THE PHILISTINES AND OTHER "SEA PEOPLES" IN TEXT AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Society of Biblical Literature

Archaeology and Biblical Studies

Tammi Schneider, Editor

Number 15

The Philistines and Other "Sea Peoples"
in Text and Archaeology

THE PHILISTINES AND OTHER "SEA PEOPLES" IN TEXT AND ARCHAEOLOGY

edited by

Ann E. Killebrew and Gunnar Lehmann

Society of Biblical Literature
Atlanta, Georgia

THE PHILISTINES AND OTHER "SEA PEOPLES" IN TEXT AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Philistines and other "sea peoples" in text and archaeology / edited by Ann E. Killebrew and Gunnar Lehmann.
p. cm. — (Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and biblical studies ; v. 15)
"This volume developed out of a 2001 workshop devoted to the Philistines and other Sea Peoples, which was co-organized by Ann E. Killebrew, Gunnar Lehmann, Michal Artzy, and Rachel Hachlili, and co-sponsored by the University of Haifa and the Ben Gurion University of the Negev"—Introd.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-58983-129-2 (paper binding : acid-free paper)—ISBN 978-1-58983-762-1 (hardcover)
1. Philistines—Antiquities. 2. Sea Peoples—Mediterranean Region—History. 3. Iron age—Mediterranean Region. 4. Social archaeology—Mediterranean Region—History. 5. Bible. O.T.—History of Biblical events. 6. Mediterranean Region—Antiquities. I. Killebrew, Ann E. II. Lehmann, Gunnar. III. Society of Biblical Literature.
DS90.P55 2013
938'.01—dc23

2012033937

Printed on acid-free, recycled paper conforming to ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (R1997) and ISO 9706:1994 standards for paper permanence.

Contents

When the Past Was New: Moshe Dothan (1919–1999), an Appreciation

*Neil Asher Silberman**

Moshe Dothan was my most important teacher, though he never gave me a written examination and I never attended any course he taught. From 1972 to 1976, I worked as his assistant at the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums in Jerusalem's Rockefeller Museum, working on the publication of his Ashdod excavations and participating in the beginnings of his ambitious Tel Akko dig. It was a time that now seems so distant. Archaeology in Israel was still living in the warm afterglow of its Yadin-esque heyday; extensive excavations around the Temple Mount and the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem were still underway. Yet it was also a time of archaeological transition from an era of romantic national celebration to a more complex engagement with the material remains of the past. The study of the Sea Peoples—and of the Philistines in particular—was part of this dramatic transformation. Old-style antiquarianism and the quest for biblical illustration was giving way to a recognition that archaeology could also shed important new light on the nature of ancient ethnic dislocation, cultural interaction, and social change.

As a member of the pioneering generation of Israeli archaeologists, Moshe Dothan was born in Poland and immigrated to Palestine in the late 1930s, exchanging his former surname, Hammer, for a new identity and a new life in the soon-to-be-established Jewish state. After service in a Palestinian unit of the British army during World War II among the ruined modern cities and ancient monuments of Italy (whose impression on him would never be forgotten) and after further service in the 1948 Israel War of Independence, he began his studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem under the guidance of Israeli archaeology's founding fathers, E. L. Sukenik, Michael Avi-Yonah, and Benjamin Mazar. His

* Center for Heritage and Society, The University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

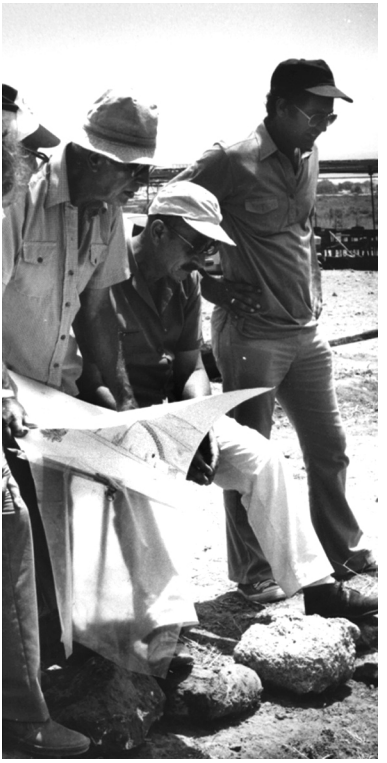

Fig. 1: Moshe Dothan (left) discussing stratigraphy at Tel Akko with Yigael Yadin (center) and Steve Rosen (right; photographer: Michal Artzy).

classical gymnasium education in Krakow served him well as he embarked on an archaeological career; it provided him with a solid background in Greek and Latin and a familiarity with a wide range of historical subjects and philosophies. In 1950, he joined the staff of the newly created Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, gaining valuable field experience and a deep appreciation for rigorous archaeological method during his work with the legendary British archaeologist, P. L. O. Guy. His PhD dissertation on the ancient settlement patterns of the lower Rubin Valley was not only one of the first wide-ranging modern archaeological surveys undertaken in Israel; it also marked the beginning of his continuing interest in coastal archaeology.

In the annals of Sea Peoples scholarship, Moshe Dothan will of course be remembered first and foremost for his excavations at Ashdod. Following his earlier discoveries of Philistine remains at Azor (1958) and at Tel Mor (1959–1960), he embarked on nine seasons of digging at Tel Ashdod between 1962 and 1972,

uncovering unprecedented evidence for the character and evolution of Philistine settlement. It is not an exaggeration to say that with this project, the modern understanding of Philistine culture entered a new era, refining and expanding the archaeological framework established by his wife and colleague, Trude, in linking the origins and interactions of Philistine culture with the wider Mediterranean world.

In earlier eras of exploration, the Philistines had been seen as archetypal biblical villains, ethnically linked to the Aegean and historically implicated in a struggle for *Lebensraum* with the emerging Israelite nation. The Aegean-style decorative motifs on Philistine pottery had long been seen as static ethnic markers; the fearsome biblical image of the looming Philistine giant, Goliath, shaped popular perceptions of Philistine culture—far more pervasively than the archaeological evidence. Yet, the Ashdod excavations played an important role in overturning that simplistic perception, shifting the archaeological focus from a stark vision of ethnic invasion to a recognition of the complex economic, cultural, and social changes experienced by the Philistines during their initial settlement and subsequent development on the Canaanite coast.

Indeed, Ashdod's most spectacular finds have become distinctive icons of the modern archaeological understanding of Philistine material culture. The astonishingly abstract cultic figurine nicknamed "Ashdoda"—half offering table, half Aegean-style goddess—clearly showed the creatively composite character of Philistine culture, in its amalgamation of Mycenaean and Bronze Age Near Eastern styles. The inscribed seals from Iron I strata were the first evidence of Philistine literacy. Yet even though their characters *resembled* Cypro-Minoan script, they could not be pinned down to a particular place of origin, further suggesting the hybrid nature of Philistine society. In the higher levels, the famous "Musicians' Stand", the red-burnished "Ashdod Ware", and the city's impressive six-chambered gate (so close in plan and dimensions to the supposed "Solomonic" monuments) demonstrated the gradually strengthening links of the city to the contemporary Levantine cultures of Iron Age II. The Ashdod excavations thus revealed the slow evolution of a complex society, tracing its beginnings as an urban coastal center in the Bronze Age, through its period of distinctive Philistine culture, to its eventual destruction as a petty vassal kingdom under the Assyrian Empire.

