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The Dynamics of Phoenician Bichrome Pottery: A View from Tel Dor

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Phoenician Bichrome pottery has long been considered one of the most conspicuous and early manifestations of the elusive "incipient Phoenician culture." To date, the group has been considered mainly from chrono-typological and technological aspects. The Tel Dor excavations have produced well-stratified deposits of the early Iron Age, including numerous Phoenician Bichrome vessels, many in primary deposition. These, calibrated with long-known finds from other sites in Phoenicia, provide an opportunity to reconsider the group. An examination of the vessels in the context of the general pottery production of the region reveals that the very fact that they were decorated was an anomaly, suggesting a specific function for this decoration. Stylistic analysis indicates that though vessel shapes are rooted in Canaanite potting tradition, the decorative motifs and syntax of decoration are not. Also, it is obvious that at different times the Bichrome groups comprised different types of vessels, suggesting an evolution of the function of style. The relations between the Phoenician coast and Cyprus in the early Iron Age—for which Dor provides ample evidence—are a closely related phenomenon and are commented upon.

INTRODUCTION

he legitimacy of style analysis as a means to interpret major economic, political, and other phenomena has been debated now for nearly half a century. I hope to demonstrate that Phoenician Bichrome pottery is a positive case, that analyses of two aspects in context—the *function* of style and certain facets of the *structure* of style—can prove fruitful. The reason is that not only does this pottery reflect major processes of the early Iron Age, it also played an active role in some.¹

The evidence derives chiefly from E. Stern's excavations at Tel Dor, on Israel's Carmel Coast, but will be corroborated by data from other Phoenician sites, chiefly Tell Abu-Hawam in the ^cAkko bay, Tell Keisan in the ^cAkko Plain, Tyre, Khaldé, and Sarepta. Though Dor is situated on the very (southern) fringes of Phoenicia, the fact that she shares with these sites many aspects of pottery evolution makes her a legitimate model.²

A PRELUDE—THE "RED-MONOCHROME" PHASE: LATE IRON AGE IA

To provide the proper initial context, the two strata that immediately predate the first occurrence of Bichrome must be considered.

The earliest Iron Age stratum at Dor of which there are meaningful exposures (Phase 12 in Area B1, Phase 9 in Area G) is attributed to late Iron Age IA. This is the stratum that is correlated by Stern to the town of the Šikila, one of the "Sea Peoples," known from Egyptian records to have resided at Dor.³ Its pottery, for all intents and purposes, is Canaanite, very degenerate at that, but it does contain a few "Philistine" sherds. The repertoire is limited; the shapes are crude and simple. The assemblage as a whole is undecorated, other than red bands on the rims of bowls. Rarely are other vessels decorated (see illustrations and discussion in Gilboa 1998, and see more on this below).

A few vessel types, however, stand out in this respect—namely, jars, flasks, and strainer-spouted jugs (fig. 1). Jars are often decorated with red-monochrome concentric circles, and occasionally by alternating black and red ones. Small containers—large flasks, small flasks, and strainer-spouted jugs—are generally decorated in red-monochrome, but occasionally in alternating black and red. The larger flasks often have ribbon or star decorations on their shoulders (fig. 1:7; see also Gilboa 1998: fig. 3:4; at other sites, see fig. 2:1–3, 7). These vessels obviously constitute an extension of the Late Bronze Age repertoire.⁴

A similar picture emerges from contemporaneous strata at Phoenician sites (fig. 2). At Tyre, Sarepta, Tell Keisan, and Tell Abu Hawam as well, the decorated small containers stand out among very mundane pottery assemblages. Still, regional variations are evident. For instance, based on illustrated examples in the respective excavation reports, it seems that from Tyre northward, black-monochrome decoration outnumbers the red (but data concerning the relative frequencies of black- vs. red-monochrome containers have not been published from any of these sites). As at Dor, there are also some designs in alternating red and black (fig. 2:7), but they are rare.

