

A Literary and
Archaeological Study
of the Philistines

John F. Brug

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ABSTRACT

A LITERARY AND ARCHEOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE PHILISTINES

This study is an analysis of the population and culture of Philistia in the Early Iron Age on the basis of the literary and archeological evidence. Both the Egyptian records and the Old Testament texts imply that the arrival of the Philistines and other Sea Peoples in Palestine was not a sudden massive migration, but a gradual amalgamation of foreign and indigenous elements.

The archeological evidence indicates that the Philistine culture was a hybrid culture in which the "Canaanite" element remained predominant. An important part of this study is a determination of the percentage of Philistine Ware at the sites at which it occurs. Philistine Ware rarely exceeds 25% of the total ceramic assemblage from a site. It often is in the 5%-15% range. There is a strong continuity of ceramic types from the Late Bronze Age at sites which have Philistine Ware. In the overall ceramic assemblage of sites which have Philistine Ware the Canaanite influence on the pottery is at least as strong as the Mycenaean influence.

A study of Philistine burial practices, metal work, architecture, ships, minor arts, religion, and language reveals a very strong "Canaanite," "Semitic," or Levantine element in all aspects of the Philistine culture.

All of the evidence suggests that there was a strong carry-over from the Late Bronze Age in the population of Iron Age Philistia, and that the influx of Sea Peoples into Palestine at the time of Ramses III was probably a settlement of small groups, similar to the movement of the Northmen into various countries of Europe, rather than a massive folk-migration.

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John F. Brug

INTRODUCTION

The origin of the Philistines has been a source of much debate among historians and archeologists of the ancient Near East. All the literary sources agree that the Philistines were not indigenous to Palestine, but that they migrated to Palestine from elsewhere in the Mediterranean world. However, there has been considerable disagreement about the time and nature of this migration and the character of Philistine culture. There appears to be a contradiction between the Old Testament and the Egyptian sources concerning the ethnic background of the Philistines and the time of their arrival in Palestine. The Old Testament classifies the Philistines with Hamitic peoples and seems to place their appearance in Palestine well before the beginning of the Iron Age. The Egyptian texts seem to classify the Philistines with Indo-European peoples from Anatolia or the Aegean. The Philistines first appear in Egyptian texts at about the beginning of the Iron Age. The painted pottery called "Philistine Ware" is clearly derived from Late-Helladic proto-types, but the very heavy Canaanite influence on the material culture and personal names of the Philistines raises doubts about the extent of Aegean influence in Philistine culture.

The uncertainty which results from these apparent discrepancies and the ambiguity of the evidence concerning the Philistines has opened the door to all kinds of speculation and theories about the origins of the Philistines and the other "Sea Peoples" associated with them. Suggested homelands of the Philistines have ranged from the Caucasus in the east through Anatolia, Cyprus, Crete, and Greece to Illyria in the west. Even North Africa, the western Mediterranean islands, and Northern Europe have had their advocates. However, a basic weakness of all of these theories is that their proponents have usually focused on a very narrow selection of the available evidence. Too often investigators have begun with a preconception concerning Philistine origins and then looked for evidence in the Philistine culture to support that preconception. Theories of Philistine origins have been based on selected evidence, rather than on a consideration of Philistine culture as a whole. Evidence which contradicts the investigator's original hypothesis is too often simply ignored.

The theory most widely accepted today is that the Philistines first arrived in Palestine from the Aegean in about 1190 B.C. This theory is supported by two main pillars. The records of Ramses III report that Egypt was attacked by the Peleset and other "invaders from the islands of the sea" early in the 12th Century B.C. A painted pottery style derived from Late Helladic IIIC

prototypes appeared in southwest Palestine at about the time of Ramses III. On the basis of these two facts it is suggested that the Philistines first arrived from the Aegean early in the 12th Century B.C. and settled in Palestine shortly after their unsuccessful attack on Egypt. The main weakness of this theory is that it rests on too limited an analysis of Philistine material culture. The theory of the Aegean origin of the Philistines rests almost entirely on the appearance in southwest Palestine of the derivative "Mycenaean" pottery style now called Philistine Ware. No systematic attempt has been made to analyze the quantitative role of this Mycenaean derivative pottery in the Philistine culture or the degree of Aegean influence upon other aspects of Philistine culture. A second major weakness of this theory is that it does not explain statements in the literary records which imply an earlier presence of the Philistines in Palestine, including statements in the Egyptian records. Such statements are simply ignored, so that the analysis of the literary records is also based on only a selection of the evidence.

The goal of this dissertation is to re-study the question of Philistine origins on the basis of as broad a spectrum of evidence as possible. The first part of this study will re-examine the primary literary sources concerning the Philistines. The most important sources are Egyptian records, especially the Medinet Habu inscriptions of Ramses III, and the Old Testament. Some supplementary information is found in Akkadian texts from Ugarit, the Amarna letters, and annals of the Assyrian kings. This study will show that the extant literary sources suggest an explanation of Philistine origins which is more complex than the "Aegean theory" which is generally held today.

The second major part of this study will be an analysis of various aspects of the Philistine material culture. A key emphasis of this restudy will be a more quantitative approach than that which has characterized past studies. The so-called Philistine Ware, which is considered to be the prime indicator of the Philistines' Aegean origin, has already been thoroughly cataloged and analyzed by Trude Dothan and others. However, the quantitative role of Philistine Ware at the sites where it occurs has never been adequately analyzed. How much of the pottery at Philistine sites is Philistine Ware, and how much is pottery of traditional "Canaanite" styles? The percentage of Mycenaean derivative pottery at sites in Philistia is more important for analyzing the degree of Aegean influence on Philistine culture than the mere occurrence of such pottery at these sites. A major goal of this dissertation is to determine the percentage of Philistine Ware at the sites where it has been found. This should make it possible to assess the degree of Aegean influence in southwest Palestine more accurately.

Such quantitative information should help determine whether the Aegean influence in southwest Palestine is best explained as a result of trade, the arrival of small groups, or large-scale migration. The non-Aegean aspects of Philistine pottery must also be given due emphasis if we are to achieve a balanced assessment of the significance of this pottery as evidence for the origin of the Philistines. For this reason we will examine the relationship of Philistine pottery to the earlier pottery of Palestine and to the contemporary pottery of non-Philistine areas of Palestine.

After we have analyzed the Philistine pottery, we will examine the available evidence concerning Philistine burial customs, metal work, religion, architecture, and language to see if these aspects of the culture point to a single cultural tradition as the prime source of Philistine culture. Is there a particular combination of features which identifies a site as Philistine in contrast to a site which is Israelite or Canaanite?

Finally, on the basis of all of the literary and archeological evidence we will offer an explanation of the origins and culture of the Philistines. In such a theory due weight must be given to all of the available evidence, not just to a limited part of it. A single aspect of the culture, such as pottery, cannot be used as the sole determinant of origins simply because it is the most available evidence. When the evidence is ambiguous or even contradictory (as it often is), questions must be left open, rather than being prematurely closed by the adoption of theories which account for only part of the evidence and simply dismiss the rest. Too often such theories have been received almost as fact, rather than as hypotheses in need of further investigation. We must be frank in acknowledging areas in which more than one explanation of the evidence is possible, even when we have a definite preference for one of the possibilities. A researcher's duty is to be an impartial investigator who gathers and weighs all the evidence, rather than an advocate who seeks evidence to best prove his case. For this reason, in this study we will try to present all the evidence, even that which seems suspect or trivial at first. It is only possible to determine what is important after all the evidence has been gathered and compared objectively. The conflicting opinions that have arisen concerning the Philistines, even when scholars have had the same evidence available to them, serve as a warning of the hazards and difficulties involved in trying to determine ethnic origins from limited archeological evidence. It is hoped that this study will be valuable not only for the information which it gathers about the Philistines and their culture, but as an example of methodology which will be useful in other attempts to connect ethnic groups mentioned in literary records with the remnants of material culture recovered by

archeological excavations. With these goals in mind we now proceed to the first step of our study.

THE LITERARY SOURCES

This chapter will briefly summarize the various literary sources concerning the Philistines. No attempt will be made to provide a detailed history of the Philistines, since this has been done elsewhere. (1) This study will concentrate on those texts which have a bearing on Philistine origins and culture. First, this chapter will simply report as objectively as possible what each of the literary sources says about the Philistines. Since both the Egyptian and Old Testament sources have often been cited as saying things which they do not, in fact, say, it is important that we examine everything which the sources actually say, before we begin to form judgments and conclusions. Then after each source has been allowed to speak for itself, the historical significance of each source will be discussed and evaluated in the synthesis of the literary sources which concludes this chapter.

THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Philistines are well known from the Biblical accounts, which depict them as Israel's most dangerous enemy during the twelfth through tenth centuries B.C. However, the book of Genesis says that there were Philistines (פְּלִשְׁתִּים) in the area around Gerar already in the time of the patriarchs. These early "Philistines" have a king with the Semitic name or title Abimelech. Herding is the only activity of theirs which is mentioned. They are not described as a strong or large group. Although they are hostile to Isaac, they are intimidated by the patriarchal group, which was not especially large or powerful. (Genesis 21 & 26) In these texts there is little emphasis on their ethnic identity. In the Abraham account the only reference is to the land of the Philistines. (Genesis 21) It is only in the Isaac account that the people are called Philistines. These Philistines are not associated with the well-known Philistine pentapolis, but only with the area around Gerar and Beersheva.

The chronological data of the Old Testament place the patriarchs early in the Second Millennium B.C. at the latest, but those scholars who believe that these stories have a genuine historical setting have proposed a wide variety of dates for this period, ranging from MBI to the end of the Late Bronze Age. (2) A resolution of this dispute is not necessary here, since any of the suggested dates for the patriarchs would place the presence of Philistines in Palestine well before the earliest Egyptian reference to the Philistines which is from about 1190 B.C. Because of the lateness of the first Egyptian reference

recent historians have usually regarded the statements in Genesis as simple anachronisms, regardless of the date which they themselves assigned to the patriarchal period. The historical significance of these Genesis references will be evaluated in the synthesis of the literary sources.

By the time of the Exodus and Conquest the Philistines appear at first glance to be more formidable. Exodus 13:17 reports that Israel avoided the road through the land of the Philistines. However, this is basically a geographic reference and could refer to a desire to avoid Egyptian border garrisons along the coastal road, rather than to a great fear of the Philistines. The reference to the inhabitants of Philistia (פְּלִשְׁתִּים) in Exodus 15:14 is also geographical, rather than ethnic. The Philistines and their cities are not included in the Southern Coalition of Amorite kings which opposes Joshua. (Joshua 10), nor in the standard list of pre-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine (e.g. Joshua 3:10) The enemies of the tribe of Dan, who are preventing them from possessing their assigned territory in the northern Philistine Plain, are called Amorites, not Philistines. (Judges 1:34) The Philistines are not mentioned at all in the warfare section of Joshua, but Gaza, Ashdod, and Ashkelon, cities of their Pentapolis, are mentioned as places where the pre-Israelite Anakim survived. (Joshua 11:23) In the geographic section of Joshua the Philistines are mentioned in the description of "the land that remains." (Joshua 13:2,3) They are described as having five lords (סִרְיָיִם) who represent Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gaza, Gath, and Ekron, the five chief cities of Philistia. The Hebrew text of Judges 1:18 reports a temporary conquest of Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron by Israel, but the Septuagint says that Judah did not capture these cities. We see that the Philistines are not prominent in the texts pertaining to Israel's entry into the land. They are simply listed along with the other pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan who remained unconquered. The references to them are primarily geographic. They play no role in any of the battles. They are not regarded as any more of a threat to Israel than the other peoples of the plains who are resisting Israel's advance.

The chronological data of I Kings 6:1 and Judges 11:26 seem to place this first stage of the Israelite conquest into the 15th Century B.C. (3) There is a great deal of scholarly debate about the nature and time of Israel's entry into Canaan. (4) There is no consensus on the subject as a whole, but the majority of scholars place Israel's entry into the land in the 13th Century, about two centuries later than the date suggested by the chronological data of the Old Testament. (5) Resolution of this debate is not crucial to our problem here since either date for Israel's entry into Canaan, 15th Century or 13th Century, would raise the charge of anachronism against the references to Philistines in Palestine before the 12th Century, the alleged date of their entry into

Canaan according to the Egyptian texts. However, we cannot address this question of anachronism until after we have examined the Egyptian texts to see if they actually assert a 12th Century arrival of the Philistines as has so often been claimed. If the Egyptian texts also recognize a presence of the Sea Peoples before the time of Ramses III, the entire question of anachronism will be put in a new light.

The conflict between the Philistines and Israelites becomes more bitter as the period of the judges comes to a close. The book of Judges presents Shamgar ben Anat as the hero of an initial clash with the Philistines. The time and place of this clash is not specified, but it seems to take place early in the period of the judges. (Judges 3:31) (6) It has been suggested that Shamgar defeated the Philistines during their land migration down the coast of Palestine. Much has been written about Shamgar's non-Semitic name and about his title ben Anat, but both the incident itself and Shamgar's origin remain obscure. (7)

Late in the period of the judges and during the reign of Saul the Philistines are on the verge of dominating the whole land of Palestine. This threat is broken by David's victories over the Philistines. (Judges 14-16, I & II Samuel) The hostility between the Philistines and Israelites continues on a less intense level throughout the period of the 10th through 7th Centuries B.C. with one side or the other gaining temporary advantage, until both fall prey to Assyria and Babylon. In general, Israel had the upper hand throughout this period. Asa plunders the villages around Gerar. (II Chr. 14:14) Jehoshaphat receives tribute from the Philistines. (II Chr. 17:11) Uzziah destroys Gath, Yavneh, and Ashdod and places garrisons in Philistia. (II Chr. 26:6) Hezekiah defeats the Philistines, very likely as part of his anti-Assyrian policy, which is also mentioned in Assyrian records. (II Kg. 18:8) A "Hebrew" letter found near Yavneh Yam may provide extra-Biblical evidence for Israelite control of the Philistine plain for at least a short time during the reign of Josiah. This letter, which is a complaint against the unjust policies of a taxcollector, contains a Yahweh name, Hoshaiah son of Shobai. (8) The only Philistine successes which are reported during this whole time period are raids at the time of Jehoram (II Chr. 21:16-17) and encroachments on Israelite territory at the time of Ahaz. (II Chr. 28:18)

The various accounts of this long struggle provide little information concerning Philistine origins and culture. Throughout the years many scholars have pointed out the resemblance of certain Philistine names and customs in these accounts to parallels from the Aegean world, but these similarities are not very decisive and can be explained by causes other than migration from the Aegean. (9) These alleged Aegean parallels will be discussed and evaluated in the chapters on Philistine

language, religion, and burial practices.

We will now examine the Old Testament texts which may have a more direct bearing on the question of Philistine origins.

The most significant are the statements that the Philistines came from or at least through Caphtor (כַּפְתּוֹר). "The LORD is about to destroy the Philistines, the remnant of the coasts of Caphtor." (Jer. 47:4) "Did I not bring Israel up from Egypt, the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Arameans from Kir." (Amos 9:7) No Old Testament texts provide information about where Caphtor is or when this movement occurred. In the past Caphtor was sometimes identified with Coptos in Egypt or with Cyprus. The identification with Cyprus has recently been revived by J. Strange. (10) The Septuagint, a Greek translation of the Old Testament made in the Hellenistic period, equates Caphtor with Cappadocia, a region in eastern Asia Minor. Wainwright is a modern defender of this view. (11) Crete is the identification for Caphtor which is commonly accepted today. This interpretation is based on the assumption that the Biblical "Caphtor" is identical with the Egyptian "Keftiu" and the Akkadian "Kaptara." (12) Keftiu, the apparent Egyptian equivalent of Caphtor, occurs mainly in texts from the 15th and 14th Centuries B.C. It does not occur after the 11th Century, except as an archaic revival in Hellenistic times. (13) Keftiu seems to refer primarily, but not necessarily exclusively to Crete. The identification of Keftiu with Crete is based on Egyptian tomb paintings which label Minoan-looking envoys as Keftians and on a topographic list of Amenophis III which appears to place several Cretan locations in Keftiu. (14) Those who challenge the identification of Keftiu with Crete point out that the Keftians in Egyptian paintings include individuals dressed in Syrian, rather than Minoan styles. (15) The question is whether this mixed dress is simply an inaccuracy in the tomb paintings, or if it reflects a broad use of the term Keftiu. Texts from Ugarit and Mari are also quoted to support the identification of Kaptar and Crete, but but these references are very general so they are not decisive for identifying Caphtor. (16)

The identification of Caphtor with Crete seems to be supported by Biblical texts which link the "Kerethites" (כְּרֵתִים) with the Philistines. (Ezk. 25:16, Zeph.2:5) The Kerethites and Pelethites were foreign mercenaries in the forces of David. It is assumed that "Pelethites" (פְּלֵתִים) is a variant form of "Philistines" and that "Kerethites" indicates the origin of these people in Crete or Caphtor. Several Semitic etymologies have been suggested for the terms "Kerethites" and "Pelethites", but none of them is very persuasive, so it seems best to regard them as ethnic terms. (17) If David's Pelethite and Kerethite mercenaries were in fact Philistines, this would harmonize well with Egyptian texts which depict the Sea Peoples as mercenaries who sometimes

fought on both sides of a single battle.

The Septuagint regularly translates "Philistines" (פְּלִשְׁתִּים) as "foreigners" (ἄλλοφύλοι). The root פּלשׁ occurs in non-Biblical Hebrew as a verb meaning "penetrate" and as a noun meaning "invasion" (פְּלִשְׁתָּה plural-פְּלִשְׁתִּים). In the Amarna letters "palašu" appears to mean "break in." (EA 139:17, 140:19) Ethiopic also has a word for foreigner based on the root plt. (18) Etymological speculation based on the similarity of such Semitic roots and the word פְּלִשְׁתִּים may be the main basis for the Septuagint translation, but there could be non-extant, historical or exegetical tradition behind this translation. It is interesting that in the Pentateuch and Joshua the Septuagint does not translate "Philistine" as "foreigner", but merely transliterates. The translation "foreigners" begins with the book of Judges and is followed consistently thereafter. In fact, in some important manuscripts of the Septuagint the change takes place in the middle of Judges at chapter 10 or 14. (19) From this point on the Septuagint translates פְּלִשְׁתִּים (Philistines) as ἄλλοφύλοι (foreigners) even when it occurs in a list of other non-Israelite peoples as in Judges 10:6,11. Even the geographic term פְּלִשְׁתִּים, Philistia, is translated "foreigners" in Psalm 60:8, 87:4, and 109:8. The only exception is Isaiah 9:12 (Heb. v 11), where for reasons unknown פְּלִשְׁתִּים is translated Ἕλληνες (Greeks). Seeligmann suggests that this is simply an example of the historical updating of names which is common to the Septuagint version of Isaiah. (20)

It is striking that the attack of Sea Peoples against Ramses III took place between the time when Israel entered Canaan and the time of the later judges, the same point at which the Septuagint shifts from transliterating פְּלִשְׁתִּים as "Philistines" to translating it as ἄλλοφύλοι "foreigners." This may merely be a co-incidence due to different translators for the first six books of the Old Testament and the later books, but the correspondence is remarkable, especially if the change occurs in the middle of the book of Judges. (21) This shift in translation could represent a belief in a change of the character of the Philistines between the time of Israel's entry into the land and the last judges.

Much later Rabbinic writings also assert that the Philistines in the patriarchal accounts were not the same as those of the time of David. (Midrash Psalm 60,1) Since the rabbis' motive for reporting this information was to excuse David for attacking the Philistines in spite of the patriarchs' covenant with them, this statement may merely be a rationalization which is not based on any historical tradition, but it is possible that it reflects traditions about Philistine origins which had been preserved in Israel.

There may not be a genuine etymological connection between the word "Philistines" and any Semitic root, but

it seems likely that there was exegetical or historical tradition concerning the foreign origin of the Philistines which led the Septuagint translators to notice the similarity between the word "Philistine" and a Hebrew root then in use which could mean "foreigner". This co-incidence was a factor in their decision to translate פְּלִשְׁתִּים "Philistine" with a Greek word for "foreigner."

A variant on the tradition of Philistine origin from Caphtor is Deuteronomy 2:23. Here Caphtorites come and drive out the Avvites (אֲוִיִּים) who live in the villages near Gaza. These Caphtorites are not called Philistines in the text, but this territory was definitely Philistine by the time of the judges. The writer of Deuteronomy seems to place this invasion well before the time of Ramses III. The text seems to classify the displaced Avvites as a portion of the earliest known inhabitants of Palestine, who are either identical to or closely related to the peoples called Raphaites, Zamzummites, Emites, or Anakites by the different peoples who displaced them. Joshua 13:3 and Joshua 11:23 seem to indicate that some of the Avvites continued to live among the Philistines, along with another people called the Geshurites. (22) I Samuel 27:8 classifies the Geshurites as long-time inhabitants of southern Philistia who continued to live along side the Philistines. In the days of Hezekiah the Simeonites attack Hamites remaining in their territory. (I Chronicles 4:41) It is not clear if this is intended to be a reference to Philistines or to other peoples in the area such as the Geshurites. From all of these references it is clear that the Israelites perceived a certain amount of intermingling between earlier and later strata of the population of Philistia. Even Goliath and several other Philistine heroes are distinguished from ethnic "Philistines" in the strict sense and classified as remnants of the previous Rephaite inhabitants, who had become amalgamated to the Philistines of Gath. (I Chr. 20:4-8)

An obscure passage which may also reflect this distinction between true Philistines and other inhabitants of the Philistine plain is I Chronicles 7:21 in which the men who kill two sons of Ephraim are referred to as "native-born men of Gath" (גִּתִּים), perhaps to distinguish them from Philistines in the strict sense of the word. It has been suggested that this text reflects the same struggle between Israelites and inhabitants of Philistia as that reflected in Genesis 26. (23)

Genesis 10 adds important information about Israel's understanding of the origin of the Philistines. Verses 13 and 14 state that the Philistines came out from the Casluhites (כַּסְלֻחִים), a people which the text associates with the Caphtorites and Egyptian and Libyan peoples. These Casluhites are not known from any other sources. Even the historian Josephus, who tries to identify all of the peoples listed in Genesis 10, offers no conjecture on the Casluhites, other than to say that they no longer

exist in his day. (24) In many commentaries the Casluhites are identified as inhabitants of the area east of the Delta around Mt. Casios or with Colchis on the Black Sea. (25) Cyrenica in North Africa and Scylace on the Propontis (See figure 10) are other suggestions for their homeland. (26) Since there is no solid evidence for any of these proposed identifications, the problem of identifying the Casluhites remains unsolved. Most modern translations and commentaries emend the word order of the text, so that the Philistines are said to come out from the Caphtorites. This is done to harmonize Genesis 10 with the texts which say that the Philistines came from Caphtor. But there is no manuscript evidence to support this emendation, and the parallel passage in I Chronicles 1:12 agrees with Genesis 10 in deriving the Philistines from the Casluhites. Scholars should not be too quick to remove difficulties from the text by emendation. But in the final analysis it does not make much difference whether the text derives the Philistines from the Casluhites or Caphtorites. Regardless of which reading is chosen Genesis 10 classifies the Philistines as a Hamitic people, closely related to the Canaanite peoples listed in verse 15, but distinct from them. This is surprising since we would expect them to be classified with Indo-European peoples. To evaluate possible explanations for this classification we must examine the rest of this table of nations.

Genesis 10:4 contains a term which could be loosely translated "sea people" or "maritime peoples" (אֵי תַגְרִים). (27) This term is applied to peoples whom modern scholars associate with the coasts and islands of Anatolia and the Aegean, including Yavan (Ionian Greece), Elishah (associated with Alashiyah=Cyprus by modern scholars, with the Aeolian Greeks by Josephus), Kittim (Cyprus), Tarshish (associated with Cilicia by Josephus, with Sardinia by Albright), and Rhodanim (Rhodes). The Tiras, another people listed with Yavan, may be the same as the Teresh, a Seapeople mentioned by Merneptah. These Teresh have sometimes been identified with the Etruscans. (28) The text plainly intends to differentiate these northern maritime peoples from the Philistines and Caphtorites. What is the basis for this differentiation? The text lists four criteria of classification for each major grouping in the table. The groups are classified according to their languages (לְלִשָּׁנָם), according to their descent or families (לְמִשְׁפַּחָם), in their lands (בְּאַרְצֵם), and by their nations (בְּגוֹיֵיהֶם). There is not always a sharp differentiation of these terms, but here they are to be understood respectively as linguistic, racial or ethnic, geographical, and political criteria for classification. These criteria are not listed in the same order for each grouping of peoples. The northern Japheth group lists "lands" first, suggesting that the emphasis in this group may be geographical. On the other hand, the Hamitic and Semitic groups begin with "families" suggesting that tribe or descent may be more important here. Each of the three groups ends with "nations"

suggesting that political affiliations are important in all the groupings. Many commentators believe that the Philistines, Caphtorites, and Casluhites are placed in the Hamitic group simply because they lived in Palestine and had political ties with Egypt. Some have interpreted this as evidence that the material in this table is late, originating after the Philistines had been thoroughly assimilated. (29) Although this political interpretation is a reasonable conjecture, we should note that it is based on assumption, not on a careful examination of the evidence. For example, Speiser concludes, "The author (J) was surely aware that no ethnic or linguistic bonds linked the the Egyptians and Philistines; the main connection then had to be geographic, with Crete drawn in as the Philistines' previous home." (30) Speiser is here assuming what needs to be proven. What is the evidence that the Philistines had no linguistic or ethnic ties with the other peoples of this group? If the Philistines used a "Canaanite" language, and if the population included a substantial "Canaanite" element as later sections of this dissertation will suggest, language or other factors which are not now clear to us may be involved in the classification of the Philistines with the Egyptian/Canaanite group. (31) While there is undoubtedly an element of truth in the geopolitical interpretation of Genesis 10, it is an oversimplification to assume that this is the whole explanation. The Philistines may well have been classified with the Egyptian/Canaanite group for reasons other than political affiliation only. Some of the other factors which may be involved will be developed in later sections of this study.

Because Genesis 10 is a very controversial text, we will digress briefly to consider the history of the interpretation of this text. The two main issues are the date of the underlying material in the text and whether the text should be dealt with as a unit or analyzed into various sources. Suggested dates for the setting of the text range from 2000 B.C. to 500 B.C. (32) There is also a sharp difference of opinion about the feasibility and usefulness of analyzing the text into sources. (33) Here we will limit ourselves to a few observations on the setting and unity of the text and confine the detailed documentation of this debate to the notes. (34) Many commentators stress the division of the table into sources on the basis of distinctions between the simple lists which begin with בְּנֵי (sons of) and the more elaborate sections beginning with יָלַד (begot). The mixture of personal names, place names, plural ethnic names, and names with the gentilic ending ך is another basis for division. However, regardless of whatever sources may have been used, the table as it now exists is a carefully arranged literary unit. This is most apparent in the fact that there are 70 "descendants" or "nations" listed in the table. This same arrangement of 70 selected names appears in the divisions of Israel in Genesis 46. The number 70 is not specifically cited in Genesis 10 as it is in

Genesis 46, but the parallel suggests that the 70 names in Genesis 10 are not simply co-incidence, but a result of careful literary arrangement. The writer of this dissertation agrees with those scholars who hold that the difficulties are not removed by assigning various parts of the text to different sources and that the text should be analyzed as a unit. (35) This study also shares the view that this text reflects the situation in the second millennium at the time of the Israelite settlement in Canaan, and that it is not simply a literary creation from the end of the Israelite monarchy or later. (36) If we accept a geopolitical interpretation of the table, the connection between Canaan, the Caphtorim, the Casluhim and Egypt suggests a time when Canaan was or had recently been an Egyptian province. The use of second millennium terms like Caphtor, which occurs mainly in 15th and 14th century Egyptian texts, and the absence of Tyre from the Phoenician cities are among other indications of a second millennium setting. (37) Even the note associating the Philistines with the Casluhites probably indicates that "Casluhim" was an archaic term whose meaning was already being lost when the explanatory phrase was added. (38) The same archaism would be involved even if the emendation attaching the note to the Caphtorites is accepted. In short, the table of nations, which reflects a second millennium setting, associates the Philistine with its Hamitic group of peoples regardless of whether the Philistine note is joined to the Casluhites or Caphtorites.

The Old Testament does not mention seafaring and shipping as a conspicuous characteristic of the Philistines, even though this trait is very conspicuous in its descriptions of other maritime peoples such as the Phoenicians. (Ezk. 26,27) The Mediterranean is once called "the Sea of the Philistines" (Ex. 23:31), and the Kerethites are described as "those who dwell by the sea" (Zeph. 2:5, Ezk. 25:15-16), but there are no other associations of the Philistines and the sea. This omission seems strange if seafaring was one of the Philistines' main traits.

The Biblical writers do not distinguish the Philistines sharply from other inhabitants of Canaan on the basis of material culture, language, or religion. Their territory is classified as part of the territory of the Canaanites, perhaps because it was coastal. (Joshua 13:3) Zephaniah 2:5 even calls Canaan "the land of the Philistines." However, this may be a geographic reference, which anticipates the later usage of the term Palestine, rather than an ethnic reference. (39)

The most conspicuous characteristic of the Philistines in the minds of the Israelites was their lack of circumcision. This is emphasized repeatedly in the accounts concerning Samson, Saul, and David. The degree to which this difference served as a symbol of the antipathy between Israelites and Philistines is emphasized

by I Samuel 18 in which Saul requires David to collect 100 foreskins of the Philistines as the price for marrying his daughter. (40) This lack of circumcision set the Philistines apart from other heathen neighbors of Israel such as the Egyptians, Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites and some Arab tribes, who shared the practice of circumcision with Israel. (Jer.9:25) The practices of the Canaanites are uncertain. Genesis 34:14 states that at least some other elements of the population of Canaan besides the Philistines were uncircumcized, but there is no other group which is so strongly singled out on this basis as the Philistines were. On the other hand, there is pictorial and statuary evidence for the practice of circumcision among elements of the population of Palestine and Syria. (41) At any rate it is clear that lack of circumcision was the most striking characteristic or behavior of the Philistines as far as the Israelites were concerned.

Summary of Old Testament Texts

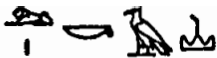
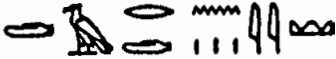
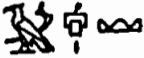
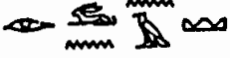

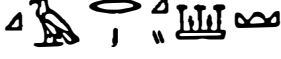
The Israelites classified the Philistines as immigrants to Canaan, who were in some way related to other Canaanite peoples, yet distinct from them. This may reflect their perception of a partial cultural amalgamation. They believed that at least a major element of the Philistine people came from Caphtor, a place not further identified in the Old Testament. The time of this arrival from Caphtor is not specified. They believed that at least the earliest Philistines were more closely related to the Egyptians and other Libyan peoples than to Indo-European peoples of Anatolia or the Aegean. (42) They believed that people whom they could call Philistines were in Canaan much earlier than the 12th century B.C. There are also numerous indications in the texts that the Israelites recognized the composite character of the people inhabiting the Philistine territory.

The Biblical writers were aware of amalgamation of peoples and adoption of a new language as part of the process by which nations are created. The Arabian tribes of Sheba, Dedan, and Havilah were recognized as composed of both Hamitic and Semitic elements (I Chr. 1:9,20,32). The amalgamation of different elements into the Edomite nation was recognized as well. (Gen. 36 compared with Dt. 2:22). Similar mingling of different peoples was recognized in the groups whom the Israelites called Midianites and Amalekites. The most significant example is their recognition of such factors in their own history. The Israelites recognized their language as a Canaanite dialect and realized that different ethnic elements had a role in the development of their nation. (Is. 19:18, Dt. 26:5, Ezk. 16:3). The Israelites' understanding of the origin of the Philistines and other neighbors appears to have been more sophisticated than many interpreters have recognized.


The Old Testament texts which report an early presence of "Philistines" in Canaan and the texts which link the Philistines with indigenous peoples of Palestine are usually regarded as historical errors or anachronisms due to the lateness of these texts. However, there are two other reasonable explanations which would account for all the Biblical usage of the term "Philistine." The name of an early substratum of the population of southwestern Palestine may have been applied to the later amalgamation which was composed of indigenous inhabitants and later arrivals. This would be similar to our modern use of the term "British", which originated as a name of the pre-Roman indigenous population of the island, but now applies to a people augmented by Angles, Saxons, Danes, Normans, and others. The second possibility is that a name which originated later may be applied proleptically to earlier inhabitants, as we do in our application of the term "American" to the pre-Columbian inhabitants of America. Either explanation is a reasonable possibility. We will discuss the significance of the term "Philistine" further and try to decide between possible explanations of its origin after we have studied other texts which provide additional information for comparison with the Old Testament texts.

Figure 1 "SEA PEOPLES" FROM EGYPTIAN TEXTS






PEOPLES OPPOSING RAMSES II AT QADESH

	Rkw Luka
	Drdnw Dardana
	M3sw
	M3wmw or irwnw
	Pds
	Krks



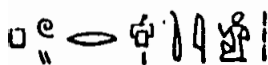

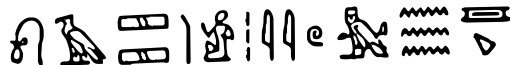
ALLY OF RAMSES II AT QADESH

	S3rd3n3 Shardana
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OPPONENTS OF MERNEPTAH

	3kw3sw Achwesh
	Trsw Teresh
	Rkw Luka
	Srdnw Shardana
	Skrsw Shekelesh

ENEMIES OF RAMSES III

	Srdnw Shardana
	Dnynw Danuna
	Prstw Peleset
	T3krw Tjeker
	W3ssw of the Sea

EGYPTIAN SOURCES

Egyptian records are the second major source of information about the Philistines and the so-called Sea Peoples who have been associated with them. The most important texts are those which Ramses III recorded on the walls of the Temple at Medinet Habu and in the Papyrus Harris early in the 12th Century B.C.

However some of the Sea Peoples or Northerners are already mentioned in the Amarna letters which date from the beginning of the 14th century B.C. and in the records of Ramses II from about 1280 B.C. These include the Luka, the Sherden, and the Danuna. At the battle of Qadesh (about 1286 B.C.) the Sherden fought for Ramses II, and the Luka were part of the Hittite forces. (43) Some of the troops who accompanied Ramses II to Qadesh were pictured wearing the horned helmets which seem to be associated with Sherden. (44)

In about 1220 B.C. the Luka, Sherden, Ekwesh, Turesh, and Shekelesh appear in the Karnak Inscription and Athribis Stele of Merneptah as allies of the Libyans who were attacking Egypt from the west. The names of these and other Sea Peoples are listed in Figure 1. (45) Because of the similarity of the names these peoples are often linked with Lycia, Sardina, Ahhiyawa, Etruria, and Sicily. Sicily, Sardinia, and Etruria have been suggested as the final place of settlement of these peoples, rather than their places of origin. It has generally been suggested that these people were coming to Egypt from the Aegean or Western Anatolia at this time, and that they later moved on to the Western Mediterranean. There is little in the text to identify any of these people further, except that the title of the inscription calls them "Northerners (mh-tjw) coming from all lands," and the Ekwesh are said to come from "the countries of the sea". (46)

After the battle the Egyptians are pictured collecting phalluses from the uncircumcised Libyans for the body count. Since the Ekwesh and the other non-Libyans are circumcised, their hands are being collected. Merneptah's army returns "laden with the phalluses with the foreskins of the country of Libya, together with the hands of every country that was with them." (47) This incident provides a parallel to I Samuel 18 where Saul requires David to collect 100 foreskins of the Philistines as proof of the number whom he has killed. It is interesting to recall that Genesis 10 associates at least some of the Libyans with the Philistines. Perhaps lack of circumcision was one factor in this classification.

The inscriptions of Ramses III are the most important for our study. The first mention of the Peleset or Palasti (pw-r? -s? -ty), who are identified with the

Philistines, occurs in these texts. Different chronologies date the first year of Ramses' reign from a high of about 1198 B.C. to a low of about 1162 B.C. (48)

In the 5th year of his reign (about 1193 B.C.) Ramses battles a coalition of Libyans, attacking from the west. Near the end of the account of this campaign he says, "The northern countries quivered in their bodies, namely the Peleset, Tjekker (or Thekkel $\overline{\text{t3-k-k3-r}}$). They were cut off from their land." (49) Breasted understands this as a reference to Philistine and Tjekker participation in the Western War of Ramses' 5th year, but this phrase appears to be anticipatory of events of the great Northern War of year 8 of Ramses' reign. The inscription describing year 5 was very likely completed after both wars were over, and its summarizing statements include some events from the later campaign as well.

The reliefs of the Libyan War depict Ramses' adversaries in this battle as the Rebu-Temeh type of Libyan with blond hair and side locks, blue eyes, and long open cloak and kilt, with perhaps a sprinkling of the Meshwesh type of western Libyans, who participate more prominently in Ramses' second Libyan War. (50) In this section of the reliefs the soldiers wearing the feathered or the horned helmets which are associated with the Sea Peoples all appear to be part of the Egyptian forces. (Medinet Habu Plates 17, 19, 24) His phallus sheath indicates that the one Libyan who appears to be wearing a feathered crown is actually an upside down Meshwesh, and the apparent feathered crown is his hair. (M.H. Pl. 19) Both phalluses and hands are collected for the body counts during both Libyan wars of Ramses III. (M.H. Pl. 22, 23, 75) The body count practices pictured on Plates 22 and 23 are very strange. Plate 22 shows the collection of uncircumcised phalluses with no scrotums, and Plate 23 shows circumcised phalluses with scrotums. (51) Unless the artist is just exercising his creativity, presence or absence of circumcision appears to be a significant factor in Egyptian war trophy and body count practices.

The crucial campaign for our study is the campaign of year 8, which is often called the Northern War. (52) Ramses is confronted by a "confederation of Peleset, Tjekker, Shekelesh, Danuna, and Weshwesh, lands united. They laid their hands on the lands to the very circuit of the earth... They made a conspiracy in their isles... No land could stand before their arms, from Hatti, Kode, Carchemish, Yereth, and Yeres on. A camp was set up one place in Amor." (53) Ramses marches to Zahi (Djahy) and defeats them in a land battle for which we have practically no written description. Amor and Zahi are both regions in Syria-Palestine. Some Egyptian texts locate Amor and Zahi in northern Palestine and southern Lebanon, south of Qadesh. However, these are also general terms which can include southern regions of Palestine, especially if Amor is used in a less political sense than in some of the Amarna letters. For example, the envoy of Ashkelon is included in a list of representatives of Zahi. (54)

After the land battle Ramses defeats "the Northerners who were in their isles" in a sea battle which takes place "in the channels of the Nile mouths." (55) The Egyptian term "rš -hš wt", here translated "Nile mouths" could refer to some river mouth or harbor outside of Egypt. (56)

In the description of Ramses' victory celebration those conquered in the sea battle are called "countries who came from their land in the isles in the midst of the sea." (57) The Great Papyrus Harris describes the slaughter of "Danuna in their isles, Tjekker and Peleset who were made ashes, and Sherden and Weshwesh of the Sea." (58) In the 9th or 8th century the Danuna were settled in Eastern Cilicia according to the Azitawadda Inscription. However, they have also been associated with Cyprus on the basis of the similarity of Iadnana, a name of Cyprus, with the words "isles of the Danuna." (59) This etymology, however, seems strained. No homeland of the Shekelesh or Weshwesh has been located in the Eastern Mediterranean, but a recently published letter from Ugarit refers to a land of the Shekelesh which appears to be near Ugarit. (60)

It is important to note that the Peleset are not specifically associated with the "isles" or "sea" as the Danuna, Shekelesh, Sherden, and Weshwesh are. Although terms like "Northerners" or "countries from the isles of the midst of the sea" are used as general cover terms for the attackers, they are not specifically applied to the Peleset and Tjekker. On the contrary, there are some hints which distinguish the Peleset and Tjekker from the other attackers. "The Peleset are in suspense, hidden in their towns." (61) Ramses claims to have taken away their land and added it to his own frontiers. (62) In the Great Papyrus Harris Ramses reports that the Tjekker and Peleset were made ashes. (63)

Breastad translated a key passage from Year 5, "The northern countries quivered in their bodies, namely the Peleset, Tjekker. They were cut off from their land." (64) However, this could also be translated, "The northern countries quivered in their bodies. The Peleset and Tjekker were cut off from their land." This second translation would harmonize with the Great Papyrus Harris and the other passages quoted above which describe the destruction and annexation of the land of the Peleset and Tjekker. This interpretation is further supported by a later passage of the Medinet Habu inscriptions in which Ramses claims that he "overthrew the Tjekker, the land (tš) of Peleset, the Denyen, the Weshwesh, and the Shekelesh." (65) It is striking that the term tš (land or flatland) occurs only with Peleset in this list.

The texts also include several references to subduing Asiatics (Stš -ty & šmw) and to the plain and hills country, a general term which can apply to any of Egypt's neighbors such as Nubia, Libya, and Palestine. (66) It is possible that these are merely stereotyped phrases, but

we have just examined other phrases which imply that not all of Ramses' adversaries in this campaign were from far away. The texts include some terms that can best be understood of enemies arriving from a distance and others which are more appropriate of near-by adversaries. Most of the phrases which imply a nearby homeland are applied to either the Philistines or Tjekker, the two peoples whose settlement in Palestine is confirmed by other literary evidence.

An Egyptian term which can be used for Greeks ("Haunebut") occurs several times in Ramses III's account of the Northern War. This is of interest since some writers have tried to connect the Sea Peoples with the Greeks. (67) "Haunebut" is usually rendered "the Mediterranean islanders", but it is translated by the Greek word Ἑλληνικός, "Greek," or with the Coptic word "Iones" (Ionians) in Ptolemaic bilingual texts. This term appears already in the texts of Ramses II. Muhley and Wainwright seem to connect it to the Mycenaean Greeks even this early. (68) However, in early texts the term can refer to regions much closer to Egypt, even the coasts of the Nile. (69) In the Medinet Habu texts the Haunebut (hꜣw-nbwt) are mentioned along with the Peztishut in a section of the inscription praising Ramses as the king of the whole world. (70) All references to the Haunebut in the texts of Ramses III are vague references to a far-off people at the end of the world. The Haunebut do not play any specific role in the Medinet Habu battles.

Since many opinions about the Sea Peoples have been based on the relief carvings which accompany the Medinet Habu inscriptions, these reliefs deserve careful consideration.

After the battle Ramses is presented with three rows of prisoners, identically dressed in "feathered crown" headdresses and kilts. (Fig. 2) The three rows are labeled respectively as leaders of every country, Danuna, and Peleset. Their kilts are similar to kilts worn by envoys from the Aegean, Crete, or Syria in Egyptian reliefs, but this same style of kilt also appears on several types of Palestinians within these same reliefs. (71)

The Sea Peoples are depicted with two types of headgear, the "Philistine feathered crown" and the horned helmet which appears on Sherden. (Fig. 3, 5, 6) Both types of headgear appear on Egyptian allies before the Northern War. Medinet Habu Plates 9, 17, 19, and 24 all show soldiers with the feathered crown in Ramses' army during his earlier campaigns against Nubians and Libyans. The horned helmet appears on some of Ramses III's soldiers even when he is on his way to battle the Sea People. (M.H. Pl. 31) Soldiers with the feathered crown and the horned helmet continue to appear in Ramses' army in later

battles. We will discuss the significance of this feathered headgear in the section on anthropoid coffins, after we have examined other representations of this headgear.

In the land battle the enemies of Egypt are wearing feathered crowns and kilts and are armed with two spears or short swords. (M.H. Pl. 32-34 and fig. 5) Some of them fight from chariots. They are accompanied by several ox-drawn carts carrying women and children, just as the Libyans were accompanied by families and livestock in the Libyan War of Merneptah. (72) Their humped-back oxen have been cited as evidence of immigration from Anatolia, but this type is pictured in Egyptian reliefs from well before the time of Ramses III. (73). The appearance of the women and children is identical to that of Syro-Palestinian women and children in many Egyptian reliefs. (74)

In the sea battle both the feathered crown and the horned helmet appear on the enemies of Egypt. (M.H. Pl. 37-39, fig. 6) Tjekker, Peleset, Danuna, and Shekelesh prisoners are all pictured with the feathered crown. (M.H. Pl. 43-44) The enemy ships have a bird figure-head. The Egyptian archers seem to be a significant factor in the Egyptian victory.

In the body counts of this campaign only hand collecting is pictured, but there is no formal tally of hands and phalluses in this inscription as there is in some of the other campaigns, so it is unclear how significant this is. There is a scene of feathered prisoners being counted and branded. (M.H. Pl. 42)

The Peleset chief pictured in the summary of Ramses' reign is especially interesting. (M.H. Pl. 118C, fig. 4) The name identifying the picture is damaged, but Peleset seems to be the only possible reading. Unlike the Philistines in the battle scenes, he is bearded and wears a flat hat, not the feathered crown. His face, beard, and headgear are very much like the South Palestinians who appear in the earlier pictures of the campaigns of Sethos I and Ramses II. (Fig. 7) (75)

One other Egyptian text which sheds some light on the Sea Peoples in Palestine is the story of Wen Amon. (76) This text is generally dated to about 1100 B.C. The story is about the problems encountered by an Egyptian named Wen Amon on a trade mission to Byblos. In the text the Tjekker are controlling Dor under a ruler named Beder. Beder receives Wen Amon with some deference and hospitality as a representative of Egypt, but he refuses to reimburse Wen Amon when a member of Wen Amon's own party steals some of his money. Wen Amon apparently seized some Tjekker property in retaliation. Later a fleet of eleven Tjekker ships tries to take Wen Amon into custody, apparently as a result of this offence. The main significance of this text is that it gives specific

information about another Sea People besides Philistines settled in Palestine. It also reports their participation in maritime activity, something which the Bible does not do in the case of the Philistines. The text does not specify the time of Tjekker settlement in Palestine. Since the Tjekker and Philistines are the two peoples who are "made ashes" by Ramses III, is it possible that they were already holding cities in Palestine before Ramses III's campaign?

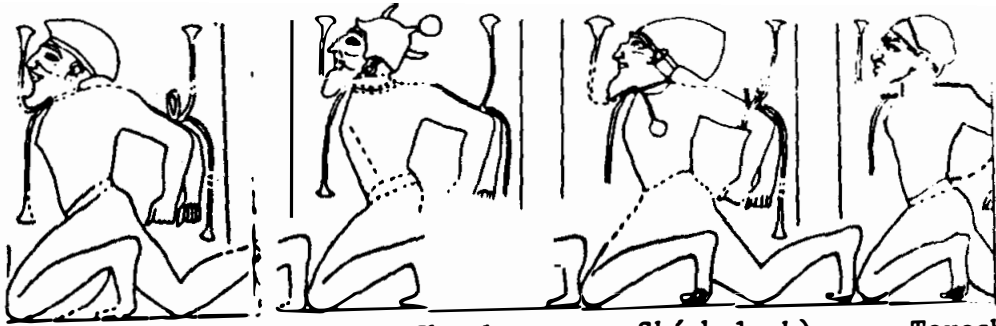
The text also speaks of commercial ties between Sidon and a person named Warkatara or Werket-el, whose name may be non-Semitic. It has been suggested that this implies commercial ties between one of the Philistine cities and Sidon, but this is reading something into the text which is not explicit there. (77) It is, in fact, unclear how the personal names of the three kings mentioned in the text (wrt/wlt, mkmr/mkml, and wrktr/wrktr) should be read and whether the names are Semitic or non-Semitic. (78) The names of these kings are not specifically linked with Philistine sites by the text.

Near the end of the "Onomasticon of Amenope" the cities of Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Gaza are mentioned as a series followed shortly thereafter by the Sherden, Tjekker, and Philistines. (79) M. Dothan has suggested that perhaps the Sherden should be associated with Akko, since the Philistines are associated with the southern cities like Ashdod, the Tjekker with Dor in the middle, and this leaves Akko in the north to the Sherden. (80) However, it is not clear from the text that these three must be in a north to south progression.

Philistines



Fig. 2 Philistine Prisoners at Medinet Habu



Tjekker

Shardana

Sh(ekelesh)

Teresh

Fig. 3 Other prisoners



Philistine
Chief

Fig. 4

CAPTIVES
PICTURED
AT
MEDINET
HABU



Fig. 5 Land Battle Between Ramses III and the Sea People
(Medinet Habu, Pl. 32)

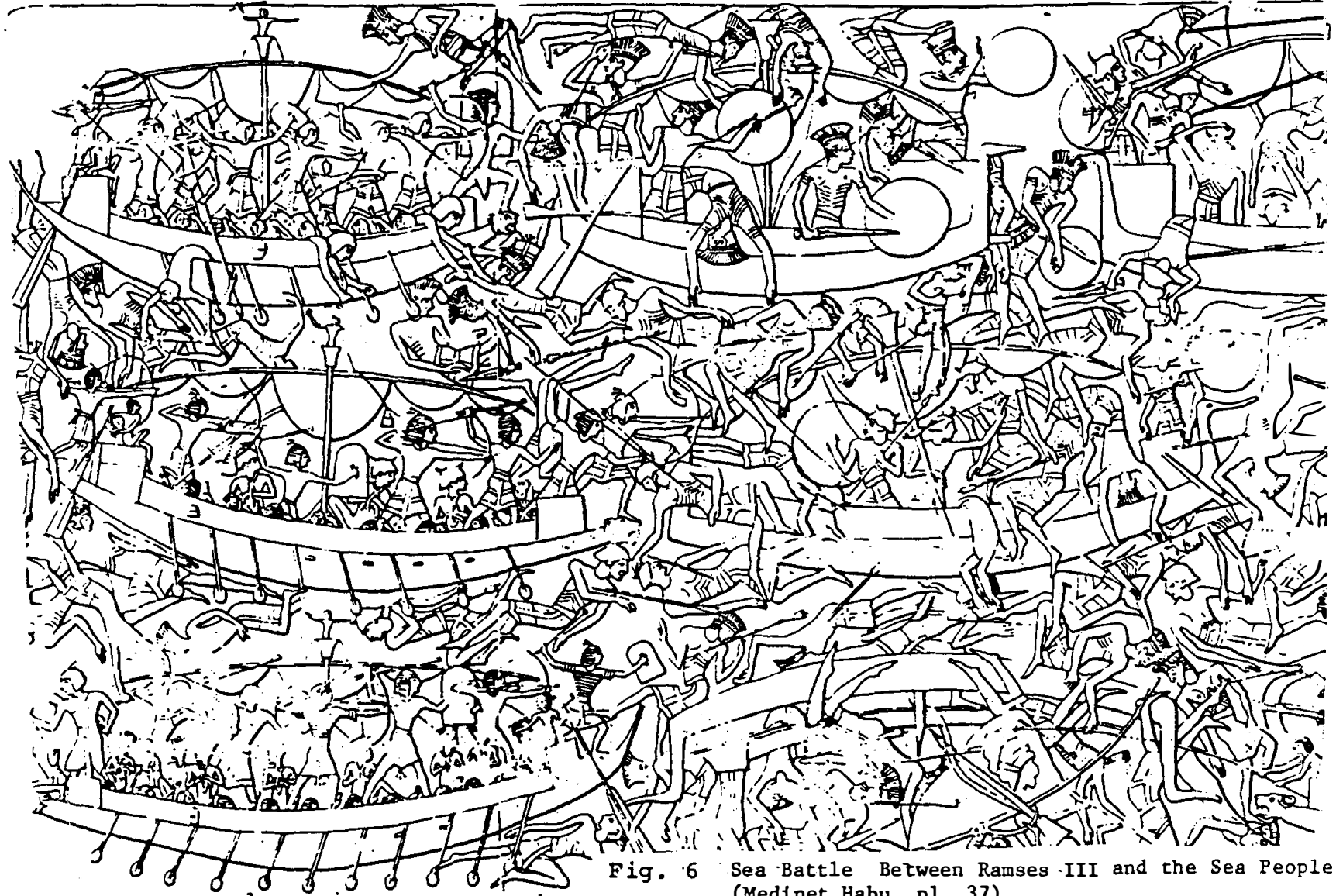
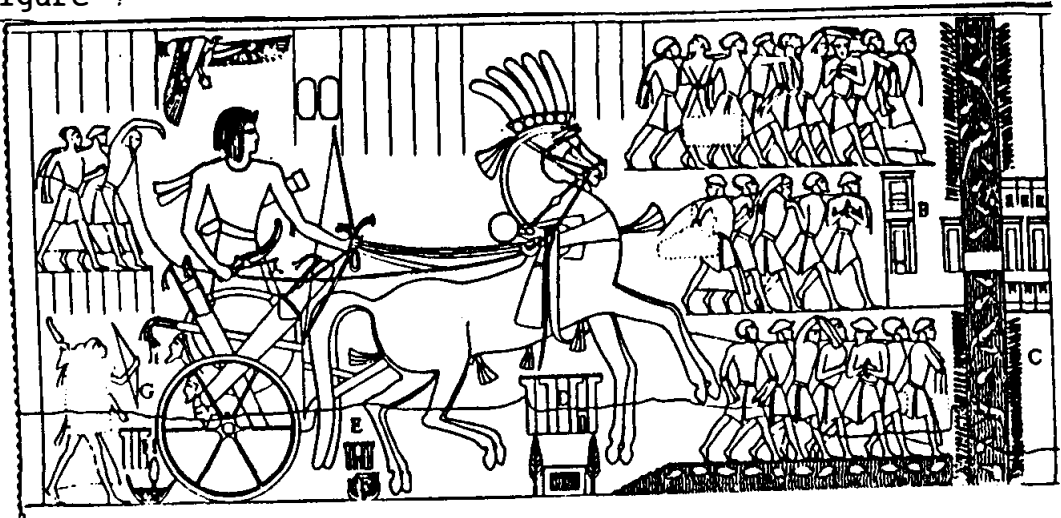


Fig. 6 Sea Battle Between Ramses III and the Sea People (Medinet Habu, pl. 37)

Figure 7



7a Seti II and Prisoners from Canaan



Fig. 7b
Ramses II
Attacking
Ashkelon
←

Fig. 7c
Amorite



Summary Of Egyptian Sources

We have examined the most significant evidence from Egypt. What are we to make of it? First, the Peleset are not outstanding or important as a distinct ethnic group in Egyptian sources. Besides the records of Ramses III and the Onomasticon of Amenope the Philistines are mentioned only once in Egyptian sources, on a statue which probably dates to the 22nd Dynasty. This reference is more geographic than ethnic. (81) The fact that the Philistines are not mentioned in Egyptian sources before the time of Ramses III is the chief reason for the assertion that the Old Testament references to earlier Philistine presence must be anachronisms, but it is doubtful if this omission is very significant since the Philistines are mentioned only once or twice after the time of Ramses III, even though we know that they were well established in Palestine then. The almost total absence of the Philistines from Egyptian records becomes less remarkable when we remember that Israel is mentioned only once in Egyptian records even though they were next-door neighbors for centuries. The Egyptians probably referred to the Philistines by one of the general names for Asiatics which they used to refer to various inhabitants of Canaan.

Since the descriptions of the opponents of Ramses III refer both to the islands of the enemy and to their towns in Palestine, scholars should be more cautious about the claim that the so-called Sea Peoples are now arriving in Palestine for the first time. Furthermore, there is a certain amount of ambiguity in the Egyptian terms for islands and seacoasts, so the exact geographic significance of these references is less certain than is often assumed.

If dress is a reliable indication of ethnic identity in Egyptian reliefs, some of the same horned-helmeted peoples who were Ramses III's enemies in the Northern War were serving in the Egyptian army of Ramses II over 100 years before this war. We have seen that there is also written evidence for the participation of the Sherden in Ramses II's army. In fact, the Sherden appear to have been serving in Egyptian forces as early as the time of Amenophis III near the end of the 18th Dynasty. (82) The Sherden who were living in Egypt under Ramses V all had Egyptian names, although the process of adopting such names admittedly could have occurred quite rapidly. (83) The feathered "Philistine" headdress appeared in Ramses III's army both before and after the Northern War. All told the Egyptian records provide considerable evidence for early presence of the "Sea Peoples" in Egypt and perhaps Palestine.

How literally are we to take Ramses III's claims of distant enemies and great campaigns? How much do we have to subtract for exaggeration and bombast? Were these

attackers really part of a major migration of peoples? If so, were they all from a great distance? Can we attribute the fall of the Hittite Empire and widespread destruction in Cyprus and Syria to them? Or are many phrases in Ramses' account simply stereotyped formulas? (84)

Akkadian texts, especially those from Ugarit, are alleged to shed some light on these questions, so we now turn to them.

AKKADIAN SOURCES

From Ugarit

It is generally believed that the Sea Peoples were responsible for the destruction of the Hittite Empire and Ugarit. (85) This idea is based primarily on Ramses III's statement that the Sea Peoples had destroyed the Hittite kingdom and extensive areas in Syria before he defeated them. This belief is bolstered by a number of Akkadian letters from Ugarit which refer to the activities of the fleet and forces of unnamed enemies in the area around Ugarit. (86)

The king of Ugarit writes to the king of Alashiya (Cyprus) complaining about damage which his territory is suffering from the fleet of the enemy. He cannot defend his territory although the attacking fleet consists of only seven vessels, because his army is in the Hittite land and his fleet in Lukka territory. He asks the king of Alashiya to warn him if more enemy ships are detected coming in his direction. (87)

Eshuwara, the minister of Alashiya, warns of twenty enemy ships which had been in the mountain regions. This may be a reference to the coasts of Asia Minor. He has now lost track of the ships, so Ugarit should be on the alert for attacks from them. In the first part of the letter there is a vague statement which may refer to desertion to the enemy by some of the Ugaritic forces. (88)

Hammurapi of Ugarit receives a letter from either the Hittite king or more likely from Alashiya. More enemy ships have been spotted in the middle of the sea. The king of Ugarit is advised to hold out in his fortified positions since he does not have adequate forces at hand to confront the enemy fleet in open battle. (89)

Paršu, an official of Amurru, south of Ugarit, requests information about the enemy from the king of Ugarit, since Amurru is allied with Ugarit against this common foe. (90)

The so-called "Letter of the General" is especially interesting and controversial. Shumiyannu, who is apparently a field commander of Ugarit, writes to the king that he is maintaining a blockade between the sea and the Lebanon range in spite of difficult weather conditions and lack of adequate supplies and re-enforcements. On the basis of information obtained from a prisoner of war he expects the imminent arrival of the king of Egypt. He therefore needs immediate re-enforcements if he is to maintain his position. (91)

This text has been interpreted as a reference to the

arrival of Ramses III in his campaign of Year 8 against the Sea Peoples or perhaps to a later follow-up campaign into Syria after the 2nd Libyan War. If this interpretation is correct, it appears that Ugarit is at least tentatively aligned with the Sea Peoples against the pro-Egyptian forces in the area of Tripoli/Ardata and that Ugaritic forces are prepared to join the Sea Peoples in blocking the arrival of the main Egyptian forces. The delay of the king of Ugarit in sending re-enforcements is interpreted as reluctance to take a position of all-out opposition to Egypt. This may be due to disagreement within the government of Ugarit on the best course to take.

However, the letter is very vague. Unlike the letters concerning the movement of ships it is not from the kiln which apparently dates to Ugarit's destruction, so its date is less certain. The letter itself does not give a date, the name of the Pharaoh, or describe the exact circumstances of the blockade. It is very possible that the text could be from the time of Ramses II's Qadesh campaign. (92) The interpretation linking this letter with the Sea Peoples is based on the assumption that Ramses III's records are reliable and that the materials from Ugarit can simply be co-ordinated with the Egyptian material, even when there are no clear cross references. The previously mentioned letters about the movement of the enemy fleet are equally vague. None of these letters mentions the enemy by name, and none of the forces mentioned are large in number. The order and relationship of the letters is unclear, so various reconstructions of the events in these letters are possible.

A recently published letter from Ugarit which mentions the Šikel by name is an important new development. (93) The king of the Hittites sends a sharply worded letter to Ugarit demanding the return of a certain Lunadušu, who had been seized by "the Šikels who live in ships." After the king has investigated the case of the territory of Šikila, Lunadušu will be returned to Ugarit.

Here we have the first mention of one of the Seapeoples who attacked Ramses III in a text from Ugarit. The Šikels who live in ships (LÚ.MEŠ. KUR.URU šī-ka-la-iu-ú ša i-na muḥ-ḫi GIŠ. eleppāti(written MĀ MEŠ) correspond to the Shekelesh of the Egyptian texts. Their association with seafaring is significant. However, they are also connected with a territorial term, KUR.URU Si-ki-la. The combination KUR.URU is the same designation which occurs with the name of Ugarit and other city states mentioned in the texts. Lehmann dismisses KUR.URU as simply a conventional term which refers to a people with some type of organization or unity. (94) He then seizes upon this text as the earliest evidence for the arrival of the Seapeoples from the Adriatic, but it is difficult to find justification for such an interpretation in the text. It seems more natural to interpret KUR.URU

as an indication that the Šikels had a territory, which was probably somewhere in the vicinity of Ugarit. Since the king of the Hittites seems to hold Ugarit responsible for the behavior of the Šikel and the return of Lunadušu, it seems most natural to see the Šikels as mercenaries in the service of Ugarit or in some way under their control. Their behavior is not unlike the Lukki or Mishi in the Amarna letters. It may be possible to dismiss KUR.URU as merely a stock expression without territorial significance, but it seems most natural to take it as a territorial designation for the land of a city state. It seems most likely that this was near Ugarit, but a location farther west in Asia Minor or elsewhere cannot be ruled out.

Ashdod is mentioned frequently in texts from Ugarit as a trading partner of Ugarit. The list of Ashdodites is a mixture of Semitic and non-Semitic names, with the Semitic predominant. Unfortunately, the texts give little specific information about Ashdod. (95)

The picture of a migrating swarm of Sea Peoples, sweeping through Anatolia and Syria as a conquering horde and leaving a swath of destruction in their wake, has been based on linking these texts with the frequent destructions along the Syrian coast at the end of the Late Bronze Age. This view of a large movement of peoples from the Aegean or Anatolia has been increasingly challenged in recent years. The Hittites may well have succumbed to natural causes, internal unrest, and local enemies rather than to a migrating horde. (96) Schaeffer, the excavator of Ugarit, adopted the view that Ugarit was probably destroyed by natural causes, rather than an attacking enemy. (97) Although the records from Ugarit provide an important comparison with the Egyptian records, the identifications of the events described in them are very tenuous and depend very heavily on circumstantial evidence. It is very doubtful whether the chronology of the various LB destructions along the coasts of Syria and Cyprus is precise enough to trace any kind of advance of invaders. The limited cultural change at these sites will be discussed in later sections of the paper.

It is clear that there was a great deal of unrest, destruction, and famine in Anatolian and Syria in this period. Further evidence is provided by requests for food, received in Ugarit in such letters as RS 20:212, RS 26:158, and RS 20:238. What is less clear is how much of this can be attributed to the Sea Peoples, either directly or indirectly. The Šikel letter seems to provide some limited evidence that the presence of the Seapeoples was a gradual development, rather than a sudden invasion.

The Amarna Letters

The Amarna Letters are diplomatic correspondence between Egypt and various city states of Syria-Palestine from approximately 200 years before the time of Ramses

III. Their principal importance for our investigation is the insight which they provide into political, ethnic, and military conditions in the Philistine plain and regions farther north before the alleged migration of Sea Peoples. (98)

The Sherden (š^hi-ir-da-nu or š^he-er-da-nu) appear to be serving as mercenaries or royal body-guards in the territory of Byblos during the Amarna Period. (EA 81:16, 122:35, 123:15) However, Albright has challenged this reading of the text. (99)

At this time the Lukka (lu-uk-ki) were making piratical raids against Alashiya and against Egyptian territory. (EA 38:10) This probably does not refer to raids against Egypt proper, but to activity along the coast of Syria-Palestine. It is clear that at least some elements of the later "Sea Peoples" were operating in the Levant 200 years before the time of Ramses III.

A third group of people called the Mishi or Milim (mi-š^hi/lim) has sometimes been classified as a similar type of sea-raider. They seem to be mercenaries who do not have strong ties to any one side of a conflict. They killed Byblos' old enemy, Abdi-Ashirta of Amurru, apparently because he had not paid some obligation to them or to the Mitanni. (EA 101:3) They seem to be allied with the forces of Arvad, Sidon, and Tyre, but shortly after this the fleet of Arvad, which is besieging Sumura with the sons of Abdi-Ashirta, seizes the ships of the Mishi. (EA 105:27) In EA 108:38 Rib-Addi claims that they are aligned with Pharaoh's enemies. In EA 126:63 they appear to be trying to gain the ear of Pharaoh, but Rib-Addi warns him not to listen to them.

Many of the references to the Mishi are unclear, so it is possible to interpret their role in these events in a manner quite different from that which is outlined above. (100) In these letters the Mishi behave much like the Sherden. However, the term "Mishi" is probably not an ethnic term, but an Egyptian military term which should be translated with a term like "marines." (101) Nevertheless, the mishi in these texts appear to be non-Egyptian mercenaries of questionable loyalty, and the texts give some insight into the activities of such forces in the time before Ramses III.

The Amarna letters also give some insight into conditions in the Philistine plain 200 years before the time of Ramses III. Ashkelon is ruled by a ruler whose name has been variously transliterated as Widiya, Pidiya, Idiya or Yidya. This name is generally held to be Indo-Aryan. (102) In his letters the use of the plural form of "god" (ilani, written DINGER-MEŠ) where the context demands the singular could be an indication of the West Semitic plural form "elohim" underlying the Akkadian of the writer. Other than this, Yidiya's letters (EA 320-326, 370) are not very useful, except as a textbook on

how to grovel. From EA 287:14 it appears that Ashkelon, Gezer, and Lachish are aligned with the enemies of Abdu-Hepa of Jerusalem.

Shuwardata, the sender of letters 278-284 and 366, may be ruler of Gath. This is deduced from EA 290:5-10 in which Milkilu of Gezer and Shuwardata are listed as Abdu-Hepa's enemies. Gezer, Gath, and Keilah are listed as the sources of the troops for their attack on Rubutu. Since Keilah is contested between Shuwardata and Abdu-Hepa, it is not likely that Keilah is Shuwardata's base city, so Gath is the most likely candidate. Later Shuwardata is aligned with Abdu-Hepa against the Apiru. (EA 366) Shuwardata also appears to be an Indo-Aryan name, like the names of many other rulers in Palestine at this time. It has recently been suggested that Amarna letters 63-65, and 335 are from Shuwardata's son. (103)

Names which Albright analyzed as Indo-Aryan are not confined to the Philistine plain, but make up about one third of the Palestinian rulers mentioned in the Amarna letters. (104) These names are probably not evidence of large Indo-Aryan presence in Palestine, but represent individuals who were part of the Hurrian movement into Palestine.

Gaza is firmly in Egyptian control at this time according to EA 289. Since there are frequent references to Ashdod in the Ugaritic material, and Gaza, Ashkelon, and Gath are mentioned in the Amarna letters, we have some reference to all of the chief Philistine cities except Ekron from the period immediately preceding the time of Ramses III.

Summary

The Amarna letters indicate activity of some components of the "Sea Peoples" along the Syrian coast well before the time of Ramses III. Certain types of Indo-European names were also present in "Philistia" well before the time of Ramses III. We will discuss the significance of this for the evaluation of Philistine names in the section on language.

Assyrian Records

The Assyrian records pertaining to the Philistines come mainly from the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., about 500 years after the time of Ramses III. It is interesting to compare their use of geographic and ethnic terms with the Egyptian records. We must, of course, consider the effect that time and a different geographic perspective may have had on the use of these terms.

The interpretation of terms such as "isles" and nations "in the midst of the sea" is crucial to the interpretation of the Egyptian texts. In the Egyptian

texts these terms are generally interpreted as references to the coasts and islands of Anatolia or the Aegean.

However, the Assyrian king Ashur-nasirpal says that he received tribute from "the kings of the seacoast (ši-di tamti (written A.AB.BA), from the people of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Maisa, Kaisa, and Arvad, which lies in the midst of the sea" (qabal tamti, written MURUB⁴ A.AB.BA) (105) This Arvad, "which lies in the midst of the sea", is on a coastal island of Syria. Tyre, which was on a coastal island, and Sidon, which was not, are other Syro-Palestinian cities described as "in the midst of the sea." (106) Sargon II claims to have exacted tribute from "the kings of Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab, who dwell by the sea." (pi-lis-ti, ia-u-di, u-du-mu, ma-ab-i, a-ši-bu-ut tam-tim). (107)

It appears that the Assyrian term qabal tamtim which has traditionally been translated "in the midst of the sea" has a fairly broad usage. It should be translated "on an island," "on the sea coast," or "at sea" depending on the context. This usage may be partly explained by the lack of a distinct Assyrian term for "island," but this does not account for its application to non-island cities like Sidon. The usage seems to be best explained as due to the vagueness of the term qabal tamtim. Although there is a great deal of time and space separating the Assyrian texts from the Egyptian texts, the Assyrian usage should warn us of the danger of reading too much precision into terms like "in the midst of the sea", or assuming that such terms must refer to far-off islands. We have already seen that some Egyptian terms, such as Haunebut, may have some of the same ambiguity.

