

**BIBLICAL PHILISTINES: ORIGINS AND IDENTITY**

by

**STEPHEN MARK FUGITT**

submitted in part fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF THEOLOGY**

in the subject

**OLD TESTAMENT**

at the

**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

**SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR W. S. BOSHOFF**  
**JOINT SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR F. VERMAAK**

**NOVEMBER, 2000**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Summary		i
Key Words		ii
<b>CHAPTER</b>		<b>PAGE</b>
1	<b>An Introduction</b>	
	1.1 Introduction	1
	1.2 Statement of the Problem	2
	1.3 Statement of the Purpose	6
	1.4 Importance of the Study	6
	1.5 Procedures Used	7
	1.6 Conclusion	9
2	<b>Biblical Connections</b>	
	2.1 Introduction	11
	2.2 Where is Caphtor?	11
	2.3 Early Presence of Philistines	17
	2.4 Joshua Through the Early Monarchy	24
	2.5 Prophets and the Philistines	33
	2.6 Conclusion	35
3	<b>Archaeological Connections</b>	
	3.1 Introduction	37
	3.2 Egyptian and Aegean Evidence	38
	3.3 Other Links to Origins	48
	3.4 Upheavals: What part did they play?	51
	3.5 Movements and Migrations	53
	3.6 Settlement in Canaan	56
	3.7 Conclusion	58
4	<b>Identity and Culture</b>	
	4.1 Introduction	59
	4.2 Religion	61
	4.3 Language and Writing	70
	4.4 Pottery Methods	76
	4.5 Conclusion	78

<b>5</b>	<b>Polity, Economy, and Expansion</b>	
	5.1	Introduction 79
	5.2	Political Systems Familiar to the Philistines 80
	5.3	Economy and Economic Resources 85
	5.4	Sites of Economic Interest 90
	5.5	Expansion and Causes of Conflict 93
	5.6	Conclusion 99
<b>6</b>	<b>Summary and Conclusion</b>	<b>100</b>
	<b>Sources consulted</b>	<b>103</b>

<b>MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
Map of the Mediterranean World of the Philistines	10
Map of Sites with Philistine Remains in Palestine	36
Philistine Pottery	45
Minoan Fresco	46
Ashdoda	63
Ekron Inscription and Facsimile	75

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **AN INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

The Philistines are a familiar people to one studying the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible. They are seen repeatedly throughout the period of the Judges and early Monarchy. In archaeological terminology they appear in Palestine in the Early Iron Age or sometime in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. They can then be traced to the Neo-Babylonian period of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. Biblically or literarily they can be seen in the time of the Iron Age II prophets of the Old Testament such as Amos, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah. Thus they remained in the minds of the biblical people even up to the time the Bible was coming together as a literary unit.

This chapter presents some of the problems that arise from the study of the biblical Philistines in terms of their origin and identity, acknowledging that there are more areas that could be considered. It seeks to clarify the specific purpose of this study and discusses the procedures used in pursuit of that purpose. It also cites the type of information and material used and sets out the specific direction of the entire paper.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

This paper shall pursue the origin and identity of the biblical Philistines and their relationship with other peoples in the Old Testament world. A particular emphasis will be placed on their relationship to the Israelites, inasmuch as they are the culture that produced the Bible. The biblical account reveals a variety of peoples who were constantly developing and changing, constantly interacting with their neighbors around them, and being influenced by them as well. This paper will seek to discover the measurable influence the Philistines had on their neighbors. It will also seek to identify ways the Philistines were influenced by other peoples around them, including those with whom they interacted before settling in Canaan?

Hints of this influence can be seen in the literature of the Old Testament and in the material record of the excavations at Philistine sites. For example, the section in this study on religious practice will discuss the transition from the "Ashdoda" to the worship of Dagon. The "Ashdoda" has been identified by T. & M. Dothan (1992:155) as an older form of cultic expression probably brought with the Philistines to Canaan. The later biblical picture reveals them engaged in the worship of Dagon, one of the principle gods of the Canaanites, and other western Semitic peoples. (Kitchen 1977:46) These fragments of evidence show some of the influence the neighbors of the Philistines had on them.

This study seeks to uncover such evidence through the blending of archaeological and biblical information. It seems that the Philistines were quite

ready to adapt to their surroundings, whether it be for social, economic or some other reason or reasons. Other ways they were influenced will be dealt with in subsequent chapters.

A major roadblock to a more complete understanding of who the historical Philistines were is the paucity of written material they left behind. The question may be raised: is this lack of literary material an evidence of a less cultured people? The archaeological evidence, especially the pottery they left behind, supports a picture of the Philistines as a more refined people. Perhaps some have assumed them to be a less cultured and illiterate people because of the absence of large quantities of their writing to evaluate. For example, the editors of *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (Guralnik 1974:561) have given as two of their definitions for "Philistine:" "indifferent to cultural values" and "lacking in culture." To the contrary, however, bits and pieces of their written language have seemed to reveal these people as having come from the developed cultures of the Aegean, which coincides with the material finds of Aegean type pottery in Philistine settlements.

M. Dothan (1989:65) states that some of the script worth mentioning, though "not finally deciphered, may belong to one of the variations of the Cypro-Minoan scripts." Minoan writing, through the "Linear B" system of writing, has been linked to the later Greek language. M. Ventris (Knapp 1988:206) deciphered the "Linear B" script in 1952 and identified it as an early form of Greek. This language appears to have been used regularly at Knossos on Crete

by the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century, replacing the earlier hieroglyphic system known as "Linear A." (Knapp 1988:205)

It seems the clearest link to an understanding of Philistine culture is the pottery they left behind, which leads by style and type to that area of the Mediterranean world. T. Dothan (1982:25) in fact, states that pottery is the "hallmark and chief indicator of Philistine culture."

Cultural influences can be traced in ways other than the material record. Another area of pursuit in this study will be the establishing of the "Pentapolis" or the "five-cities" by the Philistines in the Old Testament. These are the earliest settlements of the Philistines in Canaan, and they coincide quite closely with the date given in the Egyptian records concerning Pharaoh's confrontation with the Philistines and their other seafaring allies. (Dothan, T 1989:8 chart)

According to Egyptian records, after defeating the Sea Peoples, Pharaoh Ramesses III settled them in the area that was to become "Philistia." Thereafter they began developing this political structure now called the Pentapolis. Interesting parallels can be made between this Philistine political system and that of others around them. Drawing on their Aegean connections and cultural roots, a possible link between this five-city cooperative system and the ancient Greek amphictyony may be made. The questions could be raised: could this arrangement of power reflect the influence of other and/or previous cultures on them in some way? And were they following the pattern of other political arrangements that preceded their settlement in that area? The research of S. Gitin and others will be very helpful in an understanding of these political issues,

and of Philistine development in the Iron II period. This subject will be pursued further in chapter five.

The problem of tracing the original homeland of the Philistines, and understanding the kind of people they were historically, has yielded some very different and interesting perspectives. This lack of a clear picture of these people raises some doubt as to whether they came from the Aegean or western Anatolia, and even whether they came from one specific ethnic group or were actually a mix of people who eventually shared a common culture and historical identity.

The Old Testament/Hebrew Bible presents its reader with a variety of peoples and cultures. Some may be linked to an eponymous ancestor, i.e. an ancestor for which a people are named such as the Arameans, Edomites, etc.; and the study of each of these groups presents its own set of problems to solve. Other groups may be linked to a geographic region or city such as the Babylonians or Assyrians. The Philistines have no eponymous ancestor, so far as can be known; therefore, leaving no clear ethnic trail to follow in that way. Also, with the exception of "Philistia" in the Levant along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, they have no known historical location to which they can be linked linguistically before settling in that area. The archaeological evidence does link them to the Late Bronze Age civilizations of the Aegean as will be pursued later but even with this link made questions about origin and identity remain unanswered. This paper seeks to address these problems of who the Philistines were and from whence they came.

This study will be divided into six chapters in its pursuit of the questions presented. The significance of the relationship between the Philistines and the Israelites from a biblical perspective will be highlighted throughout, since most of the references to Philistia or Philistines in the Old Testament concern their struggles with the Israelites. A picture of how this recurring contact and conflict influenced the formation of Israel as a nation culturally, politically, and in other ways will be considered along with the pursuit of Philistine identity.

### **1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PURPOSE**

The purpose of the paper will be to render a clearer picture of Old Testament Philistines, through tracing their origin and identity, and examining their influence on other Old Testament people. Though the task is difficult, there are clues to Philistine origins and identity in the Old Testament and the archaeological data. This study will present the data to accomplish the purpose of the paper.

### **1.4 IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY**

Because of the prominence of the Philistines in the Old Testament they have been studied much. They are an important people for the student of the

Bible, and a thorough look at them will provide a better understanding of passages being studied. Quite a bit of information has been written about who they were. There is also a sizeable amount of archaeological information available that contributes to a comprehension of them. This study seeks to pull together the latest information available from both disciplines, i.e. biblical studies and archaeological pursuits, in order to help update and clarify the understanding of who they were and where they were from. Lectures and reports from the more recent archaeological excavations will be brought to bear on the study, lending a fresh insight into this well studied area of the Old Testament.

There are in fact some adjustments to be made to what is generally thought about the Philistines in light of this more recent evidence. Though there is quite a large amount of archaeological information available regarding the Sea Peoples in general, the study will focus on this one important group of Sea Peoples labeled "Philistines" in the Bible. The general subject of Sea Peoples will be discussed as it contributes to the stated purpose of the study.

### **1.5 PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY**

A general pattern to be followed throughout the paper will be to present the biblical as well as the archaeological material available that bears on each

aspect of the study. This paper will draw on the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible, Egyptian sources, and the modern scholarly work of Trudy Dothan, Seymour Gitin and others. These scholars have probed for answers to the problems raised by the study of the Philistines through the research of literary material and archaeological excavations.

This first chapter seeks to set the course for the paper as stated above. Chapter two, titled "Biblical Connections," will discuss the "table of nations" found in Genesis chapter 10, as well as other biblical information. While biblical material will be considered throughout the paper, this chapter will focus on how the biblical people in general and the writers specifically, perceived the origins and identity of the Philistines.

Chapter three is entitled "Archaeological Connections," and considers any archaeological information germane to the study including the Aegean evidence as well as the Egyptian documentation that relates to the pursuit of origins and identity. Chapter four is entitled "Identity and Culture." This chapter investigates cultural aspects such as religion, language and writing, as well as pottery and artistic expression.

Chapter five is called "Polity, Economy, and Expansion." This chapter will cite comparable elements in other political systems in the ancient Near East at the time of the Iron I Philistines, as well as give consideration to the Philistine pentapolis. It will investigate evidence of Philistine trade and other economic pursuits. The perception of Philistine metallurgy, specifically the "iron monopoly" concept will be considered, as well as other evidence of their economic power.

The popular biblical picture of a savage warrior people struggling repeatedly with the Israelites will be looked at in this section. The subsequent expansion, along with its causes and locations where Philistines are later found, will also be given brief consideration. Understanding where they settled beyond the Pentapolis can help with an understanding of their identity and who they became.

Chapter six is a summary and conclusion. It will draw together the research presented throughout the paper and restate certain key points that will have been made.

## **1.6 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has sought to clarify an understanding of the complexity of tracing the ethnic and cultural roots of the Philistines. It has set the course and limits for the rest of the paper. It reveals a variety of directions a study of this type could take, and that any such paper of limited scope must select its topics from the many available.

THE WORLD OF THE SEA PEOPLES



(Dothan and Dothan 1992, p. 4)

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **BIBLICAL CONNECTIONS**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter will present certain key passages from the Bible in order to pursue the origins and identity of the Philistines. It will discuss the so-called “table of nations” found in Genesis chapter 10. It will also confront the issue of the anachronistic use of the term “Philistine” in the Bible. It will follow selected stories from the time of the “Judges” to the early monarchy and David’s final defeat of the Philistines. Finally it will cite the use of “Philistines” as seen in the words of the prophets.

#### **2.2 WHERE IS CAPHTOR?**

According to S. Gitin (1998:163) there are 423 biblical references to Philistines, Philistia and their cities in the Old Testament. The majority of these, 320 or 76% relate to Iron Age I period Philistines. The rest of the references, 103 or 24%, relate to Iron Age II Philistines, and concern mostly the Neo-Assyrian period of history. The Philistines are presented in the Old Testament as the chief

enemies of ancient Israel. In fact, out of the 919 references to Israel's foes according to Gitin, 423 or 46% of these mention the Philistines.

The reader of the Bible will first encounter "Philistines" in the book of Genesis chapter 10, in what has been called the "table of nations." This table is comprised of lists of peoples grouped in some way. Some have said these lists may actually include geographic locations instead of names. Lace (1972:30) says these lists are related to "proximity and political connections." Others, such as Noth (1958:25) have suggested that these types of lists are given to describe the cultural diversity in the land and areas where Israel and their neighbors would settle.

Verse 6 and following describes the descendants of Ham and their pursuits. One of the sons of Ham by the name of Egypt was the father of the Caphtorim, which according to verse 14 was the place from which the Philistines came. The table here, as T. Dothan (1982:13) points out, indicates all these people came from Egypt. She mentions it may be because the Philistines were initially settled in Egypt or perhaps Egyptian properties after being defeated by Ramesses III. This listing here would also seem to challenge the archaeological perspective of Philistine ethnic origins. As Howard (1998:232) states,

"We should note that Genesis 10 links the Philistines with various Hamitic peoples, including Canaanites, and not with the Indo-European descendants of Japheth from the coastlands or islands. This suggests that the Philistines actually were an amalgamation of several different peoples and that the Philistines (who) descended from the Casluhites were different from those who came from Caphtor."

But as it is discussed below, perhaps Egypt as well as Caphtor should be seen as just stopping points for the Sea Peoples and not the places of origin.

Locating Caphtorim or Caphtor proves to be a difficult problem. T. and M. Dothan (1992:8) state that Caphtorim is geographically obscure. C. Gordon (1965:85) states that Caphtor not only appears in the Bible but in the Ugaritic tablets in reference to the "Aegean and Minoan sphere." Chabas and Maspero linked the Philistines to the Aegean and then to biblical Caphtor. (Dothan, T & M 1992:26) But again the question is raised, was it really the place of Philistine origin or just a temporary stopping place before migrating to Canaan?

For example, Amos 9:7 states that the Lord brought the Philistines out of Caphtor as he brought the Israelites out of Egypt. This may suggest that Caphtor was not the place of origin for the Philistines, just as Egypt was not the place of origin for the Israelites. (Howard 1998:233)

Bible translators and interpreters have provided us with some suggestions as to the whereabouts of Caphtor. Deuteronomy 2:23 mentions the Caphtorim which came from Caphtor and destroyed the inhabitants of a part of southern Canaan and settled in their place. Footnotes in the *New Oxford Annotated Bible* (Anderson 1991:221) at this point identify Caphtor as the island of Crete, and this passage, according to the editors, is referring to the conquest of this land by the Sea Peoples. Howard cites Bush, Hess, and Rendsburg, and concludes that the term Caphtor can be identified with the Aegean island of Crete. He also mentions that it has been found in cuneiform documents in Egyptian texts and others. He

makes a direct correlation between the Cherethites and the Cretans. (Howard 1998:232)

A. Raban and R. Stieglitz (1991:34ff) have stirred an interesting discussion with their identification of “caphtor” as an architectural element introduced to Canaan by the Sea Peoples. Translated sometimes as “capitals” the word caphtorim could easily have been used in its place. One example is found in Amos 9:1:

“I saw the LORD standing beside the altar, and he said: Strike the capitals (caphtorim) until the thresholds shake, and shatter them on the heads of all the people; and those who are left I will kill with the sword; not one of them shall flee away, not one of them shall escape.” (NRSV)

Some maps of the period of the Judges place the Cherethites bordering the Philistines to the south along the Mediterranean coast. (Stinespring and Long 1991:396; Bright 1981:205 Plate IV) In his discussion on the subject, Stager (1998:152) simplifies it when he states that Caphtor is the Hebrew name for Crete. The TEV or Today’s English Version of the Bible translates Caphtor as “Crete.” (TEV 1978:11) The translators of the LXX, or Septuagint, translated Caphtor as Cappadocia, and the nation of Cherethites became the nation of Cretans. One might wonder then which text should be followed. The LXX translation presents a whole new problem since Cappadocia in Asia Minor is quite different from Crete, an island in the Mediterranean. (Dothan, T & M 1992:8)

It is puzzling to attempt to apply Wellhausen's rule as quoted by R. Klein (1978:81) which states, "If LXX and MT differ in respect of a subject, it is probable that the original text had neither." Some scholars have followed the lead of the Hebrew rather than the Greek at this point. The archaeological evidence leads this direction as well. The "Cappadocian" text would more readily lend itself to those following a west Anatolian origin for the Philistines than would the "Cretan" text.

Some have envisioned the Cherethites and the Philistines as being a different but connected people. In 2 Samuel 8:18 it is mentioned that "Benaiah son of Jehoiada was over the Cherethites and the Pelethites." These names possibly refer to the Cretans and the Philistines. Noth (1958:197) points out that this passage reveals the "assortment" of peoples represented in David's mercenary band. They were, as Noth states "by no means purely Israelite," and aided him in subjugating much of the land in the area including the Philistines.

