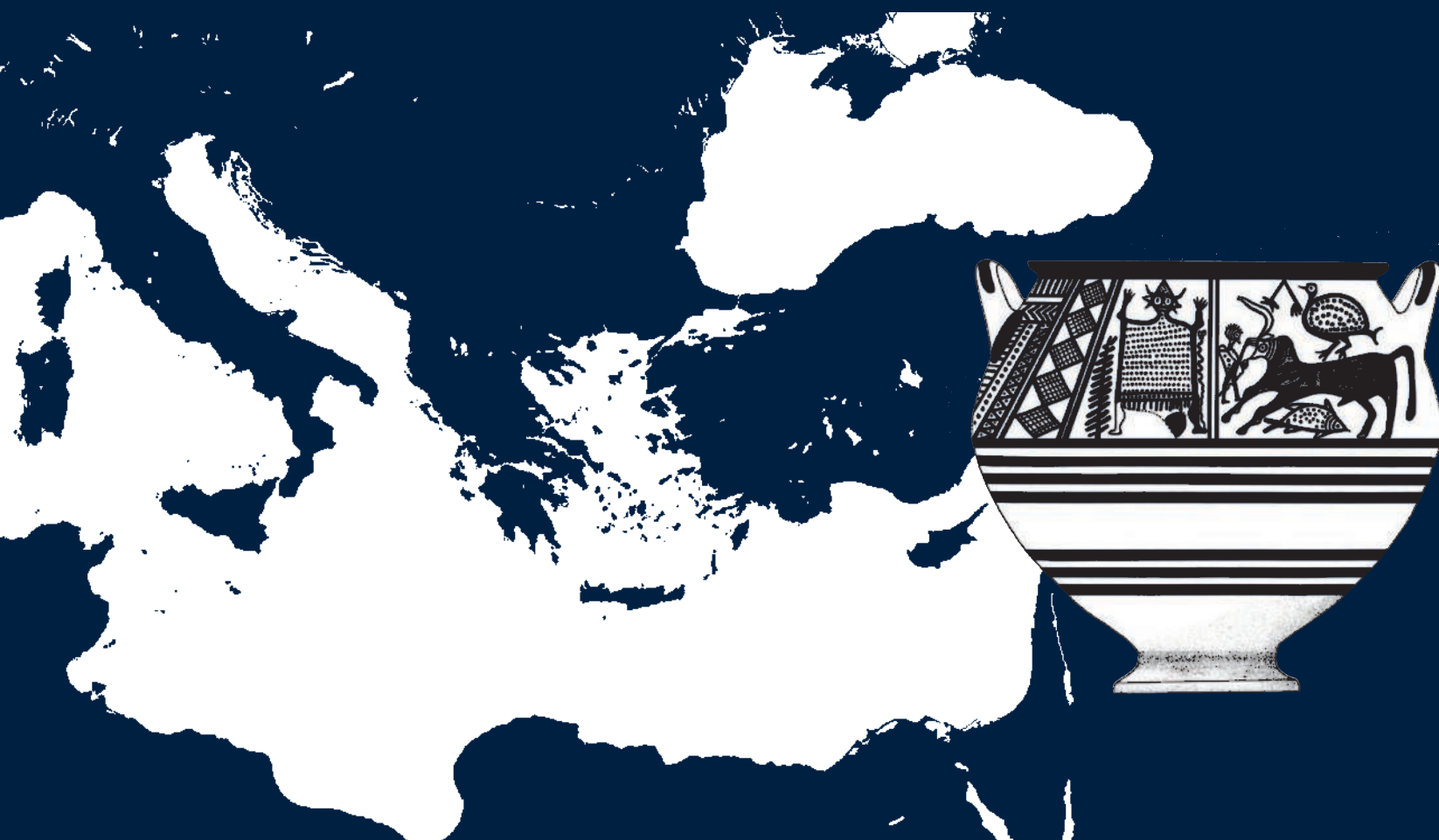


PETER M. FISCHER AND TERESA BÜRGE (eds.)

# “Sea Peoples” Up-to-Date

New Research on Transformations  
in the Eastern Mediterranean  
in the 13<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> Centuries BCE



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ÖSTERREICHISCHEN  
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Proceedings of the ESF-Workshop  
held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences,  
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SONDERDRUCK



VERLAG DER  
ÖSTERREICHISCHEN  
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WISSENSCHAFTEN

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## Abbreviations

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### General Abbreviations

BCE	Before Common Era	LH	Late Helladic Period
BP	Before Present	LM	Late Minoan Period
CE	Common Era	MB	Middle Bronze Age
EB	Early Bronze Age	MC	Middle Cypriot Period
IA	Iron Age	c.	circa
LB	Late Bronze Age	vs.	versus
LC	Late Cypriot Period		

### Bibliographical Abbreviations

AASOR	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>	IstMitt	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
ADAJ	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>	JAS	<i>Journal of Archaeological Science</i>
Aegaeum	<i>Aegaeum: Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège</i>	Levant	<i>Levant: Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>	NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i> (formerly <i>BiblArch</i> )
'Atiqot	<i>'Atiqot: Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities</i>	OJA	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
BAAL	<i>Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises</i>	OpAthRom	<i>Opuscula: Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome</i>
BAR-IS	<i>British Archaeological Reports, International Series</i>	OREA	<i>Oriental and European Archaeology</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>	PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
Berytus	<i>Berytus: Archaeological Studies</i>	RDAC	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>
BiblArch	see NEA	SIMA	<i>Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
BSA	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>	SIMA-PB	<i>Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Pocket-Books</i>
DaM	<i>Damaszener Mitteilungen</i>	SMEA	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici</i>
E&L	<i>Egypt and the Levant</i>	Syria	<i>Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>	ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>



# FLUCTUATIONS IN LEVANTINE MARITIME FOCI ACROSS THE LATE BRONZE/IRON AGE TRANSITION: CHARTING THE ROLE OF THE SHARON-CARMEL (*TJEKER*) COAST IN THE RISE OF IRON AGE PHOENICIAN POLITIES

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*Ayelet Gilboa and Ilan Sharon*