It appears that the Assyrian terms for Philistia (palastu, pilisti) have primarily a geographic, rather than an ethnic connotation. On at least one occasion "Philistia" includes the coast as far north as Akko. (108) Although the term "Philistine" does not seem to have a distinct ethnic connotation in the Assyrian records, there are other terms for which such connotations have been claimed.

After Sargon II had replaced Azuri, king of Ashdod, with his full brother, Ahimtu, he reports that "the Hittites, plotters of iniquity, detested Ahimtu's rule and elevated over them Iadna, who had no claim to the throne." (109) Sargon here calls the inhabitants of Philistia "Hittites" (bat-ti-i or ba-at-ti), a general name which the Assyrians used for the inhabitants of Palestine. The name of the usurper, which appears in the variant forms Iadna (ia-ad-na) or Iamani (ia-ma-ni) in different accounts of this campaign, has often been translated "the Cypriote," "the Ionian," or "the Greek" because of its similarity to the Akkadian terms for these peoples (KUR ia-ad-na-na and KUR ia-am-na-a-a).

Tadmor rejects the theory that this name has an

ethnic connotation, stating that if this is intended as a gentilic, it should be preceded by the determinative KUR. The spelling discrepancies between the personal name ia-ma-ni and the gentilic KUR ia-am-na-a-a and the name ia-ad-na and the gentilic KUR ia-ad-na-na also make it unlikely that the personal names are derived directly from the ethnic terms. Tadmor interprets Iamani as a Palestinian name, parallel to names such as Imna and Iamin which occur in Biblical Hebrew. He questions the accuracy of the reading which yields the alternative name, Iadna. (110)

Several inscriptions report that Sargon "pulled the Iamnean out of the sea of the setting sun like a fish." In some cases the transcribers and translators of these texts disagree whether the term "Iamnean" is singular or plural, a personal name or a gentilic. For example, in line 15 of Sargon's Annals of Khorsabad, Room 14, this expression is translated as a singular gentilic by Luckenbill, as a personal name by Wiseman, and as a plural gentilic by Winkler. (111)

In some texts it appears that these Iamneans may be the inhabitants of Philistia. Wiseman translates a portion of the Khorsabad Pavement Inscription,

"Sargon the conqueror of Samaria and the whole land of Israel, who dispoiled the cities of Ashdod and Shihuhti, who caught the Greeks (Iamneans) who dwell in the midst of the sea like fish, who uprooted Kasku, the whole of Tabal and Hilakku, who pursued Mita king of Muski, who defeated Egypt at Raphihu and counted Hanunu, king of Gaza, as a prisoner, who subdued seven rulers of Ia', a district of Iatnana (Cyprus), whose dwelling is situated in the midst of the sea, a journey of seven days."
(112)

Winckler transcribed the phrase which Wiseman translates as "Greeks who dwell in the midst of the sea" as "KUR ia-am-na-ai sa qa-bal tam-tim" and translated "die Jamna." (113) Since this reference is closely associated with Ashdod, it seems possible that the term Greeks/Iamneans is here a reference to the inhabitants of Philistia who live along the seacoast. However, the text does jump around quite a bit in the order of the geographic terms, so this juxtaposition may not be significant.

A text calling the Ashdodites "Iamneans" would link up well with the other statements of Sargon calling their leader "Iamani." It is difficult to find other candidates for who these "Iamneans" might be. Cyprus is already mentioned elsewhere in the text, so Greeks on Cyprus do not seem to be a likely explanation. We know of no campaign of Sargon against Greeks further west. Greek envoys undoubtedly must have brought tribute gifts to

Sargon to keep their trade with the Levant open at a time when Sargon controlled the whole coast, but the phrase "caught the Greeks who dwelled in the midst of the sea" seems too strong to describe such a visit unless it is pure exaggeration.

A later text of Esarhaddon appears to identify Iadnana (Cyprus) with Iavan/Iaman. "The kings of the midst of the sea, all of them from Iadnana, Iavan (KUR ia-man), as far as Nusisi (Knossos?) submitted at my feet." (114) However, it is not certain whether the pair Iadnana/Iavan are an apposition or two separate items. More recent transcribers of the text prefer the reading tar-si-si (Tarsus) to the reading nu-si-si.

Where does this confusing situation leave us? If the interchange of the personal names Iadna and Iamani is textually valid, it appears that the Assyrian scribes' connected the name of the usurper with their gentilic terms for Cypriote and Ionian (ia-ad-na-na and ia-am-na-a-a). In spite of the spelling differences the correspondence seems too strong to be mere co-incidence. The Esarhaddon text supports the association of the roots Iadnana and Iaman. However, the Assyrian scribes' association of these terms may have been a case of mistaken etymology, rather than a valid connection. Even if Iamani was of Cypriote or Greek origin, it is very doubtful if this would be significant for Philistine origins because of the late date of the text and the very limited value of a single name in isolation.

However, the possibility that the Khorsabad Pavement Inscription applies the term Iamneans to the inhabitants of Philistia is more intriguing. However, the connection is extremely speculative. The geographical order of the list is unclear. The text may be an exaggerated report of tribute which Sargon received from Greeks. Perhaps it is simply a derogatory term for the people foolish enough to follow the no-body, Iamani, but the KUR determinative would seem to rule this out. Perhaps it preserves an Assyrian understanding linking the inhabitants of Philistia with Cyprus. This is interesting in light of the archeological connections of the Philistines and Cyprus, but remains highly speculative. Unfortunately, the uncertainty of the matter is increased even more by doubts about the accuracy of some of the original transcriptions of Sargon's records.

Other Philistine names from the Assyrian sources will be analyzed in the chapter on language. Except for the name of Ikausu of Ekron, which seems to be the same name as the Biblical Achish of Gath, these names are West Semitic, with a sprinkling of Assyrian names.

There are a few Assyrian reliefs of the conquest of Philistine cities. In these reliefs the Philistines are indistinguishable from other inhabitants of Syria Palestine. (Fig. 8b, 9a, 9b) Olmstead identified

Figure 8a as Philistine captives, still wearing the feathered crown 500 years after Medinet Habu, but the picture lacks clear identification, and other reliefs make it likely that those pictured are Elamites, South Babylonians, or Assyrians in festive costume. (115)

Aramaic

The Aramaic letter from Adon, a king in Palestine, to the Pharaoh of Egypt has been connected with the Philistines by Porten's tentative identification of the Demotic filing title on the outside of the letter as the Philistine city of Ekron. (116) The letter is generally dated to the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar (late 7th century B.C.), but Krahmalkov connects it with the campaign of Sennacherib (late 8th century) on the basis of a different reconstruction of the gaps in the letter. (117) The king bears the Semitic name Adon and invokes the Semitic god Baal Shamayim. The letter is evidence for the diplomatic use of Aramaic in Philistia, but not necessarily for its use as the general speech. However, there is other evidence for Semitic speech in Philistia at this time, which we will examine in the chapter on language.

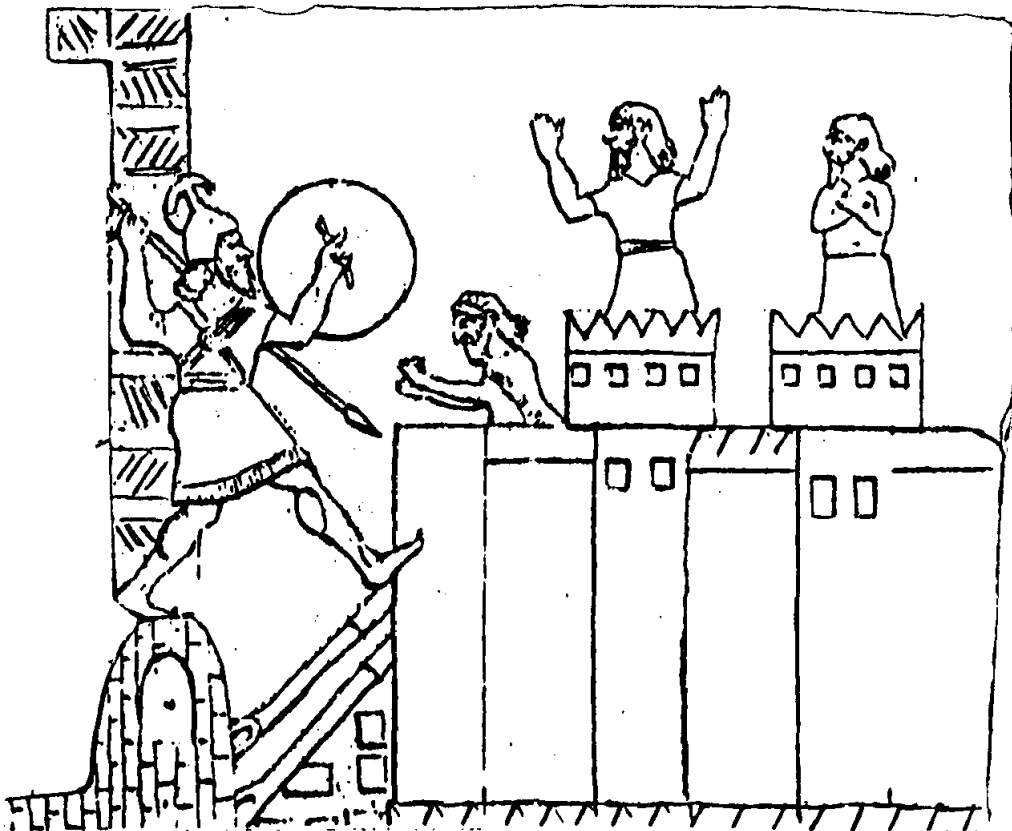
Summary

The Assyrian sources offer little direct evidence for solutions to the problem of Philistine origins. But they do offer diachronic comparative evidence on the use of terms similar to "sea people" and "islands in the midst of the sea." They also offer an intriguing possibility for connecting the Philistine culture with Cyprus, but this is highly speculative because of the lateness and vagueness of the texts. Perhaps this information will be useful as part of a supplementary or supporting pattern of evidence after we have looked at the whole picture.

Figure 8



8a Alleged Philistine Prisoners of the Assyrians



8b The Assyrian Attack on Gezer

Figure 9

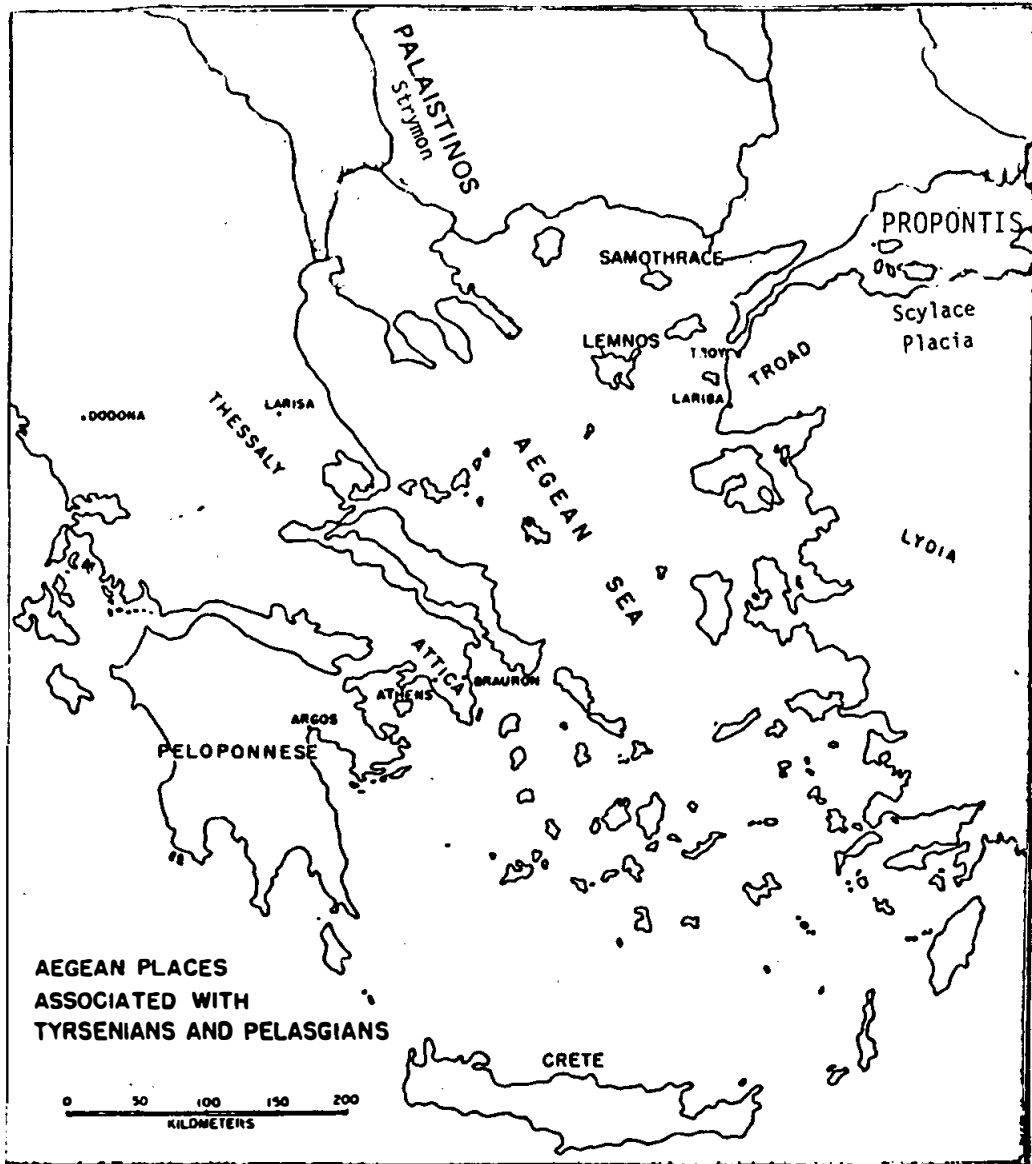


9a The Assyrian Attack on Ekron



9b Prisoners from Ekron

Figure 10



GREEK SOURCES

Many scholars have identified the Philistines and other Sea Peoples as Mycenaean Greeks or other Aegean or European peoples. (118) The principle reason for this is the similarity between Philistine Ware and Mycenaean prototypes, which will be examined later. The Philistines sometimes have been identified with the Pelasgoi, an Aegean people mentioned by such classical Greek writers as Herodotus and Thucydides. Greek texts concerning the Tyrsenians or Tyrrhenians, the Greek terms for the Etruscans, also have some relevance to the discussion since one of the Sea Peoples, the Teresh of Mernepthah's texts, sometimes been identified with the Etruscans. (119)

The Greek sources identify the Pelasgians as forerunners of the Greeks in the Peloponnesus and Attica. The Pelasgians are also portrayed as sea-raiders connected with the northern Aegean.

According to Homer the Pelasgians were allies of the Trojans from Larisa near Troy. (Il. 2.840). After the Trojan War they appear along side Achaeans and Dorians in Crete (Od. 19.177)

Herodotus says Pelasgians came to Athens from Placia and Scylace on the Propontis and the island of Samothrace in the northern Aegean. (See fig. 10) He claims there were still Pelasgian towns in these areas early in the fifth century B.C. and that the Pelasgians there spoke the same non-Greek language as the Pelasgians of Creston in Macedonia. (Hdt. 1.57, 2.51, 7.42) After being expelled by the Athenians, the Pelasgians who had lived in Attica went to Lemnos in the northern Aegean, but they returned and raided Athenian territory to gain revenge. (Hdt. 6.137-138) According to Herodotus they remained on Lemnos until the island was captured by Darius in 505 B.C. (Hdt. 5.26)

Thucydides says that the Pelasgians were a branch of the Tyrsenians, who lived in Attica and Lemnos. Other Pelasgians lived on the coasts of Macedonia during his time. (Thuc. 4.109)

These Pelasgians are identified with the Philistines in the following manner. First, a Philistine-Aegean connection is assumed on the basis of the similarity of Philistine pottery to Mycenaean styles. Then the case for identifying the Philistines with the Pelasgians is developed on the basis of word studies. The name Pelasgoi is traced to the Greek word for sea (πέλαγος) and the tribal ending -kos. The term "Pelasgoi" is thus interpreted as parallel to the Egyptian "sea people." (120)

Georgiev offers a more elaborate version of this

theory, in which he attempts to explain the divergence between the terms Pelasgian and Philistine. (121) The original name of the people was Pelastoi, according to a scholia of the Iliad 16:233. This name links the people to the northern Aegean since the late classical writer Pseudo-Plutarch says that Palaistinos is the older name for the river Strymon in Macedonia. In Greek "Pelastoi" was changed to "Pelasgoi" on the basis of folk etymology from the word "pelagos", "sea." The original term "Pelastoi" is still reflected in the Egyptian term "Peleset" and the Hebrew "Plishtim". The Philistine-Pelasgian tie is allegedly strengthened by the fact that the Pelasgians appear in Greek tradition concerning the end of the Bronze Age, the same time that the Peleset appear in Egyptian history. From this point the Philistine-Pelasgian tie is built up on the basis of other alleged archeological links of the Philistines to the Aegean, which will be considered in later archeological chapters.

The Pelasgians are also linked to the Etruscans (Tyrsenians) by two contradictory literary traditions. (122) Herodotus reports that the Tyrsenians (Etruscans) migrated to Italy from Lydia in Asia Minor. (Hdt. 1.94) According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus Pelasgians who were driven out by the Greeks went to Italy where they adopted the name of the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans), who were already in Italy. (Antiquities 1.17-30). He quotes Hellenicus of Lesbos, a contemporary of Herodotus, as his source. (123) Dionysius, therefore, states that the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans) had not migrated to Italy from anywhere, because they had always been there. Herodotus and Dionysius agree that part of the population of Etruria came from the Aegean, but they disagree whether the name "Tyrrhenian" or "Etruscan" properly belonged to the indigenous inhabitants of Etruria or to immigrants who joined them later.

Modern historians usually advocate one of three theories concerning Etruscan origins: the oriental theory supported by Herodotus, the autochthonous (indigenous) theory of Dionysius, or a northern theory based on certain aspects of their material culture. (124) Historians also wrestle with a decision between a 12th century arrival of the Etruscans required by the literary tradition or an 8th century beginning of Etruscan culture based on a sharp increase in Eastern influence upon the material culture at that time. (125) This is parallel to the problem of reconciling the literary sources which report the Philistines in Palestine before the 12th Century B.C. with the first appearance of a distinct "Philistine" pottery in the 12th Century.

The divergent literary sources concerning Etruscan origins also form an interesting parallel to the dual tradition of the Old Testament concerning both an indigenous and a foreign origin of the Philistines. Genesis 10 relates the Philistines to indigenous Canaanite

peoples, but Amos 9 stresses their foreign origin in Caphtor. In discussing the origin of the Etruscans Dionysius and Hellenicus emphasize the indigenous substratum of Etruria as the real "Etruscans". Herodotus emphasizes the later arrivals who made up part of the amalgamation which in his day was called the Etruscans (Tyrrhenians). The apparent discrepancies in the literary records concerning the origins of the Philistines and the Etruscans can probably both be explained in the same way. In both cases different authors are simply describing different phases of the gradual process by which the Philistine and Etruscan nations were formed. The Old Testament and the classical Greek writings imply that the ethnic groups which were called Philistines and Etruscans at the time when the respective literary sources were written were both amalgamations of indigenous peoples and later foreign elements, which formed gradually over a period of time.

Further study of the problem of Etruscan origins may offer some additional analogies which would prove useful in wrestling with the question of Philistine origins.

MODERN THEORIES

This section briefly lists various modern theories concerning the origin of the Philistines. These various theories do not all merit equal consideration. They vary greatly in plausibility and the quality of the supporting evidence. However, they are all listed so that they can be evaluated in the following summary of the literary sources and in the subsequent archeological discussion.

The most commonly accepted idea at present is, of course, the theory that the Philistines came with other Sea Peoples from the Aegean or Anatolia at the time of Ramses III and settled on the Palestinian coast shortly thereafter. Trude Dothan's standard work on the Philistine material culture is the most thorough presentation of the evidence for this view. This view often includes a long march through Anatolia and Syria, which left a path of destruction behind it. However, doubt about this aspect of the theory is growing. (126)

The Philistine-Pelasgian connection has already been discussed above. Closely related to it is the theory of Wainwright and Bonafante who connect the Philistines with Illyrians, perhaps by way of Cappadocia. (127) Schachermeyr's five volume work on Aegean prehistory is an extensive presentation of evidence for this view. (128). Allen Jones and others connect both the Philistines and the tribe of Dan with the Greeks, but some of the methodology and evidence which he uses are very weak. (129) Spannuth traces the Philistines to northern Europe, but the evidence which he offers for his view is farfetched. (130)

Burton-Brown and others connect the Philistines with the Caucasus, largely on the basis of similarity between Philistine and Caucasian metal artifacts. (131)

There are a number of theories which must be classified as radical departures from the commonly accepted theories. Nibbi almost totally rejects the idea of a Sea People migration and identifies Ramses' enemies as traditional enemies from near Egypt. (132) Although the views of Immanuel Velikovsky are regarded as highly speculative and unsupported by most people in the academic community, they have received wide exposure. Velikovsky turns history upside down by identifying the Pereset and their allies as Persians and their Greek mercenaries and by radically redating Egyptian history. (133) Courville also drastically redates Egyptian history. He sees the first Philistines arriving sometime before 1000 B.C., but places the last Sea People arrivals around 700 B.C., much later than the accepted date. (134)

Why do so many divergent ideas flourish? Some of these theories are sincere scholarly efforts to solve a difficult historical problem. Others are undoubtedly due

to the desire to present something novel or to justify the author's preconceptions. But one reason that so many theories flourish is that there is considerable ambiguity in the available literary evidence, and some of the commonly held "respectable" ideas about Philistine origins are not as clearly supported by the literary and archeological evidence as much of the modern literature would lead us to believe. Though some of the interpretations listed above are far-fetched, they do have some value in forcing people to take a closer look at what the primary sources actually say, rather than at what some authority says the sources say. Almost all of these theorists quote extensively from the primary sources, but they tend to focus on a small segment of the evidence which supports their initial assumption. Our aim has to be to avoid a very narrow interpretation of Philistine origins which only encompasses a small part of the evidence.

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION OF THE LITERARY EVIDENCE

The literary evidence suggests that the Philistines of the 12th through 10th centuries were already an ethnic amalgamation, which probably had developed over a period of time.

The Old Testament texts suggest this most strongly since they claim that people whom the Israelites called Philistines were already in Canaan in the time of the Patriarchs and Joshua. However, these early Philistines are described as different from the later Philistines of the time of Samuel and David. Genesis 10 associates the early Philistines with Canaanite and African peoples. On the other hand, there are many indications of the Philistines' foreign origin in Israelite sources, including later sources such as the Septuagint. In the Old Testament itself the most important indications of foreign origin are the references to origin from Caphtor. The strength of the tradition of foreign origins is indicated in the Septuagint's distinctive translation of "Philistines" as "foreigners." The Old Testament recognizes a process of amalgamation between the Philistines of David's time and the earlier population of the area. The Old Testament does not specify the time of arrival of any of the elements of the ultimate population of Philistia, but it implies that some of the "foreign" element was there before the time of Ramses III.

Egyptian records do not mention the Philistines before the time of Ramses III, but this omission is not very significant since the term occurs only once or twice in Egyptian records after the time of Ramses III, and in those cases the term is primarily geographic, rather than ethnic. The Egyptian accounts are certainly not incompatible with the theory that Philistines were in Palestine before the time of Ramses III. The Philistines are not specifically said to be from far-away islands or called sea people as some of the other attackers are. There are a number of references in the accounts which imply that some of the attackers were already established in Palestine. The texts also mention a land of the Philistines. During the earlier Libyan wars the forces attacking Egypt were a combination of newcomers and people who had long been established in Libya. There is no reason why the attacking coalition in the Northern War could not be a similar combination of newcomers and peoples who had been in the area for a long time. Both Egyptian inscriptions and the Amarna letters make it clear that at least some elements of the attacking forces in these wars were present in Egypt and Syria at least two centuries before the time of Ramses III.

The texts from Ugarit support the idea of a large movement of peoples at the time of Ramses III, only if we interpret them on the basis of three assumptions:

--Ramses' statement about the desolation of the

northern kingdoms is not exaggerated.

--The unnamed enemies in the Ugaritic texts are the same as the peoples named by Ramses.

--These enemies were a large, migrating group of people.

All of these assumptions are open to question.

The presence of "Philistines" in Palestine before the time of Ramses III is dismissed by many scholars, because the Old Testament is the only literary source which reports an earlier presence. However, there is no literary evidence for their presence in the Aegean at any time, unless we accept the identification with the Pelasgians, who are first mentioned in comparatively late Greek texts. There is at the present time no mention of the Philistines in any Hittite text or any other text pertaining to Anatolia. In other words, at the present time there is no evidence that the name "Philistine" originated outside of Palestine.

On the basis of the evidence presently available it does not appear that the term "Philistine" is primarily an ethnic or linguistic term. It has geographic and political connotations connected with southwestern Palestine. The Old Testament usage of the term "Philistine" may have the same breadth which has long been recognized in the usage of the term "Hatti"/"Hittite," which can refer to various strata of the population of Central Anatolia, even though they had different ethnic or linguistic origins. The leading people of what we today call the Hittite Empire were not originally called "Hittites," but were "Neshians." The original "Hatti" or "Hittites" were the people who preceded the Neshians in Central Anatolia. When the Neshians arrived in Anatolia, they joined the "Hatti" who were already there, and the Neshians too became known as "Hatti" or "Hittites". (135) Today in English we call the indigenous people "Hatti" and the later arrivals "Hittites", but these are merely different English translations for one word. This artificial distinction avoids one kind of confusion, but introduces another kind of confusion by obscuring the real usage of this word for English readers. Hatti/Hittite is an example of one name being used for two different strata of the population of an area, even though they had distinct origins. The Old Testament usage of the term "Philistine" may be similar.

"Amorite" is another example of a term which has a variety of geographic, ethnic, linguistic, and political connotations, with one or the other of these aspects being predominant in the usage of a given time and place. The usage of the term "Philistine" may involve some of the same complexities.

On the basis of all the literary evidence it seems most likely that the Philistines are an amalgamation of peoples. The Israelites appear to have applied the name "Philistine" to various strata of the population of

southwestern Palestine, even though they recognized different ethnic elements within the population there. The Egyptian usage may have been more restrictive, but evidence of the Egyptian usage is more scanty.

The Old Testament may refer to three strata of the Philistine population. According to the reading of the text accepted in this study Genesis 10 connects an element of the population, which was recognized as being in Palestine the longest, with the Casluhim and other peoples whom the Israelites associated with the Egyptians and Libyans.

Another element of the population, which may have arrived later, is traced to Caphtor. Although Caphtor appears to be Crete in Egyptian and Akkadian usage, the term probably has a broader meaning in the Old Testament, referring to the Mediterranean islands and coasts in general, just as Kittim has a broader meaning than Cyprus in the Old Testament. This arrival from Caphtor is not necessarily identical with the group whom the Israelites connected with the Casluhim nor with the event of Ramses III's 8th year. The Old Testament may consider the arrival from Caphtor as a second stage in the formation of the Philistine nation. This is uncertain because of the textual question and scant information about the connection with the Casluhim.

Even if the arrival from Caphtor was earlier than the time of Ramses III, and even if Caphtor is Crete also in the Old Testament, it is still not likely that any major element of the Philistine population was Minoan Cretans, unless they did not bring an intact material culture with them. The differences between Minoan and Southwestern Palestinian culture are much more apparent than any similarities. If Caphtor is Crete, perhaps Crete was just a stop on the journey.

The arrival which occurred in Ramses III's 8th year may be a third step in the formation of the Philistine nation. It appears to be reflected in the increased strength of the Philistines at the time of Samuel and Saul. It is unlikely that the population of Philistia was ever predominantly Mycenaean Greeks coming by way of Crete, since the Philistine culture is not a strongly Mycenaean culture, in spite of some definite Mycenaean elements. This assertion would be strongly challenged by many scholars, so it will be discussed at length in the archeological section of this paper.

In addition to these three possible influxes of foreign elements the Old Testament also refers to the continued presence of indigenous elements of the population of Philistia, such as the Avvites.

The addition of Aegean or Anatolian peoples to Philistia was probably a gradual process which occurred over several centuries, just as their arrival in Egypt

was. In this respect, it would be parallel to the infiltration of Germans into the Roman Empire. They came first as mercenaries, then as migrants. It is certainly possible that there was a sizable influx at the time of Ramses III, but it is doubtful that this was a massive land migration from Western Anatolia or Europe sufficient to destroy the Hittite Empire and many cities of Syria. If these peoples were looking for a new home, and they were able to completely overthrow the Hittites and devastate Syria, would they need to go on to Egypt? If Philistine pottery is the sign of their arrival in Palestine, what is the indication of their arrival in Hittite territory? If they were powerful enough to destroy the Hittites and menace Egypt, why did they fail to dominate Palestine? The number of newcomers appears to have been adequate to give enough strength to the "Philistines" to make them a very serious menace to Israel, yet in the long run they were not able to dominate Palestine, either militarily or culturally.

This interpretation appears to account most reasonably for all of the literary evidence. It does not necessitate focusing on one narrow part of the evidence or arbitrarily rejecting one part of it. It also agrees with the archeological evidence as later sections of this dissertation will demonstrate.

Perhaps the term, "Philistine," originally referred to the indigenous sub-stratum of the population of southwestern Palestine, and it was extended to the "Sea People," who arrived later, just as the term Hatti was extended to later arrivals. Or perhaps the name "Philistine" was brought by the newcomers, and the accounts in Genesis apply it proleptically to earlier inhabitants of southwestern Palestine in the same way that the name Dan is used proleptically in Genesis 14:14. This would be similar to our practice of calling the inhabitants of America "Indians" even before the arrival of the first Europeans. Either of these explanations of the usage of the name Philistine is reasonable, but the available evidence is inadequate to make a clear-cut choice. The first explanation, that the term Philistine originated in Canaan and was later applied to the newcomers, seems to be the most likely to this writer, but new evidence, such as occurrence of the name in Anatolia, could prove otherwise.

A third possibility is that the term "Philistine" originated as the name of "Sea People" immigrants to Palestine, but that they first received this name in Palestine, and they were known by a different name in their previous home. The questions "Where did the Philistines come from?" and "Where did the name 'Philistine' come from?" are distinct questions which may have two different answers.

The main problem with the literary sources concerning the Philistines is not that there are serious

contradictions or discrepancies between the sources, although this claim has sometimes been made. The problem is that we do not, at present, have enough literary information to determine their origins decisively. It is possible to construct several reasonable explanations of the origin of the Philistines on the basis of the literary evidence alone. However, if we give balanced, objective, consideration to all of the available literary evidence, an amalgamation theory offers the best explanation for all of the extant literary evidence

CONNECTING THE LITERARY AND ARCHEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The key issue is the size and nature of the arrival at the time of Ramses III. An examination of the material culture before and after this date should be helpful in testing the hypothesis that the Philistines were a gradual amalgamation and that the arrival at the time of Ramses III was not necessarily very great.

If there was a great influx of people at this time, which consisted of whole families migrating together, it would be reasonable to expect that there would be a large amount of cultural change. Items from many different aspects of the new culture should have parallels in the culture of the geographic area from which the migrants had come. If the migration was slow, we might be able to trace the course of this movement if we have a sharp chronology of the area. In such a case the evidence for large-scale migration would be decisive.

However, if there was an arrival of a fairly small group, perhaps an army or elite ruling group, we would expect that cultural elements with local roots would remain much more prominent. However, the arrival of a large group with a culture very inferior to that of the previous inhabitants or with a culture unsuited to the new environment might present a similar archeological picture.

If we were dealing with the spread of a specific cultural feature, such as a luxury pottery style, by trade or migrating craftsmen, we would expect that the luxury pottery would be fairly uniform wherever it occurred, but it would occur with different assemblages of local utilitarian wares at different sites.

This study has already listed several possible explanations of Philistine origins on the basis of the literary evidence and selected the hypothesis which seems most likely. Some criteria have been suggested for testing this amalgamation hypothesis. We must now gather and examine archeological data to test this hypothesis.

We must consider all elements of the culture of southwestern Palestine in the last quarter of the Second Millennium B.C. Many researchers have attempted to analyze Philistine origins largely on the basis of just one portion of the evidence such as etymology, metal articles, or pottery. If they approach the Philistine culture with some preconception of its origin, it is usually possible to find some apparent parallels to the culture of the "right" homeland, either by co-incidence or because of the widespread contacts and interaction of eastern Mediterranean cultures.

But what amount of cultural change is necessary to demonstrate the influx of a large group of people? How much evidence is needed to indicate their place of origin

with a high degree of probability? Are a few names or loan words adequate evidence for the arrival of a new linguistic group? Is the appearance of a new kind of luxury pottery which makes up 10% of the total ceramic repertoire adequate evidence for the arrival of a new group of people, if the other 90% of the pottery, including most of the daily ware, remains unchanged? How does the social and cultural level of the newcomers affect the kind of evidence we should expect?

Because of the difficulty of these questions, we cannot isolate the study of Philistine culture from the study of other ethnic groups and their migrations. The kind of archeological evidence produced by migrations which are more fully documented than the origin of the Philistines should help us test our criteria for explaining movements of peoples and cultural change on the basis of archeological evidence. A comparison with well documented cultural change which was not caused by movement of people would also be helpful. Such an examination of other well documented ethnic changes emphasizes the difficulty of establishing ethnic change from archeological evidence. Absence of material evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence of a conquest. This is especially true if we are dealing with isolated adventurers. The movements of the Normans into France and Italy left almost no archeological evidence. The movement of the Normans into England, which consisted of a few thousand people, produced no ceramic break, but shows mainly in changes of personal names. Even mass movements like the migration of Slavs into the Balkans or tribal movements like that of the Galatians into Asia Minor left very little archeological evidence. The move of the Anglo-Saxons into England, which was probably about a 10% population change, produced more significant ceramic change and some change of place names. The Muslim conquest of Palestine originally consisted of the introduction of 27,000 soldiers into a population of 4 million and ultimately amounted to about a 10% population change. It did not produce a sharp ceramic break. (136)

These comparisons indicate that the study of Philistine culture must be more broadly based than just looking at a pottery style as the basis for assessing the time of arrival or the place of origin for a particular group. We should perhaps take special note of "non-movable" items of culture, rather than something easily shipped or traded. We must try to assemble an overall picture of the material culture of southwestern Palestine in the last centuries of the Second Millennium B.C. We must then attempt to interpret the historical significance of that material evidence on the basis of principles derived from common sense and analogy drawn from other well documented ethnic migrations and amalgamations. We can then attempt to make a reasonable connection between the literary and archeological evidence for the Philistines.

PHILISTINE POTTERY

Without a doubt the most discussed aspect of Philistine material culture is the so-called Philistine Pottery. Early in this century F.B. Welch, H. Tiersch and others recognized the similarity between a type of pottery found in southwestern Palestine and Late Mycenaean prototypes. (137) Because this pottery was found in the territory which the Old Testament assigns to the Philistines, and because the Old Testament says that the Philistines came from Caphtor, which was believed to be Crete, this pottery was accepted as evidence of the Philistines' arrival from the Aegean. This was believed to fit well with the Medinet Habu texts of Ramses III which referred to the Peleset and other peoples from the islands of the sea. By the time Albright published his analysis of the pottery of Tell Beit Mirsim in 1932 this identification was firmly established as a basic premise of Palestinian archeology. (138) In fact, when archeologists refer to the Philistine material culture, they are usually referring primarily to this type of pottery. Scholars have sometimes asserted the presence or absence of Philistines from a given site entirely on the basis of the presence or absence of this pottery. (139) Indeed, Aharoni categorically rejected the possibility that the Philistines could have been present in Palestine before the appearance of this pottery.

"The derivation of Philistine pottery from a sub-Mycenaean repertoire presents a profound chronological implication, that the Philistine occupation of Philistia could not have begun in the reign of Ramses III....Philistine pottery did not arrive in the country before the middle of the 12th century....The Philistine assumption of power must have occurred about 30 to 40 years after the Philistines were defeated by Ramses III....Some scholars have preferred another explanation, but it does not hold water. It is that the Philistines themselves came earlier but were followed only 30 or so years later by a family of potters who brought with them the ware we know as Philistine. This is hardly an attractive hypothesis." (140)

Aharoni presents us with the dilemma of choosing between a late settlement of the Philistines which preserves the value of their characteristic pottery as evidence of their arrival from the Aegean, but breaks the tie between their arrival and the events reported by Ramses III, or an earlier settlement of the Philistines which preserves the connection with the events of Ramses III's eighth year, but undermines the value of the pottery as evidence for the Philistine's arrival from the Aegean. But are these really the only alternatives? Perhaps the Philistine pottery begins earlier than Aharoni allows, so that both the arrival of the Philistines and the

appearance of the pottery can be closely connected with the eighth year of Ramses III. There may be other explanations besides the three already mentioned.

Since so much weight has been put on this pottery as evidence for the Philistines' Aegean origin and for the time of their arrival from the Aegean, we must evaluate it very carefully. (141) Exactly when does this pottery appear in Palestine? What is its value as evidence for Philistine origins? Before we can attempt to answer these crucial questions, we must answer the following preliminary questions:

- 1) What is Philistine Ware?
- 2) What is its role at the various sites at which it occurs?
- 3) What is its pattern of distribution within sites and throughout the land of Palestine?
- 4) How is it related to the earlier pottery of Palestine?
- 5) What pottery regularly occurs with it?
- 6) What is its significance?

As we shall see, none of these questions is very easy to answer.

Philistine Ware

Philistine pottery has been illustrated and discussed thoroughly in Trude Dothan's The Philistines and Their Material Culture. Dothan lists 18 types of Philistine vessels (Fig. 11-12) and classifies 8 of these shapes as having Mycenaean prototypes: 1) small "bell bowl" with horizontal loop handles, 2) a krater with a very similar shape, 3) stirrup jar, 4) pyxis and a related amphoriskos, 5) three-handled jar, 6) strainer-spouted "beer jug," 7) a spouted "feeding bottle" with basket handle, 8) pinch-waisted vessel. Her Types 9 and 10, the gourd bottles, and Type 11, the narrow neck bottle, are related to Cypriote prototypes. The wide-neck jar (Type 12) is derived from an Egyptian form. The remaining types are classified as Canaanite forms or late, degenerate forms. Of course, variants of these basic vessels appear. "Philistine" painted decoration also appears on other vessel forms which are not specifically classified as Philistine by Dothan, such as pilgrim flasks, small shallow bowls, goblets, unusual variants of the strainer-spouted vessel, and a variety of cult vessels. (142)

Dothan has also thoroughly discussed the relationship between Philistine decorative motifs and those appearing on Late Mycenaean pottery. A sample of these comparisons is shown in figure 13. The similarity of the Mycenaean and Philistine designs is quite apparent. The painting technique, however, is quite different. Late Mycenaean painting which occurs at Aegean sites, such as Perati in Attica, is generally monochrome and usually has a lustre. (143) Matt painting is more common on local imitations of

Mycenaean ware in Cyprus and Syria-Palestine. (144) According to the narrowest definition Philistine style painting is red and black bichrome decoration, which often appears on a white slip or wash. It has a dull, matt finish.

Thus the style of painting on Philistine Ware is in some respects more similar to that of the Bichrome Ware which appears in Cyprus and Palestine during LB I, over 200 years before the appearance of Philistine Ware, than to the Late Mycenaean IIIB and IIIC painting techniques of Greece. Schachermeyr speculated that the LB I artistic traditions were preserved in the textile industry during the gap between the LB Bichrome Ware and their reappearance on Philistine Ware. (145) The heavy Mycenaean IIIC influence on the painted motifs of Philistine Ware is obvious, but a number of Philistine Ware motifs, such as the Maltese cross, already appear on the earlier LB Bichrome Ware. A significant number of the painted motifs appear also on LB monochrome ware in Syria and Palestine. In general these are the simpler geometric motifs and dividers. (146) Occasionally Canaanite motifs such as the palm tree occur on Philistine Ware.

The LB Bichrome ware was formerly called Palestinian Bichrome Ware, but neutron activation analysis has indicated that most of the LB Bichrome Ware probably originated in Cyprus. (147) However, the most recent studies suggest that the Cypriote version of the Bichrome Ware and the Palestinian "Imitation" which occurs with it in Megiddo Strata IX and VIII are contemporary. (148) It is thus not certain whether the idea of the bichrome decoration originated in Cyprus and was imitated in Palestine, or if Cypriote manufacturers began producing a better version of a product already at home in Palestine in order to appeal to the market there. (149) Tests of the clay indicate that Philistine Ware and the derivative Mycenaean IIIC ware which preceded it at Ashdod were both manufactured in Palestine. (150)

At many sites only a small percentage of the pottery which the excavators have classified as Philistine Ware is decorated with the classic "Philistine" pattern of red and black paint on white slip. The color of the slip varies, or slip may be omitted entirely. Red slip occurs on some late varieties. The paint is often monochrome, usually red, but shades of purple, brown, or black also occur. Vessel forms which are classified as Philistine, such as the bell bowl and strainer jugs, also occur as undecorated vessels.

These variations make it difficult to develop a precise, objective definition of Philistine Ware. Such a definition is necessary as a basis for quantitative studies. It is apparent that the authors of various site reports and periodical articles do not follow identical criteria for identifying the "Philistine Ware" in the materials which they are cataloging and analyzing. For

example, in his computer analysis of the pottery from the tombs at Fara South, McClellan uses vessel form as his sole criterion for calculating the percentage of Philistine Ware. (151)

Is a "bell bowl" with horizontal loop handles which is undecorated or one which is decorated with a simple red band still to be classified as Philistine Ware? If it is, then what about a simple round-sided bowl, which is decorated with white slip and a similar red band? The so-called cyra rim bowls are a special problem, since they sometimes appear with white slip and red bands. If a pilgrim flask is classified as Philistine Ware when it is decorated with a bichrome Maltese cross design, is it still Philistine Ware if it is decorated with red concentric circles? We cannot do quantitative studies which compare sites unless we adopt a definition which answers these questions. Even if such a definition may be arbitrary in part, it will at least offer a uniform basis for comparing sites.

For purposes of this study any painted examples of Dothan's 18 types of Philistine Ware or any other vessel form which occurs with a distinctive Philistine painted design will be classified as Philistine Ware. For example, if a simple handleless bowl were found that was decorated with a "Philistine bird," it would be classified as Philistine Ware, even though this vessel form is not distinctly Philistine. Examples of Dothan's vessel forms 1-12 which are undecorated will generally not be counted together with distinctive Philistine Ware in the following quantitative studies, but will be noted as a separate percentage called probable Philistine Ware. The major exception is that all bell bowls have been counted as Philistine Ware, even when undecorated. (152) Dothan's Types 13-18, the Canaanite types, will not be counted as Philistine Ware, unless they are painted with Philistine motifs. Vessels with lustrous "Mycenaean" paint and any other local imitations of Mycenaean ware will also be segregated from Philistine Ware whenever possible. There is however some overlap between monochrome Mycenaean Ware and monochrome Philistine Ware at Ashdod. In our quantitative studies of Philistine Ware it will usually be necessary to list two separate percentages for the pottery of a given assemblage: the percentage of distinctive Philistine Ware and the percentage of probable Philistine Ware (that is, sherds which are undecorated or too fragmentary to be certain). These will usually be listed together as giving a high-low range for the percentage of Philistine Ware at the site. Occasionally the percentage of contemporary "non-Philistine" painted wares in the assemblage will be listed, if it seems significant. Percentages in this thesis which are derived from pottery analyses done by other scholars will be adjusted to conform to this system whenever possible.

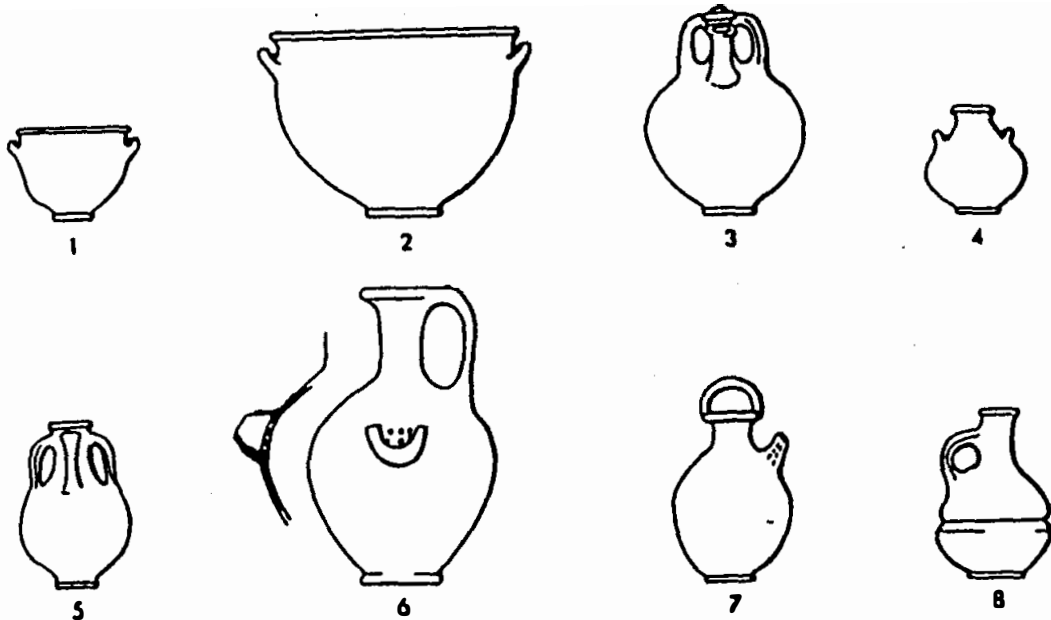
Since Dothan has provided ample illustration of Philistine Ware, no attempt will be made to duplicate her

work here. Figures 14-17, which are adapted from Dothan's study provide a sample of typical Philistine ware as a background for our further study. Unique forms or forms pertinent to clarifying a particular point of the discussion will be illustrated at the appropriate points of the following analysis.

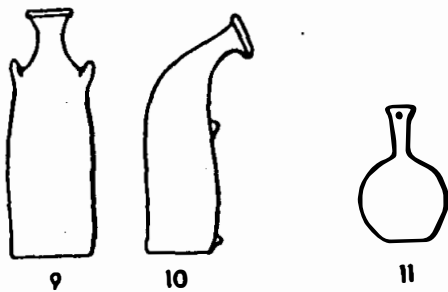
Figure 11

TRUDE DOTHAN'S
PRINCIPAL VESSEL FORMS OF PHILISTINE POTTERY

FORMS WITH MYCENAEAN PROTOTYPES 1-8



FORMS RELATED TO
CYPRIOTE FORMS
9-11



EGYPTIAN
PROTOTYPE 12

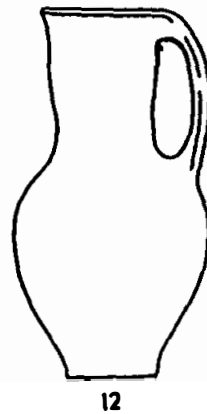
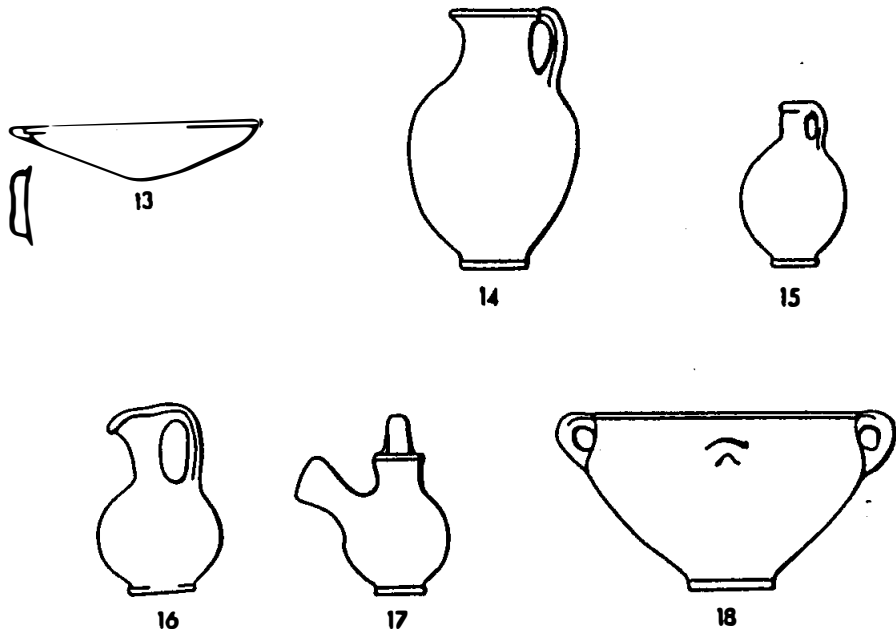


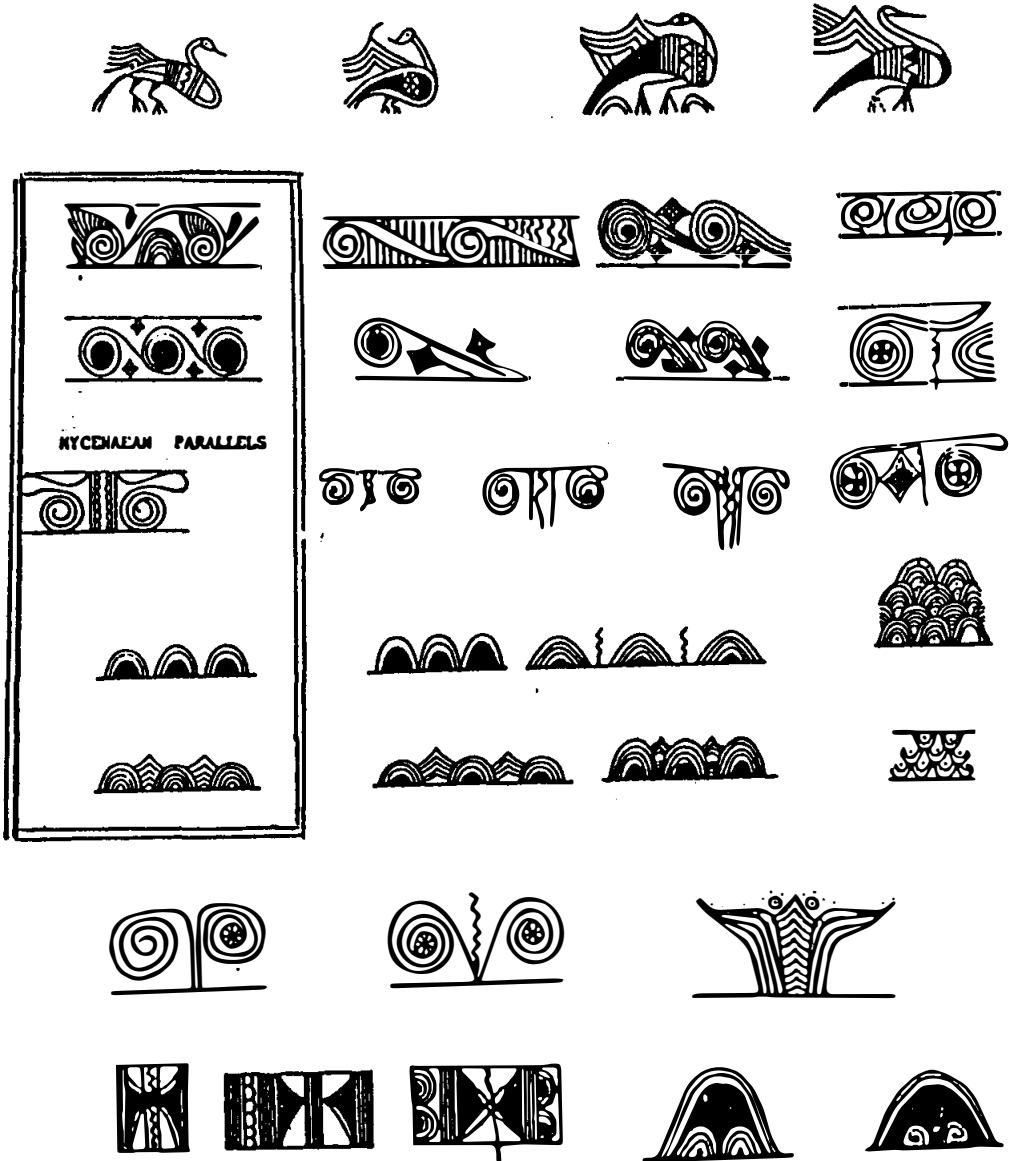
Figure 12



13-16 PHILISTINE VESSEL FORMS FROM CANAANITE PROTOTYPES
17-18 LATE "DEGENERATE" FORMS

Figure 13

PAINTED MOTIFS OF PHILISTINE POTTERY



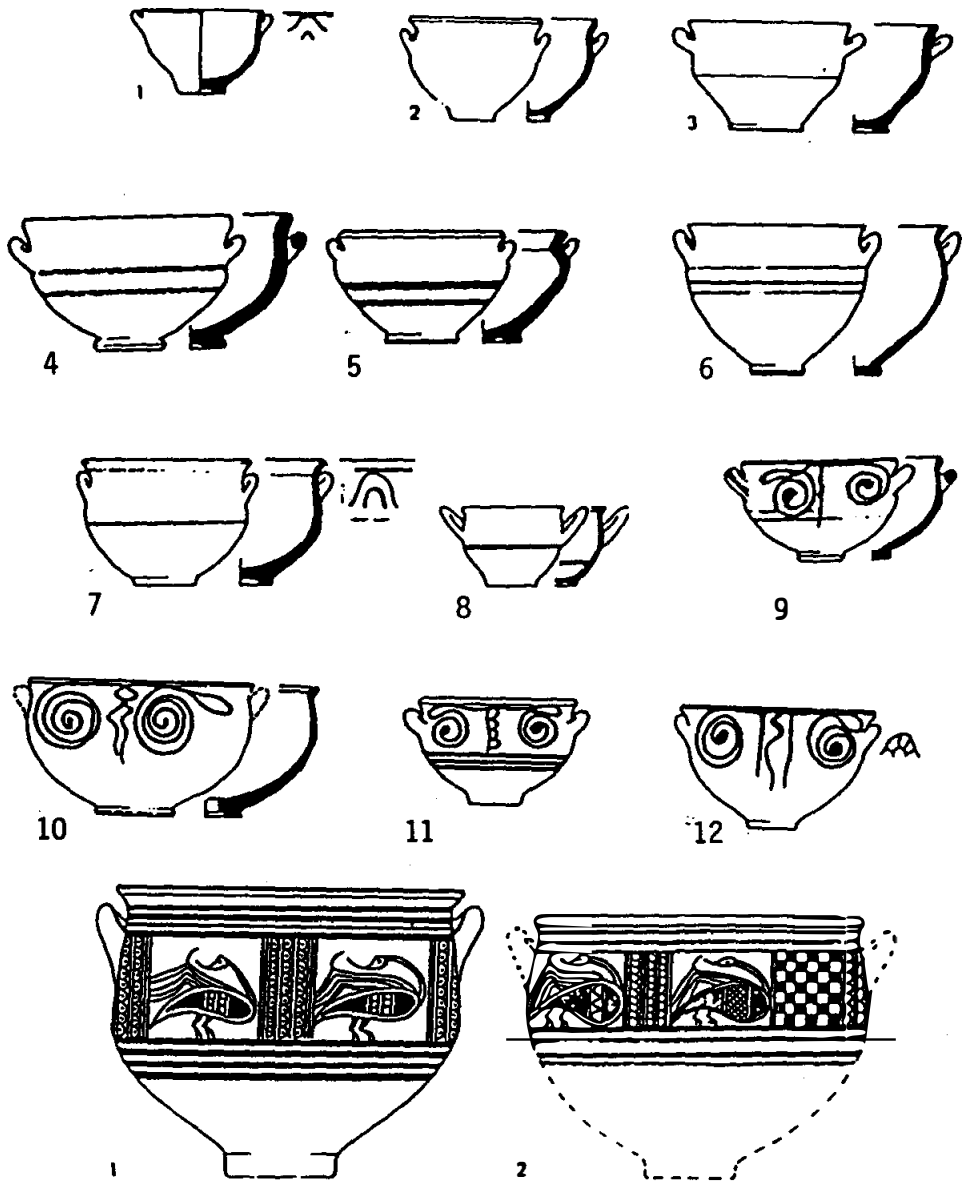


Figure 14
 Type One Bowls
 Type Two Kraters

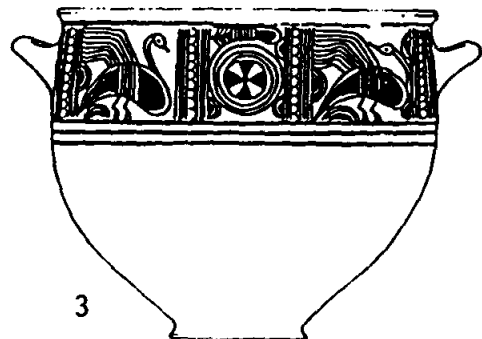
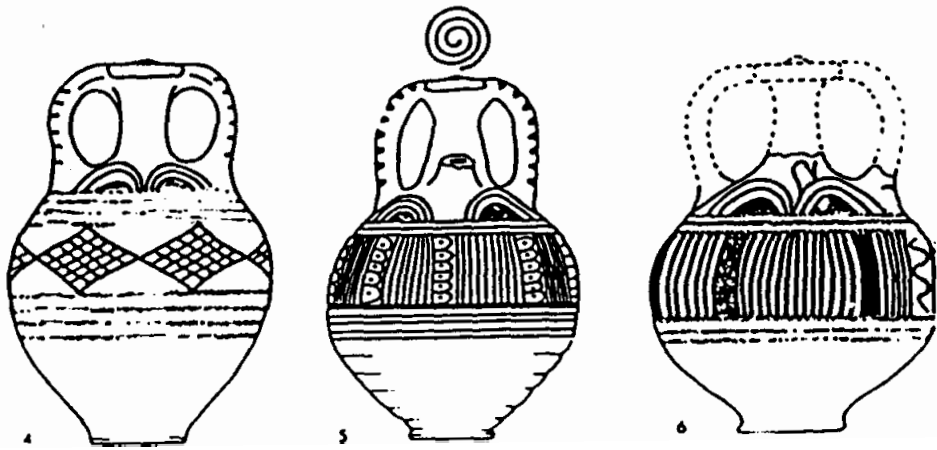
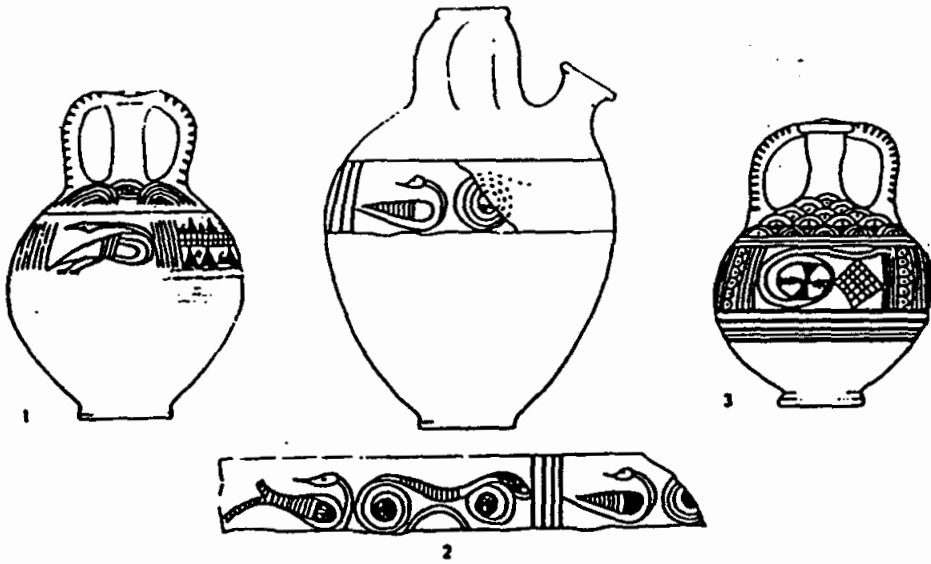


Figure 15

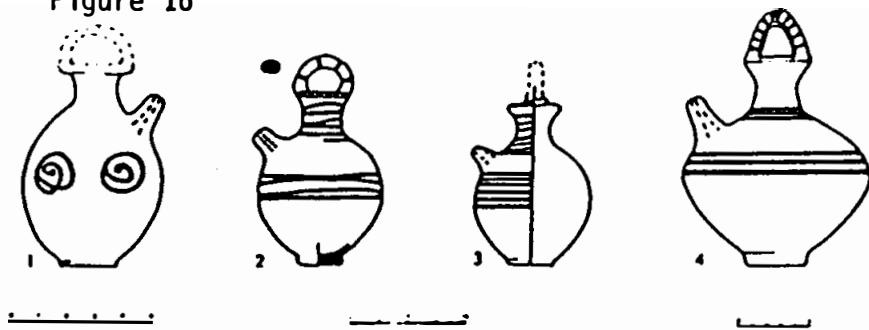


Type Six Strainer Jars

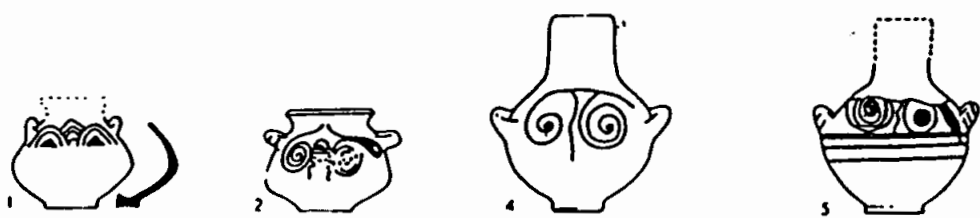


Type Three Stirrup Jars

Figure 16

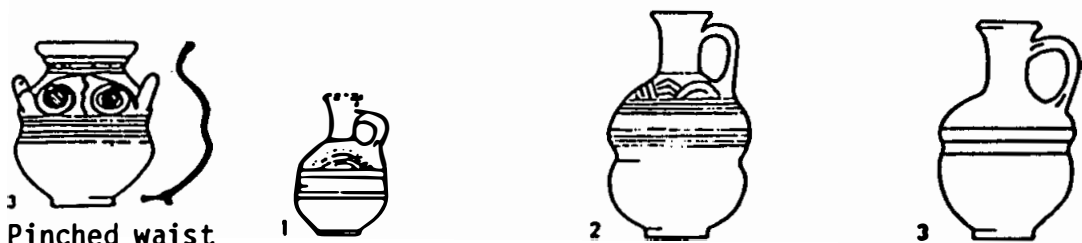


Type Seven Feeding Bottles



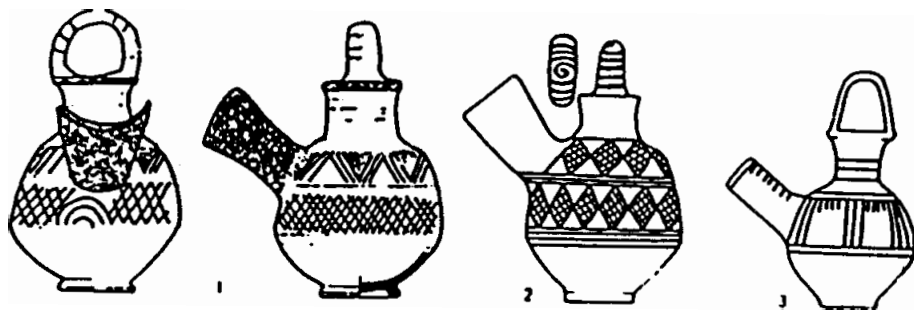
Pyxides

Amphoriskoi



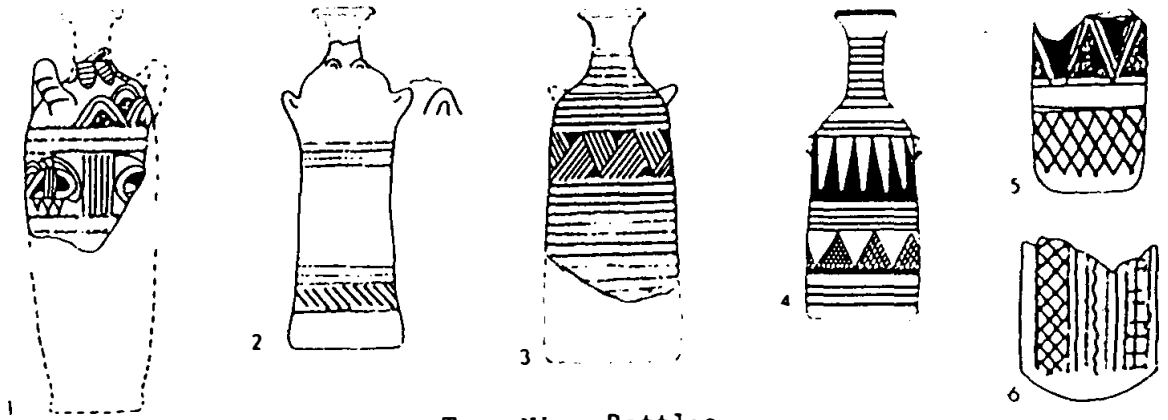
Pinched waist
Pyxis

Pinched waist vessels

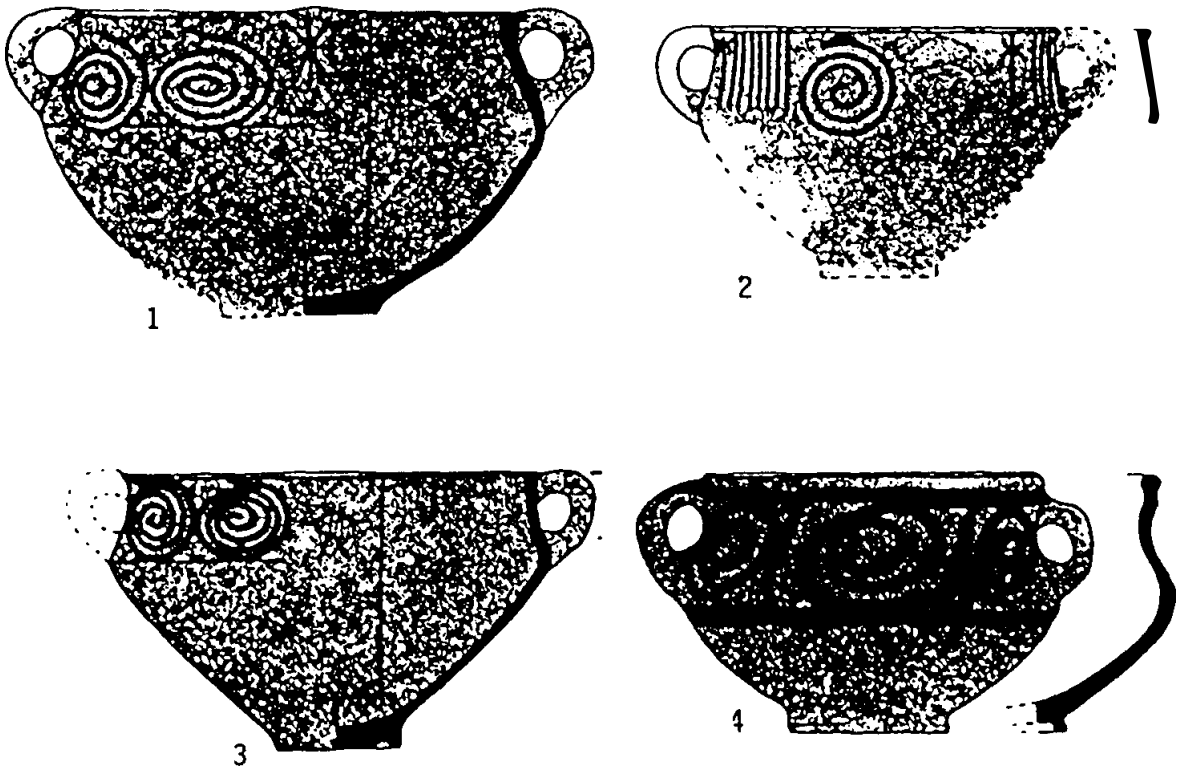


Type Seventeen Strainer Jars

Figure 17



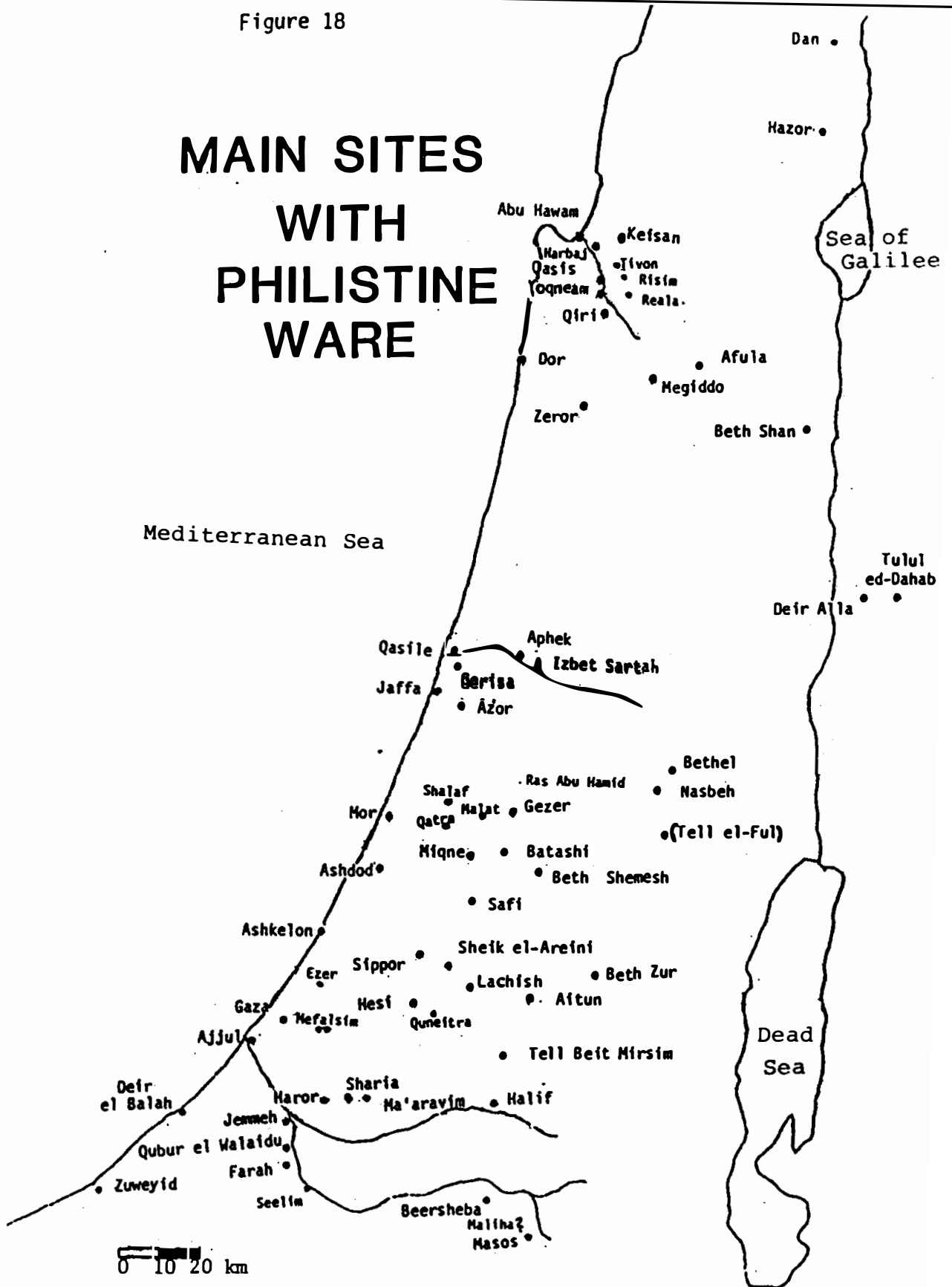
Type Nine Bottles



Type Eighteen Kraters

Figure 18

MAIN SITES WITH PHILISTINE WARE



Distribution of Philistine Ware In Palestine

Figure 18 indicates all of the sites at which Philistine Ware has been found, as completely as can be determined at present. It may not include all finds of the most recent survey work. The percentage of Philistine Ware at each site, its role at each site, and an evaluation of the quality of the data available for each site will be provided in the following set of individual site summaries.