Contrary to these similarities in the repertoire of decorated containers, the pottery exhibits a marked regionalism: household vessels at Tyre and Sarepta, for example, are completely different from those at the more southern Phoenician sites (and are also different from each other).⁵

The foreign relations of Dor at that time are manifested by abundant Egyptian jars (Stern 1999: fig. 8) and many "wavy band" (so-called Tyrian or Phoenician) pithoi which, although of clear Cypriot inspiration, are probably of local manufacture. Elsewhere I have suggested that they may indicate the presence of Cypriot potters on the mainland (Gilboa in press a).

As regards the Phoenician exports involving pottery, Phoenician containers, *and containers only*, are found in adjacent areas, most conspicuously in Cyprus. There, jars and small monochrome containers (both black and red) are commonly found in Late Cypriot IIIA and IIIB contexts, at such sites as Maa *Palaeokastro*, Tomb 9 at Kouklia *Xerolimni*, and Kourion *Bamboula* (see references in Gilboa 1998: 423). This stratum at Dor was violently destroyed and heavily burnt, a destruction attributed by Stern to the conquest of this part of the coast by the Phoenicians, who were then expanding southward (Stern 1994: 98–99).

The period immediately postdating the destruction (Phase 11 in Area B1, Phase 8 in Area G) is poorly represented and will not be discussed here. The character of the pottery assemblage is very similar to that of the previous stratum, including the monochrome containers. Thus far it does not contain Bichrome.

ARTISTIC AND MARKETING INNOVATIONS—THE CYPRIOT IMPACT: IRON AGE IB

In the next stratum, of the Iron Age IB (Phases 10 in Area B1, 7(?) in G, and 10–9 in D2), the first Bichrome pieces occur (see below). The general pottery assemblage is a direct continuation of the previous ones, that is, the ones immediately predating and postdating the destruction, and exhibits further deterioration: the bowls, for instance, are even less carefully molded, and for the most part have lost their red bands; the kraters have become coarser, the range of shapes even more limited (see Gilboa 1998).

As opposed to this extremely dull and mundane pottery, the only vessels that persistently continue to be decorated, as in the previous phases, are some of the jars, and mainly the flasks, jugs, and strainerspouted jugs.

This was clearly an experimental stage, in which all sorts of decorations were attempted. Many of the containers are still in red-monochrome, others in alternating red and black (as in the previous phases, but more abundant); some are red-slipped and painted with black concentric circles; and still others are painted in the so-called Classic Phoenician Bichrome style. A few pieces of both flasks and strainer-spouted jugs bear witness to an apparently short-lived hybrid style, where the circles—concentric on flasks, horizontal on strainer-spouted jugsare executed in "Phoenician Bichrome" (described below), but the rest of the decoration is still in the red-monochrome tradition. These sherds from Dor were rather small, but as the same phenomenon is manifested at other sites, a strainer-spouted jug from Schumacher's excavations at Megiddo will serve here as an illustration (fig. 3). During this initial appearance of Phoenician Bichrome, the style is



Fig. 1. Decoration patterns on late Iron Age IA containers from Dor. Max. preserved height: 4: 8.5 cm; 5: 14.3 cm; 7: 12.5 cm.



Fig. 2. Late Iron Age IA decorated containers from Phoenician sites. 1–6. Tell Keisan 9c (Briend and Humbert 1980: pls. 74:1, 74:5, 76:1, 75:6, 76:4, 76:4h); 7. Khirbet Silm (Chapman 1972: fig. 4:50); 8. Sarepta II/X (Pritchard 1988: type PF1, fig. 52:5). Max. preserved height: 1: 35 cm; 2: 39 cm; 3: 20 cm; 4: 19 cm; 5: 15 cm; 6: 9 cm; 7: 21 cm; 8: 10.5 cm.

evident only on flasks, jugs, and strainer-spouted jugs (figs. 4-6).

As far as shapes are concerned, all of them clearly evolved from the earlier monochrome containers. The shape of the lentoid small flasks remains the same. That of the larger ones gradually inflates, and there is a clear evolution from lentoid to rounded. The strainer-spouted jugs lose their biconical Late Bronze Age-derived shape and gradually become rounded, like the jugs and the flasks. Elsewhere in Phoenicia the situation is the same: the very same types appear in Bichrome, still alongside monochrome containers.

