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COMPETING MATERIAL CULTURE: PHILISTINE SETTLEMENT AT TEL MIQNE-EKRON

IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

by

Laura Beth Mazow

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the changing role of material culture in the expression of identity, using the Philistine settlement at Tel Miqne-Ekron in the Iron I (12th-10th centuries BCE) as a test case. A diachronic analysis documenting strategies of maintenance and adaptation points to the transformation of materials from domestic tools to symbols of social status, which were used to define social boundaries and promote a distinct identity. This occurred in conjunction with the increasing strength of the Philistine presence in the southern Levant.

My dissertation focuses on one excavation area, described as the 'elite' zone. I outlined two areas of investigation: the organization of space, and a spatial distribution of the artifact assemblage. Through this analysis, I reconstruct Buildings 351 and 350 as elite residences, and Buildings 353 and 354 as the loci of crafts activities. Furthermore, I suggest that activities associated with Buildings 351 and 350 included elite sponsored feasting, and argue that the interconnected construction of these buildings with Buildings 353 and 354 implies an integrated function.

In the final part of my analysis, I interpret change over time, by contextualizing the foreign, i.e. *Philistine* and local, i.e. *Canaanite* material culture assemblages as a means to investigate diachronic variation. My research demonstrates that the traditional focus on foreign origins has obscured our understanding of these objects by removing them from their local contexts. Developments included a shift in the role played by the Philistine pottery, from a domestic assemblage associated with an immigrant populations' adjustment of traditional methods of daily practices, to a fine-ware assemblage, where it

was used to express a concept of elite identity. The model I propose views change as a reflexive process involving both group and individual interactions.

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CHAPTER 1

PRODUCING A PHILISTINE: CONTEXTUALIZING THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

Introduction

Archaeology, as a form of historical inquiry, is uniquely suited to studies of long-term social change (Trigger 1989:409). For shorter time frames, archaeological methodologies have relied on temporal variation in artifact styles for reconstructing chronologically meaningful occupation sequences (Chilton 1999c). Focus has most often turned to portable objects, and in particular pottery, because of their high breakage rates and replacement factors (London 1997; Orton, *et al.* 1993; Rice 1987:435-438), but architecture, particularly in the deeply stratified *tel* sites that dot the Near Eastern landscape, has also played a role in addressing temporal changes (Holladay 1997c, 2003; Steadman 2000).

Although many studies have begun to incorporate into their reconstructions the social context in which materials are produced and consumed (e.g., the articles in Chilton 1999b; Cumberpatch and Blinkhorm 1997; Robb 1999; J. Skibo and Feinman 1999), the study of archaeological variation is generally still limited to its use as a tool for constructing typologies, chronologies, and identifying cultural affinities (Holladay 2003; Wood 1990:11-13). In these studies, chronological variation in artifact style is viewed as a reflection of time, whereby its passage is seen as, *ipso facto*, resulting in change. As Sommer (2001) remarked, "change appears as the inevitable product of time and does not

require explanation." The assumptions, generally unstated, behind this approach are most clearly challenged in an article entitled *Temporal Patterns without Temporal Variation* (Abbott and Walsh-Anduze 1995). While affirming the chronological patterns seen in changing ceramic traditions, Abbot and Walsh-Anduze (1995) demonstrate that observed chronological variation was not the result of contemporary region-wide developments in production, but instead reflected adjustments in exchange networks. This shift in perspective allowed for a better understanding of how this chronological pattern could be used to interpret the archaeological record. The significance of their study is the attempt to understand why the chronological change in pottery styles occurred. This focus on examining changing patterns over time is an important jumping off point for this study.

The failure to integrate social interpretations from archaeological data may stem from the methodological approaches used to process archaeological data. Dobres (1999:21) and Chilton (1999a:44) believe that our focus on outlining typological sequences has obscured our ability to recognize the significance of variation. Chilton cautioned that "by assuming continuity *within* and discontinuity *between* types, and by assuming that the relationship between attributes of material culture to be static through time, the typological process masks a certain amount of diversity in material culture" (1999a:44). According to Dobres:

The goal of such an approach is to delineate broad temporal and/or spatial distribution patterns. Even on a site-specific basis the methodological strategy is to separate whole assemblages into type-specific artifact categories then conduct detailed study of each separately....Yet from a people-centered point of view, a focus on composite assemblages (made up of a variety of artifact types) better approximate the lived experience of the people who in their daily lives made and did more than one thing at a time (1999:21).

Typological studies are not without their benefits. Two important aspects are that they "provide a means of expressing time-space relationships" and enable communication as a form of short-hand (1999a:44). Unfortunately, we have reified typological discourse such that we have removed these type sequences from the context (e.g., social, economic, political) in which the artifacts were originally engaged and which promoted development and change.

In Near Eastern Archaeology, where the normative theoretical framework is still culture historical in outlook (Holladay 2003; Joffe 1997), this typological methodology has hindered reconstructions of culture contact and social change by limiting interpretive approaches to devising and comparing cultural trait lists (Bernardini 2005). The existence of an ethnically diverse population, hinted at in the Hebrew Bible, as well as other contemporary texts, has inspired archaeologists working in the southern Levant to search for regions of discrete material culture distribution and to identify these with specific peoples (Bunimovitz and Lederman 1997:42; London 2003). These studies have used a type-list approach to identifying ethnically diverse populations, with the assumption that the greater number of stylistically similar artifacts reflects the majority or more powerful ethnic group. Articles such as Israelites & Canaanites: You Can Tell Them Apart (Fritz 2002), and Beth Shemesh: Culture Conflict on Judah's Frontier (Bunimovitz and Lederman 1997) exemplify this approach. Although in the latter study, Bunimovitz and Lederman acknowledge that "cultural contacts were common, ideas were exchanged and ethnic boundaries were frequently redefined" (1997:42), their analysis of cultural interactions continues to rely on traditional methodologies, which set up culturally

defined trait-lists that can then be compared at the site or regional level. Unfortunately, this approach continues to provide unsatisfactory results. Bunimovitz and Lederman can only conclude with "puzzling" evidence and traditionally defined responses, such as "It raises the question, once again, of how to identify Israelite remains in the archaeological record" (1997:45). In the end, they are never really capable of meeting their goal to explore "the interaction of different cultures as reflected in the archaeological record" (1997:42; for a similar viewpoint, see also Rice 1998; Wallace 2003).

Migration studies have recently reentered the limelight as a useful tool for studying the dynamics of culture contact. More sophisticated methods for tracing the movement of peoples have moved beyond the simplistic association of pots with people, toward tracking a coherent suite of artifacts and associated activities as evidence of a migrant population (e.g., Frankel 2000; Henrickson 1995; Stein 2002; Voigt and Henrickson 2000). In an effort to mark social identity and track cultural affiliation, Clark (2004:42-47) suggested distinguishing between ethnicity, described as conscious identity, and enculturative traditions or those social rules embedded in behaviors and actions which are regularly passed on without conscious intent. Enculturative activities include domestic practices (Romero 2002), whose material correlates are seen to be less subject to conscious processes of communication, identity display and manipulation (J. J. Clark 2004). These practices are thought to be learned through repetitive activities and culturally embedded socialization processes, what are considered to be unconscious social reproduction strategies. It has been suggested that these practices may therefore be more useful for recognizing migrations and immigrant groups (J. J. Clark 2004; Frankel

2000; Stephen and Peltenburg 2002). On the ground, this is accomplished by searching for locales demonstrating an intrusive enculturative tradition or where two or more enculturative traditions can be shown to have coexisted. These studies focus on delineating daily subsistence activities and identifying utilitarian wares. Yasur-Landau (2002) has recently advocated for a similar approach to investigate the settlement of the Philistines in the Southern Levant.

In theoretical circles there has been increasing interest in understanding cultural transmission processes, interaction and information exchange (Preucel and Hodder 1996), but little of this has trickled down to the methodologies involved in the interpretation of the archaeological record (Rice 1996:156-157). Many new approaches to the interpretation of material culture combine agency-oriented and context-driven reconstructions to explore identity and social change (e.g., Chilton 1999b; Dobres and Robb 2000; Janusek 2002; Loney 2000; Rice 1998; Stark 1998). These studies demonstrate the complex, multifaceted and variable ways in which objects are used in the expression of social identity (cf., Emberling 1999; Jones 1997).

A significant correlate of these studies is that, not only can material culture be used to communicate information (Wobst 1999), but that artifact meaning and value is variable and can change as objects and symbols move between contexts and over time. A number of studies have begun to integrate these ideas into their archaeological reconstruction. In the Near East, this perspective is particularly exemplified by the work of Louise Steel (2002a; 2004), who uses a contextual approach to examine how the meaning of imported symbols is not necessarily retained in their new context.

Change, however, has been a more difficult concept to incorporate. One line of research, which has focused on understanding how information is exchanged, can be see in the literature on technology and technological change, most recently reviewed in a series of articles by Kuhn (2004), Killick (2004), and Schiffer (2004). The presence of inter-generational transmission processes in diachronic models of culture change has generally been assumed, although unstated, as can be seen, for example, in historical discussions of acculturation and the hybridization of forms (e.g., Barako 2001;

Bunimovitz 1990; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996; T. Dothan 1998a; T. Dothan 1998b; Redmount 1995; Stager 1995, 1998; Stern 2000; Stone 1995). The historical reconstruction of Philistine settlement provides a good example of this approach. As Bunimovitz (1990:219) described the process:

After their settlement in Canaan, the Philistines underwent a process of assimilation, of the kind that affects all "ethnic" subcultures. For a time such subcultures continue to be identified by their traditional attributes and artifacts, but eventually they lose coherence as an identifiable entity...The inevitable archaeological outcome of this situation was the disappearance of the original Philistine cultural assemblage.

Archaeology and the Philistines

The Philistines² in the Iron Age have been an often used example of ethnicity in the archaeological record (e.g., Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996; Finkelstein 1997; Brian Hesse and Wapnish 1997; Killebrew 1998a). In the field of Near Eastern

¹ See also the authors' introduction to these articles (Kuhn, et al. 2004).

² I have chosen to retain the name 'Philistine' for this immigrant population, although I recognize that there are unresolved problems in relating the archaeological record with the peoples mentioned in the Biblical texts, but these issues are beyond the scope of the present study. The arrival of an aegeanized immigrant population to the southern Levant at around 1200 BCE now seems to be clearly documented (Barako 2001; T. Dothan 1989, 1995, 1997a; Stager 1995; Yasur-Landau 2002), and is further supported in this study. Additionally, the geographic distribution of Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004) remains closely within the boundaries of the area defined as 'Philistia.'

archaeology, they are considered a good example of an immigrant population visible through their material culture (e.g., Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996; M. Dothan 1993b; T. Dothan 1989, 1990, 1995; Killebrew 1998a, b, 2000; Mazar 1985a; Stager 1995, 1998).

The history of the Philistines as traditionally discussed in the archaeological material is outlined by three stages (T. Dothan 1982; T. Dothan and Dothan 1992; Mazar 1985a; Stager 1995):

Stage 1: Arrival of groups of immigrants, including the Philistines, along the Levantine coast. Foreign elements of material culture are found in new sites built upon the destruction of Late Bronze Age cities (T. Dothan 1989; Stager 1995). Among other aspects of the Philistine material culture manifest in these settlements is the local production of Mycenaean IIIC:1³ pottery. This initial settlement stage has been the focus of most of the research on the Philistines (Ehrlich 1997), including two recent dissertations (Barako 2001; Yasur-Landau 2002).

Stage 2: *Philistine expansion beyond the Pentapolis cities*. This phase, which is concurrent with the production of Philistine Bichrome pottery, represents a period of economic wealth and population growth (Mazar 1985a, 1994; Stager 1995). Philistine Bichrome pottery is described as "eclectic," reflecting a development from the earlier Mycenaean IIIC:1 tradition, combined with local Canaanite and Egyptian influences (T. Dothan 1982). It is found distributed across a wider region (Gunneweg, *et al.* 1994) than the earlier Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery, which was tightly restricted in both chronological

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³ Following the terminology as defined in T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004:2-3).

and geographic distribution (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004). The distinguishing elements of the Philistine Bichrome repertoire have been suggested as reflecting *acculturation processes* (Stager 1995; Stone 1995), "...involving the adaptation and absorption of many of the traditions to be found among the various peoples living in Canaan" (Stager 1995:335).

Stage 3: *Increasing assimilation or acculturation of the Philistine peoples* as they absorb, adopt and transform many of the local cultural traditions to a point where, as it was earlier thought, "the Philistines . . . must have been assimilated within the larger ethnic groups of Canaanites/ Phoenicians and/or Israelites," (Gitin 1998b:162). A number of distinct Philistine cultural features, such as pebble hearths, are no longer found, and new elements appear which represent an amalgamation of Syro-Palestinian, Aegean and Egyptian traditions (T. Dothan 1982, 1998a, b; Mazar 1994).

Early interpretations of this scenario described it as a decimation of the Philistine culture as it completely assimilated with the indigenous population (T. Dothan 1995).

At Ekron, the finds from Stratum IV, the end of the 11th/ beginning of the 10th century B.C.E., indicate a turning point in Philistine material culture. At the peak of their prosperity and their political and military power, the Philistines lost their cultural uniqueness. The older Aegean traditions were abandoned, while new features reflect the impact of Egyptian and Phoenician culture on the Philistine world, leading to the dilution and debasement of the Philistine culture (T. Dothan 1998a:267-268).

It is now recognized that the Philistines did not disappear at the end of the Iron I (Gitin 1995; Stone 1995). The area of Philistia continued to exhibit a distinct regional tradition throughout the Iron II period until the cities were finally destroyed by the Babylonians in

the 6th century B.C.E. (Gitin 1998b). Even after this event, there continued to be echoes of the Philistines (Gitin 1998b).

The intrusive nature of the Philistine material culture, as reflected in aspects of the ceramic technology (in particular see Killebrew 1998a, b), symbol system, and architectural design, stands out sharply against the local traditions as quite distinct and of non-indigenous development, reflecting the Aegean background of the inhabitants (M. Dothan 1993b; T. Dothan 1989, 1990, 1995; Killebrew 1998a, b, 2000; Stager 1995, 1998; Yasur-Landau 2002). Theories as explanations for the new presence range from the traditional ethnic view of immigrants arriving from the Aegean world as part of a mass movement of peoples (most recently Barako 2001); a small contingent, possibly a military elite (Bunimovitz 1999), who were a minority of the populace in the new region, but dominated over the local population and functioned as "overlords in an area which remained to a large extent populated by Canaanites" (Mazar 1985a:106; 1994); or the results of commercial contacts and socio-economic processes at the beginning of the Iron Age (Sherratt 1998). More recent studies of the period of initial settlement, reinforced by the new publications of material from Ashdod and Tel Migne (Ben-Shlomo 2002, 2003; Bierling 1998b; T. Dothan 2003; T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004), suggest a more complex picture of long-term, multiple migrations, with both regional and chronological differences (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004; Yasur-Landau 2002, 2003a). While scholars disagree over the number of migrants (Finkelstein 2000; Sherratt 1998; Yasur-Landau 2002), and whether they arrived by land (Yasur-Landau 2002) or by sea (Barako 2001),

⁴ For the use of the term "Aegean," I follow Yasur-Landau's definition (2002:168, note 2), of "Aegean in the wide sense of the word, including the Dodecanese and the 'Aegeanized' parts of western Anatolia."

the link between the presence of a discrete material culture, demonstrating new technologies (Killebrew 1998a, b) and distinct life-ways (Yasur-Landau 2002), with the arrival of foreigners to this area has been well documented, and is further supported by the present analysis.

Although the identification of Philistine presence at a site has moved away from a strict association of pots with people (e.g., Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996; T. Dothan 1998b; Ehrlich 1997:187; London 2003), studies continue to accord Philistine hegemony to sites where a preponderance of the pottery is 'Philistine' (e.g., Ben-Shlomo 2003; T. Dothan 1998b), or the reverse, to argue against Philistine presence based on the minor role played by Philistine pottery within the ceramic assemblage (e.g., Brug 1985; Drews 1998; Ehrlich 1997:187-189; Finkelstein 1997, 2000). Presence/absence of these foreign traits, in particular the Philistine pottery, has also been used as criteria in recent chronological debates (e.g., Ben-Shlomo 2003; Bunimovitz and Faust 2001; Finkelstein 1995, 1998; Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2001, 2004; Mazar 1997a).

Part of the problem stems from disagreements as to what exactly the term 'Philistine pottery' connotes, i.e. whether or not it should be identified only with the bichrome ware which carries its name, and the role that it plays within the assemblage (Bunimovitz 1990; Ehrlich 1997; Sharon 2001; Sherratt 1998; Singer 1985). The multiple wave theory, in which a group of Sea Peoples arrived carrying Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery, followed by a second phase of Philistine immigrants with bichrome pottery (M. Dothan 1989, 1993b; T. Dothan 1982:295-296; 1983; T. Dothan and Dothan 1992), is no longer tenable, and has been largely replaced by a recognition of the strong continuity evidenced

in form and style between the two ceramic traditions (T. Dothan 1998b; T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004; London 1984; Mazar 1985a; Singer 1988; Stager 1995). To underscore the relationship between the settlement phases and the development of pottery forms, Singer proposed the terms "Monochrome (or early) Philistine pottery" for the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and "classical (or later) Philistine pottery" for the bichrome tradition (1988:112). This terminology finds echoes in T. Dothan's (1997a) most recent review of the Philistines in the early Iron Age, and the relationship between the pottery styles finds further support in the study by T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004).

Scholars who support a migration model tend to associate the initial arrival of the Philistines with the appearance of Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery (T. Dothan 1998b; Mazar 1985a; Singer 1988; Stager 1995). A number of studies, however, continue to focus on the bichrome phase, using the eclectic nature of this pottery assemblage, with its multiple sources of influence, to argue against its association with an ethnic group (e.g., Bunimovitz 1990; Finkelstein 1997; Sharon 2001; Vanschoonwinkel 1999). These latter arguments generally view the Philistine pottery as representing a luxury ware, or at most, the results of a few migrant potters. A third proposition is put forward by Sharon (2001:600-601), who recognizes an Aegean migration but does not identify these early migrants as Philistines. Instead, he sees Philistine ethnicity as locally emerging in Canaan as a result of, or as he stated "a response to" the vacuum created by the withdrawal of Egyptian authority at the end of the Bronze Age (2001:601, italics mine). It is "neither due to the culmination of a long process of assimilation, nor to a new wave of settlement, nor yet to itinerant potters from Cyprus or elsewhere setting up shop in Philistia"

(2001:601). In Sharon's reconstruction, the bichrome pottery is intentionally neither Canaanite nor Mycenaean, but something new, i.e. Philistine.

Material culture studies of Philistine settlements have primarily concentrated on ethnic identification (e.g., Barako 2001; Brug 1985; T. Dothan 1995; Mazar 1985a; Stager 1995, 1998; Vanschoonwinkel 1999). Less attention has been given to exploring the formation and expression of ethnic identity, with the exception of Sharon's discussion, mentioned above.⁵ Up until now, research has focused on describing a set of cultural traits that appear in the southern Levant at the beginning of the Iron Age, but whose inspiration can be traced to the Aegean world (M. Dothan 1989, 1993b; T. Dothan 1983, 1989, 1993, 1995, 2000; Stager 1995; Yasur-Landau 2002:168-192). From this type-list a profile of Philistine culture has been generated. It is defined by characteristic pottery shapes and decorative styles; architectural features such as sherd-paved hearths and limestone bathtubs; and domestic activities evidenced by foreign style cooking wares and loom weights (see Barako 2001; Yasur-Landau 2002:168-192 for the most recent reviews of the literature). These attributes are interpreted as reflecting technologies and enculturative behaviors that the immigrants brought with them and continued to reproduce in their new settlements (Killebrew 2000:244-245; Yasur-Landau 2002:168-192, 254-256).

These descriptions also attribute an urban character to the Philistine culture, which it is assumed the immigrants brought with them as an ideological map of city

⁵ In addition, a paper read at the recent ASOR conference focused on internal factors promoting change (Uziel 2004).

planning. Thus T. Dothan states that the assumption of the Aegean background of the Philistines:

...is based on a combination of elements which include sophisticated and ecologically sound town planning, extensive industry, a distinctive ceramic repertoire, metallurgy, glyptics, and cult practices which, when taken together, can be called Philistine/ Sea Peoples' culture (1998b:148).

This relatively untested hypothesis, based on a preliminary study of the excavations at Tel Miqne-Ekron, has been picked up in the literature. It is most forcefully stated by Stager in a section of his chapter entitled *Urban Imposition*:

These 'sackers of cities' from the Aegean . . . were also great builders of cities. In Philistia, as elsewhere, they imposed a full-blown urban tradition on the landscape, quite different from the Canaanite patterns which preceded them. It is the scope and effects of their 'urban imposition' which provides additional reasons for thinking that the Philistines were not a small military elite who garrisoned the indigenous population but, rather, a large and diverse group of settlers who transplanted many aspects of their old way of life and culture to a new locale (1995:345).

Alternatively, Finkelstein (2000:169) has most recently argued that the Philistine settlement represents, not an urban imposition but an urban expansion, whereby the Philistine settlers adopted the Canaanite city state system that had previously been in place.

Increasingly, studies are recognizing a large Canaanite presence and local influence in the material culture, seen even in the earliest phases of occupation (e.g., Bunimovitz 1990; Mazar 2000). Yet, while excavations at sites in the Philistine pentapolis have acknowledged the presence of 'Canaanite' material culture, the interaction between the two populations has rarely been discussed (Ben-Shlomo 2003; T.

Dothan 1998b; Ehrlich 1997; Killebrew 1998a, b, c; Mazar 2000). Efforts to understand the presence, both in the archaeological and textual record, of these items, artifacts such as pottery, architecture, cult, religion, language and even domestic traditions, turn to population statistics and/or loosely described processes of cultural adaptation or borrowing (Barako 2001; Ben-Shlomo 1999; Gilmour 1993; Machinist 2000; Mazar 2000).

The material evidence has been used in chronological debates (Ben-Shlomo 2003) or to imply some form of potters' interaction (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004). In a recent dissertation, Yasur-Landau (2002) proposed that the coexistence of both Aegean and Canaanite household behaviors in the earliest phases of settlement reflects the long term, multi-generational migration process by which the immigrants arrived in the southern Levant. Typically, reports simply state that both foreign and Canaanite elements were found (e.g., Ben-Shlomo 2003; Bunimovitz 1990; T. Dothan 1998b:87; Ehrlich 1997). These discussions generally cite trait lists of comparative material culture, usually without providing an associated use context in which these objects were found (e.g., Ben-Shlomo 2003; T. Dothan 1998b; Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2004). This context-free typological approach is exemplified in a recent debate between Ben-Shlomo (2003:87, note 3)⁶ and Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz (2001; 2004:123), where specific pot types are

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⁶ Ben-Shlomo also cites Greenberg's (1987) reanalysis of the Iron I material at Tel Beit Mirsim excavated by W. F. Albright. Ben-Shlomo's inclusion of this site as an example of "pottery assemblages from Philistia during the initial phase of the Iron I" (2003:87, note 3) seems problematic as this site is not in Philistia and its ceramic assemblage contains a "negligible" amount of Philistine pottery (Greenberg 1987:76). In this article Greenberg suggests that Late Bronze Age tradition pottery forms could be contemporaneous with Philistine ceramics, but his examples are drawn from Lachish (Stratum VI), Gezer (Stratum XI) and Tel Qasile (Stratum XII). Greenberg's position, however, demonstrates that the Tel Beit Mirsim occupation should not be associated with a Philistine presence.

referred to and generalized, site-wide pottery assemblages are provided to argue for or against chronological contemporaneity. Unfortunately, these studies have literally removed the objects from their context.

Ben-Shlomo's (2003) discussion of the Ashdod material, which is characteristic of the method that is typically used for presenting pottery data (e.g., Ben-Shlomo 2003; Bunimovitz 1990; T. Dothan 1998b:87; Ehrlich 1997), brings to the forefront an additional issue, one which has limited our ability to recognize and explore change in consumption patterns over time. In describing the Ashdod pottery assemblages dated to the Iron I period, Ben-Shlomo, based on a quantitative analysis of "a rim count from several controlled loci," states that "no differences were noted in the pottery assemblages of these two phases of which some 50 percent is Philistine Bichrome ware" (2003:89). Unfortunately, he supplies no additional information as to the quantity of material that this frequency is based on, or the types of vessels which appear in the Philistine assemblage. It is therefore difficult to know how to assess this information, and specifically whether the similarity between the two phases can be seen both functionally and quantitatively, or only in the latter. If the Philistine wares functioned as fine wares, his data, which is contemporary with Tel Migne-Ekron Stratum VI (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:6, Table 2), might suggest that the Ashdod assemblage is heavily weighted towards luxury dishes, or it may be a reflection of the function of the building or area from which this sample was drawn. These numbers represent a different pattern than what it seen at Tel Migne-Ekron (see Chapter 4), and may suggest a different

⁷ It is not clear if the two phases to which Ben-Shlomo is referring are XII and XI, or XIa and XIb.

developmental sequence in pottery production or that the later Philistine decorated ceramics performed different functions at the two sites. A whole range of ideas can be suggested, but not much more can be said without a better understanding of what forms make up the assemblages and in what contexts they are found.

To move beyond the method of comparing type-lists of cultural traits, I propose shifting the focus of analysis to the context of artifact use as a method for investigating the use of material culture in interaction strategies and in the negotiation of social identity. Jones (1997:126) suggests that a diachronic analysis of context may shed light on the processes by which variation in material culture becomes transformed into markers of ethnic identity. Using the Iron I settlement at Tel Migne-Ekron as a case study, the reproduction and/or adaptation of patterns of consumption over time is examined in order to explore variation and change over time in the development of the material culture. Areas of culture contact, where social boundaries may promote the use of material culture in social interaction strategies (Kansa and Levy 1998; S. T. Smith 2003; Stein 1994), can serve as important case studies for investigating social interaction strategies. A good example of this is a recent study by Bunimovitz and Faust (2001), who cite examples of the variable use of material culture in expressions of identity, to cast doubt on current models for interpreting the chronological and geographic patterning of material culture distribution in the Iron Age. In these contexts, the promotion of symbols may be used to express attitudes of communal solidarity and/or elite exclusivity. The situational and reflexive nature of ethnic markers (Jones 1997) suggests that models of culture change need to incorporate a contextual approach in the analysis of material culture.

Unfortunately, this fluidity makes it highly unlikely that archaeologists will be able to discern the meaning of the symbols (Emberling 1999:296; Sommer 2001:248), but "...they can at least make statements about the variation and development of material culture as such, that is, about the system behind the symbol" (Sommer 2001:248).

Methodology

The stratigraphically excavated materials from Tel Miqne-Ekron, documenting more than 200 years of Philistine settlement at the site in the Iron I, comprise a good case study for examining the use of material culture in the dynamic process of creating and expressing meaning. To investigate these ideas, my research focused on one of the excavation fields, which has been described as the 'elite' zone. I outlined two areas of investigation: 1. the built environment, with a focus on the continuity or discontinuity in the organization of space over time (through the various archaeological strata), and 2. a quantitative analysis and spatial distribution of material culture based on both a functional and stylistic study of the artifacts. The primary material examined was the ceramic assemblage, which demonstrates strong evidence of both continuity and change. These two aspects, the architecture and artifacts, were then examined together, following a similar method for social analysis in archaeology as described by Hingley (1990).

My research examines both the local and non-local characteristics of the ceramic assemblage from the Iron I levels at Tel Miqne-Ekron in order to investigate the dynamic role of material culture consumption within a programmatic system of architectural construction. Consumption practices provide a basis for exploring change as intentional

and adaptive and reflexive. While previous studies have listed the various material markers of Philistine ethnicity, the goal of this study is to analyze these in contexts of use and expression, the aspects of cultural practices that become objectified as symbols and maintained over time (Jones 1997). By taking a diachronic perspective, with a view towards understanding change over time as both intentional and reflexive, I hope to propose some of the mechanisms and forces which may have promoted social change and development.

While most studies have focused on comparing one assemblage to another, looking for identifiably Philistine materials in contrast to Canaanite, I examined these styles in contexts of use, how together they formed one use-assemblage. The arrival of newcomers to Tel Miqne-Ekron at the beginning of the Iron I makes this foreign urban settlement an excellent site to address the dynamics of social integration strategies.

Dissertation Organization

The chapters are organized with the presentation of the data in the first part (Chapters 2-4), and an exploration and integration of the data in the second part (Chapters 5-7), leading up to the interpretation of change and variation in the third part (Chapter 8).

Chapter 2 is an introduction to the Philistines and the site of Tel Miqne-Ekron, providing an overview of Philistia and a summary of the excavations at Tel Miqne-Ekron.

Chapters 3 and 4 present the archaeological data used in this study. Chapter 3 is an architectural outline of the stratigraphic occupation phases in the Iron I period at Tel Migne-Ekron. It includes a detailed description of the architecture and built features,

focusing on chronological changes in the organization of space. Highlighted in this analysis is the agglutinative character of the architecture in the early phases of occupation, where earlier elements are continually incorporated into chronologically later building plans. This concept becomes particularly significant with the construction of the monumental building plan of Stratum V, whose interpretation is one of the foci of chapter 7. A second major point in chapter 3 is the establishment, in Stratum VI, of distinct eastwest building zones. This ground plan is maintained throughout the Iron I occupation phases.

Chapter 4 introduces the ceramic data set, outlining the major typological forms and stylistic groups on which the quantitative analysis was performed. In this chapter, I examine variation over time in the types of vessels produced, demonstrating a number of chronological changes in the ceramic assemblage. Changes in the organization of production, although not the focus of this study, are also discussed, as much of the variation in form and style can be attributed to significant shifts in technological style (Chilton 1999a:3; J. M. Skibo 1999:5).

The methodology for the quantitative study is described in Appendix A and the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) in this project is described in Appendix B. The quantitative study of the pottery allowed for distributional studies by functional forms and stylistic classes, as well as by intensity of activity/discard. GIS was used for observational exploration of distributional patterns, especially for comparing functional types across rooms and time, and for representing these distributional studies in a variety

of maps whose creation was possible due to the vertical integration of the different occupational phases.

Chapters 5 and 6 explore the east-west division noted in Chapter 3, through an analysis of activity areas and organization of space. The focus of chapter 5 is a spatial and chronological analysis of built-in features. Attention is particularly concentrated on investigating evidence for the function of a number of installations that have been associated with the Philistines and ascribed to Aegean influences, such as the built hearths and the limestone bathtubs. The analysis of the types and distribution of built-in features supports the architectural analysis, suggesting that there was a major change in the use of space between Strata VI and V. However, as opposed to the architectural analysis, which suggests significant differences in function between the eastern (Buildings 353 and 354) and western building (Building 350) complexes, the analysis of the types and distribution of features demonstrates a surprising similarity, reflecting a primarily domestic use of space.

Chapter 6 draws on a comparative sample of contemporary architectural structures at other sites associated with Philistine settlement to further investigate the use of space in these buildings. Conclusions from this study suggest that Monumental Building 350 is more similar to elite residences than cultic structures. This suggested function of Building 350, as a wealthy domicile, is even more pronounced in comparison to the architectural styles of Buildings 353 and 354 on the east. These buildings may have been residential structures, but were also used as workshop space. Interesting parallels in

the organization of space seen at other contemporary sites may point to an architectural style that can be associated with workshop production.

Chapter 7 is an intrasite spatial analysis. It contextualizes the artifacts by combining the ceramic study with the architectural analysis. The interpretation of change and adaptation of the material culture is the focus of Chapter 8. The final chapter, Chapter 9, provides a summary overview of the main conclusions reached in this study.

Conclusions

An analysis of strategies of maintenance and adaptation (c.f., Silliman 2005) at Tel Miqne-Ekron demonstrates the transformation of symbols in contexts expressing the negotiation of social identity. A diachronic study of the artifact assemblage from the Iron I period demonstrates both variability and stasis. Variation in both the cooking wares and the functional types of vessels produced in the Philistine style suggests that a change occurred in daily domestic traditions, reflecting a shift in the enculturative traditions of a formerly immigrant population. The amalgamation of elements seen in the Philistine cultural assemblage (T. Dothan 1982, 1998b; Mazar 1985a) can be understood as an attempt on the part of the resident elite to create elaborate practices, alternately expressing either communal solidarity or elite exclusiveness, accompanied by a distinctive ensemble of ceramic vessels (e.g., Bray 2003b:5-6). In my current interpretation, material culture consumption at Tel Miqne-Ekron in the Iron I reflects numerous small-scale transactions involving the mediation of social identities, and ultimately the reinforcement of power and authority (cf., Wallace 2003).

CHAPTER 2

THE CASE STUDY: THE PHILISTINES AND TEL MIQNE-EKRON IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

Introduction

The historical phenomenon of the Philistines is unique in that it is represented in three media arising from very different perspectives: Egyptian inscriptions, Biblical texts and archaeological excavations. The Egyptian inscriptions mention the *peleset*, one of the 'Sea Peoples,' portrayed both as invaders from the sea, who are settled by the Egyptians along the Southern Levantine coast, and as foreigners, represented by depictions of families with children and personal belongings that seem less militaristic than migrant. The Hebrew Bible, a composite of stories written from the point of view of the emerging Israelite nation, describes foreign invaders living along the Levantine coast who are a powerful enemy of the emerging Israelite nation, both militarily and religiously. The third approach, that provided by archaeology, is the subject of the current study.

Archaeological excavations of sites in the Southern Levant associated with the Philistines have documented the 'foreignness' of the recovered assemblage, outlining its distinctiveness, place of origin and role as ethnic marker (e.g., Barako 2001; Brug 1985; T. Dothan 1989, 1995, 1998b, 2000; Mattingly 1985; Mazar 2000; Stager 1995, 1998; Vanschoonwinkel 1999). Most discussions have focused on a type-list of material culture characteristics, demonstrating their dissimilarity from the indigenous or Canaanite culture (e.g., Barako 2001; T. Dothan 1998b; Killebrew 1998a; Kletter 2000; Lawergren 1998;

Stager 1995, 1998). More recent studies have begun to add distinctive behavioral traits to this list (Bunimovitz 1999; Killebrew 1998a, 1999; Yasur-Landau 2002, 2003b). The most widely recognized interpretation for this foreign presence is that it reflects the arrival and settlement of immigrants at the site who carried with them Aegean influenced traditions (Barako 2001; Bloch-Smith and Nakhai 1999; T. Dothan 1989, 1995, 1997a, 1998b; Mazar 1985a; Stager 1995).

As reflected in the biblical traditions, the Philistines organized their settlement around five capital cities (Machinist 2000): Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gaza, Ekron and Gath (Fig. 2.1 map). Of the coastal sites, Ashkelon is presently under excavation by the Leon Levy Expedition directed by L. Stager of Harvard University, Ashdod was excavated from 1962 to 1972 under the direction of M. Dothan for the Israel Department of Antiquities, and *Gaza*, which lies below the modern city of Gaza, has not been excavated. The more inland sites include *Gath*, whose geographical identification has not been proven conclusively but may correspond with the present location of Tel es-Safi (Schniedewind 1998), currently being excavated by A. Maeir of Bar Ilan University (Maeir and Ehrlich 2000), and finally *Ekron* (T. Dothan and Gitin 2002; T. Dothan, *et al.* 1998b). With the finding of the monumental inscription in 1996, Ekron has been positively identified with Tel Miqne (Gitin, et al. 1997). The notion of an Iron I 'Philistine Pentapolis' has recently come under fire by Finkelstein (Finkelstein 2002; Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2001), who argues both that the archaeological remains do not support a system of five, relatively equal, cities, and that the Biblical citations represent a late, 7th century BCE, description. What is significant for the present study is

that this concentration of sites along the southern coastal plain corresponds with the area in which locally produced Mycenaean IIIC:1 vessels were found (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004). These sites, then, can serve as a baseline from which comparative occupational histories can be reconstructed.

My project focuses on the excavations at Tel Miqne-Ekron, which at present provides the largest stratified sample of Philistine material culture in the Iron I. Tel Miqne-Ekron was a border site between Philistia and the Judean Shephelah. The site is inland from the Pentapolis coastal settlements of Ashkelon, Ashdod and Gaza, and close to Gath, if the identification of Tel es-Safi with Biblical Gath is correct (Maeir and Ehrlich 2000; Schniedewind 1998). Before returning to Tel Miqne-Ekron from which the majority of the data used in this dissertation is derived, I summarize what is currently known from excavations conducted at other sites located in Philistia and associated with the Philistines.

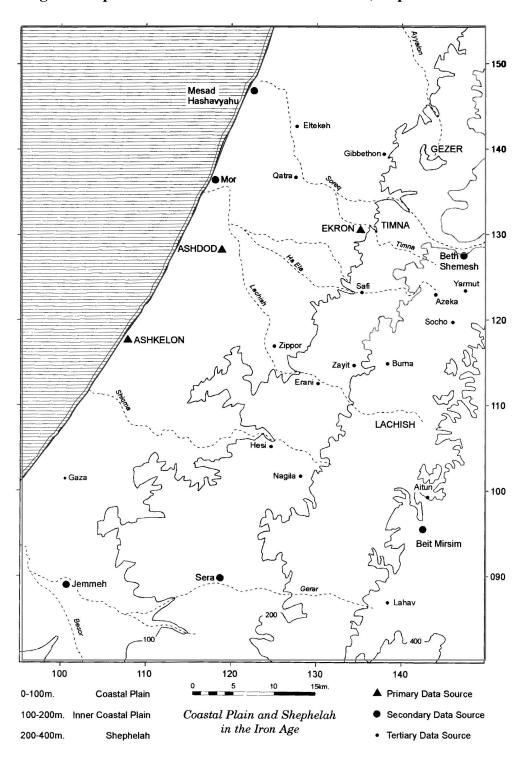


Fig. 2.1 Map of Philistine Sites Mentioned in Text (adapted after Gitin

Ashdod

Of the Philistine pentapolis sites, Ashdod is the most extensively published, although a number of areas relevant to the present study are only now appearing in press (M. Dothan and Ben-Shlomo forthcoming). It has recently been the subject of controversy regarding the dating of various strata in the Iron I and Iron II (Ben-Shlomo 2003; Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2001, 2004). In both of these studies, the assignment of relative dates to the Iron I strata is deduced almost solely from the percentage of bichrome pottery within the ceramic assemblage. While this can be a useful tool, there are two major problems with this approach. The first, as stated by Ben-Shlomo (2003), is that Finkelstein and Singer's reanalysis is based on the original excavation reports by M. Dothan and Porath, where only a fraction of the ceramic material was published. The second, an issue which will be further addressed in the present study, is the blind use of pottery assemblages as chronological pegs without reference to context in which the material was found or an understanding of how it was used. This point is also underscored in a recent article by Bunimovitz and Faust (2001). ¹⁰ For the present study, my chronological reference point will be Ben-Shlomo's discussions (2002; 2003), as his work is based on access to the unpublished material from Ashdod (M. Dothan and Ben-Shlomo *forthcoming*), and the inter- and intra-site comparative table published in T.

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⁸ Ben-Shlomo's condemnation of Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz for "relat[ing] only to the previously published material" (2003:85) is a bit harsh considering how difficult it is to refer to unpublished material. This problem is symbolic of the field as a whole (see most recently the session advertised in the ASOR Annual Meeting Program for 2005, "The Ethics of Collecting and Communicating the Near Eastern Past: The Obligation to Publish Archaeological Excavations," chaired by E. Herscher, P. Gerstenblith and M. Kersal (2005)) and should be used as an argument in support of more rapid publication of excavation reports and more widespread distribution of results.

⁹ Approximately "one-fifth of the Area H material and architectural remains" (Ben-Shlomo 2003:85). ¹⁰ I would term this approach 'pots as dates,' as opposed to the potentially more useful method of 'pots as tools' (e.g., Braun 1983).

Dothan and Zukerman (2004), which was created with the assistance of Ben-Shlomo and with access to the unpublished Ashdod material.

At the site of Ashdod, Iron I occupation debris was recovered from areas A, G and H, as well as a few pits in Area C, but only in areas G and H were architectural remains exposed. Barako (2001:90) estimated the settlement size of Ashdod in the Iron I at approximately 7 ha. This is in agreement with Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz's (2001) estimate. Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz also suggest (2001), *contra* Ben-Shlomo (2003), that the Iron I settlement was unfortified. Ben-Shlomo (2002), on the other hand, proposed that the Iron I city was larger, suggesting that it covered an area of approximately 10 ha in size.

The early Iron Age occupation at Ashdod is particularly important for the present project. Numerous parallels can be drawn in the architectural styles, features and artifact assemblages between Ashdod and the contemporary strata at Tel Miqne-Ekron. Recent reconstructions of the Stratum XIII and XII settlements have identified "high-class" dwelling complexes and loci, associated with elite residences (Ben-Shlomo 2002), where feasting rituals may have been enacted (Bunimovitz 1999; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002). Locus 4106, Stratum XIII is of particular importance. In this area twenty-seven complete vessels, mostly bowls, were found "arranged in rows and stood upside down as if after a washing" (M. Dothan and Porath 1993:54). Described by the excavators' as part of a potter's workshop (M. Dothan 1988; M. Dothan and Porath 1993:53-54; T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004), and more recently hypothesized as a pantry (Bunimovitz 1999; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002; Yasur-Landau 2002), its significance lies in the co-

occurrence of both Aegean- and local Canaanite- style pottery. This locus has been used as proof of the local production of Aegean-style wares, the contemporaneity of the two ceramic assemblages, and their integrated context (e.g., T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004).

Recent studies have also utilized the material from Ashdod, in conjunction with that from Tel Miqne-Ekron, to firmly support the traditional paradigm of population movements from the Aegean to the Levant in the first half of the 12th (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004; Yasur-Landau 2002, 2003b). Significantly, these studies have also noted local differences between the two sites, which have been ascribed to divergent regional developments, long-term, mixed migration processes with groups originating from different regions (see especially Yasur-Landau 2002, 2003b) and continued exchange and contact between the Aegean and the Levant throughout the first half of the 12th century (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004).

Ashkelon

Both the size of the site of Ashkelon, estimated conservatively at around 24 ha (Barako 2001:84) and its position as a port city on the Mediterranean coast, suggest that it was a prominent city within Philistia. As Stager reconstructed it, "By the late twelfth century BCE Ashkelon had expanded to urban proportions..." (1993:107). Unfortunately, at the present time there is only limited information about the Philistine occupation as only recently [summer 2005] has the excavation team reached the earliest Iron I levels documenting the initial Philistine settlement at the site, and little has been published of the previously excavated materials outlining the later phases of Philistine occupation.

Excavations from the early 1920's described a major destruction between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age phases, although the current excavations have yet to confirm this (Stager 1993). Early explorers mentioned a "Philistine" tower in the north dated to around 1100 BCE (Schloen 1997). Reconstructions of Iron Age occupation at the site posit that it was, at least partly, fortified (Stager 1993),

Currently, the main area of Philistine occupation is found in the center of the tel. A large public building was located in this area, dated to both the Philistine monochrome and bichrome phases (Stager 1995) and an area which "appears to have been primarily an open area, in part devoted to the production of wine and possibly also grappa, as witnessed by a number of winepresses and the...sunken jar installations" (Barako 2001:83). Based on the presence of large stone pillar bases associated with the public building, Stager drew architectural comparisons with palaces and temples, specifically Buildings 351 and 350 at Tel Miqne-Ekron and Temple 131 at Tell Qasile (Stager 1995:346-347). The sunken jar installations, in addition to a large bathtub and mudbrick platforms/hearths all find parallels with architectural features at Tel Miqne-Ekron. Evidence of large scale industry connected with installations in this area comes from the recovery of more than 150 Aegean-style loom weights associated with both phases of the public building (Stager 1995). Some of the loom weights were found aligned in rows along the walls, reflecting their use in warp weighted looms. This provides good evidence

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¹¹ The spatial relationship between the public building and the open activity area cannot be clearly described at the present time due to limited published data, including the lack of any published architectural plan.

¹² Unfortunately, while there are a number of references to these features (see in particular Barako 2001; T. Dothan 2003), little information has yet to be provided on their contexts making it difficult to draw comparisons between them and similar features at Tel Miqne-Ekron.

that here was the location of the looms, and that they were not found in storage (Barber 1991). In Stager's description of the area, he states that "Weaving industries were often associated with administrative and religious centers" (1995:346), by which statement we can assume that Stager would reconstruct this public building as having an administrative or cultic function.

The recent excavations at the site suggest that they support the ceramic development from Philistine monochrome to bichrome pottery (Schloen 1997; Stager 1995), but this has yet to be fully investigated as the excavations are only now reaching the relevant chronological strata. What has been described suggests that Aegean-style pottery, painted in a monochrome design, with shapes and motifs similar to that found at other sites along the Levantine coast, was found on the floor of a building, sealed below a chronologically later stratum (Stager 1993). Sandy and friable ceramic wares, brick red in color, suggest similarities in production with the Ashdod material (T. Dothan, pers. comm., July 2000), and less with the Tel Miqne-Ekron assemblage (cf. description of wares from Ashdod and Tel Miqne-Ekron in T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004).

Additionally, fragments from Aegean-style vessels with pictorial pieces (Stager 1998:157 and 164) point to local differences in decorative motifs amidst an overall general stylistic tradition.

Two additional points should be made in reference to the material from Ashkelon. A significant rise in the percentage of pig bones within the faunal assemblage has been associated with the earliest phases of the Iron I occupation at Ashkelon (Barako 2001; Stager 1993). This concurs with the preliminary data from Tel Miqne-Ekron (B. Hesse

1986; Lev-Tov 2000). The interpretation of this, i.e. whether 'pig preference' in the Iron Age was used as a cultural or economic strategy, has been recently debated (cf. Brian Hesse and Wapnish 1997; Lev-Tov 2000). A more promising avenue of research for cultural differences as reflected in dietary habits may be the recently recognized evidence of dog butchering at both Ashkelon and Tel Miqne-Ekron (pers. comm. B. Hesse, see also T. Dothan 2003). In addition, a foundation deposit, in which a butchered puppy was placed in an Aegean style cooking jug may suggest that the butchering of dogs was used in rituals, possibly as expressions of 'Philistine' identity, a point to which I will return in Chapter 8.

Gaz.a

Little is known of Iron Age Gaza, buried as it is below the modern city of Gaza, and its inclusion in this list of Philistine sites is based on textual data only. Evidence for a Philistine presence in the "Kingdom of Gaza" was suggested by Kempinski (1987) on the bases of two eighth century BCE ostraca from the site of Tell Jemmeh. These preserve 2 part names: a Semitic first name and an Indo-European family or clan name (Kempinski 1987:23). A few "Philistine" decorated vessels were found in excavation pits dug by British explorers in the 1920's (as cited in Barako 2001:85). Barako (2001:85-86, 90), based on the textual sources describing Gaza as an administrative center, estimated the size of the city at around 14 ha., in other words, at least as large as, or possibly even larger than, the other cities of the Philistine Pentapolis.

Gath

There has yet to be absolute confirmation on the present location of the Philistine city of Gath. The most promising suggestions are either Tell es-Safi or Tel Haror. The arguments for Tell es Safi include its relatively large size, especially in comparison to Tel Haror, which is only 1.5 ha in size (Barako 2001), its location within the "Philistine alluvial basin," along major trade routes (Schniedewind 1998) and its prominent occupation in the late Iron I during the period of Philistine expansion (Maeir and Ehrlich 2001). Barako (2001:88), basing his estimate only on the size of the upper *tel*, hypothesized that in the early Iron I the size of the occupied area on Tell es-Safi reached at least 7 ha. Unfortunately, only small amounts of locally produced Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery have yet been recovered (Maeir 2000a, b; Maeir and Ehrlich 2001), and this comes predominantly from stratigraphically later fills, test probes and "illicit" excavations (Maeir and Ehrlich 2001). At this point, it is not clear if the lack of a stratigraphically earlier monochrome phase reflects that the site was not settled during the earliest phase of Philistine settlement or if the relevant strata have yet to be reached.

At Tel Haror, which was excavated over the course of six field seasons from 1982-1990 (Oren 1993) but still remains relatively unpublished, a significant amount of both locally produced monochrome and Philistine bichrome pottery was recovered from large refuse pits, one of which was 5 m wide and 3.5 m deep! Along with the pottery, these pits contained "stones and hearths, kitchen waste, bones and ash" (Oren 1993:581). Oren stated that the amount of Philistine decorated pottery was greater than 25% of the total ceramic assemblage recovered from the pit (1993:581). From this, we can assume

¹³ The evidence for these as well as other suggestions has been most recently reviewed in Barako (2001).

that the Philistine decorated pottery was found together with local tradition 'Canaanite' style pottery, which would, presumably, have made up the remaining 75% of the assemblage, but we do not know which forms of each style were present. Nor does Oren state whether Aegean style cooking jugs were amongst the pottery vessels found.

Although an intriguing area for further research, 14 the lack of a more detailed description of the materials makes this information largely unusable in the present study.

While the debate concerning the location of Gath is important for historical reasons and for the reconstruction of the initial settlement size of the Philistine migration (e.g., Barako 2001), for the present study it is less important which site we accept as Philistine Gath. What is significant is that both sites, Tel Haror and Tell es-Safi, fall within the limited geographic distribution outlined by T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004), in which locally produced Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery was found. Additionally, both sites had large amounts of Philistine bichrome pottery testifing, as Oren stated in regards to Tel Haror, to the "dynamic expansion of Philistine culture" (Oren 1993:582).

Tell Oasile

Tell Qasile was excavated from 1949-1951 and 1959 by Benjamin Mazar and again from 1971-1974 and 1982-1992 by Amihai Mazar, for the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University and the Ha'aretz Museum. Although not one of the Philistine pentapolis cities mentioned in the Biblical texts, Tell Qasile has been identified as a Philistine site based on the presence of large amounts of bichrome pottery, unique cultic

¹⁴ If the association between the use of Philistine bichrome pottery as serving vessels in feasting contexts can be supported (see Chapter 8), than it would be interesting to determine if this pit contained ordinary domestic trash or possibly the refuse from feasting rituals (Hallager 2001).

vessels that reflect Aegean and/or Cypriot influence, architectural features such as free-standing hearths, and its urban character, although no evidence of the monochrome phase of Philistine pottery was found (Mazar 1985b, 1997b). Mazar suggests that the initial settlement at Tell Qasile should be viewed as part of the later, Philistine expansion beyond the borders of the pentapolis in the mid-12th century BCE (Mazar 1985b:119). He described this second phase of Philistine settlement as a period of "economic wealth and population growth" (Mazar 1994:44) accompanied by rebuilding at the pentapolis sites and the establishment of new sites, all of which were contemporary with the development of Philistine Bichrome pottery (Mazar 1985b:120).

The rich assortment of artifacts associated with the Philistine population was concentrated in the area of the Temples, and Mazar concluded that the Philistines were the "leading, most active settlement group, and that they were probably accompanied by local elements of Canaanite origins which may well have influenced to some extent the character of the eclectic culture which thrived at Tell Qasile during the 12th-11th centuries B.C..." (Mazar 1985b:120). In the admixture of cultural elements, some local and some 'Philistine,' Mazar understood the Philistine population as "the upper class and the dominant factor in the city life" (Mazar 1985b:122).

The most striking aspect of the site was the finding of three successive temples in Area C. These will be more fully discussed in Chapter 6 as comparisons have been made between the monumental buildings at Tel Miqne-Ekron and the Tell Qasile temples. A number of significant parallels can be drawn between the Tell Qasile architecture and a similar organization of space in Field IV lower at Tel Miqne-Ekron.

Tel Migne-Ekron

The Tel Migne-Ekron excavation and publication project, a joint American, Israeli and Canadian interdisciplinary research enterprise, was designed "to investigate the political, cultural and economic processes of interaction between Philistines and Israelites during the Iron Age, ca. 1200-600 B.C.E" (Gitin 1998a:1). Under the directorship of Professor Trude Dothan of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University and Dr. Seymour Gitin, director of the W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, fourteen seasons of excavation were undertaken at the site between the years 1981-1996. Following the end of the 1996 season, an intensive period of analysis and publication was initiated, which has continued up to the present. Project goals (Gitin 1998a:1) are oriented towards exploring the Philistine/Israelite border zone, focusing on the degree of political, economic and cultural interaction, as well as the impact of wider regional forces on the site's occupants. Intermediate goals include the investigation of: (1) Philistine occupation and its development over time, from the foundation of an urban settlement at the beginning of the Iron I period; (2) observable processes of urban contraction and expansion in Iron Age cities, and (3) the regional and international impact of the Neo-Assyrian empire on both commerce and industry in the seventh century BCE (T. Dothan and Gitin 2002). The present study falls under the rubric of the project's overall research agenda, primarily helping to address the first of these aims.

The site of Tel Miqne-Ekron was chosen by the project directors because of its historical identification, the biblical and extra-biblical references associating the city of Ekron with the Philistines, and its geographic location on the border between Judah and Philistia (Gitin 1998a; most recently stated in Gitin 2000). The focus of the project, the study of Philistine/ Israelite interactions on both a local, regional and international scale, is in part conducted from a chronological division between the Iron Age I and II periods, the individual foci of the two directors. The methodology employed for both studies is essentially the same, but differences exist in the questions being addressed and the type of material available for study. The Iron I project, under the supervision of Professor Trude Dothan, whose seminal book The Philistines and Their Material Culture (1982) fostered the archaeological investigation of the Philistines in the southern Levant (Gitin, et al. 1998), is the foundation for the present study.

The Excavations

Tel Mique or *Khirbet el-Muqanna* (map reference 1356.1315) is a multi-period site situated along the southern bank of the Nahal Timna. The *tel* encompasses approximately 75 acres in total built-up area, comprised of a large lower city, reaching approximately 40 acres in the Iron I and expanding to 65 acres in the Iron II, and a 10 acre upper city. Approximately 20 km inland from the Mediterranean coast, Tel Mique lies in a transitional topographical area, a natural border between the coastal plain and the inner coastal plain (T. Dothan and Gitin 1997) where the land begins to rise along the

¹⁵ Further reasons included the clear division of the site into large Iron I and Iron II cities and the lack of later historical overburden (Gitin 1998a:5).

western edge of the Shephelah and the eastern edge of what Monson terms the "Philistine Alluvial Basin," a fertile area of alluvial soils bounded by sands on the north and steppe land on the south (Monson in press as cited in Schniedewind 1998, p.70 and note 1).

Excavations at Tel Miqne-Ekron have revealed a complex plan of urban development with distinctive functional zones: industrial, ¹⁶ public, cultic and residential (T. Dothan 1997a, 1998b; T. Dothan and Gitin 1997). Preliminary reports describe the urban nature of the planned Philistine settlement at Tel Miqne-Ekron, conceived from its initial construction at the beginning of the Iron Age (T. Dothan 1997a, 1998b). This concept of a distinct city plan has been cited as a reflection of the Aegean background of Ekron's inhabitants (Barako 2001; T. Dothan 1997a, 1998b; Ehrlich 1997; Stager 1995).

Three major excavation areas were opened:¹⁷ Field I at the northeast corner of the *tel*, where initially a step-trench was excavated that provided a stratigraphic profile for the site; Field III in the southern part of the *tel*; and Field IV, in the center of the *tel*. A fourth area, Field II, exposed part of the Iron II industrial zone which runs along the perimeter of the mound. Field X, excavated in the final seasons, explored the Iron Age remains on the northwest slope of the lower city.

Based on the ceramic evidence, occupation began at the site in either the Neolithic or Chalcolithic period and continued through the early Bronze Age, but the first architectural remains date to the Middle Bronze IIB period [Stratum XI]. Traces of Middle Bronze Age habitation were found in all the major excavation fields suggesting

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¹⁶ Note that the appellation of this area as the 'Industrial Zone' at this point has relevance only for the Iron II city. Although the stratigraphic analysis of Field III is not yet complete, there is as yet little evidence for large scale industry in the Iron I occupation phases.

¹⁷ This summary of the excavation results is drawn from T. Dothan and Gitin (2002).

that during the sixteenth century BCE Tel Miqne was a large, fortified settlement. While the Middle Bronze Age settlement appears to have been quite extensive in size, in the following period however, there was an apparent contraction in the size of the city, with no occupation during the Late Bronze Age in Field IV. The Late Bronze Age city seems to have been confined to the upper *tel* [Field I, Stratum X-VIII]. Although much smaller in size than the Middle Bronze Age city, artifact remains from the Late Bronze Age include Cypriote and Mycenaean imports, Anatolian grey-burnished ware and evidence of Egyptian cultural influence, which together signify the town's importance at this time (T. Dothan 1997b; T. Dothan and Gitin 1997; 2002:98-99). A massive fire destroyed this settlement [Stratum VIII]. The Iron Age I at Tel Miqne-Ekron, dating from the twelfth through the tenth centuries BCE, is characterized by a long period of continuity and development. It is represented by four main architectural strata, listed from earliest to latest as VII, VI, V and IV, with each strata divided into a number of subphases (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Chronological Chart (adapted from T. Dothan and Gitin 2002:2).

Strata	Period	Date
I-III	Iron IIC	7/6th clast three-quarters 10th-9th c
IV	Iron IC	11/10thc.
V	Iron IB	1st half 11th c.
VI	Iron IB	2nd two-thirds 12th c.
VII	Iron IA	1st third 12th c.
VIII-X	LB	2nd half 13th c16th c.
XI	MBIIB	17th-16th c.

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¹⁸ This is one phase in a cyclical pattern of expansion and contraction of the occupied area on the site (Gitin 1998a).

The first Iron I occupation [Stratum VII] was built on the destruction of the Late Bronze Age city. A fortified settlement extending across both the upper and lower *tel*, ¹⁹ it is characterized by the appearance of a material culture with distinct Aegean influences, generally associated with the arrival of Philistine immigrants to the southern Levant. These features are apparent in both architectural details and artifact styles. The Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery of Stratum VII gradually develops into the Late Philistine/Philistine Bichrome ceramic wares of Stratum VI-V. Red slipped and burnished pottery is introduced towards the end of Stratum V and becomes the dominant decorative ceramic style in Stratum IV, reflecting the new influence of northern, Phoenician culture (T. Dothan 1997b:99; T. Dothan and Gitin 1997:31; 2002:3). This long period of development came to an end in the tenth century BCE with the destruction of the city during the final phase of Stratum IV, following upon which the lower city was abandoned until the end of the 8th/beginning of the 7th century [Stratum IIA/IC].

Following is a brief summary of the Iron Age I remains in each of the major fields of excavation (after T. Dothan and Gitin 2002), before turning more specifically to the finds from Field IV Lower, upon which my study is based.

Upper City

Field I, NE corner of Tel

Stratum VII includes remains of a mudbrick city wall, an industrial area, and a number of large pits clustered together. Recent reports also include the discovery of a

¹⁹ Evidence suggests that the upper city may have been settled at a slightly earlier date than the lower city (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004).

multi-room complex, in which a limestone bathtub and mudbrick platform hearth were found (T. Dothan 2003). Stratum VI-V featured a large building complex with a 'cult room,' in which were found a number of votive vessels and incised scapulae.

Contemporary with this structure was an outdoor area with a concentration of circular, pebble hearths. Two infant jar burials also belong to this period. Stratum IV is poorly attested but its few remains suggest reuse of the Stratum V architecture.

Lower City

Field III, Southern slope of Tel

Few remains in Field III could be positively associated with Stratum VII. In Stratum VI a large building complex was founded, over which was built, in Stratum V, a monumental building with a flagstone pavement, monumental entrance and mushroomshaped stone pillar bases. Circular pebble hearths were found in both strata as well as in the following Stratum IV, when the building was rebuilt. In the Iron II period, a large number of industrial installations were found, including olive presses and weaving implements, which suggest that this area was the focus of large scale crafts production.

Field IV, Center of Tel

Field IV has been referred to as the 'elite zone' based on the remains of monumental architecture and the rich artifact assemblage uncovered in this area (T. Dothan and Gitin 2002:3; Gitin 1998a:6). In Stratum VII, two small buildings were built directly on the remains of the Middle Bronze Age settlement. The northern room

contained a series of platforms, while the southern room, in its initial phase, was almost completely taken up by a large, mudbrick lined bin. In a second phase of use, it was incorporated as an entrance room for a larger building complex. In Stratum VI, the area of occupation was greatly expanded, incorporating the earlier architecture on the west with the addition of a series of buildings on the east whose layout continues relatively unchanged from this period through Stratum IV. The function of these eastern buildings, as either for residences or industry, is one of the issues which will be explored in the following chapters. Monumental Building 350 was built in Stratum V, and, although rebuilt at least twice, it maintained a consistent plan and orientation of space, which can be traced in the architecture of the Iron II period. The function of this building as Temple or Palace (see T. Dothan and Gitin 1997:31-32) will be investigated in the following chapters.

Field X, NW corner of Tel

Much of this field was eroded and poorly preserved. Remains from the Iron I, Stratum VII-V were built on top of, and cut into, the Middle Bronze Age ramparts, and included a massive fortification wall with a complex of smaller rooms [Complex 200] built against it. One of these rooms in Stratum VII had a plastered floor, threshold and walls, and a small plastered platform, termed "bamah" in the Field X report (Bierling 1998a), built against the back wall of the room. In Stratum VI, one of the rooms was redesigned to include a circular stone-lined bin. These installations will be more fully discussed in Chapter 5, in comparison with the structures in Field IV Lower. Field X is

the only field that has undergone a quantitative pottery analysis prior to the time of the present project (T. Dothan, *et al.* 1998b). Results of this statistical study will be used to help inform the spatial analysis of the material from Field IV.

Investigating Field IV Lower

My research for the present study has focused primarily on Field IV, and specifically Field IV Lower, which was excavated under the supervision of Y. Garfinkel of Hebrew University. The stratigraphic analysis discussed in Chapter 3 is based on his reports (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). Excavations in this area of the site began in 1985 and continued through 1995. The processing of the pottery, from which the typology and database used in this study were created, began in 1996. A more in-depth look at the Field IV Lower stratigraphy follows.

The entire area of Field IV Lower encompassed twenty-five, 6 m by 6 m squares, equaling approximately 900 sq m. Iron II architecture, dating to the 7th century BCE, was found over the entire excavated area, while Iron I occupation phases were exposed in

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²⁰ Field IV Upper, excavated under the supervision of S. Ortiz, was opened to investigate the monumental construction to the north of Field IV Lower, hinted at by the large threshold stones exposed along the northern edge of the field (Ortiz, *et al.* forthcoming). These excavations uncovered the architectural remains of a large temple building dating to the Iron Age II but did not penetrate to earlier levels. References to Field IV Upper will be made only where possible connections between the Temple and its contemporary auxiliary buildings excavated in Field IV Lower (Gitin 2003) may help inform on the meaning of earlier structures. As will be discussed later, the clear architectural continuity from the Iron Age I through the Iron Age II manifested in this area of the site is an important element for exploring long-term social integration strategies.

²¹ The pottery project was initiated in 1996 by N. Engleman and A. Zuckerman under the direction of T. Dothan, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University, and S. Gitin, Albright Institute of Archaeological Research. I joined the project in 1997 and A. DeVincenz replaced N. Engelmen in 1998. I would like to thank the senior project managers for their significant contributions to the data collection used in this analysis, as well as the numerous students and interns of the Hebrew University, the Rothberg International School, the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and Al Quds University, who assisted in the compilation of the data.

only 20 squares, covering an area of approximately 720 sq m. Below the Iron I architecture, a few fragmentary wall lines and jar burials have been dated to the Middle Bronze Age.

Throughout the excavation of the Iron Age strata, pottery from the Middle Bronze Age and earlier²² comprised a large percentage of the artifacts found in the fills, debris and mudbrick material. Almost no cultural material dating to the Late Bronze Age was recovered.²³ Substantial Late Bronze Age remains have been found only in Field I, supporting the hypothesis that the Late Bronze Age city was much smaller in size than either the preceding Middle Bronze Age settlement or the later Iron Age cities, confined almost entirely to the upper *tel* (Gitlen 1992).

In Field IV, the first major occupation phase was Stratum VII, defined as the earliest Iron Age level (but see above footnote 19). It was built on a layer of fill above remains from the Middle Bronze Age. The later buildings, built of mudbrick walls, initially without foundations but later founded on large stone socles set into deep foundation trenches, reflect periods of massive rebuilding along the lines of the same basic blueprint. Changes to the original plan include the enlargement of scale and the creation of a more monumental entranceway. In addition, certain individual features seem to be maintained throughout the re-buildings, with platforms, hearths and common activity areas built one on top of the other.

²² These earlier periods, below Stratum IX, are at the level of the water table. Remains were poorly preserved and heavily eroded making examination of these phases not feasible.

²³ Early estimates suggest that Late Bronze Age artifacts comprised 5% of the pottery recovered in Fields IV and III, and 4% of the pottery from Field V, compared to over 50% from both Late Bronze and Iron I strata in Field I (Gitlen 1992). Research on the material from Field IV since that study does not alter these results.

By Stratum VI, two major building complexes are evident, the western unit, which was the focus of public activities, and the eastern unit, built along the western side of the more public structure. The initial study of the eastern buildings identified them as domestic structures (T. Dothan and Gitin 2002). While not disagreeing with these conclusions, I suggest that the function of these buildings may need to incorporate a larger definition. It is here suggested that, when considering the nature of the installations found in these buildings, including the limestone 'bathtub,' plastered basins and store jar installations, and the frequent remodeling of these rooms, an interpretation that includes a variety of industrial activities is more tenable. The interconnected relationship between these 'auxiliary' buildings and the public nature of the monumental building complex on the west is part of the focus of the present study.

In the following chapters I will first present the stratigraphic (Chapter 3) and ceramic (Chapter 4) data. Analysis will proceed through identifying activity areas and overall building function, based on a spatial analysis of built features and artifacts, and tracing variation in these over time. The evidence suggests that, while major changes in architecture and pottery occurred between the end of Stratum VI and the beginning of Stratum V, in concert with the construction of the monumental building complex, these were embedded within a context expressing a symbolic maintenance with the past. Employing a contextual approach, I focus on the adaptation of these foreign elements, examining how their local application varies over time. These changes include the transformation of an originally domestic tool kit into elite dining equipment.

CHAPTER 3

THE ARCHITECTURAL DATA: A CHRONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

Introduction

This chapter includes an in-depth analysis of the stratigraphy and architectural units that form the basis for the present study. Throughout this discussion, attention will focus on the organization of space and the re-establishment, reuse or abandonment of non-portable features, highlighting areas of continuity and change throughout the four main strata of the Iron I. The goal of this chapter is to identify architectural signatures of room function, which will be further developed in the following chapters through analyses of artifacts and features, and trace these signatures through time.

Stratum VII (Fig. 3.2a-3.2b)

Above the remains of the Middle Bronze Age, the earliest Iron I occupation in Field IV, Stratum VIIB, was concentrated in the western part of the excavated area. It consisted of mudbrick structures surrounding outdoor activity areas. As mentioned above (Barako 2001), no Late Bronze Age occupation was discerned in this area.

Stratum VIIB (Fig. 3.2a)

Building 357²⁴

Building 357, located in the northwest corner of the excavated area, consisted of a one-room, rectangular mudbrick structure, measuring 6.0 m by 3.9 m in interior space, with a beaten earth surface. Entrance to the room was from the southeast corner, with a doorway width of 1.2 m. Two pillar bases stood near the center of the room, slightly offset from the line of the central axis, presumably to support a roof. A raised platform [IVNW.43116], measuring approximately 1.1 m by 1 m, was built against the west wall, positioned slightly to the north of the central axis and not directly in line with the entrance. This feature was constructed of rows of burnt rounded pebbles and mudbrick material, paved with pottery sherds and covered with ash. The lower part of a store jar (from handles to base) [IVNW. 43120, bucket IVNW.43.468], in which was found a basalt rubbing stone [Obj. No. 9848], was set into the center of the platform. The base of the store jar was perforated, and its top edge was surrounded with a ring of pebbles. It was found filled with burnt rounded pebbles, similar to those found in the platform matrix, but it was not possible to determine if this filling related to the function or abandonment phase of the installation. Sunken store jar installations of this type will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. A small pebbled area was found between the platform

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²⁴ Building numbers and room letters were assigned by the excavation directors and architect. A single building is defined by a set of contiguous rooms. The term "room" is used in this study to represent an area that was most likely roofed, as opposed to an "open area." The term "area" alone was used to suggest non-roofed or semi-roofed space when the identification was not conclusive but was suggestive by the size of the area and the types of internal features found. This terminology was used to represent the continuity of whole building complexes over time.

and the western pillar base which may be related to a similar pebble-filled depression found in the phase above it (Stratum VIIA).

The location of a contemporary mudbrick platform [XNW.78021] discovered in Field X, Room f, Complex 200, is similar to the one found in Building 357. It was built against the rear wall of the room, not directly in line with the room's entrance. Constructed of mudbrick and plaster, it was smaller in size (0.5 m by 0.5 m by 0.6 m) than the one in Field IV, but this may be because the room in which it was located was also smaller, measuring approximately 2.9 m by 2.7 m. The platform was associated with plaster surface XNW.78030 and XNW.78030.1, whose finds include primarily Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery, but also local Canaanite tradition wares, a piece of copper/bronze, a basalt grinder fragment and a ceramic Aegean-style cylindrical loomweight (see T. Dothan 2003:208 fig. 16). These objects are similar to the finds associated with the platform from Building 357, which included a copper hook/ring [Obj. No. 6855] and the basalt rubbing stone mentioned above. Although a sunken store jar installation was not found in association with the Field X platform, the similarity between the two rooms in the organization of space and material culture may suggest that the two rooms shared a similar function.²⁵

Area 361

North of Building 357 was an area only partially excavated, in which was found a large stone set onto a beaten earth surface, and a second sunken store jar installation,

²⁵ An interesting proposal for further research might be to compare the location of rooms with mudbrick platforms in all excavation fields over time to test whether there is a more dispersed pattern of *ritual* activity areas in earlier strata, which becomes more centralized and focused on the buildings in Field IV in later periods.

whose base had been cut out [IVNW.43115], set into the surface. Not enough of this area was excavated to determine whether the space was roofed or not, although the types of installations found in this area in both Stratum VII and VI are more commonly found in interior spaces (see Chapter 5).²⁶

Area 358

Area 358 was a large space where a number of installations were concentrated. Clustered together in an area approximately 5 m to the southeast of Building 357 were a rectangular mudbrick fire installation [IVNW.25102], two sunken store jar installations [IVNW.25104 and IVNW.25103], surrounded by a pebble and sherd surface [IVNW.25097.1], and a small circular firepit [IVNW.25113]. These installations were bordered to the north and south by two fragmentary wall lines, encompassing an area of approximately 3.2 m north-south between the two walls. Associated with these features was a large circular, shallow depression [sump IVNW.41090] filled with organic and water-washed debris to the northwest, a pit [IVNW.26135] to the north, and a series of sloping ash surfaces, extending south from Building 357. The sump was a major feature in this area through Stratum VIB when it was filled in, but it continued to exert a strong impact on many of the later surfaces and features built above it, which sloped into the earlier depression.

The fire installation, measuring 0.98 m long by 0.90 m wide by 0.14 m high, was constructed of a mudbrick frame with an opening on the northeast. This frame surrounded a smaller, inner box, 0.40 m by 0.44 m, found full of ash and vitrified materials. The fire

²⁶ The same might be said for Area 362, but even less of this area was exposed.

installation was interpreted as a pottery kiln (T. Dothan 1992; T. Dothan and Dothan 1992).²⁷ Arguments for its function as a kiln include its shape, size and the large quantity of ash found in and around the structure (Killebrew 1996), but other signs of a potter's workshop were lacking (see Chapter 5).

Stratum VIIA (Fig. 3.2b)

In Stratum VIIA, the interior features of Building 357 were remodeled and a second structure, Building 352, was constructed to the south of Area 358.

Building 357

The most significant change in the organization of space within Building 357 was the shift in location of the platform, which moved from the back wall of the room to its center. Platform IVNW.43116 was no longer in use, and a new platform, IVNW.43107, measuring 1.75 m by 1.0 m, was established between Pillar Base 43111 on the east and Monolith 43110 on the west. The monolith was set into a circular depression filled with organic and water-washed debris. These columns replaced the Stratum VIIB pillar bases and flanked the platform on the east and west. While the function of the hearth could not positively be determined, it has been suggested as a 'hearth platform,' similar to the Stratum VI mudbrick platform built directly above this one that served as a foundation for a series of hearths. While no evidence of burning was detected on the Stratum VIIA platform, the surrounding surface, 43109, was covered with thick layers of ash.

²⁷ For a recent suggestion that some of these outdoor fire installations functioned as cooking hearths see Bunimovitz (1999).

New features in this phase included the construction of mudbrick benches against the north and south walls, and a small mudbrick bin [IVNW.42126] in the southwest corner of the room.

Area 361

This partially excavated area to the north of Building 357 included a cobblestone surface that reused broken grinding stone fragments in its matrix.

Building 352

An additional one-room building, whose central feature was a large well-built mudbrick silo or bin, ²⁸ was constructed approximately 8.9 m to the south of Building 357. The 1 m wide walls were constructed two bricks wide, and enclosed a room with internal dimensions of 6 m by 2.5 m. Access to the broad room was through a wide central entrance open to the north, framed by plastered walls with interior rounded corners. The threshold area measured 4.10 m across, which far exceeds the mean threshold measurement of 1.2 m across (Fig. 3.1). Both its construction and dimensions closely resemble the monumental entrance rooms of the public buildings in Stratum V and IV, and the Stratum I building from the Iron II period.

understood as a silo or deep bin.

²⁸ Silo IVNW.24070 was initially interpreted as a hearth and compared to Mycenaean megaron style hearth rooms in early publications of this area (see T. Dothan 1989). Upon further excavation, it was better

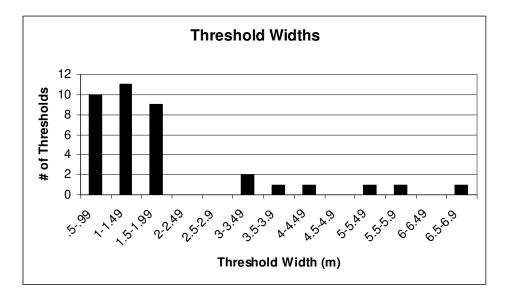


Fig. 3.1 Distribution of Threshold Widths

Bin/silo²⁹ IVNW.24070 occupied most of the interior space of the room. Circular in shape, the bin measured 2.2 m in diameter and was constructed to a depth of approximately 1.40 m, thickly lined with bricks three courses wide, and paved with a mudbrick surface [IVNW.24092] at its base. Two store jars, IVNW.24080 and IVNW.24083, were sunk into the silo's mudbrick frame. A pebble surface surrounded the silo and extended into the area north of the building.

Area 358

The area to the south of Building 357 continued to be an open area covered by sloping ash surfaces. Enclosed on the south by Building 352, the area measured 8.9 m from north to south.³⁰ In this phase, as compared to the earlier Stratum VIIB, no specific installations or activity areas could be defined. To the east, partial remains of a surface

²⁹ A similar mudbrick-lined silo/bin was found in Field III (Barry M. Gitlen, pers. comm., November 2004).

The east-west expanse was less clearly defined.

[IVNE.7107] into which was set a pillar base [IVNE.7108] and circular pebble hearth [IVNE.7109] suggest a possible expansion of the occupied area to the east in this period.

Stratum VI (Fig. 3.2c-3.2d)

In Stratum VI there was an enlargement of habitation area, with evidence of occupation across the entire field of excavation. It is in this period that the general plan of the building complexes, which continues through Stratum IV, ³¹ is most clearly established. Stratum VI was defined on the basis of the construction of new building units on the east, and a major rebuilding of both Building 357 in the north and Building 352 in the south, with the addition of new structures added on to the original Stratum VII building plan. It should be noted that the new framework incorporated the blueprint of the earlier building structures from Stratum VII (see also T. Dothan 2003193-195). Both these points, the continuity in architectural plan and the incorporation of elements of earlier structures into the new constructions, are indicative of the importance of these original Stratum VII components and the functions for which they were built. This point will be expanded on more fully in Chapter 8.

A significant element in the Stratum VI plan was the establishment of a large north-south oriented mudbrick wall. This wall served as both the east wall for the western building complex and the west wall for the eastern building complex.³² Continuously rebuilt throughout the Iron I strata, it bound the two building complexes together. The

³¹ Although not included in the present study, the general plan and orientation of buildings in this area can be seen to continue into the Iron II period.

³² This wall was found in the center of the field, just west of the grid line and conveniently served to divide the excavation field into an east and west area.

fact that the two building complexes shared a common wall and were renovated and/or rebuilt contemporaneously from Stratum VI on, is a strong indication that their functions were interconnected. It is crucial to note, however, that there is no access through the wall, at least not in the present limited excavation area, and no apparent direct line of communication between the eastern and western building complexes. This suggests that, although the areas were spatially and temporally interconnected, the wall itself may have served to separate and isolate the two areas from each other. I will return to this point in Chapter 5 where analysis will focus on identifying activity areas and room functions, and in Chapter 7 where the discussion will turn to interpreting what the differences in building function might have meant.

I will discuss Strata VIB and VIA together, as the main architectural structures built in Stratum VIB remained relatively unchanged throughout Stratum VI. There was some remodeling of interior features in Stratum VIA, and these changes will be pointed out below. Many installations were preserved in only one of the two strata, but they can be used to throw light on activities which occurred during both phases of Stratum VI. *Stratum VI, Western Complex*

Building 357

In the north, Building 357 from Stratum VII was partially reconstructed in Stratum VIB. Only minor changes were evident within the interior organization of the room, and its primary feature of a central platform flanked by two pillars was maintained. A new mudbrick platform [IVNW.43088], on which was built a series of sherd-paved hearths, was built directly above the Stratum VIIA platform. The monolith, which

originally flanked the Stratum VIIA platform on the west, continued to be in use, but on the east side of the Stratum VI platform, a new pillar base was added on top of the earlier Stratum VIIA pillar base. Only one bench, located along the north wall, was evident in this phase, the southern one having gone out of use possibly when the south wall of the building was rebuilt with a stone foundation. In Stratum VIA, the remaining northern bench was extended to correspond with the entire length of the north wall of the room. In the southwest corner, a small mudbrick bin, seen only in the Stratum VIA plan, may have replaced the Stratum VII bin.

The most significant change was in the access pattern into the room. A new doorway with a cobble-lined threshold was opened in the west wall in Stratum VIB and the eastern entranceway may have gone out of use, although damage in this part of the wall prevents conclusive evidence (see below). This cobblestone threshold was rebuilt in Stratum VIA, probably because the north bench extension blocked part of the Stratum VIB doorway, requiring that the new threshold be built further to the south.

Area 361

This probe to the north of Building 357 uncovered a small area of beaten earth surface, on which was built a rectangular mudbrick bin (Stratum VIB only), above the Stratum VII cobble surface. To the west, fragments of mudbrick wall lines and a patchy plaster surface indicate that this locale was more intensively used than in Stratum VII, but the excavated area remained too small to determine the room's function.

Buildings 359, 356 and 360

In Stratum VIB, two poorly preserved rooms, Buildings 359 and 356, were added along the east side of Building 357, enclosing the east half of the earlier Stratum VII open activity area. Little information could be recovered from these additional structures in Stratum VIB, but their construction was contemporary with the Stratum VIB renovations of Building 357. The addition of these two rooms onto the east side of Building 357 was probably the reason that the southern and eastern walls of Building 357 had to be rebuilt. The joining of Building 359 on to the east wall of Building 357 may have been the impetus for the reorientation of Building 357 with its new entrance constructed in the west wall of the room, as opposed to the earlier Stratum VII entrance in the east, as discussed above. ³³

The single room of Building 359 was narrower in width (east-west) than Building 357 but similar in length (north-south), with internal dimensions of 2.9 m by 3.8 m. Although the southeast corner of Building 359 was damaged by later construction, the rounded corner at the southern end of wall IVNW.27079 points to entrance into the room from the southeast corner.

Building 356, built above the east side of the Stratum VII activity area, was badly damaged by construction in Stratum V. A central pillar base and a door socket preserved in the threshold indicate that this room was roofed and access into the room was

³³ The southern part of Stratum VI wall IVNW.27073, above the location of the Stratum VII entrance into Building 357, was not preserved. Although this wall has been interpreted as solid in Stratum VI, with entrance into Building 357 from the west, it is possible to suggest that the Stratum VII threshold was conserved, allowing east-west passage from Building 357 into Building 359. This hypothetical reconstruction posits that Building 359 may have served as an entrance room for Building 357, thereby also preserving the same line of access into Building 357 as seen in Stratum VII. Arguments for the current reconstruction preserve Building 357 as a one-room structure during all phases of Stratum VII and VI.

controlled. This room was larger than average, with an internal measurement of 27.44 sqm. These dimensions are similar to other large activity areas. No other interior features were preserved in Stratum VIB, but features associated with the Stratum VIA surface indicate that the area may have been used for a variety of industrial activities. Along the preserved east half of Building 356 in Stratum VIA, the major structure included a square-shaped fire installation, interpreted by the excavators as a kiln (see Chapter 5). Measuring 0.74 m across and 0.61 m high, it was constructed as a brick frame with an opening in the southeast corner. Vitrified material and extensive evidence of fire were found within the installation and on its inner walls. Inside the installation was a hardened surface, below which were layers of debris and ash. Two holes, one in the south and one in the east, cut through the walls of the fire installation. An 'L' shaped feature, measuring 0.83 m long by 0.50 m wide by 0.28 m high, constructed of soft-limestone abutted the southwest corner of the fire installation. To the south of these installations, the room surface was paved with cobbles, on which was found the base of a store jar that contained a stone weight. The surface to the north and east of these installations was of plaster and beaten earth, covered with layers of ash and burnt debris. A comparison of the fire installations from Stratum VIIB and VIA suggest that this area maintained a similar function, but that in Stratum VI, with the construction of Building 356 on what had previously been an open area, the activities conducted in this locale became less visible and access to the installations was more limited.

Building 356 shared a wall with Building 359, suggesting that the two rooms were constructed together, but they were not in direct communication. In fact, as presently

reconstructed (but see footnote 33), access into Buildings 357, 359 and 356, were completely independent of each other, and via opposing cardinal directions. This pattern of non-aligned entrances remains the same when Building 360 is added in Stratum VIA.

Building 360 was added on to the southern wall of Building 357 in Stratum VIA. It is an unusually small room, only 5.50 sqm., with thick walls, approximately 0.92 m in width, and a centered doorway in its east wall. Within Building 360, immediately opposite the entryway, was a large, rectangular mudbrick bin [42097], 1 m long by 0.9 m wide by 25 m high, built on a sharply sloping plaster floor. The bin was filled with an ashy matrix, in which was found a gold leaf, ivory panel fragments and a polished bone stylus. These features, wall thickness, centrally located entranceway, and installation opposite the entrance, resemble in construction Building 352 (see below) to the south, but Building 360 lacks the wide entranceway of Building 352, measuring only 1 m in width. This is an important distinction as clear visibility and open access distinguish Building 352, while the opposite is characteristic of Building 360. The entranceway to Building 360 is rather circumscribed, with its orientation facing the back wall of Building 359. This would have severely limited visibility into the room. Entrance to the area was via a narrow corridor filled with a variety of heat-intensive installations (see below, Area 361 and Chapter 5), constricting access to the doorway. Together, these elements suggest that Building 360 did not necessitate the same public experience as Building 352.