## Abstract

Scholars dealing with transformations in Mediterranean commercial spheres after the collapse of the Bronze Age World, usually accredit ‘The Phoenicians’ with nascent (or continuing) commercial initiatives on the Levantine side – a first step in the Phoenicians’ commercial ‘expansion’ that will come to fruition in the later Iron Age. By the term ‘Phoenicians’ they mean polities and/or peoples in Lebanon, more specifically in southern Lebanon. In that region, the argument goes, the impact of the invading Sea People was negligible and therefore commercial activities and maritime traffic continued unabated. In this paper we explore this *communis opinio* by attempting to determine exactly which Levantine regions were involved in maritime circulation of goods in the early Iron Age. The only medium suitable

for this purpose is pottery that travelled aboard ships, which survives abundantly enough and whose production centres can be determined with good resolution. We conclude that the process was more complex: In the early Iron Age, the Phoenician cultural sphere should be extended southward beyond Lebanon, to Israel’s Carmel and Sharon coasts, usually conceptualized by modern scholarship as Sea People territory. Only by the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century BCE does this region abruptly stop its engagement in maritime exchange of goods and the town of Dor – its main port town – is transformed from a trading entrepôt to an administrative centre. The annexation of the Carmel/Sharon regions by the northern Kingdom of Israel may be the explanation for this. The cessation of seafaring activity in Southern Phoenicia facilitated the rise of the cities of Central Phoenicia (i.e. southern Lebanon) to maritime supremacy.

## INTRODUCTION

The investigation of the ‘Sea People phenomenon’ in the Levant (Fig. 1) has shifted in recent years from questions of geographic origin/‘ethnicity’, chronology and settlement processes to issues of social dialectics between immigrants and locals and the *in-situ* formation of identities (e.g. SHARON 2001; GILBOA 2005, 2006–2007; VENTURI 2007; YASUR-LANDAU 2011; MAEIR *et al.* 2013; FAUST 2015; all with references to previous studies). The impact of the ‘Sea People phenomenon’ on Mediterranean commercial spheres – the focus of this paper – has received much less attention; relevant studies are referred to further down in this paper.

As opposed to some traditional views it is nowadays patently clear that the centuries following the Late Bronze Age collapse did not signal a total cessation of cross-Mediterranean traffic and exchange of goods, though these were then certainly much diminished in scope and conducted in a different socio-political environment (a very selective list: SHERRATT and SHERRATT 1991; D’AGATA *et al.* 2005; BELL 2006; AUBET 2008: 248; GILBOA *et al.* 2008; SHERRATT 2010, 2012 and further references in GILBOA *et al.* 2015c: n.1). The identity of the agents of early Iron Age (c. 1150–850 BCE) Mediterranean trade has been much debated (summaries for example in COLDSTREAM 2000: 24;

KOUROU 2008: 307–308; GILBOA 2013: 315, 326–327 and cf. FANTALKIN 2006). On the Levantine side, however, early Iron Age commercial enterprises are almost unanimously accredited to ‘the Phoenicians’. Of all early Iron Age people and polities they are perceived as the immediate and main economic beneficiaries of the Bronze Age collapse (AUBET 2000; 2001; BELL 2006: 4, 98–99, 111–112 and BROODBANK 2013: 449, 487 are, of course, just a few examples out of a very long list). These views, implicitly or explicitly, seem to be based on the following considerations:

- 1) Ancient chroniclers in general associate Phoenicians in the West with the Tyrian/Sidonian sphere (summaries in AUBET 2001: 195–197, 215–218). In particular, some of them attribute early (12<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE) foundation dates to some (particularly Tyrian) colonies in the west, such as Gadir (Cadiz) in Iberia and Lixus and Utica in North Africa. However, such early activity is not currently supported by archaeological evidence, even considering the purportedly early finds from Huelva in Spain (summary in GILBOA 2013).
- 2) When foreign material culture traits begin to be attested in Phoenician holdings in the West, starting in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE, there is a marked similarity (mainly in pottery) to those