At Dor, as at other Phoenician sites, this phase has few imports (chiefly Egyptian jars and Cypriot Black Slip [Wheel Made] and White Painted I). And the "wavy band" pithoi still occur.

As far as geographical distribution outside Phoenicia is concerned, the Bichrome containers occur in modest quantities in the neighboring regions, mainly the Jezreel and Beth Shean valleys (especially at Megiddo), the Galilee, and much less so in Philistia⁶—and again, as in the earlier phase, most prominently in Cyprus. There, Phoenician Bichrome containers occur in abundance in Cypro-Geometric IA contexts, still alongside the Phoenician monochrome containers.⁷

Unlike the shapes of the vessels, which gradually evolve from the earlier, Canaanite, mostly monochrome containers, and the very tradition of decorating vessels in two colors, which also has its roots in the Late Bronze Age, the specific decorative designs on these containers have a somewhat different story to tell.

The stylistic hallmark of Iron Age Bichrome, as recognized long ago, is the systematic use of narrow black lines enclosing a wide red band (fig. 4a–c). To that I would add two other characteristics: on the shoulders of the flasks, the decorations still consist mainly of the so-called ribbons or stars (fig. 5:3, 7), as on the monochrome containers, but there are now also new designs, mainly cross-hatched lozenges and triangles (fig. 5:2, 4–6, 9, 11).

The decorations on the earliest Bichrome strainerspouted jugs (fig. 6) are cross-hatched vertical panels; pendant triangles; and various combinations of cross-hatched triangles and lozenges, often enclosed in vertical metopes; and of course the narrow black and wide red bands. Among the monochrome strainerspouted jugs too, some vessels bear designs not previously attested—namely, composite lozenges and panels of cross-hatched lozenges (fig. 7).



Fig. 3. Jug of hybrid style from Schumacher's "Tempelburg" at Megiddo (Schumacher 1908: pl. 38:f). Max. preserved height: 25 cm.

The configuration of narrow bands enclosing wider ones is totally alien to Canaanite pottery. In fact, the width of lines or bands has never been a meaningful element in the Canaanite decorative syntax.⁸ This perhaps would be of little consequence, if not for the fact that these longitudinally symmetrical band configurations, which I would term "enclosed band patterns," happen to be among the most prominent features on Cypriot pottery, both contemporary (i.e., mid-Cypro-Geometric I), and earlier (fig. 8:1–3, a–b). The ultimate origin, of course, is the Aegean world.

Cypriot pottery (fig. 9:1–10) was definitely also the inspiration for some of the other geometric configurations on the early Bichrome vessels, especially for the different compositions of cross-hatched



Fig. 4. Decoration patterns on Iron Age IB Bichrome containers from Dor. Max. preserved height: 7: 9.5 cm; 8: 14 cm.



Fig. 5. Iron Age IB Bichrome containers from various sites. 1–3. Tell Keisan 9a–b (Briend and Humbert 1980: pl. 62:8, 6, 4); 4. Joya (Chapman 1972: fig. 3:191); 5. Tell Keisan 9a–b (Briend and Humbert 1980: pl. 62:5); 6. Tyre XIII/1 (Bikai 1978: pl. 33:22); 7-8. Khaldé Tombs 166, 167 (Saidah 1966: nos. 52, 56); 9. Palaepaphos *Skales* Tomb 49 (Karageorghis 1983: fig. 80:73); 10. Tyre XIII/1 (Bikai 1978: pl. 33:25); 11. Qrayé (Chapman 1972: fig. 13:272). Max. preserved height: 1: 16.6 cm; 2: 27 cm; 3: 15 cm; 4: 21.5 cm; 5: 12 cm; 6: 15 cm; 7: 22 cm; 8: 30 cm; 9: 30 cm; 10: 23 cm; 11: 13 cm.