Area 358

In Stratum VIB, the area west of Building 356 continued to be an open area as evidenced by a firepit in the northeast corner and a series of sloping ash surfaces. By

Stratum VIA, with the space further encroached upon with the construction of Building 360, the activity area was confined to a narrow zone, ranging from 0.85 to 1.53 m wide, between the entrance to Building 360 and the back wall of Building 356. In this space, a firepit and two *tabuns*, one of which was directly above the Stratum VIB firepit, were tightly clustered together. Concentrations of cobbles may indicate the remains of a stone pavement. To the south, the large sump in front of the entrance to Building 352 was filled in and leveled by the end of Stratum VIB.

Building 351 with Building/Entrance Room 352

To the south of Area 358, Building 352 was remodeled and incorporated as a formal entranceway into a new complex of rooms, defined as Building 351. The silo, which had been the most significant and central feature of the Stratum VIIA room, was no longer in use and filled in. Alternatively, the wide entryway with rounded corners, spanning almost the entire length of the room, was preserved from the Stratum VIIA plan and is an unusual element in this stratum. The Joorways were generally constructed as simple breaks in room walls, usually between the join of two perpendicular walls. Most often, the location of the entranceway into a room is through the short wall of a long room, allowing access into the room from the side corner. In contrast, Building 352 has a broad-room orientation with wide, central entrance through its long wall. This plan, continued from its initial construction in Stratum VIIA, would have left most of the interior of the room visible from the outside. The reuse of the architecture from Stratum

center entrance of Building 352 is unusual even in Stratum VIIA when it is first built.

 $^{^{34}}$ There are not enough rooms in the Stratum VII plan (n = 2) to determine if this is an unusual feature in the earlier phases as well, but my impression is that the side-corner entrance, seen in Building 357 in Stratum VII, is the typical doorway style already in this earlier phase of construction, and that the wide,

VII and its incorporation into the new structure indicates an important connection between the Stratum VIIA building and the Stratum VIB building, even though the function of the two rooms was seemingly very different, with the main component of the Stratum VIIA building, the large silo, no longer in evidence in the room of Stratum VIB, whose function was converted into a 'front room' of a larger building complex.

A stone-paved threshold laid at the entrance to Building 352 in Stratum VIB contributed to the demarcation of this room as significant, and further emphasizes the special nature of the entire complex of Building 351, for which this room served as an entrance. This threshold was repaved in Stratum VIA, although it is not as well preserved. Subsequent renovations in Stratum VIA include the addition of benches along the interior room walls of this entrance room.

Access to the rooms of Building 351 was through the south wall of Building 352, now referred to as Entrance Room 352. The additional structures comprising Building 351 created a square-shaped building, with internal dimensions of 164 sqm (including Entrance Room 352). From the central entrance into Entrance Room 352, access continued through a side-corner doorway into a wide hall, *Room a*, where two pillar bases stood along the east-west axis. The doorway from the entrance room into the pillared hall was in the west, formed between the south wall of the entrance room and the west wall of *Room a*. While this construction is similar to the location of other doorways in this stratum, because of the addition of the entrance room the placement of the doorway into from the entrance room into *Room a* creates a bent-axis approach into the room. This suggests that entrance into this part of the building, from which all other parts of Building

351 could be accessed, was more tightly controlled than Entrance Room 352, and certainly activities in these backrooms were not as visible from the area to the north of the building, as they were in Entrance Room 352. This notion is further reinforced by a row of three postholes and a small pillar base set along a southwest-northeast axis, which could have supported a screen, blocking off, at least on a temporary basis, visibility into the interior areas of this building.

Entrance Room 352 opened into a large east-west oriented hall, *Room a*, subdivided on its east side into a series of three smaller units, *Rooms b*, *c* and *d*. *Room a* was a large space divided by two pillar bases set on an east-west axis. Upon entering *Room a* from the northwest, three stone steps set into the west wall lead up to an unexcavated area, possibly a niche or additional rooms attached to the main hall. It is interesting to note that these steps were in front of the hypothesized screen and therefore may have been less restricted in access than *Rooms a*, *b*, *c* and *d*. Additional features in *Room a* included two mudbrick installations of unknown function in the south half of the hall, possible serving as platforms or space dividers. These features were only seen in the Stratum VIB plan; no installations were discovered in the second phase of *Room a*.

The eastern part of the large hall, although badly damaged by later construction activities, seems to have been divided into three areas, *Rooms b*, *c*, and *d*. Little information could be obtained from these spaces. Only in the second phase of use, Stratum VIA, were surfaces preserved in this area. Just north of *Room b*, part of a tabun was found surrounded by laminations of ashy debris.

To summarize, Building 351 was composed of a formal entrance room, leading through an indirect axis to a pillared hall and three side rooms on the east. While radically different in scale and construction, this general plan is reproduced in the Stratum V and IV building complex. Would like to note here that this blueprint of an entrance room with wide entranceway leading through an indirect access into a back pillared hall with side rooms, which is first developed in Stratum VIB, is maintained throughout the Iron Age I plan in this area of the site. Additionally, the continued importance of this early architectural tradition is demonstrated by the location of all subsequent thresholds built directly above the original threshold for Building/Entrance

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³⁵ An alternative reconstruction of Building 351 may be possible whereby there was communication between Building 351 and Building 354. See for example the Temple of the Rhytons at Ugarit, dated to the 13th century BCE (Yon 1996). This temple at Ugarit shares a number of striking parallels with Building 351 including an entrance room whose wide, centrally located entrance is flanked by two pillars. An offset entranceway provided access into the largest room of the building, via a series of steps which lead down from the west into the main room of the building. These may parallel a series of steps in the west wall of Building 351 that lead up into the unexcavated area.

In the Temple of the Rhytons, the main room of the building was connected to an eastern annex of rooms via a passageway in the southeast corner of the room. The reconstruction of Building 351 at Tel Miqne-Ekron suggests that there was no communication between Buildings 351 and 353 to the east. However, this reconstruction is based on the continuity in plan between Strata VI and V, with a large, north-south running wall dividing the area into two distinct zones. The construction of this wall in Stratum V, with a deep foundation trench and large stone socle, heavily damaged the southeast corner of Building 351 so it is important to note that its interpretation in the Stratum VI is conjectural. It is possible to suggest that an access of communication, similar to that observed in the Temple of the Rhytons, also existed in the southeast corner of Building 351. It is also interesting to note that, in the Temple of the Rhytons, the annex on the east is divided into three distinct zone. This might also parallel the organization of space in Building 353 at Tel Miqne-Ekron.

Given the similarities in access and organization of space, it is interesting to note Yon's suggestion that the Temple of the Rhytons may have been the location of "the *marzihu*" (1996:416), generally defined as an association of individuals from the upper classes who gathered together for ritualized drinking and possibly also feasting (McLaughlin 1991; Pardee 1996). This will be discussed more fully in Chapter 7.

³⁶ Echoes of this general plan can also be seen in the Iron II building, Stratum IB/C, following a gap in occupation. Interestingly, Stratum IIA remains were found only in the area of the Iron I pillared hall and one of the side rooms. While it may be due simply to the fact that this was the only part of the building that was preserved into the Iron II, it is interesting to suggest that there was a functional association with this part of the building that was remembered and which continued to be important. The same might be said of the vestiges from Stratum IA, although too little remains from that phase to make interpretive statements.

³⁷ Similarities to this architectural design can also be traced in the Iron Age II, Stratum IB/C building plan.

Room 352, thus emphasizing the transition between the restricted and unrestricted parts of the structure in the Iron Age I building plans.³⁸

Area 362

Excavations to the south of Building 351 were too limited to determine the function of this space, but it is important to note the discovery of a lamp and bowl foundation deposit, IVNW.7032, in this area in Stratum VIB (see Chapter 8) and a sunken store jar installation, IVNW.7034, in Stratum VIA (see Chapter 5).

Stratum VI, Eastern Complex

While in the west there was a development in architectural planning from Stratum VII to Stratum VI, in the east, a sequence of buildings was constructed as a whole, with numerous minor changes in internal features and organization of space from Stratum VIB until Stratum IVA. Although possibly not fully excavated, a recurring building design is based on a long-room orientation with a large front room filled with numerous built features, including pebbles hearths, sunken store jar installations and bins, leading to a back area which is subdivided, generally into two rooms. In her analysis of domestic architecture in Iron Age II Jordan, Daviau (1999) suggested that these rooms, in which large constellations of installations and artifacts clustered, served as multi-functional

³⁸ This maintenance of liminal space may also be seen continuing into the Iron Age II building plan. In Stratum IA, the final Iron Age occupation in this area, architectural remains include the east half of a room with central pillar base, Building 658, built almost directly above the original room of Building 352 from Stratum VIIA.

³⁹ Similar to the western complex, elements of this original plan can be traced into the Iron II period.

⁴⁰ Traditional interpretations of Iron Age domestic houses considered this space to be generally unroofed or partially-roofed (e.g., D. R. Clark 1996:241; Mazar 1990/1992:340, 485-488). More recent reconstructions, based on ethnographic analogies and evidence for second stories (Bunimovitz and Faust 2002; Daviau 1999; Faust and Bunimovitz 2003; Holladay 1997b; Netzer 1992) suggest that this area was roofed.

workrooms for a range of activities including food processing and cooking and small-scale or household crafts. Variations to this plan include a blueprint where all the rooms have direct access on to the front area, as in Building 354, or the rooms are entered one from the other, as in Building 353.⁴¹

Building 353

Building 353 shared a common wall with Building 351 to the west and Building 354 to the east. It consisted of a large southern room, *Room a*, and two smaller rooms, *Rooms b* and *c*, in the north. Most of the preserved installations were concentrated in *Room a*, whose interior dimensions were 21.02 sqm. A large monolith [IVNE.7073] stood near the center of the area. Other features included a sunken store jar installation [IVNE.7097], a square bin [IVNE.7093], and a bench [IVNE.7102]. These, in addition to patches of pebble and cobble surfaces, indicate a large activity area. At the southern extent of the excavations, *Room a1*, a few additional installations, including a pebble hearth [IVNE.7100], was separated by a wall from the installations to the north, with access through a cobble-lined threshold in the southwest corner of *Room a*.

Entrance from *Room a* into *Room b* was through a side-corner doorway in the northeast corner of *Room a*, diagonally opposite the doorway into *Room a* from *Room a1* to the south. *Room b* had a beaten earth surface and measured 9.75 sqm. No other features were associated with this room, but it controlled access to *Room c*, whose entrance was through a side-corner doorway in the southwest corner of *Room b*/northeast

⁴¹ It is interesting to note that this general plan is consistent with the division of space in the olive oil production rooms in Field III dated to the Iron II period. Further research might trace this organization of space across the site.

corner of *Room c*. *Room c* had an internal area of 7.03 sqm. The central feature in the room was a mudbrick installation [IVNE.8080] which framed three plaster-lined bins. These shallow bins were rectangular in shape with rounded corners. The largest bin was in the north, measuring 1.0 m by 1.80 m, and stretching the entire width of the room. A depression in the center was found in its second phase of use, Stratum VIA, and probably relates to the function of the installation in both phases. The remaining two bins were built along the western room wall, and measured 0.90 by 0.85 (center bin) and 0.80 m by 1.0 m (south bin).

Remodeling in Stratum VIA took place primarily in the large southern room. *Room a* was enlarged to include the space that was formerly referred to as *Room a1*. The numerous small installations seen in Stratum VIB were replaced with a large rectangular mudbrick platform [IVNE.7079] which incorporated the monolith from Stratum VIB into its construction at its north end. A pillar base was found approximately 0.46 m to the south of the platform. This construction of a rectangular platform flanked by two pillars, one either incorporated into or built against one edge of the platform and a second, pillar standing a few centimeters away from the opposite platform edge, is a common pattern seen in the rectangular platforms from Building 357 (Stratum VIIA-VI) and Building 355W (Stratum V). It can also be seen in a similar feature found at the Philistine site of Ashdod (see Chapter 5) and dated to the end of the 12th century (Ben-Shlomo 2002), contemporary with Tel Miqne-Ekron Stratum VIB (according to T. Dothan and Zukerman 20046, table 2). A limestone 'bathtub' [IVNE.7084], measuring 1.90 m long by 0.70 m wide by 0.28 m high, was placed alongside the west edge of the platform. This

oval-shaped installation was hewn from soft limestone with plastered sides and cobblestones lining the floor. A hole in the north end was plugged with a round stone. The bench against the east wall of the room was no longer in use, and in the southwest the cobbled area was repaved with a mix of boulders, cobbles and pebbles. No changes were apparent in *Rooms b* and *c* to the north, with the exception of a re-plastering of the bin installations in the western room, and the plastered depression in the northern bin discussed above.

Building 354

Building 354 stood to the east of Building 353. It was similar in size and construction to Building 353 and the two buildings shared a common wall. As in Building 353, Building 354 had a southern room, *a*, with numerous installations, including two hearths in the south, a possible rectangular mudbrick bin [IVNE.23088] and an 'L' shaped bench along the eastern wall. Two small pillar bases aligned east-west in the center of the area may suggest that the area was at least partially roofed. In the north, a pit surrounded by a small paved area may have functioned similarly to sunken store jar installations. If so, then the features found in Building 353 *Room a* of Stratum VIB, which included a monolith/pillar, a sunken store jar installation, a bin and a bench, were generally paralleled in Building 354 *Room a*. This may suggest the similarity in activities which were conducted in these two areas.

Fewer installations were found the following phase (Stratum VIA) in Building 354 *Room a*. One large pillar base was set in the center of the area, replacing the two pillar bases from Stratum VIB. A circular pit was located to the west of the pillar base.

Only the north part of the bench remained in use. This reduction in installations may be a bias of preservation, or may suggest that the activities associated with these installations in Stratum VIA were now concentrated in Building 353 only.

In Building 354, two rooms, situated side by side, opened directly onto *Room a*, unlike the pattern seen in Building 353. *Room c* on the east, with an area of 10.53 sqm, contained a central firepit and a brick installation, possibly a bin, in the northwest corner. Also in this corner, and possibly associated with the bin, ⁴² were found five whole vessels, including two flasks, two stirrup jars and a fifth closed vessel, arranged in a line parallel to the west wall of the room. These features were associated with the early use of the room in Stratum VIB and not found in association with the Stratum VIA floor level.

The entrance to *Room b* on the west was discovered blocked by mudbricks suggesting that this room was closed off in the latest phase of use of this building. It was a narrower room than *Room c*, measuring 8.36 sqm in area. No feature was found inside the room in Stratum VIB but in Stratum VIA a pit was dug in the southeast corner of the room.

Building 355

The north wall of Buildings 353 and 354 served as the southern wall of additional rooms to the north. Buildings 355W and 355E were oriented towards the north, although only one complete room of Building 355E was excavated for which no entrance was

⁴² The association between the corner installation and the vessels could not be clearly defined. But whether the vessels cut into the installation or were lying on top of it, it appears that they are not associated with the function of the bin, and therefore may relate to when the bin was already out of use. The clustering together of five whole closed vessels is unusual in this area of the site and suggests that the placement of these vessels came as a result of different discard behavior than most of the ceramic assemblage recovered.

discovered. Although excavations did not continue into the area north of these rooms, one could hypothesize a reconstruction similar to the layout of Buildings 353 and 354, of a complex with a large front activity area, which leads back to two associated rooms. This certainly seems plausible for Building 355W, with its double rooms, and paved threshold, but not enough of Building 355E was excavated to reconstruct a similar outline of the structure. Nor can this pattern be seen during the following phases of this building, but traces of it are reflected in the Iron II architecture. There was no evidence of communication between these buildings and Buildings 353 and 354 to the south.

Building 355W consisted of two rooms, roughly equal in size. *Room a*, 11.82 sqm in area, was entered from the north through a cobble paved, side-corner doorway. On the west, *Room b* was organized into three areas of unequal size. The main element seemed to be b1, which featured mudbrick walls framing a plastered mudbrick-paved surface [Installation IVNE.9088 and Surface IVNE.9092] in the northeast corner of *Room b*. This mudbrick installation, possibly a large bin with rounded interior corners, measured 2 m by 1.46 m and 0.60 m deep. In Stratum VIA, differences in interpretation posit that this area was either filled in with dense mudbrick debris (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming), or built as a large mudbrick platform, estimated at 3 m long by 1.25 m wide, with the walls of subdivisions b1 and b2 functioning as construction supports for the mudbrick matrix. A bowl-shaped depression lined with mudbricks [Pit IVNE.9084] may have been built

into the top of the platform. A parallel for this feature can be seen in Building 350, Stratum V.⁴³

Building 355E, east of Building 355W, included one large room, *Room a*, 12.78 sqm in area, to which no entrance was found, and an undefined room, *b*, on the east. A jar burial was found in the northeast corner of *Room a* below the level of the surface.

Installations in *Room b* included a large, circular concentration of phytolith material, 1.6 m in diameter, in the center of the excavated area, and a mudbrick framed rectangular bin in the southwest corner, measuring 1 m by 0.75 m with a depth greater than 0.30 m. None of these features could be associated with the Stratum VIA occupation phase.

Stratum V-IV (Fig. 3.2e-3.2i)

In the early phase of Stratum V (VC), a major construction project was undertaken. The entire excavated area of Field IV demonstrates evidence of rebuilding. New buildings, which were initially built in Stratum VC, were rebuilt from their foundations in Stratum VA and continued to be in use throughout Stratum IV, with minor renovations, mostly to interior features, in Stratum IVB. A massive fill was laid down for the construction of Stratum V-IV Building 350, burying the Stratum VIA buildings. Building 350, while exhibiting major changes in architectural layout, echoes some of the organizational plan of Stratum VI Building 351. The organization of space and layout of Building 350 suggest that a similarity in concept and architectural tradition between the

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⁴³ This represents a difference in interpretation between me and the excavators of this area who do not find a mudbrick platform in Stratum VIA and interpret this area as filled with debris in this phase. They interpret the depression as a pit cut down from Stratum VC. My own interpretation rests upon the west section drawing of area IVNE.9 and a similar structure, Platform IVNW.24044, which appears in Stratum V in the western complex.

builders of Stratum VI and Stratum V was retained; that is to say, the builders of Stratum V may have been modeling their structure along the same lines as the Stratum VI Building 351. Similarities include a large, monumental entrance room entered from the north, leading through a narrower, offset side-corner entrance into a pillared hall, which controlled access to three rooms built along the east side of the hall. These and other parallels will be described below. The new entrance hall into Building 350 was built over what remained of the open area of Stratum VII-VI as well as the small, one-room structures that had been built in the north. As result of this new construction, a new open area was located to the north of the entrance to Building 350.44 The Stratum VI structures, Buildings 357, 359, 356 and 360, which had been located to the north of Building 351, were phased out. Alternatively, it is possible to suggest that activities were conducted in these rooms were relocated to buildings on the east. ⁴⁵ In the east, the general architectural outline of Buildings 353 and 354 remains relatively unchanged from Stratum VI, but there are alterations in the organization of space and the types of features present. Building 355 in the north underwent significant remodeling.

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⁴⁴ See Chapter 7 for further discussion and interpretation of this activity area.

⁴⁵ This interpretation reflects a difference in understanding between the excavators, who see the function of these earlier structures as incorporated into the activities of Building 350, and me (S. Gitin, pers. communication, 2004).

Western Complex, Stratum VC-VB (Fig. 3.2e-3.2f)

Stratum VB and VC will be discussed together as there was only limited evidence that they represented two distinct phases. 46 Most of the features and surfaces were used throughout both phases.

Building 350

Building 350 was built above the remains of the Stratum VI architecture and in concept parallels the layout of Stratum VI Building 351 but on a larger, more monumental scale. Thick mudbrick walls, 1.5 m in width on average, were set on large stone foundations. An entrance room, similar in layout to Entrance Room 352, was built in the north, with pillar bases standing on the east and west 47 of a wide threshold, 6.50 m across. The threshold was further demarcated by mudbrick piers extending in from the east and west walls. A jar burial was placed below the east side of the entranceway. The surface of the room was a composite, with a pebble flooring beginning outside the building and continuing through the entranceway up to the pillars and piers, and an organic 48 surface to the south. At the entrance to the building ran an east-west oriented stone-lined drain, whose function may have been associated with a stone-lined silo/bin [IVNW.27068] standing to the northeast of the entrance (see below Area 361).

Similar to Entrance Room 352, the entrance room to Building 350 led through a narrower threshold in the western end of the southern room wall, to a large hall in the

⁴⁸ As evidenced by phytoliths.

⁴⁶ I will return to this point in chapters 4 and 7, where the distribution of materials in Stratum VB seems to reflect an anomaly. This pattern may be more correctly interpreted as part of the Stratum VC surface.

⁴⁷ While the eastern pillar base could confidently be associated with both Stratum VB and VC, on the west only a pit was found where the pillar base should have been standing in Stratum VC. It can be assumed that the Stratum VC pillar base was simply dug out of Stratum VC and re-laid in Stratum VB.

south. This internal entrance is almost directly above the original entrance to Room 352. As in the Stratum VI building, the hall in Building 350 had two pillar bases aligned along the central axis of the room, but the orientation of the pillared hall in Building 350 was north-south, unlike earlier Building 351 which had an east-west orientation. In Building 350, the southern pillar base was built against a large mud platform of indeterminate size and shape. Additional features in this hall include a plastered bench along the south wall, and a round pebble hearth to the east of the north pillar base.

Three small side rooms were built along the east side of the pillared hall, a pattern reminiscent of the Stratum VI building. The southern two rooms, c and b, had wide central entrances formed by 'T' shaped walls. The third room, a, probably had a doorway of similar dimension, but was constrained on its north side by the north wall of the pillared hall.

A fourth room was added to the Stratum V-IV building, in line with the three side rooms and east of the entrance room. It was entered via a narrow doorway through the north wall of *Room a*, and is interpreted as the base of a staircase leading to an upper floor. It was not clear if this staircase continued in use in Stratum VB, as the main support wall for the staircase was covered over by a surface. In the northwest corner of

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⁴⁹ This feature was very difficult to discern during the excavations and little information could be obtained from it. Based on the field notes, it appears to have been constructed of a mix of mudbricks and mud debris, with a brick-lined pit set into its center. The association of the pit with the platform reflects a difference in interpretation between me and the excavators of this area, who suggest that the pit was cut down into the platform and not associated with its function. My interpretation draws upon the west section drawing of area IVNW.24. See also Building 355W in Stratum IV.

⁵⁰ The pebble hearth could only be associated with the Stratum VC surface; no hearth was found in association with the Stratum VB surface. However, the discovery of a round pebble hearth in Stratum VA, in almost the exact location as the Stratum VC hearth, and the general continuity in location of features from Stratum VC through VA, strongly suggests that a hearth should be reconstructed in the Stratum VB plan.

this room was a mudbrick platform or bench, which was founded in Stratum VC and continued to be in use in Stratum VB. A second jar burial was buried in the northeast corner of the room, underneath the Stratum VB surface.

Area 361

A number of installations were found to the north of Building 350, which together suggests that this area at the entrance to the monumental building was an open area, similar in function to the area in front of Entrance 352 in Stratum VII and VI. A pebbled surface stretched in a broad band across the entrance to Building 350, extending to approximately 2.5 m north of the threshold and running through the threshold area into the entrance of this structure. North of the pebbled area, the surface was plastered.

The two main elements in Area 361 were a circular sump and a stone-lined silo. The Stratum V sump, similar to the Stratum VII-VI sump in Area 358, consisted of a series of pebble surfaces and granular, possibly water-laid, layers of debris that dipped into a bowl-shaped depression. It measured approximately 2.6 m by 2.9 m in diameter. The base of the sump was constructed as a narrower, deep plaster-lined pit.

A circular stone-lined silo stood approximately 1.92 m to the east of the sump. The silo measured 2.5 m in diameter and was dug to a depth of approximately 2 m. Built in Stratum VC, it had a relatively short life, with evidence that it was filled-in with a large amount of ash and pottery and capped with mudbrick as part of renovations in Stratum VB. As mentioned above, an east-west stone-lined drain ran across the threshold

⁵¹ This denotes a difference in function from the same named area of Stratum VII-VI. This will be more fully explored in Chapter 7, where the distribution of artifacts supports an interpretation of this area as more similar functionally to Area 358 of Stratum VII-VI than to the chronologically earlier area designated as Area 361.

area, associated with two shallow, pebble-filled pits. Part of the drain was preserved in Stratum VC and part in Stratum VB. Therefore, it was difficult to relate it to the Stratum VC stone-lined silo at its east end, but the method of construction of the east-end of the Stratum VB drain suggests that it may have functioned together with the silo, if not actually draining into the silo. ⁵²

A few remaining installations in the northwest corner of the excavated field may not be related to Building 350, and may be better associated with structures in the unexcavated area to the north. These structures seem to be associated with the plaster surface to the north of the pebbled area at the entrance to Building 350. They include part of a stone foundation and a series of *tabuns* to the east of it. The *tabuns*, one found in Stratum VC and one in VB, were surrounded with thick layers of ash.

Western Complex, Stratum VA (Fig. 3.2g)

Building 350

In Stratum VA, Building 350 was completely rebuilt from its foundations. A large fill covered over the Stratum VB surfaces and features, new stone socles were laid and the walls, thresholds and piers were all rebuilt. Only *Room f*, the staircase room, whose entrance in this phase was blocked, may no longer have been in use. There were no pillar bases found at the main entrance to the building, but a circular sandpit in what would have been the location of the eastern pillar base indicates that the entrance was originally flanked by pillars. These pillar bases were probably removed for use in later construction

⁵² This reconstruction is not necessarily the same as the excavators'.

activities. In the pillared hall, *Room d*, new pillar bases were established above the Stratum VB/C bases, and a circular pebble hearth was positioned to the east of the pillars, almost directly above the location of the Stratum VC hearth.

In Stratum VA, a number of installations were preserved in the three side rooms which do not appear in the Stratum VB/C building. These may help reconstruct the activities which occurred in these rooms in Stratum VA, as well as in the earlier strata, if it can be assumed that the room functions remained the same from Stratum VC through VA. In *Room c*, the southernmost of the side rooms, a small, square plastered mudbrick installation, measuring 0.45 m by 0.45 m and standing 0.41 m high, was discovered in the northwest corner of the room. In the southeast corner of *Room b*, a larger stepped mudbrick installation, 1.54 m by 2.31 m by 1 m, was built into the southeast corner of the room. From the field notes, it was not clear if the steps represented remodeling through different phases of use or were structurally related and built contemporaneously.⁵³ A stone which may have functioned as a pillar base for a small pillar was founded in the center of the room's surface. In *Room a*, a round plastered basin, approximately 0.45 m by 0.30 m, was set into the surface in an area that may have been originally paved with pebbles. A second concentration of pebbles was located in the south.

Area 361

The area to the north of the formal entryway into Building 350 continued, as in Stratum VB/C, to be paved with pebbles in the south and plaster in the north. There were no traces of the Stratum VB/C drain, but a few pits were found in the area. The silo was

⁵³ In Field X, a mudbrick platform with a similar extended step was discovered in an earlier room associated with Stratum VII.

no longer in evidence, and the sump was not in use, but the effect of the sunken depression could be seen in the outline of surfaces which ran over it. A plastered, rectangular mudbrick platform, 1.90 m by 1.25 m, was built above the east side of the sump. Five local Canaanite style round-sided undecorated bowls [BL2] were discovered lying upside down in a north-south line along the west side of this platform.

Eastern Complex, Stratum VC-VB (Fig. 3.2e-3.2f)

The architectural outline of Buildings 353 and 354 remained relatively unchanged from its initial construction in Stratum VI. However, walls were rebuilt and remodeling occurred in the internal division of space, with access to some rooms blocked and other areas enlarged. Additionally the distribution of features across the area was altered. In the north, Buildings 355E and 355W seemed to undergo a dramatic change in the use and organization of space. Unfortunately these structures may not have been excavated in their entirety, so it is difficult to determine their complete plan.

Building 353

The prominent features of Building 353 in Stratum VI, including the bathtub (discovered filled in with pebbles and covered with a pebble surface) and mudbrick platform in *Room a* and the bins of *Room c*, were no longer in use. In their stead were a few small stone installations of indeterminate function in the south, and a tabun in Stratum VC that was replaced by a round pebble hearth in Stratum VB. A wall along the south edge of the excavation area clearly marks passage into this room through a simple side-corner entrance in the southeast corner of the area. This entrance into *Room a* is

directly in line with the passageway from *Room a* into *Room b*, unlike the plan of this area in Stratum VI, where the two doorways were situated on a diagonal alignment.

Few installations were discovered in $Rooms\ b$ and c. A bench was built up against the south wall of $Room\ b$, and at some point the entrance to $Room\ c$ was blocked preventing further passage into that area of the building.

Building 354

To the east, *Room a* of Building 354 was enlarged, due to the foreshortening of the walls enclosing *Rooms b* and *c*. An additional walled area was built south of *Room c*, along the east side of *Room a*. This created a partially enclosed space, *a*2, and divided the large southern area into *Rooms a* and *a*1. Within space identified as *Room a*1, two features were exposed in Stratum VC: a round pebble hearth and a sunken store jar installation. This room may extend into the unexcavated area. As a result, it was not possible to discern the plan of this area, i.e. to determine if the entire space was walled, or if this addition acted to screen off or isolate part of the large room.

In the remaining part of *Room a*, exterior to this walled off section, there were several features associated with the Stratum VC surface, including a bench in the south, a tabun, a firepit, a circular stone installation (possibly a post-hole) and a framed mudbrick installation or bin built against the exterior wall of *Room a1*. In Stratum VB, only the tabun and mudbrick bin were preserved. An additional hearth, associated with Stratum VC, was discovered in the now partially-enclosed space, *Room a2*, between *Room a1* and *Room c*.

To the north of *Room a/a1/a2*, *Rooms c* and *b* were rebuilt in Stratum VC with thick supporting walls, approximately 1.15 m wide enclosing the rooms on the south. The rooms were smaller in area than the Stratum VI rooms, measuring 6.05 sqm and 4.35 sqm respectively. Both the thick walls and smaller enclosed area may suggest that they were built to support a second floor, which was added at this time. Access into the rooms was rebuilt along the same plan as in Stratum VI, with simple side-corner entrances. No features were discovered in these rooms in either Stratum VC or VB.

Buildings 355W and 355E

In the north, the Stratum VI rooms of Building 355E and 355W were filled in and not rebuilt. Instead, a large space was created on the west, measuring 7.85 m east-west by at least 6 m north-south, and a second, only partially excavated area was uncovered on the east. In the western area, now referred to as Building 355W, two pillars aligned east-west may have stood on either side of a mudbrick platform, which was preserved only in Stratum VA. Most of the other preserved features in the room were concentrated in the southeast corner. These included a rectangular stone paved area, measuring 2.38 m by 1.3 m, to which, in Stratum VB, was added a poorly preserved pebble hearth to the west and a second pebble hearth to the north. An additional installation, consisting of a single row of stones aligned in an 'L' shape, partitioned off a small area in the southwest corner of the room.

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⁵⁴ These features were found only in the Stratum VB plan, but similar features may have existed in Stratum VC, and simply not preserved. This suggestion is based on the many similarities between the Stratum VB and VC plans, in architecture, as well as in features, which can also be associated with similar activities and room functions during the two phases.

In the eastern room, Building 355E was only partially excavated. Features discovered in this area include a bench, which along the entire length of the western wall, a cobble surfacing in the northeast, and a series of pebble hearths.

Eastern Complex, Stratum VA (Fig. 3.2g)

Building 353

Room a of Building 353 continued, as in Stratum VB/C, to be the central focus of activity, with an area housing a number of small stone installations. Unfortunately, most were poorly preserved, with the exception of one large stone that may have functioned as a pillar base. A small, circular pebble hearth in the southeast corner was located in the entranceway, which may suggest that this passageway into *Room a* was no longer in use.

The entrance leading to $Rooms\ b$ and c was discovered blocked up with bricks, but it was not clear if this was done during this phase or at the end of the period prior to the rebuilding of the walls in Stratum IVB. Therefore, it was not possible to discern if these $Rooms\ b$ and c were occupied during Stratum VA. A small plastered installation, built against the east face of the wall in $Room\ b$, was the only feature uncovered in these rooms.

Building 354

The southern activity area of Building 354 remained relatively unchanged from Stratum VB/C. Of the Stratum VB/C features, neither the mudbrick bin built up against the exterior wall of *Room a1*, nor the tabun to the south were in use, but a circular concentration of stones was found set into the surface. In the southeast corner the

excavations uncovered the northwest corner of what was probably an additional room to the southeast. No changes in architecture or features were evident in $Rooms\ b$ and c to the north.

Buildings 355W and 355E

The most significant difference between Building 355W in Stratum VB/C and Stratum VA was the preservation of a mudbrick platform in the center of the area. Unlike in Stratum VB/C, no pillar bases were recovered. However, the location of the pillar bases in Stratum VB/C along the same axis as the Stratum VA mudbrick platform, in a position flanking the east and west sides of the platform, provides good evidence to suggest that there may have been similar pillars in the original plan of the Stratum VA building. No other features were found in this room.

In Building 355E, the bench along the western wall continued to be in use, and an additional pebble surface was laid above the Stratum VB/C cobbles in the north.

Western Complex, Stratum IVB-IVA (Fig. 3.2h-3.2i)

Building 350

Minor rebuilding of walls and thresholds occurred in Building 350 following the Stratum VA occupation. The building retained its original form, but some of the central features of the Stratum V structure went out of use, including the large platform and pillars⁵⁵ in the hall of *Room d*.

⁵⁵ This may suggest that the primary function of the pillars was not structural but in their relationship with the platform.

Pillar bases were not evident at the building's entrance, but the piers on either side of the entrance continued to demarcate the threshold area. In Stratum IVA, a large monolith was placed on its side in the passageway between $Rooms\ e$ and d, replacing the previous mudbrick threshold. No pillars were found in Room d, but a Stratum IVA pit, cut into the surface and partially surrounded by smaller stones, indicates the possibility that there was at least one centrally located pillar. ⁵⁶ A second pit, cut into the surface from directly above the location of the Stratum VA pillar base, damaged a small Stratum IVB activity area which included fragments of a pebble hearth and a sunken store jar installation. In Stratum IVA, a poorly preserved firepit was set into the surface, slightly to the south of the Stratum IVB hearth. Although it did not appear to be a pebble-lined hearth in the earlier tradition, its similar location indicates some semblance of continuity in function of this area. Against the south wall of *Room d* a new bench was built, replacing the earlier one from Stratum VA. North of the bench, a small stone/possible pillar base and fragments of a mudbrick construction seen on the Stratum IVA plan may potentially indicate the remains of a platform. In *Room b*, a poorly preserved, rectangular, plastered platform was built in the southeast corner of the room, directly above the stepped platform of Stratum VA. No other features were found in either Rooms c or a. It is possible to suggest that Room f, the staircase room, was not blocked in Stratum VA as indicated above, but continued to be in use in Stratum VA and IVB and only closed off in Stratum IVA. No evidence of a Stratum IVA surface was found in that room.

⁵⁶ A similar plan, with one centrally located pillar base, is seen in the Stratum IB/C plan of the building. Additionally, there were a number of pillar bases found in the Iron II buildings, whose style suggests that they were robbed from an earlier Iron I structure (Gitin 2003).

Building 355

The area to the north of Building 350 was heavily damaged by later construction activities, including a Roman period Robber Trench which cut across the north end of the excavation field. Only a few isolated patches of surface material were recovered from this area which could be dated to Stratum IVB-IVA.

Eastern Complex, Stratum IVB-IVA (Fig. 3.2h-3.2i)

In Stratum IVB portions of these buildings were rebuilt and the plan of the rooms was altered, but much of the previous pattern can be discerned. Continuity in layout is most clearly noticeable in Buildings 353 and 354, which maintain the general blueprint of a large, southern rooms, with two smaller rooms to the north. Very little was preserved of the Stratum IVA buildings. Only in one area, Building 353, were walls lines standing that could be associated with this last phase of the Iron Age I. Based on the fieldwork, it is generally assumed that the Stratum IVA plan was similar in design to the Stratum IVB plan.

Building 353

While the original layout of Building 353, with a large southern room leading into two back rooms, was maintained, new walls were added partitioning $Room\ a$ into three parts: a wide, rectangular space on the west (a1), a small rectangular room or bin in the north (a2) and a long narrow corridor (a) on the east that lead into $Room\ b$. A2 was built against the south wall of $Room\ b$ and c. No entrance into this square-shaped space was

discerned, and its small size, 4.03 sqm in area, suggests that its purpose may have been more similar in function to the mudbrick bins seen throughout the buildings, than a room.

The doorway into *Room b* was rebuilt directly above the Stratum VA blocked entrance. A poorly defined plaster and stone installation in the west, possibly a pebble hearth, was the only installation found in this room. New walls were constructed dividing this space into two, with the area defined as Room c made slightly narrower than the Room c of Stratum V. A new entrance was also created between Rooms b and c, where it had been previously blocked in Stratum V. This passageway was built via two opposing, and slightly offset north-south walls. Unfortunately, a pit, cutting down from Stratum IB (Iron II), destroyed parts of this area. However, the preservation in Stratum IVA suggests that the southern wall may not have extended much further to the north than what is preserved in the Stratum IVB plan. This reconstruction would allow for a wide entranceway between the two areas, suggesting that, in Stratum IV, there was no formal doorway which could be closed between these areas, i.e. no way to restrict access to Room c. In Stratum IVA, an additional wall extended to the east across the center of Room b, passing over the Stratum IVB plaster installation. This wall formed an additional subdivision within the area of *Room b*, creating three distinct spaces in the area formerly (Strata VI and V) separated into Rooms b and c.

Building 354

Minor alternations were apparent in the plan of Building 354 in Stratum IVB when compared with Stratum V, particularly in *Room a*. A closing wall at the southern end of the *Room a* could be discerned, establishing the room's length in this phase at 6.69

m. There was also a noticeable change in the interior division of space. The Stratum V subdividing walls, which had separated the area into a number of small spaces, were dismantled creating a large open area, measuring 30.37 sqm, more similar to the Stratum VI plans for this area than the Stratum V plans. The rooms along the east side of *Room a* in Stratum V seem to have now been incorporated into a separate building complex which continues into the unexcavated area. New beaten earth surfaces were established in *Room a*, *b* and *c*, but no other feature or installation was discerned. Nothing from this area was preserved in Stratum IVA.

Buildings 355W and 355E

In Building 355W, neither the mudbrick platform nor the pillars were in use. A small room, 4.81 sqm, was built up against the exterior wall of Building 350. Similar to earlier constructions in this area, the room was accessed from the north via a simple-side-corner entrance. A plaster surface covered the area both inside and outside this small room. No other features or installations were discerned and nothing from this area was preserved in Stratum IVA.

Construction in Building 355E included a division into three separate rooms of what had been one large space in Stratum V. In the center of this area, a long narrow space was created, seemingly entered from the north. To the east, the area was divided into a northern and southern zone. The southern sector was paved with cobblestones. No access of communication was discerned between these areas, and therefore it was not clear whether they formed related rooms or not. Nothing from this area was preserved in Stratum IVA.

Summary of Architectural Chronology

The occupational development displayed through the architectural phases of the Iron I is organic in character (T. Dothan 1998a:259-261; 2002:1-3). Beginning with one room structures in Stratum VII [Buildings 357 and 352], rooms were added on in an agglutinative style in Stratum VI creating a network of one room structures [Buildings 356, 357, 359, 360] in the north and a multi-room complex [Building 351] to the south. The expansion of occupation [Buildings 353 and 354] to the east in Stratum VI set the ground plan for all future construction in the area.

A major change in architecture was initiated with the construction of Building 350 in Stratum VC. This building replaced Building 351 from Stratum VI. While larger in scale and more monumental in construction, it retained a similar organization of space, that is to say, a wide threshold into an entrance room, an offset entrance into a main hall, and three side rooms leading off the main hall to the east. The evidence, from both the associated built features (Chapter 5) and artifact assemblage (Chapter 7), points to a similar function that was maintained across the chronological building phases. As will be further demonstrated in the following chapters, Building 350, and possibly its predecessor Building 351,⁵⁷ was an elite residence, while Buildings 353 and 354 served as both domestic houses and service areas/workshops. These functions remained similar throughout the occupation phases of the Iron I, an interpretation that is supported by a spatial analysis of the features and artifact assemblage.

⁵⁷ Unfortunately, too little of the architecture and surfaces associated with Building 351 were preserved to make any conclusive statements about its function.

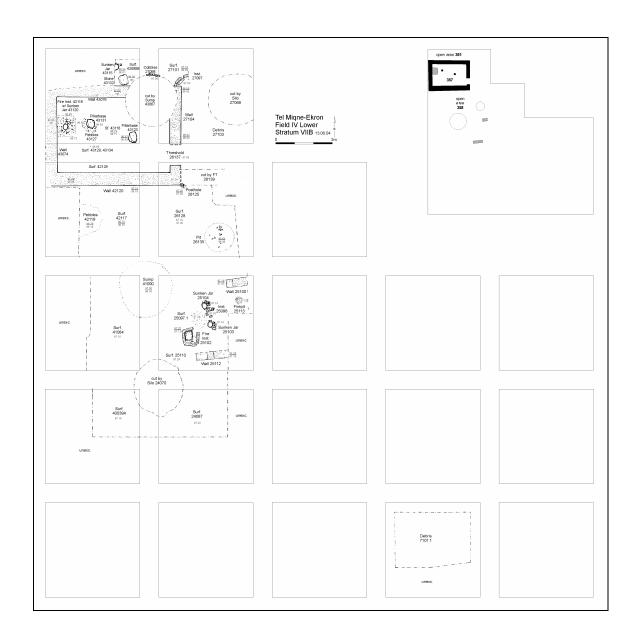


Fig. 3.2a Plan of Stratum VIIB

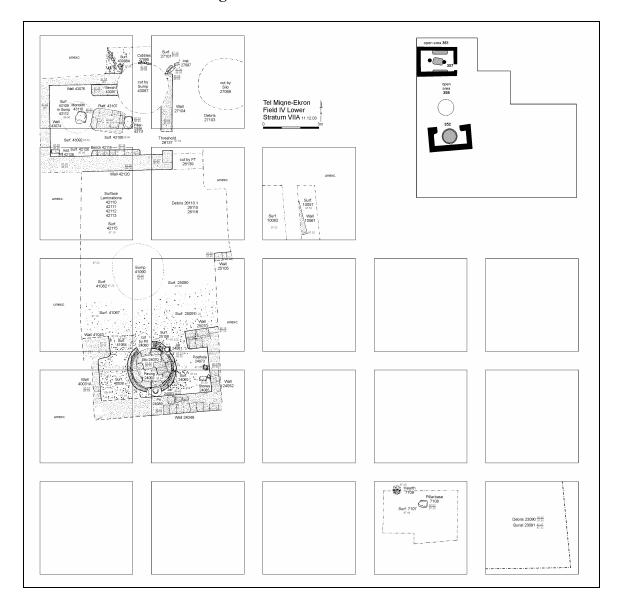


Fig. 3.2b Plan of Stratum VIIA

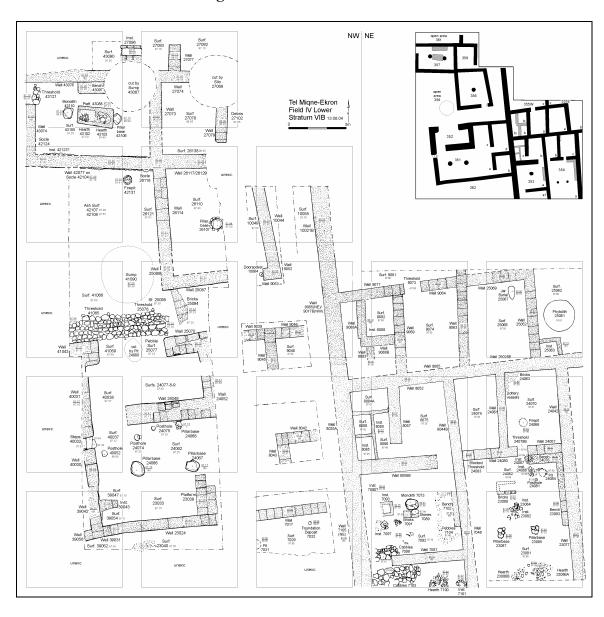


Fig. 3.2c Plan of Stratum VIB

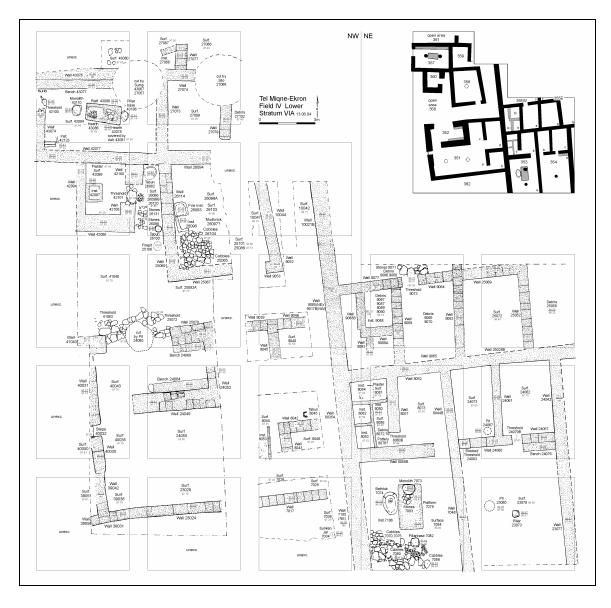


Fig. 3.2d Plan of Stratum VIA

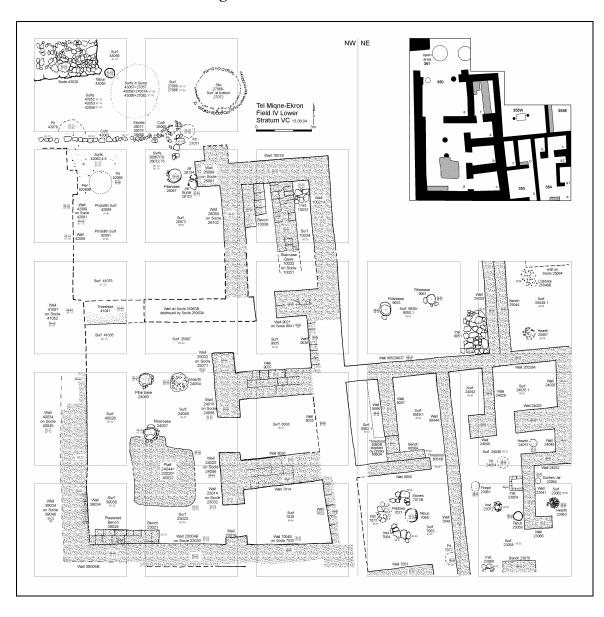


Fig. 3.2e Plan of Stratum VC

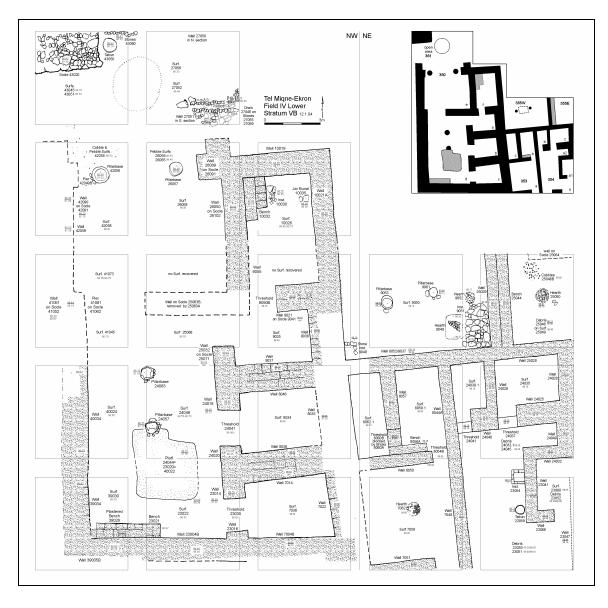


Fig. 3.2f Plan of Stratum VB

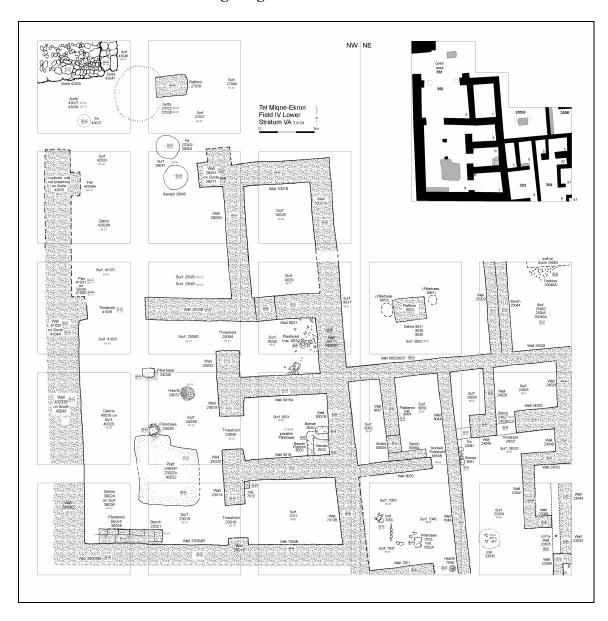


Fig. 3.2g Plan of Stratum VA

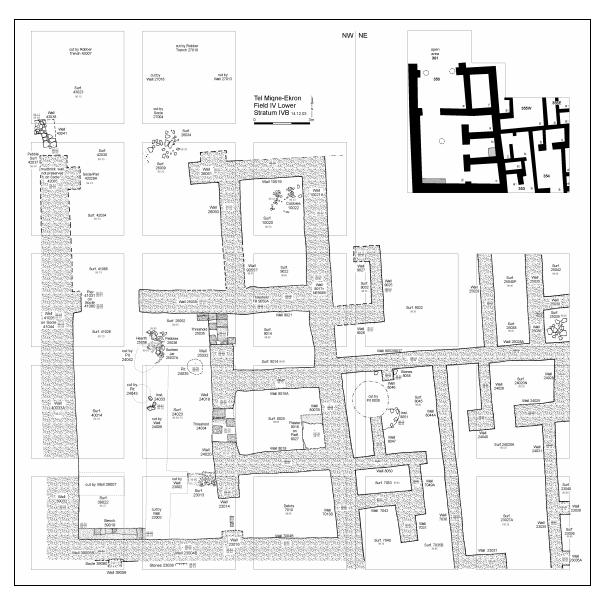


Fig. 3.2h Plan of Stratum IVB

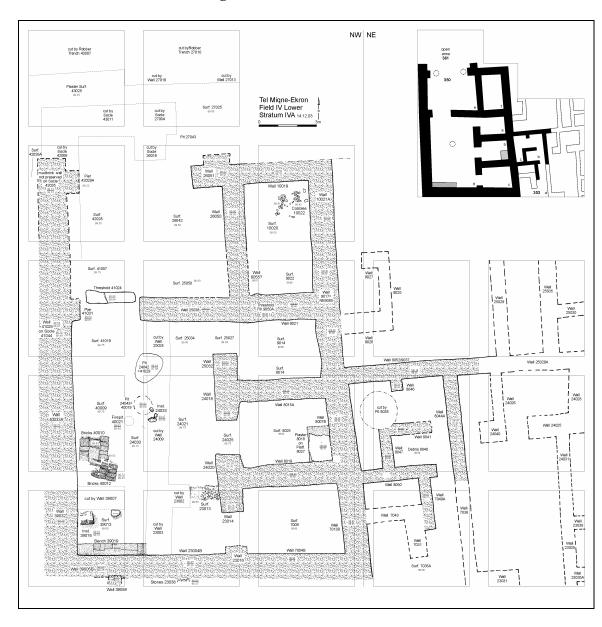


Fig. 3.2i Plan of Stratum IVA

CHAPTER 4

THE IRON I CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE: FORM, STYLE AND CHRONOLOGY

Introduction

The analysis presented in this chapter focuses on discerning a ceramic assemblage that can be compared both synchronically and diachronically in an effort to investigate changing consumption practices. The objects here is to identify the role of the various vessel groups, whether by functional form or stylistic class, within contemporary assemblages, and to both recognize and interpret assemblage change over time. Questions addressed concentrate on the role of the Philistine material culture within the Iron I occupational assemblage at Tel Migne-Ekron. Does it function as an ethnic indicator? As an elite fineware whose local production imitates items that had previously been available as luxury imports? Was it used in drinking and feasting rituals, emulating either Aegeanstyle feasting practices or used as a fineware in local drinking rituals? Explanations for the coexistence of both the Canaanite and Aegean-influenced (both Mycenaean IIIC:1 and later Philistine/Philistine bichrome) assemblages range from: the use of local forms by Philistine immigrants to "fill-in," with local, coarse wares substituting for functional forms that were not part of their original cultural baggage (Barako 2001:13, note 7, 204; T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:32; Killebrew 1998b:397; Yasur-Landau 2002); a reflection of the mixed character of the Philistine population, what Yasur-Landau (2002) described as the end result of a long-term, multi-generational migration process; the continuing presence of Canaanite inhabitants, either as a lower echelon dominated by a

Philistine ruling class (e.g., T. Dothan 1998b; Mazar 1985a), or as the majority population who used an Aegean-style pottery to symbolize their place within a Mediterranean-style elite (e.g., Sherratt 1998). In order to investigate these questions, the present chapter sets the stage to accomplish two goals: (1) outline similarities and differences in functional form, surface decoration and technological style, between the various stylistically defined ceramic assemblages, and (2) examine changes in the assemblage make-up as defined chronologically.

The ceramic quantification study⁵⁸ forms the primary data set on which my statistical study is based. The analysis of the Iron I ceramic assemblage entailed the development of a typology of pottery forms.⁵⁹ The final publication of the typology of the Iron I (Strata VII-IV) will be published in a separate volume by Zukerman and Gitin (in preparation). My preliminary study of the major forms and stylistic classes is based on the final typological schema which will be presented therein.

⁵⁸ For the methodology employed in the "counting project" see Appendix A For their contribution to the tedium of the counting project, I would like to thank senior staff members Anna de Vincenz, Nicole Engelman and Alex Zukerman, student workers Pia Babendur, Rachel Gleiberman, Hava Katz, Amitai Koren, Abeer Rizek, and the interns from the Rothberg School of Overseas Studies of the Hebrew University.

Stillebrew (1998a; 1998b) devised a typological schema for the Late Bronze and Early Iron I ceramic assemblage based on the excavations of Field INE at Tel Miqne-Ekron, Strata IX through VII. The material from this field varies from that of Field IV Lower in the presence/absence of certain forms and in the quantity of vessels. These differences probably reflect different contextual associations and the very limited exposure of Iron I occupation levels in the Field I sondage/test trench, from which Killebrew's sample is derived. Additionally, there is some evidence to suggest that the earliest material from Field IV Lower is slightly later in date than the material from Field INE (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004). A second typological sequence that included vessels similar to those found at Tel Miqne-Ekron in Stratum V and IV was developed by Mazar (1985b), with data from his excavations at Tell Qasile. Ortiz (2000) also outlined a typological sequence for some of the vessels from Tel Miqne-Ekron Stratum IV. The typology on which the present quantification study was based incorporated elements from these earlier studies, with the addition of T. Dothan's (1982) catalogue of the Philistine ceramic material, and T. Dothan and Zukerman's (2004) recent descriptions of the early Iron I Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic assemblage.

Stylistic Assemblages

The initial quantification study of the Iron I pottery from Field IV Lower assigned each vessel to one of four predefined ceramic assemblages: Local Canaanite or coarse ware (CO), Mycenaean IIIC:1 (MYC), Late Philistine (PHIL) and Red-slipped (RS).

These divisions were based primarily on vessel morphology and surface treatment, and less consciously on technological style. These four categories were assumed to represent "stylistically defined typologies," or "style classes," a concept described by Killebrew for the Local Canaanite and Mycenaean IIIC:1 wares (1998a). An additional term for these categories might be "ceramic traditions," as conceived originally by Franken (1995) and adopted by London to describe contemporary potting traditions in Jordan (1999). A single ceramic tradition can be defined as "all aspects of contemporaneous production—from clay procurement to manufacture, decoration, drying, firing and distribution (London 1999:64-65).

This concept emphasizes two points that are significant for the present investigation: (1) A ceramic tradition or style class is the common result of a total system of production, where each aspect of the system both depends on and influences other parts. Changes in one area of the production system can have significant consequences on other elements; (2) An archaeological assemblage from a single occupation can be made up of a number of different, coexisting ceramic traditions. The example that Franken (1995:99) presents is the cooking vessel, which often demonstrates evidence for a distinct organization of production that is different from the production of other vessel forms. A similar organization of production can be seen in the manufacture of cooking vessels in

the Iron I strata at Tel Miqne-Ekron (see below and in Chapter 8). Additionally, I argue that a similar phenomenon is present if one examines different stylistic classes as representative of coexisting ceramic traditions. This concept provides a method by which one can begin to investigate the contextual associations of contemporaneous vessel styles, which together make up the refuse assemblage of an occupational horizon.

The vessels comprising the Tel Miqne-Ekron ceramic assemblage were the result of local production (Asaro, *et al.* 1971; Ben-Shlomo, *et al.* 2004; Gunneweg 1986; Gunneweg, *et al.* 1994; Killebrew 1998a). Analysis of clay fabrics and vessel morphology, however, demonstrates that the different stylistic assemblages were produced using different manufacturing techniques (e.g., Killebrew 1998a for the early Iron I assemblage), which also reflect different organizations of production (London 1984). The local Canaanite-style forms, including both open and closed vessels, demonstrate continuity and morphological development from indigenous Late Bronze Age potting traditions. The vessels comprising the Mycenaean IIIC:1 assemblage, however, reflect a foreign, Aegean and/or Cypriote, influence, in both manufacturing techniques and morphological styles (T. Dothan 1995, 1998b; T. Dothan and Zukerman

⁶⁰ Evidence of local production is based primarily on petrographic sourcing. A number of kilns for the production of the Mycenaean IIIC:1 vessels (Killebrew 1996, 1998a), were discovered at Tel Miqne-Ekron dated to the early Iron I, but no direct evidence was recovered for manufacture of other pottery assemblages. Local production of Canaanite tradition and later Philistine vessels, however, is supported by Killebrew's petrographic sourcing of ceramic wares (1998a). Based on her findings, she stated that "The high percentage of locally produced ceramics examined...suggests that vessels were not transported or traded over long distances...Thus, each major center [in her study, which included Tel Miqne-Ekron] probably was the major supplier of its own consumers' needs...," with the possible exception of store jars and specialty vessels (1998a:255). One should also note that the reconstruction of an early Iron I potter's workshop at Ashdod (M. Dothan and Porath 1993) has been recently reinterpreted (Bunimovitz 1999; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002 and see Chapter 7, this study).

⁶¹ Distribution systems have not been well studied. Although an interesting correlate to the present research, their study is beyond the scope of this project.

2004; Killebrew 1998b, c, 2000). Killebrew's study of technological styles (1996; 1998b) demonstrated that the locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1 vessels, 62 both the tablewares and the cooking jugs, were produced in a markedly different manufacturing process than the local Canaanite wares. Differences in production systems between the two ceramic industries can be noted in clay procurement strategies, clay preparation techniques, and firing temperatures. Whereas the indigenous early Iron Age pots continued local Late Bronze Age traditions of vessel manufacture, using a combination of forming techniques, which included coil, mould and turning on a slow wheel (e.g., Franken 1974; London 1999; McGovern 1997), the Mycenaean IIIC:1 assemblage, including the cooking jug, was produced on a fast wheel (1996; 1998b). In sum, the entire production sequence differed between the two coexisting ceramic industries (Killebrew 1998b:401). The introduction of foreign production strategies supports the conclusion that potters trained in non-local techniques were among the Philistine newcomers (T. Dothan 1998b; T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004; Killebrew 1998b). 63

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⁶² Killebrew's comparative sample of Late Bronze Age and Iron I pottery was taken from Tel Miqne-Ekron Field I. See footnote 59.

One unique piece, a fragment of a closed vessel, seems to exemplify the struggle of foreign trained potters adapting learned techniques to new and unfamiliar resources. This piece is decorated with both a painted design and incised ridges. Incision is uncommon in the Iron I ceramic assemblage, and T. Dothan and Zukerman suggest that this sherd may represent "a crude attempt to imitate the vertical ribs of the Cypriote Buccero ware" (2004:38, fig 35:1, 39). The uneven and differentially spaced "furrow-like knifecut vertical grooves," (2004:38) seen in this vessel, may have been the result of using a lean clay with a technique adapted to plastic clays (see London 1999:70). The unintentional, but equally unavoidable, dragging of inclusions may have caused the crude incisions, instead of the graceful and controlled application characteristic of the Buccero Ware. It seems unlikely that a potter, familiar with his own local clays, would intentionally adopt a decorative technique that was so poorly suited to the clays of the local environment. This suggests a non-local learning framework as opposed to local imitation of foreign vessel shapes (Gessner 2003). It is further support that the Philistine potters were trained in foreign techniques that were originally established for use with non-local clays.

An additional issue has been brought up by scholars who have noticed a number of vessels that morphologically belong with the local Canaanite assemblage but are produced with ware fabrics more similar to the Mycenaean IIIC:1 vessels, as well as the reverse, where, based on visual observation, a few Mycenaean IIIC:1 vessels had clay fabrics that resembled local Canaanite wares (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:32-34). While acknowledging the complexity of the issue (2004:34, note 29), T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004:32) suggested that these vessels might reflect a situation whereby local Canaanite forms were produced by Philistine potters or vice versa. Support for this hypothesis has been encouraged by the mixed group of vessels, both Mycenaean IIIC:1 and local Canaanite tradition forms of similar ware, found in Locus 4106 at Ashdod, which has been interpreted as a possible potter's workshop (but see Chapters 6 and 7). Such an integrated production system, however, is unlikely given the diverse organizations of production noted for the different assemblages.

Ethnographic studies have documented that, of all aspects of variability possible in the production process, a potter is least likely to change the types of clays used (Franken 2001; London 1991a:405; Owen 1976:776; Salem 1999:73). The choice of raw materials is tightly linked to almost all other aspects of the production process, e.g., drying time, firing, manufacturing style, vessel function, etc. (Rice 1987). Owen (1976:776) noted that changes in raw materials generally required an extensive period of experimentation and usually resulted in significant changes in other parts of the production process. Therefore, while it is plausible that Philistine potters, who were relatively new to the area, would have had ample reason to adapt their manufacturing

styles to new raw material resources and to more easily accept changes in clay recipes, it is less likely that the indigenous Canaanite potters would have experimented with new, plastic clays, which would have required an entirely different production sequence.

The Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery tradition is associated with the earliest phase of Philistine settlement in the Iron I (T. Dothan 1998b) and can be thought of as early Philistine pottery. The corpus includes a range of functional vessel types, which have been viewed either as limited in form, restricted to tablewares and/or an Aegean-style drinking assemblage (Killebrew 1998b; Sherratt 1998) or as comprising a complete Aegean-style domestic assemblage (Yasur-Landau 2002). Killebrew proposed that some of the effort to procure clay from a more distant source, as well as the addition of large amounts of crushed calcite to the clay, was to create vessels that were visually similar to traditional Mycenaean wares (1998b:400). The Philistine Bichrome or late Philistine-style decorated wares⁶⁴ demonstrate a development, in both shape and decorative motifs, from the earlier Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery forms. However, different clay fabrics and clay preparation techniques (London 1984), together with notable differences in shape, vessel proportions (see T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:41) and painting quality (London

⁶⁴ Not to be confused with Ben-Shlomo, Shai and Meier's *LPDW* (formerly termed *Ashdod Ware*) (2004). In ther new analysis of red-slipped wares in late Iron I and Iron II contexts they distinguished between late Philistine style, "degenerated" vessels, decorated in a red slip, and what they termed "Late Philistine Decorated ware" or "LPDW," a style characterized by thick, dark red slip, vertical hand burnishing and painted, black and/or white banded decoration, which appears primarily on closed kraters, amphorae and jugs (2004:2-3, 28). They emphasize the local development of this latter form in Philistia, acknowledging influences from both the Philistine style decorated wares and Phoenician ceramic traditions (2004:20, 28-29). Their use of this term for the late Iron I and Iron II coastal, red-slipped assemblage suggests a continuous local development of the Philistine forms, which, to my mind, has not been as yet successfully proven. I strongly hesitate to imply this continuity until more is known of the ceramic traditions and production stages of the red-slipped wares and their relationship to the forms present in the earlier Philistine wares.

1984), evidence differences in manufacturing procedures and significant changes in production organization.

In an unpublished report, London (1984) proposed that much of the variability observed in the production of Philistine Bichrome wares was the result of mass production and the need to increase efficiency to meet increased demand, as evidenced by the wide-spread distribution of Philistine bichrome wares beyond the borders of the Philistine heartland (Gunneweg, et al. 1994; Mazar 1985a:106-107; 1994:44; Stone 1995:19). The observed deterioration in painted design and the increased variability in the performance of relatively standardized motifs (see T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004) may have resulted from changes in the workplace due to a dramatic increase in production output (London 1984). These changes could have involved the employment of apprentice painters, including the potters' families, whose work would have included surface decoration and handle application, while the master craftsman was responsible for primary vessel formation (London 1984). The white slip on these later vessels may have been due to a desire to maintain a similar visual appearance to the earlier Mycenaean IIIC:1 wares, while using clays from sources closer to home. These clays were already being procured for the local Canaanite ware production system and therefore may have been more easily acquired. The change in resources, however, would have necessitated changes in forming and firing techniques, as reflected in the later Philistine decorated forms (London 1984). The application of slip to the vessel surface may also have been a necessary consequence of the change to leaner clays, possibly for the successful adherence of painted decoration (Franken and London 1995). In addition, Killebrew

suggested the some of these developments resulted from the convergence of what had previously been two distinct technological styles, the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and the local Canaanite (2000). The Philistine Bichrome style might have been viewed as a less costly alternative to continued production of the Mycenaean IIIC:1 vessels (London 1984).

For the present study what is significant to note is that, given these changes in production process, the Philistine bichrome wares maintained the distinctive vessel morphology and symbol system employed in the earlier Mycenaean IIIC:1 prototypes. Although there may have been similarities in production strategies between the late Philistine and local Canaanite ceramic industries, the continuity in the production of different shapes and decorative traditions in the two ceramic assemblages argues for the continued coexistence of distinct ceramic traditions.

The vessels produced in the later red-slipped decorative tradition are generally regarded as forming less of a coherent domestic assemblage than the Philistine ceramics and more of a decorated elite fine ware (e.g., Ben-Shlomo, *et al.* 2004). The forms and decorative techniques reproduced in this assemblage reflect Phoenician influences. The vessels in this tradition are the chronologically latest to appear in the Iron I ceramic assemblage, but become the dominant style of decorated table and serving wares. The gradual appearance of this style at the end of Stratum V occurs together with the introduction of new forms, some of which are slipped and/or burnished, as well as the application of red slip to a number of Aegean-style forms. Some of the new vessel forms, particularly bowls, appear in both a red-slipped and undecorated style. Changes in vessel shape within the late Philistine repertoire also reflect a similarity in manufacturing

techniques with the red-slipped vessel assemblage, possibly implying contemporary changes in the organization of production of the Philistine pottery (London 1991b:232). This may suggest a more integrated production system at this time.

Functional Assemblages

In order to compare the use and context of the different ceramic traditions I created a functional matrix of grouped vessel forms, based on Tournavitou's (1992) and Killebrew's (1998a:79-80) organizational schemas, focusing on vessel functions traditionally associated with domestic assemblages. An additional outline of functional forms organized by van Wijngaarden (2002:13-15), although similar in approach, was seen as less useful for the present analysis. In Table 4.1 I placed the vessel forms found in the Iron I ceramic assemblage from Field IV Lower at Tel Miqne-Ekron into the various functional categories as outlined by Killebrew, Tournavitou, and van Wijngaarden.

The main issue with using any of these defined categories is the difficulty in pinpointing vessel function and the underlying assumption that forms were restricted to a single function, one which can be identified from their shape and/or context. Tournavitou's (1992) categorizations, which are closely aligned with the minimal functional activities as suggested by vessel morphology, is the most useful for this study but her division between eating and drinking vessels is difficult to apply in the present context. For example, bowls could have been used for both of these activities (see

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⁶⁵ Both van Wijngaarden (2002:15, note 47) and Tournavitou (1992) make concessions for vessels which may either fall within more than one functional category or move between contexts, although in van Wijngaarden's work, these ideas are not consistently applied.

below). On the other hand, Killebrew's concept of "Tablewares" and van Wijngaarden's suggestion of "Dinner wares," subsumes both of these functional aspects of eating and drinking, but also includes a number of vessels, such as jugs and juglets, that suggest a role in serving or pouring, activities which may not necessarily be associated with everyday, or even specialized, dining tasks. This categorization may hamper the investigation of the pottery traditions in this study by assuming *a priori* a common domestic 'set' in each of the ceramic assemblages. For example, Steel has recently commented that while Cypriote society in the Late Bronze Age may have used Mycenaean vessels, they did not necessarily emulate Mycenaean drinking styles (e.g., Mountjoy 1993:123; J. C. Wright 2004b:50), but served wine (or other liquid) directly from kraters instead of using a variety of pouring vessels, which would have been the more common practice in an Aegean drinking ritual (2004:294). Therefore, a definition of Cypriote table or dinner wares may not necessarily have included various pouring vessels and we should not as yet assume that either Levantine or Philistine practices did.

An additional problem with the use of functional outlines is the trap of circular reasoning, into which van Wijngaarden seems to have fallen (2002:15 and note 49). That is to say, of defining vessel function by context and context by the vessels found therein. The stated purpose of van Wijngaarden's functional study was to set up a contextual comparison of the role of Mycenaean ceramics in the Levant, Cyprus and Italy. The similarity in objectives between his analysis and the present study suggests that it is useful to examine his methodology. Van Wijngaarden (2002:15) adapted Tournavitou's (1992) functional division, subsuming her categories of storage, pouring, drinking,

eating, cooking and accessory items, into five main groups, which he termed: Dinner, Domestic, Storage, Ritual and Figurines. ⁶⁶ Unfortunately, his functional groups require assumptions be made about the domestic, dining and ritual use of vessels. Van Wijngaarden defined dinner vessels as those which functioned in activities involving pouring, drinking and eating. These include a mix of both open and closed shapes, such as cups and bowls, large open vessels for mixing and serving, and jugs. He further defined domestic vessels on the basis of ware and context. These vessels had wares of coarse clay with large inclusions, which functioned in "a range of activities in the house, in particular the preparation of food" (2002:15). Storage vessels served as containers for liquid or dry storage, for long or short durations. They generally had narrow necks, although those used for dry storage may have had wider necks (2002:15, note 46), and may or may not have had handles. "Ritual" vessels are the most problematic in van Wijngaarden's scheme. He defined "ritual" vessels as vessels with special functions that were also found in ritual contexts (2002:15). His definitions of both "ritual" and "domestic" are flawed since function of vessels is ascertained by context, which is defined by the vessels found therein. Additionally, while he acknowledges that objects could belong in more than one category, his schema takes little account of the fact that vessels may move between contexts.

When compared with the Tel Miqne-Ekron ceramic repertoire, van Wijngaarden's functional groups are not as useful as either Tournavitou's (1992) original categories or

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⁶⁶ Van Wijngaarden's fifth category, figurines, will not be dealt with here as my study concentrates on vessels and tools that fall under Rice's (1987:208-211) three broad functional categories for utilitarian ceramics: storage, processing and transport.

Killebrew's (1998a:79-80) (See Table 4.1). For example, van Wijngaarden included stirrup jars of all sizes with storage vessels, a functional description that works well in Aegean contexts where large stirrup jars were used as storage and transport vessels (Mountjoy 1993:71, 80, 123, 150, 163; Tournavitou 1992:190-192), but has less of a practical application in the Levant where only small stirrup jars, probably used as containers for perfumed oils or unguents (Mountjoy 1993:127-128, 163; Tournavitou 1992:190) appear (T. Dothan 1982:115-125; T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:28). In the Philistine ceramic assemblage, stirrup jars compare in size, shape and decoration to a number of closed vessels that are classified with either pouring or small specialty containers. In particular the stirrup jar with its side spout appears closest in form and function to strainer jugs and feeding bottles. Therefore it seems best to suggest that it functioned as a pouring vessel and not for long term storage or transport (see also below). These pouring vessels are grouped, in my study, together with flasks. Further support for this classification comes from Mountjoy's (1993:163) comment associating small stirrup jars with flasks, and identifying them both as narrow-spouted, easily stoppered vessels used for trade in perfumed oils and/or unguents.

In the present study, the presence or absence of a spout was the distinguishing feature by which I differentiated between **pouring vessels** and **specialty containers**.⁶⁷ A

⁶⁷ The only exception to this functional division is the flask, which I have classified with pouring containers. Although this vessel form does not include a spout or spouted rim, it is a more ubiquitous form, both chronologically and spatially, than the other types of specialty containers. More significantly, in the spatial analysis of vessels forms (see Chapter 7), the flask may have functioned as a suitable functional alternative for the jug. Out of the 113 rooms/areas examined, the ceramic assemblage of more than half included at least one bowl, krater, jar, and some sort of pouring vessel, usually a jug, but it could also be a juglet, strainer jug, stirrup jar or flask, possibly *in lieu* of a jug. This supports the classification of flasks with other pouring vessels.

formal functional analysis, however, might not distinguish between these classes, and the line separating between them was rather arbitrary. The narrow neck and restricted orifice of many of the specialty containers (e.g., a bottle) suggested that they held a liquid or syrupy substance, which would have necessitated 'pouring out' of the vessels' contents. Alternatively, the spout of a pouring form, such as a strainer jug, could have been plugged (Mountjoy 1993), reflecting a primary function of storage, and a secondary one of pouring, suggesting a greater functional similarity in activities with specialty containers. Acknowledging, therefore, the rather subjective division between the two categories without further analyses of vessel contents and/or use wear, I have discussed them separately in the functional form descriptions but classified them together in the analysis of functional assemblages (see below).

The following is a brief overview of the typological forms of pottery vessels represented in Field IV Lower at Tel Miqne-Ekron. My descriptive focus is on a functional comparison of different ceramic traditions and pottery styles. The typology, its organizational schema and goals, will be more fully described by A. Zuckerman and S. Gitin (in preparation). I have included here only a brief summary of vessel types as differences between these types influences a number of important considerations in the functional and spatial distribution of forms (Chapter 7).

Table 4.1 Comparative Typological Outlines

adapted from Killebrew	adapted from van	adapted from Tournavitou	
(1998a)	Wijngaarden (2002)	(1992)	
Kitchen Wares			
Tablewares	Dinner	Eating	
bowls	bowls	bowls	
kraters	kraters	kraters	
goblets	jugs		
chalices	juglets	Drinking	
kylikex	kylikes	bowls	
juglets	strainer jugs	kylikes	
jugs	feeding bottles	miscellanea (myc goblet)	
miscellanea (myc	stirrup jars	chalices	
goblet)			
	miscellanea (conch, myc	goblets	
	goblet)		
		Pouring	
		jugs	
		juglets	
		strainer jugs	
		feeding bottles	
		stirrup jars	
		miscellanea (conch)	
		pyxides	
		amphoriskoi	
		flasks	
		bottles	
Cooking Wares	Domestic	Cooking	
cooking pots	cooking pots	cooking pots	
cooking jugs	cooking jugs	cooking jugs	
basins/kalathoi	basins/kalathoi	basins/kalathoi	
	spinning bowls		
	loom weights		
	lamps		
	miscellanea (funnels)		
	stoppers		

adapted from Killebrew	adapted from van	adapted from Tournavitou		
(1998a)	Wijngaarden (2002)	(1992)		
Containers	J 8			
Storage	Storage	Storage		
storage jars	pithoi	pithoi		
pithoi	jars	jars		
	amphorae	amphorae		
	jugs	pyxides		
	pyxides	amphoriskoi		
	amphoriskoi	flasks		
	flasks			
Specialty	"Ritual"			
flasks	scoops			
amphoriskoi	chalices			
pyxides	goblets			
stirrup jars	bottles			
feeding bottles				
strainer jugs				
bottles				
amphorae				
miscellanea (conch)				
Varia	Accessory			
lamps		spinning bowls		
spinning bowls		loom weights		
loom weights		lamps		
miscellanea (funnels)		miscellanea (funnels)		
stoppers		stoppers		
scoops		scoops		
	Figurines			

Table 4.2 Functional Outline by Ceramic Tradition/Stylistic Group

Iron I Assemblage General Categories (adapted from Tournavitou 1992)	Local Canaanite	Mycenaean IIIC:1	Philistine	Red Slipped
E 4' ID'I'				
Eating and Drinking				
bowls	bowl	bowl	bowl	bowl
kylikes	chalice	kylix	chalice	chalice
miscellanea (myc goblet)		Myc goblet		
chalices				
Serving				
kraters	krater	krater	krater	krater
Pouring				
jugs	jug	jug	jug	jug
juglets	juglet	feeding bottle	feeding bottle	juglet
strainer jugs	flask	stirrup jar	stirrup jar	strainer jug
feeding bottles		strainer jug	strainer jug	flask
stirrup jars				
flasks				

Iron I Assemblage General Categories (adapted from Tournavitou 1992)	Local Canaanite	Mycenaean IIIC:1	Philistine	Red Slipped
Specialty Containers				
miscellanea (conch)	pyxis		amphoriskos	pyxis
pyxides	amphoriskos		conch-shaped vessel	amphoriskos
amphoriskoi	amphora		bottle	bottle
amphorae				amphora (decorated)
bottles				goblet
goblets				
Cooking				
cooking pots	cooking pot	cooking jug		
cooking jugs		basin		
basins				
Containers				
Storage				
pithoi	pithos			
jars	jar			

Typological Review and Functional Analysis⁶⁸

In the following section, I describe the Iron I ceramic assemblage based on a functional matrix devised from a combination of Tournavitou's (1992) and Killebrew's (1998a)⁶⁹ categories (see Table 4.2). Most of the adaptations that I suggest focus on creating vessel categories that can facilitate cross-assemblage comparison. Thus, vessels for eating and drinking have been placed together in one group, and kept separate from large serving vessels. Eating, drinking and serving vessels, as well as cooking wares, appear in both Aegean-style (Mycenaean IIIC:1 and later Philistine) and local Canaanite tradition forms. In the Aegean-style, the serving forms are initially produced in the Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic tradition and persist, with both morphological and stylistic developments, in the later Philistine assemblage. Serving vessels, but not cooking wares, were also replicated in the Red-Slipped tradition.

Eating and Drinking Vessels (Fig. 4.12a-e)⁷⁰

Most of the Local Canaanite Tradition **bowls** (**BL**) of the Iron I assemblage are plain, undecorated wares. The undecorated vessels comprise approximately 66 percent of

⁶⁸ Slight differences in numbers between T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004:5, Table 1) and the present study reflect the preliminary nature of the former statistics. The statistics presented here update and replace the earlier estimates.

⁶⁹ Killebrew's dissertation is considered uniquely useful for the present study as her schema is the only one of the three presented here that specifically focuses on the Levantine ceramic assemblage (1998a:81-185). ⁷⁰ The pottery vessels illustrated in Figures 4.12 a-n are examples of some of the forms that appear in the Tel Miqne-Ekron Iron I ceramic assemblage in Field IV Lower. They do not represent a complete typological analysis nor are they a representative sample of the ceramic assemblage. Whole vessels nad complete profiles were chosen whenever possible. The complete typology will appear in Zukerman and Gitin (in preparation).

the local Canaanite tradition bowl assemblage (N_{sample} = 2737),⁷¹ whereas painted bowls make up 18 percent and red-slipped and/or burnished bowls comprise the remaining 16 percent, when all strata are combined. Chronologically, frequency patterns in Stratum VB/C demonstrate an increase in the percentage of painted bowls within the local bowl assemblage (see below, Fig. 7.4). In Stratum IV, simple painted decoration is replaced almost entirely by bowls decorated with a red slip. Some of these latter forms also have painted decoration, generally in black, either as concentric bands around the exterior of the vessel body or striping along the rim.

The primary bowl type in the local Canaanite Tradition bowls, which makes up approximately 60 percent of this assemblage (N_{sample}), or 72 percent when only the plain wares are considered, is a small to medium sized, simple, rounded bowl without handles (Plain: I.BL1,⁷² I.BL2, I.BL3; Painted: I.BL11).⁷³ This bowl type demonstrates a variety of rim styles, from rounded to thickened. It has an average diameter at its orifice of 12-15

 $^{^{71}}$ N_{sample} was created from an adapted minimum number of vessel count, with information garnered from a chronological seriation study. This sample was then restricted to material coming from floors and surfaces. See Appendix A for complete discussion of N_{sample} .

⁷² Type numbers and coding refer to the typological analysis of the Iron I ceramic material from Tel Miqne-Ekron, Field IV Lower, to be published in Zukerman and Gitin (in preparation). The numbers presented here are based on a preliminary study and may not exactly reflect the final version of the typology presented there.

presented there.

73 A rounded bowl of similar size also appears as a common, domestic vessel in the Late Helladic assemblages (referred to in Mountjoy 1993:58, 66, 75, 84, 128 and fig. 111, 146, 218 as a "lipless bowl"). In the Aegean, some lipless bowls may have functioned as lamps (1993:58). Some were tinned (Mountjoy 1993:75, 128) and some were found in funerary contexts (Mountjoy 1993:128)). Mountjoy suggested that these bowls, in concert with sirrup jugs, kylikes and shallow angular bowls, "may comprise a Mycenaean funerary eating and drinking service" (1993:128). Therefore these vessel styles may have already formed part of the Mycenaean IIIC:1 assemblage, prior to the arrival of the Philistine immigrants and their interaction with the local population. A close analysis of manufacturing styles, with an emphasis on establishing learning frameworks and cultural transmission processes (Gessner 2003; Kuhn 2004), may help in discerning the results of different production processes and in differentiating between pot styles. In this study, however, the vessel typology and statistical analysis reflect the traditional understanding of the make-up of local Canaanite and Mycenaean IIIC:1 assemblages, with all the round-sided bowls included with the Canaanite Tradition material.

cm.⁷⁴ This bowl form also has a wide variety of base styles, including flat, concave and ring. Early forms sometimes have a very thick, string-cut base. There is little consistency in overall vessel proportions, which, combined with the wide variety of rim and base styles, suggests that manufacture, at least in the early phases of the Iron I, was not standardized.⁷⁵ This bowl type is usually undecorated, but sometimes a band of red paint runs along the rim. Some of the chronological change that can be seen in this bowl form may reflect an increasing standardization in shape and paste over time. This bowl type, which could easily be held in the palm of one hand, was probably the primary eating and drinking vessel⁷⁶ within the local Canaanite tradition assemblage (Borowski 2003; Homès-Fredericq and Franken 1986).⁷⁷

A number of less common, but significant, bowl forms included medium- to large- sized cyma-shaped bowls (Plain: I.BL6; Painted: I.BL13), medium-sized carinated bowls (Plain: I.BL5; Painted: I.BL14, I.BL15) and medium-sized, round-sided decorated bowls (Painted: I.BL12). Both the cyma and carinated bowl appears in both a plain and

 $^{^{74}}$ 44% of the rounded bowls (N_{max} = 799 with measurable diameter) were in the 12-13 cm range and 29% in the 14-15 cm range. Data on vessel height was difficult to gather as few whole or intact vessels were recovered. General impressions suggest that bowls of this form were generally of a similar height.