Particularly crucial for the modern understanding of the Sea Peoples' initial settlement throughout the entire eastern Mediterranean was the discovery at Ashdod of an initial post-Late Bronze Age stratum containing locally made monochrome Mycenaean IIIC-style pottery types. These distinctively decorated vessels were clearly not offloaded immigrant housewares, but the product of a creative transformation, in which a vague and generalized memory of Mycenaean styles was gradually articulated into distinctive regional variants. Ashdod's Myce-

naean IIIC proved to be just one of many versions that were produced in the widely dispersed archipelago of sites across Cyprus and along the coasts of Cilicia and the Levant established by new settlers in the wake of the Late Bronze collapse. In the case of Ashdod, it is now clear that Philistine history and cultural evolution involved far more than just a sudden, violent displacement from a specific Aegean homeland; Dothan's excavations showed it to be a process of complex social adaptation in the cultural cauldron of the Iron Age Levant.

Ashdod was also a new kind of excavation in a very practical sense. Conceived as a joint Israeli-American expedition, sponsored by the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, and Pittsburgh's Carnegie Museum, it brought together archaeologists trained in separate national traditions and field methods to forge a common excavation style. It was also a site where nearly an entire generation of post-Hazor-era Israeli archaeologists received their first extensive field experience. Anticipating the later appeals of Yigael Yadin for passionate amateurs to come join the excavations at Masada, the Ashdod expedition was the first of its kind in Israel to solicit and welcome the participation of enthusiastic volunteers from abroad. No less important were the multi-disciplinary and international scholarly connections; the excavations at Ashdod were the first in Israel to utilize extensive Neutron Activation Analysis for ceramic provenience (specifically of its Mycenaean IIIC wares), and the first to engage in continuous and close dialogue with scholars working on Cyprus on a similar Sea Peoples' phenomenon.

Soon after the completion of the Ashdod excavations, Dothan began his ambitious excavations at Tel Akko (1973–1989), the last major archaeological undertaking of his life. These excavations provided intriguing new data on the nature of the Sea Peoples' process of settlement farther up the coast. Amidst the extensive finds of Hellenistic houses and fortifications, Crusader ruins, Phoenician public buildings, and an imposing Middle Bronze Age rampart, the Akko excavations revealed evidence of the Sea Peoples' presence—in this case, presumably the Shardana, localized in this area by the Onomasticon of Amenope. The discovery of an area of pottery and metal workshops, containing implements for copper smelting, metal working, unbaked vessels, and scattered fragments of yet another variant of Mycenaean IIIC pottery. These finds suggested that the short-lived settlement of Sea People at Akko functioned as a center for craft production at the end of the thirteenth and early-twelfth centuries B.C.E. In subsequent years, Dothan became fascinated by the possible connections of the Shardana with Sardinia—and the hypothesis of post-Late Bronze cultural and possibly economic contact between the Levant and the western Mediterranean suggested by such a link. In 1992, he summed up his insights about the Sea Peoples in a popular book he coauthored with Trude: *People of the Sea: The Search for the Philistines*,

presenting the most important discoveries and the general conclusions they had both formulated about the archaeology and history of the Philistines and the other Sea Peoples they had investigated in the course of their careers.

For Moshe Dothan, the past was not a static reality but a dynamic and ever-changing field of research in which new ideas and new theories were not disturbing exceptions but important motivations for serious archaeological work. Over an active career of more than four decades, his contributions extended far beyond the geographical and chronological boundaries of Sea Peoples studies. In his years of surveys and excavations on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, he had also uncovered the important Chalcolithic site of Horvat Batar, near Beersheva (1952–1954); the seaside Canaanite temple at Nahariya with its silver sea goddess and seven-spouted lamps (1954–1955); the Iron Age desert citadel at Tell el-Qudeirat, identified with Kadesh Barnea (1956); and the late Roman-to-Early Islamic era synagogue at Hammath Tiberias with its spectacular zodiac (1961–1963). The finds from each of these excavations have enriched many subfields of the discipline with rich material for continuing discussion and questions for further research.

In 1972, Dothan was appointed professor of archaeology at the University of Haifa. He served as chairman of the Department of Maritime Studies from 1976 to 1979 and was instrumental in the establishment of the Department of Archaeology where he also served as its departmental head. Yet Moshe was never entirely comfortable in the classroom, presenting lessons from a well-polished syllabus. He was far more at home in the field and at his excavation sites, huddling with his surveyor over sections and top plans or studying assemblages of newly dug pottery. Whether it was the nature of Chalcolithic culture, of Canaanite religion, the expansion of the Iron Age Israelite kingdoms, or the use of pagan imagery by Jews in the Late Roman period, Moshe Dothan contributed abundant evidence for understanding the evolution of human culture in the Land of Israel over the millennia.

As an unforgettable personality and independent thinker, he rarely gained the main spotlight of archaeological celebrity. Yet Moshe Dothan's contribution to the archaeology of Israel in general and of the Sea Peoples and the Philistines in particular was profound. He worked with energy and impatience, under conditions and with resources that few of today's archaeologists would ever attempt. He possessed more creativity, historical scope, and courage to challenge conventional wisdom and to break disciplinary boundaries than many other of his contemporaries who fancied themselves more famous, more erudite, or more rigidly systematic than he. In his life and work, Moshe Dothan embodied the belief that the past is always new, forever awaiting the next discovery or insight that might

shatter our preconceptions and change our understanding of human history in surprising and unexpected ways.

That is what he taught me. That is the greatest lesson an archaeologist can ever teach. May this volume on the archaeological search for the Philistines and other Sea Peoples be a tribute to him.

Acknowledgments

The Philistines and Other "Sea Peoples" is the result of the contributions and editorial assistance of numerous individuals. First and foremost, we would like to express our gratitude to all the authors of this mega-volume for their essays, which reflect their expertise and first-hand knowledge of the material culture and texts associated with the Philistines and other Sea Peoples. We thank them for their contributions, and especially for their patience throughout the process of preparing the manuscripts for publication. Special thanks are due to the volume's copy editors, Heather D. Heidrich and Dr. Gabriele Faßbeck. Their meticulous and very professional work was invaluable! This tome is due in no small part to their assistance and input. We would also like to express our sincere appreciation to Dr. Billie Jean Collins, acquisitions editor at the Society of Biblical Literature, for her expert work on the final editing and layout of this especially complex and massive volume. We are also indebted to Professor Tammi J. Schneider, editor of the Archaeology and Biblical Studies series, for her enthusiastic encouragement during the preparation of this book. Lastly, many thanks are due to Dr. Bob Buller, editorial director at the Society of Biblical Literature, for his guidance and advice throughout the process of preparing the manuscripts for publication. This book would not have been possible without the participation, assistance, and contributions of all of you. Thank you!

