The Phoenicians in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Iron Age I-III, ca.1200-332 BCE: Ethnicity and Identity in Light of the Material Culture

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List of Abbreviations

Journals

AAS	Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes
AHL	Archaeology and History in the Lebanon
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJBA	Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
BA	The Biblical Archaeologist
BAAL	Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BMB	Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth
EI	Eretz Israel
ESI	Excavations and Surveys in Israel
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IJNA.	The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JANES	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine
RB	Revue Biblique
ROSAPAT	Rome La Sapienza Studies on the Archaeology of Palestine and Transjordan
RStFen	Rivista di Studi Fenici
UF	Ugarit Forschungen
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WdO	Die Welt des Orients
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins

Books

CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
NEAEHL	New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land

ANEP	Ancient Near East in Pictures

Ancient Texts

ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (3rd ed.).
CAT	The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and other Places.
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum
CTA	Corpus des Tablettes en Cunéiformes Alphabétques
EA	The el-Amarna Letters
KAI	Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inscriften
KTU	Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit
RS	The Ras-Samara texts (Ugaritica V 1968)

Hebrew Bible

Gen.	Genesis
Exod.	Exodus
Lev.	Leviticus
Deut.	Deuteronomy
Jdg.	Judges
2 Sam.	2 Samuel
1 Kgs.	1 Kings
2 Kgs.	2 Kings
Isa.	Isaiah
Jer.	Jeremiah
Ezek.	Ezekiel
Dan.	Daniel
Neh.	Nehemiah

Classical Authors

Achilles Tatius	Leucippe et Clitophon
Aeschylus	
Pers.	Persae
Arrian	
Anab.	Anabasis Alexandri
Eusebius	
Praep. Evang.	Praeparatio Evangelica
Diodorus Siculus	Bibliotheca Historia

Herodotus	Historiae
Isocrates	
Evag.	Evagoras
Paneg.	Panegyricus
Josephus	
Ant.	Antiquitates Judaicae
Con. Ap.	Contra Apionem
Justinus	
Epitome.	Epitome Historiarum Philippicarum
Pliny (the Elder)	
Hist. Nat.	Naturalis Historia
Plutarch	
Alex.	Alexander
De Isid. et Osir.	De Iside et Osiride
De Super.	De Superstitione
Pseudo-Scylax	Periplus
Quintus Curtius (Rufus)	
Alex.	Historiae Alexandri Magni
Strabo	Geographica
Tacitus	Historiae
Thucydides	Historiae
Vitruvius	De Architectura
Xenophon	
Ages.	Agesilaus
Cyr.	Cyropaedia
Hell.	Hellenica

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Al-Mina
Ras el-Bassit
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Tell Sukas
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Ayia Irini
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Tamassos
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Kition
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Tabbat el-Hammam
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0   20 km

Map 1

XXIII

Introduction

The ancient people known to us as 'Phoenicians' inhabited the northern part of the southern Levantine coast, a region that is currently divided between modern Syria, Lebanon, and Israel (Map 1). Their homeland consisted of a narrow strip of land bounded from the east by mighty mountainous ranges and from the west by the Mediterranean Sea. Although the land was rich with water sources, it offered limited resources and arable soil. In this land, an urban centered civilization of autonomous city-states emerged, whose people were known throughout the Ancient Near East as exceptional merchants (Ezek. 28: 4-5; Homer, *Odyssey* 15: 415ff), expert seafarers (1 Kgs. 9: 26-28; Herodotus 4: 42; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, 4: 36; 7: 208; Strabo 16: 2.24), and gifted artisans capable of producing magnificent works of art from stone, metal and textiles (2 Chr. 2: 6; Homer, *Iliad* 6: 289; 23: 470ff; *Odyssey* 15: 415ff; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 9: 60). They were especially renowned for the manufacture of fabrics tinted with the majestic crimson dye, which was produced from murex shells, an industry they long held as a monopoly. In Ezekiel's prophecy on Tyre (28: 4-5), one of the most prominent cities in Phoenicia during the Iron Age, the city is described as a wealthy trade center, and its king as a wise and skillful merchant. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 7: 208) credited the Phoenician with the invention of the cargo ship, and Strabo (16: 2.24) stated that they were skilled in the sciences of astronomy and arithmetic thanks to their practice of night sailing. Their superior navigational skills and ship constructing abilities allowed them to sail further than any other Ancient Near Eastern maritime culture. The Phoenicians ventured through the waters of the Mediterranean basin and beyond the straits of Gibraltar, sailing to Europe and Africa founding colonies and trading stations along the way.

However, despite these acknowledged traits, and despite ca. two centuries of research, scholars today still refer to the Phoenician culture as a lost civilization. While the Phoenicians in the western Mediterranean are relatively well known, the veil of mystery thickens when dealing with the Phoenician homeland, which will be the focus of this study. Nearly any aspect of Phoenician culture had at some point provoked, or still provokes, much debate among scholars. From the most basic issues such as their name and place of origin to more controversial concerns such as the infamous practice of child sacrifice.

The main reason for this obscurity is the profound want of genuine Phoenician written sources. Although thousands of Phoenician inscriptions were found throughout the years, the vast majority of which consist of short, laconic, phrases, comprised mainly of names of people and deities, often in repetitive formulas. Even such important compositions written by Phoenician authors, such as Philo of Byblos, survived only in fragments quoted by much later Christian authors. In order to bridge the gap in knowledge, scholars must turn to exterior sources and to the field of archaeology. Unfortunately, these do not always clarify queries but rather often raise further ones.

The problem with exterior texts, such as biblical, classical, Christian writings, is that they are largely bias. The Phoenicians are often described as idolatrous, barbarian, or simply as 'the others', thus their credibility is questionable at best. Other ancient texts, such as Egyptian or Mesopotamian documents, may shed some light on Phoenician culture; however, they are usually far too laconic. For these reasons, archaeology must play a key role in the rediscovering of Phoenician culture and has done so in recent years. However, the archaeology of the region is not without difficulties of its own. The main problem of Phoenician archaeology is that most major Phoenician settlements lay beneath modern urban centers. Many of which were inhabited continually from the Neolithic period to the present day. This situation often prevents, or largely restricts, full archaeological investigations in the hearts of Phoenician culture. Another key factor is the political instability of the region, mainly in Lebanon and Syria, which inhibit archaeological research in the Phoenician homeland for many years. Nevertheless, during the past decades an ever-growing cache of data was acquired from archaeological soundings in Phoenician sites. Furthermore, several important city centers are luckily located outside their modern successors. The city of Byblos is perhaps the most important example, which unfortunately was excavated during the early twentieth century and therefore its publication does not stand in modern scholarly scrutiny. The situation is far better for smaller settlements excavated in recent decades such as Sarepta, Tell el-Burak, and Tell 'Arqa.

As stated above, Phoenician culture was that of autonomous city-states. Indeed, the Phoenicians seem to have zealously held on to this Bronze Age social structure long after it gave way to nationalism and statehood in the southern Levant. Modern scholars often tend to emphasize the regional and individual nature of each Phoenician city to a point that some even question whether the Phoenicians can be referred to as an ethnic unit. As Aubet (2001: 9) stated, the Phoenicians were "a people without a state, without territory and without political unity." In the following

study, I aim at examining this very issue through an analysis of the Phoenicians in the eastern Mediterranean during the Iron Age I-III, ca. 1200-332 BCE, the zenith of the Phoenician civilization. By analyzing various aspects of the material culture which were unique to the Phoenicians throughout the periods in question, I shall attempt to identify a 'Phoenician *koiné*', i.e. a shared material culture which reflected a common ethnic, religious, cultic, and social identity (Burke 2008: 160), which developed despite the lack of political unity.

Archaeological Research of the Phoenicians in the Eastern Mediterranean

Interest in Phoenician antiquities began during the nineteenth century with soundings and explorations of various European diplomats, travelers, and art dealers who robbed many exquisite artifacts, mainly recovered from ancient tombs, and brought them back to Europe (Sharp Joukowski 1997: 391; Tahan 2010: 195). In 1860, J.E. Renan arrived to Lebanon, under the commission of Napoleon III, in order to survey the ancient sites of Phoenicia. Renan even attempted to excavate Tyre, however his soundings bore little results (Renan 1864).

Western interest in the antiquities of the Ancient Near East, sparked by the wave of 'orientalism' in art, literature, and cultural studies, had alarmed O. Hamdy Bey, an Ottoman administrator and founder of the Istanbul Archaeology Museum and of Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts (Eldem 2004). Upon learning of an American attempt to excavate in Sidon, Hamdy Bey prompt an excavation which uncovered the Ayaa royal necropolis and the famed sarcophagi of Tabnit and Eshmunezer. Systematic modern archaeological research in Lebanon began only under the French Mandate authority (1920-1946), during which the *Service des Antiquites* was created. Soon after, archaeological excavations were conducted by French expeditions in famous sites such as Byblos, Sidon, Tyre, and Baalbek. In 1946 Lebanon became an independent nation, and the *Directorate General of Antiquities* (DGA) was established. A new era of archaeological activities devoted to research and restoration, which combined local and foreign expeditions began. Some of the most important archaeological excavations of Phoenician sites were carried out at that time, such as Tyre (Bikai 1978), and Sarepta (Pritchard 1978).

This era came to a staggering halt during the Lebanese Civil War, which raged, between 1975-1991 (Ward 1994: 66-70; Massih 2010: 68; Tahan 2010: 195). The long years of warfare took a severe toll on Lebanon's ancient sites and antiquities, which to this day cannot be fully measured.

Besides years of violence and destruction, looting and pillaging of most known ancient sites was carried out systematically throughout Lebanon (Seeden 1987; Fisk 1993; Ward 1994: 75; Sader 2013). Ironically, the civil war had also a positive effect on Lebanese archaeology. The destruction in Lebanon's modern cities opened a window of opportunities that enabled archaeologists to investigate areas underneath previously densely populated zones (Ward 1994: 66-70).

Since the early 1990's an overwhelming amount of building projects had begun in Lebanon's major cities, the largest of which was the Beirut Central District (BCD) (Asmar 1996: 7-13; Ortali-Tarazi 1998-1999: 9-11). These projects were proceeded by numerous salvage excavations led by the DGA and international universities, partly with the financial aid of such international and local organizations as UNESCO and the Hariri Foundation (Badre 1997: 6; Curvers and Stuart 1998-1999: 13). These new archaeological projects, such as the BCD, allow us to glimpse into the ancient Phoenician settlements that lay below the modern ones. Though the information acquired through these soundings is often fragmentary (Sader 2013), it still sheds further light on the Phoenician civilization.

Archaeological research in northern Phoenicia had also experienced a period of renewal in recent years. Many excavation projects had begun in the Gabla plain, in sites such as Tell Sukas (Riis *et al.* 2004), and Tell Tweini (al-Maqdissi 2008; Vansteenhuyse 2010). Unfortunately, the Syrian civil war, which started in 2011 and still rages when these lines were written, had put all archaeological projects conducted in Syria to halt. Currently only a handful of excavations in Phoenician sites are conducted in Lebanon, which include such sites as Sidon, Beirut, Tell 'Arqa, and Tell el-Burak. In Israel, the situation is far better with regular and renewed excavations in important sites along its northern coast such as, Dor, Akko, and Tell Keisan.

Name

One of the most basic elements that defines a people is its name (Moscati 1968: 3), however the name used today to identify the ethnic group known as 'the Phoenicians', was not the name they used for themselves. In fact, the name Phoenician does not appear in any Ancient Near Eastern text. It was bestowed upon them in antiquity by the ancient Greeks, and no other nation in the Ancient Near East used this name to identify the population or its land (Paraskevaidou 1991: 523-

524; Markoe 2000: 10; *cf.* Krahmalkov 2000: 11-13).[1] The same also applies for the Phoenicians who settled the western Mediterranean, given by the Romans the name 'Punic' (Prag 2006).

The etymology of the name was debated extensively. Early scholars maintained the name Phoenicia meant 'The Land of Palms' (Rawlinson 1889: 3), a notion that may have been suggested already in antiquity. According to Achilles Tatius (*Leucippe and Clitophon* 2: 14) Tyre was named after the palm tree. Presently most scholars agree the name Phoenicia, Greek *Phoinix*, was derived from the Greek word φοίνιξ - *phoinós* that first appears during the ninth or eighth centuries BCE. The etymology of Phoinós is quite complex as the word may be understood in several meanings. Phoinós can signify a palm tree or its fruit, a musical instrument (Herodotus 4: 192), or a fabulous bird (Hesiodus, frag. 171 R.), but most commonly it signified the color purple, crimson, or red. Greek lexicographers linked *phoinós* with the production of purple dyed textiles, as it could also be interpreted as 'blood' or 'to stain with blood'. Another interpretation linked *phoinós* with the dark complexion of Asian people. This latter interpretation appeared in the works of classical authors as the origins of the name Phoenicia (e.g. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 9: 60-63) (Speiser 1936; Moscati 1968: 3-4; Muhly 1970: 24-25; Paraskevaidou 1991: 523-524; Markoe 2000: 10). Yet another association with the color red was to the Persian Gulf, also known as the Red Sea, which was considered by the ancient Greeks to be the Phoenicians' place of origin (Muhly 1970: 24-25; Markoe 2000: 10).

Webster (1966: 66) suggested that the origin of the Greek *phoinós*, stems from Mycenaean *Po-ni-ki-jo* or *Po-ni-ki* which appears in Linear B texts from Knossos and Pylos dated to the end of the Late Bronze Age, and refers to an eastern aromatic herb or condiment, or to decorative elements, presumably red in color, which was also mentioned by Pliny the Elder (*Hist. Nat.* 22: 15) (*cf.* Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 136; Melena 1975: 77-84). Other scholars attempted to link the Greek

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[1] According to Krahmalkov (2000: 11-13), the name Phoenician, or perhaps Punic, may appear in the book of Psalms which is dated to the first half of the first millennium BCE. In Psalms 45: 13-14 there is a reference to the marriage of a Phoenician princess of Tyre to the king of Israel:

"And, O daughter of Tyre, the richest of the people shall entreat thy favor with a gift. All glorious is the king's daughter within the palace…"

"וּבַת-צֹר: בְּמִנְחָה, פָּנַיִךְ יְחַלּוּ--עֲשִׁירֵי עָם. כָּל-כְּבוּדָּה בַת-מֶלֶךְ פְּנִימָה…"

Krahmalkov (*ibid*.) maintains that "daughter of Tyre" – *bt-ṣr* is semantically parallel to *bt-mlk pnymh*, which should not be translated as "The king's daughter within", but rather as daughter of the king of the Phoenicians – *Pon(n)īm*. The term Pon(n)īm, referring to the Punic language rather than the people, also appears later in Plautus' Poenulus (985-987, 990-991), a translation of the Greek comedy Carchedonius.

phoinós to Ugaritic or Hebrew words such as *puwwa* or *pwt* meaning 'dye' or 'substance', others to Egyptian *fnhw*, which means 'wood-cutter', however these similarities seem pure acoustic (Muhly 1970: 31; Aubet 2001: 9).

As mentioned above, the Phoenicians did not refer to themselves as such, but rather, most often as the citizens of their city-state, e.g. Tyrians, Sidonians, etc. Nevertheless, late textual and epigraphic evidence indicate that the Phoenicians referred to themselves in a much broader sense as Canaanites, and to their land as Canaan (Bourogiannis 2012a: 38-39) (see further below).

Cuneiform tablets found in Tell Mardikh, identified as Ebla, may indicate that the name Canaan appeared as early as the mid second half of the third millennium BCE, ca. 2250 BCE, as *ca-na-na* or *ga-na-na*, although this reading is still debated. Canaan appears in Akkadian documents from Mari, dated to the eighteenth-century BCE, spelled as *ki-na-ah-nu*. From the fifteenth to the fourteenth centuries BCE it also appears in documents from Nuzi in the same spelling, in texts from Ugarit as *kn'ny*, and in texts from Alalakh as *ki-in-a-nim* (Mazar 1965: 8; Sasson 1984: 90; Na'aman 1994a: 398-99; Tubb 1998: 15-16). The name Canaan also appears in Egyptian New Kingdom inscriptions of Amenhotep II, ca. 1450-1425 BCE, and Merneptah's 'Israel Stele', ca. 1227-1217 BCE. Canaan is frequently mentioned in the El-Amarna letters referring to the land and its monarchs (e.g. *EA* 8; 9) (Na'aman 1994a: 399-403; Schoville 1998: 158-159, 161). The Hebrew bible also uses the term Canaan to describe the northern part of the coast. Furthermore, in the table of nations in Gen. 10: 15 the eponym Canaan is described as the father of Sidon (Aharoni 1967: 7; Na'aman 1994a: 397; Aubet 2001: 10):

> *"And Canaan begot Sidon his firstborn, and Heth."* "וּכְנַעַן, יָלַד אֶת-צִידֹן בְּכֹרוֹ--וְאֶת-חֵת."

The etymology of the name Canaan has also been thoroughly discussed. One interpretation suggests that Canaan is derived from the Semitic root כנע, which means to 'be subdued' (Tubb 1998: 15-16) or 'to sink', possibly referring to the movement of the sun setting in the west. This would suggest that Canaan should be understood as 'west' (Astour 1965b: 348) or the 'lowland' (de Vaux 1968: 24). This interpretation corresponds to the Akkadian name Amurru that was often used to signify the western Mediterranean coast and literally translates to 'west' or 'westerner' (Astour 1965b: 348; Schoville 1998: 159; Thompson 2002: 79). Another suggestion was that the

name stems from the Hebrew word כָּאן, meaning simply 'here' (Tubb 1998: 15). But the two most commonly accepted theories are either that Canaan is derived from the above mentioned Akkadian or Hurrian words which translate to 'blue cloth', once again associating Canaan to the production of purple-blue dyed textiles (Mazar 1965: 8; Tubb 1998: 15-16; *cf*. Muhly 1970: 28-29).[2] The second theory suggests a connection to the Hebrew word *kina'nu* which means merchant, thus rendering Canaan as the land of merchants (Mazar 1946: 9-11; 1965: 8, fn. 26-29; Astour 1965b: 347; Aubet 2001: 10).

Lemche (1991: 39, 50), argued that the inhabitants of the land of Canaan did not have any clear idea of the size or boundaries of the land, and thus used the name Canaan in an imprecise manner. He further suggested that during the second millennium BCE the name Canaan was not used for self-definition (*ibid.:* 52; 1996; 1998). However, this view was disputed by such scholars as Na'aman (1994a; 1999) and Rainey (1996). Rainey (1996: 12) stated that "*the self-consciousness of being Canaanite and of living in Canaan was not lost on some segments of the Iron Age population. It was even kept alive, especially among the residents of the Phoenician cities, down into the Hellenistic period*." During the Late Bronze Age, the rulers of the city-states of the southern Levant referred to themselves as *Kinahu* or *Kinanu*, as evident by the El-Amarna letters (Na'aman 1994a: 399-403; Schoville 1998: 158-159, 161). Indeed, this tradition continued well into the classical period as evident by second century BCE coins from Beirut which bear the inscription 'Laodicea, a metropolis in Canaan' (Babelon 1893: 166).

The name Canaan was also used in the western Punic colonies, or at least in Cartage, as evident by an inscription on a funerary stele found at Cartage, which reads "man of Canaan" (*KAI* 116). It appears that the Canaanite identity of the people of Carthage endured long after the city fell to the Romans. According to Augustine of Hippo (*Patrologia Latina*, 35: col. 2096), when the local inhabitants of fourth century CE Carthage were asked who they were, they replied *Canani* (Harden 1963: 22).[3]

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[2] This interpretation leads to a "chicken and egg" question, i.e. what came first, the name of the land from which stemmed a name for its product, the purple dye, or vice versa. Mazar (1965: 9), followed by Muhly (1970: 28), maintained that it was first known for its main export and only later did it apply for all of the land.

[3] It should be mentioned that the term Tyrians – *Sorim*, was also used in North Africa at that time (Krahmalkov 1994: 73).

Alongside Phoenicians and Canaanites, 'Sidonians' was often used in antiquity as an adjective in order to identify the Phoenicians at large. In the Homeric epics, Sidonians appears synonymous with Phoenicians, e.g. *Iliad* 23: 744-745; *Odyssey* 13: 272-285 (Mazar 1946: 7; Winter 1995: 247). However, there are also passages in which Sidonians appear to be differentiated from the Phoenicians, e.g. *Iliad* 23: 743-744; *Odyssey* 4: 83-84 (Sherratt 2005: 35). The same phenomenon occurs in the Hebrew bible, which often refers to Canaanites-Phoenicians as Sidonians, e.g. Deut. 3: 9; Josh. 13: 4, 6; Jdg. 18: 7; 1 Kgs. 11: 5. However, it also appears that at times, the biblical author refers to Canaanites and Sidonians as two separate nations, e.g. Jdg. 3: 3:

"The five lords of the Philistines, and all the Canaanites, and the Sidonians, and the Hivites that dwelt in mount Lebanon, from mount Baal-Hermon unto the entrance of Hamath."

"חֲמֵשֶׁת סַרְנֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים, וְכָל-הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְהַצִּידֹנִי, וְהַחִוִּי, יֹשֵׁב הַר הַלְּבָנוֹן--מֵהַר בַּעַל חֶרְמוֹן, עַד לְבוֹא חֲמָת."

It is also noteworthy to mention that the people of the Lebanon Mountains were also distinguished as a separate group. Sherratt (2005: 35) suggested that it is possible 'Sidonians' was applied for the people of Sidon while 'Phoenician' was applied for the people of Tyre. Boyes (2012: 38-39, fn. 10) maintains that the Phoenicians, or perhaps more specifically the people of Tyre and Sidon, referred to themselves when dealing with foreigners, as Sidonians, as epigraphic evidence seem to suggest. Two eighth century BCE inscriptions found on bronze bowls in Cyprus, most likely dated to the reign of Hiram II of Tyre, refers to the latter as 'king of the Sidonians' (*KAI* 31) (Krahmalkov 2000: 342–43; Boyes 2012: 38-39). In another inscription from Cyprus which mentions Ethbaal IV of Tyre, dated to ca. 532 BCE, it seems again that men from Tyre refer to themselves as Sidonians (Lemaire 2004; Elayi 2006: 23; Boyes 2012: 35-38). It is possible that the Phoenicians adopted the term 'Sidonians' as a metonym for Phoenicians, as reflected in the Hebrew bible, Assyrian inscriptions, and Greek texts (Boyes 2012: 38-39, fn. 10). Nevertheless, it is also possible that 'Sidonians' was simply used to identify people under Sidonian hegemony (Tal 2005: 89), as may be reflected in a second century BCE Greek inscription found in Yavneh-Yam which refers to its inhabitants as 'Sidonians' (Isaac 1991). Another possibility is that the use of 'Sidonians'

reflected past political ties, especially among the people of Tyre. Tyre and Sidon were situated in close proximity and thus became political and economic rivals that were in constant strife for supremacy over one another. Such connections may be reflected in the myth of the re-founding of Tyre by Sidonian refugees recorded by Josephus (*Ant.* 8: 62) and Justinus (*Epitome.* 28: 3.5) (*cf.* Boyes 2012: 38).

Origins

The question of the origins of the Phoenicians is a conundrum that was tackled already in antiquity. The common view was that the Phoenicians were not indigenous to the southern Levant. According to Herodotus (1: 1.1; 7: 89.2), both Phoenician and Persian scholars claimed that the Phoenicians migrated into the southern Levant from the Persian Gulf, which was then known as the Red Sea. Strabo (16: 3.4), following Herodotus, had also argued that the Phoenicians originated from islands situated in the Persian Gulf. This belief was also perpetuated by other classical authors such as Pliny (*Hist*. *Nat.* 4: 36), and Justinus (*Epitome*. 18: 3.2-4), and preserved in the scholarship of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Scholars such as Rawlinson (1889: 28-31), Harden (1963: 21), and Gray (1964: 25) maintained that the Canaanites migrated or invaded Canaan from the Persian Gulf or the north Arabian steppe during the third millennium BCE. Early archaeological research seemed to support the 'foreign ancestry' of the Phoenicians. Kenyon (1966) maintained that during the last stages of the Chalcolithic period, an amalgamation of groups of various origins occurred from which the relatively uniformed and urbanized culture of the Early Bronze Age emerged. Albright (1968b: 96-98), based on linguistic analysis of the occurrence of Semitic names of sites and Semitic words in Egyptian of the period, also maintained that the Canaanites occupied the southern Levant by the end of the fourth millennium BCE. This view continued to thrive well into the late twentieth century, as presented by Schoville (1998: 162-163), who maintained that the Canaanites, who ushered in the Early Bronze Age, which is marked by the first urbanization process in the region, had migrated from the east or north-east during the last centuries of the fourth millennium BCE. Although scholars such as Kenyon (1966: 6-8) maintained that nothing of the Chalcolithic-Ghassulian culture was preserved in later periods, the scholarly consensus today is that continuity from the Chalcolithic period can be traced in the Early Bronze Age, at least to some extent (Gophna and Portugali 1988; Mazar 1990: 88-89, 104-105).

A more dramatic change in the material culture of the southern Levant was noted during the Middle Bronze Age IIA, during which large and prosperous city-states emerged throughout the region. The change in material culture was not confined solely to urbanism, but can also be noted in other cultural aspects such as architecture, burial customs, and pottery traditions. This new era of urbanism came about after ca. three centuries of decline in the aftermath of the collapse of the Early Bronze Age II-III urban society, i.e. the Intermediate Bronze Age. This period parallels to the first Intermediate period in Egypt during which there seems to have been a break in Egypt's connections with the southern Levant, and particularly with Byblos. Although excavations at Byblos unearthed a massive destruction layer dated to the end of the Early Bronze Age III, similar to those found at many important Levantine centers dated to the same period, it appears the city quickly recovered and that cultural continuity prevailed (Mazar 1990: 174ff).

Scholars such as Albright (1926: 251-253, 266) and Kenyon (1966), who promoted the 'Amorite hypothesis', speculated that the reason for the changes in the material culture of the Middle Bronze Age was the forceful invasion of west Semitic seminomadic groups to the southern Levant and Mesopotamia. These people were known in Mesopotamian documents as '*Amurru*' (*cf*. Dever 1970: 140; Lapp 1970: 114-115). Other scholars maintained that the demise of the urban centers of the Early Bronze Age should be attributed to Egyptian campaigns, which left the land in ruins and thus the Amorites could infiltrate it unopposed (Mazar 1968; Callaway 1978; Ben-Tor 1992: 124-125). Regardless of the reason for the destruction or abandonment of the major centers of the Early Bronze Age, it was widely accepted that new ethnic groups of a nomadic nature had found their way into the southern Levant and that they were responsible for the major changes that occurred (Gophna 1992: 156-158).

In the past few decades, forceful invasion theories have been mostly abandoned, considering that most of the sites in the southern Levant were simply deserted rather than destroyed. Scholarly consensus shifted to emphasize the indigenous nature of the Middle Bronze Age society and the continuation of its material culture from earlier periods (Richard 1980; Burke 2008: 160).

Today most scholars agree that during the Intermediate Bronze Age, a shift in social and economic order occurred which is not necessarily dependent on the arrival of new ethnic groups. It is more than possible that at least some of the nomadic groups which were seen as responsible for the collapse of the Early Bronze Age urban system were already present in its fringes. These groups may have absorbed into them some of the urban population after their cities' collapse and they

reverted into a semi-pastoral lifestyle. The truly new ethnic groups, which may still be referred to as Amorites, seem to have migrated to the southern Levant from many different regions and were also absorbed into the local population (Mazar 1990: 169-171; Dever 1998: 295; Ilan 1998: 297-301).

As stated above, cultural continuity in the Phoenician coast is strongly evident in Byblos. The famed 'Temple of the Obelisks' was constructed over an earlier Early Bronze Age temple following the same outer lines, which suggests urban continuity between the two periods. The wealth of rich artifacts found dated to the Middle Bronze Age IIA demonstrate the might of Byblos at that time (Mazar 1990: 188-189). Therefore, Mazar (ibid.) suggested that a possible origin to the Middle Bronze Age IIA culture in the southern Levant may be population from Byblos that migrated south due to overpopulation in the narrow Phoenician littoral. The question of the origin of various Canaanite traditions which appear to have begun in the Middle Bronze Age IIA is especially relevant to the origins of Phoenician culture, as many of these traditions were practiced by the Phoenicians almost without a pause until the second half of the first millennium BCE (see below).

As stated above, Phoenician culture was primarily urbanized, as the landscape is not optimal for pastoral nomadism or large-scale agriculture. Furthermore, the relatively isolated landscape of the Phoenician coast, and especially that of southern Phoenicia, was not so accessible to large population movements as it is bounded by the impregnable Lebanon Mountains. Also, it seems that the cities of Phoenicia were always able to recover quicker from cataclysmic events which devastated other regions (Mazar 1990: 174; Markoe 2000: 11-12). It appears therefore that the indigenous inhabitants of the 'Phoenician' society endured along the Phoenician coast, more so than the urban population of other regions that had turned to a sedentary or semi-sedentary lifestyle. It is therefore more likely that the changes in material culture which occurred in Phoenicia were a result of interaction and trade with Syria, Mesopotamia, and the rest of the Levant (Gerstenblith 1983) rather than population movements, although these too must have left an impact to some extent.

In recent years, a new approach to the question of ethnic identity emerged in the form of ancient DNA studies. These attempt to trace movements of ancient people according to specific genes unique to them found in their genetic ancestry. Several DNA studies focusing specifically on the

Phoenician population began sampling both modern and ancient DNA from sites in Lebanon, as well as other typically 'Phoenician' sites throughout the Mediterranean basin, which were historically connected with the Phoenician western expansion. These studies suggest that there is a common source of related lineages rooted in Lebanon that can be traced back to the Neolithic period (Gore 2004; Chiaroni *et al.* 2008; Zalloua *et al.* 2008). Similar DNA studies conducted in the Levant demonstrated a distinction between coastal and inland populations (El-Sibai *et al.* 2009). However, a recent DNA study analyzing a mixture of ancient DNA, from individuals buried in Sidon in ca. 1700 BCE, and compared to individuals from modern Lebanon, suggests that although there is a great degree of autochthonic continuity in the southern Levant from the Neolithic period, a mixture with Iranian populations occurred, most likely during the Middle Bronze Age (Haber et al. 2017: 274-282). This may suggest that the ancient Greek sources mentioning the Persian Gulf as the place of origin of the Phoenician were not so wrong. Nevertheless, it should be stated here that while these studies may shed further light on the ancestry of ancient peoples, their application is still problematic (Finkelstein *et al.* 2012: 140-141).

Language and Script

Phoenician was a Northwestern Semitic language belonging to the Canaanite group alongside Hebrew, Ammonite, Edomite, and Moabite. Several Phoenician dialects were used in the different Phoenician cities and can be distinguished. However, during the first millennium BCE, the dominating dialect was that of Tyre-Sidon and is known as 'Standard Phoenician', which was widespread throughout Phoenicia and its eastern colonies. Only in Byblos, a distinct dialect which was defined as archaic can be seen. It appears that during the ninth and eighth centuries BCE Phoenician was adopted as a *lingua franca* in the region and beyond. Standard Phoenician spread during the early first millennium BCE throughout the Mediterranean with the Phoenician colonization movement and evolved into a distinct dialect that became known as Punic (Amadasi Guzzo 1997: 317-318; Krahmalkov 2000: 10-11). By the ninth century BCE, Phoenician, as well as other languages in the southern Levant, developed a unique dialect differentiating it from other Semitic languages (Joffe 2002: 454).

The Phoenician script is comprised of a twenty-two consonantal sign system, written from right to left, which developed from proto-Canaanite. It is possible to identify both a formal and a cursive

script; however, it appears that it was always less formal and more cursive in style (Amadasi Guzzo 1997: 321). Like dialect, Phoenician script may also be differentiated from other Semitic scripts by the ninth century BCE (Joffe 2002: 454).

Language was recognized as an important characteristic of ethnicity already in the Ancient Near East and different peoples would be distinguished according to their tongue, as evident by Mesopotamian, Egyptian and Greek writings (Schwartz 1995: 3-8). Although some scholars stress the similarity of Phoenician to other Semitic languages such as ancient Hebrew (e.g. Aubet 2001: 9), Phoenician displays many grammatical features which range from phonology, morphology and syntax to discourse features, that distinguish it from other western Semitic languages (Holmstedt and Schade 2013: 1). Furthermore, the particular use of certain verbs and nouns can identify the language as Phoenician, e.g. the use of the 3rd person singular suffix (Röllig 1983b: 381-385). Another example is the use of the verb *p'l* פעל which signifies an action and was used in Phoenician (e.g. Niehr 2008: 16) but not in ancient Hebrew, which employed the verb *'sh* - עשה (Galil 2009: 215). Another important example is the use of words of cultic significance such as *mlk.* Although scholars previously maintained 'molech' was a name of a deity, the consensus today is that 'molech' was a sacrificial term that signified a ritual practiced by Canaanites (Eissfeldt 1935; Mosca 1975; Day 1989: 9-14). Such nouns, verbs and grammatical syntax enable researchers to identify inscriptions as Phoenician or otherwise (*cf.* Eph'al 1998: 113-114; Halayqa 2008; Galil 2009: 210ff).

Cultural elements such as a name, ancestry, and language are vital components of ethnicity. These elements create social boundaries that often distinguish one ethnic group from the other. Since the Phoenicians left us so little written evidence on their ethnicity and identity, these may be reconstructed from an amalgamation of self-ascription and ascription by others, and also from the shared cultural elements which are manifested in their material culture (Shibutani and Kwan 1965: 47; Kamp and Yoffee 1980: 88; Cashmore 1994: 106; Sparks 1998: 1; Bunimovitz and Faust 2003: 420; Malkin 2003: 59-60; Dever 2007: 51-52). These shall be further discussed below.

Geographical Borders

The physical conditions which formed the unique region known as Phoenicia were created by three major geological processes; sedimentary rocks which were deposited at the fringes of the Arabian-Nubian shield, consisting mainly of marine sedimentary rocks due to the distance from the shield, the Alpine orogeny fold, which occurred mostly during the Eocene, and the most recent geological process was the Syrian-African rift, which took place mainly during the Pleistocene (Klein 1983).

Greater Lebanon, which encompasses most of Phoenicia, is traditionally divided into three main geographical units running NNE-SSW along the coastline (Map 6):

1. The western mountain range and highlands of the Lebanon Mountains, including the Litani highlands and the upper Lebanese Galilee.
2. The elevated upland basin of the Beqa', which is situated ca. 800 m. above sea level.
3. The eastern mountain ridge of the Anti-Lebanon, ending with the Hermon Mountain at the south.

These mountain ranges are major uplifts, with Late Cretaceous rocks forming the highest point of Mount Lebanon, at 3088 m. above sea level, and Middle Jurassic rocks forming the summit of Mount Hermon at 2,814 m. (Fig. 1.1). To these we may add the coastal plain which follows the same NNE-SSW orientation (Walley 1997: 82) and is the central unit relevant to this study.

The Phoenician Coast

The coast of Phoenicia is a well-defined geographic unit with characteristics typical of the northern Mediterranean coast (Braudel 2002: 14-21). Unlike the wide region of the southern coastal plain or the Syrian coast further north, the majority of the Phoenician coast consists of a narrow strip of land, ranging between 6.5 km to a few hundred meters in width. It is bordered from the east by the mighty Lebanon Mountains and from the west by the Mediterranean Sea (Map 2). The coast of Phoenicia is not a continuous strip of land. It is divided into small sub-units by rocky areas of

mountain slopes and river gorges that often reach directly to the sea, which through a long process of erosion, created cliffs, coves, and natural bays all along the coast. The Phoenician littoral is also characterized by a narrow continental rise, which formed small islets opposite of the coast and natural coves that could accommodate ships with relatively large hulls, unlike the northern Syrian coast and the southern coast beyond the Carmel, which are very wide and shallow (Aharoni 1967: 19-21; Moscati 1968: 5-7; Prag 1974: 195; Ron 1983: 9-11; Kingsley and Raveh 1996: 6-8; Bourogiannis 2012a: 38).

The coast of Phoenicia can be subdivided into several units from north to south, separated by rock promontories and river valleys (Ron 1983: 11):

1. The Gabla plain, from Ras Shamra to Arwad
2. The Akkar plain, from Arwad to Tripoli
3. From Tripoli to Byblos
4. From Byblos to Beirut
5. From Beirut to Sidon
6. From Sidon to Tyre
7. From Tyre to Akko
8. The Akko plain, from Akko to the head of the Carmel
9. The Carmel coast, from the head of the Carmel to the Sharon plain

In most of these subunits, only one major urban center existed, surrounded by several smaller settlements which constituted its hinterland. Nearly all the major cities of Phoenicia were situated ca. 35-40 km apart, however not every sub-region enjoyed the same conditions. While the Akkar and Akko plains are 9-10 km wide, the stretch of land from Sidon to Tyre, is only 2 km wide at its widest point, providing limited terrain for agriculture and habitation.