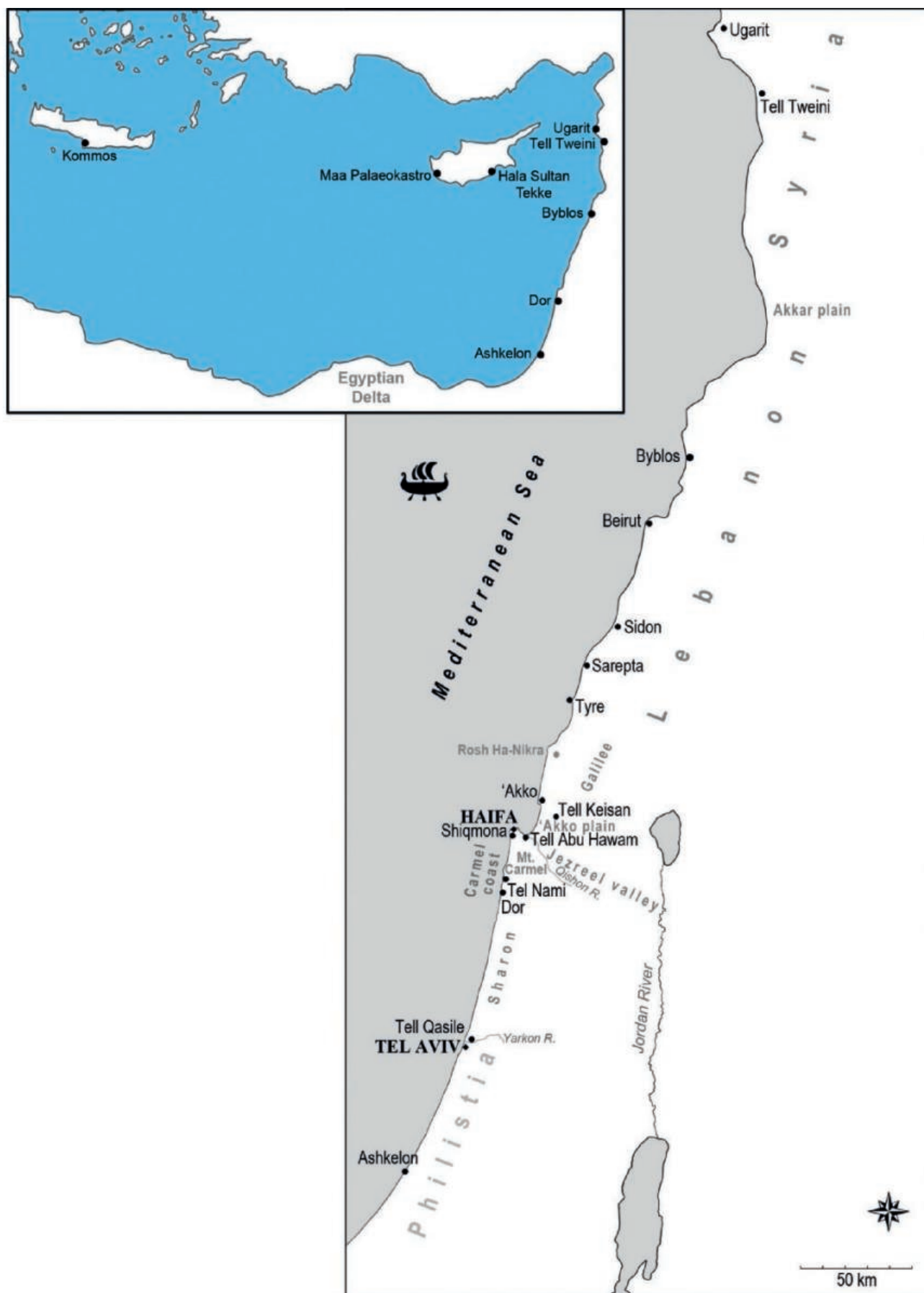


Fig. 1 The Eastern Mediterranean with main sites mentioned in the text



from southern Lebanon, chiefly Tyre (e.g., recently NÚÑEZ CALVO 2013).<sup>1</sup>

- 3) The lack of Late Bronze Age destructions in Lebanon means that it was not affected by any ‘Sea Peoples’ incursions (e.g. MARKOE 2005: 16–19) and was therefore allowed uninterrupted commercial activity (for example, BELL 2006: 113). This apparent phenomenon may have more to do with lack of knowledge than with lack of destructions. Of the few excavated sites that revealed a LB/Iron Age sequence, there is no evidence of destruction in Sarepta or Tyre, but new evidence from Sidon may change that picture (DOUMET-SERHAL 2010: 125–128).

For the Iron Age, then, scholarly literature sees ‘Phoenicia’ and Lebanon (most importantly southern Lebanon) as coterminous (e.g. IACOVOU 2004; BROOD-BANK 2013: 499; and further references in GILBOA 2005: 2–3).

Importantly for the concerns of this paper, while this perception is grounded in archaeological evidence of the late(r) Iron Age, it is also retrojected to the earlier Iron Age (late-12<sup>th</sup>–mid-9<sup>th</sup> century BCE). Any manifestation of ‘Phoenician’ material culture in this period beyond the southern Lebanese sphere is viewed as resulting from Sidonian and/ or (mainly) Tyrian activity. Two cases in point are particularly relevant here:

- 1) Similarities in material culture traits between regions in the north of present-day Israel (the Galilee Coast, the ‘Akko Plain and the Carmel Coast) and south Lebanon have been taken to represent terrestrial expansion to and conquest of the former regions by southern Lebanese polities (STERN 1990; AUBET 2000; BELL 2006: 16, 89; IACOVOU 2004).
- 2) Phoenician containers in Cyprus – most conspicuously of Phoenician Bichrome Ware, which starts to occur there during Cypro-Geometric I (CG I; e.g. BIKAI 1987; GILBOA *et al.* 2008) are generally seen as attesting to specifically southern Lebanese (again, mainly Tyrian) commercial enterprises and even colonisation beginning in the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE. These are identified as the first steps in more extensive and far-flung westbound initiatives by Tyre/Sidon (e.g. BIKAI 1994; AUBET 2000: 80, 85; BELL 2006: 98; and further references in GILBOA 2013).

The first point (purported Phoenician conquests south of Lebanon) has already been dealt with in previ-

ous papers (GILBOA 2005; SHARON and GILBOA 2013). Our main argument is that there is no evidence for a transformation from a ‘Sea Peoples’ to a ‘Phoenician’ material culture in northern Israel. ‘Phoenician’ material culture in these regions is not less indigenous than it is in Lebanon, and its gradual development can be followed *in situ* from the end of the Late Bronze Age. It does not attest to any expansion or conquest by northern polities. Therefore the ‘Phoenician’ cultural sphere in the early Iron Age should be extended southwards to include regions as far south as the Carmel Coast.

What follows is an attempt to re-assess the second point enumerated above – namely the notion that in the Levant, southern Lebanese polities assume *the* leading role in continuing or renascent trade initiatives after the Late Bronze Age. We also claim that the very term ‘Phoenician’, though heuristically useful to a certain point, becomes a constraining epithet when trade networks in the early Iron Age are investigated. The unfortunate juxtaposition of a loaded historical term, informed by the political realities and agendas of much later periods, with a specific archaeological ‘culture’ (i.e. a bundle of material culture traits) also confuses other purportedly ‘Phoenician’ phenomena, but this is beyond the scope of this paper.

In order to try to chart fluctuating commercial contacts through time, an attempt should be made to define with the highest possible accuracy the specific (often competing) polities who partook in regional and inter-regional exchanges.

Empirically, this investigation is based on evidence accumulating for more than three decades of excavations at Tel Dor on Israel’s Carmel Coast, and on spin-off research projects conducted in order to better understand the Tel Dor data. We concentrate on pottery because it is the main surviving material correlate for inter-regional exchanges, and because its origin can be fairly well pinpointed by fabric analysis while its cultural affinities can be mapped by stylistic considerations. The rationale dictating this investigation is that when conducted from a nuanced chronological, regional and – when possible – quantitative viewpoint, such an assessment may shed light on the proportionate involvement of various Levantine regions, and occasionally even specific sites, in overseas trade. It is clear that maritime exchanges usually involved commodities much more important than pottery (and even their contents), many of which would leave no archaeological trace in ordinary cir-

<sup>1</sup> But see, for example, MEDEROS MARTIN’S and RUIZ CABRERO’S (2011) suggestion that Castillo the Doña Blanca on the Bay of Cadiz should be understood as a Sidonian foundation.

cumstances (e.g. SHERRATT 2015). However, most ships carried some quantity of ceramics – especially containers – whether part of the main cargo or otherwise, and some of this must have been offloaded at ports-of-call en route. When *direct, extensive and repetitive maritime exchanges occur over relatively short distances*, these phenomena should become visible.