Ezekiel links the Philistines with the Cherethites in Chapter 25 verse 16, in the poetic pronouncement of judgment against them. It states, "I will stretch out my hand against the Philistines, cut off the Cherethites, and destroy the rest of the seacoast." A geographic connection is made with these peoples and the "rest of the sea coast." This places them in the traditional site along the Levantine coast, typically seen as the Canaanite home of the Philistines.

In similar fashion, Zephaniah also refers to the people along the seacoast as the "nation of the Cherethites." (2:5) As before, they are seen here under the

judgment of God. It states, "Ah, inhabitants of the seacoast, you nation of the Cherethites! The word of the Lord is against you, O Canaan, land of the Philistines; and I will destroy you until no inhabitant is left." Combined with the warning of vengeance and judgment here in the text, is a hint to the origin of the Philistines, or at least a picture of the way in which the biblical writer perceived them.

By that time in history, it is evident that the Philistines had played such a dominant role in Canaan that the land was viewed as the "Land of the Philistines." In fact, L. Wood (1970:21) indicates that the name "Palestine" comes from the name "Philistia," which means "land of the Philistines." This terminology being used in modern times emphasizes the tremendous impact the Philistines had on that part of the world.

Also, in Jeremiah's oracle against the Philistines in chapter 47, they are again seen as coming from Caphtor, in which it states, "the Lord is destroying the Philistines, the remnant of the coastland of Caphtor." It seems in light of the repeated mention of the Philistines in the words of the prophets, that Caphtor was known to these ancient people. It also seems possible they were simply using terms that had become familiar over the generations in reference to their well known enemies.

### **2.3 EARLY PRESCENCE OF THE PHILISTINES IN THE BIBLE**

There have been a variety of opinions expressed regarding the apparent anachronistic use of the term "Philistine" in the Genesis account of the Patriarchal period. Concerning this early appearance of the Philistines Bierling (1992:24) states,

"It is possible the use of the name Philistines in these chapters of Genesis indicates an early wave of raiders who had come by the sea and settled in the area. It is also possible that a copyist some centuries after the writing of the original chapter added or substituted a word he himself had grown accustomed to using with reference to the territory."

The use of the term "Philistines" in reference to this and other earlier periods poses problems in our understanding of the chronology of the Old Testament. The term is used anachronistically in several places in the Hebrew Bible. These anachronisms according to some scholars may be the actual record of an earlier settlement, or "earlier wave," as stated by Bierling, of people of the same ethnic origin as the later Philistines. T. Dothan (1982:13) suggests that the best possibility comes from Macalister who saw the references not as simple anachronisms "but rather the account of a biblical historiographer who, living during a period of Philistine dominance" wrote the stories in terms logical and familiar to that time.

In this next discussion, of the Philistines at Gerar, interesting similarities can be seen in these early appearances of Philistines and Gunkel's "etiologies." Perhaps these records are literary devices used by the biblical writers to describe the origin of the relationship between Israel and Philistia. G. Tucker (1976:31) citing Gunkel's terminology of "ethnological etiologies" defines literature of this type as "sagas which give the reasons for the relations between tribes."

Genesis chapters 20 and 26 both record similar incidents from the Patriarchal period and involve a people called Philistines. A similar story is also found in Genesis chapter 12. The chapter 12 passage involves Pharaoh of Egypt however, instead of the Philistines of Gerar and Abimelech their king. The first of the two stories involving Philistines is in the context of Abraham and Sarah and the other involves Isaac and Rebecca.

There are several comparable elements in the story. The most significant similarity for this story is that both involve Philistines. They each begin with a famine. They all include a lie, or a half lie (chapter 20:12) about the Patriarch's wife being his sister to save his own life. The foreign monarch, being Abimelech of the Philistines of Gerar in both of these instances, finds out the truth and confronts him with it. The Patriarch is portrayed as being very wealthy as a result of the episode and they are left unharmed throughout all the events.

Chapter 20 is the clearest account as to the restoration after the incident. Verse 14 states, "Then Abimelech took sheep and oxen and male and female slaves and gave them to Abraham and restored his wife Sarah to him." He then

told Abraham he could settle anywhere in his land he chose. Verse 16 indicates that Abimelech gave Abraham a thousand pieces of silver. Abraham even prayed for the Philistine king, which allowed his wife and female slaves to conceive again. They had not been able to bear children since the whole incident began. In this way Abraham is seen as a type of spiritual “overlord” to the Philistines.

Interestingly, throughout these incidents the Philistines are seen as subservient. So even in this early period of biblical history the conflict with the Philistines and Israel is subtly envisioned. In the minds of the biblical Israelites the Philistines are understood as a defeated enemy. This can be seen from the patriarchal period down to the time of the compiling of the written literature of the Bible. Since the Philistines become archenemies of the Israelites in a later period, it makes good literary sense to portray them as defeated foes in earlier time periods as well.

Ahlström (1994:566) points out that “Gerar,” the city mentioned in the two Philistine accounts, is known as a district in southwestern Palestine from the Persian period. This could simply be an indication of the period of history when the Bible was being edited and compiled. He also points out that Gerar is not one of the five cities of the Philistines as mentioned in Joshua 13:3.

As a result of excavations beginning in 1926 at Tell Jemmeh, Petrie attempted to link that site to Gerar. T. and M. Dothan (1992:64) state that Petrie used pottery typology to link the site to the Philistines of the Bible. They

observed, however, that the stylistic parallels he made were “vague,” which implies that a link between the two is unlikely. They also report that most scholars disagree with Petrie and consider this mention of “Philistines” as being anachronistic. Petrie believed that the Philistines were present at that time and were drawn by commercial interests during this period of history.

Kitchen (1966:80) disagrees that the use of the term “Philistines” in the Patriarchal age is anachronistic. He suggests the term may apply to earlier Aegean immigrants who came into Palestine from Caphtor/Crete and other Aegean locations. As Kitchen (81) states, “Once grant this, and the supposed anachronism disappears entirely.” Hindson (1971:94) supports Kitchen’s theory citing “substantial evidence of contacts at this time between Aegean peoples and Near Eastern Semites.” He admits there is no archaeological evidence supporting Philistine presence at Gerar during the Patriarchal period.

Hindson (1971:94) goes on to cite the 1956 excavations of Alon and its identification as Gerar, though realizing that the Philistine evidence there dates to the Iron Age. His position relies on evidence of Aegean trade in the Near East during the Middle Bronze Age, and on his suggestion that Abimelech was seen in Genesis 21 as the ruler of the “land of the Philistines,” emphasizing he was not necessarily Philistine himself. He points out the other side of the argument as well, citing Genesis 26:15 which connects the enemies of Abraham with the Philistines.

One of the major problems regarding chronology in general, and biblical chronology relating to the Philistines specifically, has to do with the seeming disagreement between literary sources and the material evidence. Other than the Bible, early mention of the Philistines is found in Egyptian records; an example being in the reliefs at Medinet Habu on Ramesses III's temple dating to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century BC. (Kitchen 1966:80) Assyrian records also mention the Philistines. In fact Ehrlich (1996:167) states, "The richest source of contemporaneous ancient documentation bearing on the history of the Philistines is to be found in the cuneiform literature of Assyria." This information coming from a later period dates to the late 9<sup>th</sup> and early 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. As Ehrlich states this could be as early as during the reign of Adab-nirari III. Since this paper is focusing on the identity of biblical Philistines it will primarily focus on the Iron I evidence.

T. Dothan (1982:25) describes how the material record of Palestine reveals that characteristic Philistine culture first appears there in the Early Iron Age I period, not the Middle Bronze Age. This complicates the issue of chronology and is a reminder that there is no simple answer to this problem. Hindson (1971:98) suggests that these early "Aegean people" may have only remained in this region for a short time, thus explaining the lack of material evidence. This explanation does not seem to have much support among recent scholarship in light of the evidence from the later excavations and research.

Needless to say, issues regarding chronology and the accompanying problems that sometimes arise in the study of ancient history can be difficult to solve. Even with the use of king lists, eponym lists or the like, arriving at precise dates seems to be impossible at times and sometimes relative at best. In some of the records from the ancient past one finds a curious mixture of history and exaggeration. The mention of Enmebaragisi, king of Kish, reigning for nine hundred years is obviously an exaggeration, yet Sumerian inscriptions have revealed that such a king did exist historically. The same could be said of Gilgamesh of Uruk and many of his super human feats. (Kitchen 1966:40)

The problems of chronology in the Bible are further evidenced in the scholarly disagreement about the dates of the time periods presented there. An example of this problem can be seen in the dating of Abraham. Albright, Glueck, de Vaux, and Wright all placed Abraham in the years between 2000 and 1700 BC. Rowley and Cornelius both placed him in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. C.H. Gordon and Eissfeldt both placed him in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. (Kitchen 1966:42) This example simply reveals some of the problems faced when attempting to fix dates on the events or the people of ancient history.

Another use of the term "Philistine" that seems to be out of proper historical sequence appears in Exodus 13:17 where it mentions the "way of the land of the Philistines." This is in reference to the descendants of Jacob coming out of Egypt, and the warning is given that if they were to have gone the way of the Philistines they would have encountered war and would have gone back to

Egypt. The passage also emphasizes that the way of the Philistines was actually nearer than other possible paths between Egypt and southwestern Canaan.

Relating to the four century-long Egyptian control of the area, B. Anderson (1986:76) indicates that this route would have been "heavily fortified with Egyptian outposts." Moyer and Matthews (1997:60) agree with Anderson and emphasize again that the use of the term Philistine here is anachronistic since they did not arrive in Canaan until after 1200. The Israelites likely passed through this area in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century.

The passage found in Exodus 15:14 states, "The peoples heard, they trembled; pangs seized the inhabitants of Philistia." Again we see the early use of the term Philistia set in a time before there ever was a Philistia. This is likely the work of the redactor using familiar terms to their own time. This is similar to the use of the phrase "Ur of the Chaldees" when referring to Abraham. Of course, there were no Chaldeans in southern Mesopotamia in the Middle Bronze Age, but the readers of the Chaldean or post-Chaldean eras understood from this terminology where Abraham was from. So may go the logic regarding at least some of the anachronistic uses of "Philistia" or "Philistines."

Similar terminology is used yet a little later in the book of Exodus in reference to the boundaries of the land they were to inhabit. This passage is found in Exodus 23:31 and states, "I will fix your boundary from the Red Sea to the sea of the Philistines..." The sea mentioned here is most likely the Great Sea or Mediterranean. (Hindson 1971:23) Here again, this later terminology is

projected back to the time of the wilderness wanderings of the Israelites after coming out of Egypt. Given the generally accepted date of the exodus event and the date of the settlement of the Philistines in the Levant, there would not be sufficient time for the sea to have already been labeled by the name of the Philistines.

Bierling (1992:24) states that these two Exodus passages mentioned along with the Egyptian records may provide a date for the beginning of the conflict between the Philistines and the Israelites. Two insights gained from these passages have to do with this conflict as well as territorial or land possession, which was one of the sources of the struggles described in the Bible during Iron Age I.

## **2.4 JOSHUA THROUGH THE EARLY MONARCHY**

### **Joshua**

During the time of Joshua the land the Philistines had settled remained in their possession. In spite of the victorious tone of the book of Joshua, there was still quite a bit of area yet unconquered and unsettled by the Israelite tribes. Joshua 13:2 indicates that the “regions of the Philistines...” as well as other

locations were yet to be possessed. Verse three in fact cites specifically the five major cities.

These five cities where the Philistines apparently first settled and established their Pentapolis were Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath and Ekron. (verse 3) They are cited repeatedly throughout the biblical record from the period of the Judges to the early Monarchy. This confederation of cities and their political system and power will be discussed in greater depth in a later section.

As Noth (1958:171) points out, the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan was not a simple task. According to the Bible one of the major factors in this difficulty was the presence of the Philistines there. The conquest model of Joshua may have worked for some people in the land but not for the Philistines as is evident in the book of Judges. Joshua 12 recounts a list of some 31 kings and city-states taken by Joshua, but chapter 13 states that the land of the Philistines was yet to be possessed.

Noth states regarding this political situation,

“One swift campaign did not suffice, however, against the Philistines, as it had done against the much less formidable Ammonites; against the Philistines a permanent and stable military command seemed to be necessary.”

He goes on to describe how the new king was intended to oversee this continued subjugation of these enemies and settlement of the land. Thus we are given a motivation for the establishing of the king of Israel and the entrance of Saul on to the biblical scene as will be discussed below.

While the tone of the book of Joshua is one of conquest, that of Judges is of a struggle to settle the new homeland of the Israelites. Judges 1:18 states that, "Judah took Gaza with its territory, Ashkelon with its territory, and Ekron with its territory." It goes on to state that they were able to take the cities of the hill country but were unable to take those of the plain. The reason given in verse 19 they were not able to drive out the inhabitants of the plain was "because they had chariots of iron."

There seems to be little or no evidence supporting this idea that Judah took these Philistine cities and was able to hold them for any length of time. Bierling (1992:25) seems to suggest this may have been a temporary situation. This mention of "chariots of iron" contributes to an interesting pursuit of the Philistines and their control over their neighbors around them.

Scholars like Bright and Anderson (1986:199) have both argued that the Philistines held a monopoly on iron during Iron Age I. Bright (1981:176) states, "The Philistines enjoyed a local monopoly on the manufacture of iron, the secret of which they had presumably learned from the Hittites who had had a similar monopoly." He also suggests, what might seem obvious, that this would have given them a tremendous advantage over their neighbors.

## **Judges**

Though the term "judge" is used to describe individuals like Samson and Deborah in the Bible, some scholars such as Francisco (1977:104) suggest the

word would better be rendered “deliverers.” B. Bandstra (1995:232) even states that, “none of the figures is actually a judge.” Bandstra’s statement may seem a bit bold but it also seems largely true when reading the book of Judges.

As detected in the book of Judges the Philistines were the chief enemies of the Israelites during this pre-monarchic period. According to Baylis (1996:176) the Philistines are the only oppressors to reappear at a later time in the book of Judges. They first appear under Shamgar in Judges 3:31, and then again under Samson, in chapters 13 through 16. There is also the issue of Sisera, the “Canaanite” with a Philistine name who appears in chapters 4 and 5 with Deborah, the judge at that time.

Even though the Philistines were “not challenged in the conquest,” according to Hester (1956:136) they became significant players in the political scene during this later period. It was likely the stress of this period that precipitated the formation of the monarchy. Bandstra (1995:14) describes that as the pressure mounted it became too difficult for the tribal groups individually or the dynamic leaders called Judges to handle. This then began to necessitate the centralization of government in the form of a monarchy.

### **Samuel and the Monarchy**

The biblical book of I Samuel gives many insights into the identity of the Philistines. Bandstra (1995:14) identifies the Philistines as the “major national threat” during this period. Specifically he cites Philistine expansion as the main

cause of this threat. A revealing passage regarding Philistines and relating to religion and cultic practice is found in I Samuel 4 and 5. In this passage the circumstances that contributed to the development of the monarchy are also discussed. The Israelites are defeated at Aphek/Ebenezer by the Philistines. Israel had taken the ark with them into battle in what seems to be typical Mesopotamian fashion. When they won the battle, the Philistines carried the ark away in equally Mesopotamian fashion, and placed it in their own temple. The Philistines perceived the ark as representing the presence of the Israelite God. (Curtis 1990:46-47)

T. Dothan (1982:21) points out that this is the only time Philistine priests appear in the Bible. The passage here may serve as an etiological disclosure of a custom that was maintained for centuries in the Ancient Near East—the leaping over the door-post of the temple of Dagon. As the story goes, they placed the ark in the temple next to the statue of Dagon. After the first night they discovered Dagon had fallen. On the second night he had not only fallen but his head and his hands were broken off as well.

T. Dothan (1982:20) suggests the statue was made of clay, thus allowing it to break more easily when it had fallen. I Samuel 5:4 says that Dagon's hands were not only "cut off" but they were lying on the threshold of the temple door. Verse 5 then cites this as the reason the priests, in fact everyone who entered the temple of Dagon, would not step on the threshold "to this day."

*The Oxford Annotated Bible* (Stinespring & Long 1991:347) indicates this "leaping over the threshold was a common practice in primitive religions." A cross reference is given to Zephaniah 1:9 where words of judgement are spoken to all who "leap over the threshold." It appears the judgement was meant for the worshippers of Dagon, of which the Philistines were a part.

According to I Samuel 6:1 the ark remained in the Philistine hands for a period of seven months. It was finally returned voluntarily by the Philistines because of a series of plagues that followed its presence. The residents in the Philistine towns the ark visited began suffering from this plague. The residents either died or suffered from tumors. Stinespring and Long (1991:348) regarding this ailment state, "These tumors are generally considered to have been the swellings of the bubonic plague."

Finally when the ark is sent back to the Israelites, the Philistines send guilt offerings along with it. The offering was five gold tumors and five gold mice, one for each of the five lords of the Philistines. The gold tumors represented the ailment from which they suffered, and the mice may have represented the pestilence that brought the plague. As Stinespring and Long (1991:348) indicate, the Bubonic plague is carried by fleas riding on the backs of rodents, most likely rats or "mice" here.