⁷⁵ An underlying assumption here is that the sample of Iron I vessels from Field IV Lower reflects contemporary production trends, and not simply the vagaries of consumption and/or distribution practices. If this is in fact the case, then it is possible that archaeometric variation observed in the recovered pottery assemblage reflects the organization of local production systems. Alternatively, one should also take note of Franken's study of local Iron Age bowls (1985). In his study he observed how clay recipe and preparation techniques can impinge upon "the degree of uniformity of the final vessel shape" (1985:38). In his description of the production process for a particular type of bowl, he remarked that, even if the potters all performed the same basic set of steps, "the paste used only allowed for a remote degree of precision in shaping" (1985:38).

⁷⁶ At this point, it is not possible to tell if different bowls were used for eating and drinking. It is safest to suggest that bowls were multi-functional vessels.

⁷⁷ T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004:7) make note of the use of this vessel as an ad hoc lamp (bowl lamp). However, sooting on the rims of this style makes up no more than 6-12% of the local Canaanite bowls in each stratum. Alternatively, I would suggest that the use of bowls as ad hoc lamps was a secondary function of these vessels, and not the intended primary function.

decorated form. The decoration consisted primarily of a band of red paint around the rim, but a few examples of a palm-and-zigzag paneled decoration in the interior continue distinctly Late Bronze Age motifs. These two bowl forms are similar to a bowl type which appears in the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and later Philistine assemblages, the main difference being that the former is generally lacking in handles, whereas the Aegean-style bowl has horizontal strap handles. Medium-sized, round-sided bowls are generally decorated, usually with red painted concentric circles around the interior walls and a spiral painted on the interior of the base. This latter form only appears in Strata VI through VA, and is the main bowl style associated with the lamp and bowl foundation deposits.⁷⁸

The shallow, sharply carinated bowl (Plain: I.BL4; Red slip: I.BL52) is the dominant bowl form in Stratum IV. A few variants of this form have painted decoration, but the predominant decorative tradition at this time is red slip. The red-slipped bowls will be discussed further below. One thing that should be noted here is the increase, in Stratum IV, of both more standardized bowl forms (i.e. groups of bowls, which appear very similar in size and shape) and more overall variation in the forms of bowls present in the assemblage.

In the locally produced Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery, the majority of the assemblage (68% N_{sample}) is made up of bowls, 73 percent of which are decorated with painted bands or more elaborate motifs,⁷⁹ primarily on the exterior, but sometimes a painted spiral

⁷⁸ These foundation deposits will be more fully discussed in Chapter 8.

⁷⁹ T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004:36) trace a chronological development from linear to more elaborate painted decoration.

adorns the interior base. The primary bowl type, which makes up approximately 92 percent of the Mycenaean IIIC:1 Tradition bowls (N_{sample} = 603), is a small to medium sized, bell-shaped bowl (Plain: I.BL21, Painted: I.BL26, BL27). These bowls have an everted rim, two horizontal handles, and a flattened ring or concave base. The average diameter of these forms at the rim is 12-14 cm (Fig. 4.1). Fifty-six percent of the assemblage fell within this range. There is some variation in rim styles and overall vessel proportions (see T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004 for a full description; Zukerman and Gitin in preparation), but in the earliest Iron I occupation phase (Stratum VIIB) both the ware characteristics and the concentrated distribution of rim diameters suggest that production may have been relatively standardized, especially in comparison to the local Canaanite tradition bowls.

The bell-shaped bowl is common in Stratum VIIB through VIB, and develops into the bell-shaped bowl of the later Philistine style (Plain: I.BL35, I.BL37?;⁸² Painted: I.BL40, I.BL41). Differences between the two forms are apparent both morphologically

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⁸⁰ Type D in T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004:8-12).

⁸¹ T. Dothan and Zukerman, based on a large degree of observed variability in shape, ware and decorative style within the Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic assemblage at both Ashdod and Tel Miqne-Ekron, conclude that production of these wares "was not standardized" (2004:3). While their emphasis on variation in the Mycenaean IIIC:1 assemblage is important, it seems problematic to therefore draw conclusions about production standards until we know more about the manufacture and production of these vessels. It seems relatively clear that the production system was not a monolithic industry, and there is good evidence that at least Aegean-style cooking jugs were produced within a different production system than other wares in the assemblage (see below). Support for different workshops might come from the description, by T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004:31), of two different ware groups based on macroscopic observations of color, temper and hardness. Killebrew (1998a:249) commented on the "extremely careful and intentional selection of raw materials which were adapted to their tradition of pottery making," thereby suggesting that the manufacturing system of Mycenaean IIIC:1 wares, if not standardized, was at least specialized, requiring a degree of proficiency and technical skill, and a learning framework through which this 'tradition' was passed on.

⁸² I.BL37 is represented by 2 unusual bell-shaped forms with vertical handles, as opposed to the more traditional horizontal handles. There is a possibility that these examples may be more correctly referred to as small chalices.

and stylistically. While similar in shape, T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004:41) noted differences in vessel proportions, with often thicker walls and a "less carefully executed" forming and painting technique exhibited in the later Philistine wares. ⁸³ Very late forms in Stratum VA and IV have a more emphasized carination and sometimes either close-fitting, almost vestigial horizontal handles or no handles. Vessel diameter, however, remains relatively consistent (Fig. 4.1), demonstrating a similar distribution pattern to the earlier Mycenaean IIIC:1 wares, with an average diameter of 12-14 cm. Fifty-eight percent of the assemblage fell in this range.

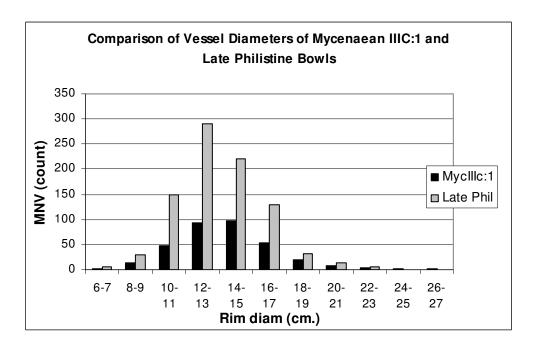


Fig. 4.1 Diameter of Bell-Shaped Bowls

⁸³ Little work has been done on the forming techniques used for the Philistine Bichrome style vessels. London noted, however, that the late Philistine bowls (Stratum VA-IV) were manufactured in a similar style to the contemporary red-slipped bowls (London 1991b:232), which were probably produced using a combination of turning and scraping (Franken 1974), although some thin-walled examples may have been thrown on a fast wheel (Ortiz 2000). Differences in forming techniques between the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and Philistine Bichrome assemblage may account for some of the morphological differences (see above and e.g., Franken 1985; London 1984).

The most often discussed differences between the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and later Philistine wares are in the surface treatment, with the characteristic white slip and bichrome decoration adorning many of the late Philistine wares. This decorative technique, however, is more prevalent on kraters than on bowls, where only 11 percent of the Philistine bowl assemblage (N_{sample}) in Stratum VIA has a bichrome decoration, both with and/or without white slip, and the use of white slip is virtually non-existent on bowls in post Stratum VI contexts (Table 4.3). The more prevalent pattern witnessed in the surface treatment of bell-shaped bowls is a consistent use of a monochrome, red painted design, and the increasing appearance, over time, of undecorated wares.

Table 4.3 Decorative Traditions on Philistine Bell-Shaped Bowls

						White		
		Red	Black	Bich-	White	slip and	White slip	White slip
	Plain	Paint	Paint	rome	slip	red paint	and black	bichrome
Str.	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	paint (%)	(%)
VIA	21	54	5	7	1	7	2	4
VC/B	40	52	3	2	0	1	1	1
VA	49	47	1	1	1	0	1	0
IVB	66	32	1	0	0	1	0	0
Total								
(N _{sample})	571	592	28	26	6	22	8	12

London (1984) suggested that many of the differences between the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and later Philistine vessels reflect changes in the organization of production (see above). These involved modifications in the clay preparation methods, related firing strategies and forming techniques, and the employment of less skilled workers, possibly to assist in applying handles, bases and surface decoration. A number of transitional forms with wares characteristic of Mycenaean IIIC:1 vessels and Philistine bichrome

decoration or *vice versa*, i.e., vessels with clay fabrics more similar to the later Philistine wares and yet morphologically and stylistically similar to the Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004; Zukerman and Gitin in preparation), suggests that there was a long period of experimentation and development which took place during Stratum VI, and supports the theory that production of the later Philistine vessels/Philistine Bichrome developed from the earlier Mycenaean IIIC:1 manufacturing tradition.⁸⁴

The bell-shaped bowl, or skyphos, was a common form in the Aegean during the Late Helladic III and Late Cypriot IIC-IIIB (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004).

Tournavitou, in her functional study of the Mycenaean pottery, suggested that this bowl form was seen as fine ware, used for both drinking and eating si in domestic contexts (1992:199). She further notes that those vessels that were decorated on the interior were probably used for imbibing liquids, so that even when full, the decoration would continue to be visible. Organic residue analysis performed on one bell-shaped bowl from the Aegean demonstrated evidence that it was used to serve both food and drink. The ingredients included a mixed fermented beverage containing barley, either beer or wine, as well as possibly pulses, meat and figs (Tzedakis and Martlew 1999:185).

Other bowls forms, which appear in the Tel Miqne-Ekron Mycenaean IIIC:1 assemblage in Field IV Lower, include both small and large carinated, strap handled

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⁸⁴ One approach to further explore this issue is to examine continuity or change in learning frameworks based on a study of the production sequences for these vessel assemblages. See also footnote 73.

⁸⁵ Although she suggests that bowls without handles might have been more useful as drinking vessels, while handled forms would be more useful for eating (Tournavitou 1992:200, note 75), these differences could not be distinguished in the Tel Miqne-Ekron Field IV pottery assemblage. No whole Mycenaean IIIC:1 bell-shaped bowls were found without handles (although there are a few examples of handle-less or 'vestigial' handled, bell-shaped bowls in the late Philistine forms in Stratum VA and IV), suggesting that those using Mycenaean IIIC:1 bell-shaped bowls at Tel Miqne-Ekron did not differentiate between the two functional forms, but used handled bell-shaped bowls for both eating and drinking (Yasur-Landau 2002:177).

bowls (Plain: I.BL22; Painted: I.BL28, I.BL29), 86 and round-sided, handle-less bowls (Plain: I.BL23; Painted: I.BL30). 87 These vessel types were far less common then the bell-shaped bowls. Only the small carinated strap handled bowl ($N_{\text{sample}} = 29$) comprised more than 1 percent of the bowl types appearing in the Mycenaean IIIC:1 technological style. These small carinated, strap-handled bowls are referred to in the Aegean assemblages as shallow angular bowls (FS295). Generally undecorated, they were considered to be common vessel types in Aegean domestic contexts (Mountjoy 1993:84; Tournavitou 1992:200), where they were more likely used for eating than drinking, as suggested by Tournavitou (1992:200). 88 At Tel Migne-Ekron in Field IV Lower the small, carinated strap handled bowls do not continue to be produced after Stratum VI. In the developed Philistine tradition, the bell-shaped bowl remains the most common form, representing more than 95 percent of the bowls ($N_{\text{sample}} = 1289$) in the late Philistine assemblage in each stratum. Medium- to large-sized strap handled bowls (Plain: I.BL36; Painted: I.BL42) with varying degrees of carination appear in increasingly small numbers in Strata VI and VC/B.

The bowl forms that appear late in Stratum V and IV demonstrate both continuity and discontinuity from the previous strata. There is some development of forms, e.g., changes in the bell-shaped bowl as described above, and introduction of a number of

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⁸⁶ Types C and B in T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004:7-8).

⁸⁷ Type A in T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004:7).

Tournavitou also notes that the Aegean examples of this form are characterized by a lot of variation in fabric, manufacturing style and finish, and further comments that "This marked lack of care in their manufacture...is apparently characteristic of domestic everyday ware in Mycenaean times... (1992:200). A similar variability is also noted among the examples of this form at Ashdod, where "alongside fine-ware examples, a group of coarser and thicker-walled carinated bowls....was found" (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:7). Alternatively, a marked characteristic of the small carinated vessels found at Tel Miqne-Ekron in Field IV is their delicate appearance and thin walled construction (see also T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:7), suggestive of fine ware, and not necessarily 'everyday' domestic, vessels.

new, which appear both without decoration and covered in a red slip. The slipped surface is sometimes burnished and occasionally painted, usually appearing as black stripes on the rim. In general, however, the ceramic assemblage from Stratum VA emerges as a transitional period, with consistency in the use of forms common in earlier phases, such as a bowl-form developed from the small, round-sided bowl, together with the appearance of new forms.

The most common bowl type in Stratum IV is no longer the rounded bowl or the bell-shaped bowl, but is a shallow, carinated or incurved bowl, which appears in both an undecorated and red-slipped style. This change in the bowl form can also be seen by a shift in mean diameter to a bowl with a wider orifice (Fig. 4.2). These shallow bowls represent up to 56 percent of the Stratum IVA assemblage ($N_{sample} = 467$), and can be assumed to have become the dominant eating and/or drinking vessel at this time.

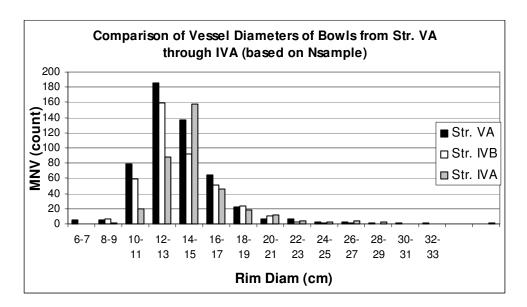


Fig. 4.2 Chronological Changes in Bowl Diameter

The Stratum IV assemblage has been described in Ortiz (2000) and will also be published in Zukerman and Gitin (in preparation). What is important to mention here is the large number of different types of bowls, the relative standardization within types, and the predominance of red slip as a surface treatment, which becomes the dominant decorative style for bowls, replacing both the earlier use of the Philistine and local style painted decorations (Fig. 4.3).

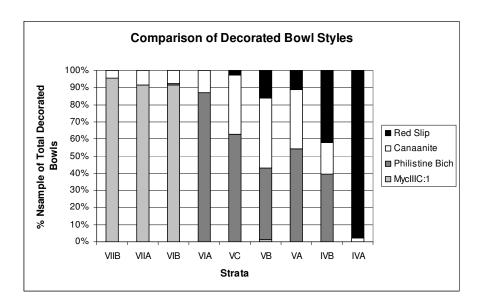


Fig. 4.3 Changes over time in Decorative Style

The shape of these later vessels, the adherence of slip and evidence of burnishing reflect a manufacturing style where the bowls were formed by turning on a turntable or possibly thrown from a cone (off the hump), and then heavily reworked by thinning and scraping (Franken 1974; London 1999). In a separate study, London (1991b:232) examined both the late Philistine and red-slipped bowls and stated that "despite superficial differences, the technique of their manufacture was identical." This suggests a more integrated production system at this time.

The **Chalice** (**CH**) resembles a bowl in form, set on a tall or elevated base. At Tel Miqne-Ekron, it appears in local, Canaanite tradition, Late Philistine and Red-slipped forms. Its function has not been determined, but it is considered to be a specialized vessel. Due to its morphological relationship to bowls forms, it is generally classified with other table or kitchen wares (Killebrew 1998a:80), although it is assumed to reflect less of a domestic and more of a ceremonial dining practice. ⁸⁹ I have included it with the eating and drinking vessels. ⁹⁰ The bowl shapes forming the top part of the vessel are drawn from the prevalent repertoires, generally round-sided or cyma-shaped (Canaanite and Red-slipped) or bell-shaped (Philistine), but most of the chalice examples are relatively unique in shape, size or decoration. One example with a hole in the bowl base suggests that it may have been used as a trick vessel.

This vessel form appears first in Stratum VIA in both local Canaanite and Philistine decorative styles contemporaneously. It makes up a relatively minor component of the ceramic assemblage. It is most numerous in Stratum IV ($N_{sample} = 11$ in IVB and 7 in IVA), when it occurs in both plain and red-slipped varieties.

The **kylix** (**KYL**) is an open drinking vessel, shaped like a shallow bowl on a tall stem, with two small vertical handles (Mountjoy 1993:63-64). Only three (N_{sample}) sherds of Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic ware from Field IV Lower could possibly be described as

⁸⁹ There may not necessarily be any functional relationship between the chalices topped with Philistine style bowls and local Canaanite tradition chalices. More research is required on the functional use of these vessels. For the present study, I have retained the traditional viewpoint.

⁹⁰ Also because of the suggested functional parallel with kylikes (Yasur-Landau 2002), which in Aegean practices were used as drinking vessels (Tournavitou 1992).

kylikes. All of these were decorated body sherds; not one included part of a rim, stem or base. Two of the sherds were associated with Stratum VIIA and one with Stratum VIB.⁹¹

The kylix is a common vessel form in Aegean domestic assemblages (Mountjoy 1993; Tournavitou 1992) and appears as a fine ware drinking vessel in Mycenaean wine-drinking sets (Mountjoy 1993; J. C. Wright 2004b). Its virtual absence from Philistine sites requires further study (noted also by Yasur-Landau 2002:179). Yasur-Landau suggested that the chalice may have been a local substitution for the kylix, and/or that the domestic assemblage at Philistine sites originated in an area of the Aegean where kylikes were not common vessels (Yasur-Landau 2002:179). The pattern at Tel Miqne-Ekron, however, suggests that the two forms, with the kylix appearing in Strata VII-VIB and the chalice beginning in Stratum VIA, represented, if anything, a chronological, and not strictly functional, replacement.

An additional vessel (I.MISC 3) made of a Mycenaean IIIC:1 ware and found in Stratum VIIB, was described as a possible goblet. Although the form of the vessel was relatively closed in shape, it was included here as a possible drinking vessel in the Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic repertoire.

Serving Wares (Fig. 4.12f-h)

Kraters (KR) are large, open, bowl-like vessels, generally assumed to have had a serving function due to their large size and often decorated exterior. ⁹² The local

⁹¹ Vessels more securely described as kylikes were found at Tel Miqne-Ekron in Field I, Stratum VIIA and Field III, Stratum VIA (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:24, table 12:2, 3).

⁹² In the Aegean world, kraters were used to mix water with wine, but this may be a rather late, Classical Greek practice, not necessarily associated with Mycenaean drinking traditions (J. C. Wright 1996:303-304).

Canaanite style kraters may have also been used for domestic food preparation and communal consumption (Borowski 2003:73). At Tel Miqne-Ekron, kraters appear in all the major stylistic classes (local Canaanite, Mycenaean IIIC:1, Philistine decorated and Red Slip), and therefore provide a good base line for chronological and functional comparisons between assemblages. When viewed together as one functional type, kraters are the third largest category of ceramic artifact ($N_{sample} = 557$), following after bowls and store jars. Their chronological distribution forms a normal curve, with the largest numbers in Strata VIA ($N_{sample} = 105$) and in VC⁹⁴ ($N_{sample} = 141$), in line with the overall pattern seen in the quantitative distribution of artifacts.

In the local Canaanite style ceramic tradition, undecorated kraters were more common than decorated vessels. Painted kraters, which stylistically develop from the local Late Bronze Age (Amiran 1969), appear more consistently in the earlier phases of the Iron I, and are not found in post Stratum VC contexts. The most common krater form in the local Canaanite assemblage was a carinated bowl-like krater (I.KR1), with vertical handles, somewhat similar in shape to the contemporary carinated and cyma-shaped bowls. Less common forms included vessels with a more restricted neck, resembling closed vessels (I.KR4, I.KR5); very large thick walled kraters (I.KR2); and multi-handled

Alternatively, Sherratt (2004) argues for the beginnings of this practice with the introduction of ceramic kraters in the Late Helladic IIIA. As she states "The timing of the first appearance of 'kraters' in the ceramic repertoire strikes me as potentially significant, since it coincides with the appearance of the Mycenaean palaces on the Greek mainland, and thus raises the possibility that the regularized practice of substantially diluting wine with water may have been a direct result of the deliberate inclusion of wider elements of society in official feasting in this crucial period" (2004:206). In the Levant, the evidence for this practice of mixing wine and water in kraters is equally unclear (e.g., Steel 1999, 2002a).

⁹³ Yasur-Landau (2002:178) has suggested that some of the local style kraters may have served as a functional replacement for basins/kalathoi.

⁹⁴ The apparent decrease in quantity in Stratum VB is probably a reflection of the overall stratigraphic problems associated with that stratum. See Chapters 3 and 7.

kraters. In the late Iron I round-sided and carinated kraters with vertical handles and a wide variety of rim styles appear in both undecorated and red-slipped forms (I.KR31, I.KR32), as well as a number of very large and deep krater styles (e.g. I.KR33, I.KR34). Kraters ranged in size, as measured by rim diameter, from 12 to greater than 38 cm. It is possible to break this distribution into three general size classes. A majority of kraters (43%) fell between 22-27 cm. in diameter, although a few vessels were as small as 12-20 cm. A second category included vessels with diameters between 28-33 cm (24%), and a third category were vessels with rims of more than 34 cm in diameter (10%).

The most common krater shape in the Mycenaean IIIC:1 assemblage was the bell-shaped krater with two horizontal handles and a ring base (I.KR21), resembling in shape the bell-shaped bowl. Sherd profiles, however, suggest that there was some variety in vessel shape and size (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004). Although the sample was small (N_{max} 95 with measurable diameter = 20 cm), the range of vessel diameters suggests that there may have been at least three recognized size categories: small, with diameter of 12-16 cm (20%), medium with diameter of 20-26 cm (55%); 96 and large, with diameter of 32-36 cm (25%). Almost all of the examples were elaborately decorated, usually with red, but sometimes brown or black paint (see T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004 for complete description of decorative techniques and styles). Eleven (N_{sample}) examples of Mycenaean IIIC:1 kraters were found in Stratum VII contexts in Field IV Lower.

⁹⁵ See Appendix A for definition of N_{max}.

⁹⁶ A peak in the number of kraters with diameter of 20-21 cm might suggest that this group should be considered as two separate size classes, but the sample size is too small to judge.

⁹⁷ This apparent division into size classes might also be a reflection of the small sample size. Future work, besides gathering a larger sample, might also try comparing the different ware types, shape variations and/or motif styles to see if there is any correlation between these and size categories.

The bell-shaped krater (Plain: I.KR22, Painted: I.KR:24) continued to be produced with different wares and decorative styles in the later Philistine assemblages of Stratum VI through IV. It was most often found decorated with white slip and a painted bichrome decoration, but some examples were not slipped, and/or were painted in only one color. A few examples were not decorated at all. The bell-shaped form seemed relatively standardized in shape (although few whole examples were found), while displaying a variety of rim styles and a large size range. Vessel diameters were normally distributed and ranged from 10 to 32 cm, with a mean diameter of 22 cm. Sixty-nine percent of the vessels ranged in diameter from 18-24 cm. A number of slightly different shapes appeared within the Stratum VA-IV assemblage, with more rounded bodies and sometimes only vestigial handles (I.KR28), or with an emphasized carination (I.KR26).

Pouring Vessels (Fig. 4.12i-j)

One-handled **jugs** (**JG**)⁹⁸ were the most common form of pouring vessel and the fourth most common vessel type in the ceramic assemblage. Unfortunately, no whole jugs were found, and few sherds were large enough to determine an overall vessel profile or range of vessel size. Rim sherds suggest a heterogeneous assortment of vessel shapes. The distribution of rim diameters was a relatively normal curve with a mean diameter of 8-9 cm. No clear size categories could be determined based on this distribution, with the

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⁹⁸ Jugs were differentiated from jars based on the presence of either one, e.g., Jug, or two, e.g., Jar, handles, and secondly by the rim form. A number of rim sherds that could not be classified were included in a general Jug/Jar category. Further typological analysis suggests that the majority of these sherds belonged to jugs. Therefore they were included here in the statistical analysis.

majority of jug rims (76%) spanning the range from 7-10 cm in diameter. The local, Canaanite tradition jugs (Jugs N_{sample} = 297, Jug/Jars N_{sample} = 128) most of which were not decorated, continued Late Bronze Age traditions and were similar to the types common at Tell Qasile, particularly Qasile types JG1 through JG4 (Mazar 1985b:61-64, 69). A few decorated jugs (N_{sample} = 17, both jugs and jug/jars), painted either in red or red and black, and/or white slipped, appeared in Strata VII through VB/C. These included all different styles of rim fragments. It was therefore not possible to define them further as to typological style. Six jug sherds, however, were made using a Mycenaean IIIC:1 ware (see T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:22), and four sherds with bichrome decoration and/or white slip were painted with distinctive Philistine-style motifs. A unique jug, gray in color, may be an imitation of a metal prototype. It was found *in situ*, in Stratum VIB, together with two stirrup jars and two painted flasks.

Jugs decorated with a red slip begin to appear in Stratum V, and become the dominant jug form in Stratum IVA ($N_{sample} = 13 \text{ or } 58\%$). Two of the jugs showed evidence of horizontal hand burnishing. Some of these vessels were also decorated with black paint, either as bands encircling the vessel and/or striped on the rim. Two unique vessels had a grayish colored slip and horizontal hand burnish on the exterior, with one also demonstrating vertical hand burnish along its neck. Although the sample of red-slipped jugs is small ($N_{sample} = 22$), both diameter and general morphological features suggest that there are at least two different forms of red-slipped jugs present in the assemblage: a narrow necked vessel with diameter of 3-6 cm, and a wide necked vessel

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⁹⁹ The diameter for rim sherds from trefoil-shaped vessels was more difficult to ascertain and therefore their measurements were not included in this part of the study

with diameter of 7-10 cm. This latter type is similar in diameter to the local coarse ware jugs, appearing as a decorated version of those types. An additional jug type, represented by only two examples was the globular jug (or globular flask).

Chronologically, the number of jugs across time formed a normal curve, with peaks in Stratum VIA and VC. This pattern is reminiscent of that seen with kraters and jars, and with the general artifact frequencies. Synchronically, a spatial distribution of the ceramic forms across the area demonstrated that, out of 113 rooms/areas investigated, 12 had only bowls, jars and jugs and an additional 56 had at least a bowl, jar, krater, jug and cooking vessel, suggesting that these vessels formed the basic domestic assemblage (see Chapter 7).

A few small **juglets** (**JGL**) were also recovered ($N_{sample} = 55$), found distributed across the chronological spectrum. There was a lot of variability in rim, mouth and body shape (e.g., elliptical, sack-shaped, cylindrical and globular), but general observations suggest that most juglets were of a similar size. This vessel form generally has a rounded base. The largest number of juglets were recovered from Stratum IV ($N_{sample} = 11$ in IVB and 12 in IVA), along with the majority of decorated forms (both red and black slipped, and painted). Juglets probably functioned for short-term transfer or drawing of liquids (Homès-Fredericq and Franken 1986:23), and not longer term storage.

Flasks (**FL**) may be considered to be a specialized, although relatively common, pouring vessel. Most of the flasks in the Field IV Lower assemblage are lentoid in shape and 2-handled [plain: I.FL1; painted: I.FL2]. They appeared in a variety of sizes, often rather sloppily painted with red concentric circles on the belly, and sometimes additional

bands or stripes on the handles.¹⁰⁰ The manufacture of lentoid-shaped flasks demonstrates a local, Canaanite morphological development, but they also appear in Cypriot, Aegean and Egyptian assemblages (Furumark 1941:32, 62; Killebrew 1998a:124-129; Leonard 1994:81-83; Yasur-Landau 2002:179). Thus, it is difficult to determine if their appearance in early Iron Age strata at Tel Miqne-Ekron reflect Canaanite or Philistine domestic traditions. In this study I will retain the traditional assignments for these vessel types following the typological division in Killebrew (1998a:78-186) and Zukerman and Gitin (in preparation).¹⁰¹

Although the number of flasks per stratum is relatively small (N_{sample} max per stratum = 14; N_{sample} = 78 total), their chronological use is fairly consistent, with the possibility of two peaks in consumption, one in Stratum VI and a second in Strata VA-IV. A number of unique forms appear in Stratum V and IV, including 2 examples of a spoon flask [I.FL5], and a small, long necked flask [I.FL3]. These forms were probably introduced together with the red-slipped assemblage.

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I would like to thank A. Killebrew for pointing out the presence of flasks in Late Bronze Age Agean contexts.

One should note the overall variability in shapes and sizes, within a generally standardized appearance and painting style. The ware, however, in terms of firing and macroscopic observation, appeared very standardized, such that it was relatively easy to identify flasks from small sherds. One should also note the current suggestions in the literature concerning how this vessel was manufactured. Originally the lentoid shape was believed to reflect a process by which two bowls were joined together (Homès-Fredericq and Franken 1986:24), but replication studies conducted by Killebrew (1998a:243-244) argue for the use of the fast wheel and a similar process to 'jug' manufacture, following upon which "the ceramic sphere was then gently pressed down to create the flask's lentoid shape." Alternatively, a number of unique, flask-like, composite vessel forms (e.g., Mazar 1985b:73-74) suggest that flask vessel production was not monolithic. Additionally, breakage along the 'seam' joining the 'bowl-halves,' such as in an example from Tel Miqne-Ekron, where one half of the flask was reused as a 'bowl-lamp' (see Chapter 7), imply that, whether or not the two pieces were put together at this join, the seam created was a weak point in the end-product.

101 I would like to thank A. Killebrew for pointing out the presence of flasks in Late Bronze Age Aegean

A number of specialty pouring vessels also appear in the Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic assemblage and continue to be produced in the later Philistine decorative style. These include stirrup jars, feeding bottles¹⁰² and strainer jugs.¹⁰³

The **stirrup jar** (**STJ**), 104 with its double-handled false spout and narrow, off-centered spout, facilitated controlled pouring of a liquid substance (Tournavitou 1992:190). These forms were always decorated, often elaborately so. The small, globular stirrup jars, which appeared in the early Philistine assemblage, were probably used to hold perfumed oils or unguents (Mountjoy 1993). The Mycenaean IIIC:1 stirrup jar appeared in very small numbers in Stratum VII ($N_{sample} = 2$), and peaked in use in Stratum VIB ($N_{sample} = 8$), when it also appeared in the later Philistine-style decoration ($N_{sample} = 5$). Almost all of the whole and almost-whole examples of this vessel appeared during this later phase. The stirrup jar continued in use through Stratum V, but remained relatively small in numbers ($N_{sample} = 3$ in VB/C, $N_{sample} = 2$ in VA).

¹⁰² It was difficult to distinguish between feeding bottles that may have belonged to the Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic assemblage and those belonging to the later Philistine assemblage, due to their morphological and stylistic similarity (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:24). Further technological analysis may point to differences in manufacture. Alternatively, it may demonstrate that production of this vessel type did not change in concert with other changes in the ceramic production industry. A fuller picture of the differences in the organization of production and its development from the earlier Mycenaean IIIC:1 and later Philistine wares is warranted. For this study chronologically earlier forms, which were contemporary with the Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic wares, were assumed to have been produced and used as part of that assemblage. Chronologically later examples were assigned to the later Philistine wares.

¹⁰³ Alternatively, Sherratt has suggested that the Philistine strainer jug reflects a local, i.e., non-Aegean influence, and describes it as "a clay amalgam of two of the elements of the familiar Levantine metal drinking set, the separate jug and strainer" (1998:303).

¹⁰⁴ Stirrup jars were defined by the presence of a false spout. Therefore most sherds with rim or pouring spout only were probably not identified as belonging to this form, but assigned to a general "closed vessel" category.

¹⁰⁵ Stirrup jars, with their single, narrow side-spout, which could easily have been plugged closed, may have had a function more closely related to the group of specialty containers than with pouring vessels (see below).

The **feeding bottle** (**FB**), 106 or side-spouted jug with basket handle, used for pouring liquids (Tournavitou 1992:190), appeared in small numbers in Stratum VII ($N_{sample} = 3$) and VI ($N_{sample} = 8$). This form peaked in use in Stratum VIA ($N_{sample} = 7$), as evidenced by the large number of contemporary examples and the finding of an almost whole vessel. It does not seem to continue to have been produced in later assemblages. These vessels were less elaborately decorated than the stirrup jars, and were painted with linear bands of red paint, sometimes over a white slip.

Strainer jugs (**SJG**),¹⁰⁷ which have a built-in sieve, were probably used to pour liquids that needed to be strained. It is generally assumed that they would have been used to pour wine, or other beverage that contained a lot of sediment (Tournavitou 1992:189). Mountjoy (1993:128) cites an example of one in which was found residue from a mixture of honey and milk.

The strainer jug is a very rare form in the Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic repertoire (see also T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:24), but, as reflected in the increased presence of spouted strainer sherds, becomes more common in the later Philistine wares and appears also with the red-slipped vessels. Only 1 example of a strainer jug, which was almost whole, discovered in Field IV Lower at Tel Miqne-Ekron, could be confidently described as a Mycenaean IIIC:1 vessel. It was discovered in Stratum VIB. Three other sherds, which were assigned to this type, were found in Stratum VIIA-VIB. The form of strainer

Feeding bottles were defined by the presence of a side spout. Therefore most sherds with rim only were probably not identified as belonging to this form, but assigned to a general "closed vessel" category.
The strainer jug was defined by the presence of strainer. Therefore most sherds with rim only were

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jug which predominated in the later Philistine assemblage 108 was a medium to large sized jug with a carinated or rounded body, a basket handle and strainer in either the side spout, the interior of the neck or in both places. This form is morphologically similar to the redslipped strainer jug of Stratum IV. 109 Few examples of side-handled, 110 strainer jugs were discovered. 111 The Philistine strainer jug, in both its Mycenaean and later Philistine wares, peaks in use in Stratum VI ($N_{sample} = 13$), and continues into Stratum VC/B. Although always few in number, in Stratum VA ($N_{sample} = 8$), the form seems to regain popularity, when it also appears in the red-slipped assemblage and continues through Stratum IV ($N_{sample} = 18$).

One unique vessel [MISC1], decorated with a white slip and red and black paint, was found in Stratum VC. Although not preserved in its entirety, it appeared to have been a multi-spouted vessel, probably one-handled (possibly a basket-handle), with an opening at the top and a side spout. Stylistically, the surface decoration placed the vessel form within the Philistine ceramic assemblage. Morphologically, it was reminiscent of a closed vessel from Tell Qasile, which was described as a strainer jug (Mazar 1985b:97 and fig. 24:19).

¹⁰⁸ This form seems to be morphologically very different than the preserved Mycenaean IIIC:1 strainer jug in Stratum VI. As is the case with the feeding bottles, only future research outlining the differences in production strategies between the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and later Philistine wares can assist in understanding the development of these forms and the relationship between the assemblages.

Although the sample with relatively complete body shapes is small (N = 8), within an overall observable similarity in shape and size, there was a large amount of variation in proportions, number and degree of carination, and exterior decoration, such that no two examples were alike.

¹¹⁰ The rarity of this form may have partially resulted because of the bias created by the typological designation of strainer jugs based an assemblage composed predominantly of sherds, which necessitated that definition of this form be based on the presence of a strainer.

One example in particular, with a sloppily painted linear decoration, was discovered on a Stratum VA surface and may represent a later development or a different influence.

Specialty Containers (Fig. 4.12k)

This category includes a number of closed vessel forms that did not have a morphologically specific pouring adaptation, such as a spout (see above for division between pouring vessels and specialty containers). Therefore, in some ways it reflects a rather diverse group of forms. The shape of many of these vessel forms, however, with restricted neck, limited the type of substance which could have been contained therein. Most of these forms could easily have been closed or stoppered, reflecting their role as containers. A number of Aegean- or Cypriot influenced vessel forms (T. Dothan 1982), whose shape suggests that they were used to either contain or dispense various viscous or fine-textured substances, were produced in the late Philistine decorative style. In Field IV Lower at Tel Miqne-Ekron, these forms appear in small numbers in post-Stratum VII contexts.

The term "amphoriskos" (AMK) ¹¹² was used to group together a number of medium-sized closed vessels. One unique vessel form [I.AMK1], classified with the local tradition plain wares from Stratum VIIB, was shaped like a small jar, with pointed base and two vertical handles. The Philistine-style amphoriskos had a globular body, cylindrical neck, two horizontal handles at the shoulder and a ring base (T. Dothan 1982:125). Its similar size and appearance to the pyxis suggests that these vessel types may have had a similar function. Only the lower part of one (N_{sample}) Philistine amphoriskos [I.AMK4] was found in Stratum VIA, decorated in a painted bichrome

¹¹² This vessel form was defined by shape of vessel body and was not diagnostic by rim. Therefore rim sherds were probably not identified as belonging to this form, but assigned to a general "closed vessel" category. This was true for the local tradition, red-slipped and Philistine style vessels of this type.

style.¹¹³ A whole red-slipped vessel, found in Stratum IVB, had thick walls and two pierced lug handles. It was described as an amphoriskos [I.AMK6], because of its small size and jar-like rim, but it may have functioned more similarly to a bottle.

Pyxides (PYX) included a much more coherent category of closed vessels, ranging in size from miniature examples to medium-sized vessels. These were generally "sack-shaped," with a low carination, either more or less emphasized, and sometimes an additional carination at the shoulder. The vessels almost always had two horizontal handles, although sometimes they were replaced with pierced lug-like handles. Some of the vessels had ring bases, while others had rounded bases. Rim diameter for all vessel types, with or without a base, was from 4-5 cm. Similar forms appear in undecorated, painted and red-slipped forms.

Twelve pyxides (N_{sample}) were found in stratified contexts in Field IV Lower, appearing in all strata. The earliest vessels are not decorated. Forms with red slip begin in Stratum VB. Painted decoration appears only in Stratum IV.

A total of five (N_{max}) bottles $(BTL)^{114}$ were discovered in Field IV Lower, 2 in Stratum VI, ¹¹⁵ widely distributed across the field, and three in Stratum VA, discovered together in Building 350, *Room a.* All of the bottles are decorated. The Stratum VI

¹¹³ A similar vessel with slightly emphasized carinations and pinched handles appeared in Stratum VB with the red-slipped assemblage (described as a pyxis in Zukerman and Gitin in preparation). Although found whole, it was not included in this study due to its find spot in a drain and not on a surface. A second red-slipped closed form, which was described as an amphoriskos, was a globular vessel, smaller than the Philistine amphoriskoi. It had two vertical handles from shoulder to rim. Although also found whole, it was discovered in top soil and therefore not included in this study.

¹¹⁴ For quantitative analysis, bottles were defined as closed vessels with very narrow circumferences. Three were found whole or almost whole, broken only along the rim, and two were classified as bottles by their bases and narrow walled circumference.

¹¹⁵ One should note the finding of a possible Mycenaean IIIC:1 bottle from an unstratified context in Field I (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:26, Table 13:10).

sherds, preserved only at the base, have bichrome decoration, one with white slip. The three bottles in Stratum VA are all almost complete examples; the two horn-shaped bottles are broken only at the rim. These latter two examples, both of which are burnished, one with red slip and one with white slip and red painted lines, have two pierced lug-handles protruding along one side of the vessel, similar in shape to the "hornshaped vessel" from Tell Qasile, Stratum XI (Mazar 1985b:99-100). These pierced handles may imply that the bottles could have been hung or possibly otherwise attached to another object. The third bottle is slightly different than the other two in both shape and decoration. It is straight-sided, with two pierced handles protruding form a spot near the rim of the vessel. It is elaborately decorated with bands of black painted geometric decorations encircling the vessel walls. Unlike the horn-shaped vessels, this latter bottletype has a slightly convex, and not flat, base, suggesting that its pierced handles may also have served to hang the vessel. T. Dothan proposed that bottles were used as containers for ointment, suggested by their similarity to cosmetic containers produced in ivory (1982:172). A less viscous substance cannot also be ruled out as the shape of the long necked, horn-shaped example from Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985b:99-100, photo 97, fig. 31:1) would have necessitated a substance that could have slipped easily down the narrow and bent, tubular neck.

Goblets $(GBL)^{116}$ are a form which appears in Field IV Lower¹¹⁷ at Tel Miqne-Ekron only with the red-slipped assemblage.¹¹⁸ Three (N_{sample}) examples of this vessel

¹¹⁶ Their appellation as 'goblet' is based on their relative similarity to other vessels types built up on trumpet bases, including chalices and 'goblets' with more open, cup- or bowl-like upper parts (see Amiran 1969:95, 129, Plate 40 and 68, specifically 68:4-6; also Killebrew 1998a:94). Although usually discussed together with chalices (e.g., Amiran 1969; also Killebrew 1998a:80; Mazar 1985b:48-51), the form

type were found at Tel Miqne-Ekron in Stratum IVA: 1 whole vessel and 2 almost whole vessels, missing only the upper neck and rim. All three examples were found together in Building 350, *Room a*. These vessels are each slightly different in size but similar in shape and general appearance, with a globular body, an elevated, trumpet foot and a tall, narrow neck (3-5 cm in diameter at rim). Mazar (1985b:51) also noted little uniformity in this vessel type, citing that "each example has its own characteristics."

Although **amphorae**¹²⁰ (**AMP**) are usually classified with storage containers (Homès-Fredericq and Franken 1986:22), the highly decorated surfaces of the two (N_{sample}) examples from Field IV Lower suggest that they may have been used or intended to be used together with other serving vessels, possibly only as short term storage or intra-site transport, but not necessarily for long-term storage. Both of the examples were covered in red slip. One of the larger sherds also had a raised decoration incorporated along the handles and evidence of a painted decoration on its neck. The two amphora sherds were associated with the red-slipped assemblage and dated to Stratum

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presently under discussion is a closed form with a restricted neck, morphologically related to the form that Killebrew describes as "resembling a bottle or handless jug resting on a pedestal" (1998a:94). As yet, no functional study has been done on these vessel forms, but, based on their shape, decoration, find-spots and the limited number of forms, they are usually assumed to have been used in cultic (Mazar 1985b:51) or ceremonial (Killebrew 1998a:94) contexts. Based on the shape of the examples from Tel Miqne-Ekron, I would suggest that these vessels functioned in a similar manner to bottles and other closed, specialty containers, and have therefore classified them with this category.

¹¹⁷ The bottom half of a globular goblet of similar shape was found in an LBII contexts in Field I (Killebrew 1998a:96, ILL III:5:3).118 This form appears at Tell Qasile from Strata XII to X decorated in Philistine painted style, but not in the

This form appears at Tell Qasile from Strata XII to X decorated in Philistine painted style, but not in the contemporary strata in Field IV Lower at Tel Miqne-Ekron (Mazar 1985b:49-51). Mazar further suggests that goblets may have been used specifically in cultic contexts, an idea to which Ortiz (2000:184) agrees and adds to Mazar's list the Tel Miqne examples, which were found in Building 350, *Room* a. For the discussion of Building 350, *Room* a, as a cultic structure, see Chapter 7.

¹¹⁹ Two additional neck and rim fragments, which were from the same vessel type and conform to this diameter range, were found in a Stratum IV fill.

¹²⁰ Amphorae were defined based on shape of vessel body and were not considered diagnostic by rim. Therefore most sherds with rim only were probably not identified as belonging to this form, but assigned to a general "closed vessel" category.

VA and IVA. One additional closed vessel form, with red slip and black paint, was associated with Stratum IVA and classified as a jug/jar, but it may better fit with this functional category.

Cooking Wares (Fig. 4.121)

The local Iron Age I cooking pot (CP) was a large, open vessel with carinated shoulder and rounded bottom, often with two thick handles attached from shoulder to rim. Morphologically, the Iron Age I cooking pot is a development from the earlier Late Bronze Age cooking pot (Killebrew 1999). Rim forms appear in many different variations, but usually are thickened or folded outwards, triangular to rectangular in shape, generally creating a small exterior ridge or flange, possibly for the attachment of a lid. Three sizes of cooking pots could be discerned based on orifice diameter: small cooking pots with rim diameter from 12-20 cm, medium sized cooking pots ranging in diameter size from 21-27 cm and large cooking pots with rim diameter of 28-38 cm. Vessel height was more difficult to determine as few whole vessels were found. Vilders (1992) study of Late Bronze and Iron Age cooking pots from Jordan suggested that this style of cooking pot was hand made, using a combination of mold-made bottoms with coils added to form the shoulders, neck and rim. Variations in vessel shape, including (de)emphasis on the carination and differences in overall vessel dimensions, are consistent with multiple household producers.

In comparison to the Canaanite-style cooking pot, the **Aegean-style cooking jug**(CJ) is a closed form with a more restricted neck than the open style of the Canaanite

cooking pot. Cooking vessels comprised the second largest functional category in the Mycenaean IIIC:1 assemblage. The cooking jug has a short neck with an everted rim, and usually one, although sometimes two, 121 small handles. The base is most often constructed as a flat disc, but sometimes it has a concave form or pronounced ring, but never a rounded base as seen in the indigenous style cooking pots. Rim diameters, based on $N_{max} = 241$ cooking jug samples, were relatively standardized, with a mean diameter of 10-11 cm. There was some limited evidence to suggest a small size vessel class with diameter of 6-8 cm. Evidence suggests that the Philistine cooking jug was thrown on a fast wheel (Killebrew 1999:106), with a distinctive clay recipe used only in the production of cooking jugs (Killebrew 1999:98).

Controversy over the initial source of the cooking jug posit either an Aegean (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004) or Cypriote (Killebrew 2000) origin. In the Levant, it is predominantly found at sites that have been associated with Philistine settlement (e.g., Tel Miqne-Ekron, Ashdod, and Ashkelon). T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004), following Killebrew (1998a), also document a small number of cooking jugs and closed-form cooking pots found at sites that do not demonstrate additional evidence of Philistine migration.

The dominant cooking vessel form in the early phases of settlement at Tel Miqne is the Aegean-style cooking jug (Fig. 4.4). These make up 95 percent (from a total of 377

¹²¹ A total of five 2-handled cooking pots were found, restricted to Stratum VC and VB, although they appear in earlier strata at Ashdod (M. Dothan and Porath 1993; T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004). Many of the cooking jugs at Tel Miqne-Ekron were not preserved with enough of the rim arc to discern if there were originally one or two handles attached to these vessels. This made it difficult to determine if the two-handle variant appeared earlier than Stratum VC. Although considered unlikely, it should be acknowledged that the 2-handled cooking jug may have appeared at Tel Miqne-Ekron in earlier contexts.

cooking vessels) of the cooking wares associated with the earliest Iron I occupation (Stratum VIIB). The remaining 5 percent consists of a few (N_{sample} = 2) variants of local early Iron Age cooking pots. When Canaanite style cooking pots do appear, they appear together with the Aegean-style cooking jugs. With the expansion of occupied area in Stratum VIB, there is a corresponding increase in the quantity of both types of cooking vessels, but the Philistine cooking jug remains the dominant cooking form from Stratum VII through Stratum VI, representing from 81-95 percent of the cooking vessels found. This pattern changes in Stratum VC. From Stratum VII on, there is a gradual increase in the percentage of local style cooking pots, but between Strata VIA and VC there is a dramatic shift in the type of cooking vessel in use. At this juncture, the Canaanite style cooking pot becomes the dominant form, replacing the earlier predominance of the Aegean-style cooking jug. This change in the cooking vessel form implies that significant changes also occurred in quotidian domestic activities.

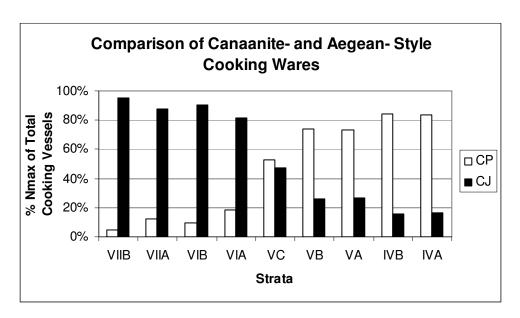


Fig. 4.4 Change over Time in Cooking Vessel Preference

Morphological, and possibly also technological, differences between the two cooking vessels appear to reflect different cooking technologies, diet, and even dining styles. Killebrew posits that the shape of the cooking jug, when compared with the cooking pot (or "bowl," as she prefers) implies a different method of cooking (1999:106-108). The cooking jug may have been used for boiling and heating food directly over an open fire or hearth, while the shape of the cooking pot reflects its use for boiling, frying, steaming or simmering (Killebrew 1999). The morphological differences between the two cooking vessel types may also relate to different dining styles. The shape of the cooking jug suggests that its contents may have been poured or dished out, possibly into smaller dishes or eating bowls. Its narrow neck necessitates a further serving activity. The large, open mouthed cooking pot, on the other hand, envisions a setting where the pot may have been placed in the middle of a social group and many hands could have reached in and helped themselves to the vessel's contents. These distinctive vessel forms

may have had corresponding influences on the shape, size and quantity of serving bowls needed. The shape of the cooking jug appears to require that the consumer have a bowl or dish in which to receive the food, whereas those eating from a cooking pot could have easily reached in and eaten with hands, bread or other perishable utensil.

The small size of the cooking jug, as well as its restricted neck, in relation to the indigenous Iron Age cooking pot, suggest that it may have been used to serve a smaller number of people, or that its use was restricted to only a part of the meal, which may have been cooked separately, e.g., a small portion of meat that was combined with vegetables or grains that were cooked in a different type of container. In a study of Late Bronze and Iron Age cooking vessels from Tel es-Sa'idiyeh, Jordan, Vilders documented two morphologically different, but contemporary, cooking vessel types (1992; 1993), which she associated with different cooking methods. A wide mouthed form could have been used for the cooking of meat, whereas a vessel with a more restricted opening might have been used for cooking vegetables. A study of ceramic vessels from the Aegean used various methods of organic residue analysis to ascertain the original contents of the pots (Tzedakis and Martlew 1999). A review of the cooking jugs and jars that are morphologically similar to the Philistine cooking jugs suggests that, in the Aegean, cooking vessels were used to cook a variety of different foods. Predominant among their findings was a mixture of resinated wine, honey and barley, which their study suggests was a popular beverage in the Late Mycenaean III period (1999:207). This mixture was discovered in both cooking vessels and small storage containers indicating that "these

were standard ingredients of cooking, which could also be fermented into beverages" (Tzedakis and Martlew 1999:208). 122

At Tel Miqne-Ekron, the cooking jug is assumed to be associated with a distinctive foreign "cuisine" (Killebrew 1998b, 1999; Yasur-Landau 2002), whose sudden appearance in the ceramic assemblage parallels a change in herd profiles and management strategies seen in the faunal assemblage (B. Hesse 1986; Lev-Tov 2000). In addition to relatively large percentages of pig bones, recent analysis of the faunal remains suggests that the site's inhabitants were butchering dogs (B. Hesse, pers. comm., April 2000). Further evidence for this Philistine practice are the bones of a puppy found in an Aegean-style cooking jug at Ashkelon (T. Dothan 2003:189, note 1 and 209, note 18). This custom may be related to Aegean dog butchering practices, a feature not associated with local cultural traditions (B. Hesse, pers. comm., April 2000).

Basins (BSN) were large, generally undecorated open vessels, with two horizontal handles. They are usually identified as having a domestic function, associated with food preparation (T. Dothan 1998b:154; 1998c:23). Alternatively, Sherratt (1998:305 and note 26) posited that basins, similar in shape to those found at Tel Miqne-Ekron, may have been used to hold unspun wool. These vessels form part of the Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic assemblage (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004). Too few

¹²² Although this study can not inform on the use of these ingredients in the Levant, we should consider the possibility that the foreign style cooking jugs in Philistia were used to cook a cuisine that was not native to Levantine tastes. Unfortunately, a similar research program has not been conducted in the Levant on either the cooking jugs or cooking pots.

examples of this vessel form have been found in Philistia to assist in determining its function. 123

In Field IV Lower, fourteen (N_{sample}) examples of basins were found, none of them intact. In this field, the basin was limited in its chronological distribution to Stratum VI, with 8 in Stratum VIB and 6 in Stratum VIA. An earlier example of this form, recovered intact, was found in Field X, Stratum VIIA (T. Dothan 1998c:21-23, where it was described as a "kalathos"). A second intact basin was discovered in Field I, Stratum VI (Killebrew 1998b). The sample of basins from Field IV Lower ranged in diameter from 16 to 32 cm, comparable to kraters in size, 124 with a variety of rim styles and shapes including both shallow and deep examples. None of the examples cited here were decorated, although T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004) list decorated sherds from two basins found in unstratified contexts in Field I.

Storage Containers (Fig. 4.12m)

Store Jars (JR), after bowls, made-up the largest category of ceramic vessels found in Field IV Lower ($N_{sample} = 1041$). The typical store jar, which demonstrates local development from the Late Bronze Age form (Amiran 1969:232-233), was ovoid in shape, with a short neck, rounded to thickened rim, rounded to slightly carinated shoulders and two handles. The average diameter of store jars, measured at the rim, was 8-9 cm, with 83 percent of the jars falling in the 8-11 cm range. This pattern supports the

¹²³ Future study of this vessel type might look at use-wear patterns as a method for determining vessel function.

¹²⁴ Yasur-Landau (Yasur-Landau 2002:177) suggested that local style coarse-ware kraters could have been used for food preparation in place of the large basins. This is an interesting idea, but not possible to more fully examine at this time.

concept that the size of store jars in use at Tel Miqne-Ekron was relatively standardized. Similar to the pattern seen with kraters, the chronological distribution of jars formed a normal curve, following the overall pattern of artifact recovery. The largest quantities of store jars were found in Strata VIA through VB, but the distribution suggests that they were a fairly common form in use throughout the phases of the Iron I. A few examples of store-jar forms, which were not typical of the Field IV Iron I assemblage, included collared-neck store jars in Stratum V, hole mouth jars in Strata VA-IV, and thick-walled, sharply carinated small jars in Strata VB/C to IVB. A few fragments of painted jars ($N_{\text{sample}} = 11$) were found in Strata VII through VC, with the greatest concentration in the earlier phases, from Strata VIIB-VIB ($N_{\text{sample}} = 9$). The painted decoration may suggest that these vessels functioned in serving, as opposed to storage, contexts, but the sample was too small and fragmentary (only handles) to reflect any distinct functional or spatial distribution.

Canaanite-style store jars were commonly exchanged around the Mediterranean basin (Leonard 1996) and are not uncommon in Cypriote sites in contexts dating to around 1200 BCE. For example, Åström recorded more than 10,000 Canaanite jar fragments at the site of Hala Sultan Teke and over 5000 at Maa, Kalavasos and other Cypriote sites, including both imported and locally produced vessels (Åström 1993:310-311). These jars were used to transport a variety of commodities including wine, oil, beer, preserved meat, fish, honey, resin and processed fruit, among other things (Leonard

¹²⁵ Few intact store jars were recovered, but six whole store jars found in Strata V through IV suggest a fair degree of standardization in shape and size, with a large degree of variation in rim style. These store jars were typologically similar to the common store jar type found in Strata XI-X at Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985b:54-56).

1996). The discovery of these vessels in both settlement and tomb contexts (e.g., Mountjoy 1993:20) suggests that Canaanite-style store jars were recognized as functional storage containers in contemporary Aegean contexts (see also T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:32, note 28). In the early Iron Age ceramic assemblages at Philistine sites, store jars are generally considered to be a functional form that is borrowed by the immigrants from the local repertoire (Killebrew 1998b:397; Yasur-Landau 2002), as no similar large storage container has been recognized in the Mycenaean IIIC:1 assemblage.

Alternatively, a few Canaanite-style store jars recovered from the early Iron I occupation levels at Tel Miqne-Ekron were manufactured with clay fabrics more similar to the Mycenaean IIIC:1 wares than to the local Canaanite vessel assemblage (Killebrew 1998a:206). These may suggest that Philistine potters were either intentionally imitating Canaanite-style vessels (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:32) or that this style of store jar was already well-integrated into their domestic assemblage before their arrival at Tel Miqne-Ekron.

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Only a few **pithoi** (**PTH**) or large storage containers ($N_{sample} = 10$) were found in this area of the excavations. Based on the diameter at the rim, the pithoi averaged between 16-20 cm. in diameter. The sample was too small to discern chronological or spatial distinctions. Pithoi appeared evenly distributed across the strata, associated with surfaces dating from Strata VIA to IVB.

¹²⁶ Therefore, similar to the problem associated with the designation of flasks (see above), it is difficult to ascribe Canaanite-style store jars to the domestic assemblage of either the Philistine or local population. In the present statistical study, I have retained the traditional designation of store jars as part of the local Canaanite ceramic assemblage, following Killebrew (1998a; 1998b:397) and Zukerman and Gitin (in preparation)

Varia (Fig. 4.12n)

A number of other ceramic forms, although not necessarily part of a dining assemblage, should be noted, as mention of their chronological and spatial distribution is an important part of the later analysis (See Chapters 7 and 8).

Besides storage jars, **ceramic spouted oil lamps (LMP)** are also recognized as a local form that does not seem to have a direct functional equivalent in the Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic assemblage (Killebrew 1998b:397; Yasur-Landau 2002:181). ¹²⁷ In Field IV Lower, $N_{min} = 18^{128}$ spouted oil lamps were found, concentrated in Stratum VI and the early phases of Stratum V. ¹²⁹ Five of the eighteen lamps displayed evidence of use in the form of traces of ash or burning on the interior and/or nozzle. ¹³⁰ These were of the typical Iron I style (Amiran 1969:291-293), handmade, with a shallow saucer, pinched spout, and either a rounded or flat-disc base. Of the 57 total lamp fragments found (including 1 in Stratum IIA), only 11 could be assigned to a type.

Six lamps were found either whole or intact. One of these, and one of the rim fragments, had a red painted band along the rim. Two of the whole vessels were found as part of lamp and bowl foundation deposits, one in Stratum VIB and one in Stratum VC.

Although see above, the use of bowls as lamps. Note also Mountjoy's suggestion (see above footnote 73) that, in the Aegean, lipless bowls were used as lamps (Mountjoy 1993:58).

While lamps can be identified by nozzle and often by shape of rim, the identification of type in our typological scheme could only be done on the basis of base style. Therefore the minimum number of lamp types was based, not on rim, but on those pieces which included a base. Pieces which did not include a base but which included a large fragment of sherd with the rim were included in the sample as they did not significantly alter the stratigraphic picture, but allowed for a larger sample. The addition of all small rim fragments did distort the stratigraphic picture, and therefore these were not included.

 $^{^{129}}$ VIB = 4, VIA = 5, VC = 4, all other phases have only l lamp each.

¹³⁰ An attempt was made to record all signs of burning on vessels but this was not always accomplished. The presence of a nozzle, i.e. the part of the vessel most likely to show use-wear in this category, was not the main criterion for MNV (see above). Of the 57 total lamp sherds recovered, at least 18 had traces of ash or other signs of burning on the spout, edge or interior of the vessel.

These will be more fully discussed in Chapter 8. An additional intact lamp was discovered together with a Stratum IVA pottery cache, and a second one was found within the Stratum IIA/Iron II scoop debris. Of these four examples, only the latter was noted as showing evidence of use.

Two different types of **strainers** (**STR**) [sometimes referred to as "sieves" (Homès-Fredericq and Franken 1986:24)] were identified: the more common bowl-shaped strainer with a rounded to flattened pierced base and horizontal handle ($N_{max} = 5$), and a narrow elongated closed-shaped strainer, with rounded, pierced base. Ceramic bowl-shaped strainers are usually considered to be an imitation, in clay, of the metal strainer found in bronze wine drinking sets (see, e.g., Dayagi-Mendels 1999:36, illustration). These metal sets, often found in tombs dated to the Late Bronze Age, included a strainer, drinking bowl and jug or other pouring vessel from which the wine was poured through the strainer (T. Dothan 1979:20-22; Pritchard 1968:103; Tubb 1988:69 and 70, fig. 49 and 50).

Only one fragment was found of the second strainer type and it may have formed the base of a large vessel of unknown shape. From sherds of pierced vessel fragments, it was not always possible to differentiate between individual strainer vessels and pieces of strainer jugs, and some of the strainer fragments may have been incorrectly designated as parts of miscellaneous types of strainer jugs. Fragments of strainers were found from Strata VIB through IVA, but the largest concentration ($N_{max} = 4$) was in Stratum V. The four examples associated with surfaces ranged in date from Strata VIA through VA.

Funnels (MISC2 and MISC4) included a miscellaneous assortment of vessel types, whose shapes suggested that were used to constrict the flow of materials, used in transferring substances, either liquid or fine-textured, from one container to another (Homès-Fredericq and Franken 1986:23). Some of the funnels seemed to have been initially produced for this intended function, whereas others may have been the product of secondary modifications. These latter forms included a variety of possibly reused bowls, jugs and juglets with pierced bases. This sample of funnels is small, but they seem to represent an *ad hoc* functional form. They have a wide chronological range, occurring randomly throughout the Iron I occupation levels.

Spinning bowls (SPB) are large bowls in which handles were attached to the interior base of the bowl. Egyptian tomb paintings and models demonstrate the use of these tools in the "twisting" of flax for linen manufacture (Allen 1997; Barber 1991:70-77). This is also supported by groove marks worn into the underside of the interior handles (Allen 1997; T. Dothan 1963). Spinning bowls appear in Palestinian contexts beginning in the Late Bronze Age, and reflect an Egyptian influence (T. Dothan 1963; Killebrew 1998a:163).

A total of nine fragments were found in the Field IV Lower excavations. These came from a wide variety of bowl forms, evidenced by different base styles, including rounded, ring and disc bases. Only 1 spinning bowl was preserved with a measurable rim, measuring 25 cm in diameter. Based on the circumference of the bases and interior slopes, most of the preserved examples were of a similar bowl size. Spinning bowl fragments ranged in date from Strata VIA through IVB, but only 6 fragments were found

associated with surfaces. This smaller sample clustered in Stratum VIA with four examples. This occupational stratum can be associated with the time frame in which they were in use.

A complete catalogue of the **Loomweights** from Tel Miqne-Ekron will be compiled by O. Shamir and A. de Vincenz, but a few notes should be mentioned here, particularly because the stylistic attribution of these artifacts has often been discussed in the literature on Philistine ethnicity (e.g., Barako 2001; Bunimovitz 1999; T. Dothan 1998b; Stager 1995; Yasur-Landau 2002). Approximately 53 ceramic loomweights were recovered from the Iron I occupation strata in Field IV Lower, with the largest concentrations found in Strata VIA through VB/C.

There was a great deal of variability in the size, shape and weight of the loomweights, but they could generally be classified into four different categories, based on shape (Table 4.4). The most common form (N_{max} = 28), and the earliest to appear chronologically, beginning in Stratum VIB in Field IV, was the cylindrical-shaped loomweight. One earlier example was found in Field X in Stratum VIIB (T. Dothan 1998c:21; T. Dothan, *et al.* 1998a:14). This loomweight style, also referred to in the literature as "spoolweights" or "reels," is a form which appears in the Aegean and Cyprus and has been associated with Philistine immigrants (Barako 2001:29; T. Dothan 1998b:154-155; 1998c:21; Stager 1995:346-347; Yasur-Landau 2002:184-185). It is shaped as a roughly formed, solid cylinder of unbaked clay, pinched slightly at the waist, around which the threads were tied. The final identification of these clay artifacts as 'loomweights' was confirmed by their discovery, at Ashkelon, where they were found in

rows aligned along the walls "that suggested they had been dropped from vertical weaving looms" (Stager 1995:346). Also in this room were found large concentrations of textile fibers (Stager 1995:346). A few examples of this loomweight style were also found at Ashdod (M. Dothan and Porath 1993).

The Aegean-style loomweight continued to be the most common form of loomweight in use in Field IV Lower, representing 57 percent of the assemblage in Stratum VB. It is tempting to suggest that the lack of this form in post Stratum V contexts implies that it was no longer the loomweight of choice among the weavers at Tel Miqne-Ekron, but this is probably not the case. Alternatively, the apparent discontinuity of cylindrical loomweights is more likely a result of the very small sample of Stratum IV loomweights ($N_{max} = 2$), implying that weaving was no longer conducted in this area of the site, and not necessarily the end of this Aegean weaving practice. ¹³¹

The other loomweight styles present included round-perforated and conical shaped loomweights, which are common Iron I loomweight shapes found in the Levant (Friend 1998). Both of these shapes have a small hole or perforation, through which the threads could be pulled (Friend 1998). The round-perforated style was the second most numerous form in use in Field IV Lower ($N_{max} = 16$). It was spherical in shape, with a rounded hole in its center. This style appeared in a variety of sizes and shapes, some of which were flattened and others had enlarged perforations. These latter are sometimes

access this assemblage.

¹³¹ Additional evidence for the continuity of cylindrical/Aegean style loomweights is the appearance of this loomweight style amongst the assemblage of ceramic loomweights found at the 8th century BCE site of Kfar Menachem, a crafts workshop complex located in the same geographical region as Tel Miqne-Ekron (Mazow 2003). I would like to thank Yigal Yisrael from the Israel Antiquities Authority for permission to

referred to as "doughnut-shaped." Chronologically, round-perforated loomweights appear in Iron I contexts in Field IV Lower from Strata VIA through IVA, but cluster in Strata VIA and VB. Only a few conical or pyramidal shaped loomweights were recovered. The majority were found in Stratum VB.

Table 4.4 Chronological Distribution of Loomweights

		Round			
Stratum	Cylindrical	Perforated	Conical	frags	Total
VIB	5	0	0	0	5
VIA	5	8	1	3	17
VC	4	0	0	0	4
VB	12	5	4	0	21
VA	2	1	0	1	4
IVB	0	1	0	0	1
IVA	0	1	0	0	1
	28	16	5	4	53

Analysis by Function and Style

Typological studies of the Philistine ceramic assemblage have described it as comprised predominantly of decorated tablewares (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004; Killebrew 1998b, 2000; Stager 1995). In comparison to the local, Canaanite wares, the Philistine wares are highly decorated forms, including bowls, kraters and a variety of specialized pouring vessels and small containers. Although studies acknowledge the continuity of the indigenous early Iron Age/Canaanite ceramic traditions at Philistine sites, in general the local nature of the material has been downplayed (Barako 2001:13; Ben-Shlomo 2003:87; T. Dothan 1998b:154; T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:7; Stager 1995). Reports describe the local wares as comprising the majority of closed forms –

¹³² I would like to thank A. de Vincenz for her preliminary catalogue and basic form descriptions of the Field IV Lower loomweights.

including large storage jars and jugs (Killebrew 1998b:397). Spouted oil lamps also appear as part of the make-up of the local ceramic assemblage (Killebrew 1998b:397). It has therefore been suggested that the Philistine immigrants 'filled-in,' with local wares substituting for vessel functions that they did not bring with them (Barako 2001:13, note 7, 204; Bunimovitz 1990:212; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996:92; T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:32; Killebrew 1998b:397). A number of scholars have pointed out that the vessel types that comprise the locally manufactured Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery, represent only a limited and narrow range of forms (Bunimovitz 1990:212; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996:92; Killebrew 1998b; Sherratt 1998). As compared to the Mycenaean forms previously imported as trade items in the Late Bronze Age, consisting primarily of closed forms and containers, the repertoire of the locally produced Mycenaean wares in the early Iron Age is comprised almost entirely of open forms (Killebrew 1998b; Yasur-Landau 2002). These open vessels, or "tablewares," including bell-shaped bowls and kraters, have been identified as forms drawn from an Aegean-style wine drinking set (Killebrew 1998b:397; Sherratt 1998). Other forms, however, which are seen as common components of the Aegean wine drinking set, for example kylikes, are either absent or appear in very small numbers within the Philistine repertoire (see also Yasur-Landau 2002). Closed vessels (e.g., feeding bottles, stirrup jars and strainer jugs) are relatively rare in the Philistine decorated assemblage and become even rarer in Stratum V, a period which saw a dramatic increase in the production of Phil kraters.

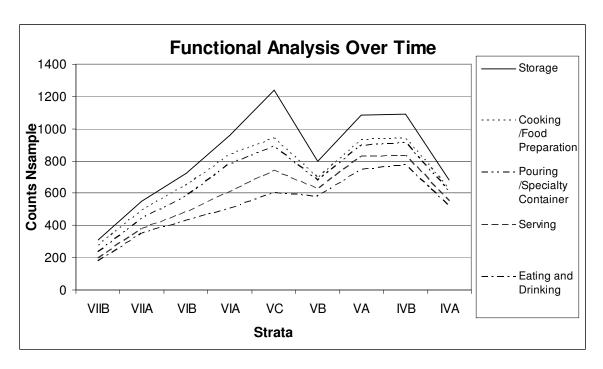


Fig. 4.5 Chronological Comparison by Function

In order to explore the roles played by the different ceramic traditions within the overall ceramic repertoire, I examined which functional groups were produced in each of the different stylistic classes and what part these functional categories played within each contemporary occupational phase. The vessel forms, which appear in the Iron I ceramic assemblage in Field IV lower include primarily open shapes, essentially bowls and kraters, but also closed shapes, mostly pouring vessels, and cooking jugs. A diachronic analysis of function demonstrates striking homogeneity over time in the overall ceramic assemblage (Fig. 4.5). These patterns seem to reflect the reproduction of a domestic assemblage in this area throughout all phases of the Iron I. 134

with Stratum VB appear to show a bi-modality in the data, with peaks in Strata VC and VA. I suggest that

¹³³ The drop in vessel frequency in Stratum VB is probably a reflection of the problematic stratigraphy of this phase. An exploration of the material from Strata VC and VB demonstrated that, when viewed as distinct phases, the data tend to form outliers. The decrease in counts in all functional classes associated

Within this overall domestic array, cross assemblage comparisons displayed a number of interesting patterns, both synchronically and diachronically. The assemblage of local Canaanite Tradition Vessels maintains a similar breakdown in categories throughout all the phases of the Iron I (Fig. 4.6a-i). Approximately 50-60 percent of the assemblage is dedicated to eating and drinking vessels (primarily bowls, but also chalices appear from Stratum VIA through IVA) and 20-25 percent is made-up of storage vessels. 135 In Stratum VII-VI, pouring/specialty containers and serving vessels make up approximately 30 percent of the assemblage, but there is a decrease in the percentage of these vessel types in Stratum VA-IV, when they represent less than 10 percent of the assemblage. This pattern may begin already in Stratum VB/C. Cooking vessels consistently represent only a small (less than 5%) part of the assemblage. This may reflect the relatively large size of Canaanite-style cooking vessels, which could have been used to cook a large amount of food to feed a sizable group of people, ¹³⁶ or that other cooking technologies, which did not require a cooking pot, prevailed. There is only a slight increase in the percentage of cooking vessels in association with the growing

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this more likely reflects the excavation strategy and formation processes than ceramic variation between phases. A perusal of the distribution of materials in Strata VC and VB demonstrates that only a few areas revealed evidence of two distinct occupation phases (VC and VB), and therefore few surfaces and little material were assigned to Stratum VB. Chronologically, typologically and architecturally, Stratum VB can be viewed as a continuation of Stratum VC. In addition, the graph shows that the contribution of each functional category to the whole in Stratum VB denotes a similar pattern to what is seen in the other strata. Therefore, although I do not wish to conclude that there was only one phase of use, for purposes of this analysis these two strata will be examined as one assemblage.

¹³⁴ The only noticeable difference is an increase in storage containers in Stratum VC.

¹³⁵ The increase in the number of storage vessels associated with Stratum VC, noted in the functional analysis, is also seen here by an increase in the percentage of storage vessels. This anomaly can not be evaluated at this time, but may reflect the overall increase in wealth associated with the height of Ekron's prosperity at this time.

¹³⁶ A comparison of the percentage of cooking vessels within contemporary Iron I ceramic assemblages at

¹³⁶ A comparison of the percentage of cooking vessels within contemporary Iron I ceramic assemblages at other sites might be helpful as a means of evaluating the data presented here. Unfortunately, few sites have published comparable quantitative data.

dominance of this form as the preferred cooking vessel from Stratum VC on. One needs to take this into consideration when attempting to reconstruct population demographics based on cooking vessel style, i.e. that the small quantity of local style cooking pots in comparison to the Aegean-style cooking jug in the early phases of the Iron I as reflecting fewer Canaanite households may be as much perception as anything else.

The assemblage of locally produced Mycenaean IIIC:1 or early Philistine assemblage (Fig. 4.7a-c) is made up almost entirely of eating and drinking vessels (71-77%) and cooking wares (24-26%). Pouring/specialty containers make up a consistently small fraction of the assemblage (approximately 3%), as well as serving vessels (approximately 2%), which, already in Stratum VIB, are replaced by kraters decorated in a bichrome style. These data suggest an overall pattern of domestic activities, focused on food preparation and consumption. The equally small numbers of kraters and specialty pouring vessels supports an hypothesis of limited Aegean-style drinking practices (cf., Steel 2004; J. C. Wright 2004b), but this activity was not the focus of the assemblage. Therefore a model based on feasting rituals alone does not sufficiently explain the presence of the entire Philistine domestic tool kit. Nor do the data support a model of functional substitution. A comparison between the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and contemporary local Canaanite ceramic traditions by both vessel function and production system depicts a pattern of functional redundancy, whereby both cultural systems are producing a full array of domestic tools.

A comparison of the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and later Philistine ceramic traditions suggests important changes in the types of vessels produced. Serving vessels, as well as

pouring vessels and specialty containers, become much more significant functional types within the later Philistine ceramic repertoire, together representing from 15 percent to 30 percent of the assemblage (Fig. 4.8a-f and 4.9 a-f). This pattern is reproduced in the red-slipped assemblage (Ill 4.10a-c). A cross-assemblage comparison of the three functional categories, eating/drinking, serving and pouring, which appear in all of the assemblages, particularly highlights the significant role played by the later Philistine-style serving vessels (Fig. 4.11a,b,c). These patterns imply a change in the use of the Aegean-influenced wares, from a primarily domestic assemblage to one whose concentration on decorated serving containers suggests that it functioned primarily as a table or fine-ware assemblage. This focus is replicated in the red-slipped assemblage, which becomes the dominant decorated ceramic style, replacing both the late Philistine and local painted traditions.

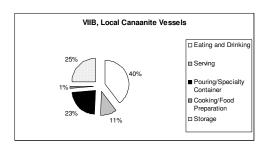
In subsequent chapters, I will focus on examining these developments in context.

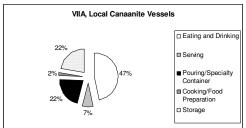
A number of architectural modifications were concomitant with these ceramic transitions and assist in highlighting building function. An investigation of contemporary spatial patterns also provides insight into the function of the ceramic assemblages. An important aspect of this work, however, is its focus on both change and continuity, for both the ceramic and architectural transitions are embedded in past structures. Therefore, the final

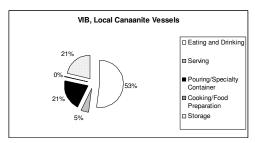
¹³⁷ Cooking jugs are generally associated with the production of Mycenaean IIIC:1 wares. Therefore, there is no category of vessels within the later Philistine assemblage that would be characterized as "food preparation." In order to make the two assemblages comparable, I have presented the later Philistine charts in two views, one which includes the continued (Stratum VI-VC) production of cooking jugs with the later Philistine assemblage and one which does not. This later is presented in order to allow comparisons between the Philistine pottery and the vessels produced in the red-slipped assemblage.

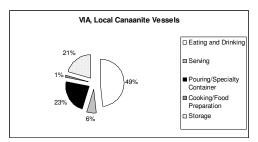
chapter will examine these developments, within a contextual framework, as acculturative strategies of maintenance and adaptation.

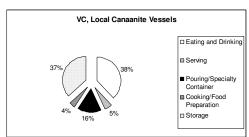
Fig. 4.6a-i Functional Categories in Local Canaanite Assemblage

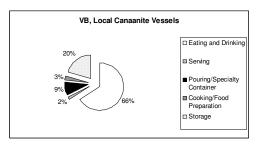


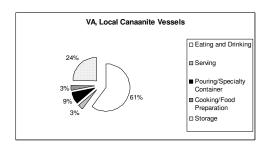


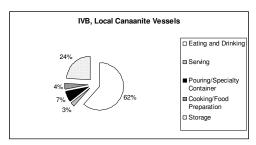












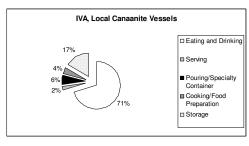
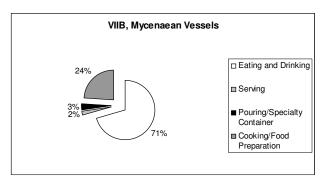
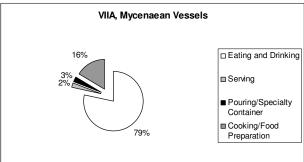


Fig. 4.7a-c Functional Categories in Mycenaean IIIC:1 Assemblage





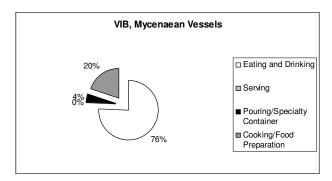
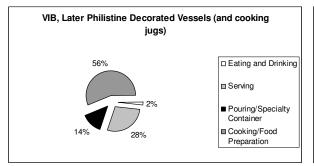
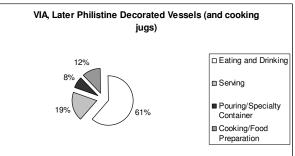
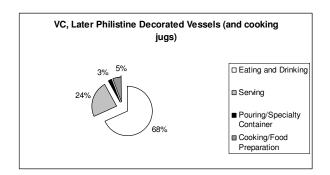
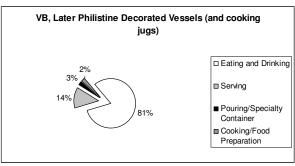


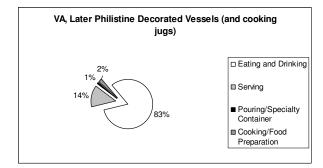
Fig. 4.8a-f Functional Categories in Later Philistine Assemblage (with cooking jugs)











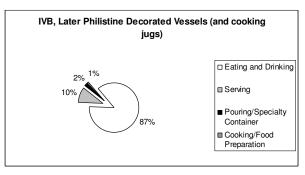
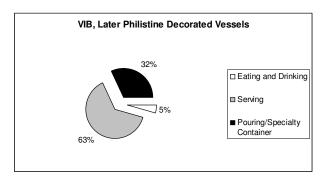
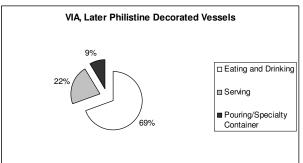
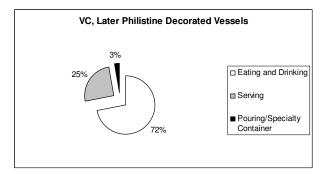
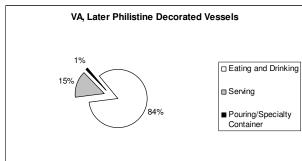


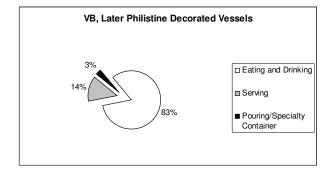
Fig. 4.9a-f Functional Categories in Later Philistine Assemblage











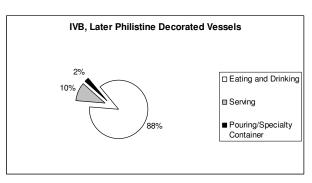
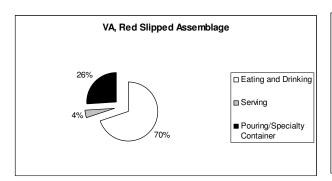
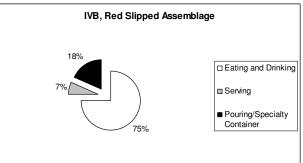


Fig. 4.10a-c Functional Categories in Red-Slipped Assemblage





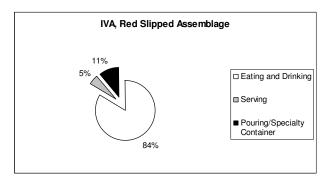


Fig. 4.11a Comparison of Changes in Eating and Drinking Vessels by Stylistic Class

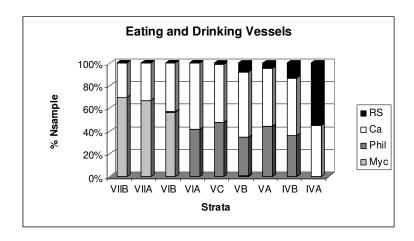
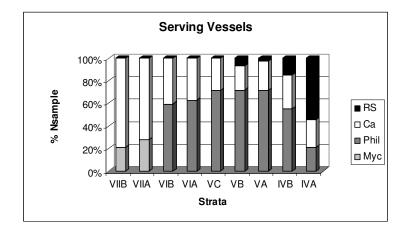


Fig. 4.11b Comparison of Changes in Serving Vessels by Stylistic Class



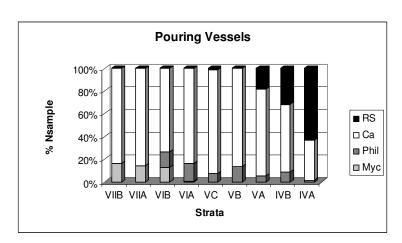
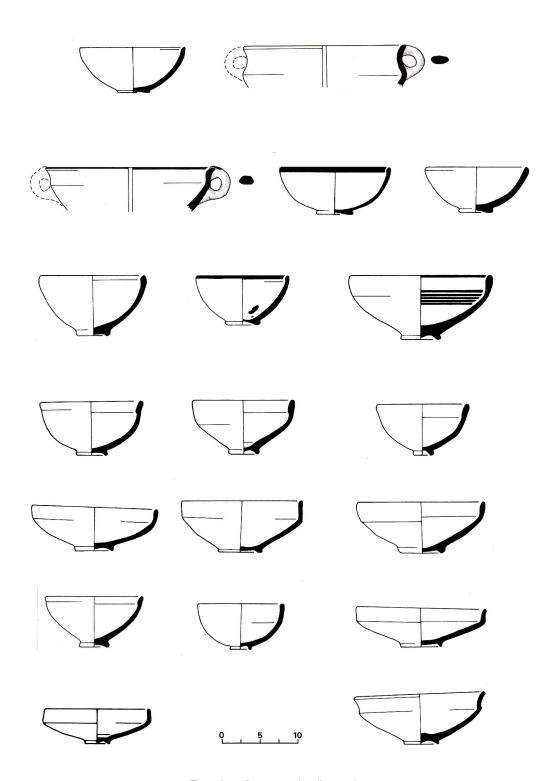


Fig. 4.11c Comparison of Changes in Pouring Vessels by Stylistic Class

Fig. 4.12a Plate 1, Local/Canaanite Bowls, Descriptions and Pottery

Plate	Plate Ref	Form	Style	Decor.	Bucket	Locus	Str.
	(Zukerman and Gitin in preparation)						
1:1	17:3	bowl	СО		IVNW.026.294/ 70	Debris 26115	VIIA
1:2	18:12	bowl	СО		IVNW.042.321/ 32	Surface lamination 42112	VIIA
1:3	18:13	bowl	СО	self slip, red paint	IVNW.026.258/ 13	Debris 26115	VIIA
1:4	31:21	bowl	СО	red paint	IVNW.007.130/ 01	Foundation Deposit 7032	VIB
1:5	46:1	bowl	СО		IVNW.027.380/ 14	Fill 27100	VIA
1:6	46:17	bowl	СО		IVNE.008.273/ 02	Debris 8072	VIA
1:7	46:35	bowl	СО	red paint	IVNE.009.234/ 01	Debris 9070	VIA
1:8	47:9	bowl	СО	red paint	IVNW.043.324/ 01	Fill 43084.1	VIA
1:9	69:5	bowl	СО		IVNE.007.267/ 09	Pottery on surface 7059P	VB
1:10	69:7	bowl	СО		IVNE.007.260/ 05	Pottery on surface 7059P	VB
1:11	78:5	bowl	СО		IVNW.007.036/ 10	Debris 7010	VA
1:12	69:8	bowl	СО		IVNW.009.399/ 03	Pottery on surface 9035P	VB
1:13	69:10	bowl	СО		IVNW.008.305/ 01	Pottery on surface 8034P	VB

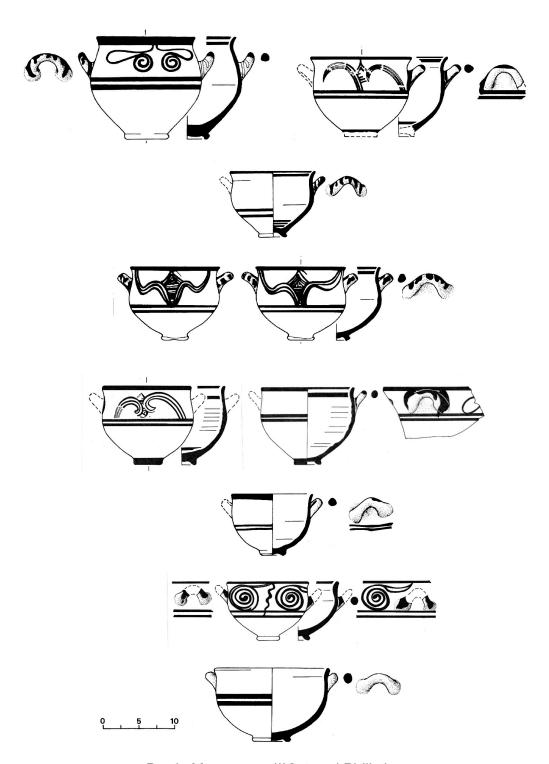
1:14	78:17	bowl	СО	IVNW.009.373/ 01	Fill 9034	VA
1:15	87:11	bowl	СО	IVNE.007.197/ 14	Surface 7035B	IVB
1:16	98:1	bowl	СО	IVNW.009.171/ 01	Debris on surface 9014P	IVA
1:17	78:18	bowl	СО	IVNW.009.323/ 08	Pottery on surface 9031P	VA
1:18	98:23	bowl	СО	IVNW.009.191/ 08	Pottery Cache 9015	IVA
1:19	98:29	bowl	СО	IVNW.041.057/ 04	Pottery on surface 41019P	IVA



Bowls- Canaanite/Local

Fig. 4.12b Plate 2, Philistine Bowls, Descriptions and Pottery

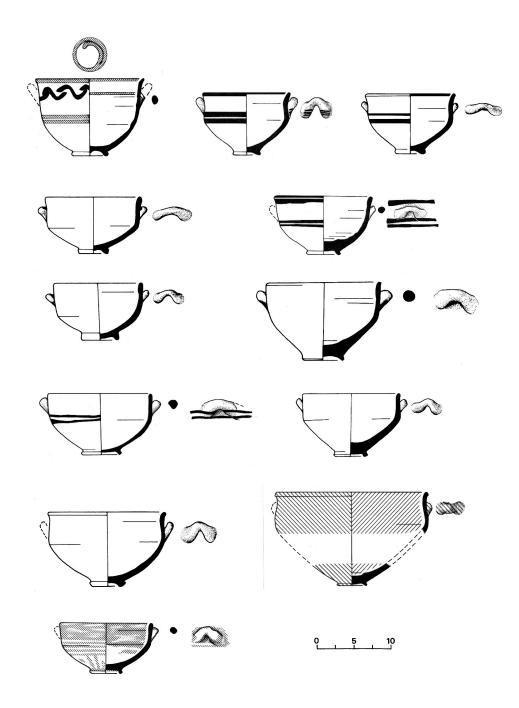
Plate	Plate Ref	Form	Style	Decor.	Bucket	Locus	Str.
	(Zukerman and Gitin in preparation)						
2:1	2:3	bowl	Myc	brown paint	IVNW.026.313/ 16	Debris/ Fill 26132	VIIB
2:2	12:9	bowl	Myc	red paint	IVNW.024.376/ 02	Debris 24091	VIIA
2:3	11:17	bowl	Myc	red paint	IVNW.024.375/ 01	Debris 24091	VIIA
2:4	12:7	bowl	Myc	red paint	IVNW.024.385/ 02	Debris 24091	VIIA
2:5	38:1	bowl	Myc	red paint	IVNW.007.139/ 02	Sunken Jar 7034	VIA
2:6	38:4	bowl	Myc	red paint	IVNE.023.353/ 14	Fill 23079	VIA
2:7	23:13	bowl	Phil	red paint	IVNE.023.344/ 10	Surface 23081	VIB
2:8	40:7	bowl	Phil	white slip, red paint	IVNE.007.316/ 01	Fill 7078	VC
2:9	37:15	bowl	Phil	red paint	IVNE.008.299/ 01	Debris 8072	VIA



Bowls-Mycenaean IIIC:1 and Philistine

Fig. 4.12c Plate 3, Philistine Bowls, Descriptions and Pottery

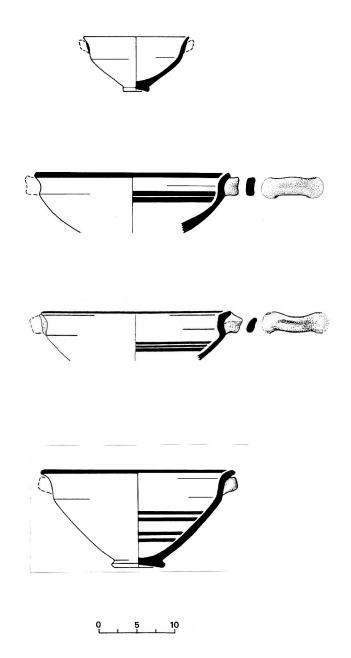
Plate	Plate Ref	Form	Style	Decor.	Bucket	Locus	Str.
	(Zukerman and Gitin in preparation)						
3:1	57:7	bowl	Phil	red and black paint	IVNW.042.280/ 15	Fill 42096	VC
3:2	67:5	bowl	Phil	red paint	IVNW.024.269/ 01	Surface 24046	VB
3:3	67:8	bowl	Phil	red paint	IVNW.007.055/ 02	Pottery on surface 7011P	VA
3:4	67:2	bowl	Phil		IVNW.007.054/ 02	Pottery on surface 7011P	VA
3:5	75:8	bowl	Phil	red paint	IVNW.024.200/ 01	Debris 24036	VA
3:6	75:1	bowl	Phil		IVNW.009.326/ 01	Surface 9030	VA
3:7	75:5	bowl	Phil		IVNW.043.155/ 50	Fill 43044	VA
3:8	85:12	bowl	Phil	red paint	IVNW.039.076/ 01	Fill/ Debris 39017B	IVB
3:9	85:7	bowl	Phil		IVNW.040.075/ 17	Fill 40017	IVB
3:10	97:8	bowl	Phil		IVNE.007.237/ 07	Surface 7035A	IVA
3:11	89:27	bowl	RS	red slip	IVNW.040.074/ 16	Fill 40014.1	IVB
3:12	85:8	bowl	Phil	red paint or slip?	IVNW.040.076/ 03	Fill 40017	IVB



Bowls-Mycenaean IIIC:1 and Philistine cont.

