

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHREYER HONORS COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND CLASSICS AND ANCIENT
MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES

Phoenicia and Philistia: Economic and Cultural Resilience Following the Late Bronze Age

GRACE BLAHA
SPRING 2024

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for baccalaureate degrees
in Anthropological Science, Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies, and Labor and Human
Resources
with honors in Anthropology and Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies

Reviewed and approved* by the following:

Ann E. Killebrew
Associate Professor of Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies, Jewish Studies, and
Anthropology
Thesis Supervisor

Laurel Pearson
Associate Professor of Anthropology
Honors Adviser

Gonzalo Rubio
Associate Professor of Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies
Honors Adviser

* Electronic approvals are on file

ABSTRACT

The collapse of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 13th–11th centuries BCE marked a transformative period. While many Late Bronze Age imperial powers declined, Philistia and Phoenicia emerged resilient, navigating chaos, and laying the foundations for their continued importance. Despite their shared prosperity during the Early Iron Age, the reasons for each region's success appear to be vastly different. The changes appear to be less drastic in Phoenicia, as the Late Bronze Age culture persists, yet undergoes processes of regionalization. The changes in Philistia appear much more sudden, as the Southern Coastal Plain saw the incursion of the infamous Philistines and their non-indigenous material culture. This thesis delves into the economic and cultural roots that fostered the prosperity of both regions in the aftermath of the collapse of the Late Bronze Age and its system. It will analyze how the two regions navigated the economic repercussions of the decline in long-distance trade, as well as the role of cultural change in fostering such resilience. This thesis will dissect both the economic and cultural mechanisms that enabled successful navigation of the end of the Late Bronze Age. Examining Philistia and Phoenicia's resilience during the Early Iron Age offers insights into the dynamics of societal transformation during regional turmoil.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I'd like to start by thanking my parents and God for everything that they have done to support me throughout my life, but especially these past four years. I could not have asked for a better set of parents to have as sources of love, encouragement, guidance, and genuine enthusiasm for what I care about. I cannot begin to express the gratitude that I have for the hard work and sacrifices that my parents have made for me. They gave me the opportunity to come to Penn State, study what I love, and make the most of my experience here.

I would also like to express my gratitude for Dr. Ann Killebrew and the help and support that she has provided. I am deeply indebted to her for the effort that she has devoted to me and my studies by providing a plethora of opportunities for me to grow both intellectually and personally. This thesis would not have been possible without her helpful feedback and genuine care for her students' work. Her integrity, hard work, honor, and passion for the field of archaeology inspire me and instilled a much deeper appreciation for archaeology and the ancient world.

I am also indebted to the family and friends who have supported me and my various endeavors. In particular, I am beyond grateful for my three older sisters who have always loved me in the most self-sacrificial ways. They always have, and always will, inspire me to be a more loving person to others. This thesis would also not be possible without the love and support of my friends and community at Penn State. I never imagined that I found find such an amazing of support and love.

I am incredibly thankful for those affiliated with Penn State that have supported me in various ways during my time at Penn State. I'd like to thank Dr. Rubio, Dr. Pearson, and Dr. Erin Hanses for their help as my advisors and for being fantastic professors. I would also like to thank Dr. Doyle (and the rest of the employees of the Matson Museum), Katelyn Perry, Jane Skinner, Sterling Wright, and countless other Penn State employees that have invested in me over the years. Thank you everyone else that I have been fortunate enough to know but did not explicitly mention, I appreciate each and every one of you.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 14th and 13th centuries BCE is characterized by a wealth of institutional, economic, and interregional interconnections. However, the 12th and 11th centuries are frequently associated with the breakdown of the Late Bronze Age system. During this period, many of the predominate Late Bronze Age imperial powers experienced decline and splintered into smaller, localized polities. While the transition into the Early Iron Age (ca. 1200/1180 – 1000 BCE) was tumultuous for some regions, many did not suffer a drastic decline or collapse. More specifically, the regions that became known as Philistia and Phoenicia emerged resilient in the absence of imperialist institutions and trans-Mediterranean trade. The prosperity of the two regions during the Iron I laid the foundations for their continuing influence on the economic and cultural landscapes of the Levant. Thus, this thesis seeks to examine the conditions that contributed to the prosperity of Philistia and Phoenicia during the 13th–11th centuries BCE. Furthermore, what can such conditions indicate about what contributed to their success in navigating the chaos of the Late Bronze Age?

The Late Bronze Age in the Southern Levant is often characterized by the shared culture of Canaanite polities and their participation in the globalized economy of the Eastern Mediterranean. During the Late Bronze Age, the Levant sat between the two empires of the time: the Egyptian New Kingdom and the Hittites in Anatolia. Much of the Southern Levant is characterized by its subservience to the Egyptian New Kingdom, who exploited the agricultural products of the region. Egyptian influence was far from stagnant, as its control expanded over the course of the Late Bronze Age. Egyptian power was initially exerted via military campaigns into Canaan, but diplomatic and political authority is evident in the Amarna Archive, which details Canaanite rulers attempting to appease the Egyptian king. In the 13th century, Egyptian influence became increasingly imperialistic, as their control of the southernmost parts

of the region seemingly required physical occupation. The gradient of Egyptian involvement was most concentrated in the southernmost urban areas, many of which contain evidence of an Egyptian military occupation. The Central Levant, however, seemed to have endured minimal Egyptian influence (Panitz-Cohen 2013, 541, 548; Morris 2018, 130–131, 141, 186–187).

Following the Egyptian expansion, the latter half of the 12th century saw the Egyptian imperial presence decline. This parallels what is seen in other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean, as the palatial institutions of the Hittites and Mycenaeans fell and foreign trade decreased significantly. While societal decline is often associated with the economic and institutional breakdown of the Late Bronze Age system, this is not always the case. In contrast to the increasingly subservient and culturally similar Late Bronze Age in Canaan, the beginnings of independent and regionalized cultures began to develop in the Early Iron Age (Killebrew 2013, 595–598 and Panitz-Cohen 2013, 552).

For the Southern Levant, the economic vacuum and institutional fragmentation following the collapse of the Late Bronze Age system led to formative changes during the Iron I. Along the Central and Carmel Coast, the changes appear to be less dramatic, as the resilience of Canaanite urban entities in the Iron I continued as maritime settlements. Therefore, the Early Iron Age was the foundational period in which several Late Bronze Age Canaanite city-states along the Central Coast developed into the infamous maritime centers of the Phoenicians. In the Southern Coastal Plain, the changes of the Iron I are associated with the appearance of a foreign material culture linked to the biblical Philistines. The Philistine migration brought new material cultural, ideologies, technologies, dietary practices, and social practices to the five urban areas they occupied. In contrast to the evidence of Egyptian imperialism in the Southern Levant, the archaeological evidence indicates a higher degree of coexistence between the new Philistine population and the local Canaanites (Gilboa 2013, 639 and Killebrew 2013, 597–598, and Killebrew 2019, 50–51).

In light of the prosperity of Phoenicia and Philistia, this thesis seeks to determine what economic and cultural factors were responsible for their apparent resilience following the collapse of the Late

Bronze Age system. How did both regions survive the collapse of long-distance trade given their importance economic roles during the Late Bronze Age? What role did cultural change, or lack thereof, have in facilitating a prosperous transition? Furthermore, how did such traits contribute to the ability of the Southern Coastal Plain and the Central Coast to adapt to the calamities and turmoil of the Late Bronze Age?

Chapter 2

Primary Evidence: Phoenicia

Definition of “Phoenicia” as a Region

Phoenicia is most commonly associated with the narrow stretch of coastline in modern Lebanon and Northern Israel where the historically dominant maritime cities of Akko, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Byblos are located. However, conceptions of Phoenicia and its residents are skewed by modern boundaries, as well as definitions of the Phoenicia known during the first millennium BCE. During the Late Bronze Age, the settlements along the Phoenician littoral appear to have already been active agents in the maritime movement of goods. The archaeological and textual records from the first millennium also emphasize the maritime and economic dominance of the Phoenicians. The continuity of material culture of the Central Levantine Coast during the Iron I, however, indicates that the foundations of the regional Phoenician culture splintered from Late Bronze Age Canaanite material culture at settlements along the central Levantine coast (Figure 1). Such settlements are characterized by settlement continuity and shared



Figure 1. Map of the Central Levantine Coast

This map illustrates the Central Levantine Coast, including the 5 sites that will be studied here (Gilboa 2022, 33).

aspects of material culture. Geographically, they occur both in the Phoenician heartland and as far south as Dor. Given the prominence of the Phoenicians in the first millennium, the actions of the Phoenicians during the 13th–11th centuries were the critical impetus behind their rise to maritime dominance (Gilboa 2022, 34–35; Killebrew 2019, 42; and Gilboa 2013, 632–633).

Textual Evidence

Texts from the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age provide information about the Phoenicians from the eyes of their contemporaries. Mentions of the cities along Central Levantine Coast appear in multiple Late Bronze Age documents. The earlier mid-14th century BCE Amarna Archive includes correspondence between the rulers of Akko, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, and Byblos. Byblos, Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut are seemingly associated with ships and the sea, indicating a maritime orientation during the Late Bronze Age (EA 114, EA 366). Byblos appears to have been especially prominent, as its ruler wrote more letters than his Levantine contemporaries, including requests military support and resources (EA 70, 83). Tyre is also discussed as an opulent city that had a palace whose extravagance was comparable to that of Ugarit (EA 89). Regional disputes between Byblos, Sidon, Tyre, Beirut, Akko, are also alluded to in the correspondence (EA 101). The image that emerges from the archive is one of Levantine subservience to the Egyptian ruler, as the Levantine rulers provide words of worship and make various requests. Moreover, conflict and resource competition appear to have been present during the height of the Late Bronze Age (Killebrew 2019, 44 and Rainey and Schniedewind 2015, 442, 491, 515, 553, 607, 1245).

While the Late Bronze Age produced a larger corpus of textual documents, particularly from administrative archives, the demise of the period's centralized administrative and political institutions was often accompanied by the loss of writing systems. Consequently, textual sources from the Early Iron Age are rare. An 11th century Assyrian text from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I chronicles his campaign in the central Levant to acquire cedar wood to reconstruct a temple in Assur. The text indicates the continuing

importance of the infamous Lebanese cedars. The biblical record, including Judges 1: 27–31, mentions sites along the Phoenician Coast, including Sidon and Dor, as remaining Canaanite following the Israelite incursion into the Southern Levant. Such texts imply settlement continuity following the Early Iron Age. Thus, the common factors amongst such texts are both the Canaanite identity of the Central Coast and their longstanding maritime orientation (Killebrew 2019, 45 and Stieglitz 1990, 10).

A more robust snapshot of the Phoenician and Carmel Coasts during the Iron I comes from an 11th century Egyptian text called *The Report of Wenamun* (Simpson 2003, 116–124). *The Report of Wenamun* tells the story of an Egyptian envoy who sailed to cities along the Levantine coast to acquire resources, primarily timber to bring back to Egypt. On his way to Byblos, Wenamun stopped at Dor, which he identifies as a “TJKR/SKL” town. Such identifications link Dor to one of the groups belonging to the so-called Sea Peoples. Wenamun was robbed at Dor, leading him to seek the help of the city’s prince, who seems to have provided little assistance. Wenamun then left for Byblos, where he was able to meet with the prince of Byblos and acquired the desired timber. Wenamun’s misadventure implicates both Dor, Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre as prosperous maritime centers in the 11th century BCE, despite the notion that the Early Iron Age is typically seen as a low ebb in long distance trade. The historicity of the text has, however, been questioned for its Egyptian bias. Interestingly enough, Wenamun received little respect or reverence from the Levantine princes. The situation portrayed in the *Report of Wenamun* is a stark contrast to the Amarna Letters of the 14th century BCE, which attest Canaanite rulers’ subordinate position to the Egyptian king. While the historicity and dating of the record has been questioned, it remains an important glimpse into Phoenician international connections (Stieglitz 1990, 11; Simpson 2003, 116–124; Winand 2011, 555–559).

The textual record points to both continuity and change along the Phoenician coast. Some stability in the Phoenician monarchic institutions can be gleaned in the mention of rulers in the LBA Amarna correspondence and the *Report of Wenamun*. Association with maritime trade appears to have remained throughout the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, as indicated by the exchanges between the

Egyptians of the Amarna period, Wenamun, and the 12th century Assyrians. Moreover, the contrast between the relationship between the Phoenicians and Egypt in the Amarna Archive and the Report of Wenamun suggests that, despite various facets of stability, power dynamics changed, which ushered in prosperity and dominance to Phoenicia.

Archaeological Evidence

Excavations of various Phoenician sites have provided archaeological insights into the course of the 13th – 11th centuries BCE. Sites like Tyre, Sidon, and Sarepta are historically identified as Phoenician during the first millennium and beyond. Other sites, including Dor and Keisan have not always been associated with the Phoenicia of the first millennium. However, both Dor and Keisan contain many of the same archaeological trends and material culture of their northern Phoenician counterparts.

Unfortunately, as is the case with many archaeological sites in the Middle East, it has been extremely difficult to excavate many sites along the Phoenician coast. Some obstruction of the archaeological record can be attributed to continuous settlement up to modern times, particularly at Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Arwad, and Byblos. The tenuous political dynamics of the region, particularly in Lebanon, have also hindered excavation efforts. Additionally, the site of Akko remains in the process of publication. Thus, although many settlements have undergone some excavations, few sites have produced abundant information about their existence in the Early Iron Age (Killebrew 2019, 45).

Sidon

Known for being one of the biggest and wealthiest Phoenician cities during the first millennium, Sidon is a critical location for understanding the course of Phoenician history. The Iron I settlements at Sidon are, however, largely obstructed by its subsequent occupation, including its modern city. Excavations that have reached the Iron I at Sidon have been limited to the so-called “College Site,” which has provided a snapshot into the occupational history of Sidon from the Early Bronze Age to the Iron Age

and is pictured in Figure 2. The College Site contains a large, monumental building that was built in the 13th century BCE, with phases A–D lasting from 1350–1000 (Table 1).



Figure 2: Aerial Photo of Sidon's College Site
Pictured above are the excavations of Sidon’s College Site, which have uncovered a temple that was in use from the Middle Bronze to later Iron Age (Doumet-Serhal 2019).

Table 1: Approximate Dates of Sidon Strata

<i>Approximate Date (BCE)</i>	<i>Sidon Temple Phase</i>
1350 (?)–1180	A
1180–1120	B
1120–1070	C
1070 - 1000	D

The large building contained a wealth of precious finds, many of which were symbolic in nature. The structure also possesses architectural parallels to contemporary Syrian cultic structures, leading to its identification as a temple (Doumet-Serhal 2010, 115, 115 and Doumet-Serhal et al. 2023, 4).

Phase A of the temple (Figure 3, left), which appears to have begun the 13th century, contained some (possibly residual) Late Bronze Age imports, indicating its persistence until the end of the Late Bronze Age. A vessel bearing the cartouche of Twosret was uncovered, which indicates that Late Bronze Age trade appears to have continued into the beginning of the 12th century. Carbon dates corroborate the dating of Phase A to the beginning of the 12th century. Phase B marks the very end of the Late Bronze Age and appears to have begun around the first quarter of the 12th century and ended around 1125. The local Canaanite ceramics continue but imported items are limited to a few sherds of Cypriot vessels (Doumet-Serhal et al. 2023, 52 and Doumet-Serhal 2010, 126).

Phase B had a peaceful transition into Phase C, where the temple continued to function as it had before. Phase C appears to have lasted from 1125–1075 BCE. Phase C contains even fewer sherds of imported vessels, all of which were Cypriot. Typical ceramic vessels derived from the Canaanite-inspired tradition of Phase B continue to be used in Phase C as well. The temple continued to be used, albeit with slight renovations, including the construction of tannours (ovens) and the expansion of rooms. Phase D, which lasted from ca. 1075–1000 BCE, contains more imported vessels Cyprus. Phase D also marks the first reentrance of Greek imports into Sidon. Thus, the foreign items from Sidon indicate a trend typical of the 13th–11th centuries, as imports drop drastically at the onset of the Iron Age and only show slight signs of recovery towards the end of the 11th century (Doumet-Serhal et al. 2023, 43–46 and 6).

Architecturally, the temple stayed largely the same, albeit with renovations and expansions occurring over the Iron I (Figure 3). The locally produced wares indicate a strong degree continuity with Late Bronze Age forms and lack evidence of a dramatic change or shift. Thus, the continual development of the Late Bronze Age Canaanite ceramic repertoire at Sidon's College Site parallels the architectural and religious continuity expressed in the use of the temple. The similar trajectories of both the

architecture and the ceramic repertoire suggest that the shifts at Sidon over the course of the 13th–11th centuries not drastic but comprised of gradual shifts over time. Although the College Site is only a small snapshot of Iron Age Sidon, it provides a unique view into the continuity and expansion religious and economic life of Sidon during the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age (Doumet-Serhal et al. 2023, 6–9 and 27–29).



Figure 3: Sidon Temple Phase A and E

The temple (outlined in pink) during its last LBA phase (left, Phase A), compared to its layout at the end of the Iron I (right, E). The structure underwent only minor renovations (Doumet-Serhal 2023, 5–6).

Sarepta

Sarepta is situated in between Tyre and Sidon, which gave it an important role during antiquity.

Excavations, which were led by James Pritchard, were done in two different areas (called soundings).

Each sounding was published by Pritchard's PhD students, Anderson (Sounding Y) and Khalifeh

(Sounding X). Both excavated areas at Sarepta provide an uninterrupted sequence of habitation spanning

the 13th through 11th centuries. Sarepta's Strata G through E in Sounding Y and IV–VI in Sounding X

provide a snapshot into both the residential and industrial life at Sarepta during this period. While both are published, Sounding Y has the most detailed publications of the stratigraphic and ceramic data (Figure 4) (Killebrew 2019, 48 and Gilboa and Sharon 2003, 49–50).

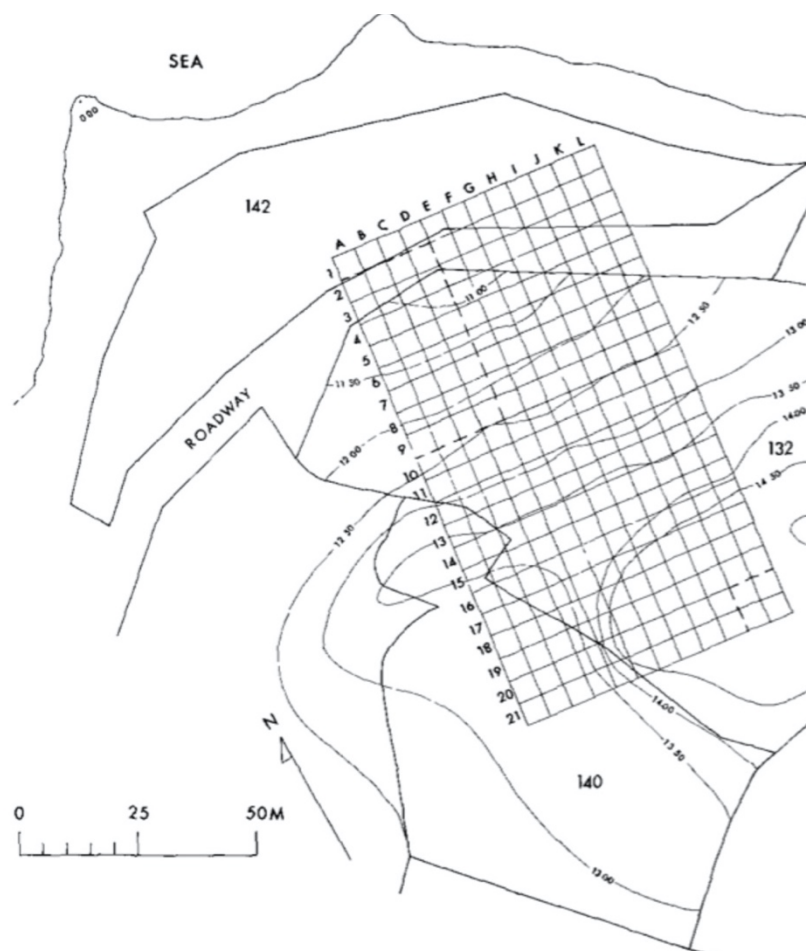


Figure 4: Site Map of Sarepta

Excavation areas at Sarepta are indicated by the dotted lines on the grid. Sounding X is in the upper left, while Sounding Y is located in the bottom right corner (Pritchard 1978, 72).

Table 2: Approximate Dates of Sarepta Strata

<i>Approximate Date (BCE)</i>	<i>Sounding Y</i>	<i>Sounding X</i>
1350–1275	G	III–IV
1275–1150	F	V
1150–1025	E	VI

In Sounding Y, which appears to have been a residential area with a kiln, the architectural remains are similar across Strata G–E. The building layouts frequently build immediately on top of the previous walls with each renovation. Stratum G (Figure 5) contained the characteristic imported pottery of the Late Bronze Age, as well as typological parallels to Stratum XIV at Tyre, both of which led to its

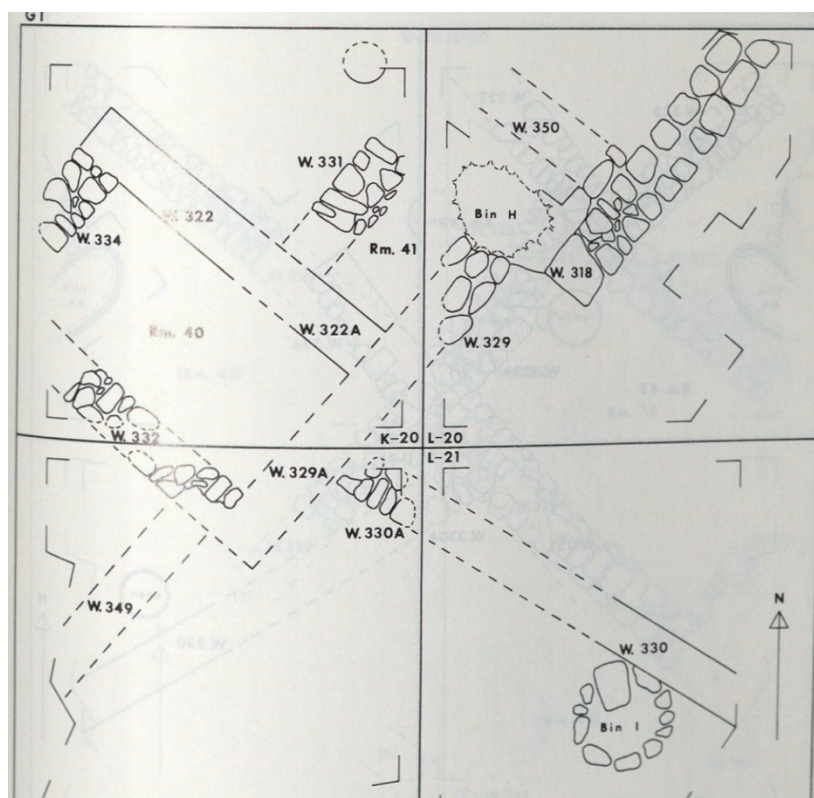


Figure 5: Stratum G in Sounding Y of Sarepta
Top plan of Stratum G (Anderson 1988, Pl. 5).

dating to the first three-fourths of the 13th century. Stratum G also contained items associated with metallurgy and ceramic production, although Stratum G lacks evidence of a kiln. Locally made Aegean-style ceramics appear at the site during the transitional period of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, which has led some to theorize the presence of foreign individuals, despite no distinctive breaks appearing in the occupational or ceramic sequences (Anderson 1988, 58, 385–386, 391; Pritchard 1978 77–79; and Sader 2019, 39).

Stratum V, published by Khalifeh, contains evidence of industrial scale ceramic and purple dye production. The stratigraphy of the 13th–11th centuries of Sounding X at Sarepta is based off of four squares and yielded a less clear snapshot compared to that of Sounding Y. The closest contemporary to Stratum G of Sounding Y is Period IV in Sounding X, as the areas have parallel ceramics, spanning ca. 1350–1275. Period IV is, however, poorly exposed due to the construction efforts of Period V. The fixtures of Period IV include an oven and a series of plastered bins, which may be associated with clay production. Period V is exposed over a greater area and is dated to ca. 1275–1150. Period V in Sounding X was dominated by the construction of a large industrial scale kiln. The kiln of Stratum V produced a rich array of ceramic forms, which seem to parallel Tyre Stratum XIV (Figure 6) (Khalifeh 1988, 89, 102–103, 160–161, 230).

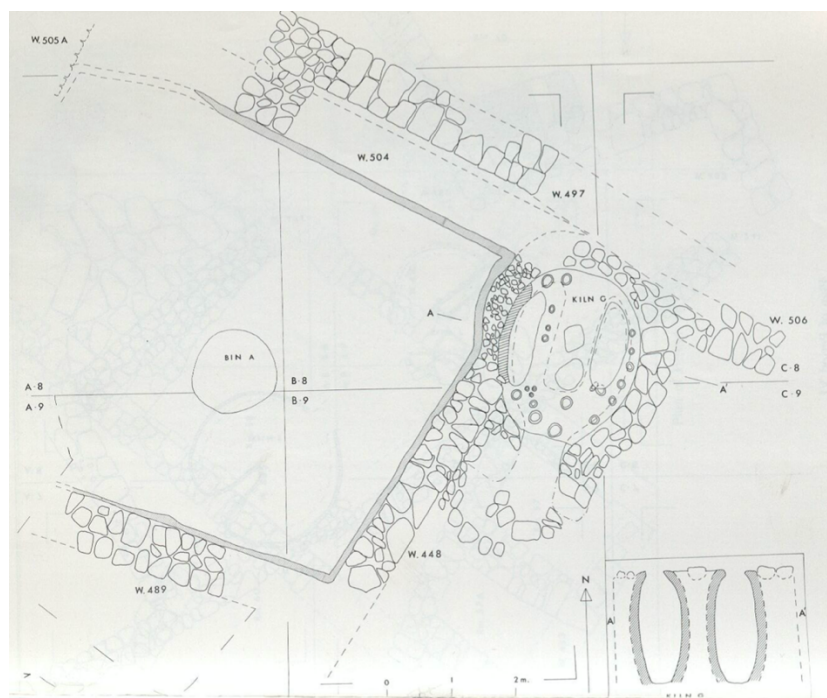


Figure 6: Period V in Sounding X of Sarepta

Pictured above is where kiln G was constructed in the 13th century (Khalifeh 1988, Pl. 7).