Ahlström (1984:121) makes an interesting link at this point. He states that in the "cult of the mouse" the god of pestilence was worshipped in the Aegean culture, and here mice are connected to Philistine cult practice. It seems they

may have thought that to worship the god of pestilence would ward off any possibility of pestilence coming. In this text however, the offerings are given to the Israelite God. In fact, other biblical sources use this image of the mouse as well. Ahlström (1984:122) cites Isaiah 66:17; 2:20ff; 65:3ff, and Leviticus 11:29, which mention the mouse in relation to ancient Israel. For more on this see chapter four on "Identity and Culture."

The Samuel passage indicates the ark was not taken back to Shiloh when returned, but it does not give the reason. LaRue (1970:111) suggests it was because the Philistines had destroyed Shiloh. He cites archaeological evidence that indicates the city was destroyed at about that time of history. W. F. Albright (1951:113) states in quite matter of fact fashion, "about the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century the Philistines defeated the Israelites at Ebenezer, captured the ark, and destroyed Shiloh." Bright (1981:186) points out that it had been argued but there was no archaeological evidence to prove this destruction took place until a 1975 report appeared in *Biblical Archaeology Review*. Citing Jeremiah 7:12 and Psalm 78:60, Bright (186) emphasizes the probability of Shiloh's destruction as he says "presumably at this time." Whatever is envisioned here certainly the power of the Philistines at this time in history is emphasized. That power would continue to the early monarchy and the period of David.

Shannon (1977:83) cites I Samuel 9:16 as justification for the development of the monarchy and the Philistines being the precipitating cause.

Samuel was given the task of appointing Saul as the first king of Israel. On the day before this was to happen, the Lord said to Samuel,

“Tomorrow about this time I will send to you a man from the Land of Benjamin, and you shall anoint him to be ruler over my people Israel. He shall save my people from the hand of the Philistines; for I have seen the suffering of my people, because their outcry has come to me.” (I Samuel 9:16, NRSV)

Then in nearly mosaic fashion, Saul appears on the scene as a deliverer from the Philistine oppression described here. Though experiencing initial success it was not to continue. W. F. Albright (1951:114) describes the Philistine threat as it relates to the monarchy in this way. Saul defeated them initially (ca 1020 BC) but upon his death Philistine control was regained. When Saul was killed at Mt. Gilboa (I Samuel 31) while in battle with the Philistines, the Israelites, according to Anderson (1986:221) initially and temporarily lost an important trade route that crossed the country from east to west.

With Saul dead, David would be the next king of Israel. Not only did David gain the throne of Saul, he also was handed the Philistine problem that had now reappeared. An interesting point made by Anderson (1986:221) regarding the Philistines at this point was that they did not follow up on their defeat of Saul and the Israelites at Mt. Gilboa. Anderson points out that the reason that they did not follow up and destroy any other elements of resistance is not clear. One possible reason he suggests is David. He suggests that David posed a threat and thus prevented any Philistine military attempts.

He emphasizes that David was able to bring the Israelite army back together at this point, deal effectively with their Philistine enemies, and establish a four century long dynasty. Anderson pictures the relations between David and the Philistines as rather peaceful while he ruled from Hebron. He indicates a change took place in their relations when David's power grew and he moved his throne to Jerusalem. Anderson suggests that the Philistines may have regarded David as their vassal during the early peaceful years.

An important and interesting site that relates to David and the Philistines is the city of Ziklag. Joshua 15:31 mentions "Ziklag," as a part of the southern boundary of the land of Judah. It was also the city given to David by Achish, the King of Gath, as a reward for his mercenary efforts, according to I Samuel 27:6. The story of David and Ziklag has been described as an interesting "trickster" type story by Matthews and Moyer. (1997:100)

Other stories such as those about Jacob, Ehud, and Samson also fit into this category. In this story David is the trickster. He has allowed himself to become a vassal of Achish, and he keeps a constant supply of booty coming to the Philistines. All the while in reality David is taking goods from Philistine cities. He instructs his soldiers to leave no one alive when taking these cities so the word could not return to Achish. The king was fooled and pleased with David's constant supply of loot. In turn he provided David with Ziklag, which became his administrative center during this period.

Bright (1981:198-199) points to II Samuel 5:21 which says that David “carried away their images.” He sees this as a turning point for Israel. David had dealt with the Philistines by taking their images. II Samuel 5:25 states that David defeated them from Geba to Gezer. He had, in a sense, pulled the curtain on the Philistine historical stage.

Maclear (1971:259) raised the issue of the appearance of Philistines as a military threat in II Kings 18:8. They are seen here in a time much later than David. It was during the reign of Hezekiah, sometime between the late 8<sup>th</sup> century and early 7<sup>th</sup>, that this text states he attacked the borders of the Philistines. The biblical information by in large however, seems to support the Davidic subjugation of the Philistines, even though they appear in later years.

## **2.5 PROPHETS AND THE PHILISTINES**

Earlier in this chapter it was mentioned that the Philistines were identified by the biblical prophets as having been from Caphtor or Crete. That concept seems to have been deeply ingrained in the minds of the Old Testament people. Another reality that seems to have been well established at that time was the Israelite perception of the residents of Philistia.

Citing the prophet Ezekiel, Gitin (1998:164) refers to this perception as an “old hatred,” that had not disappeared over the centuries. A good example of this

lingering animosity can be seen in this passage found in Ezekiel 25:15-17

(NRSV) which states:

Thus says the Lord God: because with unending hostilities the Philistines acted in vengeance, and with malice of heart took revenge in destruction; therefore thus says the Lord God, I will stretch out my hand against the Philistines, cut off the Cherethites, and destroy the rest of the sea coast. I will execute great vengeance on them with wrathful punishments. Then they shall know that I am the LORD, when I lay my vengeance on them.”

Haak (1996) as cited by Gitin (1998:164) mentions the attitude expressed by the prophet Amos and calls his reference to the Philistines “benign.” This reference is found in Amos 9:7 where the prophet simply refers in passing to the Philistines having come to Canaan by way of Caphtor just as the Israelites were brought out of Egypt. Gitin points out that this changing attitude may have been related to the view that Philistia became more powerful than Judah during the 8<sup>th</sup> century as a part of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

The late 7<sup>th</sup> century prophet Jeremiah issues a general condemnation that includes the Philistines along with several other groups living around them. Jeremiah 25:20-22 states: “All the mixed people; all the kings of the land of Uz; all the kings of the land of the Philistines—Ashkelon, Gaza, Ekron, and the remnant of Ashdod; Edom, Moab, and the Ammonites” and he continues through verse 26 with his words of warning.

## **2.6 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has attempted to present the biblical picture of the Philistines. Much more could have been said about these enemies of ancient Israel as found in the Bible. Hopefully, enough is said here to give a greater depth of knowledge about the Philistines, as well as a greater appreciation for this now non-existent civilization. It has sought to trace the whereabouts of biblical Caphtor, citing its presence throughout the Bible. It has included a discussion on the early appearance of Philistines during the Patriarchal age.

Philistine interaction is seen in the books of Joshua and Judges. The picture of the Philistines envisioned in the book of Joshua has been laid out in this chapter. They have been shown to remain unconquered at that time in history. The constant struggle described in the book of Judges has also been a topic of discussion in this chapter. This struggle is traced through the period of Samuel and the judges up through the monarchy and the time of David when they were subjugated. Finally the chapter emphasized the continued animosity between ancient Israel and biblical Philistia by citing the words of Hebrew prophets.



(Dothan and Dothan 1992, p. 79)

## CHAPTER 3

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONNECTIONS

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will pursue the origins and identity of the Philistines from an archaeological perspective. Sources will include the Egyptian documentation as well as the Aegean evidence. An emphasis will be placed on the interpretation of the pottery record which, as T. Dothan (1982:25) has stated, "is the hallmark and chief indicator of Philistine culture." Pottery types found at known Philistine sites in the Levant can be followed to earlier settlements in other areas, providing a sort of trail to follow. This pottery trail can be followed back to various locations showing evidence of that culture's presence there. This chapter will also trace the movement of the Philistines, and investigate possible causes of their movements.

Each discipline in the study of biblical history provides its own unique contributions into that study. Research of the biblical material can take on several emphases, such as literary, historical, anthropological, and the like. The most accurate picture of the ancient past will likely be portrayed when many different perspectives can be brought to bear on the study. Boshoff (1994:121) states, "I do believe that thorough historical information can facilitate a more competent reading of any text." While the previous chapter concentrated on areas specifically related to the biblical perspective, the focus here will be archaeological.

It will be demonstrated that archaeology sheds light on areas unknown to the Bible. While the focus of the archaeologist may be different from that of the biblical historian, the aim or goal may be the same. The goal here is to present the clearest picture possible of these ancient people. The focus for the archaeological material will be to present the evidence available from their material culture and thereby gain insights into the nature of the Philistines. The focus of the biblical historian and the evidence presented is more toward gaining insights from strictly a literary perspective. The relationship between the disciplines is a complementary rather than a conflicting one, even though the evidence may be contradictory. J. Muhly (1998:320) acknowledges this creative tension when he states,

“Archaeologists instinctively put their emphasis on the foreign, the new, the exotic. Historians instinctively look for continuity in the rhythm of everyday life. Given the same body of evidence to work with, the two are likely to reach very different conclusions.”

### **3.2 EGYPTIAN AND AEGEAN EVIDENCE**

It has been determined archaeologically and textually that the Philistines most commonly seen in the Bible did not appear in Canaan until just after 1200 BC. The general view of the origin of the Philistines, from the archaeological perspective, is that they came from “somewhere in the Aegean.” (Dothan, T & M 1992: vii) A minority opinion exists that sees the Philistines as having come from western Asia Minor or Anatolia. Examples of this would be Baylis (1996:203) as

well as Singer and Mellaart. (Dothan, T 1998:47) This section will pursue where they may have originated, why they moved from their homeland, and how they came to settle in the land of Canaan.

## **Egypt**

From ancient Egyptian information it is known that various groups of peoples invaded Egypt from the north during the reigns of Merneptah (1212-1202) and Ramesses III (1182-1151), and have been identified as the "Sea Peoples." These dates are from the low chronology as given by Bierling (1992:90). He also states that other than these two rulers, the Egyptian ruler most relevant to the study of the Philistines is Queen Tausert (1193-1185) The French scholar Maspero was the first person to identify these invaders from the north as the "peoples of the sea," and the terminology continues to be used. (Dothan, T & M 1992:28) As M. Dothan (1989:59) points out, however, just because they came to Egypt from the islands or northern lands by way of the sea, does not necessarily indicate they had always been connected to maritime activity. Nonetheless, the biblical Philistines have since been identified with the numerous groups of peoples classified collectively as Sea Peoples in the Egyptian records.

The Onomasticon of Amenope is an ancient papyrus document found in Egypt by the Russian Egyptologist Vladimir Golenischeff in 1891. Among the many subjects mentioned in this document are the peoples settled in Canaan and along the Mediterranean coast. Three ethnic groups along the coast were

the Shardana, the Shiqalaya, and the Philistines. It also places the Philistines in the familiar sites of Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Gaza. The three cities are commonly found in the recurring biblical references to the cities of the Philistines. (Dothan, T 1998:47 and Dothan, T & M 1992:210)

The term “Prst” appears in the document called the “Papyrus Harris.” This document dates to the time of Ramesses III, around 1184-1150 BC. It also appears on Ramesses’ funerary inscription at Medinet Habu where on the temple walls are depicted three different Sea Peoples in battle with Ramesses. Ultimately they are seen as defeated by Ramesses and taken captive by Egyptian forces. According to Ramesses the battle must have been fierce on land and on sea, and the prisoners numerous. Here Ramesses has provided the closest thing to a snapshot photograph of the Sea Peoples. (Kuhrt 1998:387 vol. II)

Champollion, who managed to decipher the previously unreadable hieroglyphs, linked the word Prst from Medinet Habu to the Philistines. The Philistines or Prst do not appear on the Karnak texts, which predate the time of Ramesses III. However, the Papyrus Harris does mention these invaders as having come from “their isles,” which gives a clue to the Egyptian perception of their origin, or at least the location they may have come from immediately before attacking Egypt. Kuhrt (1998:390 vol. II) suggests that it is possible that the “name Philistine was applied loosely to several different, though related, groups.”

If the Philistines were a mixed group of various peoples bonding together, it would make identifying any single origin even more difficult. The reasons for

various groups uniting together in this fashion could certainly have varied. They may have shared commercial interests. They may have bonded together for military reasons, perhaps in mercenary relationships such as those envisioned at Karnak. (Kuhrt 1998:386 vol. II) They may have simultaneously been fleeing natural disasters such as an earthquake or famine and thus shared these common concerns. These possible motivations for relocating will be pursued below.

### **Aegean**

The material evidence from the pottery record links the Philistines to various locations in the Aegean. This link will challenge any possible understanding of the Philistines as being anything less than a cultured people. H. R. Hall (cited by Wallbank and Taylor 1954:125) has described the Aegean culture as the "most human civilization of the more ancient world, the world before 1000 BC."

T. Dothan and M. Dothan (1992:11) report that Hitzig and Stark both agree that the Philistines show signs of an advanced civilization. Four basic aspects of Philistine civilization have been cited as evidence of this. They are 1) their complex military organization, 2) their federated form of government, 3) their monopoly of metalworking, and 4) their elaborate religious rituals.

Wallbank and Taylor (1954:125) in their description of the Palace systems of this civilization identify the overwhelming evidence of a people well advanced in artistic expression, architecture, and in other areas as well. They state that the

palace at Knossos seems to have had hot and cold water and “possessed a scientific sanitation system surpassing anything in ancient times until Roman days, or even in modern times until nineteenth-century England.”

Given the obscurity of the origin of the Sea Peoples and specifically the Philistines, a number of suggestions have been made as to where their homeland may have been. Noth, Herbig, Bonfante, Mertens, Liverani, and Lehmann and others have been identified as supporters of an Illyrian origin. Illyria was located east of Italy across the Adriatic Sea. (Niemeier 1998:47) Concerning the possibility of a Cretan origin, Noth (1958:36) states that Crete may have been a stopping place for the Philistines but was not their homeland. He also states that they could not have possibly been the “upholders of the Minoan civilization.” He suggests the possible Illyrian origin based on a few Philistine personal names. Using this linguistic approach, one of the names he cites as an example is that of the Canaanite king from the book of Judges chapters 4 and 5 called “Sisera.” R. Dentan and L. Hoppe (NRSV 1991:305) state that the name Sisera is not Semitic, and in fact may have been Philistine. The book of Judges simply calls him a Canaanite.

Vagnetti (1998:69) reports that Neutron Activation Analysis was used to assist in the pinpointing of the origin of Aegean pottery in the central Mediterranean around Italy. This procedure was adapted for use in testing pottery by I. Perlman. Dothan and Dothan (1992:168) describe this technique as identifying the “distinctive chemical fingerprint” of the clay. This fingerprint is then used to identify the region from which the clay came. Bierling (1992:39) indicates

this technique was used at Ekron to identify the imported Mycenaean IIC:1b pottery found there. This allowed a distinction to be made between the imported wares and those locally made. This technique has also been used at other times in the tracing of Philistine origins.

Regarding the possibility of an Illyrian origin for the Philistines, Vagnetti (1998:69) makes an important point when he states,

“In the central Mediterranean we do not know of any settlement of ‘Mycenaean foundation’ and tombs also are usually of a local type with local and Aegean material found together.”

It seems that even though Mycenaean/Aegean pottery appears in the central Mediterranean, it was not because the people who made the pottery originated there.

In the archaeological evidence of Palestine the Mycenaean material culture precedes that of the Philistines. The Mycenaean influence on Philistine culture appears in a traceable pattern in the material record in several sites. According to Dothan and Dothan (1992:89) the Mycenaean period itself designates the culture and civilization of a particular period in history around 1500-1100 BC from Greece and Asia Minor. The Mycenaean IIC period dates more specifically to around 1225-1050 BC.

Iacovou (1998:333) stresses the connection between the various peoples of this time throughout the Mediterranean world. She states that the term “Cypriot civilization is analogous to the terms Cycladic or Minoan civilizations.” She further emphasizes the connection between these cultures mentioned and others who shared the “same interdependent Mediterranean economy.”

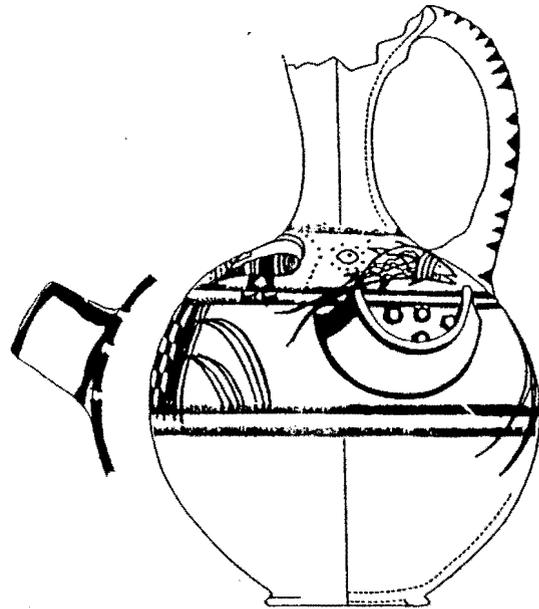
Killebrew (1998) states that it was in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century the connection was made between the pottery of Mycenaean IIIC:1b type and that of mainland Greece. Furumark (Killebrew 1998:393) first made his observations about the development in typology based on the shape and decoration of ceramic finds from those locations.