The Phoenician coast can also be more broadly divided into northern and southern Phoenicia. Northern Phoenicia consisted of the region south of Ras Shamra to Byblos, and southern Phoenicia consists of the area from Byblos to the Carmel coast. Northern Phoenicia includes the Akkar plain, and perhaps also the Gabla plain further north, whose terrain is more suited for agriculture, though they too were full of marshland in antiquity due to poor drainage. The Akkar plain was an especially strategic point since it served as a land corridor via the 'Homs gap' to and from inland

Map 2

Arwad

Beirut

Sidon

Tyre

N

Image Landsat
Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO

Google earth
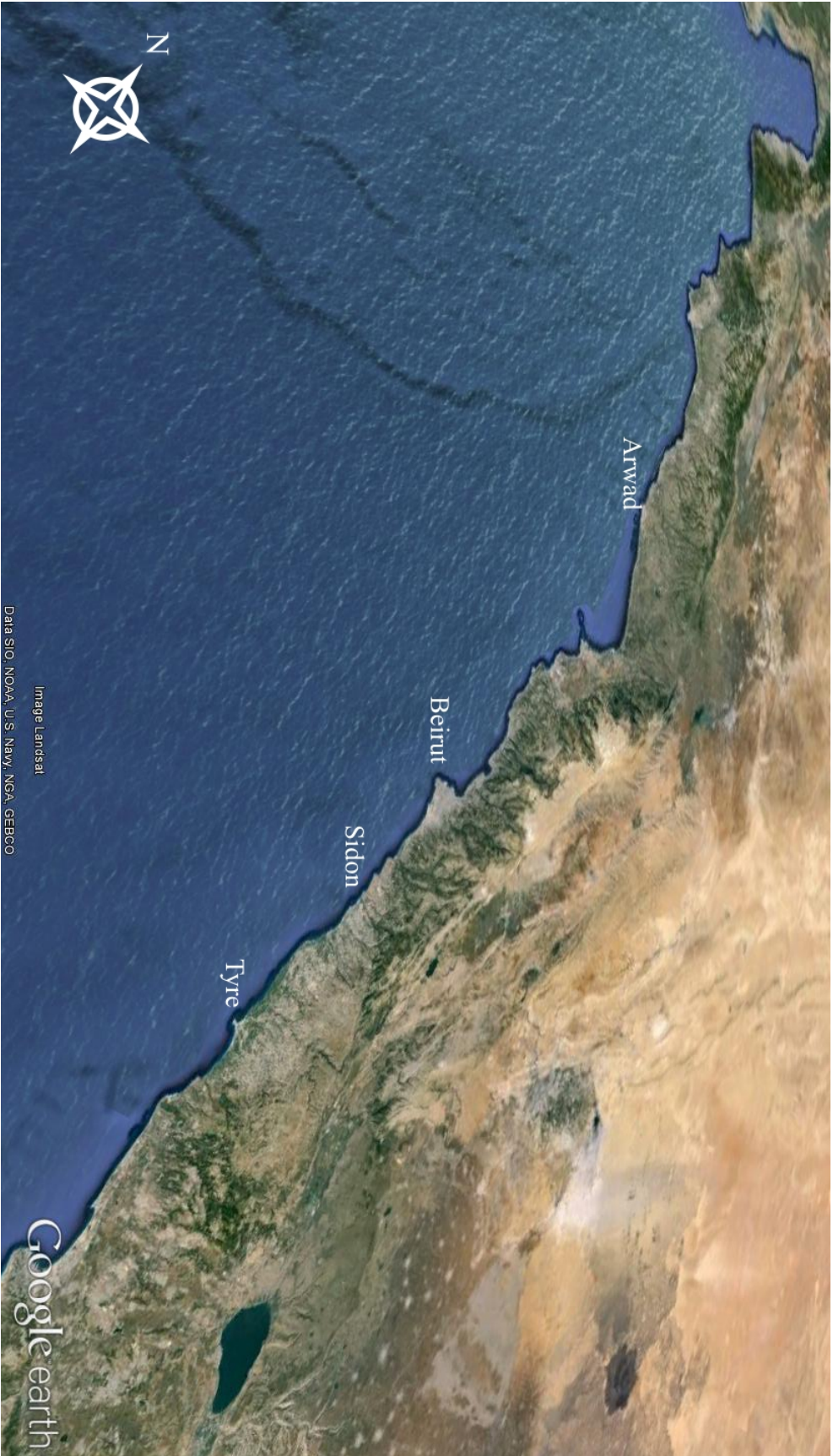
Syria (Prag 1974: 195; Badre 2006: 67; Thalmann 2010: 86).

Southern Phoenicia is more isolated from outside influences by the Mount Lebanon range, and despite its abundance of water sources, which include many natural springs and perennial rivers that flow into the Mediterranean, the majority of the terrain is not optimally suited for agriculture since it is often rocky and covered by sand dunes or marshes (Prag 1974: 195; Aubet 2001: 17). Further south lies the fertile Akko plain, which served as southern Phoenicia's main agricultural hinterland (Prausnitz 1993a: 31). South of it, begins the Carmel ridge, which creates another narrow coastal strip that due to poor drainage was filled in antiquity with marshes. Apart from the large Akko bay, the coves at Dor and 'Atlit located in the Carmel coast are the only two natural bays on the central or southern Levantine coast (Mazar 1992: 3; Elgavish 1994: 45; Haggi 2009: 1). Ironically, it was in southern Phoenicia, with its harsher natural conditions, that the most prosperous Phoenician cities flourished.

The Borders of Phoenicia

The borders of Phoenicia cannot be confined to the classic definition of borders between states since Phoenicia was never a united political entity led by a single central governing unit with clear territorial boundaries (Peckham 1987: 79; Lemche 1991: 154). Phoenicia's borders were cultural borders set within the Phoenician sphere of influence.[4] Many scholars attempted to define the borders of Phoenicia based mainly on biblical texts, classical historiographical studies, and even modern politics (Herzog 2009: 39). Baramki (1961: 1) proposed the borders of Phoenicia stretched from the Orontes in the north to the Kishon in the south. Harden (1963: 25) suggested it was from Arwad in the north, to Dor in the south. Chami (1967: 5) proposed it was from Myriandrus on the Gulf of İskenderun in the north, and Dor in the south. Moscati (1968: 5) maintains that the northernmost Phoenician city was Tell Sukas and the southernmost was Akko. Katzenstein (1997: 6) suggests the northern border was mount Cassius (Jabel el-Akra) in the north and Nahal Soreq in the south. Sader (2000: 227-232) suggested Phoenicia stretched from the Gulf of İskenderun in the north and the Akko plain in the south, and Lipiński (2003: 297) suggests the northern border

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[4] Markoe (2000: 11) suggested the borders of Phoenicia were of an economic nature.

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was at cape Posideium (Ras al-Basit), and the southern border was at Nahal Soreq, to name but a few examples (Elayi 1982: 83, fn. 1).

Nonetheless, it appears that the accepted scholarly convention is that the land stretched from the area south of Ras Shamra (Ugarit) in the north and the head of the Carmel in the south (Ganor 1974: 16; Markoe 2000: 10-11; Killebrew 2005: 96). Tell Sukas, situated in the Gabla plain, is considered to have been the northernmost Phoenician settlement, and Tel Mevorakh, located on the southern bank of Nahal Taninim, which separates the Carmel coast from the Sharon plain, seems to have been the southernmost settlement.

However, this broad definition of Phoenicia cannot always be applied. The borders of Phoenicia expanded and contracted according to the status of its major cities, their spheres of influence, and that of their neighboring kingdoms throughout the ages. Nevertheless, a Phoenician 'core' region can still be defined, in which Phoenician culture thrived mostly in an autonomous state throughout the periods.

It is widely accepted that this region consisted of the area from Arwad, situated opposite of the Gabla plain, in the north to the head of the Carmel in the south, a distance of some 250 km (Map 3) (Ganor 1974: 16; Lipiński 1991: 165). However, it
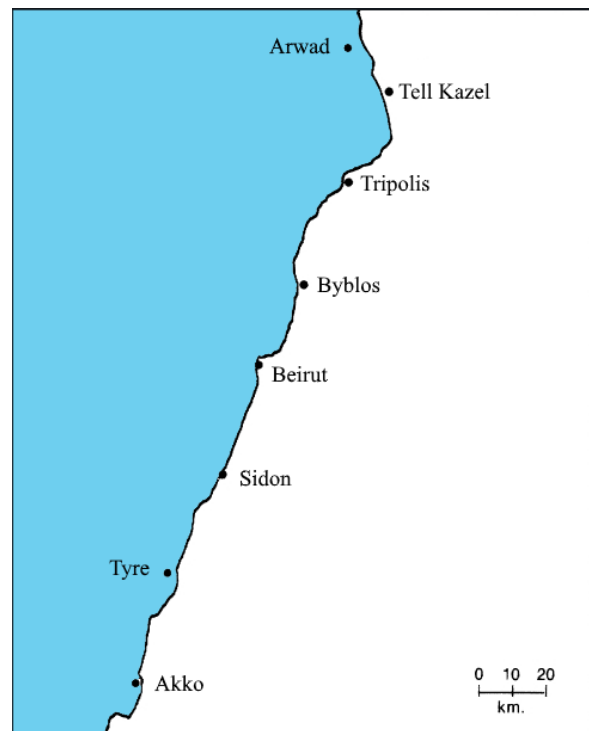
Map 3.

appears that this region should be further narrowed to include only the area from perhaps Tripoli, in the north, to the head of the Carmel in the south, excluding Arwad from the mainland territory. While Arwad should probably be considered as an integral part of Phoenicia,[5] there are no indications that it controlled the mainland territory opposite of the island during most of the Late

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[5] Although since only small-scale archaeological excavations were conducted on the island as of yet, this remains an educated speculation based mainly on classical written sources, e.g. the description of Phoenicia in Pseudo-Scylax' Periplus (Lipiński 2004: 269).

Bronze or Iron Ages (Vidal 2008: 9-10).

The Bronze Age

During the Bronze Age, Phoenicia was an integral part of greater Syria. It appears that only during the Old Kingdom period, ca. 2700-2400 BCE, the Egyptians made a distinction between the Phoenician coast, with which they were most familiar with, and greater Syria, referring to it as *Fnhw*, as it appears in texts such as the 'Tale of Sinuuhe' (Aharoni 1967: 131; Redford 1986: 131; Nibbi 1991; Goedicke 2004: 18; Weippert 2010: 51-62). From the Middle Kingdom period, ca. 2000-1550 BCE, more general terms appear to describe the southern Levant at large, such as *Retenu*, which signified the entire southern Levant up to the Euphrates (Schoville 1998: 161).

After the Egyptian conquest of Canaan during the Late Bronze Age, the Egyptian administrative system divided the area of Phoenicia into three geographic districts. The southern coast, from Beirut southwards as far as the Sinai Peninsula, was considered as Canaan. The northern coastal area from Byblos to Arwad formed part of the Amurru district, which the Egyptians may have also referred to as *Djahi*, and the third district consisted of the Galilee and the Lebanese Beqa' which was named Apu (Aharoni 1967: 42; Weinstein 1981: 12; Nibbi 1991; Markoe 2000: 15-16). It appears that the entire area under Egyptian rule was also known as the land of *Hurru* or *Ha-rw* (Schoville 1998: 161), a term that also appears in the 'Wenamun Report', which is dated to the Iron Age I (*ANET*: 26; Katzenstein 1997: 6; Schipper 2005: 103ff).

During the Late Bronze Age, the area north of Phoenicia was a well-defined political territory with powerful kingdoms and established borders. During the fourteenth century BCE, the kingdom of Amurru was established. Its capital was set at Tell Kazel, and its territory extended as far south as Tripoli (Stieglitz 1991: 45; Goren *et al.* 2003: 1; Gubel 2009b: 45). Further north was the kingdom of Ugarit, whose southernmost border seem to have been located at Tell Tweini, identified with Gibala (Badre 2006: 67; Bretschneider *et al.* 2011: 77). Beyond that was the Hittite empire centered in Asia Minor (Collins 2007: 21ff). It was recently suggested that Arwad did not possess any mainland territory during the second half of the second millennium BCE (Briquel-Chatonnet 2000: 130-131; Vidal 2008: 9-10). During the mid-fourteenth century BCE, the energetic king of Amurru, Abdi-Ashirta had begun to pursue his territorial ambitions by waging war against the cities of Phoenicia. It appears that for a short period, all the area of Phoenicia, as far south as Ushu,

Tyre's mainland town, was under the hegemony of Amurru. However, his reign over Phoenicia was very short lived (Kitchen 1962: 41; Jidejian 1968: 46-50; 33; Redford 1992: 173-174; Katzenstein 1997: 29-33).

The southern Phoenician border was less well defined at that period; however, it may have been near the mouth of the Yarkon River which remained a border area during the Iron Age I (Gadot 2011: 123-125). Geographically, Nahal Taninim, located just south of the Carmel, seems to have served as the natural southern border.

The Iron Age I

During the early stages of the Iron Age, after the demise of the great kingdoms of the Late Bronze Age, the southern Levantine coast underwent many changes; most notable of which was the arrival of foreign groups known as the 'Sea-People' who settled along the coast and hinterland. The accepted scholarly convention is that the Sea-People seized the southern, and later, central parts of the coast, between Gaza and Akko (Stieglitz 1990a; Stern 1990; Gadot 2006). Further north, they occupied the Latakia region on the northern coast of Syria (Dothan 1989: 4-9; Stager 1991a: 31-36; Negbi 1992: 601). This hypothesis seemed to have been corroborated by textual evidence such as the 'Onomasticon of Amenope' (Gardiner 1968: 24ff; Katzenstein 1982; *cf*. Gilboa and Sharon 2008: 159), and the 'Wenamun report', which mentions that Dor was inhabitant by *Škl* Sea-People during the early eleventh century BCE (Schipper 2005: 103), and also by early excavations at Dor (Stern 1990: 28; 2012), and other sites along the southern coast, such as Akko (Dothan 1976; 1985: 12-14), and further inland such as Tell Keisan (Humbert 1980: 229-230). However recent studies conducted in southern Phoenicia suggest that the coastal-Canaanite/Phoenician culture endured along the Carmel coast, and even further south, north of the Yarkon River, during the Iron Age I. As the archaeological record suggests, sites dated to the Iron Age I in this region are marked by the same continuity in Canaanite material culture that can be seen in traditional Phoenician sites, and shows little evidence of foreign material culture (Gilboa 2005; Gilboa *et al.* 2008: 116-117; Gilboa and Sharon 2008: 157-160; Herzog 2009: 39-41). The southern border during this period must have been located at Tell Qasile, situated near the mouth of the Yarkon River, which displays a mixed Phoenician-Philistine material culture (Mazar 1985: 126-127; Fantalkin and Tal 2009: 240; Burke 2011: 71).

Nonetheless, many scholars still maintain that the first wave of Phoenician expansion to the south and east occurred only during the Iron Age IB, i.e., the second half of the eleventh century BCE. It was suggested that at that time, the Phoenicians expanded southwards into the western Galilee and beyond the Carmel littoral into the coastal plain of the Sharon, perhaps by military force, as destruction layers dated to that period were noted in Dor (Stern 1990: 27-32; Markoe 2000: 30-31), and Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985: 126-127). Excavations in inland sites such as Tel Dan (Biran 1994: 135-144) and Tell Keisan (Briend and Humbert 1980: 197ff) in the Galilee reveal notable changes in their city plans and urban expansion, similar to those attested in the cities of Phoenicia dated to the eleventh century BCE. These changes were believed to have been a result of the Phoenician movement east, however they may also simply reflect the same architectural evolution that occurred in Phoenicia. It was also suggested that the Phoenicians penetrated even further east deep into the northern valleys region which served as trade arteries from the coast inland. Two of these arteries stretched from Akko across the northern valleys. One to Beth-Yerah and beyond the Jordan River, and the other to Megiddo and Beth-Shean. From Megiddo the route continued in a general north-eastern direction towards Damascus via the Jezreel and Hulah Valleys, to the Lebanese Beqa' (Gal 1990: 26-27; Tal 2005: 71-74, Fig. 1). Studies and excavations of sites in the northern valleys region indicate that the area served as a border between Phoenicia and Israel during the Iron Age, as the material culture suggests (Mazar 2003; Gal 2011).

In the north the situation appears to fit better to the classic scholarly convention. It seems the former region of Amurru and Ugarit was severely affected by the Sea-People's invasions. In the Akkar and Gabla plains, destruction layers were noted in sites such as Ras Ibn Hani, Tell Sukas, Tell Tweini, and Tell Kazel, all dated to ca. 1200 BCE, and attributed to Sea-Peoples incursions. New settlements were built shortly after in a new architectural style and orientation. The material culture found in these layers also seems to indicate the presence of new ethnic entities in the region (Tsirkin 2003: 10, fn. 9; Al-Maqdissi 2008: 10; Gubel 2009b: 45-47; Vansteenhuyse 2010; Bretschneider *et al.* 2011: 82-85).

It is possible that during the second half of the eleventh century BCE, a Phoenician expansion into the Akkar plain occurred. A series of arrowheads bearing the inscription "Zakarbaal, king of Amurru" were found along the coast. It is tempting to identify this Zakarbaal with the king of Byblos mentioned in the Wenamun Report, dated to ca. 1075 BCE. If that is the case it may be

understood that Byblos had gained influence in the Akkar plain, however this theory cannot be proven (Starcky 1982; *cf*. Gubel 2009b: 48). As for Arwad, it appears the city was not powerful enough to attain a hold on the mainland at that time. The texts of Tiglath-Pileser I's campaign to the Akkar plain (Grayson 1991: A.O.87.3: 16-25, A.O.87.10: 28-32) suggest that the island of Arwad was not considered as part of the land of Amurru (Gubel 2009b: 47). It is therefore safe to assume that during the Iron Age I the northern border of Phoenicia on the mainland was set in Tripoli or Byblos.

The Iron Age II

During the Iron Age II many of the new nations of the southern Levant, which were formed during the early Iron Age, became powerful states that began gaining influence and territory. Many scholars maintain that during the early Iron Age II, the coastal plain down to the slopes of the Carmel ridge, including sites such as Tell Abu-Hawam, Akko, Tell Keisan, and Achziv, was under a Phoenician-Tyrian hegemony (Lipiński 1991: 156; Herr 1997: 131; Aubet 2001: 14; Lehmann 2001: 94; 2002: 85; Nigro 2014: 263; *cf*. Boyes 2012: 41). Stern (2000: 101ff) maintained that for a short period between ca. 1050-1000 BCE the city of Dor was also under the hegemony of the Phoenicians. Katzenstein (1997: 106-107), based mainly on biblical accounts (e.g. Jdg. 1: 31-32), maintains that sites further inland such as Aphek, Helbah, and Rehob were also under the hegemony of Tyre. However, with the rise in power of the kingdom of Israel, either under David and Solomon during the tenth century BCE, or more probably under Omri and Ahab during the ninth century BCE (Finkelstein and Silberman 2001: 131ff), the borders of Phoenicia seem to have narrowed. According to Stern (2000: 104ff), during the early stages of the tenth century BCE, the Carmel coast fell under the hegemony of Israel. However, Gilboa and Sharon (2008: 161-163) suggest that the material culture in Dor during the early stages of the Iron Age II (Iron 1|2 Transition) points to continuity rather than abrupt change. It was only during the following period (Late Iron 2a/b Horizon), which is dated to the early ninth century BCE, that a change in material culture is noted (*ibid*.: 162). This seems to indicate the Phoenicians continued to control the coast of the Carmel during the early stages of the Iron Age II. Furthermore, radiocarbon dating of the artificial harbor at 'Atlit, which displays Phoenician hallmarks (see chapter 3), date its construction to the late ninth or early eighth century BCE (Haggi 2006: 57; Haggi and Artzy 2007: 75-76). The

cemetery at 'Atlit also indicates the site was inhabited by Phoenicians at that time (Haggi 2006: 44-49).

The southern border with the kingdom of Israel, is believed to have been set at the Kishon River, which flows from the Jezreel valley through the Akko valley into the Mediterranean near Tell Abu-Hawam. Tell Abu-Hawam was identified by Aharoni (1967: 238) with the biblical town שיחור לבנת *Siḥur-Libnath*, located near the head of the Carmel (*cf*. Mazar 1950: 777-786; Lipiński 1991: 160-161), and described as the border between Phoenicia and the tribe of Asher in Josh. 19: 24-30 (Gal 1990: 135-137; 1992: 102-104; Lipiński 1991; Elgavish 1994: 56). However, the border at that time should probably be stretched further south at least as far as 'Atlit.

Israelite penetration to Phoenician territory along the coast may have intensified during the Iron Age IIB in the Sharon plain and the Carmel coast. Stratum III, dated to the Iron Age II, at Tell Abu-Hawam displays both Phoenician and Israelite material culture (Balensi *et al.* 1993: 10). At Shiqmona, the excavators suggest that during the Iron Age II, a prosperous fortified Israelite city existed (Elgavish 1994: 55). And as mentioned above, a change in the material culture was also noted at Dor, where the previous Canaanite-Phoenician material culture is replaced by an 'Israelite' material culture similar to that found in Megiddo, Yoqneam, and sites of the Jezreel valley (Stern 2000: 104-111; Gilboa and Sharon 2008: 163; *cf*. Herr 1997: 132; Katzenstein 1997: 107). This Israelite penetration may be reflected in the story of the conquest of the land by Joshua (17: 11) (Stern 2000: 85-87). It seems that Dor remained under Israelite hegemony until its conquest by Tiglath-Pileser III in the eighth century BCE (Stern 2000: 104-129; Gilboa and Sharon 2008: 166-167).

The western border with the kingdom of Israel seems to have been located in the hinterland of the Akko plain, in the hill or mountain country. This border is evident by the presence of fortresses such as Har Adir, Tel Harashim, Horbat Rosh Zayit, and Tel Kabri, which also served as administrative centers (Lehmann 2002: 74; Ben-Ami 2009). Frankel and others (Frankel et al. 2001: 104) suggested on basis of the ceramic assemblage that the fort at Har Adir was under a Phoenician, most likely Tyrian, hegemony. Lipschits and Finkelstein (2011: 292) on the other hand suggest, based on architectural elements, that Har Adir could have been an Israelite stronghold on the border with Tyre during the ninth century BCE. Ben-Ami (2009: 49-51) suggested that Tel

Harashim was an Israelite fort since the Iron Age II casemate wall unearthed at the site is similar in measurements to the fortifications of Israelite Hazor (Strata X-IX). Furthermore, similar pottery assemblages were noted at both Hazor and Tel Harashim, which suggests the two sites coexisted and were perhaps connected. The pottery assemblage at Horbat Rosh Zayit, located 15 km east of Akko on the border of the Akko valley, is similar to those found in sites such as Megiddo, Ta'anch and Hazor, which may also suggest Israelite occupancy (Gal and Alexandre 2000: 197-201). Regardless of the identity of the inhabitants of these fortresses, their mere presence suggests a border excited between Phoenicia and the kingdom of Israel (Ben-Ami 2009: 51-52; Lipschits and Finkelstein 2011: 292).

The Hebrew bible records that king Solomon gave Hiram I of Tyre twenty cities in the Galilee, which Hiram called 'the lands of Cabul', as payment for his assistance in the construction of the temple at Jerusalem (1 Kgs. 9: 11-13). However, the narrative changes in 2 Chron. 8: 2, in which it is Hiram who gives the cities to Solomon, which may reflect that the area of the Akko plain was subjected to territorial transitions between Tyre and Israel (Gal and Alexandre 2000: 199; cf. Aubet 2001: 57-59).

The northern border during the early stages of the Iron Age II is more elusive. It may have been located somewhere between Arwad and Ras-Shamra, however it is also possible that Byblos or Tripoli signified the northern border of Phoenicia on the mainland. Ras el-Bassit is the northernmost site that displays signs of Phoenician occupancy during the Iron Age II, as early as the ninth century BCE (see below), however it may have only been a Phoenician enclave in an area mostly dominated by other kingdoms. The island of Arwad most likely remained an independent Phoenician city-state, protected in its island fortress. However, during the early stages of the Iron Age II, the powerful kingdoms of Syria have extended their influence over the Gabla and Akkar plains on the coast. Excavations in sites in the region displays mixed material culture of Arameans, Aegeans, and Phoenicians. From the beginning of the Iron Age II, Assyrian sources indicate the 'Land of Amurru' as a territory occupied by a confederation of political entities independent of Hamath (Gubel 2009b: 51). However, it is also believed that the most important site in the region, Tell Kazel, was under the hegemony of the kingdom of Hamath until the Assyrian conquest during the eighth century BCE (Peckham 2001: 26; Na'aman 2009: 105).

The Neo-Assyrian Period

During the second half of the eighth century BCE, with the rise of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BCE) to the throne, Assyria began to reorganize and occupy territories on the Mediterranean coast. Between 743-738 BCE Assyria managed to crush the independent states of Syria and turn them into directly ruled Assyrian provinces. Tiglath-Pileser III launched an attack during his first campaign on the cities of the northern Levantine coast. The cities Sumur, 'Arqa, Usnu, and Siannu, located north of Byblos in the Akkar plain, were annexed into a new Assyrian province and suffered deportations. It is possible that Byblos was also annexed at that time (Oded 1974: 43, fn. 23; Katzenstein 1997: 202-204). The seat of the new province was probably set in Tell Kazel, identified as Sumur (Aubet 2008: 186). It appears that Arwad was also subjected to the Assyrian province of Sumur (Katzenstein 1997: 211). The cities of southern Phoenicia may have been less effected, although it is possible their influence was restricted to the coast and its immediate hinterland. This period marks a severe settlement decline in the Hula valley, which experienced a revival only during the Hellenistic period (Zwickel 2007: 175-179). Katzenstein (1997: 210-211) suggested Tyre was still the most powerful Phoenician city at that time and its hegemony may have extended to the border of the new Assyrian province in northern Phoenicia, perhaps to the Nahr el-Kelb, and in the south it probably stretched as far as the Carmel ridge.

After Hiram II (738/9–734/730 BCE) of Tyre joined the rebellion of Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Samaria in 736 BCE, it appears the coast of the Carmel was conquered and reorganized as an Assyrian province with its capitol at Dor (Stern 2000: 138-139; *cf*. Gilboa 1996: 131–133; Na'aman 2009: 106). The coast south of the Carmel seems to have been under Philistine hegemony, as the annals of Sennacherib (*ANET*: 287-288) describe the cities of Jaffa, Azor, Beth-Dagon, and Bene-Barak as belonging to Ashkelon (Na'aman 1998b: 219-223; Fantalkin and Tal 2009: 241-242, fn. 64; Burke 2011: 73).

During the reign of Sennacherib (704-681 BCE), Luli of Sidon rallied to him the cities of Phoenicia and rebelled against Assyria. After the suppression of the rebellion, a new king was appointed and Sidon is given a sizeable territory (Tadmor 1966: 95-96; Katzenstein 1997: 246-287). According to the annals of Esarhaddon (680-669 BCE), Sidon ruled from Al-Mina in the north to the Litani River in the south (Lipiński 2004: 19, 36). Tyre, however appears to have lost considerable territory in the aftermath of the aforementioned rebellion. In the south, the fertile Akko plain was reorganized and incorporated into an Assyrian province (Na'aman 1994b: 3-8; 2009: 99; Zwickel

2012: 6; *cf.* Alt 1953: 377-378).

During the reign of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BCE), Phoenician territory seems to have narrowed even further. The destruction of the stratum E3 fortress at Kabri should probably be attributed to Ashurbanipal's campaign against Tyre. The new fortress, of stratum E2, dated to the seventh century BCE, may have become an Assyrian outpost (Lehmann 2002: 86) reflecting the transformation of Phoenician territory into an Assyrian province. However, during the final years of Ashurbanipal's reign, Assyria grew increasingly weaker, and it appears the cities of Phoenicia began to recover and regain some of their former dependencies. Tyre may have reasserted itself over Akko and the Akko plain in the south (Klengel 1992: 232-234), however this seems to be the southernmost border at that time, as excavations show that Dor on the Carmel coast was abandoned sometime between 635-630 BCE and was not resettled until the Iron Age III (Gilboa and Sharon 2008: 167).

After the demise of Assyria, it is possible that Egypt under Psammetichus I (664-610 BCE), and perhaps also Necho II (610-595 BCE), exploited the power vacuum in the southern Levant and reasserted itself as a regional power. The Phoenician coast may have become an Egyptian dependency directly ruled by a provincial authority of the pharaoh (Freedy and Redford 1970: 475-477; Katzenstein 1978: 162; Redford 1992: 441-442; Markoe 2000: 46-47).

The Neo-Babylonian Period

Egyptian expansion in the southern Levant was put to a halt in 605 BCE as Necho II (610-595 BCE), who joined forces with his former enemy Assyria, met the Babylonian army led by Nebuchadnezzar (604-562 BCE) on the battlefield at Carchemish and was defeated. It appears the Babylonian conquest took a severe toll on the cities of Phoenicia and their spheres of influence were greatly reduced. The Carmel coast and Akko plain seems to have remained unoccupied during most of this period (Lehmann 2001: 96; 2002: 87; Stern 2001: 315-316). However, it seems that in the final years of the Neo-Babylonian period, during the reign of Nabonidus (556-539 BCE), the cities of Phoenicia somewhat recuperated and regained their influence in the eastern Mediterranean. According to Xenophon (*Anab.* 1: 4.6), during Cyrus' campaign in Cilicia, the Persian army camped at Myriandrus, which was a Phoenician trading station in Babylonian territory (Katzenstein 1997: 342) that many have been founded already during the reign of

Nabonidus.

Iron Age III

In October 539 BCE Babylon was conquered by Cyrus the Great (559-530 BCE). Shortly after, during the reign of Cyrus or Cambyses, Phoenicia came under the dominance of the Achaemenid Empire (Dandamaev 1989: 60-65). At first Phoenicia fell under a widespread area known as *Athura* (Assyria), which included all of Mesopotamia and the southern Levant. Later during the reign of Darius I (522-486 BCE), this area was subdivided and a new province known as *Abranahara* (i.e. beyond the river) was formed. This province, the fifth Satrapy, encompassed all of the southern Levant west of the Euphrates including Cyprus (Ward 1996: 193; Markoe 2000: 50). The satrapy was divided into administrative units such as Samaria, Yehud (Judah), Ammon, Moab, and Edom.

During the Iron Age III, also known as the Persian period, Phoenicia enjoyed a privileged status in the Achaemenid Empire. The entire Levantine coast, from Cilicia in the north to the Sinai Peninsula in the south, was placed under the hegemony of the Phoenicians. The territory beyond Phoenicia was divided between the three most prominent Phoenician city-states, Sidon, Tyre, and Arwad. According to the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax (104), dated to post 337 BCE, the borders of Phoenicia during the Iron Age III stretched from the *Tapash* River in the north, which separates Syria and Cilicia, and the city of Ashkelon in the south. Lipiński (2004: 269-271, fn. 13) identifies Tapash as the city of Al Mina. According to Avi-Yonah (1984: 24), the city of Gaza was not included in the Phoenician territory since it served as an administrative and military base of the Persian army.

Sidon was the most powerful and prosperous of the Phoenician cities during the majority of the Persian period. According to the inscription on the Eshmunezer sarcophagus (*KAI* 14), dated to the end of the sixth century BCE, besides its local dependencies, Sidon ruled over the coastal region of the Sharon Plain from Dor to Jaffa, and perhaps even further south as far as Yavneh-Yam (Jidejian 1968: 93; Elayi 1980: 25-26; 1982; Markoe 2000: 52; Briant 2002: 607-608; Betlyon 2005: 11; Tal 2005: 89; Noonan 2011: 286-287).

Tyre was the second most important Phoenician city during the Persian period, and it controlled over its traditional dependencies on the coast including the Akko plain and perhaps the northern

part of the Carmel coast. It was also given hegemony over the major centers of the former Philistine coast including Ashkelon, Ashdod, and perhaps also Gaza (Cross 1964; Elayi 1980; 1982; Stager 1991b: 28-29; Stern 2001: 373, 380; Betlyon 2005: 11; Tal 2005: 89; *cf*. Avi-Yonah 1984: 23-24). Further inland, Tyre dominated the upper, and perhaps also lower, galilee, as attested by the Phoenician temple at Mispe Yamim (Niehr 2008: 15-17).

Arwad was awarded hegemony over vast areas in the north. According to Quintus Curtius (4.1.5-7), Arrian (*Anabasis* 2: 13.7), and Strabo (16: 2.14) the city ruled over considerable territory not only on the coast but also inland, perhaps as far as Hamath. Elayi (1982: 89-90) suggested the northern limit of Arwad was at Paltos, just south of Tell Sukas, and its southern border was the Nahr el-Kabir (Eleutheros river). Riis, (Lund 2004: 61) also maintains the northern border was set at Tell Sukas, however numismatic evidence dated to the late Iron Age III suggests that Arwad's influence extended far north into coastal Syria, perhaps as far as Al Mina at the mouth of the Orontes (Markoe 2000: 62-63).

The cities of Phoenicia continued to control the entire Levantine coast almost without pause throughout the Iron Age III. The situation abruptly changed with Alexander's conquest of the Levant between 333-332 BCE, which ushered the beginning of the Hellenistic period. At that time, the cities of Phoenicia not only continued to prosper as economic centers but had even managed to retain their traditional dependencies. However, they would never again hold sway over vast territories as they did during the Iron Age III.

Summary

'Phoenicia' is an elusive term that refers to the land inhabited and dominated by the major cities of Phoenicia. Although this definition encompasses geographical regions over which the cities of Phoenicia extended their hegemony, it cannot be understood solely in territorial terms but rather as spheres of influence. Since Phoenicia was never a united political entity, its borders cannot be easily drawn. Furthermore, since the Phoenicians were a maritime people, and their land stretched along the Mediterranean, there was no need for territorial continuity. Phoenicia could engulf certain enclaves within an otherwise foreign territory, such as the island of Arwad or Tell Sukas. Nevertheless, a Phoenician 'core' region in which the Phoenician culture thrived throughout the ages can still be defined. This area encompassed the southern part of Phoenicia, from Tripoli or

Byblos in the north, to the head of the Carmel in the south (Map 2), and bordered in the east by the Lebanon Mountains, and the hills beyond the Akko valley. It was in this region, which was relatively isolated from greater Syria, that Phoenician culture not only endured continuously from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age III, but also thrived, prospered, and extended its cultural influence over large areas beyond their humble land.

The History of Phoenicia

Composing the history of Phoenicia is a difficult task that was seldom tackled as a large comprehensive subject, but rather, broken into the individual histories of the major Phoenician city-states. The main problem, as always, is the profound want of genuine Phoenician written sources. Although over six thousand Phoenician and Punic inscriptions were found and translated in the past, the vast majority of these consist mainly of laconic inscriptions that seldom revel more than names of deities and men. We therefore must lean heavily on exterior historical sources for each period in question. The most important sources for the Bronze Age come from Egypt, most notably of which are the Late Bronze Age Amarna correspondence of various Levantine cities with the Egyptian court. For the Iron Age I and especially II the main sources are the annals of Assyrian kings and their exploits, and for the Iron Age III, i.e. the Persian period, the compositions of various classical authors. The problem with these sources is that most of them treat the Phoenicians as 'the others', and seldom as 'the enemy', and are thus clearly bias. Furthermore, most classical sources as well as the Hebrew bible are often anachronistic and should be treated with caution. Nevertheless, it is possible to glean valuable information from all these sources that shed light on Phoenicia and its people. Another valuable source, which is becoming increasingly more affluent in recent years, is archaeology. As stated above, the archaeological exploration of the Phoenicians and their past in modern Syria, Lebanon, and Israel has underwent and is currently experiencing periods of academic prosperity and the written sources can, at least in part, be corroborated with archaeological data.

The earliest scientific studies concerning the Phoenicians, published during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were of a linguistic and epigraphic nature, such as W. Gesenius's *"Paläographische Studien über Phönizische und Punische Schrift"* published in 1835 or his *"Scripturae Linguaeque Phoeniciae"* published two years later, or G.A. Cooke's *"Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions"* published in 1903, to name a few. These studies raised an increasingly growing interest with the Phoenicians and their culture, and in 1855, J. Kenrick attempted composing the history of Phoenicia entitled simply 'Phoenicia'. Between the years 1860 and 1861, a French expedition led by E. Renan, commissioned by Napoleon III, surveyed the Phoenician

coast documenting visible relics and excavating ancient remains. This important study was published in two volumes under the title *"Mission de Phénicie"* in 1864. In 1889, two major compositions were published on the history of Phoenicia, the first by R. Pietschmann entitled *"Geschichte der Phönizier"* and the more eminent *"History of Phoenicia"* by G. Rawlinson. These studies were, in a large sense, based on the then known written sources, thus perpetuating many misconceptions on the Phoenicians and their cultural legacy. Adding the fact that these compositions were written from an arrogant nineteenth century European egocentric point of view both studies became largely obsolete. During the twentieth century, scientific interest in Phoenicia and its people had peaked and more and more academic papers were published on the Phoenicians, their influence, and contribution to Western culture. Among these are G. Contenau's book *"La Civilisation Phénicienne"* published in 1926 and republished in 1949, and W.F. Albright's important essay *"The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization"* published in 1942 and then republished in a revised edition in 1961.

The first question one must ask himself when dealing with the history of Phoenicia is when does Phoenician history begin? As stated above, the views on this matter are somewhat divided. Some scholars maintain that the 'true' Phoenicians emerged only during the beginning of the Iron Age ca. 1200 BCE, when the southern Levant was finally free of Egyptian dominion. These scholars often refer to the Bronze Age inhabitants of the region as 'Proto-Phoenicians' (Muhly 1970: 26; Elayi 1980: 14; Bondi 2001a: 23). Others propose a much earlier starting date during the second or even third millennium BCE (Harden 1963: 21; Markoe 2000: 11). We tend to agree with the latter view as both archaeological and historical evidence suggest it is impossible to separate the Bronze Age inhabitants of the northern Levantine coast from those of the Iron Age. It was perhaps Moscati (2001a: 19) who put it best by stating that "*Phoenician civilization was the result of continuation, and not of the innovation that took place around it.*" Nevertheless, the scope of the entire history of Phoenicia is too great a subject to be tackled here, and thus our focus will be on the Iron Age, ca. 1200-332 BCE, representing the zenith of Phoenician civilization.

The Bronze Age

Throughout the long history of Phoenicia, its cities were hardly ever truly independent political

units, but rather autonomous entities subjected to the major powers that dominated the Ancient Near East. The most dominant political and cultural power in the southern Levant during the Bronze Age was Egypt. Archaeological evidence suggests that Phoenician connections with Egypt were formed as early as the beginning of the third millennium BCE, from the reign of the Pharaohs of the first dynasty (Jidejian 1968: 16-17; Bondi 2001a: 23), and Prag (1986) had proposed an even earlier fourth millennium date. Egypt's harsh climate forced it to import many raw materials and manufactured products from its neighboring lands. Remains of wood of southern Levantine origin, one of Phoenicia's leading exports (Markoe 2000: 19), was found in the royal tombs of the first dynasty at Abydos (Ward 1963: 19, fn. 1; Redford 1992: 38). Cedar oil, which was essential for the mummification process, was also a prized commodity that could be found in Phoenicia.

Among the Bronze Age Phoenician cities, Byblos stood out throughout the period as the most prominent and prosperous of them all. Scholars maintain that it was Byblos' location that first drew Egyptian attention. The ancient city was situated on a rock promontory where the cedar bearing mountains came closest to the sea. It had a small but adequate natural harbor, thus making it the most suitable for the cedar trade. An Egyptian inscription from the reign of Pharaoh Senefru (ca. 2670-2620 BCE), of the fourth dynasty, tells of a fleet of forty ships transporting cedar logs from Byblos to Egypt (*ANET*: 227). Thanks to its Egyptian connections, Byblos became very prosperous at a very early stage. At ca. 2800 BCE, the city was already fortified. First attempts of city planning were made, and the famous temple of the 'Lady of Byblos' - *Baalat Gebal* was founded (Jidejian 1968: 16-20) in the city's preexisting sacred precinct.