Fig. 4.12d Plate 4, Philistine Bowls, Descriptions and Pottery

Plate	Plate Ref	Form	Style	Decor.	Bucket	Locus	Str.
	(Zukerman and Gitin in preparation)						
4:1	13:1	bowl	Мус		IVNW.024.388/ 01	Surface 24092P	VIIA
4:2	24:18	bowl	Мус	red paint	IVNE.023.334/ 09	Surface 23081	VIB
4:3	39:12	bowl	Phil	red paint	IVNW.027.329/ 01	Surface 27086	VIA
4:4	57:15	bowl	Phil	red paint	IVNW.043.275/ 12	Surface 43072	VC

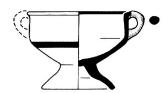


Bowls-Mycenaean IIIC:1 and Philistine Cont.

Fig. 4.12e Plate 5, Chalices, Descriptions and Pottery

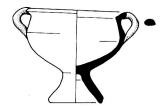
Plate	Plate Ref (Zukerman and Gitin in preparation)	Form	Style	Decor.	Bucket	Locus	Str.
5:1	45:1	chalice	Phil	white slip red and black paint	IVNE.008.273/ 13	Debris 8072	VIA
5:2	57:20	chalice	Phil	red paint	IVNE.023.235/ 01	Surface 23058	VC
5:3	97:16	chalice	Phil		IVNW.009.189/ 34	Pottery Cache 9015	IVA
5:4	97:17	chalice	Phil		IVNW.009.191/ 09	Pottery Cache 9015	IVA
5:5	66:2	chalice	СО	red paint	IVNE.009.273/ 1	Pit Fill 9084	VC
5:6	92:5	chalice	RS	red slip	IVNW.024.150/ 01	Surface 24023	IVB



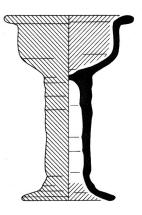


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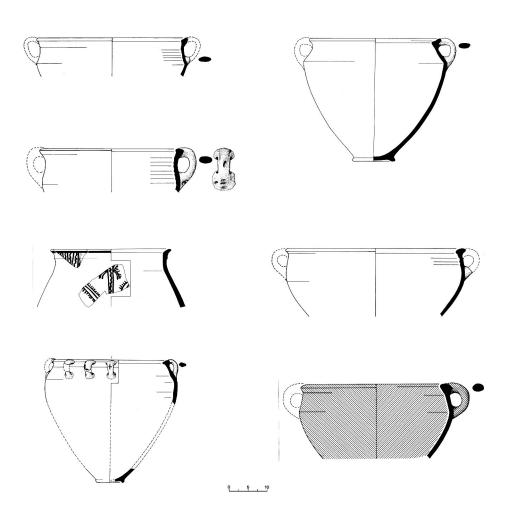




Chalices

Fig. 4.12f Plate 6, Local Canaanite Kraters, Descriptions and Pottery

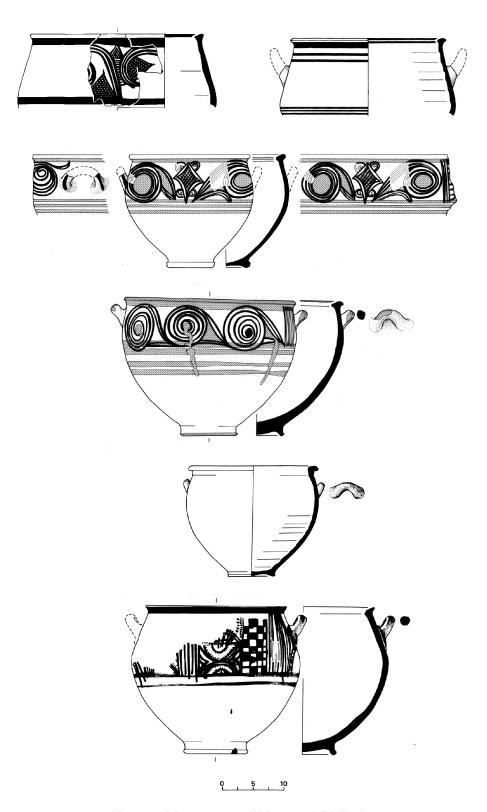
Plate	Plate Ref (Zukerman and Gitin in preparation)	Form	Style	Decor.	Bucket	Locus	Str.
6:1	7:12	krater	СО		IVNW.026.306/ 20	Debris 26128.1	VIIB
6:2	19:1	krater	СО		IVNW.043.405/ 05	Debris 43101	VIIA
6:3	72:3	krater	СО		IVNE.007.260/ 12	Pottery on surface 7059P	VB
6:4	64:9	krater	СО	white slip red paint	IVNE.023.292/ 02	Fill 23075	VC
6:5	91:5	krater	СО		IVNE.023.142/ 02	Fill 23027B	IVB
6:6	91:1	krater	СО		IVNW.026.111/ 01	Sherd Surface 26034	IVB
6:7	105:4	krater	RS	red slip, burnishe d	IVNW.027.072/ 01	Surface 27023	IB



Kraters-Canaanite/Local

Fig. 4.12g Plate 7, Philistine Kraters, Descriptions and Pottery

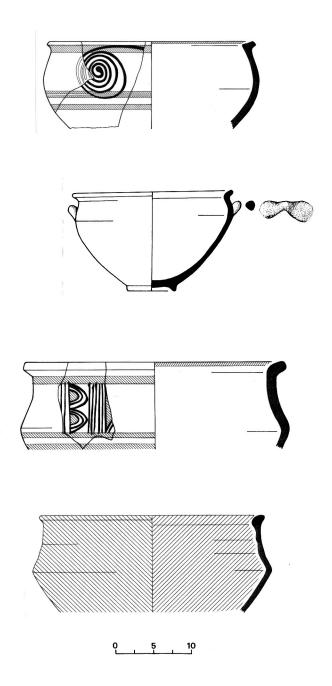
Plate	Plate Ref	Form	Style	Decor.	Bucket	Locus	Str.
	(Zukerman and Gitin in preparation)						
7:1	14:7	krater	Myc	red paint	IVNW.024.387/ 07	Surface 24092P	VIIA
7:2	14:3	krater	Мус	white slip, red paint	IVNW.024.377/ 04	Surface 24092P	VIIA
7:3	41:11	krater	Phil	white slip, red and black paint	IVNE.009.232/ 14	Debris 9070	VIA
7:4	58:3	krater	Phil	white slip, red and black paint	IVNW.008.315/ 01	Pottery on surface 8038P	VC
7:5	68:1	krater	Phil		IVNW.009.381/ 04	Pottery on surface 9035P	VB
7:6	76:1	krater	Мус	white slip, black paint	IVNW.025.287/ 01	Surface 25092A	VIA



Kraters-Mycenaean IIIC:1 and Philistine

Fig. 4.12h Plate 8, Philistine Kraters, Descriptions and Pottery

Plate	Plate Ref (Zukerman and Gitin in preparation)	Form	Style	Decora tion	Bucket	Locus	Str.
8:1	68:4	krater	Phil	white slip red and black paint	IVNE.007.260/ 07	Pottery on surface 7059P	VB
8:2	97:9	bowl	Phil		IVNE.007.172/ 6	Pottery on surface/ Debris 7035P	IVA
8:3	68:7	krater	Phil	white slip red and black paint	IVNE.024.213/ 31	Debris/ Surface 24025	VB
8:4	90:19	krater	RS	red slip	IVNE.023.115/ 05	Surface 23027A	IVB



Kraters-Mycenaean IIIC:1 and Philistine Cont.

Fig. 4.12i Plate 9, Pouring Vessels, Descriptions and Pottery

Plate	Plate Ref (Zukerman and Gitin in preparation)	Form	Style	Decor.	Bucket	Locus	Str.
9:1	36:2	juglet	СО		IVNE.025.384/ 02	Debris 25060	VIB
9:2	95:20	juglet	СО		IVNW.024.197/ 01	Pit 24035	IVB
9:3	108:2	juglet	RS	red slip	IVNW.024.144/ 01	Surface 24021	IVA
9:4	26:1	flask	СО		IVNE.024.286/ 01	Installation 24063	VIB
9:5	55:5	flask	СО	red paint	IVNE.008.314/ 01	Debris 8079	VIA
9:6	108:7	juglet	RS	red slip	IVNW.009.247/ 01	Pottery Cache 9015	IVA
9:7	108:8	juglet	RS	red slip, black and white paint	IVNW.009.195/ 01	Pottery Cache 9015	IVA

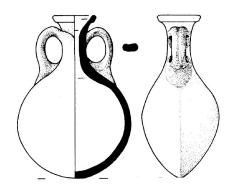






Juglets

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Flasks



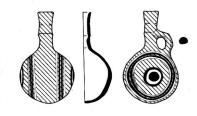
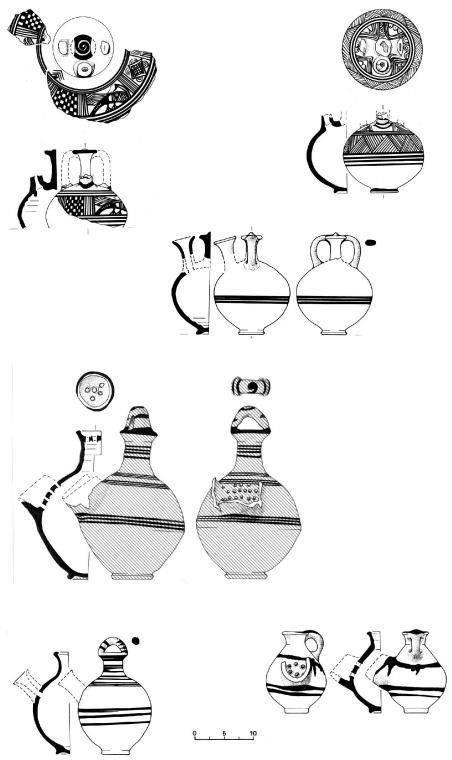


Fig. 4.12j Philistine Pouring Vessels, Descriptions and Pottery

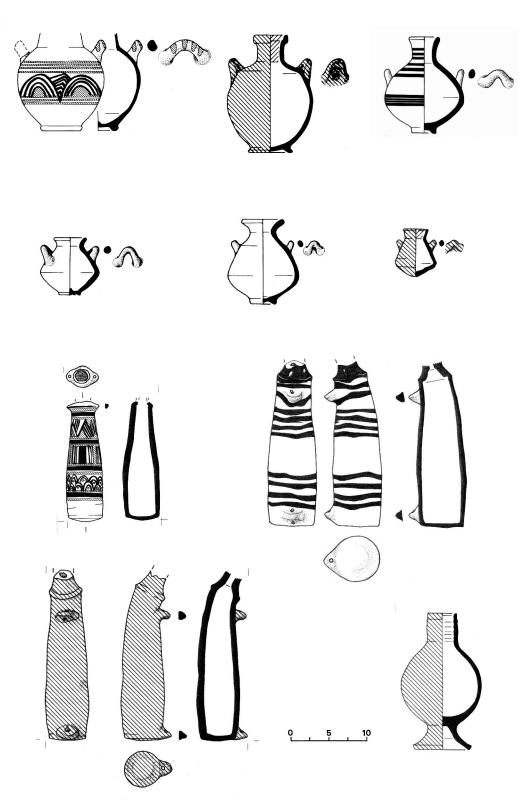
Plate	Plate Ref (Zukerman and Gitin in preparation)	Form	Style	Decor.	Bucket	Locus	Str.
10:1	26:5	stirrup jar	Мус	black paint	IVNE.025.370/ 01	Surface 25066	VIB
10:2	26:4	stirrup jar	Myc	black paint	IVNE.024.289/ 01	Installation 24063	VIB
10:3	26:6	stirrup jar	Мус	black paint	IVNE.024.285/ 01	Installation 24063	VIB
10:4	83:3	strainer jug	RS	red slip, black paint	IVNE.023.198/ 01	Surface 23039	VA
10:5	45:8	feeding bottle	Phil	red paint	IVNW.043.352/ 01	Surface 43084	VIA
10:6	77:3	strainer jug	Phil	red paint	IVNW.009.358/ 01	Pottery on surface 9031P	VA



Specialty Pouring Vessels-Mycenaean IIIC:1 and Philistine

Fig. 4.12k Plate 11, Specialty Containers, Descriptions and Pottery

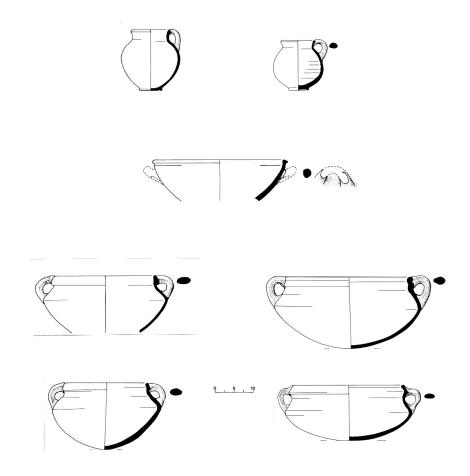
Plate Plate Ref Form Style Decor Bucket Locus							
Plate	Plate Ref	Form	Style	Decor.	Bucket	Locus	Str.
	(Zukerman and Gitin in preparation)						
11:1	45:2	amphor- iskos	Phil	white slip red and black paint	IVNE.008.297/	Debris 8072	VIA
11:2	84:13	pyxis	RS	red slip	IVNW.027.152/ 01	Drain 27046	V
11:3	108:17	pyxis	СО	red paint	IVNW.039.071/ 01	Fill 39017A	IVA
11:4	45:5	pyxis	СО		IVNE.008.305/ 01	Debris 8079	VIA
11:5	45:6	pyxis	СО		IVNE.008.301/ 10	Debris 8079	VIA
11:6	108:20	pyxis	RS	red slip	IVNW.009.193/ 02	Pottery Cache 9015	IVA
11:7	76:2	bottle	Phil	black paint	IVNW.009.345/ 01	Surface 9030	VA
11:8	76:4	bottle	Phil	white slip red paint, burnishe d	IVNW.009.349/ 01	Surface 9030	VA
11:9	76:3	bottle	RS	red slip, burnishe d	IVNW.009.346/ 01	Surface 9030	VA
11:10	92:9	goblet	RS	red slip	IVNW.009.264/ 01	Fill 9023	IVA



Specialty Containers

Fig. 4.12l Plate 12, Cooking Vessels, Descriptions and Pottery

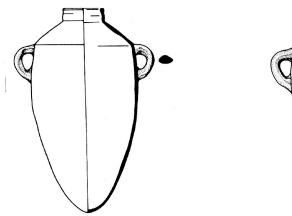
Plate	Plate Ref (Zukerman and Gitin in	Form	Style	Decor.	Bucket	Locus	Str.
	preparation)						
12:1	44:1	cooking jug	Myc		IVNE.023.328/ 01	Fill 23079	VIA
12:2	68:14	cooking jug	Мус		IVNW.009.383/ 03	Pottery on surface 9035P	VB
12:3	25:12	basin	Myc		IVNW.010.167/ 01	Fill 10053	VIB
12:4	64:13	cooking pot	СО		IVNW.008.316/ 05	Pottery on surface 8038P	VC
12:5	73:1	cooking pot	СО		IVNW.007.072/ 03	Debris 7011.1	VB
12:6	73:7	cooking pot	СО		IVNW.027.238/ 01	Fill 27065	VB
12:7	105:9	cooking pot	СО		IVNE.023.116/ 07	Pit 23034	IVA

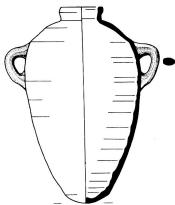


Cooking Vessels

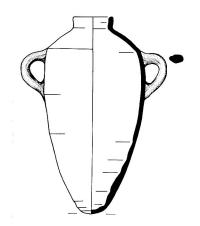
Fig. 4.12m Plate 13, Store Jars, Descriptions and Pottery

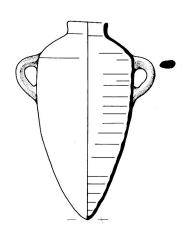
Plate	Plate Ref	Form	Style	Decor.	Bucket	Locus	Str.
	(Zukerman and Gitin in preparation)						
13:1	65:8	jar	СО		IVNW.008.312/ 04	Pottery on surface 8038P	VC
13:2	74:1	jar	СО		IVNW.009.386/ 07	Surface 9035	VB
13:3	82:8	jar	СО		IVNW.025.228/ 05	Surface 25060	VA
13:4	82:3	jar	СО		IVNW.009.379/ 04	Fill 9034	VA





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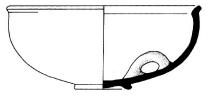
Store Jars

Fig. 4.12n Plate 14, Varia, Descriptions and Pottery

Plate	Plate Ref	Form	Style	Decor.	Bucket	Locus	Str.
	(Zukerman and Gitin in preparation)						
14:1		loom					
		weights					
14:2	49:5	spinning bowl	IR1		IVNE.007.335/ 24	Fill 7084.1	VIA
14:3	51:13	lamp	СО		IVNW.007.088/ 03	Fill 7016B	VIA

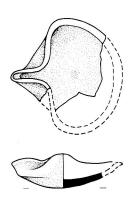


Loom Weights



Spinning Bowls





Lamp

CHAPTER 5

A CHRONOLOGICAL AND SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF BUILT FEATURES FORM AND FUNCTION

Introduction

Built features can provide a good idea of the intended function of, and activities performed within, an area (Daviau 1993). They are often a more reliable indicator than an analysis of artifact distribution, which can be distorted through a variety of formation processes (Schiffer 1987). Most studies of built-in features found in archaeological contexts in the Near East have concentrated on domestic structures, drawing from ethnographic analogy and archaeological context to associate structures with activities (Daviau 1993, 1999; O. Ilan 2001; Nakhai 1997). In the Near East, Daviau (1993; 1999), who has focused on research in Bronze and Iron Age domestic structures, has been in the forefront of this type of research.

Features are defined as non-portable elements, generally built of stone or mudbrick. Examples include pillars or pillar bases, ¹³⁸ whose presence could be used to indicate roofed or semi-roofed space, and fire installations, which are usually an indicator of activities requiring heat, such as cooking. Mudbrick benches could have been used for sitting (Daviau 1993), for storage or stacking items (Daviau 1993; O. Ilan 2001), or for the placement of votives in a cultic context (Dever 1983). Sometimes features are found in the center of rooms, suggesting that they served as a focal point for activities

¹³⁸ Pillars were probably made of wood and either didn't survive or were intentionally removed at the time of the building's destruction or abandonment. Only stone pillar bases or post holes remain as indications of the likely placement of pillars.

conducted therein. The types of features mentioned here generally appear in both elite and non-elite residential structures (Schaar 1985), as well as cultic complexes. Differences between these building types and their functions, and how one might attempt to distinguish between them, will be more fully developed in Chapter 6.

A number of rooms with unique built-in features will be discussed below (see Plans 5.1-5.9). Some of these features have been previously addressed in the literature (e.g., Barako 2001; Bunimovitz 1999; T. Dothan 2003; Stager 1995; Yasur-Landau 2002). The summary provided here is not intended to restate what has already been discussed, but to use the characteristics of these installations to assist in reconstructing room function. Inter-room and inter-building comparisons may also assist in identifying patterns of use. Therefore, I have included the published features from the Field X excavations (Bierling 1998a)¹³⁹ in this catalogue in order to enlarge the comparative sample. A few examples of parallel features in Field I (T. Dothan 2003; Killebrew 1998a; Meehl, et al. forthcoming) are also incorporated. Patterns in the distribution of features, both synchronically and diachronically, suggest that similar activities may have been common to different buildings and/or rooms. A second line of analysis will examine the ethnic or cultural attribution of some of these features. In particular, features such as hearths and 'bathtubs' have been attributed to Philistine cultural traditions (cf., Barako 2001; T. Dothan 2003; Stager 1995; Yasur-Landau 2002). The usefulness of this line of reasoning will also be discussed.

¹³⁹ Unfortunately, only the earlier Iron I strata, primarily VIIB through VIA, are preserved in Field X. Only scanty remains from Strata V and IV were excavated.

Fire Installations

The majority (total N > 35) of built features found in every phase of occupation in Field IV Lower was associated with fire and heat. These included: sherd-paved hearths set on top of mudbrick platforms, circular pebble-lined hearths, firepits, *tabuns*/ovens and 'kilns.' While the presence of cooking facilities is considered to be the best indicator of kitchen areas (Nakhai 1997:356), this variety of fire installations, their different construction techniques, and chronological and spatial distribution, may provide good evidence for a range of activities, including, but not necessarily limited to, cooking.

Although a few studies have documented different uses of heating facilities (Daviau 1993; Holladay 1997b; van der Steen 1991), these different functions have rarely been addressed in archaeological reports. This prompts us to closely examine the construction and distribution of the hearths and other fire installations uncovered in Field IV.

Built hearths have particular significance for this study for two reasons: (1) the presence of hearths at Philistine sites has been paralleled with the importance of the hearth in Aegean architecture (T. Dothan 1998b; Karageorghis 1998; Mazar 1991; Stager 1995; Yasur-Landau 2002), and (2) the presence of both hearths and *tabuns* in contemporary structures has been used as evidence of the contemporaneity of two distinct enculturative traditions (Yasur-Landau 2002:173-174), the Philistine/Aegean immigrants (hearths) and the local Canaanite (*tabuns*).

Hearths (Tables 5.4a-g)

Primarily two different types of installations have been described under the term hearth. These include both freestanding hearths built on top of rectangular mudbrick platforms and circular pebble hearths set directly into the floor (Barako 2001; T. Dothan 1998b:155-157; Yasur-Landau 2002:173). In Field IV, the former type appears from Strata VIIA-VI, while the latter type appears in Stratum VIIB in Field X and in Field IV begins in Stratum VIIA and continues through Stratum IV (Bierling 1998a; Garfinkel, et al. forthcoming) (Tables 5.4a-c). Hearths have received a lot of attention in the literature on Philistine settlement and have been discussed as one of the signatures both of Philistine ethnicity and Philistine origins (Barako 2001; T. Dothan 1998b, 2003; Karageorghis 1998; Stager 1995; Yasur-Landau 2002). Their similarity to Aegean domestic traditions is prominent in almost all reconstructions of 'Philistine' lifestyles (e.g., T. Dothan 1998b:155-157; Yasur-Landau 2002:173-174). Built hearths have been associated both with cultic rituals (Barako 2001; T. Dothan 2003) and domestic activities (Yasur-Landau 2002). Yasur-Landau (2002:173-174, 183-185, 254-256) used the contemporary occurrence of both Aegean style hearths and local Canaanite-tradition tabuns, together with different styles of cooking vessels and loomweights (see Chapters 4 and 7), as support for his hypothesis of the presence of both indigenous and foreign women at these sites.

Karageorghis (1998), followed by Barako (2001:14-15, 17, table 2), catalogued the evidence for built-hearths in the eastern Mediterranean, including the Levant and Cyprus. Barako described the hearths in the Levant as basically of two forms, either

rectangular, as seen at Tel Miqne-Ekron, Stratum VII, or keyhole shaped, like those found at Tell Qasile and Ashkelon (2001:14-15). Although he noted that these are dissimilar from the large circular megaron style hearths with four pillars characteristic of the Aegean buildings, he continued to draw a comparison between the Aegean megaron hearths and the Levantine examples, stating that "In spite of the lack of a perfect parallel for Mycenaean hearth-rooms at Philistine sites, the unprecedented appearance of built hearths in prominent buildings at twelfth- and eleventh-century sites in Israel is still significant" (Barako 2001:15), 141 leading the reader to conclude that the 'significance' lies in the comparison after all. In a slightly more recent dissertation, Yasur-Ladau also addressed similar comparative material. In that study, he drew parallels with the rectangular, mud or mudbrick, sherd-paved hearth platforms, which are found in both the Aegean and in Cyprus, and resemble the Levantine hearths both in size and construction, (2002:173), but he also pointed to the similarities between the column flanked hearth at Tel Migne-Ekron, Building 357, Stratum VII and the Aegean megara of the Late Helladic III (2002:188)

Karageorghis described the Aegean hearths as found in both palaces and houses (see also Rethemiotakis 1999). In Cyprus, hearths were located in large rooms or "assembly halls' in which people gathered mainly for eating and drinking" (Karageorghis 1998:266). In Egypt, they were also a main component of the central living space in Amarna-period villas (Koltsida 2002). In the Levant, free-standing mudbrick hearths

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¹⁴⁰ In his table Barako (2001:256-258, Table 2) also includes the circular hearths from Tel Miqne-Ekron, although these do not seem to fit his distinction between rectangular and key-hole shapes, and the square installation from Ashdod, Area H, which may or may not be a "hearth."

¹⁴¹ Barako's (2001:14-15) discussion is a bit confusing, probably because of the limited publication of the Levantine examples that he uses.

have been found at Tel Miqne-Ekron, Ashdod, Ashkelon and Tell Qasile (Barako 2001; T. Dothan 2003; Mazar 1986).

In the following discussion, I distinguish between the hearths set onto rectangular mudbrick platforms on the one hand and on the other the circular pebble hearths set directly into the floor. The chronological and spatial distribution of these features at Tel Miqne-Ekron will be separately examined in order to ascertain if chronological, spatial or functional differences between these hearth styles can be determined.

Mudbrick Platform Hearths (Tables 5.4b and 5.4i)

At least seven rectangular mudbrick platforms were identified at Tel Miqne-Ekron in Field IV (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). The construction of mudbrick platforms began in Stratum VIIA¹⁴² and continued through Stratum VA.¹⁴³ While some of these showed definitive signs of use as fire installations, the evidence for others was not as clear. These 'non-hearth' platforms will be discussed more fully below, following the discussion of fire installations.

One of these hearth platforms [IVNW.43088 in Stratum VI] was found paved with sherds and had evidence of burning on it, suggesting that it functioned as a fire installation throughout both phases of Stratum VI. Immediately beneath it, in Stratum

¹⁴² An additional installation in Stratum VIIB, described in the field notes as Hearth 43116 (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming), is difficult to categorize as a "hearth." It was constructed of cobbles set around and covering the lower half of a store jar with pierced base, which was sunk into the middle of the installation. The entire installation was set onto a gravel and pebble base and covered with ash. It does not seem to fit into an identifiable category of fire installation, i.e., neither cooking nor heating. The inclusion of the pierced store jar suggests that the installation had a unique function, possibly for production of some substance, but what was produced or how the process was enacted can not be identified at this point (see below).

Due to the limited preservation of structures and surfaces on the east side of the field, it is not possible to determine if a mudbrick platform continued to exist in this area in Stratum IV.

VIIA, rectangular mudbrick platform 43107, associated with an ashy surface, can be assumed to have had a similar function. Both of these platforms stood in the center of Building 357, flanked by pillars on their short ends, with the orientation of both the platforms and pillars along the long axis of the room.

A concentration of ash found on a mudbrick platform from Stratum VA [IVNE.9033] in Building 355W suggests that it also functioned as a hearth. As mentioned in Chapter 3, pillar bases found associated with the earlier room surfaces in Strata VB-C may have originally held pillars, which can be assumed to have flanked either side of this later, Stratum VA, platform, in a similar orientation to that seen in Building 357, Stratum VIIA-VI. These pillar bases might also attest to an original hearth platform associated Stratum VB-C, predating the one in Stratum VA. The building, in which this hearth platform was found, was not fully excavated, but it is possible to suggest, based on the perceived similarity in central features, that the activities associated with Building 357 in Stratum VII and VI, were relocated to Building 355W in Stratum V. This may have occurred when the construction of monumental Building 350 caused Building 357 to go out of use. ¹⁴⁴

An additional freestanding, rectangular-shaped, pillar-flanked mudbrick platform [IVNE.7079] was found in Stratum VIA, in *Room a* of Building 353. This platform was constructed alongside a limestone 'bathtub' (see below). Although it is referred to in the literature as a 'hearth,' the field notes do not indicate that it was found with associated

¹⁴⁴ This relocation of activities to the east may explain why Building 355 was so completely rebuilt between Stratum VI and V, unlike Buildings 353 and 354 to the south, which maintained a consistent ground plan from their initial construction in Stratum VI.

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ash or other evidence of burning, either on or around the installation. Alternatively, the platform and associated 'bathtub' can be compared with a similar constellation of features in Area G at Ashdod, Stratum XII (see below and Chapter 6). There a 'bathtub' was found in a similar context, in a room that also contained a large, heavily burnt 'fire installation' [originally described as a "kiln" (M. Dothan and Porath 1993:72) but more recently reinterpreted as a "hearth" (Mazar 1991:97, note 9)].

Further comparison can be made between the placement of the pillars in Building 353 and the general orientation of the platform along the long axis of the room, and the arrangement of features in Building 357. 145 It is interesting to note that the platform in Building 353 incorporated a large monolith, possibly in lieu of a separate pillar and pillar base, into its north, short end, with the opposing pillar base located to the south of the installation. A similar situation was seen in Building 357, where, in each phase, one pillar base was set immediately adjacent to one end of the platform, while the second pillar base was set further away from the platform's edge. 146 While this may simply be due to construction methods, e.g., the size of the room and the span of roof beams, a similar pattern can be seen at Ashdod, Area H. In the central hall of Building 5337 a rectangular shaped mudbrick 'hearth' was flanked by pillar bases, one immediately adjacent to its west end and one set further to the east [see plan in T. Dothan (2003:200, fig. 10)].

Bunimovitz (1999:150) suggested that not all of these built hearths were necessarily used for cooking. Basing his argument on the distribution of hearths at Maa-

¹⁴⁵ Although their placement might be a result of other functional necessities, such as roof supports.

¹⁴⁶ Unfortunately, because the pillar bases and platform in Building 355W were not found in the same phase, it was not possible to tell if a similar arrangement was followed in that room. ¹⁴⁷ As first suggested by Mazar (1991).

Palaeokastro on Cyprus, he suggested that differences in the spatial arrangement of fire installations may signify differences in function, with some hearths used for food preparation and others used for interior heating. Rethemiotakis (1999) suggested a similar idea for the hearths found on Crete, where hearth-centered activities included food preparation, but also social/communal, religious and possibly industrial functions. At the site of Galatas on Crete, different functions could be assigned based on differences in the spatial distribution of hearths and their associated contexts. Ainan (1997:290-292), who studied Early Iron Age hearths in the Aegean, argued that those hearths located in rulers' residences, some of which were flanked by pillars and aligned along the long axis of the building, may have been used both for ritual or sacred functions and for cooking or roasting meats, possibly in the context of banqueting. Rethemiotakis (1999) suggested that the circular hearth surrounded by four pillars, which is the Aegean example commonly cited in the Philistine literature, was associated primarily with social/communal activities.

Non-cooking related functions for centrally located hearths are consistent with my findings from Tel Miqne-Ekron. The one-room structure, Building 357, Stratum VIIA-VI, in which the mudbrick hearth platforms were located, contained few remains of cooking vessels (Fig. 5.10), ¹⁴⁸ although the floors of the rooms themselves were covered with layers of ash and burnt debris. The remaining mudbrick platforms discussed here, IVNW.43088 in Stratum VI, IVNE.7079 in Stratum VIA and IVNE.9033 in Stratum VA, which are similar to the one found in Building 357, were also not associated with cooking

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¹⁴⁸ Low = 1 to 3; Med. = 4 to 7; High = 8+; Note that although Building 357 in Stratum VIIB had a "medium" amount of cooking vessels, the absolute quantities between Building 357 in Stratum VIIB (n= 4) and Stratum VIIA (n=2) were not that different.

vessels. They were all located in areas with either low frequencies of cooking vessels or no cooking vessels at all (Compare plans 5.3-4, and 5.7 with Ill.5.1-2). This supports Bunimovitz's (1999) assertion that the primary function of these hearth platforms did not include cooking, or at least not in cooking vessels.

Circular Pebble Hearths (Table 5.4c)

In the literature on the Philistines, the sherd-paved rectangular platform hearths have usually been lumped with circular pebble-hearths and have been discussed together simply as "built hearths" (e.g., Barako 2001; T. Dothan 1998b; Stager 1995; Yasur-Landau 2002:173, 188). The use of sherds and pebbles as construction material in both of these types of features, the central place of the hearth, and its appearance for the first time in the Levant, suggested that the two types of hearths were similar (T. Dothan 1998b:157-158). But a similarity in function is difficult to maintain for a number of reasons, including differences in the spatial and chronological distribution of these features and in their contextual associations (e.g., other features and artifacts).

Approximately sixteen pebble-hearths, ¹⁴⁹ ranging in diameter from 0.5 to 1.5 m, were identified in Field IV lower (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming) and three were found in Field X (Bierling 1998a). These ranged in date from Stratum VII to IV(B). They were found distributed across the entire excavation area, but certain spatial patterns, given the

¹⁴⁹ Included in this group were concentrations of cobbles on which were found ash and burnt residue. Most of these were circular and set into a shallow pit, sometimes plaster lined. Some were more amorphous in shape, and it was not possible to tell if this was due to poor preservation or a difference in construction. Their inclusion in this group may be open to question. See Table 5.3 for complete descriptions.

small size of the sample, are apparent. One pebble hearth was found in Stratum VIIA¹⁵⁰ and four were found in Stratum VIB, all clustered in the large front room area of Buildings 353 and 354. One pebble hearth was also found in this area in Stratum VC. In Building 350 a pebble hearth was located in the large hall, *Room d*, throughout all of Stratum V and into Stratum IVB. The remaining seven examples of pebble hearths dated to Stratum VC-B and were found in Buildings 355W and 355E, where only partial excavation of these buildings limits the reconstruction of the spatial patterning of these installations.

Tabuns¹⁵¹ (**Table 5.4d**)

Ten *tabun* ovens¹⁵² were identified: seven in Field IV Lower (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming) and three in Field X (Bierling 1998a). The ones in Field X are generally earlier in date than those located in Field IV Lower. *Tabuns* were usually circular in

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¹⁵⁰ Both the stratigraphic association and context of this hearth were difficult to determine (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming), but its location parallels that of all of the chronologically later Stratum VIB examples, suggesting a similar original context.

¹⁵¹ Van der Steen, in her catalogue of ovens from Tell Deir 'Alla, distinguished between a *tabun* and a *tannur*, in both construction and use, but also acknowledged the general confusion between these terms in the literature (van der Steen 1991:135). According to her study, one of the main differences between the two is in the location of the heat source and how it is used. She suggested that:

[&]quot;The ancient oven seems to have been used in the same way as the modern *tannur*: ash, traces of burning and hollowing out of the bottom show that the oven was heated from the inside, while the smoothness of the inside of the wall, and sometimes very heavy insulation of the wall suggest that the bread was baked on the inside wall, just as is the case today" (van der Steen 1991:137).

In the present study, I prefer to retain the use of the term *tabun* but suggest that further research on this topic might be able to more fully reconstruct how these features were constructed and the different types of activities that were associated with them.

¹⁵² It should be noted that it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between *tabuns* and "sherd-lined fire pits," and it is not clear if this difference in construction represented an important functional difference. As the distinction was noted in the field, I attempted to retain it, but took the liberty of reclassifying individual examples when deemed appropriate. When possible, this was based on photographs and the excavators' descriptions. Additionally, *tabuns*, on average, were preserved to a greater height than sherd-lined firepits. From this analysis, at least one of the examples might be more correctly described as a firepit than a *tabun*.

shape, with a mean diameter of 0.64 m (median is 0.75 m). ¹⁵³ Completely preserved tabuns were not found in the excavation. Usually, the base of the tabun was discovered, standing only 0.10 to 0.20 m high, encircled with layers of sherds placed on their edges and/or tabun ware. 154 This construction method is similar to that described by van der Steen (1991:139). The field notes (Garfinkel, et al. forthcoming) indicate that often the bottom of the oven was founded on a base of cobbles and ash. 155

In Field IV Lower, the construction of tabuns begins only in Stratum VIA and continues through Stratum VB, while the Field X tabuns date from Stratum VIIB. Little information could be obtained on the location of tabuns in Field X, as all of the examples were discovered on the edge of the excavation area. In Field IV Lower, four of the tabuns were found in outdoor areas, placed near walls opposite the entrance to buildings. The other three were associated with the central, multi-use area of building complexes, one in Building 353, one in Building 354 and one in Building 351.

Daviau (1993; 1999) studied the distribution and placement of ovens in Bronze and Late Iron Age contexts. In her study, she showed that ovens were generally distributed with one per household, although some residences were associated with two.

¹⁵³ Due to the poor preservation and incomplete excavation of some of the examples, the median diameter may be a more reliable indicator than the mean.

¹⁵⁴ Tabun ware was defined as very thick walled ceramic pieces. It was found distributed across the entire

¹⁵⁵ Van der Steen (1991:139) described a number of different foundation styles for these ovens, including stones, sherds, straw, clay, combinations of these elements and dug pits. While some of these construction methods seem to be regional (e.g., Masos and Tell el-Far'ah), she observed four different methods used contemporaneously at Tell Deir 'Alla. This may suggest that some of the differences between firepits and tabuns documented in the present study could be a function of construction method and not necessarily of use. Van der Steen (1991) also noted that variations in sizes and in construction method might be related to differences between indoor/outdoor and winter/summer oven use (cf., Holladay 1997b). An indoor winter oven is generally smaller in size and not insulated so that its warmth would radiate out, thereby heating the room (van der Steen 1991:144). Unfortunately, my sample size was too small and incomplete to test her hypothesis.

Daviau observed that ovens and hearths were usually located in what she determined to be multi-functional workrooms of domestic houses; only 5% of her sample of 20 ovens from Tel Jawa was found in areas classified as 'storage' (1999:128). Of the 20 ovens in her sample, 85% were built against a wall and 10% were found near a doorway. In addition, 45% of these were located in a corner or otherwise protected from drafts (1999:128). The spatial distribution that she observed is generally consistent with my findings at Tel Miqne-Ekron, where *tabuns* were located either in multi-use workrooms (e.g., Buildings 353 and 354, *Room a* in Stratum VC) or in protected areas (e.g., two *tabuns* in Stratum VIA in the narrow area between Buildings 350 and 356). Unfortunately, both the small size of my sample and the small area of excavation hake these conclusions relatively provisional.

Of all the multi-room building units excavated, only Building 350 did not have a *tabun* located in its main room during any of the chronological phases in which it was occupied. In Strata VC and VB, *tabuns* were located only to the north of the main entrance to Building 350, and therefore outside the confines of the building. One could posit that the similar spatial location of fire installations throughout all the occupation phases of Building 350, suggests that the pebble-lined hearth in Building 350 served a symbolic function (T. Dothan 1998b:156-157; cf., Mazarakis Ainian 1997:290-292; Rethemiotakis 1999) and/or that certain types of cooking associated with the *tabun* were *not* practiced within this building. This is supported by the distribution of cooking vessels

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¹⁵⁶ Many of the *tabuns* and other fire installation were found in "outside" areas, which were generally consistent with the boundaries of the excavation. These areas were not fully excavated.

which, with the exception of Stratum IVB, are found in only low frequencies throughout Building 350.

Tabuns or cooking ovens are considered to be a local, regional style of built oven, used primarily for bread-making (see van der Steen 1991). Because of this association with local customs (i.e., Canaanite), Yasur-Landau (2002) suggested that the contemporary occurrence at Tel Migne-Ekron of both tabuns (his reference is the Stratum VIIB example in Field X) and sherd-paved hearths in Stratum VII is evidence of the of both indigenous and foreign cooking behaviors, and therefore the presence of both local and immigrant women amongst the Philistine population in Philistia. Based on the data presented above, this hypothesis is difficult to support. While is a spatial and chronological correlation between tabuns and pebble hearths, 157 the same can not be said for the rectangular platform hearths. *Tabuns* and free standing sherd-paved rectangular mudbrick hearths seem distinctly different in function than platform hearths. Free standing mudbrick hearths were very limited in their distribution and not associated with cooking activities. Tabuns, on the other hand, were more widely distributed, both spatially and chronologically. They were often discovered with other types of fire installations, including firepits and pebble-lined hearths (see Tables 5.5 and 5.6 and Figs. 5.1-9), and were found in areas with medium-to-high frequencies of cooking vessels (Ill. 41-3). No significant correlation could be determined between Aegean style cooking jugs and the rectangular platform sherd-paved hearths or between local style cooking pots and tabuns. The differential distribution between the two types of cooking vessels reflects a

¹⁵⁷ One should also note the large number of both pebble hearths and *tabuns* found together in contemporary strata in Field III (Barry M. Gitlen, pers. comm., Nov. 2004).

chronological distinction, with more Aegean style cooking jugs found in Stratum VII and VI. Spatially, the two vessel types appear together in areas where there is a medium-to-high frequency of cooking vessels.¹⁵⁸

Firepits (Tables 5.4e and 5.4g)

According to the field notes, a total of thirteen fire installations were described as "firepits," eleven in Field IV Lower and two in Field X (Bierling 1998a; Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). Of these, two of the installations in Field IV Lower may be more correctly termed 'hearths,' and the small diameter of one of the examples from Field X is more suggestive of a posthole than a firepit. Based on this corrected catalogue, a firepit could be generally defined as a shallow pit, filled with ash and burnt debris, measuring approximately 0.40 m in diameter and 0.04-.10 m deep. Sometimes the pits were lined with sherds. The distinction between firepits and other types of fire installations, such as hearths and *tabuns*, was sometimes difficult to determine. Hearths, constructed with a base of pebbles or cobbles, sometimes lined a shallow pit and therefore a poorly preserved hearth might be indistinguishable from a firepit. A similar situation is true for *tabuns* (see above).

Firepits were found in all Iron I strata, from Stratum VIIB through Stratum IVA.

They were found in similar locations to *tabuns*, concentrated in outdoor areas and the central, multi-use area of building complexes. Only one, dated to Stratum VIB, was

¹⁵⁸ I also plotted the distribution of whole and intact cooking vessels in order to determine if these would show a clearer pattern than sherd data, but there were too few examples of either vessel type to determine a pattern.

found in a back, interior room (Building 354, *Room c*). A firepit was also found in *Room d* of Building 350, in Stratum IVA. Due to its poor preservation, however, it was not possible to determine if it may have represented the remains of a pebble-lined hearth, similar to the ones found in the earlier phases of the building. Its location in the center of *Room d* is similar to the placement of the earlier Stratum V circular pebble hearths and suggests, if not a similar construction, then at least a similar function. As with the Field X *tabuns*, little information could be obtained on the location of firepits.

Kilns (Table 5.1 and 5.4f)

Two fire installations excavated in Field IV lower, IVNW.25102 in Stratum VII¹⁵⁹ and IVNW.26083/26096 in Stratum VI (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming), fit none of the typical classifications for cooking structures (e.g., hearth, firepit or *tabun*). Both were constructed as rectangular mudbrick frames surrounding a central area filled with ash and burnt debris with an opening in one side of the frame. As they were similar in size and construction to industrial installations discovered in Field I (Killebrew 1996), they were identified as "kilns" (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming).

Killebrew (1996) identified a series of mudbrick fire installations as kilns in her report of the sondage from Tel Miqne-Ekron, Field INE. These were found in an

¹⁵⁹ Although IVNW.25102 was found only in association with a Stratum VIIB surface, the continuity in the types of discarded materials found in this area in both phases of Stratum VII suggests that the installation may have been used in Strata VIIB and VIIA. The same can be said of fire installation IVNW.26083/26096, associated only with a Stratum VIA surface. It, or an earlier fire installation that was not preserved, may have already been in use in the earlier occupation phase, Stratum VIB.

¹⁶⁰ A third fire installation from Field X, XNW.79011, classified in the field as a "kiln," more closely resembles a "hearth" in both size and construction. The locus description reads "A circular installation of pebbles with evidence of fire...." (Bierling 1998a:184).

industrial zone consisting of large open areas with multiple accumulations of surfaces suggesting an outdoor courtyard. She also noted the presence of additional fire installations in the vicinity (Killebrew 1998a:50).

Table 5.1 Kilns (adapted from Killebrew (1996), * new additions based on the present data)

Installation No.	Stratu m	Shape	Dimensions	Type
INE.4104	VII	Square	1.4 m x 1.1 m	Kiln: Double
INE.5049	VII	Not available	Not available	Chamber Kiln: Double? Chamber
INE.37011	VI	Square	ca. 60 m in diam [sic]	Kiln: Single? Chamber
INV.36069	VI	Oval	1.0 m in diam [sic]	Kiln: Double? Chamber
INE.36024	VI	Oval	1.2 m x 0.80 m	Kiln: Double Chamber
INE.37015	VI	Oval	ca. 0.90 m x 0.60	Kiln: Double Chamber
INE.36054	VI	Unexcavate d	ca. 1.1 m x 0.20	Kiln: Single? Chamber
*IVNW.2510 2	VII	Square	ca. 0.98 m by 0.90 m	Double? Chamber
*IVNW.2608 3/ 26096	VI	Square	.74 m	Double? Chamber

The Field IV fire installations are slightly smaller in size than the Field I kilns (see Table 5.1), but their brick construction and square shape are similar. Their construction fits the double chamber kiln style as described by Killebrew (1996). In addition, features on the interior of these Field IV installations could have served as supports for a fire-box. The fire installations in Field IV were each discovered in association with other features (e.g., sunken store jar installations, fire pits and/or *tabuns*,

cobbled surfaces), suggestive of areas of crafts or industrial activities. Installation IVNW.25102 in Stratum VII was found in an open area (area 358), which may have been semi-protected from the elements as evidenced by two possible wall stubs framing the area on the north and south, while IVNW.26083/26096 of Stratum VI was located within the walls of a probably roofed room (Building 356), as suggested by the presence of a column base in the room's center. Both of these fire installations were found in a similar vertical location, which suggests that this area maintained a similar function from the beginning of Stratum VII to the end of Stratum VI.

Killebrew (1996:147) admitted that one of the problems in identifying these types of installations as pottery kilns was that, in Field I, very little vitrified material was found in association with these structures, and there was no other evidence that these structures had undergone a higher firing temperature, as would be typical of a potter's kiln. ¹⁶¹

Unfortunately, besides residues of burnt and vitrified material, no other evidence of pottery production, e.g., potters' wheels and wheel stands, tools, wasters, unfired vessels and raw materials (e.g., Anderson 1989; cf., Tournavitou 1988) were found (Killebrew 1996:147). There was also an absence of such evidence associated with the fire installations in Field IV. Although it is possible that the vessel firing was undertaken here, while the actual pottery manufacture occurred elsewhere, I am hesitant to conclusively stating, without further proof, that the Field IV fire installations were indeed

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¹⁶¹ Killebrew's (1996:147-149) study of the pottery did suggest that the Mycenaean IIIC:1 wares required a relatively low firing temperature, which could explain the lack of evidence for high-temperature firings. If the Field IV installations were indeed used only for the production of Mycenaean IIIC:1 wares, the fire installation associated with Stratum VIA would be important support for the continued production of these vessels through the end of Stratum VI.

kilns for pottery production. At this point, what can be said is that the Field IV fire installations were used for the production of a product that required a lot of heat.

Alternatively, these installations may have functioned as hearths, possibly for cooking. Bunimovitz (1999), in his reanalysis of the material from Ashdod Area G, comparing it with evidence from Maa-*Palaeokastro*, distinguished between cooking and non-cooking hearths. He did this partly based on differences in the location of hearths (e.g., interior versus exterior) and on the distribution of cooking vessels (See also Chapter 7). At Ashdod, two mudbrick platform hearths in Stratum XIII were found in an outdoor area to the north of the building complex, while one was found in 'courtyard'/communal assembly hall 4325/4320. 162 Bunimovitz (1999:152-154) suggested that the hearths located in exterior areas were associated with large-scale cooking and food preparation activities, while those in the interior of buildings served a more social/communal function in contexts of feasting. Unfortunately, not enough is known about the spatial distribution of mudbrick hearths at Ashkelon to help buttress this conclusion.

The distribution of cooking vessels at Tel Miqne-Ekron could neither support nor weaken the idea that these 'kilns' functioned as cooking hearths (Ill. 5.1-3). While there was a high frequency of cooking vessels associated with the first Stratum VII fire installation, there was a low frequency of cooking vessels associated with the Stratum VI fire installation. While this could be seen as support for Bunimovitz's indoor/outdoor dichotomy, the quantitative difference in cooking vessels corresponds closely with the

¹⁶² The hearth mentioned in association with the bathtub from Ashdod (see above and below) was found immediately above this Stratum XIII fire installation (T. Dothan 2002).

¹⁶³ This is based on the assumption that cooking vessels are more likely to be found in areas where cooking is occurring. Cooking vessels might also used for serving and/or eating, or placed in storage or in refuse contexts.

general distinction between interior and exterior spaces noticed throughout all phases of the Field IV Lower excavation (see Chapter 7), than with the specific location of fire installations. As discussed in Chapter 7, exterior spaces are strongly correlated with all artifact types, including, but not limited, to cooking vessels.

While Bunimovitz's discussion focuses on the differences in location between these two fire installations (i.e., the Stratum VII example is outdoors and the Stratum VI example is indoors), their similarities, e.g., in vertical space (i.e., the later installation is almost directly above the earlier one), size, shape and associated features, are more significant in trying to understand their function. I would posit a similar function associated with both of these installations, but what that was cannot as yet be determined.

Summary of Cooking Facilities

Although the data is limited, there is evidence 164 to support a change in the location of cooking areas between Stratum VI and Stratum V. In the early phases of Iron Age occupation, Strata VII and VI, while cooking vessels were widely distributed across the excavation area, some of the cooking activities occurred in interior, back rooms. In Stratum VII, one of the single unit structures in each phase contained a medium (N = 4 to 7) number of cooking vessels (Fig. 5.1-3). This is an unusually high number for interior areas, which generally demonstrated either low quantities of cooking vessels (N = 1 to 3) or none. In Strata VII and VI hearths and fire installations were located primarily within the one-room structures in the northwest quadrant of the excavated area, and one pebble-lined firepit was found within the back room of Building 354, a multi-room structure in

¹⁶⁴ Given the general difficulties in interpreting artifact spatial patterns (see Chapter 7).

the southwest. Except for Building 357, most of these areas were associated with relatively low numbers of cooking vessels (N = 3 for the rooms in VIA and N = 2 for the VIB room). In Stratum V through IV, the distribution of cooking vessels is more concentrated and suggests that cooking is restricted to outdoor and multi-purpose areas.

The chronological change in the location of cooking activities is commensurate with the shift in cooking vessels style, from the early predominance of the foreign/Philistine style cooking jugs to the local 'Canaanite' style cooking pot (see Chapter 4). This supports the conclusions that (1) Philistine domestic traditions, evidenced by cooking methods, were distinctly different than local 'Canaanite' customs, although these activities cannot at the moment be associated with a particular type of fire installation, and (2) the rectangular platform hearths, which were not found in association with domestic cooking paraphernalia, had a different function than the circular pebble hearths and we should not continue to group them together.

'Bathtubs' (Table 5.4h)

An oval shaped, limestone installation found in the front room of Building 353 in Stratum VIB was identified as an Aegean-style bathtub [most recently in T. Dothan (2003)]. The 'bathtub,' which measured 1.09 m long by 0.70 m wide by 0.38-.28 m deep, had plastered sides and a cobble-lined base, with a stone plugging a drainage hole at one end of its sloping base. As mentioned above, the 'bathtub' was discovered alongside a

rectangular mudbrick platform, which was flanked by two pillars, ¹⁶⁵ and a paved surface to its south. A second installation found in Field I, Stratum VII was also described as a "bathtub" (T. Dothan 2003:204-205). It was found in a room with mudbrick benches and a square hearth platform. ¹⁶⁶

'Bathtub' installations are generally described as "bath-shaped basins," built of either terracotta or limestone (Karageorghis 1998, 2000). Karageorghis suggested that both bathtubs and the activity of bathing are Aegean in origin, where 'bathtubs' are often found in both palatial residences and in sanctuaries. The Cypriote examples were discovered in bathrooms, in private homes and large "official" rooms of elite dwellings, sanctuaries and tombs (Karageorghis 1998, 2000). Sometimes they were found associated with other water installations. A few were described as located near walls or in the corner of rooms. Some were found near paved surfaces. Some of these 'bathtubs' were similar to the Field IV example from Tel Miqne-Ekron with a hole in the base, presumably to let out water or other liquid.

T. Dothan (2003) has recently described a number of 'bathtubs' from the Levant that were found in association with rectangular platform hearths, including the two examples from Tel Migne-Ekron. T. Dothan differentiates between 'bathtubs' found in

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¹⁶⁵ Although not shown in T. Dothan (2003:206, Fig. 14), an additional pillar base was found to the south of the platform, set into a cobble surface.

¹⁶⁶ Note corrections to the drawing published in T. Dothan (2003:205, Fig. 13), which include 1. the direction of the north arrow should point from the upper left corner of the drawing down toward the lower right corner (north), adjusting the orientation of the building so that its entrance is in the south, 2. the location of the bathtub should be moved to the southeast corner of the room (to the left of its present location), set into a flagstone surface, and 3. entrance into the building is through a doorway in the south wall of the smaller, southern room. For a more detailed drawing of this installation, reference should be made to Meehl, T. Dothan and Gitin (forthcoming).

¹⁶⁷ The subject of the find contexts of bathtubs is severely limited by the lack of complete publications. Further research is needed before more adequate conclusions can be reached.

"bathrooms" and the examples that she brings from the Levant, which "[do] not have the appearance of a bathroom" (2003:202). ¹⁶⁸ In her analysis, she describes the 'bathtub rooms' at Ashdod, Ashkelon and Tel Miqne-Ekron as large "communal/assembly" rooms, in which these 'bathtubs' and associated hearths "fulfill[ed] a role in purification and/or other rituals" (2003:203-204). Barako (2001), following T. Dothan, also assumes some sort of "cultic" function for hearths and 'bathtubs,' although he also implies a broader usage that may have included elite (but not necessarily cultic?) functions. In comparing the general location of these installations in the Aegean, Cyprus and Levant, Barako stated, "The location of these bathtubs near throne rooms..., in sanctuaries..., and generally in association with major buildings...strongly suggests a role in regal, ritual or, at the very least, elite activities" (2001:16). Mazar (2000), on the other hand, makes no reference to hearths or 'bathtubs' in his review of religious architecture and cult objects associated with the Philistines. When Mazar does make reference to the hearth building at Tel Qasile, Stratum XII-XI, an example which is commonly brought in to the discussions of 'bathtubs' and Philistine cult (cf., T. Dothan 2003), he compares it to Iron Age "dwellings," and describes the room, in which the hearth was located, as possibly part of a large public building (Mazar 1986:3-6), giving no reference to any assumed cultic attributes.

It is difficult, due to lack of publication, often poor preservation of finds, and small sample size, to discern a pattern in the distribution of these Philistine 'bathtubs,' or

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¹⁶⁸ This statement was made in regard to the bathtub from Ashdod, Area G, but T. Dothan uses this example to characterize her sample. It can therefore be assumed that she is making this distinction in regard to all of the Levantine examples that she brings forth.

even to identify which are the important characteristics in determining their function. The Levantine 'bathtubs' are sometimes found in the corner of the room (Ashkelon and Tel Miqne-Ekron Field I), alongside the room wall (Ashdod Areas G and H)¹⁶⁹ or alongside a platform (Tel Miqne-Ekron Field I and Field IV). Sometimes the associated mudbrick platform/hearth is flanked by pillars (Tel Miqne-Ekron Field IV, Ashdod Area H, Ashkelon?),¹⁷⁰ but this is not always the case (Tel Miqne-Ekron Field I, Ashdod Area G). In some rooms, there was no evidence of the use of the platform as a hearth (Ashkelon, Tel Miqne-Ekron Field IV, see above discussion on hearths and platforms), therefore it can not be conclusively stated that the intended function of the central platform was for heating. Additionally some rooms with pillar-flanked platforms have no associated 'bathtub.' While some of these differences may be regional or temporal, there are too few examples to differentiate between these issues and possible functional differences.

While it is possible to suggest that 'bathtubs' were multi-functional installations, a point made by Karageorghis (1998:270) in regard to the large number of terracotta 'bathtub' fragments found at Maa-Palaeokastro in Cyprus, and/or used for different activities in different places, the common discovery of 'bathtubs' and rectangular platforms in the Levant at sites associated with the Philistines argues for a similar function, at least in these instances. The two examples for which we have the most

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¹⁶⁹ A plastered "square basin" in Building 5337, Area H, is mentioned by Ben-Shlomo (2002) as having "a possible similar function to a bathtub" but it is not included in T. Dothan (2003). Fragments of another possible example of a limestone bathtub were found in Ashdod Area G, Stratum XII, in secondary use "embedded in the Stratum XII floor" (M. Dothan and Porath 1993:72; mentioned in T. Dothan 2003:204). ¹⁷⁰ T. Dothan (2003:207, Fig. 15) makes no mention of pillars in association with the rectangular hearth from Ashkelon but Barako (2001:15) mentions "a row comprised of one stone pillar and two possible pillar negatives" found near the mudbrick platform (which he does not refer to as a "hearth"). From this description it is not possible to tell whether these pillars were primarily associated with the mudbrick platform or were more similar to the row of pillars as seen, for example, at Tell Qasile, Building 225 or other pillared buildings.

information at this point are the 'bathtubs' from Tel Miqne-Ekron, Field IV, Building 353 and Ashdod, Area G. Both of these 'bathtubs' were found in buildings with a similar organizational layout, consisting of a large front room, with two additional smaller rooms at the rear (see Chapter 6). At Tel Miqne-Ekron, this building (Building 353) has been interpreted as "living quarters" (T. Dothan and Gitin 1997:32), while at Ashdod, the Area G building was characterized as an elite residence (Ben-Shlomo 2002).¹⁷¹

The 'bathtub' from Tel Miqne-Ekron, Field IV, was found in the large front room, *Room a*, of Building 353. Built along the west side of a mudbrick platform, it was constructed of soft limestone, oval in shape, and plastered. Cobbles lined the floor of the installation, which sloped towards a hole in the north end of the 'bathtub' floor. The 'bathtub' was found filled with small pebbles and pebble-sized debris, interpreted by the excavators as resulting from the closure of the installation at the end of its use-life (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). This feature, as well as the example from Ashdod, Area G, had a relatively short use-life, dated only to Stratum VIA in their report (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). T. Dothan (2003:204) remarked on the importance of the "configuration of features in a large room," suggesting that the room functioned as a public assembly room, but it should be noted that these very features, e.g., platform, 'bathtub' and pillars, occupied most of the space, leaving little additional room for a communal gathering. It may also be interesting to note that a 'bathtub', or similar feature, was not found in the

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¹⁷¹ Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau suggested that, in an earlier phase (XIIb), this part of the Area G building at Ashdod should be seen as the official unit of a two-unit complex, where, among other things, feasting rituals were held (1999; 2002). They do not comment on whether it continued to be used as such in the following phase. As there are only minor changes in the architecture from phase XIII to XII, I would suggest that the building maintained a similar function (See Chapter 6).

contemporary Building 351, whose central room (*Room d*) is quite a bit larger than Building 353, *Room a*, and is generally associated with public or official activities.

The Ashdod 'bathtub' was not initially recognized as such when it was found, and described by its excavators as "a well-fired pottery basin...with a blackened hole in the base at one of its ends" (M. Dothan and Porath 1993:72). It was found near a small "kiln" (more currently described as a "hearth" (see T. Dothan 2003 and this study above and in Chapter 6), in the "courtyard" of a "workshop," which contained, among other things, "a large quantity of ashes, several grinding stones (one still resting on the broken rim of the basin) and a stone bench or worktable..." (M. Dothan and Porath 1993:72).

T. Dothan based her functional identification on the importance of the constellation of features in these rooms although there were often no other finds indicating an activity involving purification rituals. Mention is made of a possible clay 'bathtub' fragment found at Tel Qasile (cited in T. Dothan 2003; and in Karageorghis 2000), but purification rituals do not seem to be a central focus of cultic activities associated with the Tel Qasile temples [for a recent overview of Philistine cultic activities see Mazar (2000)]. In summary, I do not wish to disregard the evidence that suggests that some 'bathtubs' were indeed located in bathrooms in palatial or elite residential contexts, ¹⁷² but I follow Karageorghis (1998:270), who stated, in regard to the large number of terracotta 'bathtub' fragments found at Maa-Palaeokastro in Cyprus, that "Though no doubt some of these bathtubs may have been used originally for bathing, in

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¹⁷² One might hesitantly be able to associate these with those bathtubs located in room corners with paved floors. While "bathtubs" may have been a symbol of wealth and luxury, it seems a bit 'over-the-top' to assume that bathtubs would have been placed as the main feature in the center of the first room of the house entered from the street!

some cases they may have been simply used to hold water or another liquid." I will bring forth more evidence in Chapters 6 and 7 for the use of Building 353, *Room a* and Ashdod, Area G as either workshops or multi-functional activity areas in domestic residences, but here I suggest that these two 'bathtubs,' as well as the one from Ashkelon, functioned in some sort of crafts activity 173 probably associated with textile production (see Chapter 7), and not in rituals of purification. 174 An industrial interpretation may fit better with the find spots of many of these installations, which are currently interpreted as in contexts of *secondary use* in industrial zones [e.g., the Ashkelon 'bathtub' (T. Dothan 2003:204), which was found in an area associated with both weaving and wine production (Barako 2001)]. 175

Sunken Store Jar Installations (Tables 5.2 and 5.3)

A number of unique installations, found at both Tel Miqne-Ekron and at Ashkelon (see also Barako 2001), were composed of a large storage jar, whose neck and rim, from the shoulders up, had been removed, and the lower part of the jar sunk into the ground.

further research will help address this question.

Migne-Ekron. See Chapter 7.

¹⁷³ It is interesting to suggest that the pebble-filling of the Tel Miqne-Ekron Field IV bathtub was a function of its use, to separate or strain a liquid from a solid, and not a post-use fill. One might further suggest parallels between the pebble-filled bathtub with drain and the pebble-filled sunken store jar with pierced base [43120] set into installation 43116 (see below). Additionally, it should be noted that the Field I bathtub was found burnt (T. Dothan 2003:204, it "had evidently been exposed to a destruction fire"). Only

¹⁷⁴ This may be true for some of the Cypriote examples as well. Karageorghis noted that at least one terracotta bathtub fragment, dated to LCIIIA, was found in his and Demas' excavations, in "the residential-industrial Area I" (2000:272), and compared it to one found in "the midst of an industrial quarter" at Enkomi (2000:272). Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the bathtubs were often found broken and discarded, upside down, or in contexts of 'secondary use' (Karageorghis 2000). Might it be possible to suggest that some of these "secondary uses" were really primary contexts? Further research on these, including organic residue analysis on the installations, might help answer some of these questions.

¹⁷⁵ A similar association between weaving tools and bathtubs can be seen with the example from Tel

Although it is not atypical to find store jars with broken tops, reflecting a common method of removing the contexts (V. R. Badler, *et al.* 1990:28-29), the sunken store jars described here were more unusual as their topless state seemed to be a function of their intended use. ¹⁷⁶ The top of the vessel was set at surface level, and around its upper edge was a small pebble and sherd-paved surface as at Tel Miqne-Ekron or shell-paved surface as at Ashkelon. At Tel Miqne-Ekron, ten examples were found *in situ* in Iron 1 contexts in Field IV Lower, ¹⁷⁷ ranging in date from Stratum VIIB through Stratum IVA (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming) (Table 5.2). More of these installations were found in the earlier periods than in the later, but the sample size is too small to determine if this is related to a larger chronological pattern. The examples from Ashkelon date to "Phase 18," an occupational sequence associated with Philistine Bichrome pottery (Barako 2001:31, 82).

In Field IV Lower, the Stratum VIIB store jars associated with these installations (N = 4) were all ovoid in shape and 2 handled, demonstrating a variety of base styles including stump, rounded and flat. Two of the jars were further modified:

IVNW.43.468/7, Locus 43120, had a hole pierced through its base and IVNW.43.492/1,

Locus 43115, had its entire base removed. The two jars found in the Stratum VIIA installations resemble in shape those in Stratum VIIB, but one of the jars,

IVNW.24.366/6, Locus 24081, has multiple handles, a phenomenon which may be more

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¹⁷⁶ Unfortunately, while some of these topless jars reflected an intended, or pre-firing, construction, with the upper edge of the jar demonstrating evidence of smoothing, these characteristics were not separately noted during the quantification study. Additionally, preservation of the store jar installations necessitated that a few of the jars were restored before analysis began, making it more difficult to discern original construction methods.

¹⁷⁷ Three additional sunken store jar installations, and an area which included a concentration of these vessels, were found in Iron II contexts in this field.

common in the later installations as both the jars in Stratum VI (N=2) are multi-handled vessels.¹⁷⁸

Table 5.2: Sunken Store Jar Installations

Str	Bldg/Rm	Square	Locus	Description	Notes
VIIB	357	IVNW.4	43120	Sunken Jar	
		3		Installation	
VIIB	358area	IVNW.2 5	25104	Jar Installation	
VIIB	358area	IVNW.2 5	25103	Jar Installation	
VIIB	361area	IVNW.4 3	43115	Sunken Jar	
VIIA	352	IVNW.2 4	24083	Sunken Jar Installation	
VIIA	352	IVNW.2 4	24081	Sunken Jar Installation	
VIB	353a	IVNE.7	7097	Installation, sunken store jar	
VIA	362area	IVNW.7	7034	Sunken Jar	near Str. VIB foundatio n deposit
VC	354a1	IVNE.23	23064	Sunken Jar	1
IVB	350d	IVNW.2 5	25037A	Sunken store jar	

No spatial pattern could be discerned in the distribution of these installations. Only in Stratum VII were a significant number found. Three of these were set into built structures (1 in VIIB and 2 in VIIA), suggesting that these three may have had unique functions, as opposed to the more typical installation, characterized by the store jar vessel set directly into the ground. (It is this latter type which Barako (, 2001 #606@:31-32) mentions as appearing at Ashkelon). The earliest of these three, dated to Stratum VIIB,

¹⁷⁸ Unfortunately, neither the jar installation in Stratum VC nor the one in Stratum IVB, were available for further examination at this time. These latter two installations were only recognized during post-excavation analysis.

was found set into installation 43116, in Building 357. Referred to above because of its pierced base, its upper edge was encircled with rows of pebbles that also filled in and covered the jar. The entire installation was covered with a layer of ash and burnt debris, which is the reason why installation 43116 was interpreted as a "hearth" (see above). Alternatively, the pebble matrix of the installation and the pierced base of the store jar suggests a function involving liquids and/or the straining or separating of a substance. The two store jars dated to Stratum VIIA were found set into the brick frame of bin/silo 24070, in Building 352. They probably relate to the function of that installation, which was the central feature in this room.

The more typical sunken jar installations were found primarily in connection with other features suggestive of multi-activity areas. Of the remaining three store jar installations dated to Stratum VIIB, one was found just to the north of Building 357. Unfortunately, too little of this area was uncovered to enable further identification of possible activities associated with it. The other two were found to the south of Building 357, in Area 358. Framed between two wall fragments, possibly benches, these sunken store jar installations were discovered together with a small circular firepit and a large, brick fire installation/kiln (discussed above). Based on the clear clustering of these features, it can be suggested that they functioned together in some activity that required a tremendous amount of heat. While the fire installation has been interpreted as a possible kiln (see above), more research needs to be done before this can be conclusively stated as

no other evidence of pottery production was recovered from this area. ¹⁷⁹ In support of the association between these installations and heating facilities, it can be noted that five ¹⁸⁰ of the eight ¹⁸¹ store jar installations were associated with cooking facilities (either *tabuns*, firepits or circular pebble hearths).

One sunken jar installation each was found in Strata VIB, VIA, VC and IVB. The Stratum VIA installation was found to the south of Building 351, in the same area as the Stratum VIB lamp and bowl foundation deposit (see Chapter 8). This area was only partially excavated and therefore no further information concerning the area or its activities could be deduced. The VIB and VC store jar installations were found in the large southern rooms of Buildings 353 and 354 respectively. These rooms, the foci of concentrations of features in all phases of occupation, seem to be multi-purpose activity areas, possibly for a variety of domestic activities similar to the use of the central room in four-room houses (see Chapter 6). The Stratum IVB sunken store jar installation was poorly preserved. It was found in the central hall, *Room d* of the monumental public building 350. It was found adjacent to a pebble hearth, which was also poorly

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¹⁷⁹ Any reconstruction of this area as a pottery workshop should include a function for the sunken store jar installations. The small size of these jars seems not well suited for use as levigation basins or mixing containers, and their low placement in the ground seems poorly placed for water or slurry containers. As will be mentioned below, residue analysis of the clay walls might help determine what substance was contained in these jars. Additionally, it should be noted that no sunken store jar installations of this type were found in association with the pottery kilns and workshop area of Field I (S. Gitin, pers. comm., Oct. 2004).

Although no cooking facility *per se* was recovered, one should note the presence of ash and evidence of fire in association with the store jar installation in Building 357, Stratum VIIB.

¹⁸¹ The store jar installations found in Areas 362 and 361 were not included in this analysis due to insufficient excavation of these areas.

¹⁸² Both installations were cut from above by a Stratum IVA pit.

installation and pebble hearth or firepit, is noticeable in many of the examples where the entire room or area was excavated.¹⁸³

In order to increase the sample size of sunken store jar installations, I examined an additional twenty-two samples of store jars, where only the lower part of the jar was preserved, that were recorded in the Ceramic Quantification Project (Table 5.3). My assumption was that some of these could have been parts of sunken store jar installations that were not recognized during the excavation process. While these store jar bases represent a similar chronological range to the recognized store jar installations, with the majority of examples occurring in the earlier strata, they did not help in delineating a spatial pattern for these types of installations.

In trying to determine the function of sunken store jar installations, I also examined other store jars that demonstrated evidence of modification. Five of the twenty-two examples of the preserved lower parts of store jars had holes drilled into the base, ¹⁸⁴ suggesting that they may have functioned to funnel liquids. A similar design can be seen in some of the juglet bases (N= 1). Occasionally bowl bases were also drilled out (N= 4), and may possibly have served in a similar function. In Stratum VIA, vessel IVNW.39.127/2 [JR1], was a store jar whose entire lower section was cut off. Its rim may also have been intentionally removed, although it was discovered together with the jar body. These sherds were found on a surface in *Room a* of Building 351. An additional jar base in which a hole was drilled, IVNW.39.100/1 [MISC4.2], was found in a Stratum VC

¹⁸³ Only in Stratum VIB, Building 353 were the two features located on opposite sides of a wall, but the distance between them was only a few meters at most. If there was indeed an association between these two features types, then the wall may not have been a significant hindrance.

¹⁸⁴ While many of these holes seemed to have been made pre-firing, this distinction was not noted during the quantification study.

fill above the surface in which Jar IVNW.39.127/2 was found, and may have been originally associated with it.

Table 5.3 Store Jar Bases (possible sunken store jar installations?)

			Locus		
Str.	Bldg/Rm	Square	No.	Locus Name	Type ¹⁸⁵
VIIA	358a	IVNE.23	23090	Debris	(MISC4.2)
VIIA	352	IVNW.24	24092P	Surface	JR
VIIA	352	IVNW.24	24092P	Surface	JR
VIB	359	IVNW.27	27078	Surface	JR
VIB	358a	IVNW.25	25095	Surface	JR
VIB	355Wa	IVNE.9	9074	Surface	JR
VIB	353c	IVNE.8	8084A	Installation Surface	JR
VIA	351a	IVNW.39	39036P	Pottery on surface	JR1
VIA	356	IVNW.26	26103	Surface	MISC4.2
VIA	351c	IVNW.9	9048P	Pottery on surface	JR
VC	354a/a1	IVNE.23	23075	Fill	MISC4.2
VC	353b	IVNE.8	8070	Pottery Concentration	JR
VC	353a	IVNE.7	7071	Pebble Surface	JR
VC	350d	IVNW.39	39035	Fill	MISC4.2
VC	350b	IVNW.8	8038P	Pottery on surface	JR10.6
VB	353a	IVNE.7	7059.1	Surface	JR
VB	350c	IVNW.7	7011.1	Debris	JR
VB	350a	IVNW.9	9035	Surface	JR10.4
VA	350a	IVNW.9	9034	Fill	JR
VA	350a	IVNW.9	9030	Surface	JR10.5
IVB	354c	IVNE.24	24023	Fill	JR
IVB	354a	IVNE.23	23027B	Fill	JR10.4

Hadjicosti (1988), in her analysis of Canaanite store jars from Maa-Palaeokastro on Cyprus, drew attention to six examples of 'Canaanite' store jars where the bases had been pierced. Her sample included examples of bases that had been pierced both before and after firing. Unfortunately, most of these were found in disturbed and unstratified deposits. While she could not define a function for these vessels, she suggested that the

¹⁸⁵ This code refers to its type number as defined in the Tel Miqne-Ekron Iron I ceramic corpus.

pre-fire formation "leads us to assume that such jars were intentionally made for a specific purpose" (1988:355). It is interesting to note that this technique is associated specifically with 'Canaanite' store jars.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Canaanite store jars are one of the few forms of local vessels that are produced alongside the production of Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery at Philistine sites in the Levant. Some scholars have suggested that the presence of Canaanite store jars at Philistine sites was simply to fill-in functional forms that were not common in the new immigrants' ceramic assemblage (Barako 2001:13, note 7, 204; T. Dothan and Zukerman 200432; Killebrew 1998b:397), or the store jars were used by the Canaanite population living at the site (T. Dothan 1998b). Alternatively, it is possible to suggest that Canaanite store jars were not only known, and possibly produced, in the immigrants' country of origin. Furthermore, this very type of store jar may have functioned as part of a particular type of activity, such as suggested by Hadjicosti (1988:1998:355), which the immigrants brought with them to Philistia.

Barako (2001), following Stager [Stager personal communication cited in Barako (2001:32)], suggested that sunken store jar installations, found at Ashkelon in the vicinity of wine making installations, were used in the production of grappa. ¹⁸⁶ Grappa is a secondary product of winemaking, produced from the grape residue after the grapes have been pressed. The process, as described by Barako (2001:32), includes that "[t]he fermenting residue from the wine-making process…was spread on top of the heated shell

¹⁸⁶ A second possibility is the use of these sunken store jar installations in the production of resinated wines. Evidence from organic residue analysis points to the contemporary production of resinated wines in the Aegean (Tzedakis and Martlew 1999).

pavement and a lid was placed over the entire 'pot-still' causing a distilled product (grappa) to collect at the bottom of the jar."¹⁸⁷ One of the major implications of this system is that wine production must also be taking place in the vicinity. At Ashkelon, the sunken store jar installations were found in Grid 38 phase 18, dated to the 12th century BCE and contemporary with the Philistine bichrome period (Barako 2001:31, 83). This area "appears to have been primarily an open area, in part devoted to the production of wine and possibly also grappa, as witnessed by a number of winepresses and the previously mentioned, sunken jar installations" (Barako 2001:83).

At Tel Miqne-Ekron, little overt connection could be found between these installations and the production of wine. Specifically, one would expect to find a large number of store jars in the area, a necessary component of wine production. Badler, McGovern and Michel (1990) state that wine is best stored in stoppered vessels, laid on their sides in order to preserve the wine and keep it from turning into vinegar. Examples of storage jars at Uruk period Godin Tepe, with necks intentionally chipped off, is interpreted as a means by which to get at the contents of jars that had been stoppered (V. R. Badler, *et al.* 1990). ¹⁸⁸ In general, the percentage of store jars in the ceramic assemblage was very small, and there was no evidence for the use of other large storage

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¹⁸⁷ It would seem that this process, as reconstructed, would have left behind a number of distinguishing elements, including evidence of heat (e.g., ashes, burnt residue or fire-cracked stones) on the paved surfaces and residue within the jars themselves. None of these has been addressed in the literature. Future testing of the jars for organic residues, similar to the study undertaken by Tzedakis and Martlew (1999), might assist in identifying the original contents of these jars.

¹⁸⁸ This chipping process appears to leave different marks than the appearance of the upper edge of the neckless jars found at Tel Miqne-Ekron, where the removal of the neck seems to be a function of the use of the store jar as an installation.

vessels, such as large stirrup jars, which in the Aegean were used for wine storage and transport (Mountjoy 1993). Nor was there evidence of grape pips or other installations, such as treading vats, which could have been used in the production of wine.