Percentage figures for older excavations will generally be based on the records of whole and restorable vessels from the site, since it is likely that these will not be distorted by selective sampling to the degree that the sherd collection may be. In the analysis of recent excavations for which a good sample of pottery was available for study the percentages are generally based on rims only, since experience in working with the saved materials from several excavations indicates that this is the most reliable measure of the proportion of Philistine Ware in the assemblage. In collections of material which have already been sorted by the archeologists it is apparent that the selection of body sherds which has been saved often significantly exaggerates the percentage of painted or burnished sherds in the original assemblage. Even when the rim sample saved is less than 100%, the rim collections do not show the preponderance of painted and burnished sherds which often characterizes the collection of body sherds which has been saved.

If body sherds are included in the percentage analysis of "raw" unsorted samples direct from the field, the percentage of painted wares like Philistine Ware will be understated, since sherds of large undecorated storage jars often make up a great percentage of such collections. When only the rims are used, one is able to recognize joins more accurately and get a more accurate assessment of the number of vessels of each type. Some examples which illustrate these principles will be given in the following studies of specific excavations.

The stratigraphy of each site will not be analyzed in detail here, since Trude Dothan has already covered this thoroughly in the English edition of her standard work. Necessary references to her work and other studies will be supplied in the endnotes as needed. The main concern of this chapter is a quantitative analysis of the role of Philistine Ware at each site.

Sites in and near Philistia

Unfortunately, except for Ashdod, information on the five main cities of the Philistines is very limited. They will nevertheless be listed first because of their importance in the literary records.

Ashdod

Ashdod is the most important site for our study, since it is the only one of the five chief cities of the Philistines for which a major, modern excavation has reached the stage of final publication. (153) Important additional material from the period during which Philistine Ware flourished is still being prepared for publication.

"Mycenaean" pottery and small amounts of Philistine Ware occur in Stratum XIII at Ashdod, but this stratum was not included in this quantitative study, because it precedes the period when Philistine Ware flourished.

The data in this study is based on an analysis of 2553 rims from Strata XII and XI, Areas G and H, of this excavation. (154) This sample consists of all of the rims which were saved from 44 loci of Strata XII and XI. These 44 loci were chosen at random from among the loci of these two strata. (155)

From Stratum XII, Area G, 135 of the 535 rims analyzed were classified as Philistine Ware. (25.2%) In loci which produced at least 10 rims the percentage of Philistine Ware ranged from 2.5% to 47%. This great range in the percentage of Philistine Ware in individual loci of a stratum indicates the importance of using a broad sample for a wide area in assessing the role of Philistine Ware at any site.

From Stratum XII, Area H, 195 of 799 rims were classified as Philistine Ware. (24.4%). An additional 31 rims were classified as "Mycenaean." (3.9%) The percentage of pottery from this stratum showing "Aegean" influence would, therefore, be about 28.3%. Within individual loci the percentage of Philistine Ware ranged from 13% to 38.9%.

The total for Stratum XII is 330 of 1334 rims classified as Philistine Ware. (24.7%) The 31 additional rims classified as "Mycenaean" would bring the total to 27.1%.

From Stratum XI, Area H, 200 of 598 rims were classified as Philistine. (33.4%) Individual loci ranged from 2.4% to 66.7% Philistine Ware.

From Stratum XI, Area G, 95 of 463 rims were classified as Philistine Ware. (20.5%). The percentage of Philistine Ware in individual loci varied from 4.8% to 50%.

For Stratum XI as a whole 295 of 1061 rims were classified as Philistine Ware. (27.8%)

For Strata XII and XI together 656 of the 2395 rims which were typologically clear were classified as Philistine Ware. (27.4%)

In this study Stratum XI, the later of the two strata, yielded a slightly higher percentage of Philistine Ware than Stratum XII, the earlier of the two. This appears to be due to the chances of sampling, not to any significant difference between the two strata. In the sample used for this study the variation in the percentage of Philistine Ware is greater between Areas G and H (23% vs. 30.5%) than it is between Strata XII and XI (27.1% vs. 27.8%).

A figure of about 27%, plus or minus a few points, seems to be a fairly reliable statement of the role of Philistine Ware in these two strata at Ashdod. The excavator attempted to save a proportionate sample of the rims of these strata. The natural tendency to save more painted pieces to illustrate the full variety of painted patterns could have exaggerated the percentage of Philistine Ware to a small degree, but this does not appear to be a significant factor in the rim sample from Ashdod.

A difference of opinion between two pottery analysts as to which pottery should be classified as Philistine would, of course, also affect the percentages. For example, in Stratum XII the dividing line between monochrome "Mycenaean" pottery and monochrome Philistine Ware is debatable. This factor was minimized in this study by adding both types together as two stages of derivation from the same Aegean influence. There were 158 rims which were not included in the figures above because extreme wear, smallness, or some other factor made their classification doubtful. Even if all of these doubtful specimens were classified as Philistine Ware, the percentage of Philistine Ware would only be raised from 27.4% to 31.7%.

Because the loci for this sample were chosen at random, accidents of sampling could distort the sample, but the size of the sample is large enough to minimize this possibility.

As a double check on the rim sample, 105 whole vessels which are illustrated in the published material or the excavator's cards for Strata XII and XI, Areas G and H, were also analyzed. Thirty-two of these were classified as Philistine Ware. (30.5%) This result corresponds quite closely with the result of the analysis based on rims only.

On the basis of all of these factors it appears that 27% is a good approximation of the role of Philistine Ware in Strata XII and XI at Ashdod. This percentage is significantly higher than any other site analyzed. Of the sites for which a adequate amount of material is available only the early stages of Tel Qasile and Sharia approach this figure. (156)

Tel Migne/Ekron

Tel Migne, 18 km. east of Ashdod, is identified as the Philistine city of Ekron with a high degree of probability. It is reported to be the largest Iron Age tell in Israel, covering 50 acres. Two seasons of limited trial excavation and one major season have prepared the way for ten years of planned excavations. (157)

In the limited area excavated in the trial seasons Philistine Ware occurred in Phases 9, 8, 7. Mycenaean IIIC1b also occurred in some loci of phases 9 and 8. The mud bricks of Phase 9 produced a large number of EB, MB, and LB sherds, including some from the very end of the LB. The sealed fill of the artificial slope, which contained a significant number of EB, MB, and LB sherds also contained some Myc. IIIC1b and Philistine forms. Phase 8C produced a homogenous assemblage of Iron Age IA coarse wares. The fills above 8C and below 8B contained the same Iron Age IA coarse wares and some Myc. IIIC1b sherds, but no definite Philistine bichrome material. The Phase 8B architectural elements contained an unusually large sample of Myc. IIIC1b forms and a few Philistine sherds. Only in Phase 8A were a significant number of Philistine Ware sherds found. The excavators concluded that Phase 8 can be assigned to the 12th-11th centuries and that Myc. IIIC1b both preceded and co-existed with Philistine bichrome ware. This overlap repeats the pattern discovered at Ashdod. The latest pottery of phase 7 was Iron Age I, including both coarse wares and an unusually high concentration of Philistine ceramic forms. Ekron may make it possible to outline the full sequence of the development of Philistine Ware from well-stratified material. (158)

It appears that the proportion of Philistine Ware at Migne may be similar to that at Ashdod, but no firm conclusions can be drawn until full-scale excavations have been carried out and reported. The planned excavations at Tel Migne should provide a major increase in our knowledge of the development of the Philistine material culture.

Ashkelon/Tell el Khadra

It is not possible to derive any quantitative information from the published material from Ashkelon, except the presence of Philistine Ware at the site. (159) Stratum VI contains Philistine Ware, most of which appears to belong to Dothan's phase 1. There is not adequate information to make any assessment of the role of Philistine Ware at this site. It is not always clear if the whole vessels published are actually from Ashkelon, or if they merely illustrate the types of material found there. The lack of late Philistine Ware here may be significant, but it may simply be a reflection of the very limited area excavated. Renewed excavations at Ashkelon

should soon remedy the lack of data from this important site.

Gaza/Tell Harube

The very limited excavation and minimal publication of Pythian-Adams' work at Gaza make it impossible to base any firm conclusions on these finds. The limited amount of Philistine Ware found here seems to be late material. (160)

Gath/Tell es-Safi?

The identification of Philistine Gath with Tell es-Safi is generally accepted today, but the identification has not been proven. This question will be discussed further in the section on Tell Sheik el Areini.

Bliss and Macalister reported a substantial amount of interesting Philistine material from es-Safi, but the materials are not published adequately enough to be useful for quantitative study and evaluation. (161)

We will now examine other sites in and near Philistia proper, which had excavations of major significance.

Tell Fara South/Sharuhen

Tell el Fara S is best known as the site of the five chamber tombs which Petrie called the Tombs of the Lords of the Philistines. Four of these tombs contained Philistine Ware, and two of them contained anthropoid clay coffins which will be discussed in a later chapter of this thesis. These tombs were the subject of the most detailed computer analysis of an assemblage containing Philistine Ware which has been published to date. (162) In this study Thomas McClellan analyzed 16 tomb assemblages from Fara. His goal was to determine the chronological relationship of these tombs. Of greatest importance to our study are four of the "Tombs of the Lords of the Philistines" (Tombs 532, 542, 552, 562). According to McClellan the percentage of Philistine Ware in these four tombs is 4%, 11.3%, 6.3%, and 5.7% respectively. McClellan's analysis was based on vessel shape only, not on decoration. Since "Philistine" vessel forms sometimes occur in undecorated examples, McClellan believed that the percentage of decorated Philistine Ware in these tombs probably did not exceed a 5% average.

Tell el Fara, which is usually identified with Sharuhen, is in the southern part of Philistia proper, 24 kilometers south of Gaza, so the comparatively small percentage of Philistine Ware in these tombs in the midst of the Philistine period is somewhat surprising. Even in the repertoire of painted pottery from these tombs, vessels decorated with simple bands were more common than distinctive Philistine patterns. (163) The size of the sample is over 200 vessels, so the results should be

significant. The greatest question marks about McClellan's results are the reliability of Petrie's records of the excavation, which are scattered among three different volumes, the effect of McClellan's decision to use vessel form as his only criterion for defining Philistine Ware, and the amount of time spanned by the burials in some of the tombs, especially 542.

It should be noted that the Series 900 burials from Fara, which extend past the time of Ramses III according to McClellan's seriation, and which contain scarabs of Ramses IV and VI, contain no Philistine Ware, but they do contain a few stirrup jars and pyxides with non-Philistine decoration and part of one anthropoid coffin. (164)

McClellan's quantitative data from the stratified deposits of the tell is less satisfactory. McClellan analyzed the whole vessels of strata ZZ, Y, X, and V as part of his quantitative studies of the Iron Age pottery of Palestine. (165) It is very striking that in his quantitative study of about 143 whole vessels from these levels McClellan did not report one bowl, jug, or jar decorated in distinctly Philistine style. (166) Most of the painted ware in these assemblages, such as pilgrim flasks, is decorated in the same simple style as the decorated pottery of Beth Shan 6 and Megiddo 6 and 6A. McClellan acknowledged that there were decorated Philistine sherds at Fara, especially in Stratum Y, but commented that a quantitative analysis of these was not available. McClellan's computer seriation of these strata led him to place strata Y, X, and V just after tombs 552, 562, and 532, but before tomb 542. (167) It is, therefore, surprising to find so little Philistine Ware in these strata. Of the standard Philistine forms McClellan's sample for Stratum Y does contain 4.4% undecorated horizontal loop-handled bowls and 4.4% stirrup jars. The data tables indicate that 4.4% represents 2 vessels out of an assemblage of 45 whole vessels.

In Stratum X, horizontal loop-handled bowls account for 5.2% of the whole vessels of the stratum, and pyxoid vessels of two types totaled 3.4% of this stratum. Each 1.7% represents one vessel in an assemblage of 59.

Stratum V has 7.9% of the "Philistine" horizontal handled bowls, and 2.6% pyxides. Each 2.6% represents one vessel out of an assemblage of 39. According to McClellan's study the Philistine vessel forms in these three strata average less than 10%, a result consistent with the tomb results.

Questions have been raised about the validity of McClellan's work because he apparently did not see the material, but was dependent on the quality of Petrie's records, and because his results and conclusions deny the importance of Philistine Ware at Fara. The material from Fara was restudied for this thesis on the basis of Petrie's and Duncan's records and the material and records

which remain in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. These results were cross-checked against Trude Dothan's listings of Philistine Ware from Fara to see if she reported any additional Philistine material from Fara on the basis of her study of the material now in London. The results of this restudy agree quite closely with McClellan's percentages of Philistine Ware for the Fara tombs.

Tombs 552 and 562 are the two tombs which contained anthropoid coffins. McClellan's study reported 6.35% Philistine Ware in Tomb 552. The study made for this dissertation classified 6.5-8.7% of the pottery as Philistine Ware. (46 vessels, 3 Philistine, 1 questionable) McClellan reported 5.7% Philistine Ware in Tomb 562. This present study classified 7.3-9.8% as Philistine Ware. (41-3-1).

McClellan classified 4% of the pottery of Tomb 532 as Philistine Ware. This study found 4.3% Philistine Ware.

The most important tomb is 542. Here McClellan reported 11.3% Philistine Ware. This study classified 9.6-12.04% of the pottery of this tomb as Philistine Ware. (83 vessels, 8 Philistine, 2 debatable) The eight vessels decorated in Philistine style included 6 bowls, 1 beer jug, and 1 Egyptian style jar. In addition there was 1 undecorated beer jug and 1 undecorated Philistine style bowl.

There were some unresolved discrepancies between McClellan's study and this present study as to the exact number of vessels from each tomb, but no evidence was found for significant quantities of additional Philistine Ware from these tombs which had been missed by McClellan. His conclusion that all of the tombs except 542 contain less than 10% Philistine Ware seems justified on the basis of the evidence presently available. On the basis of this pottery evidence it is possible to dispute whether these tombs are true Philistine burials or non-Philistine burials which incorporate a certain amount of Philistine pottery obtained through trade or some other means. We will return to this question in the chapter on Philistine burials.

On the other hand, this present study raises doubts about McClellan's conclusions concerning the stratified material at Fara. McClellan classified 8.8% of the vessels of Stratum Y as undecorated Philistine Ware. (168) In the restudy of Petrie's register, Duncan's drawings, and Beth Pelet II, which was made for this thesis, 66 whole vessels from Stratum Y were found. Nine of these were classified as Philistine Ware. Two more were questionable. (13.6%-16.7% Philistine Ware) (169) This figure is higher than McClellan's and includes decorated Philistine Ware, mostly bowls.

It appears that McClellan understated the importance of Philistine Ware in Stratum Y. What caused this

discrepancy? McClellan may simply have missed some of the Philistine Ware in Petrie's records of Stratum Y. Vessel YX365 on Plate LXXVI of Beth Pelet II is clearly Philistine Ware, but McClellan does not mention it. Because McClellan's main interest was chronology, he chose not to use material from pits since this could confuse his results. By chance much of the decorated Philistine pottery from Fara Y comes from pits. Stratum D on the south part of the tell, which corresponds to the Philistine strata on the north, also produced some painted Philistine vessels. McClellan did not use this material. At Fara McClellan's sample of whole vessels appears to have been too small to be truly representative, with the result that an accident of sampling distorted his results. (170) McClellan's typology for Philistine bowls and Egyptian style wide-neck jars is not sharp enough, and this also causes some problems in his data. In classifying Philistine bowls McClellan relied too heavily on the criterion of horizontal handles. Since these handles continue as a regular feature on the "degenerate" bowls which follow the main period of decorated Philistine Ware and since McClellan's typology does not adequately or consistently distinguish the two types, his computer seriation may place Tombs like 542, which has a high percentage of horizontal-handled bowls, too late in the seriation, because the high percentage of horizontal handles in Tomb 542 links it with the frequency of horizontal handles on the late bowls of Stratum V, even though these bowls are not identical in style or time period.

For Stratum X McClellan reported a maximum of 8.6% Philistine vessel forms, 3 horizontal-handled bowls and 2 pyxides in an assemblage of 59 vessels. The present restudy concluded that a maximum of 6.8% of the pottery of this stratum could be classified as Philistine Ware in the strict sense of the term.

In summary, McClellan's conclusion that Philistine Ware comprises less than 10% of the pottery from the "Tombs of the Lords of the Philistines" seems justified. However, the Philistine Ware from Stratum Y may run closer to 15% than to the minimal presence suggested by McClellan. In Stratum X the amount of distinctly decorated Philistine pottery seems to drop off sharply, but the "Philistine" influence on vessel form continues. These results concerning the stratified pottery are more doubtful than the results concerning the tombs, because of the lack of a representative sherd collection to double-check the results based on the very limited number of whole vessels from the strata.

Tell Qasile

Tell Qasile is located north of Tel Aviv on the north shore of the Yarkon River. It is, therefore, on the northern fringes of Philistia. It is best known for the temples which were found in the same strata as the

Philistine Ware.

This study is based on the pottery published by Amihai Mazar in his Hebrew dissertation on the excavations at Tell Qasile. This material will be published in English in a forthcoming volume of the Qedem Series. (171) All of the whole vessels from the site were published, except for some storage jars which were near duplicates of others which were published. All of the rims were saved. Mazar had already made quantitative studies of the Philistine Ware of Strata XII-X for his dissertation, but the figures in this dissertation are based on an independent study, using different typology for some vessel types. The results correspond very closely to Mazar's.

In Strata XII-X there were 439 whole vessels, including 59 which are distinct Philistine Ware and 17 which are probable Philistine Ware. (13.4%-17.3% Philistine Ware) When the analysis is based on all rims, including both whole vessels and sherds, there are 852 pieces, 124 Philistine Ware, and 38 probable Philistine Ware. (14.6%-19% Philistine Ware)

Analysis of each stratum individually from the earliest to the latest produces the following results.

Stratum XII produced 30 whole vessels, 4 of which were Philistine. (13.3%) There were 179 rims, 40 Philistine Ware, 11 probable Philistine Ware. (22.3%-28.5%) The percentage of Philistine Ware in Temple 319 was somewhat lower than the percentage in the courtyard and other loci.

Stratum XI had 149 whole vessels, 20 Philistine Ware. (13.4%) There were 302 rims, 36 Philistine Ware, 13 probable Philistine Ware. (11.9%-16.2%) In this stratum the percentage of Philistine Ware was highest in the courtyard. Temple 200 itself had the lowest percentage, largely because of the large number of small votive bowls in this locus.

Temple 300 which was classified as transitional Stratum XI-X had 13 whole vessels, 2 of which were Philistine Ware. (15.4%)

Stratum X had 247 whole vessels, 37 Philistine Ware, 7 probable Philistine Ware. (14.97%-17.8%) There were 358 rims, 46 Philistine Ware, 14 probable Philistine Ware. (12.8%-16.8%) A notable feature of this stratum was Locus 188, a sort of repository in Temple 131, which contained a large percentage of the Philistine Ware in the temple and in the stratum as a whole. The large number of storage jars from House 225 is another factor to be considered when evaluating the significance of the percentages from this stratum. The statistics in this paragraph include storage jars listed in Mazar's records, but not drawn.

There is a significant decline in the percentage of Philistine Ware from Stratum XII to the following two strata. However, the small size of the sample for Stratum XII and the substantial presence of small votive bowls and storage jars in Strata XI and X may account for some of the difference. The special provenance of the Qasile material, namely, successive constructions of a temple and its environs, is another factor that must be considered in weighing the significance of the data from Qasile. The percentage of Philistine Ware in Stratum XII (approximately 24%) would place Qasile nearly in the range of the prime Philistine strata at Ashdod. The lower percentages of Strata XI and X (approximately 14%) fall closer to the range of the later material from Sharia.

The material from Qasile offered an opportunity to test the quantitative methodology used in this study by comparing analyses which were based only on whole vessels with analyses based on all of the rims saved. For whole strata and other large subdivisions of the collection from Qasile there was no significant difference in the percentage of Philistine Ware whether the analysis was based on whole vessels or rims. The most notable exception was Stratum XII for which the percentage of Philistine Ware was significantly higher when based on rim count. This is probably due to the fact that the number of whole vessels from Stratum XII was too small to form an adequate sample. For many individual loci the number of whole vessels is too small to be used as a means of comparing loci with each other.

The difference between analyses based on whole vessels and those based on rims only is more significant if one is trying to determine the number of vessels of various types in a given assemblage. Kraters and cooking pots tend to be under-represented in statistics based on whole vessels, rather than rims. Surprisingly, large storage jars are often proportionately represented in data based on "whole vessels", probably because they often receive special attention in restoration efforts. (In this dissertation the term "whole vessels" always includes restored vessels.) Juglets, flasks, stirrup jars, lamps, and bowls tend to be over-represented in statistics based on whole vessels only, compared to statistics based on rims only. These generalizations will not hold for every sample because of the peculiarities of individual samples and different restoration practices of different excavators, but they are useful to keep in mind when comparing statistics based on whole vessels with statistics based on rim counts.

Qasile has a wide variety of vessel forms of Philistine Ware, including some forms not found elsewhere. As in all Philistine Ware assemblages, bowls are the most common type of Philistine Ware at Qasile. (47.4%) Bell kraters and stirrup jars are also relatively common. (15.3% and 10.2%) "Degenerate Style" vertical-handled kraters make-up another 4.4%. Strainer-spouted jugs occur

both in the vertical handle and basket handle varieties. (4.3% and 3.6%) Some of these strainer jars have unusual stirrup-basket handles. Dothan's types which occur as a single vessel or in small quantities include the feeding bottle, the Cypriote bottles, and an unusual style of pinched-waist vessel. Vessels which are not included in Dothan's standard typology, but which occur at Qasile with Philistine style decoration include flasks, globular goblets, an amphoriskos, a rhyton, a cult stand, and a hollow-rimmed cultic bowl. Of more than 40 cult vessels only 3 have distinctive Philistine decoration.

As at most sites, the white slip which is often cited as a main characteristic of Philistine Ware occurs frequently on "non-Philistine" vessel forms at Qasile, especially on the cyra rimmed bowls.

The Philistine Ware of Qasile features much high quality decoration of the classical Philistine style. This style survived into Stratum X in considerable quantity. This raises the question whether this style was produced longer at Qasile than at many other sites, or if the style survived due to special care in a temple setting. This writer favors the latter alternative, especially since the classical Philistine Ware is absent or nearly absent from the residential areas which are contemporary with the temple of Stratum X. These areas were excavated in the earlier excavations of B. Mazar. An alternate explanation is that this discrepancy may be due to ethnic differences in different quarters of the town during Stratum X. (172) Perhaps the renewed excavations at Tell Qasile will clarify this question.

Tell Sharia

Tell Sharia is a small tell of about 4 acres, located on the Nahal Gerar, 27 km. east of Gaza. Ziklag is its suggested identification. The tell was occupied almost continuously from 1600 B.C. to 600 A.D. Philistine Ware occurs in Stratum VIII. There is no Philistine Ware reported in loci which are definitely from Stratum IX. Stratum IX may end as late as the twenty-second year of Ramses III. (173)

The data in this study is based on an examination of 3683 sherds from 52 loci of Stratum VIII. (174) Of these 3683 sherds 224 were clearly Philistine Ware, and another 131 were classified as probable Philistine Ware. This gives a figure of 6.1% to 9.6% Philistine Ware for Stratum VIII as a whole. If the analysis is based on rims only, the percentage is somewhat higher. Out of 1341 rims, 150 were classified as Philistine Ware, 60 as probable Philistine Ware. This gives a range of 11.2% to 15.7% Philistine Ware. The analysis based on rims only is regarded as the better measure, because the total sherd collection contains many storage jar body fragments saved for possible restoration. The number of such sherds is disproportionate to the number of such vessels in the assemblage and dilutes the percentage of Philistine Ware.

Stratum VIII may be divided into four phases. The data concerning these four phases must be regarded as tentative, since the intensive study of Stratum VIII in preparation for publication was just beginning at the time of this study. If the pottery of Stratum VIII is analyzed phase by phase, from earliest to latest, the results are as follows:

In Phase Four 33 of 321 sherds were classified as Philistine Ware, with 16 probable Philistine Ware. (10.3%-15.3%) Of 173 rims 22 were Philistine Ware and 9 probable Philistine Ware. (11.7%-17.96%)

In Phase Three 84 of 630 sherds were Philistine Ware, 36 probable Philistine Ware. (13.3%-19.0%) Of 252 rims 58 were Philistine Ware, 5 probable. (23%-25%)

In Phase Two there were 1024 sherds, 47 Philistine Ware, 26 probable Philistine Ware. (4.6%-7.1%) Of 365 rims, 27 were Philistine Ware, 18 probable Philistine Ware. (7.4%-12.3%)

In Phase One there were 578 sherds, 18 Philistine Ware, and 24 probable Philistine Ware. (3.1%-7.3%) There were 231 rims, 16 Philistine Ware, and 15 probable Philistine Ware. (6.9%-13.4%)

The percentage of Philistine Ware increases from Phase Four to Phase Three, but decreases quite sharply in Phases Two and One. The same pattern occurs both in the loci of the "four-room house" of Stratum VIII and in other loci of the stratum.

The Philistine Ware of Sharia differs significantly from the Philistine Ware of Strata XII and XI at Ashdod. White slip is abundant in all four phases at Sharia, but painted motifs such as spirals are rare in all four phases. The 355 pieces of Philistine Ware from our sample are classified as follows: white slip only--51.8%, white surface--1.1%, white slip and painted lines--25.6%, painted motifs, such as spirals--5.9%, red slip--5.9%, undecorated--6.5%, other--2.8%.

Most of the white slip is thin, of poor quality. This slip occurs quite often on vessel forms which are not traditional "Philistine" forms. For this reason body sherds which have white slip without decoration cannot be classified as definite Philistine Ware. This is the main reason for the high percentage of sherds listed as probably Philistine Ware in this study. All white-slipped sherds in the sample studied were classified as Philistine Ware or probable Philistine Ware, unless it was certain that the vessel form in question was not one of the standard Philistine Ware vessel forms. When this procedure was followed, there were still 19 white slip sherds and 18 white surface sherds among the 1256 sherds of the four room house which were classified as

non-Philistine.

The possibility that the many unpainted, white-slipped sherds just happen to come from areas of the vessel which were between the painted motifs does not offer an adequate explanation for the low percentage of Philistine painted motifs at Sharia. Only 21 of the 355 Philistine Ware sherds in our sample have distinctive Philistine painted motifs, such as spirals. (5.9%) Even if the 21 Philistine painted motifs are allotted only to the 210 Philistine Ware rims in our sample, only 10% of the Philistine Ware rims have painted motifs. (175) Since the painted motifs on Philistine Ware bowls generally come very close to the rim, the motifs should be visible on most bowl rim fragments if the vessels were painted with distinct motifs. The tendency toward unpainted white-slipped vessels at Sharia is also supported by the only two whole vessels with white slip in the sample studied. Both of these were white-slipped bowls without any other decoration. (176)

Twenty-one spirals or connected spirals were the only painted Philistine motifs which occurred in the sample of 3683 sherds studied for this dissertation. The concentric semi-circle motif does occur on one or two sherds from Sharia which were not a part of our sample. (177) There was not a single example of black and red paint on white slip in the 3683 sherds studied. This style does occur at Sharia outside of our sample, but it appears to be extremely rare at Sharia. (178)

As at other sites, the great majority of Philistine Ware sherds from Sharia belong to bowls. Thick kraters are surprisingly rare in our sample compared to many other sites. There is one strainer spout, decorated with thick white slip and red paint. Two nicely decorated rims may come from similar vessels. Burnished strainer spouts also occur. (179) There is one mouth of a horn-shaped bottle, decorated with thick white slip and red paint. (180) There are two pieces of pinched-waist vessels. (181) One is decorated with white slip, but no paint. The other has a double pinched-waist and is decorated with reddish slip. Neither has a Philistine style painted motif. There is one spout of the "feeding bottle" type. (182) None of Dothan's other types appeared in our sample.

If the Philistine Ware is analyzed by phases (with doubtful loci omitted), the results are as follows:

Phase 4: 36 sherds, 63.9% white slip only, 2.8% white surface, 16.7% white slip and painted bands, 5.6% spirals, 5.6% red slip, 2.8% undecorated, 2.8% other.

Phase 3: 145 sherds, 52.4% white slip only, 1.4% white surface, 33.8% white slip and painted bands, 4.1% spirals, 4.1% red slip, 2.1% undecorated, 2.1% other.

Phase 2: 73 sherds, 54.8% white slip only, 20.5% white slip and painted bands, 2.7% spirals, 9.6% red slip, 6.8% undecorated, 5.5% other.

Phase 1: 42 sherds, 47.6% white slip only, 2.4% white surface, 14.3% white slip and painted bands, 11.9% spirals, 7.1% red slip, 14.3% undecorated, 2.4% other.

There is some decline in the ratio of white slip to decoration of other types on vessels of "Philistine" form toward the end of Stratum VIII, but the decline is not drastic. The percentage of the Philistine Ware forms with painted decoration does not decline sharply. There is, in fact, a rise in the percentage of spiral motifs in the last phase, but this is probably an accident of sampling. The percentage of red slip on distinctly Philistine vessel forms does not increase sharply in the later phases of Stratum VIII, but red slip does increase its share of the whole ceramic repertoire of Stratum VIII.

This is reflected in the following study of the percentage of red slip and burnish on the bowls of Stratum VIII. For this study, only the bowl rims from the area of the four-room house were used. Body sherds were not used for this analysis, because decorated and burnished body sherds were saved in disproportionate amounts compared to plain body sherds. An analysis based on body sherds would yield a much higher percentage of red-burnished ware than the following count based on rims only:

Phase 4: 31 bowl rims, 51.6% plain, 32.2% Philistine, 3.2% red slip interior, 9.7% red slip in and out, (total red slip 12.9%) 3.2% brown slip. 6.5% of the rims were burnished.

Phase 3: 49 bowl rims, 44.9% plain, 28.6% Philistine, 22.4% red slip in and out, 2% brown slip, 2% other. 4% of the rims were burnished.

Phase 2: 145 bowl rims, 33.1% plain, 20% Philistine, 1.4% red slip interior, 4.1% red slip exterior, 24.1% red slip in and out, (total red slip 29.6%) 13.8% brown slip, 3.4% other. 19.3% of the rims were burnished.

Phase 1: 118 bowl rims, 50% plain, 13.6% Philistine, 1.7% red slip exterior, 22.7% red slip in and out, (total red slip 23.7%) 7.6% brown slip, 4.2% other. 32.2% of the rims were burnished.

In this sample there is a decline in the percentage of "Philistine" bowl rims in the later phases of the stratum. The percentage of red slipped bowl rims increases in the later phases of the stratum. However, the most notable change is the increase in the percentage of burnishing in the later phases of the stratum.

The figure of about 15% Philistine Ware in Stratum VIII as a whole would place Sharia in the upper ranks of

sites yielding Philistine Ware, but significantly behind such key strata as Ashdod XII and XI and Qasile XII. However, the early phases of Stratum VIII at Sharia surpass Strata XI and X at Qasile. The most significant difference between Sharia VIII and these other strata is the relative scarcity of distinctive Philistine painted motifs at Sharia. This difference is usually explained by assigning Sharia VIII to a later date than the prime Philistine strata at Ashdod and Qasile. However, the question whether some of the difference may be due to the location and nature of the sites, rather than to chronological difference, needs further study. Even Stratum X at Qasile retains a significant proportion of painted motifs in comparison with Sharia.

Tel Haror (Abu Huera)

Tel Haror is a new excavation of Ben Gurion University which follows up on their work at Sharia. It is located in southern Philistia, west of Sharia. Gerar is its suggested identification. It is too early to draw any definite conclusions from the limited excavation so far. However, the role of Philistine Ware at Haror appears to be similar to that at Sharia. The percentage of Philistine Ware in the pottery of the first season appears to be comparatively low. Late, red-slipped Philistine Ware seems to be the main type, but the bichrome on white slip style does occur. Further excavation and study will be necessary before the situation at Tel Haror can be evaluated more accurately. (183)

Tel Ma'aravim

Tel Ma'aravim is a small daughter site, 1.5 km. from Tell Sharia. Only 10 days of excavation were conducted at the site. Phase 2, which was badly damaged, produced late Philistine Ware and band-burnished pottery. No "early Philistine" pottery was reported. The role of Philistine Ware at Ma'aravim appears to be similar to that at Sharia. (184)

Tel Gerisa

Tel Gerisa is a 10 acre tell on the south bank of the Yarkon, across from Tell Qasile. It is, therefore, at the northern edge of Philistia proper. No information has been made available from the excavations conducted by Sukenik between 1927 and 1951. The statistics in this study are based on a study of material from the current excavations by Tel Aviv University. (185) The "Philistine" inhabitations seem to be small agricultural settlements on the northern and southern crests of the tell. (186) The data in this study must be considered as offering only a preliminary idea of the role of Philistine Ware at Tel Gerisa, since analysis of the pottery and stratigraphy is in the very early stages.

Pottery from 16 of the main Philistine Ware loci was

analyzed for this study. (187) Of 597 rims 26 were classified as distinctive Philistine Ware, 31 as probable Philistine Ware. (4.4%-9.5%) If all diagnostic sherds were included, the figures were 1038-45-42. (4.3%-8.4% Philistine Ware) Since many of the loci studied were still in the field bags and were unsorted loci for restoration, it was possible to compare three calculations of the percentage of Philistine Ware for many of the loci: an analysis based on rims alone, a second based on diagnostic sherds of the sort that would probably be kept in a sorted assemblage, and a third analysis based on a count of all sherds excavated. This comparison reinforced the conviction that an analysis based on rims is the most meaningful statistic for comparing sites with each other. If the study of these 16 loci was based on all sherds excavated and saved until the completion of restoration, the great number of fragments from large storage jars in restoration loci would reduce the percentage of Philistine Ware to less than 1%. The analysis based on rims gives a more accurate picture of the number of vessels of each type and a more accurate comparison of restoration and non-restoration loci.

Much of the Philistine Ware at Gerisa is of the red slip or undecorated varieties which Dothan classifies as late. The vertical-handled type 18 krater is a typical form. However, white-slipped sherds, decorated with standard bichrome or monochrome Philistine motifs also occur.

The comparatively low percentage of Philistine Ware, even in comparison to Stratum X at nearby Tell Qasile raises the question of whether Tel Gerisa is truly a Philistine settlement or whether the Philistine Ware may be due mainly to trade and perhaps some local imitation, especially in the case of the red slipped ware. Further excavation and study are necessary before any firm conclusions are possible.

Beth Shemesh

The first step of this analysis of the Philistine Ware from Beth Shemesh was a study of all of the whole vessels from Stratum III which are pictured and described in Grant's Ain Shems IV, plates 36-40 and 59-62. This group of 71 vessels contains 7 Philistine Ware vessels. (9.9%) If 4 very doubtful specimens were classified as Philistine Ware, the percentage would be raised to 15.5%. (188) However the classification of even these 7 vessels as Philistine Ware is based on a broad definition of Philistine Ware. None of these 7 vessels has the classic Philistine pattern of bichrome paint on white slip. Three are bichrome on plain surface, one monochrome on white, and three monochrome on plain. (The total percentage of painted ware of all types in this sample was 31%. Therefore the "non-Philistine" painted ware is nearly double the "Philistine Ware.")

The percentage of Philistine Ware was recalculated by including not only the whole vessels, but also all of the sherds from Stratum III which are described in the final report. This was done to evaluate the difference between the whole vessel and sherd samples in an older site report. One might expect that the sherd sample would be more biased to painted wares than the whole vessel list. In this particular sample this was not the case. There were 299 sherds, of which 33 were classified as Philistine Ware and 12 as probable Philistine Ware. (11.0%-15.1%) For rims alone the figures would be 229 rims, 21 Philistine Ware, and 9 probable Philistine Ware. (9.2%-13.1%) The percentages from all three types of analysis were thus quite close.

The classification of 45 pieces as Philistine Ware was quite broad, since it included such items as fragments bearing white slip, which were too small to determine what the vessel form may have been. Of the 45 pieces which were classified as Philistine Ware only two were bichrome on white slip. (4.4%) Five were monochrome on white. (11.1%) Ten were bichrome on plain. (22.2%) Nineteen were monochrome on plain. (42.2%) Nine were undecorated or unclear. (20%) The amount of white slip (15.5%) is rather small at Beth Shemesh, compared to some other sites.

An attempt was also made to analyze all of the whole vessels from Stratum III which were included in the preliminary report. The nature of Grant's records in this part of the report makes it difficult to be sure that one has a complete list of the vessels of Stratum III from this phase of the excavation. There were 13 Philistine Ware vessels in this section of the report. The total number of vessels from Stratum III recorded in this section of the report exceeds 134. (189) So the percentage is again around 10%. All of the pottery found in Stratum III during the 1931 season and listed in the register for that season was also analyzed. (190) Out of 69 pieces a maximum of 12 were Philistine (17.3%). Only 2 of these 12 were clearly distinctive Philistine Ware. The figures in this paragraph are not statistically sound data, but they are of some interest as an experiment in what can be done in assembling quantitative information from older site reports, which lack direct statistical data, and an illustration of some of the difficulties of such a study.

From the excavator's daily log books, which are at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, one can make a list of all of the Philistine Ware of Beth Shemesh, which can be checked against the published material. Unfortunately, the logs are not arranged in such a way that one can determine the percentage of Philistine Ware in the whole assemblage, but one can determine the types of Philistine Ware which occur at Beth Shemesh. There were a total of 31 Philistine Ware vessels recorded from Beth Shemesh.

(This is less than the total of the Philistine Ware vessels mentioned in the various counts above, because some vessels appear more than one place in Grant's various publications.) The Philistine Ware vessel types found at Beth Shemesh included 7 decorated bowls, 3 undecorated bowls, 3 kraters, 5 stirrup jars, 3 strainer jars with Philistine motifs, 5 strainer jars with simple bands, 1 Egyptian style jar, 2 jugs with Philistine style decoration, 1 curved Cypriote style bottle, and 1 straight-necked bottle. The decoration of these vessels breaks down as follows, 18 Philistine style motifs, 9 with painted bands, 3 undecorated, and one red slip. In this assemblage the proportion of bowls is somewhat smaller than normal, and the proportion of stirrup and strainer jars higher than normal. The percentage of distinctive Philistine motifs is high.

The decoration of one of the incomplete stirrup jars which remains in the Beth Shemesh collection in the basement of the Rockefeller Museum is especially interesting. It is not listed in Grant's publications, but is in the log and is clearly labeled Beth Shemesh III-IV, 295v. Its decorative motif is concentric semi-circles which are connected by chevrons. The unusual feature is that the center of the semi-circles is filled with dots. The paint is black on a plain surface. This pattern occurs on Mycenaean Ware at Enkomi in Cyprus and on samples from Ashdod. (191) Perhaps this piece can be classified as Mycenaean IIIC or to the earliest stages of Philistine Ware.

In addition to the 31 Philistine Ware vessels there were at least 8 other partial or complete strainer jars which were classified as non-Philistine, because they were undecorated and sometimes different in ware from the Philistine vessels. There was one spouted jar similar to the Type 7 feeding bottle, but different enough to be classified as non-Philistine.

There is greater uncertainty about quantitative data based on older site reports, but the figure of about 10%-12% Philistine Ware for Stratum III at Beth Shemesh appears to be fairly reliable, unless Grant's record are grossly distorted. The whole vessels reported for this excavation seem to be a reasonably accurate representation of the finds, especially since they have been checked against the daily logs. If there is any distortion, it is likely that our figures for the percentage of Philistine Ware at Beth Shemesh exaggerate, rather than understate the percentage of Philistine Ware. However, since Stratum III appears to be a comparatively long-lived stratum, it is possible that there was a higher concentration of Philistine Ware in one phase of its use.

I Samuel 6 classifies Beth Shemesh as an Israelite city on the border of Philistia, though it is possible that it changed hands during the period of Israelite-Philistine conflict. Grant did not believe that

a large number of Philistines lived there. However, neutron activation analysis has suggested that the Beth Shemesh Philistine Ware was locally made. (192)

At this point we will merely note that two hollow-rim cult vessels, a "squirting breast" figurine, and a Mycenaean figurine found at Beth Shemesh are similar to religious objects found at sites such as Tell Qasile. (193) The cultural and ethnic significance of such objects will be discussed in the chapter on religion.

Tell Beit Mirsim

Possibilities for meaningful quantitative studies of Stratum B2 at Tell Beit Mirsim are questionable because of scanty data. However, because of the historical importance of Albright's analysis of this pottery, the available data will be briefly presented.

Albright presents four silos, No. 43, 2, 1, and 6, as representative of Stratum B2. (194) Out of 103 published sherds from these silos only 8 are Philistine Ware (7.8%). This percentage is probably too high, because Albright did not publish a number of the undecorated sherds from silo 6 and perhaps silo 43. Silo 6 contained 26 painted sherds, none of them Philistine Ware. However, Silo 6, which contained the most sherds, may extend past the flourit of Philistine Ware and may thus be diluting the sample. Silo 6 does contain a number of undecorated Philistine shapes.

If body sherds are excluded, the percentage of Philistine Ware is only 4.9%. The published sherds were checked against the material in the study collection of the Albright Institute. The published material from the silos is largely intact at the Albright, but important elements are missing from the other material of B2, so not much can be done with this part of the sherd collection.

The number of whole vessels from Stratum B2 is very small, raising doubts about the adequacy of this sample also. However, since Albright was very short of material from B2, the published material is probably a complete presentation of the whole vessels of B2. Three of 32 whole vessels described in Tell Beit Mirsim I & III are Philistine Ware (9.4%). This percentage is probably too high, because the Philistine "whole vessels" are not as complete as the undecorated whole vessels in the publication. They appear to have been included, so that the Philistine material would be represented in the publication. If undecorated vessels of the same degree of completeness had been included in the publication, the percentage of Philistine Ware would be lower. The three Philistine Ware vessels were a krater, a beer jug, and an amphoriskos. Material from the East Cave was not included in this count. This will be considered in the chapter on burials.

The data from Tell Beit Mirsim is very shaky, but it

seems safe to conclude that the Philistine Ware from Tell Beit Mirsim is under 10%.

Albright identified Tell Beit Mirsim, which is in the Shepelah 25 km. southwest of Hebron, with Israelite Debir, but this is generally not accepted today. The Levitical city of Ashan has been suggested as another possibility. (195) In either case Tell Beit Mirsim would be an Israelite city.

Timna/Batash

Tel Batash, which is identified with Timna, is located on the Sorek between Beth Shemesh and Tel Migne. The tell covers about 10 acres at the base. Stratum V contains the Philistine remains. At first it appeared that this stratum was an unfortified settlement, but more recent seasons have uncovered traces of fortifications.

A few Philistine sherds were found on a poor beaten earth floor in area A. The poorly preserved remains of the Philistine level in Area B also produced some Philistine Ware sherds. Philistine Ware was also found near the foundations of the Iron II gate.

The Philistine stratum is not well preserved and does not appear to be a rich source of Philistine Ware. Going into the 1983 season Philistine Ware seems to have been limited to about 3 whole vessels and a number of sherds. Quantitative studies similar to those conducted at Tel Qasile are being carried out by the excavators, but the results are not yet available. It appears that the percentage of Philistine Ware will be comparatively low.

The excavators have suggested that Timna was a basically Canaanite city with a small number of Philistines living among them. (196)

Gezer

The Hebrew Union College excavation at Gezer was a major excavation which has had a great influence through the many archeologists who were trained in its methodology. Unfortunately, the amount of material which has been published so far is too small to form a basis for a sound analysis of the percentage of Philistine Ware. Although Gezer I reported an "abundance of Philistine Ware," Gezer II reported that the Philistine Ware is certainly less than 5%. (197) This agrees quite closely with the material from Field II which was published in Gezer II, but the sample is quite small, so caution is necessary about placing too much weight on the results. Of 95 rims published from the Philistine strata, Strata XIII-XI, 3 were Philistine Ware and 2 were possible Philistine Ware. (3.2%-5.3%) The percentage was higher in the material from Field I published in Gezer I, but this was a selective preliminary sample, too small for dependable results. Perhaps the forthcoming publication of

the material from Field VI will provide a basis for a more significant analysis. (198)

The material from Macalister's early excavation is not useful for quantitative study, but some of it will be discussed in the chapter on burials.

There is a very strong continuity of LB Canaanite pottery styles into the "Philistine" strata of Gezer. The excavators suggest that there was a strong carry-over of Canaanite population with perhaps a small number of Philistines. (199) I Kings 9:16 describes Gezer as a Canaanite city as late as the time of Solomon.

Aphek

Aphek is located at the sources of the Yarkon on the northern edge of Philistia. It has produced major LB finds, but unfortunately few well preserved remains of the Philistine period have yet been found. Stratum X10 has produced some typical Philistine Ware, but most of the evidence for this level of occupation has been destroyed by the Turkish fort. The Philistine pits lie right at the surface. Kochavi reports remains of houses with wooden posts and round stone pillar bases. Some early style Philistine Ware is reported in the robber trenches of the LB palace. So far, the Philistine Ware is limited to one whole vessel and a small number of sherds. (200)

The transitional stratum between the LB and Philistine levels has some unusual architecture which some have associated with the arrival of the Sea Peoples. These 7x7 m. dwellings appear to have parallels at Tell Abu Hawam and in Syria. Unfortunately, they have no pottery associated with them. There was a small tablet with marks somewhat resembling Cypriote or Cretan scripts. (201)

Lachish

The ongoing excavations may clarify the transition from Bronze to Iron Age at this site. The present excavator currently supports Tufnell's idea of a long abandonment between Strata VI and V against T. Dothan's idea of a more substantial inhabitation during the period of Philistine Ware. (202) The few sherds of Philistine Ware from Cave 4034, pit B, are inadequate for meaningful analysis. They appear to be late additions to material which is mostly parallel to Tel Beit Mirsim C2 and B1. (203)

Tel Hesi/Eglon?

Tel Hesi has a substantial Iron II occupation, but leveling and filling severely damaged whatever Iron I occupations there may have been. Only 1 or 2 Philistine Ware sherds have been found in the new excavations up to the 1983 season. (204)

Jaffa

The small amount of Philistine Ware from this limited excavation is 11th century material corresponding to Qasile XI (205)

Tel Sippor

Tel Sippor is a small site in the middle of the Philistine plain, 15 km. east of Ashkelon. Biran and Negbi conducted a small excavation at the site, which uncovered two Early Iron strata, I and II. The amount of pottery published from this excavation is quite small, but the excavators' report includes a percentage count of the painted sherds. (206)

The report lists ten vessels which are surface finds. One of these is a stirrup jar with a distinctly Philistine bichrome bird pattern on white slip. (207) Five other vessels are decorated with simple red bands (two flasks, one stand, one "teapot," and one round based stirrup jar). The stand and one flask have white slip.

Stratum I is dated mainly to the late 11th century. Of 11 vessels published from this stratum 2 (a flask and a part of a jug) are decorated with red bands. Six vessels are hand burnished. The excavators report that 18% of the sherds of Stratum I were hand burnished. (208) The excavators classify 10% of the sherds in Stratum I as having Philistine elements. (209) The term "Philistine elements" seems to refer primarily to the degenerate horizontal loop handles of the bowls. No distinctly Philistine painting is evident in the published material.

The excavators report that 28% of the pottery from Stratum II is painted. The rest is undecorated pottery which continues the Canaanite traditions of Stratum III. It can not be clearly determined from the published material how much of this 28% should be classified as Philistine. Of 11 painted vessels published from Stratum II 5 are distinct Philistine Ware, 4 possible Philistine Ware, and 2 non-Philistine in form. (210) However, 8 of the 11 vessels, including 2 flasks which were classified as non-Philistine, had white slip. The percentage of white slip is surprisingly large, even in comparison with the percentage of distinct Philistine Ware which has white slip at some of the other sites. The decoration breaks down as follows: monochrome on white-7, monochrome on plain-1, bichrome on plain-2, bichrome on white-1. Only 3 of the 11 painted vessels had distinctively Philistine motifs. The rest were simple lines or bands. This excavation further illustrates some of the problems of classifying Philistine painted decoration. It appears that perhaps half of the 28% painted ware in this stratum should be classified as Philistine Ware in the strict sense, but the problem remains difficult.

The material from Sippor is in the storage facility of the Israel Museum. It is difficult to get precise quantitative information from this material because there was apparently a renumbering of the strata of Sippor between the time when the registration numbers were written on the sherds and the time of publication. Of 180 sherds from Strata I and II 16 were Philistine Ware and 2 were probable Philistine Ware. (8.8%-10%) There were another 65 sherds of Philistine Ware in a separate drawer. These sherds were unmarked and appear to come from surface collection. A notable characteristic of this collection was a high proportion of krater rims. Of 24 whole vessels 5 were Philistine Ware. (20.8%)

Because of the limitations of the evidence the percentage of Philistine Ware at Sippor must be considered only a rough estimate. It appears that the Philistine Ware of Stratum I is limited mainly to red-slipped bowls with horizontal handles. Stratum II appears to have a substantial percentage of white slipped Philistine Ware, perhaps running as high as 20%.

Notable items included in the material saved from Sippor are a flat figurine head, similar to the Ashdoda type, two sherds which may be classified as "Mycenaean," and a shallow bowl with double strand horizontal handles which rise above the rim (Negbi, Fig. 6:4).

Tell Zuweyid

Zuweyid, on the Sinai coast near Wadi el-Arish, is noteworthy as the southernmost site containing Philistine Ware. The Philistine Ware here is limited to a few sherds and does not show up at all in McClellan's computer seriation of the whole vessels of this site. (211)

Tell Jemmeh/Yurzah

Jemmeh is located on the Wadi Gaza, 10 km. south of Gaza. McClellan ran a computer seriation of some of the Iron Age strata of Petrie's excavation, but the Philistine Ware whole vessels were not significant enough to appear in his statistics. I. Eshel attempted a reconstruction of Petrie's strata. (212) In this reconstruction Strata IX and VIII are the strata containing Philistine Ware. In these strata 3 of 60 whole vessels were Philistine Ware (5%), and 45 of 175 sherds were Philistine Ware. (25.7%) The sherd collection appears to be heavily loaded with a disproportionate number of painted sherds. The percentage of Philistine Ware probably falls between the percentages indicated by the whole vessels and the sherds, most likely being closer to the percentage indicated by the whole vessels. However, this is not much more than a guess. The data from Petrie's excavation is simply inadequate for dependable quantitative analysis.

Van Beek's renewed excavations have uncovered substantial "Philistine" occupation and evidence for the manufacture of Philistine Ware at Jemmeh. (213) Hopefully, a sound analysis of the role of Philistine Ware at Jemmeh will be possible on the basis of this new evidence, but no data has yet been made available.

Sheik Ahmed el-Areini (Tel Gat)

This site has been proposed as the site of Philistine Gath, but the small amount of Philistine Ware brought this interpretation into disfavor. (214) Safi is the site presently favored as Gath.

However, the reasons for rejecting Sheik Ahmed el-Areini as Gath should be re-examined. Yeivin reported "a large number of Philistine sherds" in his preliminary report. (215) He did not reject the identification of Areini as Gath because of an absence of Philistine Ware, but because of the large number of Judean royal storage jar handles at the site. (216) However, this type of handle also occurs frequently at Safi, the other main candidate for Gath. (217) Gath is not mentioned in the late prophetic denunciations of the Philistine cities. This suggests that it may have been so firmly in Israelite hands during this period that it was not thought of as a Philistine city. This would account for the substantial presence of Judean royal storage jar handles. The presence of these handles need not disqualify a city as a candidate for Gath. These handles also occur in small quantities at non-Israelite cities. (218)

Safi remains the most plausible candidate for Gath. This identification is supported by a substantial presence of Philistine Ware and a suitable location. However, the limited ceramic evidence which has been published does not in itself eliminate Tell Areini. Further work is needed at both sites.

Tell Ajjul/Beth Eglayim?

Tel el-Ajjul, 6 km. southwest of Gaza, is noted for its cemeteries. There is no data available from 12th or 11th century strata. A few Philistine vessels come from tombs 1139 and 1112. They constitute a very small percentage of the pottery of this assemblage. (219)

Tel Mor

Tel Mor on the Nahal Lachish near Ashdod was the harbor of Ashdod. The excavator believes that Canaanite LB pottery traditions continue two generations longer at Tel Mor than at nearby Ashdod. (220) The appearance of Philistine Ware in Ashdod XIII and XII is considered to be

contemporary with Mor 7 and 6. At Mor Philistine Ware first appears in Strata 4 and 3, which are a small agrarian settlement. (221) However, if the Philistines of Ashdod were indeed sea people, it is difficult to understand how their harbor could continue to be a Canaanite town for two generations. Perhaps the correlation of the strata at Ashdod and Mor should be re-evaluated.

Adequate data for a quantitative analysis of these strata is not available.

Tel Aitun/Eglon?

Tel Aitun is 18 km. southwest of Hebron and 4.5 km. northeast of Tell Beit Mirsim. It is important for the chamber tomb which is discussed in the chapter on burials. The excavator believes that the Philistine Ware which occurs in the burials here was manufactured on the coast. NAA tests show a close correspondence with the Philistine Ware of Ashdod. The so-called "local ware" has calcium carbonate temper and is fired at a low temperature. The "coastal ware" or "Philistine Ware" has quartz sand temper and is fired at a high temperature. This "coastal ware" occurs both in decorated Philistine Ware and in non-Philistine vessel forms. (222)

The quantitative study for Aitun is based on Loculus Tomb C1. Out of 150 vessels in this tomb only 3 are decorated Philistine Ware. (2%) These vessels are a krater, a beautifully decorated beer jug, and a bell bowl. Four undecorated vessels of Philistine form would raise the total to 4.7%. These vessels are an undecorated Egyptian style jar, two bell bowls, and a Cypriote style bottle. There are also a number of sherds of Philistine Ware. (223)

The proportion of Philistine Ware in this tomb is not large enough to indicate that Aitun was a Philistine settlement. It could easily be explained as due to trade. Most of the pottery of the tomb is a continuation of Canaanite LB tradition.

There is a Mycenaean IIIC bowl from another tomb at Aitun. This bowl is included in the Ashdod NAA analysis, but it does not correspond to the ware from Ashdod. (224)

Azor

At Azor, near Jaffa, excavation on the mound has been limited to salvage and amateur digging. M. Dothan has excavated in the Iron Age cemetery near the mound. These important burials are discussed in the chapter on burials. It has been suggested on stylistic grounds that the Philistine Ware of Azor is of local manufacture. (225) The material is not available for quantitative analysis.

Deir el Balah

Deir el Balah is located on the coast, 14 km. southwest of Gaza. This site is best known for the anthropoid coffins discussed in the chapter on burials. However, Trude Dothan's excavations at this site have also uncovered Philistine remains. Several pits dug into the LB levels contained Philistine Ware sherds. Additional Philistine Ware occurs in the surface finds. This material is presently being studied in preparation for publication. Final conclusions will not be possible until further study has been completed. (226)

The quantitative data in this study is based on an analysis of all of the rims saved from the four pits which contained Philistine Ware. The pits themselves appear to be clean loci, uncontaminated by material of other periods.

The pit which we call Pit 421 is composed of Locus 421 and several other loci. It contained 145 rims of which 13 were classified as Philistine Ware and 4 as probable Philistine Ware. (8.9%-11.7%) The Philistine Ware consists mainly of bowl rims. Two very small undecorated bell bowls were the most notable items. This pit also contained two painted Philistine Ware body sherds which do not appear in the figures above.

Pit 1326 yielded 112 rims of which 10 were Philistine Ware and 2 probable Philistine Ware. (8.9%-10.7%) Most of these sherds were thick bowl or krater rims. One or two decorated Philistine Ware body sherds also appeared in this pit.

Pit 1322 contained 56 rims of which 3 were Philistine Ware. (5.4%). Locus 1318, which is closely associated with this pit, contained 124 rims, including 2 Philistine Ware. (1.6%). This locus may not be a clean locus from the period when Philistine Ware flourished. A bichrome Philistine Ware body sherd and a bowl rim with a strainer spout are the most significant sherds from this group.

Pit 526 and associated Locus 525 had 18 rims of which 3 were classified as Philistine Ware. (16.7%) One of these is a bowl rim, decorated with a red spiral on tan-creme slip. The second is a rim bit which is probably from a Philistine Ware bowl. The third is a vertical rim from a carinated bowl which has a different shape than the standard bell bowl.

If all of these loci are combined, the total is 455 rims, 31 Philistine Ware, and 6 possible Philistine Ware. (6.8%-8.1%) If the questionable Locus 1318 is excluded, the figures are 331 rims, 29 Philistine Ware, and 6 possible Philistine Ware. (8.8%-10.6%) This is considerably less than the percentage of Philistine Ware

at such sites as Ashdod and Tel Qasile. However, great caution must be used against drawing too strong conclusions from this sample. This is a small sample which comes entirely from pits and associated loci. If there are Philistine inhabitations which still lie concealed under the dunes which cover the site, they could present a different picture from that suggested by the limited evidence now available. The study which is part of the preparation for publication may also modify the stratigraphic interpretation of some of these loci.

The large majority of the Philistine Ware sherds are from various sized bowls. More than half of these had no visible decoration. Horizontal bowl handles which were tight to the body outnumbered protruding, freestanding handles. Very small, vestigial handles were very rare. Thicker larger bowls accounted for a larger percentage of the bowls than in many Philistine Ware assemblages.

Izbet Sartah

Izbet Sartah is a small site in the hills just east of Aphek. Early reports that there was a very high percentage of Philistine Ware in a stratum which also produced an alphabetic ostrakon raised the hope that this site could shed light on the early use of the alphabet among the Philistines. (227) However, the report of a high percentage of Philistine Ware at Izbet Sartah was erroneous. It now appears that Izbet Sartah was a small agricultural settlement inhabited by Israelites.

There were three strata at Izbet Sartah. According to the excavator Stratum III, which contains a very small amount of Mycenaean Ware, begins in the 13th century and continues into the 12th. Stratum II is a short lived stratum from the late 11th century. Stratum I is from the beginning of the 10th century.

The following quantitative analysis is based on information from Israel Finkelstein's Hebrew dissertation on Izbet Sartah. (228) Finkelstein's study includes some quantitative analysis of the Izbet Sartah pottery. Finkelstein's statistics were expanded and re-worked to conform to the typology and methodology used in this dissertation, and an independent analysis was done on the basis of the rims published from Izbet Sartah.

From Stratum III Finkelstein reported 6 Philistine Ware sherds among 545 sherds. (1.1%) There was no Philistine Ware among 103 rims published from Stratum III.

From Stratum II Finkelstein reported 14 Philistine Ware sherds among 773 sherds. (1.8%). Among 121 rims 4 were Philistine Ware and 6 probable Philistine Ware. (3.3%-8.3%)

From Stratum I Finkelstein reported 8 Philistine Ware

sherds among 571 sherds. (1.4%) Among 103 rims 3 were Philistine Ware and 2 probable Philistine Ware. (2.9%-4.9%)

The total for the three strata was 28 of 1889 sherds Philistine Ware. (1.5%) Of 327 published rims 7 were Philistine Ware and 8 were probable Philistine Ware. (2.1%-4.6%) Finkelstein's data suggests a fairly uniform distribution of Philistine Ware in all three strata. We would not expect to find an equal distribution of Philistine Ware in three strata with the dates suggested by Finkelstein for Izbet Sartah III-I. The analysis based on published rims indicates a greater concentration in Strata II and I. This is more in line with what we would expect on the basis of the dates which Finkelstein suggests for the three strata. If Stratum III begins in the 13th century, we would expect that any Philistine Ware in it would come from the end of the stratum, well into the 12th century. Perhaps some of the Philistine Ware in Strata III and I is intrusive, or the dates should be adjusted slightly from those suggested by Finkelstein. The analysis of published rims yields a higher percentage of Philistine Ware than Finkelstein's analysis, which was based on all sherds. This is not surprising, since the sample selected for publication normally over-emphasizes the percentage of Philistine Ware to some degree. It seems safe to conclude that the percentage of Philistine Ware at Izbet Sartah is well under 5%. It is possible that all three strata miss the main period when Philistine Ware flourished, the late 12th and early 11th centuries.

The vessel form was clearly specified for only 18 of the 28 Philistine Ware sherds from Izbet Sartah. There were 8 bowls, 5 kraters, 3 large bowls, and 2 beer jugs. Most of the other sherds were probably also from bowls.

It was possible to identify painted decoration on 19 of the 28 sherds. Ten had spirals, six had bands, one had a Philistine metope pattern, and two were unclear. Eight of these painted sherds had white slip. One had red slip. There were also six sherds with white slip but no visible decoration.

The percentage of pottery which was burnished was 2.9% in Stratum III, 9.1% in Stratum II, and 16.6% in Stratum I. For bowls alone the percentages were 6.1%, 31%, and 47.6%.

The sites immediately following are in the Northern Negev.

Tel Masos/Hormah?

Tel Masos, 12 km. east of Beersheva, appears to have been an unwalled settlement in Iron I. Stratum IIIA-II contains only a few sherds of Philistine Ware. Midianite Ware also occurs at this site. (229) Zeev Herzog has suggested that Masos IIIA may have been an Amalekite

settlement. (230)

Beersheva

Stratum IX is a pit settlement dated from 1150-1050 B.C. Stratum VIII reuses the pits and contains remains which appear to be of the four-room house type. This stratum, which is dated to the late 11th Century, contains Philistine sherds, but no clear picture of this stratum has yet been published. (231) Twelfth and eleventh century sherds are found mainly in the fill of the tenth century rampart.

Tell Halif/Ziklag?

The few sherds of Philistine Ware which occur here are mostly the so-called "degenerate" Philistine Ware of the 11th century. At the beginning of the 1983 season there were probably not more than six sherds of painted Philistine Ware. It appears that a poor, open settlement occupied the site at this time, but only a small area has been excavated from this period. (232)

Qubur el Walaida

This site is 10 km. southeast of Gaza on the Nahal Besor, between Jemmeh and Fara. Rescue operations were conducted here in 1977. The sequence appears similar to that at Deir el Balah. The Philistine Ware is described as "plentiful," but the material from the rescue excavation is not available. There are plans to resume the excavations. (233) Hopefully, these excavations will clarify the role of Philistine Ware at this important site.

Survey Sites

Survey work by D. Alon has turned up Philistine Ware at a number of sites in the northern Negev, such as Maliha and Quneitra. (234)

Surveys conducted by R. Gophna have revealed late Philistine Ware at several 11th century hazerim in south Philistia, including Seelim, Mefalsim A & B, and Ezer. (235)

Extensive surveys are currently being conducted in the area, particularly along the Besor. Publication of these surveys should clarify the distribution of Philistine Ware in this area.

Surveys and small soundings have also found Philistine Ware at several sites in northern Philistia. Tel Malat, west of Gezer, is tentatively identified as

Gibbethon. (236) Qatra, southwest of Malat, is tentatively identified as Baalah. (237)

Tel Shalaf, northwest of Malat, is sometimes identified with Eltekah. Iron I evidence is skimpy. (238) Ras Abu Hamid, north of Gezer, is tentatively identified as Gath-Gittaim. (239)

Yehudiyah

This site is listed in older literature as the only site in Egypt at which Philistine Ware has been found. However, Albright's analysis has been rejected by more recent writers, and the painted ware in Petrie's publication has been classified as Midianite Ware. This buff burnished ware, decorated with bichrome geometric designs and birds, originated in northwest Arabia. Such Midianite Ware also occurs with Philistine Ware at Fara. However, one of the pieces from Yehudiyah illustrated by Petrie is a large horizontal loop handle from a bowl decorated with painted bands. This appears to be Mycenaean or Philistine Ware, rather than Midianite. (240)

Sites in the Central Mountains

Tell en Nasbeh

This site 11 km. north of Jerusalem is generally identified with Mizpeh. The Nasbeh publications include some quantitative studies and raw data which could be used for further quantitative studies, but the site has only a trace of Philistine Ware, although it has significant Early Iron remains. Only 47 sherds of Philistine Ware and 12 sherds of possible Philistine Ware were recovered. Twenty four of the 32 sherds pictured in the plates are bichrome. Most of these appear to be bowl sherds. Only about 7 of the 32 sherds pictured are rims. A number of forms which sometimes appear with Philistine decoration elsewhere, such as strainer spouted jugs, pyxoid shapes, cup flasks, and a kernos, occur as undecorated vessels at Nasbeh. The "feeding bottle," which Dothan pictures with a basket handle, occurs with a vertical strap handle on the side at Nasbeh. (241)

Tombs 54 and 32, which were in use from LB to MI with the peak at about 1100 B.C., contain no Philistine Ware among 454 vessels. The predominate forms in these tombs and two neighboring tombs of slightly later date are juglets (31.5%), bowls (19%), and lamps (18%). The predominance of juglets and the near absence of flasks, kraters, and storage jars should be compared with the common vessel forms of Philistine Ware burials recorded in the chapter on burials.

Bethel

Bethel, 15 km north of Jerusalem, has yielded only a few sherds of Philistine Ware. The report lists only a few bowl sherds and part of a beer jug. (242)

Beth Zur

Beth Zur, 5 km. north of Hebron, produced only a trace of Philistine Ware among its abundant EI sherds, which seem to parallel Tell Beit Mirsim B2. (243)

Tell el Ful/Gibeah

No Philistine pottery has been reported at Tell el Ful, but iron implements and casemate construction have sometimes been cited as evidence of the Philistine occupation mentioned in I Samuel. (244) However, these phenomena are not valid evidence for Philistine occupation. There is at present no archeological evidence of a Philistine garrison at Gibeah (I Samuel 10:5, 13:3). (245)

Ephraim Survey

In this survey of 408 sites in the hill country of Ephraim there was not a single sherd of Philistine Ware at any of the 78 sites which yielded Iron I sherds. (246)

Sites North of Philistia

The following sites are in the coastal plain.