Much of the data discussed here has already been presented in previous publications and therefore is only reviewed shortly, and our emphasis is on new data and on synthesising the results from a long-term perspective.

#### DOR'S EARLY IRON AGE IN BRIEF

Six chrono-stratigraphic horizons were defined in the early Iron Age sequence at Dor, termed Ir1a *early*, Ir1a *late*, Ir1a|b, Ir1b, Ir1|2, Ir2a – a terminology we advocate as generally applicable for Phoenicia (GILBOA and SHARON 2003). Though there are some differences between these horizons in specifics of material culture (summarised in SHARON and GILBOA 2013), continuity, rather than change, is conspicuous and therefore here we treat the entire sequence as one. In terms of the relative chronology of Israel and Philistia our Ir1a parallels the heyday of Philistine Bichrome ware (excluding the initial monochrome phase, which is thus far unattested at Dor); the Ir1b horizon is roughly contemporaneous with the late 'debased' Philistine Bichrome phase. Thus both of these together constitute what is traditionally called Iron Age IB in Israel (e.g. MAZAR 2011: 105). The Ir1|2 is a transitional Iron Age I / Iron Age II horizon, recently dubbed 'Early Iron Age IIA' in Israel (e.g. HERZOG and SINGER-AVITZ 2006; FINKELSTEIN and PIASETZKY 2009; MAZAR 2011: 107); while the Ir2a is the conventional (i.e. 'Late') Iron Age IIA. Both Ir1|2 and Ir2a should correspond to the beginning of the LPDW (Late Philistine Decorated Ware) in Philistia. Note, however that our 'early Iron Age' sequence probably ends before the end of conventional Iron Age IIA (see below). In absolute terms this is from a certain point in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> / beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century to a certain point in the middle or second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE, depending on the ('high' or 'low') chronological framework employed. In Egyptian terms this would mean between some point either in the Late Ramesside or early Third Intermediate Period to the mid-22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, possibly during Osorkon II's reign (see discussion in WAIMAN-BARAK *et al.* 2014: 317–318).

Throughout this chrono-stratigraphical sequence, Dor was a densely-built town (about 8 hectares in extent), fortified during at least most of this duration and exhibiting some of the most monumental public edifices known around the Mediterranean at the time (SHARON

and GILBOA 2013). In addition, as we detail below, Dor has produced to date more evidence of inter-regional exchanges than any other early Iron Age site in the Levant during this time. To some extent this picture may be biased due to the relatively large exposures of early Iron Age levels (and to meticulous quantitative analyses of the pottery), compared to the still limited comparative exposures of early Iron Age levels in Lebanon. However, as we argue below, not everything can be attributed to the serendipity of excavations.

#### DOR'S EARLY IRON AGE INTER-REGIONAL EXCHANGES EVIDENCED BY POTTERY

We start our discussion with Phoenician containers in Cyprus, since, as mentioned, they are the most often-quoted index for Lebanese activities abroad in the early Iron Age – whether these are seen as 'colonial' or pre-colonial. In order to start to test this hypothesis, about 50 'Phoenician' containers in Cyprus were investigated by petrographic analysis to determine their provenance. They include mainly Phoenician Bichrome Ware containers, but also other shapes/wares (e.g. small flasks, further discussed below) and they represent the entire Cypriote early Iron Age – LC IIIB to CG III, with one earlier, LC IIIA vessel (details in GILBOA and GOREN 2015). These comprise nearly half of the Phoenician containers of these horizons assembled in BIKAI's (1987) catalogue, so we consider the sample representative. About 40 of the vessels were demonstrated to be imports from the Levant and about half of these were produced on the Carmel Coast, most probably at Dor, while the other half originates somewhere in southern Lebanon, in the Tyre-to-Sidon stretch. Unfortunately, at present it is difficult to differentiate petrographically between products of the specific sites in the latter area (Sidon, Sarepta and Tyre). Only one of the sampled vessels was clearly produced in another region – somewhere on the 'Akko plain. Most importantly, this study showed that the fifty/fifty situation also applies to Phoenician Bichrome Ware: about half of them were produced on the Carmel Coast and not in southern Lebanon. Thus, in as much as this distinctive ceramic style is taken as the earliest clear index of 'Phoenician' material culture and commercial enterprises, the Carmel Coast has to be included in it.

Dor was not only one of the main suppliers of Phoenician Bichrome containers (and their yet unidentified contents) to Cyprus, but in general, one of the main producers of such vessels in the early Iron Age. Current evidence shows that Phoenician Bichrome at Dor forms a higher proportion of the assemblage than in other Phoenician sites, with the notable exception being Tyre (and not, for example, Sarepta; details in GILBOA *et al.* 2015c). Fabric analysis at Dor has shown that most of

the vessels excavated at the site were produced there, while a minority arrived from sites in the Lebanon (WAIMAN-BARAK 2016; Yuval GOREN, personal communication). Clearly, then, the until recently straightforward association between ‘Phoenician’ containers in Cyprus and Lebanese activities should be reconsidered.

Maritime traffic between Dor and Cyprus is also attested by pottery moving west-to-east. From the Ir1b horizon till Ir2a, Dor produced more Cypriote ceramics than any site outside the island in this time span, with a relative concentration currently only matched at Tyre (details in GILBOA *et al.* 2015c). The *raison d’être* for this import is not easy to decipher, since much of the pottery comprises (very simple) open shapes and not containers. This hints that we are dealing here with more than simply commercial exchange.<sup>2</sup> Be that as it may, other than at Tyre no such extensive phenomenon is attested in any coastal (or other) Levantine region. This is certainly true of Philistia’s extensively excavated sites,<sup>3</sup> while the situation in Syria has yet to come into better focus. Some major sites, such as Tell Kazel and Tell Afis, reveal a rather minimal representation of Cypriote imports (respectively, YON and CAUBET 1992; BONATZ 1998; MAZZONI 2005:12). Others, such as (nearly) coastal Tell Tweini (VANSTEENHUYSE 2010: figs. III.1:1–3, 5–7; III.5, III.6; NYS and MIDDERNACHT 2010) and Amuq sites (e.g. Tell Tayinat, Chatal Höyük) seem to have larger quantities, starting in Amuq Phase O, but apparently still a far cry than those at Dor at Tyre (personal communications from Brian Janeway and Lynn Welton regarding Tayinat and Marina Pucci for Chatal Höyük; cf. SWIFT 1958: 120–121; KARACIC and OSBORNE 2016).<sup>4</sup> It is also clear that even in other ‘Phoenician’ sites, such as Sarepta, Tell Keisan and possibly even Sidon (from which information regarding the early Iron Age is still not extensive enough yet), no such phenomenon is attested.

