

KILLEBREW, A.E. and G. LEHMANN (eds.) — *The Philistines and Other "Sea Peoples" in Text and Archaeology*. (Archaeology and Biblical Studies, 15). Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, 2013. (23 cm, XIX, 751). ISBN 978-1-58983-129-2. \$ 88.95.

The present volume is the result of an "updated" workshop in 2001 which was devoted to "The Philistines and other Sea Peoples". It tackles one of the most intriguing historical and archaeological puzzles at the end of the 13th and the 12th centuries BCE in the Eastern Mediterranean. The preface (N.A. Silberman) pays homage to Moshe Dothan and his achievements as an archaeologist and teacher. The remainder of the publication consists of 24 chapters which are thematically divided in an introductory chapter by the editors, "The World of the Philistines and Other Sea Peoples", followed by "The Philistines in Text and Archaeology"; "The Other 'Sea Peoples' in the Levant"; "Anatolia, the Aegean, and Cyprus"; and an appendix on "The Sea Peoples in Primary Sources".

In Chapter 1, Introduction (by the editors), the reader learns that the workshop was co-organized by, in addition to the editors, M. Artzy and R. Hachlili and supported by the University of Haifa and the Ben Gurion University of the Negev. This introduction is useful because it presents a comprehensible summary of the 23 chapters that follow. The editors highlight the well-known problem in the past of overly simplistic interpretations of the best known group of the Sea Peoples, the Philistines, and inform the reader that the publication contains a collection of papers that examines not only the Philistine but also the broader Sea Peoples phenomena from a variety of viewpoints and disciplines. The complexity of the crisis period during the later part of the

Late Bronze Age, viz. the outgoing 13th and the 12th centuries BCE, is well summarized by a historical review of past and present research. This includes the discussion on the somewhat misleading, although today generally accepted, term "Sea Peoples" which encompasses the ethonyms Lukka, Sherden, Shekelesh, Teresh, Eqwesh, Denyen, Sikil/Tjekker, Wehesh, and Peleset. The editors once again point out that despite the ever expanding archaeological record the identity and origins of the Sea Peoples remain quite elusive.

Chapter 2 (I. Singer) addresses the historical value of the biblical record, which has been questioned by I. Finkelstein. Singer rejects any implications which consider the mentioning of early Philistines as a literary invention of the 7th century BCE or later. He argues for a firm Iron Age I date for the appearance of the Philistines, which is supported by the archaeological evidence from the Pentapolis and the epigraphic material from the northern Levant and Cilicia. Chapter 4 (T.J. Barako), which should have followed directly after Chapter 2, concentrates on a comparison of the stratigraphic evidence from the minor Egyptian outpost at Tel Mor with that of one of the cities of the Pentapolis, the major Philistine centre of Ashdod. Barako defends the traditional (high) Iron I chronology with fairly convincing arguments against the roughly 50 years lower chronology of I. Finkelstein and D. Ussishkin: he argues that the Philistines arrived during the reign of Ramesses III and not later, viz. after Ramesses IV according to Finkelstein/Ussishkin, and that Egyptian finds during this period are mainly from outside Philistia because the Philistines, who were hostile to Egypt, dominated the land occupied by them.

Chapters 3 (T. Dothan and D. Ben-Shlomo), 5 (P.A. Mountjoy) and 6 (A.E. Killebrew) discuss the important role of Mycenaean III C pottery and its locally made derivatives for our understanding of early Philistine culture. The editors rightly state that these ceramics have long been considered the most important tool for the recognition of the presence of the Philistines in the Southern Levant. This brings us to the problematic and confusing terminology for the locally made derivatives (!) of Aegean/Mycenaean pottery for which, unfortunately, a consensus does not exist: it is variously termed "Late Helladic/Mycenaean III C" with or without a variety of suffixes (understood as locally made which is not always obvious from the text), "White Painted Wheel-made (III)", "Philistine Late Helladic III C", "Philistine Aegean-style", "Philistine 1", "Philistine Monochrome", and "Aegean-style/type". This makes some of the text in this volume not always easy to comprehend. It would have been advantageous either to explain already in the introductory chapter the contributing author's use of differing terms for certain groups of ceramics or for every individual author at the beginning of the chapter to have explained and motivated her/his use of a specific term, especially since ceramics are our most important tool in this research.