In Sounding Y, the structures of Stratum G were expanded in Stratum F, with some walls being reused and expanded (Figure 7). The ceramic repertoire of Stratum F led its excavator to conclude that its occupation began at the beginning of the 12th century and ended around the end of the 12th century. Along

with the structural changes, a kiln was uncovered where the smelting activities previously took place (Pritchard 1978, 81). The ceramic repertoire of the area contained many of the same shapes as before, although cooking pots and lamps decreased in frequency, while storage jars and pithoi became

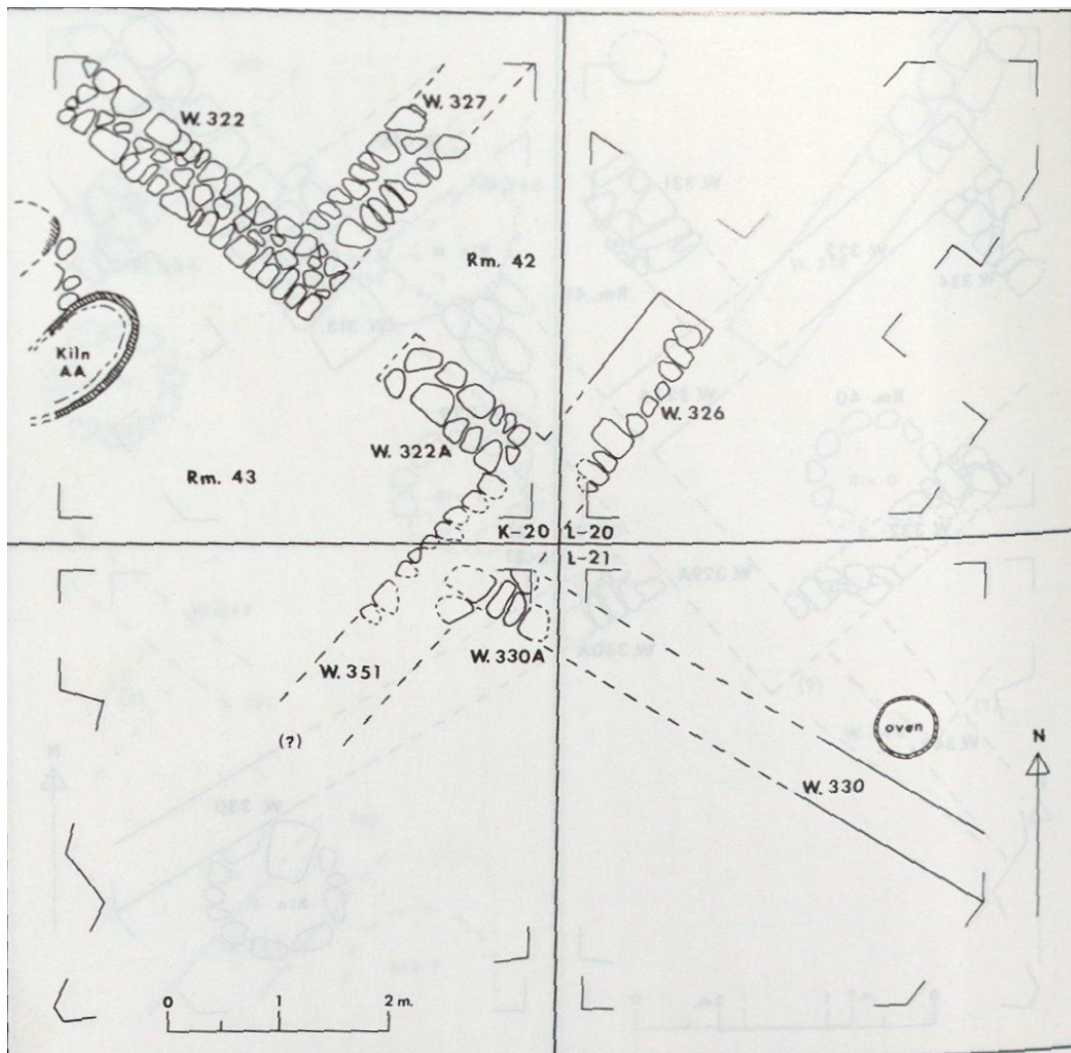


Figure 7: Stratum F of Sounding Y at Sarepta
Stratum F contained Kiln AA (Anderson 1988 Pl. 6).

more prevalent. The presence of a greater number of imported wares, particularly Cypro-Geometric helped anchor the date of Stratum E to ca. 1150/1125–1050/1025 BCE (Figure 8). Stratum E bears many architectural continuities as, both the walls and the kiln from Stratum F continued to be used. While the

ceramic repertoire is very similar, small amounts of Phoenician Bichrome sherds appear for the first time in Stratum E (Anderson 1988, 387–391, and 394–396 and Pritchard 1978, 82).

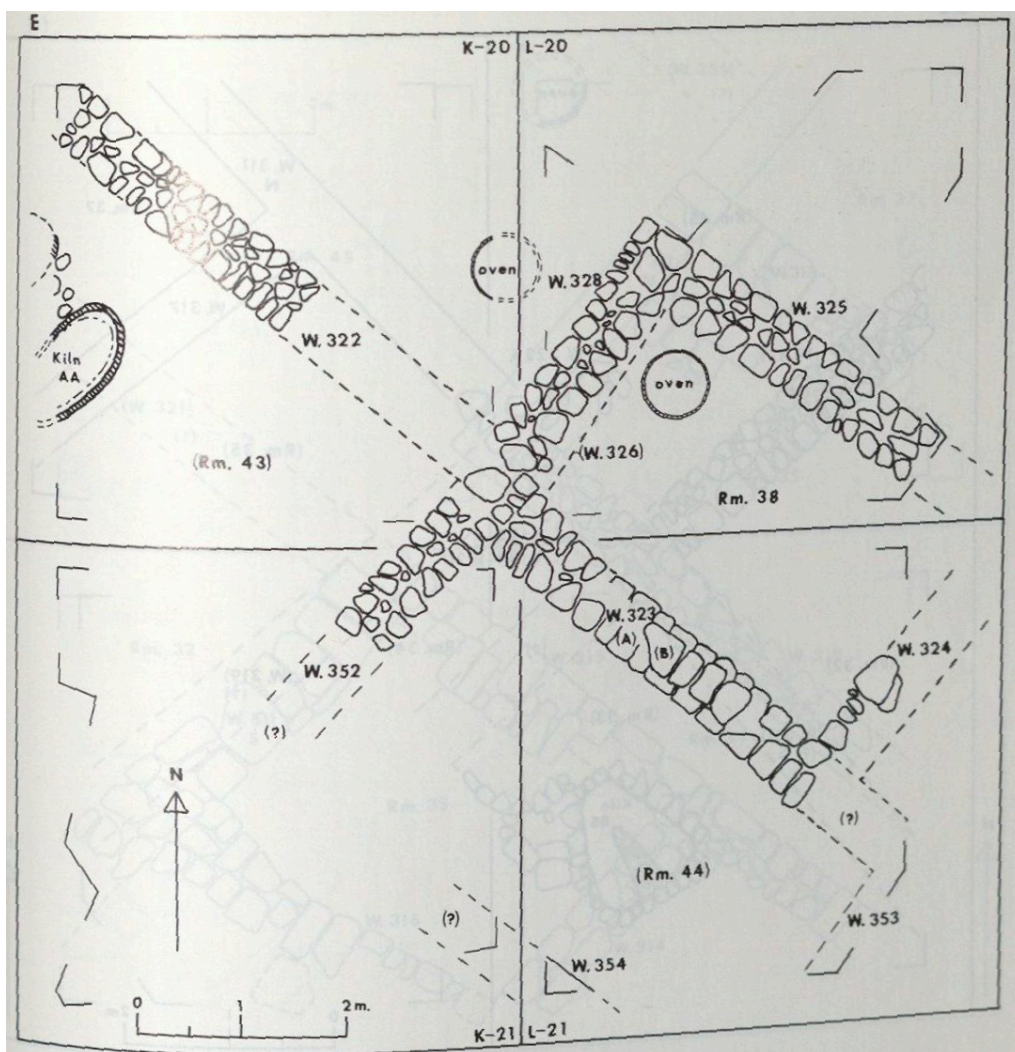


Figure 8: Stratum E in Sounding Y of Sarepta

Stratum E contained many aspects of continuity with its predecessor, including the continued use of Kiln AA (Anderson 1988, Pl. 7).

In Sounding X, Period VI continued many of the architectural traditions that began in Period V, although two kilns appeared in place of the one from Period V (Figure 9). As is seen in Sounding Y, there were no distinct breaks in ceramic typology of tradition during the transition. Much like the previous period, the ceramic repertoire of Period VI and its parallels from Tyre assisted in anchoring its date to ca.

1150–1025 BCE. Period VI also saw the first instances of non-intrusive Phoenician Bichrome wares, which comprised about 4.74% of the assemblage (Khalifeh 1988, 113–114 and 122–124).

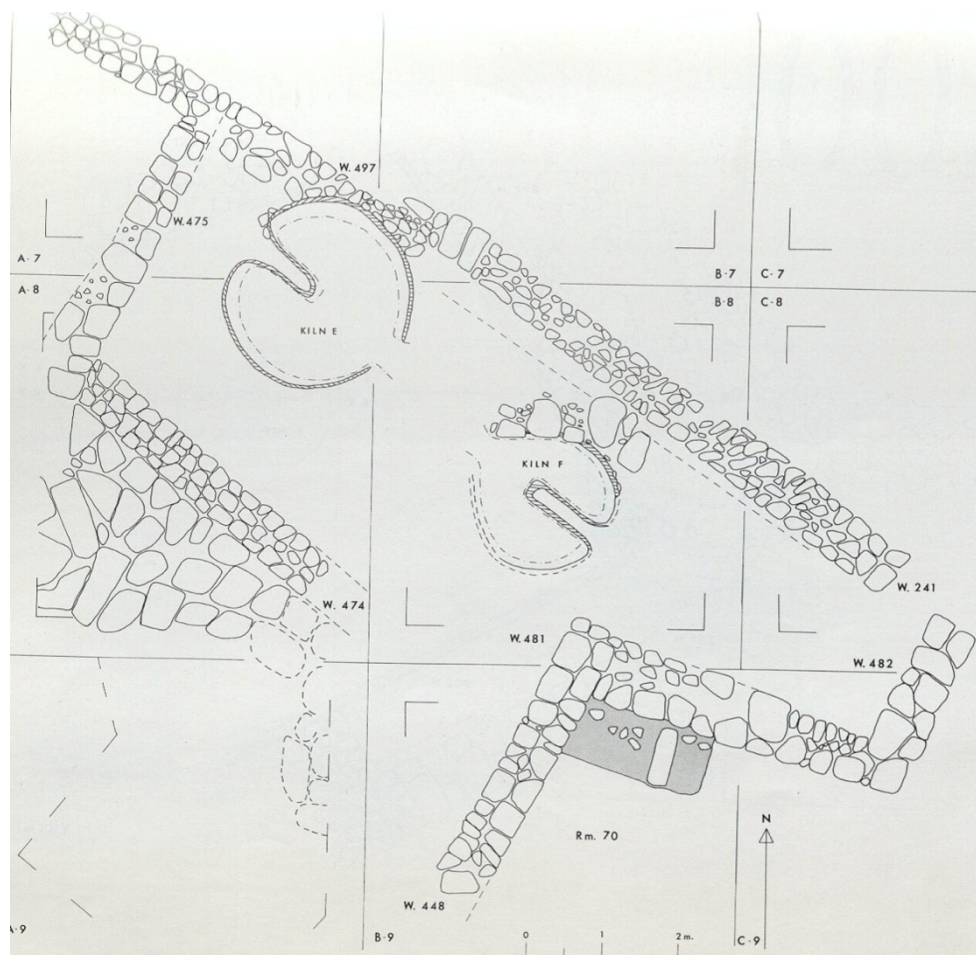


Figure 9: Period VI in Sounding X at Sarepta

Period VI saw the construction of two kilns (E and F), as well as the appearance of the first Phoenician Bichrome sherds (Khalifeh 1988, Pl. 8).

Both areas of Sarepta also contained substantial deposits of murex shells, which were used to produce purple dye. Export of the purple dye from murex shells was an exceedingly lucrative industry for the Phoenicians and was likely where the region derived its name (from the Greek word for “purple”). The largest deposit from the industrial part of Sounding X contained fragments from at least 150 individual snails and was dated to 1350–1200 BCE. A smaller deposit of shells was found in the domestically oriented parts of Sounding Y, which contained remains from about 68 individual murex snails. The use of the area for purple dye production in Sounding Y spanned the 13th–11th centuries BCE.

While the remains indicate that the intensity of production was greater in the Late Bronze Age, the continuation of purple dye production corroborates the degree of continuity seen elsewhere at the site.

The excavations at Sarepta indicate that both the residential *and* industrial life at Sarepta displays a strong degree of continuity across the site, despite long-distance trade reaching an apparent low (Reese 2008, 118).

Tyre

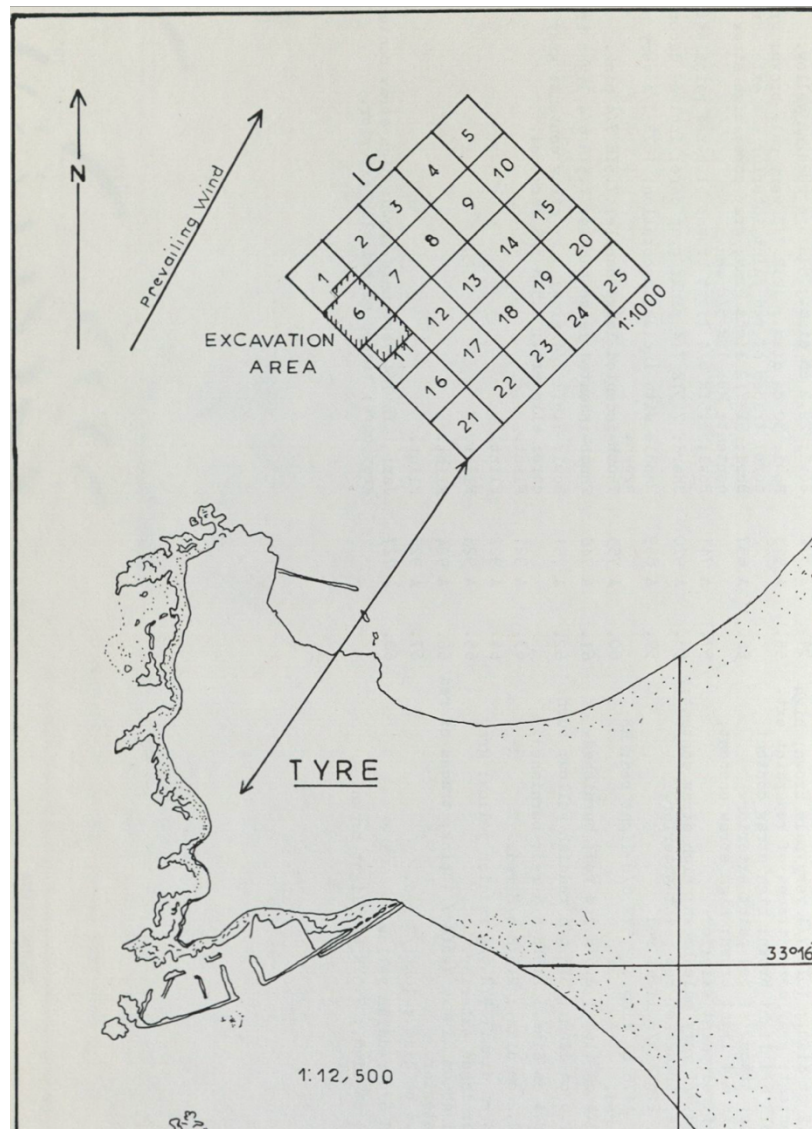


Figure 10: Tyre Excavation Area Map

While ancient Tyre is a famous and large Phoenician site, Bikai's limited excavations remain the only ones to reach the Late Bronze Age (Bikai 1978, Pl. LIX)

Multiple excavations have occurred in different parts of modern Tyre, however, Patricia Bikai's excavations have been the only ones to expose strata spanning the 13th–11th centuries BCE (1978). While the excavations have produced valuable insights, they were a small probe in a part of ancient Tyre, leaving much of the ancient city unexposed (Figure 10). Evidence from the last Late Bronze Age stratum, XV, was dated by its excavator to have spanned ca. 1375–1200 BCE. Stratum XV contained system of walls and rooms that contained ceramic assemblages with typical LB II Canaanite forms and imported vessels (Figure 11). Stratum XV also contained a substantial number of beads, pendants, and scarabs; indicating that the area was used to manufacture jewelry. Stratum XV seemingly ended without a destruction (Bikai 1978, 7–8, 68 and Killebrew 2019, 49).

Table 3: Approximate Dates of Tyre Strata

<i>Approximate Date (BCE)</i>	<i>Tyre Strata</i>
1375–1200	XV
1200–1070/1050	XIV
1070/1050–1000	XIII

Stratum XIV continued many of the traditions seen in Stratum XV, as both the walls and the fixtures related to jewelry manufacture seem to have continued during the next phase (Figure 11). The lack of disruption in settlement, alongside the typical LB/Iron I transitional wares, placed the occupation of Stratum XIV to ca. 1200–1070/1050. Unlike its predecessor, Stratum XIV appears to have experienced some sort of partial destruction or robbing, possibly followed by a brief period of abandonment. This suggests some turmoil, conflict, or break; albeit towards the end of the Iron I (Bikai 1978, 8 and 68).

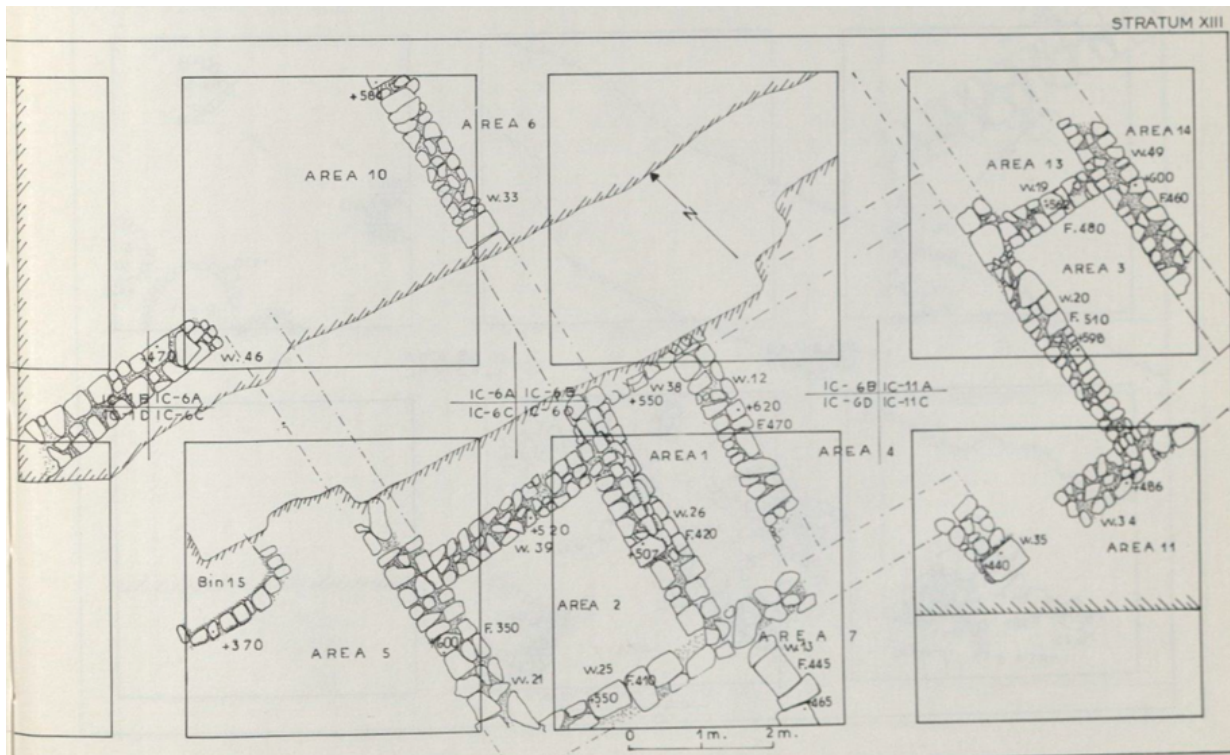


Figure 13: Stratum XIII at Tyre

Despite the disruption of Stratum XIV, Stratum XIII contains re-used and expanded walls from Stratum XIV and XV (Bikai 1978, Pl. LXV).

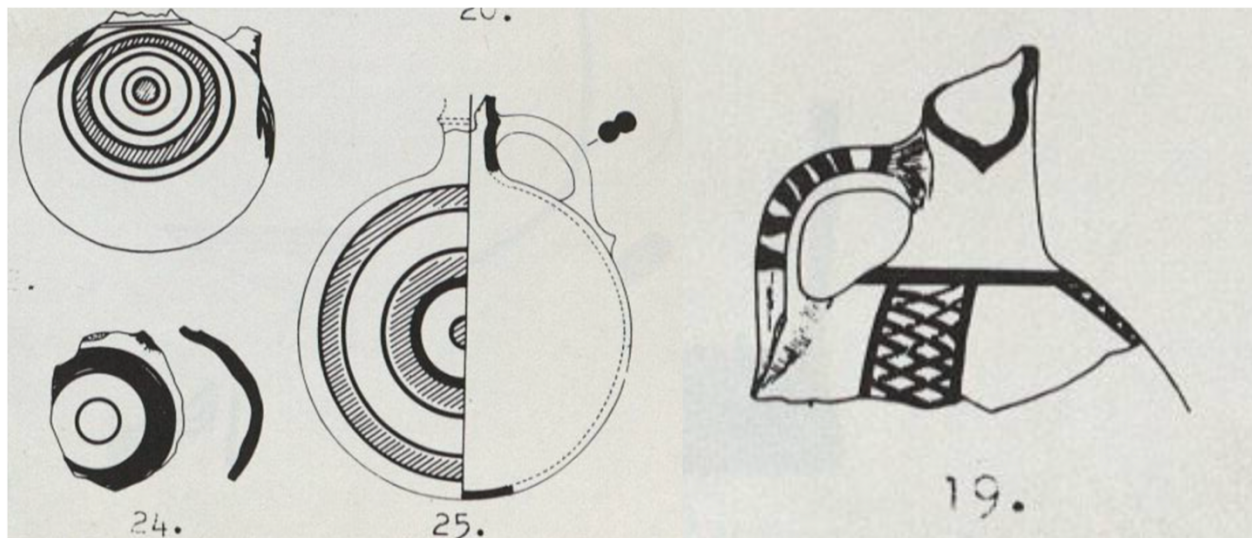


Figure 12: Early Phoenician Bichrome from Tyre Stratum XIII

Stratum XIII contained the first instances of Phoenician Bichrome, found first on small containers used for transporting goods. The appearance of Phoenician Bichrome is dated to the end of the 11th century BCE (Bikai 1978, Pl. XXXIII).

Keisan

While modern Tell Keisan is in the middle of the Akko Plain (Figure 14), about 7km from the coast, the ancient coastline would have been much closer in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. The site was first excavated in the 1970s by a French team led by Jean Baptiste Humbert and Jacques Briend, who published much of their results. Renewed excavations at Keisan are led by Gunnar Lehmann, Bernd Schipper, and David Schloen. Their ongoing excavations have not been published.

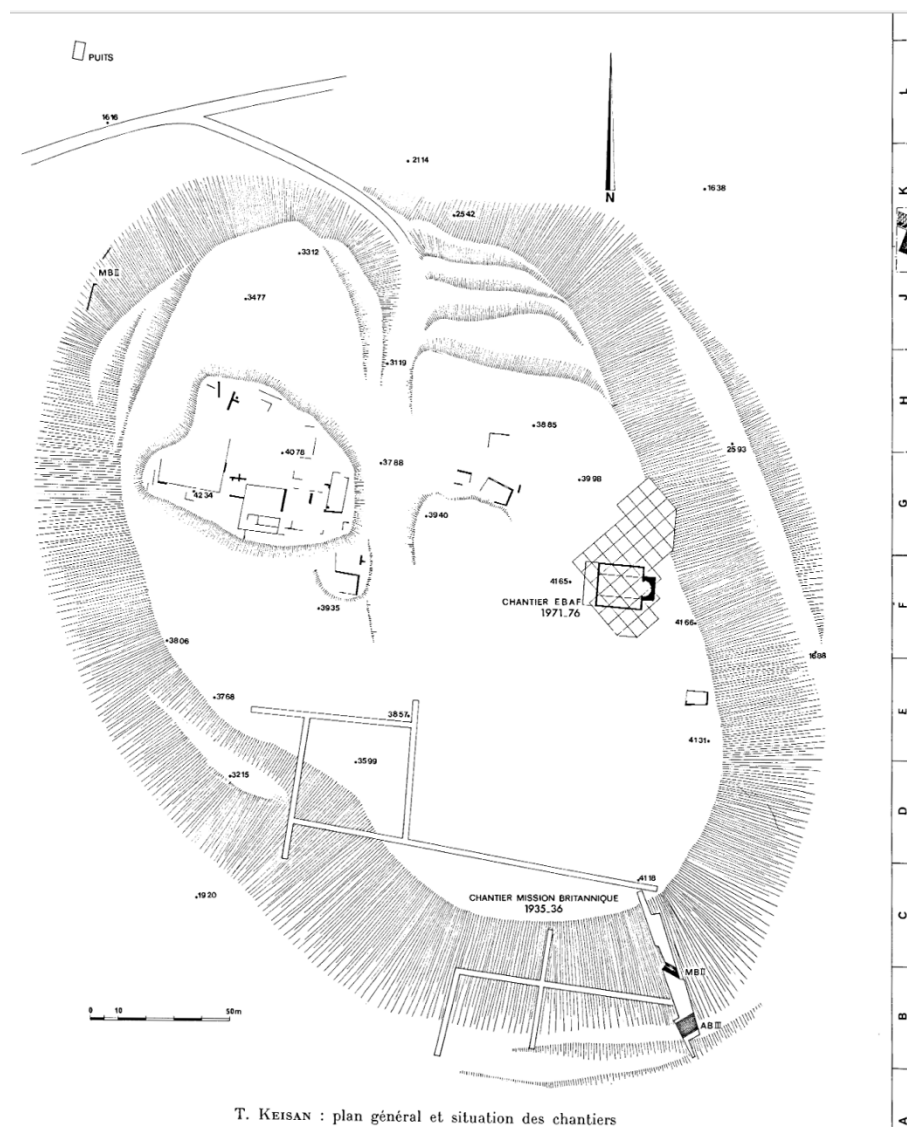


Figure 14: Site Map of Tell Keisan

Briend and Humbert's excavations at Tell Keisan in Area B, which is labeled as "Chantelier E" and is pictured on the right (East) side of the tell (Briend and Humbert 1980, Pl. 2).