Tel Zeror

Tel Zeror is a small inland site, southwest of Caesarea. Excavation and publication of the site were limited. Some Philistine Ware was reported in the limited area of the Iron Age settlement which was excavated. Ten cist tombs, which contained late Early Iron pottery, contained no decorated Philistine Ware among 109 vessels. A few vessel forms which are sometimes decorated with Philistine designs elsewhere occur at Zeror as undecorated vessels. These include a strainer-spouted jar, a Cypriote style bottle and a lion-head rhyton. (247)

In the large collection of Iron I sherds from Zeror at the Department of Antiquities in Jerusalem, 1 krater rim, 1 bowl rim and 7 body sherds were the only Philistine Ware. One of the excavators of Tel Zeror reported that Philistine Ware was "practically non-existent there." (248)

Dor and Mevorakh

Three sherds of Phase 2 Philistine Ware are all that

have been published from Dor. (249) The current excavations have not yet reached the levels of the Philistine period. Dor is mentioned in the Wen Amon text as a center of the Tjekker, so it is to be hoped that future seasons will shed some light on this period. The daughter site of Mevorakh was excavated as a preliminary phase of the Dor project. This site appears to have been unoccupied during the period of Philistine Ware. (250)

The following sites are in the Jezreel Valley.

Megiddo

Megiddo was a large and lavishly published excavation. Cataloging a completed assemblage for each stratum was one of its publication goals. Strata VIIA and VI yielded Philistine Ware, including a number of sherds which were omitted from the Megiddo publication. (251) Among 118 vessels from Stratum VIIA listed in Plates 68-70, & 72 of Megiddo II there was only one definite Philistine Ware vessel, a bowl decorated with a spiral. (Pl. 69:7) Two or three other vessels, including a composite pyxis (Pl. 68:8) could be classified as possible Philistine Ware, but none of them are distinct Philistine Ware. Plates 67b and 71 list 38 vessels of more doubtful provenance which may belong to VIIA. Two Cypriote style bottles are the only possible Philistine Ware. (252) As published, this assemblage appears to be a confused mixture. It includes LB Cypriote and Mycenaean forms. Little faith can be placed in percentages based on this assemblage. However, the occurrence of only one definite Philistine Ware vessel in an assemblage of 156 whole vessels suggests that the role of Philistine Ware is certainly not large.

Only 6 of 385 whole vessels from the combined sub-divisions of Stratum VI, which are listed in plates 73-87 of Megiddo II, were distinct Philistine Ware. (1.6%). Only three of these had distinct Philistine patterns, a bowl with spiral decoration (Pl. 74:9) and two "late style" kraters. (Pl. 78:19, 85:5). The other Philistine style vessels were a red-slipped Cypriote bottle (Pl. 73:9), the unusual Orpheus beer jug (Pl. 76:1), and a stirrup jar with zig-zag decoration. (Pl. 86:12) About 25 more vessels (6.5%) could be called Philistine Ware by using a very loose definition of the term. Most of these are painted pyxides or strainer-spouted jars, which lack distinct Philistine motifs. (253) Altogether about 33% of the published vessels from this stratum were painted.

The abundance of painted ware at Megiddo makes this a good assemblage for examining our criteria for classifying painted ware as Philistine Ware or non-Philistine. The authors of Megiddo II apparently classified a vessel as Philistine Ware only if it had white slip. In this dissertation a large number of painted vessels from

Stratum VI were classified as doubtful Philistine Ware, because they were similar in form to vessels which occur with Philistine decoration elsewhere, but they lacked distinctive Philistine decorative motifs. This high-lights a problem of classification. The number of vessels at Megiddo with distinct Philistine decoration is very small, only 4 out of 548 vessels. But if all the painted strainer-spouted jars, and many of the pyxoid vessels and painted flasks were counted as Philistine Ware, the percentage of Philistine Ware at Megiddo would be in the same range as many sites much nearer Philistia.

Some of the vessel forms at Megiddo, such as the loop-based bowls (Pl. 74:10), are interesting for comparison with the unusual "Philistine Ware" of Deir Alla in the Jordan Valley.

The critical discussions of the stratigraphy of Megiddo and doubts whether the published material is really representative of finds will not be reviewed here, other than to acknowledge that these factors could affect the validity of the figures published here. (254) However, these figures appear to give a fairly good approximation of the role of Philistine Ware at Megiddo. The occurrence of less than 10 distinct Philistine Ware vessels in an excavation the size of Megiddo seems to justify the conclusion that the role of Philistine Ware here was not great. The 30 or so unpublished sherds of Philistine Ware from Megiddo do not significantly alter the picture, since 30 sherds are a drop in the bucket among the vast number of sherds that would be turned up in an excavation on the scale of Megiddo. The role of true Philistine Ware at Megiddo does not seem large enough to require a substantial presence of Philistines at Megiddo.

Afula

Afula is in the Jezreel Valley, 10 km. north-east of Megiddo. The excavation was limited in area and hampered by modern habitation. Stratum IIIA yielded a surprising amount of Philistine Ware, but the small amount of published material makes percentage calculation hazardous. There was also a high percentage of storage jar sherds in this stratum, and it is uncertain how proportionately they were published. This is another site where the border-line between Philistine Ware and contemporary non-Philistine painted ware may be debatable.

There are 139 sherds published from Afula IIIA. Eleven of these are Philistine Ware, and seven more are possible Philistine Ware. (7.9%-12.9%) If the analysis is based on rims only, as our standard procedure has been, the percentage of Philistine Ware is only 5.4%-6.5%. (255) However, the sample consists of only 93 rims, a dangerously small number for drawing firm conclusions. In a different analysis cited by J. Graham 18 of 142 pieces from Afula were classified as Philistine Ware

(12.7%) (256) Since the body sherd collection appears to be biased toward painted wares, it seems very likely that the analysis based on rims only is the most accurate, and that the percentage of Philistine Ware at Afula is 5% or less.

Noteworthy finds include a figurine with painted decoration (Pl.15:19), which may be similar to some found at Mycenae, and a Philistine jar with a braided handle found in the East Cave. (Pl. 20:2) (257)

Beth Shan

Beth Shan, at the eastern outlet of the Jezreel Valley to the Jordan, has yielded only traces of Philistine Ware, but it has figured prominently in the discussion of Philistines and other Sea Peoples, because of the tombs which contained anthropoid coffins and painted stirrup jars, pyxides, and flasks. According to I Samuel 31 the Philistines displayed the body of Saul here after the battle of Gilboa. These two factors, plus the heavy Egyptian influence, have led to speculation of a Philistine or Sea Peoples garrison at Beth Shan.

James says that only one sherd of true Philistine Ware was found in ten seasons of excavation, but she defines Philistine Ware quite narrowly. Only fine ware, decorated with white slip and with distinctive designs, such as spirals, birds, and checkerboards is classified as Philistine Ware. The sherd defined as true Philistine Ware has a zig-zag pattern reminiscent of the patterns which occur at Deir Alla. Looking through the plates and catalog of Stratum VI one finds several other vessel forms or decorative motifs similar to those of Philistine Ware. Bichrome and monochrome decoration on creme slip occur on a number of vessels. James classifies a number of these vessels as Mycenaean Ware, but it is sometimes difficult to draw the line between Philistine Ware and other locally made "Mycenaean Ware." A stirrup jar which Hankey classifies as Myc. IIIC is important, because of the role of Mycenaean IIIC as a predecessor of Philistine Ware at such sites as Ashdod and Migne. (258) Recent small scale excavations designed to clarify the stratigraphy of Stratum VI found no Philistine Ware, and thus support James' conclusions concerning the rarity of Philistine Ware at Beth Shan. (259)

The pottery in four of the tombs containing anthropoid coffins (Tombs 90, 219AB, 221AC, 66) should be compared with the pottery of "Philistine" tomb assemblages. Most of the pottery forms are quite similar to those of the Fara 900 and 500 tombs. Stirrup jars constitute 16.9% of the pottery in these Beth Shan tombs, and pilgrim flasks another 23.9%. A significant number of these are painted with bands on creme slip. Pyxides, bell bowls, and strainer jugs are quite rare, but one of the strainer jugs (Pl. 47:24) has a braided handle similar to

the Philistine jug at Afula. (260)

Tel Keisan

Tel Keisan is at the western end of the Jezreel Valley, north of Haifa. The statistics in this section are based on the pottery published in the final report of the first seasons. (261)

From Stratum 9ab there were 59 whole vessels, including 2 Philistine Ware. (3.4%) These were a pinched waist vessel decorated with a concentric semi-circle design (Pl. 61:3) and an undecorated bell bowl. (Pl. 66:2) There were 151 rims, including 3 Philistine Ware and 5 possible Philistine Ware. (2%-5.3%) There were 191 sherds including 3 Philistine Ware and 8 possible Philistine Ware. (1.6%-5.8%) As usual, we regard the percentage based on rim analysis as the best figure, but in this case all three methods produce a figure of about 3.5%. The reason for the relatively large percentage of "possible Philistine Ware" is the number of undecorated bowl rims which are similar to Philistine bowl rims in shape. (262)

In Stratum 9c there were 81 whole vessels including 1 Philistine Ware and 1 possible Philistine Ware. (1.2%-2.4%) There were 216 rims including 3 Philistine Ware. (1.4%). There were 308 sherds including 7 Philistine Ware and 4 possible Philistine Ware. (2.3%-3.6%) (263)

The small sample from Stratum 10-11 contained 37 sherds including 1 Philistine Ware and 2 possible Philistine Ware. (2.7%-8.1%) (264)

The combined totals for all these strata are 140 whole vessels, including 3 Philistine Ware and 1 possible Philistine Ware (2.1%-2.9%), 398 rims, including 7 Philistine Ware and 6 possible Philistine Ware (1.8%-3.3%), 536 sherds including 11 Philistine Ware and 14 possible Philistine Ware (2.1%-4.7%).

It is debatable whether the painted pottery at Keisan should be called Philistine Ware or whether it should be given a more general name like Sea People Pottery. There are some forms which are different from the common forms of the south. Most noteworthy is a "coal bucket" strainer spouted jar with distinct Philistine decoration. (Pl. 71:8) Other notable forms are an unusual pinched waist vessel (Pl. 61:3) and a cyra rimmed bowl with bichrome decoration. (Pl. 80:11)

A factor which must be considered in evaluating the painted pottery of Tel Keisan is the occurrence of other types of painted pottery such as the painted pyxides and long-necked juglets on Plate 70 and such non-Philistine bichrome vessels as jars 72:1 and 72:5. If these were classified as part of the "Philistine Ware" of Tel Keisan, the percentage would be increased considerably.

There are plans to resume excavation at Keisan. Perhaps these renewed excavations will clarify the situation at Keisan, particularly for Strata 10 through 13, in which excavation has so far been very limited.

Tel Yoqneam

This site is located in the Jezreel valley near Megiddo. Only about 5 sherds of Philistine Ware were found among the hundreds of sherds excavated in the seasons between 1979 and 1982. The excavations are continuing. (265)

Tel Qiri

This small daughter site was excavated as a preliminary to the excavation of Yoqneam. There are about 50 sherds of Philistine Ware among the thousands excavated at Qiri. Only 6 or 7 of these are rims. Most of the sherds appear to be bowl fragments. A nicely decorated beer jug with Philistine decoration was the most noteworthy find. (266)

Tel Qashish

Two or three sherds of Philistine Ware were found at this small site near Yoqneam. (267)

Other Small Sites Near Yoqneam.

A few sherds of Philistine Ware are reported from a pit at Tiv'on. Surveys discovered a few sherds at the nearby sites of Risim and Re'ala. (268)

Tell Harbaj

Small scale excavations in the 1920's produced a few sherds of Philistine Ware at Harbaj, which is further west than Yoqneam. A few of these sherds remain in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. (269)

Tell Abu Hawam

The lack of Philistine Ware at Abu Hawam has long been cited as evidence for the abandonment of Abu Hawam during this period. However, Balensi's recent study of the material from Abu Hawam concludes that the site was reoccupied during the Philistine 2 period and that this occupation overlaps Qasile XI. (270) Most of the pieces classified as Philistine Ware in her study should be called possible Philistine Ware. They include forms such

as the strainer-spouted jug and Cypriote style bottle, but they lack distinctive Philistine painted motifs. There is one unpublished piece which is distinct Philistine Ware. (271)

Jordan Valley Sites

Dan

Dan is noteworthy as the northernmost occurrence of Philistine Ware. Stratum VI, the earliest Iron Age stratum, appears to be a semi-nomadic camp like Hazor XII. The black and red bands which appear on some of the pottery of this level should be compared with the similar banded ware from Deir Alla. The pottery of Stratum V, which was destroyed in the mid-eleventh century, is quite similar to that of Stratum VI. Remains of three Philistine vessels were found in a pit cut into the MB rampart in Area Y. Fragments of a jug and stirrup jar appear to be standard Philistine Ware, but the krater with vertical handles has a Canaanite form. Although it is decorated with a Philistine bird and a monochrome geometric design, the appearance of the surface treatment of this vessel is different from that of standard Philistine Ware. A feeding bottle and other vessels decorated with bichrome bands also occur at Dan. (272) The question whether this northernmost extension of Philistine Ware is related to the Danite migration or to normal trade patterns can not be answered on the basis of the slim evidence available. (273)

Hazor

The few Philistine sherds found at Hazor appear to come from Strata XII or XI. (274)

Deir Alla

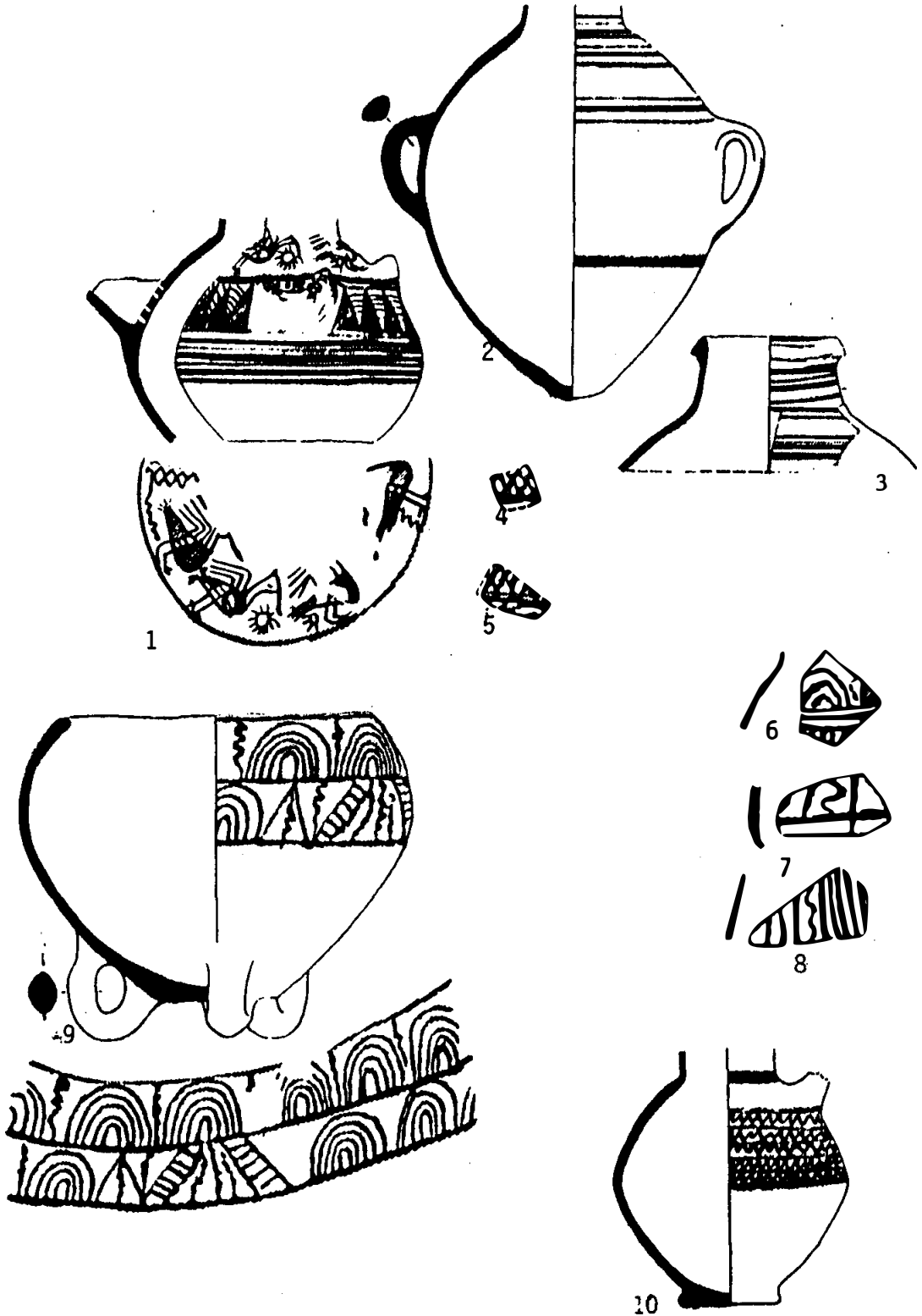
The material from Deir Alla is especially interesting because of its location and because some have associated undeciphered tablets found in the level below the Philistine Ware with Philistines or other Sea Peoples. (275) The Deir Alla "Philistine" ware published by Francken is cruder than the coastal ware. Because of its distinctness it is illustrated in Figure 19. Examples 1, 6, and 9 are generally classified as Philistine Ware. Because of Francken's methodology the pottery published from Iron Age levels A and B should be very representative of the limited area excavated. Forty six of the 454 pieces are painted (10.1%), but only 3 of 454 pieces have decorative designs similar to distinct Philistine motifs. One of these is a strainer-spouted jar with crude birds and bichrome triangles on white slip. (Fig. 19:1) The painting on this spouted jar should be compared not only with Philistine Ware, but also with Bird and Gazelle Ware

and Hama Ware. (276) Although the wings are formed in a similar way to those on Philistine Ware birds, these birds are definitely a step down from the finely drawn birds of much coastal Philistine Ware. The second Philistine sherd is decorated with concentric semi-circles. (Fig. 19:6) Although this is a standard Philistine motif, it does occur on other Aegean influenced pottery as well. (277) The third piece of Philistine Ware is a loop-based krater with similar concentric semi-circles. (Fig. 19:9) (278) The looped-based krater has parallels at Megiddo VI and Abu Hawam III, but this vessel form is not considered to be a normal Philistine type. (279)

The wavy line and net patterns which occur at Deir Alla sometimes occur on Philistine Ware, but they occur on non-Philistine LB and Early Iron pottery as well. Bichrome bands on jar necks are another common type of painted decoration at Deir Alla. Parallels occur at Hazor and other sites. (280)

Figure 19

THE "PHILISTINE POTTERY FROM DEIR ALLA



Other Sites Near Deir Alla

A.R.L. Gordon reported "Philistine Ware" at Tulul ed Dahab, east of Deir Alla, but I have been unable to obtain any information about it other than a personal communication from James Sauer, who believes it may be similar to the Philistine Ware of Deir Alla. (281) Sauer's 1975 survey also reported similar ware at other sites in the Jordan Valley. (282) Caution should be used about calling any of this Jordan Valley ware "Philistine" since it may be a local variety not directly derived from coastal Philistine Ware. (283)

Sites North of Israel

Pottery at Hama has some decorative motifs similar to Philistine motifs, but the vessel forms are different. (284) One piece of Philistine Ware is reported at Tyre, but this classification is debatable. (285) Myc. IIIC does appear at Tyre, Sarepta, Sukas, and other sites along the coast. (286) The bichrome pottery which occurs at Ugarit and Ibn Hani in northern Syria is important for discussing the roots of Philistine Ware, but little specific information is yet available. (287)

The Mycenaean IIIC which occurs at several sites in Cyprus is important for its relationship to the Mycenaean IIIC which precedes Philistine Ware at Ashdod and other sites. The relationship of this pottery to Philistine Ware will be discussed in the section on the significance of Philistine Ware. Here we will merely note that the percentage of such ware at sites such as Enkomi is exaggerated in many publications because it was reported as a percentage of the decorated ware found at the site, rather than as a percentage of all pottery found at the site. For example, Dikaios reports that 60% of the pottery in Stratum IIIb at Enkomi is Mycenaean IIIC. However, in a footnote he states that he is referring to 60% of the decorated pottery, and that 60% to 80% of the pottery in the stratum is plain. (288) If the figure of 60% Mycenaean IIIC in Stratum IIIB is corrected so that it gives the percentage of Mycenaean IIIC in the total pottery assemblage of Stratum IIIB, only 12% to 24% of the pottery is Mycenaean IIIC.. We should assume that a similar adjustment must be made for Stratum IIIA. The percentage of Mycenaean pottery in Stratum IIIA would also fall into the 12% to 24% range. From this it appears that the percentage of Mycenaean influence in Cyprus may be similar to that at Ashdod and other sites in Palestine. The data from other sites in Cyprus falls into a similar range, but it is very difficult to compare sites because different authors use different definitions of Mycenaean Ware. (289) One often finds references to large proportions of Mycenaean Ware at Cypriote sites, but these are not yet supported by published quantitative analyses based on all of the pottery of the site, including the plain wares.

The role of plain ware in Cyprus during this period and its relationship to the plain ware of earlier periods has been neglected. A preliminary examination suggests that the role of Mycenaean style pottery in these strata has often been overstated, but further systematic work is needed to clarify this situation. Such work is possible since large amounts of plain ware were saved from Enkomi, but it has not been adequately studied and published. However, at many sites, such as Tarsus on the mainland, little or no plain ware was saved, so no such information can be salvaged from these sites. (290)

Geographical Distribution

Our distribution studies confirm that the heartland of the so-called Philistine Ware is indeed the coastal plain which the literary texts associate with the Philistines. Philistine Ware does occur at sites which are not Philistine, but the consistency and percentage of its occurrence diminishes sharply as one gets further away from the Philistine heartland. Even in the Shephelah the percentage drops off rapidly. In the hill country it is minimal. In the Jezreel Valley and other northern sites the percentage is also very low. It is, therefore, virtually certain that this pottery was manufactured by inhabitants of Philistia and used by Philistines.

This does not mean that Philistine Ware must be an indicator of the time of arrival of the Philistines, nor that it is a sure indicator of their ethnic background. We must consider the possibility that this pottery style developed in the area inhabited by the Philistines for reasons which have nothing to do with the arrival or ethnic background of the Philistines. One means of determining whether the impetus for Philistine Ware was due to influences brought by a massive influx of immigrants or to the normal development of artistic and economic trends which were already operating in the area is to study the relationship of Philistine Ware to the local and imported wares previously present in the area. Since more than 80% of the pottery in most "Philistine" pottery assemblages is not Philistine Ware, we must also consider the degree of continuity between this pottery and the plain pottery of the preceding period. These problems will be confronted after we have briefly considered the pattern of distribution of Philistine Ware within individual sites.

Distribution Within Sites

This section will briefly summarize the pattern of distribution for Philistine Ware within the sites in which it is found. Information concerning this point is limited.

In general, Philistine Ware appears to be widely

scattered throughout the strata in which it occurs, rather than clustered in a certain quarter of the settlement. The distribution map of a large area of Stratum III of Beth Shemesh indicates a general distribution of the Philistine Ware throughout the area excavated. (291) Plotting the distribution of the Philistine Ware on the plans of Jemeh reveals a similar scattering. (292) In Tell Qasile X, the latest "Philistine" phase at the site, the Philistine Ware is concentrated in the area of the Temple (Area C) It does not appear in Area A which is more residential. (293) A. Mazar suggests that this may reflect ethnic differences in different quarters of the settlement, but it seems likely that the use of distinctive Philistine Ware was preserved longer in the cultic area and that the different ratio of Philistine Ware is due to differences in the function of the area, rather than to ethnic differences. There may be some discernable differences in the distribution of Philistine Ware in the different fields at Gezer, but not enough information has yet been published to evaluate this factor. (294)

Philistine Ware occurs in all types of loci, house floors, courtyards, pits, cultic areas and so on. It does not seem possible to characterize the type of locus in which one expects to find Philistine Ware. Perhaps a more systematic investigation of the problem could clarify this matter. Within strata in which Philistine Ware is well represented there is a great variation of the percentage of Philistine Ware in individual loci. In Ashdod XII and XI, in which the percentage of Philistine Ware averages about 27%, the percentage in individual loci ranges from less than 5% to more than 60%. A similar pattern occurs at Sharia and other sites. Caches or dumps which concentrate Philistine Ware occur in the Qasile temples and Locus 6067 at Tell Keisan. These variations emphasize the importance of having a large representative sample when calculating the percentage of Philistine Ware in a given stratum.

On the basis of the evidence presently available it does not seem possible to draw useful interpretive conclusions from the distribution of Philistine Ware within sites or to predict the types of loci in which Philistine Ware will occur.

The Relationship of Philistine Ware To Earlier Pottery

In her standard catalog of the pottery of the Holy Land Amiran has asserted that all Philistine vessel forms can be traced to forms previously present in Palestine. (295) She traces the beer jug and waisted vessel to Canaanite forms. She lists only the horizontal-handled bell bowls, the stirrup jar, and the pyxis as due to Mycenaean prototypes. She cites Late Bronze Age occurrences of Mycenaean bowls, pyxides, and stirrup jars in Palestine and the LB local imitations of them as

evidence that even this part of the Philistine pottery repertoire could be a natural development from the LB pottery repertoire of southwest Palestine, which was itself already an amalgamation of native and foreign influences. She, however, stops short of breaking the tie between the arrival of new immigrants from the Aegean and the appearance of Philistine Ware. She maintains that the newcomer Philistines started to decorate vessels such as the stirrup jar, which were already naturalized natives of Palestine, in the style which was customary in their former Aegean homeland.

However, if Amiran is correct in saying that the prototypes of all the Philistine vessel forms were already established in Palestine before the production of Philistine Ware began, it is difficult to see how any solid evidence remains for associating the beginning of this pottery style with the arrival of the Philistines from the Aegean. This is especially true, since the bichrome and white slip painting technique of the Philistine Ware is derived from Cyprus or Palestine rather than Greece.

We must therefore investigate whether each of Dothan's eight Mycenaean vessel types occurs in Palestine before the appearance of Philistine Ware. We must also evaluate the degree to which Philistine painting uses motifs which were previously unknown in Palestine. The evidence from Ashdod, one of the major manufacturing centers of Philistine Ware, is especially import. We must try to determine if Philistine Ware and the local Mycenaean Ware which preceded it are manufactured and decorated with the same techniques as true Mycenaean Wares in Greece, or if these wares are only attempts to imitate the appearance of Mycenaean vessels by potters using other techniques. Transmission of detailed techniques of manufacture normally requires movement of potters, but imitation of the style does not. (296)

Manufacture of Philistine Ware does not seem to have been confined to one site or to a few potters as some scholars have proposed. There is direct evidence for manufacture at Ashdod and Jemmeh. At Jemmeh the finds include the actual kilns. (297) Local manufacture is proposed for Azor and Gezer on the basis of unique decorative motifs. (298) The Philistine Ware of almost every site seems to have some local peculiarities and preferences. For example, Sharia has relatively few painted motifs, but Beth Shemesh has a high percentage of painted motifs. It has been suggested that the Philistine Ware and some of the other fine vessels from Aitun come from Ashdod or the coast because of the use of sand temper. Neutron activation analysis also links some of the Aitun pottery with Ashdod. (299) Some of the Philistine Ware of Beth Shemesh has characteristics similar to that of the Aitun ware, but neutron activation analysis suggests local manufacture. (300)

In her study of the Philistine material culture Trude Dothan demonstrates that Philistine Ware was derived from Late Helladic prototypes. (301) More specifically she classifies the antecedents of Philistine Ware as Mycenaean IIIC1b. "Late Helladic IIIC" is the preferred name for the pottery of this period from the Greek mainland, since the term "Helladic" permits continuity of terminology from the pre-Mycenaean periods of Greece. Strictly speaking "Mycenaean IIIC1b" refers only to the derivative Mycenaean pottery found in the reconstruction levels in Cyprus from the beginning of LCIIIA. Since this terminology has become standard in the discussion of Philistine Ware, we will use it even though there are questions about its appropriateness and clarity. The most serious problem with the term "Mycenaean IIIC1b" is caused by the strong regionalism of "Mycenaean" pottery and its derivatives during Late Helladic IIIC. It is difficult to correlate the Mycenaean IIIC1b of Cyprus with the Mycenaean IIIC of other areas. Furumark's division of the Mycenaean IIIC from the Greek Mainland into phases a, b, and c has recently been replaced with the terms Early, Middle and Late. Early Helladic IIIC on the mainland is the pottery which appears immediately after the destruction of the major palace centers. Schachermeyr co-ordinates the beginning of Cypriote Mycenaean IIIC1b with Mainland Late IIIB. French and Astrom suggest that Cypriote Mycenaean IIIC1b corresponds with a middle phase of Mainland IIIC. Kling suggests that the beginning of Mycenaean IIIC1b in Cyprus falls into Early IIIC. (302) In the following discussion we must remember that the use of the term Mycenaean IIIC1b in discussing the prototypes of Philistine Ware may give the impression of greater clarity and precision concerning the chronological correlation of Mycenaean IIIC pottery from Greece, the Aegean, Cyprus, and Palestine than is justified by the present state of knowledge.

Dothan makes her case by examining the antecedents of each of her 8 types of Philistine Ware which are alleged to descend from Mycenaean prototypes. She claims that the makers of the Mycenaean IIIC1 pottery which precedes and overlaps the Philistine Ware at Ashdod demonstrate a direct knowledge of Mycenaean shapes, decorations, and methods of manufacture. (303)

A cache of bell-shaped bowls from Stratum XIII, Area G, at Ashdod is especially important to the argument. According to Dothan these bowls closely resemble Myc. IIIC1 bowls from the Greek mainland, but she acknowledges that the closest parallels are found in Cyprus. She maintains that no bowls of this type occur in clear LB contexts in Palestine. Therefore these Type 1 bell bowls must be a new ceramic type introduced into Palestine by Philistine potters. (304)

A few bowls of this type may occur in Palestine in the end of the Late Bronze Age, but the first major occurrence of this form in Palestine is the Mycenaean Ware

which precedes Philistine Ware at Ashdod and Migne. (305) Some of the earliest Philistine Ware bowls from other sites show affinities to the bowls made in Cyprus with their protruding horizontal loop handles, the painted bands on the interior, and the knife-shaved ring bases. (306) It is not surprising that this bowl type is extremely rare in Palestine in the Late Bronze Age, because it first became popular in Greece and Cyprus during the Myc. IIIC period, when it assumed more and more of the role of the kylix. (307) The bell bowl seems to be a clear example of a new ceramic form which appears in Palestine almost co-incidentally with the appearance of Philistine Ware. However, the question still remains whether this form was brought by a wave of immigrants from the Aegean, or if it reached Palestine by the same mechanisms of trade which brought earlier Mycenaean styles to Palestine. Must the influence be traced directly to the Aegean or is it mediated through Cyprus?

According to Dothan the earliest Type 2 bell-shaped kraters at Ashdod are very close to Mycenaean IIIC1 prototypes in method of throwing, firing, and painting. (308) Unfortunately, she cites no specific parallels to demonstrate that the same methods of manufacture are used in Greece and Ashdod. The case for direct derivation from the Aegean would be more convincing if it were backed by specific evidence concerning the method of preparing the clay and paint and by analysis of detailed points of manufacture and surface treatment. What is still needed is detailed study of manufacture in the style of Francken's publications and specific evidence that demonstrates that the influence must be traced back to Greece, not merely to Cyprus.

Although Dothan acknowledges that local imitations of kraters of this general form occur in Palestine already in LB II, she maintains that the Philistine forms do not derive from these imitations, but directly from Mycenaean IIIC prototypes of Furumark's Type 282. (309) However, the closest parallels to the Philistine kraters are Cypriote. Furthermore, the Philistine kraters are not mere copies of prototypes found elsewhere, but a distinct style in their own right. (310)

The Philistine stirrup jar, Dothan's Type 3, differs in size and method of manufacture from the Mycenaean prototypes. (311) The large stirrup jars which sometimes appear in Mycenaean Ware, including the earlier Mycenaean Ware of Palestine, are almost totally absent from the Philistine repertoire. Philistine stirrup jars generally have a string-cut disc at the interior of the false neck, in contrast to the hollow neck or protruding plug that characterizes most earlier Mycenaean stirrup jars in Palestine. (312) This difference may be partly a function of size since it would be very difficult to form a hollow false neck on a small jar. The string-cut neck may occur in Cyprus, but small Cypriote-made stirrup jars usually have a spiral and dimple on the inside of the

false neck, rather than a string cut. (313) These observations are based on limited data. It is very difficult to investigate this phenomenon because stirrup jars are comparatively rare and they are often restored, so it is usually impossible to check the inside of the neck. Further systematic investigation of the method of forming the false neck in Greece, Cyprus, and Israel would be a useful step in comparing Greek, Cypriote, and Philistine methods of manufacture.

Stirrup jars occurred in the Levant already in Myc. IIIA and especially IIIB. Canaanite imitations occur from the 13th through 11th centuries. However, Dothan again maintains that the Philistine examples derive not from these antecedents, but directly from Myc. IIIC prototypes of Furumark's types 175 and 176, especially in their decorative motifs. (314)

Dothan maintains that the Philistine amphoriskos derives from Mycenaean IIIC prototypes, but acknowledges that the basic Philistine pyxis may well derive from shapes already imitated in Palestine in the Late Bronze Age. She classifies the pinched waist and composite varieties of pyxis as Philistine innovations. (315) These varieties together form Dothan's Type 4. Dothan's assertion that the amphoriskos does not appear in LB Palestine should be evaluated in light of the Beth Shan tomb material which has vessels of amphoriskos form. (316)

Type 5, the three handled jar, is very rare in Palestine. Dothan lists only one example with Philistine style decoration and two other three-handled jars which occur in Philistine contexts, but lack Philistine decoration. These two appear to be local imitations of Myc. IIIB Type 38 jars. (317)

The strainer-spouted "beer jug," Dothan's Type 6, is one of the most significant Philistine pottery types. (Our discussion of this type includes the related forms which Dothan places in her Type 17.) Strainer-spouted jugs, similar to the Philistine form, occur in Cyprus. On the basis of these vessels, as well as scattered examples from the Aegean, especially Rhodes, and a fragment of a Mycenaean IIIC strainer-spouted vessel from Ashdod Dothan derives the Philistine strainer jug from Mycenaean IIIC1b strainer jugs. (318) However, Furumark, the creator of the standard classification system of Mycenaean pottery, believed that the "beer jug" was derived from Canaanite prototypes. (319) Undecorated strainer-spouted vessels similar to the Philistine form are common throughout Palestine, but most of them seem to be later than the earliest Philistine Ware. (320) The strainer-spout itself precedes the Philistine pottery period. The earliest examples often appear on the "coal bucket" form, which appears with Philistine decoration on rare occasions. (321) The basket handle, which Dothan regards as a late feature on Philistine jars, appears to have been well established in Palestine before the appearance of

Philistine Ware. (322) The ancestry and development of the strainer spouted jar is not yet clear, but there seem to be reciprocal influences between Syria-Palestine, Cyprus, and the Aegean.

Dothan's Type 7, the basket-handled "feeding bottle" is rare in Philistine Ware. Only one published example has distinctly Philistine decoration. The form does occur in Greece, but the occurrence of a vessel form in Mycenaean Ware is not proof that the vessel form itself is of Mycenaean origin. (323) Spouted vessels similar in concept have a long history in the Near East. Similar vessels which usually have a strap handle either on the back or on the side occur both in Cyprus and Palestine before the occurrence of Philistine Ware. (324) Authorities on Mycenaean pottery disagree about the Mycenaean or Eastern derivation of this vessel form. (325) Dothan accepts the derivation from Mycenaean prototypes. (326)

The direction of the basket handle on these vessels may be some indication of the area from which the influence came. In Greece the handle tends to be parallel to the spout, but exceptions do occur. Furumark's statement that the perpendicular handle never occurs in Greece is no longer tenable. Both types occur in Cyprus. The Philistine examples often have a handle perpendicular to the spout, but parallel handles also occur. (327) Further research is needed to determine what significance the handle direction may have.

Dothan acknowledges that her Type 8, the pinched waist juglet, has only partial and indirect Mycenaean parallels. (328) The pinched-waist vessel is not really a distinct vessel form. It is simply an attribute which occurs on jars of several different basic shapes. Almost every example is a unique form without exact parallels.

Dothan also analyzes the painted motifs of Philistine Ware as directly dependent on the Close Style of Mycenaean IIIC1b. (329) Some of the Philistine motifs are certainly almost exact copies of motifs which occur on Mycenaean IIIC in Cyprus, but the range of Mycenaean motifs is much broader in Cyprus than in Philistia. Again the role of Cyprus as an intermediary raises the question whether direct contact with Greece was necessary.

Aegean motifs occur in Philistine Ware on a scale unprecedented in earlier pottery of the Levant, but this is not an entirely new phenomenon. "Aegean" motifs were being amalgamated into eastern pottery already in the Bichrome and Nuzi styles of the Late Bronze Age. Spirals, birds, and other Aegean and Minoan motifs appear east of the Tigris in the Late Bronze Age. (330) Dornemann's study of the archeology of the Transjordan provides a very useful comparison of the painted motifs of Philistine pottery and other pottery types of Syria and Palestine. (331)

Dothan has carefully assembled the evidence for direct derivation of Philistine Ware from Aegean Mycenaean IIIC prototypes and argues that this provides evidence of the Philistines' migration from the Aegean. The present evidence, however, is inadequate to prove either of these premises.

The Aegean derivation of four of Dothan's eight Mycenaean types, Types 5-8, is uncertain. The Mycenaean character of Type 5 consists mainly of the fact that it has three-handles. It occurs only once in Philistine Ware. Three handles also occur on non-Philistine vessels. (332) This vessel form is not a distinct type and is too rare to carry much weight as evidence for the Aegean origin of the Philistines.

The lack of clear Mycenaean origin for Types 7 and 8, the feeding bottle and the pinched-waist vessel, has already been cited above. The pinched waist vessel is not really a distinct form, but a group of jugs or jars of different basic shapes which are classified together on the basis of a single trait. In any case, both of these types are very rare in Philistine Ware.

Type 6, the "beer jug," is more crucial to Dothan's argument since it has an important role in Philistine Ware. Although this vessel occurs in Cyprus, Rhodes, and Greece, it is not common on the Greek mainland. We have seen that Furumark traced this form to Syro-Palestinian prototypes. (333) Some Philistine examples of this vessel are similar in shape to Dothan's Types 14 and 15, which she acknowledges to be Canaanite forms, except for the addition of the strainer spout. (334) Other examples with a narrow neck, long strap handle from rim to shoulder, and short spout, are much closer to Cypriote and Aegean examples. (335) Dothan points to a fragment of a Mycenaean IIIC1b strainer-spouted jar from Ashdod as the best evidence for the Mycenaean derivation of this form. (336) However, the basic form of this vessel may have spread in two directions from Cyprus, to the Aegean and to Palestine, rather than passing from the Aegean through Cyprus to Palestine. The individual elements which are combined in some examples of this jar, such as the strainer spout and the basket handle, did occur in Palestine before they were combined in the Philistine strainer jar. This vessel form could be the result of long time reciprocal ceramic influences between Cyprus and the Aegean and Cyprus and Palestine. The Aegean origin of this very important form is thus uncertain. Systematic study of spout length, handle placement, and body shape may be helpful in clarifying "families" within this type.

Dothan's Types 2-4 all occur in Palestine before the appearance of Philistine Ware. The issue is whether the Philistine form of these kraters, stirrup jars and pyxides can be explained as a derivation of these earlier forms, or if they require new influences directly from the Aegean. There do seem to be some new influences,

especially in the kraters and stirrups, but it is not clear that these must be directly from the Aegean.

Dothan says that Type 1, the small bowl, does not appear in Palestine before Philistine Ware and its immediate antecedents, but Leonard's study shows both the bowl and the krater occurring in the Levant in Myc. IIIA and IIIB. (337) However, this type of bowl is rare enough before the appearance of Philistine Ware that we are justified in classifying it as a new form whose appearance co-incides with the appearance of Philistine Ware. The question still remains whether this phenomenon requires the arrival of immigrants from the Aegean. The influence may have been passed through Cyprus as an intermediary.

The Myc. IIIC of Ashdod which Dothan cites as evidence for the Aegean origin of both Philistine Ware and the Philistines is already a derivative local imitation ware, not a true Aegean Mycenaean Ware. In discussing this topic it would be beneficial to reserve the unmodified term "Mycenaean" for pottery made in Greece and perhaps the Aegean islands. It is certainly significant that authorities on Mycenaean pottery are virtually unanimous in the verdict that Philistine Ware is not a direct derivation from true Aegean Mycenaean pottery. (338) Even Dothan acknowledges that Philistine Ware cannot be the product of a people coming directly from an Aegean homeland, but it is a style which reflects a variety of cultural influences which were acquired on a slow journey from the Aegean. (339) If it is true that Philistine Ware is an amalgamation of many influences, it is doubtful if it can serve as decisive evidence of the place of origin of its manufacturers. Even if the makers of Philistine Ware were immigrants to Palestine, they could have come to Cyprus from nearly anywhere, picked up the Mycenaean influences in Cyprus and then modified these Mycenaean forms and motifs further in Palestine. Schachermeyr's theory of the Illyrian origin of the Philistines is a variant of this possibility. (340) He believes that Philistine Ware was not the pottery of the Philistines' original homeland, but an influence which they picked up in the course of their migration from the Balkans through the Aegean and Cyprus. If Schachermeyr's theory is viable, the Philistines need not have come from the Aegean at all, but could have come to Cyprus from nearly anywhere and picked up the Aegean influence there.

If we are here dealing with a large group of Aegean immigrants, it is strange that the Aegean influence is not also reflected more strongly in the plain ware which occurs with Philistine Ware. This will be investigated more thoroughly in the next section of this paper.

Mycenaean pottery influences were already being adapted into the Canaanite pottery repertoire in the quasi-Mycenaean Simple Style, which is an imitation of Myc. IIIB. (341) Is the quantity and quality of

Philistine Ware great enough that it must be taken as proof of migration from the Aegean if these previous Mycenaean influences are not so interpreted?

All of these factors make it difficult to accept Philistine Ware as proof of a large scale migration from the Aegean without more supporting evidence from other aspects of the culture. This point will be discussed further in the chapter on the significance of Philistine Ware.

The Pottery Associated With Philistine Ware

This section has two primary goals. The first is to demonstrate the continuity of the main pottery forms which occur along with Philistine Ware from the pottery forms of Late Bronze Age Palestine. The utilitarian ware which occurs with Philistine Ware has its roots in the forms of Late Bronze Age Palestine, rather than in the forms which serve the same function in Greece. The second goal is to demonstrate that the utilitarian pottery which occurs with Philistine Ware is very similar to that which occurs at non-Philistine sites in Palestine.

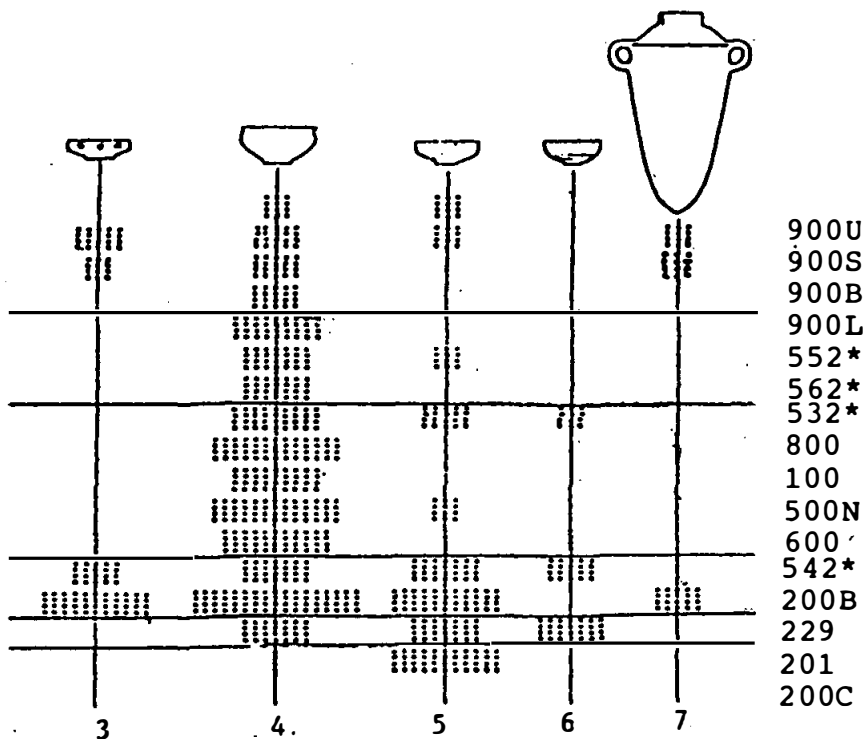
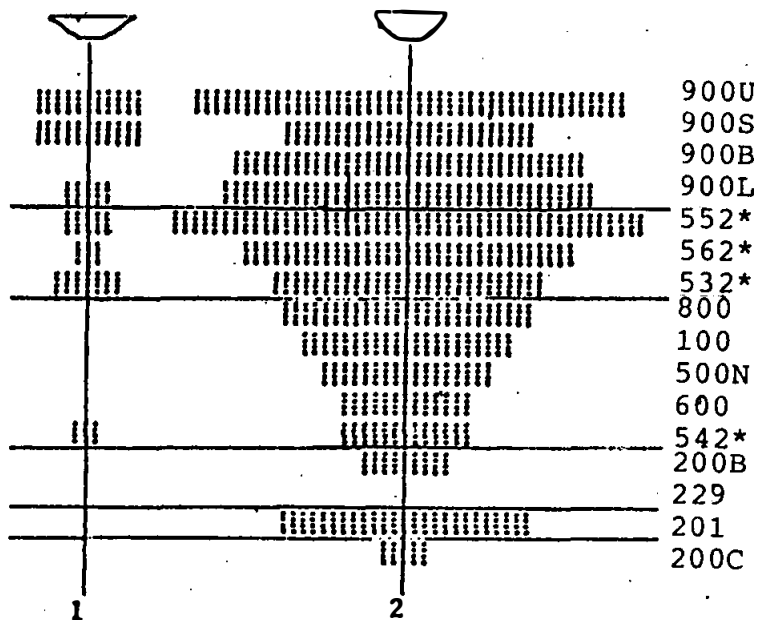
We will begin by comparing the pottery of the Philistine Ware Burials of the 500 Cemetery at Fara South with that of the 900 Cemetery which preceded it. The relationship of these cemeteries is discussed at length in the chapter on burials. Fifty-four of the most prevalent pottery types in these burials are illustrated in the bar graphs which follow this section. (342) Although the drawings do not show all the details of the pottery types, they adequately illustrate the basic types being discussed. (343) The numbers of the major types of Philistine Ware are underlined. The number of columns of dots on either side of the center line represents the percentage of each type in a given assemblage. For example, form 1, the shallow bowl, makes up 5% of the 900U Cemetery. The numbers on the right are Petrie's designations for the various burial groups. The groups labeled 900 are various types of burials which precede the appearance of Philistine Ware. The latest of these burials overlap the earliest burials with Philistine Ware, but none of these burials contains any Philistine Ware. Chamber Tombs 552, 562, 532, and 542 are the tombs which Petrie called "the tombs of the Lords of the Philistines." These tombs contain less than 10% Philistine Ware. The 800, 100, 500, and 600 Cemeteries also contain some Philistine Ware. The series 200 Cemeteries contain late or degenerate Philistine Ware, but these cemeteries are later than the time of true Philistine Ware. In the graphs the burial groups are listed in the order established by McClellan's computer seriation. However his order for the tombs of the Philistines is not universally accepted. This and other disputes raised by McClellan's study are discussed in more detail in the

sections on Tell Fara and on the dating of Philistine Ware.

The graphs indicate the very strong continuity of almost all of the major ceramic forms from the pre-Philistine 900 Cemetery through the "Philistine" 500 Cemetery. Especially notice the continuity of such major forms as the simple rounded bowl (2), the carinated rim bowl (4), storage jar 8, the round based lamp (17), the pilgrim flask (32), and dipper juglets 50 and 51. Almost all of the most common utilitarian forms continue from the preceding period and reflect the indigenous traditions of Palestine. The most significant new forms are the underlined Philistine types and new variants of earlier forms such as the more robust storage jar (16), the cup flask (26), and the flat based lamp (34). These forms do not make up a major portion of the repertoire. The evidence seems to justify McClellan's conclusion that the continuity and overall similarity of the pre-Philistine and Philistine assemblages at Fara is greater than the dissimilarity. (344)

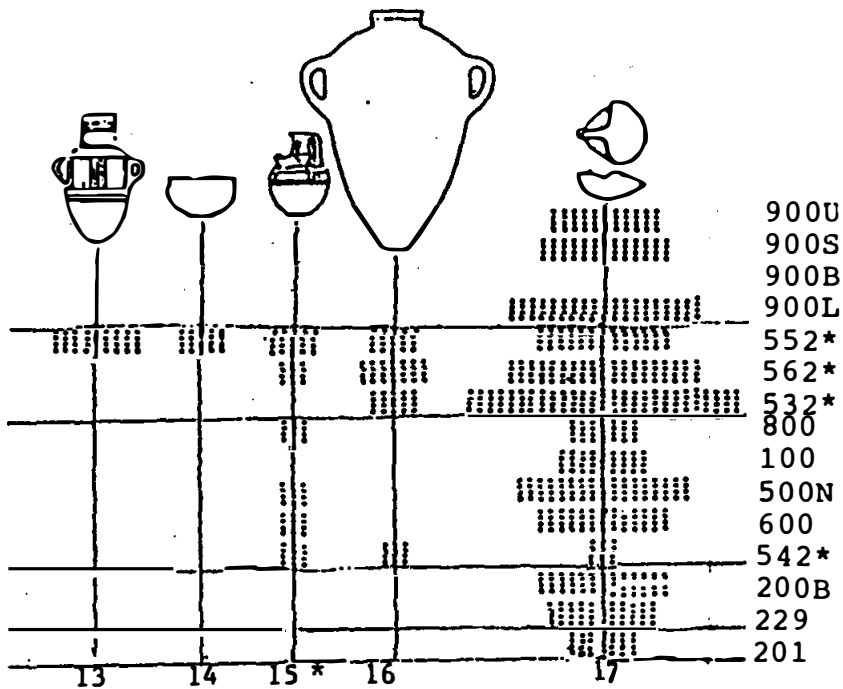
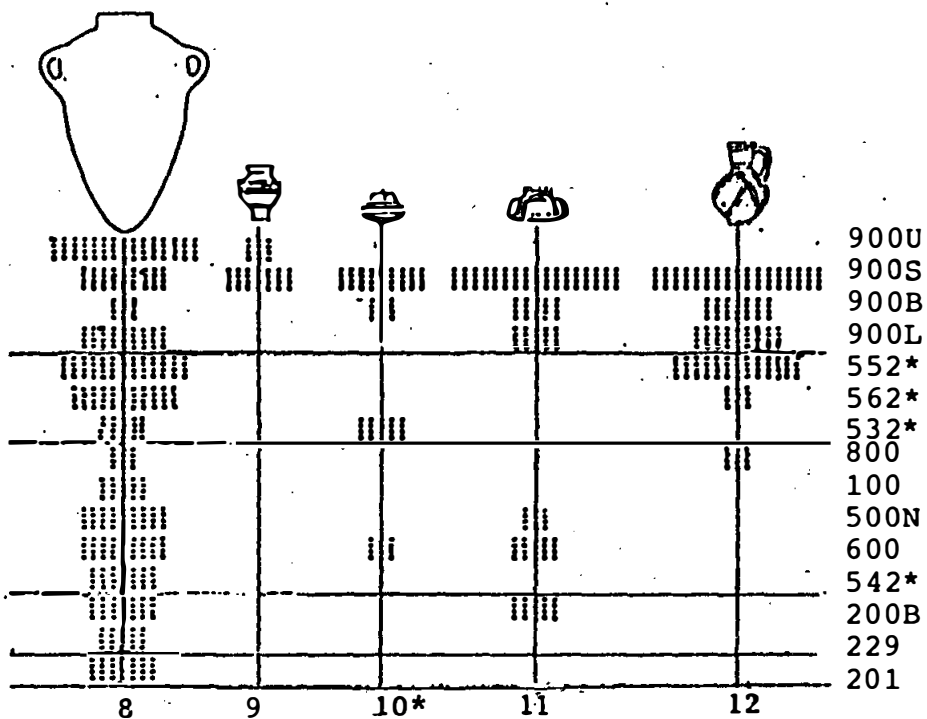
Unfortunately the evidence from the strata at Fara is less useful because of the small number of whole vessels. (Graphs 6 & 7) Nevertheless the graphs do show a continuity of the most common bowl types (7 & 8), lamps (1), and flasks (17). The major new form is the Philistine horizontal handled bowl (20). Thus the limited evidence from the Philistine strata at Fara shows the same continuity of Canaanite ceramic tradition as the material from the tombs.

Graph 1 MAIN POTTERY FORMS OF THE FARA BURIALS

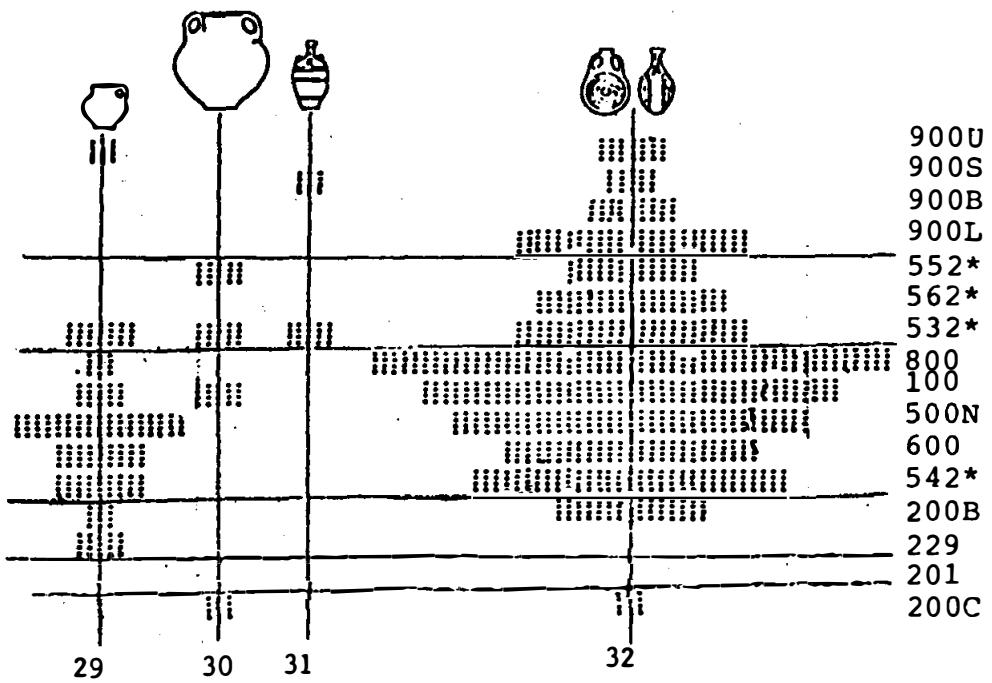
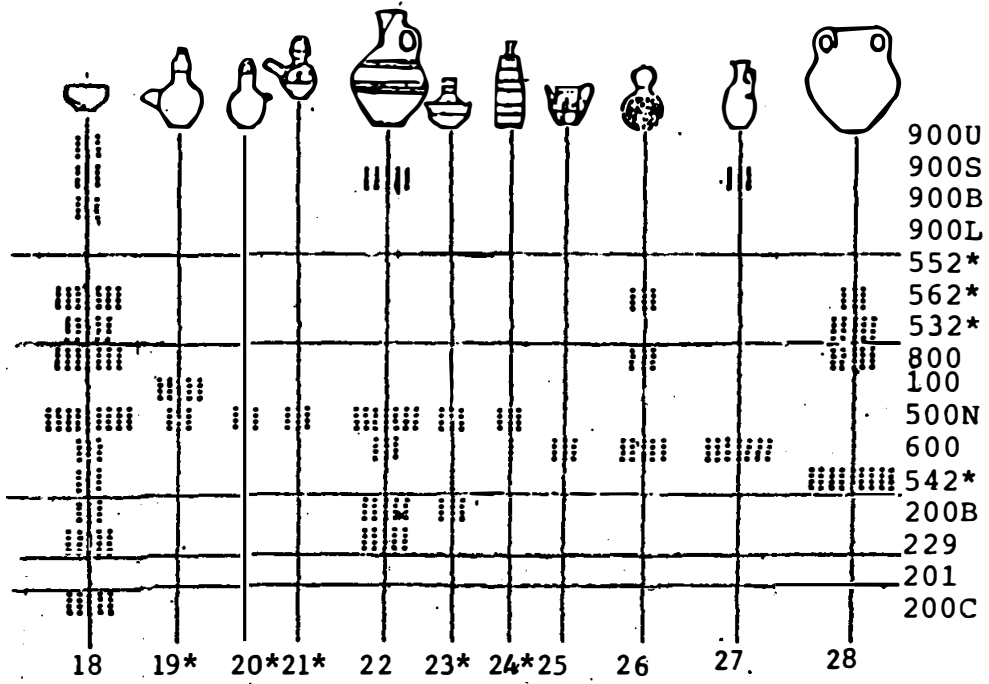


* = Philistine Ware Levels or types

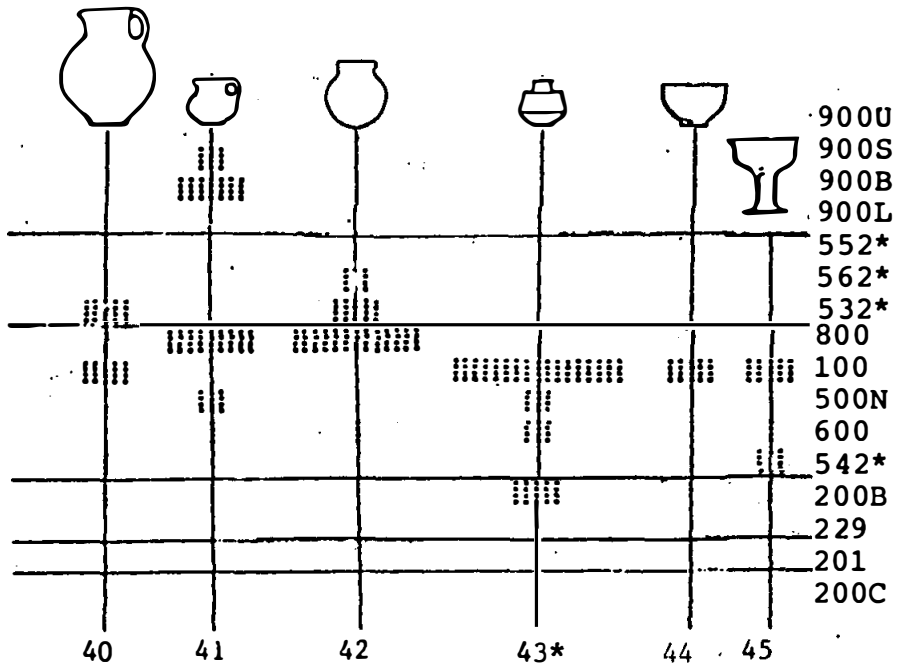
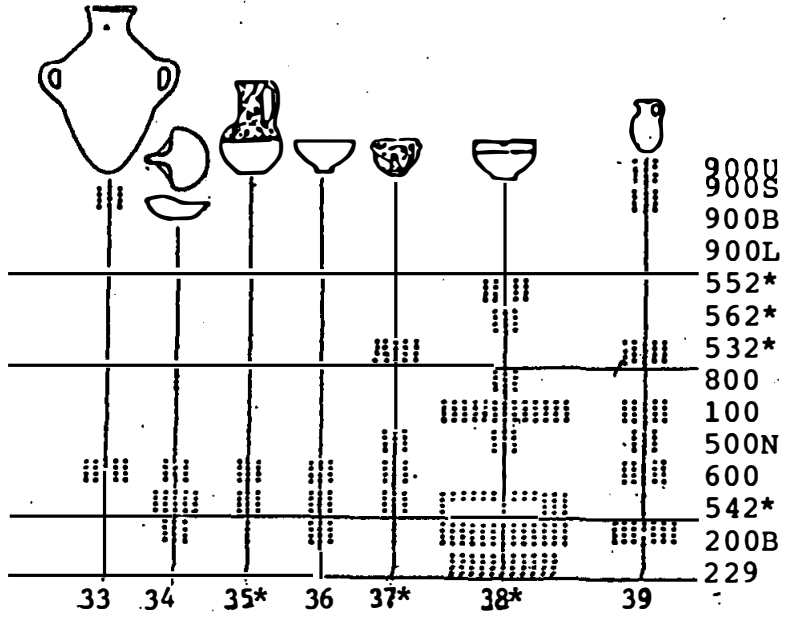
Graph 2 FARA BURIALS



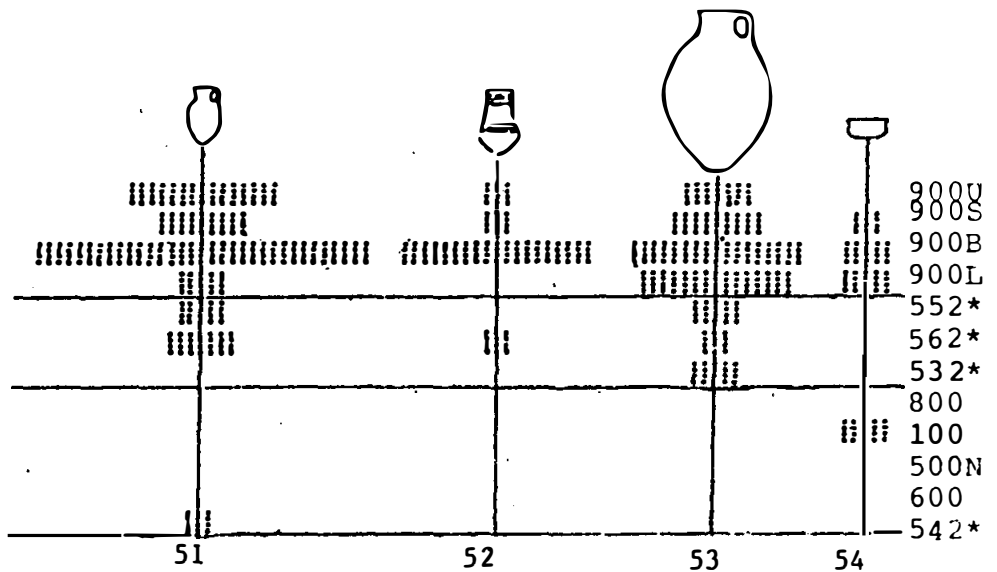
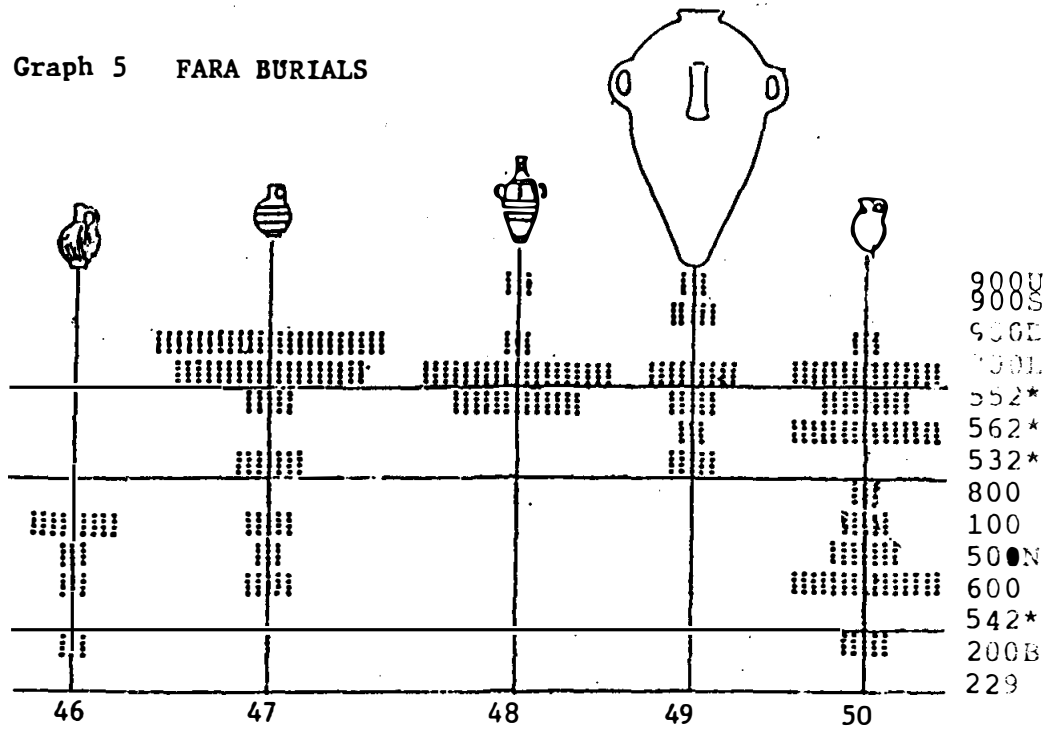
Graph 3 FARA BURIALS



Graph 4 FARA BURIALS

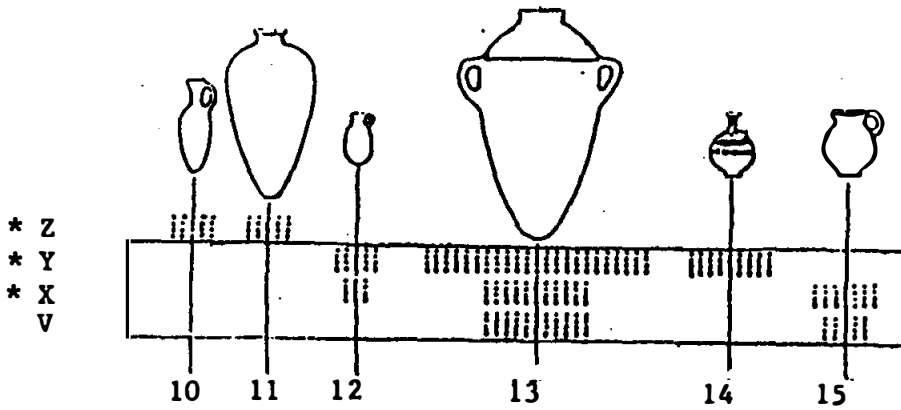
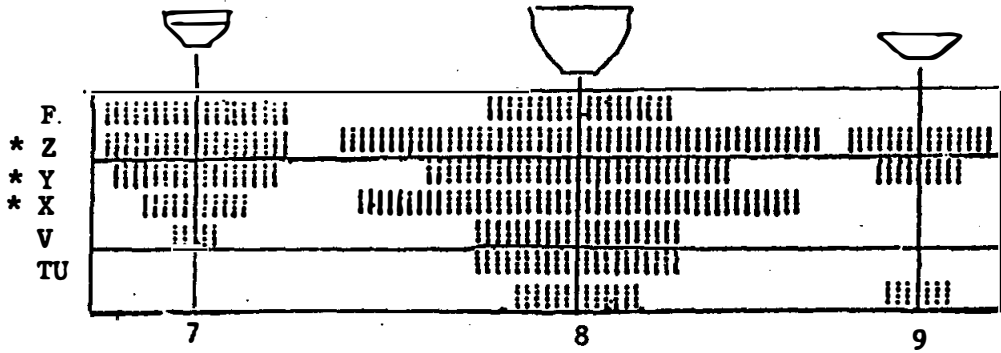
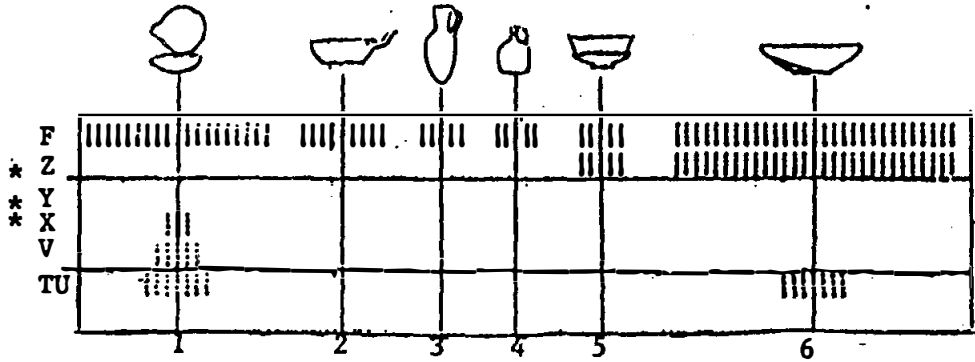


Graph 5 FARA BURIALS

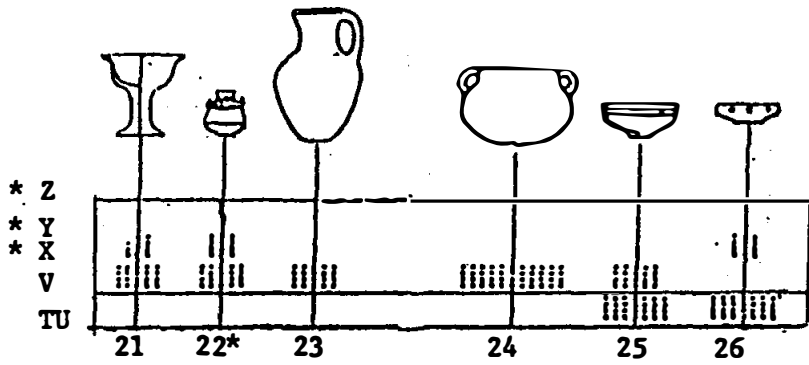
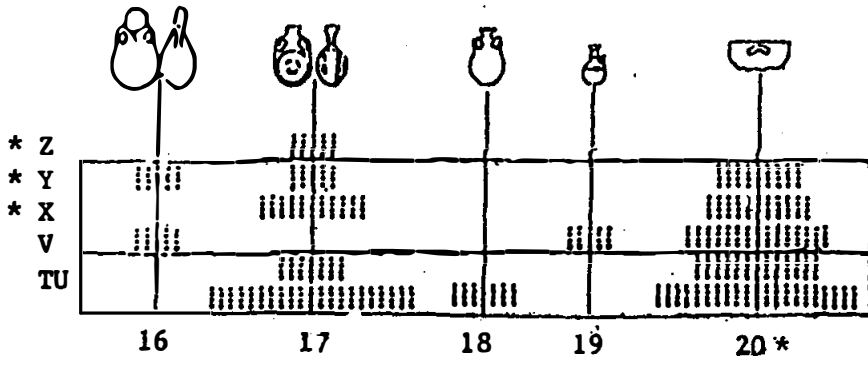


Graph 6

MAIN POTTERY FORMS OF THE PHILISTINE STRATA
AT TEL FARA SOUTH



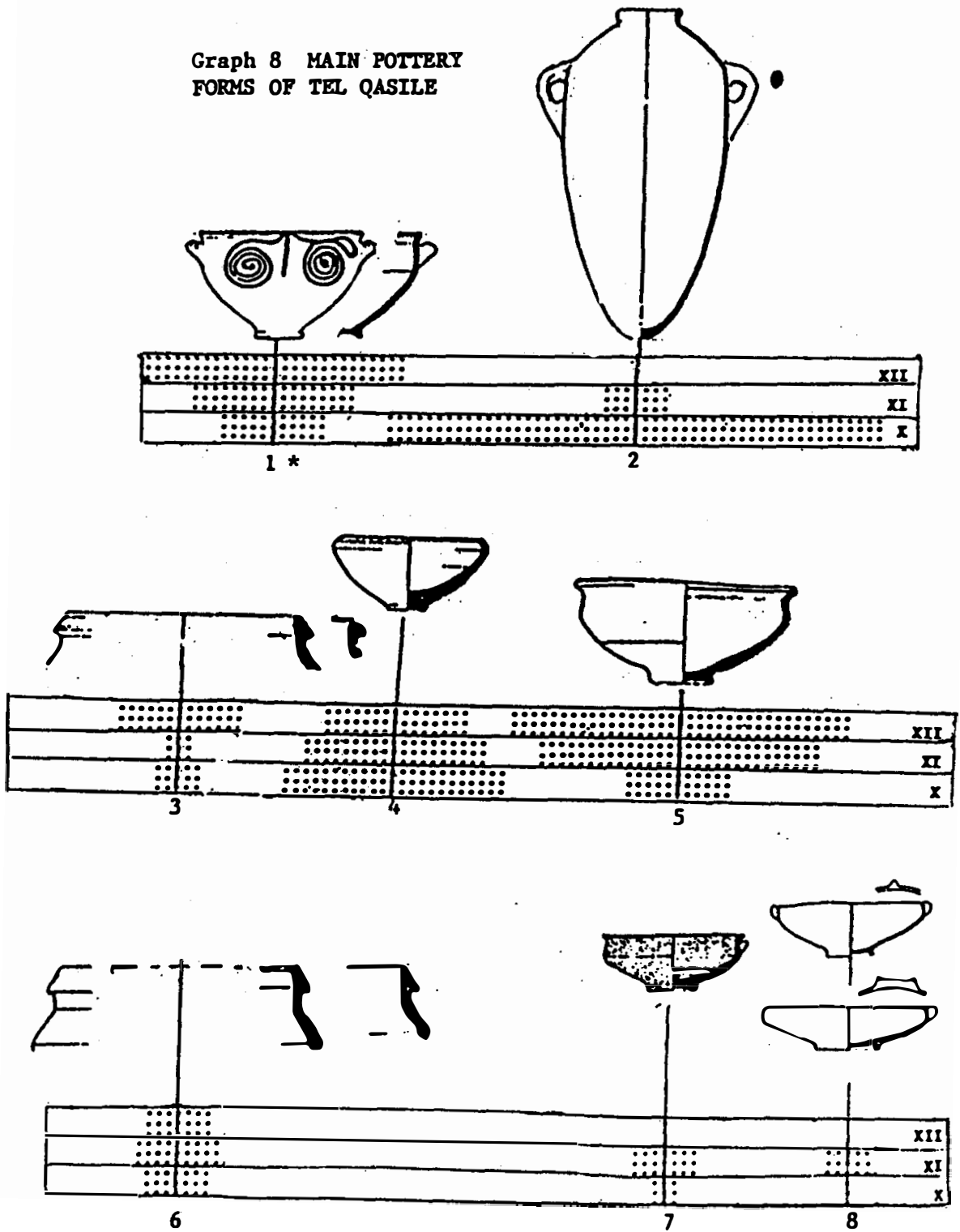
Graph 7 FARA SOUTH STRATA
Tel Fara South



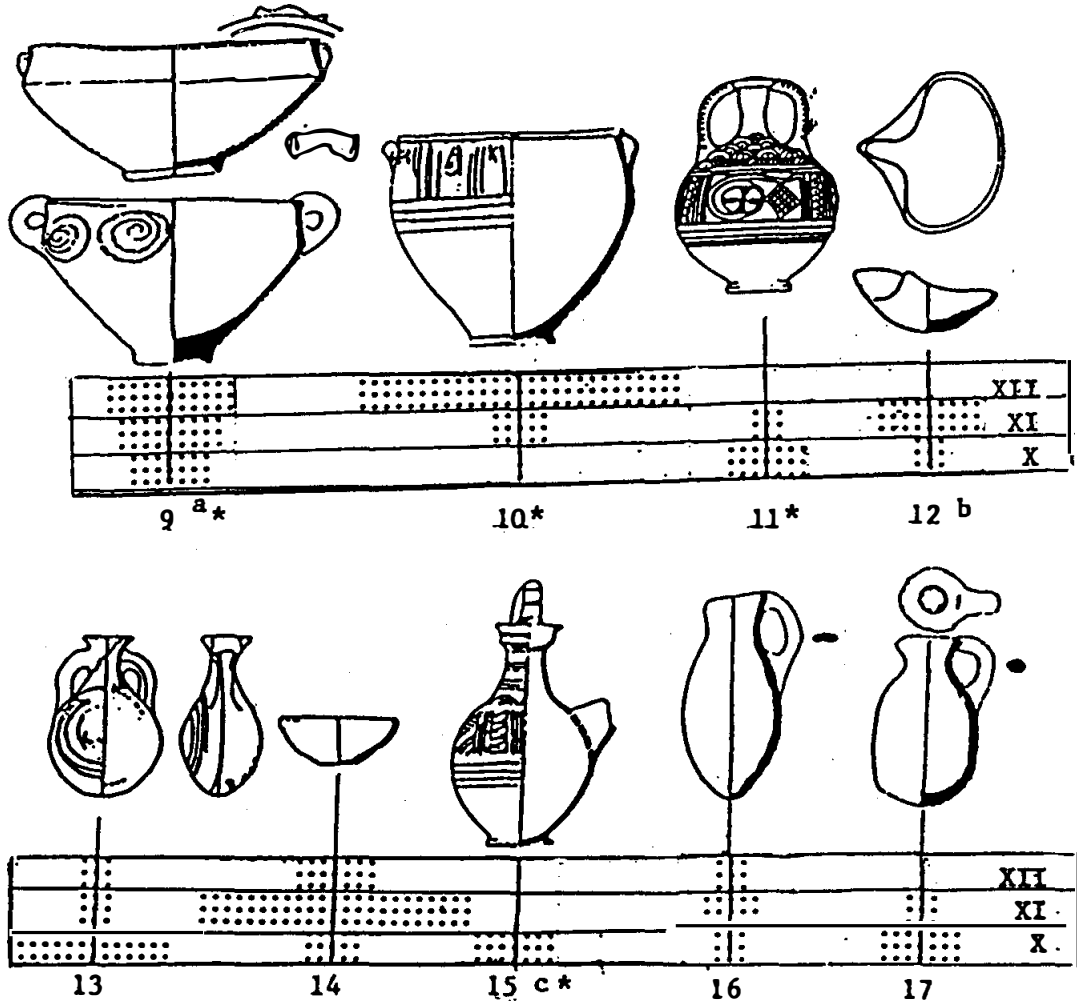
Tel Qasile is at present the most important site for studying the pottery associated with Philistine Ware because Amihai Mazar's study provides the fullest publication and the most adequate quantitative information of any site with a high percentage of Philistine Ware. (345) There are no pre-Philistine strata at Qasile to directly demonstrate the continuity of LB Canaanite pottery tradition at Qasile, but the relationship of major pottery types at Qasile to earlier Canaanite pottery tradition can be demonstrated by comparison with material from other sites. (346) If Qasile was a Philistine foundation, the predominance of Canaanite forms here would be especially significant, since there was no established pre-Philistine Canaanite population to provide an automatic carry-over of forms.