The earliest Philistine pottery appearing in Palestine is this pottery mentioned above called Mycenaean IIIC:1b because of its similarity to Mycenaean ware. Bierling (1992:40) describes the nomenclature. The "IIIC" refers to the type of pottery and the "1b" identifies this type of pottery found and made on Cyprus and the coasts of Palestine. Bierling states that most archaeologists on Cyprus link the IIIC:1b pottery with Achaean settlers who had migrated to that island to escape the destruction of the Mycenaean systems. He also argues, based on this evidence, that these Achaean "refugees" were the ancestors of the Philistines.

Philistine "bichrome" pottery then appears and can also be linked to the earlier Mycenaean style pottery. Bierling (1992:40) describes this Philistine bichrome pottery as being characterized by a white slip and the typical two colors, black and red, used in the decorating of the pottery.



Mycenaean III C:1b Strainer-Spout  
Jug from Cyprus



Philistine Strainer-spout  
Jug from Tell Aitun

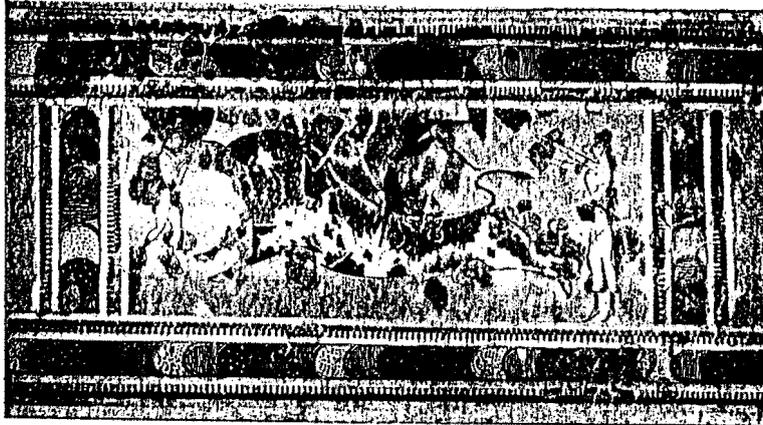
(Dothan, T & M 1992:52-53)

C. Ehrlich (1996:5) affirms that T. Dothan's main contribution to the study of the Philistines is her work with pottery typology. T. Dothan (1982:94ff) identifies Philistine pottery according to "typology, stratigraphy, and geographic distribution." She has classified Philistine pottery by typology into five groups:

1. Mycenaean (Types 1 through 8)
2. Cypriot (Types 9 through 11)
3. Egyptian (Only one type of vessel)
4. Canaanite (Late Bronze Age)
5. A Late Form of Group 1

Fresco paintings found at the excavations in Crete dating to the Minoan period (second palace period ca 1700-1400 BC) have similar characteristics to

those in the later Mycenaean art. The muscular men with disproportionately small middles appear to match in both periods. The apparent emphasis on physical strength and athleticism can be envisioned in these paintings.



(\* D. A. Harrisliadis, Athens)

*Minoan bull-leaping fresco from the east wing of the palace at Knossos, Crete. Second Palace period, about 1700-1400 B.C.*

(Knapp 1988:203)

Such similarities would not necessarily provide a definite ethnic link between these people groups, though it would seem logical that the art of a people would be passed down within its own ethnic perimeter from one generation to the next.

The pottery trail leads from the Levant back to locations such as the island of Cyprus, the island of Crete, other Aegean islands and coastal areas, to the mainland area of Mycenae. Material evidence has appeared at these locations that shows similar cultural elements, thus verifying Sea Peoples/Philistine presence there. T. Dothan (1989:4-5) interprets the pottery record as follows: it indicates that after the destruction of Late Bronze Ekron a new ethnic element arrived in Canaan that "shared many of the same artistic traditions of the

contemporary settlers on Cyprus.” She also indicates that in the pottery record there is evidence of continued contact between the Philistines and the Aegean after they had settled in Canaan.

In the Ashdod excavation, an iron dagger was located, as reported by M. Dothan (1992:174) in the location called area K. Unlike other daggers found in Canaan, this one was not straight, but slightly curved toward the point. This type of dagger was typical of the Greek daggers that date to around 1000 BC. T. Dothan (1995:44) cites the uniqueness of the hearth found in a structure at Ekron. She states that hearths of this type have only been found there at Ekron, Tel-Qasile, and Enkomi, Cyprus. These bits of archaeological evidence connect the Philistines to the Aegean cultures.

The pottery record coincides with the Egyptian notation regarding the “8<sup>th</sup> year” of Ramesses III. According to Egyptian records this is the time of the Sea Peoples’ invasion. Interestingly, according to T. Dothan (1989:8) Philistine pottery begins appearing at Ekron and Ashdod at about this same time.

Knapp (1998:200) points out cultural similarities in various locations throughout the Aegean from an earlier period. Dating back to the Early Bronze Age are advances in artwork and crafts such as seals, fine painted pottery (which provides an interesting link with later Mycenaean and Philistine pottery), marble vessels, efficient stone axes, silver and gold ornaments, and as Knapp puts it, “the growing sophistication of village crafts.”

T. Dothan (1998:47) along with Schachermeyr, Barnett, and Hrouda, all maintain that the Philistines originated on the Greek mainland, the Aegean

islands or Crete. Another possibility is western Anatolia, pursued by Singer and Mellaart. Cadogan (1998:25) emphasizes that the pottery record of the Levant has yielded little Trojan grey ware, while Cypriote and Mycenaean pottery is found in abundance. Given the extensive archaeological excavations both done and considered by T. Dothan, it would seem the Aegean view would hug the material evidence more closely. Stager (1998:153) affirms that most of the cultural elements "are found in the earlier Mycenaean civilization, which flourished during the Late Bronze Age on the Greek mainland, in the islands, especially Crete (Caphtor), and at some coastal enclaves of Anatolia."

### **3.3 OTHER LINKS TO ORIGINS**

Phythian-Adams (Dothan, T & M 1992:48-49) provided an argument in favor of an Illyrian origin. He identified a grave in that region of a warrior who had been buried with his helmet, greaves, shield and spear, all of which seem to fit the description of the armor of Goliath in the Bible and the heroes of Homer's writings as well. He also identified numerous kraters and bowls similar to Philistine vessels from Ashkelon. As with Noth, Phythian-Adams also linked the Philistines linguistically with this area. He located from Roman geography, a tribe called the "Pirvstae," who lived on the Illyrian coast. He then linked the name to the Egyptian "P-r/l-s-t."

Fourmant (as quoted by Dothan and Dothan 1992:9) presented a theory in 1747 that pointed to 2 Maccabees 5:9 and suggested a connection between the Philistines and the Pelasgians, an ancient people with origins in Greece. Built upon this Hellenic theory were a number of linguistic similarities. Also stemming from this is the discussion of the “pentapolis,” or the Philistine five city-state alliance pictured in the Old Testament. This system is at least somewhat similar in structure to the ancient Greek amphictyony. This concept will be pursued in a later section regarding the political background of the Philistines. It is cited at this point simply as a possible connection to their origins.

A very interesting and telling procedure, cited by Dothan and Dothan (1992:108) that also contributes to the discussion on Philistine origins has to do with physical anthropology. This technique considers the physical features of uncovered bodies; measuring skull sizes, skeletal lengths, etc. At the site of Azor, where large amounts of Philistine pottery were located, there were also a number of graves excavated. Azor is located along the Via Maris, or what M. Dothan (Dothan, T & M 1992:108) referred to as the old Tel-Aviv—Jerusalem road.

Dothan and Dothan (1992:113) report that anthropological testing showed the skulls discovered at Azor were not of a pure Mediterranean type. These tests, done by Dr. Denise Ferembach, reveal these people to have come from the Balkans or Asia Minor, with one tracing to somewhere in central Europe. Only one of the five skulls that were testable showed any Mediterranean influence at all, and it was of mixed characteristics. M. Dothan states that these results

"indicated a surprising mixture of influences that had suddenly joined together in Canaan at the early phase of the Iron Age."

This anthropological procedure revealing its "mixture of influences" (Dothan, T & M 1992:113) has added yet another argument in favor of the Philistines not deriving from one specific ethnic or even cultural group, but rather being a combination of various groups coming together. This would agree with Kuhrt's (1998:386ff) assessment of Philistine origin, which identifies the Philistines as a people of various and mixed cultures. Such information does not, however, imply that a homeland cannot be pursued and a predominant cultural influence or influences be traced.

The German scholar Stark (as quoted by Dothan and Dothan 1992:10-11) made a linguistic connection in the Hebrew between the Philistines and a branch of seafaring Phoenicians. He cited the complex military organization, the federated form of government, a monopoly of metal working, and an elaborate religious system of rituals as being evidence of an advanced civilization which could possibly link them to the cultured Phoenicians, known for their expansion and trade. This view is certainly different from the Indo-Aryan or European type picture presented by others such as Hitzig in 1845.

### **3.4 UPHEAVALS: WHAT PART DID THEY PLAY?**

A common theory related to the appearance or origin of the Sea Peoples has to do with their connection to the apparent upheavals throughout the Mediterranean world around 1200 BC. It has been assumed that because the Sea Peoples are mentioned in the area at about the same time the political and structural collapses occur, they must be the cause of the destructions. (Kuhrt 1998:386 vol. II) The insights of French and others like her, have broadened the possibilities of what may have actually caused these collapses. Sea Peoples have generally been blamed for the fall of Hittite Anatolia. The evidence generally cited is literary, and is the mention of "Hatti" by Ramesses III in his account of the Sea People's invasion of Egypt. Ramesses seems to embellish his account, however, of the might of the invaders of Egypt in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century.

B. Anderson (1986:129) believes that people from the area broadly defined as the "area of the Aegean Sea" were responsible for the defeat of the Hittite Empire. He states that the displaced Aegeans "swept into Asia Minor" where they encountered the last of this old empire. He also subscribes to the idea that these peoples were responsible for the take over of Crete and the Minoan culture, Cyprus, and Ugarit, before confronting Egypt's northern coast.

The Egyptian evidence supports this view. It is possible according to Kuhrt (1998:391) that Ramesses III embellished the facts when giving the record of the conquest of the Sea People's before coming to the north shore of Egypt.

In Ramesses' words, these invaders came from the north, conquering everything in their path. They destroyed the Hittites and everything in that realm.

Ramesses' words may be somewhat over blown, perhaps to enhance his own reputation and that of his Egyptian power. It could certainly help with foreign relations if Egypt's neighbors around them thought Pharaoh and his armies were able to defeat such a ravaging power as the Sea Peoples. Other information reveals however, that Carchemish was not destroyed at that time, which seems to contradict the impression given by Ramesses III.

Kuhrt (1998:386 vol. II) states that concerning the Sea People's involvement in these upheavals of the Late Bronze/ Early Iron Age we have only the two Egyptian sources mentioned above. The earliest of the two is the inscription at Karnak of Merneptah (1220/1209) where he used the terms "northerner from all lands" and "of the countries of the sea." These references were used by Merneptah's scribes to describe the attacking peoples he fought against. It was from this reference Maspero began using the term "Sea Peoples."

Kuhrt (1998:386-387 vol. II) states that at Karnak some of the Sea Peoples are pictured as what could be mercenary soldiers. They appear to be hired by the Libyans, who are pictured in the reliefs with their women, children and what looks more like domestic carts than military chariots or war vehicles. The Libyans are seemingly moving with their families and possessions, while the Sea Peoples who are with them, appear as soldiers with war chariots.

### **3.5 MOVEMENTS AND MIGRATIONS**

A question worthy of continued pursuit regarding the Philistines is: why did they leave their homeland? What put these people that M. Artzy (Dumas 1998:130) has called "nomads of the sea," on the move? Did natural disaster, economic or political collapse drive these people away from their place of origin? Perhaps there were a number of contributing causes.

A variety of reasons or causes for the movements of the sea peoples have been suggested. Rouge (Silberman 1998:269) suggests that the people he called "people of the Mediterranean Sea" were on the move in the Late Bronze Age as a result of "wide spread upheavals and dislocations in the aftermath of the Trojan War."

Archaeological records show that near the end of the Bronze Age there was a massive destruction of the Palatial system of Mycenae. Something or someone at that time in history caused those palace structures to collapse along with their power systems. With this destruction came the migration of its people. These migrations are documented in the archaeological record.

T. Dothan (1989:2) and Bierling (1992:38) both indicate the way archaeologists have been able to identify the transition in Canaan between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age is the disappearance of imported Mycenaean and Cypriote wares. As discussed above, residents there began making their own pottery. To help trace the migration this pottery record can be considered. As T. Dothan (1989:2) clearly states, the record is the same at Tel

Miqne as it is at Ashdod, with the earliest layer being the Late Bronze Age Canaanite pottery including imported wares. This layer is followed by the Mycenaean III C:1b pottery and no imported wares. The final transition is the appearance of Philistine bichrome ware. Seen here in successive fashion are the evidences of three occupations with similar Aegean connections.

The Philistines were not the only groups to be uprooted and relocated during this turbulent period in history. The Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age, the period around 1400-1200 BC, is characterized by political upheavals and population movements. Iacovou (1998:333) states that at this time "anarchy and piracy prevailed in the Mediterranean world." Even to the east in Mesopotamia the powerful and enduring Kassite Babylonians, the preservers and purveyors of Babylonian language and culture, yielded to the rising powers of Assyria.

Doumas (1998:129) has given a number of possible causes for this disturbance, such as drought, volcanic eruption, Haley's comet, and as he states, the most common is foreign invasion. The foreign invaders in these incidents are usually seen as the Sea Peoples. There is material evidence for massive destruction and population movements around the Mediterranean area during this time. The Sea People invaders are often envisioned as making their way across the entire area, including Anatolia, destroying peoples and kingdoms as they went. The evidence put forth in this study will challenge this view of the Sea Peoples as traveling marauders.

This issue is critical for a proper understanding of the Sea Peoples generally and the Philistines specifically. Not only does this issue address their

identity, but their origin as well. Evidence can be presented to make the Philistines and other Sea Peoples appear as a band of savages thoughtlessly destroying peoples along their way simply for monetary gain or political advantage. Evidence can also be presented to make them appear as a highly cultured people, displaced by a series of natural disasters, who were struggling for their own identity and survival. Kuhrt (1998:386 vol. II) states,

“A problem in understanding how the ‘sea-peoples’ might have been responsible for such widespread devastation revolves around their identity. If it can be established who they were and where they came from, then it might be possible to draw a picture of what kind of movement, or migration, we should envisage.”

Kuhrt (1998:385 vol. II) describes the political fragility of the Mediterranean world at this time. The Hittites from Anatolia begin to fade from their once very influential position on the historical scene. Egyptian control of the city-states of the Levant ceases during this time. Egypt had held control over this area and had been a major influence for the better part of four centuries. Cities such as Ugarit and Emar were destroyed during this time, never to be reinhabited. The powers of Mycenaean Greece also show signs of abandonment around this time.

Some scholars see the Mycenaean destruction as the result of an earthquake. In fact, E. French (1998:2-4) suggests that there were possibly two such quakes, the first occurring just after 1250 BC and the second one even producing a partial burning. According to French this would have been immediately following the time of greatest Mycenaean prosperity. A broad destruction of this magnitude would provide the motivation for such a massive

movement of a large number of people. This type of destruction may also give a very different image of who these people were.

### **3.6 SETTLEMENT IN CANAAN**

Evidence of new settlements in Canaan appear in the archaeological record around the period of transition being discussed. Commenting on the settlement of Sea Peoples in Canaan at this time M. Dothan (1989:59) states the settlements of Sea Peoples in the Levantine coast cannot be limited to one migration. Dothan makes a case for more than one "wave of invasion, migration, or settlement." He (68) emphasizes that these settlements lasted at least a generation.

Many state that the Philistines were settled in Canaan by Ramesses III. Singer (1992:44-46) agrees with Alt and Albright, who used the texts of Ramesses III to show that Pharaoh settled the Philistines as well as other Sea Peoples in land belonging to Egypt. He cites Papyrus Harris I that states the Sea Peoples were taken captive to Egypt. Singer argues that "Egypt" may refer to any land possessed by Egypt at that time. This would include Palestine.

I. Finkelstein (1998:140) points out that in the standard view of early Philistine settlement, after a short time in Canaanite/Egyptian territories, the Philistines rose up and took the area for themselves. Others state that the Philistines simply found their way up the coast and settled there on their own.

Knapp (1988:215 vol. I) indicates that ancient Egypt defeated a number of groups of people who invaded their coasts and "once repulsed, these groups must have scattered widely; the Philistines retreated up the coast" to Palestine. Whatever the means of settlement, Dothan and Dothan (1992:170) emphasize that the pottery record reveals this settlement to be a long, slow process rather than a sudden one-time event.

An argument against the idea that the Philistines were settled by Ramesses III can also be found in Weinstein (1998:191). In his article, he quotes Singer who states, "Nothing is known of relations between Egypt and the Philistine city-states during the time-span between the Egyptian withdrawal from Canaan and the tenth century BCE." Though Weinstein uses Singer's words to argue his view, he also adds the issue of the archaeological record, which is not as silent on this subject as the textual sources.

