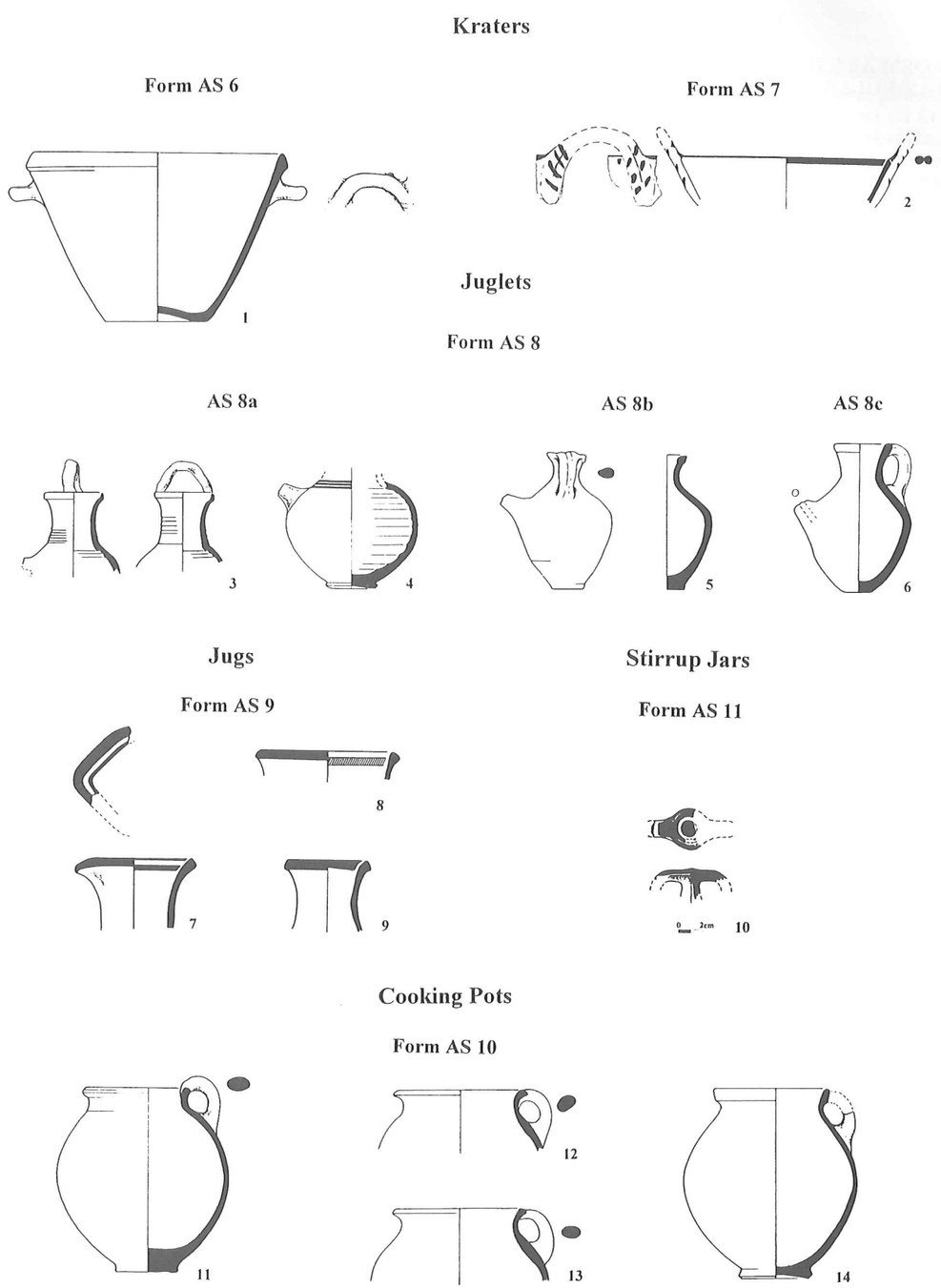
Juglet Form AS 8 is a well known shape on Cyprus during the Late Cypriote IIIA and IIIB periods.[27] The origin of this type has been the subject of debate. Sjöqvist (1940:74) noted that jugs with a tubular spout and basket handle appear already in the Aegean during the LH IIIA and suggested a Mycenaean origin for this form.[28] However, as Furumark (1944: 236–238) noted, the handle placement in line with the spout was far more common than at a right angle with the spout, which was more prevalent in the east. As has been recently pointed out, the appearance of Form AS 8 in Mycenaean ware is a mainly eastern Aegean phenomenon, in some cases predating the Late Helladic IIIC period.[29] Currently the evidence for an Aegean, probably eastern Aegean source, is most convincing.

Date: Aegean: LH IIIB–IIIC; Cyprus: LC IIIA–IIIC; Canaan: Iron I

Distribution: Aegean, especially the east, Cyprus, and Canaan, especially the major Iron I cities of Philistia, southern coastal plain and the Beth Shean Valley.

Figure 12.3. Locally produced Aegean-style Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery and associated wares (Forms AS 6–AS 11) (Killebrew 1998b: ill. III:26).

No.	Form	Site	Reg. No.	Locus No.	Date
1	Krater AS 6	Miqne-Ekron	3.371/17	3074	Iron I
2	Krater AS 7	Miqne-Ekron	37.86/1	37027	Iron I
3	Juglet AS 8a	Miqne-Ekron	4.395/2	4117	Iron I
4	Juglet AS 8a	Miqne-Ekron	4.240a/9	4076	Iron I
5	Juglet AS 8b	Beth Shean	27.10.513	1248	LB II
6	Juglet AS 8c	Beth Shean	27.10.515	1252	LB II
7	Jug AS 9	Miqne-Ekron	4.379	4117	Iron I
8	Jug AS 9	Miqne-Ekron	4.379/41	4117	Iron I
9	Jug AS 9	Miqne-Ekron	37.74/40	37027	Iron I
10	Stirrup Jar AS 11	Miqne-Ekron	36.204/2	36081	Iron I
11	Cooking Jug AS 10	Miqne-Ekron	3.376/6	3073	Iron I
12	Cooking Jug AS 10	Miqne-Ekron	36.225/8	36081	Iron I
13	Cooking Jug AS 10	Miqne-Ekron	36.226/1	36081	Iron I
14	Cooking Jug AS 10	Miqne-Ekron	3.439/3	3087	Iron I



JUGS

FORM AS 9 (FIGS. 12.2:9; 12.3:7–9) GLOBULAR JUG WITH CONCAVE NECK

This jug is characterized by its tall concave neck, often with a trefoil mouth. It is usually decorated with painted linear bands at the rim. Complete examples of this type have a globular body and ring base. Several rim sherds of Form AS 9 originated in Stratum VII at Tel Miqne-Ekron. Most are fragmentary pieces, however at least one (Fig. 12.3:5) has a trefoil pouring spout. Form AS 9 is equally rare at Ashdod, apparently without a trefoil mouth (Stratum XIII: M. Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 13:5).

Jugs without trefoil spouts on Cyprus derive from LC IIC–IIIA contexts, corresponding to Kling's (1989b:149) fig. 13b. These jugs have a typically Mycenaean form and are especially close to imported Mycenaean LH IIIB examples on Cyprus.[30] A few fragmentary examples are also known from Tarsus (French 1975: fig. 2).

In contrast, jugs with trefoil mouths have a long history in Cyprus in various wares. In the Aegean, however, the jug with trefoil spout is regarded as a later feature of Middle and Late LH IIIC (French 1975: fig. 2). It equals Furumark's FS 137 (1941a: 606), which he dated to LH IIIC:1 early through Submycenaean. Thus the addition of a trefoil spout to the globular jug with tall concave neck seems to be an eastern embellishment on a Mycenaean form (French 1975: fig. 2).

Date: Aegean: Late Helladic IIIB–IIIC; Cyprus: Late Cypriote IIC–IIIB; Canaan: Iron IA

Distribution: Aegean, Cyprus, southern coast of Anatolia, and Iron I cities of Philistia, the southern coastal plain of Canaan

COOKING WARES

COOKING JUGS

FORM AS 10 (FIGS. 12.2:10; 12.3:11–14) GLOBULAR COOKING JUG

Cooking Jug Form AS 10 has the shape of a globular jug with one or two handles from the rim to the shoulder, and a flat base. The rim is usually a simple or slightly thickened everted rim. This cooking jug first appears in Stratum VII at Tel Miqne-Ekron, alongside Mycenaean IIIC:1b and related wares. It is the most popular cooking shape in the early Iron I levels at Tel Miqne-Ekron, almost replacing the tradition indigenous cooking pot of the Late Bronze and Iron I periods. Fragmentary examples of this cooking jug appear in the Iron I pits at Deir el-Balah (Killebrew 1998b).

Cooking Jug Form AS 10 is relatively uniform in size, measuring ca. 20 cm. high. Often this jug is blackened on its exterior, a result of its use as a cooking jug. Cooking jugs similar in shape, either with one or two handles, are well-known from Ashdod where they appear in Strata XIIIb (M. Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 17:4, 5) and XII (M. Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 34:2, 7). They also make a debut at Tell Aitun (Edelstein and Aurant 1992: figs. 2 [jug on left] and 10:9 where they are classified as jugs) and possibly at Beth Shemesh (Grant and Wright 1938: pl. LXI:27–31) and Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985b: Type CP 3: 53; fig. 41:1). This cooking jug bears no resemblance typologically to the typical indigenous cooking pots of the Late Bronze and Iron I periods.

The single and double handled cooking jug is a form well-known in Cyprus during the Late Cypriote IIC and IIIA periods. The single-handled cooking jug, some with a round base, appears at Hala Sultan Tekke (Öbrink 1979:23; fig. 111 [F 6171]; Åström et al. 1983: figs. 318, 409), Pyla-Kokkinokremos (Karageorghis and Demas 1984: pls. XX:102, XXXVI:102; XX:104; XXXVI:104; classified as Coarse Handmade ware), Maa-Palaeokastro (for single and double-handled cooking pots, see e.g. Karageorghis and Demas 1988: pls. LX:692; CLXXXIII:692; LX:578; CLXXXII:578; CIX:387; CCXI:387), Athienou (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: fig. 50:7–8), Enkomi (Dikaios 1969: pl. 106:3), and Kourion (Daniel 1937: pls. II–III, V), and along the southern coast of Anatolia (Tarsus: Goldman 1956: pl. 324:1220–1221).

Similar cooking jugs also are found, although in smaller quantities, in the Aegean (e.g. Lefkandi: Popham and Milburn 1971: fig. 2:5 and Perati: Iakovidis 1969: pl. 62:720; double handled cooking pots are known from Phylakopi, see Mountjoy 1985:196, fig. 5:22:379; p. 207; fig. 5.29:543). However, the typical Late Helladic cooking pot is usually placed on a tripod and was classified by Furumark (1941a:640) as Form 95, FS 320, the tripod caldron (see also Mountjoy 1985: fig. 5.22:376, 377 from Phylakopi). The long history of this cooking pot type on a tripod has been traced on Crete (Martlew 1988; Haggis and Mook 1993). Though the body of this cooking pot is similar in shape to our Form AS 10 cooking jug, its placement on three legs clearly distinguishes it from the Tel Miqne-Ekron examples. Thus, typologically the closest and most numerous parallels are found on Cyprus and at Tarsus.

Date: Aegean: Late Helladic IIIC:1(?); Cyprus: Late Cypriote IIC and IIIA; Canaan: Iron I

Distribution: Isolated examples in the Aegean, with larger quantities known on Cyprus, the southern coast of Anatolia and mainly at sites in Philistia, southern coastal plain of Canaan

Containers

SPECIALTY CONTAINERS

STIRRUP JARS

FORM AS 11 (FIGS. 12.2:11; 12.3:10) STIRRUP JARS

The appearance of local imitations of imported Mycenaean stirrup jars and the eventual adaptation of this form into the local Philistine bichrome pottery repertoire has been discussed in detail by T. Dothan (1982:115–125). Its integration into the Mycenaean IIIC:11b assembalge on Cyprus has been traced by B. Kling (1989b:161–165) who notes that the stirrup jar was already produced on Cyprus during the Late Cypriote IIC and continues into the Mycenaean IIIC:1b Cypriote repertoire. Stirrup jars produced in local Mycenaean IIIC:1b wares in Philistia are rare. One fragmentary example is known from the sondage in Field INE at Tel Miqne-Ekron, however several additional examples appear in Iron I contexts in other fields at the site. Locally produced stirrup jars are more frequent in bichrome Iron I wares at the Philistine Pentapolis cities (Ashdod: M. Dothan 1971: fig. 102:8–9; M. Dothan and Porath 1993: figs. 17:8–9; 31:1–6).

Technology

Investigation of the technology used to produced pottery associated with the initial appearance of the Philistines in southern Canaan is based on several diverse methodological approaches, including archaeometric characterization studies (chemical and mineralogical analyses), replication studies, ethnoarchaeological research, and archaeological evidence for the potters craft at Tel Miqne Ekron (for a detailed discussion of these results see Killebrew 1998b: ch. IV). This investigation includes all aspects of the pottery production sequence, including clay procurement and preparation, formation techniques, and firing temperatures. In all aspects of the pottery production sequence, the ceramic tradition of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery and its associated assemblages at Tel Miqne-Ekron represents a complete break with Late Bronze II pottery making techniques. Potters producing the Aegean-style Mycenaean IIIC:1b decorated and undecorated tablewares preferred a very fine local mixture of loess and chalk, with very little or no temper to fashion their pots. What is especially noteworthy is the use of the same clay recipe, with little or no temper, for vessels of very different shapes and functions: bowls, kraters, jugs, and storage jars. The only exception is the cooking jug where the potter added sand-sized quartz and a small bit of limestone as temper. However, the ware of the cooking jugs also illustrates this break with Late Bronze II pottery traditions: the loess clay used in producing cooking jugs lacked any shell or calcite temper typical of Late Bronze II cooking pots.

Vessels included in this Iron I assemblage of

Summary

Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery and its associated plain and coarse wares from the southern coastal plain of Canaan are nearly identical to those found on Cyprus during the Late Cypriote IIIA period (see Kling 1989b for a comparable typology). It differs significantly from Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery from the Aegean proper, both in the variety of shapes, decorative motifs, and associated cooking wares. As has been noted by H. W. Catling (Catling and Jones 1986) and S. Sherratt (1991) with respect to Mycenaean IIIC:1b assemblages found on Cyprus, the number of shapes appearing in this typology is select and limited when compared to the rich variety of shapes known from Mycenaean IIIB and IIIC assemblages on mainland Greece. The shapes are largely domestic kitchenwares (with the exception of the stirrup jar) used by the producers and consumers of this ware in southern Canaan, identified by most scholars as the Philistines (Mazar 1985a, Finkelstein 1995, Stager 1995). The two vessel types which appear in any number during the earliest phases of Stratum VII and continue the Late Bronze Age tradition at Tel Miqne-Ekron are the flask and Canaanite storage jar, both shapes well known in the Aegean and Cyprus during the preceding period. Thus, I conclude that events and the inhabitants of Cyprus and the southern coast of Anatolia during the 12th century B.C.E. were closely connected to the largescale migration of people to the southern coast of Canaan during the 12th century B.C.E., a group identified as the biblical Philistines.

Aegean-style pottery were produced solely on the fast wheel, as evidenced by several technological features clearly visible on the surface of the pottery. These include spiral rhythmic grooves and ridges on the interior of their bases (a feature only visible on pottery produced on a fast wheel). Also the extremely well-levigated, highly-plastic clay without temper, which was used to manufacture most of the Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery assemblage, could only be used to produce pottery on a fast wheel. This also represents a change from typical indigenous potting practices where a variety of techniques, including coil, mold, and wheel, were used to produce Canaanite pottery out of a coarser, more tempered clay.

The most difficult stage of the pottery production sequence is the firing of ceramics, both from the viewpoint of the pottery and of the researcher attempting to reconstruct this phase. Several characterization studies were employed in order to understand this last phase of production. While petrographic and X-ray diffraction studies indicate high firing temperatures for several vessel types of the Mycenaean IIIC:1b assemblage, other characterization studies indicate the opposite. Most of the pottery examined by isotopic (carbon and oxygen; see Nissenbaum and Killebrew 1995), infra-red, and thermogravemetric analyses and refiring experiments indicate a much lower firing temperature, in the range of 500–700°C for the Mycenaean IIIC:1b assemblage. This complements evidence from several kilns at Tel Miqne-Ekron, where the lack of vitrification in the fire-boxes testifies to a low firing temperature (see Killebrew 1996a for a detailed description of the Tel Miqne-Ekron kilns). For now, the issue cannot be conclusively resolved due to the lack of knowledge regarding kiln firing times and the effects of reburial on the chemical and mineralogical composition of the pottery.

Based on the results of the technological analyses it is possible to conclude that Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery and its associated assemblages were produced in a professional workshop setting.[31] However, several technological aspects, such as the carefully prepared clays and highly skilled potter required to produce these fine wares, may indicate that its roots lie in a large-scale industrial production. This factory-style mode of manufacture[32] was probably that which produced the widely exported Mycenaean IIIB wares, appearing throughout the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean and can be considered an ancestor of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery. However, this later development of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery also coincided with the decentralization of the production of this pottery (Killebrew 1998c). During the 12th century B.C.E., it was manufactured at numerous locations and at this time probably reverted from a factory production mode to a smaller-scale professional workshop mode.

Conclusions

Based on this stylistic study of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery in Canaan, several conclusions can be reached regarding the nature and origin of this biblical people. The Iron I inhabitants of Tel Miqne-Ekron clearly had a completely different origin from the preceding Late Bronze Age residents, an observation which is reflected in all aspects of the material culture. I suggest that they came as well-organized and relatively prosperous colonizers, representing a large-scale immigation. The newcomers quickly settled at several sites on the southern coastal plain. Their ability to construct rapidly urban centers (complete with fortifications at sites such as Tel Miqne-Ekron), and to overshadow the very modest Late Bronze Age settlement at the site, indicates that they were not destitute refugees who arrived in southern Canaan due to lack of choice. Rather, this appears to be a very deliberate act and may well indicate a previous acquaintance with this region, as is hinted at in the sporadic connections between Cyprus, Anatolia, and Canaan following the cessation of mass-produced 13th century B.C.E. Aegean and Cypriote imports.

These newcomers arrived with a different ceramic tradition, which is apparent not only in its shape and decorative style, but also in its technological style. It marks a clear break with the preceding Late Bronze Age assemblages of Canaan. Within a generation or two, their ceramic traditions began to acculturate, incorporating elements of the surrounding indigenous culture as is evidenced in the bichrome pottery assemblage which developed out of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery. When considered together with the biblical and Egyptian texts and the stratigraphic evidence, the appearance of large quantities of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery and its associated assemblages at several Pentapolis cities during the 12th century B.C.E. in the southern coastal plain of Canaan represents the initial settlement of the Philistines.

Notes

1. Style, as a methodological approach, is unavoidable in archaeological analysis. It defines artifact types and cultural affiliation. It can be studied at many levels—on the individual, group, or societal level. It includes the visual appearance (i.e. typology) as well as less visible aspects such as the production processes which produced it (i.e. technology). Style cannot be separated from its social contexts which bestow material culture their meaning and social values. However despite the fact that style is inseparable from archaeological analysis, it is highly subjective, difficult to define, and ambiguous by nature. For a comprehensive discussion of the history of stylistic analysis see Conkey 1990; Conkey and Hastorf 1990.

2. For a discussion of Mycenaean IIIC pottery in the Aegean see Desborough 1964:3–28; Schachermeyr 1980; Sherratt 1981, 1985; and Mountjoy 1986: 134–193.

3. See Åström 1972a:272–288; French and Åström 1980; Kling 1984, 1987, 1989a, 1989b, 1991; Sherratt and Crouwel 1987; Sherratt 1991; Leonard 1994:6–10 for a discussion of these terms and development of Cypriote LC IIB–IIIA ceramic terminology.

4. Very little research has been conducted on the functional use of ceramic vessels in this region. Several noteworthy exceptions dealing with ceramic typologies based on vessel function is H. J. Franken's (1992:164–165) analysis of Late Bronze Age pottery at Tell Deir Alla, R. Holthoer's 1977 study of Egyptian pottery in Nubia, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1982 catalogue of an exhibit of New Kingdom objects, and A. Leonard's 1981 article on morphological variation in Mycenaean pottery from the southeast Mediterranean (see also Leonard et al. 1993). See also Mazzoni (1994) and Caneva (1994) for an analysis of container shape vs. function of drinking vessels from Ebla and ancient Sudan respectively. See Killebrew 1998b for a discussion of this approach in light of 13th and 12th century B.C.E. pottery produced in Canaan.

5. Furumark 1941a:636; 1992: pls. 161–162, pl. 162:296. It should be noted that Furumark (1944: 235–236) classified it as Decorated Late Cypriote III.

6. P. Mountjoy (1986:133) published two additional examples of FS 296 dating to Late Helladic IIIB2 levels from Tiryns. However she notes that this type did not become popular until the Late Helladic IIIC period. Several examples of bowl type FS 296, similar to those known from Cyprus, were recovered from a Late Bronze II tomb at Sarepta (Baramki 1959: nos. 42 [pl. XV:42] and 43 [pl. XV:43] where he terms these bowls Cypro-Mycenaean ware).

7. The spiral in the interior was an especially popular feature during all periods in Cyprus. In the Argolid it has been regarded as a criterion of the beginning of the LH IIIC (French 1969a:135). Attempts have been made to demonstrate the chronological overlap of the LC IIC in Cyprus with LH IIIC in the Aegean (Heuck 1981:68) or as a possible local Cypriote development which preceded the introduction of this feature in Argive ceramics (Russell 1983:111; Demas 1984:203). It should be noted that spirals in the interior of open vessels appear in the Argolid already during the LH IIIB (French 1967:167, fig. 12.97) and on open vessels from Crete during LM IIIB (Kanta 1980:258; see Kling 1989b:134 for a detailed discussion).

8. P. Dikaios (1969–1971) termed these bowls decorated in a matt-paint as Late Mycenaean IIIB.

9. Conical bowls with plain rims equals J. L. Benson's (1972:81–83) Type 3 Decorated Late Cypriote III bowl at Kourion, F.-G. Maier's (1985) Types I and IV Decorated Late Cypriote bowls from Kouklia, and P. Åström's (1972a:282) White Painted Wheelmade III Type IIIc. Conical bowls with simple rims are known from Kition (Late Cypriote IIC examples classified as Late Mycenaean IIIB bowls: Karageorghis 1974: pls. CXXIX:188; CXXX:145, 147, 148; CXLVII:50, 57, 58; Late Cypriote IIIA examples classified as Late Mycenaean IIIB bowls: Karageorghis 1974: pls. CLVI:11, 36, 42, 162; CLVIII:2, 32, 63; CLXI:197; Karageorghis 1985:96, 114; pls. CIX:2238, 5289; CXIII:3269; Maa-Palaeokastro: Floor II (LC IIC/LC IIIA): Karageorghis and Demas 1988: pls. XLII:98; CLXX:98; Athienou: Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: Stratum III: shallow version (Late Mycenaean IIIB) fig. 13:23; deeper version: fig. 50:4; Hala Sultan Tekke: Hult 1978:60; fig. 131 [White Painted Wheel-made III]; Enkomi: Tomb 18: Schaeffer 1952: figs. 98; 100:4; between Floors VI and V: Dikaios 1969: pl. 113:5908/1; Courtois 1981: fig. 158:2; see Kling 1989b:131–134 for a detailed discussion of the Cypriote evidence.

10. Conical bowls with out-turned rims have been classified by J. L. Benson (1972:111–112) as Mycenaean Bowl Type 1b and by F.-G. Maier (1985) as Decorated Late Cypriote III ware Type II. They are known from Kition (Late Cypriote IIC examples classified as Late Mycenaean IIIB bowls: Karageorghis 1974: pl. CXXIX:149, 204; Late Cypriote IIIA examples classified as Late Mycenaean IIIB bowls: Karageorghis 1974: pl. CLX:137; Karageorghis et al. 1981:

17; no. 14; pls. V:14; XIV:27; Karageorghis 1985:95). At Hala Sultan Tekke, they are designated as Mycenaean IIIB and have a "polished slip" (Hult 1978:60: fig. 129).

11. Bowls with plain rims, the most popular type in Cyprus, have been present as early as LC IA; see Kling 1989b:133–134 for a detailed description.

12. Mountjoy 1986:132–133, fig. 164:1–2; B. Kling (1989b:134) has suggested that bowls with this rim type may reflect inspiration from the imported Mycenaean bowls.

13. Kouklia: Maier 1969: pl. 3:4; Sinda: Period II: Furumark 1965:114; pl. I: bottom right hand corner; Enkomi: Level IIB: Dikaios 1969: pl. 67:22; Levels IIIA–IIIC: Dikaios 1969: pls. 122:3; 123:9; Maa-Palaeokastro: Floor II (LC IIC/LC IIIA): Karageorghis and Demas 1988:124, pls. LXXVIII:590; CXCII:590; p. 141; pls. XCVIII:136; CCVII:36 and many other examples; Athienou: Stratum III: Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:111, fig. 50:1–3 (pl. 33:3); Hala Sultan Tekke: Layer 2: Ubrink 1979: fig. 200; Kition: Tomb 9: Karageorghis 1974: pl. LXXI: no. 81; Tomb 9 (upper): Karageorghis 1974: pl. CLXII:no. 336; Kourion: LC III: Benson 1972: pl. 21:B441, B442, B445, B449, B452, B468.

14. Furumark 1941a:636; French 1967:175–177; fig. 18; 1969a:135, continuing into Late Helladic IIIC (see e.g. Phylakopi: Mountjoy 1985:192; fig. 5.20:364–368; note that many of the vessels are "polished").

15. Kling 1989b:94–95, Fig. 3a. Åström (1972a:280, Type II, Deep Bowl) classified the skyphos shape as part of his White Painted Wheelmade III but originally catalogued most examples as Mycenaean II-IC:1a and b (Åström 1972a:375–377). Bell-shaped bowls from Hala Sultan Tekke have been assinged to White Painted Wheelmade III ware (Åström et al. 1977:93; see Kling 1989b:106 for a detailed discussion).

16. See e.g. Stratum XIII: M. Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 13:1; Stratum XIIIb: M. Dothan and Porath 1993: small bowls: fig. 14:9–15, 17–18; large bowls: figs. 14:16, 19, 21–23; 16:7–10; Stratum XII: M. Dothan and Porath 1993: small bowls: fig. 26:2, 8, 10; large bowls: fig. 26:1,3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14; Stratum XI: M. Dothan and Porath 1993: fig. 40:1, 2.

17. Sarepta: Herscher 1975: fig. 52:1–3; Koehl 1985:119–120, nos. 192–197; figs. 8, 20; Ras Ibn Hani: e.g. Bounni et al. 1978:281, fig. 28; 1979:240, fig. 19.

18. See e.g. T. Dothan 1982:98–106 and Mazar 1985b:87–90 for a comprehensive discussion of bichrome and red slipped bell-shaped bowls in Canaan. At Tell Qasile the bell-shaped bowls painted with a bichrome design appear in Strata XII–X. Examples from Stratum XII are generally white slipped contining into Stratum XI. Other bowls from Stratum XI are unslipped or have an unburnished red slip with black decoration (Mazar 1985b:88). The most prevalent motif at Tell Qasile is the spiral while bowls with horizontal bands are almost entirely lacking (Mazar 1985b:90). Similar bell-shaped bowls with red slip also appear at Ashdod in Strata XII–XI (M. Dothan 1971: fig. 74:2–3).

19. Furumark 1941a:634; French 1966:222; 1967:169; 1969b:74–75, 87; Wardle 1969:273–275; 1973: 311–318, 334–336; Mountjoy 1976:87–90; 1985: 181–185; figs. 5.8; 5.16–5.18; 1986:93, 117–118, 121, 129–131, 134, 149–151, 176–178; Sherratt 1980, 1981:566; see Kling 1989b:106 for a summary.

20. See e.g. Enkomi: Schaeffer 1952: fig. 114; Level IIIA: Dikaios 1971: pls. 306–307; Pyla-Kokkinokremos: Karageorghis and Demas 1984: pl. XXXV: 1952/22, 1952/23; Kouklia: Maier 1969:40, pls. 4:5–6; 5:1–2; Kition: Karageorghis et al. 1981: pl. 7:32, 40; Karageorghis and Demas 1985: Floors IIIA–IV: pl. XL:927; Floor III: pl. XLIV:896/1, 896/2, 906/1, 912/1, 931/1; Maa-Palaeokastro: Karageorghis and Demas 1988: numerous examples from Floor II (LC IIC/LC IIIA)–Floor I (LC IIIA)—see e.g. Kling 1988:317–327 for a detailed discussion of the Maa skyphoi; Athienou: Stratum II: Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:115–117; fig. 53 (pls. 36:1, 2; 37:1, 2); Hala Sultan Tekke: Layer 3: Öbrink 1979:37; fig. 184 (White Painted Wheel-made III).

21. See e.g.: E. S. Sherratt and Crouwell 1987:332, fig. 4:8; Tarsus: Goldman 1956:220–221; pls. 330, 331, 334, 335; French 1975: figs. 10, 13, 17, 18.

22. Linear decoration on this shape has been identified as a criterion of the beginning of LH IIIC in the Argolid (French 1969a:135; Rutter 1977:2, who places it in his phase 2 of Mycenaean IIIC: Iakovidis 1969–1970: vol. B:225–226).

23. See e.g. LC IIC: Kition Floor IV: Pastoral style: Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pl. IX:1140; LC IIC/IIIA: Athienou: Stratum III: Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:49; fig. 13:1; Enkomi: Level IIB: Dikaios 1969:249–250.

24. See e.g. LC IIIA: Enkomi: Level IIIA: Dikaios 1969:263–264; Maa-Palaeokastro: see Kling 1988:327 for a summary; Kition: Myc. IIIC:1 krater: Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pl. XIV:129/1; Floor III: Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pl. XIX: 914/1; 907/B; LC IIIA/IIIB: Kition: Floor III: Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pl. XCIV:914/1, and continuing into the LC IIIB; see Kling 1989b:126 for a detailed discussion.

25. Furumark 1941a:635–636 who dates FS 291 to the Late Helladic IIIC. This type has concave sides with an angular profile. Only one straight-sided kalathos, originating from Mycenae, is catalogued by Furumark.

26. P. Dikaios (1969:267, no. 3845/4) compared this form to kalathoi in the mainland, on Rhodes and at Perati, where LH IIIC examples are common and appear in several variations. B. Kling (1989b:147) concurs with Sherratt's suggestion that the shape was introduced to Cyprus from the Aegean, probably the Dodecanese.

27. It has been classified under many different terms such as Gjerstad's (1926:223) Submycenaean Jug 9 Sjöqvist's (1940:67, fig. 18) Painted Submycenaean Jug Type 2; Furumark's (1944:234–235; 236–237; fig. 10) Decorated Late Cypriote III Type I, and Åström's (1972a:286–287) White Painted Wheelmade III Type Xb. See Kling 1988:331–332 and 1989b:160, fig. 17c, for a detailed discussion of the Cypriote evidence.

28. See Furumark 1941a:609, FS 158, 159. Daniel (1942:292) and Dothan (1982:157) also suggested and Aegean origin for this shape.

29. See e.g. Ialysos (Maiuri 1923–4:142, fig. 63; Jacopi 1930–31:259, fig. 4); Amorgos (Morricone 1965–66: 252); Chalcis (Morricone 1965–66: note 1); Kos (Morricone 1965–66:250–251, fig. 276) and especially Sherratt 1981:455–461 and Kling 1989b:160 for a detailed discussion.

30. See e.g. Furumark 1941a: FS 105, 110, 116. Furumark's FS 116 (1941a:603), the Levanto-Helladic type, was distinguished by its higher neck.

31. Several models, based mainly on the ethnographic record, have been proposed to describe the organization of pottery production (see e.g. Balfet 1965:162–163; van der Leeuw 1976, 1984; Peacock 1981, 1982; Redman and Myers 1981:289–290; Rice 1981; Tosi 1984:23–24; Santley, Arnold and Pool 1989). These different production models consider technological features, such as formation techniques and variability in both raw materials and products as well as ecological, economic, and social criteria such as frequently and seasonality of production, number of workers, their age, sex, and status, degree of labor division, kind and extent of investment in special spaces or tools and proximity of consuming groups (Rice 1987:183–184). S. E. van der Leeuw (1976: 394–398; 402–403) has divided pottery production into six different states of pottery economy which can be defined by certain technological and economic characteristics. His "states" are based on modes of production which can be divided into two basic industries: (a) domestic production, including (1) household production and (2) household industries; and (b) professional production, including (3) workshop industries, (4) village industries, (5) large-scale industries, and (6) individual industries. In general, as pottery production becomes a profession and full-time activitiy, standardization, range and number of items, and technological complexity increases.

32. Large-scale factory industry is characterized by substantial capital investment in production for a maximum output and minimal cost per unit (van der Leeuw 1976:397). Innovations which have maximized efficiency are utilized. Thus production is full-time for the entire year (Arnold 1985:230–231). Full-time professional potters are employed in this type of pottery production, along with full-time hired hands. The technological level of large-scale industries is high, utilizing the wheel, case, or press. Each vessel type serves a particular function. Examples of this type of production center are the Terra Sigillata factories of the Roman world. The highly specialized clays were prepared so as to suit the unique and specific manufacture methods used in factories.

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13

Cultural Innovations in Cyprus Relating to the Sea Peoples

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By far the largest part of my archaeological activities during the last fifteen years, both in the field and in publications, has been devoted to the problems of the end of the Late Bronze Age with particular reference to Cyprus. I, therefore, run the risk of repeating myself. In fact, about one year ago a colleague, reviewing the proceedings of a recently held international conference on the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age, referred to my contribution as "Karageorghis summarizes his often expounded views on the end of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus," without supporting or refuting them (Rupp 1993:802). I am fully aware that the few decades around 1200 B.C.E. constitute a slippery ground for all those who attempt to tread over it, and we have not yet reached a consensus as to how the cultural changes that came about in the Levant and Cyprus should be interpreted; who caused them, if they were really changes, and when exactly did they occur. There is no doubt that Cyprus is situated right at the heart of the problem, the more so because these cultural changes had a lasting effect on the political and cultural evolution of the Cypriots; if the U.N. has been called upon, for the last 30 years or so, to solve what is known as the "Cyprus Problem," a historian should seek its roots in what happened around 1200 B.C.E. Of all the lands visited by the Sea Peoples, only in Cyprus do we witness the effects of their activities more than 3000 years afterward. Being a Cypriot, I often find myself in an embarrassing position, always running the risk of being influenced, or of being accused of having been influenced in my scholarship by present-day politics in Cyprus. A Syrian, an Israeli, or an Egyptian is in a much easier position in their research into the cultural changes, if any, in their respective countries at the time of the Sea Peoples.

This having been said, I will attempt an "overview" of the subject, as far as possible, without entering into detail on chronological controversies or into problems relating to the ethnic identity of the various branches of the Sea Peoples. In this respect, however, I am tempted to mention a suggestion that was made recently by Merrillees: that the Sea Peoples were pirates who were disrupting the economic and commercial life in the Eastern Mediterranean ca. 1200 B.C.E., as a result of the expansion of maritime trade. "The marauders became settlers, establishing the roots of the Greek-speaking community which was destined to supplant all other linguistic groups, both indigenous and imported" (Merrillees 1992:91). Though this speculation leaves quite a number of questions as to how the marauders become settlers (or should one say the marauders were followed by Greek-speaking settlers?), we mention it here because of its novelty.

In this overview I will inevitably have to repeat quite a number of arguments and ideas that I have expressed elsewhere in print. I shall try to be very brief on matters on which I have already published my ideas, and devote more time to exploring some new directions. Various aspects of the cultural changes referred to above will be surveyed in turn.

Pottery

The appearance in Cyprus of new ceramic styles just after ca. 1200 is a fact that nobody denies. Analyses have shown that at least some of the Mycenaean-style pottery found in Cyprus, imitating the forms and the decoration of vessel types known from the Aegean, was made with Cypriote clay at the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E., as it was also locally made in several sites in the Levant (see recently a general survey by Stager 1995:334–336). This pottery, often referred to as Myc.IIIC:1b locally made, almost completely ousted the traditional Cypriote fabrics, the Base-ring and White Slip wares, which for centuries had been the dominant local fine wares (Figs. 13.1, 2).

It must be stressed that no imported Myc.IIIC:1 pottery has yet been found in Cyprus or in the Levant. A few fragments and one complete skyphos from Enkomi may be classified as Myc.IIIB:2 (Karageorghis and Demas 1984:47). Thus it seems clear that Myc.IIIC:1b–type pottery was not imitated by Cypriots following imported models, but rather was created by potters who were accustomed to this style in their own homelands. It is true that the Cypriots started imitating Mycenaean pottery, especially the shallow conical bowls, at the very end of LCIIC, at a time when Mycenaean pottery was becoming rather rare. The assemblage of such vases found in a well at Kalavassos is a good example; most of the bowls and cups are true Mycenaean but there were also several local imitations (South 1988:228, fig. 2, pl. XXXV).

Several scholars have underlined elements of "continuity" in ceramic production from the LCIIC to the

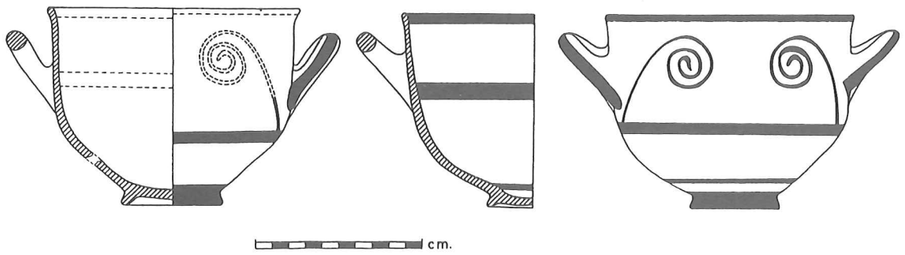


Figure 13.1. Pyla-Kokkinokremos. *Myc.IIIC:1b skyphoi.*

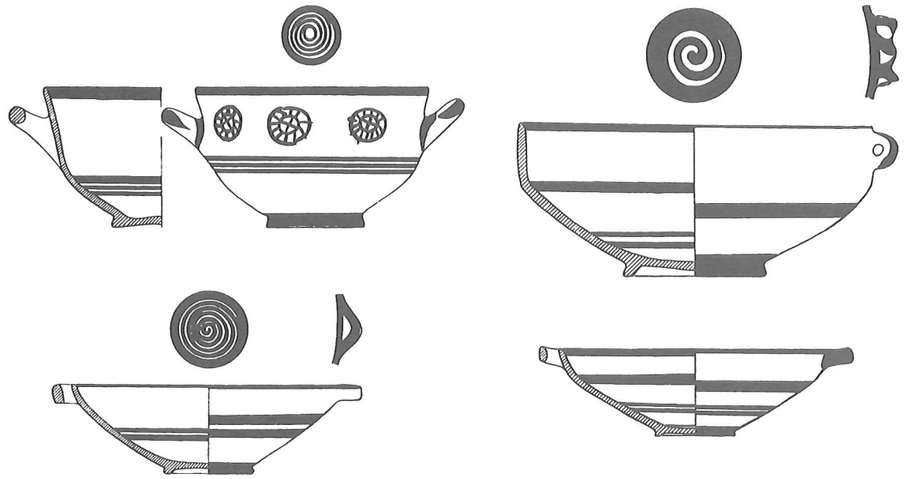


Figure 13.2. Palaepaphos-Mantissa. *Skyphos and bowls, locally made.*

LCIIIA period, minimizing the importance of the stylistic changes that occurred with the massive appearance of the new, Myc.IIIC:1b style (cf. Kling 1989a, 1989b; Sherratt 1991). It is not surprising, however, that neither in pottery production nor in any other aspect of material culture was there an immediate and total eclipse of local style. The newcomers did not eradicate the existing Cypriote material culture, which had reached a high level of development during LCIIC–LCIIIA and was deeply rooted in the island.