Fig. 6. Iron Age IB Bichrome strainer-spouted jugs. 1. Megiddo VIA (Loud 1948: pl. 75:22); 2. Sarepta II/Y, Stratum E (Anderson 1988: pl. 31:10); 3. Khaldé Tomb 167 (Saidah 1966: no. 57); 4. Megiddo VIA (Loud 1948: pl. 75:23); 5. Megiddo Tomb 1101B (Guy and Engberg 1938: pl. 8:12); 6. Khaldé Tomb 166 (Saidah 1966: no. 49); 7, 8. Dor. Max. preserved height: 1: 25 cm; 2: 10.5 cm; 3: 29 cm; 4: 22 cm; 5: 13 cm; 6: 31 cm; 7: 4 cm; 8: 4.5 cm.



Fig. 7. Iron Age IB monochrome strainer-spouted jugs from Dor with composite lozenges and cross-hatched lozenges. Max. preserved height: 1: 7 cm; 2: 5 cm.

lozenges and triangles. These have no "local" predecessors. The same is true for the origin of the composite lozenges and triangles on the monochrome strainer-spouted jugs. These designs become even more conspicuous at Dor in the later phases (see below).

The case with the other geometric motifs on Phoenician Bichrome is less obvious: cross-hatched panels, pendant triangles, and large, isolated, crosshatched triangles do indeed feature prominently on contemporaneous (and earlier) Cypriot pottery (fig. 9:1–7); however, they also appear on Canaanite pottery of the Late Bronze Age, down to the 12th century B.C.E.⁹ Significantly, the occurrence of some of these motifs on Canaanite Late Bronze Age vessels has also been considered of Cypriot inspiration (Oren 1973: 82). As an ensemble, however, it is clear that the early Bichrome style in Phoenicia owes much to Cypriot decorative concepts, in its syntax and in many of its individual motifs.¹⁰

How are those Cypriot traits on both Phoenician monochrome and Bichrome containers to be understood? One possibility is to consider them as an out-

come of mainland potters emulating Cypriot pottery. No doubt, there were extensive contacts between these two regions in this period, but an acquaintance of Phoenician potters with these designs would presuppose either potters traveling to Cyprus, or alternatively, Cypriot pottery with these designs occurring in significant quantity on the mainland. Neither option can be sustained on present evidence. Moreover, as described below, the most frequently attested to Cypriot traits on the Phoenician containers are the "enclosed bands" configurations-a basic element of Cypriot syntax indeed, but hardly a conspicuous enough design to have been singled out for copying from among the diverse early Cypro-Geometric decorative repertoire. The other possibility, for which I would opt on present evidence, is to suppose Cypriot presence on the Phoenician littoral (additional indications of this phenomenon are presented in Gilboa in press a; in press b).

Thus I would like to present here a twofold argument: first, that the examination of the initial Bichrome group in the context of the general, extremely mundane Phoenician pottery production,



Fig. 8. Enclosed band decorations on Late Cypriot IIIB and Cypro-Geometric IA pottery. 1. Kouklia *Xerolimni* Tomb 9 (Karageorghis 1967: fig. 5:23); 2-3. Palaepaphos *Skales* Tombs 58, 85 (Karageorghis 1983: figs. 103:30, 171:50); 4. Kouklia *Xerolimni* Tomb 9 (Karageorghis 1967: fig. 5:22); 5-6. Palaepaphos *Skales* Tombs 61, 89 (Karageorghis 1983: figs. 117:13, 172:65). Max. preserved height: 1: 33 cm; 2: 48.5 cm; 3: 44.5 cm; 4: 47.5 cm; 5: 38.2 cm; 6: 51.7 cm.