More striking in terms of the sunken store jars installations from Tel Miqne-Ekron, is the association between them and fire installations, whether pebble hearths or fire pits, as mentioned above. While the possibility that sunken store jar installations were multi-functional should not be ignored, ¹⁸⁹ their construction at both Tel Miqne-Ekron and Ashkelon was relatively standardized, with the adaptation that at Tel Miqne-Ekron the surrounding surface area was composed of small stones and broken sherds, while at Ashkelon shells replaced the stone paving (Barako 2001). This standardization suggests that sunken store jar installations were constructed to fulfill a specific purpose, but at this point only further research will be able to inform on their intended function.

Mudbrick Platforms (non-hearth) (Table 5.4i)

Besides the hearth platforms, there were a few other types of platforms that should be mentioned. In the ethnographic literature, platforms in domestic contexts serve a wide variety of functions. Usually found in 'courtyards,' they were used for sitting, entertaining, cooking, eating and sometimes sleeping (Hirschfeld 1995; Seeden 1985). The sample of platforms from Tel Miqne-Ekron Field IV was found in both interior and exterior spaces. Platforms are different than benches in that they are generally free-standing, although a few of the platforms identified at Tel Miqne-Ekron were built with

 $^{^{189}}$ Leonard (1996) points to an additional use of the store jar with broken neck as a "bucket" for a *shaduf* to draw water from the Nile.

one end up against a wall. Included in this group are stepped mudbrick installations that were termed "bamot" in the field reports (Garfinkel, et al. forthcoming). Focusing on the similarities and differences between these bamot and other built platforms may help inform on whether or not these installations can be associated with cultic, ritual or non-ritual activities.

One platform in particular, IVNW.24044, would seem, because of its large size and centralized location in the middle of *Room d* in Building 350, Stratum V, to be of great significance. Unfortunately, this feature, which was constructed not of mudbricks but of mud and plaster, was very difficult to articulate during the excavation and therefore its size, shape and associated features can only be surmised. As described above (Chapter 3), a mudbrick lined depression in the surface of the platform may have been part the platform's construction and use.¹⁹⁰ Based on its appearance in section, the north end of the platform was built leaning on a pillar base, possibly in a similar configuration to the pillar-flanked hearth platforms discussed above. But unlike these examples, a second pillar base was found, not flanking the large platform, but further to the north. Little else could be discovered about this platform. Other features in the room included a pebble-hearth and a mudbrick bench.

Of the smaller, square-shaped platforms, mention has already been made of Installation 43116, Stratum VIIB, within which a sunken store jar was set. It is included here because this platform stands parallel, in location and associated artifacts (see above Chapter 3), to a contemporary plastered mudbrick stepped platform [XNW.78021] in

¹⁹⁰ A similar feature, including a mudbrick lined depression, may have been found in Building 355W, Stratum VI (See Chapter 3).

Field X. This latter feature is similar in size and construction to an additional, although chronologically later, stepped mudbrick platform found in Building 350, *Room b*, Stratum V, referred to as a *bamah* (see Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming).

The stepped platform of *Room b*, Building 350, was built into the southeast corner of the room and was associated in its final use with a Stratum VA surface, but its construction may have incorporated a number of earlier phases. In addition, there is some evidence to suggest that a similar structure existed already in Stratum VC-B. Above the Stratum VA platform, an additional plastered mudbrick platform was built in Stratum IVA/B. These features will be discussed more fully in the context of the finds of Building 350, Room b, in Chapter 7. What should be noted here is that a number of objects were found on the stepped platform. These include: a whole bowl and flask, both decorated, and three almost whole, decorated, bowls, and an upper grinding stone. 191 The room also contained an unusually large number of whole vessels (storage jars, cooking pots and a krater), articulated animal body parts and a number of unique items including parts of a bronze wheeled stand and an ivory knife handle (T. Dothan 2002). The concentration of whole and *in situ* objects points to a unique abandonment procedure associated with this area as compared to other areas of the site where the state of the recovered artifact assemblage implies secondary disposition. Together these elements reflect the unique character of this room, with its possible cultic associations (T. Dothan 1998a, 2002), a point to which I will return in Chapter 7.

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¹⁹¹ Personal communication Ianeer Malevski, who analyzed the entire corpus of ground stone artifacts from Tel Miqne-Ekron. His report will be published in the Tel Miqne-Ekron Publication Series.

Benches (Table 5.4j)

At Tel Miqne-Ekron, mudbrick benches were discovered built against the interior walls of rooms (Garfinkel, et al. forthcoming). The earliest benches are found in Building 357 of Stratum VIIA flanking the north and south sides of the mudbrick hearth platform. These were added to the interior walls of the building in association with the major reorganization of space in this room. This style of opposing benches is also seen along the interior north and south walls of Entrance Room 352 of Building 351 in Stratum VIA. In the temples at Tel Qasile, benches lined both the entrance rooms and interior halls, where they were integrated into the stepped platform structures, which seemed to be the central focus of these rooms. Many of the Tel Qasile artifacts were found either on these benches or in their vicinity (Mazar 1980, 1985b; Zevit 2001). At Ugarit, low benches lining the north and west walls of the main hall at the Temple of the Rhytons were interpreted as either for seating or for offerings. Alternatively, each may have served a different function (Yon 1996). In Stratum VI, benches were also found along some of the interior walls of the large multi-purpose rooms of Buildings 353 and 354. In Stratum VC a plastered mudbrick bench was built along the interior of the southern wall of Building 350, in *Room d*. This bench was rebuilt in Stratum IV. Unfortunately, the sample ¹⁹² of benches at Tel Migne-Ekron is too small to suggest any patterning to their spatial distribution. There were few artifacts found associated with them. 193

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¹⁹² A few additional examples were found in unclear contexts.

¹⁹³ T. Dothan (2003:194, Fig. 4) mentions the finding of a Mycenaean IIIC:1 bird askos [obj. no. 6630] on the northern bench of Building 357 in Stratum VIB. Unfortunately its exact findspot is not clear and awaits further study.

Bins (Table 5.4k)

In her study on Bronze Age houses, Daviau (1993) distinguished between different kinds of storage facilities: bins, silos, storage pits and cisterns. A *bin* is a container usually built up against a wall or other support. A *silo* is "a cylindrical feature, standing independent of other features, that is either built above ground or sunk into the ground. The primary function is that of a granary or storage pit" (Daviau 1993:61). A *cistern* is generally assumed to hold water.

A number of rectangular shaped bins were discovered in almost all phases of occupation in Field IV at Tel Miqne-Ekron (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). The bins in Field IV were generally constructed as mudbrick frames set onto or slightly into a surface. Only one example of a possible bin was built of stone. Bins were often built up against walls or in the corners of rooms, but this was not always the case. Some of them were larger and built more like very small rooms for which no doorway or other entrance was found (e.g., IVNE.9098A/B and IVNE.7053).

While it is usually assumed that bins were used for storage (Daviau 1993, 1999; Nakhai 1997), no evidence was found within these installations that could help reconstruct their original purpose or intended function. A few examples at Tel Miqne-Ekron were noted as "filled with ash" (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). As discussed in Chapter 3, the five vessels found in association with bin IVNE.24063 in Building 354, *Room c*, could not be definitively related to the installation near which they were found. In Building 360, Stratum VIA, an unusual room in both its small size and thick walled construction, a large bin was found that was a central feature in the room, placed opposite

the main entrance to the room. This bin contained a number of objects including a gold leaf, ivory panel fragments and a polished bone stylus, but it could not be determined whether these objects were originally stored in the bin or were part of the general discard when the room was abandoned.

The bins (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming) in Building 353, *Room c* of Stratum VI may be more correctly identified as *basins*. Their shallow depth, plastered interior and interconnected framework suggest that they functioned together, possibly used to either contain or prepare a liquid substance (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming).

Bins were randomly distributed across the excavation area, located in both singleand multi-roomed buildings. No correlation could be found between room function or room size and presence/absence of bins. It is interesting to note that no bins were found in Building 350.

Deep Bins/Silos (Table 5.41)

Two well constructed deep round bins or silos were found in Field IV lower. It was not possible to discern their function, but they were assumed to have functioned as containers in a manner similar to Daviau's (1993:61) definition of a silo (see Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). According to Ilan (2001), the surface of a silo is usually even with ground level or slightly lower, and she suggested that the materials kept in silos were often stored in bags, sacks, jars or other containers (O. Ilan 2001:328). 194

¹⁹⁴ This might make it more difficult to determine what types of materials were stored inside silos, as the construction matrix of a silo might not be an accurate reflection of performance characteristics and a microartifactual analysis might give an indication of container type and not what was stored in the containers.

The earliest of these Field IV deep bins, in Stratum VIIA, was constructed of mudbrick sides and paved with a mudbrick floor, measuring 2.2 m in diameter and approximately 1.40 m deep. This feature was initially interpreted as a large, Aegean-style hearth based on its appearance at surface level where it resembled a mudbrick circular frame surrounding an area of heavy ash (T. Dothan 1995). Upon further excavation, it was reinterpreted as either a silo or deep bin (Garfinkel, et al. forthcoming). It was found within Building 352 and was the central feature in this room, encompassing almost the entire floor surface. Two store jars, whose necks had been removed, were set into the bin's frame. Within the bin a few pieces of copper, and stone and flint tools were discovered. A large amount of pottery and bones were also found on the bin's mudbrick pavement. These included: bowls, cooking vessels, kraters, jars and jugs, drawn from both the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and local Canaanite repertoire. 195 This deep bin had a relatively short life span and was filled in with the construction of Building 351 at the beginning of Stratum VIB. Based on its similarities to the round stone silo of Stratum V (see below), I have included it with this group.

The second of these structures, found in Stratum VC, was defined as a "silo" (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). It was discovered to the north of the monumental entrance to Building 350. Lined with rows of limestone cobbles, it was 2.5 m in diameter and approximately 2 m in depth. It too had a relatively short use-life and was filled in with debris and capped with mudbrick, possibly during the construction of Stratum VB or a

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¹⁹⁵ **Bowls**: 6 Aegean style, 6 Canaanite style; **Cooking Vessels**: 2 Aegean style cooking jugs, 1 Canaanite style cooking pot; **Kraters**: 3 Aegean style, 1 Canaanite style; **Jars**: 3; **Juglets**: 1; **Jugs**: 4.

little later. 196 Although the Stratum VC silo and Stratum VII bin were different in construction and location, they were similar in size and in their common association with a round sump (see below). Further research should examine how these installations might be related.

A third structure of similar construction was found in Field X, Complex 200, Room c in Stratum VI (Bierling 1998a). Identified as a bin, X.90018 was a semi-circular stone installation, measuring approximately 1.5 m across and standing 4-5 courses deep. It was associated with a narrow stone wall, which formed its southern side. The bin was found filled with debris and a few broken pottery sherds, with a layer of phytolith material lining the bottom. The bin was constructed a few centimeters to the east of the mudbrick fortification wall. No other features were found in this room.

Sumps (Table 5.4m)

Three pebble-filled depressions, which were termed "sumps" (Garfinkel, et al. forthcoming) were found during the course of the excavation. Two of these, IVNW.41090 and IVNW.43067 were very similar in size, construction and location. They were both bowl-shaped depressions sunk into the surfaces of outside areas. Their function could not be determined, but they were found filled with intersecting layers of pebbles and water-washed deposits, indicating that water collected in these areas. Both of the sumps were located opposite the main entrance to the public buildings, 352 in

¹⁹⁶ The latter suggestion represents a difference in interpretation between me and the excavators (Garfinkel, et al. forthcoming). I would reconstruct the curb running east-west across the entrance in Stratum VC and

the drain in Stratum VB as part of the same structure, and suggest that this drainage channel was associated

with the use of the 'silo.'

Stratum VI and 350 in Stratum V. The two sumps are similar in diameter to the deep silos/bins, which appear in contemporary strata. The Stratum VIIA sump stood approximately 2.4 m to the north of silo/bin IVNW.27070, and the Stratum VC sump the sump stood approximately 2.25 m to the west of silo/bin IVNW.27068. Further research should investigate a possible interconnected function between these sumps and the deep bins/silos. As noted above, further research should investigate whether or not there is a relationship between these sumps and the deep silos/bins, and the placement of these installations outside the entrance to large public buildings.

The third depression, IVNW.43112, was much smaller in both diameter and depth than IVNW.41090 and IVNW.43067. It was found inside Building 357. It too was filled with pebbles and water-washed materials, but without the layering affect seen in the large sumps. This locus may have functioned in concert with monolith 43110, which was set into the center of the depression, and/or with platform 43107, which was built along its east side, but a functional relationship between these elements cannot be determined at this time. In any event, its size and location were markedly different than IVNW.41090 or IVNW.43067, suggesting that it also had a different function, related to the activities occurring within Building 357, but what this function was can note be known at this time.

Rooms with Similar Features (Table 5.5 and 5.6, Plans 5.1-5.9)

The distribution ¹⁹⁷ of built-in features suggests a number of interesting patterns. Table 5.5 shows the distribution of features by building and room. Buildings, whose architecture suggests a chronologically continuous pattern in the organization of space, have been grouped together with double-lined boxes. Rows shaded in gray pinpoint the large, front, possibly 'courtyard' room in the multi-room complexes. These rooms also tend to have the largest number of features clustered together. Table 5.6 shows the same information but here these multi-functional rooms are grouped together in order to show the clustering of similar features. Rooms that contained similar features were probably the loci of similar activities.

As mentioned above, the majority of features were related to the production of heat, possibly for cooking but other functions can not be ignored. Of the nineteen cooking facilities recovered (circular pebble hearths, *tabuns* and firepits), twelve occurred together with either a bench or a bin. The hearths on mudbrick platforms were continually associated with the same types of features. The non-hearth platforms were generally not associated with similar features. Unfortunately, the sample is small and related more to a chronological distribution than a synchronic. However, the multiple locations of platforms, in large multi-functional rooms such as the platform in *Room d* of

 $^{^{197}}$ Although the sample size was relatively large (n = 74 rooms and areas), synchronically it actually comprised a limited number of different buildings. Chronologically, comparative analysis was hindered by the continual reuse of rooms, buildings and features, the poor preservation in some areas during different chronological episodes, and the incomplete excavation of some of the buildings and areas.

Building 350, or smaller, less accessible rooms, e.g. the platforms in *Rooms b* and c of the same building, ¹⁹⁸ suggests the variable function of this feature.

In the multi-room complexes, most installations clustered in the largest, front room. Smaller side or back rooms had few if any features. Patterns in single-room complexes were more difficult to discern. Based on the constellation of preserved features, Building 357 in Stratum VIIB and Building 352 in Stratum VIIA served relatively unique functions. The large clustering of features in Building 357 in Stratum VIIA-VI was more comparable, both in number and type, to the 'courtyard' rooms of the large buildings. The rooms of Building 351 were too poorly preserved to make useful comparisons.

Table 5.5 demonstrates that Building 350 remained relatively constant in the types of features associated with it throughout each of its building phases. *Room d* has the largest clustering of features, with a fire installation (either circular pebble hearth or firepit), non-hearth platform and bench. The appearance of two additional features in this room in Stratum IV, a sunken store jar installation and a posthole, do not change the general picture of activities in this room. Buildings 353 and 354 demonstrate much more variability over time, although the largest front room, *Room a*, is generally the focus of activities in all phases, evident by fire installations, benches, bins, sunken store jar installations and postholes. This is also the location of the 'bathtub' in Stratum VI.

¹⁹⁸ In light of the lack of cooking facilities in associated with the stepped platform in Building 350, *Room b*, it is even more interesting to not the findings in this room of whole cooking pots and articulated animal parts. This will be discussed more fully in Chapter 7.

In Buildings 355E and 355W, differences in the types of features present during their different phases support the conclusions derived from the architectural analysis (Chapter 3), i.e., that there were major changes in function between Strata VI and V. A similar phenomenon can be seen in the comparative analysis of Areas 358 and 361. In terms of the types and numbers of features present, in the later phases of Area 361, when this term is used to designate the area at the front entrance to Building 350, it demonstrates a close similarity to Area 358, which was located at the front entrance to Building 351. Alternatively, the distribution of features points to a difference in function between Area 361 in Strata VII-VI and the same area in Strata V-IV.

In conclusion, the distribution of features supports some of the same patterns seen in the stratigraphic analysis of the architecture and pottery, particularly in chronological changes over time. Additionally the distribution of features points to a number of significant similarities in places where the architectural analysis and the distribution of pottery forms suggest differences, for example in the comparison between Building 350 on the one hand and Buildings 353 and 354 on the other. Noticeable similarities can be seen in the clustering of features in the large rooms of each of these building complexes. Common to Buildings 353 and 354, as well as Building 350, are the large concentrations of features including fire installations and benches. These similarities may support a hypothesis that there was a standard idea of the organization of space that was repeated whether the building was built on a monumental scale or on a more modest level. This idea will be more fully explored in Chapter 6.

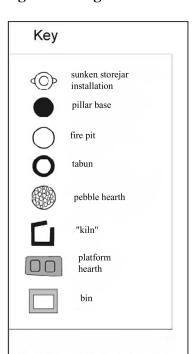


Fig. 5 Legend for Figures 5.1 through 5.9

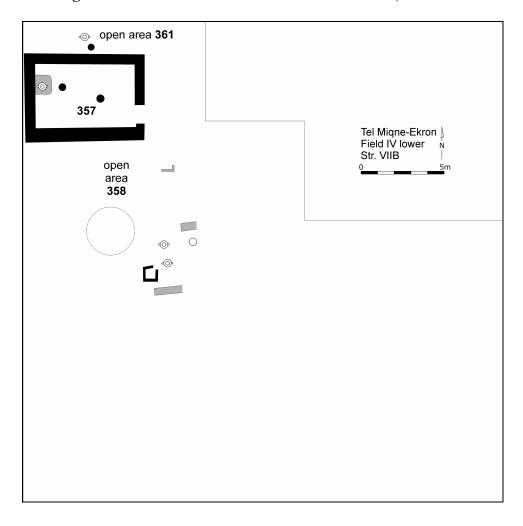


Fig. 5.1 Distribution of Features and Installations, Str. VIIB

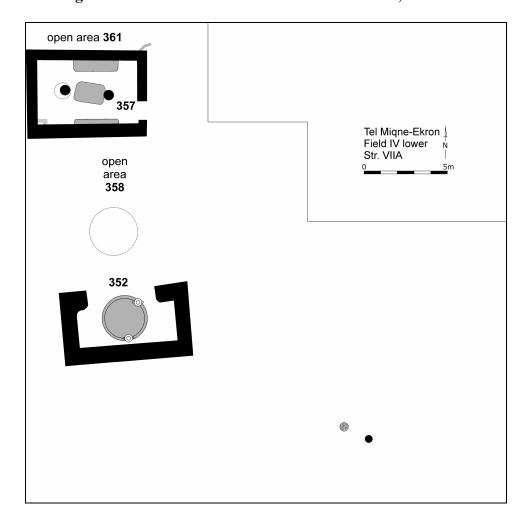


Fig. 5.2 Distribution of Features and Installations, Str. VIIA

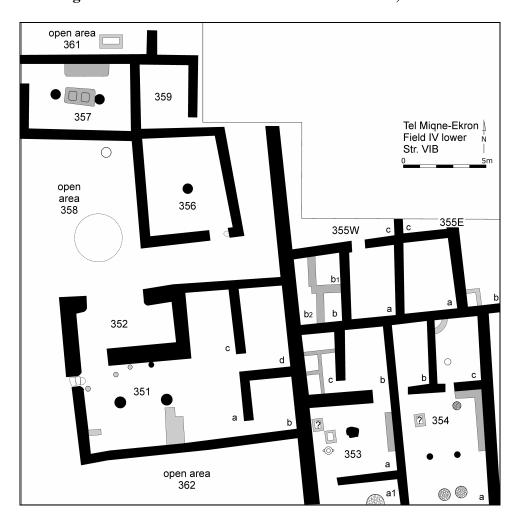


Fig. 5.3 Distribution of Features and Installations, Str. VIB

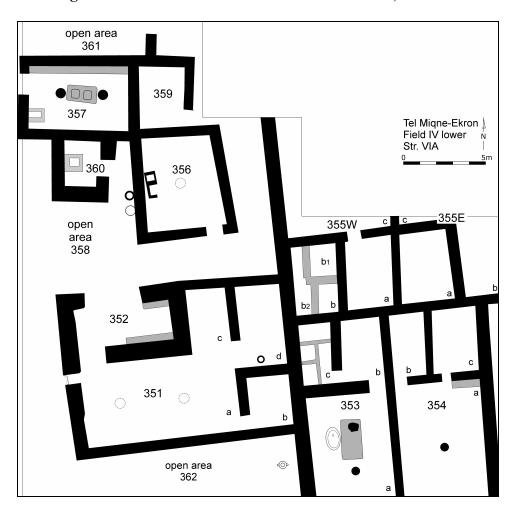


Fig. 5.4 Distribution of Features and Installations, Str. VIA

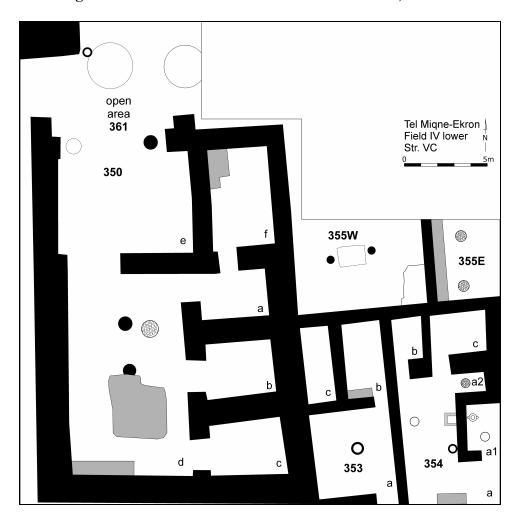


Fig. 5.5 Distribution of Features and Installations, Str. VC

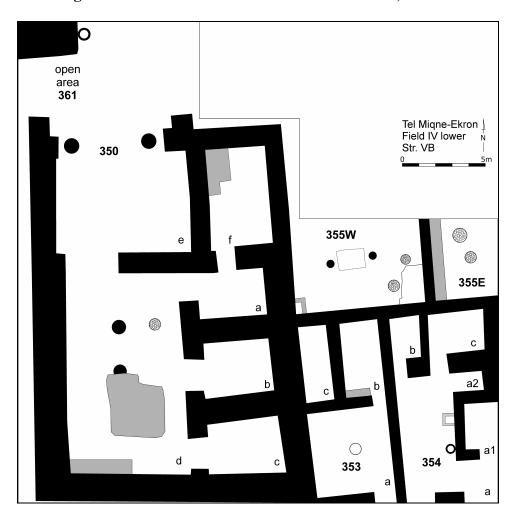
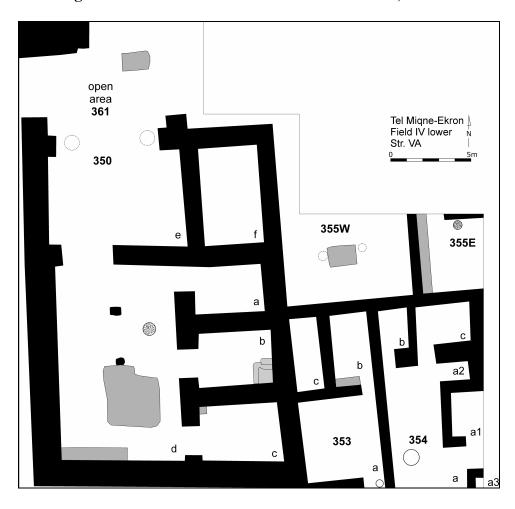


Fig. 5.6 Distribution of Features and Installations, Str. VB



 $Fig.\ 5.7\ Distribution\ of\ Features\ and\ Installations,\ Str.\ VA$

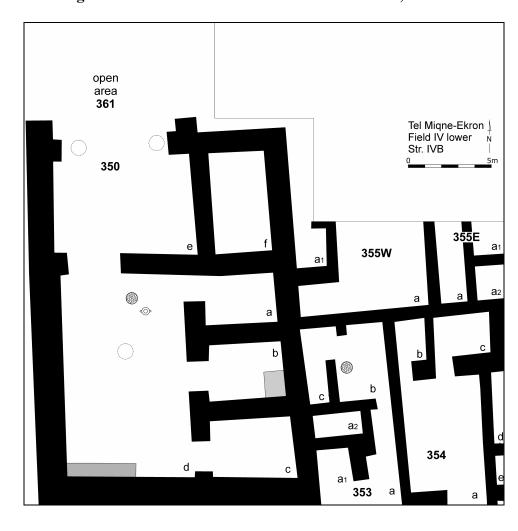


Fig. 5.8 Distribution of Features and Installations, Str. IVB

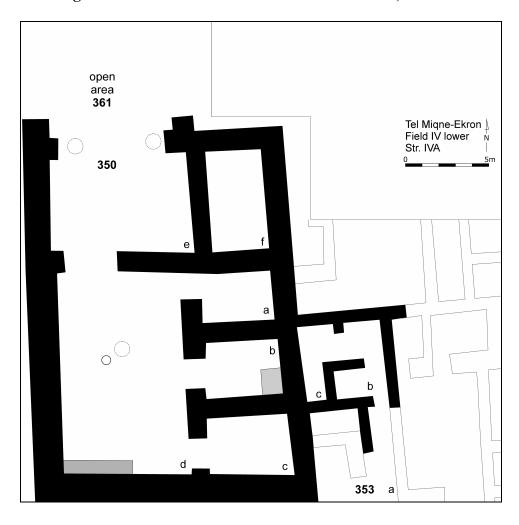


Fig. 5.9 Distribution of Features and Installations, Str. IVA

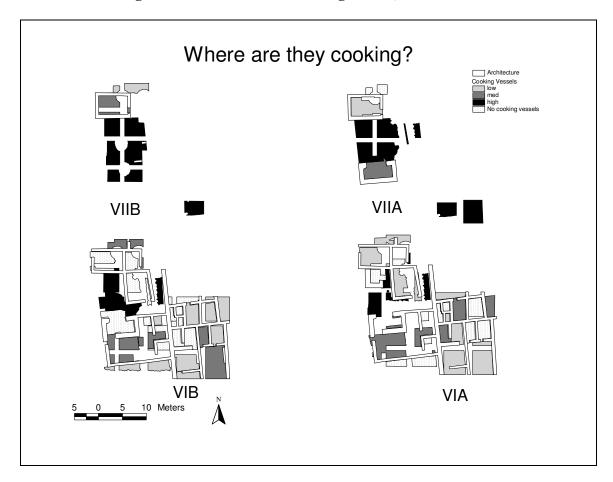


Fig. 5.10 Distribution of Cooking Wares, Str. VII-VI¹⁹⁹

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¹⁹⁹ The spatial distribution maps in Chapters 5 and 7 were produced using Esri's ArcView 3.3, based on digitized maps of excavated loci, which were then summarized by room/area.

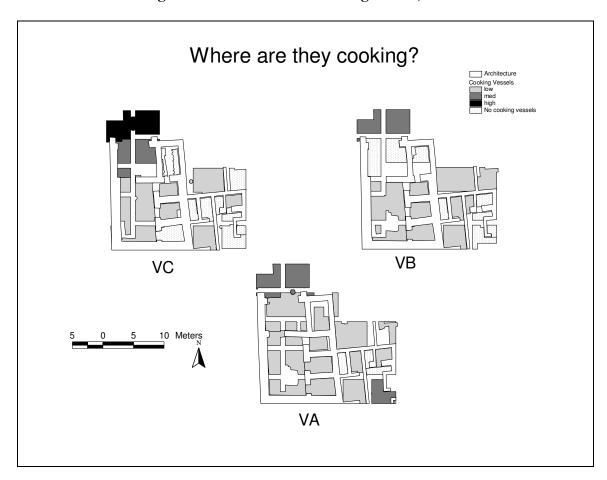


Fig. 5.11 Distribution of Cooking Wares, Str. V

Where are they cooking?

Achitecture
Cooking Vessels
IVB

IVA

Achitecture
Cooking vessels

IVA

Fig. 5.12 Distribution of Cooking Wares, Str. IV

Hearths Table 5.4a Hearths on Mudbrick Platforms

Field IVLower

	Str.	Bldg.	Room	Name	Square	Locus	Construction	Dimensions	Add. Notes
								(m)	
1.	VIB	357		Hearth	IVNW.43	43102	rectangular;; pottery	1 x 0.5; 0.09	on platform 43088, ash
							and pebbles, baked	high	
							mudbrick frame		
2.	VIB	357		Hearth	IVNW.43	43103	?; pottery, pebbles	1.35 x 0.5; 0.03	on platform 43088, signs of burning on
							and cobbles	high	stones
3.	VIA	357		Hearth	IVNW.43	43078	ovoid; baked	0.47 x 0.66;	on platform 43088, ash
							mudbrick frame	0.10 high	
4.	VIA	357		Hearth	IVNW.43	43086	triangular; pottery	0.37 x 0.37	on platform 43088, ash
							and pebbles		-

Table 5.4b Mudbrick Hearth Platforms

	Str.	Bldg.	Room	Name	Square	Locus	Construction	Dimensions	Add. Notes
								(m)	
1.	VIIB	357		Fire Installation / platform?	IVNW.43	43116	Square, brick frame w/rounded corners, layers of pebbles, store jar in center encircled by a double row of pebbles	1 x 1; 0.25 high	ashy matrix
2.	VIIA	357		Hearth Platform	IVNW.43	43107	Rectangular, mudbrick	1.75 x 1., 0.8 height	set between 2 pillars
3.	VIB- VIA	357		Hearth Platform	IVNW.43	43088	Rectangular, mudbrick	1.85 x 1, 0.47- .16 height	set between 2 pillars, sherd-paved hearths on top
4.	VIA	353	a	Platform	IVNE.7	7079	Rectangular, mudbrick	2.4 x 1.25, 0.40 height	next to bathtub, monolith in north end and pillar base found to south
5.	VA	355W	a	Platform	IVNE.9	9033	Rectangular, mudbrick	1.6 c 1.07, 0.07- 0.05 height	possibly between 2 pillars, concentration of ash in center

Table 5.4c Circular Pebble Hearths

	Str.	Bldg.	Room	Name	Square	Locus	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Add. Notes
1.	VIIA	358	area	Hearth	IVNE.7	7109	circular; pebble, bones and sherds	0.50 x 0.40; 1.04 high	ash
2.	VIB	353	a1	Hearth	IVNE.7	7100	circular?; pebble and sherds	1 x 0.70; 0.04 high	partially exc.
3.	VIB	354	a	Hearth	IVNE.23	23086A	?; pebble	1 x 1; 0.14 high	evidence of fire, ash, sherds and bones; exc. together with 23068B
4.	VIB	354	a	Hearth	IVNE.23	23086B	?; pebble	0.90 x 0.60; 0.13 high	evidence of fire, ash, sherds and bones; exc. together with 23068A
5.	VIB	354	a	Installation	IVNE.24	24086	circular; pebble	0.50 x 0.50; 0.07 high	ashy debris, hearth?
6.	VC	354	a2	Hearth	IVNE.24	24051	?; pebble	1.15 x 0.7; 0.05 high	ash and evidence of fire
7.	VC	350	d	Hearth	IVNW.24	24054	circular; pebble	approx. 1.32 diam; 0.21 high	ash, bones, organic debris and sherds
8.	VC	355E		Hearth	IVNE.25	25057	?; concentration of cobbles	1.5 x 1.75; 0.56 high	
9.	VC-VB	355E		Cobbles	IVNE.25	25048B	amorphous; concentration, hearth?	1.25 x 2.5; 0.33-0.43 high	ash, charcoal, burnt residue and tabun frags. (incl. 25048A)
10.	VB	355W		Hearth	IVNE.9	9049	circular; cobbles	0.75 x 0.5; 0.05 high	ash and evidence of fire
11.	VB	355W		Hearth	IVNE.9	9052	?; pebble and cobbles	0.46 x 0.40; 0.05 high	ash
12.	VB	355E		Hearth	IVNE.25	25050	circular; pebble	0.75 diam; 0.16 high	evidence of burning
13.	VA	350	d	Hearth	IVNW.24	24037	circular; pebble	0.85 diam; 0.05 high	plaster-lined; ash and silt
14.	VA	355E		Cobbles	IVNE.25	25048A	amorphous concentration, hearth?	1.25 x 2.5; 0.3343 high	ash, charcoal, burnt residue and tabun frags. (incl. 25048B)
15.	IVB	350	d	Hearth	IVNW.25	25056	circular; limestone and basalt	1.75 x 1.25; 0.11 high	evid of fire and burnt residue
16.	IVB	353	b	Installation	IVNE.8	8051	amorphous; cobble and pebble	0.86 x 1.7; high	w/evid of fire

17.	VIIB-A	200		Installation	XNW.79	79011	circular; pebble	0.5 diam; 0.12	w/evid of fire; originally identified as
								depth	"kiln" 0.
18.	VIA	200	f	Pebbles	XNW.78	78011	circular; pebble	1.25 x 0.5, 0.12	no evid of fire; possibly hearth; assoc.
								depth	w/phytolith surface
19.	VB			Firepit	XNW.77	77010	amorphous, cobbles	1.3-1.5 diam;	ash, charcoal, pottery, bones; id'd as
				_				0.04-0.10 deep	firepit

Table 5.4d, Tabuns

	Str.	Bldg.	Room	Name	Square	Locus	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Add. Notes
1.	VIA	358	area	Tabun	IVNW.26	26082	circular	0.75 diam	tabun ware and ash
2.	VIA	358	area	Tabun?/ Firepit?	IVNW.26	26100	circular	0.30 diam; 0.18 high	fire installation, ash and burnt soil
3.	VIA	351	d	Tabun	IVNW.8	8045	circular	0.35 diam; 0.15 thick	mudbrick, burnt
4.	VC-VB	354	a	Tabun	IVNE.23	23059	circular	0.55 diam; 0.15 thick, 0.30 high	sherds and tabun ware, burnt debris
5.	VC	353	a	Tabun	IVNE.7	7068	circular	approx. 0.60 diam; 0.20 high	on base of cobbles and sherds
6.	VC	361	area	Tabun	IVNW.43	43055	ovoid	0.40 x 0.38; 0.10 high	composite cobbles and sherds with traces of fire.
7.	VB	361	area	Tabun	IVNW.43	43050	circular	0.87 x 0.82; 0.05 thick	sherds and stones

	14 11								
8.	VIIB	200	h	Tabun	XNW.77	77042	circular	approx. 0.75 diam; 0.71 depth	surrounded by ash
9.	VIIB-A	200		Tabun	XNW.78	78028	circular	0.75 diam; 0.50 high	on cobbles and ash with ceramic base, outside room f, built into wall
10.	VIB	200	d	Tabun	XNW.77	77028	circular	approx. 0.78 diam; 0.12 height (but not fully excavated	

Table 5.4e Firepits

	Str.	Bldg.	Room	Name	Square	Locus	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Add. Notes
1.	VIIB	358	area	Firepit	IVNW.25	25113	circular?	0.40 x 0.35; 0.13 deep	shallow pit, ash, burnt residue, organics, sherds, few bones
2.	VIB	358	area	Firepit	IVNW.42	42131	circular	0.40 diam; 0.09 deep	burnt soil and clay, charcoal and ash
3.	VIB	354	С	Firepit	IVNE.24	24066	circular	0.32 x 0.39; 0.04 deep	shallow pit filled with ash and burnt debris
4.	VIA	358	area	Firepit/Ash Lens	IVNW.25	25106	circular?	0.30 x 0.50; 0.02 deep	ashy lens or pit; filled with burnt debris
5.	VC	354	a	Firepit	IVNE.23	23061	circular	?; 0.03 deep	pit filled with ash, charcoal and burnt debris
6.	VC	354	a1	Hearth?/ Firepit	IVNE.23	23063	circular; sherd-lined shallow pit	0.60 diam; 0.05 deep	evidence of fire
7.	VB	353	a	Hearth?/ Firepit	IVNE.7	7062	circular, sherd-lined shallow pit	0.7 x 0.6; 0.17 deep	ash and evidence of fire, above tabun 7028
8.	VA	354	a	Fire Installation	IVNE.23	23042	circular	0.40 (top)/ 0.25 (bottom); 0.03 deep	shallow pit, filled with ash, burnt residue, charcoal, bones, stones and few sherds.
9.	VA	353	a	Hearth?/ Firepit	IVNE.7	7056	circular	0.30 x 0.27; 0.12	ash and burnt soil; firepit?
10.	IVA	350	d	Firepit?	IVNW.40	40021	circular?	not preserved; 0.02 deep	pit or hearth, baked soil and burnt mudbricks

11.	VIIB	200	c	Firepit/	XNW.90	90021	circular	.25 diam	ceramic-lined, partially burned
				posthole					
12.	VIIA	200	h	Firepit	XNW.77	77031	circular	1.00 diam; 0.17	ash, burnt residue and sherds
								deep	

Table 5.4f "Kilns"

	Str.	Bldg.	Room	Name	Square	Locus	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Add. Notes
1.	VIIB	358	area	Fire Installation	IVNW.25	25102	Rectangular, mudbrick frame, opening in northeast, inner box covered by mudbrick	0.98 x 0.90; 0.13 high	inner box filled with ash and signs of burning; associated with 2 sunken jar installations.
2.	VIA	356		Fire Installation	IVNW.26	26083 26096	Rectangular, mudbrick frame, opening in southeast, inner hardened surface, 2 holes in kiln walls; "L" shaped soft limestone abutting sw corner	0.74 wide; 0.60 high; "L" 0.82 x 0.50; 0.25 high	evidence of fire and vitrified material, ash and burnt debris below "inner surface," associated with other installations and a lot of ash

Table 5.4g Postholes and Post Supports²⁰⁰

	Str.	Bldg.	Room	Name	Square	Locus	Construction	Dimensions	Add. Notes
								(m)	
1.	XI			Posthole	IVNW.8	8056	circle of	0.35 x 0.25;	
							cobblestones on	0.10 deep	
							plaster foundation		
2.	XI			Posthole	IVNW.9	9062	plaster circle with	0.25 diam; 0.09	
							stone in center	deep	
3.	VIIB	358/ 357	area/	Posthole	IVNW.26	26125	hole filled with ash	.50 x 0.40; 0.12	at outer corner of doorway, Building
								deep	357
4.	VIIB	358	area	Installation	IVNW.25	25096	circular ring of	0.5 x 0.58; 0.14	between 2 store jar installations
ii							cobblestones, post	deep	
							support?		
5.	VIIA	352		Posthole	IVNW.24	24073	mudbrick lined hole	0.20 diam; 0.08	
								deep	
6.	VIB	351	a	Posthole	IVNW.24	24074	circular depression	0.20 diam; 0.08	
								deep?	
7.	VIB	351	a	Posthole	IVNW.24	24075	circular depression	0.20 diam; 0.06	
							_	deep	
8.	VIB	351	a	Posthole	IVNW.40	40052	circle outlined by	0.32 diam; 0.02	
							burnt-orange matrix	deep	
9.	VIB	353	a1	Installation	IVNE.7	7101	circle of stones,	0.70 x 0.60;	
							post support?	0.07 deep	
10.	VIB	354	a	Posthole	IVNE.24	24081	circle of thick	0.13 diam; 0.04	
							plaster, filled with	deep	
							organic material	•	
11.	VIB	354	a	Installation	IVNE.24	24087	pebble circle,	0.5 x 0.3; 0.10	at outer corner of doorway, room c of
							hearth? post-	deep	Building 354. Its location suggests
							support?		more likely to be a post support, as in
									IVNW.26125.
12.	VC	354	a	Installation	IVNE.23	23069	circular? stone,	0.54 x 0.40 (not	bronze pin below
							cobbles, pebbles	fully exc.); 0.12	-
							and pottery, post	deep	
ii							support?		

²⁰⁰ Although not discussed as a separate feature, I have included this table as a number of probable postholes or post-supports may have been incorrectly identified in the field as hearths and firepits. I base their re-identification on either their size and/or the lack of any mention in the field notes of associated findings of ash and burnt debris. For distribution of postholes and post supports, see general Field plans, Figures 3.1-3.9 0.

13.	VC	354	a	Installation	IVNE.23	23072	circle of stones,	0.47 x 0.28;
							large stone	0.18 deep (from
							surrounded by ring	ring of stones to
							of smaller stones,	large stone)
							post support?	
14.	VA	353	a	Stone	IVNE.7	7058	circle of stones -	0.50 diam; 0.33
				Installation			large stone	deep
							surrounded by	
							smaller. post	
							support?	
15.	IVA	350	d	Installation	IVNW.24	24033	pit with 3 stones	0.6 x 0.3; 0.20
							along edge, post	deep
							support?	

Table 5.4h Bathtubs

	Str.	Bldg.	Room	Name	Square	Locus	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Add. Notes
1.	VIA	353	a	Bath	IVNE.7	7074	limestone w/plastered sides and cobbles in base, oval	1.09 long x 0.70 wide x 0.38- .028 deep	"plug" in base; located next to platform; filled with pebble debris

2.	VII	sondage	1	Basin	INE.68	68047		"plug" in base; located in corner of
								room, set into cobblestone surface.

Table 5.4i Platforms (non hearth)

	Str.	Bldg.	Room	Name	Square	Locus	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Add. Notes
1.	VIB	351	a	Platform	IVNW.23	23039	Polygon, mudbrick	2.2 x 1.2, 0.10 height	?2 rows of mb with pillar at north end, south end ag. wall
2.	VIB	351	a	Installation	IVNW.39	39043	trapezoid mudbrick install ext. from wall, platform?	1.5 x 1.12, 0.31- 0.26 height	plastered
3.	VIB- VIA	355W	b	Installation	IVNE.9	9088A and B	mudbrick frame, platform? Or bin?	1.62 x 2.01 or 1.72 x 1.46; 0.60 height	with plastered mudbrick surface 9092. filled with mudbricks 9067. possible brick lined depression in top
4.	VC-VB	355W	a	Installation	IVNE.9	9051	stone platform	4 rows by 7 courses; 0.15 – 0.07 high	in corner, by hearth and pebble hearth
5.	VC-VA	350	d	Platform	IVNW.24 IVNW.40 IVNW.23	24044/ 40022/ 23020	Polygon, mudbrick	?	one pillar at north end, brick-lined depression in top
6.	VA	350	c	Installation / Bamah	IVNW.7	7012	square plastered mudbrick, in corner	0.45 x 0.45 0.44 height	
7.	VA	350	b	Bamah Bamah	IVNW.8 IVNW.8	8030 8032	a stepped, plastered mudbrick structure, in the southeast	0.75 by 0.50; 0.85 x 0.75; 0.81 high	It was not clear whether these structure were built together as part of one installation, or represent different
				Bamah Platform	IVNW.8	8033	corner of room. Bench platform	1.25 x 0.35; 0.34 high	chronological phases of the installation. Additionally, although this installation
				Bamah	IVNW.8	8048	8033 formed the foundation, with bamah 8032 standing as the central structure, constructed on top of bamah 8048. bamah 8030 on the north edge of the platform.	0.24 x 0.24; 0.19 high	could only be definitively associated with the VA surface, there is evidence to suggest it, or a similar structure, may have been in use already in VC. It is significant to note that a number of whole vessels were found on top of this installation, as well as on all the Stratum V surfaces in this room. A large number of bones were also associated with this room, including articulated ovricaprid body parts.
8.	VA	361	area	Platform	IVNW.27	27039	Rectangular, plastered mudbrick	1.90 x 1.25, 0.27 height	
9.	IVA//B	350	b	Bamah	IVNW.8	8027	plastered mudbrick	1.25 x 1; max	directly above VA stepped platform

							platform in southeast corner of room	preserved height = 0.65	8030,8032,8033,8048
10.	IVA	350	d	Installation	IVNW.39	39016	rectangular; mudbrick platform	1 x 0.5; 0.21- 0.15 height	poss. cut on north by foundation trench

Field X

11.	VIIB-	200	f	Bamah	XNW.78	78021	plastered mudbrick	0.5 x 0.5; 0.6	
	VIIA						ag. wall	high	

Table 5.4j Benches

	Str.	Bldg.	Room	Name	Square	Locus	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Add. Notes
1.	VIIA	357		Bench	IVNW.42	42114			
2	VIIA- VIB	357		Bench	IVNW.43	43097			
3.	VIB	353	a	Bench	IVNE.7	7102			
4.	VIB	354	a	Bench	IVNE.23	23093			
5.	VIB- VIA	354	a	Bench	IVNE.24	24076			
6.	VIA	352		Bench	IVNW.24	24064			
7.	VIA	352		Bench	IVNW.24	24069			
8.	VIA	357		Bench	IVNW.43	43077			
9.	VC	354	a	Bench	IVNE.23	23076			
10.	VC	350	f	Bench	IVNW.10	10038			
11.	VB	350	f	Bench	IVNW.10	10032			
12.	VC-VA	353	b	Bench	IVNE.8	8056A			
13.	VC-VA	355E		Bench	IVNE.25	25044			
14.	VC-VA	350	d	Bench	IVNW.23 IVNW.39	23021 39028			
15.	IVB- IVA	350	d	Bench	IVNW.39	39019			

Table 5.4k Bins

	Str.	Bldg.	Room	Name	Square	Locus	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Add. Notes
1.	VIIB	358	area	Installation	IVNW.26	26126	mudbrick "L"	1.5 x 1.3; 0.04 height	no add. info
2.	VIIA	357		Installation	IVNW.42	42126	rectangular; mudbrick frame, in corner	0.7 x 0.5; 0.13 height	filled with ash
3.	VIIA	361	area	Installation	IVNW.27	27097	mudbrick arc, corner bin?	0.7 x 0.3?; 0.16 height	not well preserved
4.	VIB	355E	b	Installation	IVNE.25	25063	rectangular; mudbrick frame, bin?, ag. wall	1 x 0.75; >.30 deep	
5.	VIB	353	a	Installation	IVNE.7	7090	mudbrick, bin? or lined pit	?, 0.61 height	filled with and surrounded by burnt debris (not drawn? in room corner?)
6.	VIB	353	a	Installation	IVNE.7	7093	rectangular; mudbrick frame, bin?	0.75 x 0.75; 0.06 height	
7.	VIB	354	С	Installation	IVNE.24	24063	semi-circular mudbrick, bin? in corner	1 x 0.75; 0.30 deep	assoc. w/ 5 vessels
8.	VIB	361	area	Installation	IVNW.27	27096	rectangular; mudbrick frame?, bin?	1 x 0.8; 0.20 height	
9.	VIB- VIA	353	С	Installation	IVNE.8	8080	mudbrick frame of installation, 3 shallow bins, in corner	3.5 x 1.82; 0.17 height	
				Plastered Installation Surface	IVNE.8	8081 8084A	plaster surface of north bin	1.80 x 1.0	plastered depression 8084 in center
				Plastered Installation Surface	IVNE.8	8082 8088	plaster surface of center bin	1.0 x 1.0; 0.90 x 0.85	
				Installation Surface	IVNE.8	8083 8085	plaster surface of southern bin	1.5 x 1.0; 1.0 x 0.8	
10.	VIA	357		Installation	IVNW.42	42123	rectangular; mudbrick frame in	1 x 0.53; 0.8 height	

							corner, bin		
11.	VIA	360		Installation	IVNW.42	42097	rectangular; mudbrick frame, bin, ag. wall	1 x 0.9; 0.25 height	filled with ashy matrix, incl. gold leaf, ivory panel frags. and polished bone stylus
12.	VC-VB	354	a	Plastered Installation	IVNE.23	23054	rectangular; mudbrick frame, bin?, ag. wall	0.70 x 0.70; 0.15 deep/height	
13.	VB	355W	a	Stone Installation	IVNE.9	9048	"L" of stones in corner – bin?	0.60 x 0.60; 0.1711 height	possible "bin" but of stone construction
14.	IVB	353	a2	Surface	IVNE.7	7053	rectangular; mudbrick room?	2.5 x 1.0; 0.50 height	small enclosed room

Table 5.4l Deep Bins/Silos

Field IVLower

	Str.	Bldg.	Room	Name	Square	Locus	Construction	Dimensions	Add. Notes
								(m)	
1.	VIIA	352		silo/bin	IVNW.24	24070	round, mudbrick	2.2 diam; approx. 1.40 deep	paved mudbrick surface 24092, 24092P, and 24091. Filled with earth and ash. 2 "neckless" store jars set into
								•	frame.
2.	VC	361	area	silo	IVNW.27	27068	round, stone	2.5 diam; 2 deep	surface 27072 on bottom; capped with mudbrick; possibly associated with stone-lined drain and pit to southwest; sump 27057 to west

_	 								
3	VIB-A	200	С	bin	X.90	90018	semi-circular; stone	1.5 diam;	phytolith at bottom, associated with
								approx 0.55	stone installation 90009; east of
								deep	fortification wall

Table 5.4m, "Sumps"

	Str.	Bldg.	Room	Name	Square	Locus	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Add. Notes
1.	VIIB- VIB	358	area	sump	IVNW.41	41090	circular bowl- shaped depression	2.5 diam; approx. 0.62 deep	filled with layers of pebble surfaces and water washed debris
2.	VIIA	357		sump	IVNW.43	43112	circular bowl- shaped depression	1 diam; 0.05- 0.28 deep	monolith 43110 set in the center of the depression
3.	VC	361	area	sump	IVNW.43 IVNW.27	43067 27057	circular bowl- shaped depression	2.55 (e-w) and 2.925 (n-s) across; approx. 1 deep	plaster-lined pit with rounded depression in bottom, filled with layers of pebble surfaces and water washed debris

Table 5.5 Distribution of Built-in Features by Stratum and Building

Bldg/ Str	Rm	Tbn	Fire pit	Platf. Hth	Circ. Pbl. Hth	Kiln ?	non- hth platf.	Bin	Bench	silo/ deep bin	sump	SJ Inst.	Post - hole	Other
357 (VIIB)												X	X	
357 (VIIA)				X				X	X		X			
357 (VI)				X(2)				X	X					
352 (VIIA)										X		X(2)	X	
352 (VI)	Ent. rm								X (2)					
351 (VI)	a						X						X (3)	
	b													
	c d	X												
356 (VI						X								
360 (VI)								X						
361 (VII)	area							X				X		
361 (VI)	area							X						
361 (VC-B)	area	X (2)								X	X			
361 (VA)	area			X										

361	area												
(IV)													
358	area		X			X		X		X	X(2)	X	
(VIIB)													
358	area				X					X			
(VIIA)													
358	area	X(2	X(2)							X			
(VI))											
362	area										X		
(VI)													
350	a												
(VC-B)	b						X?						
	c						X?						
	d				X		X		X				
	e												
	f								X				
350	a												
(VA)	b						X						
	c						X						
	d				X		X		X				
	e												
	f												
350	a												
(IV)	b						X						
	c												
	d		X		X		X		X		X	X	
	e												
	f												
353	a			X	X			X(2	X		X	X	bath

(VI))					
	b					,					
	с					X					
353	a	X	X								
(VC-B)	b						X				
	c										
353	a		X							X	
(VA)	b						X				
	c										
353	a					X					
(IV)	b			X							
	c										
354	a			 X(3)			X	 	X	X(2	
(VI)	1)	
	b		37			37					
254	c	V	X	V		X	V			V/0	
354 (VC-B)	a	X	X(2)	X		Λ	X			X(2	
(VC D)	b)	
-	c										
354	a		X								
(VA)	b										
, ,	c										
354	a										
(IV)	b										
	С										
355E	a		_								
(VI)	b					X					
	c										

355E (VC-B)				X (2)			X			
355E (VA)				X			X			
355E (IV)										
355W	a									
(VI)	<u></u> b				X					
355W (VC-B)				X(2)	X	X				
355W (VA)			X							
355W (IV)										

Table 5.6, Distribution of Built-in Features by Room/Building Function

Bldg/	Des	Donah	D:-	Circ.	Einanit	Tahun	non-hearth	Post	SJ	Platform		IZ:1 _m 9	silo/ deep	Other
Str 350	Rm	Bench	Bin	hearth	Firepit	Tabun	platform	Hole	inst.	Hearth	sump	Kiln?	bin	Other
(VC-														
B)	d	X		X			X							
350	u	71		21			71							
(VA)	d	X		X			X							
350	-	11		11			11							
(IV)	d	X		X	X		X	X	X					
353														
(VI)	a	X	X(2)	X				X	X	X				bath
353														
(VC-														
B)	a				X	X								
353														
(VA)	a				X			X						
353														
(IV)	a		X											
354		***		77(0)				T7(0)	37					
(VI)	a	X		X(3)				X(2)	X					
354 (VC														
(VC-B)	0	X	X	X	X(2)	X		X(2)						
354	a	Λ	Λ	Λ	11(4)	Λ		$\Lambda(2)$						
(VA)	a				X									
354	a				11									
(IV)	a													
(2 .)														

361													
(VII)	area		X					X					
361													
(VI)	area		X										
361													
(VC-													
B)	area					X (2)				X		X	
361													
(VA)	area								X				
361													
(IV)	area												
358													
(VII								X(2					
B)	area		X		X		X)		X	X		
358													
(VII													
A)	area			X						X			
358													
(VI)	area				X(2)	X(2)				X			
362													
(VI)	area							X					
357 (VII													
(VII													
B)							X	X					
357													
(VII													
A) 357		X	X						X	X			
357													
(VI)		X	X						X(2)				
352							X	X(2				X	

(VII)			
A)										
351						X				
(VI)	a				X	(3)				
350										
(VC-										
B)	a									
350										
(VA)	a									
350										
(IV)	a									
355E										
(VI)	a									
355										
W										
(VI)	a									
351										
(VI)	b									
350										
(VC-										
B)	b				X?					
350										
(VA)	b				X					
350					***					
(IV)	b				X					
353										
(VI)	b									
353										
(VC-										
B)	b	X								

353										
(VA)	b	X								
353										
(IV)	b			X						
354										
(VI)	b									
354										
(VC-										
B)	b									
354										
(VA)	b									
354										
(IV)	b									
355E										
(VI)	b		X							
355										
W						***				
(VI)	b					X				
351										
(VI)	c									
350 (VC)										
(VC-						V9				
B) 350	c					X?				
(VA)	c					X				
350	C					Λ				
(IV)	c									
353										
(VI)	c		X							
353	c									
333		l .	l							

(VC-									
B)									
353									
(VA)	c								
353									
(IV)	c								
354									
(VI)	c		X	X					
(VI) 354 (VC-									
(VC-									
B)	c								
354									
(VA)	c								
354									
(IV)	c								
355E									
(VI)	c								
355									
W									
(VI)	c								
351									
(VI)	d				X				
(VI) 350 (VC-									
(VC-									
B)	e								
350									
(VA)	e								
350									
(IV)	e								
352	entr	X (2)							

(VI)	ance													
(V 1)	rm													
350														
(VC-														
B)	f	X												
350														
(VA)	f													
350														
(IV)	f													
356														
(VI												X		
360														
(VI)			X											
355E (VC-													
B)		X		X (2)										
355E ((VA)	X		X										
355E														
(IV)														
355W	(VC-													
B)			X	X(2)			X							
355W	(VA)									X				
355														
W														
(IV)														
Total														
S		14	13	11	8	5	11	9	8	5	5	2	2	1

CHAPTER 6

AN ARCHITECTURAL ANALYSIS OF FORM AND FUNCTION

Introduction

In the next two chapters, I undertake a functional review of the organization of space by bringing together a number of different lines of evidence in order to ascertain the types of activities that may have been going on in the various buildings in Field IV Lower. Data are drawn from: a comparison of the distribution of associated features and artifacts, an analysis of patterns of access and a comparative study of contemporary structures at other sites, which demonstrate interesting parallels and/or significant differences with the Tel Miqne-Ekron structures.

In this first chapter, I address building function, by analyzing what the similarities and differences in the architectural layout of the rooms and buildings, noted above in Chapters 3 and 5, may have meant in terms of the organization of space. What might similarities and differences in the use of space mean in terms of how the room or building was used, by whom and for what purposes? This chapter concentrates on comparing building scale, internal division, organization of space and distribution of features and artifacts. The discussion focuses on four building units: Buildings 351 and 350 on the east and Buildings 353 and 354 on the west. Comparisons are drawn with other contemporary structures, both intra-site and inter-site.

If it is possible to discuss a 'Philistine' style of architecture, ²⁰¹ then it is essential to draw comparisons between the organization of space at Tel Miqne-Ekron and at contemporary sites associated with Philistine settlement, e.g., Ashdod²⁰² and Tell Qasile. A number of recent articles on the excavations of Ashdod (Ben-Shlomo 2002, 2003; Bunimovitz 1999; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002; Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2001, 2004) have both added to and reinterpreted some of M. Dothan and Porath's (1993) original conclusions. In particular, the buildings excavated in Areas G and H have recently been interpreted as wealthy residences (Ben-Shlomo 2002; Bunimovitz 1999; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002), with possible cultic functions (T. Dothan 2003:201). Contemporary strata at Tell Qasile include both temples and domestic houses (Mazar 1980, 1985b, 1986). The following discussion will also refer to the Late Cypriot III sites of Kition and Maa-*Palaeokastro*, which have been used extensively to demonstrate similarities in the use of space with the Philistine sites.

Meijer (1989:222) formulated a method of analysis based on four primary aspects: form, location, utilitarian function and symbolic function. He argues for the primacy of form and location over function, because in most archaeological contexts more is known about these aspects than about function (1989:222). I would also add that these deductions form the basis for most of our reconstructions of utilitarian and symbolic function.

²⁰¹ A similar argument for a culturally 'Israelite' style of architecture has recently been proposed for the 'four-room house' (see below).

²⁰² Not enough has been published of the early Iron Age levels at Ashkelon to include it in a comparative sample. The little that is known, drawn primarily from Barako's (2001) dissertation, Stager's limited publications of the Ashkelon excavations (1991; 1993; Stager and Esse 1987) and his reviews of the Philistines in the Early Iron I (1995; 1998), and T. Dothan's most recent study of Philistine cult (2003), will be inserted when appropriate.

Buildings 351 and 350 as Temples/Public Buildings and/or Elite Structures (Building 350, see Plans 4.3 and 4.4; Building 351, see Plan 4.4-4.9)

From the outset of excavation, the richness of the finds and the monumentality of the architecture in Field IV suggested that this area was the "Elite Zone" of the Philistine settlement (T. Dothan 1998a:259; T. Dothan and Gitin 1993; Gitin 1998a:6). The monumental buildings, located on the west side of the area, have been identified as cultic structures or shrines (T. Dothan 1998a, 2002, 2003; Zevit 2001:134-138) or as elite residences (T. Dothan 1987:205; 1998a). While making a case for "high-class dwellings" at Philistine Ashdod, Ben Shlomo (2002) maintained that buildings at Tel Miqne-Ekron with similar features were more likely cultic (see also T. Dothan 2003). Yasur-Landau (2002:188, 228) recently posited a resemblance between Building 351 (Stratum VI) at Tel Miqne-Ekron and a type of Aegean-style elite residences, termed *Korridorhäuser* based on the common feature a long hall with rooms extending on both sides. ²⁰³

Invariably, the large scale and open access of the entrance rooms to Buildings 351 and 350, have drawn attention to the public nature of these structures, with analyses variously emphasizing either the cultic (T. Dothan 2002; Zevit 2001:132) or non-cultic (Yasur-Landau 2002) aspects of these buildings and their associated finds. The difficulty in pigeon-holing the function of these structures has led to a variety of ascriptions, even by the excavators themselves. In 1998, T. Dothan described Building 350 as a possible governor's residence or palace (1998a:259). In 2002, she characterized Building 351 as a "public building/temple" (T. Dothan 2002:1). While admitting that "questions remain as

²⁰³ Not to be confused with Zertal's 'corridor-builders' (2001).

to the exact function of this building,..." (T. Dothan 2002:3), she called Building 350 "Philistine Temple Building 350" (T. Dothan 2002:22). The sacred character of both buildings was further emphasized in T. Dothan (2003:192), where she stated:

The cultic nature of these buildings and rooms is indicated by the combination of architectural characteristics and/or features in association with objects and other finds. Furthermore, the continuity of the presence of such special features and finds in a given area is typical of the reuse of sanctified places over time.

Mazar (2000:215) also mentioned that the excavators seem unsure of the building's function. He admitted that the plan of Building 350, due to its monumental architecture and organization of space, which included "a portico, main hall with pillars along the long axis and an adyton (the central eastern room [Room b]" (Mazar, 2000 #620, not Mazar's use of terminology generally reserved for religious architecture@:215), is suggestive of temple architecture, but he could find no specific parallels in Levantine, Aegean or Cypriote architectural traditions. Although Mazar suggests, with reservations, that the plan of Building 350 demonstrates some similarities with other "Canaanite" style temples, it "may rather have also been an elaborate dwelling" (Mazar 2000:215). This discussion is not meant to imply that the excavators are either indecisive or vacillating in their interpretation; rather I point this out in order to highlight the complexity of the situation.

Distinguishing between religious architecture and elite residences may not always be easy to accomplish. In archaeological contexts, the attribution of function to building is fraught with problems and uncritical assumptions and, in the end, may not always be possible. This is especially true when 1. our understanding of exactly what activities

occurred in both temples and elite residences is limited, and 2. what we do know suggests substantial overlap between similar activities conducted in both temples and elite residences, e.g., storage of staples and wealth, food preparation and consumption, etc (cf., Daviau 1994).

From the analyses of a number of recent studies on cultic praxis in the Near East (Daviau 1994; Dever 1983, 1984, 2001; Holladay 1987; Nakhai 2001; Zevit 2001), focusing on examples from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, it can be seen that ritual behaviors included many activities that were also common in daily domestic circles. Daviau (1994) undertook a functional and a spatial study of the artifact assemblage from the Late Bronze Age temple at Hazor. Activities that she identified included: food preparation and consumption, libation, music, adornment (including both cosmetics and jewelry), storage, cutting and/or sacrificing and lighting. In the courtyard in front of the temple complex, which was considered an "integral part of sacred space" (1994:78), artifacts indicated that a similar range of activities were carried out both inside and outside the temple. A potter's kiln located in the vicinity of the temple, which contained miniature vessels, suggested production in association with demand promulgated by the ritual activity focused on the temple. All of these activities, and many of the ones suggested by Zevit (2001:81-84), could have left behind refuse patterns similar to the distribution of finds in Building 350 at Tel Migne-Ekron (Garfinkel, et al. forthcoming), and in the elite domiciles at Ashdod (Ben-Shlomo 2002). As many of the items on

Daviau's list of material culture traits could also be found in a wealthy residence, a study based solely on artifact distribution may obscure the two different functions.²⁰⁴

Meijer (1989) points to examples where, without additional information, it would have been impossible to distinguish between temple complexes and domestic residences. In his discussion this *additional information* would include a body of culturally defined architectural theory. He brings forth an example of a misidentification of Ubaid-Uruk period religious/ residential architecture where "This realisation came about not through direct evidence concerning function (on the one hand, temple inventories could share household installations with domestic buildings, on the other hand some domestic buildings look rather monumental), but rather through comparative evidence of scale and frequency" (Meijer 1989:222).

Unfortunately, there is no body of architectural theory on which we can rely for this study. A number of studies have attempted to characterize religious architecture in the Near East (e.g., Dever 1981, 1983; Mazar 1980, 1981, 1992; Nakhai 2001; Ottosson 1980; Stern 1984; G. R. H. Wright 1971). Most of the research has focused on defining a 'local' versus 'foreign' architectural style (e.g., Burdajewicz 1990; Mazar 2000; Negbi 1989), but has reached little consensus on origins or direction of influence.

T. Dothan has suggested that Building 350 at Tel Miqne-Ekron is similar in architectural design and artifact assemblage to Tell Qasile, Stratum X. Mazar, however,

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²⁰⁴ An interesting study is that by Mazarakis Ainan (1997) for early Iron Age Greece. His methodology, however, seems a bit problematic. He suggests that artifact distributions may be a more reliable indicator of building function, "especially large quantities of similar categories of objects and not isolated items, which cannot have been anything else but dedications to the gods" (1997:286). Not only is the latter part of this assumption difficult to prove, but there is an aspect of circular reasoning in his argument. Mazarakis Ainan tends to describe objects, when found in rulers' dwellings, as signs of wealth, whereas similar artifacts discovered in cult buildings are discussed as reflecting activities associated with the building's function.

disagrees with this reconstruction, stating that "the entire architectural concept is different" (2000:215). The series of temples located at Tell Qasile have been one of the primary tools used in attempts to both reconstruct *Philistine* religion and define a notion of a *Philistine* religious architectural style (cf., Mazar 2000; Zevit 2001:125-132). As in the Philistine pottery traditions (T. Dothan 1982, and see Chapter 4), Mazar acknowledges that the temples seem to reflect a mix of Aegean and Canaanite style traditions (most recently Mazar 2000). Scholars have variously used this admixture to emphasize an Aegean (e.g., T. Dothan 2003), Cypriot (e.g., Mazar 1992) or Canaanite (e.g., Burdajewicz 1990; Negbi 1989; Zevit 2001:126-127, note 6) origin.

Similar to the concept of urban planning documented at Tel Miqne-Ekron, Mazar initially stressed, both on a site level and in the temple complex, the continuity in the organization of space from the initial Iron Age occupation (Mazar 1980). This can be seen in the location of the temples, their orientation and in their division of space,

²⁰⁵ Mazar's original discussion of the Tell Qasile temples, cataloguing them with temples of "irregular plan and indirect approach," which he ascribed to foreign antecedents (1980:61-69; 1992:177-182), spurred a flurry of responses arguing for the local sources of many of the architectural features (e.g, benches, pillars and raised platforms) seen in these structures (Bunimovitz 1990; Burdajewicz 1990; Negbi 1989; Stern 1984; Whittaker 1997; Zevit 2001:126-127, note 6). From the beginning Mazar acknowledged the local antecedents of many of these elements, but characterized these irregular temples as an amalgamation of influences (1980:68). More recently, he concluded that these 'irregular temples' may indeed be of local, Canaanite, rather than of foreign, origin (Mazar 2000), but he still suggests considering them as a separate sub-type of Canaanite religious architecture, possibly associated with "a certain cult(s) or ...utilized by certain social groups that were not in the mainstream of Canaanite society and religious practices" (2000:216).

This debate is particularly important for the current discussion because, if the Tell Qasile temples should be considered in light of Canaanite religious architecture, than it becomes difficult to use them as examples of distinctly "Philistine" religious activities. This becomes even more problematic if we attempt to use Zevit's (2001:125-142) methodology for recreating Philistine behavioral correlates from the standing architecture at these sites. This discussion brings us to the central place of the hearth in reconstructions of Philistine mythos (T. Dothan and Dothan 1992; Zevit 2001:137). Unfortunately, this feature is not without its interpretational difficulties, and its association with religious architecture, as opposed to domestic, is not necessarily clear cut (see below).

including the placement of the 'holy-of-holies,²⁰⁶ which Mazar suggested was essentially retained throughout all the succeeding rebuilds.²⁰⁷ A separation between the temple complex area and the 'residential areas' to the south is established already in Stratum XII and continues through Stratum X (see Mazar 1980:14, fig. 4, 22, fig. 6 and 34, fig. 9). More recently Mazar emphasized the differences in these three temples and suggested that "the inhabitants of Tell Qasile lacked a definite concept of temple architecture. Innovation and the lack of a well-defined architectural tradition are perhaps the most noticeable characteristics of the sacred complex at Tell Qasile" (2000:222).

Although it is only Temple 131 of Stratum X that is typically compared with Building 350 at Tel Miqne-Ekron, as the structures at Tel Miqne-Ekron are generally traced as an evolution from the earliest Stratum VII Building 352, it seems promising to discuss the entire series of temples at Tell Qasile in order to place the Stratum X temple within its diachronic contexts. The following descriptions are based on Mazar (1980:13-49). Comparisons between the Tell Qasile temples and the Buildings at Tel Miqne-Ekron

²⁰⁶ Mazar refrains from defining the term "holy-of-holies" but states that his use of the term "is parallel to the biblical *debir*" (Mazar 1980:124, note 1).

²⁰⁷ It is not entirely clear what area in the Stratum XII temple Mazar is referring to as the "holy-of-holies." Three different interpretations could be suggested. 1. Given the interpretation of the raised brick platform provided in Figure 6.B, one could posit a "holy-of-holies" behind the platform, in the northwest corner of the temple. 2. It would seem that Mazar is suggesting that the Holy-of-holies was in the southwest corner, close to the area where the majority of vessels clustered. This is in line with the semi-enclosed area in Temple 200 of Stratum XI where the majority of vessels in that building clustered. A third suggestion is that there was no area designated as the "holy-of-holies" in the earliest Temple. No area seems to have been specifically sequestered or differentiated within the structure, as in the later building complexes. According to the distribution of vessels presented in Tell Qasile part 2:figure 7, p.24, the vessels seem to group in association with the southern end of the brick platform and extending around its front, and not in the southwest corner. This is a slightly different pattern than observed in the later Temples. If the vessel cluster found in Temple 319 is interpreted as a 'closure deposit' associated with the destruction of the temple, then its placement may have had more to do with changing ideas in the organization of space associated with the new temple constructions of Stratum XI, than with the function of the space in the original Stratum XII structure.

will focus on the organization of space, both interior and exterior to the structures, and the distribution of finds.

Tell Qasile Temples

Temple 319 (Fig. 6.1A)

The first temple at Tell Qasile, Temple 319, was built in Stratum XII. It was a one room structure almost square in shape with interior dimensions of approximately 4.75 x 5.06 m. Benches lined the interior walls along both sides of the entrance and continued along the side walls. Entrance to the room was slightly north of the central axis, but possibly positioned so that one entered directly opposite one wing of a raised brick platform. The doorway, which measured approximately 1.7 m across, was marked by a large stone slab creating a threshold step. The central feature in the room was the stepped brick platform. Its original design was not fully preserved but it extended from one of the side walls into the center of the room and was adjoined by one of the benches.

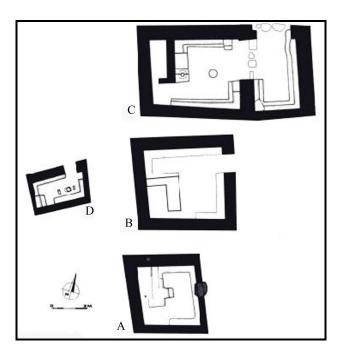
Approximately 20 whole and/or intact pottery vessels were found concentrated in the area to the south of the platform, below a thick layer of brick and plaster debris. A large courtyard at the entrance to the Temple was covered with layers of burnt and ashy debris,

²⁰⁸ Based on the dimensions of the stone slab.

²⁰⁹ Mazar suggests that an earthquake may have caused the destruction of the Stratum XII temple, although he admits that there is little evidence for it. While this may have been the case, an interesting suggestion is that the building was intentionally destroyed in order to build a more elaborate and monumental structure. It would be interesting, given an alternate reconstruction of events, to interpret the clusters of whole vessels as 'closure deposits' (cf., Creel and Anyon 2003; Peltenburg 1991; Walker and Lucero 2000). A similar reconstruction could be posited for Temple 200, Stratum XI, as well. Only in Temple 131, Stratum X, which was described as covered with destruction debris, including the scattering of rejoinable vessels, does the evidence point to a different formation process.

pottery sherds and animal bones, with few whole or restorable vessels, as compared to the interior of the structure.

Fig. 6.1 Temples 319(A), 200(B), 131(C), and Shrine 300(D) at Tell Qasile. After Mazar (1980)



Traces of fire were found in two different places inside the Temple building, but there was no evidence of a built fire installation. The lack of hearth or other built fire installation associated with the interior of this building seems significant as, in almost all discussions of Philistine cult, mention is made of the importance of the hearth to ritual activity (T. Dothan 2003; Zevit 2001:137). Additionally, the built hearth is credited as one of the key features that ties Philistine behaviors, both domestic and cultic, to Aegean traditions (Barako 2001; T. Dothan 2003).

²¹⁰ An interesting exception to this is the recent article entitled *The Temples and Cult of the Philistines* by A. Mazar (2000).

Temple 200 (Fig. 6.1B)

Temple 200 was built almost directly on top of the original walls of Temple 319. It is a slightly larger building but still primarily a one-room structure. The entrance, approximately 1.40 m in width, continued to be in the northeast corner of the structure. Although there was no clearly demarcated threshold, the lower level of the interior room as compared to the outer courtyard suggests that there may have once been a built step in this area that was no longer preserved. As in the earlier temple, benches lined the walls on either sides of the entrance, continuing along one face of the interior partition walls. These interior walls were constructed of mudbrick, as compared to the building's supporting walls, which were constructed of stone or with stone foundations. Unfortunately, the interior walls were preserved only one to three courses high and therefore it was not possible to tell if they functioned as partition walls, or possibly as an 'L' shaped platform retaining a similar function to the stepped platform in Temple 319. These interior walls partially enclosed or isolated an area in the southwest corner of the room, where a large collection of artifacts were found, including "cult vessels" and small ceramic bowls, beads, figurines, ivories and alabaster (Mazar 1980:23).

As in Temple 319 of Stratum XII, most of the floor was covered with a layer of brick and plaster debris. Some artifacts were found scattered throughout the debris, but the cluster of artifacts in the southwest corner was sealed by both a "brick construction" and the fill of the stratigraphically later Stratum X Temple. Additionally, Mazar suggests that a Philistine stirrup jar found immediately below the Stratum XI floor level "seems to have been buried here intentionally by the builders of Temple 200" (1980:24). This

perceived intentionality in the burial of objects may be an important clue for understanding the function, both utilitarian and symbolic, of these buildings, and should be compared with the lack of evidence for this type of behavior in the 'cultic' assemblages from Tel Migne-Ekron (See Chapter 7).

As in Stratum XII, the Stratum XI courtyard outside the entrance to the temple was covered by a layer of gray ash in which were found numerous sherds and animal bones. An additional find of interest was a cluster of bowl bases found upside down [Locus 296] (Mazar 1980:24). These courtyard finds parallel the description of the area at the entrance to Building 350 at Tel Miqne-Ekron, which included layers of an ashy matrix containing a lot of pottery debris and other artifacts (see analysis of outside activity areas in Chapter 7).

To the northeast of Temple 200, a "favissa" or "bothros"²¹¹ (Mazar 1980:24-25) was discovered containing a number of broken and fragmented zoomorphic and anthropomorphic vessels and artifacts, and decorated Philistine pottery including bell-shaped bowls, a stirrup jar and a horn-shaped vessel, as well as other bowls, goblets, juglets and lamps. Mazar noted the construction in Stratum X of a "sacrificial altar" directly on top of this pit, which he interprets as evidence that "the builders of Stratum X were aware of its sanctity," suggesting the continuity here of sacred space (1980:25).

²¹¹ Mazar uses both terms interchangeably, although in his further description of the stratigraphical context of the pit, he suggests that it may have functioned as a "favissa for the burial of cult objects" (1980:25). Alternatively, in Mazar (2000:216) he refers to the use, in the Tell Qasile sanctuary, of "*bothroi* for burial of cult objects…" If one accepts Moorey's (1985:76) and Peltenberg's (1991:85-86) use of these terms, differentiation between a storeroom (*favissa*) and a pit (*bothros*), than *bothros* is the more appropriate term for this feature (cf., Garfinkel 1994, who also pointed out the general confusion in the literature with the use of these terms).

Additional one room structures were found to the northeast of the temple, within the *temenos* area. These rooms, in which were found, among other things, store jars, cooking pots and a grinding stone, reflect that this area was used for food preparation. Evidence suggests that the concept of a separate activity area was initiated with the earliest temple construction in Stratum XII and continued to be used through Stratum X.

Temple 131 (Fig. 6.1C)

Temple 131 is a rebuild of the Stratum XI temple but with the addition of an outer entrance room and the interior reorganization of space. A significant reorientation of access in this new structure includes entrance to the building from the north. Thick walls on stone foundations may have supported an upper floor. Large stones lining the threshold area, from the courtyard into the entrance room and between the entrance room and the main sanctuary, suggest a new focus on entrances and thresholds with this building construction. Pilasters flank the entrance to the main room, even further demarcating the threshold space. The entrance room itself was lined with stepped benches, on which were found a few ceramic artifacts.

The entrance to the main sanctuary is wide, 3.30 m in width, although in actuality it may have been made narrower by the construction of a brick frame or partition door. The inner sanctuary was also lined with stepped benches, which ran up to a brick platform ending in a series of steps at its south end. This stepped platform was built against the back of a partition wall, which partially separated off the northwest corner of the room. The highest part of the stepped platform was built along a line slightly north of

the room's central axis. Mazar suggested that "This location was intended to provide a direct view of the raised platform from the entrance, without interference of the pillars" (1980:38). Two pillars ran along the central long axis of the room. One pillar was in the center of the room, while the second pillar was incorporated into the southern edge of the stepped platform. At the rear of the sanctuary, behind the platform, there was an additional small room that could be entered only from the south. From the entrance to the main sanctuary, one could not see into this back room. In this enclosed room, more than 100 pottery vessels were found in a pile in the north, including: bowls, jugs, juglets, flasks, stirrup jars, a pomegranate-shaped vessel and a cult bowl. Nearby were the lower parts of 3-4 store jars. Mazar interpreted this room as "storeroom for offering vessels" (1980:40).

The distribution of materials in Temple 131 was similar to what was seen in the earlier temples, with clusters of materials in the northwest corner and around, and especially south of, the stepped platform. Finds included ceramic vessels (e.g., bowls, jugs, juglets, jars, kraters, pilgrim flasks), as well as bowls found on benches, libation vessels, a pottery naos, cylindrical cult stands decorated with human figures, a large ritual bowl and stacked lamps. Unlike the previous temples, Temple 131 was destroyed by fire. The distribution of destruction debris implied that the artifacts in this temple were more scattered than had been found in the earlier temples, with spatial joins discovered from among materials scattered throughout the rooms and destruction debris. Mazar suggested that "during the destruction of the temple cult objects were smashed and scattered about"

(1980:39). The list of artifacts, among other things, included: stacked lamps and bowls, store jars, jugs, kraters, juglets and flasks.

The courtyard area in front of the temple was retained, but was now demarcated with low stone walls. As in the previous strata, the courtyard was covered with gray ash, sherds and animal bones. In the courtyard a square stone construction, measuring 1.30 x 1.50 m and flat on top, was built directly over the *bothros/favissa* from the Stratum XI. Mazar interpreted it as "the foundation of a sacrificial altar" (1980:41), although no finds were associated with it to support this interpretation (see note 11). In this phase, the courtyard included a single room structure to the north, which continued to be interpreted as the locus of food preparation activities and storage areas, as suggested in Stratum XI.

Shrine 300 (Fig. 6.1D)

Although rarely discussed in the comparative literature, it is possible to hypothesize a number of similarities in the organization of space between Shrine 300 at Tell Qasile and Building 357, Stratum VIIA-VI at Tel Miqne-Ekron (see Plans 4.1 and 4.2). Shrine 300 was built against the back (West) wall of Temple 200, Stratum XI, and continued to be in use, with only minor changes, into Stratum X. Its plan was along a different orientation than the Temples, and no direct communication existed between them in either Stratum XI or X.

Shine 300 consisted of an entrance "porch" and a main room, both broad-rooms, with entrance in the corner of the long wall. Approach to the shrine, as reconstructed by Mazar (1980:27), was from the northeast corner of the building, with both entrances

almost directly in line with each other. The main room of the shrine measured 2.20 x 4.29 m. Mazar's reconstruction of the shrine included an indirect approach into the main room, with the "holy of holies" in the southwest corner, so that "On entering the room, a turn of 90° to the right had to be made in order to face the holy of holies" (1980:27). Brick benches lined the interior walls and a raised stepped platform (2 steps) was set into the southwest corner. Three "brick projections" were uncovered on the floor of the room, standing in a row along the room's long axis. Mazar suggested that these may have "served as pedestals for the three cult stands found in the shrine" (1980:27). Whether or not this reconstruction is correct, what seems significant is the placement of these pedestals as the central feature in the room and the first things encountered once the room was entered. Although Mazar stressed the 90° entrance turn, probably to emphasize a bent-axis approach, 212 it may have been equally significant that, from a position in the room's entranceway, everything inside the room was in visual range. This is significantly different than the bent-axis approach seen in Temple 131, Stratum X (Fig. 6.1C)²¹³ where the architecture emphasized the difference in orientation between entrance room and main room (Burdajewicz 1990:74; G. R. H. Wright 1971:19).²¹⁴

²¹² General observations suggest that it is unusual for a person walking from point A to point B to turn at a sharp 90° angle. The only exceptions to this might be if one is marching in parade style or possibly enacting a ritual performance. Although the latter option may have been the 'proper' method of performance when entering this shrine room, we cannot be certain of this at this point in time, and therefore it seems useful to allow for other possibilities.

²¹³ Mazar (1980:62-64; 2000:219) catalogued the three Tell Qasile Temples within his group of 'temples with irregular plans' (see note 5, above). Alternatively, I would like to emphasize the significant change to Temple 131, Stratum X, with the addition of the entrance room, which significantly blocked both view and access into the main hall of the structure.

²¹⁴ The cultural/ethnic identification of the 'bent-axis' or 'irregular-style' temple architecture has been much discussed in the literature (Burdajewicz 1990; Mazar 1980, 1981, 1992, 2000; Stern 1984; Zevit 2001:126-127) although no consensus has yet been reached (see note 5, above). A complete analysis is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

On the floor of Shrine 300, a group of objects was found clustered in front of the stepped platform. These included three cylindrical cult stands, on two of which were found attached cult bowls *in situ*. A third bowl, discovered in the entrance room, may belong to this group of stands. Goblets, jugs, chalices and lamps were also found in this area. A cylindrical stand was discovered on the north bench and a bronze hook lay on the west bench.

m, with a concave upper surface, into which was set the lower part of a store jar, was located in the courtyard. Associated with it were a pestle and mortar. This area was enclosed in Stratum X. A large stone demarcated the threshold area at the entrance to the enclosed courtyard. To the east of the entranceway was a small enclosure or room, room 204, measuring 2.10 x 2.90 m, in which were found 15 clay loom weights. Installations in this room included a stone "cooking stove" and a brick storage unit. Four store jars were found *in situ* in the northeast corner. Mazar suggests that "room 204 probably served in an auxiliary role in relation to the cult practices, perhaps for the preparation of ritual meals" (1980:42).

Although the focus in this discussion is on Tel Miqne-Ekron Buildings 351 and 350 of Stratum VI through IV, a number of similarities can also be noted between Shrine 300 and Building 357, Strata VII-VI, with its bench-lined room, central features, and some of its associated artifacts. The architectural parallels between the two buildings are even more prominent if we take into account that the entrance turn in Shrine 300 was not a significant aspect of its religious architecture. If we can assume a common architectural

tradition, than differences between the two structures may be due to chronology, local spatial constraints or regional influences.

Comparing the Tell Qasile Temples with Buildings at Tel Migne-Ekron

One of the most striking differences between the Tell Qasile temples and the contemporary structures at Tel Miqne-Ekron is in scale. While Mazar points to the 'modest' nature of the Tell Qasile temples and that, in dimension they are similar to the residential structures at the site (Mazar 1980:61; 2000:216), the overall impression of Building 350 is 'monumental' in scale. Important structural differences between the building complexes (Table 6.1) include entrance design and approach, the presence/absence of fire installations and the types and distribution of vessels.