The affinity of the new types to Aegean pottery cannot be disputed, and they can hardly be dissociated from the bulk of the other cultural changes that occurred at the same time in the island. It should be said, however, that up to now we cannot pinpoint one particular region in the Aegean with which the Myc.IIIC:1b-style pottery of Cyprus may be associated. Much more work is needed before this becomes feasible. When the LHIIIC pottery of Crete, the Cyclades, and the Dodecanese becomes better known, perhaps such comparisons will become more convincing. But I agree with Susan Sherratt and others that the change of pottery styles alone does not necessarily prove the presence of a new population in the island (for a general discussion see Karageorghis 1994:2–4).

Since 1986, when the appearance of Handmade Burnished Ware in Cyprus was first recognized and associated with the arrival of a new population at sites such as the newly fortified military outpost of Maa-*Palaeokastro* (Karageorghis 1986) (Fig. 13.3), much ground has been covered in identifying and interpreting its appearance in the island soon after 1200 B.C.E. (for a bibliography see Pilides 1992:183–184). We shall not repeat the arguments we expressed at that time. The situation has been summarized in a recent study by Pilides (1992:182–183; see also *idem* 1994) as follows:

> Since HBW is a new ware on the island and since its introduction into the Cypriot ceramic repertoire coincides with the influx of locally made LHIIIC painted pottery on three sites (Sinda, Enkomi, Maa-*Palaeokastro*) and continues to occur, some of it probably imported, with locally made painted pottery of Late LH IIIC affinities, its arrival in Cyprus may be connected with the arrival of Aegean population elements. ... What the HBW evidence from Cyprus indicates is that a special group of people amongst the Mycenaeans for some reason favoured the use of this handmade pottery. Whatever their function or role in Mycenaean society, or whatever the functions of this pottery were, it arrived in Cyprus in association with the Mycenaean painted wares from the beginning of the LC III, and remained in use in small quantities down to the end of the Bronze Age and into the Early Cypro-Geometric.

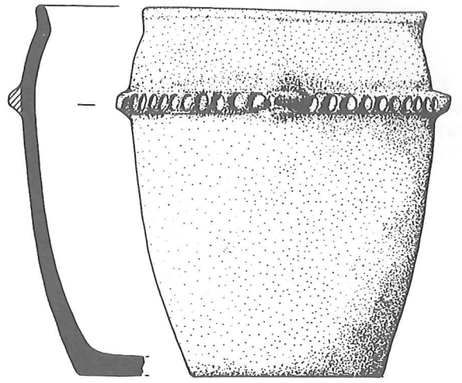


Figure 13.3. Maa-Palaeokastro. *Handmade Burnished Ware jar.*

Some useful conclusions may be drawn from a recent study of the so-called Trojan Grey Ware that was found at Tell Miqne-Ekron (Heuck Allen 1994). Its appearance in Cyprus has been observed at various sites, even in levels that may be dated after 1200 B.C.E. This very rightly induced Heuck Allen to suggest that "contacts between the east and the Aegean did not cease entirely after 1200 B.C.E. as has been generally believed" (ibid., p. 44). Thus Cyprus, and possibly Syria, where such pottery is found in early 12th-century contexts, "may have participated longer in the Aegean's dwindling contacts in the east" (ibid.). She finds that Muhly, who sharply criticized attempts to relate the occurrence of such ware in the east with the presence of Trojans at these sites "has gone too far by rejecting any relationship between the Grey Ware vessels in Cyprus and those at Troy" (ibid., 45). Her own interpretation of the evidence is:

> the latest vessels (of this ware) found in 12th century B.C.E. contexts and contemporary with Troy VIIa, represent trophies seized or the treasured personal possessions of a Trojan diaspora. ... So we may in part be discussing Troy VIIa inhabitants, refugees from Troy VIh, victors, or possible groups of marauding Sea Peoples ... Trade and migration hypotheses appear to indicate a small number of individuals with a few personal possessions who left Troy and ended up in Cyprus and the Levant (ibid.).

The importance of these conclusions is self-evident. They support the idea that a foreign ethnic presence appeared in Cyprus as well as in the Levant (see recently Stager 1995) early in the 12th century B.C.E.

Coroplastic Art

Turning now to coroplastic art, we notice profound changes, which may be connected with the radical social and religious innovations that occurred in Cypriote society during the Late Cypriote IIIA period. Whereas before ca. 1200 B.C.E. the predominant types of figurines (usually placed in tombs) were nude female figurines and bull-shaped rhyta, both associated with fertility, we now witness the appearance of new styles of anthropomorphic figurines that were either imported from the Aegean or imitated Aegean types, as well as bovine figurines with strong Aegean typological affinities (Fig. 13.4). Patrick Begg proposed a theory according to which the figurines of female figures (his Type II) were used as personal amulets in tombs, or as symbols in foundation deposits ensuring the continuing good fortune of a structure, while figurines of his Types I (anthropomorphic, Aegean-inspired representations) (Fig. 13.5) and III (Aegean-inspired bovid examples) (Fig. 13.6) are associated mainly with ritual structures (Begg 1991:32). He stresses the foreign-inspired iconography of his Type I and III figurines and suggests that:

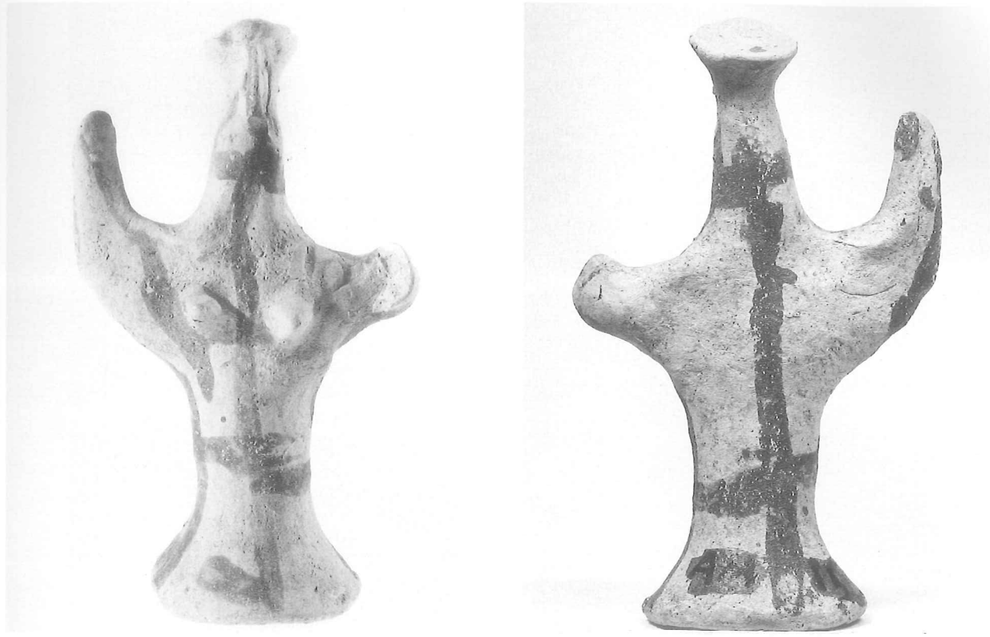
> an élite level of Late Cypriot society cultivated strong links with the dominant religion of the period in order to legitimise and further cement their position. The external symbols of this situation can be found in the shape of foreign-derived iconographical objects—Types I and III figurines, while the lower strata of society could only claim access to rather socially ubiquitous good-luck charms in the shape of Type II figurines (ibid., p. 53).

Who were these élite people in Cypriote society of the LCIII period? Certainly they did not derive from old aristocratic levels, which existed in earlier periods, but were a new economic élite, who were seeking the assistance of religious cult in order to succeed and justify their role. The life-blood of the economy of the island, as Begg suggests,

> was provided by metallurgical and agrarian industries, and both appear to have required a very deliberate ritual involvement. What it is important to realise is that the cultic representations present in these situations are those with a basis in the élite levels of worship. Bearing this in mind, it is certainly plausible to posit the connection between Types I and III figurines, cult, Late Cypriot élites, and industrial/economic institutions. Clearly, therefore, religion—and by extension its physical manifestation—was vital not only in a spiritual, but also in a very secular sense to Late Bronze Age Cypriots' (ibid., p. 54).

Figure 13.4. Terracotta figurine from Hala Sultan Tekke (photo Paul Åström).

Figure 13.6. Terracotta figurine from Enkomi, Musée du Louvre, AM2100 (photo Réunion des Musées Nationaux).



Figures 13.5a, b. Terracotta figurine from Cyprus, Musée du Louvre, AM159 (photo Réunion des Musées Nationaux).

Within this social and religious context we may interpret the appearance of the important and imposing sanctuaries of Enkomi, Kition, and Myrtou-*Pigadhes* (Figs. 13.7, 8), with their respective cult symbols, particularly the figurines of Begg's Types I and III mentioned above, but also the two well-known bronze figurines that were used as cult statues at Enkomi, the "Horned God" and the "Ingot God," the latter quite clearly justifying Begg's theory. This is a theme that has been expounded in great detail on several occasions by Knapp and others (for references, see Begg 1991; see also Knapp 1988). Such profound social, economic, and religious changes could not have occurred so suddenly had it not been for new ideas that were due to a new ethnic element that settled in Cyprus just after 1200 B.C.E.

In our recent study of the coroplastic art of Cyprus in this period attention was drawn to the Mycenaean and Minoan affinities of the bull figurines with wheel-made bodies (cf. also Kourou and Karetsou 1994). They have painted decoration, and are naturalistically rendered, with a dewlap, genitals, muzzle, and shoulder hump. Similar figurines existed during the same period in the Aegean (Karageorghis 1993:35–43).

A similar observation may be made about the new types of anthropomorphic figurines. The changes are manifested both in the style of some of the new types of figurines, recalling features of Aegean figurines, but also in the increased numbers of male figurines, compared to the LCII period (ibid., pp. 26–32). These changes were already noted by Catling in 1971 (Catling 1971:30–31; cf. also *idem,* 1994a:149). Particularly worthy of mention are two female figurines of Aegean type, which are made of Cypriote clay and have matte-painted decoration; both were found in Cyprus. The first is in the Louvre (Karageorghis 1993:no. K(i)10); it has been described by Catling (1994a:150) as Mycenaean rather than an imitation, but he obviously has not examined the clay and paint of the figurine.[1] The other was discovered at Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström et al. 1983:68, N 2000, figs. 285 and 286).

Female figurines of Aegean appearance are also known in the 12th century B.C.E. in the Levant (Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, and Tell Qasile (Dothan 1982:234–249).

Figure 13.7. Enkomi. The Sanctuary of the Horned God (photo Cyprus Museum).

Bronzework

Ever since the publication of Catling's basic work on Cypriote bronzework during the Late Bronze Age it has been clear that the flourishing of metalworking in Cyprus during the 12th century B.C.E. may have owed much to the technological skills of the new Mycenean immigrants, as well as to Levantine influences (Catling 1964:299–302; *idem* 1984, 77–78; *idem* 1986). At the same time Cyprus was a center of innovation in ironworking, which again may be partly attributable to the metallurgical skills of the new immigrants (Karageorghis 1994:4–6). The question of ironworking in Cyprus has been extensively discussed by various scholars (for references see ibid.). The possibility that Italy may have been the source of iron may be strengthened if we consider that this area may also have provided other commodities, in addition to metals: for example, alum, "an important mineral in leather working, textile dyeing, pharmacy and wood construction (Jones and Vagnetti 1991:141).

We have already referred to the Aegean connections of the two bronze statues (the Horned God and Ingot God) from Enkomi, though their Levantine connections (as well as those of other bronze figurines of the same period) cannot be denied. There was also a considerable increase in production of other bronze figurines, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic, mainly of bulls. Furthermore we should mention the introduction of weapons of a Mycenaean type (Naue II–type swords and bronze greaves) (Fig. 13.9), both necessitated as a result of the adoption of the rail-type chariot, which was introduced from the Aegean. To these may be added items of personal use, such as fibulae, which constitute an innovation, gradually replacing the traditional Cypriote pin. It is not necessary to expand in detail on these new elements in Cypriote bronzework, which have already been discussed elsewhere (Karageorghis 1990a:27–30; *idem.* 1992:81)

*Figure 13.8. Myrtou-*Pigadhes. *The sanctuary (photo Cyprus Museum).*

Religious Symbols

Although the ground plans of sanctuaries erected just after ca. 1200 B.C.E. are based on Levantine architectural tradition, as seen at Kition, at the same time there were some interesting innovations in the use of religious symbols. In some of the major sacred areas of the island, namely at Kition, Palaepaphos, and Myrtou-*Phigadhes* "horns of consecration" have been found, in association with monumental altars (Karageorghis 1990a:28). This symbol also occurs on a cultic trough from Pyla-*Kokkinokremos* (Karageorghis 1976:76–78) and as part of the decoration of a locally made crater from Hala Sultan Tekke (Karageorghis 1990a:16, pl. X:1) (Fig. 13.10). Religious symbols appear very frequently on LMIIIB sarcophagi (e.g., Kanta 1980: pls. 36.1 and 113.1) as well as on LMIIIB vases (e.g., Tzedakis 1970:111–112; Popham 1970: fig. 3); one such vase was found at Pyla-*Kokkinokremos* in Cyprus (Dikaios 1969: pl. 237:1).

Ship Iconography

Ten years ago when Basch and Artzy studied the graffiti of ships engraved on the south wall of Temple 1 at Kition (Basch and Artzy 1985) (Fig. 13.11), they hesitated to pronounce on the identification of the engravers. However, they compared the representations with Mycenaean ships of the end of the Late Bronze Age, and did not exclude their identification with the ships of the Sea Peoples (ibid., p. 336),

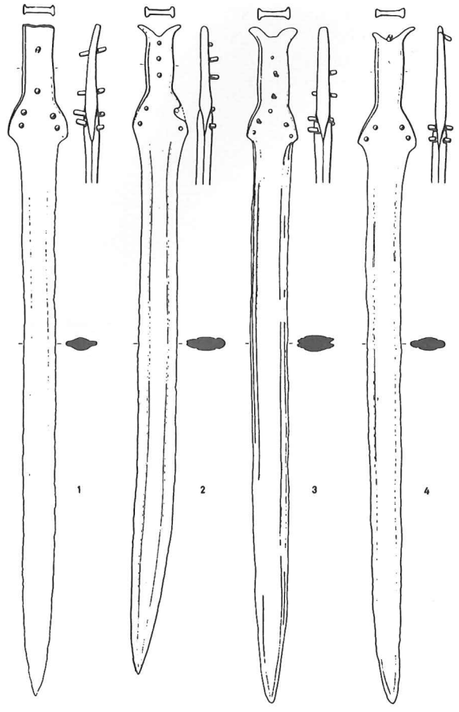


Figure 13.9. Bronze swords from Enkomi (after Schaeffer 1952:410, fig. 18).

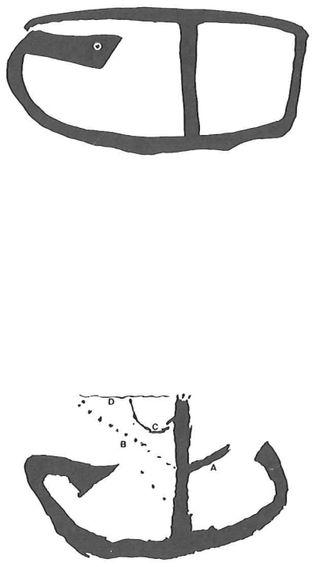


Figure 13.11. Drawings of ships engraved on stones at Kition.

Figure 13.10. Two fragments from a crater from Hala Sultan Tekke (photo Cyprus Museum).

with their inwardly curved "fan" on the stem. In a communication read in an international symposium in 1994 Wachsmann was more explicit. In studying five depictions of Sea Peoples' vessels as they appear in Ramesses III's sea battle relief at Medinet Habu, he concludes: "these ships' architecture indicates that their prototype was an oared vessel with an open rower's gallery that finds its closest parallels in contemporary Aegean (Mycenaean) ships. The bird-head device capping the stems of the Medinet Habu ships finds exact parallels in Aegean stem devices" (Wachsmann 1997:35, and in this volume; see also Basch 1994).

Loomweights

A large number of reels of unbaked clay, almost always in association with loomweights, have been found at sites such as Kition and Enkomi. A satisfactory interpretation of these objects has not yet been reached. L. Stager found 150 such reels at Ashkelon, in levels dating to the 12th century B.C.E. He compared them with those of Enkomi and Kition, but also with similar objects from Tiryns, Pylos, and Mycenae (Stager 1991:36–37, and n.12 for references; *idem* 1995:346). We may mention also some identical objects found at Knossos in Late Minoan IIIc levels, which have been associated with "gaming tables" (Warren 1982–1983:85, figs. 58, 73). Other scholars consider them loomweights. Stager considers that these reels, identified as loomweights, which occur also at Tel Miqne-Ekron at the same period, provide "persuasive evidence" that they were "made and used by immigrant weavers" of Mycenaean origin. Though this proposal is very attractive, and the occurrence of these reels in the Aegean, Cyprus, and the Levant at the same time cannot be a coincidence, we need further research as to their possible use. Barber, in her excellent survey on ancient textiles, also associates these loomweights with the Sea Peoples (Barber 1991:302–303).

Tomb Architecture

Dikaios was very preoccupied by the appearance of the pit or shaft grave in the tomb architecture of Enkomi in the LCIIIA and B periods (Fig. 13.12), and he tried to explain it with various scenarios: that these tombs were used for emergency burials or for the autochthonous or less important people, and that the regular burials of more important people were made in separate cemeteries, perhaps outside the city wall, which have not yet been found. He realized, however, that "the problem is complex and pending further investigation ... final judgement should be withheld" (Dikaios 1969:431–433). A similar pit burial was found at Kition, which we dated to the end of the LCIIIA to the beginning of the LCIIIB period (Karageorghis 1960:514, 568–569). Dikaios stressed the fact that in some of these tombs no gifts at all were found, and in others all the gifts were Cypriote, with no Myc.IIIC:1b–type pottery. It is true that this problem is evident at other Late Bronze Age sites in Cyprus.

At Palaepaphos, however, the picture is different. The excavator, F. G. Maier, reports:

> Part of the cemetery of the first Achaean immigrants has been discovered at Palaepaphos, in contrast to contemporary sites in the east of the island. The Tomb in the Fosse contained three significant Mycenaean IIIC:1 deep bowls; not far from it the burial with exclusively Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery was excavated; the Mycenaean pottery found in the Gate area on Site KA, coming most likely from destroyed tombs, yielded more Mycenaean IIIC:1 material. All this seems to provide evidence for the possible cemetery of the Achaeans. It is tempting to think that the new settlers preferred the higher burial grounds of *Marcello* and upper *Kaminia,* while the local population continued to bury their dead on the slopes of lower *Kaminia* and *Mantissa,* but this is a somewhat speculative hypothesis (Maier, in Maier and Karageorghis 1984:79).

It is unfortunate that a considerable proportion of the material (21 out of a total of 47 tombs) is not yet published. We have in mind the 21 shaft graves excavated at Palaepaphos-*Kaminia* by the British Mission of the St. Andrews and Liverpool Museums in 1950–1954 and which, forty years afterward, still remains unpublished (Catling 1979). These tombs are even more intriguing in the light of the short ac-

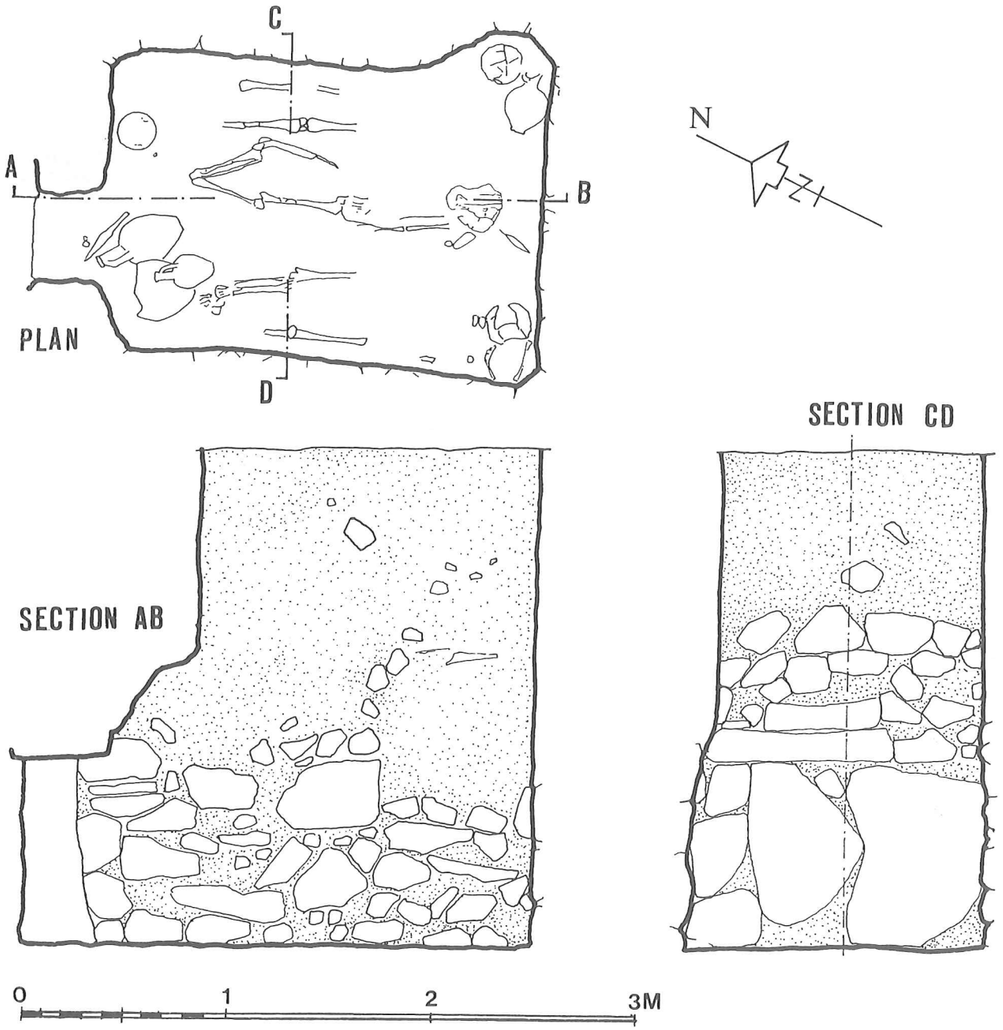


Figure 13.12. Shaft grave from Enkomi (after Schaeffer 1952:231, fig. 85).

count of them published by Catling (ibid.), who dates the cemetery to the LCIIIA–IIIB periods and underlines its "great potential interest" and "its suggestion of a marked distinction, whether of race or class, within the 12th century B.C.E. population of Kouklia" (ibid., p. 273).

At Hala Sultan Tekke a shaft grave was excavated, Tomb 23, which has been dated to "the transition between LCIIIA1 and LCIIIA2, c.1175 B.C." (following Åström's dating of the LCIIIA period; Åström et al. 1983:183). Niklasson, who excavated this tomb, proposes that the burial

> took place immediately or a short time after some of the buildings in the settlement had collapsed; this destruction seems to coincide with a series of catastrophes attested at several other, Late Cypriote IIIA1, occupation sites. It may be possible to connect these events with the ravaging of the so-called Sea Peoples, whose raids were ended by their defeat by Ramesses III in his eighth regnal year, c. 1176 B.C. (ibid., p. 185).

Karin Niklasson-Sönnerby made a useful general survey of all the shaft graves of the LCIII period hitherto found (Niklasson-Sönnerby 1987). A brief summary may be given here. The shaft graves are either rectangular or mere pits, dug in the rock or in earth, just large enough to provide room for the dead to be buried in a dorsal outstretched position with a few tomb gifts. Some are elaborately constructed, entirely or partially lined with rubble or masonry. The dead were accompanied by only a few personal objects, unlike the abundance of gifts attested to in the chamber tombs of the preceding period. The only exceptions are the rich burial in a shaft grave at Hala Sultan Tekke (mentioned above), where an adult was buried with a large number of rich gifts, and another rich shaft grave found at Kourion-*Kaloriziki*, Tomb 40, dating to the end of the LCIII period, where a rich assemblage of objects was found, including the famous gold and enamel scepter. The dead were cremated and there is strong evidence that the people buried in this tomb were of Greek origin (McFadden 1954:134; Niklasson-Sönnerby 1987:224). While admitting that this change in funerary architecture in the LCIII period may be interpreted as "based on changes due to external factors" (ibid. 1977:225), Niklasson-Sönnerby is not specific as to how these changes came about. She would rather agree with Dikaios that those buried in the shaft graves, at Enkomi at least, were Cypriots who remained in the town after the destruction of Level IIC and the erection of the Level IIIA buildings (ibid.). This explanation is not very satisfactory, however, if we consider that the phenomenon of the shaft graves is not one isolated at Enkomi, but that it occurs also at Kition, Kourion, Palaepaphos, and Hala Sultan Tekke. Although we have nothing more precise to offer, we would record it as yet another novelty in the culture of Cyprus in LCIIIA, without excluding an influence from the Aegean. Whether this was the result of unstable conditions of poverty in the island (Iacovou 1994:158–159) or a result of uncertainty until the final abandonment of earlier cemeteries and the establishment of new ones, with the specifically Mycenaean-type tombs as seen at Alaas and elsewhere (ibid.) is a matter that should be investigated further. In the meantime it is interesting to note that similar phenomena (pit graves or cists) existed also in LHIIIC Greece, alongside reused chamber tombs (Iacovides 1970:22–25; Dickinson 1983:66–67; idem 1994:228, 231; Hood 1991:910), and in LMIII Crete (Evans 1906:11–15; Hood 1958–1959).

In this respect we should also like to mention a type of tomb that is known in LMIII Crete (Khania and Knossos) and that also appears in the 11th century B.C.E. cemeteries of Alaas and Lapithos in Cyprus. In the publication of the cemetery of Alaas we suggested that this type of tomb was probably an adaptation of local Cypriote traditions. Hallager and McGeorge (1992:45), commenting on this type of tomb as it appears at Khania and Knossos, suggested a Cypriote origin, while Catling (1994b:35) very recently proposed that this is an Aegean-type tomb, a suggestion to which we would subscribe. At Zapher Papoura (Evans 1906:15–21, figs. 11a, b, and c) this type appears as early as the LMIIIA2 period. The "pit-cave" could also be compared with a type occurring at Perati in the 12th century B.C.E. (Iakovides 1970: 24–25), for which, however, Catling proposes a different ancestry (personal communication, 9.3.95). At Knossos, the pit-cave also appears in the 11th century B.C.E. for the internment of cremated remains, which makes the connection with the Alaas tomb even more direct (Catling, 1994b:135).

Military Architecture

We have argued elsewhere that the introduction of "Cyclopean"-type walls at the very beginning of the LCIIIA period at Enkomi, Kition, Sinda, and Maa-*Palaeokastro* was (Fig. 13.13) due to the arrival of Mycenaean settlers in Cyprus (Karageorghis and Demas 1988:63–64; Karageorghis 1992:81). Is it acci-

dental that this major architecture should occur at sites where quite a number of other cultural changes occurred during the same period? This phenomenon, taken together with all these changes (ibid., pp. 80–81), is significant for determining the identity of those who caused it.

Hearths[2]

The appearance in Cyprus in the LCIIIA period of free-standing hearths, prominently positioned in large rooms, has already been remarked as one of the novelties that occurred at the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E. (Karageorghis and Demas 1988:60–61; Karageorghis 1992:81). Recently I had the opportunity to elaborate on this theme during an international conference on the Sea Peoples held in Jerusalem; thus I shall give here only a brief summary of that paper.

Dikaios stressed the importance of free-standing hearths at Enkomi, and drew comparisons with hearths in "megaron"-type buildings in the Aegean (Dikaios 1969; 1971:48–49, 106, 112, 113, 174–175, 183, 186). Such hearths occupy a prominent place in large rooms at Enkomi, occasionally in association with benches where people could sit (Fig. 13.14). At Maa-*Palaeokastro* (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 60–62) similar hearths appear in "assembly halls," in which people gathered mainly for eating and drinking (Fig. 13.15). A hearth was recently brought to light in a room of a large ashlar building at Alassa-*Paliotaverna*, most probably dating to the LCIIIA period (Hadjisavvas 1994; see now Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavvas 1997). A hearth with substratum of pithos sherds was found at Hala Sultan Tekke in the center of a large hall dating to the early 12th century B.C.E. (mentioned here with the kind permission of the excavator, Prof. Paul Åström).

In the Aegean, hearths appear in palaces (Mycenae, Pylos, Tiryns, Mallia), but also in ordinary houses, e.g., in Mycenae and Khania (Crete) (for a general account see Werner 1993). The free-standing hearths in the Levant, namely at Tel-Miqne, Tell Qasile, and Ashkelon are well known.[3]

Bathrooms and Bathtubs

In publishing the limestone bathtub found in an 11th-century B.C.E. tomb at Palaepaphos (Karageorghis 1983:437–438), I suggested that the introduction of baths and bathtubs in Cyprus in the 12th century B.C.E. might be associated with the arrival in the island of new ethnic elements from the Aegean, who introduced a number of novelties as described above. In this paper I will attempt to strengthen the arguments in favor of this proposal, in the light of further evidence that has come to light since then.

The earliest terracotta "bath-shaped basin" so far known from Cyprus was found on the floor of the Ayios Iakovos Sanctuary, dating to the 14th century B.C.E. The excavators describe it as a "terracotta bath-shaped basin, placed in a shallow pit in the rock. The edges rose 0.33 m above the floor. The exterior dimensions of the basin are 1.28 x 0.63 x 0.47 and the average thickness of the wall is 0.05 m. ... The bottom of the basin consists of a flat, sawn piece of conglomerate" (Gjerstad et al, 1934:356, 358 no. 52). The main accumulation of votive gifts was found in and around this basin (ibid., p. 359), which also contained ashes and burnt bones (Åström 1972:1). It is not certain whether this basin was ever used as a bathtub, or whether it really resembled a bathtub. It has not survived, as far as we know, and the published photographs (Gjerstad et al. 1934:360, figs. 136 and 137) are not very helpful in reconstructing the original shape.

Enkomi, as might be expected, has provided a number of examples of bathtubs, in association with bathrooms. One, carved out of a single block of limestone, was found in a LCIIIA context text, inside a bathroom(?) in a private house within the complex of the large ashlar building known as "Bâtiment 18." It was found by Schaeffer and was published by Courtois (1992); its present location is not known. It measures 1.23 x 0.68 x 0.64 m, with four rectangular projections below the rim forming the handles.

Four examples of terracotta bathtubs were also found during Schaeffer's excavations. One was found east of Bâtiment 18, in a house that may be considered as an annex of the latter building. It measures 1.40 m x 0.58(w.), and had only two handles, one in

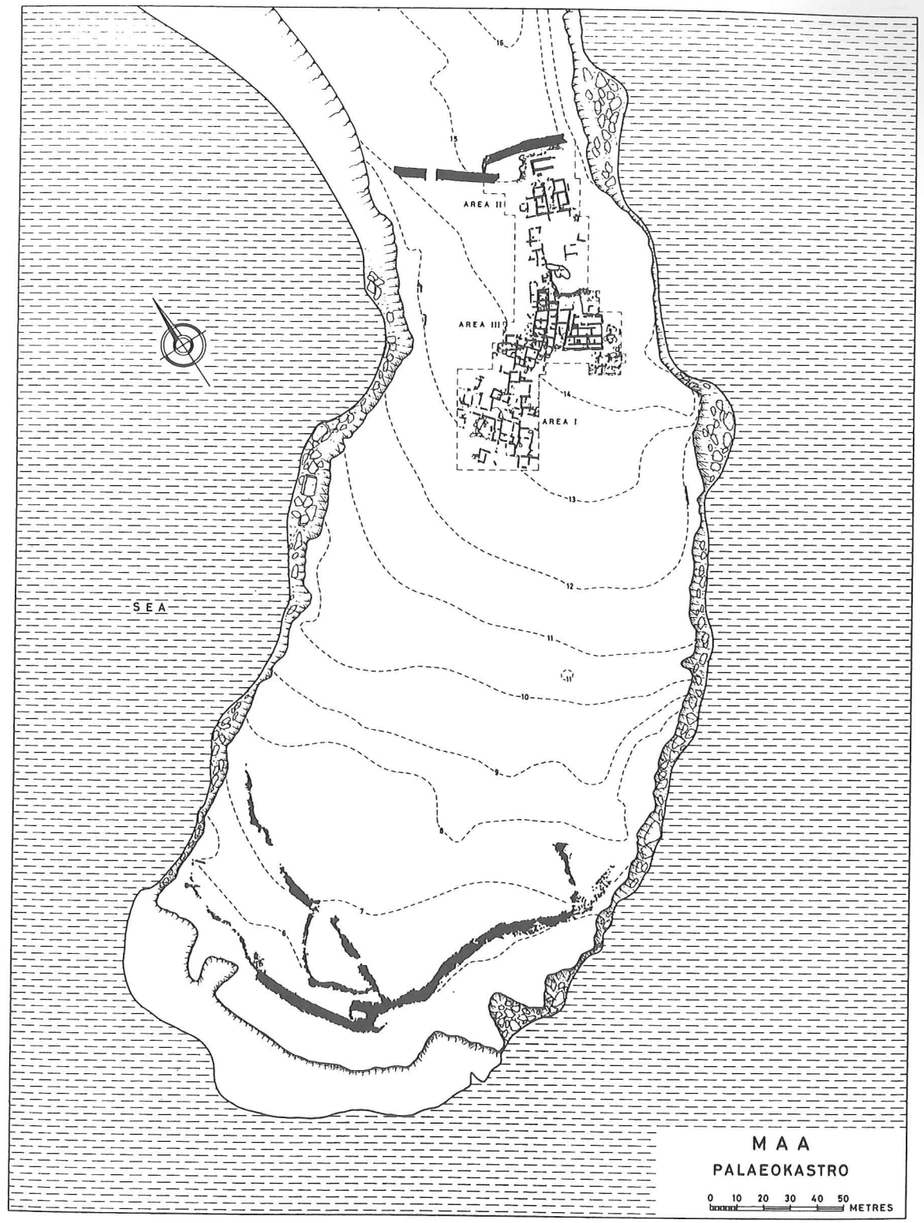


*Figure 13.13. The peninsula of Maa-*Palaeokastro *with excavated areas (I, II, III) and the Northern and Southern Fortifications.*

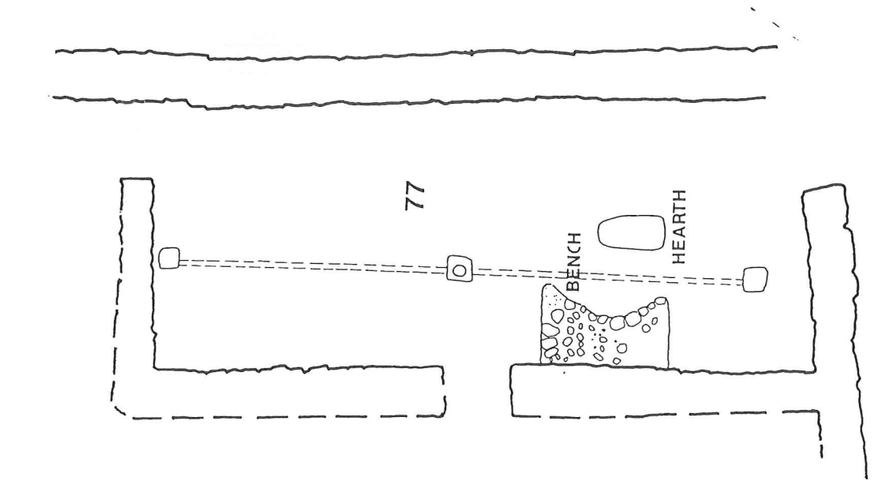


Figure 13.14. Hearths at Enkomi (after Dikaios 1969).

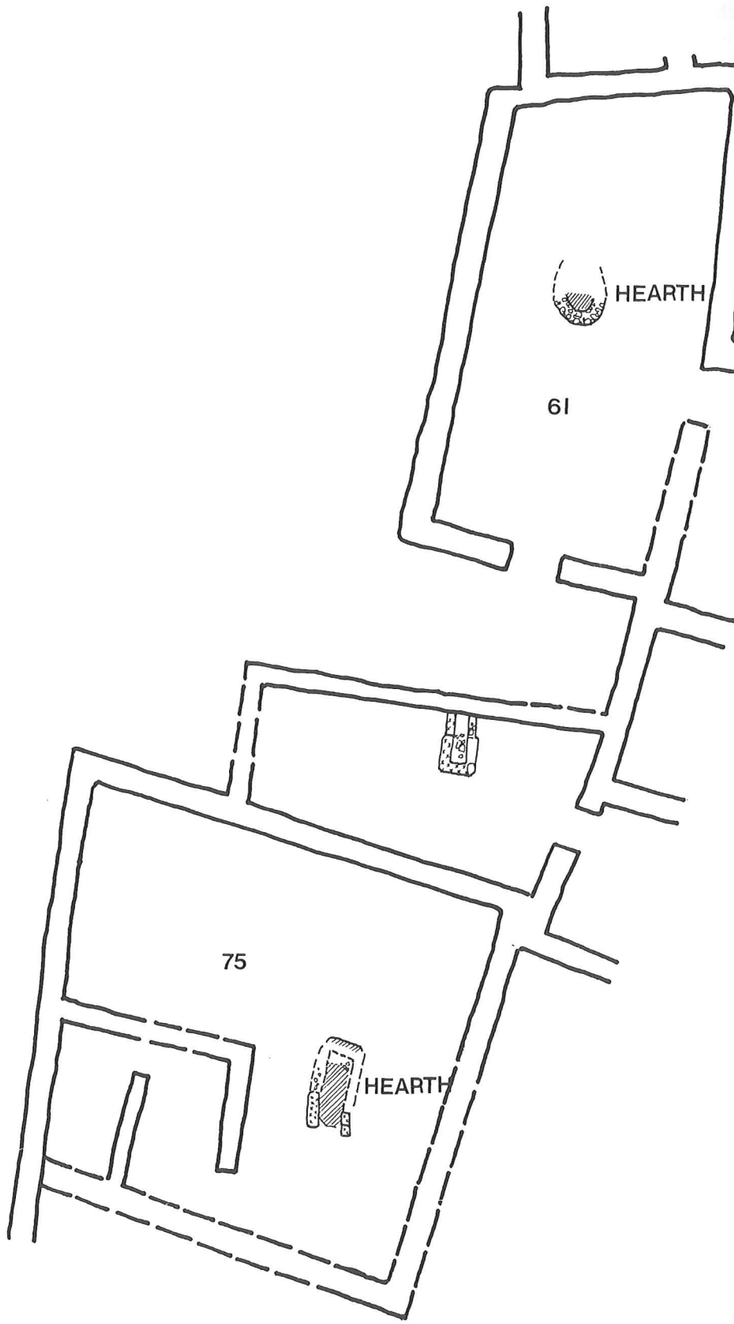


*Figure 13.15. Hearths at Maa-*Palaeokastro.

the middle of each side. It was found next to a large built well. The second one, measuring 1.75 m x 0.70(w.) was found in a house west of Bâtiment 18, resting against a wall; only two handles on one side were recorded. Schaeffer showed both these bathtubs on the general plan of the site but described them as "sarcophages" (Schaeffer 1952: pls. IX and LXXXVII). We have not been able to trace the whereabouts of these two bathtubs.