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Fig. 9. Late Cypriot IIIB, Cypro-Geometric I, and Greek Proto-Geometric vessels with cross-hatched panels, pendant triangles, and combinations of cross-hatched triangles and lozenges. 1-2. Palaepaphos *Skales* Tombs 84, 51 (Karageorghis 1983: figs. 168:25, 95:32); 3. Kouklia *Xerolimni* Tomb 9 (Karageorghis 1967: fig. 8:10); 4–6. Palaepaphos *Skales* Tombs 85, 43, 49 (Karageorghis 1983: figs. 175:71, 42:145, 78:41); 7. Kouklia *Xerolimni* Tomb 9 (Karageorghis 1967: fig. 5:26); 8–10. Palaepaphos *Skales* Tombs 76, 89, 49 (Karageorghis 1983: figs. 140:57, 183:25, 73:35); 11. Lefkandi-Palia Perivolia Tomb 23/1; 12–13. Lefkandi-Skourbis Tomb 9 (Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980: pls. 141:1, 94:9[1], 9[2]; reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens). Max. preserved height: 1: 41.9 cm; 2: 10.8 cm; 3: 16 cm; 4: 16.3 cm; 5: 17.5 cm; 6: 25.3 cm; 7: 16 cm; 8: 17.5 cm; 9: 21.9 cm; 10: 38.5 cm; 11: 20.5 cm; 12: 11.5 cm; 13: 12.5 cm.

and the examination of its geographical distribution, suggest that the decoration on the containers had a very specific function to fulfill and information to convey (much in the sense of Wobst's [1977] "Stylistic Behavior" model), in order to promote their trade, especially with Cyprus.

The fact that such promotion was considered necessary no doubt reflects new commercial mechanisms, possibly indicating a genuine market economy and private entrepreneurship, as opposed to "substantivist" notions. Also it indicates a symbiotic relationship between pottery manufacturers and traders.

Second, I would suggest that the clear Cypriot syntax of the decoration (and see more below) indicates the involvement of Cypriots, operating on the mainland, in these processes. This, then, would be the pottery for which the term "Cypro-Phoenician" would be really adequate.

STANDARDIZATION: IRON AGE I/IIA AND THE LATER IRON AGE

The next phase at Dor is attributed to the transition between Iron I and Iron IIA (Phase 9 in Area B1; 8c/(b?) in Area D2; 6b in Area G). This is the dullest phase in ceramic terms. The range of shapes is extremely limited, and household vessels become even more mundane (Gilboa 1989: figs. 1–3; 1998: fig. 2). Again, the small containers stand out. Now, however, the Bichrome decoration has been canonized, to the near exclusion of all other methods of decoration. This standardization bears witness to the fact that decoration (and surely shape as well) now constituted a genuine trademark, recognizable by consumers.¹¹

As far as shapes are concerned, most vessels are indeed still the usual rounded jugs (some now with ring-bases), flasks, and strainer-spouted jugs (figs. 10, 12), but other types of jugs appear, of different shapes (fig. 11). Other vessels in Bichrome are now also evident, though extremely rare (e.g., fig. 11:10).

The decoration on the rounded jugs and flasks remains much the same (fig. 10). On the new shapes, however, it is often horizontal (fig. 11), and the "correct" width of the bands is not always maintained (fig. 11:3-8). It is also significant that these latter vessels seem to be made of different sorts of clays, possibly manufactured in other workshops.

On the strainer-spouted jugs, in addition to the earlier configurations that persist (fig. 12:1-5), another is now evident: composite triangles of cross-

hatched designs (fig. 12:6-10).¹² As we have seen, similar designs are attested to earlier at Dor in monochrome. These, again, lack local antecedents, but do have exact corollaries in Cyprus, where one can follow, step by step, the evolution of the compositions (fig. 13:2-6) from the more intricate Late Cypriot III motifs (fig. 13:1).

The Bichrome strainer-spouted jugs and the rounded jugs and flasks with the vertical concentric decoration continue to appear in ever-growing numbers in Cyprus (in Cypro-Geometric IB/II contexts).¹³ The rest of the Bichrome vessels, however—those with the horizontal decoration (containers included)—are all but absent in Cyprus in this period (note, for instance, their absence from Bikai's "Kouklia Horizon" (1050–850 B.C.E.; Bikai 1987]) and rarely occur outside Phoenicia at all. On them the decoration clearly had another role (see below).