Ann E. Killebrew and Gunnar Lehmann

Abbreviations

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992.
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
AEL	*Ancient Egyptian Literature*. M. Lichtheim. 3 vols. Berkeley, 1973–1980.
AEO	*Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. A. H. Gardiner. 3 vols. London, 1947.
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJBA	*Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Edited by J. B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. Princeton, 1969.
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
ARAB	*Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*. Daniel David Luckenbill. 2 vols. Chicago, 1926–1927.
ARE	*Ancient Records of Egypt*. Edited by J. H. Breasted. 5 vols. Chicago, 1905–1907. Reprint, New York, 1962.
ASAE	*Annales du service des antiquités de l'Egypte*
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
Atiqot	*'Atiqot*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BANEA	British Association for Near Eastern Archaeology
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society*
BK	*Bibel und Kirche*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament. Edited by M. Noth and H. W. Wolff.
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
CANE	*Civilizations of the Ancient Near East.* Edited by J. M.

	Sasson. 4 vols. New York, 1995.
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
CTH	*Catalogue des texts hittites*. Edited by E. Laroche. Paris, 1971.
EA	El-Amarna tablets. According to the edition of J. A. Knudtzon. *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln*. Leipzig, 1908–1915. Reprint, Aalen, 1964. Continued in A. F. Rainey, *El-Amarna Tablets, 359–379*. 2nd revised ed. Kevelaer, 1978.
ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel*
FM	Furumark Motif
FS	Furumark Shape
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap (Genootschap) Ex oriente lux*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
KAI	*Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. H. Donner and W. Röllig. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966–1969.
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. WVDOG 30, 36, 68–70, 72–73, 77–80, 82–86, 89–90. Leipzig, 1916–
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*. Edited by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. AOAT 24. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976. 2nd enlarged ed. of *KTU: The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places*. Edited by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. Münster, 1995 (= *CTU*).
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
MVAG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*. Vols. 1–44. 1896–1939.
NABU	*Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires*
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
NEAEHL	*The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Edited by E. Stern. 4 vols. Jerusalem, 1993.

OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
OLP	*Orientalia lovaniensia periodica*
Or	*Orientalia* (NS)
PEFQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PRU	*Le palais royal d'Ugarit*
Qad	*Qadmoniot*
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
RAr	*Revue archéologique*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RDAC	*Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*
RGG	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Edited by K. Galling. 7 vols. 3rd ed. Tübingen, 1957–1965.
RS	Ras Shamra
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SBL	Society for Biblical Literature
SCIEM	The Synchronisation of Civilisations of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.
SHCANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SMEA	*Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*
TA	*Tel Aviv*
TGI	*Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels.* Edited by K. Galling. 2nd ed. Tübingen, 1968.
TUAT	*Texte aus der Umwelt des alten Testaments*. Edited by O. Kaiser. Gütersloh, 1984–.
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

Introduction: The World of the Philistines and Other "Sea Peoples"

Ann E. Killebrew and Gunnar Lehmann

This volume developed out of a 2001 workshop devoted to the Philistines and other "Sea Peoples," which was co-organized by Ann E. Killebrew, Gunnar Lehmann, Michal Artzy, and Rachel Hachlili, and cosponsored by the University of Haifa and the Ben Gurion University of the Negev. Both the workshop and this updated publication resulted from a sense of frustration with the unidirectional and overly simplistic interpretations of the Philistine phenomenon that has dominated scholarship during the twentieth century (see, e.g., T. Dothan 1982; T. Dothan and M. Dothan 1992; Yasur-Landau 2010). In an attempt to redress what we consider to be a blinkered approach to the topic, this edited tome assembles a collection of papers that examines the Philistine and the broader "Sea Peoples" phenomenon from a variety of viewpoints and disciplines. First coined in 1881 by the French Egyptologist G. Maspero (1896), the somewhat misleading term "Sea Peoples" encompasses the ethnonyms Lukka, Sherden, Shekelesh, Teresh, Eqwesh, Denyen, Sikil/Tjekker, Weshesh, and Peleset (Philistines).[1] Often considered

1. The modern term "Sea Peoples" refers to peoples that appear in several New Kingdom Egyptian texts as originating from "islands" (tables 1–2; Adams and Cohen, this volume; see, e.g., Drews 1993, 57 for a summary). The use of quotation marks in association with the term "Sea Peoples" in our title is intended to draw attention to the problematic nature of this commonly used term. It is noteworthy that the designation "of the sea" appears only in relation to the Sherden, Shekelesh, and Eqwesh. Subsequently, this term was applied somewhat indiscriminately to several additional ethnonyms, including the Philistines, who are portrayed in their earliest appearance as invaders from the north during the reigns of Merenptah and Ramesses III (see, e.g., Sandars 1978; Redford 1992, 243, n. 14; for a recent review of the primary and secondary literature, see Woudhuizen 2006). Henceforth the term Sea Peoples will appear without quotation marks.

either a catalyst or a consequence resulting from the crisis that struck the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Late Bronze and early Iron Ages, archaeologists composed a twentieth-century Sea People narrative of migrating populations originating from the west Aegean who had been displaced by the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system and the aftermath of the Trojan War (see, e.g., M. Wood 1996, 210–59). Most infamous among these west Aegean migrating peoples were the Philistines, best known for their negative portrayal in the Bible as a major antagonist of ancient Israel (see tables 1–2; Adams and Cohen, this volume).

Table 1: Egyptian primary sources mentioning Sea Peoples according to specific group (based on Adams and Cohen, this volume).

Sea Peoples Group	Egyptian Text	Ruler/Dynasty
Denyen (Danuna)	Amarna letters (EA 151)	Amenophis III/IV
Denyen (Danuna)	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III
Denyen (Danuna)	Papyrus Harris	Ramesses III
Denyen (Danuna)	Onomasticon of Amenope	Late 20th–22nd Dynasties
Eqwesh	Great Karnak Inscription	Merenptah
Eqwesh	Athribis Stele	Merenptah
Karkiša	Kadesh Inscription	Ramesses II
Lukka	Amarna letters (EA 38)	Akhenaten
Lukka	Kadesh Inscription	Ramesses II
Lukka	Great Karnak Inscription	Merenptah
Lukka	Onomasticon of Amenope	Late 20th–22nd Dynasties
Peleset (Philistines)	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III
Peleset (Philistines)	Papyrus Harris	Ramesses III
Peleset (Philistines)	Rhetorical Stele (Chapel C at Deir el-Medina)	Ramesses III
Peleset (Philistines)	Onomasticon of Amenope	Late 20th–22nd Dynasties
Peleset (Philistines)	Pedeset Inscription	ca. 900 B.C.E. (?)
Shekelesh	Great Karnak Inscription	Merenptah
Shekelesh	Cairo Column	Merenptah
Shekelesh	Athribis Stele	Merenptah
Shekelesh	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III
Sherden (Shardana)	Amarna letters (EA 81)	Amenophis III/IV
Sherden (Shardana)	Amarna letters (EA 122)	Amenophis III/IV
Sherden (Shardana)	Amarna letters (EA 123)	Amenophis III/IV