Tell Keisan contains a complete occupational sequence that spans the transition from the Late Bronze Age through the Iron I, with levels 13–9c representing the 13th–11th centuries (Table 4). Stratum 13 appears to be the last Late Bronze Age stratum, which, although only uncovered in Area B, features a partial destruction/disruption layer that is, in some areas, a meter thick. Evidence of purple dye production also led excavators to believe that the area served an industrial function. Stratum 12 was uncovered in a greater area (two squares instead of one). During Stratum 12, new walls were constructed, but the area's function appears to have remained industrial. Despite the new building projects, both the quality and size of the structures led the excavator to suggest that Keisan had a low population density, accompanied by an economic and social decline (Humbert 1981, 381, 385–386; Burdajewicz 1994, 7, 80–81; and Waiman-Barack 2016, 171).

Table 4: Approximate Dates of Keisan Strata

<i>Approximate Date (BCE)</i>	<i>Keisan Strata</i>
1300–1190/1180	13
1190/1180–1150	12
1150–1100	11
1100–1075	10
1075–1050	9c
1050–1000/980	9b + 9a

Thicker and more substantial walls were constructed in Stratum 11, which has been dated to the latter part of the 12th century. Stratum 11 appears to have been a continuation of the development seen in Stratum 12, although the size and orientation of the walls clearly changed. The structures of Stratum 10 were also poorly exposed and were largely constructed of mudbrick materials and were built on top of the structures of Stratum 11. Stratum 10 spans a brief period at the beginning of the 11th century BCE, ending

around 1075. A more complete view of the architectural remains of Strata 11 and 10 is obstructed by the buildings of Stratum 9 (Figure 15). Due to their relative lack of exposure, Strata 12–10 produced very little pottery, although it appeared to be characteristic of the Early Iron I. Thus, while Keisan may not have thrived during the 13th and 12th centuries, the current evidence indicates some degree of cultural continuity with both its previous strata and the material culture of its immediate region (Briend 1980, 206; Humbert 1980, 27; and Humbert 1981, 388–390).

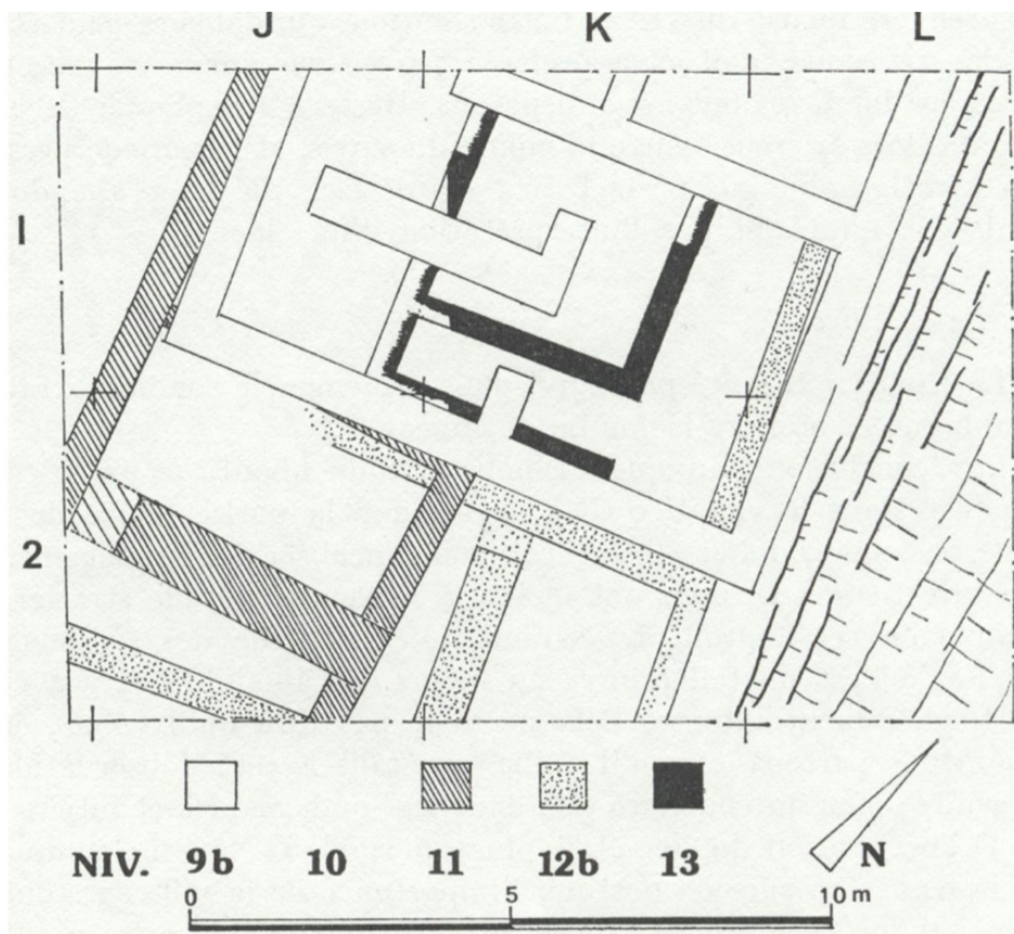


Figure 15: Tell Keisan Architecture: Strata 13-9b

The above image depicts the walls from each Strata at Keisan (Humbert 1981, 386).

More substantial remains come from Stratum 9, which is broken up into three phases (a–c) and was exposed across a greater area of the tell. Stratum 9 spans the rest of the 11th century, and possibly into the early 10th century. Stratum 9c is dominated by a large pit (which produced many ceramic remains) and architecture that continued into 9b and 9a. The architecture of Stratum 9 in Area B is both domestic and

industrial in nature, with dwellings and their surrounding areas uncovered (Figure 16). The general shape of the dwelling uncovered in Stratum 9 bears strong parallels to the three and four space style houses contemporary residences found elsewhere in the southern and Central Levant. Also in Area B, a large vat was found, alongside pieces of pottery that were stained a shade of purple. The findings provide evidence of the quintessentially Phoenician purple dye production during the 11th century at Keisan. Moreover, the evidence of purple dye production in Stratum 9 appears in almost the exact place it did in Stratum 13 (Briend 1980, 197–205, 213–215; Puech 1980, 226–227; and Gilboa and Sharon 2003, 37–38).

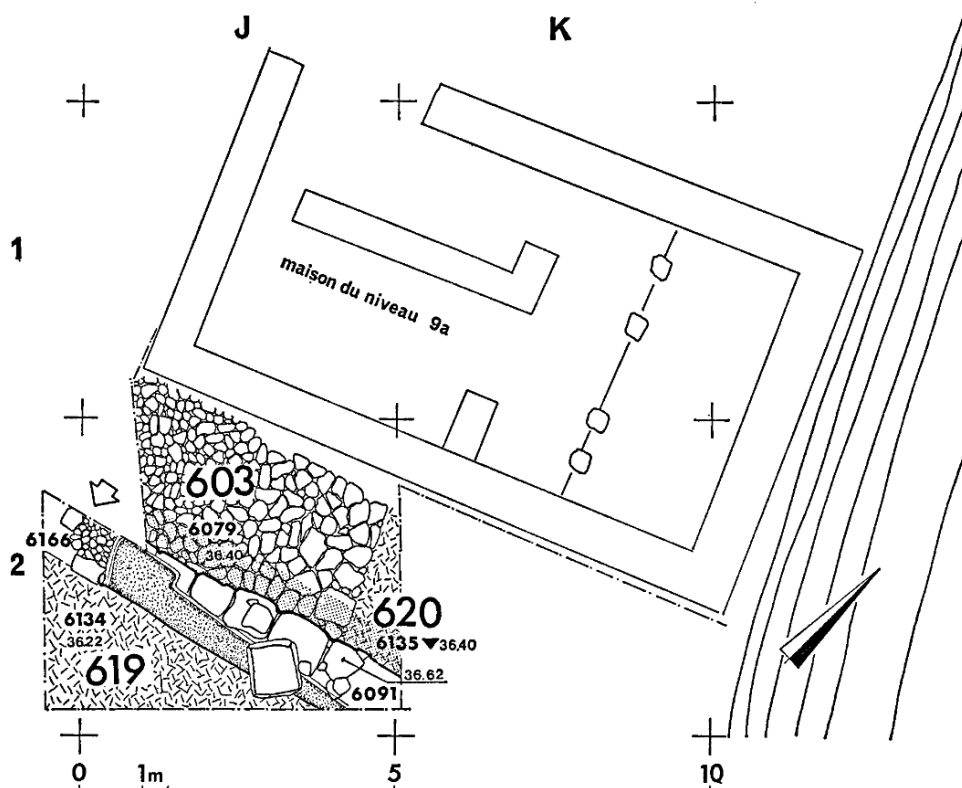


Figure 16: Tell Keisan Top Plan for 9a

The domestic structure of 9a, which partially obscures the remains from Phases 10 and 11. The domestic space is similar to the infamous Israelite four-space house (Briend 1980, 205).

The most notable difference between 9c and 9b/a is that the appearance of Phoenician Bichrome (mostly on flasks) in 9a and 9b (Figure 17). Besides the appearance of Phoenician Bichrome in 9a and 9b, the wide majority of ceramic remains are extremely similar the wares of both the previous strata at Keisan and at other neighboring sites. While Keisan seems to have had a more noticeable decline during the 12th

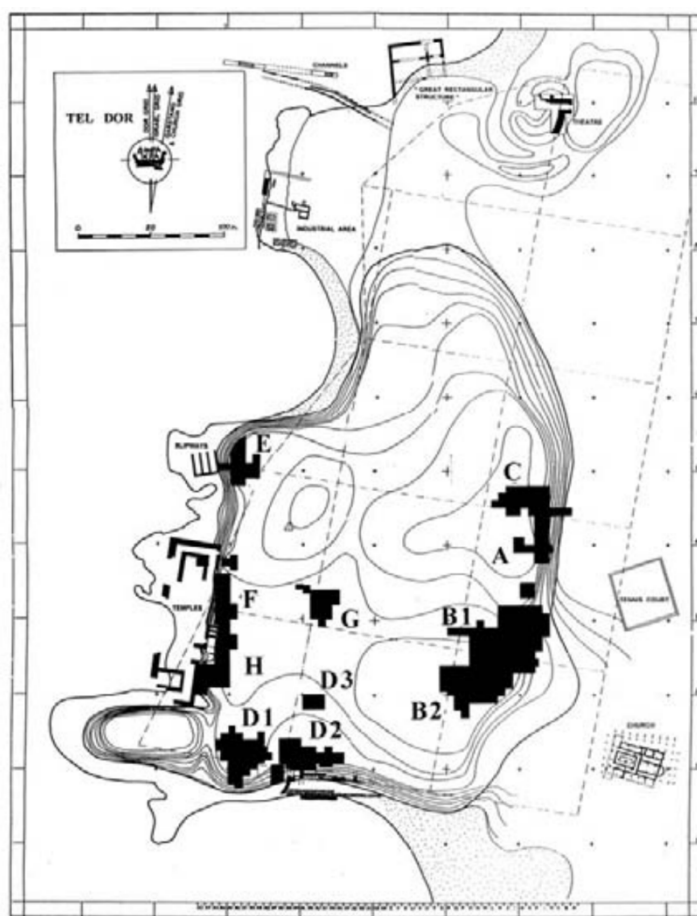


Figure 18: Site Map of Tel Dor

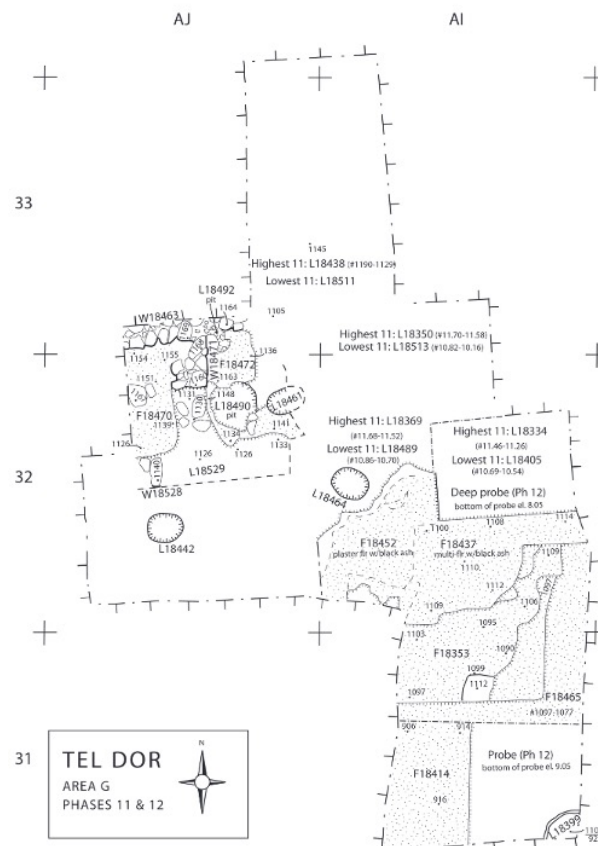
Area G, pictured in the center of the Tell, produced a clear stratigraphic sequence of the 13th–11th centuries at Dor.

Table 5: Approximate Dates of Dor Strata

<i>Approximate Date (BCE)</i>	<i>Tel Dor Stratum</i>
1250–1225/1200	12
1225/1200–1200/1175	11
1150/1125–1100/1075	10
1100/1075–1075/1025	9
1075/1025–1050/1000	8
1050/100–930	7

The earliest phase in Area G, Phase 12, seems to have been a short-lived period. Based off of its ceramic repertoire, Phase 12 began during the latter half of the 13th century and ended ca. 1225/1200.

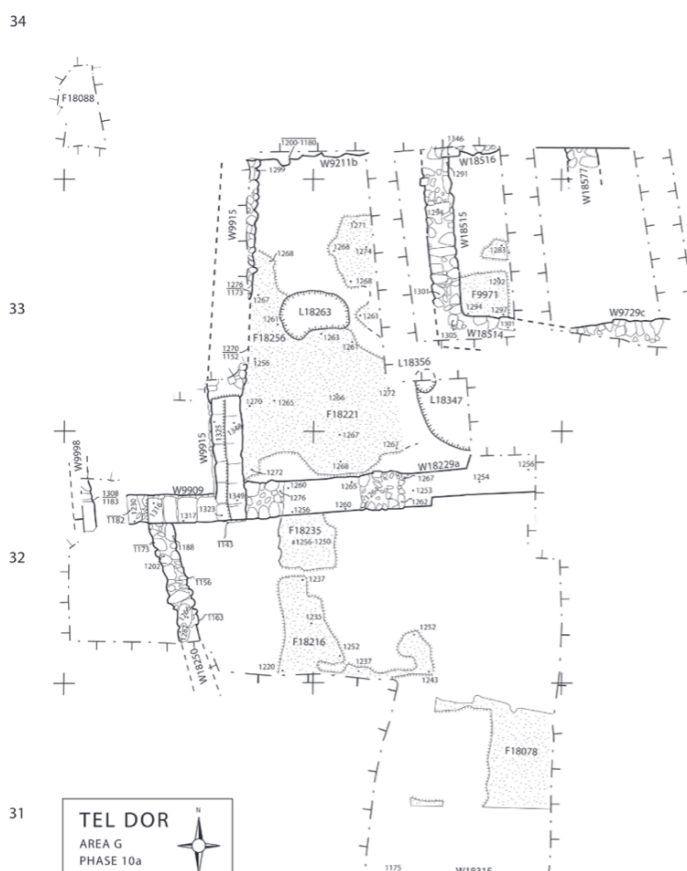
Phase 11 continues on the heels of Phase 12, representing a slightly longer phase that lasted from ca. 1225 until 1200/1175 BCE. Excavations of Phase 11 in Area G also yielded few architectural remains that were uncovered in only one square (Figure 19). The ceramic remains belonging to Phase 11 contain Canaanite forms that derive from the assemblage of Phase 12. As is seen at other sites, there is a sharp decline in imported vessels. However, Aegean-style vessels produced on Cyprus and in the Levant appear alongside an increase in Egyptian imports as well. The evidence of metallurgical activity is also present in



Remains from Phases 11 and 12 are limited to the northern part (upper left square) of the excavation (Gilboa et al. 2018c, 247).

Phase 11, although it is less common than it was in Phase 12 (Gilboa, Sharon, and Zorn 2018, 33–35; Stidsing and Salmon 2018, 37; and Stockhammer 2018, 75–76).

Phase 10 marks the first Iron Age settlement layer in Area G of Dor (Figure 20). Despite its seemingly small size during the Late Bronze Age, the settlement at Dor grew to occupy the extent of the tell within the early Iron I, following a brief occupational gap between Phase 11 and Phase 10. The presence of a few Philistine Bichrome sherds on the floors of Phase 10 have led excavators to date its occupation to 1150/1125–1100/1075. Architecturally, Phase 10 also marks the initial building of a structure, which appears to have been renovated and used in various forms until the end of the Iron IIA. Despite the apparent occupational gap following Phase 11 and the new architectural undertakings, the area indicates a strong degree of continuity. Continuity is also evident in the ceramic assemblage, which



is largely derived from Canaanite traditions. The presence of bell-shaped bowls, most of which are locally produced but some of which were imported from Philistia, indicate non-indigenous affinities of some sort. Metallurgical activities also return to the area in Phase 10, as evidenced by a furnace, almost 70 pieces of metal, firing pits, and 12 pieces of clay crucibles (Gilboa, Sharon, and Zorn 2018, 40–44 and Gilboa 2018, 154).

Immediately following Phase 10, Phase 9 appears to have begun around 1100 and ended between 1075 and 1025. The area's function seems to have shifted away from metallurgy in Phase 9. The structure constructed in Phase 10 appears to have expanded and was oriented around an outer courtyard in Phase 9. Phase 9 ended in a destruction, resulting in a wealth of situ finds. The assemblage of Phase 9 is very clearly a later derivation of the LBA Canaanite repertoire, with its closest affinities coming from other sites along the Carmel Coast. Locally produced Aegean-style wares are absent during this phase. While the shape of the dwelling seems to have Canaanite parallels, its finds contain a surprising dearth of typical domestic wares (cooking pots, bowls). Instead, the structure yielded a large number of commercial jars, especially imported Egyptian jars that were concentrated in one part of the building. Another part of the structure contained evidence of fish processing, and yet another area contained a large number of vessels related to food consumption and preparation (Gilboa, Sharon, and Zorn 2018, 58–66 and Gilboa 2018, 136–138).

Following the destruction of Phase 9, the building was rebuilt on the same plan in Phase 8, which spanned ca. 1075/1025–1050/1000. The building seems to have maintained many of its functions during Phase 8. Phase 7 marks a smooth transition from Phase 8, making it hard to differentiate the changes that occurred between each occupation layer. During Phase 7 (Figure 21), which spanned from 1050 until the end of the Iron I, the walls of the large structure were reused or rebuilt, with each room of the building seemingly continuing to function in the same way. Phases 8 and 7 also mark the first instances of Phoenician Bichrome, which appears mostly on flasks and other small containers. The end of this period,

however, is marked by a largescale destruction that appears to have occurred at some point in the 11th century BCE (Gilboa, Sharon, and Zorn 2018, 66–72 and Gilboa 2018, 167).

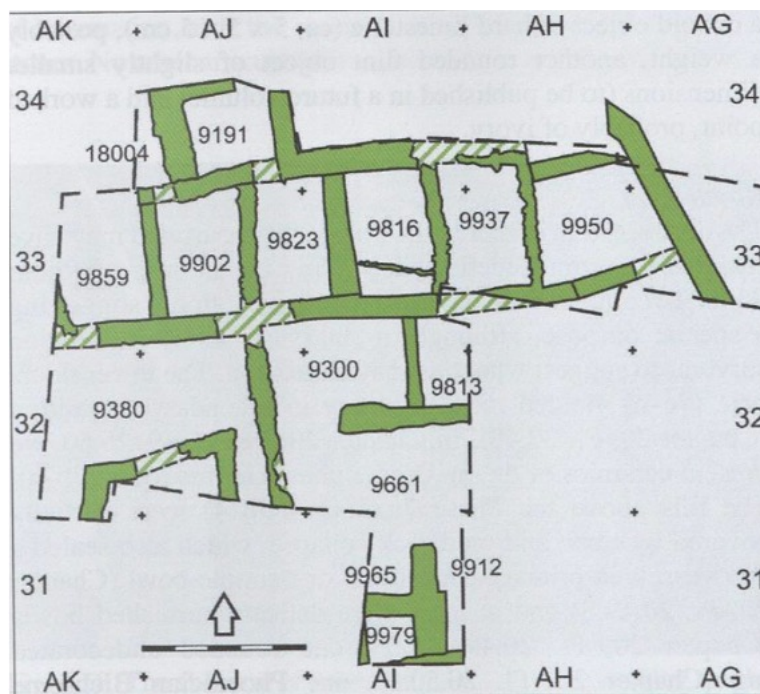


Figure 21: Dor Phase 7 Top Plan

The building complex of Area G continued to expand during Phase 7 (Gilboa, Sharon, and Zorn 2018, 69).

While some scholars postulated that Dor may have been occupied by SKL/Sea Peoples during the Iron I, the site shows a high degree of continuity with the material culture of Late Bronze Age Canaan. Foreign connections, particularly with Egypt, also appear at Dor during the Iron IA period (roughly 1200/1180 – 1100). Imported Egyptian storage jars appear prevalently throughout the site, even during the Iron I. No other contemporary site in the Levant contains evidence of similarly abundant trade with Egypt, indicating a unique relationship between the two locales that prevailed in the Iron Age. In addition to the imported vessels, which likely carried agricultural goods, and abundance of Egyptian fish bones attest another dimension of trade at Dor. Moreover, the wealth of Egyptian items corroborates the close ties between Dor and Egypt that are depicted in the *Report of Wenamun*. (Gilboa 2008, 155–156 and Gilboa 2015, 254–255 Sharon and Gilboa 2013, 393–395).

Optical Mineralogical analyses of Phoenician Bichrome vessels found on Cyprus indicate that many (around half) of the vessels came from the Carmel Coast around Dor (Figure 22). The other half of the vessels originated from the Tyre/Sidon area, thereby indicating that the regions were equally engaged in trade with Cyprus. Furthermore, residue analysis of flasks from Dor also indicated that cinnamon from Southeast Asia was imported in the Early Iron Age. Purple stains on ceramic remains indicate that the inhabitants of Dor produced purple dye from murex shells, an industry that would come to define Phoenicia. While the 12th and 11th centuries are characterized by a paucity of imports at most sites, Dor seems to have continued long-distance trade, albeit to a lesser extent than in the LBA (Gilboa 2015, 253; Gilboa and Goren 2015, 87–88, 247–248, 275 and Waiman-Barack 2016, 38).



Figure 22: Early Phoenician Bichrome from Dor

The early sherds of Phoenician Bichrome at Dor appear most frequently on small containers. Phoenician Bichrome became associated with the Phoenicians more broadly, as it was traded across the Mediterranean (Gilboa and Sharon 2008, 169).

Thus, the small LBA village at Dor underwent a renaissance during the Early Iron Age, as the city expanded both architecturally and economically. Archaeologically, while Dor is not typically identified as a Phoenician site, it has many parallels with the other Phoenician sites, both in their evidence of export and continued urbanism. Furthermore, Dor is unique for its continued trade with Egypt, which is attested both archaeologically and textually. Despite its occasional disruptions, the image that emerges

from Dor is one of prosperity and success. This unites Dor with the other Phoenician cities, as all seemed to have enjoyed relative prosperity amidst external changes.

The image that emerges from the Phoenician sites is one of continuity. The 13th century evidence of Phoenicia suggests active participation in the globalized Late Bronze Age economy of the Eastern Mediterranean. During the 12th century, Phoenicia's participation in international trade seems to have declined to a lower level of largely regionalized contact. Despite the lack of international trade, the industrial, architectural, and material record develops directly from the Late Bronze Age predecessors. The volume of trade began to escalate during the 11th century, when foreign contacts, particularly with Cyprus and Egypt are attested in the artifactual assemblages. While Dor contains more abundant evidence of trade, largely with Egypt, other Phoenician sites also show signs of sustained exchange with Cyprus. Towards the end of the 11th century, Phoenician Bichrome began to be produced across Phoenician sites and quickly appears at the sites of the Phoenician's trading partners.