It appears that the nature of Egyptian-Byblite relations in these early stages of history was not of dominance and subjugation, but rather of mutual interest and respect. Excavations uncovered many prestigious offerings and gifts sent by the pharaohs of the fourth-sixth dynasties in the temple's earliest strata, evident of its importance and to the warm relations between Egypt and Byblos at that time (Redford 1992: 40-42).[6]

Our information concerning the rest of Phoenicia is far more limited. Excavations in Tyre have

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[6] This was apparently not the case for the rest the southern Levant. Resources for the Old Kingdom's ambitious building projects were not always acquired by trade. Occasionally a military expedition was launched in order to obtain cheap foreign labor and various commodities. Captives from such expeditions account for a large part of Egypt's alien population during the Pyramid age (Redford 1992: 51-55). Nevertheless, whether or not Egypt ruled over the southern Levant or parts of it during the Early Bronze Age is still undetermined (Ben-Tor 1992: 93-95).

demonstrated that the island was already occupied by the middle of the third millennium BCE, which corroborates with Herodotus' account on the foundation of the city of Tyre in 2750 BCE (2: 44.3). The excavations revealed that a permanent settlement was present on the island throughout the Early Bronze Age (Bikai 1978: 72). During excavations of a large structure at Tyre, a seal of an Egyptian official was found dated to the same period that may indicate Egyptian presence on the island (Bikai 1978: 6, 84).[7] At Beirut, a small section of the Early Bronze settlement was excavated revealing massive walls, 0.50 m. thick, preserved to a height of 0.90 m. which indicate the city was a well-fortified center (Badre 1997: 14-22).

Over the next centuries Egypt's relations with the city-states of the southern Levant somewhat deteriorated (Redford 1992: 64-80), however its favorable relationship with Byblos still endured. During the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries BCE, Byblos, much like Ugarit, had served as a major coastal port with strong ties not only to Egypt in the south, but also Mesopotamia in the east and the Aegean world in the west (Mazar 1990: 187; Markoe 2000: 15). At that time, it seems that other cities in Phoenicia also experienced a period of prosperity. For the first time other cities of the Phoenician coast are mentioned in Egyptian and Mesopotamian texts. The Egyptian execration texts apparently mention the kings of Akko, Tyre, Ullza, and 'Arqa as enemies of Egypt, which is also the first evidence of monarchies in Phoenicia (Mazar 1954: 22; Kempinski 1992: 160; Dothan and Goldmann 1993: 16; Katzenstein 1997: 19; *cf*. Bikai 1978: 72-73; Heinz and Kulemann-Ossen 2010: 23).[8] Economic documents from Nuzi describe both Tyre and Byblos as large trade centres from which caravans come and go (Mazar 1965: 6). Excavations in Beirut unearthed the city walls, which were built of mudbricks with a monumental entrance (Badre 1997: 22-34). A sphinx bearing the name of pharaoh Amenemhat IV (ca. 1800-1792 BCE) found in Beirut may also suggest the city's importance at that time (Ward 1970: 18).

With the rise of the pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty, after the explosion of the Hyksos, Egypt's attitude towards the Levant became much more aggressive, and the Egyptian army had set out on frequent campaigns against Canaanite city-states (Redford 1984: 15-16; 1992: 148). Ahmose

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[7] Bikai (1978: 72) suggested Tyrian priests might have had some sort of records even at these early stages of history, from which Herodotus drew his information.

[8] Although Bikai (1978: 72-73; 1987: 77) maintains there was no settlement at Tyre during the Middle Bronze II period and that the Execration texts reflect an earlier Middle Bronze reality.

(1539-1514 BCE), founder of the dynasty, had even led a military campaign that reached as far as Byblos (Redford 1979: 270-281; Weinstein 1981). But while these campaigns were meant to weaken and deter the city-states of the southern Levant from gaining too much power, it was only during the reign of Tuthmose III (1479-1426 BCE), that Egypt had set out to conquer and subdue the entire region.

The annals of Tuthmose III portray the Egyptian advance through the Akko plain into Phoenicia and further north (Weinstein 1981:11-12; Leonard 1989: 12). The only two cities in Phoenicia mentioned in the annals are Akko and Byblos (Frankel 1994: 19; Katzenstein 1997: 22). Although scholars maintain the cities of Phoenicia south of Tripoli surrendered without resistance (Redford 1992: 158; Markoe 2000: 14-15), destruction layers unearthed in Phoenician sites may suggest otherwise. Archaeological excavations in Achziv revealed that the Middle Bronze Age II fortification system was violently destroyed at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (Prausnitz 1963: 337), perhaps during Tuthmose's campaign.

It seems the cities of Phoenicia prospered under Egyptian hegemony during the Late Bronze Age, especially during the '*pax Aegyptia*' instated during the reign of Amenhotep II (1426-1400 BCE). Although they became vassals of the Egyptian Pharaoh and were obliged to pay an annual tribute, the cities of Phoenicia enjoyed a relatively autonomous status. The cities of the southern coast; Tyre, Sidon, Sarepta and Beirut, which were hardly ever mentioned in Egyptian texts prior to the mid fourteenth century BCE, appear now to be prosperous political entities with established dynasties and commercial fleets engaged in fierce economic rivalry with each other while taking advantage of Egypt's dominion over a vast territory on the coast as well as further inland, and expanding their economic networks (Mazar 1965: 9-11; Redford 1992: 165-167; Tubb 1998: 140; Markoe 2000: 16-18).

This period of stability ended during the reign of Amenhotep IV (1353-1336 BCE), better known as Akhenaton, who showed little interest in military and foreign affairs. The lack of authority was taken advantage of by a new entity of semi-nomadic western-Semitic speaking clans who untied under the leadership of a vigorous and aggressive leader named Abdi-Ashirta, and settled in Amurru, in the highlands east of the Akkar plain, forming a new political power (Goren *et al.* 2003: 8). Although Abdi-Ashirta declared himself as a vassal of Egypt, he quickly began to forcefully impose his will on neighboring principalities. These violent actions were not looked

upon with favorable eyes by the Egyptian court; however, for a long period of time, no real actions were taken in order to stop his acts of aggression (Redford 1992: 173-174). In light of the Egyptian indifference, Abdi-Ashirta began to openly wage war against the cities of Phoenicia, apparently with the cooperation of Arwad[9] (*EA* 101: 3-18), laying siege on Byblos. The correspondence of Rib-Addi, king of Byblos, with the Egyptian throne portrays a vivid picture of the situation in Phoenicia at that time. The letters begin with warnings of the coming danger and continue with desperate cries for help (*EA* 89), all met with apathy by the Egyptian throne. The pharaoh eventually sent orders to the cities of Tyre, Beirut and Sidon to assist Byblos, but they did not obey (*EA* 92). Byblos was besieged for two years, managing to withstand the attack with no outside aid (*EA* 127). Rib-Addi's correspondence also sheds light on other cities in Phoenicia during that period. In Tyre, the king was assassinated by Abdi-Ashirta and a usurper took the throne (*EA* 89). Finally, in Akhenaton's eleventh year, an Egyptian army was sent on a tour in the southern Levant during which Abdi-Ashirta dies, probably in a conflict with the army (Kitchen 1962: 41; Jidejian 1968: 46-50; Katzenstein 1997: 29-33; Goren *et al.* 2003: 8-10; Vidal 2008: 6-8; *cf*. Liverani 2004: 99ff).

After the death of Abdi-Ashirta, his successor Aziru, rose to power and continued his father's aggressive approach towards the Canaanite city-states of Syria and the Phoenician coast. Zimrida, king of Sidon, witnessing the Egyptian lack of authority in Canaan, aligned himself with Aziru and launched an attack on Tyre, conquering its mainland town Ushu. Zimrida also attempted to sway Abimilki, king of Tyre, to join the anti-Egyptian camp (*EA* 146-147), to which other northern cities such as Hazor (*EA* 148) had already joined (Eiselen 1966: 34-39; Frankel 1994: 20-21; Katzenstein 1997: 39). Arwad too joined Sidon in the attack against Tyre, however with the aid of Egyptian reinforcement Tyre managed to withstand the attack. Byblos on the other hand, was still besieged by Aziru, and its king Rib-Addi had fled to Beirut, where he continued to request aid from Egypt. Byblos falls to Aziru, and Rib-Addi was surrendered to him, and was put to death (Jidejian 1968: 50-53; Redford 1992: 169-172; Katzenstein 1997: 30). Aziru now offered his allegiance to the Hittite king Shuppiluliuma, and the Phoenician coast north of Byblos fell under

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[9] Arwad's status during this period is not clear since there is no mention to a "king of Arwad", but rather only to "men of Arwad" it may have been under the influence of Amurru, which dominated the mainland opposite the island (Briquel-Chatonnet 2000: 129; Vidal 2008: 9-12; *cf*. Singer 1991: 157; Gubel 2009b: 47). Vidal (2008) proposed Amurru employed the people of Arwad as naval mercenaries.

Hittite hegemony (Schulman 1965; 1978: 45-46; Redford 1973: 37-41; 1992: 175-177; Markoe 2000: 19). It seems that at that time Tyre grew significantly in strength and importance, perhaps even surpassing Byblos, which may explain Sidon and Arwad's aggression towards it, as well as Egypt's assistance to Tyre but not to Byblos.

These patterns of political stability in times of prosperity, economic rivalry (especially between Tyre and Sidon), opportunism, and the distinction between northern and southern Phoenicia, will repeat repeatedly throughout Phoenician history.

During the second half of the fourteenth century BCE, Egypt had sunk into a period of weakness that grew more acute with the premature death of Tutankhamun, who left no heir to the throne. Egypt's hold over the southern Levant had greatly loosened and various nomadic groups ran amok. Nevertheless, it appears southern Phoenicia was not subjugated to Hatti, but rather enjoyed a greater measure of independence. The Egyptian throne was seized by a succession of generals, until Ramses I (1292-1290 BCE) founded the nineteenth dynasty (Katzenstein 1997: 46; Leonard 1989: 20; Redford 1992: 178-180; Seele 1955).

Shortly after Seti I (1290-1279 BCE) came to the throne, Egypt managed to reaffirm its hegemony over the southern Levant including the Phoenician coast from Akko to Tyre. The lists of conquered cities attributed to Seti's campaign all mention the conquest of Tyre and Ushu, which may again indicate that Tyre was an important city at that time. It seems that the rest of the cities of Phoenicia surrendered without resistance. Seti's victory was commemorated by a stele erected in Tyre and a wall relief in Karnak (*ANEP*: 327, 331; *ANET*: 254; Spalinger 1979: 277; Redford 1992:180-181; Katzenstein 1997: 49, 56; Markoe 2000: 19; Zwickel 2012a: 5).

While Kadesh and Amurru fell in and out of Egyptian hands, the northern coast and the strategic Akkar plain remained firmly under Hittite control, despite recurring attempts by both Seti I and his successor Ramses II (1279-1213 BCE) (Katzenstein 1997: 48; Markoe 2000: 19-20; Redford 1992: 181-182).

During the first half of the thirteenth century BCE, Egypt and Hatti engaged in ever-frequent conflicts that cumulated in the battle of Kadesh in 1274 BCE. Ramses' near defeat in the battle served as a catalyst for rebellions breaking out throughout the southern Levant. The following years were dedicated to reaffirming Egyptian hegemony over the southern Levant, which was accomplished by year ten of Ramses' reign. It appears that the Phoenician coast was secured with

relative ease (*ANET*: 255-256; Katzenstein 1997: 50-51; Leonard 1989: 23-25; Redford 1992: 183-186). The results of the battle of Kadesh must have affected Hatti as well, as some sixteen years later, in 1259 BCE, a peace treaty was signed between the two major powers. A Rock inscription erected by Ramses II near the Nahr el-Kelb (Lycus River), probably signified the border between the two empires (Katzenstein 1997: 50). The era after the signing of the treaty, known as the '*pax Aegyptia atque Hethaea*', was halcyon days for the entire Ancient Near East. The open borders between the great empires, inland and across the sea, brought forth a new pinnacle in international trade relations (Redford 1992: 241). As Ramses II boasted:

> "*And so it was that if a man or a woman proceeded in their mission to Djahi,*
> *they could reach the land of Hatti without fear around their hearts...*" (*ANET*:
> 258a).

At that time, Phoenicia experienced a period of prosperity. The Egyptian temple-based economy of the period inspired intensive trade relations with the cities of the southern Levant. The cities of Memphis and Pi-Ramses, located on the eastern delta that had direct access to the Levantine coast, became centres for the Levantine trade. Shrines dedicated to Baal and Astarte were erected in Memphis, most likely to serve the Canaanite population of the city during that period (Redford 1992: 227-228; Katzenstein 1997: 25; Markoe 2000: 20). In Phoenicia, many artifacts dated to the reign of Ramses II were found, evident of extensive relations with Egypt. Small boxes decorated with Ramses II cartouches were found in sites along the Phoenician coast (Kantor 1947: 86). In Byblos fragments of a stele of Ramses II were discovered during excavations (Montet 1928: 48), and in the tomb of Ahiram, king of Byblos, an alabaster vessel with the cartouche of Ramses II was found (*ibid.*: 225). Fragments of another Ramses II stele were also found near Tyre (Jidejian 1968: 12).

At that time, the Hittites, with the cooperation of merchants from Amurru, virtually blocked the passage of the Akkar valley for Assyria, cutting it off from Ugarit. Assyria now sought a new route to the southern Levantine coast, which led Assyrian traders to the southern Phoenician coast via the Lebanese Beqa'. The discovery of a late thirteenth century Assyrian cylinder seal in Tyre may be evident of trade relations between the city and Assyria during that period (Markoe 2000: 22).

During the last stages of the thirteenth century and the early years of the twelfth century BCE, the Ancient Near East underwent cataclysmic events that ultimately brought forth the downfall of the great empires of the Late Bronze Age. These events, both natural and human-induced, apparently created a chain reaction resulting in substantial changes in the economic, political and ethnic fabric of the entire Ancient Near East. Egypt, Hatti, Mycenae, Ugarit, Amurru, Alashia, and other major centers of the southern Levant all suffered a critical blow of which some would never fully recover and some would completely fade away. It is not yet clear what had started this chain of events or what exactly befell each individual site destroyed during this period. However, in all probability, there was not one major catastrophe but rather a series of events effecting all regions of the Ancient Near East spanning some fifty years from ca. 1225 to 1175 BCE (Fritz 1984: 86-91; Drews 1993: 4-7; Nur and Cline 2000; Cline 2014) (Map 7).

Both archaeological and textual evidence suggest a wide range of reasons for the devastation of the kingdoms and empires of the Late Bronze Age including earthquakes, famine, and piracy. But perhaps most crucial of these were large scale human migrations (Vermeule 1964: 264-270; Weiss 1982; Nur and Cline 2000; *cf.* Drews 1993: 33-47; Rohling *et al.* 2009; Abulafia 2011: 48-49). Most notable of these migrations was that of the Sea-People in the southern Levant.

During the reign of Merneptah (1213-1204 BCE), Egypt's western Delta was attacked by a large coalition of Libyan tribes supported by various Sea-People groups. Egypt had managed to defeat these intruders; however, the threat was not neutralized (Leonard 1989: 27; Redford 1992: 248-249; Drews 1993: 48-49). After the death of Merneptah, the throne was succeeded by a series of unremarkable rulers. Egypt fell into a period of political unrest and was greatly weakened. Finally, the throne was seized by Sethnakhte (1190-1187 BCE), founder of the Twentieth Dynasty, who brought order back to the land. After a short reign of only one year the throne was passed to his heir, Ramses III (1187-1156 BCE) (Faulkner 1975: 235-241; Redford 1992: 249). Ramses fought two great battles against the Sea-People, one on land and another at sea. It appears Egypt managed to defeat the invaders once more. However, its victory was probably not as glorious as described in the annals of the king (Dothan 1982: 3; Redford 1992: 255-256). Nevertheless, it appears that Ramses III was able to reassert Egypt's hegemony over a vast territory in the southern Levant. Yet, its dominance was short lived and apparently did not exceed the reign of Ramesses VI (1155-

1149 BCE) (Redford 1992: 290; Singer 1988: 5-6).[10] Eventually these Sea-People settled along the southern Levantine coast in the region that will become Philistia. Egypt emerged from this era a mere shadow of its past glory, never again to relive its pinnacle days (Leonard 1989: 28-30; Redford 1992: 283-289).

The effect of the Sea-Peoples on the southern Levant seems to have been much more destructive. From ca. 1200 BCE, these sea-faring groups made a series of attacks along the coast of the Levant, from north to south wreaking habit where ever they went. Many of the major centres of the Late Bronze Age such as Ugarit and Alalakh met a violent end, evident by massive destruction layers (Markoe 2000: 23).[11]

As for Phoenicia, according to late written sources it did not escape the destruction that befell the rest of the southern Levant. According to Justinus (*Epitome*. 18: 3.5), citing Pompeius Trogus, the Philistine king of Ashkelon conquered Sidon and its people fled in ships, later to found Tyre.[12] This tradition of the re-foundation of Tyre was also commemorated on Sidonian coins (Hill 1965: 155-156). According to Strabo (16: 2.13), Arwad too was founded by Sidonian exiles. Some scholars maintain that the Sea-People assaulted and destroyed the cities of Phoenicia as well, however unlike other Late Bronze city-states, they managed to quickly recuperate (Stager 1995: 336, 338; Katzenstein 1997: 59; Gilboa 2005: 51). Nevertheless, the archaeological data indicates that the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age along the Phoenician coast was not accompanied by radical change in political structure, population make up, or material culture. (Markoe 2000: 11-12). It seems that cities on the northern boundary of Phoenicia, such as Tell

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[10] Excavations in various sites of the southern Levant have unearthed artifacts inscribed with the names pharaohs, none of which exceed Ramesses VI in Tel Delhamia in the Jordan Valley (Leclant 1982: 485, Fig. 83), Tell Farah South (Rowe 1936: 197, Pl. XXI, no. 833; Uehlinger 1988: 13-15), Megiddo (Singer 1988-89; Ussishkin 1995), Bet-Shan (Finkelstein 1996a), Gezer (Singer 1986-87), Deir el-Balah (Giveon 1977: 66-67, Fig. 1/2), and Bet-Shemesh (Rowe 1936: Pl. XXI, no. 833).

[11] It should be pointed out that these destructions occurred mainly in major cities, large ports, and Egyptian strongholds, while the periphery was left unharmed. Excavations at rural sites such as Tell Wawiyat and Ein Zippori situated in the Lower Galilee countryside show continuity in the transition to the Iron Age I, and that new centres replaced the old ones, in sites such as Tel Kinneret, Tel Rehov and Tell Keisan (Dessel 1999; Finkelstein 2003: 77-78). This is also reflected through recent surveys conducted in the Jezreel, Jordan, and Hulah valleys (Finkelstein 2003: 77, fn. 2; Ilan 1999: 162-171). This seems to be in contrast with the situation in Phoenicia where the major cities endured, while small sites were abandoned (Lehmann 2001: 81-83). It is possible that the endurance and continuity of the Phoenician major cities is one of the reasons that enabled the centres and rural area of the Galilee and the valleys to prosper during the Iron Age I (Finkelstein 2003: 78), as the valleys served as trade arteries from west to east (Tal 2005: 71-72).

[12] Accordingly, Josephus (*Ant.* 8: 3.1) claims that the building of the Temple in Jerusalem began 240 years after the founding of Tyre.

Sukas, Tell Tweini, Ras Ibn Hani, and Tell Kazel, suffered a minor blow that had no devastating impact.[13] The archaeological record points to reuse of Late Bronze Age constructions and to continuity of occupation (Badre and Gubel 1999-2000: 124ff; al-Maqdissi *et al.* 2008: 343-345; Gubel 2009a: 454; 2009b: 45; Vansteenhuyse 2010; Bretschneider *et al.* 2011: 77-80). On the southern Phoenician boundary, the archaeological evidence points to continuity on one hand, and a notable rupture on the other. Archaeological surveys conducted in the western Galilee reveal that ca. 50% of the sites on the plain of Akko were abandoned, most of them consisting of small villages (Markoe 2000: 24; Lehmann 2001: 81-83). The Phoenician mainland was apparently unharmed. Excavations conducted in and about the cities of Sarepta and Beirut point to continuity in material culture and occupation, though somewhat impoverished, from the Late Bronze Age into the Iron Age. At Tyre a destruction layer was noted, however it appears the city quickly recovered (Bikai 1978: 73; 1992a: 132–41; Anderson 1987; 1988: 380-388; Khalifeh 1988: 103-113, 124, 138-139; Klengel 1992: 183-184; Badre 1997; Tsirkin 2003: 110). This decline is most probably a result of the decline in trade with Egypt and the rest of the Ancient Near East (Bikai 1978: 73).[14] In fact the continuity of the Phoenician material culture is so strong it is often difficult to distinguish the Late Bronze Age material from that of the Early Iron Age. The fact that the cities of Phoenicia did not experience a violent destruction at that time led several scholars to suspect the Phoenicians formed some sort of alliance with the Sea-People (Tubb 1988: 141; Ward 1996: 186).

Ultimately, it seems the Phoenicians greatly benefited from the cataclysmic events that ended the Late Bronze Age. Not only were they now free from Egyptian hegemony, the destruction of such major trade centres as Ugarit and Alalakh caused a vacuum in both inland and maritime trade that was soon filled by the Phoenicians (Bikai 1978: 74; Markoe 2000: 26).

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[13] Tsirkin (2003: 10, fn. 9) maintains that Ras Ibn-Hani was in fact destroyed and that it had belonged to the Hittite sphere of influence and not Phoenicia. After its destruction at the hands of the Sea-Peoples, it was resettled by them. 14 It appears that while maritime trade was in a decline, the inland trans-Euphratian caravan trade came to a nearly complete halt with the demise of Assyria and Hatti, which in turn led to the demise of sites in the Lebanese Beqa such as Kamid el-Luz (Markoe 2000: 26).

The Iron Age I

Archaeological and textual evidence for the first stages of the Iron Age in the southern Levant is relatively scarce. The beginning of the Iron Age was a period of great changes in the region. For the first time in centuries, the Levant was free of subjugation to a major foreign power, and the cities of Phoenicia became truly independent city-states. During this period, which lasted from the early twelfth to the tenth or beginning of the ninth centuries BCE, the Phoenician cities grew strong and prosperous, competing with each other over commerce and sovereignty, expanding their commercial and political ties with other rulers of the Ancient Near East, and for the first time expanding to the west, founding colonies around the Mediterranean basin. By the second half of the eleventh century BCE, Phoenicia had embarked on a period that would introduce many features of Phoenician culture that would be the basis of the later, first millennium BCE developments. This period is also marked by an urban growth, renewal, and expansion in Phoenicia. At Tyre and Sarepta, excavations show that large areas were levelled to allow for the construction of new buildings. Ashlar masonry and the 'pier and rubble' technique that would soon become the hallmark of Phoenician architecture were also introduced at that time. Examination of the city plan at major sites in Phoenicia reveals large-scale alterations which included terraces and passageways (Markoe 2000: 30). Excavations at Tel Dan, Akko, and Tell Keisan, located in the Galilee, also revealed the cities underwent the same major urban transformations (Briend and Humbert 1980: 197-206; Biran 1994: 138-142). Phoenician bichrome pottery, which was widely distributed throughout the southern Levant at that time, reaching as far as the Nile Delta, bears witness to the expansion of Phoenician commerce (Mazar 1985: 75-76, 84-85).

All these changes led many scholars to argue that it is only from this point in history that these coastal Canaanites can truly be identified as Phoenicians. Whether or not this view is correct will be a question of later debate.

The Iron Age have also ushered a shift of power within Phoenicia. The once prominent Byblos would never again relive its Bronze Age glory. Excavations at Byblos revealed little to no remains from the Iron Age, however their absence is probably not a result of an abandonment, but rather later building activities that destroyed, or still cover, the Iron Age remains (Dunand 1937-1939: 6; Jidejian 1968: 57-58). The most prominent cities of the Iron Age were Tyre and Sidon, who competed for supremacy. The decline of Byblos was no doubt a direct result of Egypt's weakening

economy (Albright 1950: 165), but also other factors discussed below.

The emergence of the cities of Phoenicia during the Iron Age I as powerful and prosperous urban centers is no doubt related to their dominance of maritime commerce. The collapse of the Late Bronze Age empires and large trade centers had shattered their trade networks. With no central authorities that could insure safe passage through their lands and compensation in case of theft, inland trade routes became vastly unsafe, and caravan trade was greatly reduced. However recent studies have shown that during the Iron Age I, Phoenicia was engaged in commercial activities with both Cyprus and Egypt (Gilboa 2005: 62; Gilboa and Sharon 2008: 159; Bell 2009: 36-37).[15] It is possible that since maritime commerce was always subjected to risks, by both man and nature, these trade networks could have been more easily restored.

The two main historical literary sources regarding Phoenicia during the early stages of the Iron Age are the records of Tiglath-Pileser I's Mediterranean campaign, and the Egyptian Wenamun report. Both sources demonstrate the changes the Iron Age had ushered; the weakened and humbled state of Egypt on the one hand and the growing menace of Assur on the other.
The collapse of the Hittite empire has left a power vacuum in Anatolia, northern Syria and western Mesopotamia. This vacuum was filled by neo-Hittite states (Sader 1992: 159), and a new rising power in the southern Levant, the Aramaeans. This powerful ethnic group had started posing a real threat to Assur as they began expanding eastwards into Mesopotamia (Lipiński 2000: 25). It was only when a new potent Assyrian king, Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076 BCE), came to power that Assyria managed to not only resist the Aramaeans, but also to expand into their territory in Syria and further west. Around 1100 BCE Tiglath-Pileser I toured the Phoenician coast for the first time. Many scholars believe that this campaign was not of a military nature, but rather a commercial one (Gubel 2009b: 47), although the annals of Tiglath-Pileser boast of tribute taken from the cities of Byblos, Sidon and Arwad (*ANET*: 274-275; Grayson 1991: A.O.87.3: 16-25, A.O.87.10: 28-32). Harden (1963: 52) suggested Tiglath-Pileser might have even shortly occupied Arwad during this campaign. Among the Phoenician cities mentioned in the annals, the city of Tyre stands out in its

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[15] There is no evidence for maritime trade activities on the Philistine coast during the Iron Age I (Gilboa and Sharon 2008: 160).

absence. Mazar (1965: 13) suggested that at that time Tyre was a weak and insignificant city while Arwad, Byblos, and Sidon grew in strength. Albright (1968a: 69) maintained that in the twelve century BCE the Phoenicians began recovering from the attacks of the Sea-Peoples and the upheaval of the raising Aramean nations, and reorganized under the hegemony of Sidon, with a political capitol on the island of Tyre. Malamat (1971: 37) also maintained that the reason Tyre is missing might be that it was under the hegemony of Sidon, and Lipiński (1995: 1321) suggested that Tyre was simply a city of little note before the tenth century BCE. These views seem to coincide with classical sources recounting the tale of the re-foundation of Tyre by Sidonian exiles (e.g. Justinus 18: 3.5). However, another explanation for Tyre's absence from the tribute lists might be that that it was strong enough in its fortified island to withstand Tiglath-Pileser's short campaign and thus refused paying tribute (Aubet 2008: 182). It is also possible that the Assyrian king simply did not venture as far south down the coast (Katzenstein 1997: 63). Katzenstein (*ibid*.) suggests that Tiglath-Pileser I did not even ventured as far as Sidon or even Byblos, and that the mentioned tribute from these cities was offered as 'presents' intended to keep him away.

The threat of Assyria ended with the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I. The following two centuries were characterized by internal wars within Assyria, during which it could not continue its pressure on the southern Levant (Ward 1996: 186-187; Bondi 2001b: 32).

The historical texts originating from Egypt portray its tradition of long-lasting relations with the city of Byblos. Byblos alone is mentioned in a list of Canaanite toponyms recorded in the Onomasticon of the Egyptian scribe Amenenope, dated ca. 1100 BCE (Gardiner 1968: 150, fn. 257; Katzenstein 1982). But the more prominent literary source is the Wenamun report, which attests to a new reality of the Early Iron Age and sheds light on other coastal ports (*ANET*: 25-29; Breasted 1905; Jidejian 1968: 59-65; Jackson 1995; Stern 1995: 28; Schipper 2005; Abulafia 2011: 39-41). It is the only Egyptian document that speaks of Egyptian ties with the southern Levant from the time of Ramesses III until the reign of Shishak I (Leonard 1989: 34; *cf*. Zwickel 2012b). During the reign of Ramesses XI (ca. 1114-1087 BCE),[16] Wenamun, a high official in the Theban temple of Amun-Ra, was sent by his master the high priest Herihor, on a religious mission to bring back timber from Byblos for the construction of a new sacred barge of Amun. It appears that it

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[16] According to Sass (2002) the Wenamun report should be dated to ca. 925 BCE.

was tradition rather than Byblos' prominence that led him there. Wenamun probably departed on this mission on the twenty-third year of Ramses XI's reign (Kees 1936: 3-4; Schipper 2005: 111ff). After many hardships Wenamun encounters during his voyage he finally reached Byblos only to be sent away by its king Zakarbaal, as he arrived unescorted and bearing no gifts. Wenamun spent twenty-nine days camping on the Byblite coast only to be ordered to leave repeatedly. Finally, the night he decides to return to Egypt, he is ordered to remain until morning. The following day Zakarbaal summons Wenamun before him. Having left his credentials at Egypt, he is treated with further dubious respect. Nevertheless, Wenamun pleads his case and asks for the timber, mentioning that the king's forefathers also fulfilled such requests in the past. The king's reply was that no timber would be given without pay. At this point Zakarbaal commands that the records of his forefathers be read to Wenamun proving they were also paid for shipments of timber. Zakarbaal further states that he is not the servant of Wenamun or of his master's and therefore must not comply. This tale clearly demonstrates not only Phoenicia's independence at that time, but also Egypt's total lack of control and influence for at least two generations before Wenamun's journey (Breasted 1905: 102; Jackson 1995; Markoe 2000: 26-27; Schipper 2005: 103-109; Abulafia 2011: 39-41). This situation may also reflect animosity held by the Byblite king towards the Egyptian court in the aftermath of the Amarna Age. Nevertheless, Zakarbaal, having been promised pay, fulfils Wenamun's request and the timber is sent to Egypt. From Wenamun's report, one can also learn that while Byblos was an independent city-state, it was not powerful enough to extend its influence beyond its boundaries. When Wenamun was preparing to depart from Byblos, ships from Dor came to arrest him. Zakarbaal could not protect him outside the borders of his city-state and the moment he leaves Byblos he is pursued. This however indicates that boundaries were respected, most probably due to treaties signed between the various independent city-states of the southern Levant (Wachsmann 1981: 188; Negbi 1992: 603; Schipper 2005: 109-110).

The Wenamun report describes Dor as a city ruled by the Tjeker. These Tjeker are also mentioned in the Onomasticon of Amenope among the Sherden and Philistines, which are recognized as Sea-People. The document also lists Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Gaza, i.e. cities traditionally inhabited by Sea-People along the southern coast (Stern 1990: 28). The entire coast south of the Akko bay is traditionally accepted to have been under the hegemony of various Sea-People groups during the early Iron Age (Stieglitz 1990a; Stern 1990). Excavations in major sites along the coast and further inland such as Dor (Stern 1990: 28), Akko (Dothan 1976; 1985: 12-14), and Tell Keisan (Humbert

1980: 229-230), seemed to have corroborated this premise. However, recent studies have shown quite convincingly, that sites along the coast of the Carmel, and probably as far south as the Yarkon River, display the same continuity in Canaanite material culture during the early Iron Age I that can be witnessed in traditional Phoenician sites, and were most probably inhabited by a majority of Phoenicians and other minor foreign populations, most likely originating from Cyprus and Cilicia (Gilboa 2005; Gilboa *et al.* 2008: 116-117; Gilboa and Sharon 2008: 156; Singer 2012). A stone altar portraying Cypriot ships dated to the very end of the Late Bronze Age, found at Akko, may serve as further evidence for the Cypriot origins of this new population. The small stone altar was unearthed in a pit containing large amounts of ash, polished stones, and pottery, at the Akko harbor. The altar, which was probably used on board ships, was engraved with depictions of four ships of the 'fan type'. Similar ships are also represented on the wall of temple 1 and on an altar of temple 4 at Kition (Karageorghis 1981: 84; Artzy 1987: 75-77; 2003: 232).

The traditional view was that only during the second half of the eleventh century BCE, did a southern Phoenician expansion occur, following which new Phoenician elements appear in the material culture of sites along the Carmel coast and the Galilee. Stern (1990: 28-31) suggested that the destruction layer of the Iron Age 1a horizon at Dor, dated to the second half of eleventh century, could also be attributed to such a Phoenician expansion (*cf.* Gilboa 2005: 67). Aubet (2000: 82-83) suggested the same explanation for an Iron Age I destruction layer at Akko (*cf.* Gilboa 2005: 57). Biran (1994: 135-144) too suggested such a Phoenician incursion could account for the mid eleventh century BCE destruction layers at Tel Dan. Other sites in southern Phoenicia display similar destruction layer dated to the second half of the eleventh century such as stratum 9a at Tell Keisan (Briend and Humbert 1980: 20), and stratum D at Sarepta (Anderson 1988: 97, fn. 56).

Recent studies in sites on the northern coast displays similar destruction levels dated to the same period. At Tell Tweini, carbon dating of the destruction layer produced a date of 1050-1000 BCE. However, the material culture there fits that of the Sea-People, rather than that of the Phoenicians (Bretschneider *et al.* 2011: 82-84).

If such a violent Phoenician incursion did occur, it is likely it was led by Tyre. According to Josephus (*Ant*. 8: 146; *Con. Ap.* 1: 119), quoting Menander, early in the reign of Hiram I, Tyre had

suppressed a mutiny of the people of Kition,[17] on the island of Cyprus, who refused to pay tribute. This would suggest that the city was already under the hegemony of Tyre during the reign of Abibaal, Hiram's father, or even earlier still. Archaeological evidence from excavations at Tyre confirms that connections with Cyprus were re-established after 1070/50 BCE (Bikai 1978: 74), and it was also suggested that there was a modest influx of Phoenicians in Kition during the eleventh century BCE (Karageorghis 1976: 95; Katzenstein 1997: 76). Archaeological evidence found in Cypriot sites such as Amathus, Palaepaphos-Skale, Enkomi, Salamis, and Kition, indicate close ties with the southern Levantine coast during the twelfth and eleventh centuries BCE.[18] Such ties are also evident by Levantine influence on cult offerings and architecture, and also by the vast quantities of Levantine pottery found at those sites (Karageorghis 1983: 173; Bikai 1989: 204; Negbi 1992; Lipiński 1995: 1324; Aupert 1997: 23-24; Gilboa 2005; Kourou 2009; Bourogiannis 2012b: 75). A Tyrian hegemony, or at least attempts to assert itself in Cyprus, may also be reflected in the Wenamun report. After the Egyptian official departed Byblos towards Egypt on a local ship, the vessel is drifted off course and he lands on Cyprus, where an angry mob awaits him on the shore. Such animosity towards a Phoenician ship may indicate tension between Cypriots and Phoenician around the year 1075 (cf. Broodbank 2013: 445-450).

According to classical sources, it was around that time that the Phoenicians began their western expansion, founding colonies and trading stations along the way. According to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 16: 79), the city of Utica in North Africa was founded around 1100 BCE. According to Velleius Paterculus (1: 2.3), the city of Cadiz, in the Iberian Peninsula, was founded a few years prior to the foundation of Utica.[19] However, recently discovered pottery and radiocarbon dating from various excavations in western Mediterranean sites indicate that Phoenician presence in the region did not occur prior to the late ninth or eighth centuries BCE (Docter *et al*. 2005; Docter *et al*. 2008: 380; Núñez 2014; *cf.* Aubet 2008 who suggests an earlier date in the tenth century BCE). Nevertheless, Phoenician presence on Cyprus and Crete during the early stages of the Iron Age has no doubt paved the way for the true western expansion of the Iron Age II.

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[17] At first it was accepted that the city which Hiram I campaigned against should be identified as Utica in North Africa. Later however this reading was corrected and it was suggested to identify the city with Kition in Cyprus (Albright 1961: 348; Karageorghis 1976: 96; Katzenstein 1997: 84-86; Movers 1967: 331).

[18] Ties which were already established in the Middle Bronze Age (Negbi 1992: 603-604).

[19] Bikai (1992b: 241-242) suggested that it was Utica, and not a city on Cyprus, that was subjected by Hiram I in the early stages of his reign.

The Iron Age II

During the Iron Age II, the southern Levant saw the rise of new nations, and the consolidation of power of older ones. Neo-Hittites kingdoms were founded in Anatolia and north Syria, Aramean city-states appeared in central and western Syria. Beyond the Jordan River, the Ammonites, Edomites, and Moabites states emerged. The kingdom of Israel grew powerful and expanded along the entire hill country and to parts of the Galilee and the Bashan. The southern coastal plain from Tell Qasile south was occupied by Philistine city-states. Only along the coast, from the Carmel mountain range and probably as far as Arwad, did the western Canaanite population endure in their ancient city-states (Albright 1975: 516-517; Joffe 2002).

During the tenth and ninth centuries BCE, the dominant city-state in Phoenicia seems to have been Tyre. This era of Tyrian supremacy began either with Abibaal, or his heir Hiram I (ca. 970-936 BCE), known as 'Hiram the Great', who is described as the builder of the kingdom of Tyre and was responsible for transforming the city into a notable regional power. Tyre's sphere of influence expanded south and south-east into the Akko valley, the Carmel, and the Galilee, and even west into Cyprus and Crete. A series of destruction layers in sites such as Shiqmona (Elgavish 1994: 36, 47), Tell Abu-Hawam (Balensi *et al.* 1993: 9-10), and Tel Mevorakh (Stern 1984a: 8-9), might be attributed to such a Phoenician expansion. Hiram I is also attributed with long distance trading expeditions to the Red Sea and the south of the Arabian Peninsula (Negbi 1992; Katzenstein 1997: 109-113; Aubet 2008: 182; Burke 2011: 72-73).

The extent of Tyre's hegemony over the rest of Phoenicia is unclear. According to Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* 9: 30.4), the second century BCE Jewish author Eupolemus, referred to Hiram I as 'king of Tyre and Phoenicia', and also as 'king of Tyre, Sidon and Phoenicia' (*ibid.* 9: 31.1), which may indicate that Sidon was under Tyrian dominance. The Hebrew bible refers to Hiram as the king of Tyre (1 Kgs. 5: 15; 2 Chron. 2: 2), but to the inhabitants of his land the Sidonians (1 Kgs. 5: 20). Later he is also referred to as 'the king of the Sidonians' (1 Kgs. 16: 31). The bible also states that Hiram sent artisans from Byblos to assist Solomon with the construction of the temple (1 Kgs. 5: 32). Although 'Sidonians' can also be understood as a synonym for the people of Phoenicia, it is possible that Tyre had some sway over the neighboring Sidon. Furthermore, the mention of artisans from Byblos may also suggest a certain Tyrian hegemony over other

Phoenician cities and territory (*cf*. Jidejian 1968: 71-72; Katzenstein 1997: 107, 115).