Graphs 8 and 9 illustrate most of the pottery types which contribute more than 1% to the pottery assemblage of the three Philistine strata at Qasile. With about 24% Philistine Ware Stratum XII at Tel Qasile has the highest percentage of Philistine Ware of any stratum studied except the key Philistine strata at Ashdod. Nevertheless even at Qasile the most common forms of utilitarian vessels continue the traditions of LB Palestine. The common storage jars (2), cooking pots (3, 6), lamps (12), and dippers (16, 17) all reflect a continuing development of the traditions of LB Palestine. The Aegean influence is greatest in bowls and kraters (Forms 1 and 10), but even here forms from the traditions of Canaan continue to play a very prominent role (Forms 4, 5, 7, 8). Forms 7 and 8 are handled varieties of forms 5 and 4. Some of these which have horizontal loop handles may be classified as a combination of Canaanite and Aegean influences. (347)

Graph 8 MAIN POTTERY
FORMS OF TEL QASILE



Graph 9 TEL QASILE



- a A number of "Canaanite" kraters, having different types of handles and handle placement are grouped together.
- b Some of the lamps having a more flanged rim are grouped with the type pictured here.
- c Some of the strainer jugs from Qasile have unusual forms and handle types, but they are grouped in this graph.

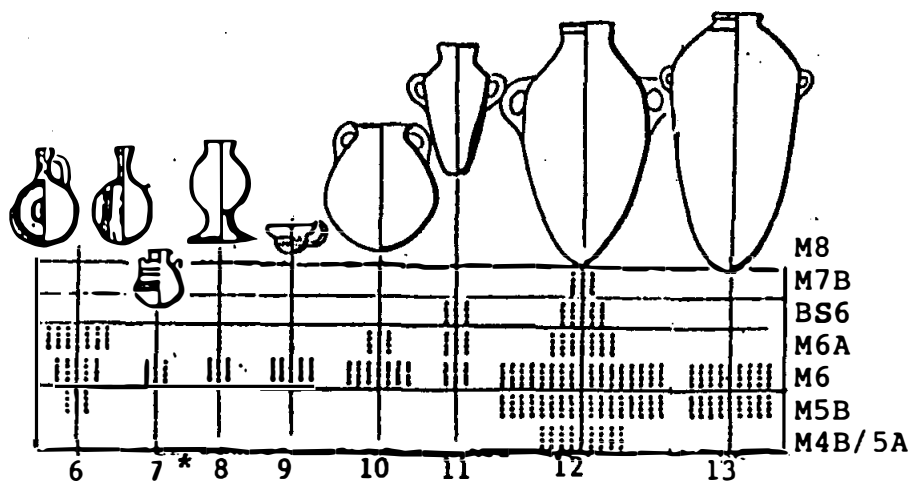
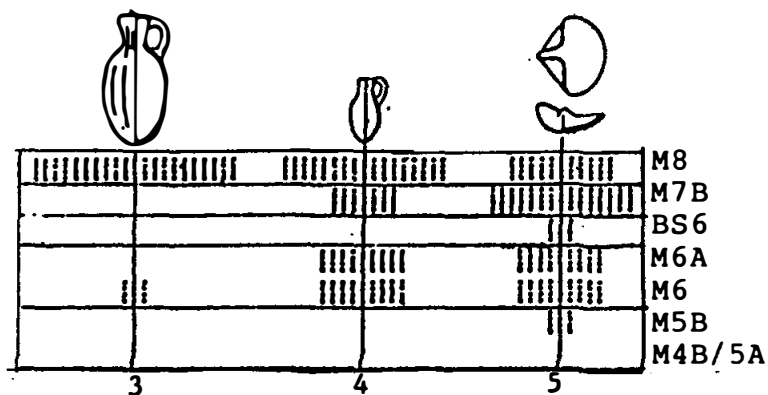
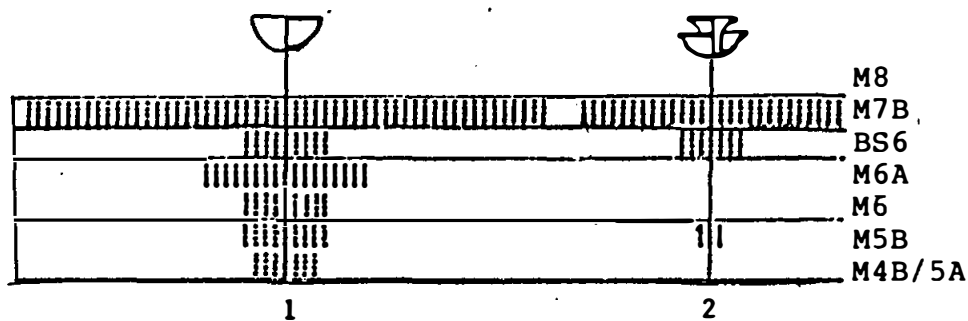
The strong role of Canaanite pottery tradition at Qasile can also be illustrated by comparing the pottery forms of Qasile with sites in other parts of Palestine. For this comparison the pottery of Qasile was classified into 48 basic types. (348) Over 70% of these forms also occur in Galilee or the Northern lowlands. 65% occur at other sites in Philistia. 65% occur in the Shephelah. 27% occur in the Northern Negev. 21% occur in the Jordan Valley. 19% occur in the central highlands. 16% occur in Syria and Lebanon. (349) This suggests a very strong correlation of the ceramics of Tel Qasile with all of the coastal and lowland regions of Palestine and a much lesser correlation with the central mountains. This would not be particularly surprising, but the degree of difference between highland and lowland assemblages is much less dramatic than these percentages suggest. Many of the 48 forms are minor or decorative variants which occur in very small percentages at Qasile. Since almost all major excavations which have published a large number of ceramic forms are from lowland sites, not central highland sites, the chances for finding parallels for the Qasile material from the interior are much less than for the plains. The evidence indicates that a richer variety of forms occurred in the lowland cities, but the major utilitarian pottery of the coast and highlands is really quite similar. Lamps, storage vessels, dippers, cooking pots, and many bowl forms are very similar between the coast and highlands. Of the 17 high percentage forms on our Qasile graphs at least seven occur regularly in the highlands. (Forms 3,4,6,8,9,12,17). (350) Undecorated variants of form 15, the strainer jar, are common in the mountains also. Form 13 flasks and cup mouthed flasks also occur in the highlands though not as commonly as in the plains. (351) In the mountains the collar rim jar is a standard form, rather than the common storage jar form at Qasile (2), but the basic form of these two types is not drastically different. (352) Philistine bowls 1 and 10 occur in small quantities at some highland sites as we have noted in our previous quantitative studies. Although there are regional variations between the coast and highlands even in domestic wares, the difference between the common domestic wares at major Philistine Ware sites and small agricultural sites in the central mountains of Palestine is small compared to the great difference between the common domestic wares of Mycenaean sites in Greece and the Philistine Ware sites of Palestine.

Two additional sets of graphs illustrate the same continuity of Canaanite LB utilitarian pottery forms which is apparent at Fara in southern Philistia and Qasile in northern Philistia. Graphs 10, 11, and 12 show the main pottery forms of Megiddo and Beth Shan in the Northern Valley. (353) Megiddo has a low percentage of Philistine Ware in Strata 7a and 6, but a fairly high percentage of pottery similar in form to Philistine strainers and pyxides, but decorated differently. Philistine Ware occurs in extremely small quantities in Beth Shan 6, which seems roughly contemporary with the burials which include

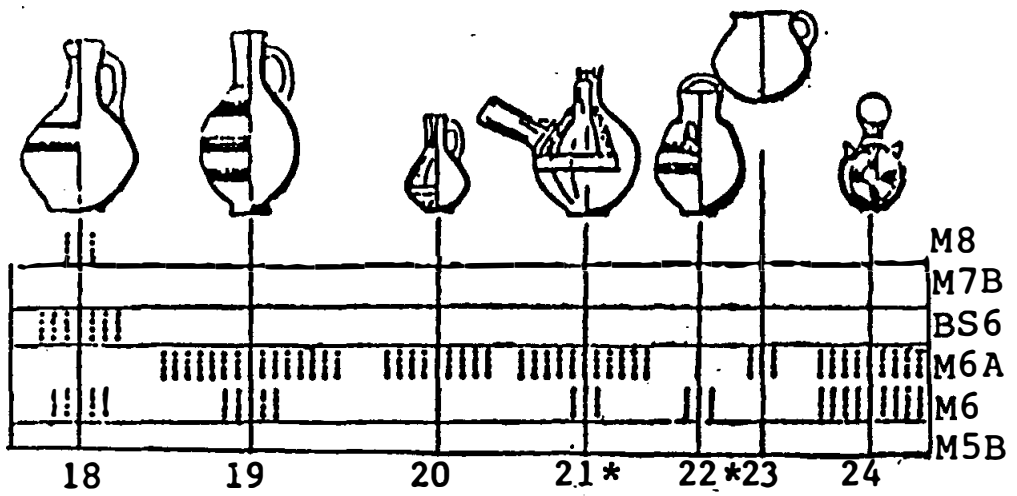
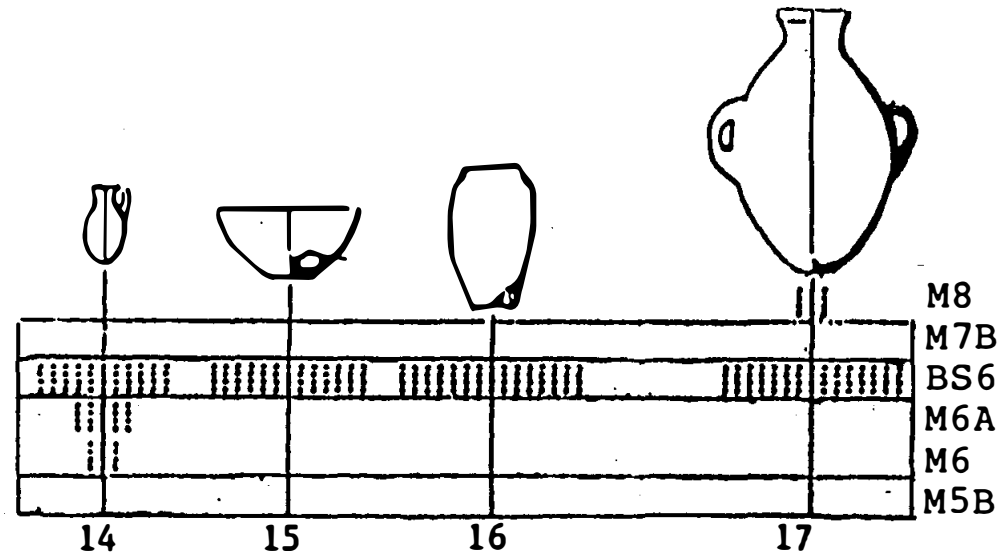
the famous feathered headdress coffin which is discussed in the chapter on burials. These graphs demonstrate the strong continuity from pre-Philistine strata 8 and 7b at Megiddo into Philistine Ware levels 6a and 6. Note such major forms as bowl 1, dipper 4, lamp 5, storage jar 12, and flask 31, and bowl 32. The pattern of continuity is similar to that at Fara.

Graphs 13 and 14 illustrate the major types from Izbet Sartah. (354) This site, which is east of Qasile and Aphek at the very edge of the mountains, has the characteristics of a small Israelite agricultural settlement. The percentage of Philistine Ware is less than 2%. Type 5 on the graph represents a combination of all types of Philistine Ware at the site. It is made up mainly of fragments of Philistine bowls and kraters like those which are common at Qasile. Notice the very strong correspondence of the major forms at Qasile and Izbet Sartah. Compare Qasile bowl 5 and Izbet Sartah bowl 1, Qasile bowl 4 and Izbet Sartah bowl 3, Qasile krater 9 and Izbet Sartah krater 4, Qasile flask 13 and Izbet Sartah flask 8, Qasile cooking pots 3 and 6 and Izbet Sartah pots 10, 11, & 14, Qasile jar 2 and Izbet Sartah 18 & 12. The chalices and lamps are also similar at both sites. A few examples of the collar rim which is more common at Izbet Sartah (Form 16) also occur at Qasile. The correspondence of forms between these two sites is even more striking when it is remembered that the types on the graphs were not chosen because of their similarity, but because they were the highest percentage types at each site.

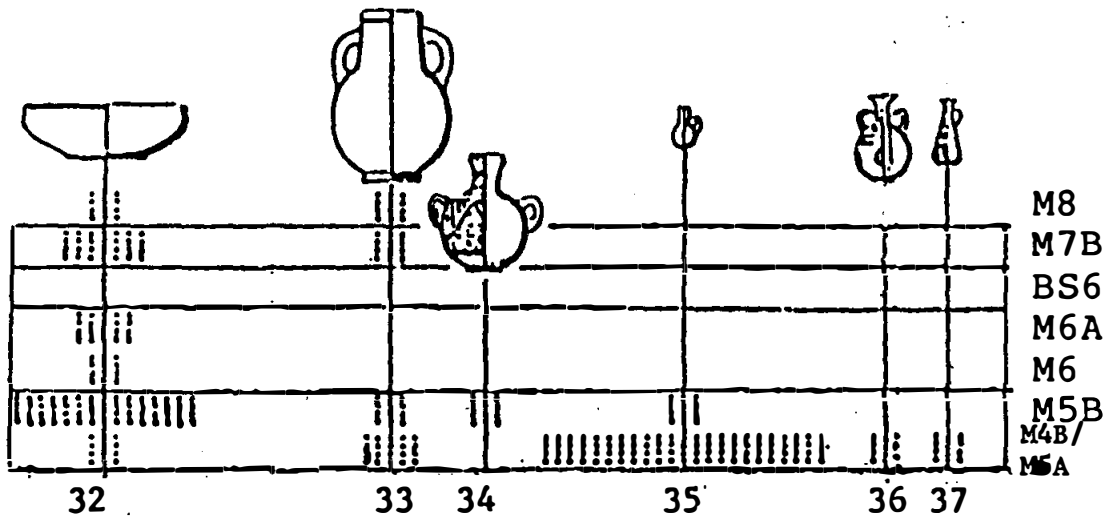
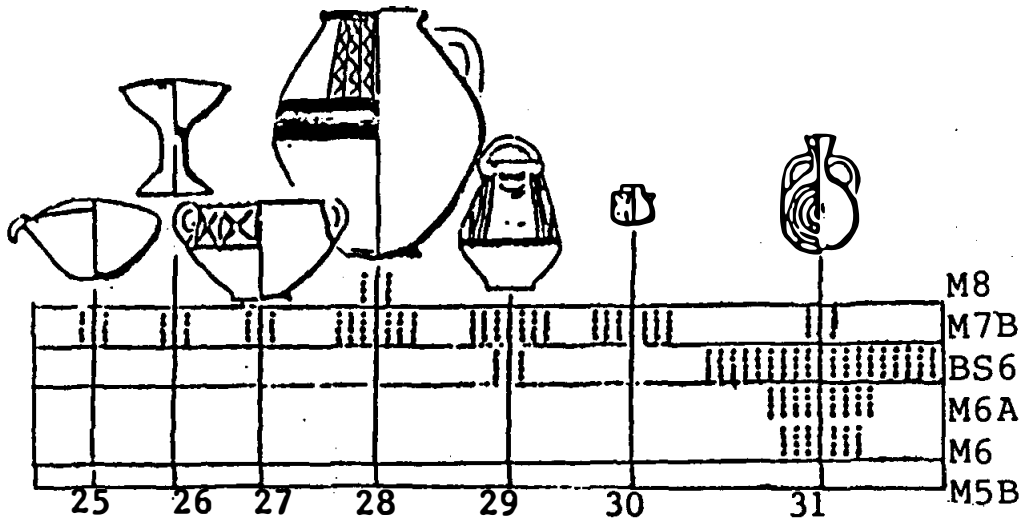
Graph 10
 MAIN POTTERY FORMS OF THE PHILISTINE STRATA
 AT MEGGIDO AND BETH SHAN



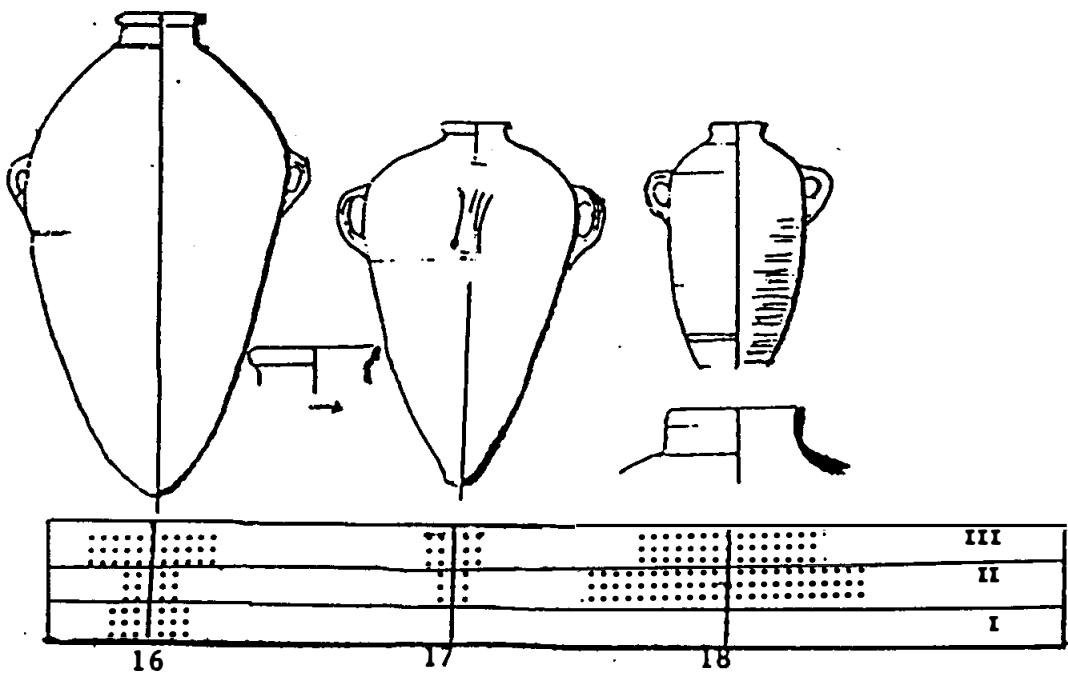
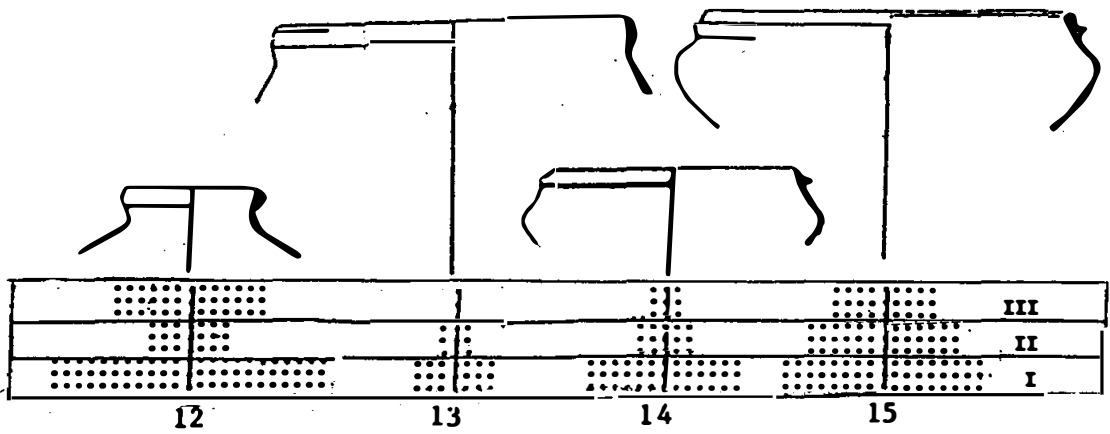
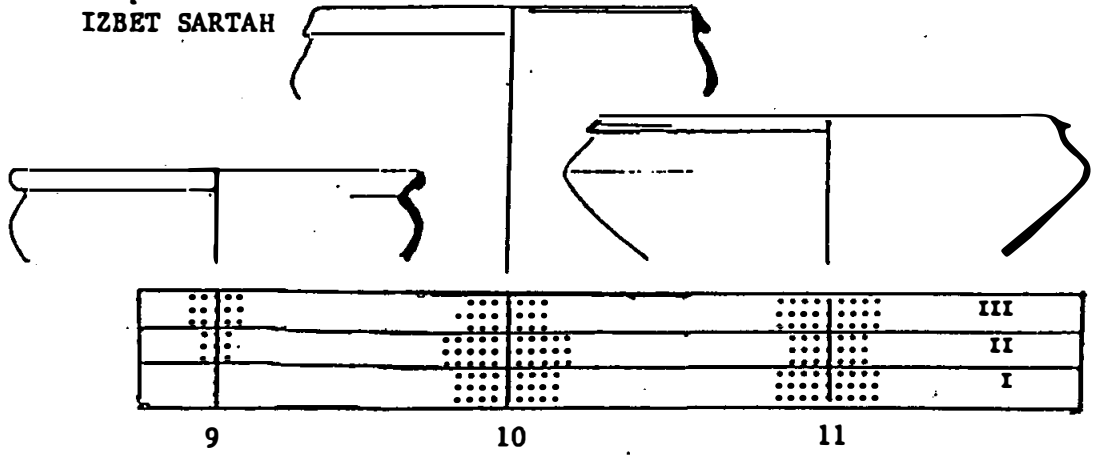
Graph 11 MEGIDDO AND BETH SHAN



Graph 12 MEGIDDO AND BETH SHAN



Graph 14
 IZBET SARTAH



The sites illustrated in the graphs were chosen because of the availability of better quantitative data or larger quantities of pottery. 355 The same continuity also occurs at other sites which are not yet as fully published or which have less quantitative information available. For example the levels which contain Philistine Ware at Gezer show the same very strong continuity of LB Canaanite pottery traditions. 356 The transitions from IIIB to Philistine Ware level IIIA at Afula and from Strata IV to III at Beth Shemesh show the same tendency. (357)

The Philistine Ware sites which we have examined show the same strong continuity of the Late Bronze utilitarian ware traditions of Palestine whether the percentage of Philistine Ware is high or low, whether the site is in Philistia or quite distant. Does the same pattern hold at the chief cities of the Philistine pentapolis? The limited amount of information available from Ashdod suggests that the answer is yes, but a definitive answer is not possible until more information becomes available. Strata XII and XI at Ashdod yielded about 30% Philistine Ware, so the proportion of plain ware at Ashdod is not much lower than that at Qasile XII. However, not much of this plain ware appears in the Ashdod volumes which have been published so far. The limited number of samples published so far indicate that lamps, flasks, juglets, storage jars, cooking pots, and some bowls which continue the LB traditions of Palestine occur in the Philistine Ware levels of Ashdod. (358) The exact proportion of these various types of vessels cannot yet be determined. It is possible that there is less continuity from the Late Bronze Age in the plain ware of Ashdod than at other Philistine Ware sites, but no evidence has yet been presented indicating that any of the plain utilitarian pottery of Ashdod or any other Philistine Ware site is derived from the utilitarian pottery of LB Greece or the Aegean, rather than LB Palestine. Perhaps the further publication of the Ashdod material and continued excavation at Migne or other sites of the Philistine pentapolis will make it possible to answer this question more definitively.

In the meantime, it is clear that there is very strong continuity of LB pottery traditions at all of the Philistine Ware sites. This does not imply that the forms are indistinguishable from the LB forms, but that they are natural and gradual developments from the LB forms, rather than a drastic break with the past or an introduction of forms derived from LB utilitarian pottery in Greece. (359) Any explanation of the Philistines and their culture must explain not only the introduction of new forms and decoration of Mycenaean derivation in the decorated ware, but also the continued dominance of LB Canaanite forms in the plain daily-use wares. Such a strong continuity of ceramic traditions at the Philistine Ware sites suggests a great deal of continuity of population from the Late Bronze Age at these sites. Perhaps new information will

show less continuity at Ashdod or other sites of the Pentapolis. If so, this would suggest that the strongest Aegean influence or population change was confined to the five cities designated as the Philistine pentapolis in the Old Testament. But the presently available evidence indicates both striking new forms and strong continuity of old forms at all Philistine Ware sites.

The Significance of Philistine Ware

The evidence linking the appearance of Philistine Ware with the arrival of the Philistines from the Aegean is not as conclusive as is often assumed. It is not necessary to attribute the Mycenaean characteristics of the Philistine Ware to a Philistine arrival from the Aegean, since Mycenaean characteristics were being amalgamated into the pottery traditions of Cyprus and southwestern Palestine before the appearance of Philistine Ware. Philistine Ware could be explained as the result of the creative recombination of various ceramic ideas available to them by a potter or group of potters in southwestern Palestine, rather than the result of the arrival of a new group of people from the Aegean. Is the beginning of Philistine Ware due to the arrival of a new group of people in southwestern Palestine, or could this sudden increase in production of a locally made "Mycenaean" ware be an attempt by local potters to replace the popular Mycenaean style luxury pottery which was no longer arriving from the Aegean or Cyprus due to disruption of trade? The concentration of Philistine Ware in southwestern Palestine could be due primarily to local trade patterns, rather than to ethnic preference for a certain pottery style. The distribution of Philistine Ware could be an indication of marketing patterns, rather than of ethnic, political, or linguistic boundaries. The explanation linking the appearance of Philistine Ware with the arrival of the Philistines from the Aegean is not impossible or even improbable. However, it cannot be assumed that this is the only possible explanation as many have done. We must consider other explanations.

Even those who attribute the popularity of Philistine Ware in southwestern Palestine to the common Aegean roots of the people and the pottery recognize that it is impossible to claim that this pottery is a direct transfer from the Aegean. (360) But if this pottery is a hybrid which cannot be traced directly to a specific home in the Aegean, it is a very weak indicator of the place of origin of the Philistines. Mycenaean pottery influences could have traveled from the Aegean to Cyprus either by migration or trade. From Cyprus they could have been passed on to Palestine by commerce or by a different group than that which brought them to Cyprus. (361) The Mycenaean influence which underlies Philistine Ware does not have to be traced back any further than Cyprus. The transfer could have been completed without people migrating from the Aegean to Palestine.

Even if we could establish that the Philistines and Philistine pottery appeared in Palestine at about the same time, this would not prove a common origin. The painted pottery which flourished among the Nabateans when they rose to prominence is a type of painted Hellenistic ware, ultimately derived from Greek prototypes, yet no one believes that the Arab Nabateans migrated from Greece. The people and the pottery had different origins, but the complex political, economic, and trade currents of the time brought them together, so that they both flourished at the same time. As a result the pottery is called Nabatean Ware even though it shows us nothing about the ethnic derivation of the Nabateans, but only illustrates the diverse influences which combined to form their material culture. (362)

It is not safe to base conclusions about the origins of a people on one isolated aspect of their culture. We must examine other elements of the Philistine material culture for a common Aegean background before we can safely link the Philistines to the Aegean on the basis of archeological evidence.

Even if we assume that the inhabitants of Philistia preferred Philistine Ware because it preserved the pottery traditions of their Aegean homeland, it would nevertheless be invalid to deduce the presence or absence of Philistines from a specific site merely from the presence or absence of Philistine Ware at that site. For example, the substantial presence of Philistine Ware at Beth Shemesh does not prove that the Philistines ever occupied Beth Shemesh. It may merely indicate that cities such as Beth Shemesh and Ashdod were in the same trade sphere, even if they were in different political jurisdictions. On the other hand, the Philistines could have introduced garrisons into cities where there is no evidence of Philistine Ware. There are many well documented instances of this phenomenon from all periods of history. (363)

The basic dilemma concerning Philistine Ware is clear if we recall the quotation from Aharoni at the beginning of this discussion. If we follow Aharoni and maintain the connection between the arrival of the Philistines and the appearance of Philistine Ware in about 1150 B.C, we are forced to break the tie between the arrival of the Philistines in Palestine and the events described by Ramses III in about 1190 B.C. If we do this, we are forced to take the great migrating force described by Ramses III and put them in storage in Cyprus or some other place for forty years before they return to Palestine. This hardly seems reasonable.

If we maintain the connection between the Philistines' arrival in Palestine and the eighth year of Ramses III in about 1190 B.C., we must surrender the connection between the arrival of the Philistines and the appearance of Philistine Ware forty years later. If we do

this, we destroy the value of Philistine Ware as evidence of the Philistines' place of origin. Unless we can demonstrate that Philistine Ware appeared very soon after the eighth year of Ramses III, we have a severe problem with maintaining the main pillar of the theory connecting the Philistines directly with the Aegean. (364) The Philistine Ware can only be used as strong evidence of the Philistines' arrival from the Aegean if both can be closely connected with the eighth year of Ramses III. (365)

Petrie, Furumark and other scholars believed that Philistine Ware appeared around 1200 B.C. or earlier. (366) More recent studies have supported a later date around 1150 B.C., creating the dilemma discussed in the preceding paragraph. Dothan tries to resolve this dilemma and preserve the tie between the arrival of the Philistines from the Aegean and the appearance of Philistine Ware by returning to an early date for the appearance of Philistine Ware. (367) Dothan places the end of Myc. IIIB very near the end of the 13th Century because it occurs with a sword bearing the cartouche of Merneptah (1236-1223 B.C.) at Ugarit and with a vase of Queen Tewosret (1209-1200 B.C.) at Deir Alla. (368) However, these two items do not provide a fixed date for the end of Myc. IIIB and the beginning of Myc. IIIC. They merely indicate that the levels containing Myc. IIIB at Ugarit and Deir Alla very likely end sometime after 1236 and 1209 B.C. For example, the Myc. IIIB at Deir Alla could have been manufactured long before 1209 B.C. and preserved for many years until it was deposited with the Tewosret vase. On the other hand, the Tewosret vase could have been old when it was deposited with the pottery. The evidence is simply not precise enough to set a definitive date for the end of the manufacture or use of Myc. IIIB.

Dothan cites the scarabs of Ramses III which occur with Philistine Ware at Gezer, Beth Shemesh, Lachish, and Megiddo as additional evidence for the early appearance of Philistine Ware. (369) However, the scarabs of Ramses III which occur with early Philistine Ware do not prove that Philistine Ware began shortly after the events of Ramses' eighth year, since he ruled for 24 years after the Sea Peoples' attack of 1190 B.C., and the scarabs could have been deposited at any time after his death. Dothan dates the beginning of Megiddo VIIA, which contains early Philistine Ware, by a scarab and cartouche of Ramses III and the end of this stratum by the last datable object, a pedestal incised with the name of Ramses VI (1156-1148). (370) However, these objects merely indicate that the stratum probably ends sometime after 1156 B.C. (371) By themselves they do not enable us to fix a precise date for the beginning and end of the stratum nor to fix a beginning date for Philistine Ware with any degree of certainty. There is at present no published evidence which clearly proves that Philistine Ware began shortly after the eighth year of Ramses III's reign.

One of the main defenders of a late date for the beginning of Philistine Ware is T. McClellan. (372) He believes that the earliest Series 500 tombs at Fara which contain Philistine Ware must be dated later than 1140 B.C. His conclusions are based on a computer seriation of a number of tombs in the Series 900 and Series 500 Cemeteries at Fara. This seriation led him to reject the order of the Series 500 tombs accepted by Petrie and Dothan as well as the four phases of Philistine Ware proposed by Furumark. A major factor in his argument is the occurrence of scarabs of Ramses III, Ramses IV and Ramses VIII (1147-1140) in some of the Series 900 tombs at Fara. (373) None of these Series 900 tombs contain any Philistine Ware, but they do contain Myc. IIIB pottery and a small amount of Bird and Gazelle Ware. (374) McClellan believes that chamber tombs 552, 562, 532, which contain Philistine Ware, overlap or follow immediately after the latest Series 900 tombs. He bases this conclusion on the general similarity of the ceramic assemblages of these two groups. (375) The bell-bowls are one of the main forms which distinguish the Series 500 tombs from the Series 900 tombs. The bell-bowls and other forms of Philistine Ware are most prevalent in Tomb 542. Tomb 542 was analyzed as the earliest of the Philistine tombs by Petrie and Dothan, but McClellan places it last because his seriation classifies its total ceramic assemblage as more distant from the Series 900 tombs and closer to the later Series 200 tombs than the assemblages of the other three "Philistine" tombs. (376) If McClellan's analysis is correct, it would raise doubts about Dothan's three phases of Philistine Ware, but her division is also supported by stratified pottery from Ashdod, Qasile, and other sites. (377)

Do we have adequate evidence to choose between the dating of Dothan and McClellan? Dothan's early date for the appearance of Philistine Ware does not yet seem to be proven by adequate evidence since the objects used for dating only set dates after which the strata in question were occupied. They do not limit any of the strata to the early years of Ramses III's reign. There are several factors which also raise doubt about the validity of some of McClellan's conclusions. In some cases his typology appears to be too simple to adequately discriminate between the various tomb groups. For example, his classification of horizontal-handled bowls is too vague. One of the main reasons that he places Tomb 542 closer to the Series 200 Tombs than to the earlier Series 900 Tombs is the occurrence of horizontal loop handles in both Tomb 542 and the 200 tombs, but he does not adequately and consistently distinguish between horizontal handled bowls decorated in Philistine style and later plain handled bowls with vestigial handles. (378) A second reason for questioning McClellan's late date for Philistine Ware is that it rests on the assumption that the differences between the pottery assemblages from the tombs at Fara are based on chronological differences between the tombs. There could

be other causes of the differences between the assemblages, such as differences of social status or ethnic background of those buried in the tombs. The long period of usage of some of the tombs could also be distorting McClellan's seriation. The latest items in specific tombs could come from considerably later than the bulk of the pottery in the tomb. The scarabs of Ramses IV and VIII in the Series 900 Tombs could be late additions to the contents of the tombs, which were added to these tombs after the Series 500 tombs which contain Philistine Ware had already been in use for a considerable time. This possibility of late inclusions is demonstrated by the tombs which are almost entirely LB in character which have a few pieces of Philistine Ware added in the last phase of usage. (379) It is conceivable that the Philistine Ware in Tombs 532, 552, and 562 could be contemporary with that of 542 or even more recent, even if the contents of these tombs as a whole were older than those of Tomb 542 as a whole. The Philistine Ware may represent a single phase of the usage of these tombs. Since Dothan dates more on the basis of individual items and McClellan dates more on the basis of total assemblages, there may be an element of truth in the dating of both. Another complicating factor is that there could have been a considerable delay between the first appearance of Philistine Ware at Ashdod and its introduction at Fara. It appears that neither the early nor the late date for the appearance of Philistine Ware has yet been demonstrated conclusively. This writer leans toward the late date, but the question is still open.

Some scholars have also argued in favor of the third option, namely, that there is a lapse of time between the arrival of the Sea Peoples and the appearance of Philistine Ware. A number of facts are cited in support of this theory. Stratum IX at Sharia contains no Philistine Ware even though this stratum may end later than the twenty-second year of Ramses III. (380) However, this dating is uncertain, and Philistine Ware may have been established on the coast for a considerable time before it reached Sharia. Architectural changes at Abu Huwam and Aphek, which antedate the appearance of Philistine Ware, have been attributed to Sea Peoples, but there is little evidence to support this connection, other than a tablet similar to Cypro-Minoan. (381) The form of some of the Series 900 tombs at Fara has led some scholars to link them with an earlier wave of immigrants from the Aegean, who arrived before the production of Philistine Ware. (382) The Myc. IIIC which precedes the Philistine Ware at Ashdod would indicate a gap between the arrival of the Aegean immigrants and the appearance of Philistine Ware, but the interval is short, and this pottery is the direct ancestor of Philistine Ware, so this pottery could also be cited as the best evidence for linking the appearance of Philistine Ware closely to the arrival of the immigrants from the Aegean. (383) Transitional strata occur at a number of other sites, but they are diverse in nature, so they are not very helpful

for clarifying the situation. (384)

Evidence of cultural change in North Syria is too unclear to solve the problem. Ugarit seems to have been destroyed while Mycenaean IIIB was still in use, but there may be small amounts of Mycenaean IIIC there. (385) If we accept the attribution of this destruction to the Sea People, there appears to be a considerable interval between the arrival of the Sea People in North Syria and the appearance of Philistine Ware, which is derived from Mycenaean IIIC1b, in Palestine. (386) Lagarce has suggested that the Mycenaean IIIC Ware at Ibn Hani, a small neighboring site of Ugarit, is so authentic that it must have been made by immigrants from the Aegean, but not enough evidence has been published to evaluate this claim. (387) Bichrome painting had appeared on pottery at Ugarit in the preceding periods, and it appears on Mycenaean vessel forms at Ibn Hani, just as it does on Philistine Ware. (388) Mycenaean IIIC occurs at a few other sites along the Syrian coast. (389) The Mycenaean Ware of Tarsus has some strong similarities to Philistine Ware. (390)

The situation in Cyprus also needs clarification. It is not possible to attribute the destructions of sites in Cyprus to specific attacks of Sea People with any degree of certainty. There is no firm evidence for the belief that the appearance of Mycenaean IIIC pottery at a site is proof of the arrival of Sea People. (391) Even if Mycenaean IIIC was brought by people from the Aegean, we cannot be certain that they are identical with the Sea People who attacked Egypt. Furthermore, the introduction of successive styles of Mycenaean pottery into Cyprus could be due to continuous trade rather than large-scale immigration. Scholars disagree concerning the date when large scale immigration replaced trade or small groups as the main source of the introduction of new styles of Aegean pottery into Cyprus. Some scholars have placed the beginning of large scale Aegean immigration into Cyprus as early as the 13th century, others as late as the 11th. (392)

Aegean pottery was being widely imitated in Cyprus and Mycenaean style decoration was being applied to Cypriote vessel forms already in the period of Mycenaean IIIB, before the alleged arrival of the Sea Peoples. (393) In some tombs of this period the percentage of Mycenaean IIIB pottery exceeds 30%. (394) If the influences underlying this Mycenaean IIIB pottery were brought by trade or small groups, the appearance of Cypriote-made Mycenaean IIIC could be attributed to these same causes, unless it can be demonstrated that there is a significant increase in the percentage of Mycenaean influence in the whole pottery assemblage, including the plain ware, during the time of Mycenaean IIIC. This has not yet been done. The Mycenaean influence does become the dominant factor in the decorated pottery during the period when Mycenaean IIIC was popular in Cyprus, just as

it does during the popularity of Philistine Ware in Palestine. The traditional Cypriote decorated wares are almost entirely displaced. However, only a limited number of the Mycenaean repertoire of forms, mostly drinking bowls, became popular in Cyprus. (395) A major Mycenaean influence on the plain daily ware and in other areas of the culture has not yet been demonstrated. Such a study is very necessary if we are to evaluate the true degree of change at the time when Mycenaean IIIC is introduced into Cyprus. It would be very significant if the plain ware which is found with Cypriote Mycenaean IIIC shows the same continuity with the plain pottery of the preceding period as that which is apparent in Philistia.

The Aegean influence in the strata which contain Mycenaean IIIB as well as in those which contain Mycenaean IIIC at sites such as Enkomi is limited mainly to the pottery. The architecture is non-Aegean. (396) Other items of the culture such as the seals, the metal work, and the tombs do not exhibit sufficient Aegean influence to demonstrate large scale migration as early as 1200 B.C. (397) Although the deities may reflect some Aegean influence, they are predominantly Semitic in character. (398)

The "Philistine" headdress which appears on a seal from Enkomi Stratum IIIB indicates that the type of headdress pictured at Medinet Habu was known in Cyprus at the time when Mycenaean IIIC was being used there, but it does not enable us to determine when it arrived in Cyprus or where it came from. (399) The figure wearing a "Philistine" headdress on the ivory box from an Enkomi tomb appears to be a retainer of some sort, rather than a ruler, and this would agree well with the idea that Sea Peoples often served as mercenaries or body-guards. (400)

We will briefly examine some of the interpretations of the evidence from Cyprus and its relevance for the question of Philistine origins.

Dothan suggests that Mycenaean IIIC1 was brought to Enkomi by Aegeans, probably Achaeans, who built Enkomi IIIA. The destruction of Enkomi IIIA is attributed to Sea Peoples shortly before the eighth year of Ramses III. The pottery of the first part of the following stratum, Stratum IIIB, is Mycenaean IIIC1b. According to this interpretation the Sea Peoples were using Mycenaean IIIC1b in Cyprus. (401) But if Mycenaean IIIC pottery was already in Cyprus before the Sea Peoples arrived at the end of Stratum IIIA, how can it be any indication of where they came from, even if it now appears as a new phase of Mycenaean IIIC? The Mycenaean IIIC1b could have arrived in Cyprus by the same process as the earlier varieties of Mycenaean IIIB and IIIC, and the Sea People could have adopted it after their arrival in Cyprus. What evidence is there that the destroyers of level IIIA were in fact the Sea People? What evidence justifies the differentiation of the inhabitants of Stratum IIIA as

Achaeans and those of Stratum IIIB as Sea People? The destruction of IIIA is assigned to Sea People because of the desire to associate them with the Mycenaean IIIC1b pottery, but the pottery is assigned to the Sea People because of its connection with the destructions. The fact is that Mycenaean IIIC1b pottery is associated with reconstructions in Cyprus, but what objective evidence demonstrates that this pottery and construction must be connected with the Sea Peoples who attacked Egypt? There does not appear to be a simple solution of this dilemma on the basis of present evidence.

However recent work at Maa on the west coast of Cyprus has provided some clarification of the situation. Nevertheless much uncertainty remains. The nature of this small fortified site suggests that its builders were immigrants. Two levels have been distinguished at Maa. In the first level, Level II, the Mycenaean pottery is IIIB. Base Ring II and White Slip II are still in use. The construction of the cyclopean walls and ashlar building of this level is more carefully done than the construction of the following period. The fact that this architecture has no clear antecedents in the Aegean led Karageorghis to the hypothesis that the builders of this settlement may have been a mixed group, including both Mycenaeans and Anatolians. This period may correspond to the period during which Mycenaean IIIC1a was being made in Greece. (402)

Mycenaean IIIC1b is the pottery of the next level, Level I. This pottery does not yet display characteristics of the Granary or Close Styles. This pottery is distinct enough from that of the preceding period to support the idea that it must be due to new influences arriving from Greece, but it is difficult to correlate it with a specific phase on the mainland because of regional variations in Mycenaean IIIC. (403) The excavator suggests that the inhabitants of this level may have been Mycenaeans only, and that the rebuilding of Maa was another step in the long process of Mycenaean settlement of Cyprus. (404) Karageorghis' idea reverses the order of Dothan who calls earlier arrivals Achaeans and the later arrivals Sea People. Karageorghis appears to believe that the earlier group was less Mycenaean than the later arrivals. The differences between the Mycenaean IIIC of eastern and western Cyprus is another indication of the complexity of movements and intermingling of various groups which may be involved here. There simply is not yet enough evidence to make a clear identification or distinction of the peoples responsible for these various constructions. (405)

Schachermeyr suggests that Achaeans entered Cyprus in substantial numbers as early as 1260 B.C. The Illyrians who formed the backbone of the Sea People passed through the Aegean and Cyprus at a later date and picked up the Mycenaean pottery influences as they passed through. The Mycenaean influence on Philistine pottery is thus not

direct, but indirect. (406)

Hankey believes that Aegeans arrived in Cyprus in Mycenaean IIIB and early IIIC. Others settled in Tarsus or other parts of the Levant. They were too few in number to maintain their footholds except at Tarsus and Ras Ibn Hani where the Mycenaean pottery shows development and continued contact with the Aegean. Others such as those in Philistia, established short-lived settlements with the locals. These groups need not have been the massive hordes suggested by Ramses III. (407)

Although ceramic changes do not always indicate movement of people, Iakovides believes that the amount of change at the introduction of Mycenaean IIIC is significant enough to warrant this conclusion. However, the association of this pottery with the Philistines is complex. Iakovides believes that Philistine Ware is derived from Mycenaean IIIC, but believes that it is an error to tie its beginning to the arrival of the Philistines in Palestine. (408) Mycenaean IIIC1b began after the attack of the Seapeoples, but before the Philistine settlement. Immigrant or itinerant craftsmen familiar with Cypriote Mycenaean IIIC1 styles worked in Ashdod. The Philistines were thus exposed to mainland influences via Cyprus and these influences were then imitated in Palestinian Philistine Ware. (409)

Muhley believes that the events in the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Late Bronze Age have only a most indirect connection with those in Greece. In the Aegean, especially on the Greek mainland, the invaders seem to have come overland from the north and, for the most part, returned to Europe. There is no archeological evidence for the presence of the Sea Peoples in Cyprus. The pottery that develops in LC III is unlike that from Greece and is related only to the wares found at Tarsus. The evidence for the Sea Peoples in Cyprus consists of the two figures with feathered headdresses discussed above. This headgear is no evidence for ethnic identification. Identical headgear (at least in appearance) can be traced back to the third millennium BC. (410)

What then is the relevance of the Cypriote-Mycenaean material to the question of Philistine origins? Since the Mycenaean IIIC1b in Cyprus does not appear to be a natural development from the Mycenaean IIIB which was already there, it appears that Mycenaean pottery influences entered Cyprus in several stages. It is not clear if heavy migration of Mycenaeans was necessary to bring this influence. Eastern influences such as cremation were also moving west during this period, which was a time of reciprocal influences. Even if we accept the premise that the Mycenaean IIIC pottery must have been brought to Cyprus by a significant number of immigrants from the Aegean, it is not clear that we can identify these people with the Sea Peoples or assume that they made up a major part of the people who settled in Palestine as

Philistines. It very probable that the Mycenaean pottery influences which underlie Philistine Ware were transmitted to Palestine from Cyprus and perhaps from other sites such as Tarsus. How this transmission occurred and its significance for Philistine origins is much less clear. Regardless of whether the transmission to Cyprus occurred by trade or large scale migration, the transmission to Palestine could have occurred by other mechanisms or through different people than those who brought the influence to Cyprus.

Philistine Ware and the Mycenaean pottery from which it is derived do not by themselves provide adequate evidence to identify the Philistines as immigrants from the Aegean. We would have a much stronger case for such a link if we could establish additional parallels to Mycenaean culture and to the culture of the Mycenaean IIIC strata of Cyprus in the material culture of the Philistines. We will now examine other aspects of Philistine culture to see if such a link in fact exists.

Figure 20



20a



20b

20 a-b
Coffin Lid From
Tel Fara S Compared
With Libyan From
Medinet Habu

20 c-d Coffin Lids From Beth Shan

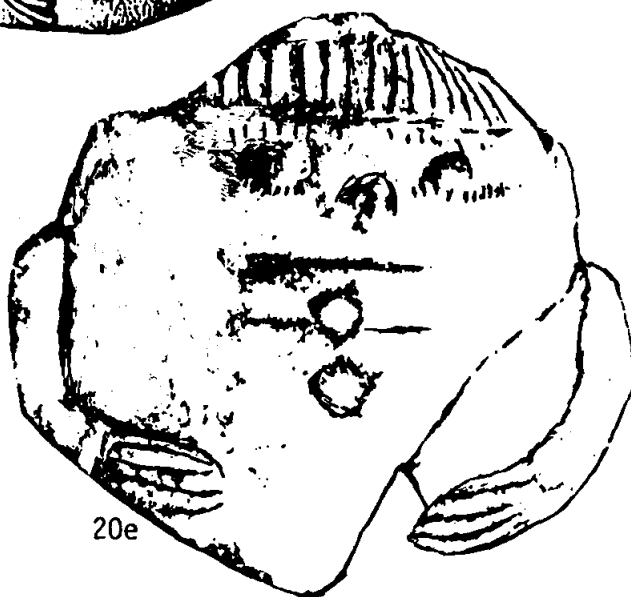


20c



20d

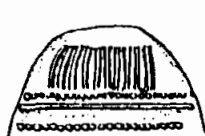
20 e
Lid From
Kom Abou
Billou
In
Egypt



20e

Fig. 21

"PHILISTINE" HEADRESSES AND POSSIBLE PARALLELS



Coffins From
Beth Shan
and
Reliefs From
Medinet Habu

21 a



An Ivory From
Enkomi Cyprus >

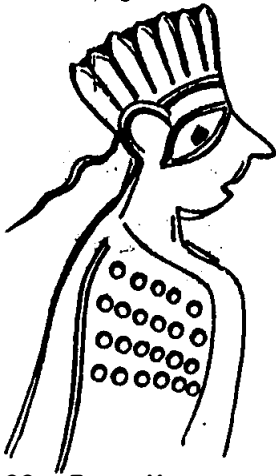
21b

< A Seal From
Enkomi Cyprus

21 c



Figure 22 Headdresses Similar To the Sea Peoples



22a From Mycenaean Krater in Damascus



22b



22c

22b Philistine
22c Phaistos disc



22d From the Tomb Of Ramses III



22e Ivories from Fara South



22f Megiddo Ivory



22g Hittite Worship



22h

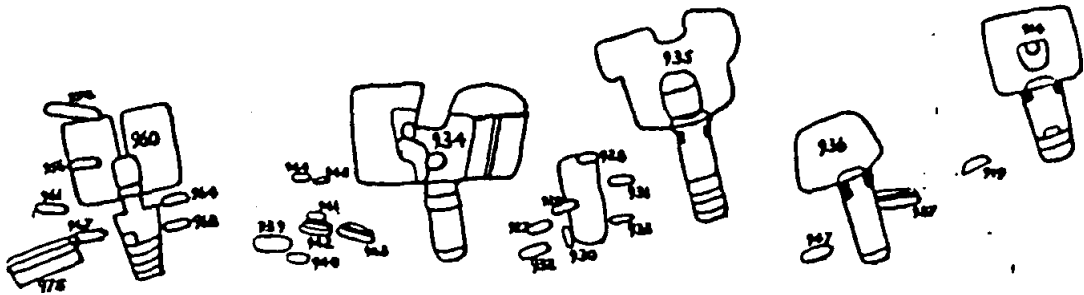
Canaanite Goddess



22i

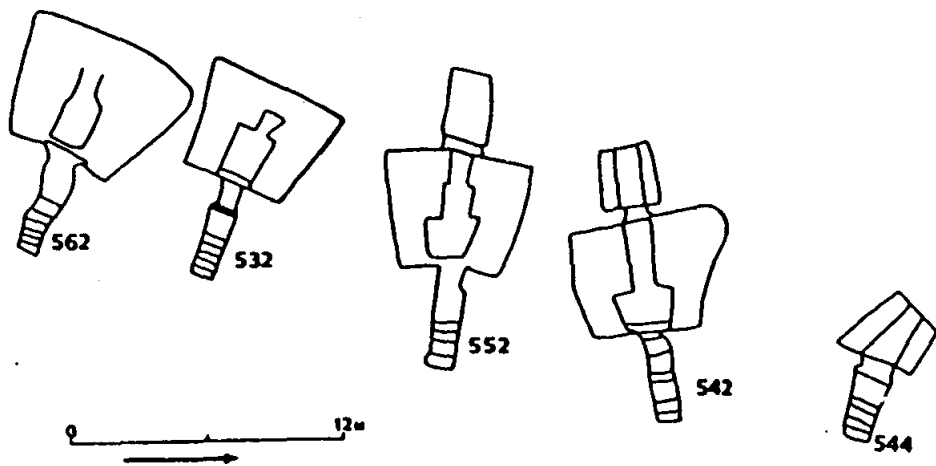
Libyan Chief

Figure 23



900 Series Tombs From Fara S

500 Series Tombs From Fara S



BURIAL

Discussion of Philistine burials has centered around two topics, anthropoid clay coffins with feathered headdresses and the use of tomb styles which are allegedly similar to Mycenaean or Aegean styles. Gold mouthpieces and cremation have also been discussed as possible links to the Aegean.

Anthropoid Coffins

The principal sites in Israel which yielded anthropoid clay coffins are Fara S, Beth Shan, Deir el Balah, and Lachish. The discussion began when Petrie named five chamber tombs at Fara South, which contained Philistine Ware, "The Tombs of the Lords of the Philistines." Two of these tombs also contained anthropoid clay coffins (Tombs 562, 552). Coffin fragments were also found in Tomb 935 which contained no Philistine Ware. (411) A few observations are in place concerning the association of these tombs with the Philistines. The Philistine forms account for less than 10% of the pottery in these two tombs. Tomb 552 contained one strainer jug, one Egyptian style jar, one Type 15 jug, and one possible Philistine bowl. (6.5% -8.7% Philistine Ware) There were several other jars with white slip and red bands. Tomb 562 had one strainer jug, one Egyptian style jar, one undecorated bowl and one striped amphoriskos. (7.3%-9.8% Philistine Ware) Only the Egyptian style jars and the Type 15 jug have distinctive Philistine painted motifs. The painting of the strainer jars is somewhat of a departure from common Philistine patterns. Neither tomb has the spiral bowls so characteristic of Philistine Ware. As far as can be determined from the published material each tomb has only two or three vessels out of assemblages of 41 and 46 vessels which have both distinctive Philistine form and decoration. Most of the vessels are standard Canaanite forms similar to those found in tombs as far away as Madeba in Jordan. (412) The Egyptian influence is especially apparent in Tomb 562.

Tombs 552 and 562 may have been disturbed, so the coffins may be intrusive on the Philistine Ware burials. Undisturbed tombs which contain Philistine Ware have no coffins. (413) Even if the tombs are not disturbed, the coffins and Philistine Ware may belong to different phases of the tombs' use. Later in this chapter we will study several tombs in which the Philistine Ware comes from only one late occupancy.

The features of the coffins do not indicate that the coffins are Philistine. The goatee and side locks on the coffin from Tomb 562 are very much like those of the Libyans pictured in the Egyptian reliefs. (Fig. 20a)

A very important group of anthropoid coffins from the Northern Cemetery at Beth Shan was published by E. Oren. There are fragments of about 50 coffins from 11 different burial groups. The tombs are reused EB burial caves. The main pottery forms associated with the coffins are flasks, lamps, stirrup jars, and bowls. This assemblage is similar to the Fara S assemblages except for the absence of Philistine Ware. This group is of special interest because one of the coffins from Tomb 66 has a headdress that is similar to the feathered headdress worn by the Sea Peoples at Medinet Habu. Incidentally the "feathers" on this coffin, which is on display in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, are in very high, tubular relief, so it is by no means certain that they are intended to represent feathers. Several other coffins have decorative headbands without "feathers." (Fig. 21) Oren classified the five "grotesque" coffins with headbands as Sea People burials, but since there is no Philistine Ware at the site, he associated the burials with some other group such as the Danuna. He classifies the rest of the coffin burials as probable Egyptian burials. (414)

The third major group are the coffins from Deir el Balah near the Egyptian border, published by T. Dothan. This group contains more than 60 coffins, mostly with the "naturalistic" style face. Most of these coffins are more mummy-shaped than the other anthropoid coffins in Palestine. The coffins were in plain graves dug into the kurkar. The grave goods are Late Bronze. There is no Philistine Ware with these burials, although it does appear in a later phase of the settlement at Deir el Balah. Dothan identifies the Deir el Balah burials as Egyptian, but cites the Beth Shan and Fara burials as Sea Peoples, probably Philistine. (415)

There are two naturalistic anthropoid clay coffins from a disturbed tomb at Lachish (Tomb 570). One is painted with pseudo-hieroglyphics. There is no evidence to link these burials with the Philistines. (416)

Anthropoid clay coffins also occur in Egypt from the Delta to Nubia and at several sites in the Transjordan. (417) These examples will not be discussed in detail here. Their main significance for this study is to show that the anthropoid coffins are a custom which originates in Egypt. It was also used by Egyptians outside of Egypt and very likely imitated by locals as well. The occurrence of Palestinian or Aegean pottery with some of these coffins in Egypt does not indicate non-Egyptian burials, because Egyptian burials generally have a mixture of Egyptian and non-Egyptian pottery. There is no true Philistine Ware with any of these burials in Egypt.

Can any of the anthropoid coffins in Palestine be definitely connected with Philistines or other Sea Peoples? Today it is recognized that most of these burials are Egyptian. Some of the burials may be natives

of Palestine imitating Egyptian practices. These burials cannot be associated with the Philistines or other Sea Peoples in the sweeping fashion which was sometimes done in the past. (418) The strongest argument for associating some of the Beth Shan burials with the Sea People is the feathered headdress. However, it should be noted that out of more than 100 anthropoid coffins found in Palestine, only one published example has a feathered headdress, the single example from Beth Shan Tomb 66. The second example in Dothan's Hebrew edition, Pl. 64:3, is not actually a second example, but an artificial composite from Revue Biblique. It does not appear in Dothan's more recent English edition. The only other published coffin which may have a feathered headdress is from Kom Abou Billou in the Egyptian Delta. This example is cruder than the Beth Shan example and lacks a clear headband. (419) The photograph is not clear enough to say with certainty that this is indeed a feathered headdress. (Figure 20e)

Because the one feathered headdress from Beth Shan is very similar to those pictured at Medinet Habu, it is reasonable to argue that at least this coffin is a Philistine or Sea People burial. The absence of Philistine Ware from the Beth Shan burials is not a strong argument against this being the burial of a Philistine, since it would not be surprising for a person who died away from home to be buried with pottery from the place of his death. It would not be particularly surprising for Philistine troops or mercenaries stationed outside the Philistine heartland to use whatever pottery was available in the place at which they were stationed. It seems likely that this burial and probably the four coffins with headbands belong to mercenaries in Egyptian service who wore feathered headdresses like those which appear so often in the Medinet Habu reliefs.

However, we cannot be sure that every upright headdress is necessarily Philistine or Sea People "feathered" headgear. Feathered or fluted headgear appears in many different forms with a wide geographical and chronological distribution. It appears on many Palestinian goddesses and the Egyptian Bes. (Fig. 22h) (420) Some of the Libyans wear headgear which looks similar to feathers from certain angles. (Fig. 22j) Hittite religious ceremonies feature upright headgear. (Fig. 22g) Upswept banded hair-dos or headgear also appears at several Canaanite sites including Jerusalem. (421) The closest parallels to the Medinet Habu reliefs are on an ivory box and seal from Enkomi, Cyprus and on the mysterious Phaistos disc from Crete. (Fig. 21b,c, 22c) (422) These three examples have, of course, often been linked to the Sea Peoples. Some ivory pendants from Tomb 201 at Fara are very similar to the Medinet Habu headgear, but they are usually regarded as Bes figurines. (Fig. 22e) The tomb of Ramses III produced an interesting representation of the feathered headdress on a person

wearing festive garments of Syrian style. (Fig. 22d) We have already seen the later Assyrian version of this type of headgear. (Fig. 8a) We should be careful about drawing sweeping conclusions from a single occurrence of upright headgear on an anthropoid coffin, namely the Beth Shan "feathered headdress."

Because of their location and date it is reasonable to link the Fara coffins with Philistines, but we have already noted that such coffins are not usual in the burials containing Philistine Ware and may be intrusive. It is not established beyond question that these Fara coffins are indeed Philistine burials. Even if we accept some of the Beth Shan and the Fara coffins as Philistine, it is clear that they are not a distinctive Philistine style, and neither their presence nor absence is in itself very helpful for identifying a specific burial as Philistine or non-Philistine.