Dothan/Ben-Shlomo (Chapter 3) discuss the progress of research on the "Mycenaean III C:1" pottery in the southern Levant, mainly based on well-stratified finds from Ashdod, Tel Miqne-Ekron, Ashkelon and Gath. They list a number of chemical and petrographical studies which demonstrate that this type of pottery was locally made but not standardized. Aegean-imported "Mycenaean III C" pottery from Beth Shean, Tel Keisan and possibly Megiddo is briefly discussed. Both Dothan/Ben-Shlomo and Mountjoy put forward the

hypothesis on the transfer of knowledge for the production of these locally made wares, inter alia from Cyprus.

In her Chapter 5, Mountjoy studies the various shapes and decorative patterns of “Mycenaean IIIC” pottery from Tel Miqne-Ekron. She concludes that the “Mycenaean” pottery from Ekron is a hybrid style with influences from the Greek mainland via Cyprus or the south Anatolian littoral, Crete and the Dodecanese. Ekron Stratum VIIB should, according to her conclusions, date from the “first phase of Late Helladic IIIC Early, while the Stratum VIIA material is equivalent to the second phase of Late Helladic IIIC Early”. She emphasizes “that the pottery from Enkomi and Ekron is so similar that it suggests a simultaneous appearance from a common source rather than a gradual infiltration from Cyprus to Ekron”. Killebrew (Chapter 6) focuses on early Philistine pottery technology at Tel Miqne-Ekron and its implications for the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age transition in the Eastern Mediterranean. In her ambitious and lengthy study she goes beyond typological considerations and stresses that there is a clear break with Late Bronze Age ceramic traditions. The close technological affinities with contemporaneous Cypriot and Cilician “Aegean-style” assemblages are highlighted. A minor remark: her Figure 1, which (only) shows the five cities of the Pentapolis, would have gained if supplemented with other important contemporaneous sites or, alternatively, (a) map(s) showing all the essential sites which are mentioned in this volume and which are shown in various figures in the following chapters, could have been placed at the beginning of the publication.

L. Meiberg (Chapter 7) studies the Philistine lion-headed cups and suggests an Anatolian, and not Aegean, origin. S. Laemmel (Chapter 8) describes some tomb groups at Tell el-Fara^ah South. She highlights the continuity of local Late Bronze Age traditions and stresses that the changes observed at the site may have more to do with intensified contacts with Cyprus and its south-eastern maritime centres of Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition and Enkomi.

Tell es-Safi/Gath is a pivotal site concerning the transitional Iron Age I/II period. A. Maeir (Chapter 8) stresses the rapid change in Philistine material culture at the beginning of Iron Age II, viz. 10th century BCE, with the disappearance of Aegean characteristics. However, he points out that the Philistine culture endures well into Iron Age II when Phoenician elements gain in influence. His contribution goes beyond the main theme of the workshop by presenting a summary of this important excavation spanning from the Late Bronze Age (Stratum 10, 13th century) to the Iron Age IIB (Stratum 3, 8th century). H.M. Nieman (Chapter 10) studies the relation between Philistines and Israelites as presented in the Old Testament. He concludes that the conflict between these two groups is the result of socio-economic differences between people dwelling in the plain littoral and those from the hilly country. It would, maybe, have been more convenient if this chapter had followed Chapter 2.