This phase, mainly at Dor but also at other Phoenician sites (and only in Phoenician ones), witnessed an influx of Cypriot pottery, primarily open vessels (Gilboa 1989; 1998: 423, fig. 7:1–13; in press b). Also, there are indications, mainly at Dor and at Sarepta, of vessels manufactured on the mainland in definite Cypriot style. Elsewhere I have suggested that this may indicate a Cypriot presence.¹⁴

I believe all this points to a continuum of Cypriot involvement on the Levantine mainland, in both pottery manufacture and trade.

In the subsequent phase at Dor, of Iron Age IIA (Phases 6a in Area G and 8 in B1), practically everything remains the same, including the Cypriot imports. The Bichrome assemblage now expands further, to include all sorts of vessels—jars, chalices, and especially bowls—though these are never really numerous. This is echoed at other Phoenician sites, where Bichrome bowls, for instance, become prominent only many decades after the initial "invention" of the Bichrome style (fig. 14). There are indeed major regional variations among the shapes and decorative details in the different sites, but the process is the same.

In the later part of the Iron Age, the Bichrome style incorporates still more shapes, perhaps the most conspicuous being the famed Phoenician burial urns (e.g., Saidah 1966: nos. 7, 17; Chapman 1972: fig. 20:214).

DISCUSSION

It thus seems that these late Iron Age Bichrome vessels are the culmination of a process by which a



Fig. 10. Iron Age IB/IIA Bichrome containers from Dor, with concentric decoration. Max. preserved height: 1: 17.5 cm; 2: 11.7 cm; 4: 17.5 cm; 9: 7.5 cm; 10: 22.7 cm.



Fig. 11. Iron Age IB/IIA Bichrome containers and bowl from Dor, with horizontal decoration. Max preserved height: 1: 17.7 cm; 2: 14.5 cm; 3: 26 cm; 4: 13 cm; 5: 20 cm; 6: 18.5 cm; 7: 17 cm; 8: 15.2 cm; 9: 9.7 cm. Diameter of 10: 10 cm.



Fig. 12. Iron Age IB/IIA Bichrome strainer-spouted jugs from various sites. 1. Tyre XI (Bikai 1978: pl. 29:3); 2. Khirbet Silm (Chapman 1972: fig. 2:7); 3. Palaepaphos *Skales* Tomb 80 (Karageorghis 1983: fig. 153:89); 4–7. Dor; 8. Tel Mevorakh VIII (Stern 1978: fig. 20:15); 9. Megiddo VIA (Lamon and Shipton 1939: pl. 6:150); 10. Dor. Max. preserved height: 1: 23 cm; 2: 28 cm; 3: 23 cm; 6: 27.5 cm; 7: 24.5 cm; 8: 22 cm; 9: 11.6 cm; 10: 10.5 cm.



Fig. 13. Late Cypriot IIIB and Cypro-Geometric I (mostly IA) vessels with composite triangles. 1-2. Kouklia *Xerolimni* Tomb 9 (Karageorghis 1967: fig. 8:15, 11); 3–6. Palaepaphos *Skales* Tombs 51, 44, 83, 61 (Karageorghis 1983: figs. 96:14, 61:30, 167:62, 118:12). Max preserved height: 1: 16 cm; 2: 21.5 cm; 3: 20 cm; 4: 13 cm; 5: 22 cm; 6: 17.2 cm.

decorative style that was born in order to promote trade, chiefly with Cyprus, gradually evolved to project group identity, an identity in which commercial initiative and the link with Cyprus had a principal role. Whether this was a conscious evolution I cannot say. I am convinced, however, that whatever the case, Cypriots operating on the Phoenician coast had a decisive role in this process and, for that matter, in what we term "early Phoenician" culture. As I have tried to show elsewhere (Gilboa 1998), early Iron Age pottery at Dor, including the decorated containers, exhibits one continuum, from before to after the major destruction.¹⁵ The point I would like to raise here in this respect is the method of decoration of many of the monochrome containers prior to the emergence of Bichrome—and here we return to where we started. As I have tried to demonstrate, the patterns of narrow bands enclosing