Tomb Forms

The discussion of tomb forms also focuses on "the Tombs of the Lords" at Fara. Waldbaum argues that these tombs are related to Mycenaean chamber tombs, and connects them with the Aegean origin of the Philistines. She argues that earlier Canaanite tombs were rounded or irregular, not rectangular. The stepped dromos and the benches are also cited as new features. However, in Greece a long sloped dromos is more common than the stepped dromos which is standard at Fara. Benches are common at Fara, but rare in Greece. (423) Stiebing maintains that these Fara tombs can be explained as part of the natural evolution of tombs in Canaan. The stepped dromos appears already in MB IIC biobalate tombs at Fara, and there is a natural evolution to benches and a more rectangular shape. Such Fara tombs as 934, 935, and 960 form a natural connecting link to the 500 tombs. The closest parallels are tombs in Cyprus, not Greece. (424) Gonen and Loffreda agree with Stiebing in rejecting the Mycenaean origin of these tombs. (425)

Dothan accepts Waldbaum's claim concerning the Aegean origin of the stepped dromos tombs of the 500 cemetery. However she does not accept her Mycenaean derivation of some of the tombs in the 900 cemetery, such as Tomb 935, since this would break the connection between the arrival of Aegean tombs and the appearance of Philistine Ware. (426) However, a comparison of the 900 and 500 tombs reveals strong similarities. (Fig. 23) If this tomb shape is Mycenaean and reflects the arrival of immigrants, it probably antedates the appearance of Philistine Ware, and it strengthens the argument for the Sea Peoples' arriving before the appearance of Philistine Ware. This Dothan rejects.

However, it does not appear that any of these tomb shapes are distinctly Mycenaean or Aegean as has been

claimed. Some of the individual features of loculi and bench tombs appear in Greece and Cyprus, but there is not a single LB-EI burial in Palestine which is a true copy of a foreign burial. (427) Whatever foreign influence there may be in the biolabate and bench tombs of Palestine may be ascribed to Cyprus, not the Aegean. Furthermore, the influence seems to be gradual and to precede the alleged arrival of the Sea Peoples. These tomb types do not provide clear evidence of the Aegean origin of Philistines.

Gold Mouth Pieces

Elongated oval pieces of gold or silver sheet have been found with a number of burials in Palestine, including several containing Philistine Ware. Sites having mouthpieces include Fara S, Azor, Beth Shan, Megiddo, Gezer, the Akko Late Bronze tombs, and Hama in Syria. The example from Fara comes from Tomb 935, which has fragments of an anthropoid coffin. (428) The Beth Shan example comes from Tomb 202, which also contains coffin fragments. Oren suggests that it may have been inside an anthropoid coffin. (429) At Megiddo similar pieces appear in LB-EI tombs 39, 62, and 912B. Guy gives little information on the circumstances of the finds. Tomb 912B was an MB shaft tomb, reused in LB II. Tomb 62 was a rock cut chamber tomb. (430) The gold mouthpiece from Azor was found in an 11th century cremation burial (Grave 69). (431) The examples from Akko were found in undisturbed Late Bronze tombs. (432) The mouthpieces from Gezer were found in place on the skeletons. They are reported to be 10th century or later. (433)

These gold mouthpieces have often been cited as a link to Mycenaean burial customs. (434) However, they are a far cry from the famous full-face gold masks of Mycenae. The Palestinian examples are small ovals about 75-55 mm. long and 25 mm. high. They are often decorated with parallel lines, cross-hatching, or flower designs. All of the published examples of small mouthpieces from the Aegean are from later than the transition from the Bronze to Iron Age. Kurtz traces the Greek examples only to the 9th century B.C., but refers to Late Bronze Cypriote examples. (435) Vermeule mentions only masks, not mouthpieces as a Mycenaean custom. (436) Even masks were not a universal or standard practice in Mycenaean burials. Mylonas states that only 6 of 27 male burials at Mycenae had masks. He believes this is an intrusive custom from Egypt. (437) The Palestinian examples may have the same origin. But Cyprus is another possible source of the custom.

It is by no means clear that all of the Palestinian occurrences are mouthpieces. From the days of Petrie to the present some of them have been interpreted as jewelry which was probably worn as a headband, much like the round metal discs which have similar decoration. (438) Others

may have been decoration which was sown on clothing. (439) Unless their position on the skeleton is cited, or they are lip-shaped, as some Cypriote and late Greek examples are, it is uncertain what the function of specific examples really was. (440) On the basis of size and type of decoration the Megiddo examples are most likely to be mouthpieces. The Beth Shan and Akko examples are probably not mouthpieces. The classification of the Fara and Azor pieces is doubtful.

The only literary reference to mouthpieces is the Phoenician inscription of Batnoam of Byblos from the 4th century B.C. This text mentions mouthpieces as a standard custom of Phoenician royal burials. At this date mouthpieces were still being used in Cyprus also. (441)

Even if the "mouthpieces" from the early Iron Age were derived from Aegean prototypes, they would be weak grounds for determining the ethnic derivation of the occupants of a specific tomb, since Greek burials of the same period include Syrian seals, Egyptian scarabs, Hittite bronzes, European metal objects, and the eastern habit of cremation. (442) During this period influences were traveling in both directions. These objects have little value for the interpretation of Philistine burials, unless better data is uncovered than presently exists.

Cremation

The appearance of cremation and urn burials has also been cited as an indication of the arrival of Sea Peoples and of Aegean influence. (443) In Israel cremations from the Early Iron Age appear at Fara, Azor, and Ajjul. At Fara the cremations were in urns which were placed between the tombs of the 200 cemetery. The jars used as urns are different from the jars found in the tombs. One strainer jug was found in these burials. McClellan dates these burials last of the Fara burials, well after the Philistine chamber tombs, but perhaps part of the seriation difference is due to the nature of the burials, rather than to chronology. (444) The single cremation at Azor is dated to the 11th century. (445) The cremations at Ajjul are alleged to be Philistine, but these excavations of Sukenik are unpublished, except for a brief reference by Albright. The latest undecorated Philistine kraters are cited as the typical pottery of the burials. (446)

The most famous urnfield that has a bearing on the relationship of Sea Peoples and cremation is at Hama in Syria. This cemetery contained more than 1640 urn burials dating from the 12th through 8th centuries. Most of the early burials here are in biconical or globular ring-based jars with a variety of handle placements. Many of the jars are painted with a style similar to the Bird and Gazelle Ware of the 900 Cemetery at Fara. Some

burials are in multi-handled kraters. (447) In a recent review of the finds at Hama, Riis classifies these cremation burials as more Anatolian than Aegean. The finds at the site do not support a theory of Mycenaean settlement in this part of Syria. Whatever Mycenaean influences there are appear to be indirect. (448) Some of the ceramic forms show some Mycenaean IIIC influence, but the forms in question are different from Philistine Ware. (449)

There are other cremations in the Levant in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. The cremations at Alalakh date from the end of the Late Bronze. There is an apparent cremation cemetery at Tel Sukas in Syria which has a stirrup jar from LH IIIC:1. Ugarit has apparent cremations from the 12th century. The cremations at Carchemish are from the 9th-7th centuries. In the 9th century Halaf has both cremations and gold mouthpieces. (450) Phoenician cremations occur at Atlit and Achzib. (451) Cremation was also known at Troy VI and among the Hittites. (452) The urn burials of Central Europe and the Etruscans are also well known. (453)

The most significant cremation cemeteries in Greece are from later than the time of the Sea Peoples' alleged migration. (454) Iakovides classifies the cremations at Perati in Attica as derivations from Anatolian practices. They are not the standard burial form at Perati. Iakovides believes that their purpose was to speed up reusability of the tomb by removing the flesh from the bones so they could be pushed aside. (455)

Since our main concern is to examine the derivation of cremation in order to determine what ethnic significance its occurrence in Palestine may have, we will not examine these other cremations in detail. We will examine the interpretation of these cremations only insofar as it has a bearing on our question. Although some cremation occurs in Greece in the Late Bronze Age and even earlier, cremation is not a standard Mycenaean custom. It does not flourish in this area before the 9th century. Vermeule, Kurtz and Iakovides all see it as a foreign influence in Greece of Anatolian or Levantine origin. (456) Riis sees Hittite Anatolia as a possible source of the influence for both the Aegean and the Levant. (457) In Anatolia itself McQueen traces the practice back to southeastern Turkey in EB III. In Hittite cemeteries cremation was an option, not a universal standard of burial. (458)

Cremation was not a distinctive ethnic trait anywhere in the eastern Mediterranean during the late 2nd millennium. It was an alternate means of burial along with simple inhumation in many different regions at some time during the LB or EI. It was not a distinctive Mycenaean or Aegean trait. Influence toward cremation most likely came to Palestine from Anatolia. The evidence

for cremation at the Amman Airport "temple" is interpreted as evidence for the introduction of cremation from Anatolia into Syria-Palestine at the end of the Late Bronze Age. (459) There is no evidence to link the cremations in Palestine with the arrival of the Philistines or other Sea Peoples. Most of the cremations in Palestine date too late to be associated with the arrival of the Sea Peoples.

Philistine Burials

The evidence which is presently available does not indicate any particular style of burial which can be linked with the Philistines or which gives proof of their origins. Philistine burial customs may well have been the mixture which occurs at Azor. This is not surprising since it is very common that ethnic groups have mixed burial forms and that the boundaries of burial customs do not correspond with linguistic or political boundaries. (460) Already in the Late Bronze Age there is considerable heterogeneity of burial customs in coastal Palestine. Individual features of certain burials are similar to burials in the Aegean, Anatolia, Cyprus, and Egypt, but no Palestinian burial is a true copy of a foreign burial. Perhaps this reflects small groups of immigrants from many areas, who assimilated quickly, but preserved a few features of burials of their old homeland. (461)

We will now examine the various types of burials in which Philistine Ware occurs. These should be called Philistine Ware burials, rather than Philistine burials, since it is not always clear which of them are burials of ethnic Philistines. Since no burials of this period have yet been excavated from any of the five chief cities of the Philistines, Fara and Azor remain the best candidates for Philistine cemeteries.

Fara Tombs

The relationship of the rock-cut tombs of Fara to Mycenaean prototypes and the role of Philistine Ware in these tombs have been discussed in a preceding section of this chapter. The percentage of Philistine Ware in these tombs was less than 10%. This dissertation favored the position that the form of these tombs can be derived from the earlier Series 900 tombs at Fara.

About 28 additional burials from Fara contained Philistine Ware. The exact number is uncertain because of unclarity in Petrie's records. (462) Most of these burials are simple pit graves or stone-lined graves, except for the urns containing cremations in Cemetery 200C.

In Cemetery 500N 4 or 5 burials out of 19 contained distinct Philistine Ware. According to McClellan's

analysis 14.4%-16.6% of the pottery of this group is Philistine Ware in form. This included a wide variety of Philistine forms. About 8 of 39 tombs in the 800 Cemetery had Philistine Ware. McClellan classifies 5.6%-7.2% of the pottery of this group as Philistine in form. Two of 17 burials in the Series 100 cemetery had distinct Philistine Ware, but McClellan classifies 16%-20% of the pottery from this group as Philistine in form. This consisted mostly of horizontal-handled bowls and pyxides, which did not necessarily have distinct Philistine decoration. About 8 of 52 burials in Cemetery 600 had distinct Philistine Ware. McClellan classifies 7.5% of the pottery of this cemetery as Philistine in form. This assemblage includes quite a variety of forms. These four tomb groups fall into period two of McClellan's seriation.

Three of 30 burials in Cemetery 200 had clear Philistine Ware, but McClellan lists 10.3%-12.8% of the pottery of this group as Philistine in form. This is due largely to horizontal-handled bowls, which McClellan classifies as Philistine even if they do not have Philistine decoration. This cemetery also contained a significant number of the lotus chalices, which have decoration similar to Philistine-Egyptian decoration, but which are not classified as Philistine forms. One or two of 27 cremations had Philistine Ware. McClellan lists only .9% Philistine Ware in form. A single beer jug is the only definite Philistine form. The 200 Cemetery falls last in McClellan's seriation.

From all of the registered graves from these burial groups which contained Philistine Ware a total of 15 of 63 vessels were Philistine forms. (23.8%)

These figures give a general idea of the "Philistine" burials at Fara, but they cannot be regarded as very precise. All of the available records and studies contain a number of discrepancies. (463) Some vessels in Duncan's Corpus are assigned to tombs which are not listed in Petrie's register of tombs. In a number of places there appears to be confusion of similar numbers such as Tomb 103 and 105, 615 and 625. The quality of drawings and the use of the same drawing to represent more than one vessel make it difficult to accurately describe the type of decoration on each vessel. There are a number of apparent discrepancies between McClellan's various charts.

In spite of these difficulties a number of general observations can be made. Philistine Ware occurs not only in the rock-cut tombs, but also in the simple or stone-lined graves at Fara. On the basis of vessel form the percentage of Philistine Ware in these simple burials exceeds that in any of the rock carved tombs, except 542. This may support the idea that the Philistine Ware in the rock-cut tombs belongs to a late phase of their use, rather than to the entire occupancy. In the pit burials

graves which contained Philistine Ware are interspersed with graves which do not. A typical Philistine Ware grave had one Philistine Ware vessel along with between 3 and 10 non-Philistine vessels. One or two examples of a wide variety of Philistine vessel types occur in these burials, but most of the Philistine Ware vessels are horizontal-handled bowls or strainer jars. Many of these lack distinctive Philistine decoration. The cremations are late in the burial sequence. They are not contemporary with true Philistine Ware.

Azor

This cemetery is significant for the variety of burial forms which occurs there. A simple pit with the body on its back in an east-west position is the most common Iron I burial form among the Azor graves containing Philistine Ware. A burial consisting of two storage jars joined together resembles some Anatolian burials, but it cannot be classified as Philistine on the basis of accompanying finds. Brick tombs containing late Philistine Ware have some similarity to the tombs of Zeror and Saidiyeh which are discussed below. The single cremation was discussed in the section above on cremation. Dothan cites this as the earliest cremation in Iron Age Palestine. (464)

Ajjul

Philistine Ware was reported from a few burials at Ajjul. Tomb 1112 at Ajjul was a simple rectangular grave. It contained an undecorated horn-shaped vessel, a horizontal-handled Type 1 bowl, another possible Philistine bowl, and one cyma bowl. Tomb 1139, another simple grave, had a decorated amphoriskos and two non-Philistine vessels. Tomb 1166 was a larger Form C multiple-burial grave. It contained a stirrup-jar, a jar decorated with concentric semi-circles and triangles on the neck, and a bowl with vestigial horizontal loop handles as well as many non-Philistine vessels. There was also a feeding bottle which is simply cataloged "Tomb 1000." The classification of some of these vessels is uncertain because of inadequate publication of drawings. (465)

The alleged Philistine cremations at Ajjul were discussed in the earlier section on cremation. There is no indication that the cremations from Ajjul cataloged in Gaza II were Philistine, but some of the vessel forms are parallel to those from Cemetery 200 at Fara.

Aitun

We have already discussed the rock-cut tomb at Aitun which contained 5.6% Philistine Ware. It is a rock-cut tomb 4.5m x 1.5-2.0m. It is entered by four steps, has five loculi, and a round repository in the floor. There

is no clear evidence that it is Philistine. (466)

Gezer

Several important caves at Gezer contain some very interesting Philistine Ware. Tomb 59 is a small circular chamber approached by 5 steps. It has five burial recesses cut into the sides. Tomb 59 contains about 130 vessels. About 13 of these are Philistine Ware. (10%) If a number of pyxoid type vessels were included, the percentage of Philistine Ware would be higher. This is a very unusual collection which includes 5 gourd bottles and 4 feeding bottles. It also contains a number of Philistine Ware fragments. Lamps are the dominant vessel form in this tomb. (467)

Tomb 58 is a single chamber with three benches and two sunken, circular cells. Cave 58 contains about 91 vessels. A horizontal-handled bowl and a basket-handled feeding bottle can be classified as Philistine Ware, although both are decorated with stripes, not with distinctive Philistine motifs. (2.2%) There are several pyxoid vessels which could be classified as Philistine Ware, but none of these have Philistine decoration. Lamps and chalices are the dominant vessel forms. (468)

Tomb 9 is a chamber tomb with benches and two sub-chambers. Pillars support the roof. The tomb contained about 22 vessels, including a nicely decorated Philistine krater and stirrup jar. (9.1%) The krater is unusual in that it has three handles. The tomb also contained a Mycenaean piriform jar, a Mycenaean stirrup jar, Base Ring Ware, and several sherds which are either Philistine or Mycenaean. (469)

Tomb 84-85 contained about 47 vessels, including an undecorated Philistine bowl and a striped pyxis. (4.3%) It also contained an angular pyxis, a stirrup jar, a strainer-spouted vessel different in shape from the usual Philistine form, and the neck of a basket-handled vessel. All of these vessels are undecorated, and it is uncertain if they should be classified as Philistine Ware. The tomb also contained a Base Ring tankard, juglet and wish-bone handled bowl. (470)

These four caves contained about 275 whole vessels of which 19 were Philistine Ware. (6.9%). But if all the undecorated vessels which are close to Philistine forms are included, the percentage of Philistine Ware would at least double. Much of the pottery in these tombs is from earlier than the time of Philistine Ware. There is a striking contrast between the richness of the Philistine Ware in these caves and in a cult cache from Gezer and the comparative lack of Philistine Ware in the most recent excavations at Gezer.

Beth Shemesh

Tomb 11 at Beth Shemesh had many generations of use, mainly during the LB Age, parallel to Stratum IV. It contains Cypriote bilbels and related wares. The single Philistine krater and scarab of Ramses III appear to be from the last phase of use. (471)

Megiddo

There are three burial caves at Megiddo which contain one or two pieces of Philistine Ware among larger non-Philistine assemblages. Tomb 1101 is a reused EB burial cave. It contained a Philistine bell bowl, a striped beer jug and a handleless bell bowl. This tomb also produced a Mycenaean sherd decorated with a dove. (472)

Tomb 73 is an irregular rock cave which was probably cut during the Late Bronze Age. It contains a jug fragment which may have a Philistine scales and dot pattern and an undecorated beer jug. It contains imitation Mycenaean Ware. (473)

Tomb 3 is a cave expanded by carved burial niches. It is approached by steps. Most of the pottery is LBI and LBII. It contains a Philistine bowl similar to the one from Tomb 1101. (474)

Tombs 912B, 39, and 62 which contain "mouthpieces" do not contain Philistine Ware, but there is some fine Mycenaean Ware in 912B. (475)

Afula

Early Iron burials at Afula, contemporary with Stratum IIIA, are oblong pits, containing single burials on the back with the head NNW. Storage jars and bowls are the main ceramic forms. The only Philistine Ware is a nicely decorated, braided-handled jug from Tomb 2. A Philistine style banded bowl and a sherd from a similar bowl were found in close proximity to these graves. (476)

Tel Beit Mirsim

The East Cave contained a Philistine Ware beer jug and krater. The excavator's log lists about 24 objects from this cave. The objects correspond both to Strata C and B on the tell and include Cypriote milk bowls and Base Ring Ware, and LB painted ware. (477)

Zeror

The stone-lined cist burials at Zeror do not contain decorated Philistine Ware, but have several undecorated vessels similar to Philistine Ware forms. (478)

Lachish

Cave 4034, Pit B contains Philistine Ware sherds, but this material appears to represent an occupancy rather than remains of a burial. The cave appears to have been a potter's workshop for at least part of its history. At any rate, the Philistine Ware is a late addition to the occupancy of this cave. Most of the material is described as parallel to Tell Beit Mirsim C2 and B1. (479)

There is no evidence that the other tombs which Dothan assigns to the 12th century contain Philistine Ware. (480)

Pottery Types In LB/EI Burials

An attempt was made to catalog and evaluate the percentage of various vessel types which occur in burials of this period in order to determine if the burials containing Philistine Ware can be distinguished from other burials on the basis of the vessel types which are most common in them. The common vessel types of Philistine Ware burials were also compared with vessel types of burials in Greece and Cyprus. The conclusion was that Philistine Ware burials cannot be distinguished from other burials in Canaan on the basis of vessel type.

We will look at the statistics from a few specific groups in support of this claim. The statistics in this section are based on the tomb registers documented in the section on burials above.

The four chamber tombs at Fara could be called bowl burials. They contain from 35.8% to 47.3% bowls. In all four tombs flasks, juglets, and lamps fall around the 5%-10% range. Tomb 552 is unusual in that it had a significant number of storage jars (12.8%) and jugs (14%). Bowls are somewhat less dominant in a group of four tombs from the 900 Cemetery. (27.4%) (481) Bowls are also the main form of the 500, 600, and 800 Cemeteries at Fara, but less decisively than in the chamber tombs. (482)

Bowls also predominate at Madeba in Jordan (44%) and Saidiyeh in the Jordan Valley (28%). Neither of these burial groups contained any Philistine Ware. The tomb at Madeba closely parallels the material from the 500 and 600 Cemeteries at Fara. Lamps (21.7%) and flasks (14%) were the other major forms at Madeba. (483) The cist graves at Saidiyeh show very heavy Egyptian influence, but there is no good basis for connecting them with the Sea Peoples as Pritchard did. A wide variety of vessels all falling in the 6%-7% range make up the rest of the Saidiyeh assemblage. (484) Most of the Megiddo tombs of this period can also be classified as bowl burials. (485)

Lamps are the dominant vessels in Gezer Caves 59 (44.3%) and 58 (31.9%). The lack of bowls is conspicuous in Tomb 59, but they are more common in Tomb 58 (19.8%).

(486) Lamps are also the leading form at Aitun (33.8%), but bowls are well represented (26%). (487)

Although Beth Shan is just a few miles from Saidiyeh, and both show considerable Egyptian influence, bowls play practically no role in the assemblages in the coffin burials from Beth Shan. This also contrasts with the dominance of bowls in the coffin burials of Fara. Four burial groups containing anthropoid coffins illustrate the great diversity of vessel types even in contemporary burials of one site. Tomb 221 A-C had 39% stirrups, 16.9% lamps, and 17% flasks. This tomb had a single Mycenaean bell bowl and a strainer spouted jug with a braided handle. Tomb 66 had 70% lamps, 16% flasks, and 3.3% stirrups. This is the tomb which had the feathered headdress sarcophagus. Tomb 219 had 43.1% stirrups, 30.1% flasks, and 8.6% lamps. Tomb 90 had 38.8% flasks and 32.8% lamps, and 6% stirrups. (488)

As this diversity at even a single site illustrates, it does not seem possible to detect a pattern in the types of vessels which occur in Philistine and non-Philistine burials of this period. Gonen also observes a general similarity of grave goods in all types of burials in the Late Bronze Age. (489) However, the frequent dominance of bowls and lamps appears to be a Canaanite trait, quite different from the fashion in Greece where bowls rarely occur in burials of this period. (490)

Burial Change At the Beginning of the Iron Age

The time of the alleged arrival of the Sea Peoples cannot be identified as a time of significant large-scale change of burial customs in Palestine. More significant changes took place at the beginning of LBI and Iron II. (491) We must be cautious in drawing sweeping conclusions from any differences between the burial customs of the "Philistine" plains and the "Israelite" mountains during Iron I, because the difference between burial customs of the plains and mountains was already well established earlier in the Late Bronze Age. During this period caves were the dominant burial in the mountains as they had been in the Middle Bronze. Pits were dominant in the plains. This difference was not purely geological, because caves had been used along the coast in earlier periods. (492)

In and near the mountains Philistine Ware appears most frequently in burial caves which were often already in use during the preceding period. (Aitun, Tell Beit Mirsim, Beth Shemesh, Gezer, Megiddo) In the plains Philistine Ware most often occurs in burial pits. (Ajjul, Fara, Azor, Afula) Both of these forms appear to be continuations of the style of the preceding period. It is striking that there are few new caves used during Iron I in comparison with the number of reused LB caves. However, in Iron II there are many new caves. (493)

Regardless of whether the Mycenaean or non-Mycenaean interpretation is accepted, the chamber tombs at Fara are unusual in the lowlands, but even here there is a basic continuity with the burial form of the preceding period, rather than a sharp break.

Again we must remember that we lack a cemetery from a major Philistine city to complete the picture.

Skeletal Material

At the present time the available skeletal evidence is inadequate to serve as a basis for dependable conclusions about the racial characteristics of the Philistines. The skulls from the "Philistine" burial at Aitun are basically Mediterranean, similar to finds from Megiddo and Lachish. The "Philistine" and "Canaanite" tombs at Aitun cannot be differentiated on the basis of the skeletal material. One skull from Aitun (H3) does differ from the rest of the material and can be classified as Alpine. (494) We cannot say with certainty that any of the graves at Aitun are those of ethnic Philistines.

The graves at Nitzanim do not contain Philistine Ware, but because they lie in the Philistine coastal plain, they have often been included in this discussion. The skulls from this group have more African affinities, suggesting to Arensburg that some of the alleged invaders may have come from the Mediterranean coast of Africa. In some respects the skulls of this site are closer to skull H3 from Aitun. The pottery at this site shows very heavy Egyptian influence. (495) Again it is open to question if these are true Philistine graves.

The skeletal material from Azor is heterogenous. Two skulls were classified as Armenoid and one as Alpine. Ferembach's conclusions linking these skulls with invaders from the Aegean are too sweeping to be justified by the very limited amount of evidence. (496)

One skull from Beth Shemesh III is a cruder Mediterranean type similar to Nitzanim H2. (497)

The skeletal material from Deir el Balah appears to correspond with that from Lower Egypt, as we would expect since these were very likely Egyptian burials. (498)

In summary, a few skulls at Azor and one at Aitun differ from the norm for skulls of Canaanite sites. Skulls at Nitzanim have African affinities. But this limited evidence does not provide adequate evidence for an Aegean or Anatolian origin of the Philistines as Ferembach suggests. The brachycephalic skulls in Israel may well be a local variant of Mediterranean, rather than Alpine. So far, they tend to be isolated occurrences. They are

usually associated with other skulls very similar to the norm found in Israel. Israel has produced only two brachycephalic groups. These come from MB and Roman-Byzantine graves. (499)

To obtain reliable skeletal information concerning the Philistines we would need a large number of skeletons from a definite Philistine site such as Ashdod or Migne. We must also have earlier material from the same site for comparison. There are a large number of skeletons from Ashdod from the Assyrian period, but an adequate analysis of this material has never been published. There is, therefore, at present no adequate skeletal information for determining the racial affinities of the Philistines. The extremely limited information which is available suggests a heterogenous population.

METAL

The relevance of metalworking to a discussion of the culture of the Philistines depends on how we answer two questions. Did the Philistines introduce ironworking into Palestine? Did the Philistines introduce distinctive metal forms from the Aegean or elsewhere, which give some hint as to their origin?

The Introduction of Iron

For a long time the Philistines' introduction of iron into Palestine and their temporary monopoly of its production were cited as two of their outstanding achievements. This idea still remains entrenched in the popular literature and forms one of the main impressions which the non-professional reader of ancient history has of the Philistines. In its latest edition the Encyclopedia Britannica describes the Philistines thus:

Only one Philistine innovation had a lasting effect on the civilization of Palestine: the working of iron. The Bible credits the Philistines with introducing this metal into the country and maintaining a monopoly, at first, in its use.... It is from 1200 B.C. that the archeologist's Iron Age conventionally begins. Knowledge of the metal must have been acquired by the Philistines in Anatolia." (Vol. 17, p. 941)

Through the years this theory was popularized by Wright and Albright. (500) However, in recent years it has become clear that neither the literary nor archeological evidence supports this conclusion.

The literary evidence on ironworking in Palestine is largely limited to the Old Testament. In spite of Albright's statement to the contrary it is clear that the Old Testament does not credit the Philistines with the introduction of iron into Palestine. The Old Testament mentions iron several times before the conflict of Israel and the Philistines. One of the most striking references is the mention of an iron bed, throne, or sarcophagus (שֶׁטֶן) of Og, king of Bashan. (Deut. 3:11).

I Samuel 13:19-22, the passage which is cited as the basis for the alleged Philistine monopoly of iron, does not even mention iron. It does refer to a Philistine control of metalworking, which aimed at maintaining an embargo of metal implements to Israel in order to restrict them to farm implements, rather than weapons. There is no indication that the Philistines used mainly iron weapons, while the Israelites used bronze. The weaponry of Goliath is the only Philistine weaponry described in the Old Testament. (I Samuel 17:5-7) A spearhead of iron is

mentioned, but his armor is bronze. The material of the sword is not specified. I Chronicles reports that large quantities of iron were available during the reign of David in the 10th century. (I Chr. 29:7)

The Hittites did trade iron with other nations, but the idea of an Anatolian monopoly of the knowledge of ironworking is based on a misunderstanding of a single text, KBo I 14. The text merely speaks of the Hittite king's inability to fill an order for iron, because there was none available in the warehouse. It is simply the equivalent of putting someone on backorder. There is no evidence for a monopoly in this text or elsewhere. (501)

The earliest literary evidence for ironworking comes from late in the 3rd Millennium and early in the 2nd Millennium. KU AN (the heavenly metal) may originally be a reference to meteoric iron, but it is replaced by the words AN BAR and parzillum. The first syllabic spelling of parzillum is from the 1st Dynasty of Susa, early in the 2nd Millennium. The term occurs only once in the Kultepe correspondence. (502)

The most interesting reference to iron objects among the Hittites is the reference to an iron throne of King Annitas from the first half of the second millennium. (503) This provides an interesting parallel to the Biblical reference to a iron couch of the Amorite king, Og. It is not likely that these large items were made entirely of iron, since large objects could not be cast with the technology available at the time. If the iron was not limited to trim, but formed the framework, perhaps these objects were constructed of wrought iron rods.

The Amarna letters mention iron objects among the gifts which the 18th Dynasty Pharaohs Amenophis III and IV received from the Mitanni king Tushrata. (EA 22:I,38;II,3,16; 25:22,28). It is likely that the Sea People mercenaries in Egypt used bronze swords, but some of the Egyptian soldiers of Ramses III are pictured with blue swords, which could possibly be intended to represent iron. (504)

The archeological evidence agrees well with the general picture presented by the literary sources. Iron was widely used in the Near East as a precious metal long before the so-called Iron Age. Non-meteoric iron appears as early as 2700 B.C. in Mesopotamia at Chagar Bazar. (505) It continues to appear in many areas throughout the second millennium.

The continued predominance of bronze was not due to any secret monopoly of iron in Anatolia or elsewhere. It is due to the fact that bronze is a superior material for weapons, unless iron is properly quenched and hardened. The limited number of hardness tests which have been made indicate that proper quench-hardening was a hit-and-miss

affair well into the Iron Age. (506) In addition the working of iron is more time consuming and costly than the casting of bronze. Increased use of iron may have been due more to necessity, than to superiority or desirability of iron. Iron ore is widely available, and iron production does not require a rare material like tin, which might become unavailable during times of international turmoil. If the alleged movements of the Sea Peoples had anything to do with the increased use of iron, their "contribution" was more likely disrupting regular patterns of trade, than bringing new knowledge.

Much, but not all of the 12th and 11th century iron which is found in Palestine is found at sites with Philistine pottery, but this may be more indicative of a time period than of a specific ethnic group. Fara Tombs 552, 562, & 542, Megiddo VI & VIIA, Azor Burial 56, Tell Qasile XII-X, Beth Shemesh III, and the Philistine levels of Jemneh are among the early occurrences of iron in Palestine, but it also occurs at non-Philistine sites such as Madeba in Jordan, et-Tell, and Gibeah. (507) The earliest known iron smelter in Palestine may be associated with an LBII temple at Yina'am near the Sea of Galilee. It is not clear that this is in fact a smelter. (508) An earlier 15th century smelter is reported at Kamid el Loz in Lebanon, but the evidence is not adequately published. (509) It is not clear that either of these is a large scale operation, but these installations seem to rule out a Philistine introduction or monopoly of iron in the area.

The evidence presently available indicates that the great increase in the use of iron for weapons and tools occurred in the 10th century, not in the 12th century, when the Sea Peoples arrived. Of 290 items available to Waldbaum for study about 20 are dated to the 12th century, 78 to the 11th, and about 192 to the 10th. (510) If we accept McClellan's later dating of the Fara tombs, the 12th century total would be reduced further. At Tell Jemneh the increase from the 12th to the 10th century was from 4 objects to 30. At Megiddo it was from 12 to 33. Unless there is a very great distortion of the sample, the significant increase in the use of iron occurred in the 10th century, not at the time of the Sea Peoples' arrival.

Waldbaum may be less secure in assuming a relative insignificance of iron before the 10th century. Iron probably has a lower survival rate than bronze, so the percentage of iron in use in all centuries is probably greater than Waldbaum's statistics indicate, since her statistics are based on survival rate, rather than the original proportions of iron and bronze. Nevertheless, the pattern is quite consistent. According to Waldbaum, the percentage of iron objects among weapons in Palestine increases from 2% in the 12th century to 14% in the 11th to 54% in the 10th. For tools the increase was from 9% in the 12th century to 23% in the 11th to 60% in the 10th. (511) For the entire Eastern Mediterranean the figures

for weapons are 3%, 16%, and 54%, and for tools 11%, 27%, and 69%. (512)

In spite of references to iron works in some site reports from Philistia there is at present no clear archeological evidence for smelting and the primary production of iron in Philistia. (513)

Thus the evidence for a significant role by the Philistines in the introduction or increased use of iron is ambiguous at best. There is no genuine literary evidence to support this claim. Nor is there clear evidence that iron offered significant advantages as a material for weapons as early as the 12th century when the Philistines allegedly arrived from the Aegean. Whatever domination the Philistines had was based on control of finished metal products, not on the possession of the secret or sources of iron.

James Muhley has recently proposed that the major advance in iron technology which was due to a better understanding of the effects of quenching and tempering began in the Aegean and moved east from there. He suggests that the Sea Peoples' migration may have been a factor in carrying this technology to Palestine. However, he does not explain how the increased use of iron in Palestine, which only becomes apparent in the 10th century, can be connected with the arrival of Sea Peoples from the Aegean in the 12th century. Such a connection would only be possible if our archeological evidence is deficient or if seeds of knowledge which arrived in the 12th century took a couple of centuries to develop. Muhley acknowledges that any advantage which the Philistines had was due to political embargo, rather than technological secrets. (514) Much clearer evidence is needed before a definite connection can be established between the arrival of the Philistines and the increased use of iron for weapons and tools.

Specific Metal Forms

The basic metal objects at Philistine sites are not significantly different in form or style from those at other Palestinian or Transjordanian sites. This is illustrated by comparing the objects from the Madeba tomb in Jordan with those of the Fara tombs. Parallels from Fara are listed for almost all of the metal objects from Madeba. (515) The metal objects which are found at Palestinian sites which show the strongest continuity with Canaanite tradition are jewelry, knives, arrowheads, and other small items. Alleged Aegean influences are largely limited to swords and other large items like axes and cauldrons. Even in Cyprus the Aegean influence is minimal in small items like arrowheads and daggers. It is most apparent in large items like swords. (516) Muhley's observation that all of the iron weapons from this period

are from Philistine sites rather than highland sites is interesting in view of I Samuel 13, but the size of the sample is too small to draw any sweeping conclusions. (517)

To analyze this most important aspect of Philistine metal working we must compare the various examples of Sea Peoples' weaponry which are pictured at Medinet Habu, described in I Samuel 17, or found in Palestinian excavations, with weapons produced in the Aegean or Anatolia. Some of the swords pictured in the Sea Peoples' hands in their battles with the Egyptians have parallels from the Aegean, but this does not necessarily indicate migration from the Aegean, since these weapons appear many places in the Near East and Egypt. (Fig. 24) (518) Indeed, many features of the Aegean swords, such as flanges and the T-shaped pommel, originate in the East, not in the Aegean. (519) Influences on manufacture of weapons were reciprocal throughout the period, and Aegean swords appear in the Levant well before the Hittite advance. (520) Furthermore, the extent of Aegean influence on Sea People weaponry has been exaggerated. The famous "Sherdana Sword," purchased near Tel Aviv in 1911, does resemble some weapons found in Greece and the Western Mediterranean, but it could be derived from the weapons of MB Palestine as well. (521) The sloped shouldered swords used by the Sherden at Medinet Habu are not Aegean, but hybrids. (522) We should be very cautious about drawing conclusions about migrations from the spread of weapon types, because superior types of weapons could spread on their own merit, not necessarily by migration. An example is the 6th century Scythian arrow which spread to areas never reached by the Scythians. (523)

Goliath's greaves, bronze helmet, and his spear "like a weaver's beam," that is, with a loop for throwing, are three alleged parallels with Aegean weaponry. (524) However, we have no descriptions of any these objects, other than the vague reference in I Samuel 17, so they hardly form an adequate basis for a meaningful comparison with Aegean weaponry. The opinion that "a spear like a weaver's beam" means with a loop for throwing is based on Yadin's conjecture rather than on any hard evidence. Furthermore, none of these forms appear in the reliefs depicting the Sea People at Medinet Habu. Even if we concede that Goliath's weaponry is Aegean, there is no evidence to connect it with the arrival of migrating Sea Peoples, unless we accept later waves, who brought different equipment from that known at Medinet Habu. If these weapons were not brought by the invaders at the time of Ramses III, trade would provide as likely an explanation of their arrival from the Aegean as mass migration.

Dothan suggests that the small round shield which appears in the Medinet Habu reliefs, on a seal from

Cyprus, in the hand of a Cypriote idol, and on a vase from Mycenae is another indication of the Philistines' Aegean origin. (525) However, the correspondence of these items is not exact. Moreover, Negbi has pointed out the occurrence of this type of shield in the Near East already in the Late Bronze Age. It occurs for example in the Megiddo Ivories in the hands of non-Philistines. (526)

A type of corselet with downcurved ribs which appears in the Medinet Habu reliefs is another alleged tie to the Aegean. (527) However, the only examples which we have of "Aegean warriors" wearing it occur on artwork from Cyprus, not the Aegean.

A socketed bronze ax-adze found in a Temple of Stratum X at Tel Qasile is cited as an unmistakable indicator of the Philistines' Aegean origin. (528) It is hard to justify such an assertion, since ax-adzes and double axes are very rare in Palestine, and may simply be due to trade. Double axes have been found at Megiddo VI and Gezer, which were probably not populated by Aegeans. (529) So far no true double axes have been found at a Philistine site. The ax-adze from Qasile is the only example of this form from a Philistine site. There is another ax-adze, somewhat different in form, from Megiddo. (530) Double axes appeared in the Near East well before the time of Ramses III. Syrian lumberjacks are pictured felling trees with double axes already in the reliefs of Seti I. (531) The only depiction of an ax in the hands of one of the Sea People is the man from Cyprus pictured in Figure 21b. He is carrying a single ax, not the double ax, which may have been primarily a woodworking tool. Furthermore, the origin and diffusion of these double axes and ax-adzes is not firmly established. Many of the influences need be traced back no further than Cyprus. Catling accepts an Aegean origin for the double ax, but sees Mesopotamia as the ultimate source of the ax-adze. (532) Buchholtz seems to regard Mesopotamia as the original home also of the double ax. (533) Of all the metal objects under discussion in this chapter the best case for Aegean origins can be made for the double ax, but this object is so rare in Palestine that we must be very careful in drawing sweeping conclusions from such skimpy evidence.

Muhley has recently classified a one-edged curved knife of iron with a hilt of ivory or bone fastened with three bronze rivets as a form that moved east from the Aegean. These knives often occur with Mycenaean IIC1 pottery. An example occurs in the 12th century level at Qasile. (534) It is interesting that the similar iron-bronze knives at Perati in Greece are classified as Syrian by the excavator. (535)

On the basis of tomb finds from Saidiyeh near Beth Shan Pritchard has proposed that the Sea People had a role in introducing new forms of metal working into the Jordan Valley. (536) However, the evidence for this is very limited. A cauldron and a tripod which occur at Saidiyeh

are types rarely found in Palestine and do have some affinities to objects found in the Aegean region. The burial in bitumen is also unusual in Palestine, but this appears to be an attempt to imitate Egyptian mummification, rather than an Aegean trait. Many of the artifacts from Saidiyeh are similar to those from Beth Shan, which yielded the anthropoid coffins which have often been connected with the Sea People, but this similarity is hardly surprising in view of the proximity of the sites. Moreover, Muhley has pointed out the Egyptian derivation of the metal wine set. (537) Furthermore, Negbi has indicated the general continuity of Early Iron metal working at Saidiyeh and other sites from Canaanite LB metal working. She classifies only 4 of 67 items in these hoards as Aegean influenced. She lists the ax from Qasile as the only Aegean item from a Philistine site. (538) As we saw in the chapter on burials, the pottery at Saidiyeh also shows heavy Egyptian influence. At both Saidiyeh and Beth Shan the dominant influence is Egyptian, not Aegean.

Many of the "Aegean" metal forms in Palestine could originate in Cyprus or be mediated through Cyprus. When similar metal forms occur in the Aegean, Cyprus, and Syria there is often disagreement about the original home of the form. There is also disagreement about the degree of Aegean influence on Cypriote metal working. Catling accepts the greatest degree of Aegean influence. Heavy influence does not begin until LCIII. Catling sees the heaviest Aegean influence in swords armor, and tools. Aegean influence on smaller objects, like daggers and arrowheads and on tripods and stands is much more limited. (539) Bass sees much less Aegean influence on Cypriote metal working and analyzes the objects of the Cape Gelidonya wreck and the Cypriote copper and bronze industry as almost entirely Eastern in origin. (540) Lena Astrom also minimizes the degree of Aegean influence on Cypriote metal working, even in LCIII. She criticizes Catling for attributing anything vague to the Aegean and asserts that the Mycenaean influence on Cypriote metal working is hardly greater in LCIII than in LCII. (541) Snodgrass, Muhley and Negbi also caution against over-emphasizing the degree of Aegean influence in Cypriote metal working. (542) Even in Cyprus the exact derivation of metal forms is often uncertain because of two-way trade and long-time reciprocal influences between Cyprus and the Aegean. We should therefore be very cautious in interpreting "Aegean" metal objects found in Palestine as evidence for direct ties with the Aegean.

Summary

Although a few metal forms which may have Aegean origins appear at Philistine sites, there does not appear to be a distinctive Philistine metal working tradition which distinguishes them from the rest of Canaan, which indicates their origin, or which would help us to identify

Philistine sites. Most of the Aegean influence appears in a few special technology items like swords and axes. Even these items are very rare at true Philistine sites.

Figure . 24

SWORDS AND DAGGERS OF ALLEGED AEGEAN DERIVATION

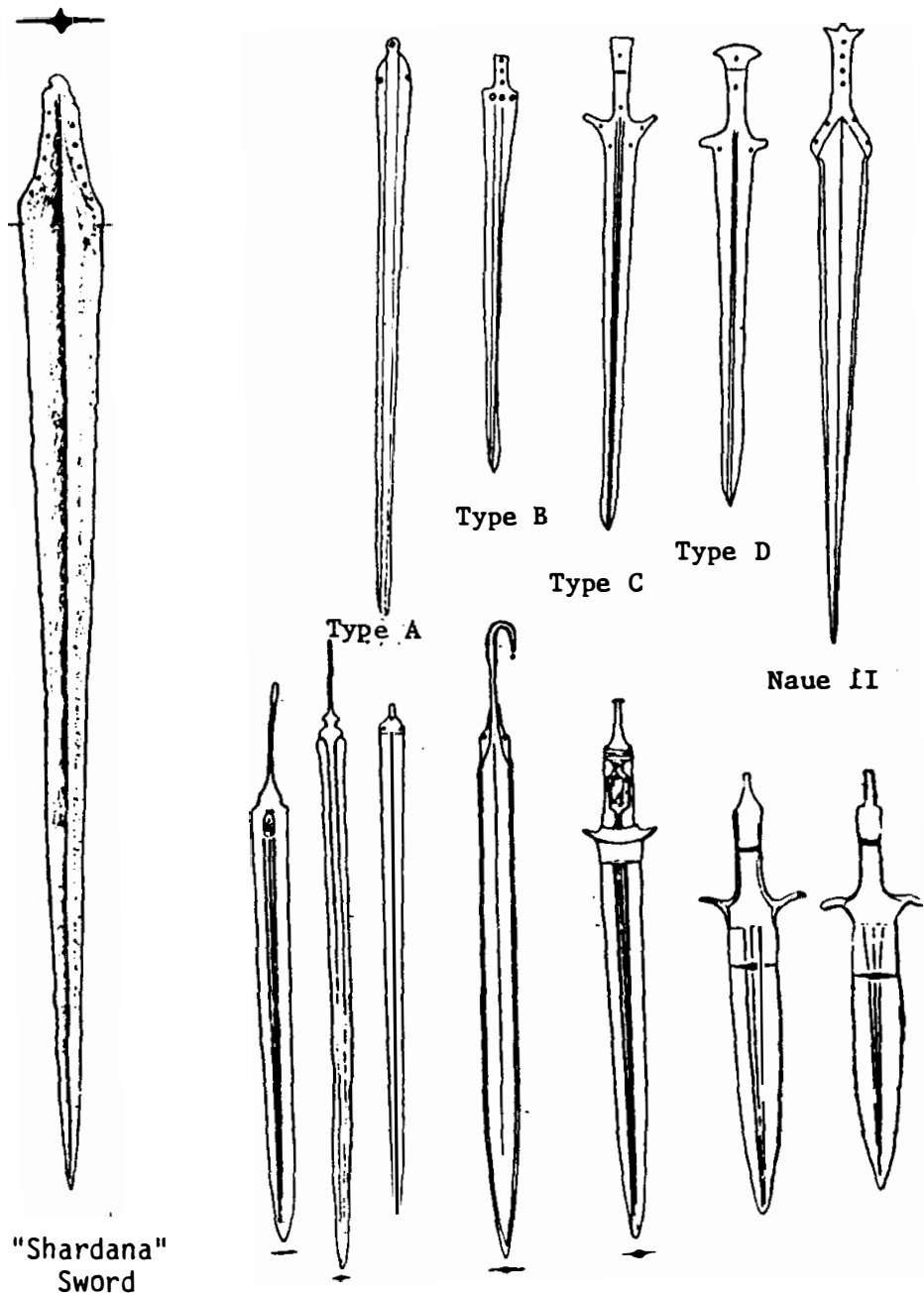
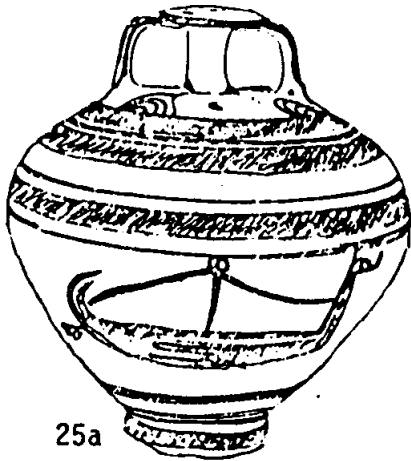


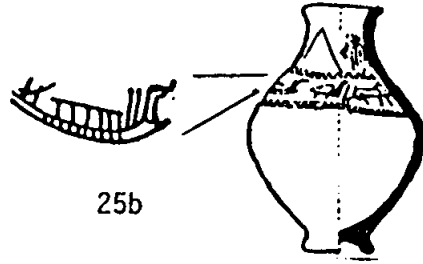
Figure 25



25a

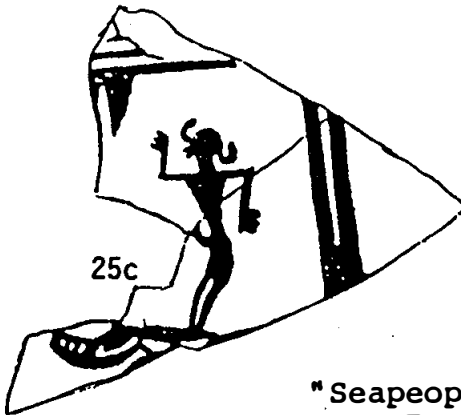
Vase From Skyros
In The Aegean

PARALLELS TO THE SHIPS
OF THE SEAPEOPLES

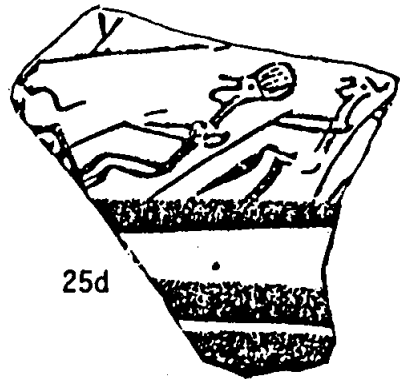


25b

Urn From Hama Syria



25c



25d

"Seapeople Sailors"
From
Mycenaean Pottery



25e



25f

Bird Ships From
The
Urnfield Culture



25g



25h

SHIPS

The representations of the Sea Peoples' ships on the reliefs at Medinet Habu provide another source of information for trying to trace the Philistine culture to the Aegean or some other area. S. Wachsmann has recently published a thorough review of the subject. (543) The main point of comparison with the Aegean is the bird-head figureheads which are pictured on the Sea Peoples' ships. Similar figureheads appear on a number of ships pictured on Aegean pottery. The closest parallel is the ship on an LH IIIC stirrup jar from Skyros. (Fig. 25a). A similar ship appears on an urn from Period one of the cremation cemetery at Hama. (Fig. 25b) Some Aegean pottery also pictures sailors whose headgear is similar to the Sea Peoples'. An MH sherd from Aegina appears to depict a horned helmeted sailor on a ship with a bird figurehead. (Fig. 25c). An LH IIIC sherd from Cos pictures a rower whose headgear resembles a feathered crown. (Fig. 25d)

Seal imprints and ceramic models provide some further examples of Aegean ships for comparison. (544) Another source for comparison is ship models from the Urnfield Culture, but all of these examples seem to be from later than the Late Bronze Age. (Fig. 25e,f) (545) The Sea Peoples' ships also show some similarities to Greek Geometric ships. (546)

An examination of all of these sources does reveal some similarities of construction between the Medinet Habu ships and Aegean ships. The bird figurehead is perhaps the most striking parallel, since this is not a known feature of Egyptian, Minoan, or Syrian ships. (547) There are a number of similarities which connect the Sea Peoples' ships with the stylistic development of the Aegean galley. However, it would be hazardous to draw conclusions about the ethnic identity of the Sea Peoples from these similarities. Improvements in ship design were often adapted very rapidly by people other than their inventors. (548)

There are, moreover, a number of differences between the Medinet Habu ships and Aegean ships of the period. The Sea Peoples' ships have a double steering oar, a characteristic that does not appear on Aegean ships until the Geometric Period. (549) The brailed rig, the down-curved yard-arms and the crow's nest all appear to be characteristics of LB Syrian shipbuilding. (550) The Sea Peoples' ships pictured at Medinet Habu appear to be a hybrid, like many other aspects of their culture.

It has recently been suggested that a ship pictured on an altar from Akko, which may date to the 12th Century, may be associated with the Sea Peoples. (551) Study of this drawing is still in very preliminary phases, but the

ship as pictured in the published drawing appears to be very similar to a standard Egyptian ship form.

MINOR ARTS

Seals

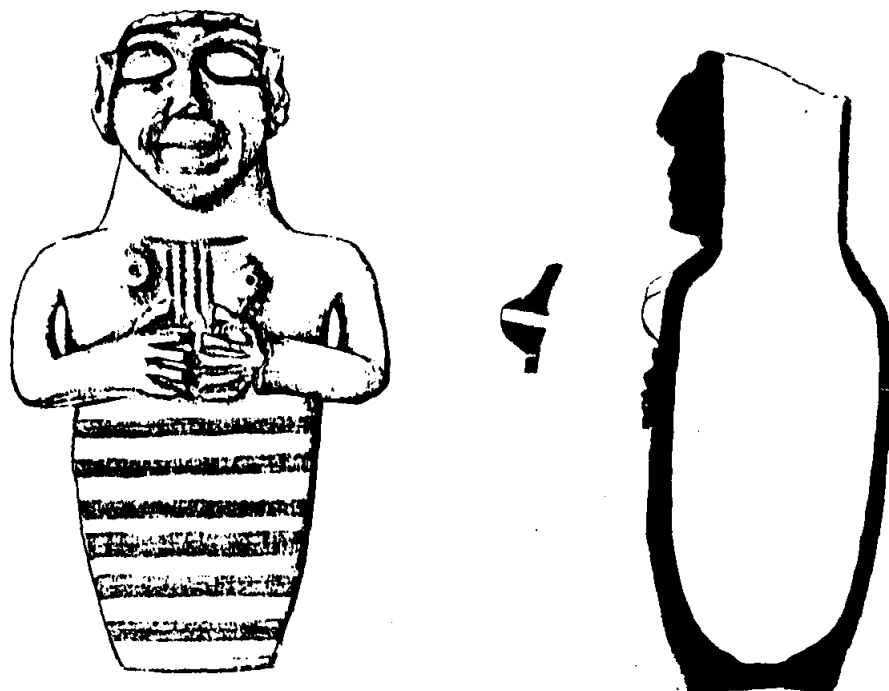
Dome-shaped or conoid stamp seals are often called "Philistine" or "Sea People" seals, especially those with carving on four upper sides. Such dome-shaped or conical seals appear at many Philistine sites and in Cyprus and Tarsus. (552) The motifs on these seals are often animal or battle scenes. Some are similar to Aegean motifs, but others are distinctly Egyptian. (553) The shape of these seals is not Aegean. It is generally classified as Eastern or Syrian. (554) Thus the origin of the conoid seals is not firmly established, but they appear to be a composite style combining Eastern and some Aegean influences. Cyprus is a likely place for development of the style. Even if the conoid and dome seals were of Aegean derivation, not much weight could be put on a comparatively small number of seals. Seals moved freely in both directions between the Aegean and the East. For example, there are over 1000 Eastern style cylinder seals which were found in Greece, both imports and local imitations. (555)

Conoid seals are not the predominant type at Philistine Ware sites. Egyptian style scarabs still predominate, though less decisively than before. (556) Therefore Philistine seals, like most elements of their culture, seem to be a composite which includes heavy influences both from Cyprus and Egypt.

Ivory

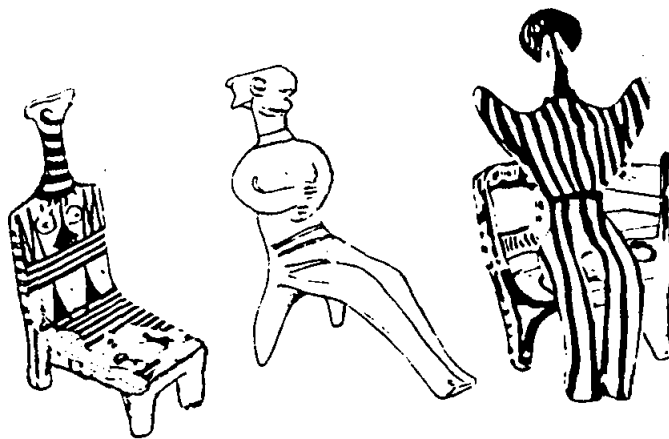
Ivory carving is another art in which there was reciprocal influence between the Aegean and the East. The first main influence is from the East to Greece. In the 14th and 13th Centuries Eastern influence is so strong in the Aegean that the presence of immigrant craftsmen from the East has been suggested. (557) By 1200 B.C. Cyprus seems to be the chief base of a style which is half Aegean and half Oriental. (558) There is a reciprocal influence so it is often impossible to say if a given item should be called Oriental Mycenaean or Mycenaean Oriental. In Palestine a strong Egyptian influence is also added, so that specific ivory items found at Megiddo are classified as Egyptian, Canaanite, Canaanite-Mycenaean, or Mycenaean in style. (559) At Fara and Qasile the Egyptian influence seems strongest.

Figure 26



26a Squirting Breast Goddess From Tell Qasile

Ashdoda and Cypriote and Mycenaean Parallels

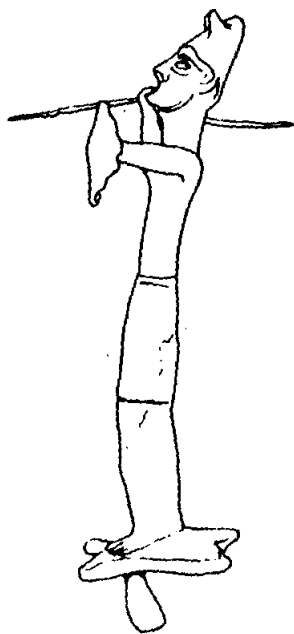


26b

26c

26d

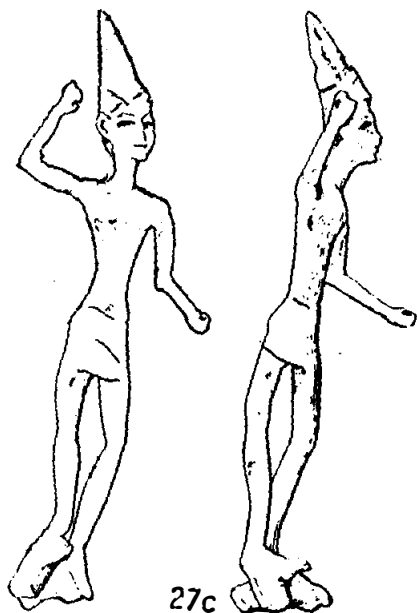
Fig. 27 Cypriote Gods



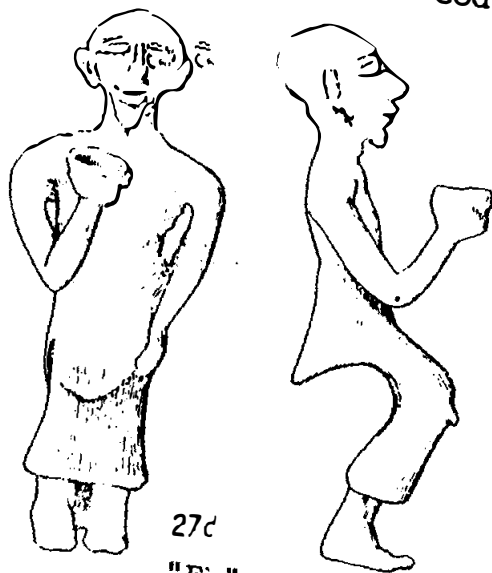
27a
The Ingot God



27b
The Horned God

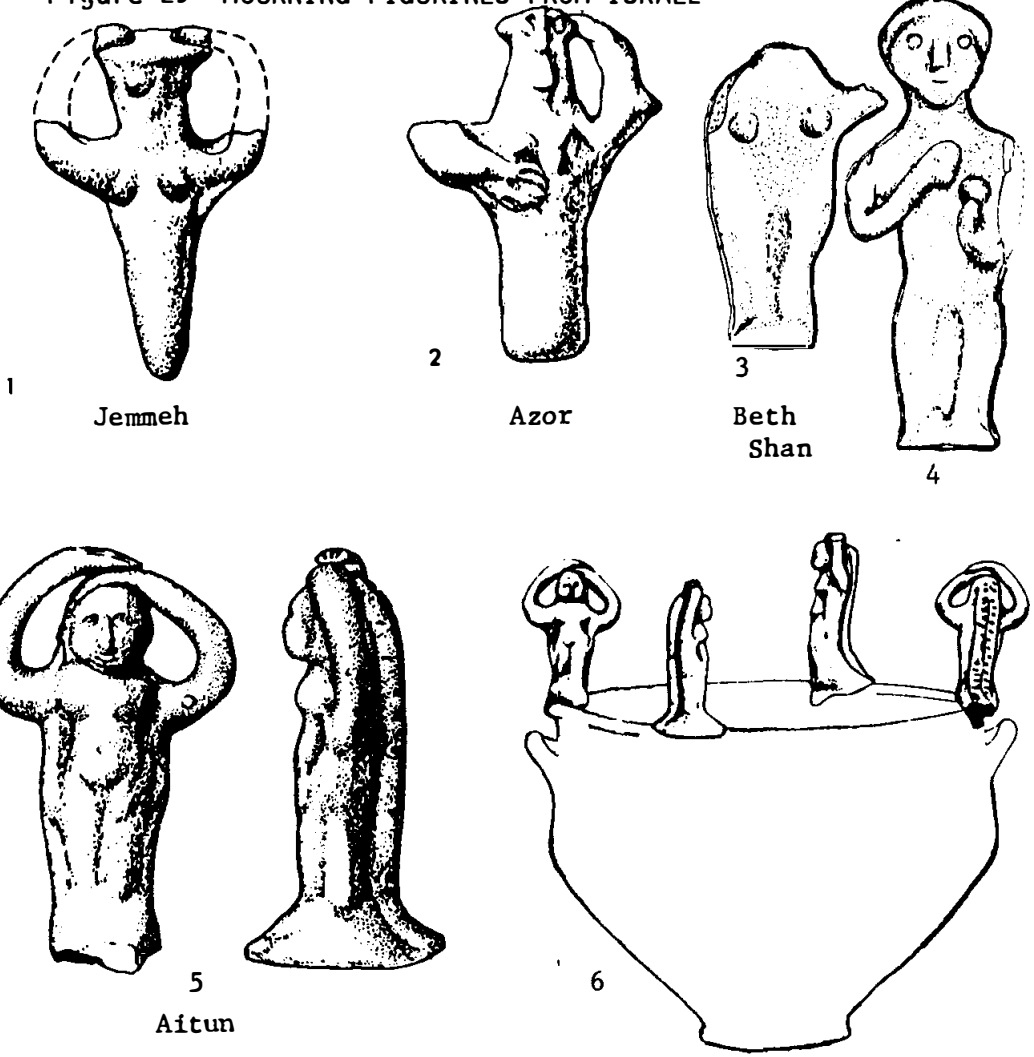


27c
"BAAL"



27d
"E."

Figure 29 MOURNING FIGURINES FROM ISRAEL



RELIGION

All of the literary references to the Philistines' religious practices indicate that their religion was basically Semitic in character.

Dagon was the principal god of Ashdod in the 11th century. He was represented by a sizable image in his temple at Ashdod. (I Sam. 5:1-5) Dagon and the Ashtoreths were the deities associated with the Philistine celebration of Saul's death at the end of the 11th century. (I Chronicles 10:10, I Samuel 31:10) Dagon was also worshipped as a chief god at Gaza, so he appears to be universal to the Philistines. (Judges 16:23) His worship survived at least as late as the Hellenistic period. (I Maccabees 10:83, 11:4)

Dagon is a Semitic weather god and grain god, also known from Mari, Ugarit and Ebla. (560) At Ugarit he is the father of Baal. There seems to be no sound basis for the old theory that he was a merman god. This belief may have been fostered by a false etymological connection with the word "dag", fish, and the fact that Ashtoreth did appear in fish-bodied, human-headed form at Ashkelon in the Hellenistic period. (561)

"Dagon" appears as an element of personal names and place names from Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine both before and after the time of Ramses III. The name is much more firmly attested for Syria than for Palestine. There are however at least three places named "Beth Dagon" in Palestine. One is the well-known Beth Dagon in North Philistia. This town may be mentioned in a list of Ramses III. (562) The other Beth Dagon is in Asher and near Nablus. Dagan-takala was a third generation Egyptian vassal during the Amarna period. (EA 317, 318)

If Dagon was a Canaanite god, it is strange that the Old Testament always associates him with the Philistines, never with the Canaanites. This, plus the fact that he is so strongly attested in North Syria in the 2nd Millennium, suggests that he may have been brought into Palestine by elements of the Philistine population coming from the north. Scholars have universally assumed that the Philistines adopted Dagon from the Canaanites after their arrival in Palestine, because of the non-Philistine occurrences of the name in Palestine which are cited in the preceding paragraph, but this evidence is less weighty than it appears. The Beth Dagon in Asher is near the coast, and can be explained by movements along commercial routes from the north. No other Beth Dagon is attested in the Old Testament. They are deduced from modern Arabic place names. The personal name "Dagan-takala" from the Amarna letters is evidence against the view that Dagon was imported from Syria, only if we assume that none of the "foreign elements" of the ultimate population of

Philistia arrived before the time of Ramses III. The evidence is inadequate to prove either the Syrian or Canaanite explanation for the Philistines' adoption of Dagon, but since Dagon is linked so strongly with the Philistines in the Old Testament and never with other Canaanites, the possibility that he was brought into Palestine from the north and that his worship remained confined mainly to the coast in Palestine should be kept open.

Ahaziah, a 9th century king of Israel, inquired of Baal-Zebub, a god of Ekron who appears to be associated with fortune telling and perhaps healing powers. (II Kings 1:2-5) In the form Baal Zebul this title also occurs at Ugarit. (563)

All of the Philistine deities known from the Old Testament, Dagon, Ashtoreth, and Baal Zebul, are Semitic deities well known in Syria-Palestine. It may be significant that the Sea Peoples are portrayed as invoking the name of the Semitic god Baal already in the texts of Ramses III. If they were already familiar with Baal at the time of their attack on Egypt, it would be important evidence that they had already been established in the Near East for some time. Perhaps not too much weight should be attached to this reference. The name Baal may be put into the mouth of the Sea Peoples simply because he was the foreign god best known to the Egyptians. Egyptians also invoke Baal in the Medinet Habu texts. (564) In fact, the Egyptians were worshipping Semitic deities as early as the time of Tutmose III and even had priesthoods established for these deities. (565) The main example of the Sea Peoples' invoking the name of Baal in the Medinet Habu texts could be a logographic representation of the Egyptian god Set, but the name Baal is spelled out in other passages.

The hieroglyphic inscription of one of the Megiddo ivories may indicate that the Egyptian god Ptah was worshipped in Ashkelon around the time of Ramses III. (566) Temples to Egyptian deities may have been erected in Gaza and Aphek during the Ramesside period. (567)

The only literary references which connect Philistia with Aegean deities are classical references which connect Ashkelon with Cretan deities. (568)

There is very little literary evidence concerning Philistine religious practices. What there is comes from the perspective of their enemies, the Israelites. Sacrifices were apparently a normal part of Philistine worship. (Judges 16:23) The concept of a guilt offering to appease an offended god appears in I Samuel 6. The Philistines had a reputation for divination (עַנְנִי). (Isaiah 2:6) The Philistines carried or wore images (עַצְמֵי) into battle as amulets. (II Samuel 5:21) In view of this very limited evidence Philistine religious

practices will have to be reconstructed mainly from archeological evidence, unless new texts are uncovered.

A. Mazar has recently published a thorough study of Philistine cultic apparatus and architecture in his publication of the cultic finds at Tell Qasile. (569) There is little evidence of specific cultic practices, except for possible building foundation deposits and the burial of retired cult objects. These practices are found elsewhere in the Near East, including a possible example in a Temple at Enkomi which some scholars have associated with Sea Peoples. (570)

Anthropomorphic vessels, shrines, cultic stands and bowls, masks, and libation vessels are among the cultic apparatus illustrated and analyzed by Mazar. Since Mazar's study is readily available, we will note only a few items of special interest.

A female anthropomorphic vessel was apparently designed so that milk or some other liquid could squirt out of the breast. (Fig. 26a) Mazar lists this as a unique vessel in Palestine, but it appears to be a partial parallel to a "squirting breast vessel" from Beth Shemesh II. (571) This and other vessels similar in concept may be related to similar vessels which existed in Egypt already in the Early Kingdom. The Egyptian form of this vessel may depict the pregnant goddess Toueris. (572)

The prominence of many types of libation vessels seems to indicate an important role for libations and the ceremonial handling of liquids in the cult. A lion-head rhyton is especially significant because similar vessels are depicted in Egyptian pictures of Aegean envoys, and because this particular example has painted decoration very similar to that on Philistine pottery. (573) Mazar illustrates a number of other libation or trick vessels. The hollow-rim bowl with bull's head spouts has a close parallel at Beth Shemesh. An incomplete example of this type of hollow-rim vessel from Tel Qasile has Philistine style painted decoration. (574)

Mazar's discussion of kernoi (ring vessels) is important since kernoi have often been cited as a link with the Aegean. (575) However, kernoi are rare in Mycenaean pottery. Those that appear in the Aegean may well be due to influences traveling west from Cyprus, rather than the other way around. (576) Isolated examples of kernoi occur in EB and MB Palestine and Cyprus. (577) A rough equivalent of the kernos occurs in 2nd Millennium Egypt, and the basic concept of placing animals and other objects around a cultic ring occurs already in the Chalcolithic "crowns" from the Cave of the Treasures. (578) The general tradition behind this type of cult object was ancient in the Levant.

In Iron Age Palestine kernoi are predominantly a

lowland form, and their popularity continues at Ashdod longer than at most other sites. (579) However, they do appear during the Early Iron Age at highland sites such as Nasbeh, north of Jerusalem, and Sasa in Galilee. (580)

Dothan sees a relationship between Philistine kernoi and late Mycenaean forms, but Furumark believed that the ultimate origin of the kernos form was in the East. (581) There is not adequate evidence to demonstrate that the Philistines' use of the kernos is a trait derived from the Aegean.

Mazar discusses a number of other cult objects. A "Naos" style shrine has apparent Egyptian prototypes. The cylindrical cult stands are well known in Canaanite tradition, but some of those from Qasile are decorated with Philistine painted motifs. It is difficult to pinpoint a precise influence for the human and animal masks which occur at Qasile. (582)

Mazar's overall conclusions are very important for our purposes. "True Aegean traditions were not strong here, in contrast to the situation at Ashdod. Local Canaanite traditions, as well as much original creative imagination, not connected with any tradition, characterize both the architecture and the cult objects of Tell Qasile. Special emphasis should be put on the connections between cult objects from Qasile and similar objects found in Cyprus." Most of the objects can be connected with previous Canaanite or Egyptian tradition or have uncertain origins. Of the items from the temples only the rhyton has strong Aegean ties. The renewed excavations at Tel Qasile may modify these overall conclusions to some degree, since the small finds from the first season include a figurine similar to the "Ashdoda" described below, except that it is holding a baby like some of the Mycenaean prototypes, and a small six-spoked wheel, similar to some found in Cyprus from the 12th century. (583)

We must turn to Ashdod and Cyprus to find a greater number of objects with alleged Aegean connections.