A third bathtub, also of terracotta, was found in a house in Quartier 4E (Courtois 1992:152–153, n. 2) and a fourth in Quartier 5W, this time upside down (Courtois and Lagarce 1986:52, pl. XIV.4). The fourth bathtub measures 1.10 x 0.54 x 63.5(h.) and has a hole as an outlet at the bottom, in the middle of one of the short sides. It is quite probable that it may be the one we published as possibly from Enkomi (Karageorghis 1983:435, fig. 1). A fifth clay bathtub may also have been found; a photo of it was kindly sent to me by E. and J. Lagarce, but its present location is not knwon.

Bathtubs were also found at Enkomi by Dikaios. Two limestone bathtubs are recorded in Area III, Level IIIA: one of them measures 0.76 x 0.50 m and was found in an area paved with slabs, near a well (Dikaios 1969:107). The other one, also in Area III, was found in Level IIIA, on a concrete floor, but may also have continued to be used in Level IIIB (ibid., p. 141). Two other bathtubs, one of them fragmentary, were found in the Ashlar Building in Levels IIIA and IIIB respectively, the first one in fragments (ibid., p. 181). The other is recorded as rectangular, 0.80 x 0.45 m, and was found in the reconstructed Ashlar Building. In the same building a very interesting feature is recorded. In Room 40 a toilet was found: a slab with a central perforation, 50 cm in diameter, was placed over a pit; at a later stage a wall screened off the toilet; the remaining part of the room was covered with a fine concrete floor and, according to Dikaios, was presumably used as a bathroom (ibid., p. 205). This feature demonstrates the high degree of progress in hygienic installations at Enkomi. Other bathrooms with fine cement floors are recorded at Enkomi, mainly in Level IIIA (ibid., pp. 98, 107, 148).

Bathtubs of terracotta have been recorded from other Late Bronze Age sites in Cyprus, as follows:

KALAVASSOS-AYIOS DHIMITRIOS

A bathtub was discovered in a large "official" room 11.50 x 3.90 m, of LCIIC date, not far to the south of the "palatial" Building X (Fig. 13.16). In the northeast corner of the room was a terracotta bathtub (1.00 m x 0.65(w.) x 0.63(h.)), sunk below floor level, with its rim projecting a short distance above the floor surface; the floor itself was a hard white plaster (South 1980:38–39). The tub has an outlet hole, two vertical loop handles on each side, and it is decorated with four parallel relief bands on the exterior. As South rightly remarks, it is unlikely that this large room was used as a bathroom, and the bathtub must have been put there for some other purpose (ibid., p. 39).

ALASSA-PALIOTAVERNA

In a room of the large ashlar building that was recently uncovered (see also hearth room in the same building, mentioned above) a clay bathtub is reported almost identical with that found in the sanctuary at Palaepaphos (Hadjisavvas 1994:112, pl. XIX:2).

MAA-PALAEOKASTRO

Though a large number of fragments of terracotta bathtubs were found at this site, both on Floors I and II (LCIIIA) (Karageorghis and Demas 1988,:226, 235, 249–251), it is only in one room that an almost complete specimen was found, Room 79 of Building III, no. 588. It was found smashed within the debris of Floor II, above the pithos paving (ibid. 1988:29). It has straight sides, with two vertical loop handles on each side; it is perforated at the base through one of the short sides (O.995 m x 0.51(w.) x 0.567(h.); ibid., pls. LXI, CLXXXIV). Though no doubt some of these bathtubs may have been used originally for bathing, in some cases they may have been simply used to hold water or another liquid.

Figure 13.16. Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios. *Bathtub* in situ *(after South 1980:36, fig. 4).*

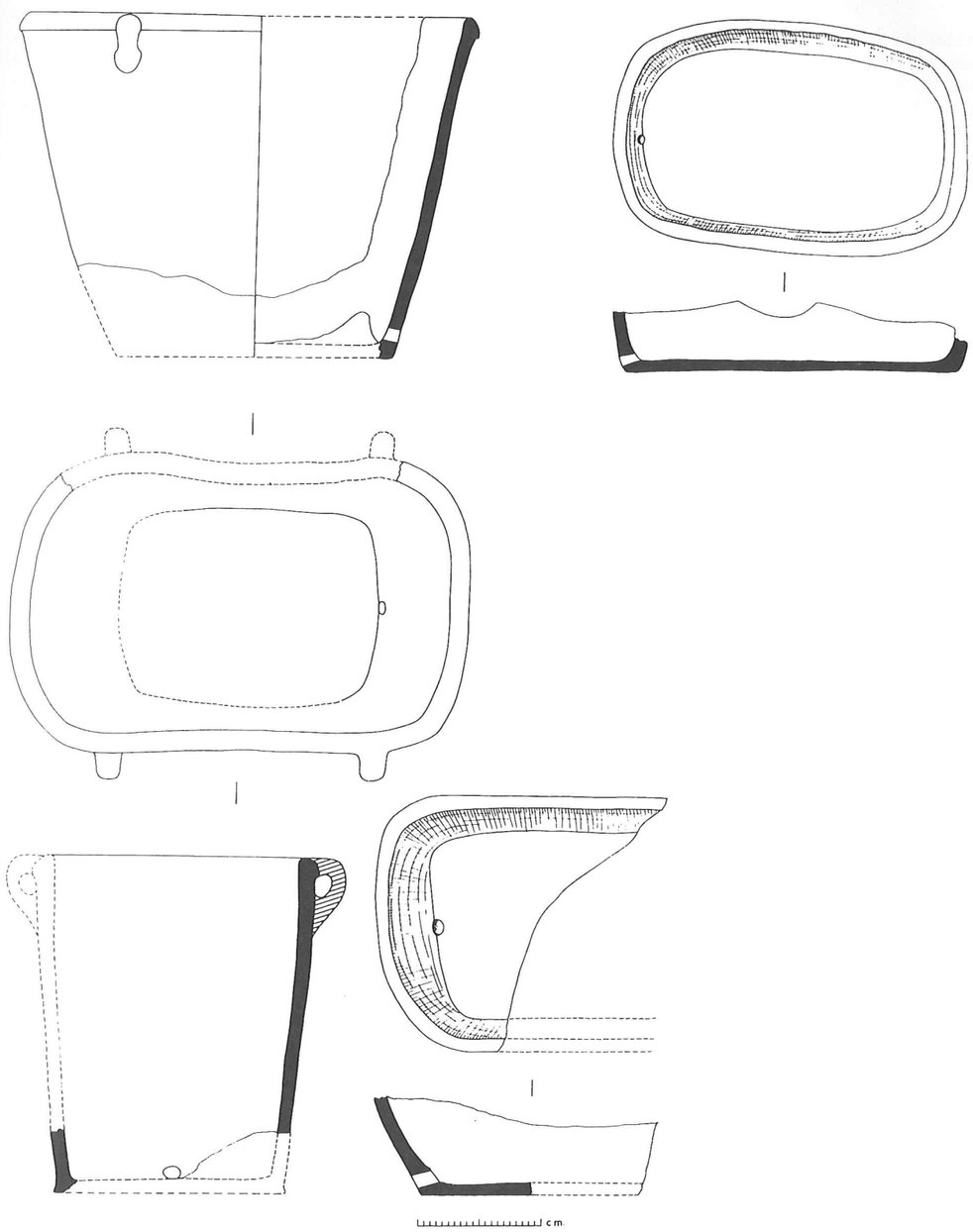


*Figure 13.17. Bathtubs found at Pyla-*Kokkinokremos.

PYLA-KOKKINOKREMOS

Within the relatively small area that was excavated at this site, three terracotta bathtubs have been found: nos. 30, 30A, and 117 and one (fragmentary) in limestone (Karageorghis and Demas 1984:35, 52, 59, pls. XXI, XLII) (Fig. 13.17). The terracotta examples have four handles and an outlet hole. No. 30 is the only more or less complete example, measuring 74 cm. in length, 57.4 cm in height, and 46 cm in width. It is too short for an adult to have lain flat, but one could have sat in it.

KITION

Only one fragment of a terracotta bathtub has been found at Kition (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:Part II, 30, 34, no. 913/1) in the residential-industrial Area I, in a LCIIIA context. In the same area there is a room with a finely cemented floor, which may be identified with a bathroom (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:Part I, 9–12). There is a similar case at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969:57–58), where a bathroom is located in the midst of an industrial quarter.

HALA SULTAN TEKKE

There is no published evidence for bathtubs from this site. A room with a stone slab floor and with walls revetted with regular plaques of limestone, dating to the LCIIIA period, has been identified as a bathroom or well-house (Åström et al. 1977:78–79, figs. 73–77). At one end of this room a "well" was found, covered by a slab with a hole in the middle; this was obviously used as a latrine. The identification as a bathroom is by no means certain, although the association of this example with Minoan bathrooms or lustral basins is very tempting (cf. Graham 1987:255–269). If this is correct, it is yet another example of influence from Crete, which adds to the other cultural elements of a Cretan nature (e.g., pottery and religious symbolism) mentioned above.

PALAEPAPHOS

A terracotta bathtub, 72 cm long, was found in the Late Cypriote III "Sanctuary of Aphrodite;" it was discovered in fragments in a deep, narrow, rock-cut trench in the Hall of the sanctuary. It has an outlet hole, and its size may be compared with that of Pyla-*Kokkinokremos*, described above (Maier 1976:95–96, pl. XIX.4; Maier and Karageorghis 1984:94–96, fig. 78). Its function in the sanctuary cannot be defined with certainty (cf. Karageorghis 1983:438).

The limestone bathtub from an 11th-century B.C.E. tomb at Palaepaphos-*Skales* is already well known. It is the most elaborate limestone bathtub found up to now in Cyprus. Its dimensions are larger than those of the majority of the clay bathtubs described above, and it is slightly larger than the limestone bathtub from Enkomi. It was not used as a coffin (cf. bathtubs from Kourion-*Bamboula*, below), but its function in the tomb is not absolutely certain. We suggested that like the bathtubs found in sacred places, it may have been used for purification rituals (ibid., p. 438).

KOURION-BAMBOULA

In a tomb recently excavated at Bamboula a clay bathtub was found (Fig. 13.18). It is dated to the end of the LCIIIB–beginning of the Cypro-Geometric I period. It has two loop handles on either side and measures 0.92 x 0.62 x 0.63 m. (h.) Like the Palaepaphos-Skales bathtub, it was not used as a coffin for a burial; several tomb-gifts were found in it (Christou 1994:180–183, figs. 6, 9:6; and personal communication).

From the foregoing it is quite clear that the LCIIIA period coincided with the appearance in Cyprus, apart from the communal halls with hearth, of another feature, the extensive use of bathtubs, mainly in domestic quarters but also occasionally in association with sacred areas and tombs. Such bathtubs are known in the Aegean (for references, see Karageorghis 1983:437 n. 16).

We mention in particular the bathrooms of the palaces of Tiryns and Pylos. At Tiryns the three-room bathroom complex was located near the main megaron (Müller 1930:150). It is not certain that a bathtub sherd found on the Acropolis belonged to this bathing complex. At the Palace of Pylos a bathtub was found in a bathroom, Room 43, near the throneroom. It may have been used by the king and also by important visitors (Blegen and Rawson 1966:186–189). The bathtub, with handles, was small, like most of the Cypriote bathtubs, in which the bather sat while water was poured over him by an attendant (ibid., p. 188). Another bathtub was found in the House of the Frescoes at Mycenae (Taylour 1964:55), but it must have had a sacred or ritual function. An oval hearth is set in the center of the room, with a bench nearby. The ritual use of this bathtub may be compared with that of the bathtub found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos.

Several possible bathrooms in Mycenaean houses have been suggested, but the only certain examples are those lying within palatial complexes. Bathtubs, however, have been found at several sites, mainly dating to the LHIIIB period (e.g., at Mycenae, Pylos, Zygouries, and Midea[4]), though there were earlier bathtubs in Crete (Vandenabeele and Olivier 1979: 177–179).

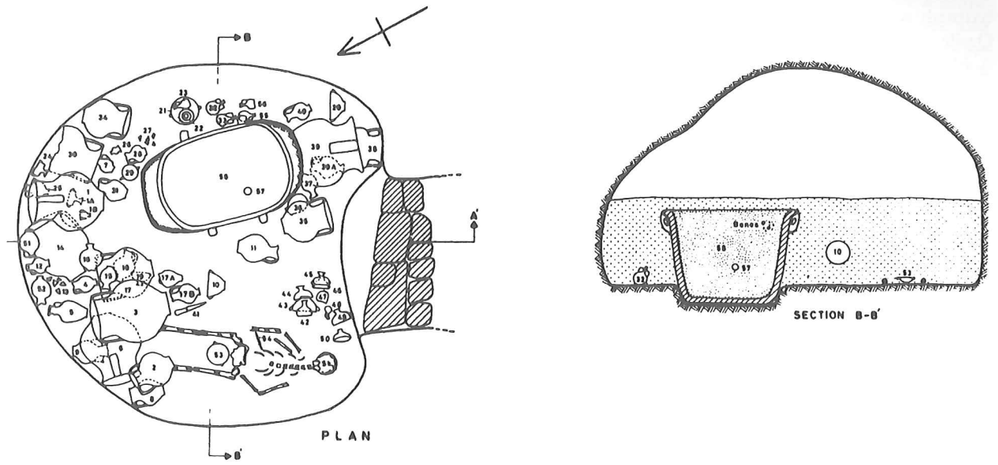


Figure 13.18. Kourion-Bamboula. *Bathtub found in tomb 35.*

Bathrooms were known in Minoan Crete from the MMIII period onward and were used both as ordinary bathrooms for cleaning the body as well as "lustral basins" for ceremonial and ritual purposes (Graham 1987:255–269). Clay bathtubs were used in bathrooms, but the same type of basin was also used for burials (Ginouvès 1962:29–32). Ginouvès rightly suggests that they were primarily used as bathtubs and that their form made them suitable also to be used as sarcophagi (ibid., p. 29 and n. 1; see also Rutkowski 1968).

It seems reasonable to propose that bathtubs and bathing were yet another innovation that came from the Aegean, together with so many other ideas that were introduced at the same time. Apart from the real bathtubs of clay and limestone, attention should be drawn to a number of miniature bathtubs of stone and ivory found in Cyprus and dating to the same period (Karageorghis 1983:437, nn. 14 and 15; idem 1990b:107). The LCIIC date of the bathtub from Kalavassos does not change the overall impression.

Apart from Cyprus and the Aegean, bathtubs are also known in the Levant. We mention one in terracotta from Tell Abu Hawam (Hamilton 1935:24, no. 100, pl. XXXVI), which does not differ much from those of Cyprus. It was found broken, but in position, in Stratum III (1100–925 B.C.E.).

A clay bathtub in secondary use was found in Stratum XII at Ashdod (Dothan and Porath 1963:72, pl. 2.2–3).

The recent excavations at Tel Miqne-Ekron have brought to light a fragmentary stone bathtub "found in one of the rooms of a building adjacent to a large megaron-type building. The bathtub is from Stratum VI, dated to the last two thirds of the 12th century B.C.E." (personal communication from Dothan and Gitin, 23.8.94).

A clay bathtub from Akko, with four loop handles and four horizontal parallel ridges all round below the handles—very similar to that found at Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* (see above)—was also found in a tomb that is dated, according to the excavator, to the 14th century B.C.E. (Ben-Arieh and Edelstein 1977:19, pl. XV.10). It is attributed to "the Aegean cultural sphere" (ibid.). (Not having seen the object, or the material found in the tomb, we cannot pronounce an opinion on the date of the tomb, but from the published photos of the Cypriote vases it seems that the suggested date may be too high).

The chest-shaped larnax from Gezer, found in a tomb, is not a bathtub but a real coffin, dating to the LBAI period (for references, see ibid., p. 19, n. 44).

A large terracotta bathtub, measuring 1.41 m x 0.82 x 0.65(h.), was found at Tel Dan. According to the excavator, it "served some cultic purpose" (Biran 1994:174, fig. 136), and had a raised flat seat at one end. It may be contemporary with the bathtub from Gezer (10th century B.C.E.). A fragment of a clay bathtub was found in the old excavations at Tell Qasile (mentioned here with the kind permission of A. Mazar). At Megiddo a clay bathtub was found in a room with a cemented floor, which has been identified by the excavators as a wine or oil press, in Stratum VI and is dated to 1150–1100 B.C.E. (Loud 1948:45, fig. 386, Room 2022). There is also another clay bathtub from Megiddo Stratum III–II (Lamon and Shipton 1939: pls. 18.91 and 54). For a possible stone bathtub from Megiddo Stratum VIA, see Loud, op. cit. 45, fig. 87.

Conclusions

An important aspect of the problem of the Sea Peoples is that of the origin of these newcomers. The question arises whether the cultural changes observed in Cyprus can be linked with one or more regions in the Aegean or elsewhere. Pottery should be more helpful than other aspects of material culture, but the existing evidence does not seem to offer conclusive results.

Jalkotzy has recently suggested, perhaps rightly, that the newcomers "either had been natives of the Aegean, or else ... had been acculturated to the Mycenaean civilization" (Deger-Jalkotzy 1994:19). It is true that the newcomers to Cyprus did not bring with them the Linear B script of the Aegean. This may suggest that they came to the island from other regions of the Aegean, having in the meantime lost the art of writing. The fact that "horns of consecration," which is a distinctly Minoan religious symbol, is among the new introductions may support the hypothesis that some may have come from Crete. Furthermore all the other cultural changes that occurred in Cyprus at the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E., including free-standing hearths and "Barbarian" ware, are also found on Crete. It may not be accidental that, in addition to the Peloponnese (Arcadia), from where the bulk of the Greek-speaking immigrants may have come in the 11th century B.C.E., some of them may also have originated from Crete, bringing with them the "Goddess with uplifted arms" and other elements of their culture (Karageorghis 1968; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994:23–24). In this respect we should underline what has already been suggested by Coldstream (1994:144–145) that the 12th-century B.C.E. establishment of Aegeans in Cyprus was well organized, following their earlier commercial relations with Cyprus. This no doubt helped them to choose their new homes during the 11th-century migrations. More research is necessary to find out whether there are particularly close resemblances between the "Myc.IIIC:1b"-style pottery of the Levant and that of Crete (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1994:17). It can be convincingly argued that the newcomers did not come to Cyprus immediately after the destruction of the palaces on the Mycenaean mainland (ibid.), but rather that their arrival in Cyprus may have occurred sometime after these destructions. In the meantime they may have sought refuge in other places in the Aegean before sailing further east to Cyprus and the Levant[5] (see also Stager 1995:348). Finally it must again be stressed that the changes described above did not alter the local Cypriote culture completely and overnight, but there was certainly continuity and cohabitation. It is significant that these changes did not all occur at the same time, or indeed in the same way. Some towns were destroyed (such as Enkomi), others abandoned (Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*), and others rebuilt (Kition), while at least two new military outposts were built (Maa-*Palaeokastro* and Pyla-*Kokkinokremos*). But we cannot overlook the extent of the cultural changes that took place all over the island, and the permanence of their effect, which was to be felt even more deeply in the 11th century B.C.E.

The preceding discussion does not solve the problems related to the Sea Peoples, neither that of their identity, nor the exact time of their activities. The discussions about the nature of their involvement in Cyprus and the extent of their responsibility for the changes observed at the close of the Late Bronze Age on the island will no doubt continue to cause controversy. But as was stated at the beginning of this paper, the only hope of one day finding a solution, or at least a relative consensus, is to examine the evidence as a whole, not just pottery or bronzes in isolation, and place it within a broad Mediterranean context, comparing it with similar events elsewhere in the Levant. I hope that this paper offers a small contribution in this direction.

Notes

1. Elizabeth French commented on this figurine as follows: "The banding can be paralleled on the mainland in LHIIIC but the uneven arms not—this is an earlier rare feature. The type is Mycenaean but it is clearly locally produced. This would suit the overall LHIIIC picture very well." (personal communication 13.4.95).

2. Thanks are due to my Research Assistant Maria Philokyprou, who collected much of the bibliography on hearths as well as bathtubs for our weekly seminars at the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus.

3. For references see the Proceedings of the Jerusalem Conference referred to above.

4. For this section of my paper on Aegean bathtubs, I have profited considerably from the unpublished doctoral thesis of Thea K. Smith, who kindly sent me the relevant chapters. For further references, see also Vandenabeele and Olivier 1979:176–180. Also worthy of mention is a clay sarcophagus in the shape of a bathtub found in a chamber tomb at Khania; it recalls the bathtubs from Palaepaphos and Kourion, but this one, unlike the Cypriote examples, was used for a burial (Godart and Tzedakis 1992:55).

5. I have profited greatly by a discussion of these matters with Sigrid Jalkotzy in Salzburg, in March 1995.

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Mycenaean IIIC:1b and Related Pottery in Cyprus: Comments on the Current State of Research

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Introduction

Pottery called Mycenaean IIIC:1b has been at the heart of discussions of the end of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age for many years.[1] It has been central to questions about the relations between Cyprus and the Aegean world in this period, and between Cyprus and the Levantine coast, where very similar pottery has been found and associated with Philistines and other groups of Sea Peoples (Dothan 1982; Killebrew 1995[2]). It has figured prominently in analyses of the chronological sequence of the constructions, destructions, and abandonments observed at many Cypriote sites, and in the interpretation of those archaeological phenomena. Yet many difficult problems have accompanied all discussions of this material, and many of these are still far from resolved. The present paper provides an overview of the recent discussions concerning the typology, chronology and historical interpretation of this pottery in Cyprus, and comments briefly on the evidence that some recently published pottery of this type offers in consideration of these matters.

Technical and Typological Characteristics

The ceramic material upon which this discussion focuses comprises a series of categories mentioned in publications of Late Cypriote sites: Mycenaean IIIC:1b, Late Mycenaean IIIB, Decorated Late Cypriote III, and the Rude or Pastoral styles. As has been observed in many recent studies, these categories share similar technical characteristics, shapes and motifs, and a growing number of scholars now classify all of them

under the general rubric "White Painted Wheelmade III" introduced by Paul Åström in 1972.[3]

The technical and typological characteristics of the Mycenaean IIIC and related wares have been discussed in detail elsewhere (Kling 1989a) and may be briefly summarized here (Figs. 14.1 and 14.2). All of this pottery is wheelmade in a light colored fabric and decorated in a matt paint, although there is a great range of technical quality, even on the same shapes found together at the same site. The range of shapes in which it is found suggest it was used primarily as tableware. Open shapes predominate: various forms of cups, stemmed and shallow bowls, the characteristic deep bowl or skyphos, and kraters. Closed vessels for pouring and serving, including a variety of jugs, and jugs with tubular or strainer spouts are less common but typical. Decoration includes simple banding, particularly on shallow open bowls and jugs; a variety of spirals and other abstract motifs such as zigzags, chevrons, triangles and lozenges, and a small assortment of figural designs, such as bird, fish, bulls, and plants of various types. A few shapes, particularly bell kraters and strainer jugs, often carry very elaborate decoration comprised of a variety of motifs. The stylistic origins of this material can be traced in earlier local Cypriote ceramics, pottery (and, for some elaborate "Levantine style" pieces, possibly textiles: Schachermeyr 1979, 206; Kling 1989a, 124) from the Levantine coast, and Aegean pottery. The Aegean connections derive from many sources, including the Cyclades, the Dodecanese, east Attica and Crete. The most elaborately decorated Cypriote pieces, however, are frequently quite distinct in overall conception from any one of these sources, combining elements from all of them into unique Cypriote styles.[4] Although similar shapes and motifs are found throughout the island, most pieces display individual characteristics, and the material is not highly standardized (cf. Kling 1988, 334). Some preferences for specific shapes or decorative treatment have been noted at individual sites or regions of Cyprus, suggesting the existence of several production centers (cf. Kling 1989a, 172). This latter possibility has been supported by a limited amount of chemical analysis, which has recognized the clay composition as consistent with production at several different sites in Cyprus (Jones 1986; Kling 1989a; Knapp and Cherry 1994:47–92).

Additions to the Corpus of Material

Material of this type has been published in recent years from tombs at *Teratsoudhia* and *Eliomylia* in the district of Palaepaphos in southwestern Cyprus (Karageorghis 1990 with discussions of pottery in Sherratt 1990a and 1990b); and from settlement and tomb contexts at Alassa in the Kouris river valley in south central Cyprus, which has appeared in preliminary reports (Hadjisavvas 1986, 1989, 1991, 1994). The material from these sites is typical in many respects but displays some important new characteristics, and its comparison with material from other sites offers some interesting points for discussion of the chronology and historical interpretation of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age.

From Alassa, Hadjisavvas has illustrated shallow bowls of well known types (Hadjisavvas 1991, fig. 17.6, 17.7) and five strainer jugs, one from Tomb 3 (T. 3.87; Hadjisavvas 1991, fig. 17.1, 17.2) and four from the floor levels of the settlement (*PanoMandilaris* nos. 16, 31, 56, 57; Hadjisavvas 1991, figs. 17.4, 17.5). This latter shape is of particular interest. The strainer jug is one of the characteristic forms in the wheelmade painted pottery found in Cyprus in the late phases of the Late Bronze Age. Two general types have been distinguished, those with globular bodies that resemble Aegean jug shapes, which have been noted at Enkomi, Sinda, Kition and Kouklia; and those with tall, ovoid bodies that are closer to local Cypriote ceramic forms, which have been previously found at Kourion and Enkomi. While examples of both types were painted with fairly elaborate decoration, globular examples tend to be painted in the so-called "Sinda" styles, characterized by tightly packed spirals in combination with numerous filling motifs, which, although unique to Cyprus, have close affinities with Aegean styles. The tall ovoid examples tend to have more geometric decoration, comprising zigzags, triangles, circles, chevrons, and concentric arcs. While some of these motifs probably derive from the Aegean world, the decoration on previously known examples of this group, like their shape, is more Cypriote than Aegean (Kling 1989a:153–158).

The examples from Alassa fall into the tall, ovoid group whose body form derives from local Cypriote shapes. Only one example preserves the neck and rim (Tomb 3.87) (Fig. 14.3a); on this piece, the upper neck is cup-shaped and accentuated from the lower neck, and the handle is attached to the middle portion of this cup. This form is highly idiosyncratic and unparalleled in Cypriote Mycenaean IIIC and related wares, and may derive ultimately from ceramics from the Levantine coast (e.g., Amiran 1970, pl. 33 no. 9 from Ras el-Ain dated MB IIA), but the form was already present in Cyprus in earlier phases of the

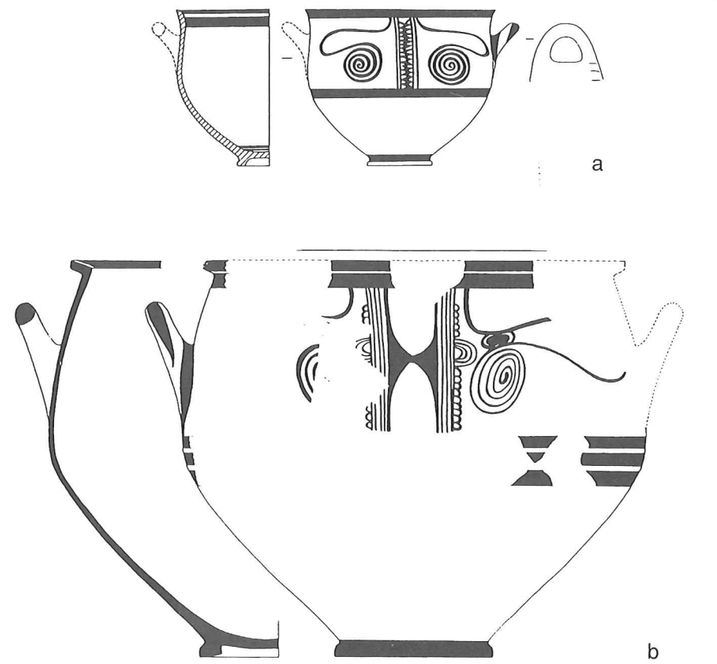


*Figure. 14.1. Typical forms of Mycenaean IIIC:1b and related pottery in Cyprus. (a) Skyphos with antithetic spiral decoration. Maa-*Palaeokastro *no. 324 from Area II Floor I. Karageorghis and Demas 1988:170–171, pl. CCXXIV. (b) Bell krater with antithetic spiral decoration. Enkomi no. 2743/1+4 from Area III Floor II. Dikaiao 1969–71:285–287, 600 pl. 124:20. (c) Shallow bowl with plain rim, horizontal strap handles, and linear decoration. Kouklia-*Mantissa *no 31. Karageorghis 1965:164 fig. 41/31. (d) Shallow bowl with carinated rim, horizontal strap handles, and linear decoration. Kouklia-*Mantissa *no. 4. Karageoghis 1965:160 fig. 41/4. (e) Bowl with raised horizontal loop handle and linear decoration. Kouklia-*Mantissa *no. 10. Karageorghis 1965:160 fig. 38/10. (f) Bowl with raised wishbone handle and panel decoration. Kourion-*Bamboula *no. B503 from Tomb 16. Benson 1972:83 pl. 45.*

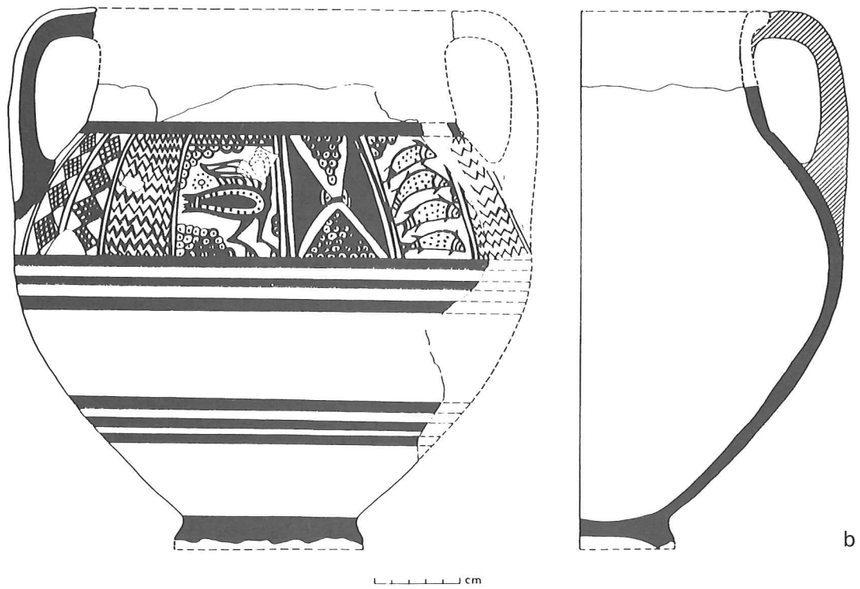
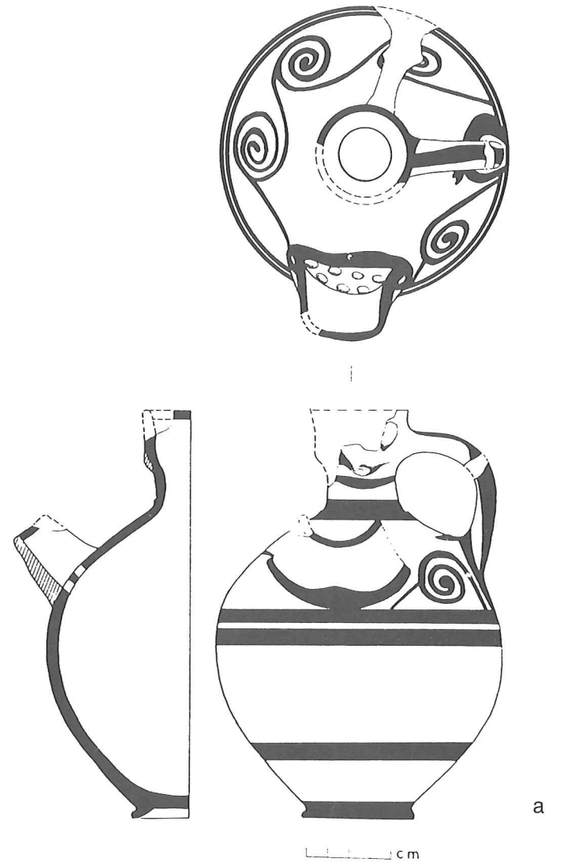


Figure 14.2. Elaborate decoration on Mycenaean IIIC:1b and related pottery in Cyprus. (a) Strainer jug decorated in "Sinda" style. Enkomi from Batiment 18. Schaeffer 1952:271 fig. 91. (b) Amphoroid krater decorated in "Levantine" style. Kition no. 3806 from Area II Floor IIIA. Karageorghis 1981:8 pl. XIII.



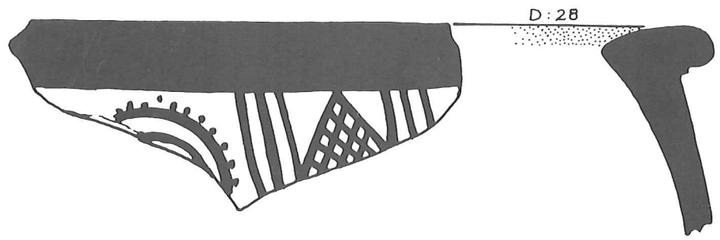


Figure 14.3. Important recent additions to the corpus of Mycenaean IIIC:1b and related pottery in Cyprus. (a) Strainer jug. Alassa-Pano Mandilaris *T. 3 no. 87. Hadjisavvas 1991:173–179, fig. 17.1 on p. 175. (b) Bell krater.* Palaeopaphos-Teratsoudhia *T. 105 Chamber B no. 10. Sherratt 1990:108–121, fig. 1.10 on p. 109.*

Late Bronze Age in imported Black Lustrous Wheelmade ware (e.g., Ayia Irini Tomb 21 no. 8: Pecorella 1977, fig. 461) and appeared on locally made Plain White Wheelmade I in contexts that are probably contemporary with Alassa (e.g., Myrtou-*Pigadhes* level VI: Taylor 1957, 54 fig. 23 no. 316). Thus, in form the strainer jugs from Alassa display features common to other locally produced ceramics and an affinity to Levantine ceramic forms.

In decoration, however, the Alassa strainer jugs have a more Aegean flavor than most examples of similar form. The running spiral decoration on Tomb 3.87 is typically Aegean and was common in imported Mycenaean pottery as well as locally produced imitations (Kling 1989a, 98), and Hadjisavvas has noted that the quality of its fabric is close to examples regarded as imported Mycenaean (Hadjisavvas 1991, 178). *PanoMandilaris* no. 31 is painted with a fish with dot-filled body (Hadjisavvas 1991, fig. 17.5), a type paralleled at Kition (Kling 1989a, 119, 130, 132) and at Tarsus (Goldman 1956, pl. 335:1332). *PanoMandilaris* no. 56 is painted with an elaborate spiral composition comprising stemmed spirals, net pattern and dot-filled loops (Hadjisavvas 1991, fig. 17.5). This piece may be classed with other strainer jugs decorated in the elaborate Sinda styles which have stylistic links with the Aegean, of which no two are identical (Kling 1989a, 125). The strainer jugs from Alassa are an important group and clearly reflect the eclectic nature of the wheelmade painted pottery made in Cyprus in the late years of the Late Bronze Age. The ceramic assemblage at Alassa is of considerable additional interest in that the skyphos, the most common shape at many sites, is absent here (Hadjisavvas 1991, 178), a situation that is paralleled at nearby Kourion (Benson 1969, 1970, 1972; Kling 1989a:17–23), and which may be a reflection of political or economic organization of the island in the late phases of the Late Bronze Age, as discussed below.

Material from *Teratsoudhia* Tomb 105 Chamber B comprises sherds which are most likely settlement debris in a secondary context (Michaelides 1990; Sherratt 1990a). The published fragments are quite typical of the Mycenaean IIIC known from settlements throughout the island, including the skyphos, bell krater and a smaller number of closed vessel types (Sherratt 1990a). As at other sites, the skyphos and krater are decorated with spirals and other abstract motifs. Two fragmentary kraters are decorated in the elaborate Levantine style originally defined by Schachermeyr (Sherratt 1990a, 110 nos. 10, 14) (Fig. 14.3b). This style is characterized by tightly packed panels filled with geometric motifs (Schachermeyr 1979; Kling 1989a:124–125). The motifs noted on the pieces from *Teratsoudhia* include the cross-hatched triangle, dot-fringed curved lines, zigzag and concentric arcs. All are typical of the Levantine style, although the very fragmentary nature of these pieces makes attribution to the Elaborate, Frieze or Simple Levantine style impossible. These pieces are of special interest, as the Levantine style has been noted in quantity at Enkomi, where it may have been manufactured (Kling 1989a, 172) but has been thought to be absent in western Cyprus (Kling 1984, 33). As Sherratt suggests, these pieces may have come to Palaepaphos from a production site in the east (Sherratt 1990a, 115).

The material from *Eliomylia* Tomb 119 derives from a burial deposit, although disturbance to the tomb had occurred prior to excavation (Karageorghis 1990a:77–78). The ceramics include several shallow bowls painted with simple linear bands, of types well known from other Cypriote sites (Karageorghis 1990a:83–84). Also included are a small skyphos painted with linear bands and an unpainted shallow bowl with carinated rim (Sherratt 1990b). Sherratt has discussed in detail some technical features of the skyphos, suggesting that they may be chronologically significant (Sherratt 1990b:159–161). This point is discussed further below. Overall, the material from *Teratsoudhia* and *Eliomylia* shows some close parallels with pottery from other areas of Palaepaphos, and with the site of Maa-*Palaeokastro* on the west coast (Sherratt 1990b; for material from Maa-*Palaeokastro*, Kling 1988).