Chapter 3

Primary Evidence: Philistia

Philistia and the Philistines

To the south of Phoenicia, the region of Philistia is defined by the five biblically attested urban centers that were occupied by the Philistines during the Iron Age. The biblical claims about the five “Pentapolis” sites (Ekron, Ashdod, Gath, Ashkelon, and Gaza - Figure 23) are attested archaeologically as well. In the archaeological record, Philistine material culture is evident in the seemingly sudden appearance of a non-indigenous material culture during the 12th century BCE. The non-indigenous nature of the Philistine material culture has produced a uniquely vibrant assemblage of remains from the Early

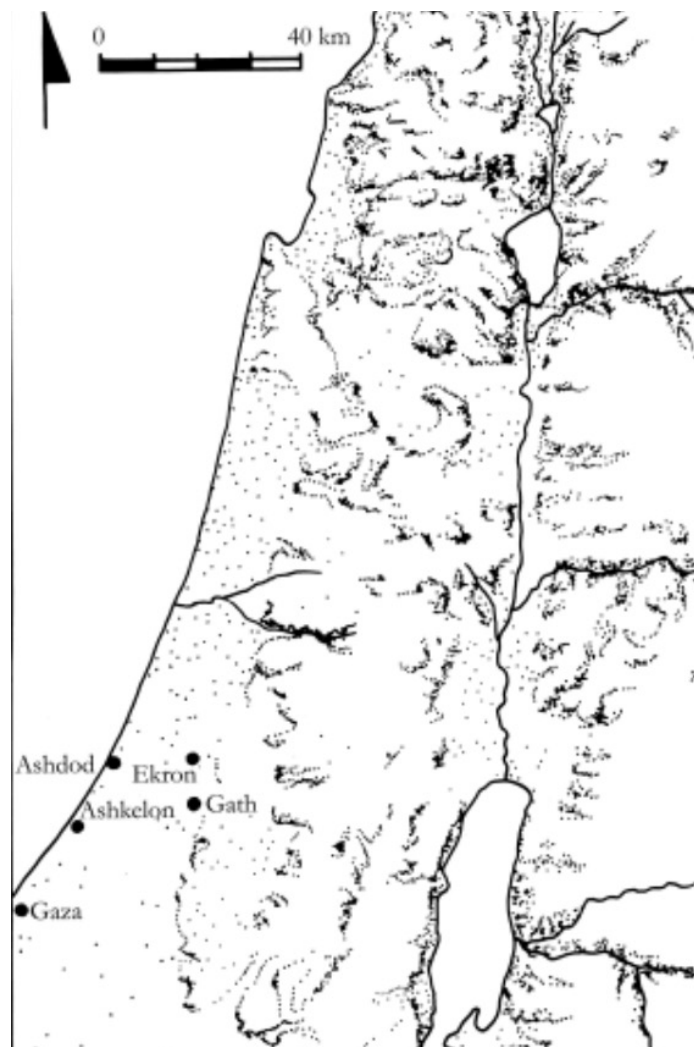


Figure 23: A Map of the Philistine Pentapolis
(Killebrew 2005, 198).

Iron Age. Ekron, Ashdod, Gath, and Ashkelon have undergone excavations, while Gaza, much like many sites in Phoenicia, has not been excavated due to the substantial modern occupation and the extremely tense political dynamics of the Gaza Strip (Faust and Lev-Tov 2011, 13 and Killebrew and Lehmann 2013, 6).

Textual Evidence

Textual evidence of the Philistines comes from a variety of sources. Most mentions are, however, from the Bible, where the Philistines are the infamous antagonists of the Israelites. They feature most prominently in the Deuteronomistic History, particularly in Judges and 1 Samuel; both of which are associated with the Early Iron Age. In Joshua 13:2-4, the Philistines are mentioned as having resisted the Israelite invasion of the land. The text lists five rulers and their cities (Ekron, Ashdod, Gath, Ashkelon, and Gaza), thereby indicating the existence of the Philistine “Pentapolis” (Killebrew and Lehmann 2013, 8). 1 Samuel 13:19-21 hints at the Philistines being more technologically advanced than their Israelite neighbors (Killebrew 2017, 319). Amos 9:7 and Deuteronomy 2:23 also claim that the Philistines were originally from Capthor, which is seemingly associated with the Aegean. Despite foreign associations, Canaanite elements, including the deities associated with the Philistines during the Iron I (mentioned in Judges 16: 23-31, 19:27, 16:23 and 1 Samuel 5:1-7), all have Semitic names/origins (Killebrew 2017, 320 and Machinist 2013, 55).).

Outside of biblical sources, multiple Egyptian documents contain early references to the Philistines. The most infamous mention of the Philistines appears in the 12th century BCE reliefs of Ramesses III’s temple at Medinet Habu. At Medinet Habu, they are labelled as the “Peleset” engaged in a losing battle with the Egyptians (Figure 24). While they are claimed to have been slain, the inscriptions are seen as largely propagandistic. Other sources from the time of Ramesses III, such as the Papyrus Harris and the Rhetorical Stele found at Deir el-Medina associate the Peleset with the sea and their

alleged defeat at the hands of the Egyptians. Therefore, the corpus of texts pertaining to the Philistines attest both a foreign origin and point to their settlement in the Southern Levant following the chaos of the Late Bronze Age (Killebrew and Lehmann 2013, 9 and Adams and Cohen 2013, 663–664).

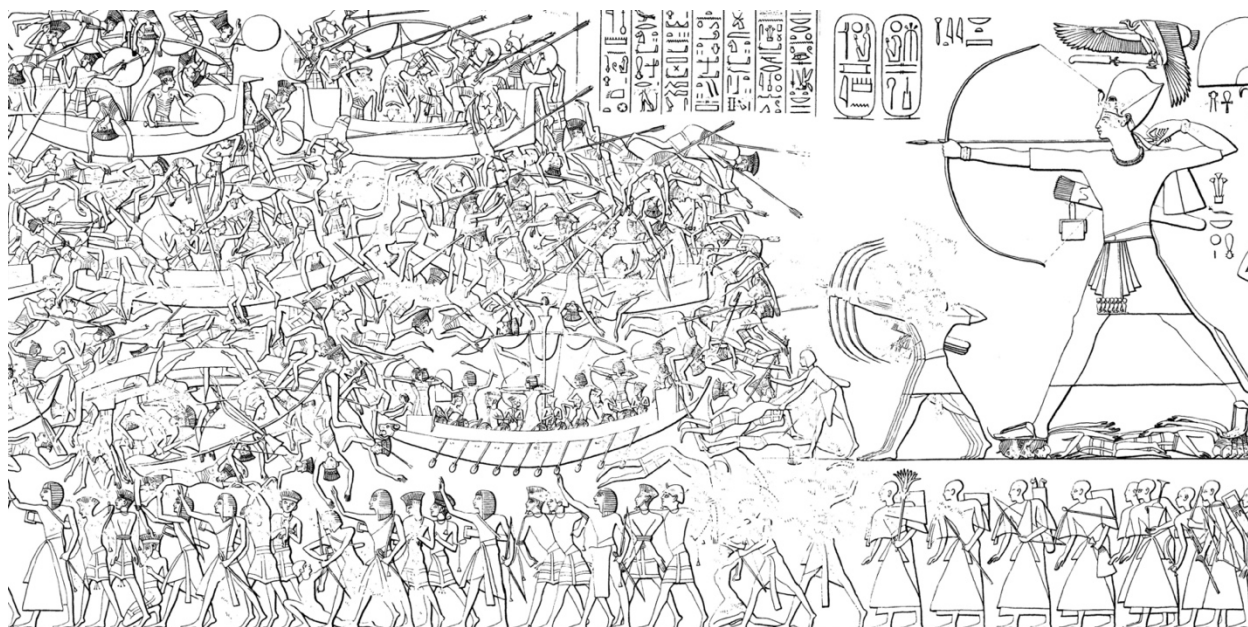


Figure 24: Medinet Habu "Sea Peoples" Reliefs

The above drawing is a recreation of the depiction of the land and sea battle between the "Sea Peoples" and Ramesses the III. The Sea Peoples are pictured with plumed and horned helmets (The Epigraphic Survey, Pl. 32).

Archaeological Evidence

In addition to the textual evidence pertaining to the appearance, and eventual dominance, of the Philistines, excavations at Tel Mique-Ekron, Ashdod, Gath, and Ashkelon have produced a wealth of archaeological data. Each site has produced remains from the 13th–11th centuries, making their results relevant to the topic of this thesis.

Tel Mique-Ekron

Tel Mique-Ekron is the furthest east and north of the Philistine Pentapolis cities. Excavations at Ekron, led by Trude Dothan and Seymour Gitin occurred from 1981–1996. Ekron contains a complete sequence spanning the Late Bronze Age to the 7th century, with Strata VIII–IV representing the 13th–11th

centuries. Stratum VIII, which spans the 13th century, has only been found Field I (Figure 25), indicating that Ekron was a small village during the Late Bronze Age. Stratum VIIIB contains a ceramic assemblage typical of a LB IIB Canaanite settlement but is poorly exposed architecturally. At the end of the 13th century, however, Stratum VIIIB appears to have experienced a conflagration. The following Stratum (VIIIA) marks the transitional period between the Bronze and Iron Age and is dated to the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 12th century BCE. The ceramic assemblage of Stratum VIIIA contains fewer imported wares, particularly from the Aegean, which is typical of its time period (Dothan, Gitin, and Killebrew 1996, 26–27; Dothan and Gitin 2008, 3; Killebrew 2013, 80–83; Mazow 2005, 53; Meehl, Dothan, and Gitin 2006, 28–29).

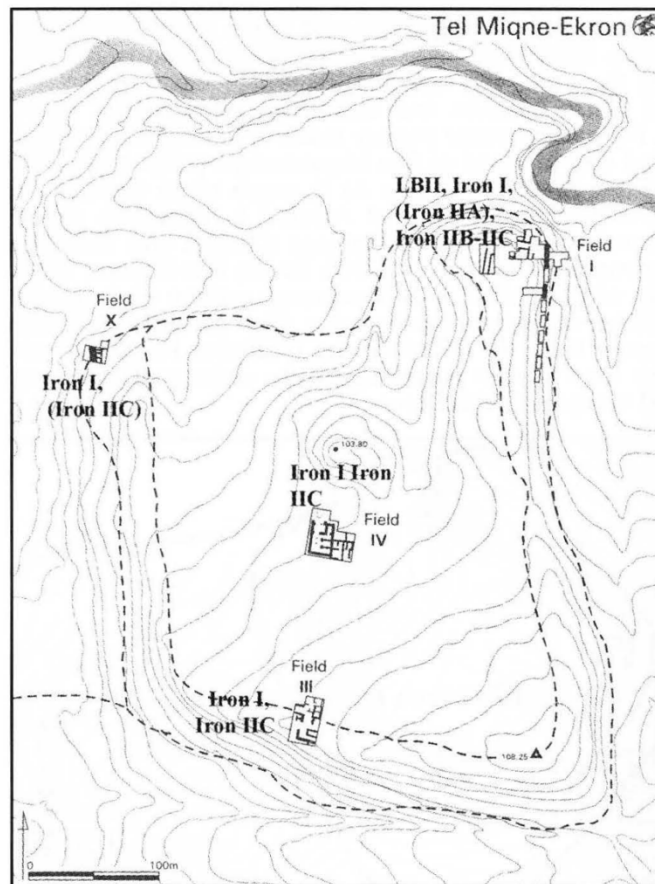


Figure 25: Site Map of Tel Migne-Ekron

While Iron I remains are found in Fields III, X, IV; Field I is the only one to contain the complete sequence (Ben-Shlomo 2007, 269).

Table 6: Approximate Dates of Ekron Strata

<i>Approximate Date (BCE)</i>	<i>Stratum</i>
1300–1175	VIII
1175–1125	VII
1125–1100/1075	VI
1100/1075–1050	V

The transition from Stratum VIIIA to Stratum VII, lacks a destruction, but rather, is marked by the seemingly sudden appearance of Philistine material culture within the archaeological horizon. The archaeological record from Philistine Ekron has produced the most diverse array of Philistine cultural artifacts, some of which are absent from other sites. Moreover, the size of the first Philistine city at Ekron when compared to its small Late Bronze Age city has indicated to scholars that its settlement was more distinctly “Philistine”. Therefore, the findings from Iron I Ekron play a uniquely important role in discussions of Philistine culture and its initial incursion to the Southern Coastal Plain (Ben-Shlomo 2007, 269–270; Dothan and Gitin 2008, 3; and Killebrew 2013, 85).

The arrival of the Philistines in Stratum VII is perhaps most evident in the prevalence of locally produced “Aegean-style” ceramics, termed “Mycenaean IIIC 1:b,” “Philistine Monochrome,” or “Philistine 1” (Figure 27). The early Philistine pottery that is present across Pentapolis sites contrasts Canaanite wares in shape, technology, and decoration. Kitchen wares, such as bell-shaped bowls (Figure 28.1), strainer jugs (28.2), kraters (28.4), cooking jugs (28.3) (as opposed to Canaanite cooking pots) predominate the early Philistine assemblages. Stylistically, typical early Philistine decorations included

bands, spirals (27.4), “tongues” (27.6), and stylized versions of octopuses, fish, and, most popularly, a bird (27.5) (Killebrew 2013, 95–99; Mazow 2005, 25–26; Mountjoy 2013, 65–70).



Figure 26: Early Philistine Monochrome

Philistine Monochrome ware appears in the early Philistine assemblage (Sauter 2023)

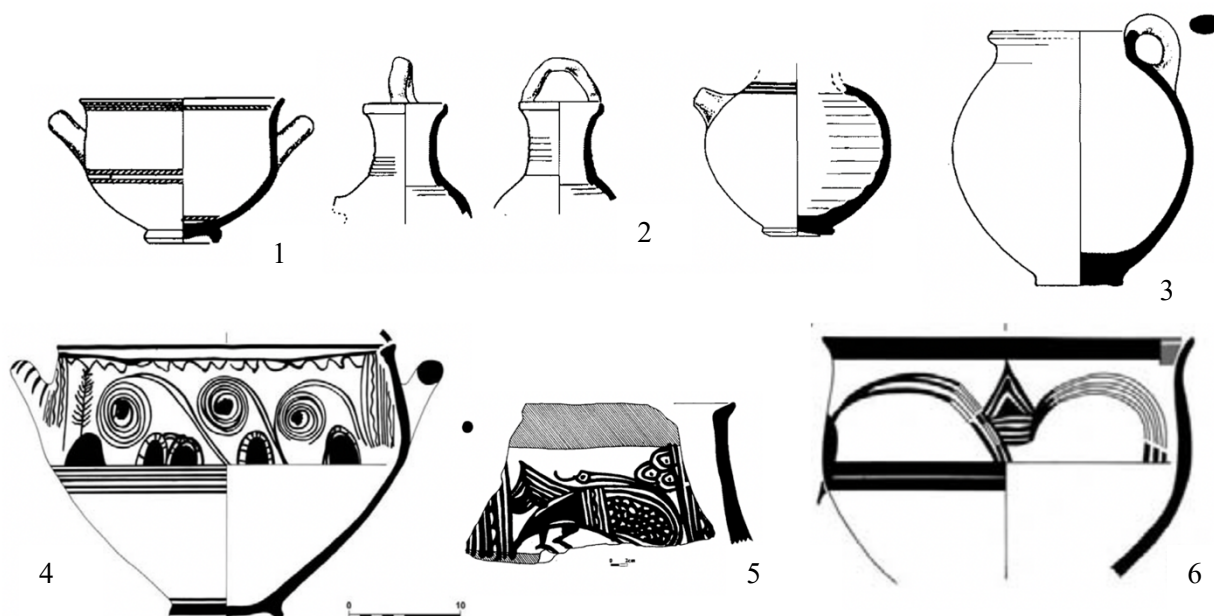


Figure 27: Early Philistine Typology and Decoration

Pictured above are bell-shaped bowls (27.1, Killebrew 1998b, Pl. III:25), strainer jugs (27.2 Killebrew 1998b, Pl. III:26), cooking jugs (27.3, Killebrew 1998b, Pl. III:26), and Kraters (27.4, Mountjoy 2013, 62). Common decorations include spirals (27.4, Mountjoy 2013, 62), the bird motif (27.5, Killebrew 1998b, Pl. III:25), and “tongues” (27.6, Mountjoy 2013, 62).

Besides the changes observed in the ceramic assemblage, the novel artifacts of Stratum VIIA include hearths (Figure 28), bathtubs, cylindrical loom weights, bi-metallic knives, incised animal scapulae (Figure 29), female figurines (Figure 30), Aegean-style bull figurines, and zoomorphic vessels (Figure 31). Moreover, the faunal remains from the first Philistine settlements indicate high rates of pork and (to a lesser extent) dog consumption.



Figure 28: Philistine Hearth

Various kinds of hearths, some of which are outside, others of which are central in domestic space, are frequently associated with the appearance of the Philistines (Gur-Arieh 2018, 68).



Figure 29: Incised Scapulae

Incised Animal Scapulae are an additional foreign practice brought to the Southern Levant by the Philistines (Zukerman et al. 2007, 71).

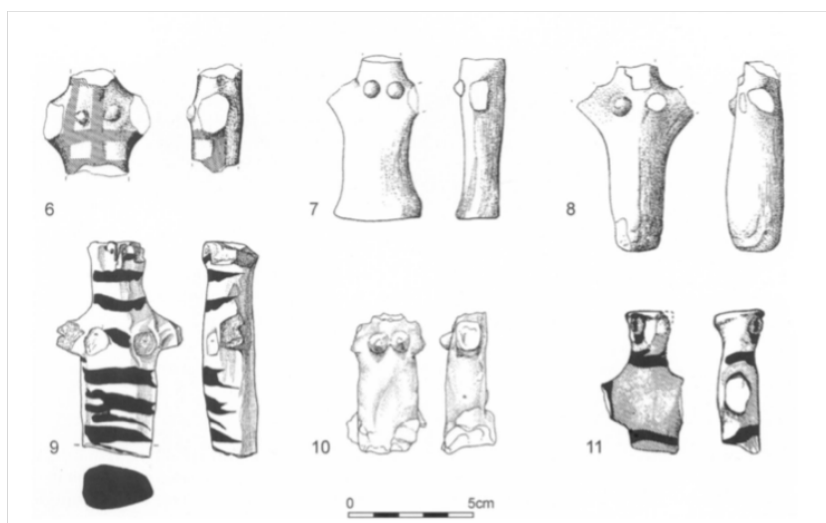


Figure 30: Philistine Female Figurines

Philistine female figurines, often called “Psi Figurines” appear in the cultic repertoire of the initial Philistine settlement (Ben-Shlomo and Press 2009, 43).

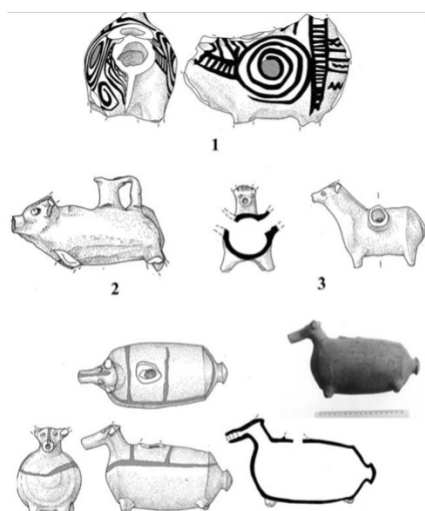


Figure 31: Philistine Zoomorphic Vessels

Philistine zoomorphic containers are common in Iron I Philistia but are not attested elsewhere in the Iron Age (Ben-Shlomo 2022, 246).

Architectural installations also changed with the arrival of the Philistines, as hearths (both indoor and outdoor) appear more prominently in domestic settings. Philistine settlements contrast the Canaanite religious traditions, as excavations at the Pentapolis have not uncovered a temple, and cultic artifacts are instead concentrated in domestic settings (Ben-Shlomo 2022, 243–246, 252; Killebrew 2005, 209–219; Lev-Tov et al. 2018, 23; and Mazow 2005, 213).

Remains from Stratum VII were found in Fields I, IV Lower, and X. Evidence of a mudbrick city wall was found in Field I and X, suggesting that the city was fortified at that time. It appears to have immediately followed Stratum VIII, as there is no evidence of an occupational gap in Field I. Stratum

VIIB seems to have been a brief phase with considerably less activity, as few Philistine Monochrome sherds are present. In Stratum VIIA the production of Philistine pottery began, and more permanent structures were built. On the acropolis of the tell in Field I, a potter's workshop in an industrial area was constructed in Stratum VIIA on top of the remains of the Late Bronze Age village. The workshop seemingly produced the Philistine 1 pottery present at Ekron and continued to be used over the course of the Iron I. A cultic area, which comprised of a hearth, bathtub, and bench was also found in Field I. The remains in Field X are limited, potentially indicating that activity there was limited to construction of the wall. Other new structures containing plaster floors, tabuns, and various finds were present in Area X on the inside of the wall, indicating that the Philistine settlement reached the extent of the tel. Rectangular hearths in domestic spaces were attested in Field IV of the lower city. Philistine Monochrome comprised 50% of the assemblage in Stratum VIIA. Furthermore, Canaanite cooking pots are rare during this phase, while Philistine cooking jugs predominate (Dothan, Gitin, and Bierling 1998, 14; Dothan and Gitin 2008, 3–4; Dothan, Gitin, and Zukerman 2006, 78, 93; Killebrew 2013, 85–87).

Stratum VI at Ekron, which is dated to the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 11th century, is more exposed than its preceding occupation layer. In Stratum VI, the Iron IB begins with the earliest appearance of Philistine Bichrome vessels (Figure 32), albeit alongside Philistine monochrome wares. Although the earliest Phase of Stratum VI contained predominantly monochrome wares, Philistine Bichrome increased with each subsequent phase. Iron Age cooking pots that continue the Canaanite tradition became more common in the assemblage, although the Philistine cooking jug continued to persist (Dothan, Gitin, and Zukerman 2006, 44, 89; Killebrew 2013, 89; and Meehl, Dothan, and Gitin 2006, 44).



Figure 32: Philistine Bichrome Pottery

Philistine Bichrome pottery (from Gath), which emerged after the initial Philistine settlement, gradually increased in popularity over the course of the Iron I (Meiberg 2018, 15).

In Stratum VI, settlement expanded into Field III, where the field's first Iron Age settlement is characterized by the appearance of Philistine Monochrome and Bichrome together. In Field I, the industrial potters workshop contained 2 kilns, which had different shapes and firing techniques that were seemingly suited for the production of both Philistine Monochrome and Bichrome. In Field IV (Lower), an administrative building complex was constructed, representing the first public structure at Philistine Ekron. In Field X, the building complex from Stratum VII continued to be used, but much like what is seen in other areas, Philistine Bichrome sherds appear and eventually dominate the assemblage (Dothan, Gitin, and Bierling 1998, 15–16; Dothan, Gitin, and Zukerman 2006, 93; Dothan and Gitin 2008, 4–6).

During Stratum V, which spans the 11th century BCE, Ekron reached its peak size of 20 hectares. In Stratum V, Philistine bichrome eclipsed Philistine monochrome and dominated the assemblage. In Field I, the industrial area was reduced, with a cultic area and domestic settings taking its place. The domestic areas in Field I contained tabuns (ovens), instead of the hearths seen in previous strata from elsewhere on the tel. In Field III, a large, monumental building was constructed, with a monumental

entryway and two large central pillars. Adjacent structures contained artifacts, including tabuns, which indicated that they were domestic in function. The public building that was constructed in Stratum VI in Field IV also continued to be used during this time, as with the complex of Field X. The course of the Iron I at Ekron can, therefore, be viewed as a prime example of Philistine dominance, as its 11th century urban settlement contrasts the scarce remains of the Late Bronze Age village. Consequently, the Philistine settlement at Ekron is characterized by the abundance of Philistine material, accompanied by increasing expansion and prosperity over the course of the 12th and 11th centuries (Ben-Shlomo 2007, 268; Gitin, Meehl, and Dothan 2006, 49, 55; Dothan and Gitin 2008, 4–6).

Ashdod

Moshe Dothan led excavations at Ashdod from 1960–1977, making it the first Philistine site to be excavated (Figure 33). Unlike Ekron, Ashdod was a sizable settlement during the Late Bronze Age. Ashdod's Strata XIV–XI span the 13th–11th centuries BCE. Stratum XIV at Ashdod dates to 13th century BCE, and, like other Late Bronze Age sites, contained a typical assemblage of utilitarian Canaanite wares alongside Mycenaean and Cypriot imports. Stratum XIV at Ashdod contained a large fortified, monumental building in Area G in which an abundance of Egyptian items, including pottery,

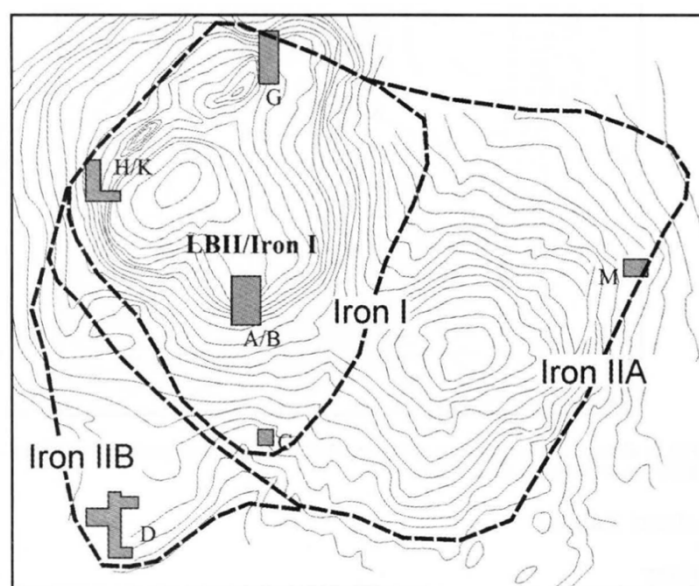


Figure 33: Site Map of Ashdod

Areas G and H/K contain the extent of architectural evidence of the earliest Philistine strata at Ashdod (Ben-Shlomo 2007, 270).

Table 7: Approximate Dates of Ashdod Strata

<i>Approximate Date (BCE)</i>	<i>Stratum</i>
1300 – 1200/1175	XIV
1200/1175 – 1150	XIII
1150 - 1100	XII
1100 - 1000	XI

alabaster vessels, and an Egyptian inscription were found. The fortified building was termed the “Governor’s Residency,” (Figure 34) because of the associated Egyptian items that suggest Egyptian occupation. Stratum XIV in Area G is also the only part of the tell with evidence of a destruction marking its end. Elsewhere at Ashdod, evidence of destruction is lacking. However, the Canaanite city of Stratum XIV is not widely exposed outside of Area G (Barako 2013, 41; Ben-Shlomo 2007, 268; Dothan and Porath 1993, 10–11; Dothan and Zukerman 2004, 6; Mazar and Ben-Shlomo 2005, 13).

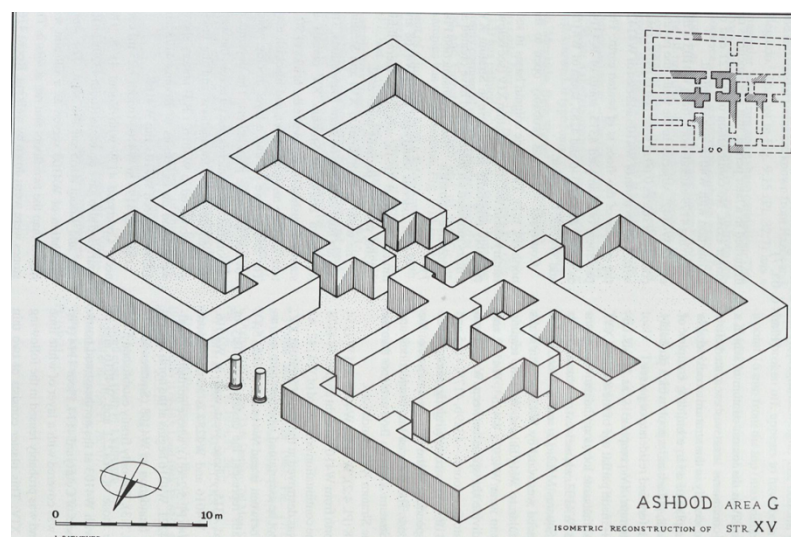


Figure 34: Ashdod Stratum XIV/XV “Governor’s Residence”

The Ashkelon “Governor’s Residence” of Area G is the only part of the site to contain evidence of a destruction (Dothan and Porath 1993, 42).