One of the sites where the evidence speaks is Tel Mique-Ekron. Remarkably the evidence there shows a continuous occupation from the end of the Middle Bronze Age through Iron Age II. Killebrew (1998:379), who has assisted T. Dothan and S. Gitin in the excavations there, reports on the "sudden appearance" of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery directly above the last Late Bronze Age destruction level. Pottery in this earlier level has been identified as Canaanite, coinciding with the pattern above given by Dothan. Since the Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery is typically identified with the Philistines, this evidence would place them settling in the southwest area of Palestine some time shortly after 1200 BC.

### **3.7 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has sought to present the archaeological record of the Philistines. The purpose has been to help clarify the identity of who these people were. It has given consideration to their part in the turmoil of the transitional period between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. It has followed the pottery trail to Cyprus, Crete, Mycenae, and their Aegean roots. It has considered the textual information and reliefs left by Merneptah and Ramesses III, tracing the Philistines to the north shore of Egypt. It found them again in the pottery record of Iron I Canaan as they established new settlements there, and became the Philistines of the Bible.

## CHAPTER 4

### IDENTITY AND CULTURE

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

In his *History of the Peloponnesian War* Thucydides (Nulle 1980:96) stated, "We do not copy our neighbors, but are an example to them." Though his comments were referring to the Greek form of government, a similar mentality may have been expressed in other areas of their culture as well. Evidence of shared cultural experience can be seen throughout the various peoples of the ancient Mediterranean world. As long as cultures existed they continued to have an influence on others around them and those who came after them. In fact D. Small (1998:283) states, "Unless they disappear, cultures in their transformations will retain significant elements of their earlier structures, but use them in new and different strategies." The Philistines and their neighbors are no exception to this cultural influence and interchange of ideas and goods.

It is important to note at this point, as B. Knapp (1988:281) states, that a distinction can be made between ethnicity and culture. He states that "culture is transmitted by learning, not by genetic inheritance." The cultural elements of a people are those that can be changed. The ethnic elements would then be those that could not be changed. Such aspects as language, religion, art, pottery and

the like, would fit the definition of Knapp's "culture" because they could be changed or transferred and are not inherited genetically.

Following this appropriate guideline, it seems people of various ethnic backgrounds sympathetic with the Philistine cause could have joined the ranks of these migrating peoples and perhaps today be labeled "Philistine" because of the evidence of their material culture they left behind. In an interesting digression from this point is a related study of the identity of the Danites. Dothan and Dothan (1992:215) present this intriguing discussion of the Israelite tribe of Dan being connected to the Sea Peoples "Dannuna." This study was done by Y. Yadin. The implications of this suggestion go beyond the scope of this paper, but it does broaden one's understanding of the Philistines, and Israelites for that matter, as possibly peoples of mixed ethnic backgrounds. Whoever they were and wherever they came from, they seem to be a composite people who shared common interests and concerns.

*Webster's New World Dictionary* (Guralnik 1974:561) gives as one of its definitions of "Philistine:" "a person regarded as smugly conventional, indifferent to culture values, lacking in culture." Dothan and Dothan (1992:3ff) provide a possible etymology of this definition. They describe the use of the word as stemming from a brawl in a tavern in 1693 near the town of Jena in Germany. Several students from the local university were severely beaten. The following Sunday the chaplain of the university used Judges 16:21 as his sermon text. He apparently cast the less literate residents of the community as "Philistines." This label thereafter seemed to affix itself to anyone acting in a less cultured, or

barbaric fashion. The archaeological evidence does not support such a view of the Philistines, as was pointed out in chapter three. In contrast to the chaplain's assessment, Zanger (1995) states that the material remains of Philistine culture are "unequaled in the ancient land of Israel."

For the purpose of pursuing Philistine identity, the information in this chapter will focus on certain cultural concerns. Understanding the culture of an ancient people enhances the comprehension of who they were. Three of the aspects of Philistine culture to be considered in this chapter will be religion, language and writing, and methods of pottery making.

## **4.2 RELIGION**

This part of the chapter will investigate the religious practices of the Philistines. Since we have very little Philistine written material, the study will be largely limited to the archaeological data. The very nature of this problem hinders a more thorough comprehension of Philistine religion. For example, as T. and M. Dothan (1992:xii) state, "What were precisely their feast days and fast days it is hard to know." Examples of the evidence to be considered will come from architecture, figurines, cultic vessels, and other archaeological as well as literary evidence.

Generally, the picture of the Philistines from Iron I through Iron II is one of an acculturated people. T. Dothan (1982:20) affirms, as will be discussed in more detail below, that the Philistines assimilated the worship of Canaanite deities. The archaeology record provides insights into the religious identity of the Philistines in a number of ways. A good example of how this may be expressed can be found in Dothan and Dothan (1992:xii) where they state:

“Their white plastered altars and votive vessels testify to the fact that they thanked their gods or goddesses for having made them prosperous in their new found land and perhaps toasted them with a juglet of wine from their own vineyards.”

### **Figurines, Vessels, and Religious Assimilation**

Stager (1998:153) identifies cultural and religious links between the Philistines and their Mycenaean predecessors. As he states, religious rituals “featuring female figures of the mother-goddess type” are among those similarities. He indicates that shared religious practice as well as food preferences, characteristic weaving and pottery traditions, and architectural similarities such as the familiar “hearth,” are found at Aegean sites in the Late Bronze Age excavation levels. Hearths of this type are also found at Qasile, Ekron, and Cyprus, and date to the time of Philistine or Philistine-type occupation in these locations.

Evidence for a shared religious tradition can be seen in these mother-goddesses discussed by Stager. At his excavation at Ashdod, M. Dothan (1992:156) located a mud brick platform with the outline in the shape of an apse. (See Architectural Evidence below.) Found near this structure was a courtyard

with an altar. A seated female figurine was also found among the stratum XII remains. These figurines were the first indication "of the trends" in Philistine religion according to M. Dothan. He (Dothan, T & M 1992:156) called this type of figurine an "Ashdoda", because it so well represented the early Philistine culture of Ashdod. As mentioned above, this figure has Mycenaean connections. It apparently represents the mother-goddess, and is sometimes seen holding an infant. The shape of the figurine was constructed in a table-like manner, with four legs and a flat surface on top. Other such "deity-table" images were found in the rubble at Ashdod, with some being male images rather than female.



Ashdoda

(Dothan, T & M 1992:155)

According to T. Dothan, it appears the Philistines brought the worship of this Ashdoda or mother-goddess type figurine from the Aegean with them. They most likely began worshipping the Canaanite god Dagon, as seen in the Old Testament, only after arriving in Canaan. T. Dothan (1982:20) states that, in time, Dagon became the head of the Philistine pantheon. She cites I Chronicles 10:10 to support her statement. This passage states that upon the death of King Saul his armor was taken to the "temple of their gods," but his head was taken to the "temple of Dagon." The prominence of Dagon is also stressed in Judges 16:23. In fact, the Bible reveals primarily the worship of Dagon in the cultic life of the Philistines of that period. So it would seem, that just as the Philistines had discarded the Cypro-Minoan form of writing and other cultural characteristics after arriving in Canaan, they apparently discarded earlier worship habits as well. (Iacovou 1998:339)

Evidence from the excavation at Ugarit provides helpful information about this theme of cultural interchange and eventual acculturation. P. C. Craigie (1983:61) reports the discovery of temples dedicated to both Dagon and Baal. He indicates that Baal is a recurring presence in the literature of the ancient Ugaritic people, while Dagon appears less frequently. One poem tells the story of the dramatic conflict between Baal the prince and Yam the sea. (Vermaak, 1998:21-22) In the process of describing Baal's victory over Yam it is mentioned that Baal is the son of Dagon. G. Saint-Laurent (1980:127) also provides a discussion on the character of the god Baal.

The theme of the story is fertility, which is of critical importance to an agrarian culture, and also reveals an interesting link to the Aegean mother goddess worshipped by the early Philistines in Canaan. The residents of the Shephelah, or low lands, would have been regularly dependent on conducive weather patterns and the fertility of their crops. Thus faithfulness to the fertility gods/goddesses would have ensured success in their agricultural efforts.

According to Craigie, (1983:66) historical information shows Baal being worshipped in "Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and in various parts of Mesopotamia." He emphasizes that the Ugaritic texts have provided details about the Baal cult previously unknown. Biblical sources show repeated association between Dagon and the Philistines but few connections are made between the Philistines and Baal.

I Kings 1:2ff tells the story of the 9<sup>th</sup> century King Ahaziah, son of Ahab of Israel. In the story, Ahaziah sent messengers to Ekron to inquire of the city-god Baal-zebub, as to whether he would recover from injuries sustained in a fall. He does, in fact, die after his encounter with Elijah the prophet. The point of importance for this study is that Baal seems to have been worshipped in Ekron in the mid-ninth century.

M. Dothan (1992:156) reveals from the archaeological evidence, that the worship of Dagon continued through Hellenistic times. This evidence shows the impact Philistine culture had on the peoples around them and those who came after them. Another example of this durability of Philistine religious influence is seen in the worship of the Philistine goddess "Ashtoreth." It is mentioned in I

Samuel 31:10. In this passage it was the temple of Ashtoreth/Astarte to which Saul's armor was taken upon his death. The text seems to be unclear about the specific location of the temple. This is similar to the Chronicles passage mentioned above, yet it differs in that it specifies the name of the temple.

T. Dothan (1982:21) points out that this goddess is seen again at a later time. She states that the same Ashtoreth was "later worshipped as the Aramaic Athtarati, the fish-bodied, human-headed patroness of Ashkelon." Interestingly, J. D. Freeman (1967:194) describes Dagon as "a fish god or god of agriculture." He identifies the name as coming from the Hebrew "dag," "fish," or "dagan," "grain." These associations could be linked to the Philistines either by their "sea peoples" origin, or their affinity to the fertility cult.

Dothan and Dothan (1992:191ff) report about the significant finds at Cyprus that relate to Philistine cultic expression. They state that 2000 complete vessels and many other fragments have appeared there. This prolific pottery record of cultic vessels indicates the residents living there during the transition between the Bronze Age and Iron Age were a very religious people.

In connecting evidence of Cypriot with other cultic expressions, Cadogan (1998:12) states there were figurines found at Cyprus that represented Near Eastern type deities. He also mentions that signs of Hepatoscopy appear. Hepatoscopy, as defined by Knapp (1988:282) is a "form of divination that examines an animal's liver to forecast events." Evidence of this type of divination was also found at Ugarit.

M. Dothan (1992:134) reveals from the excavation at Ashdod that a number of religious vessels and clay figurines were found. Some of these figurines seemed to be 3-D versions of the typical Philistine birds or swans that appear in painted form on pottery. This again echoes their connection to the sea and maritime activity. Ahlström (1994:330) cites vessels bearing ducks' heads, and the like, as being indicative of cultic influence. He states, "Many of these vessels show that Philistine material culture was very much influenced not only by Mycenaean and Cypriote traditions but also by Egyptian and local Canaanite traditions."

Ahlström (1994:331) cites the cult objects found at Tell Qasile as evidence to this influence and eventual acculturation, and this site as representative of "cultural syncretism." The three temples found there in strata XII through X, and two shrines near those temples, give evidence to the religious nature of the Philistines. As Ahlström (1994:331) states, the shrines also have parallels in the Aegean and Cyprus, again making a cultural connection between the Philistines and their Aegean origin.

### **Architectural Evidence**

T. and M. Dothan (1992:161) make a link between the Philistines of Stratum XII and those of Stratum XIII at the excavation of Ashdod. The Stratum XII layer, being the layer of the Ashdoda figurine discussed above, is linked to the earlier Stratum XIII by a similar apse shape found in both levels. It is in this earlier Stratum XIII, according to T. and M. Dothan, (1992:162) where

Mycenaean IIIc:1b pottery was found. This would indicate not only an architectural influence but a cultic one as well.

Evidence of Philistine architecture, identified by M. Dothan, (1992:140) was found at Ashdod. He identified a "Philistine sanctuary" dating to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. What appears to be an altar was located in the center of one of its rooms. It was identified as an altar because of the presence of cult vessels and offering tables. Figurines with what has become the characteristic Philistine style of bulging eyes and prominent noses, were among those found at Ashdod. But as M. Dothan (1992:140) states, "The identity of these deities remain a mystery." Also found at the Ashdod temple were other figurines identified as cultic figurines. One of the figures found is of a woman playing a lyre. Ahlström (1984:120) suggests this figurine may give indications of the type of music used in Philistine worship.

Temple structures have also been identified at Tell Qasile and Tel Migne-Ekron. T. Dothan (1989:9) reports that the Tel Migne discovery may be "the earliest Philistine sanctuary found in a city of the pentapolis." Vessels found there were similar to those found at Tell Qasile. The incised bovine scapulae were also found. These scapulae have a cultic association and were likely used for the purposes of divination. The scapulae of this type were also found at the 12<sup>th</sup> century temples at Enkomi and Kition.

Ahlström (1984:120) states that the Tell Qasile temple included Philistine style painted cult stands. One of the bowls, around the rim of one stand, had a duck's head attached to it. The link to a maritime people should not be missed at

this point. Cadogan (1998:8) links this temple, by design, to one in Cyprus and another in Palestine at Lachish. He also identifies certain structures as temples on Cyprus, at Maroni, and Ayios Dhimitrios. He states these temples were identified by the building plan, because there were no cultic objects discovered there to be used to label it as a sanctuary.

### **Burial Customs**

Negbi (1998:87-88) emphasizes that burial customs can also be an indicator of ethnicity. In speaking about cremation, he mentions that this practice was introduced to Cyprus from the Aegean. Other evidence for Philistine cremation burial has also been found at Azor. (Dothan, T 1982:56) In curious contradiction to this practice, are the anthropoid coffins found in Palestine with identifiable Philistine characteristics. Dothan and Dothan (1992:196) state that these human shaped coffins also reflect an Egyptian influence. However, they point to the Philistine type feathered headdress to link these clay coffins to the Philistines.

Commenting on these anthropoid coffins from Canaan, Ahlström (1994:323) questions why they are not found in the cities of the Philistine pentapolis. From this he concludes they are not necessarily Philistine. One possible problem with this argument seems to be that just because anthropoid coffins have not yet appeared at other Philistine sites does not mean they will never appear.

## **The Cult of the Mouse**

Another hint toward understanding the religious identity of the Philistines is their association with the mouse, mentioned also in chapter two. Ahlström (1984:122) links the cult of the mouse to the Aegean. He describes how the mouse, worshipped as the god of pestilence in Aegean societies, was declared unclean in the Hebrew Bible and improper for eating. (Leviticus 11:29) It also condemns nations who participate in “eating the flesh of pigs, vermin, and rodents,” and declares they “shall come to an end together, says the LORD.” (Isaiah 66:17) Furthermore, Ahlström (1994:330) mentions that J. Oestrup has suggested that Baal-zebub could have actually been the god of flies and mice, which as he comments would have been a strong image in an agricultural setting such as Philistia/Palestine.

### **4.3 LANGUAGE AND WRITING**

The language and writing of a people give insights into their ethnic background, and may also reflect other possible cultural influences upon them. Curiously, LaRue (1970) points out that the biblical picture of the contact between the Philistines and their Israelite neighbors shows no language barrier. They were able to communicate “without difficulty.” (p. 105) With the assistance of the archaeological record the Philistines have been linked culturally with the residents of Cyprus and other Aegean lands. It would then seem plausible to draw upon the evidence of written script from these locations to trace an ethnic

origin. Sherratt and Sherratt (as quoted by Iacovou 1998:340) state, "the spread of literacy helped to define and harden linguistic units and contributed to a self-conscious identification of ethnicity with language." So it seems, the written language a people used can in fact give details about their ethnic identity.

In her discussion on the language and ethnos of the Philistines, Iacovou (1998:339) draws on the work of Ahlström when she cautions that "we will probably never know what language they spoke when settling in Palestine and before making the Canaanite-Hebrew language their own."

### **Importance of Linear B**

Small (1998:286) reports that excavations at Pylos on mainland Greece have revealed the nature of the language of the people located there in the late Bronze Age. Identified as "Linear B," these tablets found at Pylos reveal a basic outline of social hierarchy and the various personnel involved. It gives a king, or "wanax," who would have been at the top of the hierarchical pecking order. Moving successively down from the king was the "lawagetas," and below that level there were others as well. In her article on the subject, Iacovou (1998:340) gives the purpose of Linear B which was as she states, "a tool used exclusively by the trained scribes of the Mycenaean bureaucracy for the keeping of indexes and accounts." She also mentions that the script disappeared after the collapse of the palace system at the end of the Late Bronze Age.

Iacovou (1998:339) includes another interesting aspect to this study regarding the language of the Cypro-Minoan cultures. She indicates that the

Cypro-Minoan and Minoan Linear A scripts were not Greek languages, therefore the civilizations were not Greek either. She emphasizes that the Greek influence began with the influx of Mycenaean immigrants at the end of the late Bronze Age. As has been pointed out in an earlier section the evidence reveals there was a blending of these cultures over the process of time. J. Chadwick (Iacovou 1998:340) mentions that the Greek residents of Cyprus had used the previous script to accommodate their own Greek language, and by the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC it had become a distinct dialect of Greek.