One of the main sources for the history of Phoenicia, or more accurately the history of Tyre, during the Iron Age II is Josephus Flavius' *Contra Apionem*. In this work, Josephus attempted to prove the antiquity of the Jewish people by means of their connections with other ancient nations. Josephus employs in his work the writings of other historians such as Menander of Ephesus and Dios. Another source is the Hebrew bible that describes in length the relations between Phoenicia and the first monarchs of Israel. The bible claims that Hiram I was an ally of David and Solomon, who loved David (1 Kgs 5: 15) and thus assisted him and his heir in building projects (2 Sam. 5: 11) and sea ventures (1 Kgs. 9: 26-28), of which most famous was the building of the first Temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs. 5: 21-32). Josephus (*Ant*. 8: 2.6-8; *Con. Ap*. 1: 1.17) claims his writings are also based on letters of correspondence between the monarchs found in the archives of Tyre, however it is more likely his account was based on the biblical account.

Whether David and Solomon were indeed great kings ruling a mighty kingdom that stretched far to the north, annexing major cities in the Galilee and the Jezreel valley as the bible portrays them is not a question that will be dealt here. Nevertheless, it is perhaps possible to infer information on Phoenicia and Tyre during the early Iron Age II from the biblical narrative. The fact that Hiram and Solomon are portrayed as equals while Solomon is described as such a great king may reflect on Hiram's status during the early tenth century BCE.[20] However, it is also possible that the ancient written sources, which are our only source of knowledge concerning Tyre at that time, exaggerate in their descriptions of Hiram in order to glorify David and Solomon. Nonetheless, there are some indications in the biblical texts that may suggest Tyre's supremacy over ancient Israel. The Greek version of 1 Kgs 5: 15 (3 Kgdms 5.1) which appears in the *Codex Vaticanus* (LXX[B]), and is supported by the *Lucianic recension* (LXX[L]), states that Hiram sent his men to anoint Solomon as king, as opposed to 1 Kgs. 5: 15 which simply states that after Hiram has heard Solomon was anointed as king, he sent him his men. The purpose of Hiram's men is explained in a note added by the translators, which stated that Hiram sent Solomon his men in order to congratulate him (Kuan 1990: 31-33; Katzenstein 1997: 96-97). This explanation was also provided by Josephus

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[20] Dius, quoted by Josephus (*Con. Ap*. 1: 112-115), recounts the exchange of riddles as a game of wagers between Solomon and Hiram, and mentions Solomon could not always solve Hiram's riddles and was obliged to pay a great deal of money to Hiram.

(*Ant.* 8: 2.6). Another account found in the same chapter may also shed light on the relationship between the two monarchs. In 1 Kgs. 5: 20 Solomon requests cedar and proposes that the timber will be cut by Hiram's men alongside Solomon's men and that he shall pay the wages of Hiram's workers. However, Hiram did not accept the terms, and dictates new ones (1 Kgs. 5: 23). While Katzenstein (1997: 99) interprets Hiram's answer to Solomon as that of a shrewd merchant, and the agreement they signed as by two equal parties, Kuan (1990: 36) maintains that Hiram's response indicates an ultimatum given to Solomon not by a peer but by a superior, leaving Solomon no choice but to comply. Furthermore, the payment is said to be given yearly (literally שָׁנָה בְשָׁנָה *šānâ běšānâ*, i.e. year by year). This might indicate that Solomon had to pay not only for the cedar transaction but also an annual tribute as a subordinate of Tyre.[21] The preeminence of Tyre may also be reflected in the account of Solomon giving twenty cities of the 'land of Cabul' (1 Kgs 9: 10-12), traditionally identified with the hinterland and hill country of Akko, to Hiram. Many scholars maintain that Solomon ceded a region that was already under the hegemony of Tyre (*cf.* Lehmann 2001: 92-93). Tyre's dominance over the region is also echoed in Menander's account of Hiram's suppression of a rebellion of the Iturean, supposedly a nation that lived between the Galilee and Phoenicia (Josephus, *Con. Ap.* 1: 1.18s). Lehmann (2001: 93-95) suggests that Tyre under Hiram I exploited the rich hinterland of Akko to develop industries and agriculture in and around Akko, which may also account for the growth and change in settlement pattern in this area during the Iron Age IIA, and the large amounts of Tyrian pottery found at sites of the region, such as Tel Kabri, Rosh Zayit, and Kh. Es-Suwweida which seems to have served as collection points of produce from the hill country to be shipped to the coast (Gal and Alexandre 2000; Lehmann 2002: 85; Olami et al. 2005: 20-21).

Our knowledge of the other cities of Phoenicia at that time is lacking. Albright (1961: 347) suggested the Phoenician cities joined to a commercial federation, led by Tyre, however this seems unlikely (Katzenstein 1997: 107). The Aramaean expansion in Syria and central Mesopotamia seems to have cut off Mesopotamian access to the Mediterranean via the Akkar plain, which must

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[21] The expression *šānâ běšānâ* occurs in two other instances in Kgs., in both instances it refers to the paying of tribute. In 1 Kgs. 10: 25 subordinate kings are described paying tribute to Solomon *šānâ běšānâ*, and in 2 Kgs. 17: 4 Hoshea does not pay tribute to Shalmaneser V as he previously did *kěšānâ běšānâ* (Kuan 1990: 37).

have affected the economy of the cities of northern Phoenicia, such as Arwad and Byblos, that had traditionally served as ports for trans-Euphratian trade. Trade with north-western Syria and southern Anatolia may have also been disrupted due to Aramaean presence in the Amuq plain (Markoe 2000: 36).

By the end of the tenth century BCE, both Egypt and Assyria attempted to reassert themselves as major regional powers, Assyria in northern Mesopotamia, and Egypt in the southern Levant. In ca. 925 BCE, Shishak (943-922 BCE), founder of the twenty-second dynasty, had set out on a military campaign to the southern Levant. Although the relief on the temple wall at Karnak describes Shishak as smiting all the chiefs of greater Syria, it appears Shishak did not venture into Phoenicia (Herr 1997: 134). Katzenstein (1997: 121-122) maintains Shishak attempted to reinstate Byblos as the prominent city in Phoenicia as a response to Tyre's expeditions in the Red Sea which broke the Egyptian gold trade monopoly. Jidejian (1968: 69-71) maintains it was the king of Byblos that attempted to re-established the city's past warm relations with Egypt. A base of a statue of Shishak was found in Byblos with a dedication by Abibaal, king of Byblos (*KAI*: 5) (Albright 1947), evident to the city's ties with Egypt. These ties continued during the reigns of Osorkon I (924-889 BCE) and Osorkon II (872-837 BCE). A dedicatory inscription (*KAI*: 6) of Elibaal king of Byblos was found on a bust of Osorkon I (Jidejian 1968: 70), and several other fragments of statues, some bearing the cartouche of Osorkon I and II were found during excavations in Byblos (Montet 1928: 54-57; Dunand 1937-1939: 18; Jidejian 1968: 69-71; Leclant 1968: 11-13; Chéhab 1969: 38-40). The pharaohs of the twenty-second dynasty seemed to have also enjoyed good relations with other cities in Phoenicia. Alabaster vases bearing the cartouches of twenty-second dynasty pharaohs found in tombs at Almuñécar in the Iberian Peninsula may be evident of Egypt's connection with Tyre. An alabaster vase bearing the cartouche of Takelot found in Assur, was taken as spoils of war from Sidon (Leclant 1968: 13; Culican 1970: 28-36), and a contemporary Egyptian libation table was found in Arwad (Ward 1996: 188). It is possible that with the growing threat of Assyria in the east, the Phoenicians chose to align themselves with Egypt (Markoe 2000: 37).

During the end of the tenth century BCE, Tyre experienced a period of political instability which began with the assassination of Abdastart (ca. 919-910 BCE) and lasted about two decades. During this time, a succession of tyrants ascended to the throne one after the other without leaving an heir.

The long line of Hiram was finely cut in the ninth century BCE, by Ethbaal I (ca. 887-855 BCE). This decline in Tyrian-Phoenician power may have coincided with the rise in power of the kingdom of Israel and its penetration into former Phoenician territory along the Carmel coast. Excavations at Dor suggest that during the early stages of the Iron Age II, a change in the material culture occurred (late Iron 2a horizon) which suggests Israelite occupancy (Stern 2000: 104-111; Gilboa and Sharon 2008: 163). Similar changes which suggest a mixed Israelite-Phoenician population were also noted in Tell Abu-Hawam (Stratum IV) (Balensi *et al.* 1993: 10-11), and Shiqmona (Strata 12-11) (Elgavish 1993: 1374-1375; 1994: 55). Elgavish (1994: 56-57) suggested the southern border with Phoenicia was set at the mouth of the Kishon River.

According to Josephus (*Con. Ap*. 1: 1.18), Ethbaal was a priest of Astarte who overthrew Phales, the last king of Hiram's dynasty (Katzenstein 1997: 127-128). During Ethbaal's reign, Tyre grew to be a more powerful political and commercial center than ever before, described as "perfect in beauty" and celebrated by the prophets of Israel. Ethbaal's reign also marked an era of Tyrian expansion both within the borders of Phoenicia, and for the first time overseas. According to Menander (Josephus *Ant.* 8: 319), Ethbaal founded Auza, a Tyrian colony in Libya, and Batroun/Botris, a trading station near Byblos, evident to Byblos's reduced status at that time (Katzenstein 1997: 115; Markoe 2000: 39). The fact that there are no records of Byblite monarchs after Shiptibaal I, who reigned sometime during the end of the tenth to early ninth century BCE, may indicate that the city came under Tyrian hegemony until the second half of the eighth century BCE (Katzenstein 1997: 131). Ethbaal is also credited with the founding of Myriandrus, a trading center on the southern Anatolian coast (Aubet 2008: 183).

Although evidence to Phoenician presence on Cyprus appears already in the eleventh and tenth centuries BCE, it was only during the ninth century BCE that a true Phoenician expansion into Cyprus occurred, with the resettlement of Kition by Phoenicians (Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1987: 331-332; Bourogiannis 2012b: 75-76), most probably of Tyre under Ethbaal. Strong evidence to Phoenician presence in Cyprus at that time can also be seen in other Cypriot sites such as Salamis, Amathus, Palaepaphos, and Idalion (*ibid.*: 76).

It is from Ethbaal's reign that the title 'king of the Sidonians' is applied to a Tyrian king in classical writings (Moscati 1968: 14-15). Josephus (*Ant* 8: 13.1, 9: 6.6) referred to Ethbaal as king of Tyre

and Sidon. Therefore Katzenstein (1997: 131-135) maintains that during the reign of Ethbaal, Sidon came under the hegemony of Tyre and the two cities became a single political unit referred to as 'Tyre and Sidon', as reflected by the use of the title 'king of the Sidonians'(*cf.* Boyes 2012).[22] Based mainly on these ancient writings, many scholars maintain that Tyre under Ethbaal established its dominion over the entire southern territory of Phoenicia, from Byblos to the Carmel, which lasted until the eighth century BCE (Katzenstein 1997: 115; Aubet 2001: 46; *cf.* Boyes 2012).

Ethbaal also strengthened Tyre's political and commercial ties with other regional powers. Katzenstein (1997: 153-154) suggested that the harbor in the southern bay of Tyre, known in classical times as the 'Egyptian harbor', was constructed during the reign of Ethbaal (*cf.* Markoe 2000: 37) in order to facilitate the renewed commercial traffic with the Nile valley, and the northern African coast. Tyre's commercial network also stretched from the Aegean to Samaria, Damascus, and north Syria (Aubet 2008: 183; Kourou 2009: 366). Connections with the then powerful northern kingdom of Israel, and also the southern kingdom of Judah, were tied through royal marriages (Herr 1997: 140). Ethbaal wed his daughter Jezebel to Ahab (875-853 BCE), king of Israel (Kgs 1 16: 31), and their daughter 'Athalia, married the king of Judah, Joram (848-844 BCE) (Harden 1963: 52; Moscati 1968: 15; Katzenstein 1991: 188; *cf.* Fensham 1983). The large quantity of Phoenician style ivories found in Samaria may be evident to those close ties (Herr 1997: 140). It is possible that Tyre also sought to form an alliance with Aram-Damascus, which was the dominant Aramaean kingdom at that time. The fact that Aram-Damascus attacked only Israelite cities in the upper Galilee, bordering Tyrian territory, may be evident of such a treaty agreement (Markoe 2000: 38-39). Ties between Tyre and Aram-Damascus are also reflected by the 'Melqart stele' (Fig. 2.1), which was dedicated by Ben-Hadad of Damascus to Melqart in a typical Phoenician dedicatory formula (Cross 1972; Katzenstein 1997: 138).[23] A similar dedicatory inscription to Melqart by the king of Arpad dated to the end of the ninth or early eighth century BCE may further demonstrate Tyre's link to the kingdoms of inland Syria (Peckham 2001: 30-31).

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[22] It should be noted that according to the Hebrew bible (1 Kgs. 17: 9), in the time of Ahab Sarepta belonged to Sidon.
[23] Although it is not entirely clear whether this was Ben-Hadad I (ca. 885-842 BCE) or one of his successors (Cross 1972; Pitard 1988; Katzenstein 1997: 138).

During the ninth century BCE, Phoenicia and the rest of the southern Levant began to feel the pressure of Assyria. This was perhaps one of the reasons that drove the Phoenicians to expand westwards, a process that started at that time. Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE) led several military campaigns to the southern Levant forcing local rulers to submission and collecting considerable tribute. On his first tour in 876 BCE, tribute was collected from Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Mahallata, *Maiza*, *Kaiza*, Amurru, and Arwad (*ANET*: 275-276; Jidejian 1968: 75; Katzenstein 1997: 140; Bondi 2001b: 41-42). Katzenstein (1997:141) suggests that the Assyrian king did not venture into southern Phoenicia, and that the 'tribute' collected constituted taxes paid for trade in Assyrian territory. Markoe (2000: 39) maintains this 'tribute' was actually gifts given willingly by the Phoenician kings in order to secure trade relations.[24]

Ashurnasirpal's successor, Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE), continued his pressure on the coast with repeating military campaigns and tribute collection from the cities of Phoenicia (*ANET*: 279-281). It is from his reign on that we first learn of actual acts of aggression against Phoenician cities (Jidejian 1968: 76; Oded 1973: 140). A bronze relief on the gates of his palace at Dur-Sharrukin, is believed to depict Ethbaal I of Tyre overseeing tribute loaded onto *'hippoi'* ships and carried to the mainland (Fig. 4.3) (*ANET*: 281; *ANEP*: Fig. 356; Harden 1963: 52-53, 132; Katzenstein 1997: 162-165). However, Shalmaneser III encountered more resistance in the southern Levant than his predecessors. Under the leadership of Hadadezer of Damascus, a coalition of twelve independent states untied against Assyria, including the northern Phoenician cities of Arwad, Byblos, 'Arqa, Sumur, *Ušnat*, and *Siannu*. The coalition, mustering nearly seventy thousand troops, met the Assyrians at Qarqar on the Orontes in 853 BCE. Despite Shalamneser's boasts of victory, it seems the battle ended in a standstill. The alliance was able to hold the Assyrians off, and for the next 15 years, Assyria was unable to overcome the kingdom of Aram-Damascus (Harden 1963: 52; Oded 1973: 141; 1974: 40; Elat 1975; Lemaire 1991: 151; Briquel-Chatonnet 1992: 82-87; Ward 1996: 187; Markoe 2000: 39-40; *cf*. Katzenstein 1997: 168; Bondi 2001b: 41-42). Oded (1973: 141-142; 1974: 40-41) maintains it were only the northern cities of Phoenicia that joined the coalition since they were directly threatened after the Assyrian conquest of northern Syria and its establishment

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[24] This might explain why both Tyrians and Sidonians were invited to attend Ashurbanipal's new palace inauguration at Nimrud as dignitaries (See below; Katzenstein 1997: 142; Markoe 2000: 40).

as an Assyrian province. Now that the path to Phoenicia was open, and having witnessed the destruction of the states of northern Syria, the cities of northern Phoenicia felt compelled to act against this immediate threat. It was also suggested that the absence of Tyre and Sidon from the Qarqar alliance might indicate they were already 'protected' from Assyrian aggression due to previous treaties (Katzenstein 1997: 169; Markoe 2000: 40). The favorable relations Assyria held with Tyre and Sidon may also be seen by the fact that of all the kings of the coast, only those from Tyre and Sidon participated in the festivities of the inauguration of the new royal palace in Nimrod (Aubet 2008: 184). In any case, it seems that the battle of Qarqar was a turning point in the attitude of Assyria towards northern Phoenicia (north of Byblos), which was much harsher than that of southern Phoenicia.

Katzenstein (1997: 180) suggested that after the battle of Qarqar, the king of Arwad, Mattanbaal, had signed a treaty with Shalmaneser III, who sought an ally in northern Phoenicia. This, in Katzenstein's opinion, is the reason for Arwad's absence from the Assyrian lists of tribute paying cities.

Some four years after the battle of Qarqar, Shalmaneser III renewed his western campaigns. He sets out in ca. 849 BCE (*ANET*: 279), and again in 848 BCE (*ANET*: 279-280), and again in 845 BCE (*ANET*: 280), each time meeting with the same strong resistance of the coalition led by Hadadezer. However sometime after the 845 BCE campaign, political unrest occurred in Damascus and the throne was usurped by Hazael (2 Kgs. 8: 15). After which the coalition of the 'twelve kings of Hatti' broke. Shalmaneser III set out on two more campaigns to the west, in 841 BCE and 838 BCE, during which he has more success (*ANET*: 280) (Elat 1975: 25; Katzenstein 1997: 173). At Tel Kabri, the destruction layer between stratum 5 and 4 might be linked to the 841 BCE campaign of Shalmaneser III (Lehmann 2002: 85) in which he probably reached the Phoenician coast from the south, collecting tribute from Tyre and Sidon. In the records of the campaign in 838 BCE Byblos is also mentioned alongside Tyre and Sidon (Jidejian 1968: 77; Katzenstein 1997: 175-179). To commemorate his successful campaigns and dominion over Phoenicia, Shalmaneser erected a monumental stele next to that of Ramesses II and Tiglath-Pileser I on the Nahr el-Kelb (Jidejian 1968: 76).

By the end of the ninth and first half of the eight centuries BCE, Assyrian pressure was once again lifted from the southern Levant, and the cities of Phoenicia enjoyed a period of greater

independence. Assyria was preoccupied with internal unrest that began during the last years of Shalmaneser's reign (Jidejian 1968: 77-78), and the growing power of the kingdom of Urartu. In the south, Egypt was suffering from continued civil strife under the twenty-second dynasty. Within this power vacuum Aram-Damascus' influence grew ever stronger, reaching a pinnacle under the reign of Hazael. The cities of Phoenicia most likely developed commercial ties with Aram, which reduced the influence of the kingdom of Israel at that time, and controlled both the *via maris*, leading to Egypt, and the *king's highway*, leading to Arabia. Curved ivories found in Arslan Tash, one of which is inscribed with the name of Hazael, may bear witness to trade relations with Phoenicia (Katzenstein 1997: 183-184; Fantalkin 2006: 200; Fantalkin and Finkelstein 2006: 31). Phoenician inscriptions dated to the same period found in Anatolia demonstrate Phoenicia's cultural expansion further northward. Peckham (2001: 31-32) suggested that by the late ninth century BCE Phoenician became the literary language of that region.

During the reign of Adad-nirari III (810-783 BCE), Assyria managed to weaken the kingdom of Aram-Damascus, which allowed for a shift in power towards the kingdom of Israel. The weakened state of Aram-Damascus left no 'buffer-zone' between Phoenicia and Assyria, and its pressure on the coast was felt once again. The annals of Adad-nirari III mention Tyre and Sidon among the cities paying annual tribute (*ANET*: 281), and that a commemorative stele was erected in Arwad (Oded 1973: 142; Katzenstein 1997: 190).

Nevertheless, this renewed period of Assyrian pressure was short lived. The last western campaign of Adad-nirari III in 796 BCE was the last Assyrian campaign to the Mediterranean for a period of over fifty years. Historical sources are silent regarding this period in Phoenicia; however, it is safe to assume that with the pressure of Assyria lifted, Phoenicia experienced a period of prosperity and greater influence in the Mediterranean basin. Examples of this cultural influence can be seen by the bilingual Phoenician and Luwian hieroglyphs inscriptions of Azitawadda of Adana found at Karatepe and dated to the second half of the eighth century BCE (Marcus and Gelb 1949; Jidejian 1968: 78; Katzenstein 1997: 201-202; Peckham 2001: 31-32).

Through all these political changes Phoenician traders, artisans, and craftsmen were apparently extremely active in the capitols of Aram-Damascus and Israel. (Markoe 2000: 40-41). Assyrian policy did not interfere with the Phoenician cities' commercial and political independence. Therefore, Phoenicia not only endured, but also continued to prosper during the ninth and early eighth centuries BCE. Tyre, who especially rose to power, controlled the Carmel coast and perhaps

further south until the days of Nebuchadnezzar (Katzenstein 1997: 106-107). It is during this period that Phoenician overseas expansion, most probably under Tyrian leadership, immensely grew, as evident by Levantine architecture, ceramics, and other products found around the Mediterranean basin. Tyre, whose merchants voyaged throughout the Mediterranean, founded in 814 BCE the North African colony of Carthage, which would later dominate the Punic world (Bondi 2001b: 42; Aubet 2008: 179-180).

The Neo-Assyrian Period

Assyria remained relatively weak during the first half of the eighth century BCE, and Assyrian military campaigns were restricted to areas close to home. However, the situation rapidly changed when Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BCE) usurped the throne. Between 743-738 BCE, Assyria managed to crush the independent states of Greater Syria and turn them into directly ruled Assyrian provinces. Tiglath-Pileser III was the first Assyrian monarch to launch attacks directed against Phoenicia. During his first campaign, Tiglath-Pileser attacked the cities of the northern coast. The Phoenician cities, north of Byblos; Sumur, 'Arqa, Usnu and *Siannu* were annexed into a new Assyrian province and suffered deportations. Byblos may have also been annexed, however it seems that at that time it still enjoyed a certain measure of autonomy, as the king of Byblos, Shiptibaal II (ca. 740 BCE), appears in the tribute lists of Tiglath-Pileser III (*ANET*: 282-283), which is the first mention of a monarch in the city since ca. 900 BCE (Jidejian 1968: 79; Oded 1974: 43, fn. 23; Katzenstein 1997: 202-204). The seat of the new province was probably in Tell Kazel, identified as Sumur (Aubet 2008: 186). The king of Arwad, Mattanbaal, is also mentioned in tributary lists; however, the city is not mentioned as annexed (Moscati 1968: 21). Nevertheless, it is possible that Arwad was subjected to the Assyrian province of Sumur (Katzenstein 1997: 211). Ethbaal II (ca. 750-739 BCE) of Tyre is mentioned in the 'Iran stele' (Fig. 2.2) among the kings who came to pay tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III at Arpad (Tadmor 1994: 107). A later inscription mentions his successor Hiram II (ca. 739-730 BCE) of Tyre paying tribute. Sidon is absent from Tiglath-Pileser III's tribute lists, which may suggest Sidon was under the hegemony of Tyre at that time (Katzenstein 1997: 206; Boyes 2012: 41). In fact, it is possible that Tyre's hegemony extended to the border of the new Assyrian province in northern Phoenicia, perhaps to the Nahr el-Kelb. In the south, it probably stretched as far as the Carmel ridge (Katzenstein 1997: 210-211).

An inscription on a bronze bowl found in Cyprus (*KAI* 31) also bears witness to Tyre's strength at that time. The inscription mentions a Phoenician colony - *Qarthadst*, most likely Kition,[25] governed by a man named Ahitub, servant (Phoenician סכן, i.e. steward) of Hiram (Krahmalkov 2000: 342-43). This is believed to be Hiram II of Tyre, who is referred to as 'king of the Sidonians' (Katzenstein 1997: 207-210; Boyes 2012: 38-39; *cf*. Yon and Childs 1997: 12).

Tiglath-Pileser III's reign signals not only the beginning of Assyrian political and territorial ambitions over Phoenicia, but also its economic aspirations (Oded 1973: 143; 1974: 38-49; Katzenstein 1997: 242; Markoe 2000: 41-42; Bondi 2001b: 43; Stern 2001: 58). Documents found in Nimrud (Saggs 1955: 127-128) reveal the extent of Assyria's new economic policy. In this letter from an Assyrian official, probably stationed in Tell Kazel, addressed to the Assyrian court,[26] the official reports that he had ordered the people of Sidon not to trade with the Egyptians and the Philistines.[27] It appears Assyria was attempting to monopolize one of Phoenicia's chief exports, cedar timber (Tadmor 1966: 88; Winter 1995: 252). During the mid-eighth century BCE, probably during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, a series of Assyrian forts were raised along the coast. At Tel Qudadi, a fortress was raised on the mouth of the Yarkon River, most likely to better supervise Phoenician and other maritime activities in the region (Fantalkin and Tal 2009: 244-245).

The ever growing economic stranglehold imposed on Phoenicia seems to be the main reason Hiram II (738/9–734/730 BCE) of Tyre joined the rebellion of Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Samaria in 736 BCE, together with the Philistine cities of Ashkelon and Gaza.

Tiglath-Pileser III descended first on the weaker coastal cities, and between 734-732 BCE he assaulted Phoenicia in a brief campaign. He first captured Arwad, which was spared during the first campaign, but now its king Mattanbaal, promptly surrendered. The Assyrian army then advanced south taking Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Sarepta, and into Tyrian territory conquering Hiram's stronghold of Mahalab, and Ushu. Hiram II surrendered and was forced to pay heavy tribute, and the city of Tyre suffered deportations. The cities of Akko, Keisan, and Shiqmona, and perhaps the fortress at Kabri, were levelled to the ground (Oded 1973: 144-149;

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[25] The Cypriote Qarthadst may have been Amathus (Aupert 1997: 24, *cf*. Yon and Childs 1997: 11), or perhaps Limassol (Katzenstein 1997: 207-208).

[26] Katzenstein (1997: 232-235) proposed that the correspondence should be dated to the reign of Sargon II, and reflect the reality in Phoenicia after his first campaign.

[27] This letter is probably dated to sometime between 738-734 BCE. It may also reflect the situation in Phoenicia after Tiglath-Pileser III's second campaign (Oded 1974: 48; Tadmor 1966: 149-150).

1974: 46-47; Katzenstein 1997: 214; Markoe 2000: 42; Stern 2001: 58-60; Lehmann 2002: 85-86). It is possible that the destruction layer at Beirut dated to the eighth century (Badre 1997: 73) may also be attributed to this period of aggression. The end of stratum III at Tell Abu-Hawam, dated to the latter half of the eighth century BCE (Balensi *et al.* 1993: 10), could also be attributed to this campaign. Further south on the Carmel coast, the destruction of the Iron Age IIB fortifications at Dor is also dated to the Assyrian conquest in 733/732 BCE (Stern 2000: 111–116). Na'aman (2009: 100) suggested the city suffered deportations and was resettled with deportees from other regions of the empire. Stern (2000: 138-139) suggested that the Carmel coast was then reorganized and transformed into an Assyrian province with Dor as its capital (*cf.* Gilboa 1996: 131-133; Na'aman 2009: 106). Archaeological evidence seems to support this theory since Dor was fortified at that time like other Assyrian administrative centers (Gilboa and Sharon 2008: 166). The area south of the Carmel may have been put under the Hegemony of the Philistines. Na'aman (1998b: 219-223) suggested that Tiglath-Pileser gave Jaffa and its surroundings to Rukibtu of Ashkelon in 732 BCE, while Fantalkin and Tal (2009: 241-242, fn. 64) maintain the area may have been under Ashdodite hegemony.

Despite its conquest and surrender, it is possible that southern Phoenicia, at least as far as the head of the Carmel, was not transformed into an Assyrian province like the cities of north Phoenicia. Oded (1974: 47, fn. 49) speculates that such an act would have greatly crippled the maritime trade of Tyre and would result in an economic lose to the Assyrian empire. Na'aman (1994b: 6) on the other hand, suggested that Akko became the seat of an Assyrian governor. If this is correct, Akko would have become the main port in the Akko plain, which could also account for the abandonment of Tell Abu Hawam during the seventh century BCE (Lehmann 2002: 95). Assyria's economic policy continued to burden the cities of Phoenicia by imposing a tax on the timber trade, and custom officials were placed in the harbors of major ports such as Tyre and Sidon (Aubet 2008: 186). Oded (1973: 149; 1974: 49) proposed that Assyria also intervened in the internal affairs of Phoenician cities (*cf.* Katzenstein 1997: 218-219). According to him it is possible that Matan II (730/4–729/7 BCE) of Tyre was a usurper, who was given the throne by Assyria, which may account for the reason he paid an exceptionally heavy tribute of 150 gold talents, most likely as well as other goods which are unknown since the text is broken.

Tiglath-Pileser III's heir Shalmaneser V (726-722 BCE), also waged war against the cities of

Phoenicia who rebelled under the leadership of Tyre. However, some of the Phoenician cities, including Sidon, mutinied against Tyre and assisted Assyria by supplying Shalmaneser V with a fleet of sixty ships manned by 800 sailors. According to Josephus (*Ant.* 9: 14.2), the Phoenician fleet was defeated by only twelve Tyrian ships and that Tyre captured five-hundred prisoners, although Wallinga (1993: 128) maintains these figures are exaggerated. Following the Tyrian victory, a five years siege was laid on the island, cutting it from its water supply.[28] Katzenstein (1997: 224ff) maintains that the supremacy of Tyre during this period is what drew the other Phoenician cities to join forces with Assyria in an attempt to free themselves from Tyrian dominance. It is possible that during the siege, Tyre's mainland dependencies were given to Sidon, as they later appear under the hegemony of Luli of Sidon,

There are some difficulties with Josephus' account of the Assyrian siege on Tyre. Shalmaneser V ruled for only five years, and according to Katzenstein (1997: 225) he could not have spent his entire reign besieging Tyre since his reign began with a campaign against Syria between 727-726 BCE. Shalmaneser V set out on his second campaign only in 724/3 BCE. Katzenstein (1997: 226) suggests that the siege began during the last years of Shalmaneser V, and ended under the reign of Sargon II (721-705 BCE), apparently not in an Assyrian victory but rather a treaty (Katzenstein 1997: 229).

The Hebrew bible suggests that Egypt might have encouraged these frequent rebellions. It states that Hoshea, king of Israel conspired with the Egyptian pharaoh against Shalmaneser (2 Kgs. 17: 4). This might have been an Egyptian strategy to keep Assyria, which was already on Egypt's doorstep, occupied with frequent conflicts.

Once Sargon II seized the throne of Assyria, rebellions broke out throughout the empire. In the west, assisted by Egypt, the states of Greater Syria led by Hamath, along with Samaria and Gaza mutinied. In northern Phoenicia, the province of Sumur also rebelled (Tadmor 1958a: 37; Moscati 1968: 19). Tyre and the cities of southern Phoenicia are not mentioned among the rebellious cities. The reason for Tyre's absence could be that it was still under siege by an Assyrian garrison. As for the rest of the southern Phoenician cities, it is possible they chose to remain loyal to Assyria

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[28] According to Menander, as quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* 9: 14.2), this siege was attributed to Sennacherib (704-681 BCE) against king Luli, however many scholars maintain it should be dated to the time of Shalmaneser V (Katzenstein 1997: 222-230; Na'aman 1998a: 245-247, fn. 27).

having only recently been freed from the dominance of Tyre. Once Sargon managed to subdue the rebellions in the west, the king of Tyre was no doubt quick to offer his allegiance to the Assyrian king (Katzenstein 1997: 231).

Sargon returned some four years later to Philistia and Judah, but not to Phoenicia. Although many scholars maintain that Sargon II continued to pursue the same harsh economic policy set by Tiglath-Pileser III, it seems that the situation was somewhat different. In 707 BCE Sargon II captured the kingdoms of Cyprus in an unprecedented overseas campaign. To commemorate his campaign Sargon placed a stele at Kition listing the seven kings of Cyprus who paid him tribute (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 158; Yon and Childs 1997: 11-12). Some scholars maintain that seizing control over the lucrative Phoenician copper trade and colonies on Cyprus were the leading goals of this campaign (Markoe 2000: 42-43; Stern 2001: 60), which would have been a crippling blow for Tyre. However, the annals of Sargon II state that he set out on this campaign on behalf of his vassal, Shilta king of Tyre (Na'aman 1998a). It would appear that at least part of Cyprus was still under Tyrian hegemony at that time, despite Assyrian pressure and the loss of Tyre's mainland dependencies. The kingdoms of Cyprus apparently attempted to take advantage of Tyre's weakened state and mutinied against it, refusing to pay tribute. The fact that Shilta could request Sargon for military support might indicate a treaty was signed between the two, as proposed by Katzenstein (1997: 229). This would not only reflect Tyre's status as a regional power, but also suggest good relations between Tyre and Assyria (Na'aman 1998a: 242-245; Aubet 2008: 186). Subduing the kingdoms of Cyprus, no doubt required the assistance of a Phoenician fleet, or at least Phoenician shipwright expertise. Another possible example of an Assyrian-Phoenician maritime cooperation may be attested in the annals of Sargon II. Sargon boasted that he defeated pirates on the sea for the benefit of Tyre and Que. Again, such a feat could not have been achieved without the assistance of Phoenician maritime skills (Katzenstein 1997: 239; Stern 2001: 65; Luraghi 2006: 31-32).

Sargon's economic policy seems to have been less strict than that of his predecessors. He revoked the ban on trade with Egypt and even built a new fortified city near the Egyptian border, and settled it with Phoenicians. This city, identified with either Tell el-Sheikh Zuweid (Abu Salima) or Tel

Qatif (Ruqeish),[29] was built in order to facilitate better access to trade routes with Egypt (Stern 2001: 21). Phoenician ostraca found at Tell el-Kheleifeh suggest at least one Phoenician trading post was also founded on the coast of the Red sea. It appears that at this time a Phoenician penetration into Philistia also occurred, most likely also under Assyrian supervision. Phoenicians inhabited sites in the eastern parts of Philistia, in Tel Haror and Tel Sera and the northern coast of Sinai. (Stern 2001: 68-69). It is possible that during Sargon II's reign the Assyrian provinces of the north, i.e. Megiddo, Samaria and Dor, were also founded and that other settlements began to be rebuilt (Katzenstein 1997: 242; Stern 2003a: 218).

Unlike other regions under Assyrian hegemony, the political state of affairs in Phoenicia during the Sargon II's reign was peaceful. Obviously, the Phoenicians were forced to pay annual tribute, however they underwent no violent conquests, destructions, or deportations, as the Aramean, north Syrian, Israelite, Judean, and Philistine cities suffered (Lipiński 2000). It appears that while the small but powerful kingdoms of inland Syria posed a threat to Assyria, the coastal cities did not. Furthermore, the Mediterranean port cities served as flourishing emporiums. It would appear that since the economic stronghold over Phoenicia was somewhat loosened, the Phoenician cities were content to assume the role of vassal states, as long as they could continue their economic activities with relative autonomy (Oded 1973: 139-140).

This relatively peaceful state of affairs had changed over the course of the next few years. Beginning with the reign of Sennacherib (704-681 BCE), Sargon II's heir and successor, the Assyrian monarchs took a much more intrusive approach in Phoenicia's economic affairs, which induced active Phoenician resistance. Archaeological excavations in Beirut and Byblos show that new massive fortifications were built during the late eighth or seventh century BCE (Dunand 1969: 93-99; Badre 1997: 60ff, Fig. 31a, 40a; Finkbeiner and Sader *et al.* 1997: 126-130). These may be interpreted as preparations for the subsequent revolts.

The death of Sargon II on the battlefield in Anatolia in 705 BCE sparked rebellions throughout the empire. In Phoenicia, king Luli (Elulaeus) of Sidon,[30] empowered by Tyre's weakened state,

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[29] Archaeological excavations at Tel Qatif clearly show that Phoenician material culture dominated the site (Stern 2001: 68-69).

[30] There is some confusion as to whether Luli was king of Tyre or Sidon, or both (Boyes 2012: 39; Katzenstein 1997: 132). In all the Assyrian inscriptions Luli is described as king of Sidon, except for one, the Bull Inscription IV written in ca. 694

united the Phoenician cities around Sidon to an anti-Assyrian coalition. Phoenicia remained free for four years; however, by 701 BCE Sennacherib had managed to reaffirm control over the empire, and then dispatched his army to suppress the rebellions in the southern Levant. The Assyrian army descended upon Judah, Philistia, and Phoenicia. The Phoenician coalition apparently surrendered without a fight. The conquered cities mentioned in Sennacherib's annals include Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Sarepta, Mahalab, Ushu, Achziv, and Akko (*ANET*: 287), which were the dependencies of both Tyre and Sidon. Luli, king of Sidon fled to Cyprus where he perished. His escape was depicted on a stone relief in the palace of Sennacherib at Khorsabad (Tadmor 1966: 95-96; Barnet 1969, Pl. 1: 1-2; Katzenstein 1997: 246-287; Markoe 2000: 43; Bondi 2001b: 43; Stern 2001: 60; Zwickel 2012a: 6) (Fig. 2.3).

The fact that Tyre is not mentioned is interesting. If Luli was the king of Tyre, as some scholars maintain (see fn. 30), it seems unlikely that Sennacherib would not forcibly act to subdue it. Katenstein's (1997: 247) suggestion that Sennacherib did not have ships to take Tyre by force is improbable since he himself suggested earlier that Sargon II used Phoenician ships to conquer Cyprus (*ibid*.: 239). Katzenstein (*ibid*.: 247) further proposed that Sennacherib may have been demoralized due to the outcome of the pervious Assyrian siege on Tyre. In the annals of Sennacherib, Luli is described as 'king of Sidon' and under his hegemony is essentially the entire southern part of Phoenicia (*ANET*: 287–288). Most scholars maintain that it is improbable that Sidon would have held sway over all of the traditional Tyrian dependencies, and especially Ushu its mainland town, and not the island itself (Boyes 2012: 39). Boyes (2012: 41) suggested that a political union existed between Tyre and Sidon during the seventh century BCE.