Fig. 14. Iron Age IIA and IIB Bichrome bowls from various Phoenician sites. 1–6. Sarepta II/Y, Strata D2, D1 (Anderson 1988: pls. 32:9, 10; 33:14, 12, 20, 25); 7–10. Tell Keisan 7 (Briend and Humbert 1980: pl. 53:4, 6, 8-9); 11–13. Tyre VI, V (Bikai 1978: pl. 18A:4–6); 14. Tell Abu-Hawam Room 31, end of Stratum IV (Balensi 1980: pl. 6:11). Max. diameter: 1: 23 cm; 2: 23 cm; 3: 20 cm; 4: 21 cm; 5: 31.4 cm; 6: 20.5 cm; 7: 26 cm; 8: 23.6 cm; 9: 33 cm; 10: 20 cm; 11: 20.5 cm; 12: 26.5 cm; 13: 19 cm; 14: 23 cm.



Fig. 15. Comparison of decoration methods of Iron Age IA-B monochrome at Dor: containers (1-4, a-b) vs. other vessels (5-8). Max. preserved height: 3: 15 cm; 4: 16.7 cm; 5: 13 cm; 6: 17 cm; 8: 16 cm.

wide ones, in the context under discussion, is Cypriot-derived, alien to the local syntax. But on Cypriot pottery there is another, reverse configuration of "enclosed band patterns," which is even more common, in which the wider bands enclose the narrow ones (fig. 8:4–6, c). Curiously enough, on many of the monochrome containers in the destruction level of the presumed Šikila town, and also on later ones, in "Iron Age IB" levels, the concentric circles exhibit such a pattern (fig. 15:1-4, a-b). Even more revealing is the fact that this patterning is not attested on any of the other (albeit quite rare) contemporaneous decorated vessels (e.g., fig. 15:5-8). It is almost as if two different decorative concepts are manifested here: one on containers, meant to be traded, and one

on the rest. I would not be surprised to find, with the gradually growing body of monochrome containers excavated at Dor, that the impact of the Cypriot decorative syntax is more evident there too, prior to its manifestation on the Bichrome pottery. This phenomenon needs a more thorough evaluation, although how far this point can be stressed is debatable. But it may indicate significant and versatile ties with Cyprus before the large destruction, in the phases that should correspond to the "Sea Peoples" installation at the site. As data continue to accumulate, the possible significance of this "Cypriot phenomenon" as regards the identity of the "Sea Peoples" at Dor will eventually need to be evaluated.

NOTES

¹A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, held in Rome in May 1998. It is part of an extensive research program concerning Iron Age Dor, supported by the Israel Science Foundation of The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. It will be included in my Ph.D. dissertation, which is currently being written under the direction of Professor Ephraim Stern of the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, who is the director of the Tel Dor excavations. I sincerely thank Professor Stern for allowing me to publish the Dor finds, and Dr. Ilan Sharon, the site's stratigrapher, for commenting on preliminary versions of this paper. The Dor pottery presented here originates mainly from Area D2, supervised by Benni Avenberg and Nati Oranot of the Hebrew University, under my guidance; and from Area G, supervised by Dr. Jeffrey Zorn from Cornell University. To their meticulous excavation and recording I am indebted. For principal syntheses of Phoenician Bichrome pottery, see Bikai 1978: 37-41; Culican 1982: 47-55; Briese 1985; Anderson 1990.

²For an elaboration of this conviction, see Gilboa 1998; for a somewhat different overview of the early Iron Age at Dor, see mainly Stern 1990; 1991; 1994: 85–104. For the location of the excavation areas mentioned in the text, see Stern 1994: fig. 35. Though neither relative nor absolute chronology is being dealt with here explicitly, one remark must be made in order to avoid confusion. Ten years ago, when the first transitional Iron IB/IIA pottery from Dor was published (Gilboa 1989), I correlated it with the chronological horizon represented chiefly by Tell Keisan 9a–b, Tell Qasile X, and Megiddo VIA (this third site was not mentioned then). To date, the Dor stratigraphy and typological sequence are much refined, and it is clear that our "Iron Age IB/IIA" assemblages (see below) are in fact somewhat later, and in their stead the "Iron Age IB" phase is the one that by and large correlates with Tell Keisan 9a-b and Megiddo VIA, though it may have ended somewhat later than these strata.