Found on Cyprus at "every late Cypriot site" are inscriptions or painted messages on tools, weapons, and vessels. (Iacovou 1998:340-341) This evidence gives clues as to the nature of this language as being an early type of Greek, and shows the importance of the Cyprus research. In fact, as Iacovou discloses, it was at Cyprus that certain aspects of Mycenaean political structure, language, writing, and art lived on, even after it disappeared from the mainland of Greece.

With the connection made between Cyprus and Canaan, it stands to reason the languages would have been linked along with other elements of culture. According to Dothan and Dothan, (1992:166-169) the pottery found in these two locations is similar in style. Likely this ceramic link may be a part of what Mazar has called the "common culture axis." (Iacovou 1998:337)

A. Mazar (Iacovou 1998:335) states that we do "not hesitate to see in the Philistine immigration part of the same wave of civilized immigrants from the Mycenaean world who settled in Cyprus." The archaeological link made here

gives credibility to the discussion on language and ethnicity, and provides strong evidence as to the identity of the Philistines. This evidence seems to again link the Philistines with the same Aegean ancestry as their counterparts on Cyprus.

M. Dothan (1989:65) describes the apparent script from a cylinder seal found at Ashdod. The seal includes some incised human figures in addition to the script. Dothan states that though this script is not fully deciphered it appears to be Cypro-Minoan, which concurs with the previous evidence regarding Philistine origin and identity.

F.M. Cross (1996:64-65) uses L. Stager's nomenclature in labeling a Philistine ostrakon found at Ashkelon. He has called the language inscribed there "Neo-Philistine." The ostrakon dates to the late 7<sup>th</sup> century Babylonian destruction level. Dated more precisely at 604 B.C., the script has been identified by Cross as being related to Hebrew, rather than the early Aegean-type script from Deir 'Alla. Cross also points out the likely period of Israelite/Hebrew influence would have been during the United Monarchy of Israelite history. During this time the Israelites dominated the areas and peoples around them including Philistia and its residents.

### **Ekron Inscription**

Another piece of literary evidence from the Philistines/Sea Peoples culture, that provides insights into their identity, is the Ekron inscription. This inscription dates to a period slightly earlier than the one just discussed above, but is a more recent discovery and provides quite a bit more of the script for

evaluation. Incised on a rectangular limestone block, it consists of seventy-two letters in five lines. The translation S. Gitin (1997:9) has provided in the *Israel Exploration Journal* goes as follows:

1. The temple (which) he built. 'kys son of Padi, son of
2. Ysd, son of Ada, son of Ya'ir, ruler of Ekron,
3. For Ptgyh his lady. May she bless him, and
4. Prote(ct) him, and prolong his days, and bless
5. His (L)and

Gitin (1998:173-174) points out that the name 'kys (Achish) from the inscription is possibly Greek. This information links the Iron II residents with the Aegean, a connection already quite firmly made with their predecessors of Iron I. He also points out that other names are Semitic, revealing again the blending of the cultures. The archaeological evidence shows these people brought the city of Ekron to its height economically while under Assyrian control.

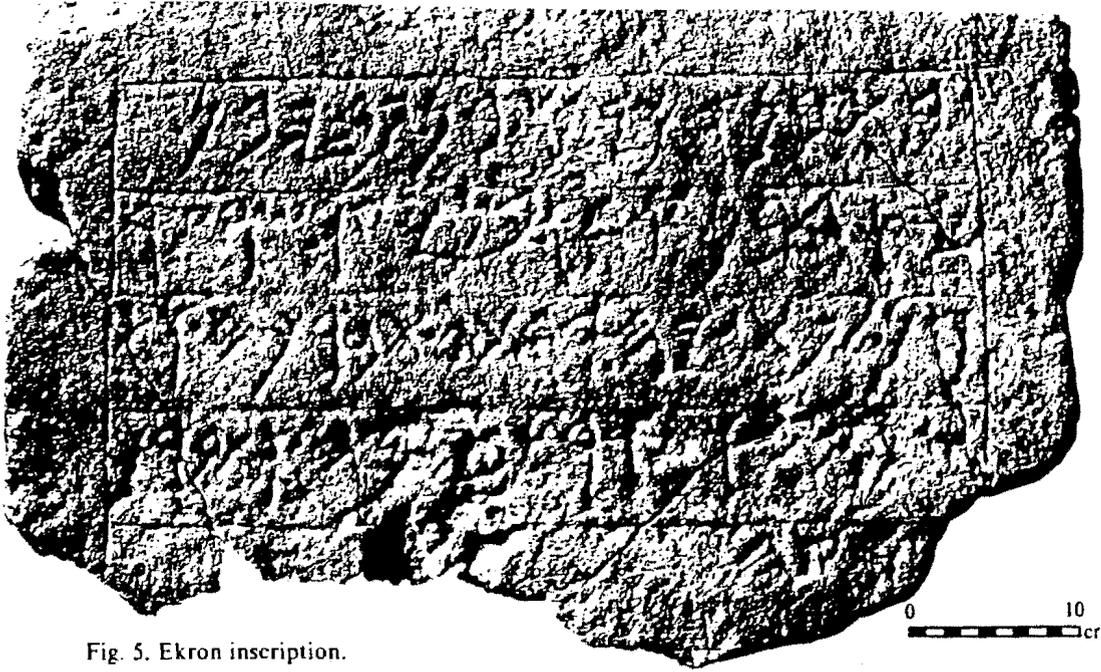


Fig. 5. Ekron inscription.

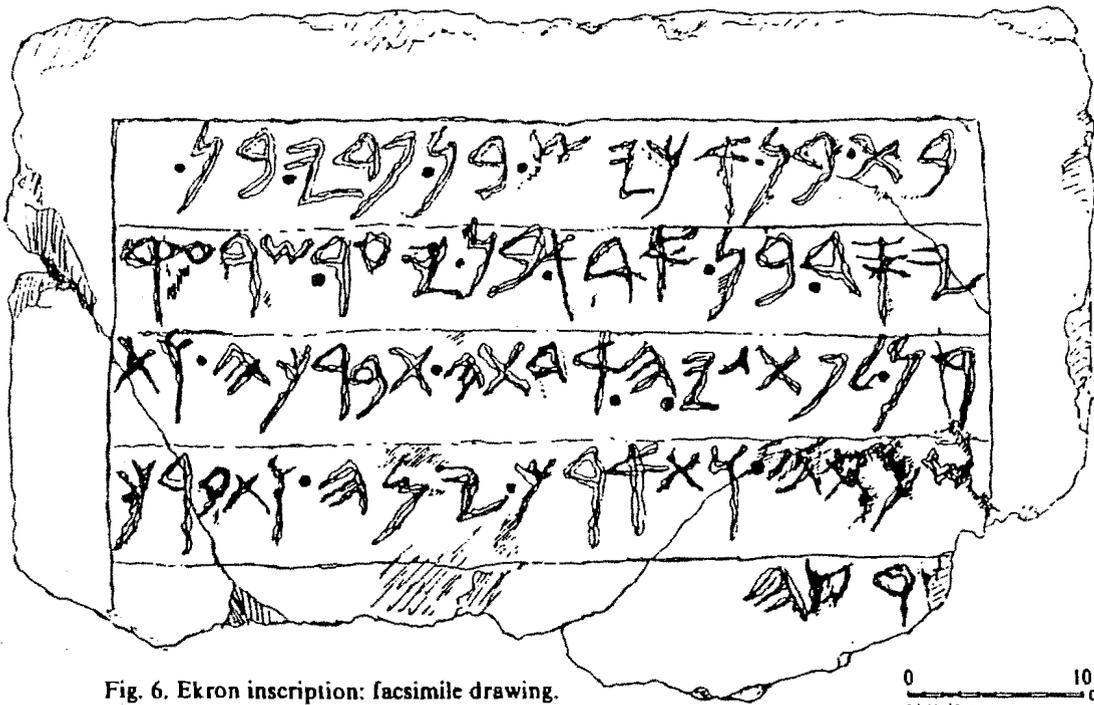


Fig. 6. Ekron inscription: facsimile drawing.

Ekron Inscription and facsimile drawing.

(Gitin 1997:10)

#### **4.4 POTTERY METHODS**

The Philistines are best identified by their pottery, at least so far as the material record is concerned. The pottery record and remains have already been considered in chapter two for the purpose of tracing the Aegean origin of the Philistines. Another aspect of the pottery to be considered here is that of methods of pottery making. This particular aspect of their material culture can be examined to help better understand their skills in this area. It also assists the researcher in evaluating their artistic expression and level of cultural refinement. Tel-Miqne Ekron is an excellent resource for this task. At this site one can see the evidence of a long-standing occupation. The transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age can be traced in the material record there.

Killebrew (1998:379) points out that the skill level in potting is very different from the Late Bronze Age Canaanite "slow wheel" or even "coil" method of pottery making, to the "fast wheel" thin walled vessels of the Early Iron Age in the same location. A. Killebrew identifies the civilizations concerned here as "Canaanite" and "Philistine" respectively.

Killebrew cites the use of the "Petrographic" method to determine the actual content of the clay used. She also mentions the use of Neutron Activation Analysis, discussed in an earlier section of this paper and used by T. and M. Dothan and others. The N.A.A. method traces the origin of the pottery by identifying where the clay would have come from. (See chapter three on Archaeological Connections.) This allows for a more scientific determination of

pottery origins instead of having to make assumptions based on where the pottery is found. It can also help identify trading practices of ancient peoples. In fact, Killebrew (1998:385) cites Knapp (1985) when she observes that much of the Late Bronze Age pottery throughout Canaan is similar due to the system of trade at that time.

The petrographic method has revealed some of the techniques of the ancient potters. It shows that Mycenaean III C:1b potters used additives in their clay, which affected its appearance and durability. For example, Killebrew (1998:400) states, "Shell was regularly added to cooking pot ware." She also indicates that tests reveal as much as thirty percent of the clay was finely crushed calcite, which gave it its off-white or light pink color.

Interestingly, Killebrew (400) cites that the same tests done on Philistine bichrome pottery shows that these later potters did not use the additives found in the earlier Mycenaean ware. The pottery, though similar in style and techniques of production, was made with a different "clay recipe."

The question is, what does pottery typology and artistic expression in pottery making actually provide in the pursuit of the origins and identity of the Philistines? A. Killebrew (1998:402) states that the evidence through her research, primarily at Tel-Miqne Ekron, but also citing some research at Cyprus, supports the "Migratory Model" for these people. It is emphasized that the Philistines migrated into Palestine by way of the Aegean, and a study of pottery methods and typology enables this link to once again be made.

## **4.5 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has sought to portray the identity of the biblical Philistines through the consideration of specific areas of their everyday life. Aspects of their values and beliefs have hopefully been envisioned through researching their cultic practices. The study of their language and writing reveals not just how they communicated, and who they communicated with, but also gives information regarding their origins and ethnicity. While this evidence links them to the Aegean, it also reflects the composite nature of their developing culture from Iron I to Iron II. The methodology used in their pottery making reveals the sophistication of these ancient peoples both in technique and artistic expression. The picture of the biblical Philistines continues to become clearer as the evidence is uncovered and interpreted.

## CHAPTER 5

### POLITY, ECONOMY AND EXPANSION

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

The political situation in the Mediterranean world at the end of the Late Bronze Age and into the Iron Age reflects a time of transition for many people groups. This turbulent period of history is characterized by political collapses and whole populations relocating to new areas. The movements of the Philistines and other Sea Peoples of the Aegean have already been discussed in an earlier section of this paper, along with their possible causes. Following the initial upheavals is a period called the “Dark Age” by some scholars. (Muhly 1998:323) This period, dated at around 1200 – 700, is then characterized in part by a “shortage of bronze.” While this theory is being questioned by some scholars, it does address the complexities that arise from a study of this period of transition and change.

Iacovou (1998:333) asserts that After the collapse of the political powers of the Mediterranean around 1200 BC, piracy and anarchy resulted. With the fading of the Hittite, Egyptian and Mycenaean powers many people groups began struggling for supremacy, control, and new lands to settle. As they would settle, they would organize themselves in ways familiar to their own experience. Perhaps they employed what Silberman (1998:268ff) calls a “political

interpretation.” This political interpretation is identified as a people perceiving history in light of their own experience and political past. Thus similarities can be seen throughout these political systems.

## **5.2 POLITICAL SYSTEMS FAMILIAR TO THE PHILISTINES**

Small (1998:283) argues that there is evidence available for a possible connection between Late Bronze Age Greek civilization and later Greek social development. He states, “There was much more structural continuity between Late Bronze Age Greece and the later periods of Greek social development than many assume.” He acknowledges that most scholars do not concur. He uses the term “minority position” in regard to his view on this subject. The assertion is not based on the study of art and literature, two areas where he cites continuity between late Bronze Age and later Greek civilizations. Rather, as he states, his findings are the result of his research in the areas of social and political structure, specifically in the evolution of early complex societies.

### **The Amphictyonic Model**

Evidence from Pylos on mainland Greece shows the residents there had contact with other cultures in the Eastern Mediterranean. Small (1998:283) affirms that cultures would have influenced each other as long as they appeared in history. This could be a justification for linking such aspects as political structures, specifically the Greek amphictyony with the Philistine Pentapolis.

Mazar (Iacovou 1998:339) cites the Philistine “seren” or “lord” as being a type of governor such as those in the amphictyonic system. Iacovou affirms these “lords of the Philistines” were not ruling over separate territories that were self-sustaining by themselves, but was more as Mazar had described. The amphictyonic system was the Greek system of separate city-states ruled individually as separate political entities yet connected with each other for cultic purposes. The focus of their association together would be a particular cultic shrine, as will be discussed below.

Snodgrass (Iacovou 1998:339) draws on the evidence from Cyprus to describe the procedure of how this type of cultural transition may have come about. He states that the early Greek Mycenaean peoples settled on Cyprus and brought not only the Greek language but other aspects of their familiar culture as well, including polity. He calls this transplanted political system “a network of warlike monarchies.” So the idea of the Philistines establishing a Greek-like system of government in southwest Canaan is not without precedent.

The word “amphictyony” comes from the Greek and describes the form of government found in ancient Greek civilization. J. Miller (1976:64) states that the Greek verb corresponding to this term means to “dwell near” or “dwell around.” What the residents seem to be dwelling around or near was the cultic shrine, the center and focus of the various communities and their religious practice. One of the purposes for dwelling near the shrine was to care for the shrine and the deities it housed.

By the year 600 BC a focal point of the Greek system was the shrine at Delphi. It was a system consisting of twelve member states, all of which centered around that single shrine. Some type of covenant or oath seems to have made between the member states, assuring, among other things perhaps, they would not raid or destroy the cities of their covenant partners.

Miller (1976:64) indicates as early as 1864 Heinrich Ewald began to see some parallels between the recurrence of the number twelve in the Bible and the amphictyonic system. Noth (1958:88), who began his study in 1930, used the amphictyonic model to describe the political structure of the pre-monarchic Israelite system. He states, "The sacred society of the Israelite tribes was in fact an ancient Israelite Amphictyony." He pointed to the twelve tribes of Israel as a parallel to the twelve-member constituency in the Greek system. He also pointed out a number of other parallels between these structures.

Critics rejected Noth's model because of a lack of clear and direct correlations between the systems. Chambers (1983:58) cites J. Bright, who cautioned against doing away with the idea of a "sacral league" altogether, as some have attempted to do because of the strained parallels to the amphictyony. Bright concludes that the Israelite system was a "sacred league of some sort," even if it was not a direct descendant of this system.

For a biblical model, passages such as Judges 4-5 involving the conflict between the "Canaanite" Sisera and the descendents of Israel under Deborah and Barak have been used to support the idea of an Israelite Amphictyonic political structure. Ahlström (1994:379) warns against using this passage to

attempt to prove that an Amphictyonic model was being followed in Ancient Israel. He states the text does not support a full-blown confederation.

In a similar fashion, only taking the comparisons to greater lengths, B. D. Rahtjen (Chambers 1983:50) linked the Philistine pentapolis with the Greek model. He identified Ashdod as the central shrine and Dagon as the chief deity. Gottwald and Fohrer both disagree with Rahtjen's assertions, yet concede that the Philistine system was closer to the Greek model than was the Israelite system. (Chambers 1983:51)

The pentapolis was comprised of Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Gaza, and Gath. According to Ehrlich, (1999) three of these cities have been excavated—Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron. If Tell es-Safi can be proven to be Gath, a fourth city could be added to the list. Regarding the pentapolis, Stager (1998:152-153) says, "Biblical and Syrian sources indicate that Philistine culture emanated from (this) core of five major cities—the Philistine pentapolis—located in the coastal plain of southern Canaan." He also mentions that the "lord," or "seren" in Hebrew, ruled over each Philistine city and the territories around it. It has been suggested that Achish King of Gath, discussed in another section of this paper, may have been one of the five "serens." (G. Vreeland 1985:53)

Chambers (1983:52) makes the suggestion of a possible Sumerian League of this type. This much earlier version, according to Chambers,

"fulfills most if not all the requirements for a sacred league. Possessing a fixed shrine, an early limited number of members, a calendric contribution system, a religious claim to supremacy in the Sumerian Pantheon, a formal priestly structure, Nippur was a well developed religious league."