Co-editor G. Lehmann starts the next section, The Other “Sea Peoples” in the Levant, with Chapter 11 on “Aegean-style/Aegeanizing” pottery from Syria/Lebanon during Iron Age I. Based on his thorough and clear overview of the Aegean-style records of this area, he points to the ceramic connection with Cyprus where Enkomi is considered the key site for the reconstruction of the chronological sequence: the “LH IIIC” pottery at Enkomi is divided into two groups, “LH IIIC Early-Middle styles (=Mycenaean IIIC:1)” and

“Granary Ware/Wavy Line style (end of LH III Middle and Late/Submycenaean)”. He stresses that the transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age in this area does not denote discontinuity but a gradual change – with the exception of the destruction of the cities such as Ugarit and Alalakh – with downsizing of urban centres to small-scale economic units, but there are exceptions, for instance, Karkemish. New elements in the shape of “Aegean-type” ceramics, cooking jars/jugs, cylindrical loom weights and fibulae appear in Iron I. He does not exclude pockets of Sea People settlements along the Cilician and Syrian coast which co-existed parallel with Hittite- traditional settlements and eventually the Aramaean culture.

M. Artzy (Chapter 12) deals with the historical and archaeological evidence of “less-known” Sea Peoples, namely the Sikila and Shardana who settled north of Philistia along the Carmel coast. She concludes that these people(s) who were involved in the political and cultural changes during the 12th centuries BCE were initially mercenaries, contractors and intermediaries with their own traditions. During the period of “crisis” they either reverted into marauding “Sea Peoples” or filled a commercial void. She adds that the northern neighbours, the Phoenicians, should be considered a major element in the “other Sea Peoples”. Thematically, Chapter 15 (I. Sharon and A. Gilboa) could better have been placed after Chapter 12. The authors persist in their opinion, although new find groups appear at Dor in the shape of “monochrome” pottery, bimetallic knives and notched scapulae, that this does not give proof of the arrival of new people. In contrast, there is evidence of the continuation of Southern Levantine, Canaanite, traditions into the Iron Age “Phoenician” period together with cultural connections with Cyprus and the Northern Levant, according to the authors.

E. French (Chapter 13) discusses briefly the origin and date of “Aegean-type” pottery in the Levant. Based on the evidence from Mycenaean and Tiryns she suggests that the impetus of the new pottery found in the Levant comes following the earthquake disaster in the Argolid well into the LH IIIC Early period. S. Sheratt and A. Mazar in their Chapter 14 present the “Mycenaean IIIC” and related pottery from Beth Shean. They conclude that the imported “Mycenaean IIIC” pottery probably has Cypriot origins according to the petrographic study by A. Cohen-Weinberger. It consists mostly of stirrup jars which reached Beth Shean before the end of Ramesses III’s reign, viz. before roughly 1150 BCE.

H. Genz (Chapter 16) presents an overview of the “last days” of the Hittite empire. Continued research at Bokazköy/Hattusa casts doubt on the idea that the city was destroyed in a sudden catastrophe, for instance by invading hostile forces, which has been suggested. The evidence points rather to a slow decline due to internal problems, with Hattusa not being totally abandoned after the fall of the empire. Evidence of the Sea Peoples, viz. “LH IIIC pottery styles”, is restricted to the coastal regions and no such finds have been made on the central Anatolian plateau. The distribution of “Hel-lado-Cilician” pottery in Cilicia is dealt with by E. French (Chapter 17). Her analysis has gained much from the material from Tarsus, one of the key sites in this area. It seems that Aegean-style ceramics are more common in Cilicia than in Palestine. M.-H. Gates (Chapter 18) discusses the Early Iron Age newcomers at Kinet Höyük in eastern Cilicia.

These people from “behind the scenes” were obviously pastoralists who manufactured pottery rather casually and did not build permanent structures. The arrival of these people can be linked to the breakdown of the Hittite empire and its south-eastern boundaries after 1200 BCE.