Sherden (Shardana)	Stele of Padjesef	19th–22nd Dynasties
Sherden (Shardana)	Kadesh Inscription	Ramesses II
Sherden (Shardana)	Tanis Stele	Ramesses II
Sherden (Shardana)	Papyrus Anastasi I	Ramesses II
Sherden (Shardana)	Great Karnak Inscription	Merenptah
Sherden (Shardana)	Athribis Stele	Merenptah
Sherden (Shardana)	Papyrus Anastasi II	Merenptah
Sherden (Shardana)	Stele of Setemhebu	Late 19th/Early 20th Dynasty
Sherden (Shardana)	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III
Sherden (Shardana)	Papyrus Harris	Ramesses III
Sherden (Shardana)	Papyrus Amiens	20th Dynasty
Sherden (Shardana)	Papyrus Wilbour	Ramesses V
Sherden (Shardana)	Adoption Papyrus	Ramesses IX
Sherden (Shardana)	Papyrus Moscow 169 (Onomasticon Golénischeff)	Early 21st Dynasty
Sherden (Shardana)	Papyrus BM 10326	End of 20th Dynasty
Sherden (Shardana)	Papyrus Turin 2026	End of 20th Dynasty
Sherden (Shardana)	Papyrus BM 10375	End of 20th Dynasty
Sherden (Shardana)	Onomasticon of Amenope	Late 20th–22nd Dynasties
Sherden (Shardana)	Donation Stele	Osorkon II
Teresh	Great Karnak Inscription	Merenptah
Teresh	Athribis Stele	Merenptah
Teresh	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III
Teresh	Rhetorical Stele (Chapel C at Deir el-Medina)	Ramesses III
Tjekker/Sikila(?)	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III
Tjekker/Sikila(?)	Papyrus Harris	Ramesses III
Tjekker/Sikila(?)	Onomasticon of Amenope	Late 20th–22nd Dynasties
Tjekker/Sikila(?)	Report of Wenamun	22nd Dynasty
Weshesh	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III
Weshesh	Papyrus Harris	Ramesses III

Table 2: Egyptian primary sources mentioning Sea Peoples in chronological order (based on Adams and Cohen, this volume).

Dynasty	Pharaoh	Sea People Group	No. of Texts
18th	Amenophis III/IV	Denyen (Danuna)	2
18th	Amenophis IV (Akhenaten)	Lukka	1
18th	Amenophis III/IV	Sherden (Shardana)	3
19th	Ramesses II	Karkiša	1
19th	Ramesses II	Lukka	1
19th	Ramesses II	Sherden (Shardana)	3
19th	Merenptah	Eqwesh	2
19th	Merenptah	Lukka	1
19th	Merenptah	Shekelesh	3
19th	Merenptah	Sherden (Shardana)	3
19th	Merenptah	Teresh	2
Late 19th–Early 20th	—	Sherden (Shardana)	1
19th–22nd	—	Sherden (Shardana)	1
20th	Ramesses III	Denyen (Danuna)	2
20th	Ramesses III	Peleset (Philistines)	3
20th	Ramesses III	Shekelesh	1
20th	Ramesses III	Sherden (Shardana)	2
20th	Ramesses III	Teresh	2
20th	Ramesses III	Tjekker/Sikila(?)	2
20th	Ramesses III	Weshesh	2
20th	Ramesses V	Sherden (Shardana)	1
20th	Ramesses VI	Sherden (Shardana)	1
20th	Ramesses IX	Sherden (Shardana)	1
20th	—	Sherden (Shardana)	1
End of 20th	—	Sherden (Shardana)	2
Late 20th–22nd	—	Denyen (Danuna)	1
Late 20th–22nd	—	Lukka	1
Late 20th–22nd	—	Peleset (Philistines)	1
Late 20th–22nd	—	Sherden (Shardana)	1
Late 20th–22nd	—	Tjekker/Sikila(?)	1
Early 21st	—	Sherden (Shardana)	1

22nd	Osorkon II	Sherden (Shardana)	1
22nd*	—	Peleset (Philistines)	1
22nd	—	Tjekker/Sikila(?)	1

* Pedeset Inscription ca. 900 B.C.E. (?)

In part, this Eurocentric view of events and the processes responsible for the demise of the Late Bronze "Age of Internationalism" can be understood as resulting in part from western-dominated scholarly agendas that were reinforced by political realities in the eastern Mediterranean during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see, e.g., Silberman 1998; Leriou 2002; Killebrew forthcoming a). The focus on classical sites in Greece and biblical locales in the southern Levant and elsewhere in the region resulted in both a distorted and uneven archaeological record for the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.E. In recent decades, new pieces of this jigsaw puzzle have been and continue to be uncovered gradually by excavations in previously underexplored regions of the east Aegean, Turkey, and northern Levant. The resulting data is transforming our understanding of this pivotal period of time. The evidence now points to a vastly more complex system of interactions and multi-directional interconnections between lands bordering the eastern Mediterranean Sea and its islands during the thirteenth through eleventh centuries B.C.E. (see, e.g., Maran 2004; Gilboa 2006–2007; Killebrew 2006–2007; 2010; Bachhuber and Roberts 2009; Venturi 2010; Hitchcock 2011). Our 2001 workshop was organized with the goal of addressing the Philistine and Sea People phenomenon in light of more recent discoveries in the eastern Mediterranean. The present volume is a collection of essays devoted to the texts, material culture, sites, regions, and themes discussed during this workshop and after.

Despite the ever expanding archaeological record, the origins, identity, and material manifestations of the Sea Peoples and their role in the eastern Mediterranean world during the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.E. remain elusive. The textual and archaeological evidence leaves no doubt that the major political powers of this period—the Hittites and Egyptians—experienced a profound crisis during the transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age, resulting in the decline or dissolution of these great powers (see, e.g., Liverani 1987; Ward and Joukowsky 1992; Drews 1993; Killebrew 2005, 21–92; forthcoming a; Dickinson 2006, 24–57; Bachhuber and Roberts 2009; Venturi 2010).[2] Symptomatic of

2. Although centralized Hittite imperial control collapsed at the end of the thirteenth century, a Hittite dynasty at Carchemish was still governing northern Syria around 1100 B.C.E. during the period of Tiglath-pileser I (Hawkins 1982, 372–441, 948–55; 1995b, 1295–1307; 2009,

this reconfiguration of the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Late Bronze Age is the disappearance or interruption of highly specialized Bronze Age writing systems and recording traditions (e.g., Linear B, Hittite cuneiform, Ugaritic, and/or Akkadian) that coincided with the crumbling centralized administrative and economic structures. The resulting localized networks are characterized by decentralized systems, a trend that is reflected in well-defined regional variations in Iron I material culture assemblages. As a result, the eastern Mediterranean region succumbed to a gradual process of political, economic, social, and cultural fragmentation. Corresponding with the deterioration of the Late Bronze Age *ancien régime*, "ethnically" defined groups begin to appear in contemporary and later texts. These include various Sea Peoples groups, most notably the Philistines, as well as later Iron Age peoples such as the Phoenicians, Israelites, Aramaeans, Moabites, and others, whose traditional geographical territories often correspond to regionally defined archaeological assemblages (see, e.g., Liverani 1987; Routledge 2004; Killebrew 2005; 2006; Sader 2010).