In the aftermath of the Phoenician rebellion, Sennacherib placed a man on his behalf, Ethbaal (Tabalu), as ruler of Sidon and perhaps also some of Tyre's mainland dependencies. Sennacherib then settled near Ushu and there received tribute from his vassals. Among them Ethbaal of Sidon, Abdiliti of Arwad, and Urumilki of Byblos. Sennacherib had also erected a stele commemorating his victory next to the Nahr el-Kalb (*ANET*: 287-288; Jidejian 1968: 81; Moscati 1968: 19-20; Katzenstein 1997: 255-256; Na'aman 1998a: 246-247).

BCE. Menander's account, as quoted by Josephus (*Ant*. 9: 14.2), also contributes to the confusion as it describes Luli as the king of Tyre who sailed to Cyprus to subdue a revolt against Tyre but died on his journey. Furthermore, the maritime scene on the stone relief from the palace of Sennacherib portrays Luli departing from an island, presumably Tyre. Nevertheless, it seems more probable Luli was king of Sidon and not Tyre (Na'aman 1998a: 246-247). Josephus' account seems to be mistakenly combining Sargon's campaign on behalf of the king of Tyre with Luli's revolt and escape to Cyprus.

When Sennacherib was assassinated, rebellions broke out once more throughout the Assyrian empire. In Phoenicia, the newly empowered Sidon under Abdimilkuti, ruling a sizeable territory from Al-Mina in the north and the Litani River in the south (Lipiński 2004: 36; Niehr 2008: 13-14), and further empowered by its alliance with the Cilician king Sanduari, renounced Assyrian suzerainty. Esarhaddon (680-669 BCE), Sennacherib's successor, was far more brutal in his suppression of the rebellious Phoenician cities. After managing to consolidate his throne, Esarhaddon set out on his first military campaign to Philistia. It is possible that the main reason for this campaign was to deter Egypt's new energetic king Taharqa (ca. 688-664 BCE), who managed to extend Egypt's sphere of influence into Philistia and Phoenicia (Tadmor 1966: 97-98; Redford 1992: 351-364; Markoe 2000: 44-46).

In 677 BCE Esarhaddon turned to deal with Phoenicia. According to the annals of Esarhaddon, Sidon was totally annihilated and its people were deported. The king of Sidon, Abdimilkuti was executed and his head was taken back to Assyria to be portrayed through the streets of Nineveh in a triumphal procession. The majority of Sidon's territory and dependencies, including Gi' (Giyyé), Inimme (Nāᶜmé), Hildua (Khalde), Qartimme (Kafrshima?) and Biru (Beirut), were annexed and reorganized into a new Assyrian province. Esarhaddon commanded the kings of Hatti and the sea shore to build for him a new city near Sidon, Kur-Esarhaddon, i.e. 'Port of Esarhaddon' (possibly Tell Bouraq), to serve as the capital of the new province. The rest of the territory, which was previously under Sidonian hegemony, was given to Baal I, king of Tyre (*ANET*: 290-291; Tadmor 1966: 98; Elayi 1982: 95; Badre 1997: 11; Finkbeiner and Sader *et al.* 1997: 116-117; Katzenstein 1997: 259-261; Markoe 2000: 43; Bondi 2001b: 43-44; Stern 2001: 60-61; Aubet 2008: 187).

The new capital served as an Assyrian commercial colony which became the new focal point of Assyrian trade in Phoenicia which had virtually cut off the Phoenician ports as 'middle men' (Tadmor 1966: 98; Markoe 2000: 43). The city was no doubt also founded in order to tighten the control over southern Phoenicia (Stern 2003a: 223).

As expected, this blatant interference with Phoenician trade stirred anti-Assyrian sentiments in Phoenicia, and in 674 BCE, Baal I of Tyre raised a coalition of twenty-two states including the kingdoms of Phoenicia, Cyprus, Judah, and Philistia, supported by Tirhakah of Egypt. Sidon, which did not yet recover, is not mentioned among them. In 671 BCE, on route to a campaign in Egypt, Esarhaddon laid the foundations for a siege on Tyre. Upon Egypt's defeat and the capture of Memphis, it seems the coalition broke. The king of Tyre, Baal I, submitted and was then

completely stripped of his power to the extent of humiliation, as portrayed by the treaty Baal was imposed to sign.[31] Baal was also forced to pay heavy tribute and send his daughters with dowries to the Assyrian court.[32] Apart from losing Tyre's mainland dependencies, an Assyrian overseer was stationed in Tyre, or Ushu, and Baal is commanded to address him as his servant. He is also commanded to only open correspondence from the Assyrian court in the presence of the Assyrian official. This official also attended all of the councils held by the city's elders. The main issues addressed in the treaty correspond to Assyria's growing interest and involvement in maritime trade. The worst constraint enforced on Tyre was no doubt the limited boundaries in which its merchants could operate. They could only travel between certain ports sanctioned by Assyria, which included Byblos, Akko, Dor, Philistia, and all other cities within Assyrian territory on the coast, the Lebanon, and the mountains (*ANET*: 533-534; Katzenstein 1997: 266-282; Markoe 2000: 43-47; Bondi 2001b: 43-44; Stern 2001: 60-61; Niehr 2008: 13-14; Na'aman 2009: 98-99). Egypt and Cyprus are not mentioned, which could indicate that Esarhaddon was attempting to monopolize the Egyptian market, and perhaps also the Cypriot and Aegean markets.

The fact that Akko is mentioned indicates it was no longer under Tyrian hegemony. It could have been incorporated into an Assyrian province already during the reign of Sennacherib, or perhaps after Esarhaddon's 677 BCE campaign (Na'aman 2009: 99). Assyria no doubt recognized both the economic and strategic value of the Akko plain, which was the largest hinterland of southern Phoenicia, and also controlled the routes inland to the northern valleys. The treaty of Esarhaddon and Baal, and later also the annals of Ashurbanipal, suggest the Akko plain was transformed into an Assyrian province with Akko as its capital (Na'aman 1994b: 3-8; Zwickel 2012a: 6; *cf.* Alt 1953: 377-378). During the seventh century BCE, Akko served as the only port in the region. The site of Tell Abu-Hawam was abandoned for the first time during the first millennium BCE. This was clearly a result of Assyria's attempt to monopolize maritime trade in the southern Levant (Klengel 1992: 230; Balensi *et al.* 1993: 8-9; Lehmann 2001: 86).

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[31] Katzenstein (1997: 267-27, fn. 47), following others suggested the treaty between Baal I and Esarhaddon was signed after the 677 BCE campaign, and thus reflect Tyre's achievement in regaining its status as a major regional power. However, the treaty clearly demonstrates the sanctions Tyre and its king suffered after the failed rebellion. On the subjugating nature of these treaties see Grayson 1987: 127-160.

[32] The annals of Esarhaddon also state he ordered the twelve kings of Hatti, among which are Baal of Tyre (mentioned first in the list), Milkishapa of Byblos, and Mattanbaal of Arwad, and the ten kings of Cyprus, to send him building materials for his palace at Ninveh (*ANET*: 291).

To commemorate his successful campaigns Esarhaddon erected several monuments, among which are a stele (Fig. 2.4) portraying Esarhaddon holding Baal I and the captured son of the Pharaoh Tahraqa by a leash at his feet (Markoe 2000: 47, Fig. 7) and a rock-cut inscription on the cliffs of the Nahr el-Kelb near Beirut (Jidejian 1968: 82; Katzenstein 1997: 280, 283-285).

Despite Esarhaddon's victory, the resistance in Egypt did not quell and shortly after Tirhakah's defeat, he retakes Memphis. In response, Esarhaddon departs on his third campaign to Egypt, but on route to Egypt he dies of an illness in 669 BCE. His younger son Ashurbanipal (668-631 BCE) takes the Assyrian throne. With the ascension of Ashurbanipal to power the Phoenician kings Baal of Tyre, Milkishapa of Byblos, and Iakinlu of Arwad paid him tribute and supplied naval assistance on his first campaign against Egypt (*ANET*: 294). It is possible that in order to insure Phoenician loyalty at least some of Esarhaddon's constraints were lifted, e.g. the Assyrian official in Tyre was withdrawn (Tadmor 1958b: 107-108; Katzenstein 1997: 287-288). Yet in light of the following events it seems more probable that Phoenicia was either still under strict supervision of Assyrian officials, no doubt backed by garrisons in Tyre, Sidon, and Sumur. It is also possible that the kings of Phoenicia attempted to win the grace of the new Assyrian monarch, and by doing so, ease the economic restrictions imposed by his father. If such an attempt was made it was probably unrewarded since a few years later Ashurbanipal had to subdue another Phoenician revolt that was probably supported by Egypt. In 663 BCE, Ashurbanipal set out on his third campaign to Egypt during which he captured Memphis and soon after Thebes. In 662 BCE, on route back from Egypt, Ashurbanipal laid a siege on the island of Tyre. His annals proclaim he set a guard on Tyre from land and sea, preventing the people of Tyre from escape, and only allowing them enough food to survive. Baal I surrendered and was forced to submit his and his brothers' daughters, along with their dowries, to serve as slaves in the Assyrian court. Ashurbanipal also mentions Iahimilki, the king's son and heir who was probably meant to be taken as hostage; however, Ashurbanipal has spared him thanks to the heavy tribute he received. The city and its inhabitants were also spared from further harm. However, Tyre's mainland territories including Ushu and Akko were seized again, and by ca. 640 Tyre's mainland empire was transformed into an Assyrian province (*ANET*: 295-296; Jidejian 1968: 82-84; Moscati 1968: 22-23; Katzenstein 1997: 288-291; Markoe 2000: 46). The destruction of the fortress of stratum E3 at Kabri should probably be attributed to Ashurbanipal's campaign against Tyre. The new fortress of stratum E2, dated to the seventh century BCE, may have become an Assyrian outpost (Lehmann 2002: 86), reflecting the

transformation of Tyrian territory into an Assyrian province.

Arwad had also revolted at that time, led by its king Yakinlin. A letter sent from the Assyrian official, probably stationed at Tell Kazel, or at Kur-Esarhaddon, to the Assyrian court, states that the king of Arwad had laid a siege on the Assyrian port and did not permit ships to enter its harbor, and ships that did dock in the Assyrian harbor were destroyed (Harper 1911: 992). This rebellion was also quickly subdued and Arwad was forced to pay a heavy tribute. The king's daughter was also sent with a large dowry to the Assyrian court as a hostage. Shortly after Yakinlin's death, one of his sons, Azibaal, was placed on the throne by Ashurbanipal (*ANET*: 295-296; Markoe 2000: 46).

In 644/643 BCE, on his return from a campaign against north-Arabian tribes, Ashurbanipal heads to Phoenicia to quell a rebellion that broke out in Akko and Ushu. The revolt was brutally suppressed. The people of Akko and Ushu who rebelled against their Assyrian overlords were killed and their bodies were displayed on poles, while the survivors were deported (Moscati 1968: 44-45; Katzenstein 1997: 293; Zwickel 2012a: 6). The fact that Tyre is not mentioned in this rebellion clearly demonstrates its weakened state (*cf.* Katzenstein 1997: 293).

During the last years of Ashurbanipal's long reign, Assyria grew increasingly weaker due to continuous conflicts with Elam and civil unrest. In 655 BCE, Egypt, under Psammetichus I (664-610 BCE), founder of the twenty-sixth Saite dynasty, overthrew Assyrian yoke. Psammetichus reunited Upper and Lower Egypt and apparently renewed Egypt's aspirations for dominance over western Asia (Katzenstein 1997: 295-296).

Archaeological evidence at Dor suggest the town was abandoned sometime between 635-630 BCE for a yet unknown reason. It remained uninhabited until the Persian period's revival under Phoenician hegemony (Gilboa and Sharon 2008: 167). If Dor was indeed the capital of an Assyrian province as suggested above, or even an Assyrian trade-station, its abandonment demonstrates Assyria's weakened state and its loose hold over the Levantine coast.

The cities of Phoenicia seem to have recovered and regained their former dependencies. Tyre may have reasserted itself over Akko and the Akko plain in the south (Klengel 1992: 232-234), and over Sarepta in the north (Katzenstein 1997: 296-297). In this period, Tyre also established a commercial enclave in Memphis (Herodotus 2: 112; Katzenstein 1978).

Assyrian hegemony over the southern Levant finally ended ca. three decades after Assurbanipal's

siege on Tyre and would never again be restored (Stager 1996: 71; Markoe 2000: 46-47; Bondi 2001b: 44). It appears that Psammetichus I exploited this power vacuum to reassert Egypt as a regional power. Although evidence to Egyptian presence in Phoenicia is scant, it is highly suggestive. According to an Egyptian document dated to ca. 612/613 BCE, the kings of Lebanon were subjected to Egypt and the Phoenician coast became an Egyptian dependency directly ruled by a provincial authority of the pharaoh (Freedy and Redford 1970: 475-477; Redford 1992: 442). Psammetichus I boasted his officials regulated the Phoenician timber trade (Redford 1992: 441-442; Markoe 2000: 46-47). Psammetichus I apparently also owned a royal estate in Phoenicia (Katzenstein 1978: 162).

Egyptian hegemony over Phoenicia may have continued during the reign of Necho II (610-595 BCE), Psammetichus' successor (Freedy and Redford 1970: 478), however there is little evidence to support this (Ward 1996: 192). Nevertheless, according to Herodotus (4: 42) Necho II sent a Phoenician fleet from the Red Sea to circumnavigate Africa and return to Egypt through the Straits of Gibraltar, however the accuracy of this account is also questionable (Lloyd 1977: 148ff).

The Neo-Babylonian Period

Egyptian expansion in the southern Levant was put to a halt in 605 BCE as Necho II (610-595 BCE), who joined forces with Egypt's former enemy, Assyria, met the Babylonian army led by Nebuchadnezzar (604-562 BCE) on the battlefield at Carchemish and was defeated. On his first year of reign, Nebuchadnezzar ventured to Phoenicia where he received homage and tribute. The next eleven years of his reign were dedicated to the conquest of Cilicia and the southern Levant (Ward 1996: 191; Katzenstein 1997: 305-308; Markoe 2000: 47). In an inscription dated to his early years found in Wadi Brissa in northern Lebanon, Nebuchadnezzar boasts that the area was now free of its enemies (*ANET*: 307). A series of destruction levels were noted in sites in southern Phoenicia and the Akko plain such as Tel Kabri, Tell Keisan, Achziv, and Shiqmona, which may be attributed to Nebuchadnezzar's campaign of 604 BCE (Lehmann 2001: 96; 2002: 87; Stern 2001: 315). The southern coast seems to have suffered a severe blow of which it did not soon recover. At Akko, Tell Keisan, and Shiqmona there seems to have been a break in occupancy during the Neo-Babylonian period, the next settlement period is dated to the Iron Age III. The same is true for the sites of the Carmel coast, Dor and Tel Mevorakh, where no clear Babylonian

period strata were noted, and for sites further south such as Mikhmoret, Tel Michal, and Tell Qasile (Stern 2001: 315-316). This campaign is echoed in the prophecy of Jeremiah (47: 1-7). Verse 4 reads:

"Because of the day that comes to   "עַל-הַיּוֹם, הַבָּא לִשְׁדוֹד אֶת-כָּל-פְּלִשְׁתִּים, לְהַכְרִית
spoil all the Philistines, to cut off   לְצֹר וּלְצִידוֹן, כֹּל שָׂרִיד עֹזֵר."
from Tyre and Sidon every helper
that remains."

Nebuchadnezzar set out on campaigns to the west in his second and third year as well (603-602 BCE), collecting tribute. In his fourth year, Nebuchadnezzar attacked Egypt but was defeated and was forced to retreat. He returned to the west only two years later for another tribute collecting campaign (Katzenstein 1997: 308-310). It appears Nebuchadnezzar did not encounter any Phoenician resistance, despite Egypt's victory and the Judean rebellion. Katzenstein (1997: 310-311), proposed the Phoenicians may have capitalized on Nebuchadnezzar's need to rebuild his army and supplied Babylonia with the required raw materials. However, Phoenicia must have also aided Egypt in its attempts to gain military might, specifically naval power. According to Herodotus (2: 159), Necho II built two fleets of triremes, one in the Mediterranean and another in the Red sea. For this task, Necho surely needed great quantities of timber and perhaps also Phoenician expertise and shipwrights. A fragment of a statue with an inscription of Necho, apparently found in Sidon, may be evident to such cooperation (Jidejian 1968: 85; Katzenstein 1997: 313). A letter dated to the end of the seventh century BCE was sent from an unknown city in the southern Levant, by a man named Adon, to the Egyptian court warning of the approach of the Babylonian army. Some scholars have argued it was sent from a Phoenician city (Wiseman 1995: 25-26). Good relations with Egypt continued during the reign of Psammetichus II (595-589 BCE), who, according to the Rylands IX papyrus (XIV, 16ff), journeyed to the southern Levant in what seems as a triumphal procession meant to celebrate his successful campaign in Sudan and perhaps also strengthen his alleys and supporters (Yoyotte 1951: 143-144). Nevertheless, in the following years Nebuchadnezzar continued to collect tribute from the kingdoms of the west with no real opposition until 588 BCE. In that year Hophra (Apries) (589-570 BCE) ascended to the Egyptian throne and soon after began actions to reassert Egypt's suzerainty over the southern

Levant. He relied to him Zedekiah of Judea, but apparently met with unwillingness in Phoenicia (Katzenstein 1997: 317-319). According to Herodotus (2: 161), Hophra attacked Sidon by land and Tyre by sea. Diodorus (1: 68.1) claimed Hophra also attacked Cyprus and took Sidon by such force that the rest of the Phoenician cities submitted to him.

If this was indeed the case it is not clear why then Nebuchadnezzar attacked Phoenicia, conquering Sidon and Arwad, and then besieged Tyre for thirteen years, between ca. 586/585-573 BCE (Josephus, *Con. Ap.* 1: 20.143; 1: 21.156-159; Freedy and Redford 1970: 469; Katzenstein 1979: 24; 1993; Markoe 2000: 47; Zwadzki 2003: 276-280). Katzenstein (1997: 329) suggested the Phoenicians attempted to remain in good relations with both Egypt and Babylon. If that was the case, this approach apparently failed twice. Once when they refused to join Egypt and were then attacked by Hophra, and again when they may have refused to actively cooperate with Babylonia against Egypt and were attacked by Nebuchadnezzar. Some scholars maintain that Hophra's campaign against Phoenicia took place only after Babylon's conquest of Tyre (Freedy and Redford 1970: 482; Ward 1996: 192). Another possibility is that Hophra placed rulers on his behalf in the Phoenician cities that openly opposed Babylon, provoking a Babylonian retaliation. This however does not sit well with Diodorus' account of the sacking of Phoenicia by Hophra.

Ezekiel (26-28) lengthily recounts the fall and humiliation of Tyre. Oddly, this event is not mentioned in official Babylonian chronicles. It is however mentioned in a Babylonian text that confirms that Nebuchadnezzar was personally present during some stages of the siege (Dougherty 1923: 61). It is possible that the siege was not a continuous thirteen yearlong operation but rather a land blockade, which might explain its absence from official records (Wiseman 1995: 28; Katzenstein 1997: 331; Markoe 2000: 47-48). Katzenstein (1997: 324-332) maintains that the siege did not result in a glorious Babylonian victory, but rather a compromised agreement. The king of Tyre, Ethbaal III (ca. 591-573 BCE), was dethroned and was probably deported to Babylon, and a new king, Baal II (ca. 573-564 BCE), presumably a member of the royal family, was appointed in his stead. Tyre was also placed under the jurisdiction of the province of Kadesh (Wiseman 1995: 27-28; Markoe 2000: 48). It is likely that economic sanctions were also enforced on Tyre, perhaps related to the timber trade, as the inscription found in Wadi Brissa boasts of roads constructed through the mountains for transporting timber to the Euphrates and ultimately to Babylon (*ANET*: 307; Jidejian 1968: 86-87; Wiseman 1995: 26; Katzenstein 1997: 320-321; Markoe 2000: 48). The long siege must have greatly weakened Tyre, both economically and

politically. By now, Tyre's dependencies on Cyprus have surely managed to break free of its hegemony as they emerge as independent entities during the subsequent Persian period. It seems that under Babylonian rule Phoenician commerce had reached an all-time low. With the Babylonian annexation of the southern Levant, including the Transjordan as far south as Moab, and Cilicia in the north, Phoenician access to the lucrative markets of south Arabia and south Anatolia was no doubt severely limited. Nevertheless, commerce with Babylonia itself is well attested in numerous documents detailing Phoenician artisans in Babylonian service (Markoe 2000: 48; Briant 2002: 383).

This situation was apparently becoming increasingly unbearable and between 564-563 BCE, there was an uprising in Tyre led by Baal II. The revolt was quickly subdued, and in its aftermath the royal family was deported and a series of magistrates were appointed to govern the city during the following years (Josephus, *Con. Ap.* 1: 21). It appears that a Babylonian official was also stationed in the city as an overseer (Katzenstein 1997: 333-334). Eventually the throne was given to Merbalus (probably Mhrbaal) (ca. 555-552 BCE), who reigned for four years and was succeeded by his brother, Hiram III (ca. 552-538 BCE) (Katzenstein 1997: 325-333; Markoe 2000: 48; Bondi 2001b: 44; Zwadzki 2003: 277-279). Both brothers were brought from the royal court in Babylon, where they were no doubt groomed to be Babylon-sympathetic rulers. The Babylonian 'court lists' reveal that the royal families of Sidon and Arwad were also deported to Babylon (Wiseman 1995: 75).

Nebuchadnezzar died in 562 BCE. After his death, a period of political unrest took place in Babylonia. In 556 BCE Nabonidus (556-539 BCE) ascended the throne. During his reign kingship was reinstated in Tyre. It is possible that at the same time other exiled ruling families were also permitted to return to Phoenicia. This policy was most likely a political gesture meant to ensure loyalty in unstable times, especially in light of the growing threat of the Medes (Katzenstein 1997: 341-343; Markoe 2000: 48-49; Betlyon 2005: 6). This strategy seemed to have paid off since Phoenicia remained loyal to Babylon until its last days. According to Xenophon (*Anab.* 1: 4.6), Cyrus camped at Myriandrus in southern Cilicia, which was a trading station inhabited by Phoenicians. This may indicate the Phoenicians also experienced an economic revival during which they expanded to the north, in an area that was recently reconquered by Babylon (Katzenstein 1997: 342).

It is possible that in the wake of Babylonia's demise, Egypt attempted to reassert itself as a

dominant power in the southern Levant. According to Herodotus (2: 182.2) during the reign of Amasis (570-526 BCE), Cyprus, whose Phoenician kingdoms were already independent of Tyrian hegemony, became subjugated to Egypt (Jidejian 1968: 92; Katzenstein 1997: 339).

Babylonian hegemony over the southern Levant finally ended during the late sixth century BCE. It was replaced by the Achaemenid rulers of the Persian Empire. This marked a new era of renewal and prosperity for Phoenicia which was considered of particular strategic importance and would once again enjoy a special status and more independence (Markoe 2000: 49; Bondi 2001b: 44). It appears that the biggest beneficiary of Tyre's demise was Sidon, who no doubt took advantage of the long period in which Tyre was under siege to accumulate wealth and power. During the subsequent Persian period, Sidon emerges as the dominant Phoenician city, replacing the long reign of Tyre as the leading Phoenician city-state.[33]

Iron Age III

In October 539 BCE Babylon was conquered by Cyrus the Great (559-530 BCE) after a series of successful campaigns in central and western Asia. Not much is known about Phoenicia during the early stages of the Iron Age III, and scholars still debate when did Phoenicia came under the domination of the Achaemenid Empire and became part its fifth Satrapy, as described in detail by Herodotus (3: 89). Some scholars maintain that after Cyrus conquered Lydia in 546 BCE, he turned south to subdue Syria and Phoenicia before turning east to take Babylon (Katzenstein 1979: 25). Others maintain Phoenicia was incorporated to the Persian Empire soon after Cyrus took Babylon, and some maintain it was only during the early stages of his successor Cambyses (Dandamaev 1989: 60-65; Briant 2002: 48-49). According to Herodotus (3: 19), Phoenicia offered no resistance to the Persian conqueror, however it also remained loyal Babylon until its last days.
The fifth satrapy, 'Abar Nahara', i.e. Beyond the River (Euphrates), extended from Babylon to the Mediterranean bordering with Cilicia in the north and Egypt in the south. Although Xenophon

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[33] Katzenstein (1979: 27-28) suggested the supremacy of Sidon during the Persian period was a result of favouritism by the Achaemenid monarchs which began with Tyre's refusal to act against Carthage after Cambyses' successful campaign against Egypt.

(*Cyr.* 8: 8.1) attributes the conquest of Egypt and Cyprus to Cyrus, his accounts on Cyrus are filled with inaccuracies and must be dismissed. Not only Egypt was still independent at this stage, according to Herodotus (2: 182.2), Cyprus was under Egyptian hegemony (Katzenstein 1979: 27; Watkin 1987; Briant 2002: 48-49).

Cyrus died in 530 BCE while campaigning in the east. After his death his son and successor Cambyses (530-522 BCE), took the throne, which was secured already in the days of Cyrus. With no opposition at home, Cambyses had soon set out on a military campaign against Egypt, which was the only regional power capable of threatening Persia (Katzenstein 1979: 27). It is possible that the campaign was motivated by Egypt's desire or attempt to reassert its power over the southern Levant. It is also possible Cambyses attempted to take advantage of Egypt's possible weakened state after the death of the powerful pharaoh Amasis a year earlier. The campaign to Egypt in 525 BCE seems to have included a series of conquests in the west during which Cyprus came under Persian hegemony. If Phoenicia was still independent, by then it surely came under Persian domination (Watkin 1987; Briant 2002: 51). According to Herodotus (3: 19.3) both the cities of Phoenicia and of Cyprus offered their aid against Egypt of their own volition. This was the first occasion the Phoenicians became active members of the Persian fleet. Cambyses' army gathered in Akko (Strabo 16: 2.25; Diodorus 15: 41.3), which during this period became an important military, economic and administrative center, either as an independent city, or under the hegemony of Tyre (Katzenstein 1979: 27; Dothan 1985: 93; *cf*. Rainey 1969: 53). A new harbor was also constructed to better serve as the Persian base of operations against Egypt (Raban 1995b: 158). The Persian army invaded Egypt and laid a siege on Memphis, who soon after surrendered, and the Egyptian pharaoh Psammetichus III (526–525 BCE), was taken captive. It is highly likely that naval battles were also fought during this campaign since Egypt possessed a powerful sea-going fleet since the reign of Necho II (Briant 2002: 54).

In order to retain its suzerainty, a series of military garrisons, also used as administrative centres for tax collection, were constructed in strategic locations and along main roads. Many of them were found in the southern part of the Levant and in the Sinai peninsula in sites such as Tel Haror (Oren 1993: 584), Tel Sera (Oren 1982; 1993a: 1334), Tell el-Far`ah (south) (Macdonald *et al.* 1932), and Tel Qatif (Ruqeish) (Oren 1993b).

The Achaemenid monarchs no doubt recognized Phoenicia's strategic maritime importance for

their imperial ambitions. Phoenicia served as the main Mediterranean naval force of the Persian Empire, crucial for campaigns against Egypt in the south and even more so against the Aegean world in the west (Markoe 2000: 49; Bondi 2001b: 44-45). This Achaemenid dependency on the cities of Phoenicia earned them a privileged status in the empire. Unlike Samaria or Jerusalem, the Phoenicians were not subordinate to governors, but rather retained their local monarchies and could deal directly with the Persian satrap (Katzenstein 1979: 32; Markoe 2000: 49-50). According to Herodotus (3: 19), after the victory over Egypt, Cambyses aspired to conquer other areas in Africa, including Carthage. However, since the Phoenicians refused to act against their kin, the campaign was abandoned (Jidejian 1968: 92; Markoe 2000: 49-50). This clearly demonstrates the good relations between the Achaemenid court and the Phoenicians, and Persia's interest in keeping Phoenicia loyal. The reason the Phoenicians chose to side with Persia must have been primarily economic. During the last stages of the Assyrian, and throughout the Neo-Babylonian periods, Phoenician Mediterranean trade was greatly reduced due to imperial economic policies and ever-growing competition from Greek and other Aegean merchants who penetrated markets such as Egypt and Cyprus, which were previously practically monopolized by Phoenician trade. Greek commercial presence can be seen in the Egyptian Delta already in the seventh century BCE. Under the Saitic dynasty, Ionic Greeks enjoyed a pinnacle in Egyptian trade relations, especially during the reign of Amasis. They founded military bases on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile Delta, which was the traditional Phoenician access point for Egyptian trade, and established a substantial port settlement near the Egyptian capitol Sais (Waldbaum 1994; Markoe 2000: 50-51; Kaplan 2003). Furthermore, during the sixth century BCE, important Phoenician dependencies in the west, such as Cyprus and Carthage managed to break free of Phoenician hegemony. In order to compensate these loses, the Phoenicians attempted to find other lucrative markets, and so we encounter an increase in presence of Phoenicians in Mesopotamia (Markoe 2000: 48; Briant 2002: 383). However, with the rise of the Achaemenid Empire, the Phoenicians must have recognized an opportunity to reassert themselves as powerful economic entities. The vast empire reaching previously unknown regions, and connected by an elaborate network of roads, held an immense potential for both maritime and land trade (Katzenstein 1979: 30; Markoe 2000: 50; Briant 2002: 357ff). Indeed, surveys conducted in the Anti-Lebanon and Beqa' areas, which connect the coast to Mesopotamia, attest to an increase in settlement pattern during the Iron Age III (Bonatz 2002: 299). Furthermore, Egypt's conquest by Persia in 525 BCE marks a dramatic decrease of Greek

commercial presence, and an increase of Levantine trade (Waldbaum 1994; Markoe 2000: 50-51). Herodotus (2: 112) tells of a Phoenician trading station in Memphis called 'Camp of the Tyrians' (Katzenstein 1978; 1979: 29-30; Elayi 1980: 15; Kaplan 2003: 8-9). This may have been part of an Achaemenid policy to populate Egypt with Persian sympathetic communities such as Phoenicians and Jews. A similar Tyrian trade enclave was founded in Jerusalem (Neh. 13: 16) (Noonan 2011).

In 522 BCE, Cambyses received word of rebellion in Persia. On his journey back from Egypt, he was injured in Syria and dies of his wounds without leaving an heir (Briant 2002: 61). After the death of Cambyses, Darius I (522-486 BCE) seized the throne. During this period of political instability, multiple rebellions break out throughout the empire. Darius states in his famous 'Behistun Inscription' he spent his first year on the throne subduing nineteen revolts. It appears Phoenicia was not among the rebellious nations. Once Darius' kingship was consolidated, he turned to further expand the Persian Empire. Under Darius, the empire extended into previously unknown frontiers, annexing territories in India and Eastern Europe. According to Herodotus (3: 88-95), it was during Darius' reign that the empire was reorganized into the twenty satrapies. Scholars defer on whether the fifth, 'Beyond the River', satrapy was separated at that time from that of Babylon, which required closer supervision, or later during the reign of his successor Xerxes I. Darius is also attributed with establishing a new and sophisticated road and post system, connecting even the farthest regions of his empire, and the new monetary system of imperial coins (Rainey 1969: 55-56; Katzenstein 1979: 32; Stern 1984b: 71-72; 2001: 368ff; Briant 2002: 139ff), though it should be noted that most of these systems probably relied on pre-existing structures (Briant 2002: 62).

Darius was also the first Persian monarch to attempt expanding the empire to the Aegean. Herodotus (3: 136) claimed that Persian spies, who departed from Sidon by ships, were sent to survey and prepare a written report of the coast of Greece prior to an invasion. Jidejian (1968: 94) maintains that the conquest of Greece was encouraged by the Phoenicians who feared of Greek commercial competition.

Between 500-493 BCE, the Ionian revolt broke out, led by Aristagoras of Miletus. Aristagoras managed to gather to him several Ionian and Cycladian cities and with the support of Athens, they raided and burned Sardis. Between 498-497 BCE the rebellion spread to other areas of Asia Minor

and to Cyprus, where all the kingdom save for Amathus joined the revolt (Jidejian 1968: 94; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1987: 333; Markoe 2000: 53; Briant 2002: 146-148). The Persian army, aided by a Phoenician fleet, first descended upon Cyprus. Although a naval battle was lost, the Persian force on the island succeeded in subduing the rebellious kingdoms. Then Persia turned to deal with Asia Minor. In 494 BCE, following a victory in a great naval battle at Lade, in which according to Herodotus (6: 14) the Phoenician fleet played a crucial role, Miletus was captured and destroyed and its people were deported (Katzenstein 1979: 31; Briant 2002: 148-149). Katzenstein (*ibid*.) suggested the Phoenicians benefited from the destruction of Miletus, which was a thriving commercial center that posed competition. Michaelidou-Nicolaou (1987: 333-334) suggested that following the Ionian revolt, Persia may have attempted to strengthen the Phoenician presence on Cyprus, on the expense of the local Cypriote kingdoms, in order to further consolidate their hold over the island.

The Athenian involvement in the Ionian revolt and the sacking of Sardis served as a catalyst for Persia's first invasion to Greece. The Persian army crossed the Aegean with a mighty fleet and managed to subdue several Greek islands, and also to besiege and conquer Eretria. Then Persian troops landed in Attica near Marathon, where they suffered a defeat that concluded the first 'Persian War'. Darius then prepared for a second invasion, however in 486 BCE a rebellion broke out in Egypt. While Darius was preparing his retaliation, he died of an illness (Rainey 1969: 57; Briant 2002: 156-161).

The throne of the Persian Empire passed to Darius' son, Xerxes I (486-465 BCE). Upon his accession, Xerxes set out to subdue the rebellion in Egypt, which threatened stability in other regions of the empire as well. By 484 BCE, the Egyptian rebellion was quelled, and Persian hegemony was restored. In 482/481 BCE, a new rebellion broke out in Babylon, however it lasted only a few weeks (Rainey 1969: 57; Briant 2002: 524-525). Throughout this period of relative political turmoil, we hear nothing of rebellions in Phoenicia. This clearly demonstrates that Phoenicia was content with the political situation and was probably enjoying a period of renewed prosperity. Once Xerxes' hold over the empire was firm, he was free to direct his efforts on Greece, and in 480 BCE, the Persian army accompanied by a massive fleet descended on Greece. Herodotus (7: 89-90) claimed the fleet consisted of some 1200 triremes, 300 of which were Phoenician. The invasion was successful at first. The Persian army managed to take the pass of

Thermopylae and then conquer Boeotia and Attica. The turning point of the war was at the battle of Salamis. The Greek fleet met the Persian one in the bay of Salamis, and won a great battle (Herodotus 8: 76-96) (Jidejian 1968: 95; Briant 2002: 528-529).

It seems that during the Iron Age III the kings of Phoenicia took a more active role in naval battles as the commanders of their respected fleets (Elayi 2006b). Some scholars maintained that the Sidonian commander Tetramnestos, served as the admiral of the entire Persian fleet, however it was a Persian officer who was in charge of the fleet (Elayi 2006b: 415). Herodotus (7: 98) gives the names of the Phoenician kings who participated in the battle. The commander of the Tyrian fleet was Mattan, son of Hiram IV (Elayi 2006a: 23; 2006b: 414). The commander of the fleet of Arwad was Maharbaal (*Merbalos*), son of Agbalos (perhaps Ozbaal II) (Elayi 2006a: 29; 2006b: 414-415). It is possible that the commander of the Sidonian fleet was not the king, which was at that time probably Eshmunezer (*cf*. Kelly 1987). Herodotus (*ibid*.) states that the Sidonian fleet was led by Tetramnestos son of Anysos. These two names are not mentioned in any other text and might belong to Phoenician kings who ruled over Sidon during the early fifth century BCE. It is also possible that Herodotus simply mistranslated the names of different kings (Elayi 2006b: 414). Another possibility is that Eshmunezer, who due to his young age shared his early years of reign with his queen mother Amoashtart (Elayi 2006a: 15), was still too young to participate in the battle. Among the Phoenicians, the Sidonian fleet was the largest, fastest, and most significant of all of Persia's naval force. During Xerxes' invasion of Greece the Sidonian commander was the highest-ranking officer among the Phoenicians and held the priority in the king's war council, and Xerxes' own flagship was Sidonian (Herodotus 7: 96; 7: 98; 7: 100; 8: 67; Elayi 1980: 25-26; 2006b: 415-416).

According to Herodotus (8: 90), after the Persian defeat at Salamis, Xerxes, in his rage, executed several Phoenicians sailors who accused the Ionians with treason. Jidejian (1968: 95) suggested Xerxes blamed the Phoenicians for the defeat, and has executed surviving Phoenician captains. However, some scholars suggested these were the Phoenician kings, commanders of their fleets, nevertheless this is unlikely (Elayi 2006b: 418). Following the loss at Salamis, Xerxes retreated to Sardis and left the command in the hands of a Persian officer who continued the assault. By 479 BCE, the Persian army suffered a defeat both on land and at sea. The Persian navy was utterly destroyed, and the second attempt to conquer Greece had failed (Stern 2001: 356; Briant 2002:

531-534).

Despite the dismal defeat, the Phoenicians were rewarded for their loyal service, and perhaps also compensated for their losses. Markoe (2000: 50) suggested the Phoenicians may have been exempt from paying annual tribute, since they had to maintain large fleets for the service of the Persian navy. The Levantine coast was divided between the major Phoenician cities Tyre, Sidon, and Arwad.

As stated above, until the close of Iron Age III Sidon was the most prominent Phoenician city and it possessed the largest fleet among all of Persia's vassals. The inscription on the famous Eshmunezer sarcophagus (*KAI* 14) states that for the great deeds Eshmunezer had done, the Persian king granted Sidon with Dor and Jaffa on the Carmel coast and the Sharon plain, probably as far south as Yavneh-Yam. Sidon (Bostan es-Shiek) was chosen to be the seat of the Achaemenid governor's residence, which was furnished with a Persian royal garden (Diodorus 16: 41.5), and functioned as the regional Achaemenid headquarters throughout the Persian period. It also housed a Persian military garrison and a Mesopotamian style sanctuary (see below). Archaeological evidence show that Sidon has grown and expanded extensively to the east and south during the Iron Age III. The city's elevated status is also attested by its exclusive minting rights. Sidon was the only Phoenician city that issued coins depicting the Persian king, and the only Phoenician city to issue the double stater.[34] Furthermore, of all the Phoenician coinage, Sidonian coins were the most widely circulated (Jidejian 1968: 93; Elayi 1980: 25-26; 1982; Markoe 2000: 52; Briant 2002: 607-608; Betlyon 2005: 11; Tal 2005: 89; Noonan 2011: 286-287). During the Iron Age III Beirut was under Sidonian hegemony, as evident by the abundance of Sidonian coins found in its Iron Age III strata (Elayi and Sayegh 2000, 331-43; Elayi 2010: 167). At that time Beirut's harbor was a prosperous trade center, however there is no indication it played any role in the maritime warfare of the period. The building of a new quarter (BEY 010) and harbor in Beirut was probably a Sidonian initiative motivated by economic prosperity and an increase in trade and population (Elayi 2010: 167).