Moving to the eastern Aegean and western Anatolia, M. Benzi (Chapter 19) presents an overview of LH III research in the south-eastern Aegean, the cultural material remains of which demonstrate an individual, non-uniform, development of the Greek mainland styles. These individual styles flourish in LH IIIC Middle but show a decline in the LH IIIC late. He highlights our basic ignorance of the events which took place in this area in the 12th century BCE and which can hardly be perceived on the south-eastern Aegean islands. P.A. Mountjoy’s Chapter 21 would maybe have been better placed after Benzi’s. Mountjoy offers here her view on the stylistic development and distribution of late LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early pottery in the eastern Aegean and western Anatolia. It is once again obvious that the general picture is complex in these decentralized communities which express an individual development. She points rightly to the problem of insufficient publications dealing with this period in this area.

J.B. Rutter (Chapter 20) offers his view “from the west” on the earliest Philistine ceramic assemblage. The earliest pottery belongs, according to Rutter, to the advanced stage of LH IIIC Early. Stylistically, the “LH IIIC” pottery of Philistia has close affinities with that from Cyprus rather than from the Aegean. Also Mountjoy in a previous chapter (and pers. communication) stresses the Cypriot stylistic connection of the pottery from Ekron but refers to neutron activation analysis of several samples (by H. Mommsen) which demonstrates that the pottery is locally made.

M. Iacovou in her lengthy Chapter 22 presents the Late Cypriot (IIC) and IIIA evidence. The subtitle of her paper conveys her general opinion on this topic, namely, “minimal evidence, maximal interpretation”. Although fairly critical of certain excavations (methods/results/interpretations), e.g. Sinda and the old excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke, she presents a thorough overview mixed with her own interpretations as regards the general situation during this period, mainly based on the evidence from Enkomi. I quote from her chapter: “(Enkomi) is to this date the only Late Cypriot settlement in the island that can be considered adequately excavated” (p. 594), and “... it is the only Late Cypriot site where excavation has established the settlement’s continuity stratigraphically ...” (p. 595). She rightly points out that her contribution is a slightly updated version (2008) of her paper from 2001 which of course did not enable her to consider new results, for instance, from the latest four seasons at Hala Sultan Tekke, one of the largest cities of this period: these demonstrate that the site was abandoned and never reoccupied after a destruction dated roughly to the mid-12th century BCE. One of not too many editorial flaws in this volume is the repetition of footnotes in Iacovou’s chapter (notes 10 and 13).

In the concluding Chapter 23 S. Sherratt reflects on the “ceramic phenomenon” of the Sea Peoples. She rightly states that the archaeological record, especially the ceramics, should be studied, considering subtleties of site-and-area-specific nature which certainly had a considerable impact on the appearance of Aegean-style ceramics. The volume ends with an appendix by M.J. Adams and M.E. Cohen, who list the primary textual sources which mention the Sea Peoples.

Before I perform the duty of a reviewer which includes the pointing out of deficiencies in this publication, I would like to forward my appreciation to the editors who had the difficult task of publishing this (updated) important workshop 12 years after the actual meeting, the reason for which is not clearly stated in the volume. All scholars who added new knowledge, and references which were published after 2001, should be thanked in particular. The most recent reference is in fact to a publication from 2012, but the bulk of references are from some years back in time and thereby do not take into account recent discoveries. One might have seen contributions, for instance, on the climate and metallurgy in order to add yet another facet to the Sea Peoples phenomenon, and a more uniform ceramic terminology: varying terms for related groups of pottery, and lack of distinction when “originals” and their locally made derivatives appear under the same term in the text, will certainly confuse non-specialized readers. Despite some minor editorial flaws which include a not always logical sequence of articles and quite an unhappy small format which, in regard to handling, makes the 751-page book difficult to read, it represents a most important contribution to the phenomenon of the Sea Peoples. Many questions could not be answered and this was not expected at all, which makes the Sea Peoples phenomenon even more interesting! Scholars who deal with the history and archaeology of the 13th and 12th centuries BCE in the Eastern Mediterranean should not be without this publication.

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