The temples at Qasile demonstrate strong evidence for continuity both in location and in associated activities. This can be seen in the location of the *temenos*, which enclosed the temple structures, a large courtyard and a separate area for food preparation and storage, and in the distribution of vessels and "cultic" paraphernalia (Mazar 1980:71-73). A comparison of vessel types and distribution suggests that the Tel Miqne-Ekron ceramic corpus is very different in overall character from the Tell Qasile repertoire. Although the lack, at Tel Miqne-Ekron, of large quantities of whole and restorable vessels, and specifically the concentrations of vessels in certain areas of the building so evident in all phases of the Tell Qasile temples, may be due to either poorer preservation or different formation processes at work at Tel Miqne-Ekron, the types of vessels and manner in which they were found distributed in the Tell Qasile temples suggest that this

difference is due to different discard strategies at the two sites, i.e., that vessels at Tell Qasile, as opposed to at Tel Miqne-Ekron, were both placed on benches and platforms, possibly as votives (Millard 2000:90) and intentionally left in place before rebuilding. This type of depositional activity, where vessels are left *in situ* and buried below the construction fill (e.g., Peltenburg 1991; Walker and Lucero 2000), is different than the buried vessel caches generally associated with foundation deposits (Green 2000:121; Millard 2000:90).

Foundation deposits were found in both the monumental buildings at Tel Miqne-Ekron and the temples at Tell Qasile. Foundation deposits can be defined as the deposition of various items into the foundation of a building, often when the building was initially erected (Green 2000) and/or when the building was renovated. Most studies of dedicatory deposits, including foundation deposits, remarked on the often stereotypical nature of the artifacts used in these ceremonies (J. Levy 1982; Moorey 1985; Peltenburg 1991). Peltenburg (1991:85) emphasized the "close association between the hidden dedication and an overlying building" as a necessary characteristic of foundation deposits. According to Green (2000), whose work references only the Mesopotamian examples where the deposit usually consisted of a relatively standardized assortment of peg figures and inscribed clay cones (see also Ellis 1968), foundation deposits were typically seen with the construction of temples, but sometimes they were used in private homes as protection against disease or demons (cf., Mazarakis Ainian 1997, who notes foundation deposits with both temples and rulers' dwellings).

Mazar noted one foundation deposit, which he referred to as a "building deposit," laid in association with the construction of Temple 131 in Stratum X (Mazar 1980:38, 73). It was discovered below the partition wall that segregated off the back room from the main hall. One should note that this wall was not a load bearing wall, and it was built slightly later than the rest of the building, as evidenced by a foundation trench (Mazar 1980:38). The vessel cache included an alabaster flask, a ceramic bowl and a juglet. Mazar compared the Tell Qasile deposit with a foundation deposit discovered in the Stratum VI, Beth-Shan temple, where a cache of vessels were found below the steps to the 'holy-of-holies' (Mazar 1980:73). 215 At Tel Migne-Ekron, foundation deposits were found in association with Building 351 and Building 350. 216 The Tel Migne-Ekron deposits were typical 'lamp and bowl' style foundation deposit (Bunimovitz and Zimhoni 1993). These deposits were discovered below room surfaces and thresholds, and related to the initial construction episodes of the buildings. The standardized nature of the vessels used in these deposits, their locations and the time of internment suggest that the Tel Miqne foundation deposits were associated with a different context of activities than the Tell Qasile building deposit.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ One can assume that Mazar is referring here to the collection of cylinder seals, scarabs, faience, glass, ceramics, beads and amulets found below the steps of the 'Temple of Amenophis III' (see Rowe 1940:9).

²¹⁶ See Chapter 8 for a more complete description of the stratigraphic context of these deposits.

²¹⁷ It is interesting to suggest that what we observe here is a difference between dedicatory and sanctification deposits. Cf, Ellis' (1968) monumental research on Mesopotamian style foundation deposits, where he recognized four main motivations for the deposition of materials in building deposits: sanctification, protection, commemoration and elaboration (1968:165-168; see also Green 2000).

Table 6.1 Comparison of Buildings at Tell Qasile and Tel Miqne-Ekron

	Tell	Qasile		Tel Miqne-Ekron								
Temple 319, Str. XII	Temple 200, Str. XI	Temple 131, Str. X	Shrine 300	Bldg. 357, Str.VIIA- VI	Bldg. 351, Str. VI	Bldg. 350, Str.VB/C	Bldg. 350, Str. VA	Bldg. 350, Str. IV				
1 room	1 room	2 room	2 room	1 room ²¹⁸	multi- room	multi- room	multi- room	multi- room				
direct	direct	bent-axis	90° or direct	direct	direct and bent- axis	direct and bent- axis	direct and bent- axis	direct and bent- axis				
marked threshold	(un) marked? threshold	marked threshold	unmarked threshold	unmarked threshold	marked threshold	marked threshold	marked threshold	marked threshold				
benches along interior walls	benches along interior walls	benches along interior walls	benches along interior walls or main room only	benches along interior walls	benches along interior walls of entrance room	bench along interior back wall	bench along interior back wall	bench along interior back wall				
2 pillars along central axis of long room	2 pillars along central axis of long room	2 pillars along central axis of long room	no pillars	2 pillars along central axis of long room	2 pillars along central axis of broad room	2 pillars along central axis of long room	2 pillars along central axis of long room	2 pillars along central axis of long room				
stepped mud- brick central feature	stepped mud- brick central feature	stepped mud- brick central feature	3 "brick features"	central mudbrick features	possible mudbrick features	?	large central platform	no central feature				
no hearth	no hearth	no hearth	no hearth	hearth	no hearth	hearth	hearth	fire install- ation				
adyton	adyton	adyton	?	no adyton	unknown/ not preserved	room b?	room b?	room b?				
clusters whole/ intact vessels	clusters whole/ intact vessels	clusters whole/ intact vessels	clusters whole/ intact vessels; 'build- ing' deposit	?	lamp and bowl found- ation deposit ²¹⁹	lamp and bowl found- ation deposit	krater and bowl found- ation deposit (cluster of whole/ intact	cluster whole/ intact vessels in room a				

Possible entrance room. See Chapter 3.

With recognition that few surfaces were preserved in Building 351 Stratum VI.

						vessels in room b?)	
ashy	ashy	ashy	court-	ashy	ashy	ashy	ashy
court-	court-	court-	yard	court-	court-	court-	court-
yard	yard	yard		yard	yard	yard	yard
debris	debris	debris		debris	debris	debris	debris

In light of the above discussion, it is now possible to compare the monumental buildings at Tel Miqne-Ekron with the Tell Qasile Temples, particularly in regard to whether or not Building 350 meets the requirements of a cultic structure. In light of this discussion, it may be helpful to examine Zevit's $(2001)^{220}$ comprehensive analysis of Late Bronze and Iron Age religious structures in Ancient Israel. Zevit's paradigm allows for an easy comparison between Building 350 and the Tell Qasile temples, and highlights both their similarities and differences.

According to Zevit's list of architectural correlates for ritual behaviors $(2001:82)^{221}$ some of the general similarities between Building 350 and the Tell Qasile temples can be seen in: **1.** the establishment of a special building (3); **2.** areas set aside for public and/or private rituals (4); **3.** architecture, which reflects the use of attention focusing devices (6); **4.** the placement of special features including: benches, altars, hearths, basins, storage bins or jars (8); **5.** rituals involving food and drink (10); 222 and 6.

²²⁰ Although Zevit (2001) does not address the earlier, Stratum VI, Building 351, much of the analysis presented here (see Chapter 8, and T. Dothan 2003:193) points to the architectural, and possibly functional, continuities between Buildings 351 and 350.

²²¹ Numbers in *italics* reflect Zevit's numerical correlates.

²²² Only for Shrine 300 does Zevit not list the presentation and consumption of food as evidenced by the architecture. This is odd given the presence of the "cooking stove" and other evidence of food preparation in the enclosed courtyard and Room 204 in Stratum X (Mazar 1980:42). Although Zevit may not acknowledge the enclosed courtyard as part and parcel of the shrine complex, I would suggest that it cannot be otherwise interpreted, as it clearly controls access to the shrine's entrance (see plan in Mazar 1980:34, figure 9: 36, figure 12). As documented in Daviau's research, the courtyard should be considered as an "integral part" of the cultic complex (1994:78).

architecture and facilities, which reflect an investment of wealth (*14*). ²²³ Significant differences between the buildings at Tel Miqne-Ekron and Tell Qasile are also supported by Zevit's observation. Only in the Tell Qasile temples could Zevit find evidence for 1. representation of a deity or deities, 2. sacrifice and 3. repetition of symbols. ²²⁴ From Zevit's outline, it can clearly be seen that the similarities between the building structures include activities that could be associated either with a temple *or* a ruler's residence, e.g., preparation, serving and/or consumption of food and drink, display of wealth, etc., while the differences are indicative of behaviors that could *only* be associated with a cultic structure. This model suggests that a focus on activities, identifying behaviors associated with the use of space and artifacts, is the best method for determining the difference between cultic and residential buildings. Based on this analysis, I suggest that the function of Building 350 at Tel Miqne-Ekron, and probably also the stratigraphically earlier Building 351, ²²⁵ was not primarily cultic. Instead, I support the idea that these buildings were domestic, and served as wealthy residential structures.

²²³ In the Tell Qasile Temples (but not Shrine 300) and Tel Miqne Building 350, Zevit (2001:82) also observed reflections of behavioral correlates (5) "Worship involves prayer and prescribed movements which may be reflected in architecture or iconography" and (13) "The physical plan of a building or of a site may reflect the concepts of ritual cleanliness and gradations of sanctity." I saw less support for these activities in the architectural reconstructions of any of the structures and therefore chose not to include them in this discussion.

²²⁴ Zevit hypothesized that worship in the Tell Qasile Temples may have focused on a pair of deities, while in Shrine 300, Tel Miqne-Ekron Building 350 and also at Tel Batash-Timnah (a contemporary site often associated with Philistine settlement), a triad of deities was worshipped. His reconstruction, based on his understanding of the distribution of artifacts and features, is highly conjectural, and I would suggest, at least in terms of the Tel Miqne-Ekron material, that there is not a lot of evidence to support his theory.

²²⁵ There is too little data preserved to make conclusive statements regarding the function of Building 351.

Building 351 and 350 as Elite Residences

As mentioned above, one of the reconstructions offered by T. Dothan (T. Dothan 1987:205; 1998a:261; T. Dothan and Gitin 1993:1054) describes Building 350 as a governor's residence or palace, with two side rooms demonstrating 'cultic connections.' The earlier Building 351 from Stratum VI was less well preserved, but, based on its similar location, orientation and organization of space, it has also been tentatively interpreted as a ruler's dwelling (T. Dothan and Dothan 1992:242; Yasur-Landau 2002:188, 228). 226 The organization of space within Building 350 suggests a strong similarity with the earlier Building 351. Both buildings were accessed from a courtyard in the north, via a wide, centrally placed, monumental entrance, which led, through an offset entrance into a pillared hall, off of which were three smaller rooms. Room d of Building 350 is, in many respects, similar to *Room* a of Building 351 (e.g., size, location within the building, function for controlling access to additional rooms, location of many built-in features), but aligned along a north-south, long room axis, while Building 351 is aligned along an east-west, broad room orientation. It is possible to suggest that Building 350 is a development and adaptation, on a grander scale, of the earlier structure (see Chapter 8).

While it is difficult to distinguish between a temple and an elite dwelling, Reich (1992:202) stated that it is relatively easy to distinguish between a ruler's residence and a common domestic residence, based on the following architectural factors: size of building, location, limited number of palaces in comparison to private houses, use of rare

²²⁶ In preliminary publications, Building 351 was referred to as the "Hearth Sanctuary (T. Dothan 1995:44), but in later publications, it is referred to as a "Temple/Palace" (e.g., T. Dothan and Gitin 1993:1054; 1997:31).

and costly building materials and the types of small finds recovered. Generally a palace would also have a reception room or even a throne room, as well as special-function auxiliary rooms such as a treasury or archive (Reich 1992:202). Unfortunately, most of the characteristics Reich describes require a comparative sample, which, at Tel Miqne-Ekron, is presently relatively small. Most of the tel has not been excavated and much of the analysis of comparative domestic structures has not been completed (Gittlen, *et al.* in preparation). ²²⁷

Zevit, in his willingness to accept the assumptions relating Building 350 to

Aegean cultic activities, proposed architectural comparisons between Building 350 at Tel

Miqne-Ekron and the Minoan temple at Anemospile on Crete (2001:135, note 17) dated
to around 1720 BCE. The Cretan building plan exhibited there demonstrates a central
corridor with three rooms extending symmetrically off either side (Sakellarakis and
Sapouna-Sakel-Laraki 1981, illustration on pgs. 208-209). This architectural comparison
is similar to Yasur-Landau's (2002:188) concept that Building 351 at Tel Miqne-Ekron is
an adaptation of the Aegean *Korridorhaus*, an architectural style characteristic of
residences of the ruling elite. Their reconstruction of Building 351, however, is difficult
to maintain. If anything, their parallel suggests a better fit with the later Building 350,
than with Building 351, but the idea itself is appealing, given the general impression of
continuity between Buildings 351 and 350 and the elite character of these residences.
However, there are difficulties with his interpretation, even greater than the fact that at

in order to clarify possible differences.

Preliminary analysis of the excavated Iron I structures in Field III suggests that this area is primarily domestic and industrial. Future research should compare the Field III material with the Field IV elite zone

Tel Mique-Ekron only one side of the rooms demonstrated in the *Korridorhaus* style are present, which, in theory, could be explained by the lack of excavation to the west of Building 350.

A more significant problem with the reconstruction of the Tel Miqne-Ekron buildings as *Korridorhäuser* is in the marked differences in the organization of interior space between the two building styles (Fig. 6.2). The main impression one gets from a ground plan perspective of the *Korridorhaus* is the importance of symmetry. According to Hiesel's (1990:111-112) documentation of this house style, these structures are characterized by a long corridor along the central axis of the building that divides the building into two separate wings. One wing contains a series of storage rooms, which all open on to the corridor. The main living space is in the opposite wing, which is divided into two or three areas, consisting of a front room, a main hall and sometimes a back room. Access from the corridor is into the front room only. The main hall located in this wing is the largest of the rooms, and always has a hearth in the center.

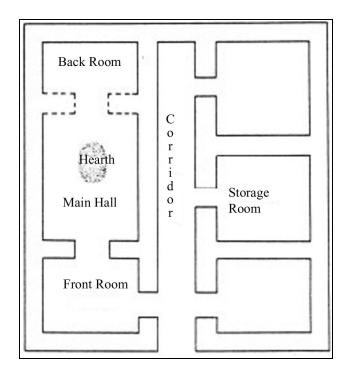


Fig. 6.2 Korridorhaus. After Hiesel 1990

When comparing this plan to the organization of space in Buildings 350, we see some of the same general elements, but on a smaller scale and without the corridor, which is the central element giving these houses their name. In one were to impose this reconstruction on Building 350, rooms *a*, *b* and *c* of Building 350 would have functioned as store rooms, leading directly, not onto a corridor, but onto the main hall, the largest of the rooms in the building and the room that contained the central hearth. As in the *Korridorhäuser*, access into the more private, residential suite is highly controlled, but in Building 350 this is accomplished through the offset entrance at the rear of the front, monumental entrance. This main entrance, with its centrally located threshold, is the public area of the building, a design concept that is similar in both Buildings 350 and 351. In contrast to the *Korridorhäuser*, Buildings 351 and 350 at Tel Miqne-Ekron

demonstrate a pronounced lack of symmetry, which is enhanced by their unique entrance style. In the Korridorhaus plan, the central corridor is narrow, suggestive of an access hallway, perhaps also to allow for light and air (Hiesel 1990), and not a room in which many activities could have been performed. In both Buildings 351 and 350, the room from which all other rooms are accessed (Room a in Building 351 and Room d in Building 350), is a large room, and seems to be an area where a number of different activities took place. Although Building 351 was not as well preserved, interior features in Room a included: two pillars, mudbrick platforms and a tabun. In Building 350, the features in Room d included: two pillar bases, a large platform, benches and, in Stratum V, pebble hearths, which were replaced by a firepit at the end of Stratum IV. 228 The large size of this room and its numerous internal features suggest that it was the locus of activities for a large group of people. These were multi-use areas, whose functions included, but were not limited to, directing access to additional rooms. Furthermore, in Building 351, even if further excavation were to reveal a parallel building plan to the south, as a reconstruction of a *Korridorhaus* plan would entail (Yasur-Landau 2002), one is still left with the striking impression that the *intention* of the spatial arrangement is distinctly asymmetrical. While access to the entrance room, both visually and physically, is along a north-south perspective, the remaining section of the building is laid out on a distinctly east-west axis, emphasizing a difference in orientation similar to that seen with a bent-axis approach (G. R. H. Wright 1971:19).

²²⁸ See Chapter 3. The Stratum IVA firepit was only recently recognized (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming) whereas preliminary reports make no mention of a fire installation in this phase (see T. Dothan 1998b:158).

Large Iron Age Residences

Besides the more typical three- or four- room houses, or "long-spaced houses" characteristic of Iron Age domestic residences in the Levant (Netzer 1992:197), Netzer also catalogued a less typical style of house architecture. This second group he termed "courtyard houses" and defined them as "rectangular houses, with rectangular courtyards surrounded on two or three sides by rows of rooms" (1992:200). He identified a few examples of this construction style, which are chronologically later than the Tel Miqne-Ekron structures and limited in their location to the large (or royal) cities of the Iron II period. These "courtyard houses" are distinctly different than the four room houses:

...characterized by a clearer and more uniform division of the rooms around the central space. Here there are no long spaces divided into rooms or compartments, but definite rooms built one next to the other. The evidence for this is the larger size, the more careful planning of these rooms, and the attention expended on their doorways. The courtyard houses are generally larger and better built than the houses with long spaces; they have wider courtyards and rooms, thicker walls, and more generous measurements... (Netzer 1992:200).

Although Netzer is describing patrician houses of the Iron II period, his description in many ways, compares positively with the ground plan of Building 350 at Tel Miqne-Ekron. Based on the location of these courtyard houses within the cities where they are located, Netzer suggested that "they were primarily intended as administrative offices or as dwellings for functionaries" (1992:201).

Building 350 shares many of the main characteristics of this building type, such as the monumental size of the building, its large courtyard, uniform room sizes and well built construction. One of the main differences between Building 350 and the "courtyard houses" is that all of Netzer's examples include buildings with rows of rooms along

either two or three sides, while Building 350 has rooms only along one side. 229 The location of Building 350 within the Philistine city of Ekron, however, is not as yet clearly defined and therefore cannot add much information to assist in ascribing possible functions to these buildings.²³⁰ One can only note the location of Field IV in the center of the tel, where a number of other, smaller, domestic-type structures were also built.

An additional set of buildings with architectural plans that can be compared to Building 350 should also be mentioned.²³¹ A number of buildings excavated at the site of Ein Hagit, dated to the 11th century BCE, conform to a single, site-wide architectural plan (see figs. 1 and 2 in Wolff 1998). This architectural style is characterized by structures with a long hall off of which are three side rooms with L-shaped walls, and side-corner entrances, and a broad room at the rear of the hall. These structures, although relatively large in size, were interpreted as domestic residences (Wolff 1998:451). Wolff compared these buildings with large structures at Megiddo, Stratum VI, Building 2072 and at Tell Keisan Stratum 9, suggesting this building plan may have represented a regional style of architecture (1998:451). It is not possible at this time to evaluate the relationship between this regional architectural style and Building 350 at Tel Migne-Ekron. The sample of structures is small. The buildings at Megiddo and Tel Keisan, as well as that at Tel Migne-Ekron, are constructed of mudbrick, while the structures at Ein Hagit are built of

²²⁹ Admittedly, excavations in Field IV did not extend to the west of Building 350, but there were no apparent doorways permitting access from the central room of the building to a possible west wing. In the Iron II city, this excavation area is referred to as the Temple Auxiliary Buildings (Garfinkel, et al. forthcoming; Gitin 2003), located immediately to the south of the large, 7th century BCE Temple Building 650. Based on the clear architectural continuity between the Iron I and Iron II building complexes in this field, it might be possible to suggest that this area maintained a similar function, although one needs to recognize the long chronological time span, as well as occupation gap, between the end of the Iron I occupation in this area and the beginning of the Iron II.

²³¹ I would like to thank Tim Harrison, Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations, University of Toronto, for pointing out these parallels.

stone on bedrock. Wolff (1998) emphasized the L-shaped walls, which are a common feature in his sample, but are not characteristic of the construction style in Building 350, where the walls are more 'T-shaped.'

As opposed to Wolff's emphasis on wall construction style, I would emphasize the function of the courtyard as crucial in any comparative analysis. In the description of one of the structures from Ein Hagit mention is made of 2 ovens found in the courtyard, although other elements could not be directly associated with the courtyard use (Wolff 1998). The plan from Tel Keisan also includes a number of installations located in the courtyard area (Briend 1980:198, fig. 51), but the courtyard in Building 2072 at Megiddo is largely reconstructed (2075), and the main access way through the building resembles more a narrow corridor than a courtyard area (Loud 1948:33-37, fig. 83). Based on the limited information published, it is not clear whether or not all of Wolff's examples demonstrate the central role of courtyard activities in these buildings, as is the case in Building 350, but future analyses should focus on a comparison in the organization of space in these large structures. Unfortunately, there is too little information at present to discuss the possible implications of Wolff's regional architectural style.

Ashdod Upper-Class/Elite Dwellings (Fig. 6.3)

D. Ben-Shlomo (2002) recently presented evidence for elite residential structures at Ashdod.²³² Given the contemporaneity of the site with Tel Miqne-Ekron (see

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²³² This information comes from a conference paper that Ben-Shlomo presented at the ASOR Annual Meeting in 2002, and cites in his article in Tel Aviv (2003). His analysis of Ashdod, Area H, is based on the material excavated by Moshe Dothan from 1968-69, to be published in M. Dothan and Ben-Shlomo, *Ashdod VI. Excavations of Areas H and K: the Fourth and Fifth Seasons of Excavation (forthcoming)*. This

comparative chronological table in T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004), its location in Philistia, and the traditional paradigm identifying both Ashdod and Ekron as principle cities in the Philistine pentapolis, it is worth comparing these elite residences from Ashdod with the monumental buildings excavated at Tel Migne-Ekron.²³³

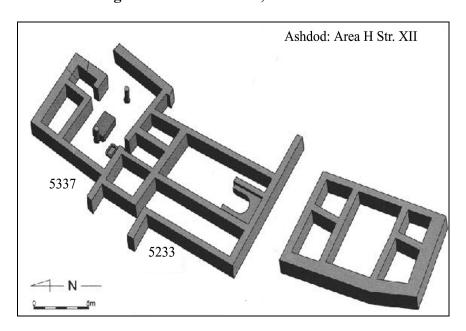


Fig. 6.3 Ashdod Area H, After T. Dothan 2003

Ben-Shlomo (2002; 2003) analyzed both the Iron I and II building complexes from Ashdod. He suggested, given the strong architectural and spatial continuity over time, and the richness of the artifact set recovered, that these buildings should be identified as elite residences (see also T. Dothan 2003:201-202). Rooms where cultic paraphernalia was found should be understood as areas set aside for domestic cult

volume is currently in press and was not available at the time of writing. I thank David Ben-Shlomo for giving me access to a written version of his conference paper.

233 This comparison becomes even more significant if an organization of domestic space can be defined as

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²³³ This comparison becomes even more significant if an organization of domestic space can be defined as 'culturally Philistine,' or at least a domestic spatial system that can be pointed to as similar to the Aegean world and distinct from the local style, as implied by Yasur-Landau (2002:189).

purposes, within an elite compound.²³⁴ In the Iron I, Ben-Shlomo's discussion focused primarily on three structures in Area H and one in Area G (Ben-Shlomo 2002). These same structures are also referred to in T. Dothan's (2003) article on Aegean-Levantine cultic interactions, where she compares a number of the installations found in these buildings with similar features at other Philistine sites, including Tel Miqne-Ekron, Ashkelon and Tell Qasile (see also Chapter 5).

In Area H at Ashdod (Fig. 5.2, adapted from T. Dothan 2003), building 5128 was located on the south side of the street and buildings 5233 and 5337 were situated on the north. Building 5128, not as well preserved as the structures to the north, consisted of a large room or 'courtyard' in the center of the structure, with pairs of smaller rooms stretched along two sides. To the north of the street, Building 5233 consisted of 1-2 long rooms, in one of which a thick walled "apsidal structure" was built into one corner of the room or possible courtyard (Ben-Shlomo 2002:2-3).

To the north, Building 5337 was built against the north wall of Building 5233. Most of the data for Ben-Shlomo's (2002) study come from Building 5337. The structure consisted of a long hall, off of which were smaller rooms built along both sides of the hall's long walls. One entered the building from the northeast corner via a bent-axis approach that lead directly into the main, kurkar paved hall. The central feature in this

²³⁴ This idea is similar to Burdajewicz's (1990:60-61) concept of domestic shrines.

Both Ben-Shlomo (2002) and T. Dothan (2003) relate this feature to the Aegean, where T. Dothan suggests that in the 12th/11th centuries, buildings with apsidal plans "may have a cultic function" (2003:200-201). Too little is known of the complete plan of the Ashdod building to comment on this possibility, especially in view of the marked differences between the built-in Ashdod apsidal feature and the free-standing apsidal buildings in the Aegean comparanda, remarked upon by both T. Dothan (2003) and Ben-Shlomo (2002, although in his paper he mistakenly referred to the Ashdod building as "free-standing").

room was a mudbrick hearth-platform flanked by two columns²³⁶ and aligned along the long axis of the room. To the southwest, a plastered mudbrick 'squared basin' stood against the wall. The two smaller rooms to the north of the hall, rooms b and c, were exceptionally rich in small finds. Room b in particular contained a large quantity of luxury artifacts including two gold disks, ivory and bone objects, four necklaces of faience beads, two very rare glass bowls, a glazed terracotta pendant, a small scarab and a miniature kylix. Some of these objects were found on a bench, or possible "bamah" (T. Dothan 2003:201), built alongside one wall of the room. A similar bench was also found in room c, whose finds included a bird-shaped rattle, a ring kernos and fenestrated stand, a faience scarab and ivory objects, including several cut pieces of unworked ivory. Based on "the shapes and sizes of the rooms and the distribution of the finds," Ben-Shlomo interpreted room b as "a small cultic chamber and/or the treasury of the house" and room c as "a treasury perhaps" or at least a room with a "special significance" (2002:5). Other finds from this building include both local Canaanite and Aegean style pottery forms, including "Kalathos kraters and [Aegean-style] cooking jugs," several fragments of zoomorphic figurines found in the main hall and an electrum earring in room e (2002:5).

Although certain of the objects (e.g., the rattle, ring kernos, fenestrated stand and zoomorphic figurines) have traditionally been associated with cultic activities (Ben-

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²³⁶ Although few descriptive details have yet been published, it is interesting to note the location of the columns in relation to the platform, as per the isometric plans published in T. Dothan (2003:200, fig. 10, see also Fig. 5.2 in my study). The placement of one column immediately adjacent to one end of the platform, with the second column at a further distance resembles the column-flanked platforms at Tel Miqne-Ekron (see Chapter 5). Unfortunately, without a larger sample, as well as measurements for the Ashdod example, it is not possible to determine if column placement was purely a function of roof support and the dimensions of the room, or functioned in relation to the hearth-platform and its associated activities.

Shlomo 1999; T. Dothan 1982; Mazar 2000), Ben-Shlomo argued that the majority of the artifacts found in these rooms were not 'cultic' in character. Additionally, he pointed to the change in architectural plan between strata suggesting, therefore, that this area was not considered to be sacred space (cf., T. Dothan 2003:195). This, he points out, is different than the pattern seen in Building 350 at Tel Miqne-Ekron, ²³⁷ where he notes that the maintenance of sacred space, as suggested by T. Dothan (2003:195), along with the more monumental scale of building construction witnessed there, make the interpretation of Building 350 as a temple or public building more likely (Ben-Shlomo 2002, but see above for a different interpretation). The clustering of *common objects* found together with more *luxurious* artifacts is the final proof for Ben-Shlomo in support of the elite character of the building in Area H at Ashdod, which should more reasonably be interpreted as an "high-class philistine house[s] within an elite quarter of Ashdod" rather than a building associated primarily with cultic activities (Ben-Shlomo 2002:5). ²³⁸

Ben Shlomo, either reinterpreting and/or expanding on M. Dothan and Porath's (1993) original report on Area G,²³⁹ identified additional "high-class" Philistine

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²³⁷ Although Ben-Shlomo seems to be referring here only to Building 350 and therefore does not address the changes in architecture between Building 351 (Stratum VI) and Building 350 (Stratum V-IV).

²³⁸ Alternatively, T. Dothan (2003), based on finds of an Ashdoda figurine and the famous Ashdod musician cult stand, both found in the vicinity of these building complexes but in stratigraphically later occupations (M. M. Dothan 1993a; T. T. Dothan 2003, but note that in M. Dothan 1993, the Ashdoda figurine is assigned to Stratum XII, while in T. Dothan 2003, it is ascribed to Stratum XI. It is not clear at this point if this latter identification represents a more recent interpretation of the material.), implies that this area was indeed considered as sacred space. Emphasizing the maintenance of location over time, she suggests that this is "another good example of the continuity of the use of previously sanctified places for cultic praxis" (T. Dothan 2003:201). In the end, however, T. Dothan, in concert with Ben-Shlomo (2002), stated that "The special nature of these buildings in terms of their size, architecture, and associated finds suggests an official building or perhaps a wealthy residence, in part with a cultic function... The entire complex, however, did not function as a shrine, unlike the well-defined sanctuaries at Ekron and the Philistine temples at Tell Qasile" (T. Dothan 2003:201).

²³⁹ M. Dothan and Porath (1993) only generally suggest that, in Stratum XII the area south of Wall 4194 was the location of "residential houses, workshops and courtyards," and then further describe the large

residences in this area, although possibly housing people of less affluence than those in Area H.²⁴⁰ Finds from these buildings included an ivory fan handle and cosmetic box, and a zoomorphic clay rhyton. These buildings have already been referred to in Chapter 5 in the discussion of the rectangular platform hearths (in Stratum XIII and XII) and bathtub (in Stratum XII) located therein. These buildings demonstrate significant similarities in construction style and organization of space with Buildings 353 and 354 at Tel Migne-Ekron. As in the earlier example, T. Dothan (2003) emphasized the cultic character of the finds in these rooms, pointing to the parallel discovery of bathtubs and rectangular platform-hearths in Philistia at Tel Migne-Ekron and Ashkelon, and in Cyprus (see below and Chapter 5). In Area H, Ben-Shlomo strongly emphasized the lack of spatial continuity as a determining factor. It is therefore interesting to note the apparent continuity in Area G, from Stratum XIII to Stratum XII, in the central location of the hearth in these rooms.

It is difficult to critique Ben-Shlomo's interpretation of the elite nature of these residences or analyze them in comparison to the monumental buildings at Tel Migne-Ekron until there is general access to more of the data, especially in terms of the quantity and types of artifacts found. His assessment of the co-occurrence of luxury and everyday objects as likely only in elite domiciles and not in cultic contexts, however, seems highly

courtyard area, 4124, as a "workshop area" (M. Dothan and Porath 1993:72). The earlier Stratum XIII structure is not defined, except to propose a possible 'cultic purpose' for the fire installation in the center of the courtyard. The presence of a thick layer of ash on the floor of the courtyard in both Strata XIII and XII. and the similar location of fire installations (M. Dothan and Porath 1993:54-55, 69-73) may suggest continuity over time in the function of this area. See below discussion of Buildings 353 and 354 as

²⁴⁰ It is interesting to note Kamp's discussion, based on her ethnoarchaeological work in Syria, where no significant correlation was found between the quantity of household artifacts and wealth. The quantity of artifacts correlated more strongly with the number of married women living in a household (1987) and the life-cycle of the household (1993) rather than with indicators of affluence.

problematic, in light of the discussion (above) of the potential similarities in material refuse between temples and palaces.²⁴¹ A comparison of the built features (e.g., pillared platform, square basin) points to similarities in activities with those conducted in Stratum VI Buildings 357, 353 and 354 at Tel Miqne-Ekron. I do not want to suggest that these buildings at Ashdod were not, in fact, elite residences. My inclination is to believe that they were (see also the analysis of artifact distributions in Chapter 7), but at this point it is difficult to find support for this reconstruction based solely on what has been presented of the artifact assemblage. This digression only reasserts the problem, mentioned above, of the difficulty in distinguishing between elite residences and cultic structures.

Architectural Comparison of Western and Eastern Building Complexes

To return to Buildings 351 and 350 at Tel Miqne-Ekron, a review of the built-in features found in the large central rooms of these structures suggests a functional parallel, not with the *Korridorhaus* plan, but with the multi-use 'courtyard' rooms in contemporary structures at Tel Miqne-Ekron, specifically Buildings 353 and 354. The similarities between the features in Building 353 and in Building 354, suggestive of similar activity locals, have already been noted (Chapter 5). Built features in the front rooms of these buildings, designated as *Room a,* included, amongst other installations, at least one pillar, a bench against one wall and a variety of cooking facilities, features

Tell Qasile Temples and Buildings at Tel Miqne-Ekron, noted above).

²⁴¹ An interesting area for future research might be to examine the differences in formation processes and discard patterns between temples and palaces. Given similar abandonment histories, it is possible to suggest that whole and intact vessels are less likely to be removed from a sacred area and intentionally buried under the collapsed walls and roof, while in a domestic residence, artifacts may be more likely to be removed and recycled (cf., the method put forward by Walker and Lucero 2000 and the artifact comparison between the

which can also be seen in Building 350, *Room d* (see Chapter 5 and Table 5.6). Additional similarities between *Room a* of Buildings 353 and 354 and *Room d* of Building 350 include that these rooms are the largest room in each of these buildings and the first room entered from the street, through which access is obtained to the interior rooms further on. As previously noted, Daviau (1999:128) suggested that, in domestic houses, these central areas, which can demonstrate great variability in size, most likely served as multi-functional workrooms.

In Kamp's ethnoarchaeological study of a village in Syria (1987; 1993), she observed that "the only architectural feature to correlate strongly with household wealth is total compound area" (1987:315; see also Kamp 1993:293). 242 Ilan (2001), in an analysis of household archaeology in the Early Bronze Age, proposed a correlation between wealth and courtyard size. She compared her archaeological conclusions with ethnographic studies reported on by Kramer (1982) and Holl and Levy (1993), both of whom noted an observable relationship between wealth and domicile size, with wealthier people typically living in larger homes. Ilan hypothesized that the correlation between larger size of wealthy residences and larger courtyards was due to the fact that "...larger courtyards (and more installations) imply more produce requiring storage and more livestock needing to be penned. Larger compounds mean wealthier people" (O. Ilan 2001:323). Given the co-occurrence of similar built-in features and the similarity in the organization of space, one can suggest that Building 350 was similar in function to

²⁴² Kamp also suggested other possible indicators of wealth, including the number of rooms, construction materials, and the quantity and type of artifacts, but, in her study, none of these proved significant. Possible reasons for this, which she recognized, may have included an insufficient sample size or the influence of a number of other socioeconomic and/or cultural factors, which may have strongly impacted on these attributes.

Buildings 353 and 354, simply *writ en large*. That is to say, if Buildings 353 and 354 were domestic residences, then Building 350 was also a residential structure, with its larger size and structures reflecting its use by a wealthier and more powerful family.

Buildings 353 and 354 as Residences and Workshops

In comparison to the monumental construction of Building 350, with its thick walls set on large stone foundations and relatively constant organization of space over its multiple occupation phases, Buildings 353 and 354 reflect a thinner walled construction and more fluidity in access and organization within an overall consistent ground plan. These buildings have been described as domestic structures (T. Dothan 1997b:104; T. Dothan and Gitin 1997:32) The initial construction of Buildings 353 and 354 in Stratum VIB coincides with a major expansion of the occupation area to the east, and is possible to suggest that the east-west division of the area is related to the intended function of these buildings, specifically to differentiate them, whether functionally or symbolically, from the large public buildings to the west, Buildings 351 (Stratum VI) and 350 (Stratum V-VI).

To review, Buildings 353 and 354 (See Chapter 3, Figures3.2c-h) were each organized with a large southern room, ²⁴⁴ which controlled access to two smaller rooms

²⁴³ More variation and reorganization of space is apparent in Buildings 355E and 355W, to the north of Buildings 353 and 354. In particular, the distribution of features (see Chapter 5) suggests a significant change in the function of these two buildings between Strata VI and V. Unfortunately, the partial excavation of these rooms, in concert with the poorer level of preservation in the later phases of the Iron I, make it difficult to include them in the present discussion.

²⁴⁴ Excavations did not continue to the south of these rooms, so it is not possible to definitively know if there were other rooms attached on the south side, or if these southern rooms were intended as the main entrances to the buildings, as they have generally been reconstructed. The latter interpretation gains support from the examples of similarly planned structures at contemporary sites (see below) and from the location in this area of an Iron II street (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). The continuity in the use of space between

built against the rear wall of the buildings. In Building 354, the two back rooms were accessed off of the courtyard. In Building 353, only one of the rooms had direct entrance onto the courtyard while the second room was entered via the first. In both buildings the vast majority of built-in features were located in the large front room during every phase of occupation. These included benches, various types of fire installations, bins, posts and sunken store jar installations. In domestic settings, research has documented that the majority of artifacts²⁴⁵ come from activities associated with food processing (Daviau 1993, 1999; Nakhai 1997:355-356). Evidence for these activities include cooking and heating facilities (e.g., ovens/tabuns, hearths and firepits) and storage containers (e.g., bins, silos, benches, pits). The constellation of features in Buildings 353 and 354 is consistent with an area designated as a multi-functional workspace, common in domestic architecture of the Bronze and Iron Ages (Daviau 1993, 1999; Homès-Fredericq 2000; Netzer 1992). Although these buildings do not demonstrate the same plan as the typical three- or four- room house style, the addition of a second floor can be seen as a response to dense urban planning, as noted for the four-room house style (Netzer 1992). The rebuilding of Buildings 353 and 354 with thicker walls and foreshortened rooms at the beginning of Stratum V (Plan 4.5) may be an indication of the construction of upper stories.

Striking similarities can be seen between Tell Qasile, Building 225 and Buildings 353 and 354 at Tel Migne-Ekron. The relatively good preservation of the Tell Qasile

the Iron I and Iron II city plans is particularly strong in this area of the site, as has already been commented upon, and lends credence to the reconstruction of a street in this location also in the Iron I.

²⁴⁵ More than 90% of the recovered artifact assemblage from Middle and Late Bronze Age sites (Alpert Nakhai, 1997 #950@:355).

architecture and the destruction of the site, which caused a large number of whole and restorable artifacts to be recovered *in situ*, allowed for the analysis of a spatial distribution of finds, which pointed to specific activity areas (Mazar 1980, 1985b). It may be possible to use the reconstruction of activities at Tell Qasile to inform on the use of space in the comparable buildings at Tel Miqne-Ekron, where little *in situ* artifacts was recovered.

Tel Qasile: Area A and Building 225

Although similar in construction to domestic houses excavated at Tell Qasile in Area A, Mazar described Building 225 in Area C (see Fig. 6.4, adapted from Mazar 1980:34, fig. 9) as "unique," and suggested that it may have been "the residence of an official or priest who served the adjacent temple" (1980:75, see also p.45). Assigned to Stratum X, contemporary with Tel Miqne-Ekron Stratum IV (T. Dothan 1989:8; 2002:4), this building is important for the present study because, of all the contemporary buildings at Tell Qasile, it most resembles the Iron I architecture of Tel Miqne-Ekron in its organization of space, and it finds specific correspondence with Buildings 353 and 354.

Building 225 (Mazar 1980:44-45) was built along the south side of Temple 131 and Shrine 300. Its long axis was on an east-west orientation, with entrance from the west. From the street, one first entered into a large 'courtyard,' which was divided, longitudinally, by a row or pillars. Set into the corner of the 'courtyard' was a large storage jar. The area to the north of the pillars was subdivided by a thin partition wall into

two units and paved. A group of pottery vessels found in this area included a strainer jug, stirrup jar, juglet and bowl. Five loomweights were also noted as found in this area. A number of installations, including a mudbrick bin, in which was found two storage jars and a number of jugs, and a platform, on which was found a mortar and pestle, were associated with this 'courtyard' space.

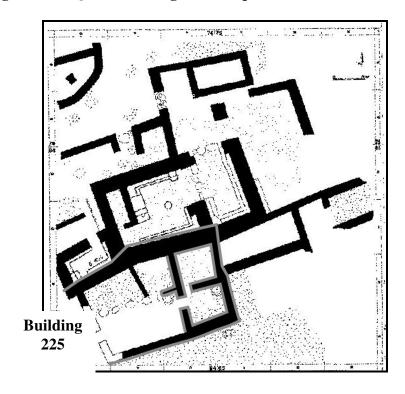


Fig. 6.4 Tell Qasile Building 225. Adapted after Mazar 1980

²⁴⁶ Mazar (1980:43-45) uses the term "courtyard" to define this large pillared space in domestic structures, in a similar manner to the way it is traditionally used in the description of four-room houses. More recent interpretations, based on ethnographic analogies and the reconstruction of these houses with a second storey, have reinterpreted this area as likely roofed space (Daviau 1999; Faust and Bunimovitz 2003; Netzer 1992). Better terms for this area might be 'multifunctional space,' 'main room' or 'workspace.' In the references to the buildings at Tell Qasile, I have retained the use of the term 'courtyard' in keeping with Mazar's description, but have written it in single quotation marks so as to make note of the differences in interpretation, while maintaining the possibility that it functioned in a manner similar to other central multifunctional rooms in domestic residences.

Two additional rooms were built along the back of the 'courtyard.' In the first room, a mudbrick "silo" was discovered, built into the corner of the room, containing "burnt legume seeds" (Mazar 1980:44). A thick layer of destruction debris preserved numerous artifacts within this room. These included more than 80 store jars, along with jugs, bowls and other vessel types, presumably originally standing on the floor and/or on shelves around the room (Mazar 1980:44). This room led north to a second room of similar size. Although no built-in features were recorded in this area, finds in this second room included four decorated stirrup jars, store jar fragments, fragments of a decorated kernos, a broken hippopotamus (?) tusk and several loomweights (Mazar 1980:45).

Mazar interpreted the first room as used for both storage and domestic activities and the second as the primary living room (1980:44-45).

One of the most striking parallels between Building 225 and Buildings 353 and 354 is in ground plan. Building 225, like Buildings 353 and 354 at Tel Miqne-Ekron, was organized with a large front area/ 'courtyard,' through which one gained access to the two smaller rooms built against the back wall of the structure (compare Chapter 3, Figures 3.2c-d with Figure 6.4). These smaller rooms were entered one from the other; only one of the rooms had direct access on to the 'courtyard.' In this respect, the plan of Building 225 is most similar to Tel Miqne-Ekron Building 353, and differs from Building 354 only in the arrangement of access between the two back rooms. This access orientation is distinctly different than the domestic structures excavated in Tell Qasile,

Also note the similarity in the location, construction, shape and size of the 'silo' in the first room of Building 225 and the 'bin' in Building 354, Room c (see Plan 4.3).

Area A (see Mazar 1980:74, fig. 16). There, the ground plan is typical of the more traditional four-room house, with rooms aligned along the sides of the central 'courtyard.'

The 'ideal' plan of the four-room house²⁴⁸ is characterized by a large central area, divided longitudinally by one or two rows of pillars into at least three areas with a broad room stretched across the rear of the building (Holladay 1997a; Netzer 1992). Variations in this plan occur, especially in the interior division of space, but central to this architectural style are the pillars and cobbled aisles (Holladay 1997a:338) and the concept that all rooms are accessed via the large central area (Bunimovitz and Faust 2002; Faust and Bunimovitz 2003). Shilo (1973) reconstructed the central area as an open courtyard (see also Mazar 1990/1992). This is the area where most of the built-in installations in domestic settings are found (Netzer 1992). Recent reconstructions (Bunimovitz and Faust 2002; Daviau 1999; Faust and Bunimovitz 2003; Holladay 1997a; Netzer 1992) have suggested, based on ethnographic parallels and evidence for supporting pillars, that these houses had a second storey, whose construction would have roofed over this central area.

²⁴⁸ The 'four-room house,' has recently reappeared in the literature as characterizing the 'Israelite house' of the Iron Age (see Bunimovitz and Faust 2002; Faust and Bunimovitz 2003). Originally documented by Shilo (1973) as an "Israelite" *fossile indicateur*, its ethnic and cultural ascription, together with the collared rim pithos (Albright 1937:25, note 11) had come under fire in the 1980-90's. The central arguments were based on the increasing evidence of 1.the longer chronological life-span for these artifacts than previously assumed, and 2.their appearance in areas that were not considered to be ethnically "Israelite" (Esse 1992; Finkelstein 1996; Ibrahim 1978; London 1989, 2003). These later studies associated both this house style and storage container with functional needs that reflected socioeconomic and not cultural adaptations. More recently, Bunimovitz and Faust (2002) and Faust and Bunimovitz (2003) have returned to the idea that the 'four-room' house can be ascribed to a particular Israelite cultural concept. Using access analysis as a method for analyzing the organization of space, they have suggested that the developed plan of the 'four-room house,' as it became standardized in the Iron II period, reflected, in its ground plan, a distinctively Israelite *ethos*. This house plan is more characteristic of the Iron II period, and therefore a critique of their analysis is beyond the scope of the present work. The prevalence of this idea, however, should be kept in mind in light of the present discussion.

Little evidence exists for the division of space and activities associated with the upper floor, as the majority of residences recovered in archaeological contexts are preserved only at ground level, but most reconstructions suggest that the main living quarters were housed on the second floor (Daviau 1999:128-129; Holladay 1997a:339-340; 1997b:95, 96-97). The ground floor was used primarily for storage and workspace, as evidenced by the location of bins, silos and cooking facilities. As the pillared sideaisles in these 'courtyards' are sometimes cobbled, traditional interpretations have posited that these areas were used for the stabling of small animals (Holladay 1992, 1997a; Netzer 1992). Daviau (1999), on the other hand, suggested that the side aisles were used as multi-functional storerooms and additional work areas, based on the presence, in domestic residences at Tall Jawa in Jordan, of stacked store jars, concentrations of ceramic vessels, food processing areas and hearths. 249

Unfortunately, at Tell Qasile no complete plans of domestic buildings were preserved from Strata XII-XI. In Stratum X, contemporary with Tel Miqne-Ekron Stratum IV, domestic houses excavated at Tell Qasile in Area A²⁵⁰ conform to a relatively standardized house plan that can be related to the traditional four-room house style (Mazar 198074-75). Mazar (1980:74-77) identified six buildings that he described as "private houses," two of which are of the "four-room" plan, two are of the "three-room" plan, and one of which, Building 225, which has already been mentioned above, was considered as "unique," although still within the "four-room house" tradition. On

²⁴⁹ *Contra* Holladay (1997a:337) who would prefer to interpret Daviau's examples as evidence of exceptional situations, e.g., extra provisions in preparation for a siege.

Mazar (1980:74-75) also refers here to domestic structures excavated in Area C, referring, no doubt, to Building 225. But see below for comparison between Building 225 and this common residential plan.

average, these residential structures measured 9 x 10 m. They were organized around 'courtyards,' with rooms on either two or three sides. Built-in features that were noted in the report include small bins, which were confined to side-rooms and did not appear in the 'courtyard' area. Most of the houses were entered directly from the street into the 'courtyard,' although this does not appear to be mandatory. Access to the side rooms was via the 'courtyard.' As in typical four-room houses, often a row of pillars divided the courtyard area into long spaces. This feature is seen in at least two of the examples from Tell Qasile (Buildings W and R) and also appears in Building 225. This row of pillars is considered one of the central characteristics of four-room style houses (cf., Holladay 1997b; Netzer 1992). The addition of a row of pillars running along the length of the 'courtyard' in Building 225 is strikingly different than the comparable buildings at Tel Miqne-Ekron, which lack this feature.

Given this mixture of architectural styles apparent in Building 225, one should note that, in exactly the areas where Mazar suggests that Building 225 differed in architectural plan from the domestic structures of Area A, are where it demonstrates similarities with the Tel Miqne-Ekron structures, and it differs from the plans of the Tel Miqne-Ekron buildings in the same areas in which it is most alike to the domestic structures at Tell Qasile. As Mazar (1980:74-75) described it:

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²⁵¹ Mazar (1980:74) suggests that Building R was entered from the street via the longroom and not the courtyard. His suggestion seems to be based on the fact that the long room runs parallel to the street. A glance at the architectural plan (Mazar 1980:74, fig. 16, in this study Fig. X) though, suggests that the northern wall of the longroom was almost entirely preserved without evidence of an entrance, while the entire south half of Building R was not preserved. It is possible to suggest that a second street ran along the south side of these buildings, parallel to the northern street, and that Building R opened to the south onto this southern street. In that case, one could still reconstruct an entrance via the courtyard as in a traditional four-room style house. Alternatively, an additional feature may have originally run along this part of the area, which influenced a change in the access orientation.

Building 225 in Area C recalls the houses of Area A in construction technique and in the use of wooden pillars, based on stone foundations for the roofing of a 'portico' within the courtyard. However, its plan is unique...; it lacks the rectangular long room alongside the courtyard, which characterized the 'four-room house', while the back part of the building is divided into two square rooms, one leading into the other...

In other words, Building 225 at Tell Qasile has a similar ground plan to Buildings 353 and 354 at Tel Migne-Ekron, but, unlike the Tel Migne-Ekron buildings, it also has a row of pillars running down the length of its 'courtyard,' an element which is paralleled in the houses of Tell Qasile Area A and in 'four-room' house styles. If it is possible to define an early Iron I architectural style in Philistia (cf., Holladay 1997a, b), then Building 225 may reflect a developed amalgamation of building styles: the original blue-print, as represented at Tel Migne-Ekron in the Stratum VI-IV structures, and the columned-'courtyard' area, as seen in the four-room house style. The column rows of the Tell Qasile construction may be seen as a later adaptation of the original plan, one which combined a local feature with a traditional architectural style. Given the fact that the columns in four-room houses often partition off a part of the courtyard area that is also paved, it could be suggested that the columns were associated with a functional aspect of the organization of 'courtyard' space that was deemed inherently practical and therefore was adopted into the original plan. This type of cultural adoption, when a foreign artifact seems easily accepted because it is recognized as a functional improvement, is often observed in cultural interaction studies (Barako 2001; Lister and Lister 1989:108-109; Yasur-Landau 2002, 2003b).

Additional building styles in Area A (see Mazar 1980:74, fig. 16), which should be mentioned here, include: a large store room with two parallel rows of pillars (Building Z) and an additional building-style, represented by Buildings O and Q, which Mazar reconstructs as residential dwellings with attached workshops (1980:75). Mazar bases his interpretation on the fact that these two buildings are comprised of two communicating structures, with each part maintaining its own entrance on to the street. Mazar interpreted Building O as a "courtyard-house" of the Middle and Late Bronze Age traditions (1980:75). Due to the long span of time between the end of the Late Bronze Age and Stratum X at Tell Qasile, when there is little evidence for occupation at Tell Qasile (Mazar 1980:9), it might be more feasible to suggest that this basic plan is similar to the long axis building style seen in Building 225. As noted in the Tel Migne-Ekron structures, internal division of space within these buildings can be relatively fluid. This 'fluidity' may also extend to the construction of additional rooms along the east side of the building. The ground plan of Building O, therefore, also echoes the organization of space seen in Tel Migne-Ekron buildings 353 and 354.

Ashdod, Area G (Figs. 6.5, 6.6 and 6.7)

The architectural style documented above for Buildings 353 and 354 at Tel Miqne-Ekron and Building 225 at Tell Qasile, i.e., a three-room structure with a front multifunctional workspace and two units built along the rear, can be seen in the southern building complex at Ashdod in Area G, dated to Strata XIII -XII (equivalent to Tel

Miqne-Ekron VII -VI).²⁵² This area has recently been the subject of new interpretations, which reconstruct the building complex in Area G as an elite residence or residences (Ben-Shlomo 2002; Bunimovitz 1999; Yasur-Landau 2002 see also Chapter 7).

The southern building unit in Area G²⁵³ was initially built in Stratum XIII (see Fig. 6.5, adapted from M. Dothan and Porath 1993, Plan 8), on the remains of a large 'courtyard' (L.4190) in the southeast corner of the "Governor's Residence" of Stratum XV-XIV (1993, Plan 6). In the Stratum XIII building, this area was divided into two parts: a small room (L. 4190) stretched along the back wall of the building, and a large 'courtyard' (L.4320-4325) to the east, in which was found a "hearth" (L.4328) and an additional installation to its north. The 'hearth' was interpreted as possibly associated with "cultic" activities, based on the findings of a second 'hearth' to the north. The floor of the 'courtyard' was covered by a .20 m thick layer of ash (1993:54-55). A doorway led from L. 4320-4325 to an additional series of rooms to the north. The area to the east south of the building was not preserved.

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²⁵² See Comparative Chronological Chart in T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004:6, Table 2).

²⁵³ This description is based on M. Dothan and Porath (1993:52-98).

²⁵⁴ This latter fire installation was found in the north part of Area G, in an area assumed to be outdoor space, although not enough of the area was preserved to make any definitive statements about its context (M. Dothan and Porath 1993:54-55).

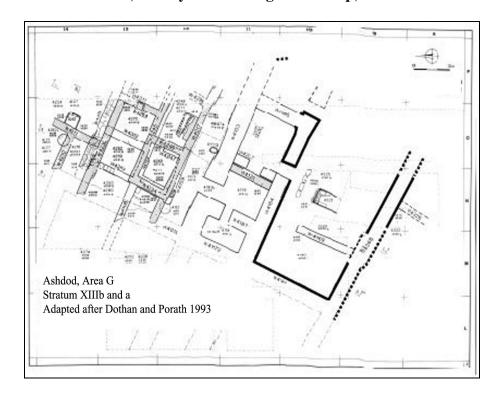


Fig. 6.5 Ashdod Area G, Courtyard Building/ Workshop, Stratum XIIIb and XIIIa

The Stratum XII building (see Fig. 6.6, adapted from M. Dothan and Porath 1993, Plan 10) was rebuilt directly over the Stratum XIII occupation (1993:69-73). It was slightly narrower than the Stratum XIII building, with no obvious communication between it and the structure to the north. Entrance to the building was from the east. In the area of the entranceway, the building underwent minor changes between Strata XIIb and XIIa, with the creation of small corner room in which were found a number of animal bones including fish, sheep/goat and cattle (Kolska-Horowitz 1993:144). The largest room was 'courtyard' 4124, longer in Stratum XIIb and foreshortened in Stratum XIIa. This 'courtyard' was defined as a "workshop area" (M. Dothan and Porath 1993:72). Two installations were found in this room. Locus 4136, originally interpreted as a small kiln, has been recently reinterpreted as a rectangular platform hearth (Bunimovitz 1999)

similar to those found at Tel Miqne-Ekron (Fields I and IV) and Ashkelon (T. Dothan 2003). It was founded almost directly above the Stratum XIII fire installation. To the north of the "hearth," Locus 4141 was initially described as a "well-fired pottery basin... with a blackened hole in the base at one of its ends" (M. Dothan and Porath 1993:72). This installation has since been re-interpreted as a "bathtub" (T. Dothan 2003:204). The constellation of these two installations in one room is more fully described below (see also Chapter 5 and T. Dothan 2003). It is significant here to note that the 'courtyard' was found full of ash, with several grinding stones and a "stone bench or worktable" at its eastern end (M. Dothan and Porath 1993:72). To the west of the 'courtyard,' the back area of the building was divided by a narrow mudbrick wall into two small rooms, only one of which, L. 4145, had access on to the 'courtyard.' Unfortunately, no entrance could be discerned into the second room, either from the 'courtyard' or from L. 4145 to the north.

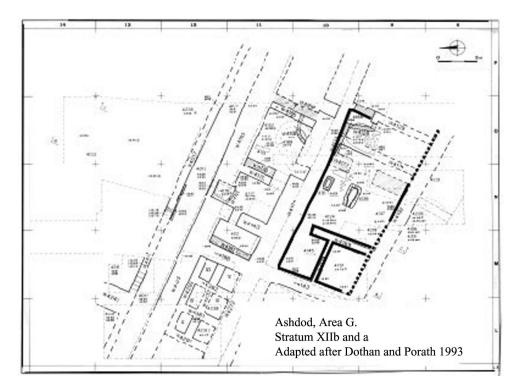


Fig. 6.6 Ashdod Area G, Courtyard Building/ Workshop, Stratum XIIb and XIIa

Although the southern building is poorly preserved in Strata XI and X (M. Dothan and Porath 1993:86-87, 92), the few wall remains suggest that the general outline, at least of the two rear rooms on the west end of the courtyard, was maintained (see Fig. 6.7, adapted from M. Dothan and Porath 1993, Plan 12). On the other hand, the building to the north was completely rebuilt. Its reconstructed plan, with two small rooms on the west, one of which leads onto a larger room, possibly a 'courtyard,' with a tabun at its east end, is generally suggestive of a similar blueprint with the building to the south. This northern building, too, is continued relatively unchanged into Stratum X, with the addition of a large round silo set into the 'courtyard' area (see M. Dothan and Porath 1993, Plan 14). The construction of these two buildings is contemporary with a period of

expansion of settlement to the north, where the new structures were also considered to be "residential" (1993:86).²⁵⁵

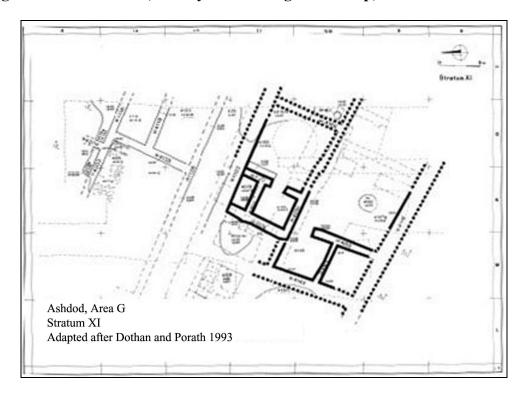


Fig. 6.7 Ashdod Area G, Courtyard Building/ Workshop, Stratum XIIb and XIIa

T. Dothan commented on the "typical" style of this architectural pattern at Ashdod (2003:201). The southern building in Area G, constructed initially in Stratum XIII, may typify this style. In summary, it is characterized by a front large room/ 'courtyard' area built on a long axis, in which, on its ashy surfaces, were found the majority of built installations, including the hearths and bathtub, and one- to two- smaller rooms stretched across the far end of the 'courtyard.' This architectural plan is repeated, at least through Stratum XII and probably later, and seems to be reproduced in the

 255 It is interesting to note that the few wall remains in this northern area suggest a very different architectural style ground plan, with rooms surrounding a central 'courtyard.'

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reconstruction of the building to its north in Stratum XI. Unfortunately, the sample of buildings from Iron I Ashdod is too small to make any strong conclusions about a common house plan-style at that site, and it is distinctly different than the architectural style witnessed in Area H (see above), but the appearance of this building style at a number of sites (e.g., Ashdod, Tel Miqne-Ekron, Tell Qasile) and the maintenance of its form over time, may begin to suggest that there was something standardized, possibly at a regional level, about this construction style and organization of space.

Kition (Fig. 6.8)

Architecture of a similar layout, dated to the Late Cypriot IIC-III/Late Bronze

Age (13th-11th centuries), was excavated at the site of Kition in Cyprus. Located under the
modern town of Larnaca, during the Late Bronze Age Kition was one of a series of
walled harbor towns along the coast of Cyprus. Systematic excavations of the site began
in 1962/1963 and continued through 1981 under the directorship of Karageorghis and

Demas (1985). This site is particularly important because numerous parallels have been
drawn between the temple complex of Kition and Near Eastern temple architecture,
specifically the series of temples at Tell Qasile (Burdajewicz 1990; Karageorghis

1981:82; 1985; Mazar 1980:67; 2000:200). Therefore it is interesting to also note the
architectural parallels between the organization and layout of workshop space at Kition
and comparable structures at Tell Qasile (Building 225), Ashdod (Area G) and Tel
Migne-Ekron (Buildings 353 and 354).

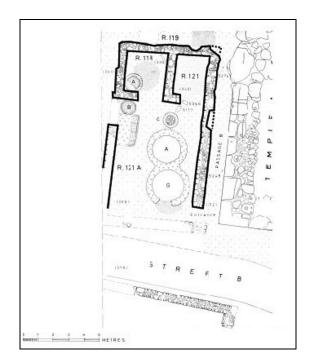


Fig. 6.8 Kition Workshops. Adapted after Karageorghis and Demas 1985

In Kition Area II, a number of buildings surrounding the temple precinct were identified as 'workshops' (Karageorghis and Demas 1985; Karageorghis and Kassianidou 1999). The northern workshops, located between the city wall and Temple I, were associated with metalworking, specifically copper refining and bronze casting, possibly including the recycling of bronzes (Karageorghis and Kassianidou 1999). The rooms of these workshops contained a large number of built-in features including benches, pits, a well, a large furnace and a square platform (Karageorghis and Kassianidou 1999:175, 176, 178, Figs. 2-4). While pits were scattered around the room, there was a concentration of pits and other features clustered in the area between the parallel benches.

For the present study, the western workshops provide the more interesting parallels (Fig. 5.7, adapted from Karageorghis and Demas 1985, Plan XXXIII). These rooms were associated with the textile industry; More specifically they were connected

with the treatment and weaving of wool (Karageorghis and Kassianidou 1999:174; J. S. Smith 2002). Yasur-Landau (2002) made note of the Kition workshops in his exploration of social and behavioral changes in 12th century BCE Cyprus. These rooms, which he suggested were *not* domestic units, were the find spots of both Aegean style cooking jugs and Aegean style loomweights. At least two types of loomweights were found in these structures: 1. round and pyramidal perforated loomweights and 2. reel or Aegean style loomweights (see also J. S. Smith 2002). 256 From this evidence, Yasur-Landau reconstructed "two types of looms, or at least two weaving traditions, using different sets of weights, operated by weavers of different traditions—the local Cypriot tradition and the Aegean one" (2002:125). 257 Furthermore, J. Smith argued that the concentration of weaving tools and built-in installations associated with these workshops, and their location near the Temples, "what was certainly a center of power at Kition" (2002:301), supports their interpretation as workshops for large-scale production. The organization of space in these rooms is centered on a large front area with two rooms aligned along the back wall. This is a similar arrangement to what is seen in Buildings 353 and 354 at Tel Migne-Ekron, Building 225 at Tell Qasile and the Area G buildings at Ashdod.

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²⁵⁶ Although J. Smith would argue that the "reels" should not be considered as loomweights but as additional weaving tools (2002:292), the more than 150 examples recovered from Ashkelon (see Chapter 4) seem to confirm their use as loomweights.

²⁵⁷ Yasur-Landau uses the distribution data of local and Aegean style elements to focus on issues of ethnicity. Aegean style loomweights were also found in the domestic structures of Kition Area I, but, as pointed out by Yasur-Landau (2002), there was no evidence for Aegean style cooking jugs in these buildings. It is possible to suggest that the distribution of Aegean style cooking jugs, i.e., the absence of cooking jugs in domestic areas and their presence in workshops is a function, not necessarily of ethnicity and the maintenance of foreign cooking styles by immigrant populations, but of their use in industrial activities or activities related to the location of these workshops near the Temples. Further research to test the contents of cooking jugs may help elucidate their original function in these contexts. In the meantime, the difference in distribution of finds between the residential structures and these buildings at Kition supports the attribution of these structures as industrial areas or workshops.

Conclusions: Residential Structures at Tel Migne-Ekron

Although our ability to define the specific activities that were occurring in Buildings 353 and 354 is limited, the evidence from the built-in features, organization of space, and parallels with other, better preserved structures, points to their use as both domestic residences and workshop space. Similarities were noted between Buildings 353 and 354 at Tel Miqne-Ekron and Building 225 at Tell Qasile, Area G at Ashdod and the western workshops at Kition. The parallels in the built features and organization of space point to buildings housing a variety of industrial or workshop activities possibly incorporated within residential structures. Although different in building construction, layout and access than the more well-known Iron Age four-room house, the rooms in these buildings share a common division of space, with the majority of activities occurring in the large, front room/ 'courtyard,' with smaller rooms and possibly upper stories used for storage and living quarters. The fluid nature of interior access in these buildings, the continual reorganization of interior space, and the short-lived nature of

acculturation processes already well advanced.

²⁵⁸ Although it may be implied, based on the chosen examples, that this house style could be considered a cultural construct related to the Philistine Aegean migration (Holladay 1997a:337; 1997b), there is not enough comparative evidence at the present time to evaluate this hypothesis. Yasur-Landau (2002) also raised the idea that it may be possible to see a foreign domestic spatial organization at these Philistine sites. However, the earliest Iron I buildings at Tel Miqne-Ekron in both Field IV Lower and Field X, associated with the Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery, i.e. the initial evidence of Philistine presence, are one room structures, organized in an agglutinative fashion. The spatial organization evidenced in the plan of Buildings 353 and 354 appears only in the following occupational stratum, with the beginnings of the later emergence of the Philistine bichrome pottery, signifying shifts in production, possibly related to assimilation and/or

individual features all point away from either sacred space or elite residences, and towards an area used for household and small-scale production.²⁵⁹

A comparison of internal features suggested that, in many ways, Buildings 350 and 351 were similar to Buildings 353 and 354. Differences between the building styles reflect a more monumental construction scale, with a larger courtyard, expressing a greater expenditure of resources. In addition, Buildings 351 and 350 have an elaborately built, wide-open entrance and front room, suggesting that these buildings contained both a public area and a more restricted private zone. I have therefore suggested that Building 350, and possibly also Building 351, represent elite dwellings.

Analysis of Building 350 included an examination of the literature assigning a cultic function to the structure. The building plan was compared with the Tel Qasile Temples and found to be very different in terms of its organization of space, internal features and associated artifacts, including the discard patterns associated with these artifacts. The quantity and types of artifacts, on the basis of which this building was assigned a cultic function, can be just as commonly associated with an elite residence. Additionally, the distribution of these artifacts, which has been one of the main criteria used to support a cultic interpretation (T. Dothan 2002), can be viewed as primarily a reflection of wealth and formation processes, and not necessarily of associated cultic activities (See Chapter 7).

²⁵⁹ Although there is a gap in occupation between the Iron I and Iron II occupations in this area, the strong continuity in architecture over time suggests continuity in function as well. It may therefore be interesting to note that in the 7th century BCE these buildings were also used for large-scale production, assumedly to

provide for activities associated with Temple 650 to the north (Gitin 2003).

As alternative interpretations of Buildings 350 and 351, I compared them to buildings identified as elite residences. Buildings 350 and 351 seem, based on architectural similarities in plan and orientation of access, to be more like large residences than cultic buildings/temples. The Tel Miqne-Ekron structures do not demonstrate a completely symmetrical, direct access and the almost bent-axis or funnellike approach restricting access between the front and back parts of the buildings does not share commonality in degree of access with Temple orientations. On the other hand, general similarities could be seen with contemporary large dwellings and patrician structures. These residences have in common a prominent entrance, leading back to a less public and possibly more restricted area (cf., Hiesel 1990). According to Driessen "elite systems acquire some of their status through exclusion, which in architecture can be translated by a rigorous control of access" (1991 (1997)) #826@:67). Both Buildings 350 and 351 are structures that restrict access to the interior of the building, with wide central entrances leading back through more narrow, offset doorways to the interior of the building. In Building 351 this is highlighted by a line of post holes, which stretch across the interior entrance, thereby regulating access. Building 350 may also demonstrate multiple zones of increasing restricted access, divided into 1. a public front entrance, 2. an interior, large courtyard space, and 3.an upper floor, accessed by a stairwell room in the northeast corner of the building, which could easily be closed off. An infant burial interred in this room may emphasize the importance of this area as transitional space and limited access (see Chapter 8). It is possible to suggest that the upper floors in these buildings be regarded as the primary residential area and the lower floors as providing

space for public and ceremonial activities. This reconstruction is ultimately difficult to prove because no evidence remains of the activities conducted on the upper floors.

The interpretation of these buildings as elite residences is supported by the distribution of associated artifacts (See Chapter 7) and the location of these building complexes. While comparative artifact distribution patterns will be considered in the next chapter, a full intra-site comparison is not possible to accomplish at this point. The architectural parallels, however, support the initial observations of this area as the 'elite zone.' Based on the strong continuity in spatial location maintained throughout the Iron I and continued into the Iron II, it is possible to suggest that a temple existed to the north of Building 350, in the same area as the Iron II Temple 650. This association of temple and elite residence is not uncommon in the Near East (Oren 1992), and, although highly speculative in the current context, is suggested as a reconstruction for this area.

London (1992) suggested that the prominently elevated position on the Bronze and Iron Age tel was primarily the location of elite residences and administrative structures. She based her hypothesis on three elements: the relatively small size of most tel sites, ethnographic data, and that generally few buildings at these sites have been identified as domestic structures. Most of the space was occupied by palaces, temples and store rooms. According to her hypothesis, those resident on the tel included the rulers and their extended family, their servants and some military personnel. Therefore, we should expect to find domestic structures belonging to two socio-economic strata, the wealthiest and the poorest, with the majority of the population living in small towns and rural villages in the hinterlands surrounding the tel itself. Faust (1999), using his re-analysis of

social stratification of Iron II houses at Hazor as a test case, ²⁶⁰ came to a similar conclusion. In one residential neighborhood, he identified residences belonging to at least two, and possibly three, different socio-economic population strata "the wealthy and the senior functionaries, on the one hand, and the poor on the other, and possibly also of the existence of a middle class: a stratum of lower level officials and merchants..., which may be defined as lower middle class" (Faust 1999:187). Although again it must be stated that at Tel Miqne-Ekron only a very small comparative sample has yet been excavated, the picture so far presented supports the idea of houses located on the tel belonging to the wealthy elite, possibly ruling class, and their supporting staff.

A division in function between the public structures 351 (VI) and 350 (V-IV) and Buildings 353 and 354, seen in the architectural analysis, is supported by an analysis of the distribution of pottery and other artifacts, discussed in the following chapter, which demonstrate a greater number of serving vessels, specifically kraters, in Buildings 351 and 350 and a higher frequency of storage containers in Buildings 353 and 354. Buildings 351 and 350 can be seen as primarily elite residences, with a small area possibly set aside for domestic cult activities (possibly in *Room b* with its stepped platform). Activities associated with the elite residence included some public functions. In addition to

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²⁶⁰ Faust focused on four architectural elements, which he believed could be used as indicators of the wealth and status of the people for whom the house was constructed. These included 1. floor area; 2. quality of construction, which he interprets as "the degree to which the construction follows some original plan; 3. whether the building is freestanding or shares common walls; and 4. location (1999:180-181). Numerous problems between the association of floor area and household wealth have been discussed in the literature (cf., Kamp 1993), including, but not limited to, how upper floors are constructed (see Chapter 3 for debate over covered or open groundfloor space). Another difficulty with Faust's methodology included his underlying dependence on the concept of an architectural blueprint. In addition, his concept of the use of free-standing versus agglutinative architecture seems based on untested assumptions and does not take into account buildings which may be functionally related.

domestic residences, Buildings 353 and 354 are suggested as possible production and storage locales, to assist in maintaining elite-sponsored activities.

CHAPTER 7

INTRASITE SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF ARTIFACTS, BUILDINGS 351/350 AND 353/354 COMPARED

Introduction

In the previous chapters, the analysis of the architecture and built-in features suggested that Building 350, and possibly also Building 351, functioned as elite residences, and that Buildings 353 and 354 were domestic, non-elite, dwellings and possibly areas for small-scale crafts production. As elite structures, Buildings 351 and 350 would have been used for both public and domestic activities (cf., Bunimovitz 1999; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002; Netzer 1992; Yasur-Landau 2002). Furthermore, it is possible to suggest that part of the public functions included elite sponsored drinking and/or feasting rituals.

The creation of distinct east and west areas in Stratum VI (see Chapters 4 and 6) and the maintenance of this blueprint into the Iron II period indicate a separation in function between the complexes. The clear division of this area into relatively impermeable east-west zones suggests that from Stratum VI on there was a major distinction between the different activity areas. Yet the common construction element, the north-south wall, which serves as the backbone of first Building 351 (Stratum VI) and then Building 350 (Strata V-IV), ties the eastern and western building complexes together in a way which indicates that their functions were related. ²⁶¹ Significantly though, the

²⁶¹ In the Iron II period, this entire neighborhood to the south of Temple 650 (Field IV Upper) is described as an "auxiliary complex" (Gitin 2003:289). Preliminary descriptions of the area have described it as "a complex of eight courtyard-type buildings...that contained a large percentage of fine and decorated wares,"

lack of communication between the two sides²⁶² seems highly relevant in any attempt to reconstruct interactions between the two areas.

In this chapter I will focus on two main points: (1) an examination of differences in the use of buildings, rooms and areas by an index of discard intensity and by a contextual evaluation of vessel function, and (2) a distribution study of the stylistic classes as outlined in Chapter 4. This latter analysis might help to determine if the different artifact styles, i.e., Philistine or Canaanite, were used by the populace to define boundaries.

Unfortunately, in the Iron I strata at Tel Miqne-Ekron there was little *in situ* artifact debris on surfaces and room floors, as is the case in many sites that were neither abandoned nor destroyed, but where occupational levels were successively built-up one on top of the other (cf., S. T. Smith 2003). Most of the excavated artifacts from Field IV Lower in the Iron I come from secondary deposits. The limited number of whole vessels and few spatial joins suggest that even those deposits associated with surface material cannot necessarily be related to primary refuse contexts. A distribution of the ceramic

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including a large number of inscriptions and three caches of silver and jewelry (T. Dothan and Gitin 1997:33). Although there was a long occupation gap between the end of the Iron I and the beginning of the Iron II at Tel Miqne-Ekron, strong similarities in architectural plan may reflect continuity in function. The destruction and abandonment of the Iron II city, which left large amounts of material in its original discard location, unlike the situation in the Iron I, has allowed important conclusions to be drawn about the function of activity areas based on a spatial analysis of artifacts. A comparison of the artifact distribution patterns in the Iron II with those in the Iron I may provide important clues for reconstructing the use of space in the earlier strata.

The ground floor plan of the excavated area gives the impression that there was no communication between these areas. Admittedly, the walls were not preserved to their full height and, at least in Building 350 and possibly in Buildings 353 and 354 of Strata V and IV, there is evidence of a second floor which was not preserved. We cannot know if windows in this wall, second floor doors or roof access allowed for more direct communication between these areas than what can presently be perceived.

assemblage indicates some differential discard, but it is difficult to associate these patterns with the loci of specific activities.

The methodology employed here consisted of an analysis of the spatial distribution of material culture, by functional and stylistic attributes, integrated with the architectural reconstruction of the area. This method was used as a means to compare patterns and explore variability in the data set, both synchronically and diachronically. A gross analysis based on the quantification study of the artifact assemblage demonstrated weak spatial patterns in the distribution of objects that clarified many of the conclusions arrived at in the analysis of architecture and features. The distribution of material culture supported the architectural analysis, emphasizing that Buildings 350 and probably 351 were more likely elite residences than cultic structures. Those resident in these buildings seemed to have been able to exert limited control on the distribution of certain artifacts. Additionally, there is some evidence to suggest that the function of these buildings may have included an aspect of elite sponsored communal consumption. Buildings 353 and 354, on the other hand, aside from their role as domestic structures, may have been the locus of activities that supported the elite residences and elite consumption.

Ceramic Distribution by Activity Areas

The ceramic quantification project examined almost exclusively material from surfaces and occupational debris on the surfaces, in an effort to restrict the analysis to material contemporary with the use phase of the surface, room and building. ²⁶³ The

 $^{^{263}}$ See Chapter 4 and Appendix A for methodology. Note that all calculations of pottery are based on N_{sample} unless otherwise stated.

recovery of few whole and/or restorable vessels even within this more restricted assemblage prompted a further study of formation processes that may have impacted the accumulation of this material, that is to say, whether artifact distribution reflected primary or secondary discard practices, excavation strategies or the random fortunes of preservation. This part of the analysis was particularly important for the interpretation of building and room functions and for the spatial distribution of stylistic elements, as much of the observed variation could be attributed to differences in sample size.

The methodology used to investigate ceramic discard strategies was an exploration of patterns of artifact accumulation, which was used as a proxy measure of intensity of discard. Differences were observed, both diachronically and synchronically, in the density of artifact discard. Not surprisingly, most of the loci from Building 350 in Stratum IVA contained a large number of objects, including a large quantity of whole and restorable vessels. This preservation is probably a reflection of the abandonment behavior associated with the destruction of Stratum IV and the gap in occupation following upon the end of the stratum. This abandonment history is different than what is seen in the earlier occupation phases, which were characterized be continual occupation, repeated infilling and construction episodes. Unfortunately, the Iron II construction activities heavily damaged the Stratum IV buildings, particularly on the east side of the field, which is reflected in the relatively low quantities of artifacts found in the eastern buildings.

Potentially more important for the present study is the spatial patterning observed synchronically. The distribution of ceramic artifacts²⁶⁴ can be broken down into approximately 3 categories, classified by a low (1-60), 265 medium (61-180) and high (201+) frequency of ceramic artifacts (Fig. 7.1a). 266 Of the 100 areas included in this analysis, 64 percent fell in the low category, 267 22 percent in the medium and 14 percent in the high. The 'high' category included predominantly loci characterized through the architectural analysis (Chapters 3 and 5) as open or outdoor activity zones, primarily the zones at the entrances to Buildings 351 and 350 (Fig. 7.1b,c). Most of the areas designated as 'multi-functional work rooms' or 'courtyards' fell into the 'medium' category. Additionally, *Room d* of Building 350 fit into this medium category, which lends further support to the interpretation of *Room d* as a 'courtyard' area for a residential structure (Building 350) in a similar manner to the front room 'courtyards' designated *Room a* of domestic Buildings 353 and 354 (see also Chapters 5 and 6).

A second approach to measuring the differences in intensity of vessel discard was through a comparison of the mean number of vessels in these areas. In exterior areas, the mean vessel count was 197.3, in 'courtyard areas' it was 142.8, and in interior rooms it

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²⁶⁴ Differences between occupational phases IVA and IVB were difficult to distinguish in the field. In most areas two separate surfaces were not identified. Only in *Room d* of Building 350 were significant remains from both phases preserved. The division of the material into two distinct phases, reconstructed with Stratum IVA surfaces preserved in Building 350 and Stratum IVB (or IVA/B) surfaces preserved in Buildings 353 and 354 (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming), resulted in a picture where most of the data from these phases appeared as anomalies in the spatial distribution of material. Therefore, for the present analysis I have collapsed the material from these two strata into one phase, Stratum IVA/B, and explored it as belonging to a single occupational assemblage.

²⁶⁵ The low category might be further divisible into one group of 1-20 and a second of 21-60, but no clear differences in spatial patterning could be noticed. I suggest that this is primarily a reflection of surface preservation and identification in the field.

 $^{^{266}}$ I preferred to use N_{max} in this analysis because the pattern, although similar, was more clearly demarcated than with N_{sample} (see Appendix A).

²⁶⁷ Or 34 percent in the very low and 30 percent in the low.

was 42.4. *Room d*, with a mean vessel count of 138, would again fall within the range of the 'courtyard areas.' While it is important to consider the fact that these 'courtyard' rooms were also larger in size than the more interior rooms of these buildings, and therefore the large quantity of artifacts recovered may be a reflection not of room function but of volume excavated, ²⁶⁸ it is also significant to recognize the similarities in spatial patterns, which are repeated across occupational phases. These patterns gain support from the observations noted in the architectural analysis (Chapter 3) and the distribution of features (Chapter 5), which suggest that these 'courtyard' areas were the focus of numerous activities.

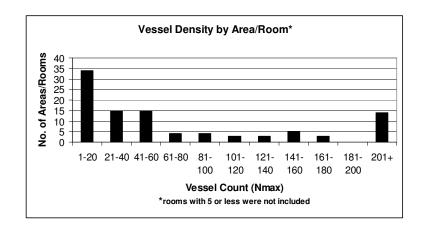


Fig. 7.1a Ceramic Artifact Frequency

²⁶⁸ At this point in time, it was not possible to normalize the data by either area or volume.

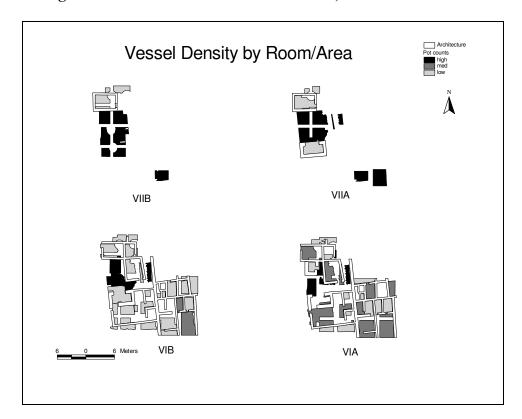


Fig. 7.1b Distribution of Ceramic Artifacts, Strata VII and VI^{269}

 $^{^{269}\,\}mathrm{For}$ method of spatial map creation, see Chapter 5, footnote 199.

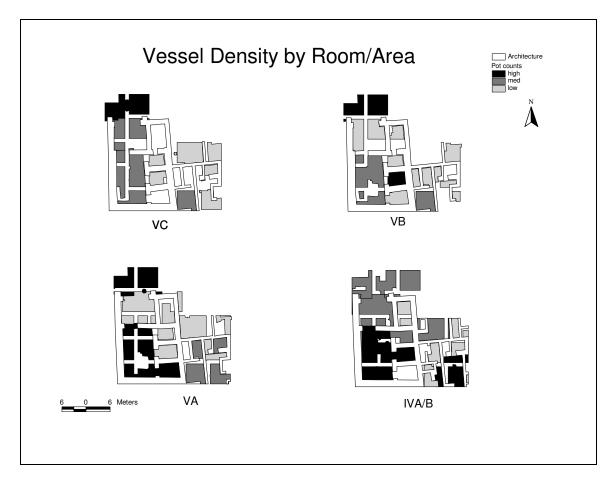


Fig. 7.1c Distribution of Ceramic Artifacts, Strata V and IV

An additional point noted was a chronological discrepancy in the pattern of artifact density in the areas termed "open area" in the Field IV stratigraphic report (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). These include: Open Area 361 in the northwest corner of the excavation area (Strata VII-IV, with 9 occupation phases), Open Area 358 in the center of the western building complex (Strata VII and VI, with 4 occupation phases), and Open Area 362, in the southwest corner, south of the western building complex (Stratum VI, with 2 occupation phases). Although these terms were used to designate locational continuity in these areas over time, my analysis suggests that there were functional changes in the use of these spaces, which need to be taken into account. These

areas can be separated into two categories: those located outside the entrance to buildings and those not associated with building entrances. Differences can be seen both in terms of vessel density, i.e., intensity of vessel discard, and the types of vessels found in these spaces.