Stratum XIII marks the earliest Iron Age settlement at Ashdod, spanning from 1200/1175–1150. Throughout most of the city, the transition from Stratum XIV to XIII lacks evidence of a destruction but contains a high degree of architectural discontinuity with its predecessor. The transition is most stark in Area G, where the abundant Egyptian artifacts of the previous stratum virtually disappear. Instead, Stratum XIII contains many of the characteristically “Philistine” aspects seen at Ekron, including the Aegean-style ceramics, hearths, bathtubs, loom weights, incised scapulae, zoomorphic figurines, and anthropomorphic figurines. In Stratum XIII of Areas K and H, well planned “insulae” style domestic structures were built (Figure 35), exhibiting a rich array of Philistine domestic artifacts (Barako 2013, 41–42; Ben-Shlomo 2005, 65; Dothan and Zukerman 2004, 6; and Mazar and Ben-Shlomo 2005, 13–14).

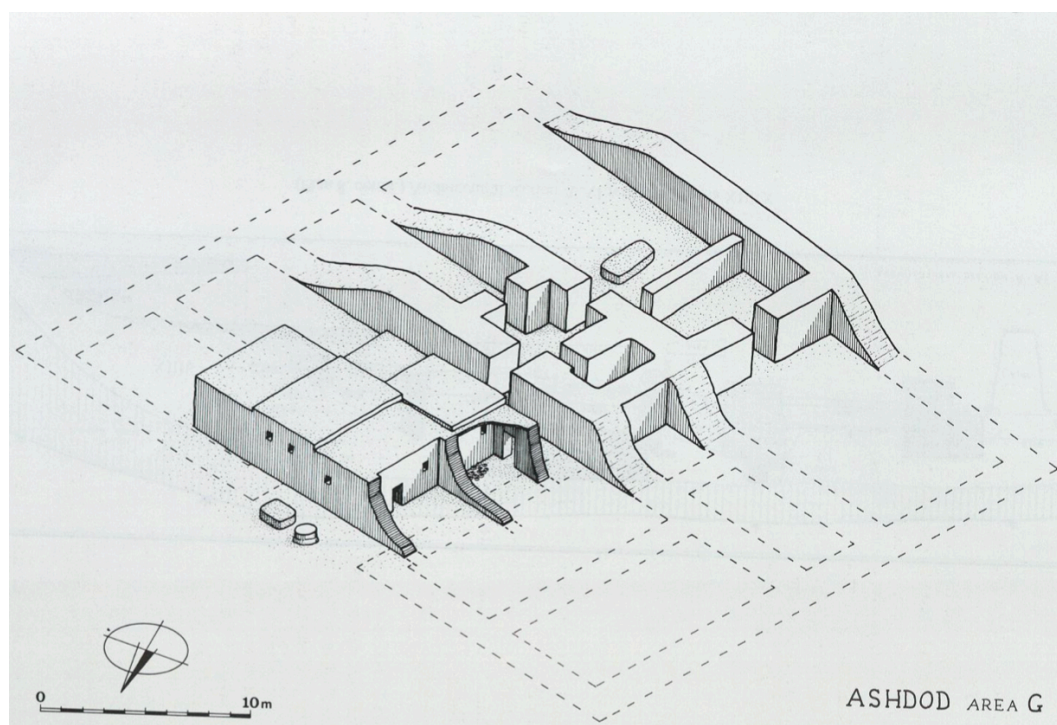


Figure 35: Ashdod Stratum XIII "Insulae" Style Domestic Units

The newly arrived Philistines constructed insulae-style domestic structures, marking expansion in the EIA (Dothan and Porath 1993, 52).

Ashdod's first Philistine stratum lacks the dominance of Philistine culture seen at Ekron. Instead, there was a strong continuing presence of the local Canaanite culture that comprises around 73% of the total ceramic remains from Stratum XIII. The Philistine Monochrome pottery of Stratum XIII also displays less diversity compared to Ekron, where the variety of wares was greatest and virtually replaced

the Canaanite assemblage. Moreover, analyses of some of the Philistine “Aegean-style” vessels from Ashdod Stratum XIII have indicated that many of the most high-quality monochrome vessels found at Ashdod were produced in Ekron and traded to Ashdod. The course of the 13th–11th centuries BCE at Ashdod is, much like Ekron, marked by the disruption of the prior LBIIB Canaanite occupation, although the transition at Ekron is ostensibly more sudden (Ben-Shlomo 2005, 70 and Ben-Shlomo 2007, 268, 270–272).

Despite the initial Canaanite persistence, Ashdod continued to be increasingly “Philistine” as the Early Iron Age progressed. In Areas H and K of Stratum XII, the walls and general architectural outline of Ashdod’s Stratum XIII continued (Figure 36). In Area G, less continuity is present, as the buildings of Stratum XIII underwent renovations. Additionally, Stratum XII marks the first appearance of Philistine

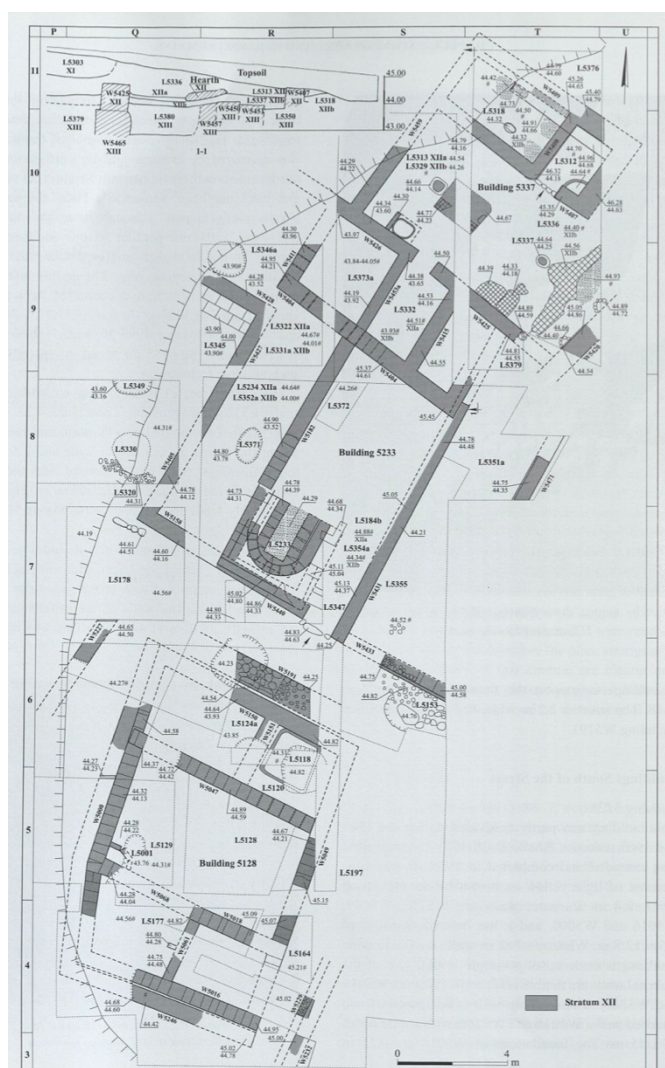


Figure 36: Ashdod Area H XIII and XII

Stratum XII marks the continued expansion of Philistine Ashdod (Mazar and Ben-Shlomo 2005, 22).

Figure 37: Ashdod Stratum XI
Stratum XI at Ashdod marks the appearance of Philistine Bichrome and is the last Iron I Stratum (Mazar and Ben-Shlomo 2005, 32).

Philistine Monochrome is eclipsed by Bichrome wares, as are the Canaanite vessels, which still make up a substantial portion of the Stratum XI assemblage (41%) (Ben-Shlomo 2005, 132 and Mazar and Ben-Shlomo 2005, 30).

Relatedly, Stratum XI is the earliest strata to contain the so-called “Ashdoda” figurines, which are anthropomorphic, chair shaped female figurines with bichrome decoration (Figure 38). The bichrome figurines, which are most concentrated at Ashdod, appear to have mixed origins, as scholars have argued for various foreign and local sources of influence. The Canaanite wares contain parallels to contemporaneous forms from elsewhere in the Southern Levant, helping place the occupation of Stratum XI to the 11th century BCE. The disruption at the urban center of Ashdod indicates a more gradual, but still increasingly predominate, incursion of the Philistine population and its material culture, as its assemblage is not predominately Philistine until the end of the Iron I. (Ben-Shlomo and Press 2009, 61, 68 and Ben-Shlomo 2005, 161)



Figure 38: "Ashdoda" Figurines from Ashdod
Seated female figurines, called “Ashdoda” figurines appear in Stratum XI at Ashdod and eventually spread to other Philistine sites (Ben-Shlomo and Press 2009, 50).

Gath

The inland Philistine site Gath (Tell es-Safi) sits at the seam between the Southern Coastal Plain and the Shephelah (Figure 39). Gath is the most recently excavated Philistine site, with Aren M. Maier directing excavations from 1996 to 2021. The findings from Gath are still in the process of publication, however, current publications have featured some information about the transition from the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age. Gath's prominence as an established settlement during the Late Bronze Age is argued to be attested in its appearance the Amarna Archive. Much like other Philistine sites, however, the Late Bronze Age settlement is obstructed by the large corpus of Iron Age remains and was only uncovered in a handful of squares (Maier et al. 2013, 199 and Maier 2017, 216).

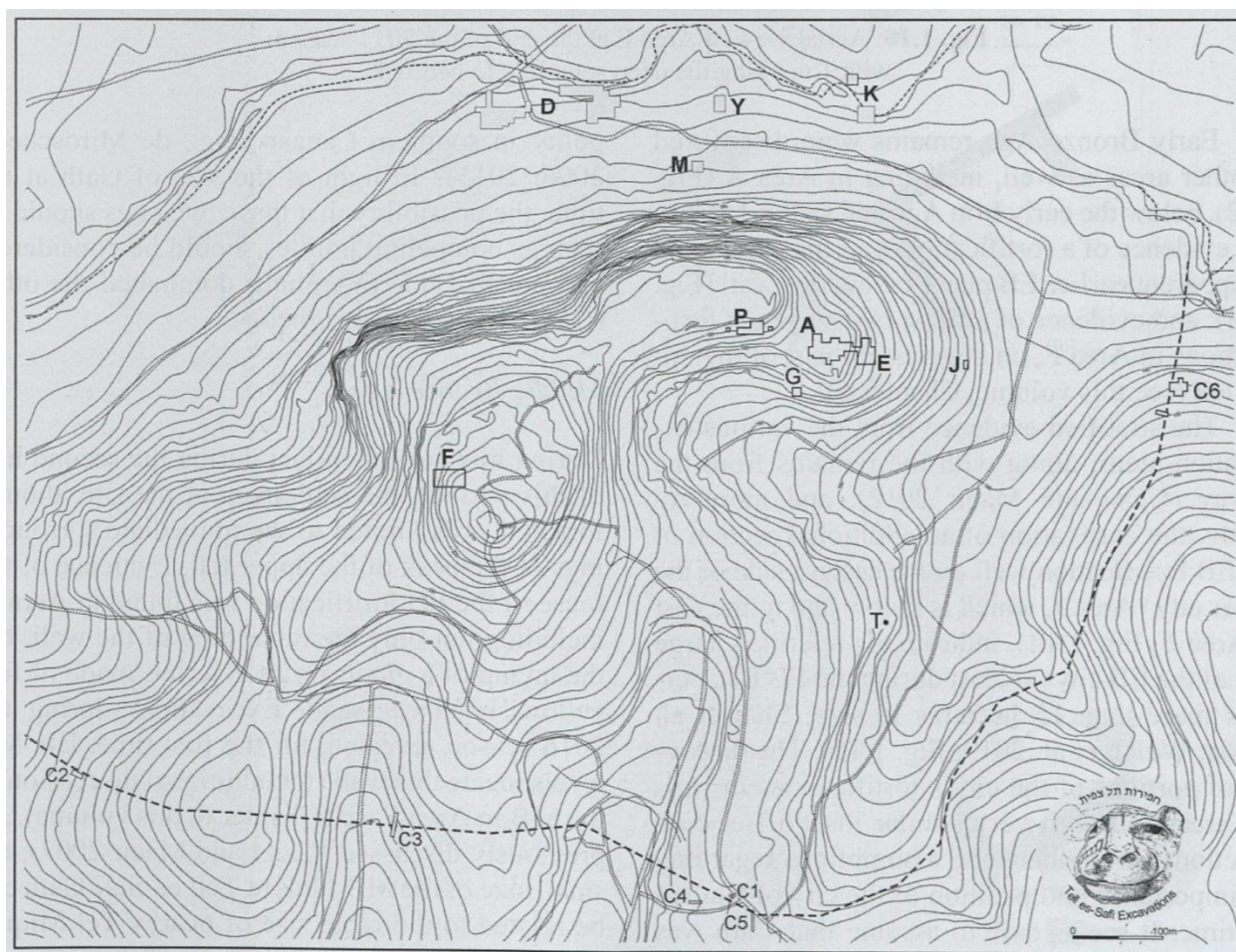


Figure 39: Site Map of Gath

While not fully published, Area A, E, D, and F contain remains relevant to the 13th–11th centuries (Maier 2020, 11).

Table 8: Approximate Dates of Gath Strata

<i>Approximate Date (BCE)</i>	<i>Area A</i>	<i>Area E</i>
1300–1200/1175	A7	E4
1200/1175–1125/1100	A6	
1125/1100–1050/1025	A5	E3
1050/1025–980/950	A6	

Most of the evidence of the Late Bronze Age at Gath is from the very end of the Late Bronze Age, particularly the 13th century. In Area A, the Late Bronze Age remains are poorly exposed and appear primarily in the form of residual ceramic remains in later Iron Age strata. In Area F, the 13th century remains are limited to two structures that abut a reconstructed fortification from the Middle Bronze Age (F13). Among the 13th century remains are a large “patrician” house, (E4). The Late Bronze Age remains of the E4 patrician house (Figure 40) contained various imported items, particularly from Cyprus and the Aegean, which indicates its occupation in the 13th century BCE. The abundant artifactual remains, particularly the ceramic assemblage of the “patrician house” are indicative of a developed administrative and political system at Gath during the 13th century. The high quality of the building techniques further attests the elite affiliations of the building during the Late Bronze Age. The residence lacked Egyptian/Egyptianized items, which Maeir theorizes may indicate a lack of Egyptian imperial forces at Gath during the end of the Late Bronze Age (Maier 2017, 214; Maier et al. 2019, 3, 5, 10; Shai, Uziel, and Maeir 2020, 387; and Shai et al. 2017, 293).

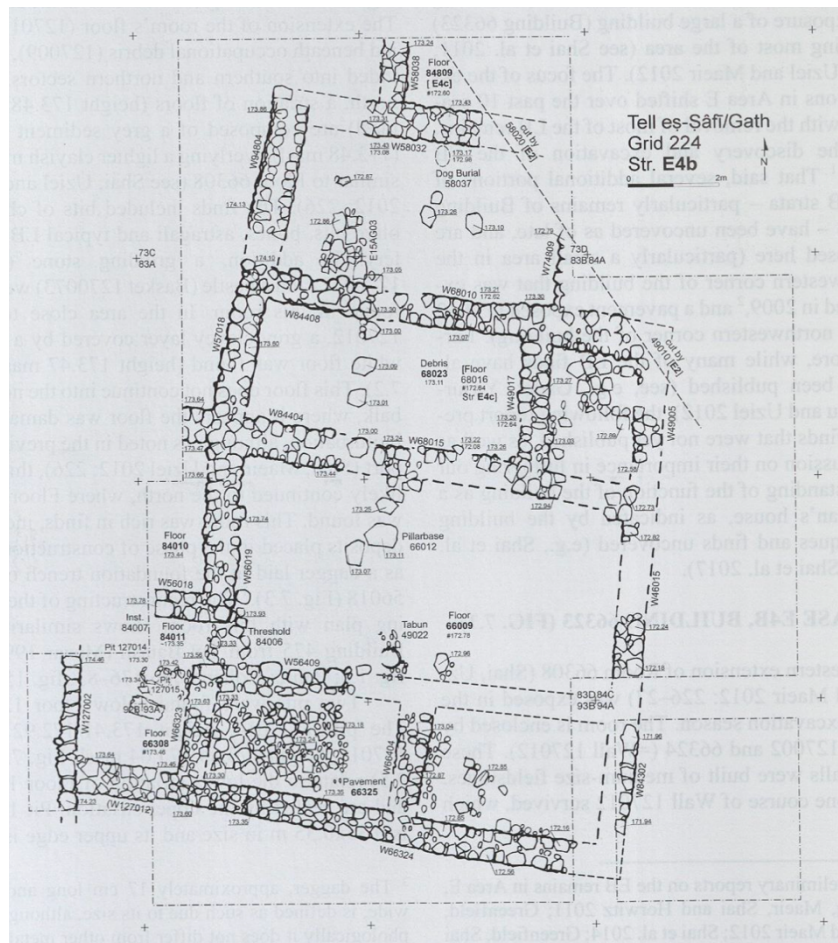


Figure 40: Gath Stratum E4 Patrician House

The E4 structure provides a snapshot into an elite section of the 13th century settlement at Gath (Shai, Uziel, and Maeir 2020, 383).

During the Late Bronze Age in Stratum F13, structures were built abutting the Early and Middle Bronze Age city walls. Room 106450, which contained a bench and a grinding stone that appeared to have been fashioned as a massebah, is believed to have had a cultic function. The rooms and their contents were subsequently deliberately buried under 50 centimeters of dirt, marking an end to the Late Bronze Age in F13. Once again, remains from Area A were not fully uncovered, but pits and residual artifactual remains from the area suggest substantial activity in the 13th century. Evidence of destruction occurring at the end of the Late Bronze Age is not clear in Areas A and F (Maeir et al. 2019, 6–7, 13 and Maeir 2017, 296).

The transition into the Iron Age at Gath is, like many other sites, starkly evident in the appearance of the Philistine culture, particularly its characteristic Philistine monochrome vessels, dietary shifts, new architectural styles, and new domestic installations. Philistine Monochrome pottery was found in Areas A, C, E, F, and D (although Area D remains are restricted to pottery fills). The greatest exposure of the Philistine I horizon at Gath comes from Stratum A6 of Area A, which is largely unpublished. The new buildings, seemingly constructed on a new plan, were partially uncovered. The Philistine 1 wares in A6 appeared alongside Canaanite wares that are typical of the 12th century. The repertoire of Philistine 1 shapes is limited, containing fewer vessels and less variety than what is seen at Ekron (Boaretto et al. 2018, 4–5; Maeir 2017, 217–218; and Meiberg 2018, 15–16).

The subsequent settlement phase(s) contains greater architectural remains and mark the appearance of Philistine Bichrome. Unlike Gath's assemblage of Philistine Monochrome wares, the assemblage of Philistine Bichrome at Gath contains the most complete range of shapes and motifs found in Pentapolis settlements. In A5, Philistine domestic architecture appears prominent and includes the array of characteristically Philistine cultural traits. A4, which is dated to the latter part of the 11th century, continues the architectural traditions, as walls are re-used and floors are repeatedly replastered. Strata A5 and A4 have received special attention because of the prevalence of faunal and ceramic remains associated with feasting. Moreover, the predominant structure from this period in Area A bears parallels to Cyprus and the Aegean and may have had a cultic function. Both the remains from the alleged feasting area and the domestic fixtures contain Canaanite cultural attributes as well, suggesting the continuance of the local population alongside the foreign Philistines (Hitchcock 2022, 302; Maeir and Hitchcock 2017, 252; Maeir 2017, 219–220; Meiberg 2018, 16; and Zuckerman and Maier 2012, 217).

Gath continued to expand, reaching its peak at the end of the Iron I and the beginning of the Iron IIA. The later Iron I remains include new fortifications and possible cultic architecture. Although still awaiting the final publication of the excavations at Gath, the evidence suggests that it displays continuity with the Canaanite population outside of the elite areas (Maeir 2017, 221).

Ashkelon

Excavations at Ashkelon began under the directorship of Lawrence Stager, lasting from 1986 until 2006; when Daniel Master assumed directorship and led excavations from 2007 to 2016. The southernmost of the excavated Pentapolis cities, Ashkelon's strategic positioning along the coast contributed to its role as a prominent urban area from the Middle Bronze Age until Crusader period. The richness of Ashkelon's urban history has made it difficult to uncover both the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age strata, as Grid 38 (Phases 22–17) and Grid 50 (Phases 10–9) are the only areas to yield remains from the 13th–11th centuries BCE (Figure 41) (Master 2005, 337–338 and Stager et al. 2008, 216–217).

Phase 10 in Grid 50 contained a Late Bronze Age courtyard house (Figure 42) with typical LB IIB Canaanite ceramics, leading excavators to place its occupation period during the 13th



Figure 41: Site Map of Ashkelon

Depicted above is the coastal site of Ashkelon. Highlighted sections are Grids 38 and 50, which contain Iron I remains (Aja 2020, 20).

early Twentieth Dynasty suggests that the building continued to be used into the 12th century BCE. In Grid 50, a large, multi-roomed building was partially uncovered in Phase 10 (contemporary with Phase 22 in Grid 38), although it is poorly understood due to disruption from later pitting. The end of Phase 22 lacks evidence of a destruction, despite Merneptah's claims that he had destroyed Ashkelon towards the end of the 13th century. There does, however, seem to be an occupational gap in Grid 50 lasting until the end of the 12th century (Aja 2009, 63–64; Asscher et al. 2021, 78; Master 2005, 340; and Stager, et al. 2008, 304–306).

Despite the apparent absence of a destruction, Merneptah's claims may have some truth, as Phase 21 is dominated by the appearance of Egyptian pottery and the construction of a large wall that is believed to have been part of an Egyptian fortress. The mudbrick wall from Phase 21 bears technological and architectural parallels to contemporary walls constructed in Egypt, indicating that it was likely constructed by Egyptians themselves. Similarly, the Egyptian ceramics were made with Egyptian production techniques (such using straw as temper), further suggesting that Egyptians were physically present instead of "Egyptianizing" Canaanites. The Egyptian material from Phase 21 at Ashkelon also suggests centralized involvement in agricultural activities. The construction of silos indicates that Egyptians were involved in controlling the storage and administration of grain. The presence of Egyptian imperial forces parallels what is seen at other Southern Levantine sites during the 13th century BCE, as the physical presence of Egyptians is attested in the archaeological record. Moreover, the Egyptian garrison appears to have had some investment in the agricultural products of Ashkelon. The Egyptian occupation in Phase 21 appears to have been short lived, as the construction of the Egyptian wall was left incomplete and there was very little build up on the excavated surfaces (Aja 2009, 64; Master 2005, 339; Master, Stager, and Yassur-Landau 2011, 276–277; and Stager et al. 2008, 256).

Phase 20 in Grid 38 marks the dawn of the Iron Age and the appearance of the Philistines at Ashkelon. Despite the seemingly drastic appearance of Philistine material culture, there is no evidence of a destruction occurring at the end of Phase 21 in Grid 38. This transition marks the earliest appearance of Philistine monochrome pottery, which comprises around 20% of the total assemblage of Phase 20. Other changes are also present, as the faunal remains indicate that changes in dietary practices, particularly the consumption of pig and dog, increased sharply in Phase 20. Furthermore, Phase 20 brought changes in industrial technology (including different styles of loom weights), cultic material (notably Aegean-style “Psi” figurines and cultic items found in domestic contexts), and domestic layouts. The architectural layout of Phase 20 also marks a complete departure from that of Phase 21 (Figure 43). The presence of a scarab of Ramesses III from a sealed context, corroborated by carbon dating, dates the occupational period of Phase 20 to the first half of the 12th century BCE (Ascher et al. 2021, 83; Master and Aja 2011, 130; and Stager et al. 2008, 257–258; Stager and Yassur-Landau 2011, 263–264, 257, 277).

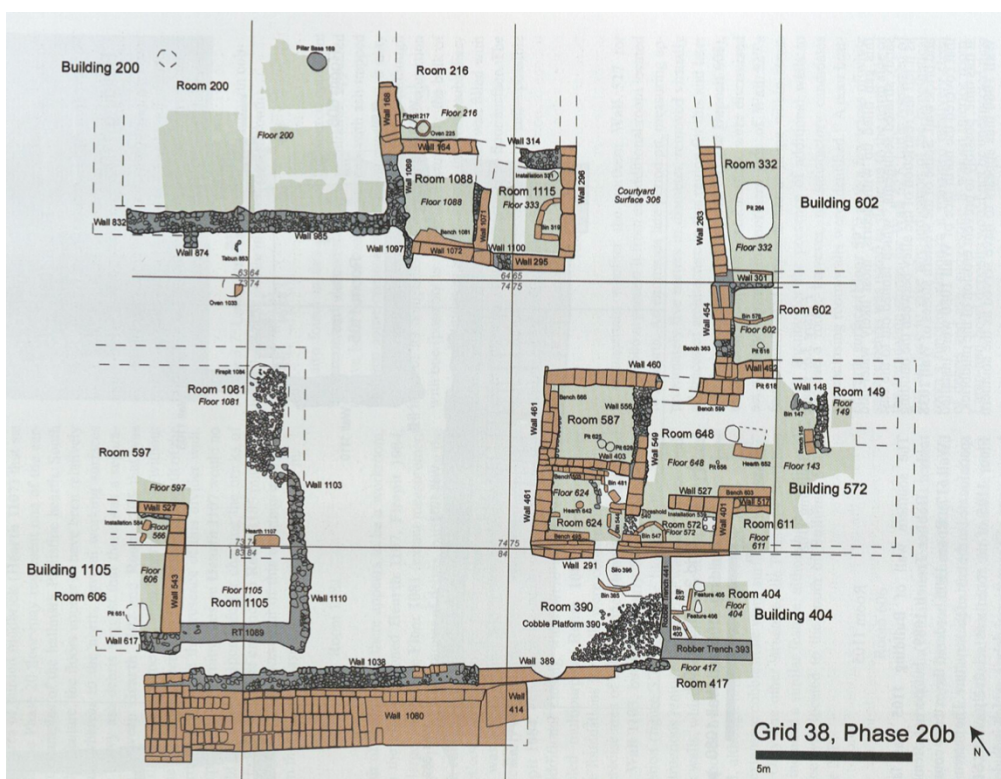


Figure 43: Phase 20 in Grid 38

Phase 20 marks the first appearance of Philistine material culture in Grid 38 (Aja 2020, 25).