Beyond Cyprus, Dor had extensive maritime contacts with Egypt. The early Iron Age continuum produced hundreds of fragments of Egyptian-made vessels, mostly large containers – jars and amphorae – surpassing anything known from anywhere outside Egypt’s borders in

this period (WAIMAN-BARAK *et al.* 2014; GILBOA 2015b). In this case, based on currently available data, this phenomenon might be matched at Ashkelon on the Philistine coast and possibly also at ‘Akko, but on a much reduced scale. No similar evidence has been forthcoming from any other Levantine site. Egyptian ceramics, other than a handful of examples, are conspicuously absent from early Iron Age sites in Lebanon and Syria. In the opposite direction, Phoenician containers were uncovered in Egypt in Third Intermediate Period contexts – mainly jars, flasks, and Phoenician Bichrome jugs (references in GILBOA *et al.* 2015c: n. 44). These have not been tested, but they are all of types more common in Dor’s production than in that of sites further north. In the light of the well-attested contacts with Dor and the lack thereof with sites further north, we suggest that a large portion may well have been produced at Dor and shipped from there. Only future fabric analyses of these vessels in Egypt can corroborate this assumption.

A new study attempting to identify the origin of Canaanite/Phoenician containers found overseas from a long-term perspective (GILBOA *et al.* 2015b) furnishes further clues on the role of the Carmel Coast and the adjacent Sharon coast in early Iron Age maritime exchanges. This study summarised the evidence at hand regarding the origin of Levantine containers, especially transport jars, found overseas from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE. It considered only cases where such an origin could be suggested by fabric analysis.

The conclusions were as follows: The most prolific evidence pertains to the LB, mainly the 14<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, based on hundreds of ‘Canaanite’ jars sampled in Egypt (mainly at el-Amarna and Memphis; e.g. SMITH *et al.* 2004); Kommos in southern Crete (DAY *et al.* 2011); Floor II at Maa-Palaeokastro in western Cyprus (JONES and VAUGHAN 1988; and possibly also from Enkomi; see CREWE 2007: 124); the Uluburun wreck (preliminarily GOREN 2013); and probably Vivara, Italy (GOREN 2014). Containers shipped from the Levant in this period originate in rather diverse regions, but these are unequally represented. The lion’s share were pro-

<sup>2</sup> Dor’s Cypriote imports are currently studied by Anna Georgiadou.

<sup>3</sup> Some exceptions are the Cypriote Black Slip jugs in the Tell el Far’ah (South) cemeteries; further examples are discussed in GILBOA 1989; 2015a. Recently two genuinely Cypriote vessels have been identified in an earlier (12<sup>th</sup>-century BCE) context at Ashkelon (MASTER *et al.* 2015) and surely there must be some more yet unidentified ones among the vast decorated assemblages of Philistia. This does not change, however, the radical difference in the scope of visible exchanges with Cyprus evident in Philistia versus Dor and Tyre.

<sup>4</sup> Since the materials of these and other relevant sites in Syria are currently being processed, a future comparison between quantities, vessel shapes and origin of Cypriote finds (and their contextualization and impact) in Syria and Phoenicia is bound to be instructive. More significant Cypriote ceramic export to the Amuq is first attested later in the Iron Age II (Phase N) *inter alia* by the well-known Black-on-Red containers (e.g. PUCCI 2010). The latter, however, embody an altogether different and very specific phenomenon, which is known from many regions of the Levant. For more potential Cypriote imports in Syria in general see LEHMANN 2013.



duced in the Southern Levant, more specifically along the coast between the Jezreel Valley/the northern tip of the Carmel mountain range in the north, and the northern Sharon plain to the south. Only a few originate from the coast south of the Yarkon River – the region which will eventually become Philistia. The second largest group(s) originates in the Northern Levant – from the territory of Ugarit in the north to the Akkar plain/north Lebanon fringe in the south. Relatively few jars (mainly on board the Uluburun ship) are of southern Lebanese production.

For the crucial 12<sup>th</sup> century, regrettably, evidence is scant and inconclusive. Partial data from Maa-Palaeokastro Floor I and the LC IIIA levels at Hala Sultan Tekke in Cyprus – altogether only 13 vessels the origin of which could be identified to some degree (JONES and VAUGHAN 1988; RENSON *et al.* 2013; commentary in GILBOA *et al.* 2015b) – show that most (eight) of the vessels originate in the Southern Levant but in as yet difficult-to-determine regions between the Jezreel Valley and the Philistine coast, and another five were produced somewhere between south Lebanon and the 'Akko Plain. For what it is worth, the only Levantine flask analysed by petrography from LC IIIA Cyprus was produced on the Carmel Coast (GILBOA and GOREN 2015: Appendix 2, Kouklia 1).

For the subsequent early Iron Age (11<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE), the only compositional data available are those mentioned above for Phoenician containers in Cyprus – with Dor and the Tyre-Sidon region represented in equal numbers. In this period, hardly any Phoenician-made containers are known west of Cyprus. As mentioned above, they do occur in Egypt but cannot currently be sampled. Significantly, the Syrian coast/northern Lebanon are not represented any more in the fabric analyses, but at least one jar that by its shape must be Syrian is known in Cyprus (PEDRAZZI 2007: fig. 3.17:g).