Relative Chronology and Historical Interpretation

THE EARLY FRAMEWORK

According to conventional terminologies and interpretations, the period of use for Mycenaean IIIC and related pottery in Cyprus is the latter part of the Late Cypriote IIC and the Late Cypriote IIIA periods, that is, the years approximately 1250 to 1125 BC.[5] For many years, the definition of this transition posed no problem for Cypriote archaeologists. Based primarily on the work of Dikaios at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969, 1971) and Furumark at Sinda (Furumark 1965), a clearcut distinction between these two periods was observed, which corresponded to changes in ceramics and to stratigraphical breaks observed at many sites.

According to this view, the local Cypriote production of wheelmade painted pottery in Aegean style began in LC IIC, on a modest scale alongside the production of traditional handmade Cypriote wares such as Base Ring and White Slip, and corresponded with the period known as LH IIIB:2 in the Aegean. In Aegean terms, this pottery was designated LH IIIB, and sometimes called "Late Mycenaean IIIB," a term unique to Cyprus for the locally made pottery of the LC IIC period. The following period, LC IIIA, saw a sharp ceramic break: the local handmade Late Cypriote wares were completely replaced by wheelmade pottery in Aegean style whose affinities were now with LH IIIC ceramics in the Aegean. In the early years, this material was called Decorated Late Cypriote III, but a specific repertoire of shapes found at Enkomi and Sinda was referred to as Mycenaean IIIC:1b.

In the traditional view, this shift in ceramics coincided with an island-wide horizon of destructions, abandonments, and reconstructions at the end of LC IIC, contemporary with disruptions in the Mycenaean world at the end of the Late Helladic IIIB period. LC IIIA saw the arrival of a new culture that was radically different from what had existed previously, one that was overwhelmingly Aegean. Thus, the ceramic break coincided with a stratigraphic and historical break; LC IIC and LC IIIA were easily distinguished ceramically, and represented radically different periods in the island's history. The time at which this break occurred coincided with the invasions of "Sea Peoples" mentioned in Egyptian texts, and the destructions, abandonments and reconstructions noted at Cypriote sites were associated in one way or another with the arrival of Mycenaeans from the Aegean or the activities of these raiders in the eastern Mediterranean.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE EARLY FRAMEWORK

Recent study and the addition of new material from many sites has shown that neither of these premises can be maintained. With respect to pottery, many scholars have recognized the difficulty of distinguishing the wheelmade painted ceramics, including Aegean types, found in LC IIC and LC IIIA contexts, noting that virtually identical types occur in contexts dated to both of these periods (e.g., Catling 1955; French and Åström 1980; Maier 1985; Kling 1984, 1987). Problems have also been noted in determining the Aegean correlations for this material, which could belong to either LH IIIB or IIIC (French and Åström 1980; Kling 1984, 1987). It has, in fact, been realized that in early publications, the classification of locally produced Aegean style pottery in Cyprus came to be based on its assumed chronological and historical context, rather than any clearcut typological distinctions: pots found in presumed LC IIC contexts were called Mycenaean IIIB, and those in LC IIIA were called Mycenaean IIIC or Decorated Late Cypriote III, although in some cases pieces of these different types were identical, and could be termed "IIIB" or "IIIC" in Aegean terms (Kling 1987). Although long used as the primary ceramic indicator for the successive phases of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age (Åström 1972b:675–702), Aegean style pottery in Cyprus is no longer a straightforward indicator for the LC IIC/IIIA transition (cf. Muhly 1992, 14).

The second criterion for distinguishing LC IIC from LC IIIA, that of an island-wide historical break, has also been undermined by recent studies. Many other aspects of material culture are now also recognized as displaying considerable continuity across this juncture (e.g. ashlar masonry: Hult 1983; copper metallurgy: Muhly 1989; other types of Cypriote ceramics: Kling 1989b). Thus, it is now realized that although some major disruption occurred at many sites in the late phases of the Late Bronze Age, these disruptions were not synchronous, and did not usher in a wholly new era of Aegean culture (cf., e.g., Maier 1986; Karageorghis 1990; Cadogan 1993). The distinction of LC IIC and LC IIIA on stratigraphical or historical grounds is therefore by no means straightforward.

Working Towards a New Interpretation: Approaches Along Traditional Lines

While the traditional view of the end of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age has collapsed in many of its details, the wealth of archaeological data we have from this period does provide a solid basis from which to begin formulating new interpretations. Discussions along traditional lines have focused largely on chronological questions and stratigraphical correlations among sites, seeking to establish new definitions for the LC IIC and LC IIIA periods. Debate has been on the most basic level of whether we should

use shifts in ceramics as the criterion for defining the periods, or stratigraphical breaks at key sites (cf. "Introduction" in Barlow, Bolger and Kling 1991, 6). Tentative suggestions for new means of ordering the material have been put forward in several recent studies. Although these studies have recognized the continuity that has been observed over this juncture, most have emphasized the changes that occurred, and utilized the notion of a major historical break as the primary criterion for distinguishing the periods (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 1988; Kling 1989a). Explanations for the changes observed in the archaeological record have usually been formulated in terms of "Who" was responsible, making reference primarily to the arrival of new people (e.g., Karageorghis 1990, 1992, 1994, and in this volume).

In the publications of Kition and Maa-*Palaeokastro*, Karageorghis and Demas have argued for a definition of periods that is based on both ceramics and what they see as major stratigraphical/historical breaks. Thus, they regard the appearance of the so-called Mycenaean IIIC pottery—specifically, the skyphos or deep bowl—to be directly connected with the abandonment, destruction or rebuilding at many LC IIC sites (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 258). They focus on the appearance of this shape in small quantities in a few tomb contexts which have conventionally been dated LC IIC, on the basis either of associated ceramics or stratigraphy (Kition T. 9 U.B.: Karageorghis 1974; Hala Sultan Tekke T. 1: Åström, Bailey and Karageorghis 1976; Kouklia-*Mantissa*: Karageorghis 1965). They have, therefore, defined a new phase, LC IIC:2, for the very end of the LC IIC period, for those contexts which contain small numbers of skyphoi, which marks the initial stage of the introduction of this pottery to the island.[6]

The following period, LC IIIA, occurs after the destructions, abandonments, and rebuildings at major sites, and is marked by massive quantities of skyphoi and other shapes that have been included in the "Mycenaean IIIC" category. Typical contexts of LC IIIA date are Enkomi Level IIIA, Sinda Period II and Kition Floor IIIA. The preceding period, LC IIC:1, is characterized by typical LC IIC pottery types and small quantities of wheelmade painted ware, but no skyphoi. Sites with this ceramic profile are thought to have been abandoned before the historical event that brought the skyphos into the Cypriote ceramic repertoire; these include Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni-*Vourne*s and Toumba tou Skourou (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 272; 1988, 259).

The historical interpretation of this chronological scheme associates the appearance of Mycenaean IIIC pottery, in small quantities in LC IIC:2 followed by massive quantities in LC IIIA, with the arrival of Mycenaean settlers in the island, who were responsible for founding some of the new settlements (e.g., Maa-*Palaeokastro* Period I, Pyla-*Kokkinokremos*, possibly Sinda Period I: Karageorghis and Demas 1988:257), and for some of the rebuilding and introduction of new features at established sites (e.g., Kition: Karageorghis and Demas 1985). In addition to the Aegean style pottery, evidence for newcomers is seen in a growing array of cultural innovations that appear in this period of upheaval: these include architectural features such as hearths and fortifications; specific forms of arms, armour and chariots; handmade burnished pottery; bathtubs; and religious iconography: Hägg 1994; Karageorghis 1992, 1994, and in this volume). It is argued that the arrival of these types of objects and practices must be associated with the arrival of new people, and that the origin of these newcomers was the Aegean (e.g., Karageorghis 1990; 1992; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994; Cadogan 1993). That these new Mycenaean settlers coexisted with the local Cypriote population, however, is inferred from the strong Cypriote character of many other elements of material culture in these sites.

Karageorghis and Demas have noted that their subdivision of LC IIC based on the presence or absence of the skyphos is a fragile one, given that it could be due to factors other than chronology (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 257). Moreover, that some sites which produced no skyphoi may have been occupied in this newly defined LC IIC:2 period seems entirely possible. At the site of Enkomi, for example, there is no evidence for an interim period in which small numbers of skyphoi appear, prior to the ubiquitous presence of this shape in Level IIIA (Dikaios 1969–71; Kling 1989a); and the sites of Kourion and Alassa, which contained no skyphoi at all, have, on the basis of the total range of ceramics present, been thought to date across the LC IIC/IIIA juncture (Hadjisavvas 1991; Benson 1969, 1970, 1972; Kling 1989a:17–23). An additional problem that has been noted with this reconstruction is that stratigraphical proof is lacking for a distinct phase (LC IIC:2 in Karageorghis and Demas' terminology) in which skyphoi appear first in small quantities, which ends in a stratigraphic break and is followed by massive quantities of skyphoi and other Aegean style ceramics. As has been shown in an earlier study, the stratigraphic position of the key tomb context to this argument, the upper burial in Kition T. 9, is uncertain and may well belong to the LC IIIA period (Kling 1989a:75–77; cf. Sherratt 1991, 190 n. 7); and the other tomb contexts for which LC IIC date was argued were disturbed and dated by reference to Kition T. 9 U.B.

Sherratt has argued for an early date for these skyphoi that appear in small numbers, especially in tomb contexts, on the basis of their technical features, specifically, their small size, clumsy manufacture and lack of standardization, which may represent an early, experimental phase in local production of this shape (Sherratt 1990b). The suggestion to use

technical criteria for chronological distinctions is attractive, but very little work has been done on this aspect of the wheelmade painted ware in general. At the present state of research, it is not clear how such criteria might be applied. The features of clumsiness and lack of standardization are difficult to define precisely and can be noted in other examples of wheelmade painted ware in contexts where skyphoi are abundant (e.g., at Maa-*Palaeokastro*: Kling 1988, 334). More importantly, however, even if we could single these pieces out as "early," we no longer have any specific reason to date them to LC IIC or LC IIIA.

An analysis by the present writer (Kling 1989a:79–87) also accepted the horizon of destruction, abandonment and rebuilding as a stratigraphical/historical criterion for the LC IIC/IIIA transition and the presence of massive quantities of painted wheelmade ware as a ceramic indicator for LC IIIA. However, it rejected the stratigraphical arguments for the early appearance of small numbers of skyphoi at the very end of LC IIC, and assigned no special historical or chronological significance to the appearance of that particular shape. This discussion also noted the appearance in virtually all LC IIIA contexts of traditional LC IIC wares, such as Base Ring and White Slip, and suggested that this might mean that such wares continued to be made in the later period. Consequently, it argued that contexts that showed a stratigraphical break and also contained large quantities of painted wheelmade pottery following that break, even if traditional LC IIC wares were present in small amounts, should be dated entirely within the LC IIIA period. A problem found in applying this reconstruction, however, was that many sites are ambiguous with respect to one or the other, or both, of these criteria, and could not be dated more precisely than falling roughly within this LC IIC/IIIA span.

The concept of a sharp historical break distinguishing LC IIC from LC IIIA is a salient feature of both of these attempts to define a new chronological scheme; and it is the most significant weak point in both of them. As has been noted, the continuity that is visible in many aspects of material culture through this period has considerably blurred the picture, and argues against such a break. Another proposal for distinguishing the periods that was put forward by this writer (Kling 1987) attempted to avoid the pitfalls of a chronology based on historical interpretations, which should in any case be proven rather than assumed, and suggested defining them on the basis of the relative quantities of different types of pottery, with small amounts of wheelmade painted pottery appearing in LC IIC followed by massive quantities in LC IIIA; this technique, in fact, goes back to the time of Gjerstad and the earliest chronological ordering of Bronze Age Cypriote ceramics (Gjerstad 1926:277–289; Kling 1987; cf. also Hadjisavvas 1991). Such a change in ceramics has been observed to coincide with a stratigraphic break at some sites, e.g., Enkomi and Sinda (Dikaios 1969–71; Furumark 1965).

There are, however, problems with this method when applying it specifically to the LC IIC/IIIA transition. For one thing, it is not possible to specify how much would constitute "small amounts" as opposed to "massive quantities" of this ceramic material (cf. Pilides 1994:59). As has also been observed, differences in proportions of ceramic wares may be due to factors other than chronology, such as regional preferences or the different ceramic profiles of different types of sites (Sherratt 1991:190–191). This factor is particularly relevant in the precise periods concerned, because of the existence at this time of a variety of types of sites, whose material remains show a great deal of variation (cf., e.g., Catling 1975:188–193). Major urban centers were enlarged or established at coastal locations such as Enkomi, Kition, and Hala Sultan Tekke, while smaller inland settlements, many of them newly founded in this period, were associated with the mining and smelting of copper (e.g., Apliki: Taylor 1952); religious activities (e.g., Myrtou-*Pigadhes*: Taylor 1957; Athienou: Dothan and Ben-Tor 1984); agricultural production (Analiondas-*Palioklichia*: Webb and Frankel 1994); the manufacture of ceramics (Sanida: Todd 1990; Todd et al. 1992); or the control of the movement of metals and agricultural goods from production to distribution sites (possibly Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*: Todd and South 1992; Keswani 1993, 79). The concentration of Aegean style pottery found in a single deposit possibly belonging to an "elite" at *Ayios Dhimitrios* demonstrates that social factors might also affect the distribution of pottery types even within a site (South and Russell 1993). The possibility should also be considered that tomb contexts may show a different ceramic picture than settlements (Kling 1987; cf. Sherratt 1991).

Alternative Approaches

Thus, none of the approaches that have been developed along traditional lines have yet succeeded in producing a workable chronological scheme for the closing years of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age, one

that provides definitions for the LC IIC and LC IIIA periods. Some subsequent discussions have, by contrast, all but eliminated reference to these chronological periods, asking in one case "what the search for a definition of the ceramic distinction between Late Cypriote IIC and Late Cypriote IIIA is all in aid of" (Sherratt 1991, 191; cf. also Knapp 1994:274–276, who refers to this general period as "Pro-Bronze Age II–III"). These alternative discussions give greater importance to the elements of continuity in the material culture across the LC IIC/IIIA juncture, and tend to view the situation in Cyprus in terms of "What" was responsible for disruption and change at individual sites rather than "Who," citing as possible explanations indigenous economic, political and social developments, internal responses to changes occurring elsewhere, and trading contacts, with little or no reference to the arrival of new people (Sherratt and Crouwel 1987; Sherratt 1991; Knapp 1994).

It has been suggested, for instance, that the abandonment of sites in this period of upheaval, such as Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, and which continues through the 12th century until only the sites of Kition, Enkomi and Kouklia remain occupied, may be viewed simply as a continuation of a movement of population into urban centers that characterized the late 13th century generally (Negbi 1986; Sherratt 1992). It has also been argued that the increase in quantity of painted wheelmade pottery relative to the traditional, handmade Late Cypriote White Slip and Base Ring wares is the result of increasingly centralized mass-production of wheelmade pottery, a trend that began long before the disruptions at the conventional LC IIC/IIIA juncture, and which was also seen in the production of unpainted wheelmade shapes (Sherratt 1991, 1992; Keswani 1991).

While the arrival of new people from the Aegean world is not precluded by these interpretations (Sherratt 1991, 1992), these discussions stress that the eclectic stylistic parallels for locally produced wheelmade painted pottery, and the effects of Aegean influences deriving from many sources over an extended period of time, do not support interpretations that view this pottery as evidence for the arrival of a massive influx of new settlers from one Aegean source at one time (Sherratt 1991; 1992; Kling, 1989a, 175). Rather, taken by itself the pottery has been seen by some as simply reflecting Cyprus' involvement in trading activities with various Aegean areas (Maier 1986; Sherratt and Crouwel 1987).

Discussion and Suggestions for Future Research

These interpretative frameworks provided by the alternative approaches to study of this complex period have been of great value. By breaking out of the chronological strait-jacket of the historical scheme set out by Dikaios and Furumark and followed by others for many years, and focusing attention on the probable importance of internal political and economic developments in the formation of the archaeological record, these studies have increased our appreciation of the considerable complexity and fluidity that characterized the end of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age.

Nevertheless, many questions remain, for some of which ceramic analysis may offer some insight; and for all of which a more precise understanding of the chronological position of the many sites that were occupied in these years would be a great help. We are still far from understanding, for example, the relationship between the many sites that were occupied during this turbulent period in Late Cypriote history, why some were deserted, some destroyed, and some rebuilt on a grand scale; and to what extent both the changes and continuity that are visible in the archaeological record can be attributed to external pressures and the arrival of new people or to local economic and political conditions. While the political organization of the island in the 13th century BC is unknown, most scholars who have considered this problem in recent years favor the existence in the 13th century BC of several independent, regional political units, each probably linking major coastal centers with inland sites from which they drew metal and food supplies (e.g., Muhly 1989; Keswani 1993; Merrillees 1992a, 1992b). Hadjisavvas, for example, (1992, 329) has suggested that in the 13th century BC, inland copper producing sites were connected with coastal settlements by chains of settlements through major river valley routes; the site of Alassa lay midway along one of these chains linking smelting sites at Ayios Mamas and Yerasa ultimately with the coastal site of Kourion. This pattern is generally thought to have continued into the 12th century, although some shifts undoubtedly occurred as a result of the abandonment and destruction of sites. Such an organizational system may be reflected in some regional and site-specific ceramic preferences, such as the absence of the skyphos at Alassa and the coastal site of Kourion. Recent studies of various other Late Cypriote wares have also shown promise for identifying features of shape, decoration, materials and technique of manufacture that are characteristic of individual sites or regions (e.g., for Monochrome: Russell 1991; for Base Ring: Vaughan 1991, 1994; for Plain White: Keswani 1991). Further study of this phenomenon may therefore bring this picture into sharper focus. Intra-island exchange between regions is also reflected in ceramics, as in the presence of small quantities at Teratsoudhia and other localities of Palaepaphos of Levantine style pottery that was most likely produced in the east, probably at Enkomi.

Another extremely important problem is the interpretation of the cultural innovations that appear in Cyprus in this period, which are said to derive from the Aegean. While some recent studies have either downplayed these elements, or their association with new settlers in the island, others have reminded us that major disruption is characteristic of the archaeological record at this time (e.g., Deger-Jalkotzy 1994). Clearly, a balance must be achieved between those interpretations that emphasize continuity and those that focus on change (cf. Kling 1989b). Closer attention to the contextual associations of the cultural innovations would seem to be essential to this end. Do these occur coincidentally with each other or with any other changes? Do they occur at the same places or types of sites? Do they occur at the same time?

There are also still many questions about the phenomenon of the Cypriote production of wheelmade pottery in Aegean style. It is not clear, for instance, if trade were the primary source of contact by which knowledge of the Aegean developments in painted ceramics arrived in Cyprus, why we do not see more typically Aegean pieces, and actual imports from which local potters may have borrowed stylistic features. We also cannot, at this point in time, determine whether the production in Cyprus of wheelmade painted pottery in Aegean style developed gradually over an extended period of time, as has been suggested (Sherratt and Crouwel 1987; Sherratt 1991). The evidence from Dikaios' excavations at Enkomi, for example, shows a sharp ceramic break between Levels IIB and IIIA at that site; is this break a real one, or a reflection of a long period of occupation of the later level, of which only the ceramic remains of its final stages remain for our analysis? What is the relationship between plain wheelmade pottery, which was introduced to Cyprus at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, probably from the Levant, and Aegean style wheelmade painted pottery, which seems to be a later phenomenon? An analytical program aimed at clarifying details of technology and materials used in the manufacture of wheelmade wares in Cyprus throughout the Late Bronze Age might greatly enhance our understanding of the local production of Aegean style ceramics.

It seems clear, however, that approaches to answering all of these questions are at present hindered by the lack of a viable chronology for the last phases of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age, that is, a relative sequence of the abandonments, destructions and constructions affecting different sites, whatever chronological labels we decide to assign to them—indeed, this, we may reply to Sherratt's query, has been the goal of the search for criteria for distinguishing the periods. It has been argued that the evidence available to us is simply not sensitive enough to allow for this kind of precision (cf., e.g, Maier 1986; Sherratt 1991); and it may be that this is so. I do not think, however, that the full potential of ceramic analysis for this purpose has yet been explored. To date, the burden of providing chronological information has been placed only the pottery of Aegean style; and the shortcomings of this approach have been realized. I continue to believe that a broader view of all the ceramics in use through the LC IIC and LC IIIA periods, as well as other material goods, may eventually help us achieve a better chronological ordering (Kling 1987; cf. Cadogan 1993). Future study should consider not only of the relative proportions of different wares, but their typological characteristics in different contexts, particularly for those sites with a sequence of stratigraphic levels. A focus on the distribution of such features among Late Cypriote sites, may assist us in achieving a more precise ordering of them. Such an ordering need not provide sharp distinctions for distinguishing the LC IIC and LC IIIA periods; indeed, given the continuity and complexity that is observed in the material culture across this juncture, sharp distinctions are inconsistent with the evidence. Although this approach faces many difficulties, as noted above, it has the advantage of avoiding reference to historical interpretations which cannot be regarded as proven. As I hope this discussion has shown, it is essential that any new definition of archaeological periods avoid using historical interpretations as criteria. As Muhly has stressed, the "archaeological evidence must be interpreted on its own terms before it can be related to historical sources or literary traditions in any meaningful way" (Muhly 1984, 54).

Notes

1. For a sampling of relevant studies, see most recently Cadogan 1993; Sherratt 1991, 1992; Karageorghis 1990, 1992, 1994; Kling 1989a, 1989b.

2. I thank Ann Killebrew for sending me a copy of this study prior to its publication.

3. Some still prefer to refer to Mycenaean IIIC as a distinct ceramic entity (e.g., Karageorghis and Demas 1988; Karageorghis 1992), and use the term "Painted Wheelmade" for those pieces that have non-Mycenaean features of shape or decoration. While on one level, the continued use of the term "Mycenaean IIIC" may seem unobjectionable, inasmuch as it represents a known entity, and it is generally understood what is meant by this material, there are strong arguments to abandon its use. For one thing, it is frequently impossible, especially when dealing with sherd material, to distinguish "Mycenaean IIIC" from the other types that share the same technical features; and in many cases, Aegean, Levantine and Cypriote features appear together on a single pot (cf. Kling 1991). Moreover, in many cases the Aegean parallels for this material span both the LH IIIB and LH IIIC phases; thus, to call it all "Mycenaean IIIC" implies a chronological correlation with the Aegean that may be misleading. Finally, the question has been raised as to whether it is appropriate, given that this material is generally regarded to be "locally made," that is, manufactured in Cyprus, probably at several different locations, to call it "Mycenaean" at all (cf. Muhly 1984, 48 n. 41; Cadogan 1993). The strongest argument that has been made against adopting Åström's White Painted Wheelmade III is that the Roman numeral designation of "III," like the "IIIC" of the Mycenaean terminology, has a chronological connotation, specifically implying that this material belongs to the LC III period (Kling 1991, addendum; Cadogan 1993). Indeed, for this reason the "Painted Wheelmade" designation introduced by Karageorghis and Demas (1988) may be a better choice, if it is applied to all material which is both wheelmade and painted, including those types that have formerly been referred to as "Mycenaean IIIC."

4. Including the "Rude" or "Pastoral" style described in detail in Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982; and the so-called "Sinda" and "Levantine" styles, first identified by Schachermeyr (1979) and described in further detail in Kling 1989a.

5. For recent summaries, cf. e.g. Karageorghis 1990b, 1992, 1994; Sherratt 1991; Kling 1989a, 1987.

6. Karageorghis and Demas (1985, 270) caution that LC IIC:2 in their chronological scheme refers to the end of LC IIC; and is not synonymous with the LCIIC:2 period defined in Åström 1972b, which refers to the second half of the period.

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15

The Aegean and the Origin of the Sea Peoples

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The phenomenon known as the "Sea Peoples" has been widely discussed (see bibliography in Dothan and Dothan 1992 and Drews 1993). The name, like so many labels associated with ancient events of great complexity, is (as all serious archaeologists readily acknowledge) a misnomer. The label merely acts as a "tag" or "shorthand" to identify a series of people and cultural events involving those who attacked Egypt at the time of Ramesses III. The events that were associated with the Sea Peoples are more easily identified by their effects than by their causes. The Sea Peoples attacked Egypt, moved to other parts of the eastern and possibly central Mediterranean, and eventually settled down, so that their cultural identity, if it ever existed in the first place, ceased to leave traces in the archaeological record.

The Aegean plays a special role in the discussion of the origins of the Sea Peoples. They have often been associated with an economic depression in the Aegean beginning at the end of LH IIIB (discussion in Betancourt 1976), and many writers have suggested a migration of Aegeans to the east during the 12th century B.C.E. (Sandars 1978; Schachermeyr 1982; Dothan and Dothan 1992, with additional references). Cultural artifacts associated with the Philistines, the later group of people most often associated with the Sea Peoples, have clear Aegean connections (Dothan 1982; 1992; 1995). Many traits of Philistine pottery, including both shape and decoration, can be directly associated with the Mycenaean style. Styles in architecture, metalwork, and other crafts add additional weight to the evidence suggesting a clear relationship. Archaeologically, the Aegean is the best candidate for the origin of at least part of the Philistine culture; if the Philistines are one of the Sea Peoples, as most writers suggest, then the Aegean is the origin for the Sea Peoples that can be most clearly traced archaeologically.

To understand the relation of the Aegean to the Sea Peoples, one must begin with pottery. The Mycenaean pottery called Late Helladic IIIC Middle Phase is the style most clearly associated with Aegean influence in the eastern Mediterranean at the transition to the Early Iron Age.

The Mycenaean Pottery Sequence

Pottery has several characteristics that make it more useful in tracing origins than architecture, metalwork, terracotta figurings, religious influences, or other cultural traits: it is widely distributed; it is abundant because it has no intrinsic value after it is broken; it is easily recognizable; and it can be studied by regional styles. Because of these traits, it can offer clues not only to the role of the Aegean in the origin

of the Sea Peoples, but to the particular Aegean period that seems most clearly connected with this phenomenon in the eastern Mediterranean.

The Mycenaean IIIC pottery has been studied by a succession of scholars, but the most definitive work today is the handbook by Mountjoy (1986, with bibliography to other studies on pp. 223–228). Mountjoy, following the synchronisms of Rutter (1978:65), divides the Mycenaean pottery as follows:

LH IIIC EARLY

This phase is a continuation from LH IIIB. It is marked by the introduction of new shapes, including the lekythos (FS 122), the deep semiglobular cup (FS 215), and the carinated cup with high swung handle (FS 240). Decoration is mosly linear, and it is very simple.

LH IIIC MIDDLE, FIRST PHASE

Although the pottery style continues from LH IIIC Early with no break, new shapes are introduced: the trefoil-mouthed jug (FS 137), the one-handled conical bowl (FS 242), and the tray (FS 322). A reserved interior band is used below the rim on bowls with solid-painted interiors. Streamers and antithetic loops appear and become common. The Pictorial Style appears on kraters.

LH IIIC MIDDLE, SECOND PHASE

The neck-handled amphora appears first in this period. The style becomes much more varied, with the Granary Style, whose decoration is very simple, and with the the Close Style, whose decoration is complex ("closed in") and miniaturist. An Octopus Style, in which highly schematic octopuses are painted on stirrup jars and rarely on other shapes, is one of its variations. The Pictorial Style depicts human figures, animals, and scenes of chariots and other active motifs. Common shapes include the deep bowl, the krater, the kylix, the amphora in several varieties, the jug in several sub-types, and the stirrup jar.

LH IIIC LATE

The styles of decoration are now simpler than before, and a few changes occur in shapes. The kylix has straighter sides on its conical bowl. The deep bowl is bell-shaped, with a flaring rim. Wavy lines are particularly common as decoration. The Pictorial Style and the Close Style are less common than before (and often more sketchily executed), and they die out during the phase.

LATE HELLADIC III POTTERY AND THE EAST

Within these styles, it is the LH IIIC Middle that is the most influential in the east. The pottery appears in the archaeological record both as exports from southern Greece and as locally made versions. It is common on Cyprus, on the Syro-Palestinian coast, and elsewhere. It is associated with new foundations and changes in settlement patterns, implying the arrival of new people. The changed situation behind these Aegean origins can best be understood by examining the situation in Greece.

The Economy of Late Helladic III

Late Helladic IIIB Greece was a period of unparalleled prosperity (Mylonas 1966; 1968). At Mycenae, it saw the construction of the Lion Gate, the most magnificent of the tholos tombs, and many new buildings that must be dwellings. The palaces at Mycenae, Pylos, Tiryns, and elsewhere date from this period, and the Linear B documents record a period of great prosperity.

The "Lion Gate" project at Mycenae documents the ability of the city to support a large project whose goals must have been more symbolic than practical. The city was expanded to take in the traditional cemetery we call Grave Circle A, surely the final resting place for the royal ancestors of Mycenae's ruling elite. A new stretch of ashlar wall was built around the circle, and sculptures of heraldic animals were placed above the lintel of the monumental gate. The animals, which no longer have heads, have been called both lions and griffins. The topography was adjusted by adding a deep fill of soil over the graves, raising the grave markers to the new level, and enclosing them within a circular wall to demarcate the

tombs. A little new space was now available for houses, but the main result of this large project was the impressive entrance to the city with a cemetery just inside the gate.

The scale of this project demonstrates that Mycenae could easily support a large labor force directed toward the glorification of the city and its rulers. The Mycenaeans could mount this scale of project because of their successful economic system. It seems to have been based on two foundations: agriculture and trade.

The two aspects were interrelated. Agriculture fed the population, and it also provided a surplus for export. Trade brought in raw materials for manufacturing and profits from processed agricultural goods (Sherratt 1994), and it also allowed one region's crops to support the system if another part of the Aegean had a poor harvest. The Mycenaeans had a rather diversified series of products by Bronze Age standards. They raised grains, olives, flax, grapes, legumes, fruit trees, and several other products (Vickery 1936; Howe 1958). Animal husbandry was important for food and also for the wool to feed a cloth industry of large proportions (Killen 1964). Bronze-working and other crafts provided manufactured goods for both local and foreign consumption.

The success of the system was ensured by a strong control at the top. The head of the state was the Wanax, who received gifts in a way similar to that accorded the deities. He shared power with an officer called the Lawagetas and with a nobility who shared his power in ways that are not always clear but seem to have worked well, resulting in enough peace and stability for widespread trade.

The Mycenaean economic success can be measured by a steady increase in population. In comparison with Middle Helladic, the Mycenaean population must have been enormous. Population increase is always rapid in primitive agricultural societies when the food supply is assured and life is stable and comfortable.

The best case study we have for the Mycenaean population is Messenia. A population of at least 50,000 has been suggested based on archaeological survey (McDonald and Hope Simpson 1972:141), with an upper limit of 100,000 (McDonald and Rapp 1972: 256). A similar estimate, 80,000–120,000, has been proposed based on Linear B documents (Chadwick 1972:112–113). These estimates are very similar to the population estimates for the Classical period in this region (Roebuck 1945:162–163), and they must approach the number that could be supported by the available land using ancient farming practices.

At first glance, LH IIIB may seem robust and stable. With years of peace, many houses from this period are found outside the city walls. Mycenaean pottery is widely distributed, indicating a far-flung trading network. The appearances, in fact, may be very deceiving. The Mycenaean economy may have been extremely fragile, with solutions that increased the problems instead of solving them.

If land area available for agriculture is limited, and population steadily increases, obviously the system will need to make continual adjustments to feed the increasing population. If the population continues to increase, it will eventually exceed the ability of the land to support it. The Mycenaeans seem to have responded to this challenge by directing the economy with increasingly tight control from the top, maximizing the use of the land, and using the population with increasing efficiency. By the period of the Linear B tablets, the degree of control is amazing. Rations for slaves were computed to the individual. Items of equipment were counted, and spare parts were recorded in the documents in minute detail. The Mycenaean palace at Knossos, which owned 100,000 sheep, tried to keep track of every animal (in flocks of 100 per shepherd). Individual cattle were recorded by name. Unlike the Minoan period, when literacy was widespread enough to occasionally have long inscriptions on religious objects and even pithoi, the Mycenaean literacy was extremely restricted; knowledge was not shared with the populace, and only the palaces took charge of recording what was controlled.

But no system can increase productivity indefinitely, with no check on population. Eventually, the populace depending on the system will be too large no matter what control is exercised, and a disruption will lead to disaster. If the society is unable to produce enough food to last through a period with a bad harvest, the population is faced with famine.

A case can be made that in the Mycenaean system the disruption would have to be regional instead of local. All indications of the Mycenaean economy show a regular system of trade and exchange, allowing one part of Greece to compensate for a failed crop in another part of Greece. To disrupt the economy as a whole, the disruption would need to affect large parts of Greece at the same time. If that happened, the population would have few choices. Faced with starvation, groups might be tempted to take what food remained, by force if necessary. Once the high level of administrative control was gone, the international system would collapse and local areas would be left to fend for themselves. The resulting situation was bound to be extremely complicated, with movement of people, many wars, and unevenly distributed partial recoveries.

Discussion and Conclusions

The model that is suggested here proposes a situation that may be illustrated as follows:

Disruption > Systems Collapse > Warfare

The theory suggests that the first trigger to the complex series of events would be a regional disruption affecting the fundamental basis of the economy. It is this disruption that would lead to a collapse of the economy, followed by a period of migrations, wars, and a lessening of the central authority during LH IIIC. Several triggers to the economic depression that began at the end of LH IIIB have been suggested (discussion in Betancourt 1976). Possibilities include an invasion by Dorians or other northerners, wars with the Sea Peoples, a climate change, an epidemic or plague, disruption of trade with the east, local wars, or uprisings by subject populations. Whatever the immediate cause, the result was the turbulent period we call the 12th century B.C.E.

Any candidate for the disruption to the Mycenaean economy would have to meet several criteria:

1. It would have to affect large parts of Greece at the same time, so that trade could not compensate for local problems in limited regions.
2. It would be something that would cause people to believe that a better life existed in a new country, even at the cost of the need to conquer the new land. In other words, something has changed in the Aegean, but not elsewhere.
3. It would have to be something that would leave no evidence of mass graves or many simultaneous burials (as this evidence does not exist in the archaeological record), ruling out epidemics and plagues.
4. It would need to be something that would leave few, if any, traces of any new population. It would somehow need to cause people to flee their homeland, leaving it with a much smaller population, and with many areas apparently not inhabited at all (ruling out an influx of new people). The archaeological picture in the LH IIIC Late Phase documents widespread shrinkage and abandonment of sites, not a new population. If invaders (like the Dorians) came in during this period, they are not only archaeologically missing when they should be present in LH IIIC Early and LH IIIC Middle, they left and went somewhere else in the final years of LH IIIC.

One candidate that can be suggested for the cause of the collapse of the Mycenaean economy and the beginning of the many years of migrations and wars does meet all of these considerations. The candidate is a regional disruption of agriculture. Although agricultural failure can be tied to many causes, including wars, the most serious difficulty is a series of weather problems. These need not be severe enough to leave traces in dendrochronology, because one snow too late in the spring or one hail storm in the fall can completely disrupt an entire harvest. In a society with a firm belief that such things are caused by the gods, a series of crop failures can be a reason for abandoning a land completely.

Several other pieces of evidence suggest climatic changes at about this time and later in the 12th century B.C.E. (Carpenter 1966; Kuniholm 1990). Irish oaks have poor growing seasons in the decades at the middle of the 12th century (Baillie 1988a; 1988b). Abnormal fluctuations show up in the Gordion treering sequence from about the same time (Kuniholm 1990:653). The latest ice core from Greenland shows volcanic activity in 1192 and 1190 B.C.E. (Zielinski et al. 1994).

If Mycenae's agriculture was affected by a drought lasting as much as two years or more, the increasingly strained Mycenaean economy may well have been given a blow from which it could not recover easily (as suggested by Bryson, Lamb, and Donley 1974), but the same effect could be produced by snow and cold weather for even brief periods if it occurred at the wrong time in the growing cycle. The Mycenaean economy may have been so fragile it could not recover from erratic and unpredictable weather that destroyed crops, setting in motion a chain of violent events that compounded the problem.

The situation, however, is not as simple as a group of Aegeans leaving Greece around the first part of the 12th century B.C., attacking Egypt, and then settling in Palestine to become the Philistines. Affinities between Aegean pottery and the pottery of the Philistines are later, from no earlier than the middle of the 12th century. One has to suppose a more complex model involving movement of peoples to various places, especially Cyprus, Crete, and Rhodes, partial recovery of trade, and attempts to rebuild the Mycenaean economy with different results in different regions. The role of Cyprus as an intermediary point between the Aegean and places farther to the east cannot be overemphasized; the island must have provided one of the stepping-stones between the Aegean and the East (as discussed by Karageorghis 1992). Migrations must also have been sporadic rather than simultaneous. The movement of people to some places, like Rhodes, was not as complete as was once thought (MacDonald 1986).

Placing changes in warfare first, as the cause of the widespread destruction (suggested by Drews 1992), is an unlikely hypothesis. Infantrymen using swords and small round shields are already attested to from the reign of Ramesses II (Drews 1992:154, pl. 5), well back in what would be called LH IIIB in Aegean terms, so they do not appear suddenly and all at once in LH IIIC. The events that caused these military practices to become more widespread during LH IIIC are part of the overall picture, but the weaponry cannot be the only cause of the sack of many walled cities. Rather, changes in military practices must be another complex part of a general phenomenon that is best described as systems collapse. If a prehistoric economy is ruined to the point where famine is inevitable, pressures mount to move and capture food elsewhere. In a time of active warfare, new weaponry is disseminated very rapidly. Military advantages are quickly spread to all sides. In addition, warfare is costly to all sides, not just to the vanquished, so that strong motivation is needed for any phenomenon as large as that of the 12th century B.C.E. The phenomenon requires a disruption of some type leading to a collapse so complete that the population of Greece would be diminished in the 11th century B.C.E.

The systems collapse was also a transition to a new beginning. Eventually, the 12th century witnessed the establishment of several new economic systems based less on central control and more on local or regional independence. Democracy, rationality, and regional cohesion and patriotism all grew out of this new dependence on local and regional resources.

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16

Western Mediterranean Overview: Peninsular Italy, Sicily and Sardinia at the Time of the Sea Peoples

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The supposed association of some of the "Sea Peoples"—namely the Sherden, the Shekelesh and the Tursha—with Sardinia, Sicily and the Tyrrhenian area (Etruria of the historical period) respectively occurs often in older and more recent studies and must be addressed in a general reappraisal of the Sea Peoples and the Western Mediterranean. The aim of this paper is to summarize the available data on the Bronze Age sequence in the western Mediterranean, focusing on the geographical and cultural diversity of the area and its interconnections and relationships with the eastern Mediterranean, particularly the Aegean and Cyprus. This background—corresponding generally to the "High Barbary" chapter in Sandars' classic book (Sandars 1978:81–103)—thus shall focus on the archaeological evidence that provides the proper setting for the Sea Peoples in the Western Mediterranean.