Chambers (1983:41-42) suggests that if the Sumerian league concept could be established it would give more relevance to Rahtjen's Philistine variant. Chambers draws a number of parallels and makes associations at a number of points between these two systems. His discussion goes into greater depth than is allowed in the scope of this paper.

In a broad discussion on similar political systems throughout the Ancient Near East, however, Chambers (1983:43) gives one of the reasons this discussion is important to Philistine identity. Citing various Latin leagues that contributed to the rise of Roman power he states, "These leagues were important in retaining the ethnic and religious unity of the Italian and Hellenic peoples during the first millennium BCE."

This suggestion is not made without contest, but if it were true, it would seem that the same principle would apply to any similar system. If so, it could be said that the five-city system of the Philistines contributed to their durability as a people and would have helped define who they were in the minds of their neighbors.

Gitin (1998:164) cites Greenfield to emphasize that the political structure of Philistia changed from Iron Age I to Iron Age II. Using biblical references to support his idea, he notes that only 21% of the 320 references to Iron I Philistia refer to the five cities of the pentapolis, while 62% of the 103 references from the Iron II period pertain to these cities. He seems to suggest that this shift in emphasis may be an indication that the power structures had evolved from the

cooperative league system governed by the “seren” in Iron I, to a more independent style of separate city-states ruled by kings.

### **5.3 ECONOMY AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES**

Dothan and Dothan (1992:166, 169) discourage the idea that Philistine settlers, who inhabited sites like Ashdod immediately following the Late Bronze Age destruction, were merely traders and merchants. They believe that the new residents of that time period were immigrants. They envision a people bringing the knowledge of ceramics with them to their new homeland, rather than simply peddling wares to be used in trade.

The economic situation in Canaan during the Early Iron Age yields information about the identity of the Philistines. It also speaks to their relations with their neighbors. Jagersma (1983:77) stresses the importance of the Philistines in regard to economy as he states, “We must assume that both Israelites and Canaanites, who were each increasingly dependent on the Philistines in economic and military matters, usually maintained very good relations at this time.” As indicated in the book of Judges, this period is envisioned as having bouts of great turmoil as well. In fact, Jagersma (83) also describes the “increasing conflicts” between the Philistines and the tribes of Israel between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## **Trade**

Archaeology has shed light on the trading activity and other economic concerns of the Philistines and connected peoples. Stager (1995:344) emphasizes the economic advantage of the coastal position of Philistia. As he points out, they were positioned for maritime trade and fishing. This location was also advantageous for the shipping of locally grown agricultural products. He cites Karageorghis and Stern in support of the active trade between Philistia and Cyprus during the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Examples of economic disadvantages, according to Stager (1995:344), would have been the lack of timber and metals. These items would likely have been acquired through trade. He (345) cites Ashkelon as an example of this trade. He states the residents there were likely involved in trading grain, wine, and oil for products from other areas in the Mediterranean.

Following the Philistines to their Aegean connections, Linear B tablets found at Pylos show certain economic obligations involving the palace system. In fact, it seems much of the emphasis of the Linear B information deals with such economic concerns. (Small 1998:286) Evidence reveals that Palatial Greece and the Aegean were engaged quite heavily in trade with their neighbors throughout the Mediterranean. Small (1998:287) cites the abundant appearance of the small stirrup jar throughout the area as an evidence of their economic interests and wide spread contact.

Halstead (Small 1998:288) seems to caution against the overemphasis of the influence of the palace system on the overall economy. He, in fact, states that the palaces only held partial control over the economic activity, not a complete control. It seems enough non-palatial influence has been evidenced to reveal a more balanced picture.

J. Muhly (1998:315) cites the ostrakon found at Tel Qasile to support the theory that trade between eastern and western Mediterranean peoples took place at least as early as the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The ostrakon reads, "Gold of Ophir to Beth-Horon... thirty shekels."

Interestingly, Tarshish of the Old Testament is seen as a far-western location and has been associated with Tartessus which is known for its silver resources. Muhly's research suggests a link between the city of Tartessus and southern Spain, which is rich in silver deposits. An inference could then be drawn from this information linking Tarshish with Spain. If this be so their association would very likely have been for economic reasons.

The Linear B Pylos documents show the palaces were trading for items not made within the palace system. Small (1998:287) states they were trading "non-palatial goods such as linen cloth and alum, with the state-produced goods such as wool, wine-wheat, or bronze." This reflects a broadening in the economic reach of these people that would take them to other areas and put them in contact with a variety of people and cultures. Small refers to a part of these documents which had apparently been identified as "taxes" as nothing more than the "house's records of these obligations."

Small (1998:287-288) states that the material record of this period and locale shows a "large-scale exchange network" evident throughout their settlements. He cites an abundance of wheel-made pottery as support as well. He also adds that "standardized weights" appear at that time, giving credibility to the emphasis of their economic interests.

### **Metallurgy**

J. Muhly (1998:314) considers a number of ways of investigating the metallurgy of the ancient Mediterranean people in his article entitled "Metallic Ores as an Incentive for Foreign Expansion." One interesting area he researches is shipwrecks. Using techniques such as Lead Isotope Analysis and Spectrographic Analysis, some metals can be traced to their place of origin and time period. The question to be pursued then is what can this research lend to a study of the Philistines? Muhly mentions several points of metallurgical interest in locations such as Crete, Cyprus, Greece, and the Levant. As has already been discussed, these were locations of Philistine origins and settlement.

Muhly reminds his reader of the view of H. Catling, who believed the Mycenaeans were responsible for the bronze industry on Cyprus. Muhly (1998:322-323) indicates that Catling's opinion on this "never deserved serious consideration." The study of metallurgy has also yielded evidence that provides a sense of continuity between the cultures of Cyprus and Crete during the so-called Dark Age. Muhly cites Coldstream and Catling to support this suggestion. The evidence seems to indicate the peoples of Crete and Cyprus maintained

continual contact throughout this time of transition. The uniformity in the evidence gives further support to the pottery record that reveals a shared culture in these areas.

### **Iron Monopoly Concept**

Another aspect concerning metallurgy, is the so-called "iron monopoly" of the Philistines in their relationship with the Israelites in the Old Testament. The usual argument says that the Philistines had developed the use of iron, and their neighbors, specifically the Israelites did not have this skill. This would obviously give the Philistines the advantage and thus the military superiority often envisioned. Not everyone agrees. Muhly (1998:324) cites what Burkert has called the "smith kingship" in reference to the Hittites and Indo-Europeans and their superiority in metal works. In Muhly's opinion this whole idea of a "smith kingship" is questionable and should be given no credibility.

W. F. Albright (1951:110) relays information from a cuneiform letter from the Hittite capital that reveals a type of monopoly they had on iron. After the destruction of the Hittites, iron began to replace other metals in certain areas. Some have concluded the Philistines, and others like them, conquered the Hittite Empire and acquired their technologies in iron works. Sanders (2000 online) asks a good question of this assumption: "Where is the evidence for that?" He also notes that the name "Philistines" is not found in Hittite records.

Albright (1951:110) points to iron finds at the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah and I Samuel 13:19ff to support the idea that the Philistines were monopolizing the

use of iron during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. This verse states, “Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel; for the Philistines said, ‘lest the Hebrews make them swords and spears.’” T. Dothan (1982:20) observes that the word “iron” is not used in this passage cited by Albright. However, she does agree that the Philistines did have a monopoly on the early use of metals, though what kind of metals cannot be specified.

Anderson (1986:199) calls the Philistine’s use and skill in iron metallurgy, and the apparent superiority over their neighbors, a “virtual monopoly.” He sees the power of the Philistines as a result of this monopoly combined with their “natural aggressiveness.” Matthews and Moyer (1997:91) indicate that the Philistine connection with iron has likely been exaggerated. They acknowledge the Philistines had the use of iron, but contend that bronze was still the “principle metal” used for items such as weapons and tools.

#### **5.4 SITES OF ECONOMIC INTEREST**

Speaking about the Philistines’ neighbors and relatives on Cyprus, Cadogan (1998:6) traces the events of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. He interprets the archaeological evidence, discovered from that period, to reveal the nature of the developing culture there. Some of the specific aspects he cites that relate to their economic structure are urbanization, fortifications, buildings and temples, olive oil production, possibly copper, a wider use of writing, and advances in arts and crafts.

These developments go hand in hand with a growing and robust economy. The flow of these events would seem logical. As people began to trade they became more urbanized. As they grouped in the urban centers they soon felt the need for protection, so fortifications began appearing. As they settled, they built buildings and established worship systems. Industries like olive oil production or metals flourished to feed the growing economy, and writing became necessary for the recording of commercial transactions. As the economy grew and became more stable, arts and crafts became more of an interest to the people. Their skills in these areas then became more finely honed, and the rich culture that appears in the pottery record today developed.

Other industries mentioned by Cadogan (1998:8) appearing at this time, along with Mycenaean style pottery, are cereal grinding and food storage. This would have been an important part of feeding their own growing urban centers, but may have also played a part in trade and economy. The familiar Mycenaean style pottery can be followed to Canaan along with other items of economic interest. The excavations at Tell Qasile have revealed elements that would be of concern to Philistine economy.

Dothan and Dothan (1992:84) report a metal works at Qasile with evidence of copper and bronze only. They also cite an underground silo for grain storage. This would support an agrarian picture of the people of this area. Also found was a textile industry, with evidence of spinning and weaving. Loom weights have appeared there along with what possibly looks like vats for dyeing

the fabric upon its completion. Rows of storage jars were located which were probably used for the storage of wine or oil.

S. Gitin and T. Dothan have combined their efforts in the excavations at Tel-Miqne Ekron. They have uncovered a wealth of information that details many aspects of Philistine life. While Dothan's work focuses on the Iron I occupations, Gitin's focus is on Iron II. During this later period the economy of Ekron's residents is strong under the neo-Assyrian rule. Gitin (1995:61) states that socially the people were enjoying the "pax Assyriaca." He describes this period as "seventy years of unparalleled growth and development, and an international trading network that spanned the Mediterranean."

Economic growth was such at this site, it prompted Gitin to conclude that the Assyrians must have chosen it as a focus of Assyrian economic activity. It had everything it needed. It was close to sources of raw materials, and trade routes on both land and water. Given the advantages of its location and resources, it flourished.

Bierling (1992:45) reports that Ekron peaked in its olive oil production in the late 8<sup>th</sup> through 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. An estimated 290,000 gallons of oil per season were produced. He states this would be 20% of modern Israel's oil production. Too late for Goliath, yet it speaks to the industriousness of these later Philistines and is an attestation to Philistine expansion and economy.

## **5.5 EXPANSION AND CAUSES OF CONFLICTS**

Stager (1995:348) correlates the Philistines expansion with decreasing Egyptian control in Canaan at that time. He points out that as this control weakened, the Philistines moved into areas beyond the pentapolis. As the Philistines expanded into these new locations, whether for economic reasons, population increases (Stager 1995:344), or otherwise, tension was created between them and their Israelite neighbors. Stager has estimated the population of the early settlements of Philistines at approximately 25,000. He suggests by the time expansion became necessary this figure could possibly have doubled.

Bandstra (1995:14) identifies the Philistines as the "major national threat" for Israel during this time. Specifically, he cites this expansion as the main cause of the threat. The archeological evidence may even give a sense for the relations between Israel and Philistia during the time of Saul and David. The eastward expansion of the Philistines can be traced during that period to cities such as Beth-shean, located quite some distance to the north and east of Philistia. Bandstra (261) reveals that an anthropoid coffin was located there dating roughly to the time of Saul. As he points out, the presence of this type of coffin found at this location may show how far east the Philistines had moved and could also give a sense of the threat they were posing to Israelite security. Stager (1995:335) cautions against using the anthropoid coffin as an identification of Philistines culture. He instead, emphasizes the Egyptian influence in these sarcophagi. T. Dothan (1998:24 ff) delves deeper into the

matter of cultural influence, specifically Egyptian, in her report on the anthropoid coffins found at Deir el-Balah.

The question of ethnicity and identity is again raised regarding the Philistines of this later period. Ehrlich (1996:57n) reports a possible Phoenician influence between the 10<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. Perhaps this could help account for their increased economic interaction, such as has been revealed through the excavation at Tel-Miqne Ekron. It seems likely that these peoples would have at least been brought together through their cultural interchange and economic trade.

### **Tell es-Safi**

Another aspect of this study related to Philistine expansion is that of a post-Davidic Philistine presence in Palestine. Though there is a large amount of evidence both textually and materially, one site of importance regarding this subject is Tell es-Safi. This site is considered by some to be biblical Gath. Even if it is not one of the cities of the pentapolis, it is an excellent example of Philistine durability and continuity beyond the Iron I period.

Tell es-Safi has proven by its rich volume of Philistine pottery to be an important Philistine site. T. Dothan (1982:50) categorizes the main discoveries of the pottery into 4 groups. She identifies a large group of type 1 bowls, some type 6 jugs, a type 9 bottle, and one of the most interesting, a lion-headed rhyton. The rhyton is a drinking or libation cup in the shape of a lion's head. The es-Safi rhyton was found amidst other Philistine pottery remains. Various rhyta found at

several sites are decorated in the typical black and red on white slip. (Dothan, T 1982:229)

Some scholars, as stated above, link Tell es-Safi with biblical Gath, one of the cities of the Philistine pentapolis. Ehrlich reports that not everyone agrees this location is the site of ancient Gath. Some scholars such as Stager and Stone have proposed Tel Haror as biblical Gath instead of Tell es-Safi. Stager (1995:332) reasons that the Haror site would have been more politically advantageous. Tell es-Safi is located a short distance from Ekron, while Tel Haror would have provided the ancient Philistines a more strategic location for one of the five cities of the politically powerful pentapolis.

Tell es-Safi is currently being excavated through the cooperative efforts of Bar Ilan University and York University, under the supervision of A. Maeir and E. Ehrlich. According to the Tell es-Safi/Gath archaeological project web site (Maeir and Ehrlich 1999), an important discovery made since the recent excavations began in 1996, is a 9<sup>th</sup> century destruction layer. Perhaps in the final analysis of this evidence, insights will be gained into the post-Davidic relationship between the Gittites and Judahites of that time.

Ehrlich (1996:3n) emphasizes the biblical importance of Gath. He (p. 36) provides a discussion on the Gittite of 1 Chronicles 13:13, Obed-edom, who housed the Ark of the Covenant for a time in his home under the direction of David the King. According to Ehrlich, because of the designation "the Gittite," Obed-edom is generally thought to be a Philistine.

Ehrlich suggests Obed-edom entered David's service while he was associated with Achish King of Gath as a vassal. Ehrlich presents a variety of the opinions that have been expressed regarding the possibility of Obed-edom being a Philistine. Whatever may be decided regarding the residents of Gath and its occupation, Ehrlich (1996:40-41) summarizes by emphasizing the "special relationship" seen in the Bible between this city-state and the Davidic empire.

### **Beth-shean**

T. Dothan (1982:81) points to architectural remains, as well as other material evidence, to emphasize the strong Egyptian influence on Beth-shean in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. The city's most infamous notation from the Bible is found in I Samuel 31 when Saul had died at Gilboa in battle against the Philistines, and they hung his body on the walls of Beth-shean. Philistine presence is detectable at this site through the material record, though the pottery is not as plentiful as it is in some locations. According to Dothan, most of the Philistine pottery at Beth-shean reveals the earliest date to be the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Beth-Shemesh**

Beth-Shemesh is an excellent site for the consideration of the struggles over land rights and possession. It is mentioned in Joshua 19:41 as a part of the allotment to the Danite tribe. As T. Dothan (1982:50) points out, it is also listed as a city of the Levites in Joshua 21:16. It shows evidence of being Israelite as

well as Philistine at different times. T. Dothan credits Mackenzie (1911) for first correctly identifying Philistine pottery at this site.

### **Gezer**

Philistines moved into Gezer as early as sometime in the 12<sup>th</sup> century or at least by the time of David. T. Dothan (1982:52) states that Philistine pottery has been found in abundance there. She indicates that the biblical material envisions Gezer as denoting the area between Philistia and Israel, or as Dothan puts it, “a sort of buffer zone.” Clear Philistine presence has been identified in at least two strata, and possibly three. The pottery record from the occupation levels gives insight into the process of Philistine expansion. As Dothan records, the first appearance of Philistine pottery at Gezer is of the bichrome style. It shows up suddenly over a mixture of pottery of a Late Bronze Age nature. The bichrome is followed by the later red slip. The absence of the Mycenaean IIC:1b reveals this site was not inhabited by Philistines as early as other sites.

### **Tel Batash**

Identified as biblical Timnah by Kelm and Mazar (1989:36-49), this location reveals the mix of cultures present throughout the areas of Philistia during the period of Iron II until their destruction. This site is six miles from Gezer, five miles from Tel Miqne, and five miles west of Beth Shemesh. Connected to biblical Timnah, this would be the place from which Samson’s wife came according to the book of Judges. As Kelm and Mazar point out, here in the very

heart of Philistia is evidence of numerous cultures exerting their various influences upon one another. Material evidence they have reported comes from Philistine, Egyptian, Canaanite/Phoenician, Hebrew and Assyrian cultures.