The complexity of this period is best illustrated by the diverse fates of Late Bronze Age settlements and regions in the eastern Mediterranean that witnessed both continuity and change. Some sites, such as Mycenae, Hattuša, Troy, Ugarit, Hazor, Megiddo, Lachish, and Ashdod, experienced large-scale destruction during the final century of the Late Bronze or Late Bronze/Iron Age transition. However, it is noteworthy that the dates of these destructions are often separated by decades or even as much as a century. Sometimes a site was resettled soon afterwards or, in some cases, was abandoned for a period of time (e.g., Ugarit, Hazor, and Lachish), either to be followed by a cultural break (i.e., settlement by a different group of people who introduces new cultural traditions [e.g., Ashdod]) or cultural continuity (resettlement by the same cultural group [e.g., Megiddo]). Other locales are characterized by little or no destruction, demonstrating cultural continuity well into the Iron I period. These include a number of sites such as Yarmuth in the Shephelah and Tel Rehov in the northern Jordan Valley. Significantly, the New Kingdom Egyptian stronghold at Beth Shean, another Jordan Valley settlement just north of Tel Rehov, was destroyed in the twelfth century B.C.E. and Egyptian-style material culture disappeared and in its stead local traditions returned. In the northern Levant, Late Bronze Age cultural traditions continued at major inland sites such as Carchemish on the Euphrates River and

164–73). Both the textual and archaeological evidence testifies to continued Egyptian influence in the southern Levant through the first half of the twelfth century B.C.E., and possibly as late as the reign of Ramesses VI (Weinstein 1981; 1992; Bietak 1993, 292–306; Killebrew 2005, 51–92; Morris 2005).

along the Phoenician coastline, where cities like Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre survived the disruptions at the end of the Late Bronze Age.

General settlement patterns also present a mixed picture throughout the eastern Mediterranean. The southern Levant, for example, experienced a decline of urban culture during the course of the Late Bronze Age that culminated in the final decades of the Bronze Age. This trend, probably abetted by the exploitation of regions under Egyptian imperial control, is corroborated by textual references to social instability and increased uprooting of Late Bronze Age populations. With the declining fortunes of the Egyptian Empire and the disappearance of imperial Hittite rule, some regions, particularly those along the Levantine coast including key Philistine sites, witnessed a flourishing of urbanization and increase in population. In the northern Levant, the available evidence points to a continuation of urbanism in the region of the so-called Neo-Hittite city-states of northern Syria and southeast Anatolia, such as Carchemish and Malatya. Along the Syro-Lebanese coast, population centers continued to be inhabited (see, e.g., Gonen 1984; Herzog 1997; 2003; Bunimovitz 1989; 1994; 1995; Casana 2003, 233, table 41; Marfoe 1979; 1998; Liverani 2005, 26–29).

Indicators of increasing instability, such as the mention of fugitives and social outcasts, begin to appear already during the course of the Late Bronze Age. These groups, who were particularly troublesome for the Egyptians, rarely appear in Bronze Age texts before 1500 B.C.E., but become a frequent phenomenon during the later centuries of the Late Bronze Age and seem to be an important factor in the formation of early Iron Age societies (see, e.g., Ugaritic texts that address the problems of defections in rural communities [Heltzer 1976, 52–57; Snell 2001]). Outlaws, such as the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* (*ʿabiru/ʿapiru*), appear to have eluded imperial and local political power and exploitation, the latter expressed by heavy taxation, forced labor, and slavery of subject populations (see, e.g., Na'aman 1986; Rainey 1995). Late Bronze Age texts describe these groups as armed and residing in marginal areas such as the mountains and the steppe, which were outside the sphere of imperial or city-state influence. These peripheral areas have, throughout history, been ideal locales, particularly during times of increasing instability, from which to stage raids against settled populations in the plains.

Into this complex Late Bronze Age geopolitical context and demographic mix, groups associated with the Sea Peoples appear in New Kingdom Egyptian texts with increasing frequency (tables 1–2; for a summary of the ancient sources, see Adams and Cohen, this volume). These Sea Peoples make their initial appearance in the fourteenth century B.C.E. The Lukka, Sherden, and Danuna were first mentioned during the reigns of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV (Akhenaten), often in the role of mercenaries (tables 1–2; Redford 1992, 246; Moran 1992, Lukka: EA 38:10, Danuna: EA 151:50–55, Sherden: EA 81:16, 122:35, 123:15). The

mention of various groups associated with the Sea Peoples reached its apex during the reign of Ramesses III, which includes the earliest references to the Philistines (see table 2).

The origins and identification of the Sea Peoples, especially the Philistines, in the archaeological record continue to be matters of considerable debate (see, e.g., Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996; Killebrew 2005, 197–246; 2010; this volume; Woudhuizen 2006). The appearance of an Aegean-style material culture, especially Late Helladic (LH) IIIC ("Mycenaean IIIC") pottery, in early Iron I strata at Philistine centers at sites mentioned in the Hebrew Bible (Josh 13:3), located in the southern coastal plain of the modern state of Israel, led to the identification of these artifacts as "Philistine" already a century ago (for a discussion, see T. Dothan and M. Dothan 1992; T. Dothan and Ben-Shlomo, this volume; Killebrew, this volume, and bibliography therein). Perhaps more importantly, and less understood and explored in the scholarly literature, are the broader socio-economic, historical, and environmental processes that gave rise to the Sea Peoples phenomenon.[3]

In the following chapters, the contributors to this volume address questions dealing with the identity, origins, material cultural manifestations, political, socio-economic, and historical processes associated with the Sea People phenomenon. *The Philistines and Other "Sea Peoples"* opens with a tribute to the late Professor Moshe Dothan, excavator of Ashdod and one of the pioneers in Philistine and Sea Peoples studies. The essays are divided into three general sections: studies on the Philistines in their heartland (the southern coastal plain of Israel); aspects of material culture often associated with other Sea People groups in the northern Levant; and selected topics and sites in the Aegean, Anatolia, and Cyprus relevant to our understanding of the Philistines and Sea Peoples in their broader context. An appendix that brings together for the first time a comprehensive listing of primary sources relevant to the Sea Peoples completes this volume.

The Philistines in Text and Archaeology

Itamar Singer's opening essay addresses the historicity of the biblical record. He challenges Israel Finkelstein's view that "the biblical references to the Philistines do not contain any memory of early Iron I events or cultural behavior" (Finkelstein 2002b, 131). In particular, he rejects attempts to re-date biblical accounts of

3. Regarding recent research which indicates a marked climatic change at the end of the Late Bronze Age resulting in drier climatic conditions and its possible implications regarding the date, identity, and origins of the Sea Peoples, see, e.g., Kaniewski et al. 2010; 2011.

the early Philistines to literary production during the seventh century B.C.E., or even later as some have suggested. Singer argues in his chapter for the historicity of the accounts, dating them to Iron Age I through Davidic periods. This view is not only supported by archaeological discoveries at the Philistine "pentapolis cities," but also by epigraphic finds in Cilicia and Syria, especially from Karatepe, Çineköy, and Arsuz/Rhosus (Çambel 1999; Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000; Dinçol and Dinçol forthcoming), suggesting that the Homeric traditions of Aegean migrations to the region do reflect memories of actual historical processes.

Tristan Barako also tackles the chronological debate surrounding the initial appearance of the Philistines in the southern Levant. In light of the Medinet Habu inscription, the arrival of the Philistines has traditionally been dated to the reign of Ramesses III. Archaeological evidence in the southern Levant indicates conclusively that Egyptian imperial presence persisted well into the twelfth century B.C.E., perhaps as late as the reign of Ramesses VI (ca. 1145–1137 B.C.E.). Proponents of a lower chronology post-date the arrival of the Philistines following the retreat of Twentieth-Dynasty Egypt from Canaan, approximately 50 years later than the "high," or conventional chronology (Finkelstein 1995; 2000). Based on a comparison of the stratigraphic sequences at Tel Mor, a small Egyptian military outpost, and nearby Ashdod, a major Philistine center, Barako persuasively argues in favor of the traditional Iron I chronological sequence, placing the arrival of the Philistines during the reign of Ramesses III.