The most famous object from Ashdod is a goddess of alleged Mycenaean origin, who has been nicknamed "Ashdoda." The form of this goddess is abstract. Her body is blended into the throne on which she is seated, except for the head and neck which rise above the back of the chair and the breasts, which are applied to the back of the chair. (Fig. 26b). The head is similar to Mycenaean figurines. (584) The image is decorated with Philistine style painting.

Ashdoda is alleged to be an "earth mother" of the type associated with Anatolia or the Aegean, but fertility goddesses are certainly well known in Palestine and need not be imported "earth mothers." There are also significant stylistic differences between Ashdoda and

Aegean and Cypriote parallels. The Aegean or Cypriote examples of enthroned goddesses are either formed separately from their thrones, or at least have a distinctly formed body. (Fig. 26d) With one possible exception they are not an abstract blend with the throne. (585) There is one other Mycenaean figurine constructed with the same kind of blending which is used in "Ashdoda", a mounted figure in which the rider and mount blend together. (586) The form of Ashdoda's throne is similar to the four-legged offering tables often found at Palestinian sites. Its form is not identical to the Mycenaean thrones which are usually open-backed, three-legged chairs. (587) Even between Cypriote examples and Ashdoda some of the stylistic differences are quite striking. Ashdoda is a chair with breasts and a head. The Cypriote goddesses are human bodies with chair legs on their posterior. (Fig. 26c)

Ashdoda is not one of a kind. The significance of this type of figurine for interpreting the culture of Ashdod has been increased by other incomplete examples of this same type of figurine which have been found at Ashdod.

Although there appears to be Aegean influence on the form of Ashdoda, this figurine is a mixed form, not a pure Aegean form. It may be a combination of Canaanite tradition and Mycenaean influences which were already in Canaan before the time of Ramses III. Mycenaean figures appear in Palestine at Ashdod, Afula, Abu Hawam, and Beth Shemesh. (588) Most of these are of the psi type. The original inspiration for these Mycenaean figurines in Greece may well come from the East. These figurines may be another example of long-standing reciprocal influences between the Levant and Aegean. (589)

In the discussion of Mycenaean figurines special attention has been given to the "mourning woman" figurines from Aitun, Azor, Beth Shan, and Jemmeh, but most of these figures appear to be as much Canaanite as Mycenaean in their style. (Fig. 28 & 29) The Aitun and Beth Shan figures are much more naturalistic than the abstract Mycenaean style. The Jemmeh and Azor figurines are more abstract, but not identical to Mycenaean figurines of Greece. (590) Some of the Mycenaean mourning figurines appear on krater rims, and it is assumed that the same may be true of the Aitun figures. (591) Krater rims with cups also appear in Philistine ware from Azor and Ashdod. (592) Here again, as with Ashdoda, there seems to be a blending of Mycenaean and Canaanite influences.

"Ashdoda" and her duplicates are very likely from the 12th century, but most of the other published figurines from Ashdod come from Iron II, Area D, so they are of limited value for assessing the degree of Mycenaean influence on cultic apparatus at Ashdod in EI I. A 10th century cult stand, decorated with five musicians, is

interesting for the depiction of instruments, but it does not add specific information on Aegean influences. The figures are reminiscent of another lyre player figurine from Ashdod. (593) Many of the Cypriote or Aegean parallels to finds from Ashdod are too late to help determine the direction of influences in the late 2nd Millennium. (594)

There is not enough evidence to justify Aharoni's claim that the Aegean cult objects at Ashdod make it practically certain that the Philistine pantheon was Aegean and that they show the Aegean origin of the people. (595) Further study is needed on the role of these figurines at Ashdod and other sites before such sweeping claims can be made.

Recently special attention has been given to several images of deities from Enkomi, Cyprus, because the sanctuary there has been associated with Sea Peoples by some scholars. (596) The so-called "Ingot God" has some alleged Aegean or Sea People features such as the greaves, linen thorax, horned helmet, and kilt. (Fig 27a) However, he is probably a Nergal/Reshep, perhaps the patron of miners. He appears to be a hybrid, namely, a Semitic deity in partially Aegean dress. (597) Another very fine example of a horned god may be a Horned Apollo, equivalent to a Nergal/Reshep. (Fig.27b) (598) Two other gods appear to be distinctly Semitic, Baal and El. (Fig. 27c,d) (599) Even in Cyprus, true Mycenaean influence seems small in comparison to the Semitic element. There is literary evidence from Ugarit that the principal gods of Alasia (Cyprus) were the Semitic deities Baal, Ashtarte, and Anat, but this text may antedate the images in question and is subject to more than one interpretation. (600) Cypriote temples seem to maintain a very heavy Eastern influence in their architectural style. (601)

Other Palestinian sites which have Philistine Ware have a mixed cult with the Semitic element predominant, though it is often hard to determine chronological development in the cult because of insufficient evidence. Beth Shemesh Level III includes a metal Reshep and an Isis amulet. Several Ashtarte plaques are apparently later in date, but some with Egyptian style hair are found in close proximity with Philistine Ware. The "squirting breast" jug of Level II, the hollow rim bowl of Level III, and the Mycenaean psi figurine have been referred to previously. (602)

Megiddo has a standard mixture of Canaanite and Egyptian images, with a small sprinkling of Mycenaean influence. A seated male Reshep, attributed to Stratum VIII, is reconstructed along lines similar to the seated figure from Beth Shemesh III. A number of standard Ashtartes appear throughout the period, including one with a fluted or feathered headdress. The only Mycenaean figurine published was a deer. Megiddo has a standard

Palestinian assemblage of cult vessels such as kernoi and stands. (603)

Egyptian style shawabtis dominate at Beth Shan, at least in the tombs. However, Oren classifies three figurines from a coffin in Tomb 241 as crude, naturalistic imitations of the Mycenaean figurines discussed above. (Fig. 28 & 29) (604) A female lute player from 12th century Beth Shan appears to represent the same tradition as the musicians' cult stand of Ashdod. (605)

A large figurine from Afula has affinities to Mycenaean figurines, but the parallels are uncertain. (606)

Summary

The Philistines' religion had a very heavy Semitic element from the beginning. The Mycenaean influences are adapted to Canaanite style even in the early period: The Ashdoda figurines are the only aspect of their cult which raises questions about the dominance of the Semitic element, and even this is not a pure Aegean influence.

ARCHITECTURE

Philistine temple architecture is another topic for which A. Mazar has recently provided a thorough study. (607) Temple 319 of Stratum XII at Tell Qasile may be grouped with a number of small temples in Bronze and Iron Age Palestine which have a direct entrance in the center of the east wall of a comparatively small broad cella. (608) Temple 200 of Stratum XI has no exact parallels in Israel. It is a small non-symmetric temple with an off-center entrance. (609) Temple 131 of Stratum X is also unique. Its notable features are an antechamber, indirect access, and pillars carrying the roof. Mazar attributes this irregular type of temple to the non-Canaanite population of Palestine and associates the symmetrical, direct entrance, monumental structures like those at Hazor, Megiddo, and Shechem with the Canaanite population. (610)

The temples at Tell Qasile do not have exact parallels in the Aegean or elsewhere. It seems best to Mazar to associate them with a tradition of cultic architecture known in LB Palestine and 13th century Cyprus and Mycenae. These traditions continued to be strong in 12th and 11th century Cyprus, contemporaneously with the Tell Qasile temples. The relationship between the irregular temples of these areas is not yet clear. At any rate it appears that the Philistines at Tell Qasile had no strong, crystallized tradition of cultic architecture. The "Hearth Building" discovered in Stratum XII during the renewed excavations at Tell Qasile may be the first architectural element in the Philistine culture which points to the Aegean. (611)

The Philistines and Israelites seem to have shared a common tradition of domestic architecture, including the four room house. It has been debated whether the Philistines or Israelites were responsible for this development. Most scholars have accepted the premise that Israelites introduced this form in Palestine, but E. Oren suggested Philistine priority on the basis of evidence at Tell Sharia. (612) Four room houses occur in Level X at Tell Qasile. Other probable Philistine or non-Israelite sites with four room houses or partial pillar buildings in the 11th century include Tel Sippor, Megiddo VIB, Afula, Tell Kisan, and Aphek. However, priority still appears to go to highland or interior sites such as Ai, Izbet Sartah, Masos, Khirbet Radana, and especially Giloh. (613) This style probably started in the interior and spread toward the coast. One regional difference is that in the highlands the pillars are usually monoliths, while at sites on the coast or in the northern Negev stone-segments or wooden pillars were used. (614)

In the larger residences of such sites as Fara Y Egyptian influence is predominant. (615)

The casemate wall has also been suggested as a possible Philistine innovation because of its occurrence at Ashdod, but recent discoveries at Yovata indicate that it may be Egyptian. (616) Other recent studies by Graham and N. Lapp suggest that some casemate construction was present in Palestine well before the early Iron Age. (617) The casemate construction occurs in Ashdod XII G. (618) A problem with reaching clear decisions on the matter is the ambiguity of the term "casemate." It is not clear that all the examples called casemates by the excavators are the same style. Where clear plans are not published, valid comparison is difficult. In the analysis of small settlements in the Negev settlements with an encircling band of houses have some times been confused with true casemate fortresses. (619) Enkomi in Cyprus has some casemate-like construction, but most other fortifications in Cyprus are "cyclopean." The exact relationship of these Cypriote fortifications to Mycenaean forms is uncertain, but the connection does not seem strong. (620)

Tell Qasile X has a pattern of orthogonal urban planning which may reflect a Cypriote influence. (621)

An unusual type of architecture in Abu-Hawam IVA, namely, rectangular houses divided symmetrically into three or four rooms, has been associated with the Sharden or some other Sea People by Aharoni, but there is little specific evidence to justify this association. (622) Unusual 7m x 7m houses also occur in the pre-Philistine stratum at Apeh. The closest parallels to this type of architecture appear to be in North Syria. (623)

The consideration of Philistine architecture is still handicapped by lack of architecture plans for a wide area of one of the major Philistine cites. Little architectural information has yet been published from the key strata at Ashdod. There are few remains in Area A. From Stratum XIII a high place, a workshop, a street and two buildings are reported in Areas G and H. From Stratum XII an apsidal building in Area H is the only distinct architectural feature discussed in the report besides the casemate wall mentioned above. (624)

Summary

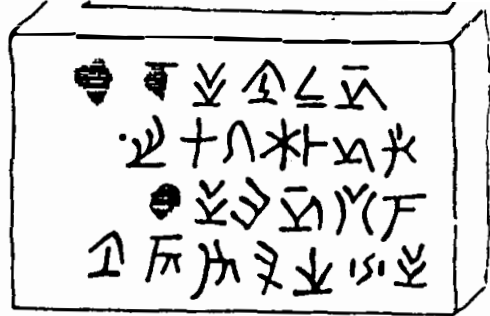
There is not yet enough information available to justify solid conclusions about Philistine architectural traditions. We are excessively dependent on data from a single site, Tell Qasile. It is uncertain whether information from sites like Beth Shemesh can be considered as evidence for Philistine architecture, and there is very little data from the main Philistine cities. However on the basis of the available evidence the Philistines do not appear to have a distinctive architectural tradition which

distinguishes them from other inhabitants of Palestine. There is little clear evidence of Mycenaean tradition in Philistine architecture. This conclusion must remain tentative until there is more architectural information available from a major Philistine site such as Ashdod or Migne.

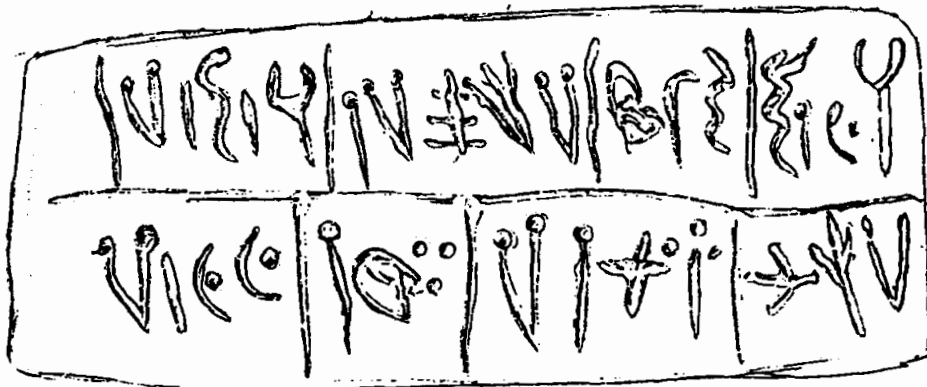
Figure 30



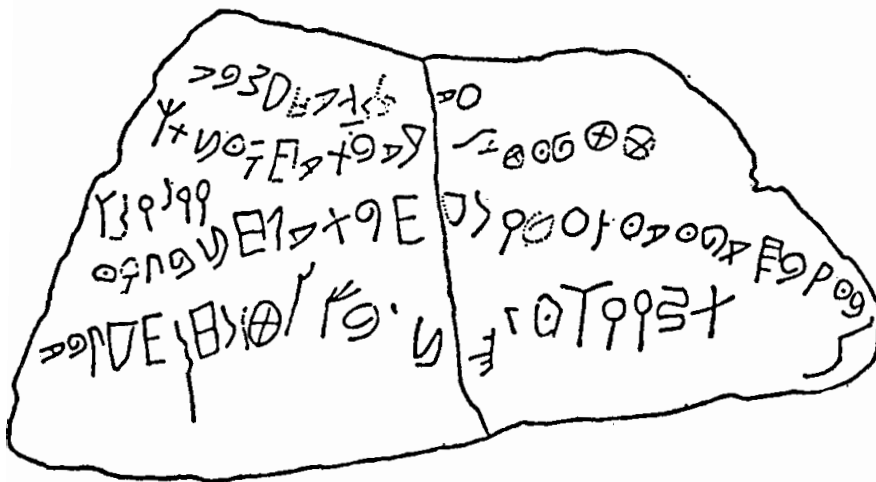
30a Cypro-Minoan Tablet



30b Classical Cypriot Script



30c A Deir Alla Tablet



30 d Izbet Sartah Inscription

LANGUAGE

The search for the language of the Philistines has undoubtedly been the most frustrating aspect of the study of the Philistines. So far those who have tried to fill in this gap in knowledge have not been rewarded with any solid results.

The literary sources do not provide much help in determining what the Philistine language was. The Old Testament accounts do not reflect any language barrier between the Israelites and Philistines in the stories of Samson, Saul, and David, even though they indicate language barriers in Israel's dealing with other peoples such as the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians.

The reference to "the language of Ashdod" in Nehemiah 13:23 does not necessarily contradict this lack of a language barrier or indicate the use of a non-Semitic language by the Philistines. Although it is the language of Ashdod which is singled out for derogatory comment, the text also contrasts the Hebrew of Judea with the languages of Moab and Ammon, which were Semitic dialects not far removed from Hebrew. Since this incident occurs after any population transfers which the Assyrians and Babylonians may have made in Palestine, perhaps Aramaic dialects were used in all of these regions.

The Adon Letter indicates the use of Aramaic as a diplomatic language in Philistia as early as the seventh or eighth century B.C. (625) The language of a 7th Century letter found near Yavneh Yam in the Philistine plain cannot be distinguished from Hebrew. Since it is a common man's complaint against an unjust tax collector, it may be more representative of common speech than the Adon letter. (626) An Aramaic ostrakon from Ashdod, dated to the mid-fifth century B.C., close to the time of Nehemiah, reads כרם זבדיה, "the vineyard of Zebadiah." Although this could be interpreted as Hebrew, especially in light of the Yahveh name, Naveh prefers an Aramaic interpretation. The פנ in the second line is interpreted as an abbreviation for "half a jar" (פלג גרבא). (627) An ostrakon with the brief inscription פטר, the potter, may also indicate use of a Semitic dialect at Ashdod in the 8th century. (628) A weight from Ashdod is inscribed with the "Hebrew" term נצף. (629) Other examples of similar weights and small ostraca have been found in territory that is probably Philistine. (630) Thus there is considerable evidence for a Semitic dialect being spoken in Philistia in the pre-exilic period.

All of the previously cited examples come from the period when Philistia may have been dominated by kings of Judah, so earlier evidence would be valuable. The well-known Gezer tablet provides a 10th century example of

the use of a Semitic language in the Philistine plain, but I Kings classifies Gezer as a Canaanite city until the time of Solomon.

More important is a Semitic inscription from Qubur el Walaidah, which is located in Philistine territory between Tell Fara and Tell Jemmeh. Cross dated this text to the early 12th century on epigraphic grounds. (631) Study of this and other texts of this period led Cross to the conclusion that in the 11th Century the same alphabet was used by the Phoenicians, Arameans, Hebrews, and in all probability the Philistines. (632) Both personal names which occur in the brief inscription are Semitic (simi-pa'al son of ayya- 'el). The associated pottery and the bowl on which the inscription was written belong to the very end of the Late Bronze II or the beginning of Iron I, but it does not appear from the limited information available that the bowl was found in situ in a clear Philistine context. (633)

Most of the seals from Philistia in the first half of the 1st Millennium B.C. have Semitic names indistinguishable from Hebrew or Canaanite, but Herr classifies a few, written in "Hebrew" letters as possibly indicating some distinctive Philistine traits. (634) A number of the personal names on seals from Philistia do not have any apparent Semitic derivation. In at least one case the son has a non-Semitic name and the father a Semitic name. (635) A few seals with alleged Cypro-Minoan characters are discussed later in this chapter. (636)

All other possible sources of Philistine language are highly speculative, but we will briefly examine some of the candidates.

The Deir Alla Tablets

These small tablets were found at Deir Alla in the Jordan Valley, one level below the "Philistine Ware." The alleged similarity of the signs to Cypro-Minoan led Albright and others to link the tablets with the Philistines. (637) The parallels to Cypro-Minoan are limited to a few signs of simple shape. (Fig. 30)

There have been several attempts to translate the tablets, none particularly satisfying. Mayani has translated one of the tablets as a cultic inscription by using alleged parallels to Illyrian. (638) Although the script appears to be alphabetic, Mayani uses two different signs to represent the same sound in three separate cases. This is not impossible since c and s, c and k, and j and g sometimes represent identical sounds in English, but the number of such peculiarities raises doubts about Mayani's interpretation. For example, he spells the same word with different signs, although this is a very short inscription, and he resorts to abbreviation to make sense of the inscription. The site of the find strongly

suggests a cultic interpretation, so guess work alone would yield that much of an interpretation.

Van den Branden has translated the tablets as a cultic inscription in an Arab dialect, using alleged parallels to South Semitic inscriptions. (639) The present tendency seems to be to accept a Semitic derivation of the texts without accepting Van den Branden's interpretation. Francken rejected even Van der Branden's direction of reading. This seems to be a dead end unless new information is revealed, or someone makes a breakthrough. (640)

Izbet Sartah

This text from a small site near Aphek appears to be from the 12th century on the basis of epigraphic analysis. It was found in a pit, so it is not certain with which level of the site it should be connected. One line of this inscription is plainly a writing of the West Semitic alphabet in the pe-ayin order. (Fig. 30d) (641) The rest does not appear to make sense as a Semitic inscription. It is probably just a beginner's alphabetic practice, but Naveh suggested looking for an Aegean or Anatolian language in the senseless lines. This theory is connected with B. Mazar's idea about a Philistine role in the early transmission of the alphabet to the Greeks. (642) However, A. Dotan has recently claimed that the text has a pattern of Semitic names and may be writing practice copied from a docket similar to the Samaria ostraca. (643) This find seemed to be very significant because it is from early in the Philistine period, from a site only a few kilometers from Aphek, a site associated with the Philistines. Since some preliminary descriptions of Izbet Sartah incorrectly reported a heavy concentration of Philistine Ware at Izbet Sartah, it appeared that this find provided evidence that the Philistines were using the West Semitic script, and maybe even Semitic language, very early. However, the final site report for Izbet Sartah shows only a very small percentage of Philistine Ware at the site. The site is presently interpreted as an Israelite site, so it appears unlikely that this text can be tied to the Philistines. (644)

Hebron Manuscripts

In 1966 eight manuscripts which are supposedly related to Carian, Etruscan or some Anatolian language were obtained in Jerusalem by W. Brownlee. They are alleged to be from near Hebron. Brownlee and Mendenhall have suggested that these documents may be an Indo-European language used by the Philistines. They suggest a date of the 7th Century B.C. Because a carbon 14 test of the manuscripts yielded a modern date, many suspect that they are forgeries. (645) The recent claim by Joseph Naveh that the documents have sequences of letters apparently derived from the Siloam Inscription

would provide strong evidence that these documents are a forgery if it proves to be correct. (646) Mendenhall continues to defend the authenticity of the documents even after the appearance of Naveh's article. (647)

The Phaistos Disc

A mysterious disc from Crete has long been connected with the Philistines because one of the main symbols of the pictographic writing system is a man wearing a feathered headdress similar to the Philistine headdress. (Fig 22b,c). The identification of Caphtor with Crete appears to strengthen the association of the disc with Philistines. However, most scholars believe that the disc is not native to Crete. The origin of the disc is probably earlier than the time of Ramses III. Though many attempts have been made to decode the disc, the mystery appears to be unsolved to the present. Some of the extensive literature and attempted translations are listed in the bibliographic section on Aegean languages.

Cypro-Minoan Seals

Two seals from the 12th century levels of Ashdod have a few signs that are similar to Cypro-Minoan, but great caution must be used in drawing any conclusions about Philistine origins from a few isolated seals. (648) Seals traveled freely in both directions between the Levant and Aegean. (649) Even if the seals were accepted as evidence of the Philistines' origin, they would only demonstrate connections with Cyprus, not the Aegean. Cypro-Minoan signs also appear in LB assemblages from before the attack of the Sea Peoples. (650)

Conclusion

Unless bilingual materials or greater quantities of materials are found, or there is a breakthrough in a language which could be related to Philistine, such as Etruscan, the chances for gaining significant knowledge about the Philistines' language are not good. Even to work profitably in the materials available requires considerable specialized knowledge in Anatolian, Cretan, and Cypriote languages and scripts, which are themselves often obscure or untranslatable. There is at present no clear evidence that there was a distinct Philistine language. There is at present no evidence for the use of Greek or any Aegean language among the Philistines.

Loan Words

Because of these circumstances scholars are reduced to searching for Hebrew words which may be loan words from the Philistines and to analyzing these words and Philistine proper names for indications of Aegean or

Anatolian origins. Neither of these approaches seems likely to produce very valuable results. The alleged loan words are so few in number that even if solid comparisons could be drawn, a handful of loan words would not be very decisive evidence for a migration or a people's place of origin. A further problem is that even if an Indo-European parallel can be cited, this would not necessarily distinguish between an Anatolian or "Greek" origin. We will, nevertheless, briefly examine the chief sources of information.

The Philistine title "saren" (lord=שָׂרֵן) has often been compared to the Greek word "tyrant" (τύραννος). Rabin and others suggest that the Greeks may have borrowed this word from the Anatolian language of the Lydians. (651) Petrie, however, derived this title from the Egyptian title for nome rulers (sar). (652) This title plus the first person plural suffix 'n' would be translated "our lord," and the origin of this title among the Philistines would be traced to vassal relationships of Philistine kings to pharaohs of the 19th Dynasty, rather than to Aegean origin of the Philistines. The Septuagint translates "saren" as "satrap", which reflects this idea of a regional ruler under a higher authority. Petrie's solution seems awkward, but it does demonstrate that such etymological searches are often open to several solutions with at least some degree of plausibility.

More important than Petrie's attempted solution is the possibility that the root srn occurs in Ugaritic with the meaning "prince" or "ruler". The root srn occurs at least seven times as a personal name, but none of these occurrences helps specify the meaning. (653) The most important occurrence is yn-srnm, wine of princes. This translation is somewhat conjectural, because it is based primarily on the similarity with the Philistine term. The translation is made more plausible by the near proximity of the phrase, q<l-mlkm, delicacies of kings. (654) The root srn may also occur as a QT verb form meaning "act as a ruler." (655) Neither of these passages is clear, so these translations are both open to question. They do, however, open up the possibility that the explanation of the Philistine term "saren" lies much closer to Palestine than Greece or even Anatolia. The Philistines' use of the term is not strong evidence of Anatolian or Aegean origin of the Philistines. The origin of the term remains obscure.

Further discussion has mainly centered on three words. The first is כֹּבַע koba, "helmet", which E. Sapir identified as a possible loan word from the Philistines already in 1937. More recently C. Rabin has suggested a Hittite derivation. (656) Rabin has also suggested Indo-European derivation of פִּלְגֶשׁ pilegesh, "concubine." (657) The Indo-European origin of the word אַרְזָן argaz, "box" or "chest," was also suggested by Sapir in 1936. (658) Cyrus Gordon claims Greek derivation for these

words and others in the interest of his theory connecting the Philistines with the Greeks. He adds such words as מכרה mekerah, "sword," לשכה leshke, "chamber," and לפיד lappid, "torch" "lamp", to the list of Hebrew words of Greek origin. (659)

All of these words do have a certain similarity to Greek or Anatolian words of similar meaning, but this serves little practical purpose for solving the question of Philistine origins. It is by no means clear that these words actually came to Hebrew from an Indo-European language, or even if they did, at what date they were received. Even if these words are borrowed from Indo-European, there still is no evidence for connecting any of these words except saren with the Philistines.

Sometimes these etymological arguments give an impression of grasping at straws to bolster a preconceived notion of Philistine origins. For example, in the study referred to above, Rabin is arbitrary in his citation of the Biblical usage of the word "pilegesh." He quotes passages which would support his theory that the word was introduced by the Philistines and properly belongs in the time of the judges, but he dismisses examples which do not fit his theory as due to archaic or unusual usage by the author.

Allen Jones goes even further and proposes a Greek derivation of the word Philistine, namely, φύλη Ἑστια phule Hestia, tribe of Hestia. On this basis he claims a Philistine role in introducing hearth worship into Israel. Jones would undoubtedly be very interested in Van Windeken's theory that "istia" is a Pelasgian word, borrowed by the Greeks in the form "hestia." (660) This would carry the derivation of "Philistine" back one step further to the Pelasgians.

Such evidence from etymology is not persuasive unless there is a cumulative weight of many examples from a single, specific linguistic source, rather than a few sporadic, unclear examples, as is the case with the Philistines. The possibility of a few Indo-European loan words borrowed from the Philistines by the Hebrews is not weighty evidence for Aegean or Anatolian derivation of the Philistines. The great danger in this type of word study is that it easily degenerates into a search for a few examples to support a preconceived notion of origins.

The same danger exists in the study of personal names. From Biblical, Assyrian, and Egyptian sources a list of about two dozen definite or possible Philistine names can be assembled. The majority of Philistine names known to us are definitely Semitic.

From Genesis 20 and 26 the names Abimelech and Ahuzzath are Semitic. (661) The derivation of "Phicol" is unclear, but perhaps it is Egyptian. (662) The title

of Psalm 34 also connects the title Abimelech with Achish, king of Gath in David's time. Two possible Philistines from the time of David, the Gathites Obed-Edom and Ittai, both possess Semitic names. (II Samuel 6 and 15) There is some doubt about the Semitic derivation of the name Ittai, but it occurs as an Israelite name in I Chronicles 11:31. It is not known if Delilah was a Philistine or an Israelite traitor, but a Semitic derivation of the name is possible. (663)

Non-Semitic derivations are possible for the names of Goliath, Saph, and some of their relatives, but the texts classify all of these men as part of the "Raphite" substratum of the population of Philistia (I Chronicles 20:4-8). It is, of course, possible that they adopted names current among their "Philistine" associates. The name Goliath (גִּלְיָת) has long been associated with the Lydian "Alyattes" (Walweiattes), but the parallel is not compelling. (664) There is little here to make a case for the Aegean or Anatolian nature of Philistine names.

Of about a dozen Philistine names in Assyrian annals, all are West Semitic or Akkadian, with one possible exception, i-ka-u-su of Ekron, who is mentioned in the annals of Assurbanipal. (665) This name appears to be the same as that of the Biblical Achish (אֲכִישׁ) of Gath. The Septuagint calls him Ἀγχούς (Anchous), and this name has been connected with the Homeric Greek name Anchises (Ἀγχίσκος). (666) Achish's father, Maoch (מַעֲוֹךְ) or Maachah (מַעֲוָה) also appears to have a non-Semitic name. (667)

The Achish/Anchises equation is a good example of the hazards of comparing names from different languages in spite of a long process of textual transmission. The original name was probably Akawush (אֲכַוֶּשׁ). In the course of the Hebrew transmission there was a shift from a w/u sound (vav) to y/i (yod), so that Akawush became Akish (אֲכִישׁ). The Septuagint translator apparently still heard a "u" sound, Ἀγχούς=Ankous. It is not clear if this "ou" represents a diphthong or two distinct vowels, or how nasalized the gamma is at this time. The Assyrian form i-ka-u-s(u) supports this interpretation of the name. Both the nazalization and the 'i' sound in Achish, which are important to the parallelism with the Greek Anchises, are developments in the course of the Hebrew transmission, not valid points of comparison. This Achish/Anchises comparison begins from a Hebrew speaker's effort to transcribe a foreign name into his own language. This transcription then was transmitted through centuries of orthographic and pronunciation change until another Hebrew speaking translator transcribed the result into Greek, another foreign language. The resulting name is then compared with a name from Homer which also has a long history of textual transmission. These two names are compared on the basis of our present understanding of how these languages were pronounced 2000 years ago. The weaknesses and limitations of this method are very clear.

There is a further problem with study of personal names. Even if there are some isolated non-Semitic names among the Philistines, this is not very significant since non-Semitic names were already present in Philistia well before the time of Ramses III. In chapter one we discussed two rulers of cities in Philistia during the Amarna period with the non-Semitic names Yidiya and Shuwardata. From Ugarit there is a list of about 20 merchants from LB Ashdod. Fourteen names are clear Semitic names. Two are non-Semitic, and four are probably non-Semitic. (668) A similar mixing of Semitic and non-Semitic name types occurs in Cyprus, even before the alleged Seapeoples or Mycenaean migrations. (669) The same mixed pattern of names occurs in Philistia both before and after the time of Ramses III. In both time periods Semitic names predominate with a small number of non-Semitic names also occurring.

There is no evidence of any Philistine influence on place names. Even Ekron, which some people have suggested is a Philistine foundation, appears to have a Semitic name. (670)

Name studies cannot help us much unless enough names can be traced to a definite linguistic source to make a convincing case. This seems unlikely unless we obtain a greater number of Philistine names which have not passed through translation and a long process of textual transmission.

Summary

There is at present no decisive evidence for the general use of a non-Semitic language among the Philistines at any stage of their history. It appears that they used a dialect similar to the people around them. If they used an Aegean or Anatolian language for a short time after their arrival, no clear evidence of it has yet been found.

CONCLUSIONS

All of the evidence which we have examined supports the conclusion that the culture of the Philistines was a composite culture, with the "Canaanite" element predominant. The implications of each type of evidence for explaining the origin of the Philistines and their culture have already been stated in the summaries which conclude each chapter of this dissertation. Those conclusions must now be collected into a comprehensive final statement.

Although there were significant foreign influences in the Philistine culture, especially "Mycenaean" influence which can be traced through Cyprus, it was the indigenous "Canaanite" culture of Palestine which contributed the most to Philistine culture as a whole. Although there are some striking new elements in the Philistine culture, the culture as a whole shows a high degree of continuity from the culture of Late Bronze Palestine. Although there are points of abrupt cultural change, such as the introduction of Mycenaean IIIC pottery and the subsequent development of Philistine Ware at Ashdod, the introduction of foreign influences into Philistia appears to be a gradual process extending over several centuries. The Aegean component of Philistine culture is very short lived. It is the "Canaanite" component which endures. The strongest Aegean influence appears to be limited to the Philistine pentapolis and its immediate environs. Let us briefly review the evidence which supports this conclusion.

The literary sources suggest a gradual amalgamation of native and foreign peoples into the composite called "Philistines." This explanation of the origin of the Philistines is most strongly represented in the Old Testament which says that the Philistines came from Caphtor, but which nevertheless mentions other elements in the population of Philistia. The Old Testament also applies the name "Philistine" to peoples who were living in southwestern Palestine before the time of Ramses III. Although it has often been claimed that the Egyptian sources show that the Philistines could not have been in Palestine before the time of Ramses III, we have seen that this common assumption is mistaken. The texts of Ramses III imply that his enemies were a mixture of peoples from near and far, since they refer both to northern islanders and to the enemies' nearby towns. Other Egyptian sources, such as the Amarna letters, also indicate that the appearance of the Sea Peoples in the Near East was a gradual process extending over several centuries. The Philistine proper names from Old Testament and Assyrian texts are almost entirely Semitic. There is at present no evidence that the Philistines ever used a non-Semitic

language. If such a language existed, its use must have been very short lived. The Old Testament, the Egyptian texts, and the majority of the cultic apparatus from Tel Qasile point to the Semitic nature of Philistine religion. It is only the "Ashdoda" figurines from Ashdod which suggest a strong Aegean influence. Even these forms are not purely Aegean, but are assimilated to Canaanite style.

The Aegean influence is most apparent and is introduced most abruptly in the Philistine Ware. This pottery has very clear Aegean roots, but it is not a true Mycenaean Ware. It is heavily assimilated to Levantine influences particularly in its white slip and other decorative techniques. The "Mycenaean" pottery which preceded it at Ashdod could be derived from Cyprus, rather than directly from the Aegean. This pottery makes up a relatively small percentage of the pottery at most of the sites at which it occurs. Even at key sites like Tell Qasile and Ashdod it makes up less than 30% of the pottery. Even at sites where Philistine Ware is heavily represented the common domestic wares continue the Canaanite traditions of the Late Bronze Age.

There is no burial trait of which one can say, "This is distinctly Philistine." All customs and forms which occur with Philistine Ware burials also occur with non-Philistine burials. The burials which contain Philistine Ware cannot be strongly differentiated from other Palestinian burials either in form or grave goods. Even the famous chamber tombs of Fara appear to be a natural development from the earlier Series 900 tombs at the same site. The anthropoid coffins which occur with two Philistine Ware burials occur in many other non-Philistine Ware burials which have a heavy Egyptian influence. Most Philistine Ware burials are pit graves or caves which continue the earlier traditions of Late Bronze Age Palestine. Philistine Ware sometimes occurs as the last phase of use in burial caves which were used mainly in the Late Bronze Age. The majority of the pottery in burials which contain Philistine Ware is pottery which continues Canaanite pottery traditions.

Philistine architecture uses the same forms commonly found also at non-Philistine sites, such as the four-room house and the casemate wall. It is not possible at the present to identify any architectural form which is distinctly Philistine. The Philistine temples at Tell Qasile are different from many of the Canaanite temples of Palestine, but it is not possible to identify them with Aegean architectural forms. Philistine architecture is probably the aspect of their material culture for which the evidence presently available is least adequate.

Examples of Aegean metal forms in the Philistine culture are largely limited to a few specialized forms like swords and double axes. The introduction of new iron technology appears to take place too late to be associated

with the arrival of the Sea Peoples at the time of Ramses III. Although Sea Peoples' ships have some characteristics that appear on Aegean ships, they also have distinctly Levantine characteristics. Minor arts, such as seals and ivory carving, show some Aegean influence, but Egyptian and Levantine influences are stronger. In all these areas of Philistine material culture it is possible to detect some foreign influence, but overall the continuity of local traditions predominates. The Aegean influences appear mostly as hybrid forms, rather than pure Aegean forms.

In analyzing Philistine culture, it is important to devote as much attention to the routine continuity of "Canaanite" Late Bronze traditions as to the introduction of new foreign forms which may be more dramatic. The ordinary must receive as much attention as the extraordinary. This study has tried to be as comprehensive as possible in assembling evidence which may be helpful in analyzing the origins of the Philistines and their culture. At times this has meant including evidence which is secondary in value or perhaps even trivial. This approach has a certain amount of danger in that the inclusion of weaker or less significant points in an argument may give the appearance of weakening, rather than helping the overall argument. Nevertheless, because a major weakness of many past discussions of the Philistines has been their dependence on a very narrow segment of the evidence, it has been considered best to be broadly inclusive in the type of evidence presented in this study. Throughout this study an attempt has been made to indicate which data is considered to be most reliable and which is more doubtful, to indicate which points are most crucial and which are secondary. In any case, the readers are free to make such judgments for themselves.

This study makes three useful contributions to the study of Philistine culture. The quantitative studies of the distribution of Philistine Ware are the most important contribution of new data. These studies should form a good base for comparing the degree of "Philistine" influence at various sites and for assessing the degree of ceramic continuity and change in the Philistine culture. The compilation of statistics from some of the older excavations has been somewhat like a salvage operation because of the limitations of the available data, but salvage is better than nothing. Even this data will provide a useful base for comparison with the more reliable data now available from sites such as Qasile and Izbet Sartah and the data which will be forthcoming from such sites as Sharia and Timna in the future. This part of the study will be kept up-to-date whenever new information becomes available.

Secondly, this study has stressed the importance of using all elements of the Philistine culture when discussing their origins. Any theory about the

Philistines must do justice to the strong "Canaanite" continuity as well as to the "Mycenaean" additions. This aspect has not received adequate attention in previous studies.

Finally, it is hoped that the wide range of evidence collected here will prove useful to those doing future studies of the Philistines, whether or not they agree with the interpretation of the evidence which has been offered here. The evidence which is available concerning Philistine origins is still limited enough that it is not possible to make an airtight case for one explanation of Philistine origins. The key issue which is still open to dispute is the nature and importance of the cultural change at the time of Ramses III when Philistine Ware was introduced. Is this change really the beginning of Philistine culture? Does this change require large scale migration from the Aegean? This dissertation has suggested that the answer to both of these questions is "no." Although the events of Ramses III's eighth year and the introduction of Philistine Ware may be significant episodes in the formation of Philistine culture, the Philistine culture as a whole and the population of Philistia both have roots which reach back into the Bronze Age. The strong Canaanite component of Philistine culture does not seem to have been acquired only by gradual assimilation, but to have been present from the beginning. The amalgamation theory of Philistine origins offered in this study explains all of the existing evidence better than a theory which suggests a sudden cultural break induced by large scale migration from the Aegean world at about the time of Ramses III. Evidence for the hypothesis suggested here is quite good from the outlying areas of Philistia, but the evidence from the pentapolis itself is much less complete than we would like. Hopefully the next decade will fill in some of the gaps in our knowledge. New evidence may demonstrate a greater Aegean influence in the pentapolis itself than is suggested by this study, but it seems clear that the culture of Philistia as a whole, including the Shephelah and northwestern Negev always maintained a "Canaanite" element which was stronger than any Aegean element. The strong continuity of culture from the Bronze Age suggests a very strong continuity of population in Philistia from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age.

The strong degree of cultural continuity from the Late Bronze Age into the Philistine culture of the Early Iron Age and the very heavy Semitic element in all phases of Philistine culture suggest that any settlement of immigrants from the Aegean at the time of Ramses III was a small scale arrival of rulers or military men, comparable to the arrival of the Northmen in various areas of Europe. On the basis of the archeological evidence it is improbable that this was a mass movement like that of the Slavs into the Balkans or a tribal migration like that of the Galatians into Asia Minor. Nevertheless, such a

possibility cannot be ruled out completely because there have been large scale movements of people which have left practically no archeological evidence. (671) It is also likely that any "Sea Peoples" component of the Philistine population began to arrive in Philistia well before the time of Ramses III, especially those who may have been mercenaries in Egyptian service under previous Pharaohs.

Much about the Philistines and their culture remains obscure or uncertain. Many questions must still be left open. It is possible that some important questions will never be answered with certainty. Much work remains to be done. (672) Hopefully, this study will serve as a useful step in the continued study of the Philistines and their culture.

ABBREVIATIONS

These abbreviations are used in the notes and bibliography. Shortened titles which are used in the notes, but which are easily recognized under the author entry in the bibliography, are not included in this list.

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
AfO	Archiv fuer Orientalforschung
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
AJA	American Journal of Archeology
AJTh	American Journal of Theology
Amiran	R. Amiran, Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts
An.Or.	Analecta Orientalia
AS	Ain Shems
BA	Biblical Archeologist
BAR	Biblical Archeological Review
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BBSAJ	Bulletin of the British School of Archeology in Jerusalem
BIES	Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society, Also called Yediot.
BP	Beth Pelet
BSAE	British School of Archeology in Egypt
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History, 3rd Edition
Dothan,	English, Trude Dothan, The Philistines and Their Material Culture
Dothan,	Hebrew Original Hebrew Edition of the same work
EAEHL	Encyclopedia of Archeological Excavations in the Holy Land
EI	Eretz Israel
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
INJA	International Journal of Nautical Archeology

JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
 JBL Journal of Biblical Literature
 JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies
 JEA Journal of Egyptian Archeology
 JFA Journal of Field Archeology
 JHS Journal of Hellenic Studies
 JJS Journal of Judaic Studies
 JPOS Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
 KAI Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften
 MEM Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean
 OA Opuscula Archeologica
 PEFA Palestine Exploration Fund Annual
 PEFQS/QSPEF Palestine Exploration
 Fund Quarterly Statement
 PEQ Palestine Exploration Quarterly
 QDAP Quarterly of the Department of
 Antiquities of Palestine
 RB Revue Biblique
 RDAC Report of the Department of Antiquities
 of Cyprus
 SCE Swedish Cyprus Expedition
 SIMA Studies in Mediterranean Archeology
 TA Tel Aviv
 TBM Tell Beit Mirsim
 TDOT Theological Dictionary of the
 Old Testament
 UF Ugarit-Forschungen
 VT Vetus Testamentum
 ZAS Zeitschrift fuer Aegyptische Sprache
 ZAT Zeitschrift des Altes Testaments
 ZAW Zeitschrift fuer Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
 ZDPV Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestins-Verein

PHILISTINE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography is divided into eight sections as listed below. Items of a general nature are relisted in the special bibliographies if they have special relevance for that topic. The bibliography and a computer search program of the bibliography, which can provide a video search or printouts of all the items on a given topic, will be available on floppy discs for the Apple Microcomputer. In this way the bibliography can be kept up to date with minimum effort, and specific topics can be searched with ease.

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The number of asterisks indicates the importance of a given item.

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II. POTTERY

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CREDITS FOR DRAWINGS

I would like to thank the following authors and publishers for permission to use the following drawings, most of which are copyrighted. Complete publication information about the sources is contained in the bibliography.

Figure 1: Macalister, The Philistines , p. 19-22. British Academy, 1914. Argonaut reprint, 1965.

Figure 2: T. Dothan, Philistine Material Culture . Originally in the Hebrew edition, this drawing also appeared in the English edition, p. 6. Israel Exploration Society and Yale University. (Ultimately from H. Nelson, Medinet Habu . Pl. 44. University of Chicago Press, The Oriental Institute.)

Figures 3: N. Sandars, The Sea Peoples, Fig.68 (Cf. also fig. 79, 93,94). Thames and Hudson. (Ultimately from Wrezinski, Atlas , Plate 160).

Figure 4: N. Sandars, The Sea People, Fig. 113. Thames and Hudson. (Ultimately from Nelson, Medinet Habu, Pl. 118c).

Figures 5 & 6: Nelson, Medinet Habu , Pl. 32, 37. University of Chicago, The Oriental Institute. Via Dothan, Philistine Material Culture , p. 8, 10. Yale University Press and Israel Exploration Society.

Figure 7a: BAR Apr. 1982, p.27. Ultimately from Library of Congress and Egypt Exploration Society. From Temple of Amun at Karnak.

Figure 7b: BAR Apr. 1982, p. 32. Ultimately from Wrezinski.

Figure 7c: Sandars, The Sea Peoples . Pl. 68. Thames and Hudson. Ultimately from Wrezinski.

Figure 8a: Hrouda, Kulturgegeschichte des Assyrischen Flachbildes, Tafel 51. Rudolf Habelt Verlag. Also in Olmstead, History of Assyria. Ultimately from Layard. The headdress is an original drawing patterned after Hrouda.

Figure 8b: BA Fall 1980, p. 222. Ultimately from Layard, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 9a, 9b: BA Winter 1981, p. 46, 48. Botta and Flandin, Monument de Nineve, 1848, Pl. 93, 94.

Figure 10: Original map, but modeled after Hencken, Tarquiniia , Fig. 496. American Schools of Prehistoric Research, Peabody Museum, Harvard.

Figures 11-17: These plates are adaptations and rearrangements taken from numerous plates of Trude Dothan's The Philistines and Their Material Culture, p. 94-207. Israel Exploration Society and Yale University Press. The main artists for the drawings of this volume were Judith Arnold, Jean Leger, and Esther Huber.

Figure 18: This is an original map which is an updating of the similar map in Dothan, English edition, p. 26. Where names are clustered close together the placement of the dot is sometimes approximate, rather than precise.

Figure 19: These drawings are adapted from H.J. Francken, Excavations at Deir Alla, Pl. 47, 51, 52. E.J. Brill Co.

Figure 20a: Petrie, Beth Pelet I, Pl. XXIV (Tomb 562). British School of Archeology in Egypt.

Figure 20b: Sandars, The Sea Peoples, Fig. 93. Thames and Hudson. (After Medinet Habu Pl. 98).

Figure 20c&d: Oren, Northern Cemetery at Beth Shan, Pl. 53:4, 52:2. E.J. Brill.

Figure 20e: Drawn from a photo in Leclant, Orientalia 40 (1971), Taf. 8.

Figure 21a: E. Oren, The Northern Cemetery at Beth Shan. E. J. Brill.

Figure 21b: Dikaios, Enkomi IIIA, Pl. 187, Fig. 19(184). Verlag Philip von Zabern.

Figure 21c: Dothan, English, p. 277. Israel Exploration Society and Yale University Press. This figure has been widely published. The original seems to go back to Murray and Walter, Excavation in Cyprus, 1900. Pl. I, fig. 19.

Figure 22a: J. Borchardt, Homerische Helme, Tafel 16. No. RS 60 22, 253. Verlag Philip von Zabern, Mainz.

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Figure 22f: Megiddo Ivory PAM 38.780, Original Megiddo Ivories Pl. 4:2b. University of Chicago, The Oriental Institute.

Figure 22g: McQueen, The Hittites. Fig. 61. Westview Press and Thames and Hudson.

Figure 22h: Pritchard, Iron Age Figurines Fig. 6. American Schools of Oriental Research.

Figure 22i: Sandars, The Sea Peoples. Fig. 90. Thames and Hudson. (Ultimately from Wrezinski, Pl. 160b, or Medinet Habu, Pl. 35.)

Figure 23: These plans are edited and condensed from McDonald, Beth Pelet II, fold out plan, & Petrie, Beth Pelet I, Pl. LXIV. British School of Archeology in Egypt.

Figure 24: The large "Shardana Sword" is from the Hebrew edition of Dothan. Israel Exploration Society. The upper row of weapons is from J. T. Hooker, The Mycenaean. Routledge & Kegan Paul. The bottom row is adapted from Sandars, The Sea Peoples, Fig 108-110. Thames and Hudson.

Figure 25a: Hencken, Tarquīnia, p. 537. Fig. 486. American Schools of Prehistoric Research, Bulletin 23, Peabody Museum. Original drawing courtesy of E. Vermeule, University of Chicago.

Figure 25b: Drawn from Riis, Hama II, Fig. 27 and Motif 112 (GVII 551) p. 97. Copenhagen. Glydendalse Boghandel Nordisk Forlag.

Figure 25c & d: Wachsmann, IJNA 10, P. 199, 201.

Figure 25e-h: Hencken, Tarquīnia, p. 516, 569. American Schools of Prehistoric Research, Bulletin 23, Peabody Museum. Copyright 1968 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Figure 26a: A. Mazar, Qodem 12, Fig. 18. Israel Exploration Society.

Figure 26b-d: Sandars, The Sea Peoples, Fig 116. Thames and Hudson. (Originals: M. Dothan, Ashdod II-III, Pl. 91. Cypriote Museum A39. Mylonas, Aegean and Near East, Pl. XIII.)

Figure 27a: Sandars, The Sea Peoples, Fig. 112. Thames and Hudson. Ultimately from Catling, Alasia I.

Figure 27b: Drawing based on Dikaios, Enkomi IIIA, Plate 140, drawing by G.W. Patten. Verlag Philip von Zabern.

Figure 27c,d: Schaeffer, Alasia I, p. 512, Fig. 5, p. 518, Fig. 7. Drawing by L. Courtois. Courtesy of Mrs. Schaeffer.

Figure 28a: Furumark, Mycenaean Pottery Chronology, p. 87. Fig. 1. Royal Academy Stockholm.

Figure 28b-d: Dothan, English, p. 239,243. Israel Exploration Society and Yale University Press.

Figure 29: All from Dothan, English, p. 239-243, (Yale University Press and Israel Exploration Society) except figures 3 and 4 which are from Oren, Northern Cemetery at Beth Shan, , Pl. 50. E. J. Brill Leiden.

Figure 30a,b: Adapted from D. Packard, Minoan Linear A, Fig. 1, p. 11. University of California Press, University of California at Berkeley.

Figure 30c: Francken, VT 14, p. 378. E.J. Brill.

Figure 30d: IEJ 28 p. 31. The original is from M. Kochavi, Tel Aviv 4 and is used with his permission.

The pottery graphs pertaining to Fara, Megiddo, and Beth Shan are adapted from the dissertation of Thomas McClellan and are used with his permission. The graphs pertaining to Izbet Sartah and Tell Qasile are adapted from material presented in the dissertations of Amihai Mazar and Israel Finkelstein, which they were kind enough to let me use.

ENDNOTES

A Roman numeral following a footnote indicates the section of the bibliography in which the full reference is found. These are used only when deemed necessary. For example, in the endnotes to the chapter on burials the endnotes are tagged with a Roman numeral only when the main reference does not appear in the burial section of the bibliography. Book titles are frequently shortened in the endnotes. For abbreviations of periodicals see the chart of abbreviations.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER I, LITERARY SOURCES See Bibliography I.

1 See Dothan, The Philistines and Their Material Culture, p. 13-16, for a brief account. Beck's dissertation, The International Role of the Philistines in the Biblical Period, provides a more detailed treatment. Tadmor's articles in BA 29 (1966), p. 86-103, and JCS 12 (1958), p. 77-83, provide information on the late period.

2 The Old Testament reports that the Exodus occurred 480 years before the building of Solomon's Temple (I Kings 6:1) and that Israel's stay in Egypt lasted 430 years (Ex. 12:40). Taken at face value, these dates would place the end of the patriarchal period in the 19th century B.C. If the Septuagint reading of Exodus 12:40, which includes the patriarchal period in the 430 years, is adopted, the 19th century would be the beginning of the patriarchal period.

Various attempts have been made to connect the patriarchs with archeological history. Albright associated the patriarchs with MB I. De Vaux tended toward MB II. Cyrus Gordon favored LB. Alt, Noth, Thompson and Van Seters are among those sceptical of any basic historicity of the patriarchal accounts. A full discussion of the question is beyond the scope of this study. For a recent bibliography of the question see Hayes and Miller, Israelite and Judean History, p. 92-93 and the discussion on pages 70-212 of the same work. See also Rainey, BASOR 251 (1983), p.5. It is not possible to date the patriarchal age by archeological means, so the date which an individual chooses will depend on his view of the patriarchal accounts in the Old Testament.

3 I Kings 6:1 places the Exodus 480 years before the time of Solomon. The Jephthah account (Judges 11:26) places Israel's settlement in the Transjordan 300 years before the time of Jephthah which was probably around 1100 B.C. See Fritz, BASOR 241, p. 71 on the idea of Israel's "migration" being as early as the 15th Century. He of course uses this term in a different sense than the Old Testament does.

4 Hayes and Miller, Israelite and Judean History, provides a bibliography and summary of recent thought about the nature and date of the Exodus and Conquest on pages 213-285. See also Weippert, The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes, 1971; Fritz, BASOR 241 (1981), p. 61-75; B. Mazar, BASOR 241, p. 75-86; A. Mazar, IEJ 31 (1981), p. 1, 32-36; C. Meyers, BASOR 252 (1983), p. 47-60; Mendenhall, BA 25 (1962), p. 66-87; and Isserlin, "The Israelite Conquest of Canaan: A Comparative View of the Arguments Applicable." PEQ July-Dec. 1983, p. 85-94.

There are three major interpretations of the nature of Israel's settlement. Mendenhall's idea of the "conquest" as an internal revolt did not receive widespread acceptance, but Meyers' article points out that a sociological approach to the settlement of the tribes of Israel is gaining favor. The Alt/Noth model of peaceful infiltration seems to be more widely accepted today than Albright's military conquest model. There are many varieties and recombinations of these three basic views since many scholars believe that there is an element of truth in all of them. Scholars who accept the same model, such as the peaceful infiltration model, may nevertheless differ on the date and duration of the settlement process.

Writers who strongly defend a date in the 15th century generally begin their argument on the basis of the date given in I Kings 6:1. They then interpret the archeological evidence in such a way as to harmonize with this date. They explain terms which appear to place the Exodus in the 13th century, such as the city of Raamses in Exodus 1:11, as editorial updatings similar to the one in Genesis 47:11, rather than as evidence that Israel was in Egypt during the 19th or 20th Dynasties. Bimson's Redating the Exodus and Conquest (Eisenbraun's, 1981) is a recent version of this minority view.

Dating the settlement to the 13th or 12th Centuries B.C. is based on interpreting the pattern of occupation and the destructions at cities in Palestine and the Transjordan at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the establishment of new settlements in the hill country at the transition from the Late Bronze to Iron Age.

5 There are arguments and counterarguments for almost every point of the discussion, so that there is no decisive archeological evidence for fixing the time or reality of the Israelite conquest. See Isserlin's article in the preceding note on the difficulty of demonstrating invasions archeologically. Miller concludes that apart from the appearance of Philistine Ware, no one would conclude from the material remains themselves that newcomers entered Palestine from the outside at any particular time during LB or Iron I. The one thing that can be said with confidence is that the process by which

Israel gained possession of the land remains unclear. (Israelite and Judean History, p. 255, 279 . See also Mazar, IEJ 31 p. 36.)

6 The Septuagint places the Shamgar incident in Judges 16:31 suggesting a later date than the MT placement in Judges 3, but this appears to be an artificial arrangement to connect the incident with the Samson story.

7 Bibliography on Shamgar ben Anat:

Boling, Anchor Bible, Judges, p. 88-89.

Maisler, PEQ 66 (1934) p. 192-194 on the alleged Hurrian origin of the name.

Albright, JPOS 1 (1921), p. 58-62.

Fensham, JNES 20-3 (1961), p. 197-198.

Craigie, JBL 91 (1972), p.239-240.

Danielius, JNES 22-3 (1963), p. 191-194.

The first issue is whether the name Shamgar is a Hurrian name related to the name Shimig-ari or whether some other derivation should be sought. The second issue is whether "ben Anat" designates Shamgar's hometown, perhaps the Beth Anat in Galilee, or whether it marks him as a member of a military group devoted to the goddess Anat. There does not seem to be decisive evidence to settle either question.

8 Donner and Roellig, KAI II, p. 199, provides the original text. Pritchard, The Ancient Near East II, p.12, provides an English translation. See Chapter X on language for further examples of such texts.

9 The first chapter of Dothan's The Philistines and Their Material Culture provides many examples of this type of Aegean connection. The same tendency is strongly present in the sections on the Philistines in Aharoni's, The Land of the Bible, and The Archeology of the Land of Israel. Individual examples will be discussed in the appropriate chapters of this dissertation.

10 J. Strange, Caphtor-Keftiu, A New Investigation, 1980.

11 Wainwright, VT 6 (1956), p. 199-210, and his other articles listed in the bibliography.

12 The loss of the 'r' from Kaptara to Keftiu can be explained as normal Egyptian phonetic decay according to Kitchen in Wiseman, Peoples of OT, p. 70, fn. 6.

Principal sources on the Caphtor/Keftiu debate:

Strange, Caphtor-Keftiu, A New Investigation.

Wainwright, JEA 17 (1931), p.26-43, JHS 51 (1931), p. 1-38.

Edel, Ortsnamen, esp. p. 53-56, 66.

Kitchen in Wiseman, Peoples of the OT, p.54

Vercoutter, Essai, p. 61-75, 95-127.
Vercoutter, Le Egypte et le Monde Egeen.
Vermeule, Bronze Age Greece, p. 148, 340.

Strange favors the identification with Cyprus,
Wainwright with Cappodocia, the rest with Crete.

13 J. Strange, Caphtor-Keftieu, A New Investigation,
1980, p. 109.

14 The tombs of Senmut and Rekhmare are two of the
chief sources of Keftiu pictures. These pictures are
reproduced in many works including Mueller, Egyptological
Researches, Pl. 3-7, p. 12-18, and the sources listed in
note 12.

The topographic list of Amenophis III can be found in
Edel, Ortsnamen, p. 66 and is mentioned by Kitchen in
Wiseman, Peoples of the OT, p. 54.

15 See the works of Wainwright and Strange in note 12 for
the most comprehensive presentations of the arguments
against the identification of Caphtor with Crete.

16 On the Ugaritic usage see Astour, Hellenosemitica,
p. 107, 110, 137. The main text is RS 16.238. Astour
believes that the Ugaritic Kaptar is Crete. He also
discusses the 18th Century usage at Mari on p. 143, 327,
348. Gibson, Canaanite Myths and Legends p. 55,
maintains that the Ugaritic kptr is probably not
Caphtor/Crete.

17 See the definition of Kretim in Gesenius' and
Brown, Driver, Briggs' standard lexicons. Etymologies
based on the root krh, meaning "dig," "trade," or
"bring" or on the root krt (cut) with the meaning of
"executioners" or "exiles" have been suggested. The LXX
renderings reflect the great confusion about this term at
the time of this translation.

Pelethites has been explained as coming from an
alleged root of פלח = פלח meaning "swift" or "messengers,"
but the / interchange is not convincing.

18 Ethiopic: Seeligman, The Septuagint, footnote 28.
Gesenius, Hebrew Lexicon, p. 677.

19 Seeligman, p. 81, 87.
DeVaux, La Septante, p. 185ff.

20 Seeligman, p. 81, 87.

21 The various theories of the process of translation
by which the Septuagint was created are discussed in S.
Jellicoe, The Septuagint and Modern Study, Oxford, 1968,
especially p. 69, 270. It is usually held that Joshua was

added to the Pentateuch in the early stages of translation and that Judges is later work. Also see Redpath, "The Geography of the LXX."

On the tendency of books of the Septuagint to be divided for translation or copying see Thackeray, "The Bisection of Books in Primitive LXX Manuscripts," Journal of Theological Studies 9, (1907-1908), p. 88-98. Both these factors would weaken the force of the argument concerning the time of change in the translation of the name Philistines.

22 It is not agreed whether the conjunction vav before the word "Avvites" at the end of verse 3 introduces an additional item or is explanatory. The Jerusalem Bible interprets the following phrase as an additional item. "This is the country remaining: All the regions of the Philistines and the whole country of the Geshurites...the land is counted as Canaanite. (The five chiefs of the Philistines are those of Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron; The Avvites are in the South.)" However, the NIV translates it as explanatory. "The territory of the five Philistine rulers in Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron-- that of the Avvites."

23 Various interpretations of this obscure passage are discussed by M.J. Mulder, "I Chronik 7:21b-23 und die rabbinische Tradition," Journal for the Study of Judaism 6-2 (Dec. 1975) p. 141-166.

24 Josephus, Complete Works, p.31. (Antiquities, Bk.I, ch. VI.)

25 The Genesis commentary by Koenig gives an example of the Mt. Casios interpretation. Those of Keil and Delitzsch are among the supporters of the Colchis theory. See note 34.

26 The Genesis commentary of Procksch supports the Cyrenica theory. Cassuto supports the Scylace theory. See note 34.

27 This translation appears to originate from Speiser's treatment of this passage in the Anchor Bible volume on Genesis.

28 This identification, first suggested by Dhorme, has since been followed by many others. (See Ross, Bibliotheca Sacra 549 , p.31, note 10.)

29 Speiser argues that the text must be late, from after the assimilation of the Philistines. (Anchor Bible Genesis, p. 63), but one could just as well argue that the text must be early, from the time when the Philistines were still under Egyptian influence.

30 Speiser, IDB III, p. 236. Two of the weaknesses of Speiser's approach are too much confidence in the superiority of our modern distinction of "Hamitic" and "Semitic" groups on purely linguistic grounds. See IDB III p. 238, where he says language is the only dependable method of ethnic classification which is capable of scientific control. This is an oversimplification of the basis for classifying ethnic groups. He also depends too much on a distinction between עַם and גּוֹי which is not always reliable. Compare his view in JBL 79 (1960), p. 157-163, with TDOT 2, p. 426-433.

31 For Israel's awareness of linguistic or dialectic differences among groups which were classified as "Canaanite" see Deut. 3:9. On their awareness of racial differences see Jer. 13:23.

32 D.J. Wiseman maintains that the text reflects the situation around 2000 B.C. Aharoni and Piperov are among those supporting a 13th century date as the setting of the text. Speiser, Von Rad and others favor a date late in the monarchy. See note 34.

33 Simons' "The Table of Nations" is an example of those of those who seek to eliminate difficulties by deleting "non-core" sources which contradict his geographic interpretation. Speiser, Von Rad, and others follow the tendency to divide the text. On the unity of the table see notes 34 and 35.

34 Allen Ross, "The Table of Nations in Genesis 10," Bibliotheca Sacra 548 & 549 p. 340-353 & 22-34, is the most helpful study and offers a very extensive bibliography in his notes. I have derived the most from his study. Speiser's treatment of the text in the Genesis Volume of the Anchor Bible, p. 64-74 and his article in IDB III, p. 235-243 are perhaps the most influential treatment.

Other important articles are J. Simons, "The Table of Nations," Oudtestamentische Studien 10, (1954), p. 155-84, Piperov, "Die alte Ethnographie des Orients nach der Bibel, Gen. 10:1-30," Jhrb. Der Theologische Facultaet Sofia, 1948, p. 1-113, Wiseman, "Genesis 10: Some Archeological Considerations," 95th General Ordinary Meeting of the Victoria Institute, 1954, p. 14-24. See also Aharoni, Land of the Bible, p. 8, 75, 82, 83, 85.

Commentaries which are especially useful are Cassuto, Commentary on Genesis, Heinisch, Das Buch Genesis, and Jacob, Das Erste Buch Der Torah, Genesis. See also the Genesis commentaries of Driver, Delitzsch, Keil, Koenig, Procksch, Skinner, Westermann, and Von Rad in the main bibliography.

35 Commentators who analyze the text as a unit include Cassuto, Ross, Jacob, Wiseman and to a lesser degree Aharoni. See note 34. See also J.P. Fokkelmann, Narrative Art in Genesis, Amsterdam:Van Gorcum, 1975, p. 2.

36 See note 32.

37 On the second millennium character of the name "Caphtor" see note 13. On the emergence of Tyre after the 13th Century B.C. see Wiseman, "Genesis 10," p. 21.

38 Strictly speaking the Philistines are not part of this table. The reference to the Philistines is an explanatory note to the term Casluhim. There are seventy names in the list without the Philistines, and there are seven names in the Casluhim group without the Philistines. This pattern of seven in a group appears elsewhere in the table.

39 Several recent English translations remove this reference by emending the text, but there is no manuscript evidence for this.

40 Compare I Samuel 18 with the Egyptian custom described on page 17 of this dissertation.

41 On the subject of circumcision among Israel's neighbors see

DeVaux, Ancient Israel, Eng. p. 46, Fr. p. 78-82.

J. Sasson, JBL 85 (1966), p.473-476.

C. de Wit, ZAS 99-1 (1972), p. 41-48.

T. Reinach, Anthropologie 4 (1893) p. 28-31.

E. Meyer, ZAT 29 (1909), p. 152.

For a representation of Canaanite circumcision see the Megiddo Ivory in Fig. 20 or the larger original, Megiddo Ivories, Pl. 4:2B/

42 Even if the Philistines are classified with the Egyptian group in Genesis 10, it does not follow that Israel always would have classified them with this group. If the setting of the table is actually the second millennium as we have suggested, it could reflect the time when limited numbers of Sea People were in southwest Palestine serving as Egyptian garrisons, before a larger influx at the time of Ramses III.

43 Breastad, Vol. III, p. 136, 138, 141.

44 Wrezinski, Atlas, Plates 8:20, 9/10:19.
This is the best source of plates for Ramses II.

45 The names of almost all of these peoples have been transliterated into Egyptian and into English in several different ways. I have generally used the versions of

Breastad since his work is the most readily available English collection of all of the texts. His transliterations of these names are found in his treatment of the Merneptah texts, Vol. III, p. 243-250, 255-256. The versions of the names in figure 1 are from Macalister, The Philistines, p. 19-22. No attempt has been made to follow a consistent spelling of these names throughout the paper. The text most often uses the spelling adopted by the source which is being discussed at that point of the paper. Normally there is no difficulty recognizing the variants.

46 Breastad, Vol. III, p. 249.

47 Breastad, Vol. III, p. 249 (note a), p. 247 (note h).

Mueller interprets the custom in the exact opposite way on p. 30 of Egyptological Researches. The circumcision of the Ekwesh raises questions about their identification as Achaean Greeks.

48 Malamat, World History, p.32.

49 Edgerton and Wilson, Historical Records, p. 30-31.
Breastad, IV, p. 24-25.

50 The Libyan War is depicted in Nelson's, Medinet Habu, Plates 13-26. All plate numbers in this discussion are references to Nelson, Medinet Habu. Figure numbers refer to the illustrations within this dissertation.

51 See Edgerton and Wilson, p. 14, note 24a.

52 The translation of these texts in Edgerton and Wilson Historical Records of Ramses III, p. 35-58, is co-ordinated with Plates 29-46 of the reliefs which are reproduced in Nelson's Medinet Habu I & II. Page and plate numbers in this discussion are from these two works. The Egyptian texts are in Kitchen's Ramesside Inscriptions, Volume 5.

53 See Edgerton and Wilson, p. 53, fn 179. Kode is Cilicia. Yereth is probably Arzawa in Cilicia or Arvad in Syria. Yeres is probably Alashiya/Cyprus.

54 Gardiner, Onomasticon, p. 187-190.
Breastad, Vol. III, p. 143.

55 Edgerton and Wilson, p.41.

56 Edgerton and Wilson, p. 31, note 53a.

57 Edgerton and Wilson, p.42.

58 Breastad, Vol. IV, p. 201. Note that this papyrus substitutes the Sherden for the Shekelesh of the Medinet Habu texts.

- 59 Sources of the Azitawadda text:
 Pritchard, The Ancient Near East I, p. 215-216,
 English.
 Donner and Roellig, Text 26, Phoenician.
 For the isles of the Danuna reference see Luckenbill,
Ancient Records II, p. 273.
- 60 See the discussion of the "Sicel Letter" on
 page 30 of this dissertation.
- 61 Edgerton and Wilson, p. 35.
- 62 Edgerton and Wilson, p.56.
- 63 Breastad, IV, p.201.
- 64 Edgerton and Wilson, Historical Records p. 30-31.
 Breastad, IV, p. 24-25.
 I would like to thank Sarah Groll of Hebrew University
 for discussing the texts with me.
- 65 Edgerton and Wilson, p.130, Pl. 107.
 This text could be translated " ...the Tjekker of the
 flatlands, the Philistines..." rather than "...the
 Tjekker, the flatland of the Philistines..." as I have
 chosen. The term flatlands is therefore associated with
 either the Tjekker or Philistines, the two peoples who are
 described with local geographic references in the records
 of Ramses III. See the comments in Goedicke's Wen Amon,
 p. 28, 175, for the use of Tjekker as a geographic term.
- 66 Breastad, IV, p. 42
 Edgerton and Wilson, p. 146,147.
- 67 For bibliography of the Sea Peoples and Greeks
 see notes 118 and 129.
- 68 Muhley, Berytus 19 (1970) p. 19-64.
 Wainwright, JEA 47 (1961) p.46.
- 69 Gardiner, Onomasticon, p. 206-208
 Erman, Vol. III, 11; II, 227.
 Nibbi, Sea Peoples, p. 51-58.
 Vercoutter, Essai p. 37-47.
- 70 Edgerton and Wilson, p.111.
- 71 Wainwright, JHS 51 (1951), p. 1-38.
 For Palestinian kilts see Medinet Habu, plate 99.
- 72 Breastad, III, p. 246.

- 73 Zeuner, History of Domesticated Animals,
p. 236-240.
Save-Soderbergh, Private Tombs, p. 25-27, Pl. 23.
Helck, 1979, p. 141, fn. 42.
- 74 For the similarity of the Philistine women and other
Palestinian women see Helck, 1962, p. 347 and Helck, 1979,
p. 141-142. See also plates in Wrezinski Atlas from
the preceding period esp. Pl 266.
- 75 Wrezinski, Atlas, Plates 5:58, 6:43, 7:155-156.
Note also the striking similarity of this figure to
the Sixth Century Etruscan cup opposite page 240 of Grant,
The Etruscans. This is probably co-incidental.
- 76 Pritchard, ANET, p. 25-29.
The Egyptian text can be found in A. Gardiner,
Egyptian Stories. A study of the text is provided by
Goedicke, Report of Wen Amun, 1975.
- 77 On the theory of commercial ties between Philistia and
Phoenicia see the footnote Pritchard ANET, p. 27 and
Dothan, English, p. 4-5.
- 78 For non-Semitic derivation see Mazar, World History,
p. 166, and Albright, CAH II :2, p. 513, fn 4, & JAOS
71, p. 259-262, AJA 54 (1950), p. 172-174.