As stated above, the quantity of vessels recovered from these 'outdoor' areas distinguishes them from indoor rooms. Of the 15 'outdoor' areas recorded, seven contained more than 200 vessels, placing them within the upper quartile when compared to vessel density for all areas, and seven fell within the range of the median, or middle quartile. Only one example, Area 362 in Stratum VIA, fell within the low quartile, but, with an N_{sample} of only four vessels, it should be disregarded in this analysis. A comparison of vessel density limited to these 'outdoor' areas (Fig. 7.2a) demonstrates a bimodal distribution, with seven examples in the 1-100 range and seven in the 201+ range. What is interesting to note here is that half of those loci designated as 'Area 361' (Garfinkel, et al. forthcoming) were contained within the first category and half were within the second, suggesting that the term 'Area 361' includes material from two different types of activity areas (Fig. 7.2b). Although located in the same vertical location from Strata VII through IV, i.e., in the northwest corner of the excavation area, the spatial relationship between the locus and neighboring loci changes over time. Area 361 in Strata VII through VI designates an area to the north of Building 357. While small in excavation area, it contained a number of features, including a pillar base and a sunken store jar installation, which suggests that it may have been roofed space (see Chapters 3 and 5).

Area 361 from Strata V through IV, on the other hand, designates an area outside the entrance to Building 350. In terms of both artifact density and types of artifacts found, Area 361 from Strata V through IV compares most closely with Area 358 in Strata VII-VI, the area outside the entrance to Building 351 (Fig. 7.2c). While it might be stated that the quantity of artifacts recovered in these areas is a function of metric area and volume of material excavated, ²⁷⁰ the fact that these latter areas make up the 5 percent of areas that have the highest density of artifacts present is strong support for a similarity in associated discard strategies. Based on this analysis, I suggest differentiating between the early Area 361 in Strata VII through VI, and the later Area 361 in Strata V through IV, and advocate for a change in terminology. A better solution, in keeping with the present Tel Migne-Ekron numbering system for describing diachronic continuity in activity areas, is either (1) to refer to the later Area 361 (from Strata V-IV) as "Area 358," which would emphasize the similarities between these two areas, i.e., in their contextual location outside the public entrances to monumental buildings, or (2) to assign this area a new number, stressing its difference from the early Area 361 of Strata VII through VI.

In conclusion, patterns could be detected that enable one to distinguish between interior and exterior areas, and between 'courtyards' and interior rooms. The identified patterns become even more important in the interpretation of the distribution of stylistic elements and other non-ceramic categories of material culture. These demonstrate similar spatial patterns to what can be observed with the distribution of ceramic vessels. I would caution, however, that it cannot be clearly determined if the artifacts found in these areas

²⁷⁰ As stated above (footnote 268), it was not possible to test this idea, but future research might want to include metric comparisons with artifact densities and activity areas.

reflect activities conducted therein or if these areas, in particular those outside the main buildings and in the 'courtyards,' were the loci of refuse disposal. What I can state is that the observed spatial patterns in discard intensity and in functional profile (see below) indicate that the material analyzed here comes primarily from secondary deposits, i.e., "the result of daily living on a site: buildup on surfaces, swept and trampled, but not moved far from the site of deposit; ash deposits from cooking fires or industrial activity; and pits filled with trash very likely from the immediate vicinity," which can be used as a generalized reflection of the range of activities associated with the area under discussion (Magness-Gardiner 1996:183). In addition the intensity of vessel discard reflects diachronically similar patterns of activity, which allow for comparisons to be investigated between different occupational strata.

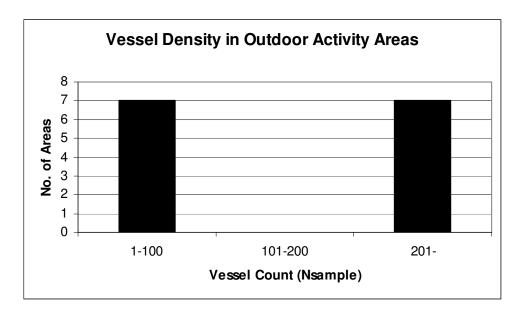


Fig. 7.2a Vessel Counts in Outdoor Areas

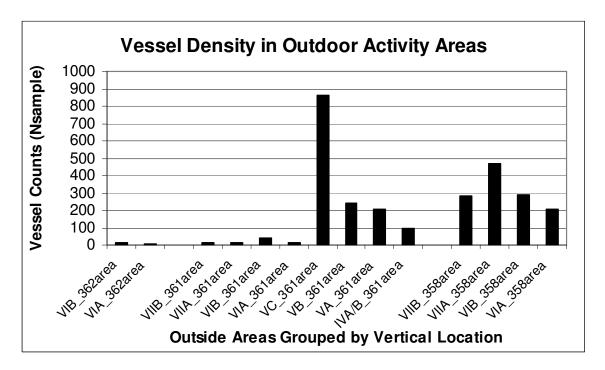
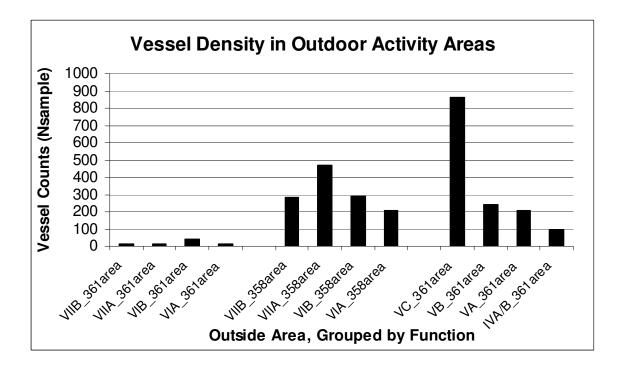


Fig. 7.2b Distribution of Vessel Counts Grouped by Area





Distribution of Functional Attributes: Do They Reflect Differences in Activity Areas?

Domestic Assemblages

On the whole, functional differences in ceramic assemblages based on spatial distribution patterns were not apparent. The basic vessel set, which included bowls, a jar, krater, jug or other small pouring vessel, and a cooking container, was relatively evenly distributed across the site. There were very few rooms in which only one or two vessel types were found (n = 5 rooms with only bowls, n = 3 rooms with only jars). Given the small quantity of artifacts found in these areas, the observed patterning seems more likely to be a reflection of post-occupational formation processes and not intentional discard behavior.

An analysis that grouped vessel types by the broad functional categories outlined in Chapter 4 demonstrated great similarity, both synchronically and diachronically, in the types of ceramics found (Fig. 7.3a,b). Across the field, the largest percentage of the ceramic assemblage represented in each area was tablewares, ²⁷¹ which represented approximately 75 percent of the assemblage in most areas, the second largest was storage vessels, and the smallest category was cooking wares. The buildings/areas that showed the greatest amount of variability were those where (1) a small amount of pottery was found, (2) the area was not completely excavated or (3) there was poor preservation of surfaces. Exterior areas, such as those at the front of Buildings 351 and 350, demonstrated a similar vessel profile to interior areas.

²⁷¹ For the analyses in this chapter, tablewares were defined as those vessels used in commensal activities, including the categories of eating/drinking, serving and pouring.

Comparison of Functional Assemblage by Building

Functional Groups
Cooking
Architecture

VIIB

VIIA

VIIA

VIIA

VIIA

VIIA

Fig. 7.3a Functional Comparison, Strata VII and VI

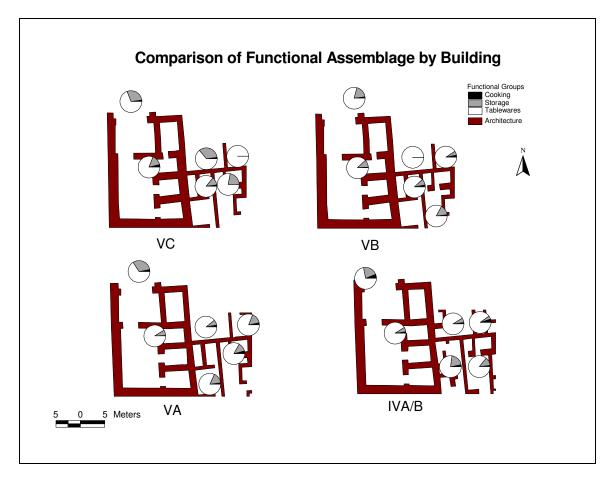


Fig. 7.3b Functional Comparison, Strata V and IV

The most common vessel type found in all occupation phases²⁷² was bowls, followed by jars and kraters. These forms were distributed relatively evenly across the excavation area such that almost all rooms had all three of these vessel types represented, in addition to a jug or some other type of pouring vessels (e.g., flask, strainer jug, stirrup jar, etc.). A comparison of the percentage of these three forms by room shows a fairly normal distribution (Fig. 7.4a,b). Jars and kraters demonstrate a minor bi-modality in the percentage of these vessel types in different rooms, but most of the variability fell within

 $^{^{272}}$ As discussed in Chapter 4, footnote 133, for purposes of this analysis, Strata VC and VB were examined together.

1 standard deviation of the median for each vessel type. Additionally, as stated above, some of this variability could be ascribed to the small quantities of vessels found in certain areas, or to rooms that were incompletely excavated.

If the comparison is limited to Building 350 as compared to Buildings 353 and 354, some differentiation could be seen in functional types. A comparison of the ratio of bowls:jars:kraters in these three buildings, shown here in a 3-d scattergram (Fig. 7.5), suggests that diachronically Buildings 353 and 354 are more similar to each other and more different than Building 350. This difference is expressed primarily in the variable ratios of jars²⁷³ and kraters to bowls, with Buildings 353 and 354 displaying a greater percentage of jars in comparison to kraters and Building 350 demonstrating a greater percentage of kraters in comparison to jars.²⁷⁴

Chronological differences show a surprising constancy in the percentages of vessel types in both Buildings 351 and 350, while Buildings 353 and 354 express more variability over time (Fig. 7.6a,b). This is a similar pattern to what was seen in the analysis of architecture and features, where the distribution of features and numerous architectural modifications seen in Buildings 353 and 354 reflect a greater degree of fluidity in the organization of space than in Buildings 350 and 351. Although these differences in type variability are slight and not considered to be statistically significant, they support other observable differences between these buildings documented in artifact distributions.

 $^{^{273}}$ The distribution of pithoi suggests a similar pattern, with 5 of the examples dating from Strata VA to IVB recovered from Buildings 353 and 354. An additional 3 pithoi sherds from Stratum VC were found in Area 361, outside the entrance to Building 350. Unfortunately, the sample of pithoi is very small (n = 10), and the apparent clustering may be a reflection of formation processes rather than activity use. 274 The sample size for Building 351 was too small to effectively compare it with these assemblages.

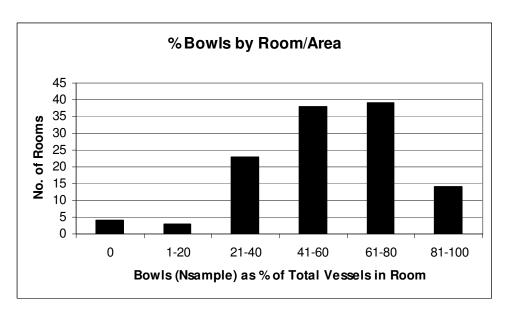
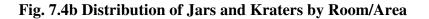


Fig. 7.4a Distribution of Bowls by Room/Area



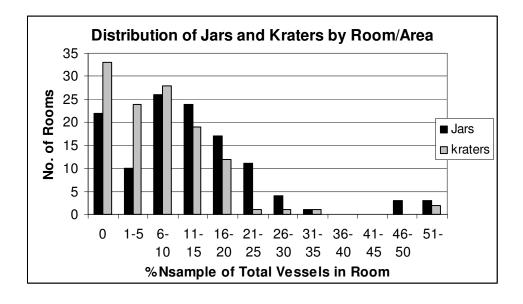
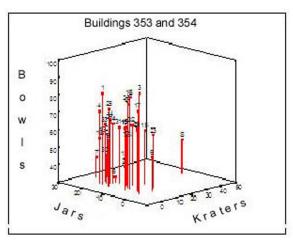


Fig. 7.5 Scattergram Comparison of Vessels in Buildings 353 and 354 and Building 350



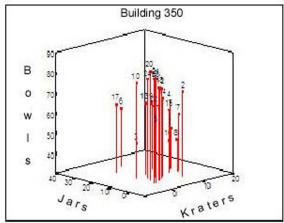
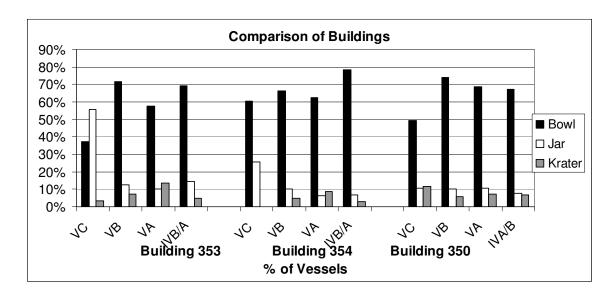


Fig. 7.6a Distributional Comparison of Vessels in Buildings 353 and 354 and Building 350



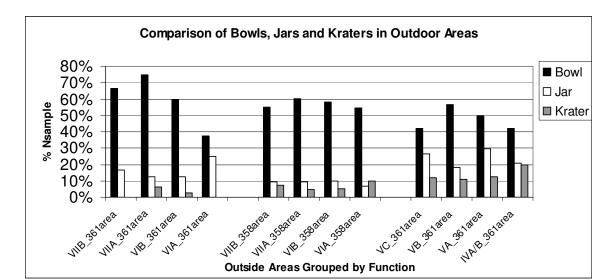


Fig. 7.6b Distributional Comparison of Vessels in Outdoor Areas

Oil Lamps

Similar differences in spatial patterns were noted in the location of spouted oil lamps. In Field IV Lower, 18 spouted oil lamps were found, concentrated in Stratum VI and the early phases of Stratum V. Lighting seems to have been provided predominantly by a range of *ad hoc* lamps. These latter vessels can be defined as primarily bowls, but also broken vessel bases and even a broken flask, which were reused as instruments to provide light. The presence of soot on these broken and worn vessels is evidence that they were used for illumination, in place of the traditional ceramic spouted lamp.

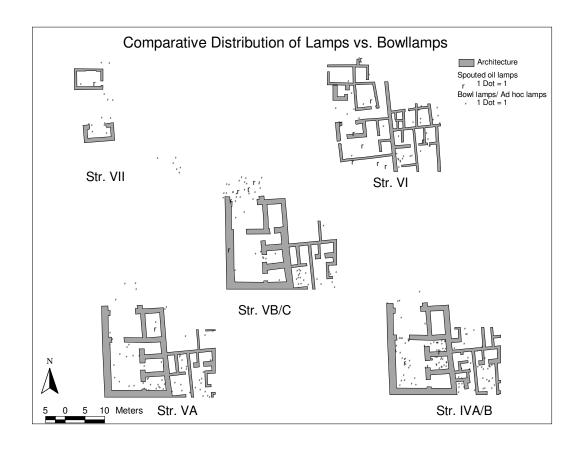


Fig. 7.7 Comparative Distribution of Lamps and Bowllamps²⁷⁵

In general, the distribution of lamps, both spouted and *ad hoc* forms, conforms to the general patterns seen in the artifact distribution, with the majority of examples located in exterior areas and multi-functional workrooms (Fig. 7.7). An additional pattern, however, suggested that, while *ad hoc* lamps were evenly distributed throughout the area, spouted oil lamps were more limited in their distribution, concentrated primarily in and around Building 351 of Stratum VI and Building 350 of Stratum V. Only one lamp fragment was found in the eastern building complexes. It was discovered in Building 354,

²⁷⁵ Note that the spatial distribution maps reflect the quantity of objects found in a room and not the exact findspots of these objects.

Room c in Stratum VIB, and may attest to the unusual nature of other finds in this room.²⁷⁶ Almost all the remaining examples of spouted oil lamps were located either in or immediately outside of the public buildings, further supporting the noted differences in activities between these buildings and Buildings 353 and 354.

Distribution of Stylistic Attributes

Another question addressed in this study was whether spatial differences could be noted in the use of Philistine and local, Canaanite style vessels. If so, could these differences be used to explore the use of these items in expressions of social boundaries, whether cultural, e.g., immigrant versus local domestic consumption, or socio-economic, e.g., elite versus commoner wealth or status consumption. As discussed in Chapter 4, the pottery assemblage, in particular the decorated tablewares, has generally been viewed as comprised of four distinct stylistic classes: Local Canaanite, early Philistine/ Mycenaean IIIC:1, Later Philistine/Philistine Bichrome and Red Slipped. Some of the differences in the presence of these forms, as previously noted, can be ascribed to chronological changes, occurring in conjunction with the technological and stylistic developments in Stratum VI from Mycenaean IIIC:1 to the Later Philistine wares. This is followed by the eventual replacement of Philistine-style tablewares with tablewares decorated in a red slip, reflecting a Phoenician influence. In this area of the site, however, no spatial patterning in stylistic classes was observed that could be ascribed to distinctive differences in consumption practices.

 $^{^{276}}$ A cluster of five whole vessels discovered *in situ* in this room indicates that this area underwent a different discard strategy than other contemporary buildings.

In general, stylistic distributions by building were not conclusive of intentional patterning. Three different variables were used to explore stylistic spatial variation: tablewares, cooking containers and weaving tools. These functional types were chosen because they represent redundant yet coexisting functional categories within the Iron I ceramic assemblage (see Chapter 4). The different styles of Philistine and local cooking vessels in particular have been used to suggest the presence of culturally different domestic traditions at the site (see, e.g., Killebrew 1998b, c; Yasur-Landau 2002).

Figure 7.8, which shows the frequency of Aegean-style versus Canaanite-style tablewares found in each building, reflects little distinction between the two ceramic traditions in their spatial distribution until the rise in preference for Red-slipped tablewares at the expense of Philistine decorated vessels in Stratum IV. The limited evidence for synchronic variation in stylistic patterning may result primarily from the quantity of artifacts found in each room. Areas where only a small amount of pottery was found demonstrated the greatest amount of variation, with only one of the two stylistic categories present. Areas where a larger sample of artifacts was recovered demonstrated a greater mix of material from the different ceramic traditions, if not almost equal amounts. Areas outside buildings demonstrate the same stylistic profile as building interiors. Therefore, this observed patterning does not necessarily reflect a functional difference between the two styles, but may be a function of sample size (Drennan 1996). The small amount of variation in stylistic classes could be ascribed to chronological developments in the use of these decorative styles (Fig. 7.9), and not to functional or cultural differences in consumption practices or in discard strategies.

Fig. 7.8 Comparison of Canaanite and Aegean Tablewares. Each variable represents a building assemblage

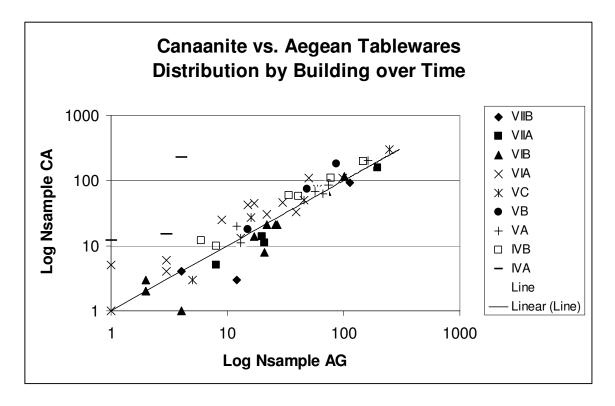
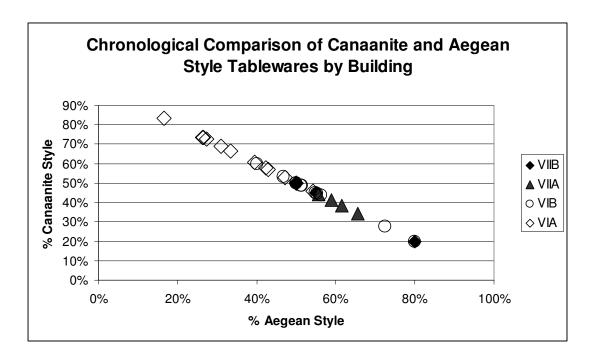


Fig. 7.9 Chronological Comparison of Canaanite and Aegean Style Tablewares by Building. Chronological Shift Demonstrates Increased Preference for Local Tablewares in Stratum VI



In the literature on the Philistines, both cooking and weaving activities have been used as proof of the migration of peoples from the Aegean (e.g., Barako 2001; T. Dothan 1998b; Killebrew 1998b, 1999; Stager 1995; Yasur-Landau 2002). Cross-culturally, food preparation and often weaving activities (Crown 2000; Lyons and D'andrea 2003) typically fall within the domain of women's tasks. Unfortunately, these often idealized cultural patterns (Brumfiel 1991; Sweely 1999) are taken as fact and read into the archaeological record. The material correlates of these activities, items such as cooking vessels, loom weights and spindle whorls, are taken as signposts that women were present (Barber 1991; e.g., Reich 2001; Sweely 1999; van Driel 2002; Wade and

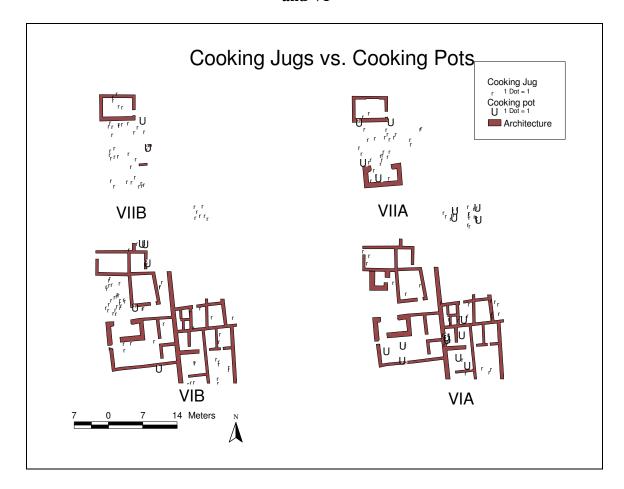
Mattingly 2003).²⁷⁷ This methodology has helped to substantiate many migration theories. In these studies, the presence (e.g., Frankel 2000; Yasur-Landau 2002) and/or absence (e.g., V. Badler 2002; Keith 1998) of foreign style cooking and weaving tools signify not only the presence and/or absence of foreigners, but their accompaniment by foreign women. In the literature on the Philistines, these objects have been used to demonstrate the demographics of immigrant populations, which may have included the movement of entire families, intermarriage with local women or a combination of both processes (e.g., Yasur-Landau 2002). The present analysis, however, suggests that the situation is more complex.

As demonstrated in Chapter 4, the dominant cooking vessel form in the earliest Iron I occupation of Field IV Lower is the Philistine-style cooking jug. It comprises 95 percent of the assemblage of cooking wares. A spatial distribution analysis of the two types of cooking wares, however, does not reflect evidence for differential use or discard strategies (Fig. 7.10a,b,c). In areas where a large quantity of cooking wares was found, i.e., outdoor areas, both types of cooking vessels appear together, even in the earliest Iron I strata. As with the tablewares, the synchronic distribution of cooking vessels is at least partially a reflection of artifact quantity, where areaas with more pottery also demonstrate more variation and rooms with less pottery are more limited to one of the two styles.

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²⁷⁷ Note that a number of recent studies have begun to question this too facile association between weaving tools and women (see Brumfiel 1991; Nixon 1999; O'Brian 1999; J. S. Smith 2002; Tuohy 2000).

Fig. 7.10a Comparative Distribution of Cooking Jugs and Cooking Pots, Strata VII and VI^{278}



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 $^{^{278}}$ Note that the spatial distribution maps reflect the quantity of objects found in a room and not the exact findspots of these objects.

Cooking Jugs vs. Cooking Pots

Cooking Jug

Cooking Jug

Cooking Jug

Architecture

VC

VB

VA

Fig. 7.10b Comparative Distribution of Cooking Jugs and Cooking Pots, Stratum V

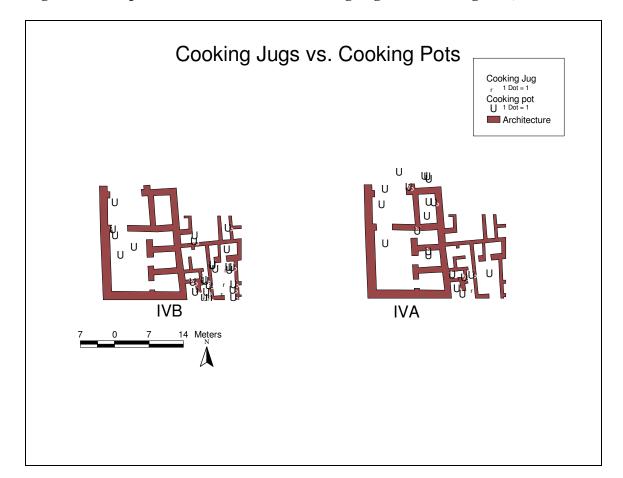


Fig. 7.10c Comparative Distribution of Cooking Jugs and Cooking Pots, Stratum IV

Chronologically, the earliest loomweights in Field IV, dated to Stratum VIB, were of the Aegean style (n = 3), but by Stratum VIA there is a mix of cylindrical, perforated and conical shapes (see Chapter 4). Spatially, loomweights were generally found individually scattered across the excavation area, with few concentrations containing more than 2 or 3 examples. Only two large clusters of loomweights were discovered that could reflect the presence of a loom (Barber 1991:102): one in Building 353, *Room c* in Stratum VIA, where a cluster of 7 loomweights was recovered (a total of 12 were found in the building), and one in Stratum VB/C, Building 350, *Room a*, where a total of 24 was found. Both of these caches were made up of a mix of loomweight styles—the Aegean

cylindrical style and the local Canaanite style. In fact, the earlier, Stratum VI cluster contained a predominance of local, Canaanite-style round-perforated loomweights, including doughnut and flattened shapes, whereas the chronologically later Stratum VB/C cluster contained a predominance of cylindrical/ Aegean-style loomweights.²⁷⁹ This latter cache, probably in a storage context (see below), was comprised of 12 Aegean, cylindrical loomweights, 5 round-perforated, 4 conical and 3 that were too poorly preserved to identify their shape.

While research on weaving technologies has addressed the weight of loomweights, and argued for the fact that different weighted loomweights, which are often found together, may have been used together on one loom (Barber 1991), studies addressing weaving practices have assumed that variations in loomweight shape are reflections of chronological (e.g., Friend 1998) or cultural (Barber 1991) differences. Little work has addressed the joint use of different loomweight shapes, as suggested by the spatial distribution of loomweight styles in Field IV lower, where the only two areas that demonstrate evidence for the use of the warp weighted loom contain a mixture of at least 3 to 4 different shapes. J. Smith's (2002) discussion of industrial weaving practices in the Kition workshops on Cyprus also mentions a number of different loomweight shapes found together, including pierced pyramidal and doughnut-shaped, as well as "reels."

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²⁷⁹ The Field IV assemblage does not imply a straightforward technological evolution, whereby one would expect that foreign enculturative traditions, passed on via domestic socialization strategies and kin-based learning frame-works, which are usually assumed for household weaving technologies, would eventually cease to continue to reproduce themselves.

²⁸⁰ Contra Yasur-Landau (2002:125), J. Smith does not propose an ethnic or cultural meaning to these artifacts. Furthermore, as opposed to the traditional view that loomweights reflect the presence of women

Summary of Distribution by Style

In summary, the excavated area of Field IV Lower is too small an area to determine if social boundaries in the Iron I were reflected in the differential distribution of stylistic classes. An analysis to determine whether the Philistine immigrants lived in separate enclaves, ²⁸¹ or whether a distinction between elite and commoner domestic consumption practices based on stylistical differences can be noted, requires comparison over a larger area than Field IV Lower. Two additional points should be considered: (1) the area of occupation in Stratum VII, the phase most likely to demonstrate cultural distinctions, is very small, with few preserved surfaces, and (2) the Stratum VII occupation in Field IV Lower may be slightly later in date than the same stratum in Field I, which suggests that analysis of stylistic boundaries in Field I may prove more fruitful, although if so, than these expressions of social or cultural boundaries would have been short lived.

The evidence from pottery and loomweights suggests that by Stratum VI there was little spatial distinction in the location of these culturally sensitive artifacts. These distribution patterns reflect an integrated consumption system. Yasur-Landau (2002) also proposed, based on a more limited data set, that there was no spatial segregation in the Aegean and local Canaanite domestic materials. ²⁸² Chronologically, however, changes in

⁽e.g., Reich 2001), J. Smith argues that the industrial context of the Kition western workshops suggests a male workforce. Her thesis is an interesting study on gender, using the evidence from Kition to argue that production in these western workshops reflects gender shift from previously female weaving in domestic contexts to male weaving in industrial workplaces. The present study urges that more research needs to be done on the organization of production and how these objects were used in the weaving process.

281 In a similar manner to the pattern seen in the Uruk trading colonies (Stein 2002).

However, Yasur-Landau stated that "all assemblages were alike in the fact that the majority of behavioral patterns conducted within them are of Aegean origin..." (2002:205). He therefore concluded

consumption practices were noted. These chronological developments, as discussed in Chapter 4, demonstrate an evolution from the coexistence of two distinct domestic assemblages, the local Canaanite and the early Philistine/ Mycenaean IIIC:1, to a greater reliance on the use of tablewares decorated in late Philistine/Philistine bichrome style concurrent with an increase in the consumption of local Canaanite style tablewares. Finally, eating and serving wares decorated in red slip begin to appear in Stratum VB/C, and increase in frequency in VA, becoming the dominant decorated tableware form in Stratum IV.

Elite and Non-Elite Structures by Artifact Distribution

Archaeological indicators of household wealth are neither straightforward nor easily accessible. T. Dothan bases her interpretations of Building 350 as a Temple and/or Palace on the characteristics of the built-in features and artifacts found therein (see Chapter 6), particularly those discovered in the side rooms *a*, *b*, and *c*. ²⁸³ As she described it, "The cultic character of the assemblage of bronze and iron artifacts found in Building 350, Rooms B and C and Hall D, in Stratum V is determined, *inter alia* by the proximity of their find spots to the *bamot* and the elegant craftsmanship of the objects" (T. Dothan 2002:4). The distribution of finds, however, may not be a good indicator of

that the majority of the people at Tel Miqne-Ekron and Ashdod were immigrants, while recognizing that the Canaanite populace did make up a significant part of the population, given the range of behavioral components which could be identified as 'Canaanite.' At this point, I would still hesitate before stating that one or the other cultural system held sway until more is published of the earliest occupation phases at these sites.

²⁸³ In both T. Dothan (1998a) and (2002), she states that 2 of these rooms have cultic elements, but minor discrepancies between these two articles may confuse the issue. In T. Dothan (1998a:261) she specifically makes reference to artifacts and special finds in Rooms a and b, but in T. Dothan (2002:3) she also includes the *bamah* and associated iron artifacts in Room c, thereby suggesting possibly three rooms with cultic attributes.

room function. In part, this is due to discard behaviors, as well as formation processes (Schiffer 1987). These same mechanisms impinge on the use of objects as measures of wealth and affluence (Faust 1999; Kamp 1987). As Faust remarked in his study on social stratification at Iron II Hazor "small objects [in which Faust included pottery] are extremely mobile, and their presence in houses depends heavily, amongst other things, on the destruction process...and what preceded it" (1999:181). As an example of this problem, Faust re-explored Yadin's (1975:152-157) original reconstruction, which was based primarily on the large quantity of artifacts discovered in one house, of the residential structures in Hazor Area A as belonging to an upper class district. ²⁸⁴
According to Faust's architectural re-analysis, the size and plan of the house in which most of the finds were discovered (house 14a), denotes a low status socio-economic profile (1999:182-185). His reconstruction suggests that this one neighborhood demonstrates evidence for at least two, and possibly three, levels of social stratification (Faust 1999:187), as opposed to the single socio-economic class reconstructed by Yadin.

Although artifact quantity may not correlate significantly with wealth (Kamp 1987),²⁸⁵ M. Smith concluded that "household artifacts are certainly *adequate* in themselves for measuring wealth and can provide additional insights *when used in*

²⁸⁴ Faust suggests that Yadin's conclusions were also influenced by an inscription, "belonging to Makhbiram," inscribed on one of the store jars found in this house (1999:186). However, Faust concurs with Naveh's (1981) rereading of the inscription as *lmkbdm*, with a meaning more similar to 'belonging to the person who served food to the guests' (Naveh 1981:85, 302). Faust noted that the vessels found in this house were primarily related to food storage and preparation activities, with the one exception being the "ivory cosmetic spoon" (1999:187). Based on Naveh's revised reading of the inscription, I would suggest that these items were associated, not with the wealth of the person, but his office. If the inscription refers to a position similar to "cupbearer," as suggested by Naveh (1981:85, 301), the ivory spoon could be interpreted as a symbol relating to the steward's position as 'food taster.' This is an interesting avenue for future research.

²⁸⁵ Kamp (1987) observed that the quantity of artifacts was most affected by the number of married women living together in a household.

conjunction with architectural remains" (1987:327 italics mine). Kamp (1987) proposed that the types of artifacts, including the quality of the raw materials used and workmanship exhibited, might be a useful gauge for discerning affluence. Additionally, artifact context could be an indicator of resource storage and surplus or of activity use. Given what has been discussed above pertaining to the interpretation of artifact distribution, it is important to take a closer look at these rooms and the distribution of objects found therein.

Room a of Building 350, Stratum IV, was the first of the Iron I rooms to be excavated in Field IV Lower. Its unique cache of finds defined the tenor of this area in all subsequent reports (T. Dothan 1987). The exotica included: ceramic vessels, such as a red slipped pomegranate bottle and a unique kernos ring with a he-goat and she-goat facing each other; a speckled stone hemispherical bowl; a painted limestone baboon statuette; ivory objects including a human head, a long plaque or inlay, two cosmetic lids incised with a rosette design, and an earplug;²⁸⁷ faience objects including a second earplug and two rings, and part of a necklace with beads of Hathor heads.²⁸⁸ Additional objects found

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²⁸⁶ Mazarakis Ainian's (1997) analysis used the distribution of artifacts as a method for differentiating between rulers' dwellings and temples, based on the assumption that "the safest criterion remains the movable finds, i.e. manufactured objects, especially large quantities of similar categories of objects and not isolated items, which cannot have been anything else but dedications to the gods" (1997:286). Unfortunately his untested assumptions bias his results. For example, in his discussion of artifacts, when found in association with a ruler's dwelling, they are viewed as a reflection of wealth, whereas when discovered in cult buildings, they are interpreted as reflections of ritual activities.

²⁸⁷ T. Dothan (1998a:263-264) suggested, based on stylistic similarities, that an additional ivory earplug, which was found in this room in the earlier Stratum VB occupation, belongs with this cache. I agree with her assessment. In support of her argument, my analysis documents that all the ivory jewelry found in Field IV Lower, with the possible exception of the ivory earplug, was discovered in Stratum IV and did not appear in earlier strata. Only non-jewelry ivories were found in earlier strata. Therefore this 'early' earplug was probably shifted from its original, Stratum IV, context.

²⁸⁸ Reference in T. Dothan (1998a:263) to a large faience amulet of Ptah-Soqer as associated with this cache seems to be a mistake. According to the field notes (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming), the findspot of this amulet suggests that it was discovered in the threshold area of *Room b* and not in *Room a*.

in this room but not mentioned in T. Dothan (1998a) include flint sickle blades, grinding stones and flint debitage, an iron knife blade and more than 30 whole and or restorable vessels (21 bowls, 2 chalices, 2 juglets, 1 flask, 2 pyxides and a lamp).²⁸⁹

T. Dothan (1998a:261-262) remarked on the strong Egyptian New Kingdom influence demonstrated in these objects, and described them as a reflection of "the transition in Philistine ceramics from Bichrome to red-slip decoration. Heralding the Iron Age II repertoire, this new tradition, in its early phase, coexisted with the last vestige of the Philistine Bichrome decoration" (1998a:261). While referring to this cache as "votive" in character, partially because of the small size of some of the vessels (1998a:261), she makes no further reference to its cultic function; her interest is focused on the cultural aspects demonstrated in the mix of motifs and workmanship displayed in this group, and their implications, in her reconstruction, for the "dilution and debasement" of Philistine culture (1998a:267-268).

When we examine the spatial distribution of finds associated with *Room a*, we see that the randomness of their distribution across the field makes it difficult to assign any specifically 'cultic' significance to their location. This distribution pattern seems to be a reflection of secondary formation processes and not necessarily primary discard behavior. While more store jars were found in Buildings 353 and 354, five of the six whole store jars were found in Building 350. This highlights the different formation processes on the west side of the field (Stratum V and IV) than on the east side, which allowed for more ceramic forms to be preserved intact on the west.

²⁸⁹ This count includes the vessels depicted in T. Dothan (1998a) Fig 2, page 262, but not mentioned in the text on pages 263-264.

What stands out as significant in *Room a* is the quantity of all types of artifacts found, both tools and objects that may reflect wealth (see below). This is the case in both the Stratum IV and the Stratum VB/C occupations. In Stratum VB/C, it is particularly interesting to note the large concentration of loomweights (n = 24). As has already been mentioned, this is an unusually large number of loomweights found together for this area of the site, where loomweights were generally found scattered individually or in groups of two. The only other comparative sample is in Building 353, *Room c* in Stratum VI, where the cluster of 7 (a total of 12 were found in the building) loomweights was discovered. The cache of 24 loomweights in Building 350, *Room a* is strong evidence that this room was either the focus of weaving activities or where a loom was kept in storage, although the latter seems more likely (Barber 1991:102).

Both the features and *in situ* artifacts associated with *Room b*, the room immediately to the south of *Room a*, lend more credence to the possible use of this room in ritual activities (T. Dothan 2002). A stepped plastered mudbrick platform [*bamah* as it was called in the field notes (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming)] was built into the southeast corner of the room. While it could only definitively be associated with the Stratum VA occupation, stratigraphically there is no reason not to assume that it also functioned in Stratum VB/C (see Chapter 3). Additionally, indications from its construction style suggest that it may have been built in a number of phases, the earliest of which could have been associated with Stratum VB/C (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). Concurrent with the architectural modifications n Stratum IVA/B, a new platform was established

immediately on top of this earlier one.²⁹⁰ Continuity in sacred space, evidenced by the maintenance in location of this platform, lends strong support to the cultic character of this room (T. Dothan 2003).

Similar to *Room a*, *Room b* also contained a lot of artifacts. T. Dothan (2002:4) mentions bronze fragments of a wheeled stand, a faience ring, a gaming piece and an ivory knife handle. Additional finds include a copper ring, beads, flint tools and grinding stones. The faience amulet of Ptah Soqer (see footnote 288) was found at the entrance to this room. Ceramic finds include a large number of whole and/or restorable vessels such as a jar, krater and four bowls in Stratum VB/C, three bowls and a flask in Stratum VA and twelve bowls in Stratum IV. Additionally, a large number of articulated ovricaprid body parts²⁹¹ were found on the Stratum VB/C floor in this room (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). T. Dothan reconstructs this room as "the focus of the building" (2002:3). Most of the discussion of the objects in this room has converged on the bronze wheeled cult stand and the ivory knife handle, where the "size and delicate workmanship of this handle, as well as its proximity to the *bamah*, lead to its interpretation as a votive object used in cultic practice" (T. Dothan 2002:16).

T. Dothan (2002) also posited a cultic role for activities associated with $Room\ c$. In the northwest corner of the room, a small, square mudbrick step associated with the Stratum VA architecture was interpreted as a bamah in a similar manner to the one

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²⁹⁰ In addition, a platform dated to the Iron II period was constructed immediately above this Iron I feature (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming), which must have been established after the gap in occupation between the end of Stratum IV and the beginning of Stratum IB/C. This provides further credence for the continuity of sacred space in this area.

The faunal analysis for this area of the excavations is still under study and was not available at the time of writing this report.

discovered in *Room b* (Garfinkel, et al. forthcoming). ²⁹² T. Dothan mentions that an iron 'ingot' was discovered on the platform, and an ivory handled iron knife, a bronze spear butt and a bronze cauldron handle of Aegean type were all found on the floor of the room (2002:3). Bronze rivulets attached the ivory handle to the iron knife, and T. Dothan commented on the wealth reflected in this combination of metals and materials used in these objects (2002:14). Additionally, she stated that "The elegant craftsmanship of this knife and the context in which it was found clearly indicate a cultic or ceremonial function" (2002:14). The ivory handle was similar in style to the one found in *Room b*, and to two additional ivory handles, found in industrial areas in Fields I and III (T. Dothan 2002:16-17). An additional object associated with this room was a bronze double headed linch pin, discovered in the room's entranceway, which T. Dothan suggested may have belonged to a large cult stand similar to the wheeled stand found in Room b (2002:11-12). A number of whole and/or restorable ceramic vessels, including two cooking pots set one inside the other, and seven bowls, were found in relation to the Strata VB/C and VA surfaces (Garfinkel, et al. forthcoming). This room also contained a number of basalt grinding stones and flint tools (Garfinkel, et al. forthcoming).

A spatial distribution of the objects found in these rooms in their stratigraphical and architectural context indicates a number of interesting patterns. For this study, I focused on seven artifact categories. ²⁹³ Using T. Dothan's assessment of luxury and cultic

The designation of this smaller platform as a *bamah* is less convincing than the one in $Room\ b$, in particular because it lacks any evidence for maintenance over time, a concept which seems to exert a strong force in this field controlling the placement of activity areas over time.

²⁹³ The choice of artifact categories was primarily limited to the objects for which analysis had been completed at the time of this project and which were made available to me. I would like to thank Amir Golani (jewelry), Ianeer Milevski (grinding stones), David Ben-Shlomo (zoomorphics), Ann Roshwalb-

paraphernalia as a baseline, I compared the spatial distribution of jewelry, zoomorphics, ivories and metals (including knives), to the spatial distribution of grinding stones, flint tools and loomweights—that it to say, objects which might be considered as reflecting more mundane, domestic activities (Fig. 7.11a,b,c).

As might be expected, tools representing domestic activities were scattered throughout the rooms of Building 350 and the smaller, domestic/workshop structures of Buildings 353 and 354. Grinding stones and flint tools were evenly distributed across the field. Individual loomweights appear randomly, suggesting that these examples reflect either secondary discard patterns and post-depositional formation processes or their use in other functions besides weights for looms (Barber 1991). The only object types that could consistently be associated with Building 350 were non-jewelry ivory artifacts (e.g., inlays, panels, figurines) and metal knives. ²⁹⁴ Jewelry ²⁹⁵ and zoomorphics ²⁹⁶ were more randomly distributed across the field. Ben-Shlomo (1999:6) analyzed the distribution of all the known examples of both zoomorphic artifacts and kernoi, which were discovered throughout the entire excavation area, and found them randomly distributed across the tel. Although he did suggest that there was a larger concentration of these "in the area of the public buildings in area IV..." (Ben-Shlomo 1999:3), he did not confirm if this was true

Hurowitz (flints) and Anna de Vincenz (ivory, loomweight and metals catalogues, as well as overall object catalogue coordinator).

²⁹⁴ It may also be significant that all 4 of the individual strainers associated with surfaces clustered in the western building units, and 3 of them (2 bowl-strainers in Stratum VB and 1 elongated closed-strainer in Stratum VA) were found in Building 350, Room b. Unfortunately the sample is too small and fragmentary to underscore the significance of this association.

²⁹⁵ For this analysis, I did not take into account the fact that numerous beads could have comprised one necklace. This strategy may slightly bias the analysis of the spatial distribution and is worth pursing in a future study. Of the distribution of individual jewelry artifacts, the only clear pattern to emerge was a positive association between earrings and the area outside Building 350. ²⁹⁶ Ben-Shlomo's study of the zoomorphics included ceramic animal figurines and *kernoi*.

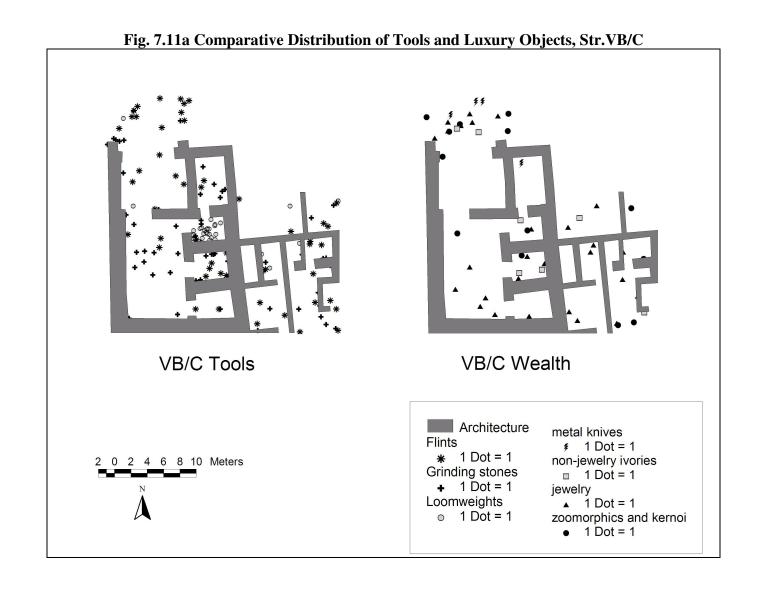
for all periods of occupation, or if it was a function of the large number of zoomorphic vessels found in the 7th century BCE/Iron II destruction debris.

The more interesting pattern occurs when we look at the clustering of objects, and specifically at the types of artifacts, found in *Rooms a, b,* and *c* in Building 350. The observable pattern suggests that luxury and exotic objects consistently appear in rooms and areas where a large quantity of artifacts was found. This can be clearly seen in *Rooms a* and *b* in both Stratum VB/C and IV, where zoomorphics, ivory and jewelry cluster together with lithic tools and loomweights, and are either absent or appear in smaller numbers in *Room c*. In Stratum VA we see a similar pattern, but now it is associated with *Rooms b* and *c*. Neither luxury objects nor tools were found in *Room a*. In this regard, one should also note the large concentration of all types of objects outside the entrance to Building 350. This pattern suggests that, where there is a larger quantity of artifacts, there is a greater likelihood of finding objects of wealth; alternatively, where few artifacts are found, there is less chance of an association with luxury artifacts.

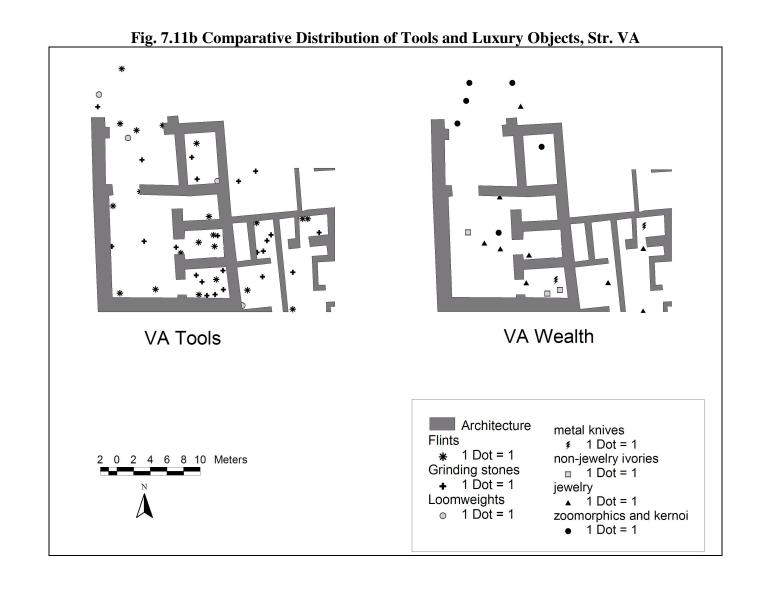
This distribution pattern does support the hypothesis, suggested by the architectural analysis, that the occupants of Building 350 garnered more wealth, as reflected in the distribution of ivory artifacts and metal knives. As mentioned earlier, oil lamps were also restricted in their distribution to this same area. However, these patterns do not support the cultic associations ascribed to the side-rooms of Building 350. Alternatively, they suggest that these areas were used as store rooms, possibly a treasury, or that they were the loci for general refuse from the building when the rooms were filled in and the building was rebuilt.

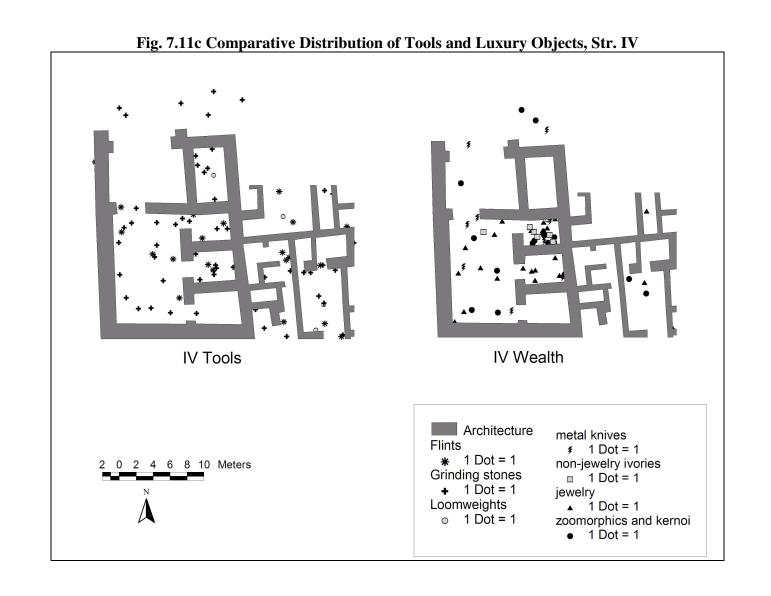
Based on the presence of the stepped platform, ²⁹⁷ Room b in Building 350 was associated with small-scale ritual activities. In an earlier study of religious architecture associated with the 'Sea Peoples' (including the Philistines), Burdajewicz (1990:60-61) distinguished two different types of sacred structures: (1) a "house" or "domestic" sanctuary, where the 'cultic area' was only one part of a larger structure whose primary function was not necessarily related to the cult, and (2) independent buildings set aside as sanctuaries or temples. He identified Tel Migne-Ekron Building 350 with the former group. T. Dothan might also agree with this assessment in her interpretation of Building 350 as a possible "governor's residence or palace" (T. Dothan 1998a:259). ²⁹⁸My analysis also supports this reconstruction.

²⁹⁷ And possibly the unusual faunal assemblage associated with this room.
²⁹⁸ T. Dothan might also argue that the Ashdod buildings in Area H, which she describes as buildings with a special nature whose "size, architecture, and associated finds suggests an official building or perhaps a wealthy residence, in part with a cultic function" (2003:201), fit Burdajewicz's (1990) model.



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Feasting and the Relationship between East and West

The shared wall and joint architectural construction expressed by the ground plan initiated in Stratum VI, suggests that the functions of the western and eastern buildings were interwoven. It is possible to suggest that activities performed in Buildings 353 and 354 supported the role of the elite and/or ruling party resident in Building 350. Unfortunately, with little *in-situ* artifact debris, it is difficult to reconstruct the nature of activities performed in either of these building complexes at Tel Migne-Ekron, beyond general activities associated with residential structures, as evidenced by the typical association of tabun, hearths, benches and bins with domestic activities (Daviau 1993). A few features, particularly in Stratum VI, are suggestive of craft activities. These include: (1) the interconnected shallow bins set into the floor in Building 353, Room c; (2) a significant concentration of loom weights clustered in this building, indicating the presence of a loom. These were discovered together with almost all of the recovered spinning bowl fragments.²⁹⁹ A comparatively big number of large ceramic, bowl-like basins $(n = 4, see Chatper 4)^{300}$ were also found scattered on the floors of Buildings 353 and 354 in Stratum VI. 301 (3) Most of the sunken store jar installations dated to Stratum VI and later are associated with Buildings 353 and 354 (see Chapter 5). Finally, (4) the bathtub located in Room a of Building 353, in Stratum VI, probably functioned as an

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²⁹⁹ For the function of spinning bowls, see Chapter 4. Of the nine spinning bowl fragments found in Field IV Lower, eight were recovered from the eastern building complex, and three of the four examples from Stratum VI were discovered in Building 353. The only example found in Building 350 was not associated with a surface.

³⁰⁰ Formerly termed "kalathoi" (see Chapter 4 and T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004).

³⁰¹ The association of basins with these rooms is particularly important if we accept Sherratt's suggestion that these vessels were used to hold unspun wool (1998:305, note 26).

industrial installation (see Chapter 5). 302 The parallel contexts of weaving tools with bathtubs, seen now at both Tel Migne-Ekron and Ashkelon, is further support that bathtubs played an industrial function in crafts manufacture, specifically weaving. The comparative building styles described in Chapter 6 also suggest that Buildings 353 and 354 may have housed a variety of crafts activities. Building 225 at Tel Qasile, which has compared positively in terms of organization of space with the Tel Migne-Ekron structures (see Chapter 6), contained at least 75 store jars and 14 jugs (Mazar 1981). Most were discovered whole, lined up together in one of the back rooms of the building. These represent 67 percent and 13 percent respectively of the total vessel assemblage found in this building, displaying strong evidence that activities in Building 225 required a particularly large amount of storage, as well as transfer vessels ready at hand. Therefore, while Buildings 353 and 354 may have housed domestic needs, it was only part of their function, possibly restricted to a second storey (at least from Stratum VB/C on). The ground floor indicates that these rooms served as workshop space. This is based on parallels in the organization of space with other sites, including Kition, Ashdod Area G and Tell Qasile Building 225, where in situ artifacts and features point to production (Ashdod Area G³⁰³ and Kition) and large-scale storage (Tel Qasile).

J. Jorgensen, whose dissertation examined avenues of ceramic variability by exploring a typology of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age pottery from Tel Ein Zippori, also addressed a spatial distribution of pottery forms from one of the buildings at the site.

³⁰² Alternatively, if the bathtub is reconstructed as a palatial amenity (Karageorghis 1998, 2000), its location in Building 353 and not in Building 350 implies an interconnected function between these complexes. ³⁰³ Acknowledging that alternative interpretations for this building exist (see Chapter 6).

He did this in order to discern patterns in the organization of space and make inferences about the function of the different rooms within the structure (2002:309-312, and fig. 172). To a certain extent, he discerned similar spatial patterns in the ceramic assemblage to what was observed at Tel Migne-Ekron. Building A at Tel Ein Zippori was a large residential structure comprising five rooms surrounding a large courtyard, with a stairwell(?) leading to an upper floor (Jorgensen 2002:309-310). Jorgensen noted distinctions in the ceramic forms present in different areas of the building. In Building A, jars, interpreted as reflecting short-term storage, were concentrated in the rooms of the east wing. The rooms of the west wing contained a concentration of open forms, mostly bowls and kraters, reflecting that this area was used for serving. In the courtyard, which Jorgensen reconstructed as the locus both for food preparation and distribution, there was an almost equal percentage of open and closed forms, including jars, cooking pots, kraters and bowls. Bunimovitz (1999) and Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau (2002) also make an interesting case for a functional division of related activities at Ashdod in Area G, where they reconstruct the complex as two structural units, one associated with domestic activities and one that served for public/official responsibilities.

In the following section, I would like to propose the idea that elite dining, possibly feasting practices, may have been associated with the activities performed in both Buildings 351 and 350, and that part of the function of Buildings 353 and 354 would have been to support and provide for these events. The idea of elite sponsored feasts in association with a ruler's position is not a new idea, and has been widely discussed in the literature on political and social maneuverings in the Aegean (see most recently the

articles in J. C. Wright 2004a) and in Cyprus (Steel 2002b, 2004). In the Near East, however, the socio-political role of feasting in the Bronze and Iron Ages has been relatively neglected until recently, outside of expositions on the meaning and influence of the *marzeah* (Beach 1993; Bietak 2003; King 1988; Yon 1996). Bunimovitz (1999), reconstructing evidence for feasting at Ashdod, tied the concept of these socio-political, alliance forming rituals into the cultural baggage carried with the Aegean immigrants to the Levant. A similar idea is hinted at in Joffe's (1999) analysis of the role of alcohol and social complexity in the southern Levant, where he argues for differences in the function of drinking and feasting rituals in the Mediterranean and Near Eastern worlds, proposing that the decorated Philistine ceramic ensemble functioned in displays of "rituals related to male solidarity, and perhaps patron-client relations, such as feasts" (1999:28).

Comparison with the Temple of the Rhytons (Fig. 7.12)

In terms of reconstructing activities and the use of space in these buildings, it is worth comparing them to the Temple of the Rhytons at Ugarit, dated to *circa* 1250 BCE. The similarities between this complex and Building 351 at Tel Miqne-Ekron have already been referred to in Chapter 3, where it was noted that a slightly different reconstruction of the Stratum VI plan would allow direct communication between Buildings 351 and 353/354.³⁰⁴

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³⁰⁴Burdajewicz (1990:75) included the Temple of the Rhytons in his group of temples with "bent-axis" approaches that were probably used by the "Aegean Sea Peoples." While I would argue against both Burdajewics's description of this building as a 'temple' and his designation of these structures as characterizing an architectural 'type' associated with the Sea Peoples, it is still interesting to note that he saw architectural parallels between the plan of the Temple of the Rhytons and Philistine public buildings.

Although designated as a "Temple," the Temple of the Rhytons was distinctly different in plan and location from other temples found at Ugarit (Yon 1996). The major temples at Ugarit were segregated from the residential areas, isolated by walls or located in separate locales. The Temple of the Rhytons, on the other hand, did not stand alone but was integrated in a residential area within the city. Its association with the *marzihu* ritual (Pardee 1996; Yon 1996) might suggest that it was implicated with strategies of elite power and prestige more than with religious cults, as would be the more typical function of a 'Temple.' While the exact meaning of the *marzeah* is still unclear, what has been deduced from the surviving texts suggests that the term refers to either a group of people from the upper classes who came together for rituals involving prodigious amounts of drinking and possibly also eating, or the place where these commensal activities took place (McLaughlin 1991; Pardee 1996).

According to Yon's (1996) reconstruction, the Temple of the Rhytons was accessed from the north, via an entrance room whose four-meter wide threshold was flanked by two columns. This two-columned porch, a common architectural practice in the city of Ugarit, seems expressly to have been used to designate a transitional space—from exterior to interior, open air to covered, profane to sacred (Yon 1996:407). The space opposite the pillared temple entrance was occupied initially by an olive press, interpreted as an income generating activity for the temple (Yon 1996:412). In its last phase of occupation, this area was reorganized as an open courtyard in front of the building's entrance.

Entrance to the central room of the building was not along the central axis but from the northwest corner of the room. One entered the main hall through an offset doorway that led, via a side room, down several steps. Features within the room included a stone platform, constructed as a series of steps built against the east wall of the room, and benches lining the north and west walls. From the southeast corner of the room, a passageway lead to a series of rooms built along the east side of the main hall. This eastern annex consisted of two complexes. The first one reached was divided by eastwest oriented partition walls into three distinct spaces. This area then lead into a second complex, whose space was divided between a courtyard in the south and a row of two rooms built along the north side of the courtyard and accessed from it. Yon associated these rooms with the main building to the west and suggested that they may have had some "utilitarian purposes" (1996:411). She posited that there may have been a second entrance to the temple from the east, which led directly into this courtyard, with the side rooms serving as reception areas.

Seventeen rhytons were found, concentrated outside the columned entrance to the temple and in the auxiliary room on the east. Conical rhytons, open at the top and usually pierced at the bottom, are considered to have had a cultic function, possibly used to funnel a beverage, maybe barley beer or wine (Tzedakis and Martlew 1999) from one container to another (Betancourt 2001:147). The seventeen recovered from the Temple of the Rhytons at Ugarit, represent all of the Rhytons found so far at Ugarit (Yon 1996). It is this distribution of artifacts, which included both "normal luxurious furnishings...[and] objects more specifically related to sacred sites" (1996:414), as well as the organization

of space and the significant differences seen between the Temple of the Rhytons and the other temples at Ugarit, which allowed Yon to suggest that this building was used as a locale for feasting activities.

It is very interesting that this temple was located in the middle of a residential zone, and especially that the main room was attached to buildings which could be used for reunions; but the space is limited, and these reunions must have been small. This is why we think that this complex was reserved as a meeting place for an association, perhaps the *marzihu* (Yon 1996:416).

The similarities between Building 351 and the Temple of the Rhytons are striking (Fig. 7.12). To summarize, these include: (1) a wide, central threshold, (2) orientation of access through an offset entrance, (3) broad room structure of the main hall, (4) steps in the northwest corner of the hall, and (5) additional auxiliary rooms built on the east. Although no side entrance room was found in Building 351, steps in the northwest corner are suggestive of an unexcavated room to the west. The built-in features within Building 351 were not well preserved, but there is some evidence to suggest that various platforms and/or benches were originally built in the main hall. Additionally, although the southeast corner of Room d was not preserved, an alternative reconstruction could allow passage from Room d into Building 353. Furthermore, remnants of rows of flagstones in the southern area of Building 353 could have originally partitioned this area into zones, similar to that seen in the auxiliary eastern rooms of the Temple of the Rhytons. Although some of these reconstructed parallels are highly conjectural, it does suggest an interesting reconstruction for Building 351 at Tel Miqne-Ekron, and presents one interpretation of how the western (Building 351) and eastern (Buildings 353 and 354) may have been interconnected in function.

Temple of the Rhytons, Ugarit. (After Yon 1996) Tell Migne-Ekron, Field IV, Stratum VI. Buildings 351, 353, Illustration 7.12

Fig. 7.12 Comparison of the Temple of the Rhytons, Ugarit with Building 351, Tel Miqne-Ekron

Feasting Amongst the Philistines at Ashdod

In light of the discussion (Chapter 6) of the elite nature of the Ashdod structures, one should note the recent reinterpretation by Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau of the Stratum XIIIb buildings in Area G (Bunimovitz 1999; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau

2002). They reconstruct the occupation area, including Ben-Shlomo's "elite residence" in the south, as well as M. Dothan and Porath's "potter's workshop" (locus 4106)³⁰⁵ and the store rooms to the north, as one large building complex, subdivided between a public/official unit in the south and a service area in the north. They interpret the northern service rooms as the locus for food preparation and storage, with the main cooking area located outdoors to the north of the complex, in the area described by M. Dothan and Porath (1993:54-55) as an open air cultic installation. In their reconstruction, the prepared victuals were transported to the southern complex where they were served in the main hall, possibly in contexts of feasting rituals, in a manner similar to activities associated with elite residences in the Aegean (Bunimovitz 1999).

Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau (Bunimovitz 1999152-154; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002) based their reconstruction on differences in architectural styles and in the distribution of artifacts and features between the northern and southern complexes. The northern rooms represent a complete change in architecture and organization of space from the Stratum XV-XIV "Governor's Residence" as reconstructed by M. Dothan and Porath (1993). Above what had been the formal columned entranceway and side rooms of the "Governor's Residence" were built a series of thin-walled, small, non-communicating rooms, separated from the southern wing by a narrow alleyway. The southern wing, on the other hand, continued to be built of massive, thick walls, strongly influenced by the architecture of the earlier Stratum XV-XIV structures below. Yasur-Landau (2002) suggested that the newcomers to Ashdod in Stratum XIII adapted the

³⁰⁵ See Chapters 4 and 6 for additional problems with the identification of this area as a potter's workshop.

earlier building, creating a local style of korridorhause, ³⁰⁶ a building style with which the immigrants were familiar and which to them represented an elite style dwelling, with reception halls to receive guests and host feasts in Aegean-elite style. Bunimovitz (1999:153) reinterpreted both the rectangular fire installation, 4328, in the center of the 'courtyard' and the one to the north of the "service rooms" (4242), which was initially described by M. Dothan and Porath as "cultic" (see above), as hearths similar to those known from domestic contexts in the Aegean. He associated hearth 4242 with a cooking area, and reconstructed hearth 4328 as the focus of communal feasting and banqueting.³⁰⁷ Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau (2002) suggested that the "monumental" wing was used for banquets, with the large 'courtyard' functioning as a communal room, comparing it to a similar spatial arrangement at Maa-Palaeokastro on Cyprus. They describe the building at Maa-Palaeokastro as "a domestic unit containing a large hearth room which may be conceived of as a Mycenaean assembly hall in the Homeric sense, namely, a spacious room for communal dining, drinking, and banqueting and storey telling" (Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002:216).

While their reconstruction is tempting, their re-creation of activities, based on their analysis of the distribution of the finds at Ashdod, is problematic. At Maa-*Palaeokastro* the hearth room contained evidence supporting communal eating and drinking activities. At Ashdod, however, Bunimovitz stated that their hypothesis was supported, not so much on the residue of activities found in the monumental, southern

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³⁰⁶ See Chapter 6 for discussion of elite buildings at Tel Miqne-Ekron and *korridorhause*.

³⁰⁷ Although in the first part of his article, Bunimovitz uses the material from Maa-*Palaeokastro* to differentiate between hearths used for cooking versus those used for heating activities (1999:150), he does not suggest a similar interpretation with the Ashdod material.

wing, but on the evidence of services associated with the north wing, as well as its more modest construction in comparison to the south wing (1999:152-154). Unfortunately, the data provided by M. Dothan and Porath (1993) is very limited in terms of both quantity and location of artifacts. While acknowledging this limitation, Bunimovitz commented on the discovery of a grinding stone found near the cooking area in the north, and remarked that cooking vessels were found primarily in the northern wing, with only a few stray sherds lying in the vicinity of hearth 4238 in the southern monumental wing.

Bunimovitz's analysis was based on only seven sherds³⁰⁸ of cooking vessels that were illustrated by M. Dothan and Porath (1993: Fig. 17:3-6 and 23:5-7),³⁰⁹ both local Canaanite style cooking pots (n = 2) and Aegean style cooking jugs (n = 5). These come from a variety of find-spots: two (one of each type of cooking vessel) were recovered from the "cooking" area to the north; three cooking jugs were found in the northern "service" wing; one cooking pot was in the alley between the wings; and one cooking jug came from the main 'courtyard'/reception hall of the southern wing. While more cooking vessel sherds were found in the northern wing (n = 5) than the southern (n = 1), based on my analysis of the pottery assemblage from Tel Miqne-Ekron (see above), the sample of cooking vessels presented here is too small to determine where cooking activities took place (See Chapter 5). In a similar manner, Bunimovitz suggested that almost all of the

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³⁰⁸ Bunimovitz (1999:153) cites a number of examples of cooking jugs from M. Dothan and Porath's report. Of these, I could not locate the one referenced as Fig. 11:1 in M. Dothan and Porath (1993). Additionally, the example referenced as Fig. 15:5 is described by M. Dothan and Porath (1993) as a "jug." Although it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between cooking and non-cooking jugs, especially from drawings, and even more so before these vessels were commonly recognized at Philistine sites, given the small diameter of this particular example and the difference in ware description in comparison to the other referenced cooking jugs in Fig. 17:4-5, I would suggest that it is probably not a cooking jug.

At this point, it is impossible to determine the total number of cooking vessels found or if this sample is in any way representative of the total assemblage.

loomweights and spindle whorls were found in the northern wing. Of the nine spindle whorls³¹⁰ listed in M. Dothan and Porath (1993: Fig. 13:14-15, 17 and 18:3-7), 6 were noted as found in the alley between the two wings of the building. Only three loom weights are mentioned in M. Dothan and Porath's report, all of which are of the Aegean style. They were all found together in one room of the northern wing. While this location may be significant, it is difficult to reconstruct a loom in this area based on the find of only three loomweights (see above, also Barber 1991). Additionally, there is no way to know, given the little information at hand, whether these loomweights were found in an area of use or in storage (Barber 1991:102).

Although Bunimovitz's spatial analysis of artifacts is weak, his and Yasur-Landau's re-interpretation of the Iron I Ashdod potter's workshop is interesting, if not totally convincing. As initially described, the ceramic vessels, mostly bowls, which were found together in Locus 4106, "were arranged in rows and stood upside down as if after a washing" (M. Dothan and Porath 1993:54). M. Dothan and Porath (1993:12, 54) originally reconstructed this room as a potter's workshop, presumably based on the finding of this large group of whole and intact vessels, some of which were warped (see also T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004 and my study, Chapter 2), a possible kiln, and pieces of burnt clay found scattered over the room's surface. This interpretation has been used to bolster arguments for the co-production of Mycenaean IIIC:1 and local Canaanite tradition pottery (see, e.g., Ben-Shlomo 2003and my work, Chapter 2; T. Dothan and

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³¹⁰ A recent analysis has suggested that many spindle whorls have been incorrectly identified as such and should be more correctly termed "buttons" (J. S. Smith 2002:284, 292-292). Further research needs to address this topic.

Zukerman 2004). Alternatively, Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau reinterpret this room as a storeroom. In their reconstruction, they posit that this room, close to the monumental complex, is an area for storing serving equipment. Although I find this part of their argument less convincing, it is significant that Bunimovitz points out the lack of potter's tools or other production evidence, such as raw materials, pottery wheels, levigation vats and wasters (1999:153). I would add to this, as mentioned in Chapter 4, that the distinctive difference in manufacturing technologies between the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and local Canaanite pottery assemblages (Killebrew 1998b), which strongly suggests that the different vessel assemblages were not produced by the same potters, supports the idea that this was not the locus of a potter's workshop. Instead, I would propose that this cluster of vessels represents an integrated consumption system, whereby both bowl forms were equally available (e.g., Magness-Gardiner 1996:190; Steel 2004:173).

In summary, although I see difficulties in the analysis of their distribution of activities, and see no reason not to continue to assume that the large 'courtyard' in their 'monumental wing' was an earlier version of the Stratum XII "workshop" as initially described by M. Dothan and Porath (see Chapter 6), I concur with their approach both to discerning differences in the loci of activities and also contextualizing how these various activities were related (cf., Lupack 1999). Their reconstruction of a service area supporting large-scale functions in a more public area is similar to my conception of the

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³¹¹ Bunimovitz also states that no kiln was found (1999:153). M. Dothan and Porath mention an installation "resembling a kiln [which] could be discerned" in the wall, associated with Stratum XIIa (1993:54), but no further information is provided, making it difficult to comment on this feature.

³¹² Although not petrographically sourced, a glance at the ware descriptions for the bowls found together in this group (reported in M. Dothan and Porath 1993) might also suggest that different clay recipes were used, supporting the hypothesis that they were produced in different workshops (London and Sinclair 1991).

interconnected functions of Building 350 and Buildings 353 and 354. I also support their endeavor to reinterpret Locus 4106 as a storeroom and not a potter's workshop. Their attempts to contextualize the Aegeanized assemblage are important. Whereas others have suggested that the locally produced Mycenaean IIIC:1 wares represent an Aegean-style wine drinking set (Killebrew 1998b, c; Stager 1995), Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau are the among the first to address what the inclusion of this specific cultural repertoire within the Philistine immigrants' baggage might mean, placing these Philistine drinking fests as part of male bonding practices associated with warrior cults in a *proto-symposia* fashion (Bunimovitz 1999).

Conclusions

While the intra-site spatial patterns did not reflect stylistic differences, they did demonstrate limited evidence for different discard behaviors and formation processes. No spatial patterning could be seen in the difference in use between the Aegean wares and local wares. Given the small size of the area and the small sample of material in the earliest phases, the shifts from one stylistic form to another indicated a chronological and not necessarily spatial distinction.

Spatial patterns did demonstrate areas that could be defined by density of artifact concentration and by functional variability in ceramic assemblage. While on their own these patterns might be difficult to interpret, together with the evidence for the organization of space presented in the preceding chapters, one can use these differential distributions to reconstruct differences in (1) the use of space between interior, exterior

and 'courtyard' space, and (2) differences in function between the eastern and western building complexes. Furthermore, the accumulation of resources in the western building does seem to reflect the wealth of the inhabitants, but their intact preservation is more likely due to different formation processes than due to 'cultic' practices.

The architectural construction supports a conclusion that the western and eastern building complexes were interconnected, i.e. that the function of Buildings 353 and 354 was interwoven with the activities conducted in Building 351 and Building 350. These activities included elite dining, possibly feasting. Support for this interpretation comes from both the architectural and artifact analysis. It includes the reconstruction of Building 350 as an elite residence, with both public and private areas, and the large number of kraters found in association with this building complex, reflecting that activities conducted in Building 350 included an emphasis on the serving and consumption of food and/or drink.

In the next chapter, I will return to this idea, exploring further the evidence for feasting activities in association with the Philistine material culture. In particular, my focus will be on contextualizing these practices within a diachronic perspective as a means of exploring the use of material culture in the process of social change.

CHAPTER 8

ELITE STRATEGIES EXPRESSED THROUGH MATERIAL CULTURE CONSUMPTION

Introduction

Current reconstructions see the development of Philistine culture as reflecting processes of assimilation (T. Dothan 1983; 1998a:266-268; 1998b) and/or acculturation (Gitin 1995:79, note 61; 1998b, 2000; Stone 1995). In these models, the culture of the Philistines was impacted by a variety of external influences, among them Canaanite, Israelite, Phoenician and Egyptian. Some elements and technologies were borrowed; other artifacts were modified or replaced. Yet the population maintained a core sense of *Philistine-ness* that distinguished it from surrounding communities (Gitin 1995, 1998b, 2000; Stone 1995). Gitin (2000:61,70,72,75) describes this phenomenon as a "dual process" of both acculturation and continuing ethnic self-identity, and has outlined a number of examples of this two-fold progression in the Iron II period. Alternatively, I would argue that this two-pronged system, of adaptation on the one hand and of cultural

Recently Maeir has introduced the term "creolization" as a means for understanding this development (Ben-Shlomo, *et al.* 2004:20, 28; Maeir 2004). He defines this idea, which is borrowed from sociolinguistics, as an ongoing process by which "hybrid" cultural characteristics are created under the influence of an, usually dominant, culture on an, usually dominated, culture (Ben-Shlomo, *et al.* 2004:20). The strengths of Maeir's terminology are his presentation of this transformation as a continuing process and his introduction of power relations into the interplay of cultural interactions (cf., Cusick 1998). Unfortunately, this latter concept does not impact his historical reconstructions, at least in the limited publications to which I had access. His final interpretations are little different than previous models, whereby the Philistine cultural transformation can be understood as "an on-going process in which unique Philistine attributes were combined with local elements" (Ben-Shlomo, *et al.* 2004:20), that included Phoenician influences and "gradually incorporated local Levantine aspects" (Ben-Shlomo, *et al.* 2004:28).

retention on the other, is actually two aspects of the same process (cf., Silliman 2005)—the dynamics of social negotiation and identity formation (cf., Wallace 2003)—and its influence can be traced already in the Iron I.³¹⁴

This chapter takes a contextual approach, using the method described by Peltenburg (1991:87), where he states that "Contextual analysis, therefore, means not just the spatial patterning and associations of deposits with buildings and other features, but also the evaluation of variation in the occurrence of similar articles." To move beyond the type lists of Philistine cultural traits, I propose shifting the focus to the context of artifact use as a means of investigating how objects are used as signifiers and in what social context they are employed (Emberling 1999; Hall 1995; Janusek 2002:37; Jones 1997). Jones suggested that "the expression of ethnicity may be confined to a limited range of stylistic attributes which have become associated with an ethnic referent, and these attributes may be actively *maintained* and *manipulated* in the negotiation of social relations" (1997:116, italics mine). Material signifiers may be intentionally curated or almost forgotten symbols may be renewed and exaggerated (e.g., Pool 1992:51-53). In addition, the attributes originally chosen may vary over time (Emberling 1999; Jones 1997:122-127).

By reconstructing variation as a dynamic and active process, I am creating an interpretive structure by referencing Jones' hypothesis that "Within a diachronic

³¹⁴ Uziel (2004) has suggested viewing this transformation as an internal process (see also Dever 1993:30 that "ethnic differences more often arise within a population group.") While an interesting suggestion, I hesitate to accept his conclusion that this process resulted in the formation of a Philistine identity only in the Iron II, and that the earlier Iron I cultural expression should be understood as "Proto-Philistine."

contextual framework it may be possible to pick up the transformation of habitual material variation into active self-conscious ethnic symbolism, and vice versa..." (1997:126). Viewing the stratigraphy of the early Iron Age at Tel Miqne-Ekron through this perspective highlights areas of dramatic change and points of enduring stability, demonstrating both cultural conservatism and innovation. This dichotomy is clearly seen during the timeframe spanning the period from Stratum VI to Stratum V. Chronological variation in artifacts is documented along multiple lines of evidence, for example, in architecture, decorated wares and cooking vessels. Many of these changes are focused on an elaboration of stylistic attributes, possibly in association with public displays, such as feasting activities. There is also compelling evidence, however, for the continuity in activities over time. One activity in particular, the use of foundation deposits, continues across the chronological divide between Strata VI and V. This ritualized practice, together with the changes in architecture and pottery, serves as an excellent opportunity for investigating how material culture was employed in the negotiation of social identity. In addition, the intra-mural interment of infant jar burials suggest these objects may play a role in asserting claims of legitimacy. A diachronic progression of these strategies at Tel Migne-Ekron finds ritualized activities involved in contexts expressing the negotiation of identity and ultimately the reinforcement of social power and authority (cf., Wallace 2003).

Architecture

Architecture, as a form of material culture, is a powerful means of conveying social messages (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994b; Samson 1990). Chronologically, significant changes in architecture occurred between Strata VI and V, with the construction of Building 350 over the earlier Building 351. Outlining these changes points to the maintenance of traditions in the organization of space and to an emphasis on continuity within an overall program of architectural elaboration.

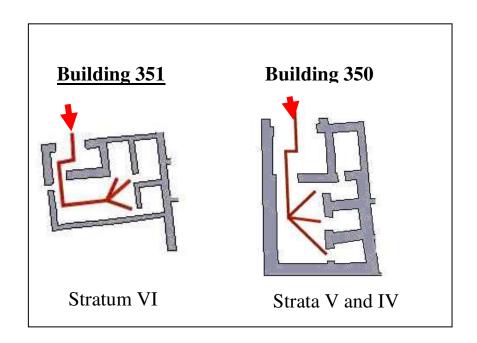
As discussed in Chapter 3, the earliest Iron Age occupation in Field IV, Stratum VII, was represented by two single room structures. The public character of the architecture is apparent almost from the inception of Iron Age occupation in this field at the beginning of the 12th century BCE. The wide, centrally located threshold of Building 352 allowed unobstructed visibility into the room's interior. In Stratum VI the area of occupation was greatly expanded. Building 351, which incorporated elements of the original single-unit structure (e.g., Building 352), was the first multi-unit structure built in this area. It served a partially public function, with wide open entryway, leading back to an area of more limited access. This building was composed of a formal, bench-lined entrance room, leading through an indirect axis to a pillared hall with three side rooms on the east. The pillared hall was built as a broad room. A screen, represented by a diagonal line of postholes across the entrance, may have blocked vision and possibly access into this area. A similar ground plan to the Temple of the Rhytons at Ugarit was suggested as a possible reconstruction for this building.

A pronounced change in architecture can be seen with the construction of Building 350 in the 11th century. In Stratum V, the earlier Building 351 was replaced by a monumental structure, whose thick walls, set on large stone foundations, reflect a major investment of resources. An entrance room was built at the front of the building, with a wide, central threshold demarcated by a flanked pairing of both inset piers and pillars. From the entrance room, one entered into a large hall, built on a north-south axis, with two centrally located pillars, a large platform, bench and pebble hearth. The plan of this hall, built as a long-room, differed completely from the layout of Building 351. A series of rooms lined the east side of Building 350, whose plastered walls and rich artifact set attest to the affluence of the building's inhabitants. Local parallels to this building style were noted to the north, and in particular at the Iron Age site of Ein Hagit. There a number of buildings interpreted as domestic residences were discovered that demonstrated a similar organization of space to Building 350. At the end of Stratum V, Building 350 was rebuilt from its foundations, and continued to function with only minor revisions through the end of Stratum IV. This long period of sustained development came to an end with the city's destruction and abandonment in the final phase of Stratum IV.

Building 350 buried and replaced the earlier Building 351. An initial comparison of the two structures highlights the differences in their construction and ground plan, yet there are many similarities between them. Both buildings are oriented along a north-south access, with entrance in the north. Although Building 350 is larger in scale and more elaborate in design than the earlier structure, the plan of the building reproduces many of

the features characteristic of the earlier Stratum VI Building 351 (Fig. 8.1). These include a wide, centrally located threshold and entrance room leading through an off-center doorway into a pillared hall that controlled passage to a series of smaller rooms along the east side.

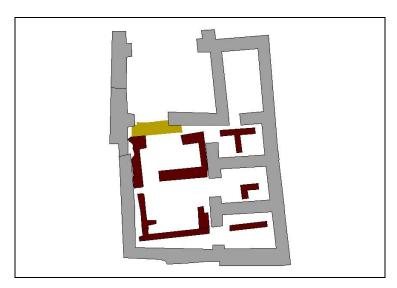
Fig. 8.1 Comparison of Buildings 351 and 350



An additional similarity is in the location of the threshold, which is retained from the earlier structure to the later one (Fig. 8.2). The position of this entry point marks the location of the original entrance to the one-room public structure of Stratum VII. It suggests that an idea of liminal or transitional space (cf., Dohmen 2001; Gheorghiu 2001; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994a) was maintained from the earliest building phase, which continued to be incorporated into the newer structures. In the early buildings

(Buildings 352, Stratum VII and 351, Stratum VI), this entryway controlled the separation point between exterior and interior areas. In the later buildings (Building 350, Strata V and IV), it demarcated access between public and private space.





While radically different in scale and construction, the architectural continuity of the elements of *access*, *orientation* and *organization of space*, over the course of at least three major building phases across a 200 year time period, suggests the intentional reproduction of a consistent architectural blueprint (e.g., Meijer 1989:333). Based on the distributional analysis of the associated artifacts and built-in features, and comparative architectural sample (Chapters 5-7) Building 350, and probably also Building 351, should be reconstructed as elite domiciles. Those resident in these buildings seem to have used construction episodes as a means of legitimizing their claim of succession by literally

building upon and monumentalizing the earlier structure, thereby expressing their inherited social power (cf., Nielsen 1995; Walker and Lucero 2000; Wallace 2003).

Decorated Wares

As described in Chapter 4, the earliest Iron I ceramic assemblage from Tel Miqne-Ekron was comprised of two discrete but contemporary potting traditions (T. Dothan 1987:202; 1998b:154; Killebrew 1998a, 2000). These can be differentiated from each other based on form, decorative style and, at least initially, technological style (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:3; Killebrew 1998a, b; 2000:244). The Mycenaean IIIC:1, or early Philistine, pottery was produced alongside the continuation of the local Canaanite ceramic traditions of the Late Bronze Age. The non-local character of the assemblage, in form and style, is related to ceramic traditions more commonly found in the Aegean world and in Cyprus (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:43-46; Killebrew 1998a; b:393-395; 2000). The later Philistine wares, or Philistine Bichrome, have been described as a development from the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and a continuation of the basic Aegeanized forms (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004). Although there are significant changes, both in surface treatment and manufacture, many of the original vessel forms and elements of the symbol system continue distinctly foreign traditions.

A typological comparison between the Philistine (both Mycenaean IIIC:1 and Philistine Bichrome) and Canaanite-style ceramic assemblages depicted a pattern of functional redundancy, whereby both cultural systems were individually producing a full

array of domestic vessels.³¹⁵ This supports the traditional reconstruction of an immigrant population settling at the site, reflected in the co-existence of two contemporary enculturative traditions,³¹⁶ one Aegean in origin and one of local descent (see also Yasur-Landau 2002:182 for a similar conclusion). Additional support for the presence of foreign immigrants, whose domestic practices embody a non-local enculturative tradition, comes from the appearance of foreign style cooking and weaving tools.