Chronological Framework

The Sherden are first mentioned in the Amarna Letters (14th century B.C.E.) as mercenaries stationed in Egyptian garrisons in the Levant. In the 13th century B.C.E., various references to Sherden occur in inscriptions from the long reign of Ramesses II (1279–1213 B.C.E.). The Sherden and the Tursha are likewise referred to in contemporary Ugaritic and Hittite texts. During the reign of Merneptah (1213–1203 B.C.E.), the Sherden, Tursha, and Shekelesh, alongside other Sea Peoples, were allied with Libyans in attacking Egypt and were defeated. The same peoples as well as the Tjekker were defeated again in the fifth regnal year of Ramesses III, ca. 1180 B.C.E.

The records from Egypt, Anatolia and Ugarit provide the textual evidence for the groups of Sea Peoples that scholars connect with the western Mediterranean and thus establish the chronological framework for a discussion of the western Mediterranean between ca. 1350 and 1150 B.C.E. (Barnett 1975; San-

dars 1978:203, table I; for more recent summaries specific to the west, Gras 1985:43–57; Tykot 1994: 62–66).

Later references to the Sherden and the Tjekker appear in the Tale of Wenamun and in the Onomasticon of Amenope, both dated to the 11th century B.C.E. (Breasted 1906:557–591; Gardiner 1947:192). The Sherden are also mentioned in one of the earliest Phoenician inscriptions in the central Mediterranean, the Nora stone that was found near Cagliari in southern Sardinia. Scholarly opinions on the date of this important inscription vary between the 9th century B.C.E. (Cross 1986) to the 8th century B.C.E. (Amadasi Guzzo and Guzzo 1986).

The following study will focus on the period from c. 1350–1150 B.C.E.; for the sake of completion, we will deal with the periods before and after as well.

Geographic Background

Peninsular Italy, over 1000 kms long, extends from the natural barrier of the Alps in the north to the Ionian Sea in the south. It is characterized by a long, indented coastline that is rich in mooring points and harbors, the wide alluvial plain of the Po Valley in the north, and the high Apennine mountain range that forms the north–south spine of the central and southern part of the peninsula as well as the high watershed between the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian Seas (Fig. 16.1).

The Tyrrhenian Sea, central to our discussion, is bordered on the east by the western coast of peninsular Italy (Etruria, Latium, Campania, Calabria), on the south by Sicily, and by Sardinia and Corsica on the west. Several minor islands, such as the Aeolian or Lipari Islands and the Phlegrean Islands, were important for navigation throughout the prehistoric period, though in the Bronze Age they became of primary importance for their interconnections with the Aegean (Marazzi 1988).

The two large islands, Sicily and Sardinia, constitute different geographic units. The close proximity of Sicily to the peninsula, with only the Messina Straits separating them, makes the island to some extent culturally related to the peninsula. Sicily has several good harbors and mooring points. The huge Mt. Etna volcano to the east, and the mountains in the center and along the north coast divide the region into separate areas. In contrast, Sardinia is more isolated and has a highly individual cultural characterization. Sardinia's wealth of raw materials, including obsidian and metals, was known as early as the Neolithic Age. As a consequence, maritime connections developed with other areas making good use of the natural harbors and waterways—routes of antiquity that are still in use (Lo Schiavo 1986; 1989a).

Without resorting to an argument based on geographical determinism, one must admit that the geographical and physical features did influence, to some extent, the cultural fragmentation that is displayed by the archaeological record from peninsular Italy. In particular, the northern part of the peninsula, including the Alps and the Po Valley, is more closely linked to the archaeological sequence of Continental Europe and the Balkans, while central and southern Italy, with the adjacent islands, are deeply involved in Mediterranean developments (Peroni 1989; 1994).

Cultural Development in the Main Areas

The chronological range defined above (14th–9th centuries B.C.E.) corresponds in local terms to the last phase of the Middle Bronze Age (14th century B.C.E.), the entire Late (13th century) and Final Bronze Ages (12th–11th centuries) and Iron Age I (10th–9th centuries B.C.E.). Absolute dates are revised according to the recent dendrochronological analyses that seem to push back the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age, traditionally set around 900 B.C.E. (Peroni 1994: figs. 79–80).

The various archaeological facies of peninsular Italy are characterized by the cultural units of the Apennine (last phase of the Middle Bronze Age), Subapennine (Late Bronze Age), Protovillanovan (Final Bronze Age) and Villanovan (Early Iron Age) cultures (Peroni 1989). In Sicily, the Thapsos culture (latest part of the Middle and beginning of the Late Bronze Age) is followed by the Pantalica Nord and Cassibile cultures (Late and Final Bronze Age and Early Iron Age) (Bernabò Brea 1957; La Rosa 1989; Tusa 1992). The Aeolian Islands, representing the vital bridge between Sicily and peninsular Italy, are characterized in the Middle Bronze Age by the Milazzese culture, which is related to the Thapsos and

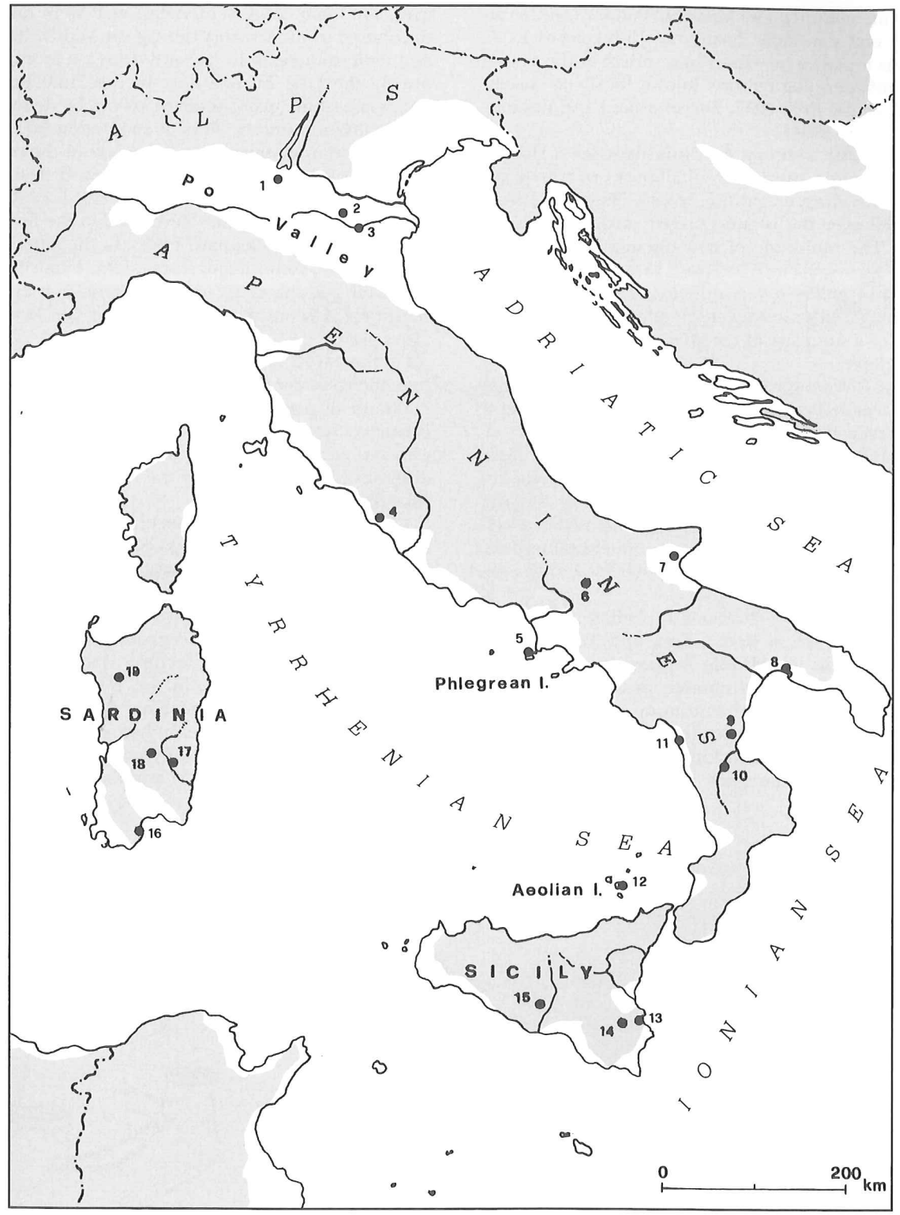

Figure 16.1. Map of Italy. Shaded areas are more than 200 m above sea level. Black dots indicate some important Bronze Age sites (drawing by A. Mancini).
1. Peschiera. 2. Villabartolomea. 3. Frattesina. 4. Luni sul Mignone. 5. Vivara. 6. La Starza. 7. Coppa Nevigata. 8. Scoglio del Tonno. 9. Broglio di Trebisacce. 10. Torre Mordillo. 11. Praia. 12. Lipari. 13. Thapsos. 14. Pantalica. 15. Milena. 16. Antigori. 17. Orroli. 18. Barumini. 19. Torralba.

Apennine cultures. The Milazzese culture came to an abrupt end sometime during the 13th century B.C.E. and was replaced on Lipari by a variety of the peninsular Subapennine culture, known locally as Ausonian (Bernabò Brea 1957; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980; Peroni 1994).

In the 16th century, Sardinia developed the so-called Nuragic culture, the hallmarks of which are the outstanding megalithic towers (Fig. 16.2) scattered all over the island (Atzeni et al. 1981; Lilliu 1982). The multitude of new discoveries in the last 20 years, coupled with intensive research on old and new finds, makes it very difficult to keep up-to-date with the island's most recent developments (Balmuth 1992, for a summary of recent discoveries with ample bibliography).

In the following pages we shall outline briefly some of the regional characteristics, while keeping in mind the uneven nature, both in quantity and quality, of the primary data as well as the present level of their interpretation. In particular, we shall focus on the increase in social and economic complexity and the steady development of certain aspects of material culture, such as settlement patterns, funerary customs, and the emergence of highly specialized craft production (Figs. 16.3–4).

Settlements in key locations, including modern urban centers such as Rome, Bari, and Taranto, had their origin in the Middle Bronze Age. From that point onwards one can observe, as a general guideline, a tendency toward continuity and stabilization of settlements, a preference for their location on top of small hills with steep slopes, the use of defensive devices and, in some cases, real fortifications. Moreover, the many small settlements that were densely distributed in the territory during the Middle Bronze Age tend to increase in size and decrease in number during the Late Bronze Age. In the Final Bronze Age, some of the major settlements can be defined as "proto-urban" centers. This phenomenon has been well studied in peninsular Italy, such as in the region of ancient Sybaris in northern Calabria (Peroni and Trucco 1994) and the region to the north of Rome, where Etruscan civilization developed in the first millennium B.C.E. (Di Gennaro 1986). In the latter area, in particular, some major sites of the Final Bronze Age later became great urban centers such as Veii, Tarquinia, Cerveteri, to mention only the more famous places.

Furthermore, beginning in the Middle Bronze Age, the coastal settlements that become increasingly common display a new openness toward external contacts. Settlements located on small peninsulas with two anchorages, each suitable for mooring with different winds, characterize the coasts of the peninsular Italy and Sicily.

The architecture of the Bronze Age villages in peninsular Italy and Sicily is not particularly outstanding. Dwellings consisted of huts, usually made of perishable materials, supported by wooden posts, sometimes constructed on stone foundations; occasionally these dwellings had underground cavities (McConnell 1992). This architectural tradition continues, with few exceptions, in the Western Mediterranean during the Late and Final Bronze Ages and well into the Early Iron Age. In Late Bronze Age Sicily, multi-roomed buildings of rectangular shape are known at Thapsos (Fig. 16.5) and Pantalica. Only in

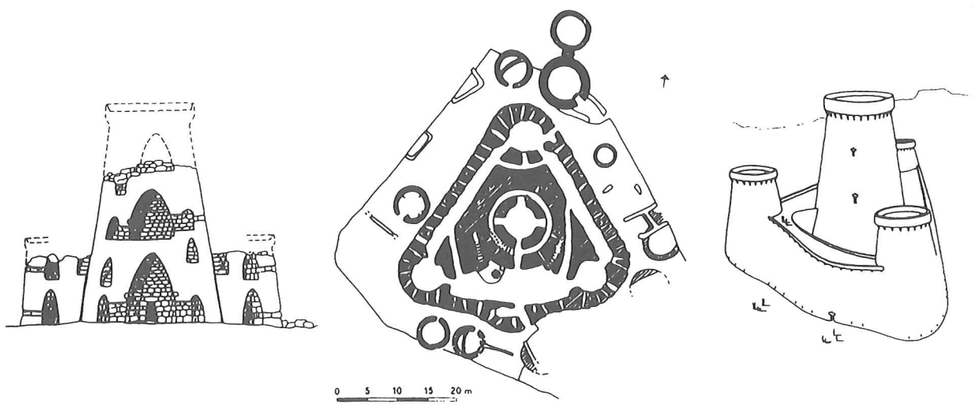

Figure 16.2. Nuraghe Santu Antine at Torralba in northern Sardinia (after Contu 1981).

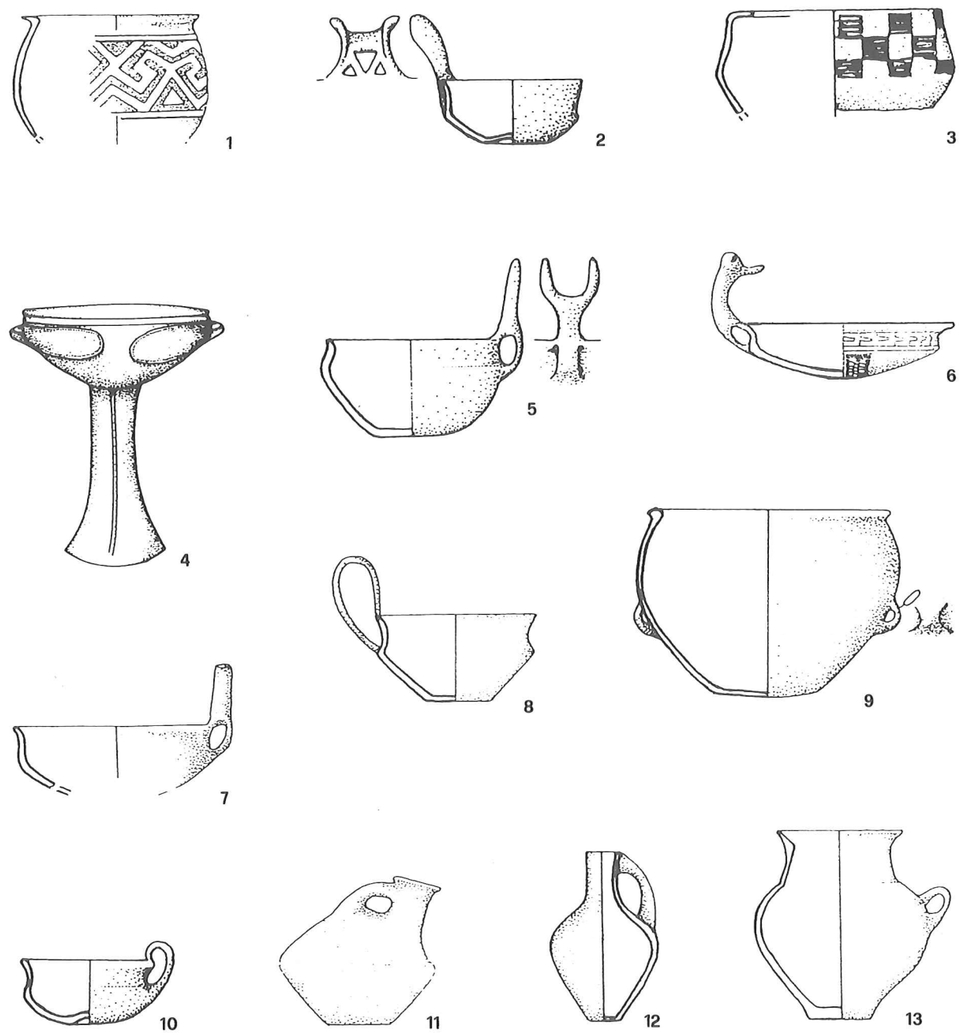

Figure 16.3. Ceramic types of Bronze Age Italy.
1–2, 5–8, 10, 13 from peninsular Italy; 3, 9 from Sardinia; 4, 11–12 from Sicily (after Peroni 1994).

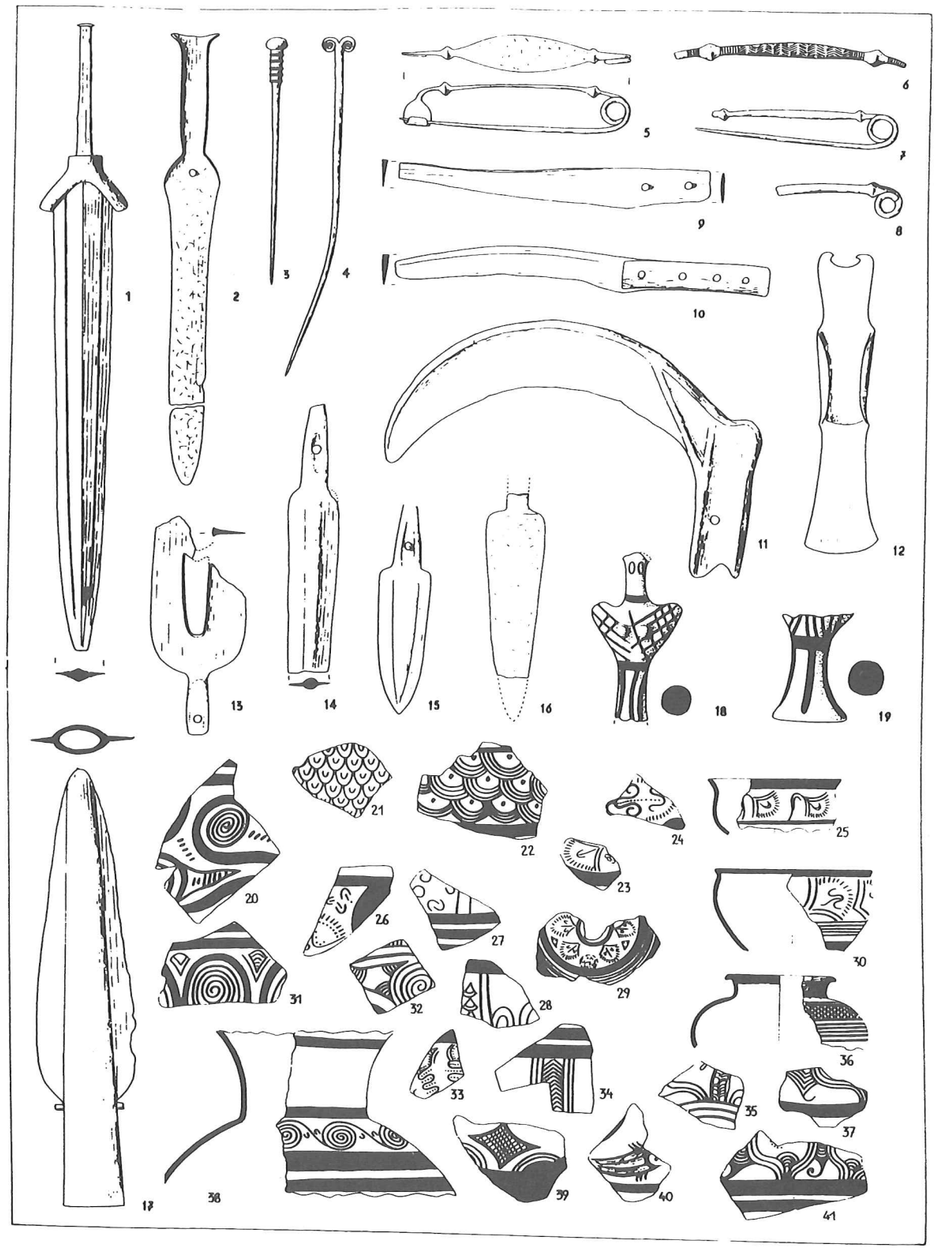

Figure 16.4. Selection of local bronzes and Mycenaean pottery from Scoglio del Tonno (after Müller-Karpe 1959).

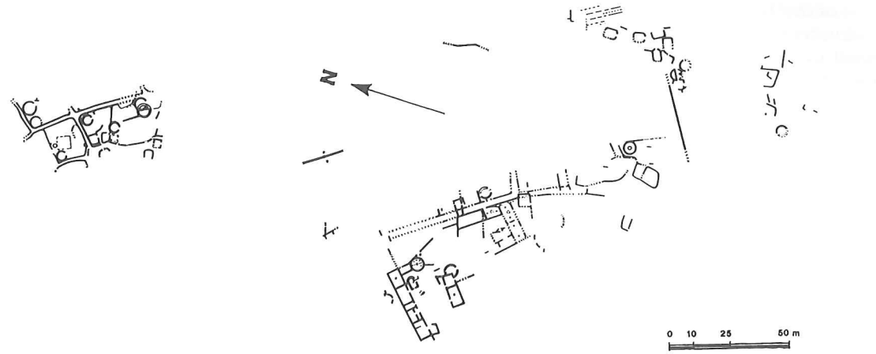

Figure 16.5. The settlement at Thapsos in Sicily (after Voza 1985).

Sardinia had monumental stone architecture developed from as early as the Middle Bronze Age, and the building of Nuragic towers continued at least until the end of the Bronze Age (Fig. 16.2). Generally, the organization of space within settlements does not seem to follow a specific plan, at least until the Late Bronze Age. At present, the sophisticated planning of Thapsos in Sicily appears to be an exception (see Fig. 16.5).

Despite the regional variations in funerary customs, from at least the Middle Bronze Age on, multiple inhumations in caves, dolmens and rock-cut tombs are most common in peninsular Italy (Cipolloni Sampò 1987). In Sicily some of the tombs have a tholos-like profile (Tusa 1983; Tomasello 1986). On the other hand, in Sardinia monumental chambered tombs with architectural façades—the so-called "Tombe dei Giganti"—are the peculiar tomb-type characteristic of Nuragic society (Contu 1981). In addition to inhumation, cremation occasionally appears in the Middle Bronze Age and is even more frequent in the Late Bronze Age. In north and central Italy, cremation is typical of the so-called Protovillanovan Urnfields of the Final Bronze Age and is also attested at several sites in southern Italy, in the northeast corner of Sicily, and on Lipari. However, with the above exception, inhumation remained common in southern Italy and exclusive in Sicily and Sardinia (Peroni 1994).

The development of metallurgy in general and bronze manufacture in particular is an especially well researched subject. It is important to emphasize however, that in the Late Bronze Age a large number of bronze objects that are at home in the central Mediterranean display features in common with both central Europe and with the Aegean. This phenomenon is usually explained as the result of itinerant craftsmen who transmitted the techniques and shapes across vast territories (Bietti Sestieri 1973). Itinerant craftsmen were not limited to metalsmiths, but probably also included the potters who introduced the use of the wheel to the central Mediterranean (Jones and Vagnetti 1991). Another specialized activity that emerged in the Po Valley during the Final Bronze Age is the production of glass which could have been introduced through a similar process (Bietti Sestieri 1975; 1981; Brill 1992). The development of some of the craft production is best considered against the general background of foreign contacts between the central Mediterranean and the Aegean during the period under consideration.

Eastern Mediterranean Interconnections

The Italian Bronze Age is characterized by continuous and systematic interaction with the eastern Mediterranean, including the Aegean, Cyprus, and, to a limited extent, the Levant (Vagnetti 1982; 1993). From the archaeological evidence one can surmise different levels of exchange ranging from trade in raw materials and luxury items (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991) to more pervasive contacts that might have stimulated changes in various aspects of social organization and economy.

Mycenaean Greece played the most important role in establishing and consolidating systematic long-distance interrelations in the Mediterranean basin. The archaeological evidence for Aegean connections at

the turn of the 16th century B.C.E., when Mycenaean civilization on the Greek mainland began to emerge, is limited to the Late Helladic I and II pottery that was recorded at several coastal sites and on small islands (Taylour 1958; 1980; Vagnetti 1991; Castellana 1993–94; Marazzi and Tusa 1994). The Late Helladic IIIA and IIIB phases in the 14th–13th century B.C.E. marked maximal extension of the Mycenaean palatial organization on the Greek mainland and the greatest expansion of Mycenaean civilization within the Aegean, especially to Crete, to the Dodecanese, and to the coast of Asia Minor. This period also witnessed the peak of Mycenaean trade with the central Mediterranean.

Our main sources of information for the contacts with Mycenaean Greece during the 14th century B.C.E. come from the settlement at Scoglio del Tonno near Taranto in Apulia (see Fig. 16.4) (Biancofiore 1967) as well as from many sites around Syracuse and Agrigento in Sicily (Taylour 1958; La Rosa 1993–94; De Miro and Deorsola 1993), some of the Aeolian villages (Taylour 1958; 1980), and some recent discoveries in Sardinia (Lo Schiavo and Vagnetti 1993). Excavations carried out in the central Mediterranean during the last 15 years have greatly increased the quantity of 13th century material recovered and, at the same time, have highlighted the problems involved in determining the nature of the connections. To the material long known from Apulia, such as that from Scoglio del Tonno and other nearby sites (Biancofiore 1967; Lo Porto 1963; 1964), one can now add the abundant evidence from Termitito in Basilicata (Bianco and De Siena 1982; De Siena 1986), Broglio di Trebisacce in northern Calabria (Vagnetti and Panichelli 1994), Cannatello in Sicily (De Miro 1996), and Nuraghe Antigori in Sardinia (Ferrarese Ceruti 1981; 1982; 1986; Ferrarese Ceruti et al. 1987).

Of particular importance for understanding the relations with Mycenaean Greece during the 14th and 13th centuries is the pottery from Italian sites that exhibits Aegean technology and style but was manufactured with local clays. Archeometric research has greatly helped in the analysis of these ceramics (Jones 1986; Jones and Day 1987; Jones and Vagnetti 1991; 1992; Jones, Lazzarini, Mariottini, and Orvini 1994; Vagnetti and Jones 1988; Vagnetti 1994). Representative sites for the study of the locally made ceramics in southern Italy are Porto Perone, Satyrion (Lo Porto 1963; 1964), Termitito (Bianco and Siena 1982; De Siena 1986) and Broglio di Trebisacce (Vagnetti and Panichelli 1994). To date no systematic archeometric research has been carried out on samples from Sicily, although there are a few indications of a distinction between imported and locally made pottery (Jones and Vagnetti 1991:135; 1992: 234). At Nuraghe Antigori in Sardinia, in addition to a variety of imports from mainland Greece, Crete, and Cyprus, there are many sherds of locally made vessels of diagnostic Aegean types (Ferrarese Ceruti 1981; 1982; 1986; Ferrarese Ceruti et al. 1987; Jones and Day 1987).

The large number of analyses in progress (Jones 1993) will most likely provide us with proper data for reconstructing the impact of Aegean crafts and pottery technology on the central Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age. As a working hypothesis we may suggest that the local production of Aegean-type pottery, at least in its initial phase, implies a movement of specialized craftsmen, possibly on a seasonal or temporary basis, from the Aegean to peripheral areas in the Mediterranean basin (Jones and Vagnetti 1991). The archeometric characterization of the pottery from the sites mentioned above and from some others points to intra-site exchange, albeit of a limited scale, and clearly indicates that several production centers were active simultaneously (Jones and Vagnetti 1991; Vagnetti and Jones 1993). Indeed, the number of new workshops apparently increased following the first wave of destruction that affected some of the Mycenaean palatial sites during the LH IIIB (Kilian 1988).

The site of Broglio represents a case study for assessing the Aegean influence on local pottery manufacture in the 13th century and later. In fact, apart from the painted pottery of Aegean type, excavations yielded two other classes of locally produced pottery that evidence certain foreign influence. The first is the gray wheel-made pottery that, in technique, recalls the Minyan pottery of the Middle Helladic period. This pottery, however, belongs to the Late Bronze Age and features a range of shapes that in part reproduces the Mycenaean repertoire and in part the local Italian pottery (Bergonzi 1985; Belardelli 1994). The second class of Aegean-derived pottery is the locally manufactured huge pithoi of fine buff ware which resemble, in form and technology, the pithoi ubiquitous in the Aegean for food storage. These pithoi were produced at Broglio from the 13th century B.C.E. Groups of such pithoi have been found broken in situ in certain areas of the site that were possibly designated as store-rooms. Developments in agrotechnology most likely resulted in an increase in crop variety (e.g., olives and, as an end product, olive oil) and quantity. The need for large containers for storage probably spurred the production of the new specialized vessels that were inspired by Aegean models (Bergonzi 1985; Tenaglia 1994; Peroni and Trucco 1994; Peroni and Vanzetti 1992).

As is well known, it is often difficult to distinguish between LHIIIB and LHIIIC sherds in a foreign context. For this reason the identification of LHIIIC material in Italy has always been less accurate than the attribution of finds of earlier date. Nevertheless, even in the study of locally produced material we can see a development in styles similar to that in the Aegean,

thus implying a continuing contact in the 12th century B.C.E. (Fig. 16.6). Evidently, the existence of local workshops producing Aegean-type pottery did not preclude the importation of containers from the Aegean, although from the 12th century B.C.E. on (Late Helladic IIIC), imports appear to decrease. Among the LHIIIC imports we may cite a Rhodian stirrup jar from Scoglio del Tonno (Taylour 1958: pl. 14, 12–14), a few sherds from Broglio di Trebisacce (Vagnetti and Panichelli 1994: pl. 72: 3,5), and sherds from Antigori (Ferrarese Ceruti et al. 1987: fig. 2.4).

A comparative study of the nature of imported Aegean ceramics and locally manufactured Aegean inspired pottery in the eastern Mediterranean indicates a similar increase during the LH IIIB period of locally made Aegean-type pottery. This is best manifested in the development of the so-called Levanto-Helladic pottery which became popular, especially in Cyprus, yet it did not replace the traditional local pottery (Cadogan 1991; 1993; Sherratt and Sherrat 1991; Leonard 1994).

Concerning the appearance of the Mycenaean IIIC:1b in the eastern Mediterranean, it should be pointed out that this distinctive phenomenon has no analogy in the central Mediterranean (T. Dothan 1982; M. Dothan 1988; M. Dothan and T. Dothan 1992; Kling 1989; Stager 1994). As is well known, many scholars connect the appearance of LH IIIC derivative pottery in the eastern Mediterranean with the movement of people coming from the Aegean. In the central Mediterranean, by contrast, the situation is quite different. In the central Mediterranean, and in southern Italy in particular, there is no evidence for new settlements of substantial groups coming from the Aegean. At all sites, imported Aegean pottery and the local imitations were as a rule part of local contexts and represent a small percentage (not exceeding 10%) of the ceramic assemblage. In the central Mediterranean there were no settlements of "Mycenaean foundation" and the tombs, which contain local and Aegean grave goods, are all of a local type (Vagnetti 1982). The possibility of Aegean influence on settlement planning, architecture and tomb types in Sicily (e.g., the Thapsos settlement; the monumental building at Pantalical; the tholos profile for rock-cut tombs) needs further study before a definitive interpretation can be proposed (Voza 1985). With few exceptions, the most significant changes are confined to technological developments and craft specialization in aspects such as pottery, metalwork and glass production. Mention should be made of the introduction of the lost-wax technique in bronzework which, especially in Sardinia, produced very sophisticated objects such as tripod-stands and figurines of Cypriote and possibly Levantine derivation (Fig. 16.8: 4–5) (Macnamara et al. 1984; Lo Schiavo et al. 1985; Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo 1989).

The Role of Cyprus

As early as the 13th century B.C.E., Cypriote imports along with Aegean material were recorded in Sicily and Sardinia (Lo Schiavo et al. 1985; Ferrarese Ceruti et al. 1987; Karageorghis 1993; 1995). Cypriote involvement becomes more apparent in the 12th century, especially in regard to metallurgical activity in Sardinia (Lo Schiavo et al. 1985; Vagnetti 1986; Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo 1989).

Bronze ox-hide ingots constitute the most revealing element for evaluating Cypriote contact. Large numbers of ox-hide ingots turned up in the central Mediterranean, especially in Sardinia where complete and fragmentary ingots have been recorded at no less than 26 Bronze Age sites (Fig.16. 7). The majority of the ox-hide ingots can be dated within the Final Bronze Age, although some examples could be as early as the local Middle Bronze Age (Lo Schiavo 1989b). Oxhide ingot fragments are also known from Lipari, where they comprise part of a hoard that was probably deposited before the end of the 12th century B.C.E., as well as at sites such as Thapsos and Cannatello on Sicily (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980: pls. 319–322). Some scholars argue that the Sardinian examples were produced locally under Cypriote influence (Lo Schiavo et al. 1985). Since the results of archeometric research on this matter are still ambiguous (Lo Schiavo et al. 1990; Gale and Stos-Gale 1987; Gale 1991) the issue must wait for more conclusive results.

Additional evidence for the Cyprus-Sardinia connection includes tools for metal production, such as sledgehammers, tongs and charcoal shovels (Fig. 16.8: 1–3) (Lo Schiavo et al. 1985; Vagnetti 1986). The close similarity between the complete sets of smithing tools in Cyprus and in Sardinia, coupled with the absence of similar objects in the Aegean, make it unlikely that the tool kits used on the two islands—both regions of intense mining activity—were the result of contemporary, but independent inventions. In addition, the few distinctive Cypriote imports in Sardinia also argue against this interpretation of the archaeological data. Similarly, the group

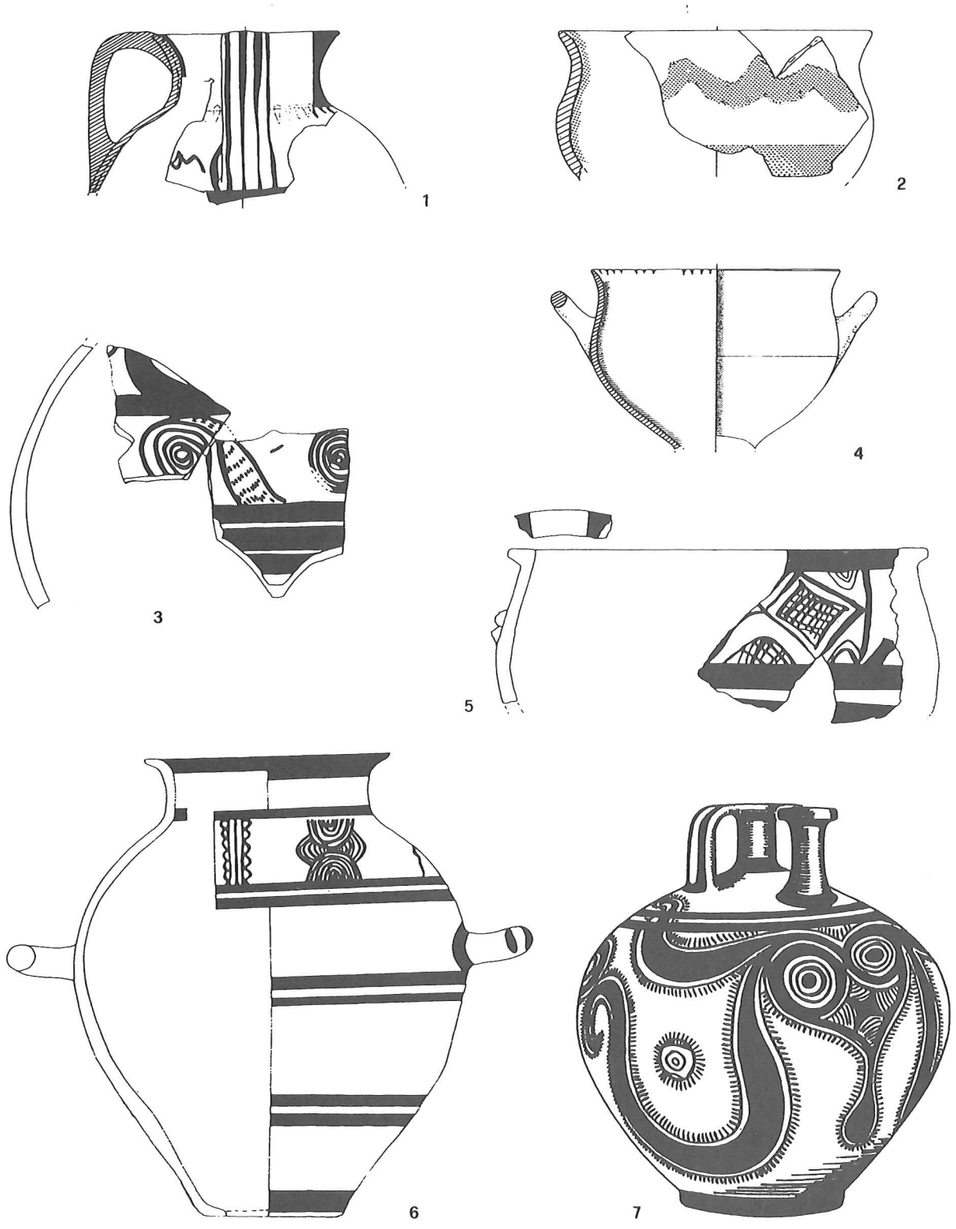

Figure 16.6. Selection of LH IIIC pottery imported (3 and 7) and locally imitated (1–2, 4–6). 1–2, 4 from Leuca in Apulia; 3, 5 from Broglio di Trebisacce in Calabria; 5 from Nuraghe Antigori in Sardinia; 7 from Scoglio del Tonno in Apulia.