Evidence for the later Iron Age – the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE – has been forthcoming for the first time from the copious assemblage of Phoenician transport jars unearthed at Kommos, the largest such assemblage known beyond the Levant (BIKAI 2000). Mineralogical and chemical analysis of 20 representative jars and jugs indicates that most of them originate on the southern Lebanese coast (Tyre-Sidon; of which 13 are identified with this region with certainty and 4 less categorically); one is from the Sharon coast; and two from indeterminate (coastal) regions in the southern Levant.

The caveats of this investigation are obvious (see above). Nevertheless, some interesting patterns have emerged, among which the following three are notable in the present context: First is the near-disappearance of Syrian containers from the data set after the Late Bronze Age, a phenomenon easily understood in the light of the

destruction of the main Syrian coastal sites c. 1200 and the subsequent slow demographic and economic recovery of the region (e.g. AKKERMANS and SCHWARTZ 2004: 358–395; VENTURI 2007; but see more below). Second is the importance of commodities shipped in containers manufactured on the Carmel Coast and most probably shipped from this region, as from the Late Bronze Age. (For assessments of the role of this region in maritime commerce in the Late Bronze Age, see also ARTZY 2006; BEN SHLOMO *et al.* 2011.)

What happened along the Carmel Coast during the 12<sup>th</sup> century is still unclear, mainly because of the rather insignificant representation of 12<sup>th</sup>-century BCE containers in provenience studies. But from the moment information is available again (the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE), Carmel-Coast-made containers once more comprise an important share (about half) of those known to have been shipped from the Levant overseas. Southern Lebanese containers are relatively well-represented in the various data sets starting in the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE. It is only, however, from about the mid-9<sup>th</sup> to the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE (after which no compositional data are available) that they seem to eclipse all others. From about the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century and on, the Carmel Coast conspicuously loses its prominent representation among Levantine containers in overseas destinations. In our *Discussion* below we argue that there might be a causative association between the disappearance of Carmel Coast containers from the East Mediterranean scene about the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century and the 'takeover' by southern Lebanese ones thereafter.

#### OTHER LINES OF EVIDENCE REGARDING DOR'S EARLY IRON AGE EXCHANGES

Further evidence regarding the scope of Dor's commercial spheres of interaction has been provided by residue analysis of early Iron Age flasks uncovered at the site (NAMDAR *et al.* 2013). Several of them contained cinnamon, which in this period could have only originated in South or Southeast Asia. The routes through which this precious commodity reached the site are totally unknown, but it is clear that it formed the basis for a secondary industry related to the spice trade, namely of some (unidentified) spiced liquids, which were packed in local flasks and were both consumed locally and at other sites to which these flasks were distributed. The latter include sites in the Levant itself (such as other Phoenician sites and centres in Philistia; WAIMAN-BARAK 2016) and beyond it (GILBOA and NAMDAR 2015). This trade in pricey liquids probably accounts for the above-mentioned export of small flasks from Dor to Cyprus. Dor was probably not the only Phoenician site that was engaged in the marketing of these (or similar) spiced substances. Similar flasks that were produced in other regions in Phoeni-

cia, including southern Lebanon, are widespread in the Levant and beyond (GILBOA and GOREN 2015; WAIMAN-BARAK 2016). Other regions in the Levant, most notably Philistia, also manufactured various small flasks in this period. Currently, however, there is no evidence of any systematic distribution of the Philistine flasks to compare to that of the Phoenician ones.

Lastly we consider Dor's possible involvement in the early Iron Age trade in silver. Starting in the early Iron Age, a dramatic increase in the use of silver is in evidence both in the Levant and in other regions of the Old World (for Egypt, see recent discussion in JURMAN 2015). It was used for the production of jewellery, in the form of cut silver (*hacksilber*; known mainly from silver hoards), and more (BALMUTH 2001; THOMPSON 2003; GOLANI 2013).<sup>5</sup> The Southern Levant has no natural silver ores and silver could have reached this region from any number of locales in Anatolia (the closest sources), Iran and various regions in the central and western Mediterranean, possibly also Egypt.

Israel produced the largest number of silver hoards known to date in the Levant – more than 30 (THOMPSON 2003; 2007). Five of these hoards belong to the time span considered here – the early Iron Age. Of these, two are from the 'Akko plain ('Akko and Tell Keisan), two are from the vicinity of the Carmel ('En Hofez and Dor), while the fifth is from Ashkelon in Philistia. The Dor hoard is by far the largest known from this time span (STERN 2001; THOMPSON 2003).

Ancient sources (and modern scholarship) have inexorably linked Mediterranean Iron Age trade in silver with the Phoenicians (AUBET 2001: 44, 80–84, 94, 130–131; 204, 280–281; 339–340; MARKOE 2005: xxi, 38, 128, 235, 238, 245–246; *id.* 2015; THOMPSON 2007: 23–30; PÉREZ MARCÍA 2013: 460–465; all with references). THOMPSON and SKAGGS (2013) recently suggested that a combination of Lead Isotope Analysis (LIA) and historical/philological considerations indicates that at least part of the silver in the four early Phoenician hoards originates in Sardinia. Because of the difficulties in using LIA to provenance silver we do not comment here on the conclusions of these scholars. We only note that notwithstanding the question of the specific source of the silver (a large portion of which is probably Anatolian; see THOMPSON 2007: table 1; 2009) the concen-

tration of four out of five 'early' silver hoards in the 'Akko plain-Carmel stretch must draw our attention to the centrality of these regions in the consumption and probably trade in silver.