### **Disappearance of the Philistines**

It has been stated that David subjugated the Philistines sometime in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Material and literary evidence, however, reveals they continued living in Palestine through the Iron II period. But what happened to these people in subsequent years? Where did they go and who did they become? Bierling (1992:245) traces the Philistines for a total of six hundred years from Joshua to Nebuchadnezzar. They can be followed to a late 7<sup>th</sup> century neo-Babylonian destruction, orchestrated by Nebuchadnezzar. As described in the biblical book of Daniel, the Babylonian king likely took many of the residents of Philistine cities captive into Babylonia, as he had done in Jerusalem. Stager (1996:58) reports that the *Babylonian Chronicle* indicates it was late in the year of 604 B.C.E. that Nebuchadnezzar struck Ashkelon. The Babylonian king had been on an extended campaign throughout the area, which would culminate for the reader of the Old Testament with the destruction of Jerusalem in 586.

Bierling (1992:246) relates that as Babylon fell to the Persians, freedom was granted for the captives to return to their homeland. While the Bible indicates many Jews returned to Judah, Bierling emphasizes there is no evidence that Philistines did the same. Those left in their cities in the initial Babylonian destruction likely became amalgamated with a variety of peoples.

Bierling cites Stager, who describes Ashkelon in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries as having a mixed population of “Persians, Phoenicians, Philistines, ... Egyptians, Greeks, and perhaps Jews.” As of today there is no traceable evidence of a post-Babylonian/Persian people called “Philistine.”

## **5.6 CONCLUSION**

First of all, this chapter has given consideration to the political systems familiar to the Philistines. It has sought to present a picture of political structures similar to the powerful five-city system established by the Philistines during Iron Age I in southwest Canaan. It has been determined that people groups of the ancient past shared more than pottery and material goods. They also shared ideas, concepts, and ideologies as well.

Economic concerns of the Philistines have also been discussed in this chapter. Written documents, as well as the material evidence, record an abundance of trade and interaction. Philistine use of metals has been discussed, as well as other industries that made them a well-known and powerful people. Their subsequent expansion beyond the pentapolis and beyond Iron Age I has also been pursued. Discussion of these aspects of Philistine existence reveals information about the identity of the Philistines, and helps to clarify that identity.

## CHAPTER 6

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This paper has examined important archaeological and textual evidence related to the Philistines. The purpose has been to clarify the origins and identity of these people. Through this clarification, a better understanding of their culture should be realized. A comprehension of the influence they had on other peoples around them, as well as the influence their neighbors had on them, should be grasped.

It has been established that the Philistines did have Aegean roots. The material record has allowed this conclusion to be made. Philistines and/or their relatives were once residents of Cyprus, Crete, Mycenae and other islands and coastal areas in the Aegean before settling in Canaan. Literary evidence has caused some scholars to believe there were early Middle Bronze Age contacts between these areas of the Aegean and Canaan, with Philistine-type peoples appearing there in an earlier wave of migration. In the transitional period between the Bronze Age and Iron Age, large movements of populations took place when peoples of the Aegean fled their homeland due to some natural disaster such as an earthquake or series of earthquakes. They banded together with other groups of migrating peoples and descended upon the north shore of Egypt. Battles took place on land and water before they were turned back by Ramesses III.

They traveled north and east along the Mediterranean coast to Canaan. There they settled in land still loosely held by Egypt. They were settled in Canaan either deliberately by Ramesses III as Egyptian mercenaries/vassals, or by their own choice. Whatever the circumstances regarding initial settlement, they soon asserted their own position in the land and began to possess the land for themselves. Arriving in Canaan in the first third of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, they apparently took five cities and settled there. In these cities of Ashdod, Ekron, Ashkelon, Gaza, and Gath they established the Pentapolis. Subsequently they would bond together in times of political or military distress, or to engage in the corporate worship of Dagon. (Judges 16:23)

The Israelites, having arrived in Canaan some time after 1250 BC, likely became a threat to the Philistines when disputes over land and control of the area began to arise. This tension seems to have peaked somewhere around 1050 BC. From the period documented in the Bible as the "Judges," through the reign of David, there were recurring skirmishes between these two people groups. Though the animosity appears to subside with David's apparent subjugation of them, they continued to cohabitate in fairly close proximity to Israel in these coastal cities. There is plenty of evidence, both biblical and archaeological, that Philistines remained there for centuries after the time of David as discussed in chapter five. They are able to communicate with their neighbors for the purpose of trade or other necessary interaction. Very little of their written script has been found.

The establishing of new settlements beyond the pentapolis gives evidence of Philistine expansion. Evidence of this expansion appears in places such as Tell Qasile, Beth-Shemesh, Gezer, Lachish, and other cities not a part of the pentapolis. The later Iron II period proved to be a time of economic growth as they thrived under Assyrian control, even in old Philistine sites such as Ekron and Gath. Industries of various kinds flourished, such as pottery, metal working, and olive oil production.

The archaeologist's work is not finished regarding the Philistines. Excavations continue to turn up clues to this skilled and artistic civilization. Philistine remains have been found at numerous sites throughout Palestine, giving material proof of their presence or influence there. (See map on page 36.) This evidence continues to reveal insights into the identity of this once obscure and often misinterpreted people group of the Old Testament.

Historically the Philistines became such a dominant influence, and left such an impression on the biblical writers, the land became known as "the land of the Philistines." Today in modern times, when a people called Philistine have completely faded from the scene, the land where they lived and interacted with the peoples of the Old Testament can still be identified by their name—Palestine.

## Sources consulted

- Aharoni, Y 1982. *The Archaeology of the Land of Israel*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press.
- Ahlström, G W 1984. *An Archaeological Picture of Iron Age Religions in Ancient Palestine*. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society.
- 1994. *The History of Ancient Palestine*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Albright, W F 1951. *The Archaeology of Palestine*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Anderson, B W 1986. *Understanding the Old Testament*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- 1991. Genesis through Deuteronomy annotations, in Metzger & Murphy 1991: 2-266.
- Baly, A D 1957. *The Geography of the Bible*. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Bandstra, B L 1995. *Reading the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*. Boston: Wadsworth.
- Baylis, A H 1996. *From Creation to the Cross*. Michigan: Zondervan .
- Beck, B L 1980. The International Roles of the Philistines during the Biblical Period. PhD dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville.
- Bierling, N 1992. *Giving Goliath His Due: New Archaeological Light on the Philistines*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House.
- Biran, A 1989. The collared-rim jars and the settlement of the tribe of Dan, in Gitin & Dever 1989: 71-96.
- Boshoff, W 1994. Variety is a sign of life: thoughts on the history of Israelite Religion. *Old Testament Essays*. 1994: 121-131.
- Bright, J 1981. *A History of Israel*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- Cadogan, G 1998. The thirteenth-century changes in Cyprus in their East Mediterranean context, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1998: 6-16.

- Chambers, H E 1983. Ancient amphictyonies, Sic et Non, in Hallo, W W, Moyer, J C & Perdue, L G (eds), *Scripture in Context II More Essays on the Comparative Method*, 39-59. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Craigie, P C 1983. *Ugarit and the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Cross, F M 1996. A Philistine ostrakon from Ashkelon. *Biblical Archaeology Review*. 22/1, 64-65.
- Curtis, E M 1990. Images in Mesopotamia and the Bible: a comparative study, in Hallo, W W, Jones, B W & Mattingly, G L (eds), *The Bible in the Light of Cuneiform Literature: Scripture in Context III*, 31-56. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen.
- Denton, R & Hoppe, L 1991. Judges annotations, in Metzger & Murphy 1991: 300-331.
- DeVries, L F 1979. *Cities of the Biblical World*. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers Incorporated.
- Dothan, M 1989. Archaeological evidence for movements of the early "sea peoples" in Canaan, in Gitin & Dever 1989: 59-70.
- Dothan, M & Dothan, T 1992. *People of the Sea, The Search for the Philistines*. New York: Macmillan.
- 1993, The Philistines and the Dothans: an archaeological romance. *Biblical Archaeology Review*. 19/5, 40-53, 88.
- Dothan, T 1982. *The Philistines and their Material Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 1985. In the days when judges ruled—research on the period of the settlement and the judges, in Shanks, H (ed), *Recent Archaeology and the Land of Israel*, 35-41. Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society.
- 1989. The arrival of the sea peoples: cultural diversity in Early Iron Age Canaan, in Gitin & Dever 1989: 1-14.
- 1998. Cultural crossroads: Deir el-Balah and the cosmopolitan culture of the Late Bronze Age. *Biblical Archaeology Review*. 24/5, 24-37, 70-72.
- Dothan, T & Gitin, S 1990. Ekron of the Philistines. *Biblical Archaeology Review*. XVI/1, 20-36.

- Doumas, C G 1998. Aegeans in the Levant: myth and reality, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1989: 129-137.
- Ehrlich, C S 1996. *The Philistines in Transition A History from ca. 1000-730 BCE*. New York: E J Brill.
- 1999. Practicum in biblical archaeology. York University. (Online)  
Available at: <http://www.yorku.ca/human/3000N.htm>
- Finkelstein, I 1998. Philistine chronology: high, middle, or low?, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1989: 140-147.
- Francisco, C T 1977. *Introducing the Old Testament*, Revised ed, Nashville: Broadman Press.
- Freeman, J D 1967. Dagon, in Tenney, M C (ed), *Zondervan Pictorial Bible Dictionary*, 194. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- French, E B 1998. The ups and downs of Mycenae: 1250-1150 BCE, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1989: 2-5.
- Gitin, S 1989. Tel Miqne-Ekron: a type-site for the inner coastal plain in the Iron Age II period, in Gitin & Dever 1989: 23-58.
- 1995. Tel Miqne-Ekron in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE: the impact of economic innovation and foreign cultural influences on a Neo-Assyrian vassal city-state, in Gitin, S (ed), *Recent Excavations in Israel A View to the West*, 61-79. Dubuque: Archaeological Institute of America Colloquia and Conference Papers.
- 1997. A royal dedicatory inscription from Ekron. *Israel Exploration Journal*. 47/1-2, 1-16.
- 1998. Philistia in transition: the tenth century BCE and beyond, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1998: 162-183.
- Gitin, S & Dever, W G (eds) 1989. *Recent Excavations in Israel: Studies in Iron Age Archaeology*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Gitin, S, Mazar, A. & Stern, E (eds) 1998. *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Gordon, C H 1965. *The Ancient Near East*. New York: W W Norton & Company.

- Guralnik, D B 1974. *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*. Nashville: Southwestern.
- Haak, R D 1996. The Philistines and the prophetic texts. Paper presented at SBL Meeting, New Orleans.
- Hester, H I 1956. *The Heart of Hebrew History: A Study of the Old Testament*. Liberty: William Jewell Press.
- Hesse, B & Wapnish, P 1996. Pig's feet, cattle bones and birds' wings. *Biblical Archaeology Review*. 22/1, 62.
- Hindson, E E 1971. *The Philistines and the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House.
- Hoerth, A J, Mattingly, G L. & Yamauchi, E M (eds) 1998. *Peoples of the Old Testament World*. Cambridge: Lutterworth Press.
- Howard, D M Jr 1998. Philistines, in Hoerth, Mattingly & Yamauchi 1998: 231-250.
- Iacovou, M 1998. Philistia and Cyprus in the eleventh century: from a similar prehistory to a diverse protohistory, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1998: 332-344.
- Jagersma, H 1983. *A History of Israel in the Old Testament Period*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Jones, T B 1967. *Paths to the Ancient Past*. New York: The Free Press, Macmillan.
- Kelm, G L & Mazar, A 1989. Excavating in Samson country. *Biblical Archaeology Review*. XVI/1, 36-49.
- Killebrew, A 1998. Ceramic typology and technology of Late Bronze II and Iron I assemblages from Tel Miqne-Ekron: the transition from Canaanite to Philistine culture, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1998: 379-405.
- Kitchen, K A 1966. *Ancient Orient and Old Testament*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press.
- 1978. *The Bible in its World: Bible and Archaeology Today*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press.
- Klein, R W 1978. *Textual Criticism of the Old Testament: The Septuagint After Qumran*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

- Knapp, A B 1988. *The History and Culture of Ancient Western Asia and Egypt*. Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Krentz, E 1979. *The Historical-Critical Method*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Kuhrt, A 1998. *The Ancient Near East c. 3000-330 BC*. New York: Routledge.
- Lace, O J (ed) 1972. *Understanding the Old Testament*. Cambridge University Press.
- Larue, G A 1970. *Old Testament Life and Literature*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Maclear, G F 1971. *A Class-book of Old Testament History*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Maier, A M & Ehrlich, C S 1999. The Tell es-Safi/Gath archaeological project: a brief overview. Bar Ilan University. (Online) Available at: [http://faculty.biu.ac.il/~maeira/word\\_files/popular\\_overview.htm](http://faculty.biu.ac.il/~maeira/word_files/popular_overview.htm)
- Matthews, V H & Moyer, J C 1998. *The Old Testament Text and Context*. Peabody: Hendrickson.
- Metzger, B M & Murphy, R E (eds) 1991. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, J M 1976. *The Old Testament and the Historian*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Muhly, J D 1998. Copper, tin, silver and iron: the search for metallic ores as an incentive for foreign expansion, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1998: 314-329.
- NAS. *New American Standard Bible*. 1985. Nashville: Holman Bible Publishers.
- Negbi, O 1998. Reflections on the ethnicity of Cyprus in the eleventh century BCE, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1998: 87-93.
- Niemeier, W D 1998. The Mycenaeans in western Anatolia and the problem of the origins of the sea peoples, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1998: 17-65.
- Noth, M 1958. *The History of Israel*. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Nulle, S H (ed) 1980. *Classics of Western Thought in the Ancient World*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

- Raban, A & Stieglitz, R 1991. The sea peoples and their contributions to civilization. *Biblical Archaeology Review*. XVII/6, 34-42.
- Saint-Laurent, G E 1980. Light from Ras Shamra on Elijah's ordeal upon Mount Carmel, in Evans, C D, Hallo, W W & White, J B (eds), *Scripture in Context: Essays on the Comparative Method*, 123-139. Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press.
- Sanders, M S 2000. Philistines. *Mysteries of the Bible*. (Online) Available at: <http://www.biblemysteries.com/lectures/philistines/>
- Schoville, K N 1986. *Biblical Archaeology in Focus*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House.
- Shannon, D T 1977. *The Old Testament Experience of Faith*. Valley Forge: Judson Press.
- Sherratt, S 1998. "Sea peoples" and the economic structure of the late second millennium in the eastern Mediterranean, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1998: 292-313.
- Silberman, N A 1998. The sea peoples, the Victorians and us: modern social ideology and changing archaeological interpretations of the Late Bronze Age collapse, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1998: 268-275.
- Singer, I 1992. How did the Philistines enter Canaan?. *Biblical Archaeology Review*. 18/6, 44-46.
- Small, D B 1998. Surviving the collapse: the oikos and structural continuity between Late Bronze Age and later Greece, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1998: 283-291.
- Stager, L E 1995. The impact of the sea peoples in Canaan (1185-1050 BCE), in Levy, T E (ed), *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, 332-348. New York: Facts on File.
- 1996. The fury of Babylon: Ashkelon and the archaeology of destruction. *Biblical Archaeology Review*. 22/1, 56—69, 76-77.
- 1998. Forging an identity the emergence of ancient Israel, in Coogan, M D (ed), *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, 123-175. Oxford University Press.
- Stern, E 1989. The beginning of the Greek settlement in Palestine in the light of the excavations at Tel Dor, in Gitin & Dever 1989: 107-124.

- 1998. Buried treasure: the silver hoard from Dor. *Biblical Archaeology Review*. 24/4, 46-51.
- Stinespring, W F & Long, B O 1991. I and II Samuel annotations, in Metzger & Murphy 1991: 340-422.
- Tate, M E 1982. David and the Philistines. *Biblical Illustrator*. 8/3, 37-42.
- TEV. *Good News Bible in Today's English Version*. 1978. New York: United Bible Societies.
- Tucker, G M 1976. *Form Criticism of the Old Testament*. Philadelphia; Fortress Press.
- Vagnetti, L 1998. Variety and function of the Aegean derivative pottery in the central Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1998: 66-77.
- Vermaak, F 1998. Fertility myths. *Study Unit 15. Unisa*. 2-32.
- Von Soden, W 1994. *The Ancient Orient*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Vreeland, G D 1985. *The Philistines: Origin, Culture, and Conflict*. ThM thesis, Western Conservative Baptist Seminary, Oregon.
- Wallbank, T W & Taylor, A M 1954. *Civilization Past and Present*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Chicago: Scott Foresman.
- Weinstein, J M 1998. Egyptian relations with the eastern Mediterranean world at the end of the second millennium BCE, in Gitin, et. al. (eds) 1998: 188-196.
- Wood, B G 1991. The Philistines enter Canaan—were they Egyptian lackeys or invading conquerors?. *Biblical Archaeology Review*. XVII/6, 44-52.
- Wood, L J 1970. *A Survey of Israel's History*. Grand Rapids: Academic Books.
- 1984. *The Prophets of Israel*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House.
- Wright, G E 1960. *Biblical Archaeology*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press.
- Yellin, J & Gunneweg, J 1989. Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis and

the origin of Iron Age I collared-rim jars and pithoi from Tel Dan, in Gitin & Dever 1989: 133-142.

Young, E J 1965. *An Introduction to the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.

Zanger, W 1995. *Mysteries of the Bible* (video). Roos, B producer, New York: New Video Group in conjunction with A&E Television Networks.