However, this period of prosperity did not pass over the rest of Phoenicia. Archaeological research suggests that although a process of recovery in Phoenicia began already in the sixth century BCE, it is only from the second quarter of the fifth century BCE, that the coastal sites of the southern

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[34] The stater was a heavy coin of special monetary value and prestige (Markoe 2000: 51).

Levant experienced a true a revival (Stern 2001: 581-582; Shalev 2009).

Tyre was the second most important Phoenician city during the Iron Age III, and probably possessed the second largest fleet among the cities of Phoenicia. It held sway over its traditional dependencies on the coast including the Akko plain and perhaps the northern part of the Carmel coast. Tyre was also given hegemony over the major centres of the former southern Philistine coast including Ashkelon, Ashdod, and perhaps Gaza (Cross 1964; Elayi 1980; 1982; Stager 1991b: 28-29; Stern 2001: 373, 380; Betlyon 2005: 11; Tal 2005: 89).

Arwad was given extensive territory in the north, both along the coast and further inland. Among its dependencies were Sumur (Tell Kazel), Antaradus (Tortose), and most important Amrit (Marathus). Since Arwad itself was not excavated, its prosperity of Arwad is reflected through the wealth of its dependencies, e.g. Amrit, with its lavish funerary and religious monuments (Markoe 2000: 62-63). According to Riis (Lund 2004: 61), Tell Sukas constituted the northern border of Arwad at that time, but according to Elayi (1982: 89) the border was at Paltos. However numismatic evidence dated to the late Iron Age III suggests that Arwad's influence extended far north into coastal Syria, perhaps as far as Al Mina at the mouth of the Orontes (Markoe 2000: 62-63).

During the Persian period, the great cities of Phoenicia were more unified than ever before. According to Diodorus (16: 41.1), Tyre, Sidon, and Arwad would convene in Tripoli to discuss matters of great importance. It is possible that with the southern Levantine coast completely divided between the three major Phoenician powers, there was no cause for internal competition and conflict. Entrusting the empire's western border to the Phoenicians was also beneficial for Persia. Besides the clear economic benefits of providing the Phoenicians with unlimited access to the coast, the sacking of Sardis by a Greek raiding party proved that the western border was vulnerable. An Achaemenid-sympathetic population equipped with a formidable navy could deter enemies from attempting to invade the broad open Mediterranean border.

Encouraged by their recent victories, the Greeks, united under the newly founded 'Delian League', set out in 478 BCE to liberate Greek cities from Persian rule in Asia Minor and Cyprus. Although they succeeded in their campaign, their efforts were not long lasting and Persia managed to reassert itself in Cyprus sometime later (Briant 2002: 554-555). During the following decade, many similar skirmishes were waged on all fronts including the Levantine coast. A Destruction layer at Tel

Shiqmona dated to sometime in the early fifth century (Elgavish 1970: 90-91), may reflect such a conflict.

In 465 BCE Xerxes was assassinated (Briant 2002: 565-567). His death ushered an era of political instability in the Achaemenid court. Xerxes was succeeded by one of his sons, Artaxerxes I (465-424 BCE). It took Artaxerxes, some time to consolidate his reign. During this period of relative weakness, several rebellions broke out in the western regions of the empire. In Egypt, Inaros, a Libyan king, son of Psammatichus, led the Egyptian delta in revolt against Persia in 464/463 BCE. Inaros was aided by an Athenian fleet which was engaged at that time in a campaign against Cyprus. The rebellion was subdued only in 455 BCE, during which the Athenian fleet that besieged Kition and Salamis was destroyed (Thucydides 1: 104-110). Throughout this period, fighting was waged all along the Levantine coast and Cyprus, however the rebellion did not spread past Egypt (Stern 1984b: 73; Briant 2002: 573-575; Betlyon 2005: 6-7).

After the failed campaign in Cyprus and Egypt, Athens was no doubt weakened by its losses at sea. According to Diodorus (12: 4.4-6), Artaxerxes decided to initiate negotiations for a peace treaty with the Greeks, following which the 'Peace of Callias' was signed in 449 BCE and the Greeks withdrew their forces. Although Diodorus describes this treaty as an Athenian triumph, it appears the treaty, if it was indeed signed, was very beneficial to Persia and the Phoenicians (Karageorghis 1976: 115; Briant 2002: 579-582). With the retreat of the Greek forces from Cyprus, Phoenician influence on the island grew stronger. Both archaeological and epigraphic evidence attest to Phoenician presence along the coast and also further inland during the second half of the fifth century BCE. This Phoenician expansion was led by Kition, which was now an independent city-state. Its political and economic power even surpassed that of Salamis, which temporarily fell under Kition's dominion. Kition also expanded further north and west, annexing the city of Idalion, and extending its hegemony over Golgoi gaining hold on the island's copper deposits (Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1987: 335; Markoe 2000: 52-53; Briant 2002: 611). Yet the peace agreement was also beneficial for Greek merchants, who were now allowed access to the southern Levant. This resulted in an increase in Greek-Levantine trade relations that can be demonstrated by the large amounts of 'Attic ware' pottery found in Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean (Karageorghis 1976: 115).

With the death of Artaxerxes I in 424 BCE, the Achaemenid court was subjected to a period of political unrest which ended when Darius II (423-404 BCE) seized the throne. With Darius'

accession to the throne, he was forced to suppress rebellions in Asia Minor. It appears that during the early stage of his reign the peace with Athens was kept by both sides and the rebellions were soon quelled. However, a few years later Athens broke the treaty, supporting a rebellion, which led to renewed hostilities with Athens, and to Persia joining forces with Sparta (Stern 1984b: 74-75; Briant 2002: 591-592). On Cyprus Phoenician influence continued to grow. According to Diodorus (14.98.1) around 415 BCE a Phoenician of Tyrian descent named Abdammon, who was "a friend of the king of the Persians", took control of Salamis over throwing the local dynasty (Briant 2002: 611). Not much else is known of the Darius' reign. The frequent rebellions may suggest the increasing weakening of the Persian Empire. Nevertheless, the historical sources suggest Phoenicia remained loyal.

Upon the death of Darius II, a succession war between two of his sons began which finally ended in 401 BCE with the victory of Artaxerxes II (404-359/358 BCE) (Briant 2002: 615-631). Artaxerxes now had to deal with cities in Asia Minor that supported the contender to the throne, and also Egypt, which took advantage of the political unrest and under Amyrtaeus (404-399 BCE) rebelled, overthrowing Persian yoke (Stern 1984b: 74-75; Fantalkin and Tal 2012: 163, fn. 27). Egypt not only broke free of Persian hegemony, it also attempted to reassert some of its hegemony over the Levant. Soon after its successful revolt, the Egyptian army had set out on expeditions in the Sinai Peninsula and the southern part of the Levant and it appears it had managed to take control of some of this area. A seal impression and a fragment of an inscribed stone were found at Gezer bearing the name of Nepherites I (399-393 BCE), Amyrtaeus' successor, indicate Egypt had taken over the southern coast and hinterland (Stern 2001: 358). During the reign of Nepherites' successor, Achoris I (392–379/378 BCE) the Cypriot king Evagoras joined forces with Egypt and had managed to briefly conquer the Levantine coast.

As mentioned above, during the reign of Darius II, the Phoenicians gained a better hold over Cyprus. The exiled king of Salamis, Evagoras I (410-374 BCE) took refuge in Asia Minor. There, perhaps with the consent of the Persian court, he managed to recruit a force and retake Salamis (Diodorus 14: 98.1). Once Evagoras regained the throne of Salamis, he began to wage war against the rest of the Cypriot city-states and assert himself as a regional power (Briant 2002: 647). After control over Asia Minor was regained, Artaxerxes could turn to deal with Egypt. However, Briant (2002: 647) maintains that Artaxerxes was fearful of Evagoras' growing influence in Cyprus due

to his close relations with the Athenians. If Evagoras was to seize Cyprus and join forces with the Greeks, the island would be turned into a forward base of operations against the southern Levantine coast. A Phoenician inscription found on a marble base at Kition dedicated by Milkyaton, king of Kition and Idalion, commemorates a naval battle won over "our enemies and their Paphian allies" in 392 BCE. There is little doubt that these enemies consisted of Evagoras of Salamis and his allies (Yon and Sznycer 1992; Yon and Childs 1997: 12-13; Briant 2002: 647). There is no mention in the inscription of Persian assistance in the battle, however it is likely the Cypriot Phoenicians were supported by Artaxerxes, as described by Diodorus (14: 98.3).

With Persia siding with the Phoenicians in Cyprus, Evagoras formed an alliance with Egypt under Achoris and the Athenians. Together they managed to capture the northern part of the Levantine coast, and perhaps even conquer Tyre (Isocrates, *Evag*. 60-62) and other Phoenician cities. Inscriptions of pharaoh Achoris were found, in Akko and Sidon (Stern 1984b:75-76; 1994: 8; Briant 2002: 648), and inscriptions written in Cypro-Archaic Syllabic script were found in Sidon, Sarepta, Kabri, Akko, and Dor (Stern 2001: 358). Briant (2002: 648), suggests that Tyre may have also joined forces with Evagoas, as Diodorus (15: 2.4) claimed that Evagoras' fleet included 20 Tyrian triremes (*cf*. Markoe 2000: 58). However, it is more likely that Tyre was either forced to comply with its conquerors, or even more likely that part of its navy was captured during the battles. In 388 BCE, the Athenians sent a fleet to Cyprus and captured Kition. The Phoenician king, Milkyaton, was overthrown and an Athenian citizen was installed in his stead (Karageorghis 1976: 115).

Destruction layers dated to the early fourth century BCE were noted in several sites along the Levantine coast, which seem to attest to this period of Cypro-Egyptian hostilities. At Tell Abu-Hawam the destruction layer between strata IIA and B, was attributed to the Egyptian rebellion (Stern 1968: 217-219; Balensi *et al.* 1993: 9). Stratum II at Tel Megadim was also destroyed in the early stages of the fourth century, sometime between 399-380 BCE. This destruction layer could be attributed either to the invasion of one of the first two pharaohs of the twenty-ninth dynasty, Nepherites (399-393 BCE) or Achoris (392-380 BCE), or perhaps to the Persian reconquest of the land by 380 BCE (Broshi 1993: 1003). The destruction of Level IIB at Jaffa may also be related to an Egyptian or Cypriot campaign (Fantalkin and Tal 2009: 249). Fantalkin and Tal (2012) suggest that around 400 BCE many new forts were constructed inland as part of Achaemenid policy to fortify the new frontier with Egypt and the west.

In an attempt to weaken his enemies, Artaxerxes imposed a peace treaty with Athens and its allies. The long years of warfare have doubtless taken a toll on the Greek cities and in 386 BCE, the treaty was signed. The treaty ensured the Greeks recognized Persia's hegemony over Asia Minor and the southern Levant including Cyprus, and Persia's consent to cease hostilities against other Greek cities. The Greeks withdrew from Cyprus and Artaxerxes prepared to move against Evagoras. However, the Cypriot king still had the support of Egypt, and, according to classical authors, also allies in Asia Minor that supported him either openly or secretly. Evagoras was also in control of several Phoenician cities, and probably their fleets as well (e.g. Diodorus 15.2.3-4; Isocrates, *Paneg*. 161-162). And so, after 386 BCE Artaxerxes was suddenly faced with rebellions, who classical authors describe as coordinated. Nevertheless, it appears the situation was not as dire as described. With the withdrawal of the Greeks the Cypro-Egyptian alliance was greatly weakened. Persian forces managed to retake the Phoenician coast, and soon after a Persian fleet set out to Cyprus, where it won a great naval battle and laid a siege on Salamis. At that point, Evagoras sent for help from Egypt; however, he was denied and was thus forced to submit. According to Diodorus (15: 9.2), Evagoras retained his position as king of Salamis, however was forced to relinquish his hold on the rest of the cities of Cyprus and pay annual tribute. At Kition a new king, Pumiathon, was appointed who extended his rule over Idalion and Tamassos (Karageorghis 1976: 115; Stern 1994: 8; 2001: 358; Markoe 2000: 58; Briant 2002: 649-652).

By 380 BCE, the eastern Mediterranean was secured and Artaxerxes began preparations for massive campaign against Egypt. The Persian army amassed a great army and a fleet of Phoenician, Cypriot, and Cilician ships in Akko, and in 373 BCE set out towards Egypt. It appears the long years of preparations worked to Persia's disadvantage, as Egypt had also prepared for the coming onslaught. The campaign was unsuccessful and Persia had once again failed to regain control over Egypt (Briant 2002: 652-655).

The failed Persian attempt to recapture Egypt in 373 BCE may have served as a catalyst for further rebellions throughout the western provinces that began in 366 BCE. According to Diodorus (15: 90), our main source on the rebellion, by 361 BCE nearly all the Greek cities and kingdoms of Asia Minor, Syrians, Phoenicians and people of the coasts, all rose in rebellion against Persia. It is difficult to assess whether Phoenicia played a role in this revolt or not, however it seems probable that Sidon at least openly supported the rebellion. It seems that from the first quarter of the fourth century BCE Achaemenid-Sidonian relations began to deteriorate, while relations with Persia's

enemies grew warmer. An inscription found near the Acropolis at Athens, dated to ca. 367 BCE, honors Abdastart I (Starton) of Sidon (ca. 365-352 BCE) and his decedents, and grants Sidonian merchants tax exemptions (*CIG* 1: 126 no. 87). Sidon's coinage may hold further evidence to the city's contacts with the west. A silver tetradrachma, dated to the eighth year of Abdastart's reign, shows Sidon attempted to adopt the Athenian weight standard. Furthermore, the city's coinage now depicted the local monarch's portrait instead of the kneeling Persian king (Betlyon 1982: 13-14, Fig. 1, Pl. 3; Markoe 2000: 58-59; Briant 2002: 664-665). Elayi (2005:

In 360/359 BCE pharaoh Tachos (361-359/358 BCE), with the support of Sparta and other Greek mercenaries, had set out on a campaign to western Asia. The Egyptian army encamped near Phoenicia and besieged Syrian cities, however soon after internal unrest began in Egypt and according to Xenophon (*Ages.* 2: 30), Tachos sought refuge in Sidon under Abdastart, which seem to reflect close relations with Egypt (Markoe 2000: 58; Briant 2002: 663-665).

During this rebellion Artaxerxes II died and was succeeded by his son Artaxerxes III (359/358-338 BCE). Artaxerxes took advantage of the internal unrest in Egypt and the Egyptian army was defeated. After which it appears Sidon was punished for its support of Egypt. A Persian military force was stationed in Sidon and it came under the authority of Mazday (*Mazdeus*), satrap of Cilicia and Syria. The city's minting privileges were suspended for 4 years. The coins now bore the Aramaic imprint of Mazaeus, and on the reverse the king was no longer depicted in the traditional Egyptian style costume but an Asiatic one (Elayi 2006a: 20; 2014: 117).

In 357/356 BCE, Sidon regained its autonomy, and a king of Sidonian linage, Tennes, was appointed by Persia. The city regained its minting privileges and issued the 'silver double shekel' (Markoe 2000: 59). However, during the reign of Artaxerxes III relations between Sidon and Persia further deteriorated. It appears that the continuous political instability throughout the empire took an increasing toll on Phoenicia. The coast was subjected to recurring attacks from both Egypt and the Greeks. The long years of internal and external unrest must have impaired Phoenicia's ability to maintain continuous trade with both the east and the west, and the cost of maintaining the Persian war fleet may have begun to become too high (Briant 2002: 684).

In 351 BCE Artaxerxes made another long and unsuccessful attempt at conquering Egypt. Artaxerxes used Sidon as a base of the large-scale invasion operation, which no doubt took a toll on the local economy. Furthermore, according to Diodorus (16: 41.2) the Persian officials treated the local population with insolence and arrogance. The defeat the Persian suffered in the Nile Delta

was the catalyst for a Phoenician uprising led by Tennes of Sidon in 347 BCE.[35] Sidon, supported by pharaoh Nectanebo II (359/358-341 BCE) assembled the leading Phoenician cities of Tyre and Arwad in Tripoli and formed a coalition. It is possible that at that time Tyre was under the hegemony of Sidon. According to Justin (*Epitome* 18: 3-4) during the reign of Abdastart I following a slave rebellion at Tyre, the city was ruled by Sidon. A bilingual Phoenician and Greek inscription from Delos (*CIS* 1: 114), dedicated by both Tyrian and Sidonian sailors, who mention Abdastart may reflect this situation (Stern 2001: 359; Jigoulov 2010: 34-35; Boyes 2012: 34-35). At the same time a rebellion of nine kingdoms broke out in Cyprus as well. Diodorus (16: 41) reports that Persian officials stationed in Sidon were arrested and executed, the Persian royal garden at Bostan es-Shiek was destroyed, along with the fodder stored in Sidon for the use of the Persian army. Reinforced by 4000 Greek mercenaries sent from Egypt, the Sidonians managed to fend off a preliminary Cilician assault led by Mazaeus. Artaxerxes III withdrew back to Babylonia, gathered his forces, and prepared to strike back. In ca. 345 BCE, Artaxerxes launched his assault on Phoenicia. Sidon apparently surrendered without a fight at the sight of the immense Persian army, which comprised of ca. 300,000 men and a fleet of 800 ships. According to Diodorus (16: 45.1-5), Tennes betrayed his people, first delivering 600 of the city's elite to the hands of the Persians to be executed, and then delivered the entire city. The people of Sidon, seeing the Persian army swarming in and unable to escape, chose to set their city ablaze, with them still in it, rather than facing the Persian army. The rebellion resulted in the death of some 40,000 men, women and children. The surviving population was deported and enslaved, and the city's wealth sold. Shortly after, the rest of Phoenicia and Cyprus surrendered and returned under Persian hegemony (Barag 1966: 6-8; Bikai 1989: 206; Markoe 2000: 59-60; Briant 2002: 682-684; Betlyon 2005: 33). The arrival of Sidonian prisoners at Babylon and Susa is attested in a Babylonian text dated to the fourteenth year of Artaxerxes III (Grayson 1985: 114; Briant 2002: 433-434). After the failed rebellion Tennes, despite his cooperation, was executed and a Persian appointed king was set on the throne of Sidon, which may have been the Cypriote king Evagoras II (347-343 BCE) (Elayi and Elayi 2004: 657-679; Betlyon 2005: 33).

The sources are silent regarding the rest of Phoenicia, however destruction layers dated to the mid

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[35] The date of the rebellion is based on numismatic evidence, which also established the chronology of Phoenician kings during the Persian period (Elayi 2006a; Elayi and Elayi 2004: 667-676).

fourth century BCE were noted in several sites along the coast, and in the Galilee, and may relate to the suppression of the Tennes revolt, such as at Mikhmoret (Isserlin 1961: 3-5); Tel Megadim (Broshi 1993: 1003); and Megiddo (Stern 2001: 377-78).

In 343/342 BCE, Persia had finally managed to retake Egypt, which would remain under Achaemenid rule until the end of the Persian period (Stern 2001: 359; Briant 2002: 685-687). The reconquest of Egypt was vital for maintaining peace in the southern Levantine coast, as Egypt was both an instigator for rebellions and a constant threat to Persian hegemony over the fifth satrapy. It is possible that once the Egyptian threat was neutralized, Abdahstart II (342-333 BCE), a king of the local dynasty, was allowed to retake the throne at Sidon. The sources are virtually silent regarding the next decade until Alexander's conquest of the southern Levant between 333-332 BCE. In 338 BCE Artaxerxes III was assassinated. He was succeeded by Arses (337-336 BCE), and then by Darius III (336-330 BCE), the last king of the Achaemenid dynasty (Stern 2001: 360). It appears that during the last decade of the Persian period Phoenicia enjoyed a time of peace and prosperity. Archaeological evidence suggest it was also under increasingly strong Greek cultural influence.

On the eve of Alexander's conquest, Sidon is described as a prosperous thriving city, which raises the question of the accuracy of Diodorus' account on the city's destruction in 345 BCE (Markoe 2000: 61). Tyre too was a thriving well-fortified center, which was able to withstand the Macedonian army for many months (Bikai and Bikai 1987: 72-73; Stewart 1987).

In 333 BCE, Alexander the Great defeated the Persians in the battle of Issus, and shortly after Persian hegemony over the Ancient Near East was forever lifted. The sources for this period in history are relatively abundant and include such classical authors as Diodorus, Arrian, and Quintus Curtius, who based their writings on the writings of contemporary authors (Jidejian 1969: 69; Briant 2002: 857).

After securing eastern Asia and conquering Persia itself, the Macedonian army turned to subdue western Asia in 332 BCE. The Levantine coast, from which the Persian navy operated, was of great strategic importance to Alexander as reflected by his speech to his generals (Arrian, *Anab.* 2.17.1-4). Capturing the Levantine ports would in affect disable the operation of the Persian navy, which was much more powerful than that of Alexander (Jidejian 1969: 69-70; Adam-Veleni 2012:

81). Alexander met with little resistance in conquering the cities of the coast. Most of the cities of Phoenicia submitted without a fight. According to Arrian (*Anab*. 2.20.1), Gerastartus, the king of Arwad and Enylos king of Byblos were at sea with the rest of the Persian fleet during Alexander's invasion of Phoenicia. Nevertheless, the son of Gerastartus of Arwad welcomed Alexander and presented him with a golden crown. Alexander then marched to Byblos and accepted the city's surrender, perhaps led by the city's elders. At Sidon too, Alexander was welcomed in a royal procession (Arrian, *Anab*. 2.13.7-8; Diodorus 17.40.2; Quintus Curtius 4.1.15-16).

When Alexander arrived at Tyre, the king was also at sea with the Persian fleet, but the city prepared for submission and a delegation was sent to greet him. According to Quintus Curtius (4.2.2), a golden crown was presented to Alexander, and provisions were sent for his army. However, when Alexander asked to make an offering to Melqart in Tyre, he was denied entry to the city. While the Tyrians were willing to obey any other of Alexander's commands, they declared they would allow neither a Persian, nor Macedonian, to their city. The reason provided by Arrian (*Anab*. 2.16.7) was that the Tyrians were still unsure of the outcome of the war against the Persians. According to Diodorus (17: 40.3), the Tyrians wished to remain loyal to Darius and engage Alexander in a long siege, thus allowing the Persians to recuperate. By doing so they would gain Darius' favor. However, it is also possible that the reason was not only political, but rather, mainly religious (Jidejian 1969: 70).[36]

According to Quintus Curtius (4.2.5), and Diodorus (17.40.4), when Alexander heard of Tyre's decision, he was enraged and would not let the insult go unanswered; however according to Arrian (*Anab*. 2.17.1-4) the reasons he presented for the capturing of Tyre were all strategic. If the coast was not secured, the Macedonian army could not advance into Egypt or turn back east to capture Darius. Since the Persian navy was still operational, and with Tyre's doubtful loyalty, the Persians could more easily regain hold over the coast, but if all the cities of Phoenicia would be in Macedonian hands, their fleets would defect from the Persian navy, and join the Macedonians. According to Quintus Curtius (4.2.7-8), the Tyrians felt secure in their fortified island city since Alexander's main strength was on land, and they still possessed many warships to defend it. Alexander then decided to build a mole to connect the island to the mainland in a remarkable

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[36] The Tyrian Melqart, was identified with the Greek Heracles, who Alexander had adopted as his emblem. Although the Greeks recognized that Melqart was a different version of their god (Arrian, *Anab*. 2: 16.1).

engineering feat (Fig. 2.5). Diodorus (17: 40.5) reports that Tyre's mainland city was razed and its people were employed in the construction of the mole, which was over 60 m. wide. The Tyrians did all they could to disrupt the construction of the mole, firing at the builders from their ships and city walls. The Macedonians built two siege towers and mounted on them siege engines to protect the workers, but the people of Tyre have laden a hippos ship with combustible materials and had crashed it against the mole, setting fire to the towers and their siege weapons (Arrian, *Anab*. 2.19.4-6). Nevertheless, despite all their efforts, the construction of the mole continued, and the people of Tyre decided to allow their women, children, and elderly to escape by ships to Carthage. All other able-bodied men were employed in the defense of the city, either manning the walls or the city's fleet of eighty triremes (Diodorus 17: 41.1). Meanwhile, Alexander's tactic had worked as planned, and the kings of Arwad and Byblos, who were by then still at sea with the rest of the Persian navy, have heard that the Macedonians had hold over their cities, and abandoned the Persian ranks to join forces with Alexander. Sidon had also joined with the Macedonian force. According to Arrian (*Anab*. 2.20.1-3), the combined forces of Sidon, Arwad, and Byblos came to eighty triremes. To that, fleets from Cyprus, Rhodes, Lycia, and other regions had also joined the Macedonian navy. With this newly acquired navy, Alexander could besiege Tyre from the sea as well, cutting off any means of escape or reinforcement. The Tyrians did not wish to engage such a large force and had sealed off their fleet within the closed northern 'Sidonian harbor'. With the Tyrian fleet at bay, the construction of the mole continued in a much faster pace (Jidejian 1969: 75). However, Tyre was still a highly fortified city, defended by stone walls ca. 45 m. high mounted with war engines. Furthermore, in order to prevent enemy ships from approaching the city walls, the Tyrians had blocked their shores with massive heaps of stone. According to Arrian (*Anab*. 2: 21.4-7), the Macedonian army went through great efforts in order to clear the path of the ships to Tyre's city walls. With the Macedonians closing their stronghold on the city ever tighter, the Tyrians were left with no alternative but to attack the Cypriot fleet that had besieged the entrance to the 'Sidonian harbor'. The Tyrians carried out a surprise attack on the mooring ships and had managed to sink some of them, but then the Macedonian fleet came to the aid of the Cypriots and engaged in battle. The Tyrian fleet attempted to return to safety within their closed harbor, however only a few ships managed to escape (Arrian, *Anab*. 2.22.1-5). With much of the Tyrian fleet crippled, the Macedonian navy could draw its ships equipped with siege weapons more freely. Nevertheless, despite recurring attacks on the city, the walls could not be easily breached.

According to Diodorus (17: 41.7-8), at some point during the siege, morale in Tyre sunk low due to a rumor spread among its people, telling that their god was leaving the city to join Alexander (*cf*. Quintus Curtius 4.3.22; Plutarch, *Alex*. 24.3-4). By then the construction of the mole was complete and the Macedonian army could approach the walls with siege towers as high as the city's walls. Although the Tyrians fiercely defended their walls with siege weapons and other deadly means, as described by Diodorus (17.43.5-44.5), they could not withstand the continuous onslaught of the Macedonians, and after a seven months long siege, the city walls were breeched. According to Arrian (*Anab*. 2.24.4), once the city fell the Macedonians, enraged and frustrated, took their revenge on the people of Tyre, massacring some eight thousand people. According to Quintus Curtius (4.4.17), two thousand men were crucified all along the coast. Thirty thousand of the surviving Tyrians and foreign residents of the city were then sold to slavery (Arrian, *Anab*. 2.24.4).

With Tyre's defeat, Alexander's conquest of Phoenicia was complete. After which he continued south conquering the rest of the Levantine coast. All the cities of the southern coast submitted but for Gaza, which was conquered after a two months long siege (Bikai and Bikai 1987: 72-73; Stewart 1987).

Alexander's conquest of the Levant in 332 BCE had ushered a new age in Levantine history. During the Hellenistic period, the cities of Phoenicia seem to have continued to prosper as commercial centres with vast trade networks, and even retain, or at least regain, a great deal of their former territory (Berlin 1997). However much of their unique culture and traditions, which survived for thousands of years, was heavily Hellenized and the Phoenician culture was largely assimilated to the Hellenistic way of life.

Phoenician Architecture

The origins of Phoenician architecture can be traced back to the third millennium BCE. Excavations in Phoenician sites unearthed evidence for widespread use of ashlar masonry in public structures, fortifications and tombs dated to the Early Bronze Age (Jidejian 1968: 15; Raban and Stieglitz 1993: 13; Badre 1997: 13-14). Large-scale urban development in Phoenicia first occurred during the fourteenth century BCE, as evident by archaeological excavations in Phoenician sites. This is also in accordance with the el-Amarna correspondence in which Tyre is described as a prosperous metropolis equated in wealth with Ugarit (*EA* 89: 48-53). Recent excavations in Sidon unearthed part of a monumental building, perhaps used as a temple, dated to the thirteenth or twelfth century BCE, which displays walls constructed in headers and stretchers employing the 'pier-and-rubble' technique (Doumet-Serhal and Williams 2011-2012, pl. 4) that would soon become a hallmark of Phoenician masonry. This technique, previously thought to have developed during the eleventh century BCE, seems to have only become increasingly popular at that time. Excavations at Tyre and Sarepta reveal that at that time, the cities underwent major architectural alterations that included the use of terraces, passageways and ashlar masonry (Anderson 1988: 97, fn. 56; Khalifeh 1988: 113, 124; Markoe 2000: 30). Sites in the Upper Galilee, the Akko plain, and the Sharon have also experienced a renewal at that time which some scholars link to their conquest by the Phoenicians (Briend and Humbert 1980: 20; Stern 1990: 28-31; Biran 1994: 135-144).

This architectural style became even more common during the Iron Age II. Excavations in Phoenician sites such Tyre and Sarepta reveal evidence of increased use of quarried ashlar stones laid in alternating headers and stretchers and for the 'pier-and-rubble' technique (Bikai 1978: 12; Anderson 1988: 396-397; Khalifeh 1988: 125).

The second major change to Phoenician architecture and city planning occurred during the Iron Age III, which marked a pinnacle in Phoenician urban growth and development. At Sidon, Byblos, and Beirut the Iron Age III settlement extended far beyond the original mounds. At that time, Phoenician settlements became well-planned cities which laid the axial foundations for the later Hellenistic and Roman cities with 'hippodamian' street plans. The urban prosperity and

development of the Persian period can also be seen throughout the Levantine coast in sites such as Beirut, Akko, Tell Abu-Hawam, Shiqmona, Tel Megadim, Dor, and Ashkelon (Hamilton 1935: 2-3, Pl. 1; Broshi 1967; 1969; 1993; Elgavish 1968; 1970: 90-91; Balensi *et al.* 1993: 9; Markoe 2000: 62-63; Stern 2000: 157-164; Curvers 2005; Stager *et al.* 2008: 283, Fig. 15.60; Elayi 2010: 157-159).

Construction Methods and Techniques

Although it seems the architectural style defined as 'Phoenician' did in fact develop in Phoenicia, it cannot be restricted to a certain region, culture, or ethnic unit. These construction methods, which began in the Iron Age I, were utilized throughout the Levant and were still in use during the Roman period (Sharon 2009).

Phoenician wall construction during the Iron Age may be divided into four techniques (Raban and Stieglitz 1993: 13-15):

1. Walls built of ashlar stones positioned mainly as stretchers combined occasional with vertical ashlar stones for extra strength and stability (Fig. 3.1: 1).
2. Walls built of ashlars in alternating stretchers and headers courses (Fig. 3.1: 2).
3. Walls built of two spaced ashlar stone walls, usually in the header-stretcher technique, while the gap between them was filled with untouched fieldstones (Fig. 3.1: 3).
4. Walls constructed with large spaced ashlar stones used as framework, and in between them undressed fieldstones fill, known as the 'pier-and-rubble' technique (Fig. 3.1: 4).

The third and especially fourth building techniques originated in the second millennium BCE in Ugarit, presumably under influence of Hittite architecture. It became widespread in Phoenician sites during the first millennium BCE, and represents a hallmark of 'Phoenician' construction during the Persian and subsequent Hellenistic periods. The construction of walls using unmortared fieldstones and pillars of ashlar masonry was especially efficient against earthquakes that frequently occur in the Phoenician coast. The fieldstones provided a measure of flexibility while the ashlar pillars provided stability (Elayi 1996: 77-90; 2010: 159).
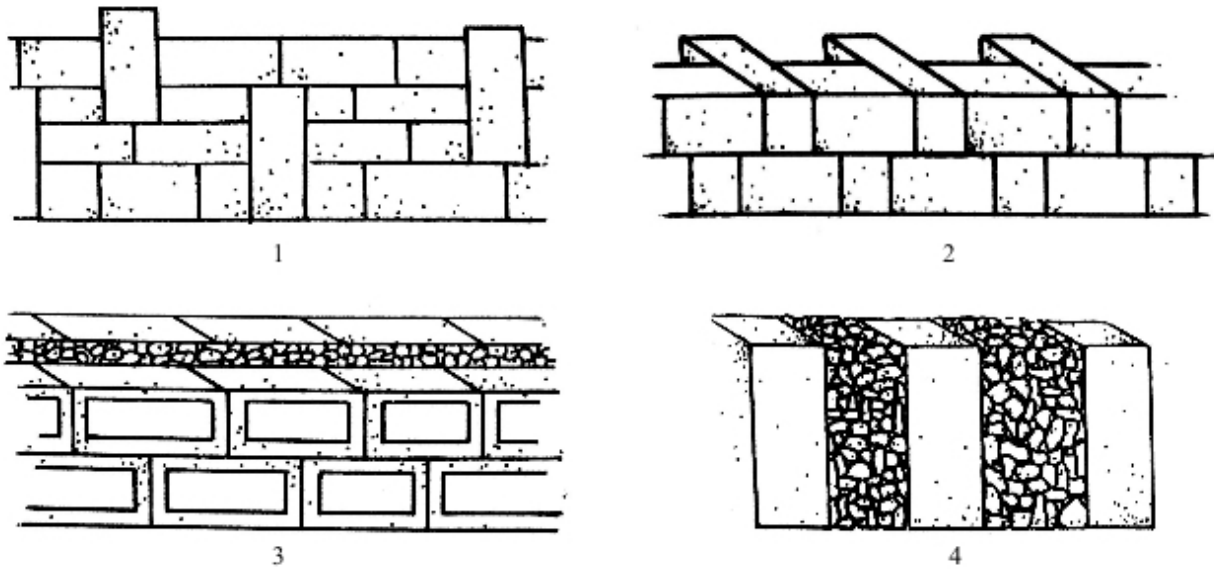
Fig. 3.1

The Phoenician City

Most Phoenician cities share many similar characteristics. All of the major urban centers of Phoenicia were founded on the coast near promontories that create at least one natural anchorage or on offshore islands. Further inland, smaller cities were founded on main trade routes. In comparison with other urban centers in the southern Levant, the Phoenician settlements were relatively small in size, ranging from an average of 2-6 hectares for small settlements such as Beirut (Badre 1997: 90), Byblos (Saghieh 1983: 1; Sala 2013: 179), Sarepta, or Tell Keisan, and 40-60 hectares for larger settlements such as Sidon and Arwad (Moscati 1968: 25; Elayi 1980: 17; Markoe 2000: 68).

Iron Age I

As mentioned above, during the second half the eleventh century BCE a change in Phoenician architecture style and city planning occurred. Although our data on this period in Phoenicia is limited, evidence from **Tyre** and **Sarepta** reveal that the city plan underwent major alterations. At Tyre, large areas were levelled for the construction of new structures, which suggests a well-planned city layout (Figs. 3.2-3). In both Tyre and Sarepta, extensive alterations to the city layout

were introduced, such as the use of terraces, passageways and ashlar masonry as well as the use of the 'pier-and-rubble' technique (Bikai 1978, Pls. 85-86; Anderson 1988: 97, fn. 56; Khalifeh 1988: 113, 124; Markoe 2000: 30) (Figs. 3.4-5). Sites of the Upper Galilee, the Akko plain, and the Sharon have also experienced a renewal at that time which some scholars link to a period of Phoenician aggression (Briend and Humbert 1980: 20; Stern 1990: 28-31; Biran 1994: 135-144).

Iron Age II

As early as the Iron Age IIA, the cities of Phoenicia display signs of well organization and urban planning. In **Sarepta** the newly founded Iron Age II settlement consisted of parallel rectangular structures in a north-south orientation (Khalifeh 1988: 125-126) (Fig. 3.6). The cities were divided into quarters which served different functions. The commercial area usually revolved around the city's port, or ports. The harbor area housed warehouses, wharves and other port facilities. A trading area, consisting of a broad market square, was usually situated near the city's main harbor and the city gate. Heavier industries such as metal working, pottery production, or the famous purple dye industry were located far from residential quarters, in the rear of the settlement, close to the harbor, or 'down-wind', while lighter industries such as textile weaving, faience manufacturing and pottery production were not confined to one particular zone (Markoe 2000: 68; Betlyon 2005: 33-34). An industrial quarter, 800 square meters in size, was excavated in Sarepta. This quarter consisted solely of small workshops and establishments. Within this area numerous pottery kilns, deposits of Murex shells, metal slags, and olive presses were unearthed, evident to the of the city's versatile industries (Pritchard 1975: 13; Bondi 2001c: 318).

At **Shiqmona**, a well-planned fortified city was erected during the Iron Age IIA (Figs. 3.7, 3.25-26). Excavations uncovered a residential area adjacent to the city's casemate wall which was built along three straight streets, a main street ca. 3 m. wide and two smaller alleys, all of which join at right angles (Elgavish 1994: 49-52). Although the excavator suggested the city was under the suzerainty of the Israelite united monarchy (*ibid*. 52ff), the material culture suggests a mixed population of a border town.

Iron Age III

True hippodamian city planning appears in the Levant already during the Neo-Assyrian period (Stern 2001: 21), however it was during the Persian period that this layout became widespread. The Iron Age III ushered an era of intensive building activities, renewal, and urban development along the Levantine coast. Newly founded settlements were built or resettled near every natural bay or river mouth that could be used for anchorage. The ancient cities of Phoenicia had also experienced renovations and renewal, and well-planned quarters were constructed over the previous occupation layers, all set in an orthogonal layout, sometimes in new orientation, with crossing main streets, paved roads, and sewage drainage systems.

Recent excavations in **Beirut** unearthed part of the Iron Age III city. The excavations show that at the end of the sixth century BCE (**Stratum IX**), a new quarter was constructed on the western side of the harbor (**BEY 010**), completely different in plan and orientation than the previous occupation levels. This new quarter, followed a hippodamian plan complete with cobbled streets and a sophisticated private and public sewage systems for drainage of waste and rainwater. It was also adapted to the natural rocky hill above the harbor with three artificial terraces and steps hewn in the natural rock (Sader 2009: 59-60; Elayi 2010: 157-159) (Fig. 3.8).