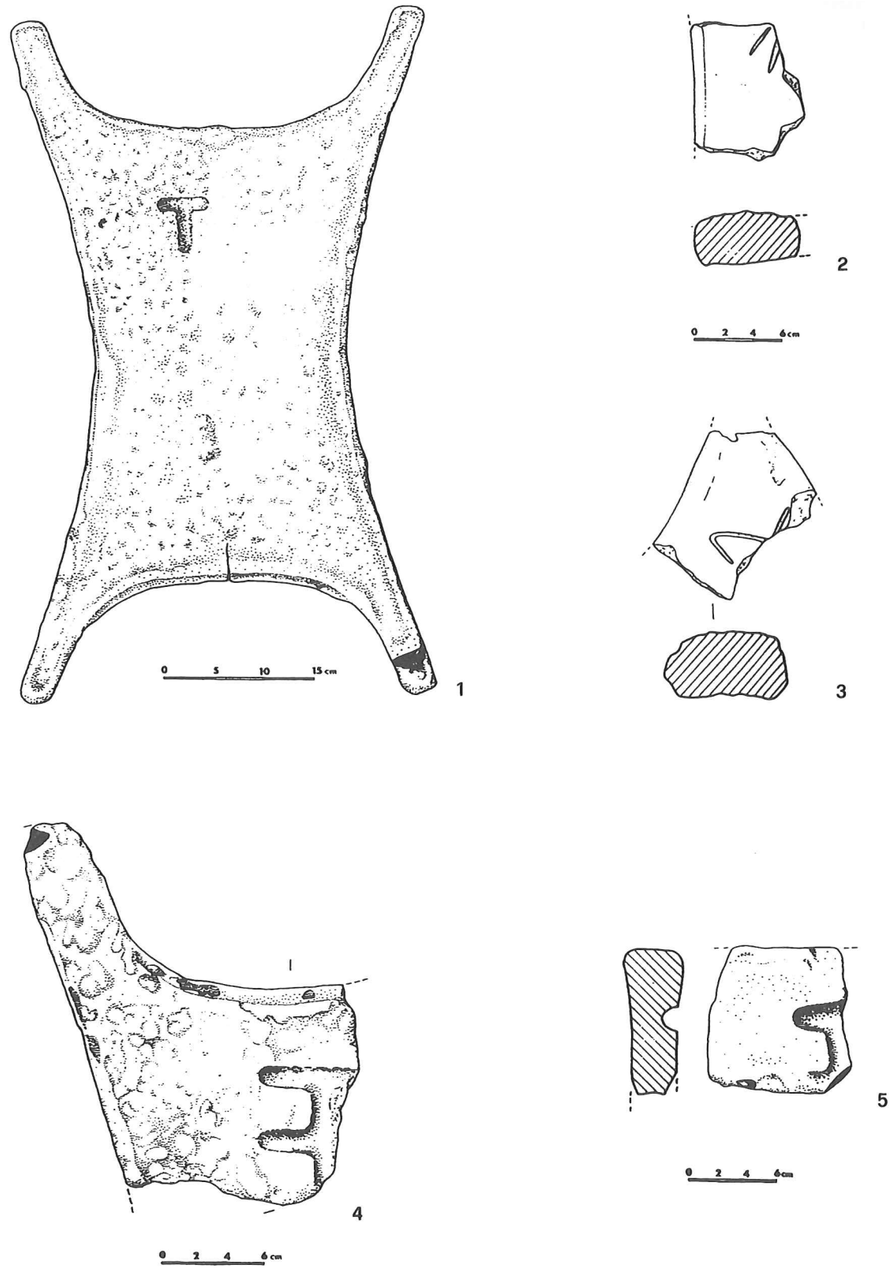

Figure 16.7. Copper ox-hide ingots from Sardinia (after Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo 1989).

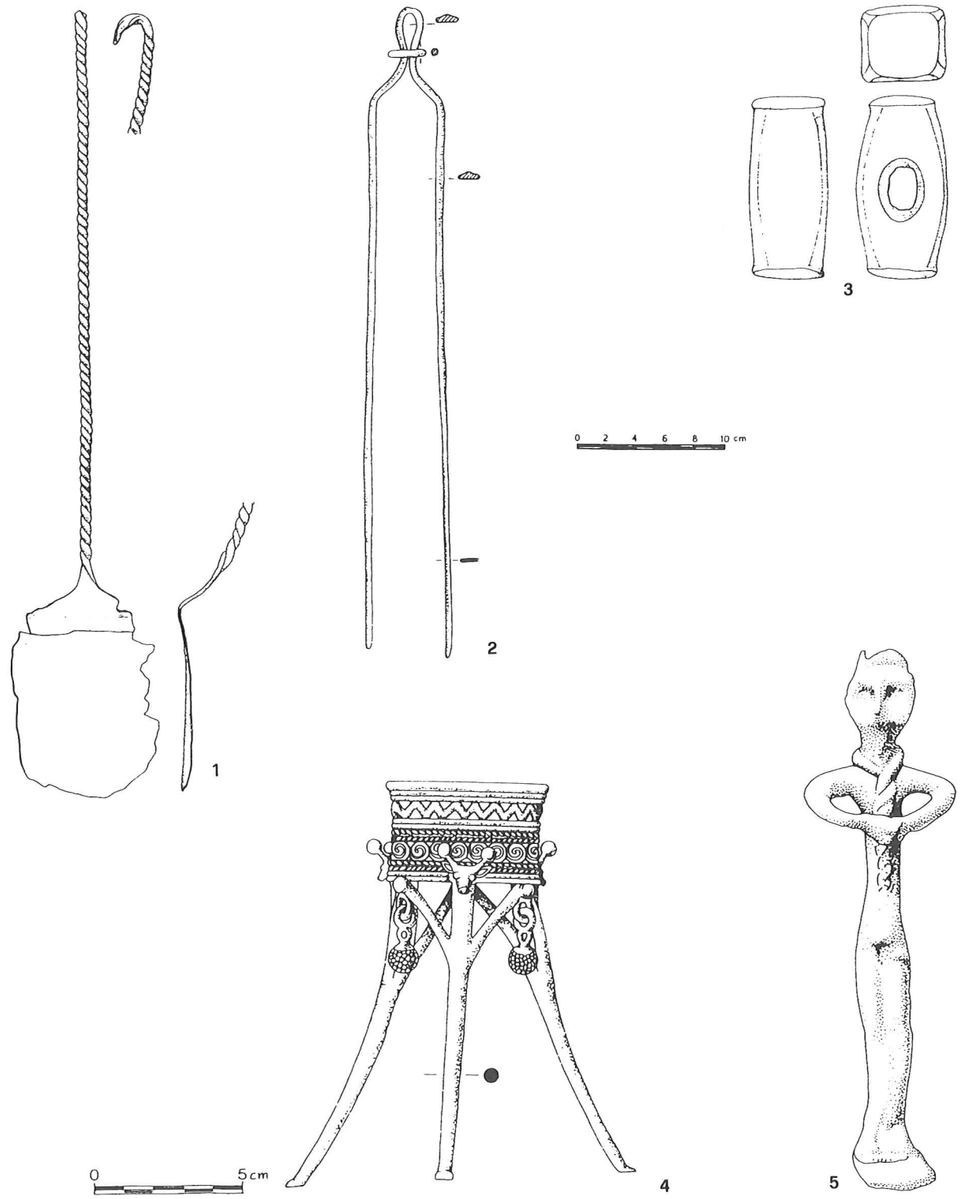

Figure 16.8. Tools for metallurgical work (1–3), tripod stand (4) and figurine (5) from Sardinia (after Lo Schiavo et al. 1985).

of non-utilitarian metal objects, both imported and locally manufactured (e.g., mirrors, vessels, and tripod stands) found in both Sicily and Sardinia show strong similarities to Aegean and Cypriote examples. Of these, the tripod stands represent the most impressive evidence for a close connection between Cypriote and Sardinian metalwork in the Final Bronze Age (Fig. 16.8:4) (Macnamara et al. 1984; Lo Schiavo et al. 1985). It is also possible that the tripod stand fragments of Cypriote type found in peninsular Italy travelled via Sardinia (Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo 1989).

Metal figurines deserve special mention. A bronze Reshef figure from the seabed off the Sicilian coast near Sciacca (Bisi 1968) belongs to a well-known class of 14th–12th century B.C.E. Levantine Bronze Age figurines (Negbi 1976:29–40; Seeden 1980). Other figurines of pre-Phoenician date from Sardinia (Fig. 16.8: 5) differ stylistically from the characteristic Sardinian bronzetti of the Final Bronze Age and Iron Age (Lilliu 1966; 1981) and relate closer to eastern Mediterranean types (Lo Schiavo et al. 1985).

The archaeological record outlined above includes a variety of objects—utilitarian and non-utilitarian alike—that support a picture of intensive and systematic exchange between the eastern and western Mediterranean, including the trade in raw material which is more difficult to detect.

From West to East

Our overview would not be complete without a brief account of the Middle and Late Bronze Age artifacts from the central Mediterranean found in the Aegean, Cyprus and other sites in the eastern Mediterranean. The earliest such object is a bronze sword of the Thapsos/Pertosa type recovered from the cargo of the Ulu Burun shipwreck. This sword type is at home in Sicily and southern Italy in the late 14th and early 13th centuries B.C.E. (Pulak 1988; Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo 1989: fig. 28:2). Also dating to the 13th century B.C.E. are the Peschiera daggers (Fig. 16.4: 2) that have been found in the Aegean and in Cyprus; this type originates in northern Italy and other parts of the peninsula (Matthäus 1980).

The famous sword from Ugarit (Fig. 16.9: 1) inscribed with the cartouche of Merneptah (Schaeffer 1956: 169–178, figs. 123–124, pl. VIII) displays a general typological affinity with central European bronzework known also from northern Italy, in particular the Pépinville, Arco, and Terontola types (Fig. 16.9:2–4) (Bianco Peroni 1970:33–35, pls. 9–11). However, features such as the grooved blade and the royal cartouche imply Near Eastern production based on a foreign model.

The circulation of models may also be due to the activity of itinerant bronzesmiths as evidenced by the famous mold for a winged ax—a characteristic Italian Late/Final Bronze Age class—found in the House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae (Stubbings 1954; Bietti Sestieri 1973).

In addition, certain eastern Mediterranean ceramics exhibit the influence of the central Mediterranean pottery repertoire. For instance, although "Barbarian Ware" pottery from the Aegean and Cyprus is generally different in shape and type from central Mediterranean wares, a number of examples are certainly very close to Subapennine types (Kilian 1988; Pilides 1994; Bettelli 1995). Also, a group of odd dark burnished sherds from the harbor site of Kommos in southern Crete display close similarities to Nuragic Sardinia. The stratified examples from this sites can be dated to the 13th century B.C.E. (Watrous 1989; 1992).

Hints for the connection with Cyprus may be found in an ivory comb from an LC III tomb at Enkomi. Identical combs are well known in peninsular Italy where they have local Late Bronze Age antecedents (Bietti Sestieri 1981; Vagnetti 1986). Also, a two-piece spit found at Amathus in a context datable to the transition between the 2nd and the 1st millennia B.C.E. belongs to a well-known western type. One fragmentary example comes from the Monte Sa Idda hoard in Sardinia which was most likely a stop on the sea route to Cyprus (Karageorghis and Lo Schiavo 1989). Central Mediterranean objects found their way to the east in the 1st millennium B.C.E. as well. For example, a Sardinian juglet was recorded in the Tekke tomb near Knossos and dated to the ninth century B.C.E. (Vagnetti 1989).

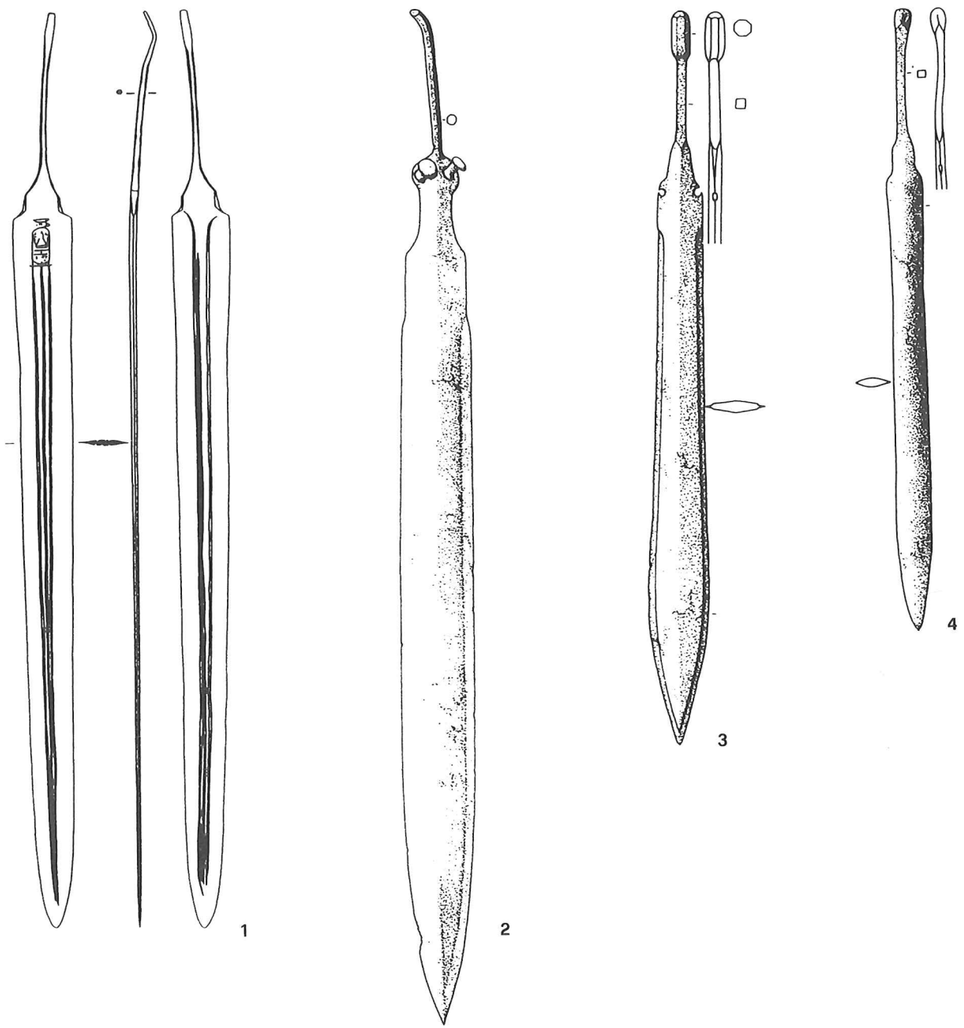

Figure 16.9. Sword from Ugarit (1) compared to Late Bronze Age types from Italy: 2, type Arco; 3, type Pépinville; 4, type Terontola (after Schaeffer 1956 and Bianco Peroni 1970).

The Sea Peoples and the Western Mediterranean

The summary above presents the development of East–West interconnections from a trade relationship in the 16th–13th centuries to the period following the collapse of the Aegean palatial economy when trade was less flourishing and specialized craftsmen (potters and metalsmiths) moved around the Mediterranean. The evidence does not show any kind of recognizable settlement or "colonization" of the central Mediterranean by groups coming from the Aegean, Cyprus, or the Levant. Rather, the local cultures continued to develop, albeit under the occasional influences of foreign technologies and ideas, without the breaks or radical transformations that are detectable in the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant. Thus, in the West, the period after 1200 B.C.E., the Final Bronze Age, is certainly not a time of crises, destructions, or major changes (Holloway 1992); instead, with few exceptions, this is a period of flourishing sites, well developed metallurgy, experimentation in sophisticated technologies, improvements in agricultural techniques, and systematic interconnections with various areas, among which central Europe and the western Mediterranean play significant roles (Lo Schiavo 1990).

What was the possible role of the Sea Peoples in the western and central Mediterranean? Is it possibile in some way that the Sherden, Shekelesh, and Tursha mentioned in the Egyptian and Near Eastern texts as organized mercenaries, with their distinctive armor and weaponry and, presumably also, three separate, recognizable ethnic identities, originated from the West, as was first proposed by De Rougé in 1867? Or, does the available evidence support the inverse hypothesis—advocated by Maspero already in 1873—that these three groups, like all other Sea Peoples, were of western Anatolian or eastern Mediterranean origin, and arrived in the West during the "Dark Age" that followed the disruption of the great empires and preceded the Phoenician and Greek colonization in the West?

Both hypotheses have enjoyed popularity in the vast literature produced on the subject ever since, and still continue to have their respective devoted supporters. Sandars (1978) and more recently Tykot (1994), for example, side with Maspero. Gras (1985: 43–57) elaborates a more original view, attributing to the Sherden a Sardinian identity and suggesting that they first served under the Mycenaeans. More recently, Drews (1993:218) put forward a rather simplistic view concerning the western origin of some groups, and hypothesized ways they might have been enlisted as mercenaries in the pharaoh's army (see Liverani's review, 1994).

This paper cannot fully address this problem, for the archaeological evidence is but one piece in a puzzle that must be worked on equally by philologists, historians, and other specialists. I cannot help but observe, however, that whereas the archaeological evidence outlined points to regular exchange between East and West throughout the Bronze Age, it does not indicate that in the 14th century, the date of the references to the Sherden in the Amarna Letters, the western ethnic groups were warriors. Moreover, in regard to the identification of the Sherden with warriors of Sardinian origin, a further difficulty arises from the almost complete lack of evidence for armor and weapons in Sardinia in the local Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Although this is admittedly an argumentum ex silentio, it is rather surprising that, if the Sardinians of the 14th century were renowned warriors enlisted in the service of Egypt, no trace of weaponry has been preserved in their supposed area of origin. If the warrior status had a particular importance for the Nuragic people, it should be visible in tombs.

Furthermore, if we examine the main (or only) connection of the Sherden (Srdn), Shekelesh (Skrs), and Tursha (Trs) with the Central Mediterranean, namely the similarity of those names with Sardinia, Sicily and Tyrrhenian area, we find further difficulties. First, that Greek sources are agreed that the original name of the island was Ichnussa (RE, IA.2: 2482–84 [1920] s.v. Sardinia; Nicosia 1981:423–26). From other sources we learn that the "Sikeloi" were not the original inhabitants of Sicily, but migrated there from peninsular Italy (RE, IIA.2:2482–91 [1920] s.v. Sikelia), while the Etruscans called themselves "Rasenna" (RE, IA.1:253–54 [1914], s.v. Rasennas). Thus the combination of the archaeological evidence with the traditions of the place-name makes it difficult to conclude that Sherden, Shekelesh and Tursha, were of western origin. Moreover, when these three groups are listed together with other Sea Peoples, whose origin is generally put in Western Anatolia or in the Aegean, there is no differentiation.

In discussions of the Sherden homeland, scholars often point to similarities in the iconography of the Sherden in Egyptian art and some Sardinian bronze figurines with the typical horned helmet (Fig. 16.10:2). Yet such comparisons are at best misleading, for the Sardinian figurines are probably not earlier than the Final Bronze Age (Lilliu 1966:58–97; 1981: figs. 177–185). Moreover, the iconographic characteristics attributed to various groups depicted on the Medinet Habu reliefs are themselves imprecise; indeed, there is a Sardinian bronze figurine who wears the feathered headdress of the Peleset (Fig. 16.10:1) (Lilliu 1966: 100, no. 44; 1981:187), but no one to my knowledge has ever seriously related the Peleset to Sardinia (and to the origin of Sardus Pater,

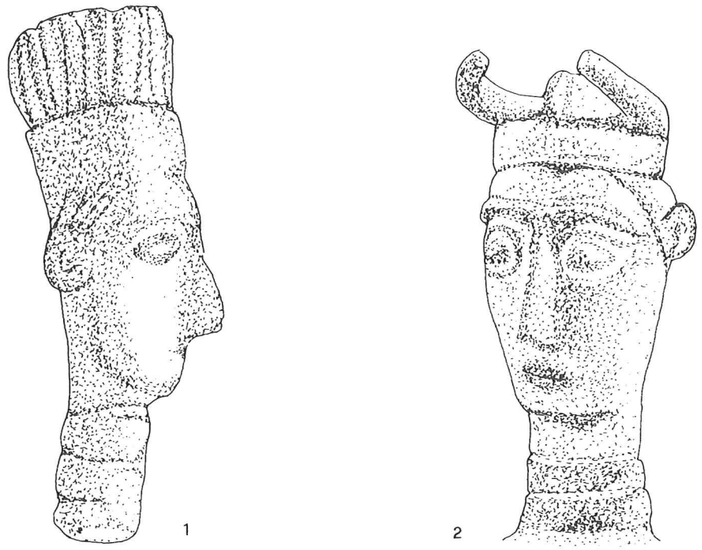

Figure 16.10. Heads of bronze figurines from Sardinia (drawing A. Mancini).

who, in later times, wears the same headgear).

Thus, I find the evidence stronger that the three groups, and in particular the Sherden, were the people who brought to the West the toponyms attached to the two islands and to a part of peninsular Italy.

Perhaps it was the ancient mariners, in particular the Phoenicians, who, already familiar with these tribes in the Levant, gave the names to the areas that were the landing places for groups of Sherden, Shekelesh, and Tursha (M. Dothan 1986). In this connection it is interesting to note the literary tradition which connects the name Sardinia to Sardos, a Libyan hero who guided a group of people to the island "without establishing new settlements, but mixing with local people" (Nicosia 1981:423). This situation is evocative of the archaeological data from the Late and Final Bronze Ages in the central Mediterranean which, as we have already stressed, indicates neither "colonial" activity nor new settlements.

In general, it appears that whichever explanation one prefers for the origin and identity of the Sherden, Shekelesh and Tursha is based not only on his/her careful evaluation of the archaeological and textual sources, but also on one's personal inclination. Also, it is important to recognize in the end, that the entire problem of the Sea Peoples is complicated by the fact that the nature of the evidence for these groups in the Eastern and Western Mediterranean is not comparable: for the East, we have archaeology and contemporaneous texts, while for the West, we have archaeology and late written sources. This divergence makes it likely that the debate between opposing positions will continue for many years to come.

Acknowledgments

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17

The Early Iron Age at Gordion: The Evidence from the Yassıhöyük Stratigraphic Sequence

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A Brief History of Archaeological Research at Gordion

The mound called Yassıhöyük, located near the juncture of the Porsuk and Sakarya rivers in central Anatolia, has been securely identified as ancient Gordion, capital of the Phrygian kingdom during the first half of the first millennium B.C.E. This identification is based on a match between geographical information provided by ancient sources with the date and nature of archaeological remains, an argument that was initially constructed at the turn of the century by Gustav and Alfred Körte (1904). From 1950 to 1973, Rodney S. Young directed excavations at the site for the University of Pennsylvania Museum. He focussed his research on a fortified area located on the eastern half of Yassıhöyük (hereafter referred to as the Citadel Mound), and on large burial mounds or tumuli located on slopes to the east and south (Figs. 17.1–2). His work which revealed large areas of a burned palace quarter dated c. 700 B.C.E. (the Early Phrygian Destruction Level) provided a detailed picture of Gordion during a period when Phrygia dominated central Anatolia under its best known king, Midas (Sams 1995; Young 1981). Later phases of occupation were necessarily recorded and removed in order to get to the Early Phrygian Destruction Level producing a huge but unsorted body of archaeological materials. Deposits lying beneath the Early Phrygian Destruction Level were briefly tested by Young and Machteld Mellink, exposing limited areas of a Bronze Age and early Iron Age settlement.

Young's death in 1974 put a temporary halt to excavation, but his colleagues and students continued work on Gordion materials under the direction of Keith DeVries who had been appointed as Project Director. Research focussed on analysis and publication of the massive quantity of information that had been collected from the site (DeVries 1990; Kohler 1995;

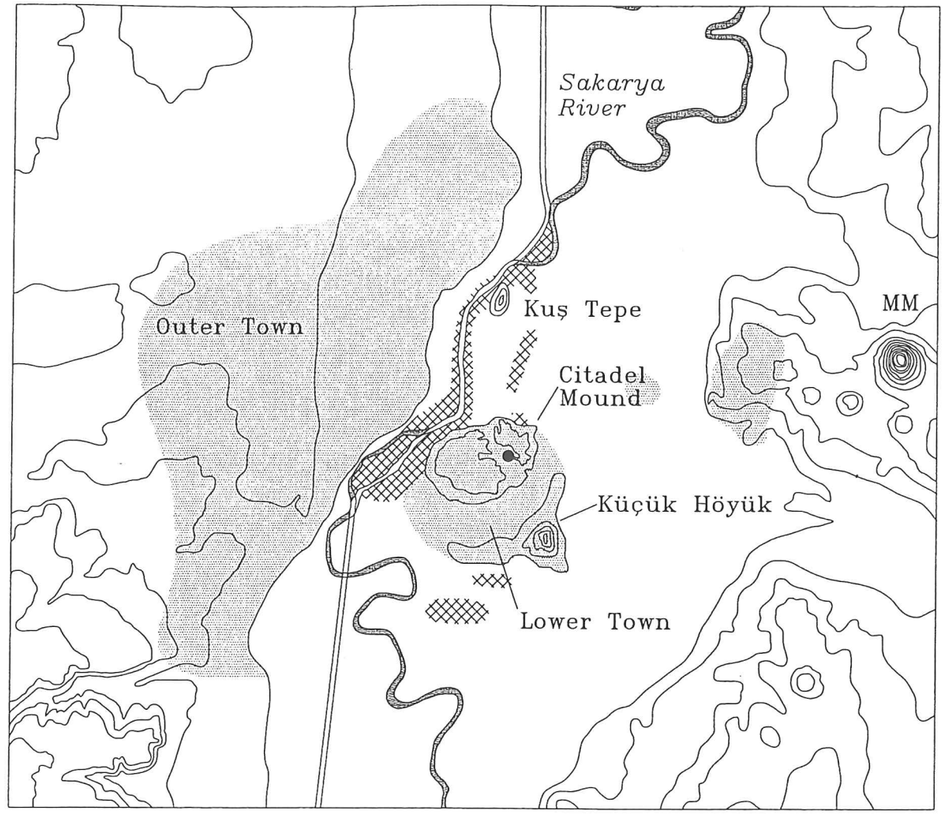


Figure 17.1. Map of the Gordion region showing the areas of ancient settlement and modern location of the Sakarya River.

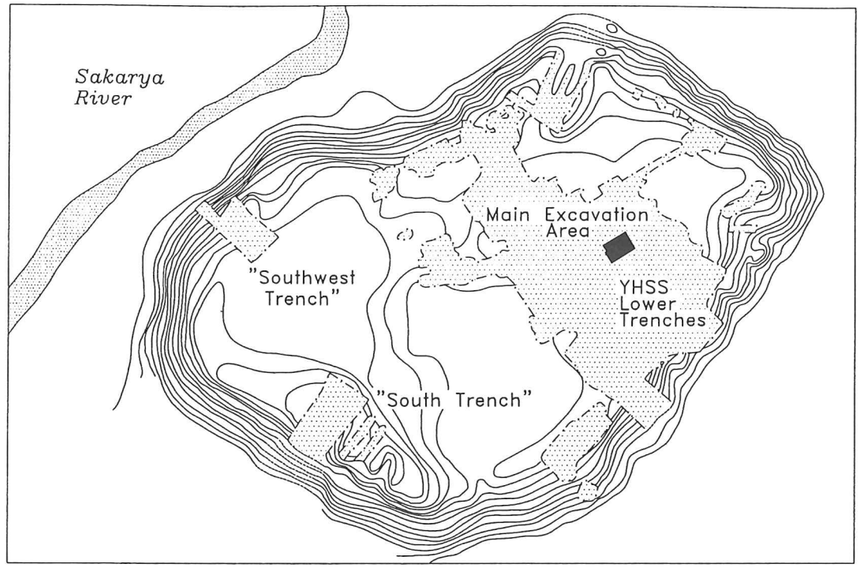


Figure 17.2. Yassıhöyük/Gordion Citadel Mound, with areas excavated between 1900 and 1989.

Roller 1987; Romano 1995; Sams 1994). By the mid-1980's it had became clear that many chronological and stratigraphic problems faced anyone attempting to understand Gordion after 700 B.C.E.—problems that might be resolved by new excavation. The completion of a monograph on the levels before 700 B.C.E. (Gunter 1991) coincided with a rising interest in the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition at the end of the second millennium B.C.E. (e.g. Ward and Joukowsky 1992); Gordion was one of the few sites known that spanned this transition.

In 1988 excavation was resumed at Gordion under the direction of Mary M. Voigt, again sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania Museum; at the same time, G. Kenneth Sams was appointed Project Director, with primary repsonsibility for site conservation and the ongoing publication of Young's work. One of the primary goals set for Voigt's research was to define a detailed stratigraphic sequence for the Citadel Mound from the Late Bronze Age to Medieval times. This goal was accomplished through the excavation of two soundings that together document a range of time that extends from Medieval to Middle Bronze Age times. The later periods were exposed in the Upper Trench Sounding, a series of trenches laid out on the mound's surface next to Young's Main Excavation Area and carried down to the floor of a room within the Early Phrygian Destruction Level (Fig. 17.3). Deposits beneath the Destruction Level were tested by the Lower Trench Sounding, set within a large courtyard of the burned palace quarter. The resulting stratigraphic column has been used to define a series of ten chronological units or "phases" based on significant changes in material culture and/or the use of space within the area sampled—the Yassıhöyük Stratigraphic Sequence or YHSS (Table 17.1; see also Voigt 1994, 1997; Sams and Voigt 1990, 1991).

From the outset it was hoped that the well-dated archaeological assemblages within the YHSS could be used to examine specific problems in the culture history of the Gordion region. Many of these problems revolved around ethnicity—the identification of culturally defined groups whose members "share certain

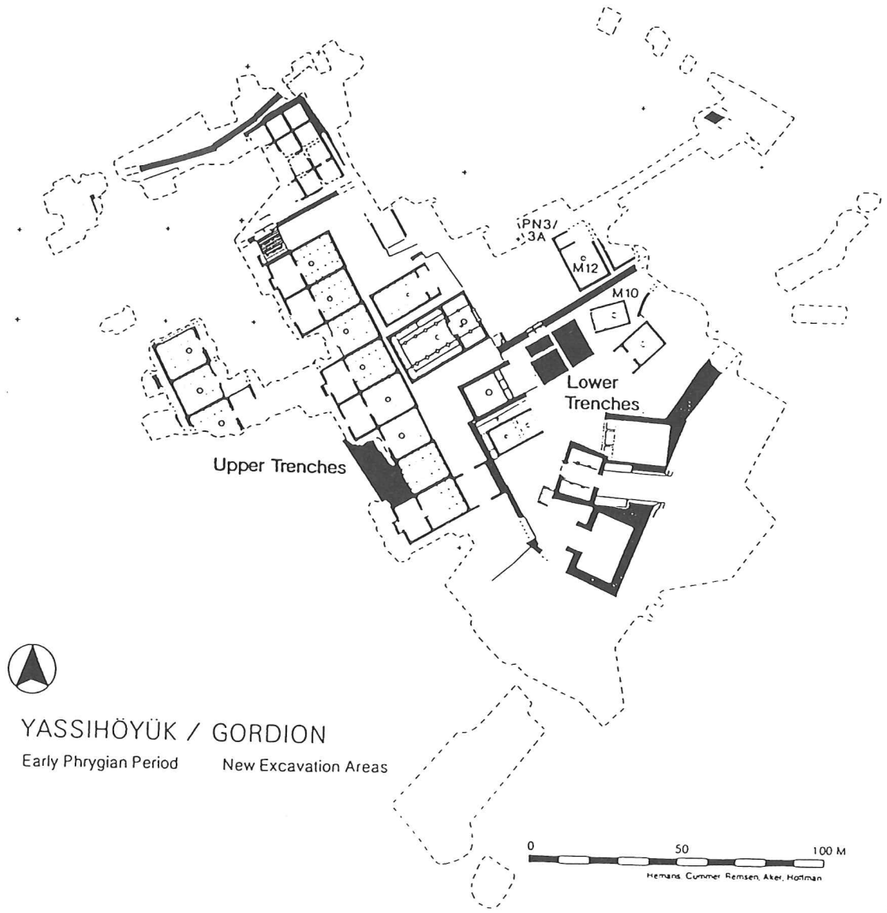


Figure 17.3a. Plan showing the location of the 1988–89 excavations in relationship to standing remains of the Early Phrygian Destruction Level (YHSS Phase 6A).

beliefs, values, habits, customs, and norms . . . [including] language, religion, historical experience, geographic isolation, kinship, or race." (Kottak 1997: 50). The ethnic marker emphasized by Anatolian archaeologists has been language. This article reports new information on the late second and early first millennia B.C.E., or the period when Phrygian speakers migrated into Turkey and established control over much of the Anatolian plateau. More specifically we seek to answer two broad questions: What can we say about the fate of the people who lived at Gordion at the time of the collapse of the Hittite Empire; and what was their relationship to the Phrygian immigrants who eventually came to dominate the settlement? The segment of the stratigraphic sequence relevant to these questions extends from the Late Bronze Age (YHSS Phase 9) through the period when Phrygian speakers were clearly in control of the site (YHSS 6B) (Table 17.1).

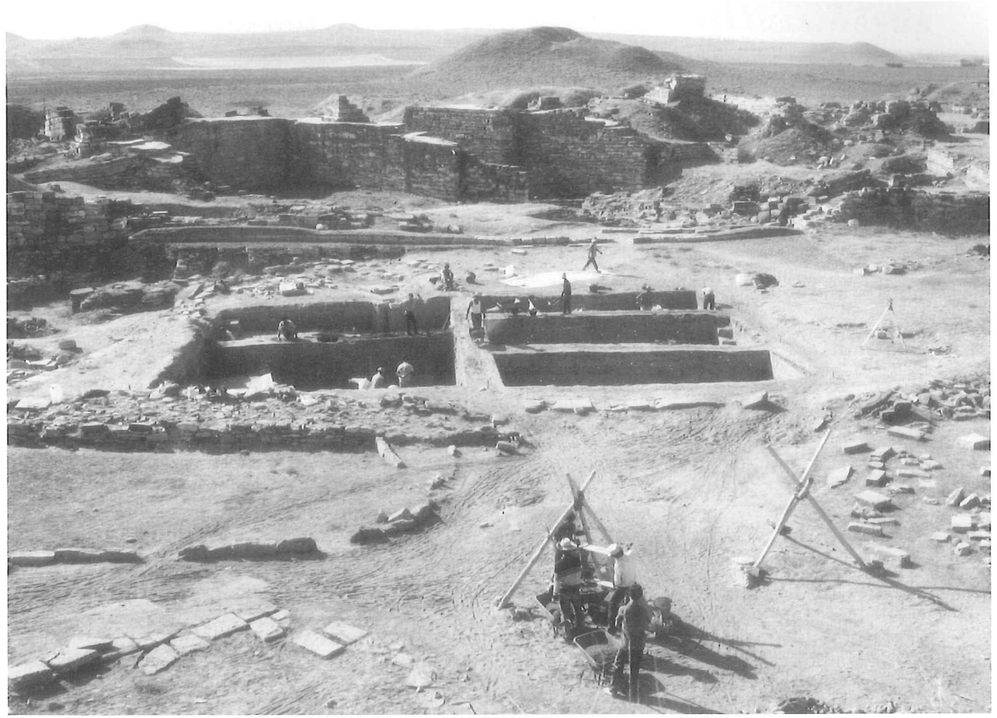


Figure 17.3b. View of the 1988–89 Lower Trench Sounding looking south toward the main gate into the Early Phrygian (YHSS 6A) palace quarter.

TABLE 17.1: THE YASSIHÖYÜK STRATIGRAPHIC SEQUENCE (YHSS)

YHSS Phase	Period Name	Approximate Dates
1	Medieval	10–12th century A.D.?
2	Roman	1st century B.C.E.–3rd century A.D.
3	Hellenistic	330–150 B.C.E.
4	Late Phrygian	550–330 B.C.E.
5	Middle Phrygian	700–550 B.C.E.
6	Early Phrygian	950–700 B.C.E.
7	Early Iron Age	1100–950 B.C.E.
9–8	Late Bronze Age	1400–1200 B.C.E.
10	Middle Bronze Age	1600(?)–1400 B.C.E.

Documenting a Migration

We started our research by making some assumptions about textual sources. As implied by the second question stated above, we accepted Herodotus' account of the Phrygian migration from Europe into Anatolia as historical, referring to an actual sequence of events that happened hundreds of years before Herodotus' own time (see Drews 1993b for arguments both for and against the historicity of Herodotus). Such a migration would presumably be documented by discontinuities in material culture (see below). We also adopted a premise articulated by Machteld Mellink with specific reference to the problem of Phrygians and a Phrygian migration—that only writing can tell us the language spoken by the people who create and abandon the material remains that we recover archaeologically (Conference on the Phrygians, Eskisehir, 1993).

Using written evidence from Gordion, we can state with assurance that Phrygian speakers lived at the site from the last quarter of the eighth into the fourth century B.C.E. The eighth century inscriptions are Phrygian names preserved on wax panels that had been applied to four bronze and one ceramic vessel found in Tumulus MM (Young et al. 1981:129–130, 139, 173; 273–277), and a graffito found above the initial floor of Megaron 10, a context that is not precisely dated but is generally agreed to predate Tumulus MM (Young 1966:276, pl. 73.22; Brixhe and Lejeune 1984:98–99 [G-104], pl. LI.4). We also know that during the Late Bronze at least some people at Gordion could read and perhaps write Luvian, based on the recovery of stamp seals and sealings with Hittite hieroglyphics (Sams and Voigt 1990: fig. 19; Henrickson 1995:83, 88; Güterbock 1980).

For the more than four hundred year period between these two linguistic fixed points we have only archeological evidence, and cannot directly determine the ethno-linguistic affiliations of the people who left that evidence. But if we cannot deal directly with the transition between Luwian and Phrygian speakers resident at the site, can we approach the problem indirectly? Can we identify a coherent set of behaviors or customs based on archaeological remains that correspond to a cultural, or for the sake of argument, an ethnic group? And, if more than one ethnic group can be identified in this way, can we say anything about the relationships between them? Returning to our specific case, is there evidence for more than one ethnic group at Gordion during the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition, and if so, what kinds of events accompanied the arrival of a new group?

A second series of assumptions were made in order to link changes in material culture to a migration or population replacement. In order to eliminate "noise" created by the presence of items that were obtained by trade we focussed on change in aspects of material culture that indisputably resulted from activities carried out at Gordion. The selection of non-portable "artifacts" such as storage pits, hearths, ovens and structural details of domestic architecture as key elements for study eliminated the problem created by exchange systems. Moreover, such non-portable items of material culture are highly likely to reflect culturally mediated choices made by their occupants, since in non-specialized economies houses and domestic features are built by the people who reside in them or use them. We further assumed that basic technologies of domestic life would be relatively stable and less subject to change as a result of diffusion or innovation than other items that are both common in the archaeological record and frequently exchanged (e.g. pottery, stone or metal tools and ornaments). We thus reasoned that a sudden and significant stylistic shift in domestic architecture, pits, and cooking facilities could be used as an indicator of a change in the ethnic group resident at the site (see also Voigt 1994:276). If a shift in basic domestic facilities was accompanied by change in other culturally controlled behaviors such as the selection of domestic animal species, hunting patterns, food preparation (especially butchery), and the manufacture of items produced at the household level, the argument for migration would appear to us to be very strong indeed.

Data from the Lower Trench Sounding (YHSS Phases 9 through 6B) can be used to argue that there were two ethnic groups present at Gordion during the late second millennium B.C.E. Each of these groups is represented by a distinctive pattern of material culture, a pattern based on the archaeological assemblage as a whole rather than a single category of remains (e.g. pottery). Between YHSS Phases 8 and 7 there are differences in house form and construction techniques, storage facilities, ceramic style and technology, and subsistence systems. That the incoming group represented archaeologically by YHSS 7 was "Phrygian" is likely, based on multiple lines of evidence put forth in the conclusion of this paper. Another break in material culture occurs at the beginning of the early first millennium (designated archaeologically as the distinction between YHSS Phases 7B and A), but in this case there is evidence of continuity in major items such as architecture and ceramics. Thus if new immigrants arrived at the site within YHSS Phase 7 they did not maintain or did not display a distinct identity through the use of material culture.

Archaeological Documentation: The Yassıhöyük Stratigraphic Sequence

LATE BRONZE AGE: YHSS 9–8 (ca. 1400–1200 B.C.E.)