#### DISCUSSION: THE ROLE OF THE CARMEL COAST IN EARLY IRON AGE INERT-REGIONAL EXCHANGES AND HOW THIS RELATES TO *TJEKER* 'SEA PEOPLE' AND 'PHOENICIANS'

Based on the foregoing discussion we re-assert what has been argued at the beginning of this paper. The Carmel Coast, with its main port town at Dor, was one of the most active regions in inter-regional exchanges following the Late Bronze Age collapse. As is well known, the writer of the Wenamun account refers to Dor's inhabitants in the early Iron Age, as *Tjeker/Skl* (and based on this story the commonest scholarly association of 'maritime *Tjeker*' is with piratical activity). In Amenope's Onomasticon the same term probably refers to a coastal region of the Levant, the exact location of which is not entirely clear (commentary in GILBOA 2005: n. 2). Since *Tjeker* are also mentioned in Ramesses III's Year 8 inscriptions among Egypt's adversaries, they are traditionally perceived as an invading population, originating from some specific faraway geographic region, with some specific ethnic affinity (e.g. REDFORD 2006–2007; HALPERN 2006–2007). In contrast, we have repeatedly argued in the past that the examination of Dor's material culture in the Iron Age (partially summarised above) demonstrates that beyond the local ('Canaanite') substratum, there is mainly a significant Cypriote input, chiefly in local ceramic industries and other crafts such as the production of ivories. The assumption of Cypriote emigrants absorbed at Dor<sup>6</sup> can go a long way to explain the establishment of the close, direct and enduring contacts between Dor and the island. Over and above mere exchanges of goods/commodities these evince various avenues of information flow, and quite possibly some social cohesion (FRIEDLAND and ROBERTSON 1990).<sup>7</sup> This is manifested for example by the profile of the Cypriote ceramic import to the site (above) and by the close and *bidirectional* stylistic discourse evident in the similar manner in which specific containers were adorned in both regions (e.g. spouted jugs likely used on socially significant occasions; examples in GILBOA and GOREN

<sup>5</sup> For the question whether or not these silver items attest to some 'pre-monetary' economy, see, for example, THOMPSON 2003; GITIN and GOLANI 2004; KLETTER 2004; PEYRONEL 2010; PAZ GARCÍA-BELLIDO *et al.* 2011; all with references to previous studies.

<sup>6</sup> Especially after end of LC IIIA (after the LB/Ir transition in the Levant) and as part of the dramatic restructuring of the island's human landscape between LC IIC and the Geometric period (IACOVOU 1994, 2013)

<sup>7</sup> Here, of course, is a classic chicken-and-egg dilemma. Did social bonds bring about material exchanges or vice versa?

2015). The absorption of certain Syrian decorative traditions into Dor's pottery production may indicate that the Dorian conglomerate included people from this region as well (for all these issues see GILBOA 2005; 2006–2007; SHARON and GILBOA 2013; cf. now also STERN 2013).

We also argued that the Dor evidence indicates that what the Egyptians called *Tjeker* should largely be understood as coterminous with what scholarship designates (or should designate) as early Iron Age 'Phoenicians'. Similarly, an examination of the literary record pertaining to the *Tjeker* seems to indicate that this Egyptian term, rather than denoting any specific intrusive 'ethnic' population, was a geographical one, referring to a concrete (yet currently only loosely defined) region or regions and people in the Syro-Phoenician sphere (GOEDICKE 1975: 176, 180–184; VANDERSLEYEN 1985: 53; BIKAI 1992: 135–136; DREWS 1993: 53; GILBOA 2005; 2006–2007: 233–234; see recent summary and extensive references in BEYL 2013: 35–46, 64; and REDFORD 2006–2007 for a diametrically opposed view).

Two main questions should be answered at this point. The most fundamental lingering question relates to the *reasons* for the apparent singularity of the intensive early Iron Age circulation of goods between southern Lebanon and the Carmel Coast especially with Cyprus, when compared to all other coastal areas in the Levant – a question that at present we are unable to answer. But the picture is fairly clear. Though data regarding more northerly Lebanese sites such as Beirut, Byblos and Arwad is too scant to consider, no evidence of comparable networks of exchange is apparent between Syria and Cyprus, nor, for that matter between Syria and Egypt. As mentioned, with the possible yet-to-be-explored exception of Tell Tweini, very few examples of *bona fide* Cypriote ceramics, or of Egyptian pottery, are known from early Iron Age Syria to match the quantities known from Tyre and Dor. Conversely, with the exception of single Syrian jar in Cyprus (mentioned above), no Syrian pottery of any sort is known abroad.

In recent years it has become very clear that the extensive 'Aegeanizing' ceramic assemblages uncovered (and re-studied) in various sites in the Amuq-Cilicia region, partly with Cypriote stylistic affinities (e.g. JANEWAY 2011; LEHMANN 2013; this volume), reveal very few data regarding actual *exchanges*, beyond the initial influx – which to our minds indeed exemplifies new populations reaching Syria from this region (cf. VENTURI 2007; JANEWAY 2014; and see the discussion of the immigration option and a suggestion that Syria and Cyprus *did* engage in prolonged exchanges during the Iron Age in LEHMANN 2013: 320–322, 325–326). The reason for this absence could be sought in the demographic/economic crisis in Syria after the disintegration

of its Late Bronze Age systems, but this, a priori, is not a good enough explanation. Throughout history, trade relations were maintained by small-scale and simple societies, and examples abound.

The urban centres of Philistia ('traditional' Philistia, south of the Yarkon river), reveal a picture that in many respects echoes the situation in Syria. The extensive Aegeanizing ceramic assemblages there *inter alia* betray Cypriote ceramic traditions, and other specifically Cypriote traits are manifested on other material media in this region. These are most readily evident in Philistia's 'Bichrome Phases', which parallel the beginning of Dor's early Iron Age (Irla–Irlb), but also to various extents in earlier and later horizons (DOTAN 1982: 160–172; KILLEBREW 1998; 2005: 230; ZUKERMAN *et al.* 2007; YASUR-LANDAU 2010: 262; MAEIR *et al.* 2013: 14; MOUNTJOY 2013; RUTTER 2013). Some of the Cypriote traits in the 'Bichrome Phases' have no antecedents in the Levant and therefore either indicate some new population influx from this region, or minimally fresh stylistic impact attesting to continuing contact with Cyprus. Again, however, there is minimal evidence of actual *exchanges* between polities in this region and those in Cyprus (as first clearly described in BARAKO 2000). SHERRATT (1998) suggested that such exchanges can be reconstructed based on postulated invisible commodities, such as textiles, travelling between the two regions. However, following our premise that extensive and prolonged direct maritime commerce should be revealed by at least some pottery that travelled with the ships, the difference between Philistia's exchanges with Cyprus and those of the Carmel to southern Lebanon stretch is striking.