Ceramics have long been considered the hallmark of the Philistines and their presence. One particular class of Aegean-style pottery, variously termed Mycenaean IIIC, LH IIIC, White Painted Wheelmade or Philistine 1, has traditionally been associated with the appearance of the Philistines in their heartland, Philistia, and with the Sea Peoples in general. This style became popular at the beginning of the Iron Age, appearing at numerous sites in the eastern Mediterranean. Stylistically, it clearly derives from Greek Mycenaean LH IIIB pottery; however, numerous archaeometric studies have proven conclusively that by the twelfth century B.C.E., the production of Mycenaean IIIC was decentralized and the pottery was being locally manufactured throughout the eastern Mediterranean, particularly along the coast (see, e.g., Killebrew, this volume). The Philistine LH IIIC, or Aegean-style, vessels share the principle features of vessel form and decoration, while there are also distinct inter-site variations at Philistine urban centers. Three chapters (T. Dothan and Ben-Shlomo; Mountjoy; and Killebrew) discuss the significance of Mycenaean IIIC pottery and its associated assemblages for our understanding of the identity, dating, and transmission of technological knowledge and style associated with the early Philistines. Trude Dothan and David Ben-Shlomo trace the development of LH IIIC/Mycenaean IIIC:1 in the southern Levant during the twelfth century B.C.E. Tel Miqne-Ekron has provided quantita-

tively and qualitatively one of the best stratified corpora of LH IIIC pottery in the Levant. The vessels were locally produced at Ekron (Killebrew, this volume) and Penelope Mountjoy (this volume) presents a detailed discussion of the stylistic influences and parallels. She concludes that Philistine pottery shares features with Mainland LH IIIC pottery, but notes that this Aegean-style pottery may well have reached Philistia via Cyprus, Cilicia, and other eastern Aegean regions. Additional sources of inspiration came from the eastern Aegean and Crete, creating a "hybrid" Aegean-style in the southern Levant. Mountjoy assigns the LH IIIC corpus at Ekron to the first phase of LH IIIC Early (Stratum VIIB) and to the second phase of LH IIIC Early (Stratum VIIA). Ann Killebrew's essay goes beyond the typological and explores the technological aspects of Philistine Aegean-style pottery at Ekron, stressing the clear break from previous Late Bronze Age ceramic traditions, and the close technological and typological connections with contemporary Cypriot and Cilician Aegean-style assemblages.

Most scholarly attention has focused on the Aegean-style pottery assemblage. However, many other features of Philistine material culture mark a well-defined break with the preceding Late Bronze Age traditions. Linda Meiberg re-examines lion-headed cups that appear in Philistine and other Iron I coastal sites in the Levant. Earlier scholarship stressed the Aegean origin of this category of objects. However, as Meiberg demonstrates in her chapter, Philistine lion-headed cups can be traced to Anatolian and north Syrian traditions, reflecting the complex transmission of material culture traditions and peoples during this period.

The site of Tell el-Farʿah South, located on the border of the Negev and the coastal plain, has often been associated with Philistine expansion because of the appearance of Bichrome Iron Age and other Aegean-style pottery found in rock-cut chamber tombs. This formed one of the lynch pins to the erroneous theory that associated Egyptian-style clay anthropoid coffins with the Philistines at Tell el-Farʿah South, a New Kingdom Egyptian stronghold, and several other sites where anthropoid coffins coincided with Egyptian imperial presence (see, e.g., Oren 1973, 142–46; Killebrew 2005, 65–67 who provide evidence against this equation). Sabine Laemmel stresses the continuity of local Late Bronze Age traditions and concludes that long-term processes of "socio-economic and cultural change" and outside influences from Cyprus were responsible for the relatively modest amounts of Aegean-style material culture, rather than the presence of actual Philistines at the site.

Tell eṣ-Ṣafi, identified as biblical Gath, has provided unparalleled information regarding the transitional Iron I /Iron II period in Philistia. As outlined by Aren Maeir, Philistine material culture experienced a rapid process of change during the early Iron II period (ca. tenth century B.C.E.). Many of the Aegean-style features disappeared, attesting to a process of acculturation. At the same

time, what apparently were especially meaningful cultural expressions, such as the notched scapulae, persevered into the Iron II period. The excavations at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi fill in a key component of Philistine settlement in the southern coastal plain and illustrate their ability both to survive and retain their cultural uniqueness and ethnic identity well into the Iron II period.

In chapter ten, Hermann Michael Niemann analyzes the Philistine–Israelite conflict as presented in the Bible with the aim of reconstructing a history of the Philistines stripped of its biblical ideology. Recognizing that an historical account of the Philistines cannot rely solely on the biblical text, Niemann's contribution integrates geographical, archaeological, epigraphic, iconographic, anthropological, and sociological studies. He proposes that differences between Philistines and Israelites were not solely ideological, but were largely the result of well-documented social and economic differences between populations in the plain and highland dwellers.

The Other "Sea Peoples" in the Levant

Gunnar Lehmann's opening chapter analyzes the repertoire of Aegean-style pottery in the northern Levant, documenting the close typological connection between LH IIIC assemblages in this region and on Cyprus. In Lehmann's opinion, the stratigraphic sequence at Enkomi is key to reconstructing the chronology of these assemblages. He divides the LH IIIC pottery at Enkomi into two groups: 1) the LH IIIC Early and Middle styles (or Mycenaean IIIC:1) and 2) "Granary" Ware and Wavy Line style (end of LH IIIC Middle and LH IIIC Late/Submycenaean), dating the first group to the twelfth century B.C.E. and the second group to the first half of the eleventh century B.C.E. As presented in his chapter, a number of sites in northern Syria have yielded particularly important information on the Late Bronze/Iron Age transition and the early Iron Age. Excavations at Tell Afis and the renewed research in the ʿAmuq region provide essential data for the chronology and the material culture of the early Iron Age (Venturi 2007; T. Harrison 2009). A somewhat unexpected and complex picture of continuous Hittite cultural traditions together with new Mediterranean influences is emerging. For example, the persistence into the Iron Age of Luwian hieroglyphs and Hittite artistic traditions at some sites in the ʿAmuq Plain and northern Syria, coexisting alongside locally produced Aegean-style material culture, indicate continued affinities with the Hittite past of this region that postdate the influx of new cultural or demographic features (see, e.g., Bonatz 1993). Most surprising is the recent epigraphic discovery that the ʿAmuq Plain was referred to as Palistin during the early Iron Age (Hawkins 2009).

Although some of the main excavations on the north Syrian coast have not been fully published, preliminary reports indicate Aegeanizing finds clustering around Ras el-Bassit and Ras Ibn Hani, on the territory of the vanished kingdom of Ugarit (Sherratt, this volume). Some scholars interpret these finds as evidence for settlements of Sea Peoples in the area (Badre 1983; Lagarce and Lagarce 1988; for more literature, see Mazzoni 2000, 34 n. 11; cf. also Sharon 2001, 576–79). Others, however, have expressed doubts that the Sea Peoples settled in northern Syria (i.e., Sherratt, this volume; Caubet 1992, 130; Bonatz 1993, 125–26, 134–35; Venturi 1998, 135; Mazzoni 2000, 34).