Phase 19, which dates to the latter half of the 12th century BCE, marks the first appearance of Philistine Bichrome vessels, which starts in low quantities but grows with each successive phase. Architecturally, Phase 19 in Grid 38 saw the construction of two new multi-room buildings (Figure 44). Phase 19 also shows a continuation of the cultural shifts seen in Phase 20, as the changes in domestic architecture, particularly central hearths and bathtubs, become increasingly prevalent (Asscher et al. 2021, 83; Master, Stager, and Yassar-Landau 2011, 264; Stager et al. 2008, 262, 266).



Figure 3.27: Phase 19B plan

Figure 44: Ashkelon Phase 19 Top Plan

Phase 19 at Ashkelon saw the construction of two new buildings, although the quality of them has led excavators to suggest that Ashkelon was in decline during this period (Aja 2020, 50).

Following a brief break in habitation after the 13th century, Phase 9B in Grid 50 seems to have been resettled in the latter half of the 12th century BCE. Phase 9B appears to be contemporaneous with Phase 19 in Grid 38. Despite the break in habitation, Phase 9B appears to have been built on a similar plan to that of its Late Bronze Age predecessor. While Phase 9 was disturbed by later quarrying activities,

the buildings appear to be domestic in nature, as they are very similar to those in Grid 38 (Figure 45).

(Aja 2020, 127, 181 and Master, Walton, and Yassur Landau 2020, 186).

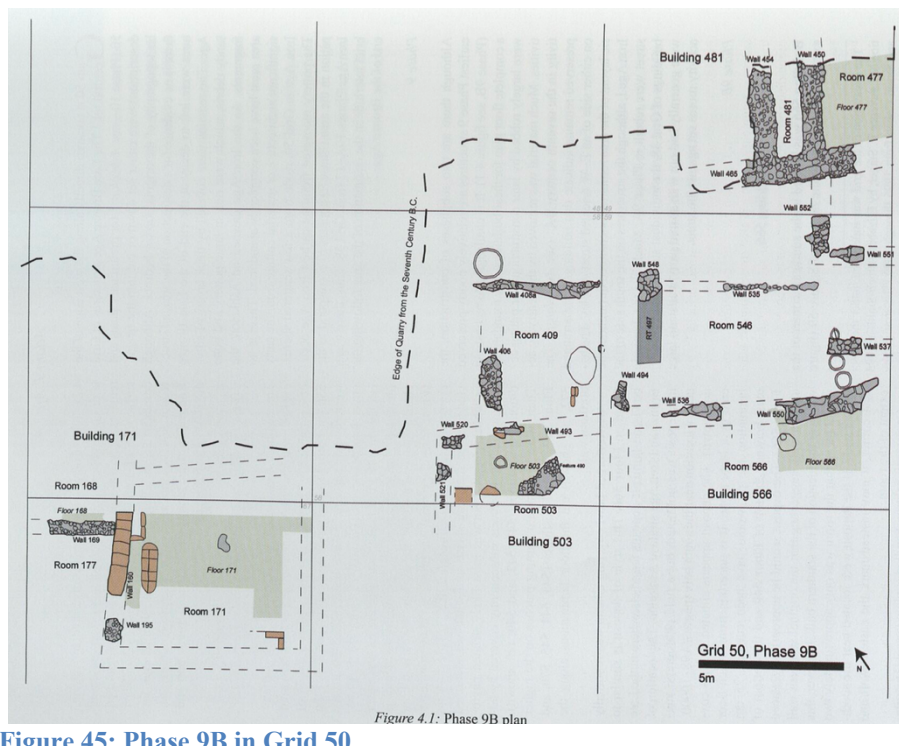


Figure 45: Phase 9B in Grid 50

Phase 9b saw the habitation return to Grid 50 following its abandonment at the end of the Late Bronze Age (Aja 2020, 128).

Following the expansion seen in Phase 19, the architecture of Phase 18 in Grid 38 shows considerably less architectural change, as only minor alterations occur. Despite the architectural continuity, there is an increase in the presence certain Philistine cultural artifacts, including key-hole hearths, “Ashdoda” and Psi figurines, incised scapulae, pig consumption, infant burials occurring in pits, and benched rooms; all of which have parallels at other Pentapolis sites. Phase 18 bears evidence of industrial activities, including the remains of a wine press, and a large hearth, and sunken jars, which have been argued to have been used in the production of grappa, an alcoholic beverage produced from grape residue (Aja 2009, 151 and Stager et al. 2008, 266–271).

Phase 17, the last Iron I phase in Grid 38, dates to the end of the 11th century. The architecture of Phase 17 shows a pattern of minor changes, although the newly constructed walls indicated new methods



Ashkelon's continued expansion in the Iron I is seen in its use of almost the entirety of the area within its Middle Bronze Age ramparts, as the 6-hectare city of the Late Bronze Age grew to occupy the abandoned area in Grid 50, resulting in a 50-60 hectare city by the end of the Iron I. Therefore, the 13th–11th centuries at Ashkelon suggest, much Ashdod and Gath, co-habitation between the local Canaanites as the Philistine population continued to shape and expand the settlement. (Ben-Shlomo 2007, 268 and Master, Stager, and Yassar-Landau 2011, 277).

In comparison to the relative stability of their Phoenician neighbors, the Philistines experienced more dramatic changes over the course of the 13th–11th centuries. The 13th and early 12th centuries at the Pentapolis contain remains that are characteristic of the Late Bronze Age in Canaan, as the Egyptian involvement appears at Ashdod, Ashkelon. Ekron and Gath, however, lack substantial evidence of Egyptian occupation. Concurrently, the region appears to have been involved in the system of international exchange that characterizes the Late Bronze Age. The dawn of the Iron Age marks a sharp transition, as foreign influenced material culture enters the urban settlements. While the ceramic assemblage is one of the most noticeable manifestations of the new culture, the foodways, industry, cult, and architecture also breakaway from Canaanite traditions. The most drastic change is seen at Ekron, where Philistine material comprises much of the early assemblage. The change is less drastic at Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gath, where the Canaanite material culture continues alongside that of the immigrants and steadily increases. As the Iron Age progresses, the settlement size of the urban areas continued to grow. Philistine cultural traits become increasingly pervasive, dominating the material culture record. Moreover, local influences appear in Philistine material culture, particularly within ceramic typology and the hybridization of cultic artifacts.

Chapter 4

Scholarly Interpretations

Phoenician Culture

Of the sites surveyed here, all excavators have noted that the ceramic assemblages, function, and architecture of a given site, have clear Canaanite antecedents. Therefore, while Phoenicia is often known for its economic prowess, the archaeological evidence indicates that cultural dynamics influenced the emergence of a regionalized Phoenicia in the Iron I. The exact mechanisms that facilitated growth and encouraged aspects of continuity and discontinuity are, however, debated. Lehmann (2021) views this cultural continuity through the lens of monarchic continuation and the consolidation of kinship-based ties as social mechanisms for success. Alternatively, Monroe (2018) views the orientation towards the sea as more than an economic pursuit, but as an intrinsic aspect of culture along the Phoenician Coast. Gilboa (2022) views the origins of Phoenician identity to be at Dor, arguing that the trade between Dor and Egypt was foundational for later expansion. Bell (2016) in conjunction with Wood and Montero-Ruiz (2021), however, views the joint maritime interests of Cyprus and Phoenicia, particular in metal trade, as the key impetus behind the identity and continued growth of Phoenicia.

For Lehmann (2021), the role of political structures with a consolidated kingship-based ties contributed greatly to the relative success of the Carmel and Central Coast in navigating the tumultuous 13th–11th centuries BCE. While settlement shifts left Phoenician settlements relatively depopulated, the remnant settlements were self-sufficient, agrarian polities that remained larger than many of their neighbors. The monarchic institutions, and their consensus-based counterparts, also persisted amidst the settlement changes, thereby consolidating kingship-ties and group identity. Moreover, such community/consensus-based institutions curbed monarchic power while also encouraging entrepreneurial and non-institutional economic partnerships. The continuation of institutions and their consensus-based counterparts allowed the settlements, now unencumbered by imperial control of the Mediterranean

economy, to continue growing during the Early Iron Age, thereby laying the foundation for the urban dominance of Phoenicia in succeeding centuries (Lehmann 2021, 283, 285–286, 293–294).

Lehmann cites the written record as evidence of continued monarchic power, noting the presence of Phoenician princes in the Amarna Archive and the princes of Byblos and Dor in the *Report of Wenamun* as evidence of monarchic power continuing from the LBA into the first millennium. In the *Report of Wenamun*, some form of an assembly of elders is mentioned, which Lehmann sees as evidence that consensus-based institutions remained present in the Early Iron Age. Furthermore, the expansion of trade over the course of the 11th century is cited by Lehmann as evidence of the effectiveness of smaller, community-oriented policies in encouraging entrepreneurial economic ventures (Lehmann 2021, 283–286, 292).

Lehmann's theory is bolstered by the incorporation of settlement changes as possible factor that contributed Phoenician identity, particularly one that is intrinsically related to their continued urbanism. The relatively large size of the Phoenician "village-states" discussed by Lehmann a less-discussed factor that helped crystalize regionalized difference between the Iron Age Phoenicians and their inland neighbors. In viewing early Phoenicia in light of its political-economy, Lehmann balances the importance of both the industrial and agricultural segments of the Phoenician economy as well. Furthermore, Lehmann is able to provide evidence of community-based groups or some form of elder councils existing in the Late Bronze and later Iron Ages in Phoenicia, thereby providing reason to believe that such institutions may have existed in the Early Iron Age.

Alternatively, Boyes has contended that claims regarding the dynamics of political change in Iron I Phoenicia lack sufficient evidence, as no palace or elite zone has been excavated (Boyes 2013, 204–209). The evidence for the specific community-based institutions is also largely speculative, as very little is known about who they were and what power they actually held. Additionally, while Lehmann claims that the removal of Egyptian hegemony created new economic opportunities; other scholars, including

Bell, have noted that Phoenicia exercised relative independence during the Late Bronze Age (Bell 2016, 94).

For Monroe (2018), the cultural continuity is intrinsically related to the region's continued economic, and subsequent cultural orientation towards the sea. While acknowledging that the archaeological record of the 12th century suggests a low point in trade, Monroe argues that the inhabitants of Phoenicia continued to possess the intimate knowledge and understanding of the sea that many lost during the dearth of foreign exchange during the Early Iron Age. Thus, while the economic activity dropped, the cultural and societal orientation towards the sea had its roots in the Late Bronze Age, which compelled Phoenicians to engage in new opportunistic ventures following the crises of the Late Bronze Age, particularly after the maritime hub of Ugarit was destroyed. These associations continued into the 11th century, laying the groundwork for Phoenician expansion in the first millennium (Monroe 2018, 268–272).

The Late Bronze Age texts, including those from Ugarit and the Amarna Archive, implicate the Phoenician littoral as having active non-institutional agents playing increasingly important roles in trade, particularly with Egypt, thereby supporting Monroe's claims about LBA precedents. Monroe concludes that the Phoenician Iron I archaeological record, which attests maritime contacts with Cyprus and Egypt, as well as inland trading ventures; further supports the interpretation of the Phoenicians acting as "liminal experts" whose economic ventures connect both land and sea (Monroe 2018, 269).

Monroe's arguments find support in his depiction of a gradual process of economic expansion that was facilitated by the seafaring expertise of the Phoenicians. By using both the textual and archaeological records, Monroe effectively argues for the continuation of maritime mastery, which, although limited to smaller scale trade for much of the Iron I, appears to have grown in scale by the end of the 11th century, as contacts with the Western Mediterranean seem to have been established.

Monroe's insistence on the maritime orientation of the Iron I Phoenicians does, however, minimize the evidence of Phoenician agrarianism, which is something that Lehmann argues as a key

dimension of the Phoenicia economy (Lehmann, 2021, 305). The extensive evidence for continuity in industrial production, especially the dye industry and industrial kilns at Sarepta, is also undermined by Monroe's arguments, especially in light of the continued importance that the export of Phoenician purple dye. Furthermore, while Monroe emphasizes an orientation towards the sea, the scarcity of trade during the Early Iron Age suggests that trade was undertaken by a smaller group of agents, thereby challenging the notion that it was a region-wide cultural orientation.

Similarly, Gilboa sees the maritime orientation of Phoenicia as a critical impetus behind the development of an early Phoenician identity, claiming its development was not driven by a "who," but rather a "what" (Gilboa 2022, 32). The "what" that Gilboa views as the catalyst for the development of a shared collective Phoenician identity was the maritime orientation of southern Phoenicia (largely Dor) towards trade with Egypt and cultural exchange with Cyprus. Gilboa notes that the Levantine orientation towards trade *with* Egypt (as opposed to the economic exploitation of the Southern Levant by the Egyptians in the LBA) is a defining aspect of discontinuity that ushered in a more regionalized Phoenicia. Furthermore, the Cypriot contribution to the Phoenician culture was brought by migrants fleeing the economic collapse on the island in the late 12th century, not because of sustained trade. Gilboa's theory views the change in dynamics with Egypt (largely via Dor) as the catalyst behind Phoenician cultural orientation towards maritime trade, while seeing the Cypriot influence in forming the Phoenician identity as the result bi-directional cultural exchange (Gilboa 2022, 36–40).

Gilboa finds evidence for her claims in the abundance of Egyptian items and the *Report of Wenamun's* portrayal of an influential and powerful trading hub at Dor. The presence of cinnamon residue on vessels from Dor indicates to Gilboa that even longer trade routes existed during the early Iron Age. Other sites in Phoenicia lack equally abundant foreign trade, as they contain limited numbers of Cypriot vessels. Gilboa's claims about contact with Cyprus being largely cultural/migrational are evident in the Cypriot influence on ceramic styles (including the development of Phoenician Bichrome and Wavy-Band Pithoi). Gilboa's claims about Cypriot immigrants being the mechanism for Cypriot

influence is strengthened by the expansion of Phoenician items on Cyprus in the latter half of the 11th century and local production of Cypriot inspired vessels (including Phoenician Bichrome). Both phenomena follow the crises on Cyprus at the end of the 12th century/early 11th century BCE (Gilboa and Namdar 2015, 275–277; Gilboa 2022, 36–38, 41–43).

Gilboa's claims are strengthened by the textual and archaeological basis for contact between Dor and Egypt, which is very well attested compared to the evidence for Cypriot trade with other Phoenician sites. By framing Cypriot influence as the result of cultural exchange and/or migration, the abundance of material culture with Cypriot parallels, Gilboa is able to contextualize the lack of Cypriot copper present in the Levant. By putting the relationship between Phoenicia in the context of the crises on Cyprus, Gilboa also explains the reasons for Phoenician expansion/colonization of the island in the early first millennium BCE. Gilboa's claims also highlight key aspects of discontinuity with the Late Bronze Age, thereby providing more specific ways in which the Iron I was formative in Phoenician development.

Gilboa's emphasis on the primacy of Dor may, however, be influenced by the relative lack of information from other Phoenician sites whose excavations have been less extensive and systematic compared to Dor. By relying on Dor as a cultural catalyst, Gilboa undermines how it contrasts other Phoenician sites, as the patterns at Dor demonstrate large settlement shifts and changes following the Late Bronze Age. Furthermore, Gilboa relies on the lack of Cypriot copper from the Early Iron Age to indicate the dearth of commercial contacts with Cyprus, which potentially limits the influence of Cyprus to being a source of migrants. Such claims undermine Wood et al.'s recent analysis of 11th century silver, which indicates that Cyprus played a very important role in shaping metallurgical technology and the westward expansion of silver trade (Wood, Bell, and Montero-Ruiz 2022, 17–18).

Following their analysis of 11th century metals from Phoenician sites, particularly from Dor, Wood, Bell, and Montero-Ruiz (2021) theorized that the Phoenician identity converged on the shared pursuit of metals and the subsequent association with foreign groups; first and foremost being the Cypriots. Bell (2016) claimed that the removal of the LBA imperial system encouraged the exchanges

where the Phoenicians traded timber, oils, textiles, and other agricultural and industrial products with exchange for Cypriot copper during the Early Iron Age. The substantial, but geographically limited, trade with Cyprus expanded over the course of the Early Iron Age. Consequently, Phoenician merchants acted as a middleman in the trade of inland agricultural good and Mediterranean metals. The involvement of the Phoenicians at key positions of the supply chain, which eclipsed that of the Cypriots by the end of the Iron I, instilled a shared association, and subsequent identity, that coalesced around maritime metal exchange and foreign contacts. The subsequent Phoenician expansion/colonialization during the subsequent centuries are, according to Wood, Bell, and Montero-Ruiz, additional manifestations of the formative role that foreign contacts played in forming more than just the Phoenician economy, but a Phoenician identity (Bell 2016, 94, 101–102 and Wood, Bell, and Montero-Ruiz 2021, 8–9, 17–18).

The scholars cite the silver analyzed from Dor, which indicates that metallurgical practices for cupellating silver that began on Cyprus were used in Iberia in the Early Iron Age. The silver from Phoenicia indicates Iberian and Cypriot origins during the 11th century, which Wood, Bell, and Montero-Ruiz interpret as evidence of early western contacts in the Mediterranean silver trade. Thus, while the silver analyzed from other parts of the Levant also indicates Cypriot involvement, Wood, Bell, and Montero-Ruiz argue that it indicates the importance of Phoenician involvement in the supply chain. Wood, Bell, and Montero-Ruiz see the increasing Phoenician presence on Cyprus as an indication that the island was the launching pad for continued Phoenician expansion westward in pursuit of metals starting in the end of the Iron I (Bell 2016, 100–103 and Wood, Bell, and Montero-Ruiz 2020, 8–9).

Wood, Bell, and Montero-Ruiz's theories build on previous claims by claiming that the Phoenician identity converged on *both* their foreign contacts and seafaring reputation, thereby providing more nuance to the view of Phoenician identity. Their claims about the importance of Cyprus in shaping Phoenician identity are strengthened by the evidence of Cypriot influence on Phoenician material culture, especially in the form of Phoenician Bichrome and locally produced Wavy Band Pithoi. Furthermore, the emphasis on the metal trade is another area that came to define Phoenician expansion, which began at the

very beginning of the early first millennium. Thus, Bell's claims find support in the archaeological record of early Phoenician contacts with Cyprus and Iberia as outposts for the pursuit of metals.

While Bell argued for Cypriot cultural influence being facilitated by trade, Gilboa contends that Cypriot influence was the result of refugees arriving from Cyprus coming to the Levant at the end of the 12th century, which seems distinctly possible in light of the contemporary crises on Cyprus (Gilboa 2022, 42). Moreover, Bell's claims about copper acquisition motivating 12th century interaction between Phoenicia and Cyprus are challenged by lack of Cypriot Copper in the 12th century Levant. Thus, Bell's claims about the importance of Cyprus may be overstated. Moreover, Bell focuses on the end of the Iron I and the early parts of the Iron II, which means that the formative impact of the 13th and 12th centuries is largely neglected.

While Lehmann focuses on the political continuity of Phoenicia, the settlement shifts in the region were likely more valuable factors relating to Phoenician success. With that in mind, Monroe's claims about the sustained cultural orientation should be applied to both the maritime orientation of the Phoenician, as well as their industrial pursuits. Gilboa, Bell, and Sherratt's claims, which address certain sub-regions, more adequately describe Phoenician expansion than they do Phoenician navigation of the Late Bronze Age crises.

Phoenician Economy

In light of the textual and archaeological evidence of Phoenicia during the 13th–11th centuries BCE, various theories have been proposed by scholars in an attempt to explain the role that the Phoenician economy had in contributing to resilience during the Iron I. Monroe (2018) has theorized that the Phoenician economy was driven by a continued intimate knowledge of the sea that contributed to a largescale orientation towards maritime ventures. Gilboa (2022) has argued that trade with Egypt propelled the Phoenician economy, the process of which launched at Dor. Sherratt (2016), on the other

hand, views the relationship between Phoenicia and Cyprus, particularly an emergent merchant social class, as the main economic impetus. Similarly, Bell (2016) argues for the centrality of metal trade, arguing for early signs of Phoenician expansion and colonialization on Cyprus.

With the collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean system, the settlements along the Central and Carmel Coasts were unable to engage in the same economic ventures, but their peripheral location between two empires prevented them from experiencing the same turmoil as others. Monroe (2018) has argued that the economy of the 12th and 11th centuries had significant precedents for active involvement in trade that are clear in the textual and archaeological evidence of the Late Bronze Age. Without economic control of Mediterranean trade, the Phoenician polities of the 12th and 11th centuries BCE were able to exploit new, smaller scale, entrepreneurial ventures divorced from imperial demands, resulting in capitalistic and self-seeking partnerships in new markets. Thus, the Phoenicians acted as “liminal experts” that were able to utilize their knowledge of the sea and establish informal relationships that produced lucrative trade relationships which continued to expand over the course of the Iron Age (Monroe 2018, 269). Consequently, while trade was at its lowest ebb in the Iron IA, its presence was enough to retain the mariners’ profound knowledge of the Mediterranean (Monroe 2018, 268–269).

The common association of the Phoenician cities with maritime trade, agricultural export, and ship building (particularly with regards to Lebanese cedars) in both the LBA Amarna correspondence and the Report of Wenamun provide evidence in support of Monroe’s claims. The limited evidence of continued contact with Cyprus, largely in the form of ceramic vessels found at all of the Phoenician sites here, further affirms this, as its scale may indicate the non-institutional nature of exchange. The evidence of Phoenician contact with the Western Mediterranean also attests the command of the sea that the Phoenicians possessed, thereby supporting the claim that their maritime orientation produced a unique ability to navigate the Mediterranean (Monroe 2018, 251 and 255–256).

In labelling the Phoenicians as “liminal experts,” Monroe effectively contextualizes a key mechanism by which they were able to leverage both their geography and economic opportunity to

encourage growth in the Iron I. Furthermore, Monroe's views of the collapse of the LBA system as enabling Phoenicians opportunistic ventures provides an explanation for why the Iron I was a formative time period for the Central Coast.

However, Monroe's analyses undermine the archaeological evidence illustrating a downturn in the circulation of foreign goods during the Early Iron Age, when imported items were, in fact, very few in number. Furthermore, Monroe's opposition to claims regarding the primacy of institutional agents in Phoenicia, and while an Iron I Phoenician palace has not been excavated, his assertions of cultural continuity cannot be divorced from the potential for political continuity that was argued for by Lehmann (2021, 280). as pointed out by Waiman-Barack, the notable remains of Phoenician storage jars and industrial items provide evidence for trade in agricultural and industrial products with inland destinations (Waiman-Barack 2016, 200–203). Thus, the emphasis on maritime trade undermines the other diverse economic ventures of the Phoenicians during the 12th and 11th centuries.

Gilboa interprets the archaeological evidence of an emergent "Phoenician Process" of Eastern Mediterranean maritime predominance (Gilboa 2022, 32). She claims that the process did not originate in the Phoenician heartland, but along the Carmel Coast, where the trade between Egypt and Dor was foundational in forming a regionalized Phoenicia that was known for its maritime dominance. Therefore, the "Phoenician process," as argued by Gilboa, emerged due to export opportunities in light of continued Egyptian demand for Levantine goods following their imperial retreat from the Southern Levant (Gilboa 2022, 36–37).

While acknowledging that 13th and 12th century evidence from Dor is scant, Gilboa argues that the relatively significant presence Egyptian imports in 13th century strata at Dor suggest strong ties with Egypt during the Late Bronze Age. At the end of the Late Bronze Age, the loss of Egyptian control on key overland trade routes, combined with the continued Egyptian demand for Levantine agricultural products amidst a drought and political upheaval, contributed to economic vacuums. Such vacuums meant that Dor and, to a lesser extent, other polities along the Central and Carmel Coast, were able to exploit

entrepreneurial connections with Egypt. The subservient position of the Egyptian Envoy in the *Report of Wenamun* is, in the eyes of Gilboa, evidence of the ultimate success of such ventures. While not centered on the Phoenician heartland, the maritime prowess of coastal polities laid foundations for the continued maritime dominance and expansion/colonization of the Central Coast in the first millennium BCE. Gilboa also argues against the centrality of Cyprus in forming a “Phoenician” identity, claiming that trade with Cyprus, particularly its copper, seems to have largely ended except for minimal ceramic exportation. Despite the ostensibly minimal trade between the Central Levant and Cyprus, it is argued that the evidence indicates cultural exchange, including the migration of Cypriot immigrants following the late 12th century economic crises on the island. It is not until the Iron IB horizon at Dor (contemporary with Stratum XIII at Tyre and Stratum E at Sarepta) that trade and cultural influence intensified with Cyprus and the Central/Carmel Coasts (Gilboa 2022, 40–43).

Gilboa’s theories find strength in their reliance on more recent systematic and extensive excavations compared to the other sites. Moreover, Gilboa incorporates both the textual and archaeological records from Dor, both of which indicate consistent contact with Egypt during the Iron I. This is especially true given that the Dor’s contacts with Egypt are, in many ways, more abundantly attested than contact between Cyprus and other Phoenician sites, as Cypriot contacts include very few sherds but the Egyptian evidence from Dor includes over 750 ceramic “items” (Gilboa 2015, 251). Moreover, claims about centrality of trade at Dor in the development of the Phoenician economy find support in the evidence that Dor expanded from a small village during the 13th century to be a thriving urban settlement by the end of the 11th century (Gilboa 2015, 263–264).