It has been suggested in GILBOA 2005; 2006–2007 that this difference between Philistia and coastal regions to its north may be understood by the difference in the absorption circumstances and social negotiations of the new populations in these various regions vis-à-vis the locals (and other newcomers; for similar approaches, e.g., MAEIR *et al.* 2013; FAUST 2015). The disappearance of the Egyptians from their Canaanite holdings meant that newcomers to Philistia faced a very unstable social reality. Old elites lost their support and perhaps legitimacy, and agricultural land formerly belonging to Egyptian Crown and temples were left for the taking. Newcomers, therefore, managed to rapidly become part of the landed elite, and broadcasted their status and identity by locally producing conspicuously foreign-looking pottery.

Admittedly, however, this reconstruction does not explain why no intensive commercial contacts were forged between the Philistine centres and Cyprus, comparable to those well-attested at Dor and at Tyre. It is quite clear that at least part of the new emigrants to



Philistia's sites, similarly to the situation at Dor, originated from this island (see above) and must have possessed a good knowledge of maritime routes and the island's economic potential, and possibly to a certain extent maintained kin-based communication with Cyprus. Why was connectivity in the Philisto-Cypriote case – which is apparent at least to some degree – not translated into any meaningful circulation of commodities (cf. APPADURAI 2010)?

The difficulty in comparing processes on the Philistine coast to those in the Carmel/Sharon region is exacerbated by the fact that in general, early–mid-12<sup>th</sup>-century occupational levels (i.e. coeval with the 'Philistine Monochrome' stage) have either not been identified in the latter, or are not well defined, such as at Tel Zeror, Dor, Shiqmona and Tell Abu-Hawam; while Tel Nami, just north of Dor, clearly ceased to function after the early 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE (ARTZY 2006: 51).

The second consequent question relates to the role of the Carmel Coast in later Iron Age Mediterranean trade. If, as we maintain, this region was so important in Eastern Mediterranean maritime exchanges in the early Iron Age; and if, as we and others have argued, the specific centres-of-initiation of later Iron Age maritime west-bound activities ('Phoenician expansion') were those in which maritime traditions, know-how etc., were preserved after the Late Bronze Age collapse; and if early Iron Age Cypro-Phoenician interactions were central for these later activities (for these latter two issues, see for example NIEMEYER 1990; AUBET 2000: 78–90; BELL 2006: 113; KOUROU 2012); why did Dor, and the Carmel/Sharon Coasts in general, drop out? Why did no memory of Phoenician Dor make it into the Greek and Latin traditions? Why do we not hear about 'Dorian' activity in the West?

This question, we believe, is one that we are now in a position to answer. A recent study of the Tel Dor sequence (GILBOA *et al.* 2015a) shows that at a certain point around the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the *Tjekker*/Phoenician town was replaced by a new administrative centre. While there is no unambiguous evidence that this change was violent, it was nevertheless very radical. None of the earlier buildings were left intact. Moreover, the entire character of the site was transformed. Instead of an intensely populated town, where dwellings crowded the (few) public structures, the new centre had large public buildings and wide open expanses. If the town had any residential districts, no private houses were found in any of the excavation areas. This transformation was accompanied by a dramatic change, and indeed near total disappearance of all the ceramic categories that previously were exchanged between Dor and other regions. No Phoenician Bichrome or any other 'Phoenician' contain-

ers are produced any more at the site, and concomitantly, of course, they are not shipped anywhere. There are no Egyptian jars any longer, and the import of Cypriote ceramics diminishes drastically. Dor also lacks any impressive quantity of Greek (Euboean and Attic) ceramics, to compare to that uncovered at Tyre (though unfortunately mostly out of context; see BIKAI 1978; COLDSTREAM 1988). By typological considerations, most of these hundreds of fragments at Tyre, starting with Attic Middle Geometric and Euboean Sub-Proto-Geometric II–III and continuing into the Late Geometric period, should date from *after* Dor's early Iron Age sequence. This may provide another indication of the town's diminished maritime contacts (and from this period and on – a divergence versus Tyre in this respect).

Somewhat later, the Dor ceramic assemblage loses its 'Phoenician' association altogether and – in a process that is currently not very well defined – becomes indistinguishable from that of sites of the Northern Israelite Kingdom. In the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE it is very different from that of the 'Akko plain and southern Lebanon.

We suggest that the confluence of evidence (transformation from commercial town to administrative centre, the virtual end of overseas contacts and the 'Israelisation' of the ceramic repertoire) is best explained by a takeover of the Carmel and Sharon regions by the Northern Israelite Kingdom. (Note that according to the bible such an event must have occurred earlier, in the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE or even before, as an 'Israelite' province of Dor is mentioned in the list of Solomon's governors.) Whether this is the correct explanation for Dor's reduced commercial importance after c. 850 BCE or not, the cessation of its involvement in overseas ventures was probably one of the factors that paved the way for the era of prominence of the southern Lebanese polities.

To conclude, when extensive westward Phoenician expansion began in the course of the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE, ex-Phoenician/*Tjekker* Dor was inconsequential. But its commercial prominence prior to that date should be taken into any consideration of the mechanisms by which Lebanese polities, especially the main southern ones – Tyre and Sidon – became central for Mediterranean commerce in the Iron Age.

Beyond, however, charting the way we think the Carmel Coast should be integrated into the maritime history of the Levant and the Mediterranean in the Late Bronze/Iron Age transition, many questions have not been dealt with here and should be in the future: What other, and as argued above, more important goods were accompanied by the travelling pottery? What were the mode(s) of exchange? Did the differential involvement of the various Levantine regions in maritime exchanges have anything to do with localised effects of the en-

vironmental crisis of the late second millennium BCE (recent summary in KANIEWSKY *et al.* 2015) and/or with the diverse ways specific societies may have responded to and recovered from this crisis (RIEHL 2009)?

Notwithstanding all these unknowns, if the rough reconstruction of events and processes proposed here is viable, there is also a small lesson in it. We do not intend to undermine here concepts of a permanently-connected Mediterranean, with modes of interactions shaped mainly by fragmentation into micro-agro/ecological regions and other factors of *structure* (HORDEN and PURCELL 2000; BROODBANK 2013). But we do argue that when commercial contacts are investigated from a nuanced geographical and chronological point of view, not only have cultural factors to be considered (as argued by many; e.g. PANAGIOTOPOULOS 2015 with references), but there is no escaping the decisive, and most interesting consequences of *histoire événementielle*.

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