In her chapter, Michal Artzy focuses on the other Sea Peoples who are known mainly from Egyptian sources. Based on her excavations at Tel Nami, Tell Abu Hawam, Tel Akko, and the evidence from other sites in the Plain of Akko, Artzy highlights the importance of this region in our understanding of the Sea Peoples phenomenon, which differs from the archaeological evidence unearthed in Philistia. In her opinion, the other Sea Peoples were quite familiar with the eastern Mediterranean littoral and played a key role as economic mercenaries, secondary contractors, and international intermediaries during the final century of the Late Bronze Age. When the geopolitical and economic Bronze Age structures weakened, these groups, or "nomads of the sea," were well positioned to fill the void in a variety of ways, including marauding and other entrepreneurial activities.

Based on the recent excavations at Mycenae and Tiryns in mainland Greece, Elizabeth French proposes that the initial appearance of LH IIIC assemblages in the eastern Mediterranean, which followed destructions of these major Mycenaean centers, should be dated to the LH IIIC Early. As presented in her chapter, Aegean-style material culture makes its debut slightly later in Cilicia and the Levant, near the end of this phase (LH IIIC). Her observations have considerable chronological importance regarding the initial appearance of LH IIIC pottery in Cilicia and Philistia, which she dates well into the twelfth century B.C.E.

Susan Sherratt and Amihai Mazar (with an appendix by Anat Cohen-Weinberger) provide an important chronological basis for non-locally produced LH IIIC Middle pottery unearthed at Beth Shean Level VI, which has been assigned to the Twentieth Dynasty, possibly continuing as late as the reign of Ramesses VI (1143–1136 B.C.E.). They use the classification of their material as "Late Helladic IIIC Middle" with hesitation, since in their view there was no uniform development of *one* LH IIIC style throughout the Aegean and the Levant, but distinct regional developments. As in the case of Beth Shean, the small quantity of LH IIIC has its closest parallels in Cyprus (Enkomi late Level IIIa and probably early Level IIIb) and, as detailed in the petrographic study by Anat Cohen-Weinberger, most likely originated from Cyprus.

As the only site specifically associated with a non-Philistine Sea People group, the *TKR/SKL*, the excavations at Tel Dor are particularly insightful. In contrast to the southern coastal plain of Philistia, where indisputable evidence exists for a significant migration of new group(s) of peoples associated with the Philistines, the Iron I material culture at Dor represents a strong continuity with Late Bronze Canaanite culture. Although new features, such as monochrome pottery, bimetallic knives, and notched scapulae, do appear in modest quantities, in the opinion of Ilan Sharon and Ayelet Gilboa, this does not constitute evidence for the arrival of a new people. Rather the material culture suggests a more nuanced "Cypro-Phoenician dialog" that included a Cypriot and northern Levantine (Syrian) presence at Dor, together with the continuation of an indigenous southern Levantine ("Canaanite") tradition.

Anatolia, the Aegean, and Cyprus

Until renewed research in Cilicia in the 1990s, the archaeology of the Sea Peoples focused on the southern Levant. New excavations and surveys demonstrated that the early Iron Age of Cilicia is closely connected with the appearance of Sea Peoples in the Levant (for a survey of recent research, see French and Gates, this volume). Cilicia, ancient Kizzuwatna during the Late Bronze Age, was annexed by Šuppiluliuma I and remained part of the Hittite Empire for the rest of the Late Bronze Age. The transition from Late Bronze to Iron Age in Cilicia is, thus, connected to the end of the Hittite Empire. In recent research, the decline and fall of the Hittite Empire appears to be a complex and enduring process. As explored by Hermann Genz, internal problems apparently played an important part in the process and foreign invasions or migrations were at best only one of the factors involved.

Due to the paucity of archaeological data, it is difficult to fully understand the settlement hierarchy of Cilicia during the Late Bronze and early Iron Ages. The distribution and character of LH IIIC evidence in Cilicia is fully discussed in the chapter by Elizabeth French (see also Gates 2011, 394 and Sherratt, this volume), whose analysis is greatly aided by the complete publishing of the LH IIIC ceramics from Tarsus, one of the key sites for our understanding of this period in Cilicia (Goldman 1956, 44–59; Slane 1987, 445–65; Mountjoy 2005b; Yalçın 2005). French demonstrates that this Aegean ceramic style appears frequently in Cilicia at a number of sites. Increasingly, recent excavations and surveys are revealing that Aegean-style material culture is more prevalent at sites in Cilicia than in Palestine.

A case in point is the recent excavations at Kinet Höyük in eastern Cilicia where LH IIIC pottery has been recovered. Here, a Hittite town was destroyed in the thirteenth century B.C.E. During the following early Iron Age, a small rural settlement was founded above the destroyed Late Bronze settlement. As cogently presented by Marie-Henriette Gates, the artifactual and faunal evidence of this village reflects a clear break with the preceding Late Bronze Age, marked by the appearance of Aegean-style LH IIIC ceramics.

These recent discoveries shed new light on textual references to the elusive Hypachaioi, or "sub-Achaeans" of Cilicia, mentioned by Herodotus (*Hist.* 7, 91, see also *Peripl. M. Mag.* 186, 1–2 and Strabo, *Geogr.* XIV 5.8, 1–3) as a former name for the Cilicians. The inscriptions found at Çineköy (Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000) and Arsuz (classical Rhosus) (Dinçol and Dinçol forthcoming) leave little doubt that the Danuna of ancient Adana and their kings trace their ancestry back to Mopsos.[4] These perceived or actual genealogical traditions strengthen the suggestion that Ahhiyawa (or Hiyawa), which is usually understood to refer to a Late Bronze Age entity on mainland Greece (the Achaeans), instead refers to a "Mycenaeanized" state on the Anatolian coast (Finkelberg 2005b, 140–59; Jasink and Marino 2007; Fischer 2010). Additional evidence for the latter interpretation is provided by the identification of Hiyawa with ancient Que in Assyrian sources for Cilicia (Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000, 982). The relationship between the Achaeans and Cilicia, and how and when they reached Cilicia remains unclear. However, the connection between a Late Bronze Age Mycenaean state or Mycenaeanized state on the coast of Asia Minor and the Danuna of Adana, who trace their ancestry back to Mopsos and appear as one of the Sea Peoples groups mentioned in earlier New Kingdom Egyptian texts, is increasingly likely.

Additional clues regarding the diffusion and development of Aegean-style culture are found in the eastern Aegean. Mario Benzi presents a summary of research on LH IIIC in the southeast Aegean. He discusses the complex development of the ceramics, burials, and Mycenaean traditions in Miletus and the Dodecanese, independent of direct influences from the Greek Mainland. Southeastern Aegean material culture, which flourishes during the LH IIIC Middle phase, represents an individual stylistic development and distinct demographic trends. There are indications of a decline in the following LH IIIC Late period, trends that are still difficult to understand.

Penelope Mountjoy provides a detailed analysis of the stylistic development and distribution of LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early pottery during the Late Bronze/

4. Mopsos was, according to Greek myth, the legendary seer and founder of a number of cities in Asia Minor mentioned in Greek myth and was of unclear ethnic origin.