Monroe argues that Gilboa’s claims minimize the relationship between Phoenicia and Cyprus, which Gilboa views as related to Cypriot migration and/or a bidirectional cultural exchange, despite Cyprus being the first destination of Phoenician colonialist expansion (Monroe 2018, 243–244). Furthermore, while the “Phoenician process” outlined by Gilboa is argued to have emerged from the Carmel Coast, particularly Dor, it does not explain the economic growth of the other Phoenician sites,

which, in contrast to Dor, display greater settlement continuity and contain greater evidence for continued trade with Cyprus and not Egypt in the Iron I. Thus, while Gilboa incorporates Dor into her conception of a regional Phoenicia, it displays key differences with sites traditionally identified as Phoenicia.

Susan Sherratt, on the other hand, emphasized the role of Western maritime contacts, particularly in the trade of metals with Cyprus. For Sherratt, the expansion of the Phoenician economy was driven by maritime ventures that sought out metals from across the Mediterranean via Cyprus. During the Late Bronze Age, the Phoenician polities and Cyprus, which were positioned in between Hittite and Egyptian control, were able to function without extensive imperial oversight, despite playing important roles in transporting goods. Sherratt argues that an elite merchant class emerged under the circumstances of the 13th century BCE. The Cypriot/Central Levantine merchant classes are viewed by Sherratt as critical agents in shifting the control of trade, particularly that of copper, while also pioneering developments in iron production. During the 12th century, the Cypriots expanded their trade to acquire metals from further reaching regions in the Mediterranean. Sherratt argues that the Phoenician polities followed in the footsteps of the Cypriots, laying the groundwork for continued expansion and colonization (Sherratt 2016, 290–295).

Archaeologically, Sherratt argues that the relative scarcity of ceramic imports from Cyprus in Phoenicia do not imply a lack of trade, but a more diversified export economy. Thus, the *type* of exports changed, many of which do not last in the archaeological record. In essence, Sherratt criticizes the reliance on ceramic remains as a metric for trade. Furthermore, Sherratt notes that the changes in Phoenicia indicate gradual changes over time, which finds support in the lack of drastic shifts and the continuity of Canaanite culture in the ceramic and architectural repertoires of the archaeological record (Sherratt 2016, 297–298).

Alternatively, the importance placed on Cyprus may also be over inflated. Sherratt's argument for the centrality of Cyprus in kickstarting Phoenician expansion fails to explain why the Phoenicians were the ones to colonize Cyprus and the Western Mediterranean. Additionally, Boyes argued that Sherratt's

claims about an expanding merchant class are not archaeologically founded, as industries display continuity, as opposed to a clear shift from a centralized to a private economy (Boyes 2013, 128–130). Moreover, Sherratt's arguments relating to Cypriot exchange in the Levant are also argued to be undermined by the alleged collapse of the economic and urban system on Cyprus at the end of the 12th century. Gilboa also argued that many of the Cypriot/Cypriot-style items found along the Phoenician littoral are the result of Cypriot migrants fleeing crisis and not the result of bidirectional cultural exchange (2022, 41–42). Thus, while Sherratt advocates for Cypriot dominance in the early Iron Age, she largely ignores the economic repercussions of the island's crises.

Bell also argues for the centrality the metal trade, particularly via Cyprus, in ushering in many of the economic changes that occurred during the 13th–11th centuries. Bell's interpretations, however, differ from Sherratt's by arguing for the centrality of Phoenician involvement on Cyprus, not Cypriot involvement in Phoenicia. Bell claims that developments in iron working technology, coupled with the decline of institutional control of trade, resulted in a growing merchant class in Cyprus and the Levant. With the breakdown of the system of Mediterranean trade at the end of the Late Bronze Age, merchants sought out new avenues to acquire metals (particularly iron and silver). Moreover, Bell considers the evidence of Phoenician trade occurring in the Western Mediterranean, most notably at Huelva in Iberia, as indicators of early Phoenician "colonization" at the end of the 11th century. The Phoenicians' strategic insertion in the supply chain of precious goods became increasingly important over the Iron I and laid the groundwork for continued expansion during the 11th century and beyond (Bell 2016, 97–103).

Bell's theories effectively contextualize the means and motivations of Phoenician expansion westward in the centuries succeeding the Early Iron Age. Such explanations find support in the persistence of Cypriot pottery throughout the 13th–11th centuries at Phoenician sites, despite the scarcity of other imports (with the exception of Dor). Moreover, by placing Cyprus as the main agent by which economic transformation took place, Bell underscores the importance that metals played in the

Mediterranean economy, particularly given the many criticisms of the “pots equal people” mentality (Bell 2016, 103).

Gilboa has criticized Bell’s claims about the continuity of contacts with Cyprus, as ceramic evidence of trade in the 13th century is scant, and no copper ores from the 12th century contexts Levant are from Cyprus (Gilboa 2022, 40). Thus, Bell’s claims that trade with Cyprus continued like it had in the LBA are more well attested in the 11th century but are challenged by the lack of 12th century evidence. Moreover, Bell’s emphasis on Cypriot influence undermines the evidence of more well attested trade occurring between southern Phoenicia and Egypt. Consequently, while Bell’s claims correlate to the latter half of the 11th century than they do the 12th.

These scholarly interpretations highlight that the Phoenician economy enjoyed relative continuity following the Late Bronze Age collapse. Such stability provided the region with the economic base to continue to exploit industrial and maritime ventures, much like it is described by Monroe. With the new economic system of the Early Iron Age, the Phoenicians were equipped to exploit new opportunities, albeit on a relatively small scale. While Dor seems to have dominated much of the maritime trade, particularly with Egypt; other Phoenician polities expanded via Cypriot contacts, especially during the 11th century. The 11th century was especially formative for expanding westward contacts of the Phoenicians, first with Cyprus and eventually with Iberia. These contacts laid the foundations for Phoenicia’s continued importance in the first millennium BCE.

Philistine Culture

Early scholarship about the infamously antagonistic Philistines very quickly noted the pervasiveness of Aegean-style artifacts at the biblical Pentapolis during the Iron I. The scholarship of the 20th century, which was based on the excavations of Ashdod and Ekron by M. Dothan and T. Dothan, respectively, incited a wave scholarly discourse pertaining to the apparent foreign influences. M. Dothan

and T. Dothan both argued that the Aegean-styles indicated a Mycenaean origin of the Philistines. In the eyes of the Dothans and their contemporaries, Mycenaean refugees fled the Greek mainland following the collapse of the palatial system, possibly making a stop on Cyprus before settling in the southern Levant. The Philistines, along with other “Sea Peoples” groups were viewed as active catalysts for the demise of the globalized economy of the Late Bronze Age system (T. Dothan 1982; 1989; M. Dothan 1967).

In recent decades, however, the traditional paradigm that argued for the refugee-like Philistines fleeing the palatial collapse of the Greek mainland has been challenged. While early scholarship relegated Cypriot influence to being the product of a temporary stopover, growing numbers of scholars, particularly following Killebrew (2005) and Sherratt (1998), have argued for Cypriot and/or Cilician origins of the Philistines. The characterization of the Philistines as refugees has also continued to be challenged, especially in light of the urbanism and expansive industrial installations of the Philistines. Scholarship has favored more complex narratives involving colonization and differing degrees of hybridization (Ben-Shlomo 2010), acculturation (Uziel 2007), creolization (Killebrew 2005), and transculturation (Hitchcock 2011).

While some early scholarship viewed the Philistines migration as monolithic and destructive force of refugees (T. Dothan 1989; Mazar 1985) more nuanced views, particularly relating to the complexity of the relationships between the migrant and local groups, has emerged (Ben-Shlomo 2010; Hitchcock and Maeir 2013; Killebrew 2016). Further analysis of Philistine material culture, particularly in light of the excavations of Ashkelon and Gath, has led to a growing body of nuanced scholarly interpretations on the Philistines and their origins, identity, and culture.

The imposition and subsequent development of the Philistine material culture during the Early Iron Age has inspired a plethora of scholarly debates about the cultural dynamics that produced the unique archaeological and textual record of the Philistines. Particular focus has been given to the relationship(s) between the migrant city-builders and the local population; both within and beyond the Pentapolis. Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz (2013, also Hitchcock and Maeir 2016, and Hitchcock et al.

2015) have theorized that the migrant “Sea Peoples” and their identities coalesced around key cultural traits and practices, which were applied to specific contexts to further negotiate a collective identity with the local population. Faust and Lev-Tov (2011 and 2014) theorize that the creation and maintenance of ethnic boundaries via specific cultural traits and boundaries, specifically with Hill Country settlements, strengthened group ties and collective identity in Philistia. Wylie and Master (2020, Master 2021) have argued that the formation of a Philistine identity arose from shared animosity towards Egyptian hegemony in the 12th century, which continued to crystallize in the 11th century due to conflicts with the Israelites in the Hill Country.

In light of their excavations at Gath, Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz have challenged notions of the Philistines being a monolithic and hegemonic force, claiming that multi-wave migrations of “Sea Peoples” from various origins that occurred over the course of the 12th century. According to these scholars, the Sea Peoples possessed a tribal identity that formed around shared maritime-oriented and pirate-like activities during the 13th and early 12th century. Their shared tribal identity coalesced around shared identity markers including iconography (the bird [27.5] and spiral motifs [27.4]), ceramic styles (Aegean-styles [Figure 27]), and dress (the horned and plumed helmets depicted on Medinet Habu [Figure 23]). Upon arriving in the Southern Coastal Plain in the early 12th century, the fluidity and diversity of the “Sea Peoples” identity is facilitated positive cultural exchange with locals, resulting in an “entangled” culture of migrants and locals (Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz 2013, 3). The entangled culture was, therefore, motivated by shared economic and socio-political interests and communal rituals (particularly feasting) (Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz, 2013, 3–4 and Hitchcock and Maeir 2016, 251–252).

With regards to the earliest material culture of the Philistines, the hearths, domestic architecture, “megaron style” buildings, plaster technology, written script, cult, dietary practices, and ceramics display diversity, which Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz view as indicators of mixed geographic origins. In Area A of Gath, the concentrated evidence of animal consumption, open drinking vessels, open hearths, and

symbolic artifacts are viewed as evidence of feasting rituals (with possible cultic associations). The feasting practices occurred between the migrants and locals, which strengthened community ties. The combination of foreign and local influences in Philistine material culture, including Ashdoda, ceramic typology, decoration, and iconography, are seen by Maeir and colleagues as further evidence of cultural negotiation occurring, in which foreign and local traits were be discarded, transformed, or integrated into the Philistine cultural identity (Hitchcock et al. 2015, 21–22; Hitchcock and Maeir 2016, 259–260; and Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz, 2013, 3–14).

Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz’s theory of cultural entanglement is bolstered by providing a mechanism, particularly feasting, that explains the sharing of traits between the two groups. Other scholars have advocated for feasting, including Mazow (2005, 457) and Ben-Shlomo et al. (2008, 227) (although in less explicit terms), due to the abundance of open wares (largely bell-shaped bowls and kraters) in the Philistine assemblage. Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz’s analysis also provides possible explanations of the diversity of Philistine material culture by arguing for the intentional implementation of specific cultural traits. Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz also orient their theory around the evidence of coexistence between the Canaanites and the foreigners, which is seemingly supported by the archaeological evidence of both foreign Philistine and local Canaanite elements appearing side by side in the Pentapolis (Hitchcock and Maeir 2013, 53).

Alternatively, Maeir, Hitchcock, Horwitz and their views of cohesiveness with between groups, have been criticized, particularly by Faust and Lev-Tov (2014), for minimizing the evidence of ethnic boundaries, particularly the differences in consumption patterns between the Pentapolis and other sites. Furthermore, the gradient of avoidance is much starker in the regions immediately surrounding Philistia, while further regions seem to have used Philistine material more. Thus, the lack of use is more likely an avoidance than a lack of trade (Gilboa, Cohen-Weinberger, and Goren 2006, 324–327). Faust and Lev-Tov argue that Maeir and colleagues see Philistine culture as emerging in a “vacuum,” thereby undermining the impacts of outside influences (Faust and Lev-Tov 2014, 17–19). Moreover, Maeir,

Hitchcock, and Horwitz's theories, notably their explanation of the pirate origins for the Sea Peoples, and therefore the Philistines, hinge on a maritime background and orientation, which fails to explain the urban nature of the Philistines, particularly given their occupation of inland sites, relative lack of maritime trade compared to their Phoenician neighbors, and the evidence of specialized industries.

For Faust and Lev-Tov (2011, 2014), Philistine cultural identity was reinforced by the maintenance of ethnic boundaries and the promotion of specific cultural traits, thereby establishing an identity that differentiated itself from the neighboring settlements. In Comparing evidence from sites in the Judean Hill Country with that of Ashdod, Faust and Lev-Tov argue that the Philistines differentiated themselves from their oppositional neighbors by retaining unique cultural traits, particularly pig consumption. The Hill Country Israelites are claimed to have avoided both Philistine pottery and pig consumption because of their ethnic associations with the Philistines. Thus, to Faust and Lev-Tov a solidified Philistine identity was driven by the conflicts, or at least ethnic boundaries, between the Philistines and their neighbors. The propagation of traits that encouraged regional differences consolidated group identity between the migrant Philistines and local Canaanites residing in the Pentapolis (Faust and Lev-Tov 2011, 17–22 and Faust and Lev-Tov 2014, 18–19).

Faust and Lev-Tov cite the paucity of Philistine ceramics and pig bones from many Hill Country sites as further indications that such traits delineated ethnic or cultural identity. Concurrently, the increase in items and practices associated with Philistine culture, particularly pig consumption, at Pentapolis sites indicates to Faust and Lev-Tov that they were critical to Philistine identity. Moreover, the propagation of Philistine pottery and pig consumption is, in the eyes of Faust and Lev-Tov, evidence that Philistine acculturation started long after their initial settlement (Faust and Lev-Tov 2011, 26–27 and Faust and Lev-Tov 2014, 18–19)

Faust and Lev-Tov's views find some credence in the increasing prevalence of non-indigenous traits over the Iron I in the Pentapolis. The emphasis on foodways as an identity marker is also generally seen as a tool for measuring aspects of ethnicity and identity. The growing prevalence of such traits across

the Pentapolis during the Iron I further encourages the notion that they represented an important component of Philistine identity. The integration of data outside of the Pentapolis also strengthens the claims made by Faust and Lev-Tov, as the apparent lack of connection between the two has both archaeological and textual (biblical) precedents.

The theory proposed by Faust and Lev-Tov has, however, been criticized by Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz for an over-reliance on ceramic remains, particularly from Ashdod, resulting in a narrow view of the archaeological evidence. The reliance on ceramics and pig remains is also seen as a minimization of the diversity of the Philistine cultural assemblage (Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz 2013, 3 – 8 and 25–26). Faust and Lev-Tov's claims of acculturation occurring after the Iron I is undermined by the many clear instances of bidirectional cultural influences between the "Canaanite" and the foreign "Philistines," including ceramic styles, cultic items (Ashdoda), and agricultural practices (see Frumin 2022). The assumption that pig avoidance is due to cultural considerations has also been challenged by Sapir-Hen, who contends that the lack of pig consumption in the hills stems from economic considerations (2019).

Master and Wylie (2020, and Master 2021), on the other hand, view the development Philistine identity as the result of the dynamics between the Philistines and their opponents, first with Egypt and then with early Israel. In light of the evidence of Egyptian presence persisting in the southern Levant until the end of the 12th century, Master and Wylie theorize that the Philistines were relocated by the Egyptians to the Southern Plain during the time of declining, but still present, Egyptian hegemony. The Egyptians, who Wylie and Master see as intentionally settling the Philistines in the Levant, segregated the Philistine presence to the Pentapolis to prevent further expansion. Despite their attempted containment, Master and Wylie believe that Egypt maintained economic relationships with the Pentapolis, particularly Ashkelon. The Philistine confinement to the Pentapolis and the shared animosity of the Egyptians was the driving force behind the coexistence of local Canaanite residents of the Pentapolis and the immigrant Philistines. In the aftermath of the Egyptian retreat, fragmentation occurred to the east of Philistia, combined with an

economic decline at Ashkelon due to the absence of Egyptian trade. In the wake of such turmoil, the Philistines (particularly at Ashkelon), turned in desperation to raiding settlements in the Hill Country. The conflict with inland settlements further consolidated Philistine identity in their joint attempt for resources. Increase in Mediterranean trade towards the end of the Iron I re-introduced Mediterranean trade and revitalized Ashkelon. By that point, Wylie and Master argue that the Philistine identity had already been formed through its confinement and conflict (Wylie and Master 2020, 559–561, and Master 2021, 204–209).

In support of the alleged confinement of the Philistines to the Pentapolis, Master points out the presence of Egyptian garrisons encircling the Pentapolis as indicators of a ghettoization of the Philistines. Despite confinement, they argue that the Egyptian imports (particularly fishbones) and influence (on jewelry and cultic items) from Phases 19 and 20 at Ashkelon point to continued trade, and possible taxation, between Egypt. The period during Phase 18 in Grid 38 is, in the eyes of Master, the result of the Egyptian retreat from the Southern Levant at the end of the 12th century. Concurrently, Hill Country settlements became fortified, which, in corroboration with the biblical text, led Master to conclude that the Philistines raided the Hill Country in pursuit of resources during Phase 19 at Ashkelon. Thus, the Philistine identity was driven by the conflicts and crises with groups outside of the Pentapolis, that compelled the Canaanites and Philistines to collaborate. (Master 2021, 204–207, 213–214 and Wylie and Master 2020, 561).

One strength in Master and Wylie's arguments is the incorporation of the impact of the Egypt on Philistia because of their residual presence in neighboring regions, which is largely unaddressed by Faust and Lev-Tov (2011, 2014). Furthermore, Master connects the multiple crises with identity formation, thereby providing a sequence of mechanisms that were related directly to resource acquisition. Wylie and Master also effectively utilize textual sources, as the Philistines conflict with Egypt and Israel are discussed in the Medinet Habu reliefs and the Deuteronomistic History (1 Samuel 9-10, 2 Samuel 5, 21; Wylie and Master 2020, 559–561; Master 2021, 208–213).

Alternatively, Wylie and Master rely heavily on the evidence from Ashkelon to formulate the narrative of necessity driven conflict with Israel. Moreover, the reliance on the anachronistic Deuteronomistic History and the propagandistic Medinet Habu reliefs undermine the applicability of the written sources. The evidence of Egyptian trade with the early Philistine settlement at Ashkelon also contradicts the notion of Egyptian animosity towards the Philistines and their confinement of the Pentapolis, as trade with Egypt was, according to Master, a significant factor in Ashkelon's wellbeing. Moreover, the reliance on data from Ashkelon makes the theory less applicable to Philistia as a whole, especially given that the other Philistine sites grew during the relative poverty of Phase 19 at Ashkelon (Ben-Shlomo 2007, 268).

The incursion of the foreign Philistines and their subsequent integration into the Canaanite urban settlements was, therefore, encouraged by both internal and external factors. Master and Wylie's claims about animosity towards Egypt unifying the migrants and the locals indicate the initial forces that encouraged such coexistence. Beyond the waning impact of Egyptian presence in the Southern Levant, internal factors, particularly those that fostered the mixing of cultural traits, produced a more mutually beneficial coexistence between the migrant and local residents of the Pentapolis. Furthermore, the perpetuation of foreign practices, particularly those related to foodways, grew to be defining traits of the Philistine culture.

Philistine Economy

In contrast to the infamous economic prowess of the Phoenicians in the first millennium BCE, the Philistines are not typically seen as economically dominant. The dearth of foreign items (particularly ceramics) at Philistine sites, combined the relative rarity of Philistine pottery at foreign sites is typically interpreted as evidence of a nadir in exportation. Their urban development during the 12th and 11th centuries, however, indicates economic prosperity, albeit without abundant long-range trade. Maeir and

Hitchcock, with the input from other colleagues, view the diversification of technological and agricultural practices as avenues by which the Philistines were able to selectively apply and utilize both foreign and local practices to create a self-sufficient urban economy (2013, 2017, and Maeir et al. 2019). In her analyses of Philistines archaeobotanical remains, Frumin argues that the Philistines largely adopted the local agricultural practices, thereby implying a dynamic in which the agriculture of the Pentapolis hinterlands was predominately Canaanite while the urban industries took on the foreign practices of the migrants (2022). Master argues that the Pentapolis cities, particularly Ashkelon, were historically oriented towards maritime trade, but the removal of Egyptian forces led to a period of economic instability, which compelled the Philistine to raid highland sites in pursuit of staple goods (2021).

Maeir and colleagues argue that the Philistine economy was self-sufficient, thereby favoring the impact of the internal industrial economy. They argue that the economic foundations were built on the selective integration of a diverse array of existing local and foreign practices. Maeir and colleagues argue that the application of technologies, rather than being a “technological revolution,” were appropriated and transformed based on their relevance and usefulness in a given context (Maeir et al. 2019, 107). Thus, the industrial practices brought by the immigrant Philistines are viewed as mechanisms by which they contributed to the economic resilience of the Southern Plain during the 13th–11th centuries (Maeir et al. 2019, 77–78, 106–107).

In analyzing the industrial and technological remains Gath, Maeir and colleagues have noted both changes and continuity in the technology utilized in Philistia during the 13th–11th centuries. The brick architecture, olive oil production, adornment, ivory working, lighting, and stone-tool technologies in Philistia retained many Levantine traditions. Others appear to be exclusively foreign practices, including masonry and textile technologies, which display western/Aegean affinities. Ceramic styles, ceramic technology (including formation and firing techniques), food pathways, cooking installations, writing, and technology related to cult contain mixed influences from the Levant, Cyprus, and the broader Aegean. Many practices change over the 12th and 11th centuries, with some technologies retaining foreign

influence, and others incorporating Levantine traditions. The apparent adoption or integration of the various technologies used by the Philistines were utilized and adapted according to their economic and social relevance in Philistia during the Early Iron Age (Maeir et al. 2019, 80–81, 106–107).

Maeir and colleagues' theory about the selective integration of foreign technologies is strengthened by the diversity of technological practices within the Pentapolis. The selective application of such technologies implies that the Philistines were able to choose between utilizing well-suited local practices, or to integrate improved technological practices. Moreover, the distinctly urban nature of the Philistines aligns with claims that they had arrived with industrial and technological advancements that may have been useful to the local economy. Moreover, the very advanced and complex nature the Philistine ceramic and textile industries have been extensively studied by Killebrew (1998a, 1998b, 2013) and Mazow (2007), respectively. Such studies have indicated that the Philistine internal economy maintained a high degree of technological complexity and industrial output. Consequently, it is not surprising that such industries would be readily integrated into the internal economy of the urban areas.

While the industry of the Philistines may have been substantial, Maeir and colleagues do not sufficiently address how subsistence demands were met. Thus, their claims about the industrial nature of the Philistines economy neglect the agricultural dimensions. Frumin's analyses, on the other hand, have indicated that the Philistines, despite their urban nature, were connected to a flourishing agricultural base (Frumin 2022, 279–282). Moreover, the emphasis placed on the economic primacy of industry is confounded by the relative dearth of evidence suggesting largescale Philistine maritime and regional trade.

In her analysis of the archaeobotanical remains from Philistia, Frumin argues for continuity in the agricultural base of Philistia during the 13th–11th centuries. She claims that the Philistines integrated into the local agricultural practices of staple goods. The Philistines contrast the Late Bronze Age practices by bringing new species of plants (possibly cumin, sycamore fruit, and opium poppy seeds), along with new agricultural preferences (intensified olive and pomegranate production). Both the new preferences and

novel species diversified the agricultural economy, thereby creating a productive and self-sufficient agricultural system that supported the demands of the urban population and created a surplus. Frumin argues that the Philistines were oriented towards regional trade, which helped disseminate Philistine dietary practices to their Judean neighbors during the 11th century BCE (Frumin 2022, 280–282 and Frumin et al. 2015, 7).

Frumin points to the similarities in the cultivation of the staple crops of the Philistines (wheat, barley, lentils, grapes, figs, and olives) and the Canaanites, which she claims indicate continuity with the Late Bronze Age agricultural base. Frumin argues that the similarities between the Philistines and their neighbors demonstrates that the Philistines' agricultural practices were oriented towards regional trade. The decline in date fruit (which was popular in Egypt) at Philistine sites may be an additional indicator that the Philistines oriented themselves towards regional demands in the early Iron Age. Furthermore, she observes the Philistines' intensification of pomegranate and grape production as indicators of foreign preferences, as well as possible contributors to the Philistine textile industry. Therefore, Frumin sees both the evidence of new species and the continued reliance on Late Bronze Age staples contributed to the Philistines' urban self-sufficiency (Frumin 2022, 271–276, 278, 280–282 and Frumin et al. 2015, 5–7).

Unlike previous arguments, Frumin's arguments address the agricultural base of the Philistine economy, providing a glimpse into the subsistence of the Philistines. In many ways, her analyses corroborate the mixed foreign and indigenous aspects of the Philistine urban material culture. The persistence of staple goods in Philistia also explains the subsistence of the Pentapolis, thereby providing evidence as to how the distinctly urban population base was able to survive. Furthermore, the connection made by Frumin about the potential use of pomegranates and grapes for the Philistine textile industry corroborates evidence of the expanded textile industry discussed by many scholars, particularly Mazow (2006).

Various difficulties arise from relying on the interpretations of archaeobotanical data. Frumin's claims that the lack of dates, which appear to have been consumed in Egyptian markets, suggests a

regionally oriented economy may actually indicate that Egyptian imperial interests were no longer dictating and exploiting the agricultural outputs of the Southern Coastal Plain. In other words, the absence of Egyptian control and exploitation may have encouraged a greater degree of self-sufficiency, and not regional trade.

Alternatively, Master argues for the economic resilience of the Philistines to have been driven by its relationships with other regions, particularly at Ashkelon. Following the Philistine migration to the Pentapolis, Master argues that trade and contact with Egypt, primarily with Ashkelon, seems to have continued. Master views the early and middle 12th century at Ashkelon as one that was driven by its active participation in Mediterranean trade which continued after the “Sea Peoples” battle with Ramesses but before the complete withdrawal of Egyptian forces from Canaan. Egyptian withdrawal from Canaan crippled the prosperity of Ashkelon, leading to poverty in Phase 20. The economic hardship of the time compelled the Philistines to raid neighboring settlements in the Hill Country in pursuit of resources. The eventual recovery of Ashkelon was brought by the re-involvement of Ashkelon in the Mediterranean economy (Master 2021, 207–209, 213–214).