Sarepta also underwent major expansion and development (**Area II**, **Y**: **Stratum B**; **X**: **Phase VIIIB**) (Fig. 3.9). Excavations have shown the Iron Age III layers were built on vast levelled and filled areas. The previous industrial area was replaced with a residential quarter with axial streets running through it (Anderson 1988: 419; Khalifeh 1988: 140, Pl. 11).

At **Shiqmona** a new settlement was founded during the sixth century BCE. The city was well planned and it appears that prior to its construction much work was done to level the terrain. The streets were all paved and built according to a hippodamian plan, and equipped with a sewage system. The housing units were all constructed in the same plan and size, ca. 70 square meters. The streets and the rooms were paved with limestone with a foundation layer of crushed shells, pebbles and grey plaster with a high concentration of lime (Elgavish 1968; 1970: 90-91) (Fig. 3.10).

At **Tell Abu-Hawam**, stratum II of the Iron Age III settlement was a well-planned and fortified city built according to a hippodamian plan. A main street, in E-W orientation, was parallel to the city wall, and a second street, running north to the acropolis, was parallel to the first. The streets and buildings were occasionally paved with either stone or compact earth on a bedding of pebbles

(Hamilton 1934: 78ff; 1935: 2-3, Pl. 1; Balensi *et al.* 1993: 9) (Fig. 3.11).

At **Tel Megadim**, situated 2 km north of 'Atlit, three Persian-period strata were unearthed. The earliest Iron Age III stratum showed well-constructed walls however with no coherent plan. The main stratum, stratum II, dated to the fifth century BCE, exposed a well-planned city in Hippodamian plan. Excavations exposed lengthy sections of the city's fortifications that clearly show the city was of rectangular shape. A main street, 90 m. long and 2.4-3 m. wide, ran parallel to the western casemate wall and led to the city gate, located at the south. Two smaller streets were unearthed joined to the main street in right angles (Broshi 1967; 1969; 1993) (Fig. 3.12).

At **Dor**, a well-planned city was constructed during the fifth century BCE after a long occupational gap. The architectural remains of this period, which are primarily domestic, were unearthed in two areas of the excavation: A-C and D1-D2. Both residential areas are similar in plan, consisting of *insulae* built between parallel streets and divided internally into two rows of residential units, shops, and warehouses (Nitschke *et al*. 2011: 133-134). The road system is not completely orthogonal as the streets are inconsistent in both width and orientation. It appears that the Persian period streets followed the layout of the Iron Age II city wall which was still exposed during the early Iron Age III. Nevertheless, the new city plan was well-ordered and construction was premeditated (*ibid.*: 139-141) (Figs. 3.13-14).

At **Tel Michal**, the Iron Age III remains were poorly preserved due to erosion and later building activities. Nevertheless, the reconstruction of the settlement plan (**Strata VIII-VI**) demonstrates straight lines and similar orientation that suggests city planning (Herzog 1989: 110, Fig. 8.21) (Fig. 3.15).

At **Ashkelon** as well, a completely different city plan emerged during the Iron Age III. A well-planned city, following a hippodamian plan, was built at the site after about a century of abandonment. In phase 13 on grid 38 of the excavation, a north-south oriented street was unearthed. An ally, coated with shells to allow easy drainage, was adjoined to the street from the east. Residential buildings were built along the street (Stager *et al.* 2008: 283, Fig. 15.60) (Fig. 3.16).

Phoenician Domestic Architecture

Phoenician domestic architecture will not be discussed in length as the evidence show it cannot be

distinguished from that of other peoples and regions in the southern Levant (Braemer 1982: 1; Cecchini 1995: 395). The most common Phoenician house was a 'courtyard house', which first appears in Phoenicia during the Early Bronze Age (Jidejian 1968: 15), consisting of three or four rooms arranged in different configurations with an elongated large hall or courtyard which provided access to the rest of the household rooms, similar to the Israelite 'four-room house' (Markoe 2000: 71). Larger houses and estates included an extended ground plan that consisted of many small rooms used mainly for storage, food preparation, and light industries (Tal 2005: 75-79). This type of house is well attested in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age (Gilboa and Sharon 2008: 154). Only a few examples were found dated to the Iron Age (*ibid*.: 157, 162), however during the Iron Age III, many such houses were found in Phoenician sites such as Shiqmona (Elgavish 1968; 1970; Stern 1982: 13), Tel Mevorakh (Stern 2001: 403), Dor (Stern 2001: 393-397), and Ashkelon (Stager *et al.* 2008: 283, Fig. 15.60), as well as in other sites in the southern Levant.

Another house type common in Phoenicia is the 'T-Shaped house' (Wright 1985: 290) or the 'Front-Room house' (McClellan 1997: 33-34). This house type consists of a rectangular structure divided into three rooms. The forepart consists of a single room in which the entrance to the house in located, and the back is usually divided into two parallel equally sized rooms with entrances from the front room. Normally, the fore and back parts of the house are also equal in size. It this house type was very common in Bronze Age Anatolia and Northern Syria (McClellan 1997: 33-34, Fig. 17; Holladay 2001: 144-152; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 342, Fig. 10.12 d). This house type was also common in Phoenician sites during the Iron Age and may reflect a simplified version of the 'courtyard house'.

'T-Shaped' houses were found in sites such as Tell el-Burak (Kamlah and Sader 2003: 148-150, Fig. 4; Sader 2009: 62-63), Tell Abu-Hawam (Hamilton 1935: 8-11, Pl. 4), Tell Keisan (Briend and Humbert 1980: 181, 186, 190, Figs. 47-49), Dor (Stern 1995: 34-38, Fig. 4.2), and Tel Michal (Herzog 1989: 109, Fig. 8.9, 8.20).

Phoenician Fortifications

Until recent years, defensive structures in Phoenicia were relatively unknown and scholars relied mainly on Assyrian depictions of fortified Phoenician cities and on other southern Levantine

parallels. The walls of Tyre are presumably depicted on the bronze bands of the Balawat Gates dated to the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE) and Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE) (Curtis 2009: 429; *cf.* Unger 1913: 38). The bronze bands of Shalmaneser III portray a fortified city situated on a rocky island with five towers connected by curtain walls (Figs. 6.3-4).[37] The towers and walls are marked with triangular crenulations battlements running along the entire fortification. The depiction of the crenulations attributed to Ashurnasirpal II are situated only at the edges of the walls and towers, and are three-stepped in shape (Markoe 2000: 82, Fig. 5; Bondi 2001c: 318; Curtis 2009). Another representation of Tyre is seen on a relief from Sennacherib's (704-682 BCE) palace at Nineveh. The relief portrays round shields hung from the city battlements, perhaps in order to equate the city with a war galley, as described by Ezekiel 27: 11 (Barnett 1969: 6-7; Markoe 2000: 82, Fig. 6) (Fig. 2.3).

Iron Age I-II

Excavations in recent years have uncovered several Phoenician fortification structures dated to the Iron Age, however our knowledge of Phoenician fortifications of this period is still lacking since no major destruction occurred in Phoenicia during the transition from the Late Bronze and the Iron Age. Therefore, Bronze Age fortifications usually continued to serve during much of the Iron Age in most Phoenician settlements.

Recent excavations in **Beirut** revealed sections of the city's defenses. During the Late Bronze Age, the city was protected by a pilaster wall reinforced by a glacis of large limestone rubble and small pebble stones (Fig. 3.17). This structure was replaced sometime before the Iron Age I by a massive stone fortification wall with a glacis of a steeper angle that ran along the mound's contour. In the south-eastern section of the wall, a ramp and staircase which led to the city gate were unearthed. It is possible another gate was located in the west. This fortification served throughout most of the Iron Age until it was replaced during the seventh century BCE with a casemate wall of well-dressed limestone blocks (Fig. 3.18) (Badre 1997: 60ff, Fig. 31a, 40b; Finkbeiner and Sader *et al.*

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[37] Gubel (2009b: 51-52) suggests that the fortified island represented in the bands Shalmaneser III is that of Arwad, rather than Tyre.

1997: 126-130; Finkbeiner 2002: 28; Sader 2009: 57-58).

At **Byblos** too, the Bronze Age glacis was replaced by a retaining wall with square towers during the end of the eighth century or early seventh century BCE (Dunand 1955: 18-20; 1969: 93-99; Burke 2008: 197) (Figs. 3.19-20).

At **Tell el-Burak** Iron Age fortifications, used between the late eighth to the sixth or fifth centuries BCE were unearthed. The city wall was 3-4 m. thick. Both its inner and outer face was built of fieldstones with rubble fill between them. To stabilize the massive construction, ashlar blocks were placed at regular intervals in the 'pier-and-rubble' technique. The city wall was built on top of an earlier Middle Bronze II fortification wall (Kamlah and Sader 2003: 155-157; Sader 2009: 62) (Fig. 3.21).

At **Achziv**, a stone-built glacis dated to the Middle Bronze Age II was unearthed. The glacis consisted of a clay and earth core, on which rested layers of steeply inclined stones covered with a coating of clay. On top of the glacis, stone walls dated to the Iron Age II were built (Prausnitz 1963: 337; 1975; Oren 1975) (Fig. 3.22).

At **Tel Kabri**, a small section of a fortress was found in strata E3-2. The fortress was protected by massive casemate walls, 1.6 m. wide, built in the 'pier-and-rubble' technique. The fortress was dated by the excavators to the IAIIC, between the eighth to seventh centuries BCE (Lehmann 2002: 74-87, Fig. 4.88, 4.89), however it was recently suggested by Arie (*forthcoming*) that the fortress should be dated to the Iron Age IIA (Figs. 3.23-24).

At **Shiqmona**, a small section of the city's casemate wall was unearthed in stratum 12, dated to the tenth or ninth century BCE (Elgavish 1994: 51, Figs. 25-27; *cf*. Herzog 2009: 41) (Figs. 3.25-26).

At **Dor**, several sections of the city's Iron Age fortifications were unearthed during excavations. The Iron Age I fortifications consisted of a 3 m. wide mudbrick wall built on a foundation of large roughly cut stones and fieldstones, and strengthen with a clay coated earth rampart (Area B) (Stern 2000: 92-93, Fig. 40). Another wall in area D2, built of large roughly cut boulders, which encircled the kurkar ridge on the south-east, may have also served as a fortification wall (Stern 1988: 6; Gilboa and Sharon 2008: 154). After the destruction of the first Iron Age I settlement during the mid-eleventh century BCE, the site was quickly rebuilt with a new similar city wall (*ibid*.: 157). During the ninth, or more likely eighth century BCE, a massive offset-inset wall with a four-chamber gate was constructed, parts of which were unearthed in areas A, B, and C. The wall was

ca. 2-3 m. thick built of massive limestone blocks over a foundation of mudbricks and stone. Its upper part may have been built with mudbricks (Fig. 3.27). The wall was also reinforced by a clay coated glacis (Stern 1988: 6; 1995: 29; 2000: 111). After the Assyrian conquest of Dor, a new two-chamber gate was constructed in the offset-inset wall during the late eighth century BCE. This wall continued to serve well into the Iron Age III until its destruction during the mid-fourth century BCE, probably during the Sidonian rebellion (Stern 1988: 8-9; 1995: 29; 2000: 132, 155, Fig. 73; 2001: 19) (Figs. 3.29-30).

Iron Age III

As mentioned above, during the Iron Age III the entire Levantine coast came under the hegemony of the Phoenicians. The Phoenicians established a network of fortified settlements all within eyesight distance from one another consisting of large cities and in between them smaller settlements, trading stations, and fortresses. In Phoenicia, the ancient cities experienced a growth in size, expanding beyond the borders of their original mounds, which necessitated the construction of new fortifications. At that time Phoenician fortifications became more massive and elaborate, as the Levantine coast became the western frontier of the Achaemenid Empire. According to Arrian (*Anab*asis 2.21: 4), on the eve of Alexander's conquest of Tyre, the city's walls were built of ashlar fitted with mortar, and stood 45 m. high. Diodorus (17.41: 3-4) further stated that on top of the walls stood all sorts of siege engines. According to Diodorus (16.44: 5-6) Sidon's ramparts were defended by a triple defensive ditch.

Nevertheless, the fortifications of sites along the southern Levantine coast cannot be interpreted as a sudden Achaemenid initiative. The construction techniques used for the fortifications were not new to the period, but rather reflect earlier local building traditions. The techniques used for fortifications were not new to the period, but rather reflect earlier local building traditions (Stern 1988: 9; Tal 2005: 75). The same techniques were also used for domestic architecture (Markoe 2000: 83), which consist mainly of the third and fourth methods mentioned above.

At **Sidon** the city walls expanded southwards into new territories (Dunand 1967: 30-34, Fig. 2-3). The city's turreted walls are also depicted on early fourth century coins (Markoe 2000: 99 Fig. 29 i) (Figs. 3.31-32).

At **Beirut**, the seventh-sixth century BCE city wall was in use until the Iron Age III, during which

it was replaced by two retaining circuit walls faced with rubble stones. A small casemate section was also unearthed; however, it is too small to indicate whether it was a part of the city's wall, or simply a structure (Badre 1997: 76ff, Fig. 31a, 40a; Finkbeiner and Sader *et al.* 1997: 126-130; Finkbeiner 2002: 29-30; Sader 2009: 58-59) (Figs. 3.33-34).

At **Byblos**, a new stone rampart was erected during the Persian period. The wall followed the same elliptic contour of the Bronze and Iron Age glacis, giving the city wall a thickness of 40-50 m. A rectangular fortress with seven large towers was also added to the north-eastern side of the acropolis (Dunand 1966: 96-100, Fig. 1; Sala 2013: 179) (Fig. 3.20).

At **Dor** a new city wall was constructed during the fourth century BCE, most likely following the Phoenician revolt. Large sections of a casemate wall, preserved to a height of ca. 2 m. were unearthed in areas A and C. The outer wall was ca. 1 m. thick and built with the 'pier-and-rubble' technique (Stern 1988: 8-11, Fig. 2) (Figs. 3.28-30).

The Persian period city wall of **Jaffa** was 2.5 m. thick. It was built in the 'pier-and-rubble' technique with local sandstone blocks laid in headers-stretchers (Kaplan and Ritter-Kaplan 1993: 656).

Smaller settlements were also protected by newly constructed walls. The Iron Age III settlement at **Tell Abu-Hawam** (Stratum IIA) was surrounded by a city wall consisting of offset segments built of rubble fieldstones and ashlar blocks at the joints. The wall was 1.7 m. thick and at points, walls were connected to it which formed casemate rooms. During the mid-fourth century BCE the acropolis was further fortified with a ca. 15 m. wide stone glacis (Fig. 3.11) (Hamilton 1934: 78ff; 1935: 2ff, Pl. 1, Fig. 2; Balensi *et al.* 1993: 9).

The Iron Age III settlement at **Tel Gil'am**, situated on the road to Akko, was protected by a wall (**Stratum I**) 1.3 m. thick, constructed of two parallel walls built in the 'pier-and-rubble' technique, and the gap in between was filled with untouched fieldstones and clay (Stern 1970: 36, 53-54) (Fig. 3.35).

Besides these midsized settlements, many forts, trading stations, military outposts, and fortified agricultural estates were founded during the Iron Age III along the Levantine coast as well as further inland (*cf.* Stern 2001: 385-407). The fortifications of these small settlements could not withstand a substantial military assault, and it seems they were meant to provide protections

against marauders and pirates.

At **Tel Megadim** excavations exposed the full extent of the western settlement wall, 170 m. in length, as well as other lengthy sections of the city's northern and southern fortifications (**Stratum II**) (Fig. 3.12). The wall was built of roughly cut stones and fieldstones. Walls were joined to its inner face to create casemates rooms that were used mainly used for storage purposes. A main street ran parallel along the western wall and led to the city gate, located at the southern wall. The western city wall is overlapping at points, which might indicate a postern, a narrow entrance that can be easily blocked at will (Broshi 1969: 124-125; 1993; Stern 2001: 390-393).

At **Nahal Tut**, on the mouth of the river, a large Iron Age III fort was unearthed. The complex, ca. 55x55 m. in size, follows the plan of a large courtyard house protected by casemate walls. On the north-eastern corner a tower was unearthed and it appears such towers were constructed in the other corners of the structure as well (Figs. 3.36-37) (Stern 2001: 400-401; Alexandre 2008).

At **Tel Mevorakh** a single building complex which may have served as a wealthy farmhouse was erected on the mound (**Stratum V**). The structure was surrounded by a casemate wall. The outer wall was built of long ashlar blocks laid in alternating headers and stretchers, and the inner and partition walls were built in the 'pier-and-rubble' technique (Figs. 3.38-39) (Stern 1973: 256; 1974: 267; 1977a: 17-18, Fig. 4-9; 1978b: 26-28, fig 25; 2001: 403-404).

At **Tel Michal**, a series of forts were constructed during the Iron Age III, dated between the fifth and fourth centuries BCE (Strata VIII-VI). The remains of the earliest forts, Structures **344 - Stratum IX**, **340 - Stratum VIII** and **329 - Stratum VII**, were poorly preserved and their general plan is unknown, however the assumption these structures served as forts was based on the width of their walls as wells as other features. Structure 344 consisted of a courtyard and a small chamber in the center (Herzog 1989: 94, Fig. 8.8) (Fig. 3.40). Structure 340 included a monumental stairway which seems to have led to a large courtyard surrounded by rooms (*ibid*.: 97, Fig. 8.11) (Fig. 3.41). Structure 329 consisted of a courtyard surrounded by a thick wall. Near the entrance, a structure with two rooms, which may have served as a guardroom was joined from the east (*ibid*.: 102-105, Fig. 8.16) (Fig. 3.42). The fort was renovated during a later building phase (**Stratum VI**) with a few alterations, most notable of which was the construction of a new wall of ashlar blocks (*ibid*.: 110, Fig. 8.19) (Fig. 3.43).

Discussion

The evidence presented above suggests that early Iron Age fortifications in Phoenicia retained the tradition of Bronze Age fortifications and glacises well into the Iron Age II. It was only during the ninth, or more likely, eighth century BCE that massive curtain walls connected by square towers first appear in Phoenician sites. The appearance of new fortifications systems such as massive stone built offset-inset walls, retaining walls, and casemate walls, were likely a reaction to the new threat of the Assyrian army and its elaborate siege tactics (Herzog 2009: 41). These various fortifications systems often continued to serve as in most large Phoenician cities during the Iron Age III, while in small to mid-size settlements casemate walls were widely employed, probably due to their efficient use of space. The evidence presented above demonstrates that no specific type of fortification wall prevailed in Phoenician sites, however it appears that elaborate glacises systems were widely employed by the Phoenicians, continuing a Bronze Age tradition.

Phoenician Harbors

The port was perhaps the most vital and vibrant part of a Phoenician city. All the major cities of Phoenicia were founded adjacent to rock promontories, small islets, and reefs that created natural anchorages providing protection against strong winds and storms. When artificial harbors began to be constructed in Phoenicia, these natural elements were incorporated as part of the harbor installations. Most of the major cities of Phoenicia utilized at least two harbors, which seem to have served different functions. The second century CE author Achilles Tatius (1: 2-6), described the double harbors at Sidon as one used during the summer season and the other during winter. Nevertheless, other designations, such as local and foreign or military and economic, are also plausible. Typically, the main harbor was situated on the northern side of the promontory, which offered better protection against the dominant south-westerly and westerly winds along the Levantine coast, as demonstrated in such sites as Tyre, Sidon, and 'Atlit. The southern anchorage, which remained natural, had probably served smaller vessels in favorable weather conditions (Haggi and Artzy 2007: 83). Sites without artificial harbors, such as Byblos (Figs. 3.49-50) and Tell Sukas (Fig. 3.67), also utilized two harbors, a northern and a southern one, some of which were relatively deep natural bays that could accommodate large hull ships (Riis 1958-1959: 110;

Collina-Girard *et al*. 2002; Frost 2002).

Although archaeological and geo-archaeological evidence suggest that early harbor construction and environmental modifications date back as early as the Middle Bronze Age, it seems that elaborate, artificial harbors, with manmade installations appear only during the early Iron Age (Blackmann 1982: 92-93; Marriner *et al.* 2005: 1319; Marriner *et al.* 2006: 1525; Marriner *et al.* 2008: 1289). Elaborate maritime construction techniques evolved from similar techniques used on land, especially that of the 'pier-and-rubble'. Wherever possible, natural rocks and reefs, both visible and submerged, were levelled and used as foundations for the construction of sea walls, quays, and jetties. Where no such natural settings existed, a wide layer of pebbles was laid on the seabed to serve as foundations. Massive ashlar blocks, set in headers pointed towards the sea, were then placed over the foundations, while the inner facing part of the element was constructed of, or filled with, rubble (Haggi and Artzy 2007: 83; Markoe 2000: 69). Another hallmark element of Phoenician harbors was the construction of a silt drainage system. In some harbors, gaps were intentionally left open between natural elements to allow currents to pass through the harbor basin, flushing any accumulated silt. In other cases, flushing channels were left open in built elements. In addition to flushing channels, in some harbors special sediment collection vats were also constructed (Haggi and Artzy 2007: 83).

Evidence to the famed Phoenician *cothon* type harbor, an artificially excavated basin further inland known from Punic sites such as Carthage and Motya, were not found in the Phoenician homeland as of yet (Blackmann 1982: 93-94; *cf*. Raban 1998: 430-431).

In the following pages, a survey of Phoenician manmade harbors will be presented according to distribution from north to south.

The city of **Arwad**, like Tyre, was founded on an offshore island, and is considered one of the most important Phoenician cities. However, our knowledge of the ancient city and its harbors is extremely limited, since to this day, no archaeological excavations has been carried out in it. The island of Arwad, is the northernmost outcrop of a mostly submerged rocky plateau which stretches parallel to the coast from the area of Tripoli in the south. The underwater landscape makes navigation near the island difficult; however, a deep underwater passageway from the north allows access for ships with large hulls. Like most major Phoenician settlements, Arwad employed two main ports, a northern and a southern harbor, but their configuration was slightly different from

that of other cities. The island's eastern side provides shelter from the swells of the Mediterranean and creates two natural coves facing the mainland. The two harbors are separated by an artificial rock constructed pier that also served as a windbreaker (Markoe 2000: 69-70; Steinsapir 2005: 31) (Figs. 3.44-45), however the date of its construction is unknown.

During excavation of the site of **Tabbat el-Hammam**, an L-shaped breakwater or jetty, with its longer leg projecting out into the sea was unearthed at the western part of the mound. The Jetty created a small harbor, protected from the south-westerly winds (Braidwood 1940: 204). The land-based part of the quay was very well preserved. On the lee side a wall of large ashlar blocks, averaging 1.90x0.5 m. in size was constructed with a course of headers facing the inner side of the harbor (Figs. 3.46-48). It is likely that this part of the quay was once at sea, and that sand piled up along the inner wall due to a silting process. The harbor was dated to the ninth or eighth century BCE, and seems have served as the port of Tell Kazel, located only a few km to the east (Braidwood 1940: 207-8; Peckham 2001: 27; Haggi and Artzy 2007: 80).

The city of **Beirut** was founded on a large rock promontory, the northern side of which creates a natural bay protected from the dominant winds. In the center of this bay is a small islet that offers further protection as a breakwater. This natural cove served as the city's main port. It has been suggested that the sandy coast to the east and west of the mound may have served as anchorage for small vessels in fair weather. In ancient times, the only means to enter the city was either by sea, via the port, or through a narrow passage between the hills of Ashrafieh and Ras Beirut. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the harbor is extremely limited as the entire basin of the ancient Bronze and Iron Age harbor is currently below the modern city (Fig. 3.51) (Marriner *et al.* 2008: 2495-2504, 2509; Sader 2009: 56-57). Although the Iron Age coastline has not yet been discovered, earth core samples gathered in the area of the natural cove suggests the first artificial harbor was constructed during the Iron Age, as evident by a raise in silt and clay in the basin (Marriner *et al.* 2008: 2507-2508, Fig. 17).

Recently an Iron Age III quay was found in BEY 39. During the Persian period the Mediterranean Sea regressed by ca. 1 m., which necessitated the construction of new harbor installations. The quay, which was renovated during the Hellenistic period, was constructed of large ashlar blocks, some fixed together with lead joints (Figs. 3.52-53). The quay probably occupied all of the space between the two rocky headlands of the Beirut harbor. It was protected from the sea by the island of Borj al-Mina and by a barrier reef that may have been reinforced by a sea wall. This type of

quay is characteristic of Phoenician architecture, and similar structures were found in the harbors of Sidon, Akko, and Dor, dated mainly between the eighth and the fifth centuries BCE (Marriner *et al.* 2008: 2504-2055; Elayi 2010: 160, Fig. 8).

Sidon was founded on a rock promontory that creates two natural anchorages to its north and south. The southern harbor, known as the 'Egyptian harbor', is presently a sandy bay, which is not well protected from the dominant south-westerly swell. No manmade installations have yet been found in the southern bay. The northern bay on the other hand is well protected from the open sea by a natural prominent sandstone ridge, and that is also the location of the artificial harbor (Marriner and Morhange 2005: 186; Marriner *et al.* 2006: 1516-1517; Haggi and Artzy 2007: 80-81). It currently serves as the main harbor of the modern city of Sidon (Fig. 3.54). Although little of the pre-Classical periods harbor survived, there is sufficient evidence to allow for a reconstruction of the northern harbor. Geo-archaeological findings suggest that the first large scale harbor construction works took place during the Iron Age I (Marriner and Morhange 2006: 144; Marriner *et al.* 2007: 1526-1527). The harbor was divided into two areas, both of which rest on the northern reef. The reef was reinforced with ashlars for better protection from the open sea. A jetty was built on its lee side, extending about 230 m. into the sea. Most of the western reef was levelled on the lee side to create a quay. The western external side of the reef was left unhewn as a natural seawall (Haggi and Artzy 2007: 80-81). The harbor had a silt flushing system that consisted of three channels quarried along the western reef which create water circulation that prevents sediment pile up in the harbor basin. The water was also filtered with collective vats cut into the reef with gates at the inner side. When the gates were open, silt-free water could flow into the basin (Blackmann 1982: 202).

Some 600 m. off the northern harbor is the island of Zire. The 540m long island lies parallel to the northern harbor and serves as a natural breakwater. Its eastern side was flattened to form an offshore quay (Fig. 3.55). The island was further protected by double seawalls on its western side. Towards the northern end of the island, a series of mooring bits were noted, hewn in the natural rock. It appears other mooring bits were hewn along the quay however, these have been eroded. At the southern part of the island is a submerged levelled platform. At its southern extremity, lines of massive blocks of stone, ca. 3 m. in length were placed. At the northern end of this platform, a jetty projects into the sea. Parallel to it was a second jetty, of which only the foundation course was preserved. The jetty consisted of large blocks of stone set in headers. These jetties seem to

have been erected during the Iron Age III. Further installations may have existed on the northern part of the island; however, it is too badly eroded by the sea and later quarrying activities (Frost 1973: 76-79, Fig. 8a-b; 1999: 70-71).

The city of **Tyre** was founded on an easily defensible offshore island. The island provided a number of natural protective basins that required little to no human intervention. Despite the city's importance as a maritime center, little is known of its pre-Classical harbors. Classical authors describe Tyre as having two harbors: a northern harbor known as the 'Sidonian harbor' and a southern harbor known as the 'Egyptian harbor' (e.g. Arrian, *Anab*. 2: 20.10; Strabo 16: 2.24). In the Assyrian relief depicting Tyre on the Balawat Gates, the city is portrayed with two gates, which some scholars interpret as leading to the two harbors (Marriner *et al.* 2008: 1295-1296). There is no indication that both of the island's harbors were artificial. Diodorus (17: 41-42), describing Alexander's siege on Tyre, speaks of only one closed harbor which could have housed almost the entire Tyrian war fleet of eighty triremes.

The Egyptian harbor was located on the southern part of the island and, unlike previously thought, seems to have been an open natural anchorage with no artificial installations dated to the first millennium BCE. If such manmade installations did once exist, their position and configuration have yet to be unearthed (Haggi and Artzy 2007: 82; Marriner *et al.* 2008: 1296-1304). The northern side of the island was better protected from the dominant south-western winds and swells (Marriner and Morhange 2005: 184; Noureddine 2008: 162-164; 2010: 178), and was the location of the closed artificial harbor, which is still in use to this day. The harbor consisted of two jetties, a northern one running E-W, and another projecting from the eastern side of the island northwards (Haggi and Artzy 2007: 81-82). The northern jetty, currently submerged between 1.5 to 3.5 m. deep, consists of two parallel walls, connected at their eastern extremity by a third wall. The walls were built of massive ashlar blocks, measuring an average of ca. 2x0.5 m. in size, set in headers facing the sea. The northern wall was preserved to a length of 85 m. and the southern one to a length of 70 m. The connecting wall was 13 m. in length, and the area between the parallel walls was filled with rubble. The foundations of this massive jetty were not yet unearthed as the area around the jetty is covered with large masonry blocks and a layer of sedimentation over 4 m. thick. It is possible that the foundations of the Medieval Al-Moubarkeh tower, situated to the west of the jetty, were once part of the same structure. The massive construction has probably also served as a quay for loading and unloading of cargo (Figs. 3.56-57) (Noureddine 2008; 2010: 177-178).

Several gaps were left along the jetties to enable water flow into the harbor basin to prevent silting. The main entrance to the Sidonian harbor was from the east between the two jetties (Haggi and Artzy 2007: 81-82).

Besides Tyre's two main ports, the city used a number of outer harbors, taking advantage of the exposed natural sandstone ridge (Achilles Tatius, 2: 17.3). Tyre's mainland anchorages were located opposite of the island, probably in two locations: Tell Mashuk (probably Ushu) and Tell Chawakir, which served as transport hubs during the Bronze and Iron Ages (Fig. 3.58). These small natural coves could accommodate boats and small vessels (Marriner *et al.* 2008: 1282, 1305-1306).

The building techniques utilized for the construction of the northern harbor, including the use of massive blocks set in headers, similar to those found in 'Atlit and Tabbat el-Hammam (see below) dated to the ninth-eighth century BCE suggest a similar construction date of the artificial harbor at Tyre. Masonry and quarrying marks on the ashlars of the jetty also indicate a pre-Classical date (Noureddine 2010: 178-179). This also coincides with recent geo-archaeological findings. Earth core samples taken from the harbor's basin and immediate surroundings reveal that during the first millennium BCE a closed harbor, nearly twice as large as the present one, existed (Marriner *et al.* 2005; Haggi and Artzy 2007: 82; Marriner *et al.* 2008: 1290-1291). The northern jetty at Tyre, which is the largest pre-Classical maritime construction found in Phoenicia as of yet, together with the geo-archaeological findings, suggest that the artificial harbor at Tyre was one of the largest, if not *the* largest, harbor in Phoenicia during the first millennium BCE.

Akko is situated in the northern edge of the Akko plain, where the land creates a natural bay protected from the northerly and westerly winds (Galili *et al.* 2007: 64). It was suggested that prior to the Iron Age III, the mouth of the Na'aman River served as the anchorage of the city, however there are no evidence as of yet to support this theory. Geomorphological studies reveal that during the Bronze Age the area to the foot of the mound became flooded with seawater creating an estuary to the south, a lagoon in the east and a bay to the west (Raban 1986: 180-181; 1993: 29; Dothan and Goldmann 1993: 16-17; Galili *et al.* 2007: 65; Galili and Rosen 2008: 1558).

It was suggested that the first artificial harbor was constructed during the sixth century BCE to serve as a naval base for Cambyses' campaigns against Egypt (Raban 1986: 181; 1995b: 158). Although recent studies suggest it could not have been erected prior to the Hellenistic period (Galili *et al.* 2007: 65-66; 2010: 193-197; Galili and Rosen 2008: 1558-1559). The harbor was built on

the south-eastern side of a headland, exposed to the south-westerly winter storms. Consequently, the location demanded a long and massive breakwater to create a properly protected anchor. A jetty, 300 m. long and 12 m. wide, built of ashlar blocks laid in headers facing the sea over a foundation of pebbles 25-30 m. wide was constructed. The two faces of the jetty were absolutely vertical so it could have also served as a quay for the loading and unloading of cargo. A second section of the harbor was constructed on an artificial island. This island, named the 'Tower of Flies', was a rectangular quay, 60x13 m. in size, with its southern edge lying at a depth of six meters. This islet may have served as a 'sea mark' for incoming ships. From the eastern edge of the islet, an ashlar ledge, ca. 60 m. long, extended to the north. It was built of courses of ashlars of various size, laid in headers and stretchers (Fig. 3.59). Gaps remained between the jetties and the islet in order to facilitate silt-flushing (Raban and Linder 1978: 238; Raban 1986: 181-187; 1993; Haggi and Artzy 2007: 82).

Our best-known example of an artificial Phoenician Iron Age harbor was found at **'Atlit**. This harbor is unique since no Hellenistic or later period construction replaced it or was added to it. It can therefore provide vital information of the principles of Phoenician harbor construction during the Iron Age (Markoe 2000: 69-70; Haggi and Artzy 2007: 75-76). C^{14} samples taken from wooden wedges found within the harbor's installations date its construction to the late-ninth or early-eighth century BCE (Haggi 2006: 57). The harbor is located in the northern bay (Fig. 3.60), which is well protected from the dominant west and south-west winds by a promontory cliff on its south-west, and two natural islets to the west. The southern bay was probably used for anchorage of small vessels when weather conditions permitted it (Haggi 2006: 54; 2010: 278; Haggi and Artzy 2007: 75-76).
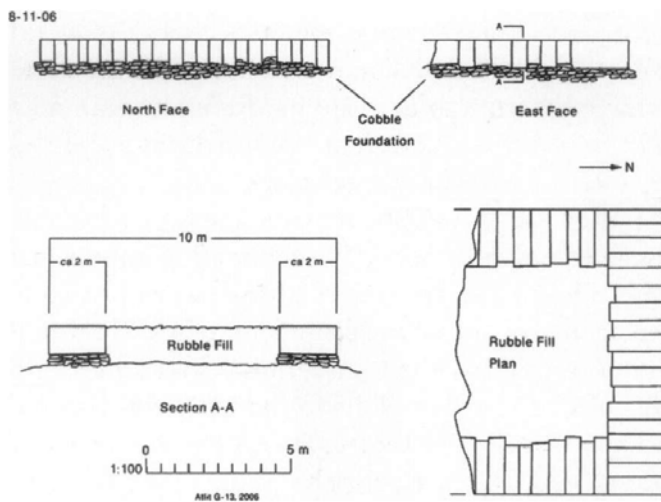
Fig. 3.61 Plan and section of the southern jetty

The northern harbor consisted of two jetties running perpendicular to quays (Raban 1997: 16), which create a closed rectangular area of low water energy. The space between the two islets remained unblocked, probably to allow silt to flow out of the harbor area. An opening, 140-150 m. wide, between the ends of the two jetties served as the harbor entrance (Haggi 2006: 49; 2010: 278-279; Haggi and Artzy 2007: 79).

The south-eastern quay was 38 m. long and constructed on the shore of large stone blocks set in headers that face the sea. The base of the jetty extends from the quay's eastern end ca. 100 m. into the sea. The jetty was ca. 10 m. wide and constructed of two parallel ashlar headers, 2-3 m. in width, with rubble fill between them (Fig. 3.61). On the end of this jetty, remains of a tower construction, 20x12 m. in size, were found. This may have been a guard tower or a lighthouse. The northern part of the jetty ends with ashlar headers facing north. The jetties were constructed over a foundation of flat round river pebbles of various size, which were laid on the clay/muddy sea bed, extending to more than 5 m. from the outer side of each jetty wall to a total width of over 20 m. (Raban 1985: 31; 1998: 434; Haggi 2006: 49; 2010: 278-280; Haggi and Artzy 2007: 77). On the eastern side of the northern islet, another quay was constructed. It was ca. 43 m. long and ca. 4 m. wide, built of ashlar headers, three courses of which are still *in situ*. The southern islet too was levelled and displayed signs of construction. The islet was connected to the land by an artificial ramp, and may have served as a warehouse (Figs. 3.62-63) (Haggi 2006:49-51; 2010: 280; Haggi and Artzy 2007: 78). Wooden wedges were also found in the construction of the quays. The timber originates from two types of trees; the European olive, and the Lebanese cedar that was found solely in Phoenicia and Cyprus. The pebbles used for the foundations also originate either in northern Syria or Cyprus, which may also suggest the origin of the builders (Haggi 2006: 51-57; 2010: 280-281).

The excavators suggested that the dual anchorage was intended to accommodate local vessels on one side, and foreign vessels on the other. Heavy ships may have had to offload goods onto lighter

vessels that then made their way into the relative shallow basin. Another suggestion is that the two harbors were reserved for commercial and military fleets, as demonstrated at Carthage (Raban and Linder 1993: 118-120). 'Atlit was the optimal location for the construction of an artificial harbor that could accommodate large hull ships. It is possible that the city and its harbor were constructed during the ninth century BCE to replace the small natural anchorage at Dor that suited smaller ships (Haggi 2006: 56).

Dor was founded on a rock promontory that is part of the *kurkar* ridge that stretches opposite of the Carmel mountain range. South of the mound lies a sandy beach with several offshore islets that create a natural anchorage (Fig. 3.64). The islets show excessive signs of occupation during late periods and erosion. Nowadays the northernmost islet is joined to the coast; however, in the past it was not, allowing for passage from the lagoon to the bay just east of the mound. This natural cove served as the main harbor throughout the ages. North of the mound is another bay which is partially protected by an island and may have served as another anchorage for smaller vessels (Wachsmann and Raveh 1984: 223-224; Kingsley and Raveh 1993; 1996: 6-8; Raban 1993: 370). The southern harbor was constructed just east of the city and consisted of a series of ashlar-built quays facing south into the lagoon (Areas A, B, E, G). The earliest quay, or landing stage, was ca. 50 m. long and 10-12 m. wide, built of five to six rows of large elongated rectangular ashlar slabs, measuring ca. 1.7x1x0.3 m., laid as headers towards the sea, and flanked on both sides by massively constructed towers (bastions) or retaining walls (Figs. 3.65-66). An opening at the western side of the bay was then breached, probably artificially, in order to facilitate silt flushing. This flushing channel is 70 m. long and 3-5 m. wide. Shortly after sea level in the bay rose and new similar quays, sea walls, and other maritime installations were constructed (Raban 1995a: 313-320, 335-339). Raban (1993; 1995a: 319-320; 1998: 429) dated the construction of the earliest quay to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century BCE, and the major renovations after the rise in sea level to the twelfth century BCE. It seems however that this dating was based mainly on historical considerations and does not concur with excavations on the mound. Considering the construction methods of headers facing the sea, and the construction of a silt flushing channel, typical to Phoenician harbor construction techniques, it is more likely that the harbor cannot be earlier than the eleventh century BCE (Artzy 2006: 78-79; Haggi and Artzy 2007: 82; Gilboa and Sharon 2008: 151).