In the Lower Trench Sounding we exposed archaeological deposits dated to the time of Hittite Empire. The Phase 9 sample was very small, consisting of a series of trash deposits and outside (water-washed) surfaces. Cut down into these lensed deposits from a hard packed surface that capped them was a rectangular building and associated features designated as YHSS Phase 8. What we found was a stone-lined pit 7.50 m long, and 4.50 m wide, with a soft ashy floor 0.50–0.60 m below the contemporary surface (Fig. 17.4; Voigt 1994:266–267, fig. 25.2.1, pl 25.12–13). We interpret this pit as the basement for a structure with a stone and wood superstructure, a conclusion based on (1) the projection of the best preserved section of stone wall above the exterior surface; (2) the absence of mud bricks and relatively small amount of stone found within the building collapse; and (3) the presence of post holes at each end of the building. The pattern of posts at the southern end of the building suggests a wooden porch in this area.

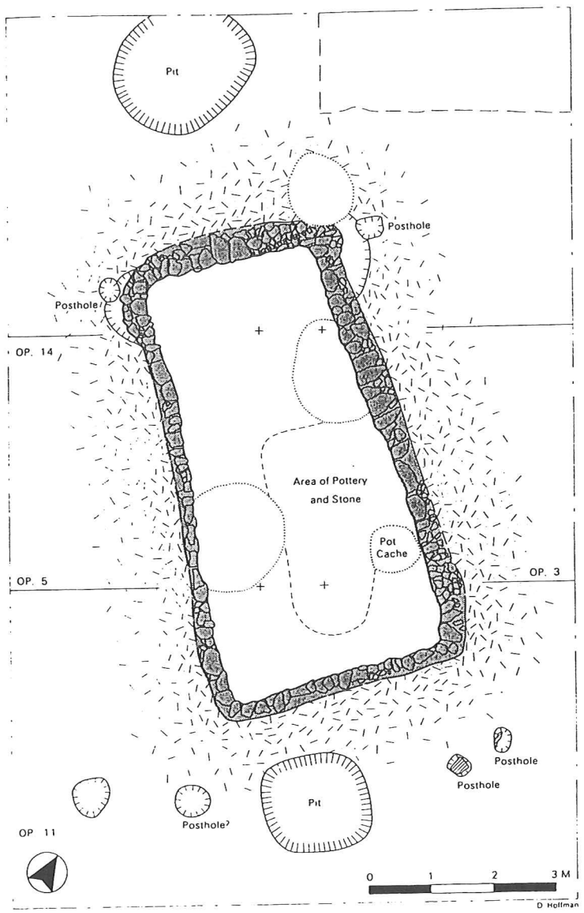
Outside this Late Bronze Age house (the CBH Structure) were large cylindrical storage pits lined with thin pinkish-white layers composed of phytoliths or silicaceous plant remains. These presumably represent grain storage pits that were later filled with domestic trash, including bone and metal artifacts. An even larger collection of artifacts came from the basement floor of the CBH Structure, including many ground stone artifacts, broken pots, and an isolated human skull fragment.

Ceramics (see below) and metal artifacts (pins and flat, winged arrowheads), firmly link Late Bronze Age Gordion to the Hittite empire. Because the Bronze Age settlement is deeply buried and has been sampled over a very small area, we have no way of estimating its size, but we can tentatively identify it as part of a small polity in contact with the Hittites, and affiliated with them to some degree. This conclusion is supported by glyptic materials: a rim sherd from a large storage vessel impressed with a seal bearing a Hittite hieroglyphic inscription recovered from the CBH Structure (Sams and Voigt 1990: fig. 19); and sealings recovered from contemporary levels by Rodney Young and Machteld Mellink (Güterbock 1980:51, fig. 3–4). Mass production of ceramics, inferred from aspects of technology and use of clay sources (see below) points to an economy based on specialization and exchange.

EARLY IRON AGE: YHSS 7 (ca. 1100–950 B.C.E.)

This phase is divided into two subphases based on architecture and ceramic evidence. Built directly above, and partially into the Late Bronze Age (YHSS Phase 8) building was an architectural complex dated to the Early Iron Age/Yassıhöyük Stratigraphic Phase 7B. This complex consists of a series of rooms that make up at least two (and probably three) independent structures that have a complex architectural history (Voigt 1994:267). All of the rooms of these buildings were semi-subterranean, placed in shallow rectilinear pits. The smallest excavated 7B building or CKD Structure consists of a single room 3.50 m long and 3.00 m wide, extending 0.20–0.30 m below the contemporary exterior surface (Fig. 5; Voigt 1994:267–268, fig. 25.2.2, pl. 25.2.1). The walls of this structure were apparently built of an organic material, most likely reeds or poles and branches, covered with mud plaster. A line of rocks and mud bricks, and a scatter of smaller cobbles protected the base of the walls. When found, the housepit was filled with silty mud collapse resting on a floor with traces of mud plaster. Set on the floor were a tray and jar base of Early Iron Age Handmade pottery, and a jug of the same ware rested in a contemporary pit outside the house (see below, Fig. 17.13:2). The silty collapse on the floor of the house was filled with Late Bronze Age sherds that must be derived from early deposits that were dug up and used as building material. Larger rooms (within the SSH and WFL Structures) had more substantial walls which were lined with flat stone slabs or orthostats (Voigt 1994:268, pl. 25.2.4, 25.3.2). Interior fittings of houses during YHSS Phase 7B include bins and ovens built of stone slabs and plastered with mud, and small horseshoe-shaped ovens (fig. 6; Voigt 1994: 268, fig. 25.2.2, pl. 25.2.2–4). The 7B houses were separated by open courtyards which contained large bell-shaped pits that we interpret as grain storage facilities based on phytolith deposits on their floors (Voigt 1994: pl. 25.3.2). They were later used as dumps for ash and other domestic trash, producing good samples of Early Iron Age Handmade pottery and food debris.

The architecture and ceramic industry (see below) from Phase 7B suggest a relatively small and isolated community. The faunal assemblage is consistent with this interpretation. Zeder and Arter (1994) report that caprines (sheep and goats) are the predominant meat animals throughout the archaeological



YASSIHÖYÜK / GORDION

YH Stratigraphic Phase 8
Late Bronze Age Structure CB

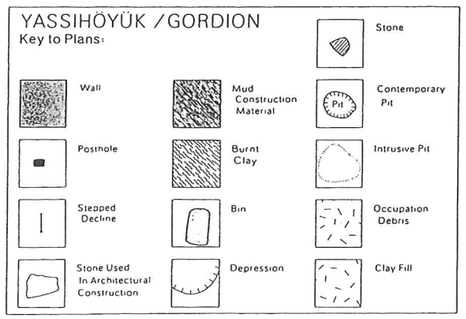


Figure 17.4a. Plan of structure CBH, with contemporary storage pits to the northwest and southeast (Late Bronze Age/YHSS Phase 8).

Figure 17.4b. View of Structure CBH from the southeast. A sounding into earlier levels has cut away the structure in the left foreground.

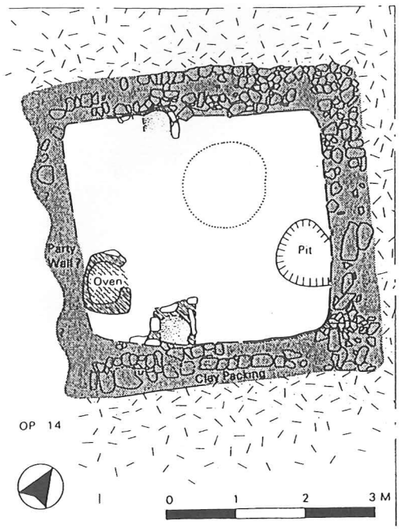


Figure 17.5a. Plan of structure CKD; a second room or building stood to the southwest and an open courtyard lay to the southeast (Early Iron Age/YHSS Phase 7B).

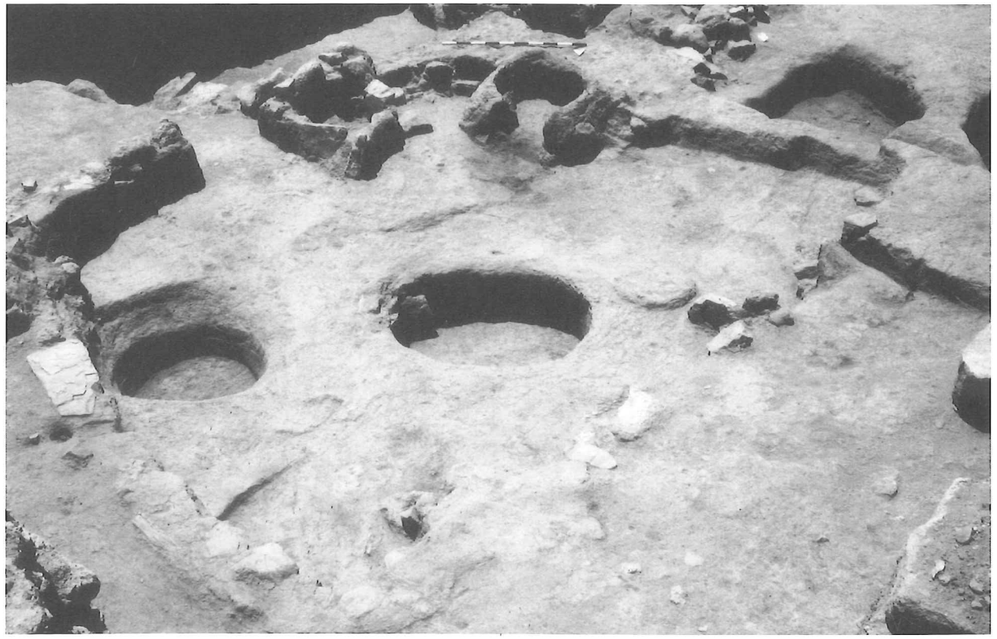


Figure 17.5b. View of Structure CKD from the north.

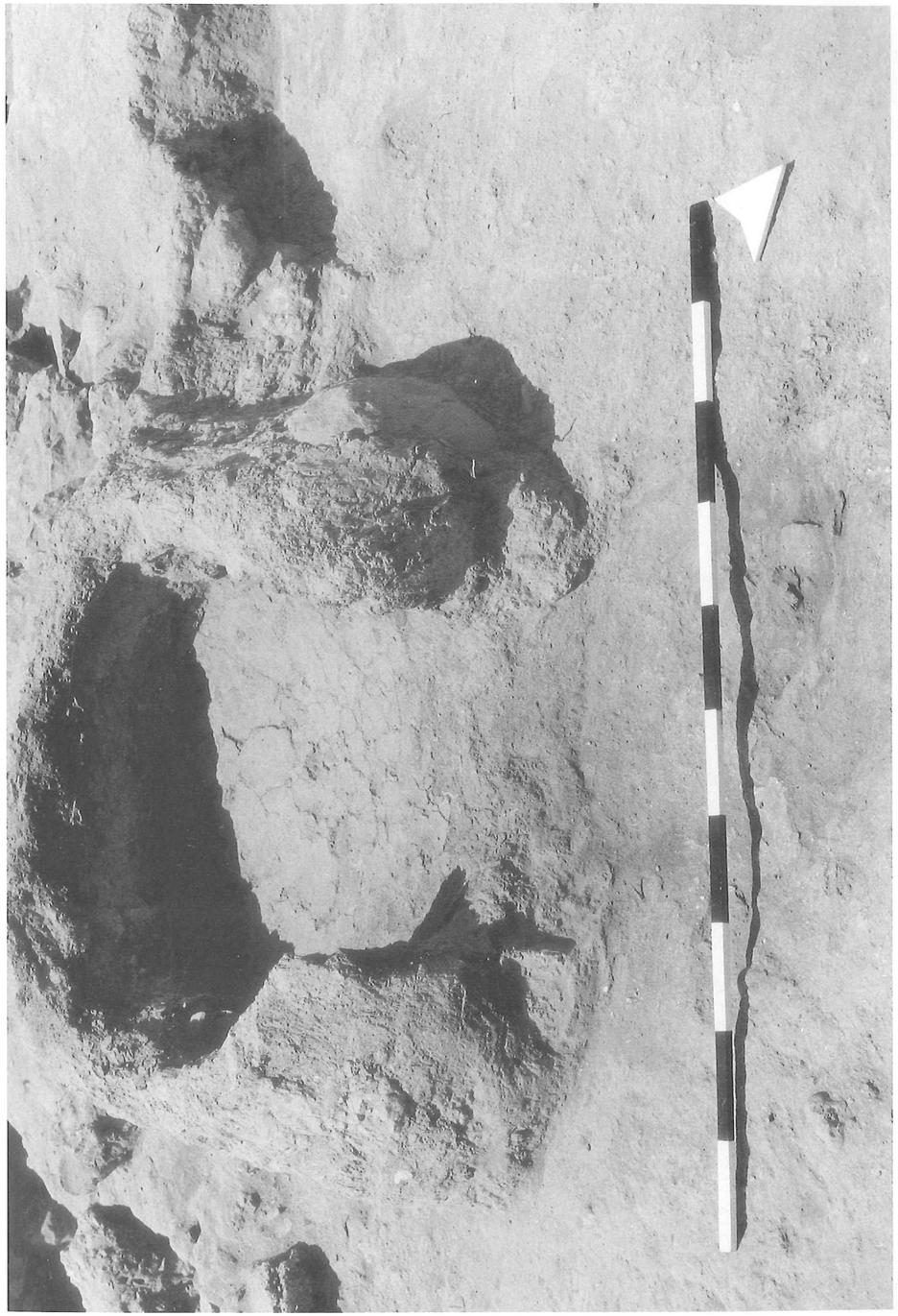


Figure 17.6. Oven in the southwest corner of structure CKD, as seen from the east (Early Iron Age/YHSS Phase 7B).

sequence; there is, however, a general trend showing an increase in caprines over cattle and pig from YHSS Phases 9–8 through the end of Phase 7 (Zeder and Arter 1994: table 4, fig. 3). Within the caprines, sheep dominate in all periods of the stratigraphic sequence, but there is a slight increase in the percentage of goats from the Late Bronze Age (YHSS 9–8) into the Early Iron Age (YHSS 7B) (Zeder and Arter 1994:112–113, table 6, fig. 8). While this kind of change can be related to the degradation of natural pastures (Zeder and Arter 1994:112, 114), the renewed importance of sheep in YHSS Phase 6 (Zeder and Arter 1994: fig. 5) suggests to us that cultural practices or preferences may account for differences between YHSS phases 8 and 7B. Moving to domesticated animals not used primarily for food, there is a shift in the proportion of ass versus horse from the Late Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age: in Phase 8, donkeys constitue 60% of the equine sample, while in Phase 7B horses constitute 89% of the equine sample (Zeder and Arter 1994:113–114, table 7, fig. 6). This sample of equids is small, but suggests that during Phase 7B people were placing less importance on animals used primarily as beasts of burden, and a greater importance on those used for personal transport.

The first strata assigned to Yassıhöyük Stratigraphic Phase 7A are associated with a large, single-roomed house (BRH Structure) that burned, preserving a great deal of information about its superstructure and contents (Fig. 17.7; Voigt 1994:269, fig. 25.3.1, pls. 25.3.3–4, 25.4.1–2). During construction, a shallow rectilinear pit was cut, leaving a narrow ledge around the interior of the pit. Large posts set in the corners of the pit and small posts set into the ledge formed the framework for a light-weight superstructure made of reeds and reed bundles covered with mudplaster. The floor and the interior face of the pit wall as well as the organic superstructure were coated with smooth plaster. Interior features include a two-chambered oven (Fig. 17.8), a small potstand, and a large rectangular feature of unknown function. Artifacts on the floor of this burned house include a large saddle quern, stone weight, clay loom weights

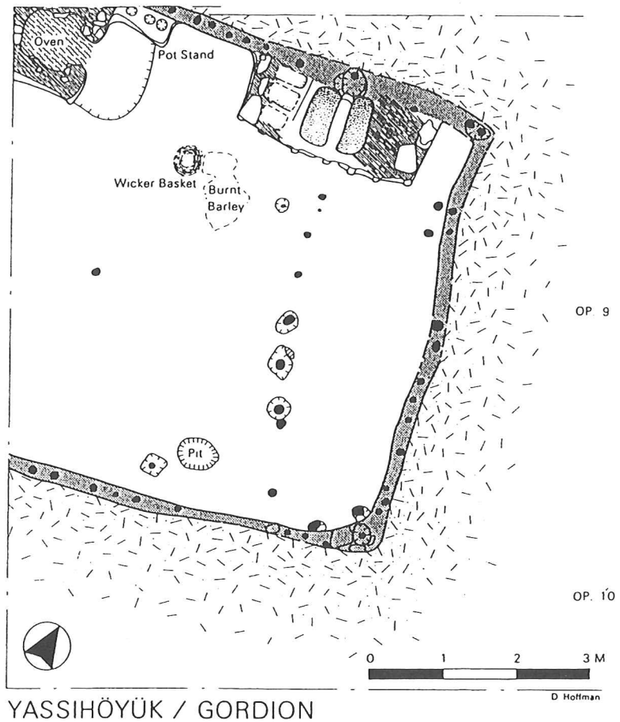


Figure 17.7a. Plan of the Burnt Reed structure (BRH) (Early Iron Age/YHSS Phase 7A).

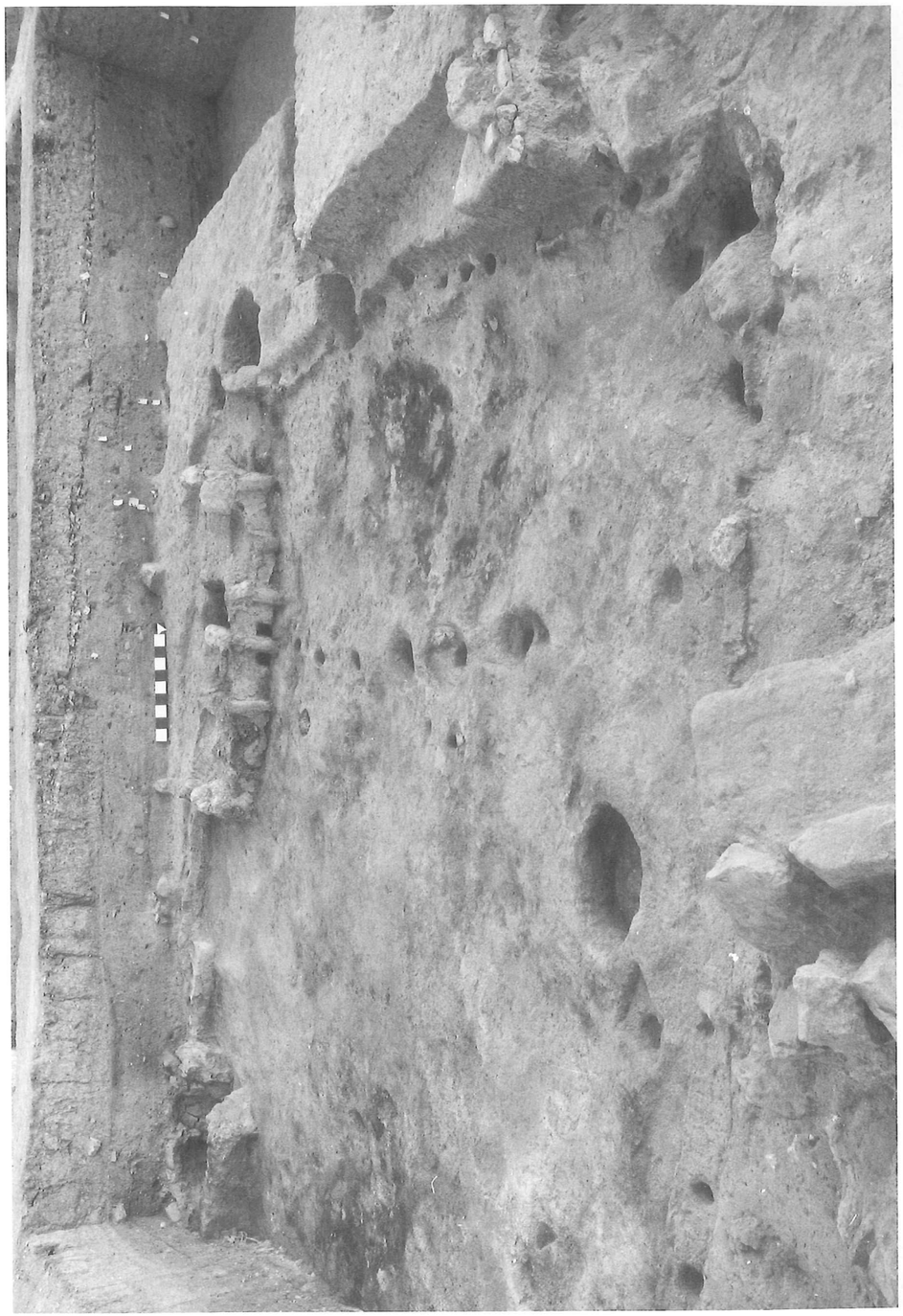


Figure 17.7b. View of the BRH Structure from the southeast.

Figure 17.8. Oven in the northwest corner of structure BRH, as seen from above and with arrow indicating north (Early Iron Age/YHSS 7A).

and many shattered pots which differ in fabric, forming techniques, shape, and surface finish from the pottery of Phase 7B (see below).

Phase 7A marks the appearance of a new type of ceramics, a new kind of architecture using a wooden framework and large interior spaces, and a new kind of oven. If ethnic Phrygians arrived in Phase 7B as we have already suggested, what does this second, 7A shift in domestic features and equipment mean? Using the criteria set out for a population change, we have to postulate a second migration, but in the absence of any contemporary or earlier sites with a similar pattern of material culture, we are not really able to place the 7A material in a culture-historical perspective. The inferred migration might have involved a long or a short distance, and the direction from which new immigrants came is not known. Perhaps even more important, we have no way of assessing the social role of the new immigrants—their social and political relationships to people already resident at the site and in the valley.

We can, however, say something about the subsequent or latest Phase 7A population at Gordion. Detailed analysis of the stratigraphy coupled with the excavation of balks since 1993 has produced evidence that argues for an assimilation of any newcomers, whatever their origin. One structure built in Phase 7B, apparently the earliest in our sample, was rebuilt or reused in Phase 7A with the position of key features such as hearths and bins retained. Adjacent to this long-lived structure was a large pit with restorable vessels of Early Iron Age Handmade Ware (characteristic of Phase 7B), but also restorable pots of Early Iron Age Buff Ware which appears in Phase 7A (see below). Pits are common in the latest 7A strata, and most of them (both small and large) are bell-shaped, documenting continuity with 7B levels. We therefore have limited archaeological evidence suggesting that descendants of the earliest Iron Age people at Gordion continued to live at the site—an essential condition if the identification of the 7B migrants with Phrygian speakers is to be upheld.

EARLIEST PHRYGIAN: YHSS PHASE 6B (ca. 950–800 B.C.E.)

At the beginning of YHSS Phase 6B there is a change in the function of the area sampled. This part of the site (which had previously been devoted to domestic structures) becomes an open court, establishing the formal plan that continued into the period when Gordion was no longer ruled by an independent Phrygian dynasty (Voigt 1997; Voigt et al. 1997). The earliest Iron Age fortifications are dated to this period, and we can therefore see Phase 6B as a time when Gordion gained in political importance, eventually becoming the capital of a state that dominated all of central Anatolia.

Combining stratigraphic information from the Lower Trenches with discussions of the sequence from Young's excavation by Young, DeVries and Sams, six phases of construction and use in the courtyard area have been distinguished (Voigt 1994: 270–272). The construction phase immediately preceding the well-known court and buildings of the Destruction Level (YHSS Phase 6A) includes a monumental stone structure, partially excavated by Rodney Young, which we have nicknamed the Post and Poros (PAP) Structure (Sams and Voigt 1995:370–374, figs. 2–7). Small finds, plant and animal remains, and ceramics were all rare in YHSS 6B strata, reflecting a care for public areas that is admirable if detrimental to archaeological interpretation.

The Yassıhöyük Phase 9 to 6 Pottery

INTRODUCTION

During the Early Iron Age (YHSS 7), at least two intrusive ceramic traditions appeared in succession at Gordion. Although partially contemporary, in all other respects they were unrelated to one another. Early Iron Age Handmade (hereafter EIA Handmade), which appeared at the start of Phase 7B, was a simple, handmade assemblage which broke completely with the Late Bronze ceramic tradition. It has typological connections to southeast Europe, particularly Thrace. Early Iron Age Buff ware (hereafter EIA Buff) appeared later in the Early Iron Age (Phase 7A). Its technology and organization of production were more complex than those of EIA Handmade. Its origins remain unclear, but derivation from the earlier local Late Bronze ceramic tradition seems unlikely. Finally, typical Early Phrygian vessel forms and finishes best known from the Destruction Level (YHSS 6A, ca. 700 B.C.E.) first appeared in a single later Early Iron Age house, structure BRH (see above), sealed by the first Early Phrygian courtyard surfaces and fills (YHSS 6B, 950–700 B.C.E.).

A combined technological and typological approach to the ceramic analysis provides several levels of insights into socioeconomic developments, in ad-

dition to chronological data. Much of the organization and technology of pottery production can be inferred from careful study of vessels and sherds. The pottery drawings include basic information on the forming methods used; extended discussions using this approach are available elsewhere (Rye 1981; Henrickson 1993, 1994, 1995, in prep a, b). This broader approach to characterization of assemblages provides a better basis for interpretation of local ceramic traditions, the impact of others, and socioeconomic developments (see Table 17.2).

LATE BRONZE AGE: YHSS 9–8 (1400–1200 B.C.E.)

The pottery assemblage of Late Bronze Age/YHSS 9–8 Gordion consists predominantly of grit-tempered buff wares ranging in paste from medium (87–90% of all sherds) to fine (1–5%). Estimated firing temperatures of 800–1000°C suggest use of kilns. Other wares include Red-Slipped Buff (3–4%) and Cooking (5%). The limited repertoire of vessel forms is simple, standardized in both shapes and sizes; each form was produced using characteristic sequences of forming and finishing methods (Figs. 17.9–11; Henrickson 1995).

Small vessel types (maximum dimension <20–25 cm) were usually thrown on a potter's wheel. Coiling, moulding, and other methods were used in forming medium and larger size vessels (maximum dimension >25–30 cm); finishing was done on a turntable (or "slow wheel"). Shallow rounded bowls (diameters 24–32 cm) were first thrown and then the exterior shaved to yield a rounded profile. Deeper conical bowls of the same diameter with flat bases were hand-formed and wheel-finished. Large cylindrical jars with narrow necks and pointed bases were built in segments which were worked together on a turntable. The largest vessels (maximum dimension >50 cm) were usually coiled and smoothed; at least the upper body was finished on a turntable (Henrickson 1993; 1995).

The overall standardization and simplicity of the shapes, sizes, production sequences, and finishes suggest large-scale production by professional potters (Table 17.2). Neutron activation analysis of pottery samples and local clays has shown that much of the Late Bronze assemblage was produced locally using the calcareous river clays available adjacent to the site. Since the regional settlement system seems to have consisted of small sites, the volume of production seems disproportionate, suggesting a regional distribution network for pottery centered at or near Gordion (Henrickson 1995; Henrickson and Blackman 1996).

Abundant parallels to Imperial Hittite sites, such as Boğazköy, date YHSS 9–8 to ca. 1400–1200 B.C.E. (Henrickson 1993, 1995; Gunter 1991; see Müller-Karpe 1988). These close typological and technological links to the Hittite assemblages, as well as other finds, such as a barrel rhyton (Henrickson 1993: fig. 6; 1995:82), and other artifacts provide further evidence for Hittite connnections. The ceramic evidence thus suggests that Gordion served as a local economic and political center on the periphery of the Hittite Empire.

EARLY IRON AGE: YHSS 7 (ca. 1100–950 B.C.E.)

The ceramics recovered from strata assigned to this phase suggest a complex cultural or ethnic milieu. The EIA was a period of profound change, with major discontinuity in the ceramic traditions: the Late Bronze ceramic tradition disappeared, replaced initially by an entirely handmade assemblage. This disjunction parallels the other lines of archaeological evidence discussed above. Two subphases can be distinguished stratigraphically and architecturally (YHSS 7B–A; Voigt 1994), but drawing a clear line between the two ceramically is problematic. The changes within YHSS 7 are best seen by comparison of deposits from the two ends of the continuum.

YHSS 7B: EARLY IRON AGE, WITH HANDMADE POTTERY ONLY

Initial Phase 7B is characterized by EIA Handmade ware, whose heavily grit-tempered paste is quite soft and friable. All vessels were hand-formed, using coiling, pinching, and moulding. Color ranges from tan to dark brown to dark gray-brown to nearly black. The few basic vessel types (bowls, wide-mouth pots, and jugs) are highly variable in shape, size, wall thickness, surface finish, and decoration. Burnishing (interior and exterior) is the characteristic surface finish, but it ranges in quality from isolated strokes with little overlap to continuous to an occasional high gloss. Incised and impressed decoration is sometimes used.The fabric is usually quite friable and breaks irregularly. The relatively low firing temperature (<600°C?) suggests open rather than kiln firing (Henrickson 1993: fig. 7–9; 1994: fig. 10.3, 10.4a–h; see Sams 1994:22–23, pl. 1–7, fig. 1–4).

TABLE 17.2: BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LATE BRONZE THROUGH EARLY PHRYGIAN CERAMIC INDUSTRIES

	YHSS Ware Groups			
	LBA Buff YHSS 9–8	EIA Handmade YHSS 7B–A	EIA Buff YHSS 7A	E Phryg Gray YHSS 6
FABRIC				
Surface color	Buff	Gray to brown	Buff	Gray
Core color	Buff	Gray to black	Buff	Gray
CLAY PREPARATION				
Temper	Fine to medium grit	Medium–coarse grit	Medium grit	Fine to medium grit
Pores	Small, sparse	Abundant	Small	Variable
Fracture	Straight	Jagged	Straight	Relatively straight
Hardness	Hard	Friable	Relatively hard	Moderately hard
Lime Spalling and Particles	Some spalling		Spalling and many fine particles	Rare
Firing	Oxidizing Kiln 800–1000°C	Reducing Open-air <700°C	Oxidizing Kiln(?) >800°C	Reducing Kiln >700°C
FORMING METHODS AND TOOLS				
Primary	Throw, coil, coil and draw, mould	Coil, mould, pinch	Coil, coil and draw, mould (throw?)	Throw, coil, coil and draw, slab, mould
Secondary	Turntable, rib, scrape		Turntable, rib, scrape	Turntable, rib, scrape
SURFACE TREATMENT				
Finish	Smoothed	Burnished	Smoothed	Smoothed, self-slip, micaceous slip
Decoration	Incised lines (rare)	Incised, impressed	[None]	Incised lines and ridges
VESSEL FORMS				
Number	Few	Few	[Few?]	Limited
Variability	Limited	Wide	[Limited?]	Limited
Effort per Vessel	Low to moderate	Moderate to high	Low to moderate	Moderate
PRODUCTION				
Number of Potters	Few	Many	Few	Few
Type of Potter	Specialist	Ad hoc	Specialist (part-time?)	Specialist
Division of Labor	Probable	None	Possible	Probable
Scale of Production	Large	Small, ad hoc	Moderate?	Large
Range of Distribution or "Market Area"	Local–regional	Individual household	Local	Regional
Organization of Production	Workshop	Ad hoc in household	Small workshop?	Workshop

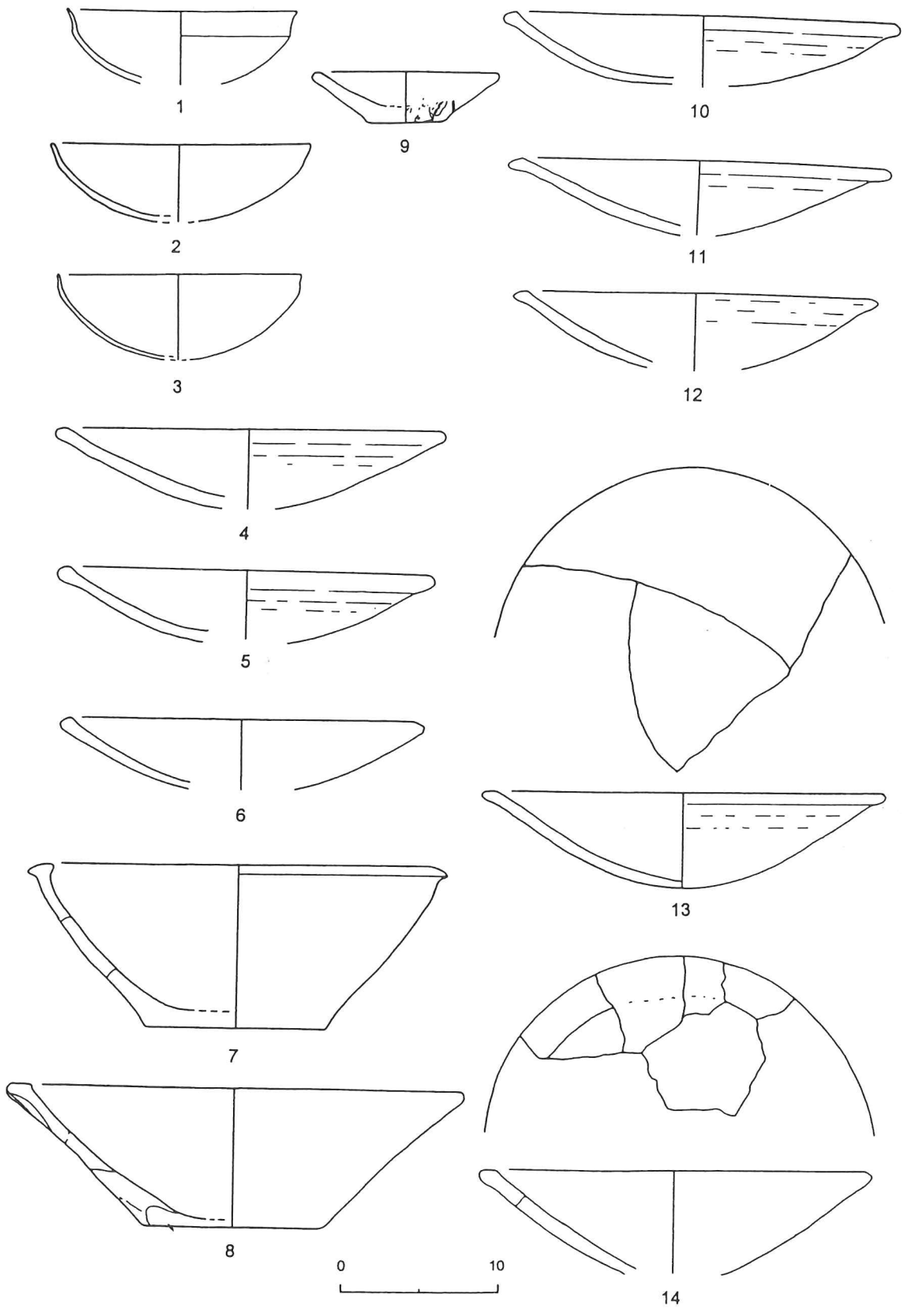


Figure 17.9. Late Bronze Age bowls (mostly YHSS 8).

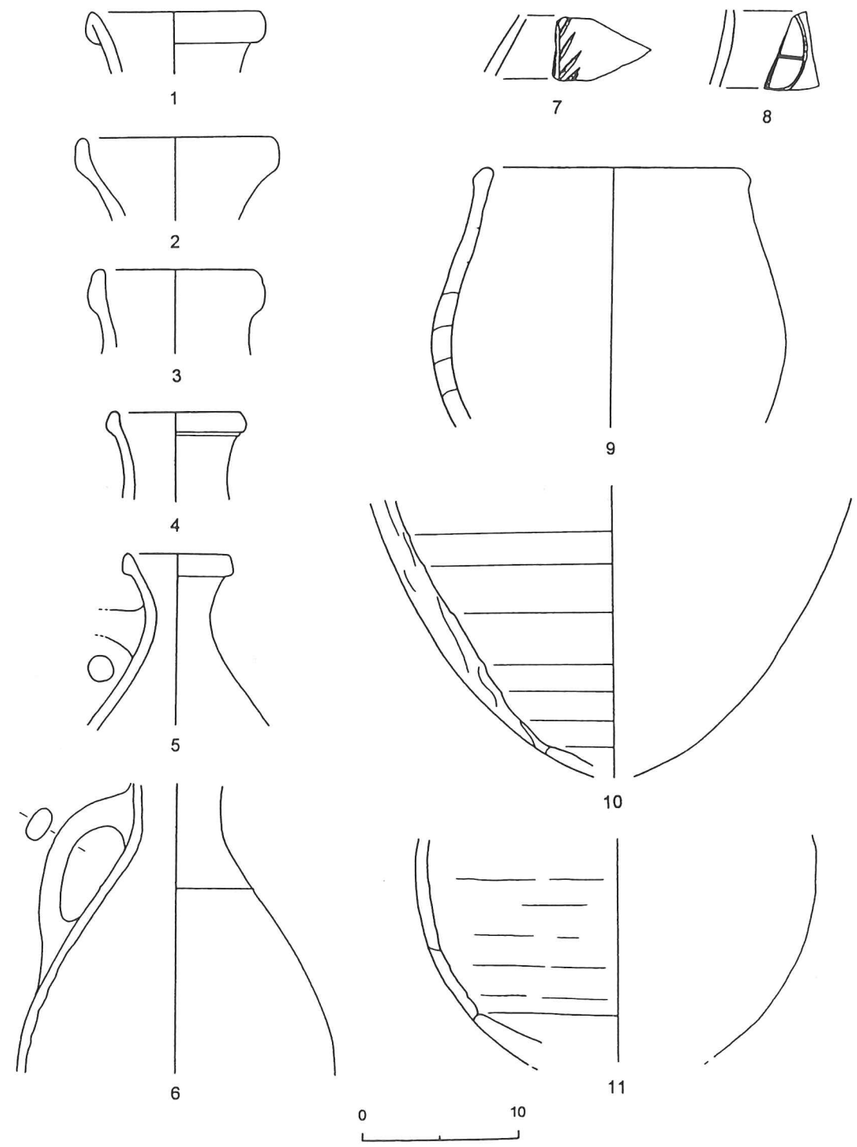


Figure 17.10. Late Bronze medium jars (YHSS 9–8; "potter's marks" YHSS 9).