³For the "Sea Peoples" at Dor, see recently Scheepers 1991: 70–74 and references therein; Stern 1990: 27–28.

⁴Cf., for instance, a red-monochrome flask from Megiddo VIIB (Loud 1948: pl. 67:2).

⁵For example, the prevalent bowl types at Dor are relatively deep, carinated, with molded rims (Gilboa 1998: fig. 1:1–9). At Tyre (Stratum XIV) this type is not attested at all, and instead there is a variety of mostly shallower carinated and rounded bowls with either simple or outturned rims (Bikai 1978: 24–25, pls. 10–14). At Sarepta (Area II, Trench Y, Stratum F) the dominant shapes are Anderson's (1988) Types X–6, X–17 (the latter not attested at all at Tyre), and X–18 (shallow open bowls with different types of cut rims). The two latter sites also have fine ware bowls, which are absent at Dor. There are, however, also types shared by these three sites.

⁶For example, at Megiddo VIA (e.g., Loud 1948: pl. 80:2–3) and at Tell Qasile X (Mazar 1985: photo 71, figs. 41:13, 45:15).

⁷For Bichrome containers in Cypro-Geometric IA contexts see, e.g., at Palaepaphos *Skales*, Tombs 44, 58, 89 (Karageorghis 1983: figs. 54:111, 108:93, 188:22); for monochrome containers in CG IA contexts, see in the same cemetery, e.g., Tombs 58, 85 (figs. 108:44, 94–95, 108; 177:16).

⁸On the locally produced Late Bronze Age Bichrome vessels, the standard configuration is alternating black and red bands, usually of the same width, as in fig. 1:b, d (e.g., Oren 1973: figs. 36:1, 8, 13; 37:16). Occasionally, patterns that resemble the Iron Age Bichrome pattern also occur

(e.g., James and McGovern 1993: fig. 18:3), but these instances are very rare and probably accidental.

⁹For cross-hatched panels, see, e.g., Oren 1973: fig. 31:3; for pendant triangles see, e.g., Oren 1973: fig. 36:9; for isolated cross-hatched triangles, see James and McGovern 1993: fig. 9:15.

¹⁰Similar designs also occur occasionally on Greek Proto-Geometric pottery (fig. 9:11–13, from Lefkandi). Fig. 9:11, which is especially reminiscent of some of the designs at Dor (fig. 6:7-8), was considered by Desborough (1980: 287) Thessalian in style. However, to postulate direct Greek influence on Phoenician pottery in this period (or vice versa) seems to me somewhat far-fetched at the moment.

¹¹For a revealing, similar process of an especially standardized production of pottery vessels meant to be traded outside the community ("reputable pots"), see Sillar's observations on contemporary Andean potters (1997: 13–15) (though in the Andean case the pots were exchanged for their own sake, and the Phoenician jugs were certainly acquired for their contents; the reason for the prominent place held by the strainer-spouted jugs in these trade relationships still requires an explanation).

¹²At Megiddo a jug bearing such a design (fig. 12:9) was attributed to Stratum VIA, which corresponds to the "Iron Age IB" phases at Dor (see n. 2). If this stratigraphic attribution proves correct, it will indicate that these designs, in Bichrome, originate in this temporal horizon, along with their monochrome manifestations.

For another Bichrome strainer-spouted jug with the same configuration, which found its way to Cyprus, see Christou 1996: fig. 32.

¹³See, e.g., in *Skales* Tombs 43, 53, 80, and in Tomb 521
at Amathus (Karageorghis 1983: figs. 42:27, 99:39, 153:87–
89; Karageorghis and Iacovou 1990: fig. 5:66, 71, 75).

¹⁴ At Dor, see Yellin 1989; at Sarepta, see, e.g., Koehl 1985: no. 237, illustrated in Pritchard 1975: fig. 29:2.

¹⁵To my mind this is also borne out by architectural considerations. However, the fact that the excavations have not yet reached the very beginning of the Iron Age (nor the Late Bronze Age levels) is a major drawback for any interpretation.

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