Iron Age transition in the eastern Aegean and western Anatolia. She traces the parallels between the eastern Aegean and the Levant, noting the limited comparisons between the two regions and the challenges presented by the insufficient number of publications. Thus the southeast Aegean fits well into the complex picture of decentralized, regional settlements that exchanged with other similarly organized regions throughout the eastern Mediterranean.

In their stylistic analysis of the earliest Philistine ceramic assemblages, Jeremy Rutter and Susan Sherratt both confirm the close connections between southern Levantine and Cypriot Aegean-style material culture. Rutter identifies the earliest pottery as an advanced stage of LH IIIC Early (or LH IIIC Phases 2–3). He concludes that the LH IIIC pottery of Philistia was derived from Cyprus rather than even partly from the Aegean, which could have far reaching consequences. If the imported Mycenaean IIIC pottery at Beth Shean (e.g., Sherratt and Mazar, this volume) and the locally produced LH IIIC Early ceramics at Philistine sites are closely related to similar LH IIIC assemblages on Cyprus, which clearly predate 1130 B.C.E., this would tend to refute Finkelstein and Ussishkin's low chronology date (post-1130 B.C.E.) for the Philistine migration to Palestine (Finkelstein 1995; 1998).

The archaeological evidence for Cyprus also demonstrates both continuity and change, as indicated by the chronological terminology Late Cypriot IIIA and IIIB, approximately corresponding to the Iron I period on the mainland Levant. As outlined by Maria Iacovou, some settlements are destroyed, others continue, and new settlements are established. The major twelfth-century B.C.E. sites at Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition, and Paphos weathered the disintegration of the great empires, with urbanism, state functions, and copper production remaining intact. Aegean influence was already evident during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries with the appearance of Mycenaean pottery, which was initially imported, but was later gradually replaced with locally produced Mycenaean-style pottery. This process of Aegeanization continued during the twelfth century, with the appearance of White Painted Wheelmade III pottery (an alternative term for Mycenaean IIIC on Cyprus) and other Aegean-inspired wares. The resulting Aegean-style material culture incorporates Cypriot, Levantine, and both eastern and western Aegean components, a blending of cultural features which has been termed 'creolization' or 'hybridization' (Webster 2001; van Dommelen 2006; Stockhammer 2012). Interpretations differ regarding the significance of the prevalence of Aegean-style material on twelfth-century Cyprus. These include large-scale migration and colonization to more nuanced processes of interaction that take into consideration external and internal stimuli, such as long-term economic migration, creolization, and hybridization, which would

typify diverse urban populations (see, e.g., Iacovou 2008a; this volume; Knapp 2008, 249–97; Voskos and Knapp 2008).

This volume closes with reflections on the Sea People phenomenon, particularly as reflected in the ceramic evidence, by Susan Sherratt, who urges us to examine the archaeological, and specifically ceramic, evidence on its own terms, freed of the "tyranny of the text." As she rightly points out, the archaeological record needs to be considered on multiple levels, including site specific and regional contexts as well as a multitude of other less visible factors that may have had an impact on the appearance of Aegean-style ceramics. Following Sherratt's concluding chapter, an appendix by Matthew Adams and Margaret Cohen lists the primary textual sources relevant to groups traditionally associated with the Sea Peoples.

Final Observations

Who, then, were the Sea Peoples (as they are known in modern scholarship), which make their debut in Egyptian New Kingdom texts and are often understood to have served as protagonists in the crisis (or crises) that occurred at the end of the Late Bronze Age? Both the textual and archaeological evidence is largely ambiguous regarding the identity of these peoples. Their identity in the archaeological evidence has focused on the appearance of Aegean-style ceramic assemblages, especially LH IIIC pottery, in the eastern Aegean, on Cyprus, and along the Levantine coast. However other material culture features such as hearths (Lehmann, this volume; Iacovou, this volume), fibulae (Lehmann, this volume; Benzi, this volume; see also Pedde 2000 and Giesen 2001), and detailed studies of Aegean-style loom weights, have also been published (see, e.g., Rahmstorf 2003a–b; 2008; 2011). Objects associated with cultic practices, such as Aegean-style female figurines, notched scapulae, and lion-headed cups (see, e.g., Meiberg, this volume) have also been interpreted as possible material remains of the Sea Peoples. Still, Sherratt is correct in claiming that "take away the [LH IIIC] pottery" and one of the main foundations of attempts to identify the Sea Peoples in the archaeological record will have vanished.

While aspects of the Sea Peoples phenomenon are still not sufficiently studied, what the volume clearly demonstrates is the complexity of economic, political, and cultural multi-directional interactions between lands bordering the eastern Mediterranean during the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.E. These interregional connections begin to unravel at the end of the thirteenth century/early twelfth centuries, particularly affecting the trade routes linking the west Aegean and the Levant, and coinciding with the collapse or retreat of Hittite and

Egyptian imperial influence over the region, which marks the crisis at end of the Late Bronze Age and the assertion of power by local groups freed from centuries of imperialistic exploitation. As in all such situations where there is a breakdown of central control, there are "winners" and "losers," resulting in a complex and multivariate picture. In some instances, as with the Philistine phenomenon, there is clear evidence for the arrival of large numbers of new peoples, bringing with them an Aegean-style material culture with strong Cypriot/Cilician underpinnings that coincides with textual evidence supporting such a scenario. In the northern Levant, Cilicia, and now the 'Amuq Plain, locally produced Aegean-style material culture also appears in noteworthy quantities at select locales following the collapse of the Hittite Empire. On Cyprus, the transition to a locally produced Aegean-style material culture begins already in the final decades of the thirteenth century, becoming the dominate cultural feature by the twelfth century B.C.E. Likewise locally produced Aegean-style pottery begins to appear in the eastern Aegean during the final decades of the thirteenth century. It is also increasingly clear that, contrary to earlier treatments of the topic, the Sea Peoples were hardly a homogenous population of destitute refugees fleeing the west Aegean eastwards as a result of the breakdown of a politically and economically centralized palace system. Rather, these peoples, categorized under the rubric Sea Peoples, were most likely well acquainted with the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean long before the end of the Bronze Age. They should be understood as enterprising communities that also included displaced or migrating populations, who took advantage of the power vacuum resulting from imperial breakdown and decline during the crisis years. Groups associated with the Sea Peoples were among the "winners" to emerge from the ruins of the Late Bronze Age.

We hope this volume will encourage continued dialogue between scholars working in all regions of the eastern Mediterranean regarding the Sea Peoples phenomenon in its broader and multi-regional context. The processes that led to the demise of the Bronze Age and created new cultural, social, and political structures were complex, and continued over a period of about a century. It is increasingly evident that the Sea Peoples comprised diverse groups of populations that were impacted by the crisis that ended the Age of Internationalism. Based on an interpretation of the textual evidence, these peoples have traditionally been identified in the archaeological record by the appearance of Aegean-style material culture in areas east of its source of inspiration—the west Aegean Mycenaean homeland. The world of the Late Bronze Age did not completely perish. On its partly ruined foundations, emerged a new configuration of diverse cultural identities and Mediterranean connectivity during the early Iron Age, characterized by locally controlled and multidirectional entrepreneurially driven networks, and decentralized political and cultural structures.