For Semitic origin see Goedicke, Wen Amon, p. 32-34.
- 79 Gardiner, Onomasticon, p. 190-204.
- 80 M. Dothan, IEJ 31 (1981), p. 110.
- 81 Gardiner, Onomasticon, p. 201.
Steindorf, JEA 25 (1939), p. 30.
- 82 Gardiner, Onomasticon, p. 194.
- 83 Gardiner, Onomasticon, p. 195.
- 84 For an evaluation of the historical value of the texts
of Ramses III see Faulkner, CAH II, p.241-244.

After the text of this study had been completed, an
article by L. Lesko in Serapis 6 (1980), p. 86, came to
my attention. He also challenges the historical
reliability of Ramses III's historical records.
- 85 For discussion of the Seapeoples' alleged destruction
of the Hittites and Ugarit see:
Hooker, Myc. Greece, Ch. 7
B. Mazar, BASOR 242 (1981), p. 79
Lehman, UF 2, p.39-73.
Desborough, Last Mycenaeans, p. 207.
Astrom, SCE IV1D, p. 760-781.

Schaeffer, BAR 9-5 (1983), p. 74-75.
(French original in Ug. V. p.768)
Hellbing, Alasia, p. 90.
Tadmor, "The Decline of Empires in Western Asia," in
ASOR Symposia, p.1-14.
Karageorghis, Kition, p. 81.
Dothan, English, p. 290.

86 Most of the Akkadian originals of these texts are in Ugaritica V. The plate and page references in the following discussion and notes are to this volume. The translation and extensive discussion in this volume is in French. Some of the texts are translated into English in Linder's dissertation. The following notes list the registration number from Ugariticia V, the page in Linder, and the page in Ugaritica V.

87 Text RS20:238. Linder, p. 25. Ugaritica V, p.383, 87.

88 Text RS20:18. Linder, p. 62. Ugaritica V, p. 382, 83-85.

89 Text RSL1. Linder, p. 69. Ugaritica V, p. 383, 85.

90 Text RS20;162. Linder, p. 66. Ugaritica V, p. 91, 114.

91 Text RS20:33. The Akkadian text, French translation, and summary are in Ugaritica V, p. 380-381, 68-76, 689-690. The text is discussed at length in other sections of Ug. V.

92 On the kiln date see CAH II2, p. 145-147.

93 Text RS34:129, UF X, p. 85-86.

94 Lehmann, UF XI, p.481-494.

95 Text 2014 (UT 311). An.Or. 38, p. 6*.
M. Dothan, Ashdod II, p.18.

96 Hooker, The Mycenaeans, p. 155-162.
Helck, 1979 p. 141.
Goedicke, Wen Amun, p. 180.
Hankey, Archeologie, p. 171.
Strange, Caphtor, p. 159.
See also material in note 85.

97 Schaeffer, Ugaritica V, p. 768. English translation in BAR 9-5 (1983), p.74-75.

98 All Amarna references are cited by the standard EA numbers used in Knudtson's standard edition and the supplemental volume by Rainey.

- 99 Albright, AJA 54 (1950), p. 167, note 18. He reads "sherda" as a word meaning servitor, parallel to the Hebrew שרד. See Dothan, English, p.1.
- 100 For different views on Abdi-Ashirta and the Mishi see the note in Knudtson, EA II, p. 1197-1198, Saeve-Soederbergh, 18th Dynasty Navey, p. 63-68. Lambdin, JCS 7 (1953), p. 75-77. Moran, EI 11 (1969), p. 94-100.
- 101 Lambdin, JCS 7 (1953), p. 75-77.
- 102 See the chart of Indo-European names from the Amarna letters in Helck, 1969, map before the index.
- 103 Na'aman, UF 11 (1979), p. 676-684.
- 104 Albright, CAH II-2, p. 109.
- 105 Luckenbill, Ancient Records, p. 166, 189. For most of the Assyrian texts references will be to the English translations in Luckenbill's collection. Akkadian references are provided there. Akkadian references or additional English references will be given where necessary.
- 106 Luckenbill, II, p. 205, 278, 325.
- 107 Luckenbill, II, p. 105.
Akkadian: Winckler, Keilschrift Sargons, p. 189.
- 108 Luckenbill, II, p. 230.
- 109 Luckenbill, II, p. 13.
- 110 H. Tadmor, JCS 12 (1958), p.80. Tadmor maintains this view in Ashdod II, p. 192, fn. 3. Also personal communication, 1983.
- 111 -Luckenbill, II, p. 40, 46. "The Iamanean (Ionian, Cyprian)."
-Winton Thomas, Documents, p. 62. "Iamani"
-Winckler, p. 82. In line 15 Winckler reads LU ia-ma-na-ai and translates "die Jamnaer." In line 11 he reads ia-ma-ni without determinative and translates as a proper name, Jamani. On p. 148 where he reads KUR as the determinative, he translates "die Jamna."
-In Pritchard, ANET, p. 285, Oppenheim translates as both singular and plural, "the Greek (Ionians)."
-In Iraq 1954, p. 199 and Pl. LI C.J. Gadd has a parallel text from a Nimrud prism which he transcribes KUR ia-am-na-a-a and translates "the Ionian."

- 112 In Thomas, Documents, p. 60.
- 113 Winckler, p. 148.
- 114 Luckenbill, II, 273-274. Akkadian in KAH I, p. 75. In his introductory note to this text Luckenbill offers the conjecture that Iadanana means "island of the Danuna." This seems farfetched. The Danuna or Denyen are the "Sea People" whom some have tried to connect with the Danaans (Greeks) and the Biblical tribe of Dan. The Danuna were already mentioned in the Amarna letters as a state, apparently Northwest of Ugarit. (EA 151:52). In a 9th century "Phoenician" inscriptions the Danuna live in the area of Anatolia/Syria where the north and east shores of the Mediterranean meet. See note 59 for information on the Danuna texts.
- 115 Hrouda, Flachbilder, Plate 7 and 51.
Olmstead, History of Assyria, p. 299, fig. 123.
Layard, Monuments of Nineveh, I 74.
- 116 B. Porten, BA 44-3 (1981), p. 36-53.
- 117 C. Krahmalkov, Letter in response to Porten. BA 44-4 (1981), p. 197.
- 118 For the Philistines as Greeks see:
Allen Jones, Bronze Age Civilization--
The Philistines and Danites, 1975.
Yadin, Australian Journal of Archeology 1-1 (1968),
p. 9-23.
Burns, Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks. 1974.
Also see the articles of C. Gordon in the general bibliography.
- 119 H. Hencken, Tarquinia, p. 607-614, 625-628, provides a good summary. See also Dhorme in note 28.
References to classical Greek authors will be cited by the traditional division numbers, not by page numbers of one edition.
- 120 Hencken, Tarquinia, p. 610. Consult also standard Greek lexicons.
- 121 Georgiev, Indo-European Language, p. 107. VI
- 122 Hencken, Tarquinia, p. 612, has a summary of these sources.
- 123 In the Loeb edition of Dionysius see Sections 24-25, pages 77, 81, 85-97. Dionysius also has interesting remarks on how one name comes to apply to more than one people. Loeb, p. 83.
- 124 On the 3 theories of Etruscan origins see

- Pallottino, The Etruscans.
Wainwright, Anatolian Studies IX (1959), p. 197.
- 125 Pallottino, The Etruscans, gives the best discussion of the date of Etruscan coming.
- 126 See notes 96 and 97 and page 31 of this dissertation.
- 127 G. Bonafante, AJA 50 (1946), p. 251-262.
G. Wainwright, VT 9 (1959), p.73-84.
F. Lochner-Hutterbach, Die Pelasger.
- 128 F. Schachermeyr, Aegean Prehistory, Vol. I-V.
(German). Esp. Vol. V.
- 129 Allen Jones, Bronze Age Civilization--The Philistines and Danites, 1975.
Yadin, Australian Journal of Archeology 1-1 (1968), p. 9-23. See also note 118.
- 130 J. Spannuth, Die Philister, das unbekannte Volk.
- 131 T. Burton-Brown, Early Mediterranean Migrations, 1959.
-----, Second Millennium Archeology, 1978.
Hall, Klio 22 (1929), p. 335.
- 132 A. Nibbi, The Seapeoples and Egypt, 1975.
- 133 I. Velikovsky, Peoples of the Sea, 1977.
Velikovsky has published several other books on this time period. The periodical Chronos was established to study his views.
- 134 D. Courville, The Exodus Problem, Vol. II, 1971.
- 135 J. Muhley, Expedition 16-2 (1974), p. 3-10.
- 136 An overview of these ethnic studies and further bibliography is found in Sandars, Oxford Journal of Archeology 2 (1983), p. 63-65 and Isserlin, PEQ 1983, p. 85-94. See also the list of items in the last section of the bibliography on ethnic studies.

Chapter III Pottery Bibliography II on pottery or
Bibliography VII for site reports unless noted.

- 137 Welch, QSPEF 1900, p. 342-350
Tiersch, Arch. Anzeiger 1908 p. 378-384.
- 138 Albright, TBM I, p. 53-56. VII

- 139 For example see E. Oren, Beth Shan Cemetery, p. 148.
- 140 Aharoni, BAR 8-3 (1982), p.21.
- 141 For a detailed presentation of the theory that Philistine pottery shows that their culture is Aegean see Dothan, English, p. 94, 217.
- 142 Philistine decoration on other vessel forms besides Dothan's 18 forms. (Some of these classifications are debatable.)
- flasks: Qasile 28:20, 40:10,11, 46:11 (multiple flask).
 - small shallow bowls: Dothan, English, p. 102.
 - cyma rim bowl: Keisan 80:11
 - amphoriskos: Dothan, English, p. 125. (Classified as a subdivision of pyxis.
 - a different type amphoriskos: Qasile 23:42,
 - braided handle jar, Afula 20:2.
 - storage jars: Fara, Duncan 43 L 2. (debatable).
 - vertical handle krater: Dan, unpublished. See Dothan, English, p. 84. Similar to her Type 18.
 - "coal bucket" strainer bowl: Keisan 71:8.
 - chalice: Dothan, English, fig. 53, p. 179. Qasile 27:5 ?.
 - goblets: Qasile 36:7.
 - unusual strainer jars:Qasile pl. 39.
- For cult vessels see the chapter on religion.
- 143 Lustre is standard in Greece, but some matt paint appears at Perati cemetery. (Iakovides, Perati II, p. 429)
- 144 Lustre is common in Myc. IIIB in Cyprus, but matt paint is standard in Myc IIIC. (Kling, RDAC 1982, p. 105). Also see Schaeffer, Alasia I, p. 73.
- 145 Schachermeyr, Aegean Prehistory V, p. 236-239.
- 146 See Dornemann, Archeology of the Transjordan, the drawings and chart of figure 5 for a study of the occurrence of painted motifs on LB/Iron painted pottery of Syria-Palestine.
- 147 M. Artzy, JAOS 93 (1973), p.446-471.
C. Epstein, Palestinian Bichrome Ware.
- 148 Wood, Levant 14 (1982), p. 73-79.
- 149 Gittlin, BASOR 241 (1981), p. 52-54. Also see his dissertation on Late Cypriote pottery in Palestine p. 504.
- 150 M. Asaro, Archeometry 13 (1971), p.175.

151 McClellan, JFA 6 (1969), p. 69.

152 Bell bowls are counted as Philistine Ware even when undecorated, because they have such a distinctive form. Strainer jars and pyxides which have painted bands are counted either as probable Philistine Ware or as non-Philistine, since these vessels occur both as Philistine and non-Philistine forms. Each case was an individual decision.

153 M. Dothan, Ashdod I-IV.

154 I would like to thank Moshe Dothan for allowing me to examine this material, much of which is unpublished.

155 Ashdod loci used in this study: H XII 5355, 5371, 5373, 5376, 5379, 5336, 5312, 5320, 5322, 5332, 5153, 5128, 5351, H XI 5319, 5338, 5364, 5397, 5310, 5324, 5029, 5330, 5305, 5303, G XII 4124, 4127, 4110, 4141, 4307, 4305, 4238, 4233, 4012, 4117, G XI 4205, 4206, 4226, 4228, 4145, 4147, 4133, 4118, 4123, 4115, 4150.

156 Other sites which may have a very high percentage, but for which adequate data is not yet available include Miqne, Jemmeh, and Zippor.

157 I would like to thank Trude Dothan and Sy Gitin for allowing me to examine some of the material from the first seasons at Miqne and for discussing it with me.

158 Dothan and Gitin, IEJ 33:1-2 (1983), p. 127-128. See ASOR Newsletter, 1983, p. 12-18 & ASOR NEWSLETTER 36-3 (Jan. 1985), p.2.

159 Garstang and Pythian-Adams, PEFQS 1921, 1922, 1923. Dothan, English, p. 35.

160 Dothan, English, p. 35.

161 Bliss and Macalister, Excavations in Palestine, p. 89-96. Plates 20, 35, 37, 42, 44. Dothan, English, p. 48-49.

162 McClellan, JFA 6, p. 67, 69, 70.

The other main data sources for Fara S: McClellan, Quantitative, p.260-264, 303-309, 461. Petrie, Beth Pelet I, p.6-10, Plate XII, XXII, Register. McDonald, Beth Pelet II, p. 23-32. Plates LX, LXIII, LXXXVI, LXXXIX & Register. The lists in the register must be connected with the drawings in Duncan's Corpus.

163 McClellan, JFA 6, p. 70.

164 McClellan, JFA 6, p. 60.

- MacDonald, Beth Pelet II, p. 23-27.
- 165 McClellan, Quantitative Studies, p. 262.
- 166 McClellan, Quantitative Studies, p. 345.
- 167 McClellan, Quantitative Studies, p.461.
- 168 McClellan, Quantitative Studies, Calculated from computer printouts. See also p. 345.
- 169 There is one additional Philistine vessel which is not clearly recorded. If this were included, the percentage of Philistine Ware would be increased to 14.9%.
- 170 For examples of Philistine Ware from Stratum Y see: T. Dothan, Material Culture (Heb.), From Stratum D-p.83:3, p.117:1, From Stratum X&Y-p.87:8, p.103:1, p.136:5. See also MacDonald, Beth Pelet II, Pl. LX, LXIII:27 and Duncan's drawings which match the register.
- 171 The main data sources for Tell Qasile are A. Mazar's Hebrew dissertation and the typed manuscript of the forthcoming English edition. These have not been extensively footnoted in this dissertation because the page numbers in the forthcoming edition will differ from those of the typescript. I would like to thank him for allowing me to use these materials before their publication.
- 172 Mazar, Qedem 12, p. 10.
- 173 There are a couple of pieces of Philistine Ware from Sharia labeled Stratum IX (1079 and 2329), but these do not come from clear loci.
- For progress reports on Sharia see: Oren, BA Su 82, p. 155-166, IEJ 22 (1970), p. 167-169. IEJ 23 (1973), p. 251-254. Dothan, English, p. 87.
- 174 Sharia Study Loci-- Key loci, 877, 858, 866, 868, 527, 859, 862, 196. Other non-house loci, 937, 970, 918, 960, 892, 996, 928, 2831, 2854, 2816, 879, 880. House loci, 553, 554, 927, 925, 931, 980; 976, 947, 929, 935, 989, 966, 990, 981, 985, 988, 932, 942; 983, 968, 993, 952, 948, 940; 946, 953, 965, 955, 972, 995, 924. The semi-colons indicate the phase divisions from latest to earliest, except for 924 which was treated as a special locus.
- 175 This does not include simple painted bands which decorate 25% of the Philistine Ware.
- 176 White-slipped bowls No. 7691 and 2226.
- 177 Concentric semi-circles appear on sherds 1910 and

10118. One of these may belong to Locus 527 which was part of this study, but it was not with the material of this study when the study was made.
- 178 Bichrome decoration appears on sherds 3234 and 1079. One of these may be from Locus 879 which was part of our study.
- 179 Strainer spouts with white slip No. 7246 and 5260. Other spouts No. 6590, 2308, and 7240.
- 180 Horn bottle No. 7316.
- 181 Pinched waist vessels No. 5242 and 5248.
- 182 Feeding bottle No. 2258. This number is unclear.
- 183 I would like to thank E. Oren for allowing me to look at the first season material from Haror.
- 184 Ma'aravim. See IEJ 24 (1974), p. 269-270. Dothan, English, p. 87-88.
- 185 I would like to thank Zeev Herzog for allowing me to study the unpublished Philistine Ware loci from the first seasons of the renewed excavations at Gerisa. For an overview of the site see Dothan, English, p. 67.
- 186 ASOR Newsletter 35-3, Jan. 1984, p. 5.
- 187 Gerisa locus list: 163, 2516, 512, 221, 214, 229, 224, 209, 213, 215, 219, 211, 232, 1252, 917, 1303. The Philistine Ware was concentrated most heavily in the first two loci.
- 188 Beth Shemesh Philistine Ware- Whole Vessels:
AS IV Pl. 36:1,9, 38:20,21, 60:15,18, 25.
 Possible Philistine Ware: 36:23, 59:21, 60:14,21.
 For Philistine Ware sherds see-Pl. 36:22-25,
 27,28,30,35,36; 37:6, 38:4,5,(2,6).
 Possible Philistine Ware sherds-39:3; 40:22-23,(24).
- 189 To obtain these figures one must work back and forth from the plates to the catalog and register. It is difficult to have much confidence in the data because of unclarities in the records.
- 190 Grant, Ain Shems II, p. 33-34.
- 191 Dot filled semi-circles from Ashdod:H226-2, a bichrome sherd from St. XI, and H2312-1, a monochrome sherd from XIII-XII. From Enkomi: See Enkomi III, Pl. 81, 65 31, & Enkomi II 307:201.
- 192 Grant, Ain Shems I, p. 37.
 I. Perlman, IEJ 34/ 2-3 (1984), p. 112.

- 193 Grant, Ain Shems I, Pl. XXVII, AS III (Rumeilah), p. 29,39.
- 194 Albright, TBM I, Pl. 23,50,51. TBM III, Pl.12.
- 195 Aharoni, Land of the Bible, p. 262. I
- 196 The information on Timna/Batashi was based on a typescript of a forthcoming BASOR articles which A. Mazar kindly permitted me to use. (Since the writing of this dissertation this manuscript has appeared as BASOR 248 (1982), p. 1-36.
- 197 Dever, Gezer I, p. 4, Gezer II, p. 54.
- 198 See Dever, Gezer forthcoming volume.
- 199 Dever, Gezer I, p. 26, Gezer II, p. 54-55.
- 200 The information on Aphek is based on a discussion with Zvi Gal, who is responsible for the study of the Philistine material. See the article by Kochavi in note 201. Also see Dothan, English, p. 89.
- 201 Kochavi, BA 44-2 (1981), p. 75-86, esp. 79-80. I would like to thank Zvi Gal and Jacqueline Balensi for discussing this architecture with me.
- 202 Ussishken, Tel Aviv Reprints of Lachish Preliminary Report. Also Report of 7th Archeological Conference, p. 33. Aharoni, Lachish V, p. 41. Dothan, English, p. 88,276,279.
- 203 Tufnell, Lachish III, pl. 128.
Lachish IV, pp. 66, 68, 291-293, pl. 8:6
- 204 This section is based on information provided by R. Doehrman, one of the excavators. Also see Dothan, English, p. 88.
- 205 J. Kaplan, BA 35 (1972), p. 66-95, esp. 77-82.
J. Kaplan, Tel Aviv-Jafo, Tel Aviv, 1959.
p. 50-65. Hebrew.
J. Kaplan, EAEHL, p. 532-541.
J. Kaplan, Archeology 17 (1964), p. 270-276.
J. Kaplan, Archeological Discoveries in the Holy Land, p. 113-119.
Dothan, English, p. 57.
- 206 Nebgi and Biran, IEJ 16 (1966), p. 160-173, esp. Fig. 3,5,6. I have based my analysis on the correction of interchanging descriptions 2 & 4 on fig. 3. See Dothan, English, p. 48.
- 207 See Negbi and Biran, Fig. 3:4.

- 208 See Negbi and Biran, p. 162.
- 209 See Negbi and Biran, p. 163.
- 210 See Negbi and Biran. Fig. 6:1,2, 4,9,13 are classified as definitely Philistine Ware. Fig. 6:3,4,8,10 as possible Philistine Ware. Fig. 6:11-12 as non Philistine Ware..
- 211 Petrie, Anthedon Sinai, Pl. xxxi:32.
Dothan, English, p. 25.
- 212 I. Eshel, Petrie's Excavation of Tel Jemmeh, 1978.
- 213 Van Beek, Archeology 36 (1983), p. 12-19.
Van Beek, IEJ 27 (1977), p. 172-173.
Dothan, English, p. 33.
- 214 Dothan, English, p. 88.
- 215 Yeivin, Tel Gat, p. 6.
- 216 Yeivin, Tel Gat, p. 10.
- 217 Albright, AASOR 2 (1923), p. 15.
- 218 Rainey, BASOR 245 (1982), p. 57-65.
- 219 Petrie, Ancient Gaza II, Pl. xxviii 26 B 3,
xxxvi 94 A.
Dothan, English, p. 35. Fig. 18:4.
- 220 M. Dothan, Eretz Israel 15 (1981), p. 151-153.
- 221 Dothan, English, p. 43. Mor
- 222 Edelstein, Qadmoniot 4-3 (1971), p. 86-90.
Hebrew.
Edelstein and Glass, Yeivin Memorial Volume,
p. 125-131.
Dothan, English, p. 44.
- 223 I would like to thank Gershon Edelstein for letting me use the unpublished English manuscript of the final report for Tomb C1 at Aitun. The data in this dissertation is based on comparing this report with the pottery in storage at the Department of Antiquities. The number of dipper juglets was changed from the figure in the report to conform with the number at the Department of Antiquities.
- 224 Dothan, Ashdod II, p. 216-219 on the NAA test of Aitun Mycenaean ware.

- 225 M. Dothan, IEJ 11 (1960), p. 171-175.
Dothan, English, p. 54. Azor.
- 226 I would like to thank Trude Dothan for allowing me to examine the unpublished pottery from the pits at Deir el Balah which contained Philistine Ware. See also Dothan, IEJ 31 (1981), p. 127-131. Dothan, English, p. 255.
- 227 Dothan, English, p. 89-90. Izbet Sartah.
- 228 Israel Finkelstein, The Izbet Sartah Excavations and the Israelite Settlement of the Hill Country, Tel Aviv, 1983. (Hebrew). I would like to thank Israel Finkelstein for allowing me to use the manuscript of his dissertation before it had been published and for discussing its contents with me. I was not able to double check his typology and analysis against the pottery itself.
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- 232 I would like to thank Joe Seger for discussing Halif with me. See IEJ 30 (1980), p. 223-226, BASOR 252, (1983), p. 1-24. Also the provisional reports of the 4th Season at the Albright Institute.
- 233 I would like to thank Rudolf Cohen for discussing Qubur el Walaida with me. See R. Cohen, IEJ 28 (1978), p. 194-195 and Dothan, English, p. 88.
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(Abu Huera on Dothan, English, p. 88 and R. Gophna, BIES 28 (1964), p. 236-246, appears to be the same as Tel Haror.)
- 235 The Hazerim. Gophna, Atiqot 3 (1966), p. 46-51. Atiqot 6 (1970), p. 25-30. Yediot 28 (1964), p. 236-246. (all Hebrew).
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- 238 Shalaf. J. Kaplan, BIES 21 (1957), p. 202-203.
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Peterson, Levite Cities, p. 309.
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p. 17, Pl. xvii 6,10,12,13.
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- On Midianite Ware see Rothenberg and Glass, EI 15
(1981), p. 85-114, and Rothenberg, Timna, esp., p.
107-111, 125. See also the study on painted pottery in
Dornemann, Archeology of the Transjordan.
- 241 Wampler, Nasbeh II, p. 61, Pl. 80. (cf. also p.
94,88,234.) Cf. Pl 30:8,19. See no. 793, 794 side handle
baby bottles.
- 242 Kelso, Bethel, p. 50,64,65. Pl. 38:12-14,
59:9, 60:12.
- 243 Sellers, Beth Zur, p. 37, Fig.31, Pl.VII, VIII.
Also see AASOR 38 (1968).
- 244 Graham, AASOR 45, p. 29,30,38.
- 245 There is a textual question whether these verses
place the garrison in Geba or Gibeah.
- 246 Israel Finkelstein, personal communication, 1983.
- 247 Ohata, Tel Zeror I, p. 12,25; II, p.40, Pl. X;
III, p.73.
Dothan, English, p. 69
- 248 Amihai Mazar, personal communication, 1983.
- 249 Dor: See BBSAJ 4 (1924), p. 35-45. BBSAJ 7 (1925)
p. 80-82. EAEHL, pp. 334-337. Dothan, English, p. 69.
- 250 Mevorakh: Stern, BAR May-June 1974, p. 34.
- 251 Dothan, English, has a description of these sherds on
p. 74-79. Also see the note in Sinclair, Gibeah, p.
16-17.
- 252 Philistine Ware and possible Philistine Ware from
Megiddo St. VII- Meg. II, Pl. 69:7, 68:8, 70:9? (68:9,
71:15, 71:14). Mycenaean-72:16.

253 Philistine Ware and possible Philistine Ware from Megiddo St. VI- Meg. II, Pl. 74:9, 76:1, 75:22, 78:19; 73:9, 12, 13?, 74:10, 16, (11), 75:20, 23, 21, 77:8, 9, (10), 80:3, 7, (4,5), 82:2-5, 84:10, 85:5, 6, 2, 86:12.

254 Megiddo stratification: For brief summaries see Sinclair, Gibeah, fn 2, p. 17-18, and Lance, The Archeologist and the OT, p. 77-81. For various views see Crowfoot, PEQ 72 (1940), p. 132-147; Albright, TBM III, p. 2-3, & AJA 53 (1949), p. 215; Kenyon, Bulletin of the London Institute of Archeology 4, (1964), p. 143-151; Aharoni, JNES 31 (1972) p. 302-311; Ussishken, BASOR 239 (1980), p. 1-17, esp. 7.

255 Afula: Philistine Ware: Dothan, Afula, Pl. 15:1, 2, 5-12, 16, 18. Some of these are uncertain. Even more doubtful-Pl. 14:15, 15:3, 4, 13-15, 17, (cf. 13:27, dipper with painted bands)

256 Graham, AASOR 45, p. 38, fn. 3.

257 Dothan, Afula, p. 41-42.

258 F. James, Beth Shan Iron, p. 24-26, 150. Pl. 49:13, 54:4, 49:2, 13, 15, 50:17, 52:3, 21. This material is also collected on Dothan, English, p. 82. Hankey, AJA 70 (1966), p. 169-171.

259 Yadin, IEJ 34/ 2-3 (1984), p. 118.

260 Oren, Beth Shan Cemetery, p. 103, 130. Pl. 44, 47, 48. Cf. also McClellan's redating, Quantitative, p. 461.

261 Humbert and Briend, Tell Keisan, Paris, 1980. Humbert, RB 1981, p. 373-399. Balensi, RB 1981, p. 399-402.

262 Stratum 9ab. See Tell Keisan Plates 61:3, 62:7, 65:14, 66:2, 65:2j and 61:16, 17, 66:2b, 2d, 2e, and 2k.

263 Stratum 9c. See Plates 71:8a, 72:6, 72:10, 72:5, 72:7, 80:11, 80:12, and other bichrome on plate 72.

264 Stratum 10-11. See Plate 81:13 and 81:3, 81:20.

265 The information on Yokneam is based on examining the excavation records of the Philistine Ware and the collected Philistine Ware sherds. I would like to thank Amnon Ben Tor for making this information available to me.

266 The material from Qiri was also discussed with A. Ben Tor. Ben Tor, BA 42-2 (1979), p. 105-114. Ben Tor, IEJ 26, p. 201. Dothan, English, p. 90.

- 267 The information concerning Qashish is based on personal communication from the excavator, Amnon Ben Tor, and his assistants. 1983.
- 268 The survey finds at Tivon, Reisim, and Reala are mentioned in Dothan, English, p. 90.
- 269 The limited finds at Harbaj are briefly mentioned in BBSAJ 2 (1922), p. 9, and BBSAJ 4 (1924), p. 44-46.
- 270 Jacqueline Balensi, Tel Abu Hawam, esp. p. 271, 290, 371.
- 271 Jacqueline Balensi, personal communication, 1983.
- 272 Biran, A. "Tel Dan," BA 37 (1974), p. 26-51, esp. 35,37,40; IEJ 22 (1972), p. 165-166; IEJ 26 (1976), p. 205. I would like to thank Dalia Pachman for permitting me to use the unpublished plates from Dan.
- 273 Dothan English, p. 82.
- 274 Dothan, English, p. 90.
Y. Yadin, Hazor, The Schweich Lectures, p. 129-134 on these strata.
- 275 The Deir Alla texts are discussed on page 186 of this thesis.
- 276 Spouted jar: Franken, Deir Alla: Pl. 47:4. For examples of birds see Hama II, motif 107. For bichrome triangles see Hama II, motif 15, also Amiran, 38:11. See bird and gazelle ware from Lachish and other sites. Lachish Temple III, 48:251. See also Dornemann's study of painted motifs in his study of the archeology of the Transjordan.
- 277 Concentric semi-circle sherd: Franken, Deir Alla: Pl. 51:52. On the occurrence of this motif see Dornemann, The Archeology of the Transjordan.
- 278 Looped base krater: Franken, Deir Alla, Pl. 52:4. The Deir Alla Philistine Ware is also collected on Dothan, English, p. 84.
- 279 Other looped base kraters: See Amiran 69:9 from Megiddo VI, 71:11 from Abu Hawam III. Similar vessels also occur in Syria and in Cyprus.
- 280 Stripes on jar necks: See Hazor CCI 22. Beth Shan Iron, Pl. 51:13, 51:15. Afula Pl. 20:14. These are not all bichrome.
- 281 A. R. L. Gordon reported the "Philistine Ware" from Tulul ed Dahab at the AIA meetings in December 1981. This report was briefly mentioned in the 1982 volume of AJA 86-2, p. 262.

282 Personal communication, J. Sauer, 1983. See also Lapp, AASOR 45, p. 35, & Ibrahim, Lapp, & Yassine, BASOR 222 (1976), p. 41-66, esp. 54-56, which lists other small sites in the area of Deir Alla.

283 Dornemann, Archeology of the Transjordan, p. 79-81.

284 Riis, Hama II, Figures 130 A&B, especially motifs 15, 46, 47, 58, 69, 83, 107.

285 Bikai, Pottery of Tyre, Pl. 41:19. Also see Pl. 48:4,5.

286 See note 389.

287 Ugarit: Courtois, Ugaritica VII (1978), p. 191-370. Ras Ibn Hani: A. Bounni, Syria 53 (1976), p. 232-279. Syria 55 (1978), p. 233-301. Syria 56 (1979), p. 232-279. In BA 45 (1981), p. 60, J. Lagarce expressed the opinion that this pottery is so authentically Mycenaean that it must have been made by immigrant potters.

288 Dikaios, Enkomi, p. 464, fn. 355. Also p. 272, 458, 459.

289 The following figures summarize the quantitative studies that have been attempted at various sites in Cyprus. Some of these studies receive only passing mention in the respective works, so the quality of the sample and study involved is not always clear. More work is needed on this aspect of Cypriote archeology.

At Hala Sultan Tekke the plain pottery runs from 74% to 82% in various areas. The Mycenaean influence, including White Painted Wheel Made is less than 10%. These figures are based on total sherds, not rims. In some cases the figures may be diluted by a large number of storage jar sherds. In one group of sealed sherds from Area 22 Mycenaean pottery was 23%. The percentage in some tombs was much higher than in the habitation areas. The figures from Hala Sultan Tekke are especially important because this was the most systematic quantitative study. (SIMA 45, HST 3, p. 92-93, HST 5, p. 42, HST 6, p. 59)

In Idalion I 62.7% of the wheel-made pottery is plain. Painted wares including the Levanto-Helladic sub-Mycenaean account for 16.3% of the wheel-made pottery. Since 45% of the pottery was classified as hand-made or large pithoi, this means that only about 8.8% of the pottery is painted wheel-made pottery. (SCE II, 619-624, SCE IV1D, p.693-694)

At Kouklia the LHIIIC pottery in the city is 7-10%. (Meier, MEM, p. 68-79, esp. 74) At Kourion Bamboula in LCIIIA about 80% of the pottery is plain. The Mycenaean influenced pottery is included in the 4% WPWM III. (SCE IV1D, p.693. RDAC 70) At Sinda 49% is plain, and 34% WPWM III, but the quality and nature of this sample is unknown. (SCE IV1D, p.695) It is reported that 95% of the pottery in the relevant stratum at Kition is Myc. IIIC, but nothing is mentioned about plain ware in this statement. (Karageorghis, Symposium on the Relations Between Cyprus and Crete, p.324). Karageorghis makes a similar comment about the predominance of Myc. IIIC at Maa. (BAR 10-2 1984, p. 27.)

- 290 French, Anatolian Studies 25 (1975), p. 53-76, esp. p. 72.
- 291 Grant, Rumeilah, AS III, Map II.
- 292 Petrie, Gerar, Pl. VI, VII.
- 293 Mazar, Qodem 12, p. 10.
- 294 Dever, Gezer II, p.57.
- 295 Amiran, Pottery, p. 266-267.
- 296 Herscher, The Relationship of Crete and Cyprus, p. 5.
- 297 Van Beek, IEJ 27 (1977), p. 172-173.
Dothan, English, p. 37, 34.
- 298 Dothan, English, p. 54 55.
- 299 Dothan, Ashdod II, p. 216-219.
Asaro & Perlman, Archeometry 13 (1971), p. 169-176.
- 300 For the manufacturing studies of the Aitun ware see note 222. It is possible that this sand temper could have been imported from the coast. For a similar case of transportation of temper see Blegen, Palace of Nestor, p. 353.
On the Beth Shemesh Ware see I. Perlman et al. IEJ 34/ 2-3 (1984), p. 112.
- 301 Dothan, English, p. 94-106
- 302 Kling, Paper delivered to ASOR December, 1983, publication forthcoming.
- 303 Dothan, English, p. 96.
- 304 Dothan, English, p. 105,106. In footnote 24 she classifies a bell bowl from an LB tomb at Aitun as intrusive. This is possible for Philistine Ware also is

sometimes a late addition to LB tombs. McClellan agrees with the late date for bell bowls in Palestine (Quantitative, p. 262).

305 For possible early examples of bell bowls and similar kraters see 1) Beth Shemesh Stratum IV in Grant, Vol. IV, Pl. 57:31. 2) Amiran, Pottery, 41:7,11, 48:13, 50:11, 57:12,13, 30:6,23,24. 3) Oren, Beth Shan, Pl.47b:7 (Tomb 221AC). 4) Buchholz, Arch. Anzeiger (1974), p. 411-416, Abb.64:1,5. (Kamid el Loz).

306 See Dothan, English, p. 100, Fig. 3:1.

307 Iakovides, AJA 83 (1983), p. 454-455.

308 Dothan, English, p. 113.

309 Note Megiddo and Beth Shemesh examples of early kraters in fn. 27 & 32 on p. 114,115 of Dothan, English. See MT, Pl. 34:9, 124:8, & AS V, p. 121.

310 Dothan, English, p. 115.

311 Dothan, English, p. 123.

312 The observation on stirrup jar manufacture is based on personal study of the Philistine examples and material from Abu Hawam which is in the Rockefeller Museum.

313 The observation concerning Cypriote manufacture is based on a few examples from Enkomi at the Cyprus Museum.

314 Dothan, English, p. 125.

315 Dothan, English, p. 130-131.

316 See the amphoriskoi in Amiran, Pl. 47:4,5, 49:10, and Oren, Beth Shan Cemetery, Pl. 36 and 39. These are not identical in form to the Philistine types. For Cyprus see Gjerstad, Initial Date, Fig. 1.

317 Dothan, English, p. 132.

318 Dothan, English, p. 155.

Concerning strainer jars see Dothan, English, p. 132-155. The unusual variety of forms from Qasile is illustrated in Plates 39, 40, and 54 of Mazar's dissertation. See M. Dothan, Afula fig. 20:2, for a braided handled example.

For examples from the Aegean see Perati Volume B, examples 21b, 78e, 102g, which are the only three from this site. The form is fairly common in Rhodes (Mee, Ialysos, fig. 41:62; Mackenprang, AJA 42, 1938, p.544-559)

From Cyprus see the material collected by Dothan from Sinda and Kouklia (Dothan, English, p.139, 146, 147). See also Dikaios, Enkomi I-III, Plates. See Meier, MEM, p. 68-79, Fig.13:2, for Rude Style Jug from Paleopaphos.

For non-Philistine or undecorated examples from Palestine see Wampler, Nasbeh, Pl. 30; James, Beth Shan Iron Age, fig. 56:7, 57:10, p. 232, no. 24; Amiran, Pl. 85:10 (Ay 69:385); Ohata, Zeror III, 10:8. See also the braided handle form in Oren, Beth Shan Tombs Pl.47b:24. See also Rast's comment on the non-Philistine occurrence of this form in Tanaach I, p 11. Undecorated examples or examples which are not distinctly Philistine also occur along with Philistine examples--see AS IV 60:24 and Meg.II Pl. 75

319 Furumark, OA 3, p. 236.
Dothan, English, p. 154-155.

320 See the last paragraph of note 318.

321 For "coal bucket" strainers see: Loud, Megiddo II 63:7, 8; Beth Shemesh AS IV 57:9,10,15; Humbert, Keisan, 71:8 (Philistine decoration). For an amphoroid form see Qasile 38:20 and perhaps a similar unpublished vessel from Deir el Balah. See James, Beth Shan Iron Age, 56:4, 57:9, for a form which is intermediate between the coal bucket and the Philistine form of strainer jars.

322 Basket handles occur on most of the coal bucket strainers mentioned in the preceding note. They appear early on Type 7 vessels discussed in note 325 and 327. See AS IV, 56:5,6, which are labeled Stratum IVB. Basket handles appear on non-strainer vessels from Kamid el Loz, Lebanon which are dated LB (Hachmann, Bull. Mus. Ber. 30, p:7-42 and Kamid el Loz 1968-1970). An angular-bodied beer jug with a basket handle, which has LB style wavy line painting and is labeled LB II, is on display in the Hebrew Union College in Jerusalem. It is labeled "Abdul Organ." The basket handle strainer jar occurs in Qasile X (Qasile 39:1,3). The basket handle occurs on a graceful strainer jar from AS IV, 60:18. Compare the heavier forms in Meg. II, Pl. 83:1-3. It appears that the basket handle cannot be limited to late degenerate forms, but more study is needed.

323 Leonard, BASOR 222 (1976), p. 92.

324 Strap handle variety type 7: Amiran 56:5,6, 89:9, Nasbeh 793, 794. LXVIII. See Furumark, OA 3 p. 235 for Cypriote examples.

325 Dothan, English, p. 157, footnote 113. Sjoqvist, p. 74, says they are Mycenaean. Furumark, OA 3, p. 236, says they are not.

326 Dothan, English, p. 157.

327 Concerning handle direction on Type 7 jars see Papadopolous, SIMA 55, p. 99-100, and footnote 36 of that work. See also Dothan, English, p. 155-157; Furumark, OA 3 p. 226-237; and Sjoqvist, Problems 18:1,2,2b.

For examples from Philistine contexts see Dothan, p. 155-157; Negbi, Sippor 3:5, 6:10; Dothan, Ashdod III 74:12; and Mazar, Qasile 34:11.

For other examples from Cyprus and the Aegean see SIMA 36 p. 57-59 (from Kalorizi); Furumark, MP p. 28,34, 83; and Ialyos I & II, XXe and XXI. This form is quite common at Perati in Greece--43 examples, 3.5% (Perati B, p. 427, 241-244, Fig. 101,102).

328 Dothan, English, p. 159.

329 Dothan, English, p. 217-218.

330 Ceccini, Ceramica di Nuzi. Plates.

331 Dornemann, The Archeology of the Transjordan. Esp. Fig. 5 and p. 65-89.

332 Dothan, English, p.131-132.

333 Dothan, English, p. 154-159. See note 318. Furumark, OA 3, p. 236ff.

334 Dothan, English, p. 188-189. Meg. II, 73:1, 48:11, 57:8. Lachish IV, 76:721.

335 For more graceful examples of more "Aegean" style which usually have a long neck, rim to shoulder handle and short spout see Dothan Pl. 47, 52, 62, 64-67 and Fig. 24, 25, 21:2, 22.

336 Dothan, English, p. 155.

337 Leonard, BASOR 241, p. 88-89, fig. 1.
See note 309.

338 Schachermeyr, Aegean Prehistory V, p. 256-258.
Schaeffer, Enkomi-Alasia I, p. 416.
Hooker, Mycenaean Greece, p. 161-162.
Iakovides, AJA 83 (1979), p.454-462.

Even Welch's original analysis emphasized this was a local ware under Mycenaean influence. QSPEF 1900, p.347.

339 Dothan, English, p. 217.

340 Schachermeyr, Aegean Prehistory V, Chapter 23.

341 Furumark, Mycenaean Pottery, p. 121.

342 These graphs are heavily dependent on those in T. McClellan's dissertation on the seriation of Iron Age pottery in Palestine. Abbreviation, minor corrections, and the elimination of his complicated numbering system are the only changes. I would like to thank him for his permission to reproduce them here.

343 McClellan reduced and adapted these drawings from Petrie and Duncan. I have used his reductions. He has documented the drawings in his appendix on drawing credits.

344 McClellan, Quantitative Iron Age Pottery, p. 305-306.

345 The graphs on Tel Qasile are my own, based on the data and drawings published in A. Mazar's Hebrew dissertation on Tel Qasile. My thanks to him for making this material available to me. The percentages are based on my own reworking of the material, so the types and figures do not always correspond fully to Mazar's.

346 The term "Canaanite" in this dissertation is simply a convention for the pottery traditions of LB Palestine and does not state any conclusions about the ethnic character of its manufacturers.

347 Bowls with horizontal loop handles, but without the bell profile or Philistine decoration are the most difficult typological problem in the study of Philistine Ware, because horizontal handles also occur on other bowl forms besides the bell shaped bowl in Cyprus and the Aegean. Some horizontal handled bowls in Palestine have clear Palestinian shapes, but some are less clear and could be classed as Aegean influenced. Thus it is often debatable whether such bowls should be classified as part of the Aegean or Canaanite element of the Philistine pottery repertoire.

348 These types are basically a reworking of the more than 60 types which Mazar uses in his dissertation, combining some of the minor variant forms which he distinguishes.

349 This study is heavily based on chart 30 of Mazar's Hebrew dissertation for its attribution of certain types to various regions, but the responsibility for the percentages and method of computation and for any errors is my own. I believe that more recent excavations will show that the amount of correspondence between Qasile and

the mountains is greater than the 19% which Mazar's chart suggests.

350 This statement is based on Mazar's chart 30 and general observation of the occurrence of these forms at other sites.

351 The plates of McCown, Nasbeh I, and Wampler, Nasbeh II are two of the best sources for more ample illustration of highland occurrence of these forms.

352 For a discussion of storage jar distribution see A. Mazar, IEJ 31, p. 1-36.

353 The Megiddo/Beth Shan graphs have the same dependence on McClellan's dissertation as the Fara graphs discussed above.

354 The Izbet Sartah graphs are my own, based on data and drawings in I. Finkelstein's Hebrew dissertation on Izbet Sartah. I would like to thank him for making this information available to me before its publication. Since his typology and calculations were reworked by me, they differ in some respects from his.

355 There is at present no suitable typology for quantitative comparison of the pottery of various sites from this period. McClellan's typology is too awkward with its complicated, arbitrary system of numbers and is not consistent in its criteria for classification.

Mazar's system is adequate for presenting the material from Qasile and is the best study yet available, but it is not comprehensive enough for comparing the large variety of forms from different sites. He does not use a consistent criterion for determining what constitutes a type. Types are sometimes based on overall form, sometimes on decoration, sometimes on size or sometimes on a single feature.

The same observations apply to Finkelstein's system at Izbet Sartah.

As part of the groundwork for this dissertation this writer devised two more comprehensive typological systems for comparing the pottery of these sites. The first system was similar to traditional systems like McClellan's in that it assigned each object to one arbitrary type, but it was more mnemonic than McClellan's in that all bowls were numbered in the 100s, all incurved rim bowls in the 110s, all cyma rimmed bowls in the 120s, all cooking pots in the 200s, all storage jars in the 300s, etc. This system was not very satisfactory since each object could only be assigned to one type. This typology also included metal and other non-ceramic items.

A second system which allows multiple assignment of each vessel and is therefore more suitable for computer comparisons was subsequently developed to replace the first system. Eleven columns are filled in for each vessel: vessel form, general classification, rim shape, neck shape, body shape, base shape, handles, decoration, location of find, and comment. Since simple mnemonic abbreviations are used, this recording is not overly time consuming or difficult to learn. With this system a single vessel can be sorted into different types based on different criteria, such as form, decoration, or specific features. Dr. Alfred Kromholz made very helpful suggestions in devising this system. The whole vessels from most of the major Philistine Ware sites have been recorded in this system by the present writer, but it has not been used more in this chapter because there are not yet enough major sites like Qasile which have adequate quantitative information to make meaningful comparison of large assemblages possible. Hopefully this aspect of this present study can be more fully developed as a continuing research project as high quality data becomes available from different sites.

356 Dever, Gezer I, p. 24-25, Pl. 27.
Gezer II, p. 51-54. Pl. 26-29.

357 Afula: M. Dothan, Atiqot I, p. 19-71, esp. 39-40.
Beth Shemesh: Grant, AS IV, plates 56-62.
For the pattern at Sippor and Aitun see pages 87 & 90 of this dissertation.

On the general continuity of this period from the preceding one see Amiran, p. 191-192, and Rast, Tanaach I, p. 11-14.

358 See these illustrations of forms in M. Dothan, Ashdod I & II-III: Lamps: 87:12; flasks: 74:16, 84:17; juglets: 87:10; storage jars: I-34:14, 18, 15, 31; cooking pots: 84:11, 74:9,10, 101:2,3; bowls: 1:15, 2:2,3, 84:5,6,7,8,9, 74:5, 90:3,8, 104:1.

359 See the plates of Blegen, Palace of Nestor I for illustration of common domestic ware of Mycenaean Greece.

360 Amiran, Pottery, p.260.
Dothan, English, p. 217.
Hooker, Mycenaean Greece, Ch. 7.
See note 338.

361 See note 340.

362 P. Parr, Archeology in the Levant, p. 202-214.

363 I. Hodder in Clark, Spatial Archeology, p. 277-342, esp. p. 318. VIII
Even the Hittite invasion of Anatolia left no

archeological traces (Palmer, Mycenaeans and Minoans, p. 246).

364 McClellan, JFA 6, p. 72-73.

365 In this dissertation we are operating with the early date for the accession of Ramses III. However, for our purposes it makes no difference what date is adopted for his accession. We are interested not so much in the absolute date when Philistine Ware began, but in its relationship to the eighth year of Ramses III. The absolute dates for all of the strata which are dated by scarabs would change if the date of Ramses III is changed, but the strata would keep the same relative relationship to the events of Ramses III's eighth year. This is the only concern to us.

366 Early date of Philistine Ware:
Furumark, Op. Arch. 3 (1944), p. 260.
Petrie and McDonald, BP II, p. 24-26.

367 Dothan, English, p. 218, 285-296.

368 Dothan, English, p. 290-292. It should be remembered that this marks the end of the use of Myc. IIIB at Ugarit and Deir Alla, not necessarily the end of the manufacture.

369 Dothan, English, p. 31, 76, 294.

370 Dothan, English, p. 76. Meg. II, p. 135, 136, 156.

371 See Sinclair, Gibeah, p. 16,17. B. Mazar dates the end of Megiddo VII as late at 1100 B.C. Rast prefers a date closer to 1150. Sinclair settles for about 1130.

372 McClellan, JFA 6, p. 66, 67, 72.

373 McClellan, JFA 6, p. 71.
McClellan, Quantitative, p. 304-307.

374 McClellan, JFA 6, 65, 66, 70.
Dothan, English, p. 24.
McDonald, BP II, 24-26.

375 McClellan, Quantitative, p. 304ff.

376 McClellan, Quantitative, p. 305. In graphs 1-5 (p. 117-121 of this dissertation) see such pottery types as 22, 34, 36, 38, 46.

377 Dothan, English, p. 27-28, 94-96.

378 McClellan says Type 316 is decorated and type 317 is undecorated, but this does not seem to be consistently and clearly followed throughout his study. At any rate

more attention has to be given to the shape of the bowl and handles.

379 Concerning LB tombs which contain Philistine Ware additions see the chapter on burials. It is conceivable that the Philistine Ware of tombs 532, 552, and 562 could be contemporary with that of tomb 542 or even more recent, even if these tombs as a whole were older than tomb 542 as a whole. The Philistine Ware may represent just one phase of the usage of these tombs. Since Dothan is dating more on the basis of individual items and McClellan on the basis of the total assemblage there may be an element of truth in the dating of both.

380 Oren, BA 45 (1982), p. 166.
Dothan, English, p. 87.

381 The observations on the Aphek and Abu Hawam architectural change are based on discussions with Zvi Gal and Jacqueline Balensi. See also Kochavi, BA 44-2 (1981), p. 75-86, esp. 80. Note the information on the inscription.

382 On the possible Mycenaean character of some of the Series 900 tombs at Fara S see pages 152-153 of this study.

383 Dothan, English, p. 295.

384 Dothan, English, p. 295.

Other less valid evidence which has been cited in support of the theory of earlier waves of Mycenaeans in Palestine: the Deir Alla tablets which occur before the Philistine Ware (See page 194 of this study), the occurrence of cremation at Hama with Bird and Gazelle Ware (See page 154), the presence of Mycenaean psi figurines in LB Palestine (page 186) and the Myc. IIIB at Fara Cemetery 900 and in other LB assemblages.

385 Ugarit may have some Myc. IIIC---Dothan, English, p. 290, fn. 5; Hankey, Levant 6, p. 132-133; Courtois, Ug. VII, p.191-370.

386 See note 85 on the question of Ugarit's destruction.

387 Lagarce, Ibn Hani, BA 45 (Winter 1981), p. 60.

388 Bounni, Syria 55 (1978), p. 233-301), esp. p. 281, fig. 28; Syria 53 (1976), p. 232-279; Syria 56 (1979), p. 217-291.

Courtois, Ugaritica VII, p. 191-370.

389 Pritchard & Herscher, Sarepta, p. 85ff.
Bikai, Pottery of Tyre, 1978, esp. p.73 ff.
Ploug, Sukas II, 1973.
Hachmann, Kamid el Loz, 1968-70.

Kamid el Loz Preliminary Report, Bull. Mus. Ber. 30 (1978), p. 7-42.

390 Goldman, Tarsus II, Pl. 330-335.
French, Anatolian Studies 25 (1975), p. 53-76.
Furumark, OA 3 (1944), p. 264 on the connection of Cilicia and Philistine Ware.

391 Dothan assumes the connection of the Myc. IIIC and the Sea Peoples in Cyprus (English, p. 292)

392 For an overview of various interpretations of the date of major Mycenaean movement into Cyprus see the individual articles in Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean. Also see Benson, Bamboula, p. 49-50 on limited Mycenaean influence on the Cypriote culture of this period.

393 Karageorghis, Kition, p. 51.

394 Karageorghis, Kition, p. 29-31.

395 On the limited Mycenaean repertoire in Cyprus see Meier, MEM, p.74, and Furumark OA 3, p. 196-265.

396 On the degree of Mycenaean influence in Cyprus see: Negbi, Levant 14 (1982), p. 179-182.
Muhley, IEJ 30 (1980), p. 148-158.
Karageorghis, RDAC 1982, p. 92.
Fortin, Military Architecture in Cyprus, p. 382, 471-472, 540.
Dothan, English, p. 293, also background on 294.

397 On the limited Aegean influence on Cypriote and Philistine metal see page 171 of this dissertation and Muhley, IEJ 30 (1980) p. 148-158; Negbi, Levant 14 (1982), p. 179-182 & Tel Aviv 1 (1974), p. 159-172; and Bass, Cape Gelidonya, esp. p. 118.

On seals see: Holmes, p. 114-120 [Bib I] and Schaeffer, Enkomi-Alasia, p. 413-422 [Bib I].

On the limited Mycenaean influence in 12th century Cyprus in general see L. Astrom, SCE IV, p. 149-150.

398 For the heavily Semitic nature of the gods see page 187 of this dissertation.

399 Dikaios, Enkomi II, p. 488. See Figure 21c of this dissertation and Dothan, English, p. 293, p.277, fig 14.

On the early date of this headdress in the Near East see Muhley, ASOR lecture, Dec. 1983, publication forthcoming.

400 See figure 21b of this dissertation. On the box this man is walking behind a hunter in a chariot. Dothan, English, p. 274, fig. 13, p. 293. The complete box is reproduced in Barnett, Qedem 14.

401 Dothan, English, p. 293.

402 Karageorghis, RDAC 1982, p. 91-93.
On the mixed nature of the first wave see also
Gjerstad, Op. Arch. 3 (1944), p. 87
G. Hult, SIMA 66, 1983.

403 Kling, RDAC 1982, p. 105-107, and ASOR lecture, Dec. 1983.
See also Astrom and French, RDAC 1980, p. 267-269, on correlation with mainland.

404 Karageorghis, RDAC 1982, p. 93.
BAR 10-2 (1984), p. 16-28 is a popular treatment which appeared after the text of this study was completed.

405 Kling, ASOR lecture, Dec. 1974. Publication forthcoming.

406 Schachermeyr, Aegean Prehistory V, esp. 90-91, 150, 152, 256-258, 285-286.

407 Hankey, in Archeologie au Levant, (R. Saidah, ed.), p. 167-172.

408 Iakovides, AJA 83 (1979), p. 454-462.

409 Iakovides, AJA 83 (1979), p. 460-462.

410 Muhley, ASOR presentation, December, 1983. Letter, January 4, 1984. See also N. Sandars, Oxford Journal of Archeology 2 (1983), p. 43-68.

Chapter IV Burial Bibliography IV unless noted

411 Petrie, Beth Pelet I, p.7-8.
MacDonald, Beth Pelet II, p. 25.

412 McClellan, JFA 1979, p. 60,67.
T. Dothan, Hebrew, p. 223, 229. I
Harding, PEFA 6, p. 27,28.

413 Oren, Northern Cemetery, p. 141.

414 Oren, p. 142-148.

415 T. Dothan, Qedem 10, p. 103-104. P. 98-104 give a good overview of anthropoid coffins.

416 Tufnell, Lachish IV, Pl. 45-46.

- 417 Detail on these sites will be found under the following names in the burial bibliography.
 Egypt: Engelbach--Riqqeh & Gurob,
 Leclant--Basta and Kom Abou Billou,
 Naville--Yehudiyeh,
 Petrie--Yehudiyeh and others,
 Steindorf--Aniba in Nubia.
 Transjordan: Albright--Sahab,
 Winnet--Dibon in Moab,
 Yassine--Amman.
- 418 Wright, BA 22 (1954), p. 54-66.
 See the views of Dothan and Oren in notes 414 & 415.
- 419 Leclant, Orientalia 40 (1971), Pl.22:8.
- 420 May, Meggido Cult, Pl. XXXI, no. 598. VII
 Curtio, Nubia, p. 82. I
- 421 Example from Jerusalem: BA 44:3 cover and p. 131.
 See also the headbands on the Megiddo Ivory on Fig. 22.
- 422 These two figures have been very widely reproduced.
 See Fig 21 of this dissertation and Dothan, English, p. 15 and 277 for reproductions.
- 423 Waldbaum, AJA 70 (1966), p. 331-340.
 Dothan, Qedem 10, p. 102.
 Papadopoulos, SIMA 55, p. 51-53.
 Blegen, Prosymna, esp. p. 228ff.
- 424 Stiebing, AJA 74 (1972), p. 139-143.
- 425 Loffreda, LA 18 (1968), p. 282-287, esp. 283.
 Gonen, LB Burial, p. 35-36.
- 426 Dothan, English, p. 260.
- 427 Gonen, LB Burial, p. 44, abstract p. iv-vi.
 I would like to thank Dr. Gonen for allowing me to use the English manuscript of this dissertation which was unpublished at the time I used it.
- 428 MacDonald, Beth Pelet II, p. 25. Pl. 51. VII
- 429 Oren, Northern Cemetery, p. 119, Fig. 46:15.
- 430 Guy, Megiddo Tombs, Tomb 912B--p. 69-72, Pl. 128:10-11, Pl.34-35. Tomb 39--p. 117, Pl. 165:12,16-17. Tomb 62-Pl. 168:15, Pl.68-69.
- 431 M. Dothan, IEJ 11 (1961), p. 171.
- 432 BAR March 1982, p. 36-38. This gives a good

color picture.

- 433 Macalister, Gezer II, p. 289.
Salaman, PEQ 57 (1925), p. 73.
Myres, PEQ 39 (1907), p. 240-243.
- 434 Oren, Northern Cemetery, p. 119.
Aharoni, Land of Bible, p. 228. I
T. Dothan, Hebrew, p. 220. I
Maisler (Mazar), AFO 11(1936), p. 239-240.
- 435 Kurtz, Greek Burial, p. 212-213.
- 436 Vermeule, Greek Bronze Age, p. 108.
- 437 Mylonas, Mycenae, p. 92, 132.
- 438 MacDonald, Beth Pelet II, p. 25.
BAR, March 1982, p. 38. Good picture of flowered
decoration.
- 439 Mylonas, Mycenae, p. 92,93.
R. Seager, Mochlos, 1912, Fig 8,9,10.
Kargeorghis, Salamis, p. 25, Gold was
found in ashes from clothing.
- 440 Kurtz, Greek Burial, p. 212.
For mouthpiece with lips see Kargeorghis, Salamis,
and SCE I, Pl. 84, 88, IV 580-582.
- 441 Donner & Roellig, KAI, Text 11, Plate III.
- 442 Vermeule, Bronze Age, p. 211.
Kurtz, Greek Burial, p. 212.
- 443 On the Aegean-Cremation link to Sea People
see Hencken, Tarquinius, p. 471, 627-628.
- 444 Petrie, Beth Pelet I, p. 12.
McClellan, Quantitative, p.461; JFA p. 60,67,70.
Pictures of urns.
Riis dates these tombs to the 7th and 8th centuries
(Hama II3, p. 3)9.
- 445 M. Dothan, IEJ 11 (1961), p. 171-175.
Dothan, English, p. 56.
- 446 Albright, AJSLL 55 (1938), p. 358-359.
Check Petrie, Gaza II. Pl. 56-58.
- 447 Riis, Hama II3, p. 29-39, 47ff, 97.
- 448 Riis, MEM, p. 199,205.
- 449 Riis, MEM, p. 200, 203. Hama II3, p. 56.

- Sauer sees this pottery as close to Sea People pottery.
- 450 Overview and further information on cremation: Iakovides, Perati B, p. 47-50, 423 (Greek), and Hencken, Tarquinia, p. 627. On cremation in Syria see Riis, Hama II3, p. 37-39. MEM, p. 198-199.
- 451 C. Johns, QDAP 6 (1937), p. 121-152. Also see AJA 58 (1954), p. 131-142; AJA 61 (1957), p. 399; ASOR 18 (1938), p. 75-76. Dothan, English, p. 57.
- 452 McQueen, The Hittites, p. 136-138. VIII
- 453 Hencken, Tarquinia, throughout, esp. p. 471, 627. Grant, The Etruscans, throughout. Coles, Bronze Europe, p. 367, 388.
- 454 Iakovides, Perati B, 47-50. Papadopoulos, SIMA 55, p. 51-53. Kurtz, Burial, p. 211. Brock, Fortessa, p. 216-217. Crete. Karageorghis, Salamis, p. 25. Cyprus. McFadden, AJA 58 (1954), p. 131-142. (Kalorizi, Cyprus, 12th century)
- 455 Iakovides, Perati B, p. 47-50, 423-424.
- 456 Lorimer, JHS 1933, p. 161, 163, 168, 169. Kurtz, Burial, p. 25-26, 32-34. Iakovides, Perati B, p. 423-424. Vermeule, Bronze Age, p. 211, 301.
- 457 Riis, MEM, p. 199.
- 458 McQueen, Hittites, p. 136-138. VIII
- 459 Herr, "Amman Airport," BA 46-4 (1983), p. 223-229.
- 460 Kroeber, Am. Anth. 29 (1927), p. 309. VIII Ucko, World Arch I, p. 270.
- 461 Gonen, LB Burial, esp. p. 65.
- 462 Fara Graves 503, 507, 523, 513?, 553?, 506?; 126, 105/103?; 239, 242, 236?; 268, 251?; 601, 602, 607, 649, 636, 615?, 625?, 621?; 841, 803, 859, 851, 828, 839, 843?. This list is based on a study and comparison of Petrie's register in Beth Pelet I, pottery listed in Duncan's corpus, McClellan's charts in JFA 1979 (p. 59, 60, 67) and Dothan's list, English, p. 29.

- 463 Where possible I have made probable corrections in the sources listed in note 462 above. It appears that all of the sources have discrepancies. It is reported that F. James is preparing a new publication of the Fara tombs. This may help solve some of the difficulties.
- 464 M. Dothan, IEJ 11 (1960), p. 171-175.
-----, Yediöt 25 (1961), 224-230. Heb.
Dothan, English, p. 54-56.
- 465 The Ajjul analysis is based on Petrie's register in Gaza II. See also Dothan, English, p. 35.
- 466 The evaluation of Aitun is based on the English manuscript of the final report which Gershon Edelstein kindly permitted me to use before its publication. Also see Edelstein, Qadmoniot 11, p. 86-90 and Dothan, English, p. 44.
- 467 Macalister, Gezer I, p. 325-327, Fig. 167-171, Plates 84-85. (Plates are in Vol. III)
Also see Dothan, English, p. 52-53.
- 468 Macalister, Gezer I, p. 321-325. Pl. 81-83.
- 469 Macalister, Gezer I, p. 300. Pl. 70-71.
- 470 Macalister, Gezer I, p. 334-335. Pl. 87-89.
- 471 The Beth Shemesh analysis is based on the excavator's log which I was able to use courtesy of the Israel Dept. of Antiquities, Rockefeller Museum. Some information is provided in Grant, AS V, p. 125-126, BS, p. 161-177, and Dothan, English, p. 50.
- 472 Guy, Megiddo Tombs, p. 24-27, Pl. 6-9, 85-87, esp. 8:22, 21, 12.
- 473 Guy, Megiddo Tombs, p. 111-115, Pl. 64-66, 159-163, esp. 160:16. Fig. 136.
- 474 Guy, Megiddo Tombs, p. 72, Pl. 37, 135.
- 475 Guy, Megiddo Tombs, p. 69-72, Pl. 32-36, 123-124.
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- 477 The Tell Beit Mirsim analysis is based on the excavator's log which I was able to use courtesy of the Israel Dept. of Antiquities, Rockefeller Museum. Some information is found Albright, TBM I, p. 62. Pl. 49:2,5.

- 478 Ohata, Zeror I-III.
- 479 Tufnell, Lachish IV, p. 66,68, 291-293, Pl. 8, 92; III, Pl. 28. Lachish III, p. 204, 222, 250, 276, IV, p. 240.
Also see Dothan, English, p. 276 and page 86 of this dissertation.
- 480 Dothan, English, p. 276.
- 481 On Fara see note 462.
- 482 Ambercrombie, Burial Practices, p. 79-83.
- 483 Harding, PEFA 6 (1955), p. 27-48, esp. p.32-33, Pl.4,5, Fig. 12-17.
- 484 Pritchard, Cemetery At Sa'ideyeh, Table 1. Fig. 46.
- 485 Ambercrombie, Burial Practices, p. 63.
- 486 For Gezer see notes 467-470.
- 487 For Aitun see note 466.
- 488 Oren, Beth Shan Cemetery, p.101-129, esp. summary chart p. 103.
- 489 Gonen, LB Burial, p. 44.
- 490 Papadopoulus, SIMA 55, p. 100. Bib. II.
- 491 This statement is based on the general conclusions of Gonen, LB Burials, and Ambercrombie, Burial Practices.
- 492 Gonen, LB Burials, p.1-12.
- 493 Ambercrombie, Burial Practices, p. 52.
- 494 I would like to thank Baruch Arensburg of Tel Aviv University for allowing me to use an unpublished study of the skeletal material from Tel Aitun and related sites and for discussing this report with me.
- 495 The Nitzanim material is also discussed in Arensburg's unpublished report. See also Gophna, Atiqot 6, p. 1-5.
- 496 The Azor material is discussed in Arensburg's report. The original report is Ferembach, Bulletin de la Societe de Anthropologie 1961, p.83-91.
- See the general discussion of the skeletal material of this period in Arensburg, People of Israel, p. 68-102.

- 497 Beth Shemesh is discussed in Arensburg's report. The primary source is Hooten's report in Grant and Wright's 1939 report.
- 498 See the section of skeletal studies in Dothan's Deir el Balah, Qedem 10, p. 92-97.
- 499 See Arensburg, People of Israel, esp. p. 89.

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- 502 Bjorkman, A Sketch of Metals, p. 140-147, 319-320.
- 503 J. Waldbaum, SIMA 54 (1978), p. 21, fn. 92,93,94.
- 504 Burns, Minoans, Philistines, p. 160.
- 505 CAH I:2, p. 305.
- 506 T. Stech-Wheeler et al., AJA 85-3 (1981), p. 245-268.
J. Muhley, BAR 8-6 (1982), p. 45, 53.
- 507 Waldbaum, SIMA 54, p. 24,25.
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- 509 Liebowitz, BASOR 243 (1981), p. 92.
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- 511 Waldbaum, SIMA 54, p. 42.
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- 513 Stech-Wheeler et al, AJA 85-3, p. 258-261.
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- 514 J. Muhley, BAR 8-6 (1982), p. 55.
- 515 Harding, PEFA 6, esp. p. 32.

- 516 See Catling, Cypriote Bronze Work, and Snodgrass, RDAC 1981, p. 129-135.
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- 519 Sandars, AJA 65 (1961) p. 21-25.
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- 524 Y. Yadin, PEFQ 1955, p. 58ff. Dothan, English, p. 20.
- 525 Dothan, English, p. 20-21.
- 526 Negbi, LEVANT 14 (1982), p. 179-182. See Figure 22f for an example from LB Megiddo or ANEP no. 332.
- 527 Dothan, English, p. 11.
- 528 Dothan, English, p. 67. Dothan refers to a double ax from Qasile but the published example is an ax-adze, not a double ax.
- 529 See Megiddo II, Pl. 182:7, 183:14, 15. Macalister, Gezer II, p. 242, Fig. 394. This ax may be misdated.
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- 542 Negbi, Levant 14 (1982), p. 179-182.
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- 555 Bass, Cape Gelidonya, p. 151.
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- 556 Compare the 900 and 500 Cemeteries at Fara. In the
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- 557 Barnett, Qedem 14, p. 37. For an overview of the
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and XLVII and the catalog on pages 27-29 of II.
-The Reshep is XLVII:42, described on p. 29.
-The pierced breast vessel is on Pl. XXVII at the
end of Vol. I and its description and locus in
Vol.II, p. 26.
-The Ashtartes are best illustrated by
Vol. III, Pl. XIX and Vol. IV, Pl. LI:17,18.
See Vol. III, p. 28,35,36,48 for discussion
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- 603 Megiddo Images. Megiddo II:
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 p. 415.
- 665 Sample names are Hanuna of Gaza, Mitinti of
 Ashkelon, Aziru of Ashdod, Sidqa of Ashkelon, Padi of
 Ekron, Sharruludari son of Rukibtu, Sillibel, and Ikasu.
 Thomas, OT Texts, p. 56-60 provides a simple listing
 and references. There is more detail in Luckenbill and
 other sources.
- 666 Dothan, English, p. 23.
 Wainwright, JHS 83 (1963), p. 151.
 The name Achish may appear as a Keftian name
 in an 18th Dynasty text (Mitchell in Thomas,
Archeology and OT Study, p. 415, & Peet in
Casson, Essays on Aegean Archeology, p. 90-100.
- 667 Bork, AfO 13, p. 227. He also discusses the
 variants of the name.
- 668 Text 2014 in AnOr. 38.
 Groendahl's study of the names lists each
 name in the index to his discussion.
- 669 Hellbing, SIMA 57 (1979), p. 70.
- 670 Ekron IDB II p. 69.
- 671 See notes 136, 363, and 410.
- 672 Some of the studies which are needed cannot be done
 until more information is available from cities of the
 Philistine pentapolis. Studies of Philistine burial
 practices and architecture, which are now inadequate,
 cannot be done well until more data is available from
 these sites. Among the studies which could be done now
 are development of precise typology for a large scale
 computer analysis of all pottery types at Philistine
 sites, a study of the percentage and continuity of the
 plain ware which occurs with Myc. IIIC in Cyprus, a
 systematic study of the origin and variants of the type 6
 and 7 jars, a study of the method of manufacture of
 stirrup jars in Palestine, Cyprus, and Greece.

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