A diachronic analysis of the ceramic assemblage pointed to variation over time in consumption practices, expressed in both vessel form and style. The overwhelming majority of decorated wares in the earliest Iron I occupation (Strata VII-VIB) fell within the Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic repertoire. A chronological development in decorated tablewares was noted from the initial consumption of Mycenaean IIIC:1 vessels in Stratum VII to the use of the later Philistine-style vessels in Stratum VI, including what is traditionally defined as Philistine bichrome (see also T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:3). Morphological variation between the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and Philistine bichrome pottery suggested a shift in production systems, as the vessel forms produced in the later Philistine wares replicated those initially produced in the Mycenaean IIIC:1 assemblage. Both the manufacture (Killebrew 1998b) and production (London 1984) of Philistine bichrome pottery differed from the Mycenaean IIIC:1 wares, and demonstrated an affinity with the local Canaanite production strategies (see Chapter 4). Therefore, the

³¹⁵ See Yasur-Landau (2002:178, 181-182, 255-256) for the argument that the early Philistine ceramic assemblage represents the full range of Aegean domestic vessels.

³¹⁶ For a similar example see Stein (2002).

continuity in vessel form and motif from the Mycenaean IIIC:1 to later Philistine pottery suggests that these later vessels were an intentional reflection and continuation of the Aegean style morphology and symbol system.

Contemporary with the major construction period in the 11th century (Stratum VC), however, serving vessels, as well as pouring vessels and specialty containers, became a more significant part of the ceramic vessels produced in the Philistine style. While serving vessels formed only a small percentage, approximately 2-3 percent, of the Mycenaean IIIC:1 wares in Strata VII-VIB, decorated kraters comprised 22-25 percent of the consumption of Philistine style vessels in Strata VIA-VC/B (see Chapter 4, Figs. 4.7-4.9). A cross-assemblage comparison particularly highlighted the prominent role played by the later Philistine-style kraters (see the figures in Chapter 4, especially Fig. 4.11b). These patterns inidiate a change in the use of the Philistine-style wares, from a domestic assemblage to one whose focus on decorated serving containers implied that it functioned as fine tableware. As demonstrated in Chapter 7, a spatial distribution of vessel forms pointed to a greater percentage of kraters in association with monumental Building 350 than in any of the other structural units in this area. These data suggest that the demand for the later Philistine pottery was focused on decorated serving wares for a resident elite.

Consumption of decorated Philistine wares is no longer focused on replicating domestic equipment and patterns of household use, as in the earlier phases of settlement, but reflects a shift towards large-scale serving and supra-household consumption, using vessel forms which may symbolically promote the maintenance of traditional identities.

The hypothesis that the later Philistine wares were associated with non-household events can also be substantiated by the spatial distribution seen at Tel Qasile, Stratum X, where Philistine bichrome pottery was only found in the Temples and buildings of Area C and not with the domestic residences of Area A (Mazar 1985b:123).

Eventually, consumption of the later Philistine wares was superseded by the production of fine ware vessels decorated in a red slip. The red slipped ceramic assemblage reproduced almost the entire functional range of ceramic forms present in the Philistine ceramic repertoire (compare Chapter 4, Figs. 4.9 and 4.10), including many of the specialty pouring and serving containers. The red-slipped ceramic assemblage has also been described as a fine or prestige ware (Ben-Shlomo, *et al.* 2004), ³¹⁷ and in the present context can be interpreted as a functional replacement for the later Philistine decorated pottery assemblage. Over time, increasing emulation and the wider distribution of the Philistine-style vessels required that the symbols marking status were renegotiated, promoting the influx of a new style of elite dining wares (e.g., Dietler 2001).

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³¹⁷ Based on the limited quantities, distribution and the "time- and/or energy-consuming manner" in which these vessels were manufactured, Ben-Shlomo, Shai and Maeir suggest that *LPDW* or Late Philistine Decorated Ware (see Chapter 4, footnote 64) was seen as "prestige," 'fine,' or 'luxury' ware" (2004:20, 29-30). They conclude that *LPDW* played a different socio-economic, symbolic and functional role than the Iron I Philistine decorated wares, thereby also suggesting that the earlier Philistine decorated wares did not function as elite fine-ware. Alternatively, based on the data presented above, I suggest that *LPDW* vessels functioned in similar contexts to the Philistine decorated wares of Tel Miqne-Ekron Stratum V-IV and replaced the Philistine wares as symbols of elite status.

Cooking Vessels

At Tel Miqne-Ekron, cooking wares can be used as a baseline for modeling change. The presence of a foreign style cooking vessel, with its implications of foreign cooking methods and cuisine (Killebrew 1999:106-108), as well as foreign women in the kitchen (Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002:214, 216; Yasur-Landau 2002:237, 255), at sites associated with the initial phase of Philistine settlement, has been one of the primary criteria attesting to the arrival of immigrants (e.g., Barako 2001; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996; T. Dothan 1995, 1998b; Stager 1995; Yasur-Landau 2002).

The cooking vessel was a redundant functional form that appeared contemporaneously in both the local and Philistine ceramic repertoires. Its implication for the coexistence of two distinct enculturative traditions lends credence to the traditional position of Philistine migration (cf, S. T. Smith 2003; Stein 1999). To review, the Aegean-style cooking jug and the local style Iron Age cooking pot are very different in manufacture and form (Killebrew 1999). The cooking pot is a large, round-bottomed open vessel that develops locally from the indigenous Late Bronze Age cooking traditions. The Aegean (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:29-30; Yasur-Landau 2002118) or Cypriot (Killebrew 1999:93-95; 2000:242-243) cooking jug is a closed vessel with a

³¹⁸ Alternatively, Sherratt suggested that the foreign style cooking jug may have had "some industrial function and /or may represent the spread of some Cypriot practices and equipment as a result of close economic and cultural interaction with that island ..." (1998:303). At the moment there is little evidence that the cooking jugs were used in non-domestic contexts. The dominance of the cooking jug as the predominant cooking vessel in Strata VII and VI supports the traditional interpretation of population immigration. See also T. Dothan (1998b), Barako (2001) and Yasur-Landau (2002) for a similar viewpoint. ³¹⁹ For the complete discussion of cooking wares, see Chapter 4.

restricted mouth, a flat bottom and generally one, although sometimes two, small handles. As Killebrew stated "Typologically, these two cooking pot types can be identified with two very different groups of potters and consumers - Type I [cooking pot] with the indigenous population of Canaan, and Type II [cooking jug] with a new population group whose origins lie to the west and is identified with the biblical Philistines" (1999:95).

The transition between the Aegean style cooking jug and the local style cooking pot reflects, in part, a chronological difference (See Fig. 4.4). Over time, the local cooking pot style replaced the foreign cooking jug as the dominant cooking form. This has traditionally been viewed as a measure of cultural assimilation. I would suggest, however, that we must take into consideration the context in which these vessels were found in order to understand the chronological significance of the shift in cooking container styles. Initially, the overwhelming prevalence of the foreign style cooking jugs occurred in conjunction with the use of a Mycenaean IIIC:1 domestic pottery assemblage, lending strong support to the hypothesis that cooking jugs reflect foreign domestic traditions associated with an immigrant population. But the continuity of manufacture and use of the Aegean style cooking jugs long after the discrete production of Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery ceases suggests that the two consumption systems did not continue to function in similar contexts.

Aegean-style cooking jugs were initially produced as part of the early Philistine/
Mycenaean IIIC:1 domestic ceramic assemblage, but their production clearly continued
beyond the end of Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery production (VII-VI), and was commensurate

with the production of later Philistine/ Philistine bichrome wares (VI-V), a point also noted in T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004:30). The technological analysis of Aegean-style cooking jugs (Killebrew 1998a, b, 1999) documented that, while similar to the Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic production in that they were manufactured on a fast wheel (Killebrew 1999:106) and reflect a technological style that is different than their local counterparts, the cooking jugs also demonstrate a different clay recipe than the contemporary Aegean-style vessels (Killebrew 1998b:400; 1999:106). This suggests that cooking jugs were manufactured along a different, although probably related, organization of production than the other Philistine wares.

Both the archaeological and ethnographic literatures suggest that cooking vessels often traveled within their own production and distribution systems (e.g., Crowfoot 1932; Franken 1974:89-90; Franken and London 1995; Haiman and Goren 1992; Henrickson 1995; Landgraf 1980; London 1999; London and Sinclair 1991; Mason and Cooper 1999; Stark 2003). Because of this cooking vessel manufacture is often considered to be

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³²⁰ It is interesting to note the differences in clay recipe between the Mycenaean IIIC:1 vessels, which include "large quantities of finely crushed calcite (as much as 30% of the paste)" (Killebrew 1998b:400), and the cooking jugs, which were "[t]he only cooking vessel that did not use a calcite temper" (Killebrew 1999:106). In cooking vessels, the addition of crushed calcite is understood as a method for enhancing resistance to thermal shock (Rice 1987). Its relatively low coefficient of thermal expansion is viewed as more effective than quartz tempers (West 1992). It is therefore somewhat surprising that crushed calcite was not added to the cooking jugs, given the use of crushed calcite in the non-cooking wares in the Aegean assemblage. Killebrew (1999:106) suggested that the lack of crushed calcite in cooking jugs may be a function of differences in formation techniques between the local, hand-made, cooking pots and the wheelmade cooking jugs, a hypothesis that finds support from other examples of wheel-made cooking jugs which, like the Aegean-style cooking jugs, had a quartz-sand temper and not a crushed calcite temper (Vilders 1992). This hypothesis, however, seems problematic given the fact that large quantities of crushed calcite did not hinder the production of the wheel-made Mycenaean IIIC:1 wares. One wonders if the Philistine potters were either unaware of the technological properties of crushed calcite, which seems unlikely given the long chronological timeframe in which calcite was used as temper in cooking vessels, or preferenced different performance characteristics. This is an interesting area for further research.

relatively isolated from outside influences, whose effect may have been felt in other parts of the ceramic industry (Franken and London 1995; Stark 1999). The distinct organization of production for cooking jugs therefore lends support to the pattern demonstrated here, i.e., that cooking jug manufacture continued even after the Mycenaean IIIC:1 vessels were no longer being produced.

Conservatism and a resistance to change seen in cooking vessel styles is a relatively well-known phenomenon (Rice 1987:459-468). In the ethnoarchaeological and archaeological literatures, cultural conservatism in the manufacture of utilitarian vessels, including cooking pots, is at least partially related to technological demands and manufacturing processes (Franken and London 1995; Stark 1999). These include: technofunctional considerations based on optimizing performance characteristics (J. M. Skibo and Schiffer 1995), manufacturing styles which promote conservatism in motor skills (Schiffer and Skibo 1987; Stark 2003:212), production and distribution networks (e.g., Kalentzidou 2000) and traditional learning frameworks (e.g., Blinkhorn 1997; Kalentzidou 2000). Cooking pot production is often a specialized, although sometimes expedient, task requiring knowledge of a specific clay recipe (Henrickson 1995; McGovern 1997; Vilders 1993). An additional factor, although not necessarily relevant in the present context, is that cooking vessels are often handmade and associated with household production (Owen 1976), a production mode that is generally seen as inhibiting change (Rice 1987:460). The effect that cooking vessel style has on food flavor is also an important influence for maintaining conservatism in cooking vessel manufacture and distribution (e.g., Kalentzidou 2000; Rice 1987).

A strong traditionalism extends to the broader field of cooking technologies for many of the same reasons. Although Crown (2000) distinguishes between diet and cuisine, she demonstrates that both are conservative in nature. From an early age, people profess strong predilections for certain tastes and evince culturally learned likes and dislikes, noticeable both in terms of food preferences and in social styles of food consumption and presentation. Common foodways, including cooking methods and cuisine, suggest shared cultural norms (e.g., Harbottle 1997). Food preparation activities are habitually learned in domestic settings within kin-based frameworks, which tend to reinforce traditional norms (Crown 2000).

At Tel Miqne-Ekron, the continuation of cooking jug use into Stratum VB/C, however, denotes a different pattern than the continuity of conservative domestic consumption practices. The largest number of cooking jugs appears in Stratum VI, in conjunction with the peak in the number and variety of forms produced in the Philistine styles. This is followed by a sharp decrease in the quantity of these vessels from Stratum V through Stratum IV. While one could suggest that cooking jugs in contexts postdating Stratum VI are intrusive and not contemporary, and therefore should not be included in this study, it is important to note two additional pieces of evidence:

- 1. A 2-handled variant of the cooking jug appears only in Stratum V contexts (n = 4 in VC and n = 1 in VB). Except for the addition of the second handle, morphologically they resemble the one-handled cooking jug. Two handled cooking jugs also appear in the Ashdod ceramic assemblage (M. Dothan and Porath 1993:fig. 17:4,5, fig. 23:5,6; T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:28). Their sudden appearance in Stratum V at Tel Miqne-Ekron suggests either the continuation of on-site manufacture into Stratum V or local trade (with Ashdod?).
- 2. Five out of six whole, intact or almost whole ³²¹ cooking jugs were found in Strata VIA through VB contexts (1 in VIA, 2 in VC and 2 in VB). Whole and intact vessels were relatively rare within the Tel Miqne-Ekron ceramic assemblage, ranging from only 1 to 10 percent of the assemblage in each stratum. ³²² The rarity of whole and intact vessels in earlier strata emphasizes the unusual nature in which these particular cooking jugs were discarded, and points to the relative importance of cooking jugs into Stratum V. The preservation of these vessels intact might reflect their status as heirlooms, a rather unusual quality for cooking wares, but one which would strengthen the argument that cooking jugs in later contexts were considered utensils of worth.

These two points suggest that there was a continued, although possibly limited, demand for Aegean-style cooking jugs in Stratum VB/C. Therefore, I suggest that cooking jug use was discontinued only at the end of Stratum V, concurrent with the major re-building episode in Stratum VA and the increasing dominance of the Red-Slipped decorated tablewares.

³²² Only one phase, Stratum IVA, had a high percentage of intact vessels, approximately 28 percent. It corresponds with the final Iron I occupation and its differential discard pattern reflects the manner in which the site was abandoned at that time. Therefore it was not included in the analysis of cooking vessels presented here. See chapter 7.

³²¹ The Iron I ceramic assemblage from Field IV lower was characterized by a very low rate of whole and/or restorable vessels. Most of the material included in the quantification study was non-joinable sherd fragments, with only a small percentage of rim arc preserved. Based on a polymodal distribution of preserved rim arc, I included cooking vessels with more than 50 percent of the rim preserved as 'almost-whole.'

I propose that the role of the cooking jug evolved from a utensil originally integrated within the quotidian domestic consumption needs of immigrants, and transformed into a vessel associated with feasting practices, together with new consumption patterns associated with the decorated Philistine pottery. This transformation in the meaning ascribed to the Aegean-style cooking jugs, from a vessel associated with the daily domestic activities of immigrants to a vessel used in diacritical feasting practices expressing cultural and/or social identity, was concomitant with the changes in architecture and in fine wares that can be seen with the advent of construction at the beginning of Stratum V. Support for this hypothesis is the continued demand for cooking jugs into Stratum VB/C, suggested by the introduction of the 2-handled form and the preservation of cooking jugs, possibly as heirlooms.

Further evidence for this transformation in the meaning of cooking jugs, from domestic tools to social symbols, comes from a foundation deposit, found at Ashkelon. The Ashkelon foundation deposits consisted of the bones of a puppy buried in an Aegean-style cooking jug. The context of the foundation deposit was contemporary with the bichrome pottery phase (L. Stager, pers. comm., July 2004). A puppy burial was also found at Tel Miqne-Ekron, interred with its head placed between its legs (T. Dothan 2003:209, note 18; Meehl, *et al.* forthcoming). Recent analysis of the faunal remains from Ashkelon and Tel Miqne-Ekron suggests that, in addition to pig, the inhabitants were also butchering dogs, a custom seen in the Aegean but not associated with local cultural traditions (B. Hesse, pers. comm., April 2000; see also T. Dothan 2003). The

circumstances in which the Tel Miqne-Ekron and Ashkelon puppy burials were found, however, suggest ritualized contexts and not the remains of an everyday meal. The association of an Aegean-style cooking jug with the burial implies that these vessels, in later contexts, may have attained a symbolic status.³²³

The long-term maintenance of cuisine and cooking vessel styles may be interpreted as expressions of generational (e.g., Kalentzidou 2000), economic (e.g., Kalentzidou 2000; Lyons and D'andrea 2003), social (Blinkhorn 1997; Crown 2000; Spielmann 2004), as well as cultural (e.g., Crown 2000; Harbottle 1997; Lister and Lister 1989; Lyons and D'andrea 2003; McKee 1987) identities. Additionally, diet and cuisine can be markers of economic and social status (Crown 2000), as well as religious, and may be used in mechanisms of group inclusion or exclusion (Harbottle 1997; Wills and Crown 2004). At Tel Migne-Ekron, the long-term use of cooking jugs would have required either the maintenance of these vessels or their continued manufacture even while other foreign-style production systems were adapting to changing circumstances. The long life of the cooking jug style was commensurate with the sharp increase in the number of Philistine style decorated kraters. The increasing number of Aegean style kraters from Stratum VII into Stratum V, and specifically the high percentage of Philistine bell-shaped kraters in the early phases of Stratum V, in conjunction with the reconstruction of the public buildings as loci for feasting activities (see Chapter 7),

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³²³ One cannot ignore the hypothesis that the cooking jug in the Ashkelon deposit might have simply been a convenient container for the burial. Until more is published of its findspot, as well as that of an additional puppy burial at Ashkelon, which was also interred in a cooking jug (L. Stager, pers. comm. July 2004), this hypothesis cannot be further evaluated.

supports a conclusion that the demand for the later Philistine pottery was focused on production of fine table wares for a resident elite. Together with the cooking jug, Philistine cultural activities included communal feasting.

Feasting at Tel Miqne-Ekron

Recent anthropological studies have highlighted the dynamic role of competitive feasting and drinking rituals in contexts where issues of identity, status and social boundaries are expressed and negotiated (Bray 2003a; Dietler 2001; Mills 2004a).

Research has focused on the use of feasting and drinking rituals by elites to control production and establish alliances (Bunimovitz 1999; Dietler 1990, 2001; Joffe 1998, 1999; S. T. Smith 2003; Steel 2002b, 2004; J. C. Wright 1996, 2004a). Feasting is also associated with conscious expressions of identity and social boundaries, where it serves to create, legitimate or sustain power relations by incorporating elements that focus on both community and exclusivity (Bray 2003a; Dietler 2001; Janusek 2002; Mills 2004b; Phillips and Sebastian 2004). Its attendant rituals, including food preparation and consumption, are concentrated on publicly and visibly highlighting these relationships (Bray 2003a).

A model of elite dining, within possibly feasting contexts, fits well with what has already been deduced from previous studies of the late Philistine ceramic assemblage.

These include: (1) the Philistine wares were elaborately decorated, especially in comparison to the local Canaanite wares, (2) the Philistine ceramic assemblage was

comprised predominantly of open, tablewares, such as bowls and kraters, with a few specialized pouring vessels, and (3) the forms appearing in the Philistine repertoire included vessels which formed part of an Aegean-style wine drinking set (Killebrew 1998b:397).

S. Bunimovitz (1999) was one of the first to suggest the importance of a feasting ideology in the mythos of the Philistine immigrants, and to attempt to recognize the residue of feasting activities at Philistine sites. As discussed in Chapter 7, he compared differences in the distribution of serving and cooking vessels in order to suggest a separation of activities. He proposed that food preparation and vessel storage took place away from the main public areas of the Ashdod Area G building, where activities were focused on large-scale food consumption around a central, non-cooking-related hearth. Referencing the political role of Aegean feasting practices in building alliances, he suggested that Aegean-style banqueting, which he termed "proto-symposia," expressed an ideology that was "crucial to bolster obligations and alliances" (Bunimovitz 1999;xvi). The refuse of Aegean-style feasting practices in the Levant, appearing among the Sea People's ideological baggage, might therefore suggest the widespread dissemination of "this formerly restricted elite behavior following the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system and at its important socio-political role among the faction of warrior communities which fled out of the Aegean sphere" (Bunimovitz 1999;xvi). 324 Although Yasur-Landau

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³²⁴ In the context of Philistine drinking fests associated with male bonding practices and Aegean-style warrior cults, one should note Leonard's (2000) reinterpretation of the hedgehog vessels, one of the rare

(2002), contra Sherratt (1998) and Killebrew (1998b), has recently argued that the Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic assemblage included all the basic types represented in an Aegean domestic assemblage (see below), this does not preclude him from also including feasting rituals in his reconstruction of Philistine governance. In concert with Bunimovitz (1999), Yasur-Landau (2002) suggested that the idea of ritual drinking around the hearth, as one means by which a ruler demonstrated his power in the Aegean world of the Late Helladic IIIB and IIIC, may have been an ideology that the new immigrants brought with them to Philistia and duplicated in their new settlements.

Yasur-Landau's (2002) hesitation in accepting the idea that the Philistine ceramic assemblage replicated an Aegean style drinking set centers around the fact that one of the most common elements of the drinking set, the kylix, is extremely rare in the local Mycenaean IIIC:1 assemblage. For example, in Field IV Lower at Tel Miqne-Ekron, there were only three fragments, two in Stratum VIIA and one in Stratum VIB, that could be identified as kylikes (Zukerman and Gitin in preparation). Although Yasur-Landau suggested that the chalice could have been used as a functional replacement for the kylix (2002:181-182), the lack of chronological overlap between these forms does not support this hypothesis. As discussed in Chapter 4, the chalice, both in its local Canaanite and Philistine variants, begins to appear only in Stratum VIA. Always few in numbers, it is generally represented in the Tel Miqne-Ekron Field IV assemblage in a variety of relatively unique styles, both morphologically and decoratively, including a later red

specialty pouring vessels found in the Philistine ceramic assemblage (Ben-Shlomo 1999), as a symbol, not of death and resurrection, but of personal defense and bravery.

slipped style. The majority of examples (n = 18) are late and come from Stratum IV contexts. Other vessel forms that comprised the drinking set, such as strainer jugs, feeding bottles and stirrup jars are also limited in number. In Stratum VI when these vessel forms peaked in use, we could count thirteen stirrup jars, and seven each of the feeding bottles and strainer jugs. These vessel forms are far outnumbered by the quantity of Aegean-style bowls (greater than 300-400 in each of the phases of Stratum VI) and kraters (greater than 100 in each of the phases of Stratum VI).

My interpretation of these data suggests that, while the Mycenaean IIIC:1/ early Philistine pottery was primarily domestic in function, the amalgamation of elements seen in the later Philistine cultural assemblage (Bunimovitz 1990; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996; T. Dothan 1982, 1997a; Mazar 1985a) can be understood as an attempt on the part of the resident elite to create elaborate practices, expressing either communal solidarity or elite exclusiveness, accompanied by a distinctive ensemble of ceramic vessels (e.g., Bray 2003b:5-6; Steel 2004). It was in this context that the foreign-style cooking jugs continued to function. Together with the Philistine-style decorated pottery, the cooking jugs were used in feasting contexts that both referenced a shared cultural past and incorporated newer traditions (e.g., Wallace 2003). While cooking containers may not have been visible during the feast, their presence was implied by the special foods presented or the cooking methods employed, which may have been used only for

Yasur-Landau suggested that the cluster of vessels in Locus 4106 at Ashdod, in which were found 10 bowls, 3 kraters and 2 spouted jugs, may have represented a "set" of vessels for 10 people (2002:177, note 24). While the data from Tel Miqne-Ekron Field IV Lower provides similar frequencies, the lack of spatial correlation between these vessel types makes Yasur-Landau's hypothesis difficult to evaluate.

preparing foods consumed during feasts. As exemplified by the use of these vessels in feasting practices, there was a contextual change in the function and meaning of the late Philistine pottery, from the domestic pottery of immigrants to markers of wealth and power.

Lamp and Bowl Foundation Deposits

Two lamp and bowl foundation deposits have been discovered so far at Tel Miqne-Ekron. Deposits of this type, characterized by a lamp covered by a bowl or sandwiched between two bowls, are usually found at the base of or under walls, in the corners of rooms or below thresholds. Sometimes an additional bowl covers the assemblage, or other bowls or chalices are associated with the deposits (Bunimovitz and Zimhoni 1993). Both of the examples from Tel Miqne-Ekron were found in Field IV Lower, related to construction episodes associated with the large public buildings 351 and 350. The earliest deposit (IVNW.7032) was linked to the construction of Building 351 in Stratum VIB. It was found below a beaten earth surface in the area immediately exterior to the southern wall of the building (Area 362). The second lamp and bowl deposit (IVNW.23026), laid during the initial construction of Building 350 in Stratum VC, was recovered from below the threshold surface in the area between *Rooms d* and *c*.

Bunimovitz and Zimhoni (1993) catalogued the lamp and bowl foundation deposits from the Southern Levant, including the two examples from Tel Miqne-Ekron, dating all of these types of deposits to a period stretching from the end of the Late Bronze Age to the early part of the Iron Age, i.e. between the 13th and the first half of the 11th centuries BCE (1993:121). They described the vessels in these deposits as "new" and unused, with no evidence of soot on the lamp. Typologically, they stated that these vessels were "common in daily use, and no unusual form was found among them" (1993:121).³²⁶

The Field IV Lower lamp and bowl deposits fit, both spatially and typologically, with the characteristics as compiled by Bunimovitz and Zimhoni (1993). The deposits were found below surfaces, either along the wall or near the threshold, and were characterized by the standard combination of spouted lamp, unused, and bowl or bowls. In opposition, however, to Bunimovitz and Zimhoni's (1993:121) claim that the vessels in these deposits were "common," the examples from Tel Miqne-Ekron point to the 'uncommonness' of the bowl forms represented and the very limited distribution of oil lamps.

The earlier deposit from Stratum VIB included a Canaanite-style round-sided painted bowl (type BL11) covering a lamp (type LMP2). The second, Stratum VC,

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³²⁶ Levy, in his interpretation of standardized deposits in Bronze Age Denmark, suggests that the buried items functioned as "an indivisible package or set and was probably used as such in its active life..." (1999:89). No study has as yet attempted to ascribe a function to the Levantine-style lamp and bowl foundation deposits, although it is intriguing to think about how these vessels sets may have functioned together. In the present context there seems no clear functional connection between the two vessel forms. It is plausible to suggest that the bowl or chalice functioned as a covering or lid, used to 'close' the lamp. Although the use of a bowl with drilled hole shown in an example from Lachish (Bunimovitz and Zimhoni 1993:105) may seem to negate this interpretation, it may also explain the need, in that particular example, for a second bowl base fragment, which covered the entire deposit. This is an interesting avenue for further research, but beyond the scope of the present study.

³²⁷ One of the bowls may display signs of use, reflected in a use-wear pattern that scraped paint from the interior, concentric circle decoration. Confirmation of this requires further analysis.

deposit consisted of two Canaanite-style round-sided painted bowls (type BL12), between which a lamp (type LMP1) was sandwiched. While neither of the bowl types found in these foundation deposits are rare in the Tel Miqne-Ekron ceramic assemblage, they are far from the most common forms. Local painted bowls make up approximately 15 percent of the total bowl assemblage in Stratum VIB and 9 percent of the bowl assemblage in Stratum VB. In comparison, Aegean-style bowls, such as bell-shaped bowls, are far more common, constituting approximately 45 percent and 42 percent, or almost half, of the bowls in these strata. Bunimovitz and Zimhoni suggested that the Tel Miqne-Ekron vessels were most similar to the bowl types found in the lamp and bowl foundation deposits from the nearby town of Beth Shemesh. Therefore, at Tel Miqne-Ekron, the adoption of bowl forms culled from the local Canaanite repertoire seems intentional. 328

Even more uncommon at Tel Miqne-Ekron are the presence of spouted oil lamps within the ceramic assemblage. In the Field X ceramic report (T. Dothan 1998c:21) lamps were noted as "rare." In Field IV Lower, eighteen (N_{min}) spouted oil lamps were recovered in the Iron I strata, concentrated in Stratum VI and the early phases of Stratum V (see Chapter 4). As discussed in Chapter 7, a variety of *ad hoc* lamps were the primary implements used for portable illumination. These were found evenly distributed across

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³²⁸ It is interesting that Aegean-style bell-shaped bowls were used in foundation deposits at Tell el-Hesi (Bunimovitz and Zimhoni 1993:111). Although the attribution of these bowls to the Mycenaean IIIC:1 ceramic family has recently been criticized (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:42), their use may also imply that 'uncommon' forms, i.e., Philistine-style as opposed to the more common local Canaanite-style, were used in foundation deposits at that site in a manner similar to that seen at Tel Miqne-Ekron.

the excavated area. Spouted oil lamps, on the other hand, were more circumscribed in their distribution, concentrated primarily in and around Buildings 351 and 350.

Therefore, it seems that spouted oil lamps were severely limited in their function and their use was restricted to specific buildings.

The chronological distribution of spouted oil lamps parallels the chronological range of the lamp and bowl foundation deposits. Five of the eighteen spouted oil lamps displayed evidence of use in the form of traces of ash or burning on the interior and/or nozzle. All of these five were dated between Strata VIIA to VC. Although the sample is small, it signifies that the use of spouted lamps for lighting corresponds with the timeframe in which spouted lamps appeared in foundation deposits.

Of the 57 total lamp fragments found [including one in Stratum IIA, Iron II (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming)], only eleven could be assigned to a type.³²⁹ From these

³²⁹ The following table represents the chronological distribution of lamps based on (a) those that could be assigned to a type (b) MNV and (c) total lamp fragments found (See Chapter 4 for typological definitions). These numbers represent the percentage of lamps found in each stratum based on the total number of lamps discovered. The first peak in the number of lamps corresponds to the time frame in which lamps were used. The second peak, seen in Stratum IVB in column 3, seems to be due to other factors and not related to lamp use.

Stratum	%	%	%
	Types	MNV	Total
	1 and 2		LMP
VIIB	0	0	2
VIIA	10	11	4
VIB	10	21	21
VIA	20	26	25
VC	20	21	20
VB	10	5	5
VA	10	5	7

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data, one can draw a number of conclusions: (1) these numbers confirm the rarity of lamps in the Field IV assemblage, (2) although the numbers are small, in the strata where lamp and bowl deposits appear, there seems to be a distinct correlation between lamps and their placement in foundation deposits. Additionally the 'intactness' of spouted oil lamps is related to its deposition in a foundation deposit. These deposits contain the only two lamps that were discovered intact. (3) The time frame in which lamps were used for lighting corresponds with the period in which they appear in foundation deposits. In addition to these points, neither of the two lamps found in the lamp and bowl deposits showed evidence of use.

Since neither the bowls nor the oil lamps seem "common in daily use," (Bunimovitz and Zimhoni 1993:121), I propose that the forms used in the Tel Miqne foundation deposits were drawn from a prescribed and recognized set of vessels, a 'toolkit', that was used specifically for foundation deposits. Significantly, this practice at Tel Miqne-Ekron does not demonstrate syncretism, for example the use of the more common Philistine bell-shaped bowls in place of the Canaanite-style bowls in these foundation deposits, as suggested by Barako (2001:202-203). ³³⁰ Instead, the exploitation of the

IVB	10	5	13
IVA	10	5	4

The two lamps found in the lamp and bowl deposit represent 18 percent of the total number of typed lamps and 11 percent of the total lamp MNV. Chronologically, foundation deposit 1 represents 100 percent of the typed lamps in Stratum VIB, 25 percent of the MNV lamps and 8 percent of the total number of lamp fragments found in that stratum. Deposit 2 represents 50 percent of the typed lamps in Stratum VC, 25 percent of the MNV lamps and 9 percent of the total number of lamp fragments found in that stratum.

'classic' lamp and bowl foundation deposit, with bowl forms drawn from the local Canaanite ceramic repertoire emphasized the standardized nature of the ritual and firmly tied it into local ideologies.

Bunimovitz and Zimhoni (1993) were not the first to recognize the phenomenon of "lamp and bowl" deposits in Canaan, or to identify them as foundation deposits, but the significance of their study was their interpretation of this ritual as a local, Canaanite adaptation of an Egyptian-style practice. They tracked these deposits to an area of Canaan that demonstrated strong Egyptian influence and placed this practice within the context of a number of other local modifications of Egyptian cultural practices during a period of strong Egyptian presence and power in Canaan (1993:123-124).³³¹ Whether or not we

³³⁰ Lamp and bowl foundation deposits were also discovered in 'Philistine strata' at Ashkelon (Barako 2001:202), but their stylistic attribution is, for the time being, problematic. Bunimovitz and Zimhoni (1993:112) cite three examples, found in courtyard surfaces dated to the Late Bronze II period. These consisted of lamps covered by chalices with broken stands placed upside-down over the lamps. Barako (2001:201) mentioned five additional examples of traditional style lamp and bowl foundation deposits dated to Phase 17, 11th century BCE. Unfortunately, references to specific vessel types are not given for these deposits. Barako (2001:202, note 11) cites only one vessel type, a bowl with red slip and burnish surface treatment. For the other examples, he seems to imply that the bowls used in the foundation deposits at both Ashkelon and Tel Migne-Ekron were of a similar style, the "typical 'S-shaped,' Philistine painted style" (2001:203). As the Tel Migne-Ekron bowls were definitely not Philistine style bell-shaped bowls Barako's description is problematic. His interpretation that this practice "was not adopted wholesale from the surrounding Canaanite material culture" (2001:203, italics mine) is difficult to accept, as is his point that, because the foundation deposits were buried, they "could not have acted as an ethnic marker, at least not in an outward, intergroup sense" (2001:203). He argues instead that "the form of the practice must have resulted from a utilization of the bowl type available, or it was an expression of ethnic identity strictly within the group" (2001:203). Alternatively, I argue that the bowl types used were of a very specific form and that the practice did function as a form of inter-group communication. Unfortunately, the wider implications of this point can only be clarified with additional publication of the Ashkelon material.

The Egyptian foundation deposits seem very different than the almost standardized "lamp and bowl" deposit of the Late Bronze and Iron Age in the Southern Levant, and even Bunimovitz and Zimhoni suggested that the relationship between the two deposit types was "enigmatic" (1993:124). Weinstein (2001) agreed with Bunimovitz and Zimhoni (1993) that the Egyptian and Canaanite foundation practices were related, although both studies emphasized the different types of objects used in the two regions.

accept the proposition that lamp and bowl foundation deposits reflect the adaptation of a formerly Egyptian ritual, the Late Bronze to Iron Age contexts firmly place this practice within the local Canaanite cultural world. Bunimovitz and Zimhoni's comment on the surprising discovery of lamp and bowl foundation deposits at the "Philistine" site of Tel Miqne-Ekron is therefore still a relevant question. As they remarked (1993:124),

The foundation deposits from Tel Miqne are equally fascinating. Their occurrence in a public building of cultic nature with distinct Philistine cultural traits attests to the preservation of a Canaanite cultural tradition, whose roots probably lay in the Canaanite population which occupied the site before the arrival of the Philistines.

Bunimovitz and Zimhoni's reconstruction suggests that, a generation or so after the arrival and settlement of the Philistines, when the dominant cultural material was Aegean/Philistine in orientation, the Canaanite presence reemerged as the prevailing power in the cultural mix. Their interpretation reflects an assimilationist perspective. In their framework, the use of lamp and bowl foundation deposits for dedicatory rituals by the resident elite implies that the minority culture of the Philistines was subsumed, already by the 11th century BCE, into the more powerful majority culture. In their reconstruction, we would expect to see a total reemergence of the local Canaanite culture as the dominant force at the site. The fact that a strong Philistine *ethos* continues into the

Bunimovitz and Zimhoni (1993:123) commented that, in the Egyptian foundation ritual, the artifacts "symbolised the actual process of construction" but there seems little in the materials associated with the 'lamp and bowl' deposit that is conducive of construction activities. Except for a similarity in location, which is one of the points emphasized by Bunimovitz and Zimhoni, but is also seen in Mesopotamian examples (e.g., Green 2000), the differences between the two types of foundation deposits argues for a different source of inspiration. This would be an interesting area for future research, but beyond the scope of the present work.

Iron II period (Gitin 1995, 1998b, 2000; Stone 1995) suggests that a different explanation may better explain the evidence.

An alternative hypothesis for understanding the use of lamp and bowl foundation deposits by the resident elite at Tel Miqne-Ekron suggests viewing the adoption of this Canaanite practice as a potential method for establishing the legitimacy of one's social and/or political position. Although Bunimovitz and Zimhoni could not identify a spatial association between building function and the placement of foundation deposits, their list of building types where foundation deposits were found includes: Egyptian forts, Governor's Residencies, public buildings and private houses (Bunimovitz and Zimhoni 1993:121-122). One could suggest that the common feature of these buildings is their association with authority. The rarity and limited distribution of lamps at Tel Miqne-Ekron, restricted to activities in and around the elite residences, supports this hypothesis.

The lamp and bowl foundation deposits at Tel Miqne-Ekron conform to a specialized and standardized artifact tool-kit. To symbolically legitimate their role, elites of foreign descent could choose to encourage the use of local symbols and rituals in an effort to downplay their 'foreignness' and enhance their commonality (e.g., Janusek 2002:53; Pool 1992:51-52). By absorbing local traditions associated with power and wealth, new leaders could provide a more palatable way for their legitimacy to be accepted, and at the same time emphasizing the legitimacy of their claim (Walker and Lucero 2000). Walker and Lucero conceive of this as a strategy whereby rulers can

"mask inequities by appropriating familiar cultural 'traditions' (2000:132). 332 This practice could have served as part of a successful method for legitimating the current power structure by referencing it to a locally known symbol of strength and influence. Stone suggested, in reference to Philistine acculturation strategies, that "Interaction and survival within the social, economic, and environmental world of the Levant simply demanded competence in Levantine forms of thought, belief, technology, and expression" (1995:298). Those using lamp and bowl foundation deposits at Tel Migne-Ekron seemed to be pursuing an intentional policy of framing their power in the guise of local rituals.

Krater Deposits

A second type of foundation deposit, consisting of a Mycenaean IIIC:1 bellshaped krater (see illustration in T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:19, Fig. 18:8), which was filled with fish bones and ash and contained a whole bowl, 333 was discovered in a foundation trench associated with the reconstruction of Building 350 in Stratum VA. This foundation deposit is functionally similar to the more traditional lamp and bowl style foundation deposits, but reflects an adaptation of the ritual and a move away from a standardized tool kit.

³³² See also Begg (1991) for a similar interpretation of the use of Cypriot figurines.

Unfortunately, neither the bowl nor the fish bones were available for typological or comparative analysis.

The stratigraphic attribution of this cache is unclear. Initially identified as a foundation deposit, it was reinterpreted as a surface find association with a Stratum VIA surface that was later cut by a Stratum VA foundation trench (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). Publication of this vessel in T. Dothan and Zukerman (2004:19, Fig. 18:8 and p.22, Fig. 24) as belonging to Stratum VIA reflects this reconstruction. Alternatively, my reexamination of the stratigraphy indicates that the original interpretation may be correct. This suggests that the krater deposit was laid in the foundation trench contemporary with the massive re-building of Building 350 in Stratum VA.

What makes the interpretation of this assemblage more likely to be a foundation deposit than a surface deposit? The interpretation of a Stratum VIA surface in this room is based solely on the finding of the whole krater, with the assumption that it must have been sitting on a floor (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). As mentioned previously, the nature of the ceramic assemblage in this area suggests that whole vessels were relatively rare in the Tel Miqne-Ekron ceramic assemblage. Out of a total MNV of 877 kraters, only eight of these could be considered whole and/or restorable vessels, and only an additional four percent of krater rim sherds had a preserved diameter of greater than twenty percent of the vessel. Based on the limited number of restorable kraters, and the few whole and/or intact vessels in general, I suggest that the recovery of whole vessels at Tel Miqne-Ekron is strongly affected by the original discard behavior. That is to say, the evidence of sherd recovery reflects that most of the vessels from Iron I loci in Field IV Lower were found in contexts of secondary and tertiary discard; the discovery of a few

clusters of whole vessels *in situ* suggests a primary depositional locus, one that was intentionally preserved intact during rebuilding episodes. This is a similar scenario to what was seen with the lamp and bowl foundation deposits, where the 'intactness' of the vessels was directly related to their placement as a foundation deposit. It seems highly likely that the discovery of a whole bowl inside a whole krater is related to an activity associated with a unique discard behavior. In this case I suggest the burying of a foundation deposit.³³⁴

The vessel cache, in which the krater was found, was deposited in association with the major rebuilding of Building 350 in Stratum VA, a complex already noted as associated with the residential elite (Chapters 6 and 7), as evidenced by its monumental architecture and rich artifact assemblage (T. Dothan 1998a; 2002:3-4). If this Aegeanstyle krater is defined as a Mycenaean IIIC:1 vessel in a Stratum VA context, than it is

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³³⁴ A "possible" krater foundation deposit was found in Field X (T. Dothan 2003:207; T. Dothan, et al. 1998a). Architectural finds in this excavation field are represented by a multi-room building complex, Building 200, built up against the city's fortification walls. This vessel cache, comprised of a Mycenaean IIIC:1 krater inside of which were found fragments of a spouted oil lamp, was found below a Stratum VIIA wall, in the corner where that wall intersected with the fortification wall. It was due to the presence of the lamp pieces that the excavators associated this deposit with the lamp and bowl foundation deposits already known from the literature (T. Dothan, et al. 1998a:21), although this ascription is not certain (S. Gitin, pers. comm.). In their report, the excavators assigned the krater deposit to the Stratum VIIB occupation (T. Dothan 1998c:21; T. Dothan, et al. 1998a:15; T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:17, Fig. 16:1), but, if correctly interpreted as a foundation deposit, it should be related to the construction of the Stratum VIIA wall, when the room was divided. Alternatively, this area, Building 200, Rooms c, a and b, in Stratum VII contained a relatively large quantity of whole and/or restorable vessels, including bowls and a store jar in locus 90023, and a basin and zoomorphic hedgehog vessel in locus 89013 (T. Dothan, et al. 1998a:15, where the basin is referred to as a "kalathos"). [Note that floor 89013 is described as a VIIB surface on page 15, but its finds are dated to Stratum VIIA (T. Dothan 1998c:21-23, and plates 3-4). This seems to suggest that the authors' original intent was to define the surface as having been in use during both strata, i.e., that page 15 should read "Stratum VIIB-A"]. These vessels, particularly the basin (only 1 whole example from Field X and $N_{\text{sample}} = 14$ from Field IV) and the hedgehog vessel, are relatively unique pieces, and may imply that this room had a special function. It is possible to suggest that the krater and lamp are not part of a foundation deposit but instead are associated with the same discard behavior and formation processes that created the unique assemblage of whole vessels in this building.

clearly an anomaly, possibly an heirloom, appearing as it does beyond the chronological timeframe for the production of Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery. Only a few additional examples of Mycenaean IIIC:1 vessels were found in Stratum V contexts (see also T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:4). All of them represent typologically and stylistically rare pieces in the Tel Miqne-Ekron ceramic assemblage. These include an elaborately decorated round-sided bowl (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:7, 9, Fig. 5:12), a small strap-handled bowl (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:10, Fig. 6:3) and a miniature bell-shaped bowl with a solid black interior (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:10, Fig. 6:8 and pp. 36-37). The uniqueness of these pieces suggests that their appearance in Stratum V contexts is unrelated to the earlier, Strata VII-VIB, domestic consumption pattern of Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery.

How can the Mycenaean IIIC:1 krater foundation deposit be understood, as it differs in almost every attribute from the standard lamp and bowl foundation deposit? The common theme, which essentially remains the same in all the foundation deposits, is the ritual activity itself, the burial of a deposit in association with major changes in building construction. Significantly though, the krater deposit reflects less of a need to follow the prescribed tool kit. In this instance, the traditional lamp and bowl deposit was replaced by a deposit containing a krater and bowl, indicating a more flexible attitude in the tools which could be used in the ritual practice. Peltenburg (1991:131) suggested that *variability* in the make-up of deposits may signify process of social change. He suggested that "Ritual evolves and is manipulated, hence a deeper appreciation of 'meaning' has to

be inferred from its contextual role in spatial and temporal terms." I propose that this flexibility allowed for manipulation and adaptation, by the elite, of the symbols and their associated references, presumably as a means to reinforce their social position.

In support of my argument, a couple of points should be mentioned: (1) Although, as noted above the sample of spouted lamps is small, the change in the tool-kit occurred simultaneously with a decrease in the use of lamps for lighting. The lack of soot-stained lamps in contexts post-dating the early phases of Stratum V implies that spouted oil lamps were no longer being used at this time. The decline in the use of lamps suggests a shift in signifier occurred, whereby kraters may have become more symbolically charged than oil lamps. (2) The deposition of this cache occurred at a time when kraters, and specifically Aegean-style kraters, were expressive of elite prestige associated with Building 350, possibly in contexts of feasting. Stratum VA represents the final use of Philistine-style pottery as emblematic of elite table ware. At this time, there is a widespread use of Late Philistine decorated pottery at sites beyond the boundaries of Philistia. An early Philistine or Mycenaean IIIC:1 'heirloom' vessel may have been both rare in the present context and meaningful to a larger audience.³³⁵

Transformation of ritual practices provides an important avenue through which to view processes of social change (Schachner 2001). In order to demonstrate alliances to a powerful external source, rulers may incorporate foreign cultural elements into their own practices (Dietler 1990; Joffe 1998; Steel 2004) as was seen with the use of the classic

³³⁵ Although one could suggest that this heirloom, now broken, had less functional value as a 'krater' and therefore was a convenient tool for use in a foundation deposit.

lamp and bowl foundation deposit, or alternatively maintain ties with a distant homeland by emphasizing symbols marking foreign descent (Pool 1992:53; Wallace 2003). This Mycenaean 'heirloom' krater, harkening as it does back to its Aegean origins, replaced the traditional lamp and bowl as the tool used in foundation deposits associated with the construction and renewal of monumental structures. This change reflects both an adaptation of the foundation ritual and a more flexible attitude, which allowed for a move away from the prescribed tool-kit. It occurred at a time when the site of Tel Miqne-Ekron in the Iron I was at its peak in size, and may reflect a change in strategy whereby it was no longer important to reference traditional symbols of Canaanite power and more beneficial to emphasize cultural origins. This flexibility enabled manipulation and adaptation of the symbols and their associated references—from artifacts signifying communal solidarity to those reasserting foreign origins—as a method of reinforcing social power (cf., Wallace 2003).

Jar Burials

In addition to the foundation deposits, Infant Jar Burials represent another instance of ritual deposition. Three jar burials³³⁶ were found in Iron I contexts in Field IV Lower (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming). These were interments of infants or young children³³⁷ buried in either whole jars or below large sherds of store jars. One was found

³³⁶ One additional burial was found in the southeast corner of the field but, as it was not associated with a jar, it is not included in this discussion.

The physical analysis of these burials was not available at the time of writing this report.

below a Stratum VIB surface in Building 355E. Unfortunately, this room was not fully excavated so the complete picture of its associated context is not known. Two others were discovered in association with Building 350. One in Stratum VC was laid below the threshold at the main entrance to the building. A small juglet was placed on the infant's hip (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming).³³⁸ In addition, a second store jar base filled with ash and small bones was found with the burial. The third jar burial, dated to Stratum VB, was also discovered within Building 350. It was interred in the staircase room,³³⁹ *Room f*, surrounded by concentrations of stones. This burial was not a typical jar burial, in that the body was not placed inside a jar. Instead the articulated skeleton was buried below sherds of a large store jar. No additional grave goods were found in association with the burial.

Jar burials, although common in the Middle Bronze Age (Bloch-Smith 1997; D. Ilan 1997),³⁴⁰ are relatively rare in the early Iron Age.³⁴¹ E. Bloch-Smith (1997:207-208) lists eleven sites in the north, along the coast, and in Transjordan with jar burials dated between 1200-1000 BCE. Most of these examples come from cemeteries where multiple burial styles were found. Outside of catalogues of burial practices and regional patterning

³³⁸ This arrangement is common to burials dating to the MBIIB-LBI/II and part of a funeral kit (Baker 2003).

³³⁹ The stratigraphical context of this area was less clear and it is possible to suggest that the construction fills associated with the interring of the burial were part of a rebuilding phase, when this area was no longer used as a staircase leading to an upper floor. See Chapter 3.

³⁴⁰ Four infant jar burials were also found in Middle Bronze Age strata in Field IV Lower (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming)

³⁴¹ Ilan suggested that continuity of intra-mural burial patterns into the Iron Age can be seen at sites in the lowlands which demonstrate cultural continuity (1997:385). His statement was probably meant only in comparison to the "Israelite" highland sites, where this burial technique was not practiced (1997:385), but it is interesting to note the presence of jar burials at Tel Miqne-Ekron where all evidence points to a major cultural break and change in demographics between the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. Might this be another example of the reassertment of local rituals in expressions of power and claims to legitimacy?

(Bloch-Smith 1992; Gonen 1992), little additional study has been directed towards exploring the intra-site context of this practice.

At Tel Miqne-Ekron, the placement of an Infant Jar Burial below the threshold at the entrance to Building 350 seems highly significant. It is the only one of the Iron Age burials in this field to have additional vessels associated with it. With some confidence it can be suggested that the burial was of great importance to those who placed it there and to those who knew of its location. Its placement emphasized the liminal or transitional character of this entrance, which separated between interior and exterior space and/or between public and private spheres, as mentioned above. Although the stratigraphical context of the second Stratum V jar burial is less clear, one could also posit that its location at the base of a staircase leading up to the second (possibly private) floor of Building 350, may also have marked an important distinction between upstairs and downstairs areas or between public and private space. Furthermore, intramural burials below house floors are suggestive of ancestral worship and may signify an expression of legitimacy passed through continual inheritance (Porter 2002; Wallace 2003).

Conclusions

In this chapter I have documented a number of areas where significant variation in materials can be documented between Strata VI and V, that is, between the end of the 12th and beginning of the 11th centuries BCE. Variation in cooking wares suggests that a change occurred in daily domestic traditions, reflecting a shift in the enculturative

traditions of a formerly immigrant population. This occurred in conjunction with the transformation in the use of cooking jugs, from a tool used in quotidian domestic activities to one brought out in feasting contexts. Developments in architecture and decorated wares point to an elaboration of form that is focused on elite consumption practices (e.g., Scarry 1999:342), while retaining strong cultural connections to the past (e.g., Wallace 2003).

It was at important junctures that foundation deposits were interred. These deposits emphasized the prominence of Buildings 351 and 350 and established the function of these buildings as focal points of power and authority. The continuity in organization of space combined with the placement of foundation deposits suggests that built architecture and construction episodes were used as tools to reinforce and sustain the legitimacy and authority of the elite at Tel Miqne-Ekron. The resident elite initially did this by drawing rituals from a prescribed and recognized symbol set. Over time, however, strategies changed and symbols were promoted which reinforced cultural references to the past (e.g., Pool 1992; Wallace 2003). Material references to a past cultural identity were highlighted by the placement of jar burials at important thresholds, emphasizing connections with an ancestral lineage and that those currently resident were the legitimate descendants (cf., Hall 1995).

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

In this study I explored both the local Canaanite and non-local Philistine characteristics of the artifact assemblage from the early Iron Age (12th-10th c. BCE) settlement at Tel Miqne-Ekron, Israel in order to investigate the dynamic role of material culture consumption. A diachronic analysis, documenting strategies of maintenance and adaptation, documented the transformation of materials from domestic tools to symbols of social status. These symbols were used by the Ekron elite to define social boundaries and promote a distinct identity.

Through my research I examined consumption practices, that is to say, what forces determined or constrained the choice between using a Philistine style or Canaanite style artifact? Was the choice cultural, i.e., was it conditioned by culturally embedded behaviors, or used to mark ethnic identity? Was it part of a social strategy, whereby Philistine wares functioned as elite symbols of authority, and production of fine wares was driven by elite demand? The characteristics of the Philistine pottery, their highly decorative forms and the predominance of open table wares within the assemblage, suggested that these vessels may have functioned in public displays of feasting and drinking. And yet, a model based on feasting rituals alone does not sufficiently explain the presence of the entire Philistine domestic tool kit. Nor do theories of assimilation and/or acculturation processes, which purport to explain how chronological change occurs, successfully model why certain forms and styles were maintained over time.

To investigate these ideas, I returned to Dobres' analysis. She argued for "...making the *assemblage* the object of study, not separate classes of artifacts to be 'put back together afterward..." (Dobres 1999:21). In following this approach, I organized the built features and artifacts by both functional categories and stylistic classes, and used a contextual approach to examine both synchronic and diachronic variation. One of the challenges in this research has been trying to understand what is driving what we observe as chronological variation. This focus articulated some of the problems in previous studies of the Philistine material culture where typological comparisons of cultural trait lists have masked much of the change over time in artifact use.

Methodologically, I arrived at a number of significant conclusions, which impacted my final analyses. These point to the strong effects of post-depositional formation processes and sample size, issues which are still rarely integrated into interpretations of the distribution of archaeological materials in the Near East. Artifact spatial patterns reflected differences in the intensity of discard, which could be used to differentiate between activity areas, but were of more limited use in discerning types of activities associated with these areas. More variation was seen when the sample size was small; a larger sample size produced a more normal distribution. This was seen in both the chronological analysis of ceramic forms in Chapter 4 and in the spatial distribution of ceramic styles in Chapter 7. Furthermore, where the artifact sample was large, due to either intensity of artifact discard or post-depositional formation processes, it also included a larger number of more 'interesting' objects; where the sample was small it included fewer numbers of these objects. While these conclusions may seem obvious,

their influence is rarely taken into account in interpretations of the archaeological record in the Near East.

To summarize some of the main points of this study, my analysis began with a stratigraphic study of the architecture, documenting the expansion from single room structures to large, multi-unit complexes that continued to incorporate significant elements of the earlier structures throughout all the major building phases. The ground plan that was initiated in Stratum VI became the blueprint for all future building projects in this area of the site, with a north-south wall separating a series of elite residences on the west and smaller residential and workshop areas on the east (Table 9.1). A comparison of features and architecture suggests methods for differentiating between building functions and activity areas.

Table 9.1 Comparison between Buildings 353/354 and 351/350

Buildings 351 and 350	Buildings 353 and 354	
stability in organization of interior	continual restructuring in organization of	
space	interior space	
long-lived features, and reestablishment	short-lived features	
of similar features in similar location		
access from north	access from south	
spouted lamps	ad hoc lamps	
foundation deposits	no foundation deposits	
monumental thresholds in both size and	standard size thresholds; not elaborated	
elaboration		
benches	benches	
platforms	platforms	
no bins	rectangular bins, variety of sizes	
1 fire installation per phase	concentrations of hearths/firepits/tabuns	
	bathtub	

The spatial and chronological study of built-in features pointed to a shift in the location of cooking activities that correlates with the documented change in cooking

vessel use from the Philistine-style cooking jug to the local Canaanite-style cooking pot. It supports the conclusion that cooking methods, when examined in context, can be an important measure of changing domestic traditions. The clustering of a number of features, such as deep bins/silos with sumps, or sunken store jar installations with fire installations, may assist in eventually discerning the function of these features. The study of built features also highlighted the problematic use of terminology in archaeological reports, which describe features without a critical examination of context or discussion of function. This problem was particularly exemplified in the discussion of fire installations, their construction, use, location and preservation.

The analysis of the spatial and chronological distribution of built-in features confirmed a number of reconstructions posited by the architectural and artifact study, such as the use of 'courtyard' areas and the change in the use of space from Stratum VI to Stratum V, but also presented a slightly different picture than the analysis of the architecture and ceramic assemblage. This was seen in the comparison between Building 350 with Building 353 and 354. The clustering of features pointed to a similarity in the functional use of space, while the ceramics and architecture suggested differences.

Bringing these lines of evidence together allowed for a more complete picture of the activities associated with these buildings.

I defined Buildings 351 and 350 as *residential* based on similarities with other residential buildings in their clustering of associated features, and as *elite* based on their large size, evidence for considerable investment in architectural resources, regional comparisons in their layout and organization of space with other residential structures,

and the restricted distribution of a number of portable objects, including non-jewelry ivories, metal knifes and spouted oil lamps, reflecting the ability of those resident in these buildings to limit consumption of certain materials. My analysis of the organization of space and the finds from these buildings demonstrates only limited evidence for cultic activities, restricted to Building 350 *Room b*, where the unusual layout of associated features and artifacts suggested that they reflected intentional discard strategies and not post-depositional formation process. This interpretation differs from previous reconstructions of Building 350 that posited a primarily cultic function for the building. In addition, I suggested that activities associated with Building 350, and possibly also Building 351, included elite sponsored feasting, and argue that the interconnected construction of Building 351 and Building 350 on the west with Buildings 353 and 354 on the east implies an integrated function.

I reconstructed the eastern structures, Buildings 353 and 354, as the loci of crafts activities. Particularly strong evidence for the industrial nature of the installations found in these rooms was preserved in Stratum VI, where I propose that the clustering of the limestone bathtub, bins, and hearth platform, in association with a concentration of loomweights, spinning bowls, and ceramic basins, suggests that activities focused on weaving and textile production. The recurrent finding of bathtubs in supposedly 'secondary' contexts (Karageorghis 1998), and the large number of Aegean style loomweights found near the Ashkelon bathtub (Stager 1995), supports my conclusion that these 'tubs' were used as industrial installations, which at least in the Levant functioned in conjunction with the weaving industry. Furthermore, I outlined a consistent pattern in

the organization of workshop space that can be seen at Tel Miqne-Ekron, Ashdod, Tell Qasile and Kition, which, along with the distinct production organization associated with the Philistine ceramics industry, can be related to the arrival and settlement of the Philistines. Further research should take into consideration Sherratt's proposal (1998:304-305) of large-scale textile production and exchange of textiles with Cyprus in association with the Philistine phenomenon at this time. 342

The technological studies of Iron I pottery undertaken by Killebrew (1998a) pointed to discrete production strategies for the manufacture of Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery. Her study documented labor intensive clay procurement and processing methods, the use of the fast wheel and controlled kiln firing techniques, in addition to relatively well executed decorative skills (cf., T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004). This production strategy reflects the adaptation of foreign technologies to local resources, and suggests that among the Philistine settlers were a large number of highly skilled and specialized craftspeople (cf., T. Dothan 1998b). The later Philistine pottery, while different in manufacture than the Mycenaean IIIC:1, also reflects a highly organized and specialized production system, with multiple levels of tasks, apprenticeships and a master craftsperson (London 1984). Future research should continue to explore the relationship between Philistine immigration and sophisticated crafts production strategies, documented now in pottery, textiles, a standardized concept of workshop spatial organization, and possibly also associated with the function of sunken store jar installations and the use of Canaanite store jars as tools (for this last reference, see

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Hadjicosti 1988). In addition, J. Smith's (2002) argument that the industrialized context of textile production at Kition reflects a shift to male gendered crafts production provides an interesting correlate to this production oriented reconstruction of migration and settlement processes.

With the establishment of elite activities in association with Building 350, the focus on serving vessels in the consumption strategies associated with the later Philistine wares, and the recognition of architectural continuity throughout the multiple building phases of the Iron I, the final part of my analysis moved towards interpreting change over time. These developments included a shift in the role played by the Philistine style wares, from a domestic assemblage associated with an immigrant population's adjustment of traditional methods of daily practices, to a fine-ware assemblage, where it was used to express a concept of elite identity (e.g., Emberling 1999).

The organization of space demonstrates the maintenance of a similar plan. The layout of the buildings, their orientation and division of space, was rebuilt a number of times. Differences were primarily of scale and suggest a process of architectural elaboration. There was no evidence of destruction or burning, nor evidence for the natural erosion of structures. So what prompted the periodic reconstructions? Yasur-Landau (2002:49) commented that the long continuity in the location of the ruler's dwelling in Field IV Lower is a direct reflection of the strength of the ruling power at Tel Miqne-Ekron. I maintain that this continuity was enforced as a method of establishing power and demonstrating legitimacy.

Philistine pottery, both the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and the later Philistine bichrome, have long been seen as the most characteristic of the Philistine material culture. While studies have suggested that the later pottery reflects a development from the earlier forms, little research has been directed at investigating this process, particularly from the perspective of understanding learning frameworks and cultural transmission processes. Studies have variously stated the Philistine vessels functioned either as an immigrant domestic assemblage or as an elite fine ware. I argue that in many respects both interpretations have merit. My quantitative analysis of contemporary pottery assemblages demonstrated diachronic changes in the types of vessels produced in the different stylistic classes. Initially (Stratum VII), early Philistine pottery production focused on the output of a domestic assemblage. Variation in production strategies reflects efforts to increase production scale in concert with a change in the focus of production, from replicating daily domestic ceramic needs to creating decorated serving vessels, whose shape and symbol system maintained the look and feel of Aegean/foreign-style pottery. With the increasing power of the Philistines in the Levant (Mazar 1985a, 1994; Stager 1995), documented at Tel Migne-Ekron by the wealth of resources evidenced in the construction and occupation of Building 350 in Field IV Lower, decorated Philistine pottery was engaged in the expression of elite status. Together with the Philistine cooking jug, it was used as elaborate dining vessels in diacritical feasting contexts.

This model for understanding the development of Philistine material culture comes as a response to Bunimovitz and Faust's (2001) entreaty to explore how material culture is used in the expression of identity. Through a comparison of interaction

strategies and their influence on the distribution of artifact styles, Bunimovitz and Faust suggest that it may be the "social meaning" of Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery that prevented its use by other groups outside of Philistia (2001:7). In a similar manner, I would suggest that the Philistine bichrome or later Philistine pottery became less a symbol of 'Philistine' ethnic identity and more an expression of 'elite' identity (e.g., Saleh 2005) and power, and therefore could more easily spread and be adopted outside of the initial area of Philistine control, wherever a ruler might want to align himself with a powerful presence.

How can this interpretation influence our understanding of social dynamics in the Iron Age? My research supports the traditional interpretation of an immigrant population settling in Philistia at the beginning of the Iron Age, although I would add to it that their presence was supported by a sophisticated organization of production for pottery and textiles. An analysis of the artifacts suggests both discrete production systems and integrated consumption systems. The lack of material culture boundaries implies that social boundaries in daily domestic interactions between the Philistine immigrants and the local population were relatively fluid (e.g., Kansa and Levy 1998). Intriguing parallels with the site of Ugarit to the north may offer further insights into the initial settlement of the Philistines along the Levantine coast.

My research highlights the need to investigate how materials are differentially used in changing contexts. As Silliman described, too often archaeologists "prefer to see material culture as a reflection of culture rather than an active participant in constituting it" (2005:68). Reconstructing Philistine settlement and occupation in the Iron Age as resulting in an assimilated, acculturated or creolized material culture, provides little

insight into how individuals lived and interacted within the ethnically diverse population of the Levant in the Iron Age. Recently the term "transculturation" (Deagan 1998) has been introduced into the literature. This is described as a process "which involved complex mixtures of cultural and individual interactions" (Silliman 2005:66). With its focus on individual agents and multiple directions of influence, this model may offer a more promising framework by which to investigate the complex regionalism of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant. This dissertation is a step in that direction.

APPENDIX A

THE COUNTING PROJECT

Introduction

The methodology employed in this research focused on two main components: a statistical analysis of the Iron I pottery from Field IV Lower, which includes the quantification of the ceramic assemblage, and an in-depth analysis of the stratigraphy from this area. My approach combined these two elements, with the data derived from specialists working on other aspects of the material culture, into spatial maps in order to identify distribution patterns for 'assemblages' of artifacts.

The relational database, which relates the quantification study to the stratigraphic analysis, is the mainspring of this project. It is founded on a combination of the excavation methodology and the goals and aims of the Tel Miqne Excavation and Publication Project as discussed in Chapter two.

Excavation Methodology

The excavation methodology for the Tel Miqne-Ekron Excavation and Publications Project, directed by S. Gitin and T. Dothan, was adapted from the Balk/Debris Layer method as originally defined in Dever and Lance (1978) and incorporated elements from the Israeli architectural approach (Gitin 1998a). Excavation areas were 6 m by 6 m squares, with ½ m balks retained on all sides leaving a primary excavation area of 5 m by 5 m. Balks were excavated after being drawn and

photographed in order to expose whole architectural units. The basic unit of excavation was the locus, defined as a three-dimensional spatial measure encompassing length, breadth and depth. This could be an architectural feature (e.g. wall, surface, hearth, pit) or an arbitrarily defined unit of analysis assigned by the excavator. All loci were given a unique number which began with the square number, as well as a *name* that in one or two words defined the locus, e.g., wall 43002, pebble surface 27001. Field and quadrant assignments were not part of the initial locus numbering system; these were assigned when the data was integrated in the final database system. As this system incorporates information from all of the excavation fields, the inclusion of the field number to the locus number was done in order to maintain database integrity, e.g., wall 43002 became wall IVNW.43002.

Two specially defined loci, the P-locus and the .1 were used to address the unique nature of surfaces and the material coming from the surfaces (Gitin 1996). In theory, the P-locus, identified by the letter 'P' following the surface locus number, e.g., flagstone surface 8005P, was assigned to the artifacts excavated from directly on the surface and therefore assumed to be associated with the surface occupation. The .1, identified by the surface locus number followed by a ".1", e.g., debris 8005.1, was assigned to the .10 m of sediment directly beneath the surface, and therefore likely to have embedded material from the surface activities. In practice, these two loci definitions were difficult to employ during field excavations in Field IV Lower. Most P-loci assigned were eventually combined with the surface material. A few individual cases, mostly associated with Stratum IV surfaces, on which were found a large number of whole vessels, were

separated out. The .1 locus was interpreted differently by each supervisor, who variously assigned it to the surface make-up, the surface build-up including series of surface laminations, the leveling fill below the surface or the debris between earlier and later surfaces. Each case was therefore examined individually and phased accordingly, either contemporary with the surface occupation (phase a) or within the constructional fill below the surface (phase b) (Garfinkel, *et al.* forthcoming).

In the field, each locus excavated was assigned a daily bucket number by the square supervisor. This number was made up of the field number, quadrant and square number followed by a number in sequential order, e.g., IVNE.023.015. 343 This system continued for each area over the years excavated. The bucket number is the number to which all material culture collected was assigned. In theory, all objects collected in the same locus on the same day would be assigned the same bucket number. Whole or unique items, specifically pottery vessels, were generally assigned individual bucket numbers. If the pottery bucket was full or if there was more than one of the same item, then additional bucket numbers were also assigned. All loci and buckets were marked on daily top plans as well as in the daily written notes, which included a written description of the excavation activities for the day, top and bottom levels, and any photos taken or architectural plans drawn. All pottery was collected on-site with sifting done on a sampling basis depending on the locus definition. All excavated material from pits and surfaces was sifted. Additional samples were removed from floors and surfaces for

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³⁴³ In the database, the bucket numbers were treated as alphanumeric data. But, due to the nature of sorting in database programs, the bucket numbers were assigned additional zeros as place holders following the periods in order to maintain a logical sequential order. Therefore bucket number IVNE.23.5 became IVNE.023.005. This held true for loci numbers as well, e.g., wall IVNW.43002 became wall IVNW.043 002.

micro-artifact analysis. A sampling strategy of 1:5³⁴⁴ was used for fills and debris loci, and 1:10 for all other loci. As well, one bag of sediment from all loci was collected for flotation analysis.

At the end of each day, all materials were brought back to the field camp for processing. All pottery was washed and initially sorted. This included an initial count of pottery 'types,' done by the project directors and field supervisors. This was used primarily for stratigraphic purposes. Diagnostics (rims, handles, bases, spouts, and body sherds with surface treatment) were separated and marked, and then re-bagged with the remaining non-diagnostic elements. Only from topsoil and other 'un-clean' loci was the non-diagnostic pottery not kept. Other objects of material culture were processed by specialists on-site or registered and stored for later analysis.

Counting Project

Beginning in the fall of 1996 and continuing through the summer of 2000 the buckets of pottery excavated from Field IV Lower were reexamined. Beginning with the earliest Iron I strata, contemporary and contiguous loci were laid out on tables for visual examination by the pottery restorer, who re-fit joinable pieces. Upon completion, one of the senior project managers removed examples of both representative and unique pieces for drawing. It was from these drawn pieces that the initial pottery typologies were

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³⁴⁴ The basic unit of measure was the *guffah*, a basket made out of reconditioned rubber tires that was used to carry the dirt out of the excavation areas. The difference in size between *guffahs* was not considered to be a significant variable.

³⁴⁵ A one-to-one refitting study was not deemed appropriate due to the vast amounts of pottery and the general characteristics of the assemblage, which included few whole or restorable vessels. The pottery restorer, Rivi Uni, whom I would like to thank for her wonderful work and insights, stated that she had never worked on a site with such few restorable vessels or even joinable sherds (pers. communication 1998).

developed. The diagnostics were then rebagged by bucket, and the non-diagnostic body sherds were counted³⁴⁶ and then boxed for later reburial at the site.

Beginning with Stratum VIIb, the diagnostics, which in this study included rims, handles, spouts, strainers, bases and body sherds with surface treatment, were counted by vessel type. All loci in Strata VII and VI were counted. Due to time and financial constraints, for Strata V and IV only pottery from surfaces, including 'P' and '.1' loci, were counted, as well as the drawn sample. Approximately 117,432 pottery sherds were counted from 849 different loci. These include some Iron I vessel forms which were found in Iron II contexts. Table A.1 lists the number of loci counted per stratum. For the present analysis, only loci of Iron I date were used.

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³⁴⁶ Initially, the non-diagnostic body sherds were separated into open and closed forms but this project was soon abandoned due to time and financial constraints and the enormous amount of pottery to process.

³⁴⁷ The second of the Fig. 18 (Pin Fig. 1998) and the first of the Land of the l

³⁴⁷ The material from Field X (Bierling 1998) was the first of the Iron I projects to be analyzed and was used to create the initial typological sequence, with the addition of the Field IV Lower drawn diagnostic sample. A number of important changes were made following the Field X project which makes the Field X data difficult to use. One inherent weakness was that the diagnostic counts were made without reference to type of diagnostic so that the statistics reflect all diagnostics and cannot be reduced to minimum number of vessels. This most likely biases the data towards pottery with surface treatments, e.g., the Philistine wares. An interesting area for a future study on statistical bias may be to compare these counts with the Field IV database.

Table A.1 Counted Loci in Iron I Ceramics Project

	Stratum	Number of loci
		with counted pottery
Top soil, Clean up	TS	13
and Unstratified		
Iron II	IB	26
	IC	6
	IIA	12
Iron I	IVA	69
	IVB	74
	VA	103
	VB	60
	VC	126
	VIA	162
	VIB	107
	VIIA	57
	VIIB	28
Middle Bronze	XI	6
	Total	849

In the database, each piece was given a unique number based on the bucket number. Drawn pieces were assigned the number as marked on the piece during the excavation season, as well as the notation 'drawn' in the notes section of the database. All other pieces were assigned random, sequential numbers. When counted, the sherds were coded for a number of characteristics including: form, period, part of vessel, surface treatment and decorative motif, ware color, presence or absence of core, 'levigation' or amount of inclusions, rim diameter and the percent of rim measured. The following section contains definitions of these characteristics as used in this project, a description of the coding system and a discussion of some of the problems or pitfalls encountered that may have lead to biases in the system.

a. <u>form</u> - The form was coded based on the typology designed from the drawn sample, with new types or subtypes added as needed. Characteristic of the Iron I assemblage at Tel Miqne-Ekron was a lot of variation in both vessel shape and ware texture. Because of the 'brokenness' of the assemblage, and the fact that many diagnostic sherds included only a small percentage of the vessel profile, it was often difficult to discern between subtypes and often even types. General categories were created for open vessels, and many initial 'types' were later combined.

b. <u>period</u> - This attribute defined an initial categorization of the sherds based on assumptions about the pottery classification system, as well as in an effort to include non-Iron I age forms. The non-Iron I choices were (L)ate, (IR)on 2, (L)ate (B)ronze, (M)iddle (B)ronze, (Chalco)lithic, (N)eolithic, or (E)arly. The Iron I divisions were between (MYC) for the early Aegean forms, (PHIL) for Philistine Bichrome and the later Aegean forms, (CO) for the local forms, and (IR1) for the forms which could not be assigned a more specific category. A later designation also included (R)ed (S)lipped. The major problem with this classification system is that designations combined both chronological and stylistic traits. These designations were for the most part designed only to give an initial impression of the data and not to be used for generating statistical information.

c. <u>part</u> - The definition of vessel part was based on the type of diagnostics represented in the assemblage and included:

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³⁴⁸ Mazar (1985) suggested that the large degree of variation in pottery morphology is characteristic of this period.

- 1. whole vessel
- 2. whole profile
- 3. rim
- 4. rim and handle
- 5. rim and body fragment
- 6. body sherd
- 7. handle
- 8. base
 - 8.1 ring
 - 8.2 concave
 - 8.3 discus
 - 8.4 flat
 - 8.5 pointed
 - 8.6 rounded
 - 8.7 button
- 9. strainer
- 10. spout
- 11. false spout
- 12. neck
- 13. lower vessel profile
- 14. body sherd and handle

From the vessel part recorded, an estimate of minimum number of vessels could be derived. Equally important, the list represents the nature of this assemblage. Due to the 'brokenness' of the sherds, often there was very little of the sherd profile from which to discern a 'type.' For example, a rim with attached horizontal Aegean-style handle was more diagnostic of form than a rim alone, or a handle of a 'bell-shaped bowl' could be differentiated from that of a strap handle. The code '5' was assigned when enough of the profile of the sherd was preserved to give a fairly accurate idea of type, such as from rim to shoulder or to the point of carination if that was present in the form.

³⁴⁹ This is also represented in the typology itself with type numbers for open versus closed vessels, for miscellaneous rim sherd descriptions that might match a number of different bowls, and for vessels which could be defined as one of two types, for example "either cyma or carinated", two bowls which have similar rim profiles.

As discussed above, handles in this assemblage could be diagnostic of vessel type and were often painted. As the type of decorative motifs represented in this assemblage was an important question being asked of the material, an attempt was made to incorporate where on the vessel there was decoration. Body sherds, handles and bases were therefore also coded.

Additionally, due to the brokenness of the assemblage, there were many vessel parts that were diagnostic of form to a broad category that was felt could be relevant in the final analysis. The variety of bases (flat, rounded, concave, discus, ring, button), might also be an important indicator of form or type and therefore were also coded.

In the Aegean-influenced (Mycenaean IIIC:1 and Philistine) assemblage, a number of the closed forms were not necessarily diagnostic by rim form but by other vessel part, or could be assigned to one of two categories. Examples include stirrup jars, identified by their false spout, or basket handles which could only be representative of feeding bottles or strainer spout jars. Certain forms, such as amphoriskoi, may be confused with bell-shaped bowls, which would have similar bases and lower body profiles. The very few numbers of identifiable amphoriskoi pieces in the assemblage (n = 2), suggests that there was a low probability that their accidental inclusion with bell-shaped bowls could have caused much of a bias in the sample. The typology makes some attempt to deal with these issues but a combination of typology and vessel definition recorded will give the user of the database a more accurate picture.

d. <u>surface treatment</u> - Surface treatment was an important aspect of the coding and became more developed over time. Surfaces were coded for presence or absence of paint,

monochrome or bichrome decoration³⁵⁰ and slip,³⁵¹ in either white or red. Later coding was added for burnishing and type of burnishing where it was possible to discern.³⁵²

e. <u>decoration</u> - The Aegean-style decorative motifs were recorded according to Furumark's notations (Furumark 1941) when appropriate. *PMC* refers to a motif which appears in T. Dothan's book *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* (1982). Other motifs were assigned codes as appropriate. ³⁵³

An additional problem with the coding system was that it masked much of the variability in the design elements. For example, while the system included descriptions for different spiral types, e.g., antithetic, stemmed or isolated, it did not differentiate between antithetic spirals which are true mirror images and opposed and paired spirals that spin in the same direction. This may be an important distinction between earlier and later decorative elements. A second example is the code for "bird," an important symbol

³⁵⁰ The pottery plates in Chapter 4 differentiate between monochrome and bichrome decoration but do not necessarily mark attributions of color. Monochrome decoration is presented in black ink; Bichrome decoration uses black ink for black or dark brown paint and raster (diagonal hatching) for red paint. White paint, which in this assemblage is only found on red slipped vessels, is designated by the absence of color. Red slip is also designated by raster (diagonal hatching) of a different size. Neither white slip nor burnish is illustrated.

³⁵¹ An attempt was made to discern 'self-slipping' but its recognition was never consistent due to a lack of agreement on definition of the term and how to recognize it. It was most often used to describe a thin layer of lighter colored material over the surface of the vessel that did not necessarily look as if it had been intentionally added as a white slip.

³⁵² In the red slipped assemblage, both the placement of the slip on the vessel and the type of burnishing are important diagnostic and chronological indicators. Unfortunately both proved more difficult to discern than originally thought. The presence of red-slip on a red-fired ware vessel was not always easy to detect and in the later periods, those with a reddish surface coloring were more likely to be assigned to the 'red-slip' category. As well, due to the 'brokenness' of the assemblage, it was often difficult to determine where on the vessel the slip would have been in order to assign the vessel to a 'type.'

³⁵³ Certain decorative motifs were only recognized as important after recording had started. Some attempt was made to go back and differentiate between, e.g. painted bands on the outside and/or inside of vessels versus a painted band on the rim only (code "OO"). In the material from Str. VII and VI, this was recorded for the drawn pieces only. As well, it may have been more beneficial to have recorded the representation of decorative elements in metopes or continuous bands but, again, due to the brokenness of the assemblage, this distinction was often difficult to recognize. Therefore, grouped elements occurring on a single vessel tended to be recorded as distinct, e.g., vertical lines, vertical wavy lines and a bird. A future project may wish to reanalyze these motifs.

in the Aegean-influence repertoire. Unfortunately our coding did not differentiate between different *unique* "bird" depictions, e.g., a bird painted with four feet, a bird painted with red feet, headless birds, etc. Some effort was made to include this information in the comments section of the database. This variability is an interesting avenue for future research.

f. Ware color, core color and surface color 354 were recorded from a fresh break along the edge sherd edge using a Munsell Soil Color Charts (1975). Ware color was recorded from the inner, exterior edge of the break, and surface color was taken from the exterior surface. Presence or absence, and size of core were registered on a relative scale (e.g., thick, medium or thin). Most of the sherds had either no core or a gray carbon core.

e. <u>levigation or amount of inclusions</u> - Although 'levigation' was the term used in this project, a more accurate term would have probably been 'inclusions.' In this study, a hand-held magnifying glass with focused light was used to examine the fresh break along the sherd edge. A coding system of "A" to "E" was used to give a relative measure and description of the amount and size of visible inclusions. All drawn sherds were given a more in-depth description of size (e.g., large, medium or small), amount (e.g., many, medium or few), shape (e.g., angular, subangular, subrounded or rounded) and relative sort. This process was adapted from principles outlined in Stienstra (1986) and accomplished with the comparative guide compiled and distributed by ARCHMAT. 355

Macroscopic analysis of the amount, size and shape of non-plastic inclusions were used

³⁵⁴ Initially all three colors were recorded for each sherd but because of time constraints, these were reduced to recording the core and surface color only for the drawn sample. All other sherds were recorded for ware color, presence/absence of core and its relative size.

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³⁵⁵ ARCHMAT Sandsizer, Sand Grain Folder, available through Forestry Suppliers, www.forestry-suppliers.com.

as an indicator of the clay preparation processes employed by the ancient potters (Stienstra 1986:39-42), specifically whether or not temper was added and/or inclusions removed from the clay matrix (London, *et al.* 1991:433; Rice 1987406-413; Stienstra 1986:39-42).

Conclusions from this study support the differences in clay preparation techniques between the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and Canaanite style wares and between the Mycenaean IIIC:1 and later Philistine wares, as described by Killebrew (Killebrew 1998a:400; 1998b:244-253). Additional observations point to at least two different clay recipes used in the manufacture of Mycenaean IIIC:1 wares (T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:31). Finally, noticeable variability in the wares, in terms of clays, inclusions and firing, and similarity in clay fabrics between stylistic groups (e.g., T. Dothan and Zukerman 2004:32, 42) suggest that the potters may not have been restricted to a specific clay recipe, vessel form or manufacturing style, and might also reflect interaction and exchange between potting groups.

f. rim diameter and percent - Rim diameter and the percent of rim preserved were measured using a table chart of arcs. Because of the brokenness of the assemblage, only small amounts of most rim sherds were preserved, generally between 5 to 10% of the vessel diameter. Therefore one needs to take into account a large degree of inaccuracy in many of the measurements of rim diameter.

g. <u>notes</u> - The notes category at the end of each record included any additional information or unusual feature, such as burning along the rim of a vessel, especially in the case of bowl-lamps. Also, all drawn pieces were recorded as 'drawn.'

Sample Definitions

The following sample categories were created in an effort to normalize the ceramic data. Because of the 'brokenness' of the assemblage, a creative approach was needed which could take into account small sherds of rare pieces and unusual discard strategies, without dramatically biasing the sample. I created four different categories with these caveats in mind, taking into account some of the possible biases mentioned above in the description of the counting project. These numbers were then used in the typological and spatial analysis of the pottery (primarily in Chapters 4 and 7).

 N_{total} = total number of vessels counted in this project. Where the frequency of types is small and the type is an unusual piece, the N_{total} may be included along with the N_{max} . Otherwise, most of the following discussion will not reference this number.

N_{max} = Minimum number of vessel count was a diagnostic count based primarily on vessel rim to identify a minimum number of vessels. It generally refers to whole and intact pieces (part codes 1 and 2), rim (3³⁵⁶), rim as part of larger vessel profile (5) and rim and handle (4) fragments. Included in this count were sherds where the entire lower profile of the vessel was preserved (13), with only the rim or rim and shoulders missing. A few vessel types which were not necessarily diagnostic by rim were counted based on a distinctive feature for that vessel form e.g., Stirrup Jars which are more diagnostic by the presence of a false spout than by the rim. Additionally, decisions were made on an individual bases for sherds were a large percentage of the vessel remained, or if the vessel

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³⁵⁶ Part code "3B" indicated when a rim sherd should not be included in the minimum vessel count, e.g., lamps which were defined and counted on the basis of vessel base.

form was a significant type for which only slim evidence existed. This last criterion seemed particularly important for more unusual forms, e.g., Kylixes. In these cases, the part definition included the letter "A" following the number code. This is also noted in the typological descriptions, where I have commented on whether or not I felt that the use of this count erroneously inflated the sample numbers.

 N_{min} = The N_{min} number is the count which resulted from the seriation study. The frequencies of vessel types by strata were used to create chronological profiles of individual types. These profiles demonstrated the life-span of types and were used to distinguish between current and residual vessel forms. The ability to separate between relatively contemporary and non-contemporary vessels in each assemblage was deemed particularly useful for this study as there were few reliably sealed loci. Most of the deposits used in this analysis came from material on or just above the floor surface.

 N_{sample} = Vessel count used in the spatial and functional analyses. The N_{sample} was created from the N_{min} count, with the inclusion only of material found on surfaces and within the surface make-up. This included loci which were assigned to an occupation phase, a (see above). This count was used in an attempt to remove bias inserted into the analysis by the initial project methodology in which all loci in Stratum VII, including e.g., *fills* and *walls*, were counted. Additionally, in order to build the typology, a range of good examples of all vessel types, e.g., whole or nearly whole profiles and body sherds demonstrating a variety of decorative styles, were described in the database, regardless of what loci they came from, although as much as possible effort was made to choose

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 $^{^{357}}$ For a complete discussion of the Tel Miqne-Ekron Iron I pottery typology see Zuckerman and Gitin (in preparation).

examples from primary deposits. In an attempt not to bias the analysis towards these unique pieces and decorated vessel types, only loci from occupation phases were included.

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