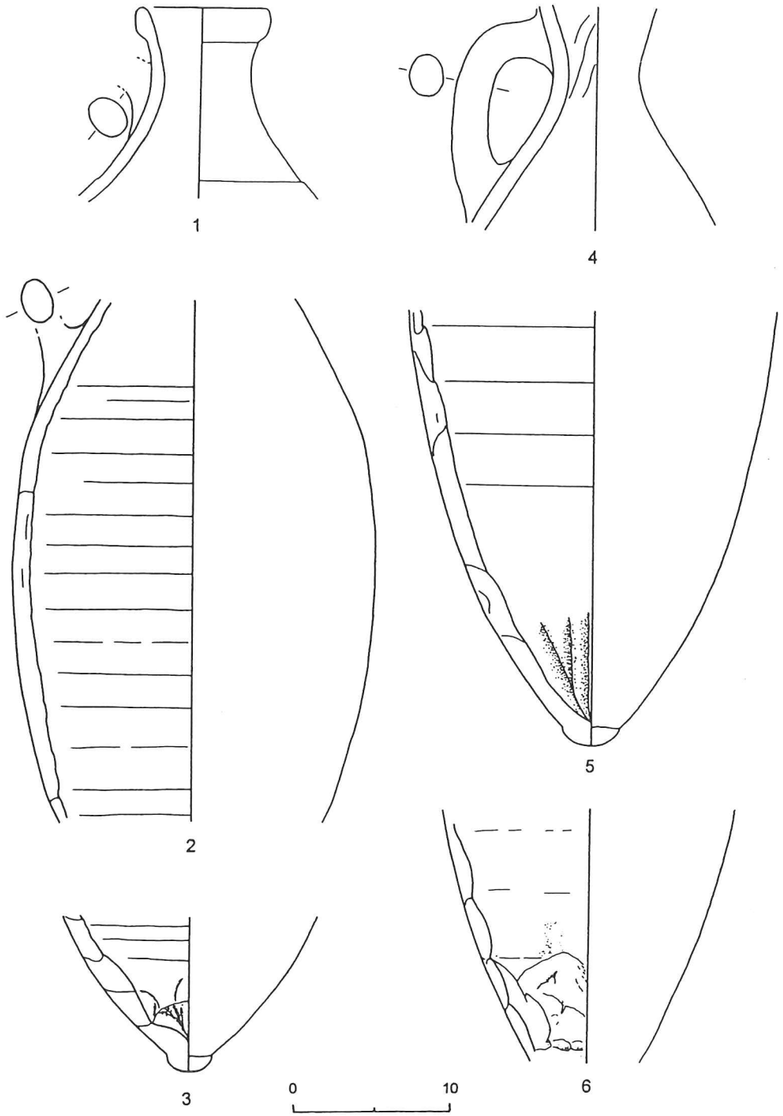


Figure 17.11. Late Bronze large cylindrical jars (YHSS 8).

BOWLS

Bowls (Fig. 17.12:1–4) are pinched or moulded to shape; a strip of clay may be added in making larger vessels to form the upper body and rim. Simple ribbing on the lip of the rim is common. *Conical Bowls* lack decoration beyond ribbing on the rim. *Carinated Bowls* have a rounded to carinated profile, with incised decoration in a band around the carination or maximum diameter and associated with small lugs or knobs. The lip of the rim usually is ribbed (see Sams 1994:23–25, fig. 1–4, pl. 1–2).

WIDEMOUTH POTS

Widemouth Pots (Fig. 17.13:1–4) have an S-curve profile. *Small Widemouth Pots* have a thickened rim decorated with a row of impressions or incisions, and a single handle with an opposed lug at the rim. *Medium Widemouth Pots* have rounded lugs near the rim, and further lugs and a row of incised or impressed decoration near the shoulder or maximum diameter. The body seems to have been built in coils or strips and then modified with various secondary forming methods. *Large Widemouth Pots* have a heavy rim with a triangular cross-section, with lugs around the body near the maximum diameter, sometimes associated with a slight horizontal ridge (see Sams 1994:23–24, fig. 3–4). The vessels seem to have been formed by coiling. One large vessels is unique in having a deer and "trees" incised on its shoulder (Fig. 17.13:3) (see Sams 1994:25–27; figs. 3.218–219; 4.34, 229; pl. 5.2, 12).

JUGS

Jugs (Fig. 17.12:5) have a relatively narrow mouth, single handle, and a rounded body and base. The

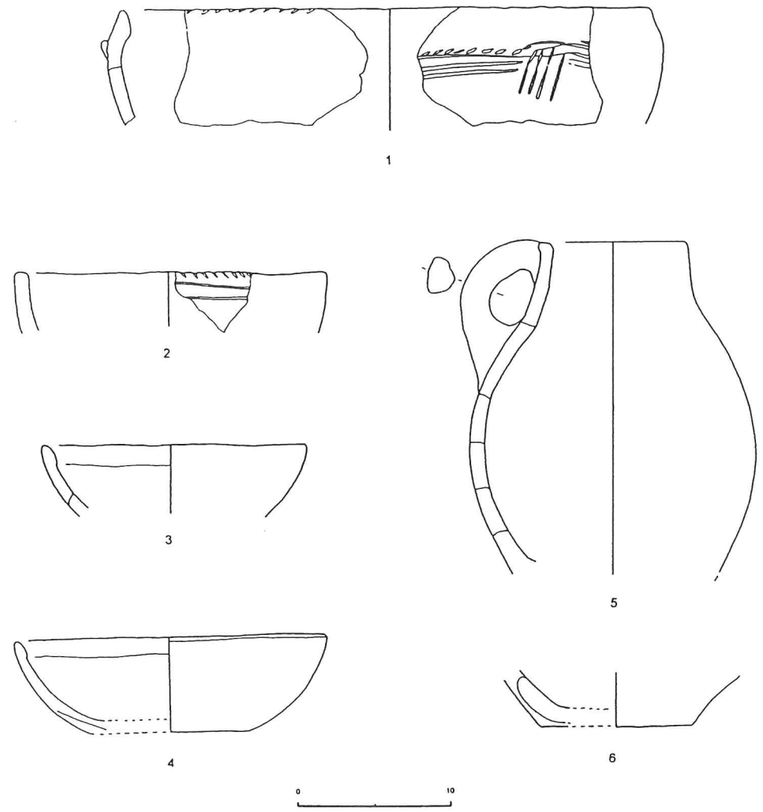


Figure 17.12. Early Iron Age Handmade bowls and jug (YHSS 7B).

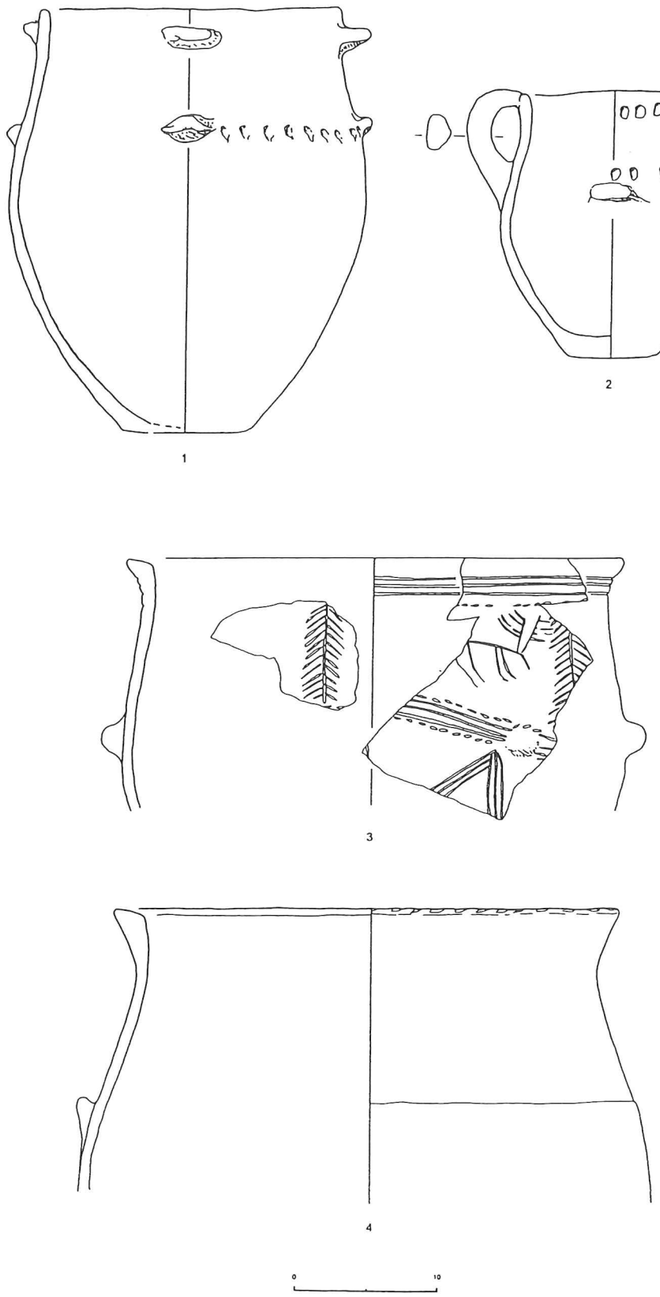


Figure 17.13. Early Iron Age Handmade Widemouth pots (YHSS 7B).

body is made by coiling (see Sams 1994: 23–24, figs. 3–4).

Neutron activation analyses have shown that EIA Handmade pastes are very heterogeneous. Few if any of the clays used are apparently from the immediate area of the site, in distinct contrast to the Late Bronze Age (Henrickson and Blackman 1996, in prep a).

The marked variability of the vessels in all attributes, the exclusive use of hand-building methods, the relatively large amount of time expended in the forming and finishing of each vessel, and open rather than kiln firing (Table 17.2), suggest that the EIA Handmade pottery was made within individual households on an ad hoc basis (Henrickson 1993: 111–116; 1994:106–107; see Peacock 1982).

At the beginning of YHSS 7, EIA Handmade seems to constitute the entire ceramic assemblage. The numerous buff ware sherds recovered from the early YHSS 7B contexts are identifiable as YHSS 9–8 (LBA) from characteristic rim forms and shapes. These are interpreted as upcasts rather than evidence for persistence of the Late Bronze ceramic tradition. House construction in Phase 7B involved digging pits into Phase 8–9 strata, and deep storage pits were also excavated; the displaced earth was then used for the construction of packed mud walls. When the walls decayed, the incorported LBA sherds would then have become part of the collapse and wash covering the house floors. The condition of the sherds themselves reinforces this conclusion. The EIA pottery is friable and easily damaged, while LBA pottery is hard-fired and relatively indestructable. Nevertheless, contexts that produced restorable EIA Handmade vessels yielded only isolated Late Bronze Age sherds, with not one join of an ancient break.

The dating of YHSS 7B must be based on stratigraphy rather than direct external parallels (see below). Sams and Gunter have published the Early Handmade pottery from R. S. Young's excavations at Gordion, in which EIA Handmade was found primarily in the upper strata of limited soundings beneath the Early Phrygian Destruction Level (EPB I–II, Megaron 10.4, and NCT IVb and overlying strata) (Sams 1994:7–15, 19–20, 196 [table 2]; Gunter 1991:30, 92–95, 106, 108, plans 11–12, pl. 32). Sams proposed a date of ca 1000–900 B.C.E. for this assemblage (Sams 1994:196, table 20). Based on the larger and more clearly defined 1988–89 sequence, Voigt has argued that a consideration of stratigraphic processes suggests only a short gap between the end of the Hittite occupation and the earliest Iron Age occupation, placing the latter around 1100 B.C.E. (1994:268).

The YHSS 7B ceramic data do not support a gradual transition from the Late Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age. The abrupt appearance of EIA Handmade in YHSS 7B, the disappearance of the Late Bronze (YHSS 9–8) assemblage, and the changes in most other aspects of material culture suggest profound socio-economic changes (Henrickson 1993: 111–123; 1994:106–110; in prep a; see Sams 1994: 21–22, 196, table 2).

YHSS 7A: EARLY IRON AGE, WITH BOTH EIA HANDMADE AND BUFF WARES

Occupational and architectural continuity runs through the Early Iron Age at Gordion. The ceramic differentiation of YHSS 7B from 7A is difficult, since change seems to consist of additions to the overall assemblage. The later portion of the Early Iron Age is ceramically a more complex mosaic than the initial phase. While EIA Handmade continued in use through YHSS 7A, at least one additional ceramic tradition appears, a new buff ware assemblage. In addition, the corpus of pottery from the floor of structure BRH is clearly related *typologically* to the later Early Phrygian tradition of phase YHSS 6, yet apparently distinct from much of the assemblage found in the surrounding contemporary and late EIA contexts.

Although EIA Handmade continued in use through YHSS 7A, with profiles and decoration which fall within the broad ranges of variation found in the earlier YHSS 7B strata (Fig. 17.14:1–5), a technologically and typologically distinct buff ware seems to have become an important component of the assemblage. The relative frequencies of EIA Handmade vs Buff are problematic since the former is easily recognized even as small body sherds while the latter is difficult to differentiate from LBA buff except for diagnostics. In the YHSS excavations, the gray wares typical of Early Phrygian and later levels (YHSS 6–3) are found only in low frequencies (2–5% at most), in the latest YHSS 7A contexts.

The EIA Buff assemblage has no identifiable technological or typological relationship with EIA Handmade. The paste, made with calcareous clays, has medium grit temper and is often characterized by fine lime particles scattered throughout the fabric; lime spalling of the surface is not uncommon. The repertoire of forming and finishing methods differs, with use of both turntables ("slow wheel") and probably also the true potter's wheel, as well as oxidation firing and kilns. Some small vessels, but not all, may have been thrown on a potter's wheel. Larger vessels were hand-built and finished on a turntable. Shapes are simple, with much more regular and precise profiles than in EIA Handmade. Surfaces are smoothed and often self-slipped. Refiring tests indicate an original firing temperature of 800–1000°C. This temperature is much higher than that for EIA Handmade and suggests kiln rather than open firing. EIA Handmade fabric usually has limited long-term durability

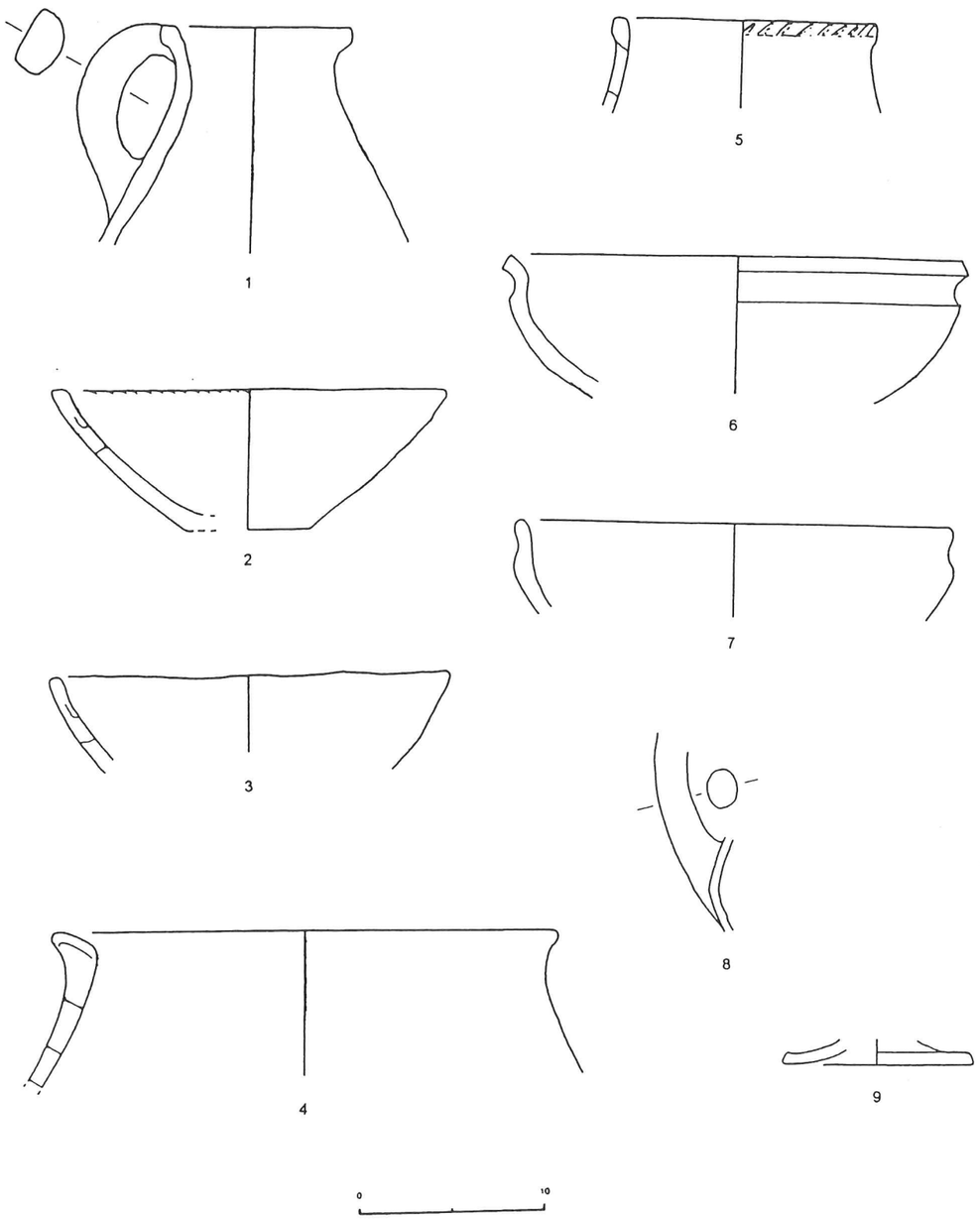


Figure 17.14. Selected pottery from a late YHSS 7A pit: Early Iron Age Handmade (2–4), Coarse (1, 5), and Early Iron Age Buff ware (6–9).

after refiring at >±800°C.

The methods of forming and finishing, limited standardization, and probable use of kilns suggest part-time specialist potters working on a modest scale of production, perhaps in small workshops (Table 17.2). Neutron activation analysis indicates that at least some pastes were made with calcareous Sakarya clays, suggesting some local production; this is in distinct contrast to EIA Handmade pastes (Henrickson and Blackman in prep a).

The EIA Buff ware assemblage presents three major problems: 1) date, 2) typological range, and 3) origins. Its initial appearance is later than that of EIA Handmade within an ongoing occupation. The parallels for both the EIA Handmade and Buff assemblages are limited, tend to be generic rather than precise, and are usually not closely dated at present (see Hertl 1991 on Troy VII). YHSS 7(A) includes the earliest known occurrence of forms which are characteristic of the Early Phrygian assemblage. While Sams has suggested that certain Early Phrygian/YHSS 6 vessel forms may be derived from EIA Handmade prototypes, the forms are simple enough for the question to remain open (Sams 1994:19–35).

Although differentiating EIA Buff body sherds from those of the earlier LBA buff common ware thrown up by the numerous EIA pits and house cuts is problematic, diagnostics present fewer difficulties. The YHSS 7A EIA Buff assemblage has no clear typological or technological connection to the YHSS 9–8 (LBA) buff ware which EIA Handmade had already replaced in YHSS 7 at Gordion. The full typological range of the YHSS 7A, particularly the EIA Buff assemblage, remains uncertain, although there are some distinctive shapes, such as the indented profile bowl (Fig. 17.14:6–7) (see Megaron 10, Layers 4–3 and Megaron 12, Level IVA; Sams 1994: fig. 1.189, 399; see also Gunter 1991: fig. 19.390 [Meg.10, L.4], 27. 577–579 [Meg.10, L.1]; also fig. 25.545 [Meg.10, L.2], 26.569 [Meg.10, L.2], 27.585 [Meg.12, L.IVA]). Part of the problem may be the apparent diversity within the EIA Buff assemblage itself. The assemblage from the floor of the BRH structure, with its Phrygian parallels, and that from contemporary and overlying strata correspond only in part.

Two types of YHSS 7A contexts—pits and structure BRH—document considerable ceramic diversity. The contents of various YHSS 7A pits demonstrate that production and use of EIA Handmade continued along with the new YHSS 7A buff ware assemblage. One such pit yielded abundant EIA Handmade and EIA Buff ware, as well as iron and bronze artifacts. The presence of large, joinable sherds of both EIA Handmade and buff wares suggests disposal direct from use. The EIA Handmade vessel shapes continue to be those found earlier: conical bowls (Fig. 17.14:2–3), wide-mouth jugs (Fig. 17.14:1, 5), and large open-mouth pots with heavy triangular rims (Fig. 17.14:4). The EIA Buff included fragments of a carinated goblet with handle and a pedestal base (Fig. 17.14:8–9), body sherds from a probable rounded-shoulder medium-size buff jar, and indented profile bowls which sometimes have a distinctive pinkish-red micaceous slip (Fig. 17.14:6–7). Although this pit yielded no gray ware, 2–5% of the sherds in some others in the same stratigraphic zone may be.

The corpus of pottery on the floor of structure BRH has limited parallels to material in the surrounding and overlying YHSS 7A strata. Neither EIA Handmade vessels nor indented profile bowls were found on the BRH floor although they are typical in the rest of the YHSS 7A strata. The BRH corpus does, however, have clear typological parallels to the Early Phrygian assemblage (YHSS 6) best-known from the Destruction Level at the end of the eighth century B.C.E. These include: 1) *wide-mouth jars* with *ledge-rims*, (opposed) handles on shoulders with basal fingerprints, and horizontal ridges at the base of the neck (Fig. 17.15:2–3; see Sams 1994:pl. 116–132 passim); 2) *narrower-neck jars* with similar attributes (Fig. 17.15:1; see Sams 1994: fig. 34.306, pl. 111–115); 3) *globular pots* with everted rims and lugs on the rim or shoulder (Fig. 17.16:5–6; see Sams 1994: fig. 31, pl. 101–102); 4) *pedestal-base carinated goblets* with tall handles (Fig. 17.16:7; see Sams 1994: fig. 22–25 passim [especially 22.110], pl. 37–55 passim); and 5) *S-profile small pots* with single handles (Fig. 17.16:3–4; see Sams 1994: pl. 102.849). A further peculiarity of the assemblage is the relative frequency of medium-sized jars (height ±25–35 cm, maximum diameter ±25–30 cm) with a hole 2–4 mm in diameter in the center of the flat base, either pierced before firing or drilled afterward. This feature is found through the first millennium (Fig. 17.15:3, 17.16:2).

By the end of the EIA (YHSS 7), the basic typological elements characteristic of the Early Phrygian tradition were present, although generally made with buff rather than the gray wares which were typical later. Yet the typologically and technologically distinct EIA Handmade assemblage lasted until the end of Phase 7. Similar concatentations of disparate features are found in other lines of material culture (see above). A complex and changing cultural milieu characterized the EIA at Gordion, one apparently divorced from its recent LBA past.

EARLY PHRYGIAN: YHSS 6 (ca. 950–700 B.C.E.)

Only the pottery from the earlier YHSS 6B courtyard deposits, beneath the Destruction Level, need be mentioned here (Table 17.2). The Early Phrygian assemblage well-known from the Destruction Level seems to have taken shape by or during YHSS 6B.

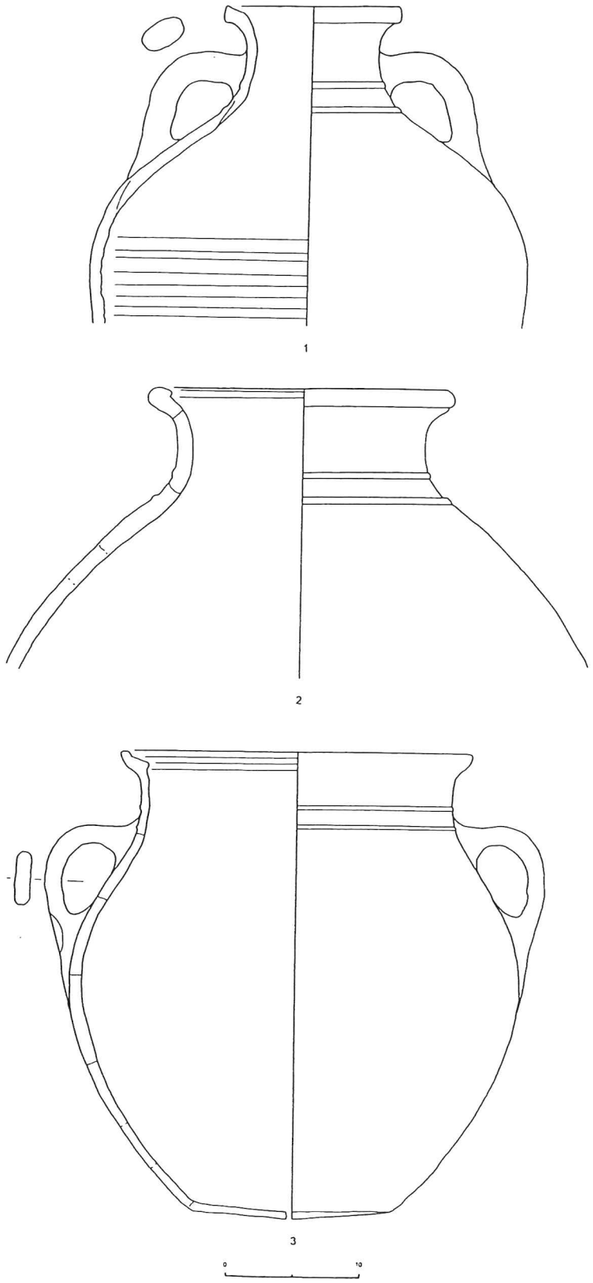


Figure 17.15. Pots and jars from the floor of YHSS 7A Structure BRH.

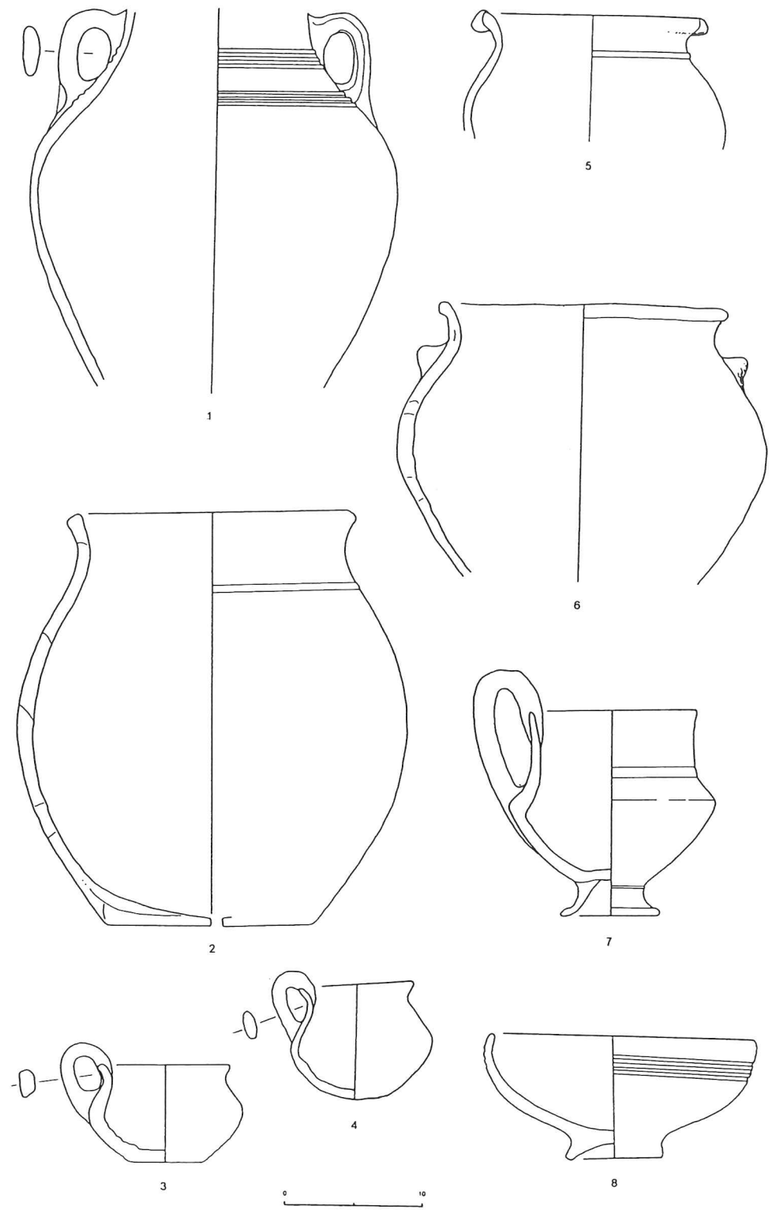


Figure 17.16. Pots, cups, goblet, and bowl from the floor of YHSS 7A Structure BRH.

While many of the sherds from these deposits are clearly upcasts (LBA, EIA Handmade, and EIA Buff), sherds from typical Early Phrygian vessel types well-known in the Destruction Level are present (e.g., carinated bowls, ledge-rim pots, "utility pots", and carinated goblets; see Sams 1994). Gray wares and micaceous finishes are uncommon, although the latest courtyard deposit preceding the Destruction Level has markedly higher frequencies of gray wares. Neutron activation analyses of Early Phrygian pastes indicate that, while the large-scale production of pottery resembled that of the LBA, its regional organization was quite different. Relatively little use was made of the river clays which had been the primary raw material used by LBA potters (Henrickson and Blackman 1996, in prep b; Henrickson in press).

Conclusions

There is no stratigraphic break to indicate a significant hiatus in settlement at Gordion after the fall of the Hittites, so that time alone cannot account for the observed changes in architecture, domestic features, ceramics, and animal remains between the Late Bronze (YHSS Phase 8) and the Early Iron Age (YHSS Phase 7). Instead, the archaeological evidence strongly suggests a population change at this time, rather than simply a shift in political and economic organization (see Small 1990). Sams and others have proposed that the appearance of EIA Handmade pottery marks the Phrygian immigration into Anatolia, given typological parallels to ceramic industries in southeast Europe, especially Thrace, and the tradition of a Phrygian migration from southeast Europe recounted by Herodotus and Strabo (Carrington 1977; Sams 1994:19–28, 175–177; Yakar 1993; Muscarella 1995; Herodotus VII.73; Strabo VII.3.2). This is a satisfactory hypothesis to explain the overall changes in material culture which we found through excavation, but several points are worth comment: the textual evidence for this migration is weakest, with the linguistic evidence somewhat stronger; the archaeological evidence for a Phrygian migration into Gordion around 1100 B.C.E. is strong, but even here some ambiguity remains.

The textual evidence involves several problems raised by Drews (1993a, b). Foremost, Herodotus provides the earliest written attestation of the Phrygian migration story, long centuries after the likely time of the event; his contemporary Xanthus of Lydia apparently told the same tale, but his words survive only in a brief summary or paraphrase by Strabo (Drews 1993a, b; Carrington 1977). In theory this story could have been transmitted orally for some years, or even written and not preserved. The difficulty lies in a dearth of Greek literary sources before the fifth century B.C.E. (Keith DeVries, personal communication 1997). In the *Iliad*, generally dated to the 8th century B.C.E., the Phrygians are said to live in Anatolia along the Sangarius River—as they indeed did at that time. Recently, Robert Drews has claimed that "before the time of Herodotus and Xanthus, the Greeks assumed that the Phrygians had always lived in Phrygia" (Drews 1993b:15; see also 15–18). He argues that "'The Phrygian migration from Europe' was constructed in the fifth century B.C. in an attempt to reconcile conflicting legends about King Midas [in Macedonia versus the historical king in Phrygia]" (Drews 1993b:15). This argument, which bolsters Drews' controversial views on Indo-European migrations and specifically a proposed Phyrgian homeland in eastern Anatolia (1988), is highly speculative and not very convincing given the absence of sources that tell us what the Greeks "assumed" prior to the 5th century B.C.E. (Keith DeVries, personal commmunication 1997).

Assyrian royal inscriptions and letters provide earlier documentation for Phrygians in Anatolia, perhaps as early as the time of the putative migration. A letter of the Assyrian king Sargon II, dating to 710 B.C.E., refers to Mita, king of the Mushki (Postgate 1973: 21–34; Saggs 1958: 202–208). This is but one of a series of documents referring to the Mushki written between 717 and 709 B.C.E. Scholars have generally identified Mita with Midas, and Mushki with Phrygia (e.g. Mellink 1991:622–623). Earlier royal inscription refers to the defeat of five kings of the Mushku and 20,000 of their troops in southeast Anatolia in the first year of Tiglath-pileser's reign, or 1114 B.C.E. (Grayson 1976: 6–7 [text 1.i.62–88]; 1991: 14 [text A.O.87.1.i.62–88]). Another text refers to the defeat of 12,000 Mushku who had been in the region for fifty years (Grayson 1976: 20 [text 2.18–20]; 26 [text 4.18–19]; Grayson 1991: 33 [text A.O.87.2.18–20]; 42 [text A.O.87.4.18–19]; 53 [text A.O.10.21–23]). If the Mushku referred to in these earlier texts are the same group as the Mushki referred to by Sargon 400 years later, and they can in both cases be considered Phrygians, we would have early evidence for the Phrygians being present in (southeast) Anatolia in some force; other scholars, however, would see these as separate groups, and given the sparse evidence the problem must remain open (Muscarella 1995: 91–93).

While the textual or historical evidence is tenuous or ambiguous, linguistic data provide better support for a migration from the west. Textual evidence for the presence of Indo-European speakers in Anatolia dates as early as the 19th century B.C.E. in the form of names recorded by Assyrian merchants resident at Kültepe/Kanesh (Mallory 1989:24–28). Between 1700 and 1200 B.C.E., Hittite, Palaic and Luwian are attested, with Luwian and Luwian-related languages such as Lycian, Lydian and probably Carian persisting after the LBA collapse (Mallory 1989:25; Keith DeVries, personal communication 1997). Phrygian is one of several Indo-European languages first attested in Anatolia during the Iron Age, suggesting that Phrygian is intrusive (Brixhe 1993; Brixhe 1994; Brixhe and Panayotou 1994; Mallory 1989:30–32). Phrygian is related to Greek, as well as to Thracian (spoken in Bithynia in western Anatolia) and Armenian (spoken in eastern Anatolian). Mallory considers the linguistic evidence too sparse to allow a dialectical placement of Phrygian among the Indo-European languages, but concludes that "Phrygian has more affinities with the Balkan languages than with any others" (1989:32; see also 34–35).

Archaeological data provide clear evidence for a cultural discontinuity or migration, but it is only ceramics that suggest an origin for the immigrants. Specific parallels for the YHSS 7 architecture have not been found, and pit form has not been a focus of archaeological research in the Aegean; ceramics, on the other hand, are ubiquitous and well-reported. The EIA Handmade ceramic assemblage is part of a widespread and diverse handmade, dark ware phenomenon in late second millennium B.C.E. southeastern Europe and northwest Anatolia. It is usually interpreted as reflecting ethnic migrations from southeastern Europe into Greece and Anatolia, beginning before the collapse of the Mycenaean and Anatolian LBA states (Rutter 1975, 1976; French and Rutter 1977; Walberg 1976; Bloedow 1985; Sams 1988; 1994: 19–28, 175–177, 196). The dark handmade ceramic assemblages, to the extent that they have been defined, seem to comprise only a few simple handmade vessel forms, perhaps sufficient to meet the range of basic domestic needs (Catling and Catling 1981; Bankoff and Winter 1984; see Small 1990). Beyond characterizations of such pottery as uncommon or rare, frequency data are generally not available, and their particular stratigraphic contexts often remain unclear (Bloedow 1985; Small 1990).

In Anatolia, dark handmade wares are known from a growing number of sites including Troy VIIb (Blegen et al 1958:19–47, 154–181; Mellink 1960), Kaman-Kalehöyük (Omura 1991), and survey sites in Thrace (Özdoğan 1985, 1987; 1993). The relative chronologies of the various sites remain uncertain and continue to be revised (e.g., Hertl 1991). Mellink (1960) initially suggested Troy VIIb1–2 Knobbed and Coarse wares as a source for EIA Handmade at Gordion. Recent surveys in Thrace, however, provide better parallels (Özdoğan 1985:417–420; 1987; 1993), lending further support to immigration from that area or beyond (Sams 1994). Relatively few compelling parallels clearly link Gordion and even the closer sites, such as Kaman-Kalehöyük or Troy. Given their diversity, the Antolian assemblages ought to be regarded as a co-tradition, ultimately derived from a common origin. Nonetheless, typological parallels, such as shapes and specific details of incised or impressed decoration, are sufficient that the suggested Thracian and more distant southeastern European origins for EIA Handmade are plausible.

The appearance of the EIA Buff assemblage marks another technological and typological discontinuity in the ceramic sequence at Gordion, but in this case, the earlier ceramic tradition is not displaced. Like EIA Handmade before, EIA Buff is most likely intrusive into the region since there is no known local antecedent. Beyond a partial contemporaneity, the technological dichotomies and the absence of typological links suggest that the EIA Handmade and YHSS 7A buff wares were parallel and contemporaneous traditions rather than components of a single one. Although large areas from a comparable time range excavated at Kaman-Kalehöyük have yielded an assemblage comprising gray handmade and buff (painted) wares, both are essentially unrelated to those at Gordion (Mori and Omura 1990).

The origins of the EIA Buff ware remain uncertain. Little if any evidence supports indigenous development. Like EIA Handmade, EIA Buff ware may derive from southeast Europe since elements of the assemblage have typological links with material from the area of the former Yugoslavia (A. Durman, personal communication 1990). The pedestal-base goblet has Early Iron Age Macedonian parallels (Heurtley 1939:235 no. 484; Hammond 1972: fig. 16a). At the same time, the Iron Age assemblages of southeastern Anatolia (Elazıg and Van) provide some parallels to both the EIA Buff BRH assemblages (Sevin 1991: fig. 5.8, 6.3; Sevin 1994: fig. 21.5; Sevin 1995: resim 13, 15; Çilingiroğlu and Derin 1991: resim 12.1, 13.9–10, 14.12–14, 17.27–29; Winn 1980: pl. 58.12, 19, 21, 31; Duru 1979:102–104; pl. 61.1–13, 29–30, 34–37; pl. 62.3–6; pl. 63: 2–6, 10; see also Bartl 1994; Yakar 1993:18–21; Boehmer 1989). The chronology and geographical scope of this tradition remain uncertain.

Correlations between specific ceramic assemblages and historically documented ethno-linguistic groups are often problematic (Kramer 1977; Kamp and Yoffee 1980; Rouse 1986; Anthony 1990; Redmount 1995), and such relationships may change through time. The Phrygians, whether defined ethnically or politically, need not be represented by a particular ceramic assemblage in a one-to-one fashion, particu-

larly later when their complex state encompassed many regions (see Summers 1994). As has been argued above, other aspects of material culture and economy must also be considered.

So, when did the Phrygians arrive? Ethnically, who were the people who arrived at Gordion in YHSS 7? The EIA Handmade ware offers parallels to Thrace and southeast Europe, the legendary homeland of the Phrygians. Clear parallels to the later Early Phrygian assemblage at Gordion and elsewhere, however, appear in later YHSS 7, and are not part of the EIA Handmade tradition. When the Phrygians become historically identifiable, many aspects of their material culture are clearly derived from that already found at Gordion in the Early Iron Age, such as architecture, domestic features, animal utilization, and ceramic typology and technology. Although it remains unclear precisely when the Phrygians arrived, the strength and breadth of the cultural continuities from the Early Iron Age into the Early–Middle Phrygian periods (YHSS 6–5, ca. 950–550 B.C.E.) indicate that the Phrygians reached Gordion during the Early Iron Age.

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