In support of his claims, Master notes that the initial Philistine settlement in Phase 20 includes remains of storage jars from the Levantine coast, Cypriot pottery, and Egyptian imported fish, amulets, and faience items. Thus, such items suggest active involvement in Mediterranean trade. The apparent poverty of Phase 18 and 19 is evidence in the low-quality construction methods, as well as the absence of imported items. The biblical record of conflict and raids is evidence to Master that the Philistines, particularly from Ashkelon, raided the Hill Country to survive during such a crisis. He correlates the fortification of some Hill Country sites with the alleged raids. In Phase 17 (the late 11th century), Master notes that imports reappear and the city seems to recover. Therefore, while admitting that the alleged maritime dependence of Ashkelon does not appear at other Philistine sites, Master argues Ashkelon’s location meant that it was more sensitive to factors that were less impactful for the non-coastal sites (Master 2021, 204–207, 209–210).

Master's claims about the influence of external connections are supported by the more literal translations of the biblical texts, which indicate continuing conflicts between the Philistines and their Israelite neighbors. The interpretation that this conflict was driven by a scarcity of resources has some correlation to the archaeological record at Ashkelon, which indicates a period of decline following Egyptian withdrawal. The economic impact of Egypt is supported by the non-ceramic artifacts that appear at Ashkelon, especially the cultic items that appear to have been used much like they were in Egypt (Master 2021, 205). Moreover, Master's claims about the maritime orientation of Ashkelon find some support in recent analyses of later Philistine dental remains, which show wear patterns that are indicative of a maritime based economy (Kalisher et al. 2024, 11). Ashkelon's recovery by the end of the 11th century also supports claims that the wellbeing of the settlement was connected to its maritime involvement.

Master's claims, however, are more difficult to apply to the rest of the Pentapolis. While Ashkelon may show some signs of decline following Egyptian removal, the other Pentapolis sites indicate expansion. In particular, Ekron grew from a small Canaanite village into a fortified urban settlement and Ashdod grew, albeit in a less dramatic fashion, from 8 to 10 hectares (Ben-Shlomo 2007, 268). The reliance on the biblical narratives is also complicated by the fact that they are believed to have been composed long after the Early Iron Age. The continuing influence of Egypt, which Master views as seemingly beneficial to the Philistine economy, is also doubtful given the Egyptian records that attest animosity and conflict between the Sea Peoples (including the Philistines) and the Egyptians.

The archaeological data, which does not implicate the Philistines as being incredibly active agents in long-range trade, points to both industrial and agricultural activities creating self-sufficient internal urban economies in Philistia. While local practices appear most prominent in the agricultural economy, foreign influences dominate the evidence of technology related to industry.

Chapter 5

Conclusions: Resilience in Phoenicia and Philistia

Phoenician Culture

. The continued Canaanite material culture suggest that Phoenician culture did not completely diverge from its LBA predecessor with the onset of the Iron Age, but rather, processes that began during the Iron Age created cultural associations that solidified a shared Phoenician identity. Given the general lack of large-scale disruptions at the turn of the Late Bronze Age in the Phoenicia, Phoenician culture began to emerge as a result of their relatively unchaotic transition into the Iron Age. Consequently, their emergent identity coalesced around their urban settlement patterns and specialized economic pursuits.

The first process that contributed to the resilience and further crystallization of a Phoenician culture is the change in settlement patterns that occurred in the Southern Levant. While Lehmann's theory focuses on the political structures of Phoenicia, his discussions about the settlement changes are of greater pertinence to the cultural mechanisms for the resilience of Phoenician urban centers. There is certainly evidence of continuity in Phoenician monarchic structure, as the *Report of Wenamun* mentions princes at both Dor and Byblos. Furthermore, the large administrative building in Area G at Dor indicates some degree of organization/centralization. The continuation of Sidon's religious practices (which typically are related to institutions) further suggests that some form of centralization continued. Despite such evidence, the exact nature of political power is difficult to determine (Boyes 2013, 209).

What is seemingly of greater importance, and is implied by the continuation of monarchic institutions, is Lehmann's claim that the Phoenician settlements remained larger in size compared to most of their neighbors. The relatively large size of Phoenician urban (or at least village-like) settlements differentiated Phoenicia from the inland Hill Country. Consequently, the settlements along the Phoenician Coast shared an urbanism that was recognizable to other Phoenician settlements and differentiated themselves from their inland neighbors.

Phoenician settlements, however, were not the only urban settlements in the Southern and Central Levant. Therefore, an additional component of Phoenician culture contributed to its resilience and growth during the 13th – 11th centuries. The other determining aspect of Phoenician culture during this period was their orientation towards specialized economic pursuits, which included (but was certainly not limited to) maritime trade. Maritime dominance is associated with the later Phoenicians; however, this phenomenon has its roots in the early Iron Age. Continued maritime trade is apparent during the 12th century, albeit on a limited scale. Cypriot imports are present in the Phoenician heartland and Egyptian imports increase over time at Dor. In this sense, Monroe's claims about the continuing existence of Phoenician "liminal" experts rings true, as the merchant class maintained its mastery of the sea (Monroe 2018, 269–272). While the assemblage of imports is larger compared to most other Eastern Mediterranean sites, the low proportion of imported items implies that maritime trade was not the sole economic pursuit associated with the emergent culture of the Phoenicians.

In addition to maritime trade, the archaeological record of the 12th century indicates similar continuity in the specialized industries that were uncovered in Phoenicia. At Sarepta, Dor, and Keisan; the production of purple dye through murex shells is clear in the 12th and 11th century strata. This is most evident in the deposit of murex shells in the industrial area of Sounding X at Sarepta. While the volume of production certainly decreased, which may also be partially explained by the decreased urban population, the area of production indicates continuity. Also at Sarepta, the evidence of clay production in the last LBA Stratum of Sounding X (Stratum IV), continued with the industrial scale kiln built above it in Stratum V, which was subsequently expanded into two kilns in Stratum IV. Industrial continuity is also present in the jewelry production at Tyre, as it was present in both Stratum XV, XIV, and XIII – although XIV and XIII contained fewer imported beads. At Dor, metallurgy in Area G continued through the Late Bronze Age until phase 9 (1100/1075 BCE), thereby surviving much of the Late Bronze Age crises. The association between Phoenicia and specialized production is also evident in its 11th century pursuits, as the Phoenician connection to the metal trade becomes increasingly prominent. Moreover, the specialized

production of Phoenician Bichrome, the so-called “calling card” of the Phoenicians, appears and continued to grow in prevalence towards the end of the 11th century (Gilboa 2022, 35). The increased access to Lebanese cedars also provided an additional item of trade, as well as an available resource to help in ship construction, both for themselves and for others. Because of the continued importance of industry during the 12th century, Monroe’s claims, while focused on the seamanship of the Phoenicians, should also be applied to the importance of craftsmanship and industry possessed by the Phoenicians during the Early Iron Age.

It is towards the end of the 11th century that maritime trade becomes increasingly central to the Phoenician identity. Ceramic evidence of foreign contacts, primarily with Egypt and Cyprus, increases in intensity over the course of the 11th century. In addition to the ceramic evidence, archaeological evidence of increased trade in metals towards the end of 11th century suggests that the cultural associations with metal began to crystallize. The evidence of silver at Levantine sites, the increased occurrence of Phoenician items on Cyprus, and Phoenician items in Iberia suggest that trade contacts had expanded both in volume and scope by the end of the 11th century. It is at this point, that maritime trade; which developed over the course of the Iron I, became a greater defining factor in Phoenician culture. It is at this point that Wood, Bell, and Montero-Ruiz’s claims have some accuracy in their descriptions of the impact that metals had on trade. Before the end of the 11th century, the mechanism by which Phoenician culture prevailed through the 13th–11th centuries is not solely their maritime orientation. Rather, the uniting cultural factor across Phoenicia during the Iron I is the continuing associations with specialized economic ventures.

Alternatively, while Gilboa’s claims favor the trade in goods (particularly agricultural) between Dor and Egypt; and Bell favors trade (particularly in metal) with Cyprus; both focus too much on the *destination* of trade being a defining factor. What contributed most to the growth of Phoenicia and its development of a regionalized material culture, is that the Phoenicians were the facilitating such trade. The association of the Phoenicians with the ability to connect the inland Levant with Cyprus, Egypt, and

eventually the rest of the Mediterranean, differentiated themselves culturally. The roots of this phenomenon were present in the Late Bronze Age, as is demonstrated by Monroe. The Late Bronze Age system, which had previously stunted Phoenician expansion, collapsed, enabling the Phoenician culture to continue with many of its economic ventures. Such economic ventures expanded, eventually establishing the maritime and economic dominance of the Phoenicians during the first millennium.

Phoenician Economy

Much like Phoenician culture, the Phoenician economy during the Early Iron Age was characterized by the continuity of economic pursuits many of which expanded due to changes in the economic system of the Mediterranean. The continuation of the orientation towards specialized economic pursuits speaks to the importance that they had in the Phoenician economy. During the 12th century, the economy of Phoenicia relied on many of the same industries, albeit on a different scale and with different partners. Their successful exploitation of new ventures created additional opportunities that resulted in the economic expansion of Phoenician trade during the 11th century. The 11th century economy of Phoenicia proved to be foundational in the trajectory of Phoenician dominance during the first millennium BCE.

During the 13th and 12th centuries, the archaeological evidence indicates that the economic pursuits of Phoenician settlements stayed largely the same. As previously discussed, various forms of industry continued over the course of the transition from the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age. These specialized industries, which included purple dye from Sarepta, Keisan, and Dor; ceramic production at Sarepta; jewelry production at Tyre; and metallurgy at Dor; all indicate that industry was prioritized at these sites despite their decreased scale. The importance of such industries is further evidenced by their resumption after crises occurred at each site. At Tyre, the jewelry production continued in Stratum XIII after the partial robbing/destruction of Stratum XIV. The of purple dye production at Keisan persisted following the disruption of Stratum 13 and subsequent demographic decline of Stratum 12. At Dor, the

small-scale metallurgical activities in Phase 13 continued in the same place until Phase 10, despite the brief abandonment of the site at the end of Phase 11. The prioritization and resumption of such industries speaks to some degree of economic importance. Similarly, maritime trade also continued, once again operating on a smaller scale. Therefore, Monroe's claims about the continuing engagement in Late Bronze Age economic pursuits is backed up in the archaeological record of both industry and maritime trade.

Despite the abundance of continuity, the ability of the Phoenicians to adapt and change is even more evident in the archaeological record and attests the opportunistic ability of the Phoenicians to take advantage of economic vacuums. More specifically, the Phoenicians took advantage of the changing imperial dynamics and acted as middlemen in the trade of agricultural products with Egypt. With the onset of the Iron Age, the Phoenicians acted as middlemen between the inland Canaanite sites (which produced agricultural products) and Cyprus and Egypt. Thus, the evidence of trade with Egypt, which is apparent in Egyptian products at Dor as well as the storage jars found in Egypt, attest that the Phoenicians attempted to meet the Egyptian demand for Levantine agricultural goods following the decline of Egyptian imperialism (Waiman-Barak 2016, 197–198). Therefore, Gilboa's claims about the centrality of trade with Egypt is certainly apparent at Dor.

Trade with Egypt, however, did not carry the same importance for the Phoenician heartland. While Gilboa views Cypriot influence as the result of migrant refugees, this minimizes the clear influence that Cyprus had on the Phoenician heartland. Instead, the Phoenician heartland also established trade contacts with Cyprus, which also expanded over the course of the early Iron Age. Bell's claims about the formative impact of the metal trade, however, are manifested in the archaeological record of the 11th century, when contacts with Cyprus are more well attested and colonization begins to take root. Such contacts, particularly given the crises on Cyprus, led to greater Phoenician involvement, which eventually ushered the Phoenician contacts with the Western Mediterranean. The intensification of such contacts during the 11th century indicates that the metal trade with Cyprus did not directly contribute to

Phoenicia's survival of the Late Bronze Age crises; but it did contribute to the region's continued expansion during the first millennium BCE.

Philistine Culture

What is remarkable about the culture of the Pentapolis during the 13th–11th centuries is the unique shift that occurred with the incursion of migrant groups that eventually crystallized into a new, distinctly Philistine culture. In light of the archaeological record, as well as the many interpretive theories, the mechanisms for the coexistence of the migrant Philistines and local Canaanites were both internal and external. First, the shared animosity towards the Egyptians fostered initial cohesion within the Pentapolis, as the socio-political changes in the Levant left power vacuums. Moreover, the migrants and locals produced a new, hybridized material culture while also retaining and propagating particular foreign cultural traits that differentiated themselves from their neighboring regions.

Precedents for a shared antagonism towards the Egyptians are clear in one of the earliest textual references of the Philistines, Medinet Habu. Medinet Habu clearly depict Sea Peoples engaged in battle with the Egyptians (Figure 23). Following their incursion into the Southern Levant, the Philistines seemed to lack economic relationships with the remnant Egyptians, the exception being the limited evidence of trade from Phase 20 at Ashkelon. The construction of the fortifications in Stratum VII of Field X at Ekron may also indicate that the Philistines anticipated some conflict from the eastern side of the Pentapolis, which possibly implicates the remnant Egyptians as a source of potential conflict during their imperial decline in the 12th century.

Thus, while there are precedents for enmity with the Egyptians, it is also highly likely that the vacuums created by the weakening of their exploitive imperial system also encouraged the Philistine settlement of the Pentapolis. Evidence of drastic changes in the Pentapolis further indicates a desire to shift away from Late Bronze Age systems, particularly those established via Egyptian imperialism.

Within Ashkelon, the Egyptian presence appears to have been oriented towards the construction of the garrison and multiple affiliated silos, which were left unfinished and abandoned in the successive phases. The construction of the fortifications and the silos implies much more active exploitation, which was likely unwelcomed. While trade with Egypt may have contributed to the economy of Ashkelon, even in the Philistine Phase 20, the abandonment of such construction projects indicates that the societal system had changed.

Moreover, the only evidence of potential destructions occurring at Philistine sites is found in the elite Area E at Gath and possibly at the Egyptian “Governor’s Residency” in Area G of Ashdod. While such disruptions at Ashdod may be connected to the Egyptian presence, the excavators at Gath have emphasized the lack of Egyptian and Egyptianized items. Thus, the changes in Gath’s Area E may not be linked to direct conflict with the Egyptians, but to a desire to change the power structures that were no longer sustainable due to Egyptian decline. What is apparent then, are changes in the elite population and Late Bronze Age power structures, which, at Ashkelon and possibly Ashdod appears to have been related to Egyptian power. Thus, even in the absence of shared enmity with the Egyptians, the change in power structures is apparent and suggests that power vacuums were present concurrent with the arrival of the Philistines. The foreign migrants did not, however, merely insert themselves in the existing power structures, as the areas of centralized power were abandoned.

While the remnants of Egyptian imperial forces likely curbed expansion beyond the Pentapolis, the notion that the Philistines were intentionally settled at Ashkelon and Ashdod and acted vassals of the Egyptian imperial sphere of influence is highly unlikely. First of all, Egyptian occupation is often seen as an indicator of Egyptian control waning in the Levant, thus many of their actions should be seen as attempts to mitigate losses and reassert power (Morris 2018, 187–222). Moreover, continued Egyptian presence in the Philistine Pentapolis is only apparent in limited trade with Ashkelon in Phase 20. The intentional “ghettoization” of the Philistines to the Pentapolis following an Egyptian victory in the battle against the Sea Peoples implies that the Egyptians had greater control of the region than is supported by

the archaeological evidence. If anything, the Philistine urban dominance, particularly so close to Egypt, suggests that the Philistines posed a legitimate threat to Egyptian power and control of the Levant. Thus, with the imperial presence in decline, it is unlikely that the Egyptians had the ability to intentionally settle the Philistines in the Pentapolis and to continue exercising some degree of imperial exploitation beyond their containment efforts.

Ultimately, the shared animosity towards Egypt was not the only factor that drove the coexistence and prosperity of Philistine culture during the Iron I. While shared antagonism of the Egyptians likely helped with early unity among the Canaanite residents of the Pentapolis and the foreign Philistines, both the sustainment of defining cultural traits and the hybridization of other traits led to the materialization of a Philistine identity. The decision to hybridize certain foreign traits was determined by the contribution(s) that they made to group ties, but also indicating that a shared sense of identity already existed between the foreigners and locals residing in the Pentapolis. Sustained foreign traits may have been preserved because they comprised a significant part of identity, thereby contributing to ethnic boundaries and supporting some of the arguments of by Faust and Lev-Tov.

Within the Pentapolis, the Philistines were able to effectively integrate aspects of the local culture into practices and traits, thereby enabling a more cohesive group of foreigners and indigenous people existing in the Pentapolis. The evidence of the hybridization or “entanglement” outlined by Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz may indicate mechanisms used to foster cohesion, but is, more importantly, an indicator that a more solidified identity had formed between the foreigners and the locals within the Pentapolis. The earliest evidence of local traits overcoming the “foreign” material culture is the ceramic repertoire. The ceramic assemblage becomes decreasingly “Aegean” with time, especially given the mixed, particularly Canaanite, influences that appear on Philistine Bichrome vessels (Uziel 2007, 168 – 170). Cultic expressions within the Pentapolis, which appear to have been confined to the household, also begin to indicate mixed influences (Ben-Shlomo 2019, 3–6). Ashdoda is perhaps the most famous example, as she is often seen as a hybridization of Canaanite, Aegean, and Cypriot elements (Ben-Shlomo

and Press 2009, 68; Killebrew 2010, 161–162). The hybridization of various facets of material culture within the Pentapolis suggests that the Philistine culture coalesced partially around such integration, but the persistence of certain foreign attributes in the Iron I suggests that their identity was also communicated by other traits.

Both Maeir and colleagues and Faust and Lev-Tov emphasize the importance of foodways in the Philistine identity. Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz's claims about feasting, as well as its function as a source of community, however, should be viewed as an indicator of group identity within the Pentapolis. However, the evidence from Gath, which comes from the late Iron I, suggests that the practice emerged from an already solidified Philistine identity that was already intrinsically linked with its foodways. As previously mentioned, the wealth of open ceramic shapes has led many scholars to associate drinking rituals with the Philistines (Mazow 2005, 460–461 and Martin et al. 2017, 225–227). Thus, for the Philistines, feasting, drinking rituals, and other associated practices were ways of engaging with their Philistine identity, which was intrinsically linked to foodways. Even outside of Philistia, imported Philistine drinking sets found in the Jezreel Valley has led scholars to suggest that the Philistines were likely associated with their foodways (possibly in relation to feasting or at least drinking) by their more distant neighbors (Martin et al. 2017, 226–227). Therefore, the avoidance of pigs and Philistine pottery by their immediate neighbors likely indicates deliberate avoidance and suggests the presence of ethnic boundaries with the Philistines. The avoidance of foodways further indicates that key aspects of their community identity were heavily associated with eating and drinking rituals, particularly by the end of the Iron I.

While Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horwitz argue that foodways were used in active negotiation in the establishment of a Philistine identity, the evidence indicates that people outside of the Pentapolis associated the foodways of the Philistines with the Philistine ethnic identity. Therefore, Faust and Lev-Tov's view that pottery and pig consumption (both of which relate to foodways) were ways that the Philistines intentionally differentiated themselves, are supported by the evidence of internal and external

mechanisms. Philistine pottery and Pig consumption likely served as identity markers to outsiders, which lends support to claims that Philistine cultural practices likely fostered community ties within their urban settlements and contributed to efforts to differentiate the Philistines from neighboring regions. Therefore, more specific and identifiable cultural traits can be associated with the Philistine cultural identity, since many foreign aspects were lost, but those most relevant to their identity were retained.

Philistine Economy

The Philistine economy, which has received less attention than Philistine culture, appears to have experienced prosperity over the course of the 13th–11th centuries, despite the apparent lack of substantial long-range trade. Unlike the Phoenician economy, which enjoyed continuity following its relative independence during the Late Bronze Age, the Philistine economy appears to have changed drastically. Philistia's economy during the Iron I was intrinsically linked to the decline of Egyptian imperialism, resulting in a self-sufficient internal economy that benefitted from the integration of foreign industrial practices.

While Master claims that the removal of Egypt left Ashkelon in relative poverty, it is more likely that that Egyptian retreat benefitted the Philistine economy. This is first evident in the archaeobotanical data. Frumin's interpretation that the presence of date fruit indicates that the Philistines tailored agricultural products to Egyptian consumers is also supported by the evidence of various silos constructed by the Egyptians at Ashkelon (Frumin 2022, 281). Moreover, Master's claims about the poverty of Ashkelon in Phase 20 are undermined by the botanical evidence of the continuation of Canaanite staple goods. The lack of change in the planting of staple goods further indicates that the region had an extremely productive source of agriculture. Thus, the agricultural economy of Philistia was, therefore, self-sufficient during the Iron I because of its freedom from imperial demands.

Thus, while the dearth of Mediterranean trade may have contributed to some economic decline at Ashkelon, evidence of the diversified and expansive agricultural economy also makes it unlikely that Philistine raids of the Hill Country were necessary for subsistence. It is also highly unlikely that the Pentapolis settlements, which were urban centers that expanded over the Iron I period, would turn to the small Hill Country settlements for a large supply of resources. Ashkelon's probable dependence on the Mediterranean economy further speaks to the role that self-sufficiency had in Philistine economic success, as the less maritime-centric sites (particularly Ekron), grew at much faster rates (Ben-Shlomo 2007, 268).

While the agricultural staples persisted following the Late Bronze Age, the foreign migrants seemed to have contributed to the economic well-being of the region via the industrial economy of the Southern Plain. While Maeir and colleagues emphasize mixed influences on the technology of the Philistines, the evidence relating to Philistine industry suggests that foreign traits remain predominate, especially in certain industries. Maeir and colleagues' own arguments about the industrial prowess of the Philistines also undermines their own claims about the distinctly maritime and pirate-like origins for the Philistines. Evidence of an exportation-oriented economy is absent from the Pentapolis, further casting doubt on the notion that the Sea Peoples were originally expert mariners. Instead, the industrial complexity of the migrants was evident very early on in excavations, as the initial industrial kiln from Ekron in Stratum VIIA indicates an immediate orientation of the settlers towards production. Furthermore, extensive research has indicated that the clay procurement and production techniques were distinctly non-local at its genesis (Killebrew 1996, 1998a, 1998b, 2016). The industrial area of Phase 18 at Ashkelon further implicates the Philistines as having unique and skilled industrial pursuits, one of which was some sort of alcohol production.

The textile industry has been alluded to multiple times, both throughout this work and in the other scholarly literature. The abundant appearance of cylindrical loomweights, combined with Mazow's association between the bathtubs with industrial textile industry, if true, further indicates that the Philistines had a highly complex textile industry as well (Mazow 2006). Frumin's association of the

appearance of pomegranates and the increase in grape production as indicators that they were used as dyes, and possibly for wine as well (Frumin 2022, 281–280). While textiles themselves do not remain in the archaeological record, the adjacent evidence for industrial production and agricultural products suggests that textiles may have occupied an important role in the Philistine economy. While evidence for the exportation of ceramics is minimal, it is possible that textiles were important Philistine exports.

Even if the textile industry was not bound for export, the fact remains that the migrant Philistines brought technologically advanced industrial practices with them to the Levant, many of which persisted through the Iron I. The findings, therefore, indicate a diversified economy that involved both complex industrial and agricultural practices. The combined impact of both contributed to the continued urbanism during a time typically marked by crisis and decline. Therefore, the Philistines added to the technological and industrial sectors of the already productive Canaanite subsistence economy. The foreign technological advancements, combined with the surplus-producing Canaanite agricultural economy produced a thriving self-sufficient urban economy that differentiated the Philistines from their agrarian neighbors during the Early Iron Age.

Final Remarks: Comparing Phoenicia and Philistia

While Phoenicia is often associated with its economic dominance, and Philistia with its unique cultural profile, this thesis demonstrates that the resilience of both regions hinged on a complex interplay between their economic and cultural landscapes. Economically, Phoenicia was marked by its continuity with the Late Bronze Age, indicating that the impact of the “collapse” of the Late Bronze Age system was mostly contained to a nadir in Phoenician long-range trade. Phoenician settlements leveraged their stability to expand into new ventures in the wake of collapse. Thus, its relative independence from the imperial powers allowed the region to maintain many of its previous economic pursuits. Many of these

specialized pursuits were intrinsically linked to the region itself, as the access to the sea, abundant murex shell deposits, and access to Lebanese cedars provided unique economic opportunity.

Philistia, on the other hand, experienced much more direct imperial involvement in the Late Bronze Age and much more drastic changes, particularly associated with the arrival of the Philistine migrants. The decline in the Late Bronze Age imperial presence did not, however, result in region-wide decline. Rather, the removal of Egyptian exploitation meant that the Philistine economy could enjoy the agricultural products of its hinterland and the industrial productivity of its industrious residents. Thus, while an expansion of long-range trade is not apparent, the internal economy of the Philistines was productive enough to support its urban population base. In essence, while Phoenicia was able to extend its pursuits outward towards new ventures, Philistia was able to turn internally and reap the benefits of its productive hinterland that was freed from external exploitation.

Culturally, the two regions continue to present different trends. While both regions were previously part of the largely homogenous Late Bronze Age Canaanite milieu, the reasons for the emergence of their regionalized cultures are vastly different. Furthermore, the manifestation of such identities became increasingly apparent over the course of the Iron I. The crystallization of Phoenician culture was largely defined by local phenomena related to its economic pursuits. The regionalized culture became increasingly apparent over the course of the Iron I due to its specialized endeavors that differentiated themselves as savvy mariners and specialized producers. The ostensibly sudden appearance of the Philistines marks a clear and drastic cultural shift, which contrasts the processual shifts observed in Phoenicia. Philistine culture is made increasingly apparent over the Iron I in the propagation of specific traits that communicated their identity as Philistines. Such traits conveyed similar meaning within and outside the Pentapolis. Foreign traits that dissipated or became hybridized over the Iron I were, therefore, less fundamental to the core of the Philistine identity.

Therefore, the presence of both continuity and change in Philistia and Phoenicia attest to the ability of both regions to respond and adapt to the economic and social vacuums produced by the collapse

of the Late Bronze Age. The economic repercussions of the end of the Late Bronze Age created opportunities for the regions to both expand and turn focus internally, thereby facilitating increased agency and entrepreneurial ventures. The infamously antagonistic biblical Philistines and the nautically preeminent Phoenicians, therefore, trace their societal roots back to the crises to the Late Bronze Age. The crises of the transition into the Iron Age, which led to the dissolution of some societies, resulted in emergence of cohesive economic and cultural identities associated with both Phoenicia and Philistia.

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