Raban (1993: 370) maintained that the southern harbor went out of use during the tenth century

BCE, which would also elucidate the construction of a new harbor at 'Atlit during the late-ninth or early-eighth century BCE (Haggi 2006: 56). Maritime activities at Dor resumed during the Iron Age III in the northern bay. However, since this bay is too shallow, it could only accommodate small sea vessels (1993: 370). No evidence of artificial installations dated to the Iron Age were found in the northern bay. A silt-flushing channel may have been constructed during the Iron Age III; however, this dating is uncertain. Remains of other artificial installations date to later periods (Raban 1995a: 295).

At the 'Love bay' three slipways were unearthed. The slipways are badly eroded and only the south-eastern part of the original structure has been fully preserved. The slipways' hollows were hewn into the sloping natural rock facing north. They were ca. 30 m. long and 4-4.5 m. wide with a partition wall 1.5 m. wide between them preserved to a height of 0.6-0.8 m. Sockets were hewn into the partition wall, probably to accommodate wooden beam to support the hull. No parallels to these slipways were yet found in the southern Levant; however, several examples exist in Aegean sites. Furthermore, it seems that the slipways were constructed according to Aegean tradition, as described by Vitruvius (5: 12.7). The dating of these slipways is difficult, however the excavators suggested they were constructed during the Iron Age III (Raban 1995a: 307-310).

Discussion

A. Raban (1995b: 148; 1998: 429-430), based on his interpretation of the harbor at Dor, maintained that harbor construction techniques, including the use of headers, sea-walls, and quays, originated in the Aegeans, and were introduced to the southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age II with the coming of the Sea-People. However, his dating does not concur with the archaeological strata at the site (Artzy 2006: 78-79). Furthermore, ashlar pier-and-rubble masonry was a hallmark of Phoenician construction techniques. Evidence for pier-and-rubble construction in the Aegean does not predate the Iron Age II while in the Levant this method already appears during the thirteenth or twelfth century BCE (Sharon 1987: 39; Doumet-Sarhel and Williams 2011-2012). It seems therefore that advanced harbor construction techniques were developed in Phoenicia during the first half of the Iron Age II, probably in the ninth century BCE (Haggi 2006: 56).

The construction of large artificial harbors in Phoenicia coincides with the Phoenician western expansion. Voyages to far reaching destinations such as the northern African coast or the Iberian

Peninsula demanded the use of larger sea vessels, which were faster, sturdier, and could also carry far greater cargos, making the voyage both safer and more lucrative. In turn, these large hull ships could no longer use the relatively shallow natural basins of the Phoenician coast, and thus the construction of large artificial harbors began. It is possible that the decline of important cities such as Byblos during the Iron Age II was a direct result of its inability to facilitate large hull ships in its natural bays which were only ca. 1 m. deep (Collina-Girard *et al*. 2002; Frost 2002).

Both archaeological and geo-archaeological evidence presented above suggest that large-scale harbor works began during the early stages of the first millennium BCE. Earth core samples taken from various Phoenician sites clearly show that closed or semi-closed harbor basins first appear in Phoenicia during the first millennium BCE. The carbon dating of the wooden pegs used in the construction of the artificial harbor at 'Atlit date it to the late ninth or early eighth century BCE. The quay at Tabbat el-Hammam was also dated to the same period. These two examples come from relatively small sites on the Phoenician coast; therefore, it is safe to assume that the construction of large-scale artificial maritime installations in the major cities of Phoenicia was either contemporaneous or earlier.

Although our information on Phoenician harbors of the first millennium BCE is fragmented, as the data presented above demonstrates Phoenician harbors shared several similar characteristics. The first of which was the use of massive ashlar blocks set in headers facing the sea, and rubble for the inner face or the fill of the marine installation, which offered greater stability and durability against the constant energy of the waves. Another important trait of a Phoenician harbor was the silt flushing systems, which could consist of elaborately designed flushing channels and sediments collective vats, or simple gaps intentionally left between the harbor's installations. Both of these marine construction techniques indicate the high level of expertise and knowledge of marine engineering possessed by the Phoenicians from the beginning of the Iron Age. And since artificial harbors dated to the Iron Age were found in the Levant solely in Phoenician sites, it is safe to assume that their design and construction was a Phoenician initiative.

Phoenician Cultic Architecture

Religious, or rather cultic, architecture of the first millennium BCE in Phoenicia is relatively unknown since cultic structures dated to this period were scarcely found. Furthermore, since many

temples were rebuilt and refurbished over extended periods of time, earlier remains are often poorly preserved, especially such remains found below classical period structures. The paucity of archaeological data often leads scholars to turn to Phoenician-Punic religious architecture found outside Phoenicia, however this approach is problematic as such cultic structures may portray mixed Phoenician and autochthonic religious traditions. Nevertheless, Phoenician religious architecture appears to be characterized by long and rigid continuity that may shed light on the cultic architecture of the periods in question. As the archaeological record clearly demonstrates, this continuity spans from the Middle Bronze Age II to the late Persian period. It was only from the fourth century BCE that radical changes to Phoenician architecture occur in both style and plan.

Phoenician Temples

Phoenician temples are characteristically modest in size and style compared to other temples of the Ancient Near East (Markoe 2000: 128-129), therefore many such temples were interpreted as simple shrines. Markoe (*ibid.*) suggested that instead of spreading outwards, these structures grew upwards, as might be depicted on the eighth century BCE Assyrian relief of Tyre (*ibid*. Fig. 6), however even if so, these temples were considerably smaller than contemporary Iron Age cultic structures in the southern Levant. The majority of Phoenician temples found during archaeological excavations are located within the confinement of settlements (Kamlah 2009), and not necessarily in a specific quarter, which could suggest that temples were erected where needed and the builders had to cope with space limitations.

An examination of all relevant archaeological data suggests Phoenician temples shared several key features:

1. A rectangular structure, in ca. 2:1 length-width ratio (typical to north-Syrian temples *cf*. Margueron 1985), sometimes consisting of two rooms; a large main hall, or *cella*, and a smaller room probably used as a storeroom.
2. The structure was built on an E-W axis.
3. The main entrance was found at the eastern end of one of the long walls providing a lateral entrance. This type of structure is sometimes called a 'bent entry room' (Wright

1985, Fig. 22), 'bent-axis room', or 'knickachsraum' (Werner 1994: 16). While an entrance at the east was typical to Syrian temples (Badre 2009: 258), a bent entry was uncommon (*cf*. Spreafico 2008).

4. The sacred area, or 'holy-of-holies', of the temple was found at the western end of the main hall and consisted of a raised platform which was used as an altar or offering table, often with several steps leading up.

Other frequent features found in Phoenician temples include benches built along the inner walls, most likely used as shelves to accommodate offerings (Pritchard 1978: 136). Often one or more columns would be used to support a roof, as evident by stone bases found on the floor of the main hall. A betil or a small pillar (see below) was often erected in or in front of the sacred area sometimes evident by a floor socket. Its use is not entirely clear and it may have been practical, aesthetic, or cultic. Lastly, elements related to water, or other liquids, such as channels, drains, or basins, were very common within or in the immediate vicinity of the temple.

As stated above, the data on Iron Age Phoenician temples is scarce at best; however, this type of temple was by no means an exclusive Iron Age phenomenon. Much like other elements of Phoenician material culture, this temple type first appeared during the Bronze Age, mainly along the Levantine coast, but also further inland. In the following pages, a survey of temples of the 'Phoenician type' and other similar temples (with various inconsistencies) will be presented according to chronology and distribution from north to south.

Bronze Age

Perhaps the earliest example of this temple type, or prototype, was found at **Byblos**. As stated above, Byblos was the most important city in Phoenicia throughout the Bronze Age. During early excavations of the ancient city, some of the oldest and most renowned Phoenician temples were unearthed within the confines of a sacred precinct. Unfortunately, the published material is incomplete and the method in which the excavations were carried out do not withstand the scrutiny of time and often hinder the dating of the various building phases. Furthermore, some of the features of the earliest phases still lie beneath the remains exposed today. The precinct, which was

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Map 4

Tell Tweini
Tell Sukas

Kition

Tell Kazel

Tell Arqa

Byblos

Tell el-Ghassil

Bostan es-Shiek

Sarepta

Nahariya

Mispe Yamim

Tell Abu-Hawam

Tel Mevorakh

Beth Shean
Pella

Kfar Shemaryahu
Tel Michal / Makmish
Tell Qasile
Yavneh-Yam

Jericho

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surrounded by a *temenos* stone wall, was constructed during the late Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age IA, focused around a sacred spring, which was later converted into a well that became the focal point of cultic activities at Byblos. Later the natural spring was also converted into an artificial lake located between the two major structures of the Bronze Age (Dunand 1950-1958: 899-900; 1973a: 235; Sala 2007: 48-49; 2008: 60-65). The sacred precinct housed many temples, as well as other structures, from the late Chalcolithic and well into the Classical periods. The Most important of which, known as 'the Temple of the Lady of Byblos' i.e. the '*Baalat Gebal*' temple was constructed during the Early Bronze Age IIB ca. 2850-2700 BCE, and was rebuilt and renovated until the Roman period (Sala 2008: 59-60).

The religious architecture of Byblos was the subject of many studies (e.g. Braidwood 1941; Finkbeiner 1981; Saghieh 1983; Sala 2007; 2008) that attempted to reconstruct the various temple complexes' stratigraphic sequence and dating. The sheer amount of data both published and unpublished exceeds the aim of this study. Therefore, a survey of the most noteworthy temples from the Early Bronze Age and onwards shall be presented below.

The earliest temple at the sacred precinct of Byblos, known simply as the '**Enceinte Sacrée**', was constructed south-west of the sacred spring during the Early Bronze IA and remained in use until the Early Bronze IIB-IIIA. The structure was very poorly preserved and only its southern side was unearthed, however its plan was reconstructed by the excavator. The temple consisted of a rectangular structure, 6.6 m. wide, built on a NW-SE axis. Its floor was partly preserved and consisted of gravel bound in white plaster. It was interpreted by the excavator as a broadroom with an entrance set at the eastern wall. The temple was apparently surrounded by a stone paved courtyard that was partly preserved (Dunand 1973a: 235-238, Fig. 143; Wright 1985: 216; Sala 2007: 52-54, Fig. 5). This simple structure, which was compared to the 'Shrine 400' temple at Jericho (Sala 2007), may have been the earliest example of the 'Phoenician temple type' (Figs. 3.68-69).

A similar structure, known as 'building 18' (**Bâtiment XVIII**) was constructed to the west of the sacred lake during the Early Bronze Age II, which constitutes the earliest structure of the Baalat temple complex. The earliest phase of the temple isn't clear from the published data, however Saghieh (1983: 41, Ill. 2) suggested that it consisted of a rectangular structure, built on a E-W axis,

consisting of a single room, ca. 15x8 m. in size, with a bent entry set in the north-western corner of the western wall (Fig. 3.70), and that at a later phase a long hall was added from the south (Fig. 3.71). Nevertheless, it is also possible that the earliest structure was the larger rectangular hall, ca. 26x15 m. built in N-S orientation, that was constructed first, and to it a back room was added from the north. During the third building phase, two stone bases were built along the eastern wall, and the northern room was divided into two equal chambers that were most likely used for storage (*ibid*.: 41-42, 55; *cf*. Dunand 1937-1939: 290-308) (Fig. 3.72). It appears this structure was interpreted as a temple due to its location below the subsequent cultic structures although no cultic artifacts were unearthed in it (*cf*. Saghieh 1983: 42). Nevertheless, the plan does concur with the 'Phoenician temple type'.

The temple of phase 3 was destroyed by fire and a new temple complex was constructed during the Early Bronze IIIA (Phase 4). Building 18 was rebuilt along the same lines with a few alterations. The structure became the eastern part of a new temple complex, known as the '**Hypostyle Temple**' (see below). Its large hall may have been transformed into an open court, while the two back rooms continued to serve as storerooms (Saghieh 1983: 42-43, 55; *cf*. Dunand 1937-1939: 290-308) (Figs. 3.73, 3.76-77).

Shortly after the construction of the Hypostyle temple, a new temple, (phase 5) known as 'Building 40' (**Bâtiment XL**) was constructed over the supposed hypostyle hall. Unfortunately, the structure does not appear on the published plans. Therefore, we must rely on the excavator's reconstruction. The temple consisted of several units. At the northern part of the complex, a series of rectangular rooms were constructed. This complex was only partly unearthed as its northernmost part seems to lay under Roman period structures. South of this complex was a courtyard or hall (13) which leads by means of four stairs to another hall (10) that appears to be the main hall of the temple. The latter structure, ca. 19x9.5 m, was built in E-W orientation with a bent entry set in the western part of its northern wall. No stone bases were noted on the floor of hall 10, which may indicate it was a roofless structure. A large opening, ca. 6 m. wide, was set in its southern wall which leads to a courtyard that leads to the southern complex of the previous Hypostyle temple (Dunand 1937-1939: 290-295; Saghieh 1983: 43-44) (Figs. 3.74, 3.78-80).

After the destruction of the 'Building 40' an entirely new temple was constructed featuring a different design (see below phases 6-7). This temple was completely destroyed by fire and its walls were razed to floor level. The subsequent building phase of the Baalat temple (Phase 8), dated to

the Middle Bronze Age, was too poorly preserved due to later building activities, and is represented by a few architectural elements from which a comprehensive plan cannot be deduced. However, it seems that the twin sanctuaries design was abandoned in favor of a single structure temple that may have been an open-air temple (Saghieh 1983: 50-51, 57-58).

During the Early Bronze IIIB, a temple structure known as building 13 (**Bâtiment XIII**) was built in the eastern part of the precinct opposite of the Baalat temple complex. This structure would later become part of the 'L-Shaped temple' complex, which would later become the 'Temple of the Obelisks'. Temple 13 seems to be the earliest unit in the complex (**Phase 2**) (*cf.* Finkbeiner 1981: 56), although earlier walls were noted at a lower level. However, these were too fragmentary to suggest a coherent plan (**Phase 1**). The temple consisted of a rectangular main hall, ca. 31x18 m. built on an E-W axis. The walls were ca. 2 m. thick and built of stone. Benches were erected along the inner western and southern walls, flanking the entrance set in the eastern part of the southern wall. Along the western end of the northern inner wall, a platform with four large basins was constructed. In the northern part of the western wall, a window or passage, ca. 2.2 m. wide, overlooking the sacred lake was opened with three stairs leading up to it. The main hall was paved with flagstones, and column bases were set along the walls and middle of the main hall. In the northern wall, two doorways were set leading to two square rooms, almost equally sized rooms, ca. 16x16 m., creating a T-shaped structure (Fig. 3.81). Immediately to the south of the temple, a partially preserved circular structure was unearthed. It was suggested that this structure supported a betil (Dunand 1950-1958: 895-898; Saghieh 1983: 15-16, Pl. 3.2-4; Sala 2008: 67-70) (Fig. 4.10).

Temple 13 was renovated somewhat later (Phase 3) and displays several changes. The window or entrance set in the western wall was blocked and the stairs and basins platform were buried beneath a new floor. Furthermore, a small room is built in the north-eastern corner of the main hall, and it is possible that the entrances to the two back rooms were also sealed. A trapezoid forecourt (**Bâtiment XV**) was constructed to the south of the structure (Fig. 4.10), and another structure, consisting of three *cellae in antis*, and interpreted as another temple, was built to the west creating the '**L-Shaped Temple complex**' which is believed to have been dedicated to a male deity and is also known as the 'Reshef Temple' (Fig. 3.82). Several betils were found within the temple's temenos wall, a feature that would characterize the subsequent 'Temple of the Obelisks' and Phoenician religion in general (see below) (Dunand 1950-1958: 896-898; Saghieh 1983: 16; Sala

2008: 68-71).

The phase 3 temple was destroyed by fire at the end of the third millennium BCE as evident by a thick ash layer. On its ruins, a new temple complex known as the '**Temple of the Obelisks**' (also known as the Egyptian temple) was constructed during the Middle Bronze Age following the same outer contour. All that remained of building 13 in this complex are its two back rooms, which were rebuilt during the subsequent phases 4-6. A new structure was built over the former main hall of building 13 and the three *cellae in antis* structure. The new temple complex consisted of an elevated platform, surrounded by a temenos wall, on which a *cella* and *pro-cella* were constructed. The temple was in use until the Late Bronze Age displaying various small obelisks, betils and even anchors used as votive offerings (Dunand 1950-1958: 895-898; Frost 1970: Saghieh 1983: 16; Sala 2008: 68-70) (Figs. 3.83-84).

The earliest basic unit of the temple complex, i.e. building 13, constructed in Phases 2 and 3, is the first religious structure at Byblos that displays many characteristics of the 'Phoenician temple type'. It includes a main hall built along an E-W axis with a bent-entry, benches along the inner walls, and the focal point of the worship was centered in the western end of the main hall. The configuration of the two back rooms, that creates a T-shaped structure (which may suggest northern influences), is the only element that does not conform to the 'classic' Phoenician type temple building plan.

A similar temple to the Byblos 'Enceinte Sacrée', however far better preserved, was found at **Jericho**, also dated to the Early Bronze Age (**Stratum VII**). The temple, named by the excavator the '**Babylonian shrine**', consisted of a bent entry structure, ca. 7.5x3.5 m. in size, built in NW-SE orientation. The southern wall is considerably thicker than the rest of its walls. The entrance is located in the north-eastern edge of the northern wall. Benches were built along the inner walls, and a raised platform stood against the western wall. The walls and benches were coated with plaster (Garstang and Garstang 1948: 78-79, Fig. 8) (Fig. 3.85). It was suggested by Sala (2007, fn. 66) that cultural relations occurred between Byblos and Jericho during the Early Bronze Age.

A similar temple was found at **Nahariya**, where two phases of a Middle Bronze II Age temple were unearthed near a rectangular *bamah* constructed earlier. The temple (**Stratum B**) consisted of a rectangular structure, ca. 13x8 m. in size, built in E-W orientation with an entrance in the western side of the southern wall. During the second building phase (**Stratum C**), rooms were joined to the main hall from east and west, and two other smaller rooms were added at the north-

eastern corner of the structure (Ben-Dor 1950; Dothan 1956a: 14-18; 1956b: 41-46; 1993: 1090-1092) (Fig. 3.88). The temple is located some 800 m. from the nearby Tel Nahariya. Ben-Dor (*ibid.*) suggested that the reason the temple was built so far from the city, which was situated on the mouth of the Ga'aton River, was its proximity to a nearby fresh water spring (Dothan 1954; 1956; 1981; 1993: 1090-1092).

A similar Middle Bronze Age II temple was unearthed at **Kfar Shemaryahu**. This rectangular structure, identified by the excavator as a temple, was ca. 16x6.5 m. in size and built in E-W orientation. However, it seems to have had some inner walls dividing it into a main central hall and two smaller rooms from east and west (Kaplan 1971: 305, Fig. 11) (Fig. 3.89). No further details can be presented as the excavation was not properly published as of yet.

At **Tell Chuera**, located in north-eastern Syria, a similar temple was found at the summit of the mound (north temple), near another temple of a different type. The temple, dated to the Late Bronze Age, consisted of a rectangular structure, 10.8x6.5 m. in size, built in north-south orientation. The walls are 90 cm wide and built of mudbricks. The entrance is located at the southern end of the eastern wall. Along the walls stood benches built of mudbricks. The sacred area is situated in the northern part of the temple. It consists of a raised platform also built of mudbricks, and opposite of it stood an altar or offering table built of stone. Between the raised platform and the altar, a drain was built inlaid in the floor and through the northern wall (Moortgart 1962: 9-22; Werner 1994: 127-128) (Figs. 3.86-87).

At **Tel Mevorakh**, three phases of a Late Bronze Age temple were unearthed. The earliest temple, of **stratum XI**, is also the best preserved of the three. It consisted of a rectangular structure, ca. 11x6 m. in size (10x5 m. inner dimensions), built in E-W orientation. The temple's walls were 0.6 m. wide and built of large squared stones topped with mudbricks. The floor and walls were covered by a thick layer of white lime plaster, which the excavator, based on parallels, suggested was painted. At its western end, a raised platform and a series of benches, tables, or steps, were erected. Other benches were also found along the northern and eastern walls. On these platforms and benches, numerous pottery vessels were found. Two lime-coated depressions, one round and the other rectangular, were noted in the platforms at the western end of the structure. These might have held wooden posts or pillars. An open tunnel coated with plaster was noted along the southern wall. At the center of the hall a pit, ca. 0.5 m. deep, was cut into the plaster floor. The excavator suggested it was a favissa pit, however it was found empty. This pit could have accommodated a

betil, a sacred tree, or a pillar. South of this pit stood a large flat stone which may have served as a column base. The structure's entrance was not found, however the excavator suggested it was located in the eastern end of the southern wall. The temple was surrounded by a stone paved courtyard bound by a stone wall and the remains of a rampart forming a temenos. It was suggested that a cellar was built to the east of the main hall, however this was only an assumption (Stern 1977b; 1984a: 4-6, 28-39, Fig. II, 24) (Figs. 3.90-91).

The temple of **stratum X** was poorly preserved. It seems to have preserved the outer line of the earlier temple, as well as the stone paved temenos. It appears this temple's walls were built of stone. The sacred area at the western side was confined by stone walls, and a larger platform stood there. Benches were noted along the northern and western walls. A small inner room with benches along its inner walls, perhaps used as a cellar, was added south of the platform. Another room was built west of the main hall (Stern 1984a: 6-8, 28-39, Fig. 23) (Fig. 3.92).

The last phase of the temple, of **Stratum IX**, was also poorly preserved. It was built on top, but slightly to the south of the original temple and it seems to differ in plan. Nevertheless, the general E-W orientation was retained. Only its northern wall was preserved in its entirety. It was 9 m. long and built of large coarse stones. Parts of the western and eastern walls were also preserved. An inner wall, only partly preserved, divided the hall into a northern and southern section (Fig. 3.93). The excavator suggested the entrance to this temple was at the southern part of the eastern wall. No sacred area or other religious characteristics were noted. The sole reason this building phase was interpreted as representing another temple was based on the assumption of continuity of use of the sacred area (Stern 1984a: 8-9, 28, Fig. 22).

At **Tell Kazel** several building phases of a temple, dated between the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age II, were unearthed in area IV of the excavation. The earliest temple (**Level 6**), dated to the Late Bronze Age was poorly preserved. It seems to have consisted of a rectangular structure whose exact borders are unclear, and its plan reconstruction relies mainly on the subsequent strata (Badre and Gubel 1999-2000: 136-169, Fig. 8). Two interpretations were suggested for the earliest phases of this temple. The first is that of an 'oblong' temple, which consists of a rectangular structure, built in E-W orientation, with an entrance at the west. The inner length of the temple was suggested to be 7.4 m, the width could not be determined. In the center of the main hall stood two circular basalt bases, which most likely supported wooden columns. Two raised platforms built of mudbricks were erected against the eastern wall. Mudbrick benches were erected along

the northern and southern walls (Badre 2006: 67; 2009: 258-260). The second interpretation was of a 'barlong' temple, which also consisted of a rectangular structure, ca. 16x8 m. in size, built in E-W orientation. A vestibule entrance at the east was suggested here, which was presided by four basalt bases, which most likely supported roof poles. The vestibule is limited on the northern and southern sides by square rooms, the latter of which is paved with shells. Three, or at least two, mudbrick raised platforms stood against the western wall. Remains of burnt residue and animal bones were found near them. A mudbrick bench stood along the northern wall (Badre 2009: 260) (Fig. 3.94). As demonstrated by this description of the two very different interpretations, it is difficult to understand much of this early temple.

Similar Bronze Age temples were also found on Cyprus, as noted by Mazar (1980: 67-68). These temples often share most characteristics with the temples of the mainland; however, few variations can be noted.

At **Kition** several temples were unearthed in Area II, which served as a consecrated area consisting of temples and metal workshops. These temples were first built during the Late Bronze Age, and were rebuilt and renovated until the Hellenistic period.

Temple 2 was first built during the Late Bronze Age (**Floor IV**). It was the larger of the two temples constructed at that time (see temple 3 below). It consisted of a large rectangular structure, 14.5x9 m. in size, built in E-W orientation. The walls seem to have been constructed of mudbricks over rubble foundations. At the western end of the structure, an inner wall was built with an entrance at its northern side, creating a small backroom. The entrance to the main hall was situated in the northern side of the eastern wall, opposite of the entrance to the backroom. In the main hall, a hearth-altar stood next to the inner western wall. Six column bases in two parallel lines were found on the temple's grey-clayish floor. The excavator maintains the structure was only partly roofed, i.e. porticos were erected along the northern and southern walls creating an open-air corridor in the center. In the area surrounding the temple some 60 pits dug into the bedrock were unearthed, some of which were connected by channels. The excavator suggested this area might have been used as a sacred garden (Karageorghis 1976: 55-57, Fig. 9; 1981: 82; Karageorghis and Demas 1985: 26-29, 37-38; Karageorghis *et al.* 1978: 107) (Figs. 3.99-100).

The temple was rebuilt during the last stages of the Late Bronze Age or the very beginning of the Iron Age I (**Floors IIIA-III**) during which it became part of an elaborate complex that included a

walled courtyard. It was built on top of the previous temple and retained the general plan of its earlier phase with some alterations. The outer measurements remained the same. The walls were built of limestone ashlar blocks on top of rubble foundations. A small bench was built along the inner southern wall. A small inner partition wall was built at the western part of the structure, which was not connected to the northern or southern walls, creating two entrances to the back area. The inner wall's eastern-outer face was built of ashlar blocks while its western-inner face was constructed of rubble. The hearth-altar was rebuilt and south of it a low platform was added. In the north-eastern corner of the main hall, two walls were built to create a small inner enclosure. West of the enclosure, three column bases, which most likely supported wooden columns, were found. Here as well the excavator suggested the main hall was only partly roofed, creating a portico along the northern wall. The entrance to the main hall was moved to the south end of the eastern wall. To the north of the temple a walled courtyard with several entrances was added (**Temenos B**). In the court stood a horned-altar of the Aegean type (Karageorghis 1976: 67-72, Fig. 11, Pl. 51; 1981: 83; Karageorghis and Demas 1985: 49-55) (Figs. 3.101-103).

Temple 3 was also built during the Late Bronze Age (**Floor IV**), but was later replaced by the much larger structure (Temple 1). It was situated north of temple 2 (see above), and consisted of a rectangular structure, 6.75x4.15 m. in size, built in E-W orientation. Of the structure's walls, only the rubble foundations were preserved, however the excavator maintained the walls were probably built of mudbricks. A bench was constructed along the southern and western walls at a later phase. The floor of the temple was built of white clay. At the western part of the structure, an inner wall was built, creating a back room with an entrance at its north-eastern corner. At the eastern end of the main hall stood a somewhat circular altar that may have incorporated a hearth. The excavator suggested the structure was roofed with no column support. As mentioned above, many pits, some connected by channels were found in the area around and between the temples, which according to the excavator, served as a sacred garden (Karageorghis 1976: 56-57, Fig. 9; 1981: 82; Karageorghis and Demas 1985: 25-26, 36-37) (Figs. 3.99, 3.115).

Temple 4 was first built during the last stages of the Late Bronze Age (**Floor III**). It was constructed against the city's wall opposite temple 2 and its court. The structure was rectangular, 17.3x8.2 m. in size, and built in E-W orientation. The temple consisted of a main hall and three small rooms built at its eastern end. Rooms B and C were built on a heightened platform and seem to represented the temple's sacred area. The third room at the south-eastern corner included an

entrance from the outside, directly opposite of the entrance to the main hall located in the southern part of the western wall. The walls of the temple were built of ashlar blocks over rubble foundations. Stone benches were built along the walls of the main hall. The temple's floor was of green clay and on it five rectangular stone bases were found, three along the structure's axis and two more in front of the sacred area. Here too, the excavator suggested there was no roof but rather a portico along the north side of the temple. The two bases located in the eastern part of the main hall had sockets in them that seem to have held pillars in place. According to the excavator, the one to the north would have held a wooden pillar, while the southern one would have held a stone pillar. Directly beside the outer north-eastern corner of the temple stood a well-built of stone blocks, which seems to have been connected with the temple's activity (Karageorghis 1976: 76-81, Fig. 13) (Fig. 3.103).

Temple 5 was first built at **Kition** during the last phase of the Late Bronze Age (**Floor IIIA**). It consisted of a rectangular structure, 22x11 m. in size, built in E-W orientation, parallel to temple 4. The two temples are separated by a street which runs between them. The structure's walls measure 1.05 m. in width and were built of irregular blocks of white limestone placed neatly along the inner and outer face of the wall with smaller stones packed in between. The wall's superstructure was probably built of mudbricks. At the north-western corner of the main hall, a room was built with an entrance at the east. The entrance to the main hall was at the eastern end of the northern wall. The original floor was built of a thick layer of soft white limestone. On the floor, ten column bases were found in two parallel lines, each exactly three meters apart. These bases must have supported wooden columns, however here too the excavator maintained the structure was only partly roofed; over the western end and along the northern and southern walls, creating a central open-air corridor. Two of the bases were stone anchors in secondary use. In the western part of the main hall, a rectangular raised platform built of stone blocks and mudbricks lay against the wall of the back room (Karageorghis *et al.* 1975: 401; Karageorghis *et al.* 1978: 105-107) (Fig. 3.116).

The temple fell into ruin a short time after its construction and rebuilt immediately after with almost no changes (**Floor III**). A bench was added along the inner northern wall built of stone, mudbricks, and small stone anchors in secondary use. A line of three small circular pits were found along the northern and southern faces of the raised platform which may have held wooden poles. In the back room, a large number of glass beads, copper slag, and small pieces of gold leaf were

found (Karageorghis *et al.* 1975: 401-402) (Fig. 3.103).

Another Late Bronze Age temple was unearthed on Cyprus at **Palaepaphos**, known as '**Sanctuary I**' of the Aphrodite temple. This temple is often cited as similar to the Kition temples. The sanctuary continued in use to the Roman period, and the Bronze Age remains were only partly preserved. The sanctuary consisted of a rectangular structure enclosed by a temenos wall built of monumental ashlar stones and orthostats, measuring up to 2m. in height and 5m. in length, set on an ashlar blocks foundation. The entire western temenos wall was preserved and measures to a length of 28 m. An entrance was found in the wall with steps leading down to the sacred precinct. Some 8m. east of the entrance, a large limestone slab with a low-cut rim was placed into the floor and seems to have served as a basin. Two pits cut into the bedrock were found dated to the Late Bronze Age. In one of which a large decorated storage jar was set, and in the other, a clay bathtub was found. The rectangular structure consisted of a roofed hall, ca. 24x11.5 m. in size, built in N-S orientation. Only parts of its northern and southern walls were preserved, as well as two rows of square bases that supported square monolithic columns, one of which was found *in situ*. The walls were built of fine ashlar blocks with drafted edges. The excavators suggested a reconstruction in which the eastern side of the temple remained unwalled and open to the courtyard (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 91-99, Fig. 82). Burdajewicz (1990: 30-35) suggested that the temple's main hall was divided by three rows of columns into isles, similar to the late Iron Age temples at Kition (see below), and that the main entrance was set at the eastern end of the temple façade, giving it an indirect entrance. No remains of the temple's sacred area remained, although a conical betil was found in the Roman period sanctuary that the excavators maintain was originally set in the Late Bronze Age temple (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 91-99) (Fig. 3.117).

Iron Age I

On top of the Late Bronze Age temple at **Tell Kazel** mentioned above, another temple was built during the Iron Age IA (**Level 5**), ca. 1179/1176-1100 BCE. The temple consisted of a rectangular structure, 16.5x7.5 m. in size, built in E-W orientation in a domestic area. The walls were 1.35 m. wide, built of mudbricks over stone foundations, and coated with white plaster. The foundations were built of large-medium size fieldstones on the exterior of the walls, with rubble fill in between. Large ashlar blocks were situated at the walls' angles. At the eastern side of the structure, a back

room was built. The excavators suggested the entrance to the structure was found on the western wall, due to pavement found adjacent to the outer western wall, however no clear indication of an entrance could be found. Like the previous temple, this temple had two building phases represented by two floors. The earlier floor was built of beaten earth covered with yellow plaster, the later floor was built of yellow clay covered with patches of orange color. On the floors many votive pottery vessels were found alongside other finds such as arrowheads and clay figurines (Badre and Gubel 1999-2000: 170-174, Fig. 30; Badre 2006: 77; 2009: 264-266) (Fig. 3.95).

The temple of Level 5 seems to have been destroyed by fire, after which it is possible that another temple (**Level 4**) was built on top of the previous one. However, the remains of this structure, which are represented by three poorly preserved walls built in different widths and techniques, and with no floors related to them, are too scanty to form a coherent plan or to indicate if it served as a temple. Nevertheless, among the finds of Level 4 was a fertility figurine (Badre and Gubel 1999-2000: 185, Fig. 42; Gubel 2009a: 456, Fig. 2).

Unlike the previous structure, the temple of **Level 3** was well preserved. It is the largest of the temples built in area IV at the site. The inner dimensions of the structure measure 13x7 m. The temple consists of a rectangular structure, built in E-W orientation. Its walls were built of stone and mudbricks on top of stone foundations. The floor was built of plaster. Several concentrations of burnt material may suggest wooden columns. Outside the temple remains of a hard-beaten yellow plaster floor were noted. The temple was in use until the early stages of the IAII, ca. 1100-925 BCE, when it was destroyed by fire and abandoned (Badre and Gubel 1999-2000: 192-194, Fig. 45; Gubel 2009a:456, Fig. 2; 2009b: 51) (Fig. 3.96).

At **Tell el-Ghassil**, located in the Lebanese Beqa', some 18 km south of Baalbek, four building phases of a large rectangular structure dated to the Iron Age and built in N-S orientation, were unearthed. The largest of these structures is also the earliest of them, dated to the Iron Age I. The temple consisted of a rectangular structure, ca. 18x10 m. in size. On top of it, a smaller structure was unearthed, ca. 13x10 m. in size. The latter two construction phases were somewhat smaller still, ca. 15x8 m. in size. The structures, interpreted by the excavators as temples, were in use over a period of some six centuries during which they were rebuilt and renovated. Outside the earliest temple was a stone paved floor on which remains of ash and pottery sherds were noted. The full extent of this floor could not be determined as it was robbed in antiquity (Baramki 1961a; 1964; 1966) (Figs. 3.118-119).

At **Tell Abu-Hawam**, an Iron Age IB-IIA temple was unearthed (**Building 30**, **Stratum IV**). The temple was built on top of an earlier Late Bronze Age temple of a slightly different design. The temple, located on the eastern side of the mound, consisted of a rectangular room, 12x6.5 m. in size, built in E-W orientation. Its walls were built of fieldstones with larger roughly cut stones placed at the angles. In its western end, the remains of an inner chamber were noted. Near it stood a limestone pillar set on a rectangular shaft (Hamilton 1935: 8-11, Pl. 4, 9.2; Balensi *et al.* 1993: 10-11) (Figs. 3.120-121).

At **Beth Shean** a large rectangular building (**1096**) was unearthed north of the temple in **Stratum VI**, dated to the Iron Age I. The structure comprised of a large hall, built in E-W orientation, which was badly damaged by a Byzantine period refuse pit. At its north-western end two smaller rooms were noted (James 1966: 20-21, Fig. 77). During the new excavations a massive room (**78733 / SL**) was unearthed east of the structure, which may have been a part of the previously exposed structure (Mazar 1993a: 208). The walls were 1.2 m. thick and built of mudbricks. The floor of this room was of hard packed white lime. In it many pottery vessels were found as well as other valuable items such as a scarab, glass and carnelian beads, gold foil shaped as a ram's head and other pieces of thin gold foil (Mazar 1993a: 207; Panitz-Cohen and Mazar 2009: 150-152). It was suggested by James (1966: 21) that this structure, situated in the center summit of the mound was also a temple. If the reconstruction suggested by Mazar is correct, then this structure might have been a temple of a similar plan to the Phoenician type (Fig. 3.122).

At **Tell Qasile**, a sequence of temples was unearthed in Area C, dated between the Iron Age I-II. In **Stratum XI**, west of a large rectangular temple (**Building 200**), a smaller temple (**Shrine 300**) was erected. This rectangular structure, 3.5x5.6 m. in size, was built in E-W orientation. Its walls were built of mudbricks with no stone foundations. Benches coated with plaster were built along the inner walls, and at the south-western corner stood a two-stepped platform. Three brick projections were erected on the floor of the temple and near them five small stones, 0.3-0.5m in size, were found. Two of these stones were cone-shaped and interpreted as stelae. The entrance to the temple was at the eastern side of the northern wall. The temple remained in use in the subsequent stratum X (Mazar 1977; 1980: 27-28; 1990: 320-321; 1993b: 1208-1209) (Figs. 3.125-126).

In **Stratum X**, dated to the Iron Age I, a new temple (**Building 131**) was constructed reusing the walls of a previous temple (**Building 200**). The temple was extended eastwards creating an

antechamber and a main hall. The stratum X temple consisted of a rectangular structure, 14.5x8 m. in size, built in E-W orientation. Its walls were built of mudbricks set on top of stone foundations. Benches were constructed along the inner walls of the main hall and antechamber. A partition wall was built on the western side of the temple to create a storeroom, and a raised platform coated with plaster was built against it. The platform was stepped from its northern and southern sides. On the southern step of the platform, was a column base. The imprint of a round pole was noted in the higher step. Another column base was set in the middle of the main hall. The entrance to the temple was set in the northern wall of the antechamber. Many pottery vessels and cult objects were found on the platform, the floor, and the storeroom, including a double axe of a type known from the Aegean cultic world. The temple was enclosed by a courtyard that included a rectangular chamber preserved from the previous stratum, and confined by a stone wall creating a *temenos*. A square stone foundation was found at the courtyard, north of the temple's entrance. This was perhaps a sacrificial alter. Another courtyard was set to the west of the temple. It was parted from the large temple's courtyard by a wall and a different entrance. This courtyard led to the small temple mentioned above (Shrine 300) (Mazar 1977; 1980: 33-45; 1993b: 1809-1211) (Figs. 3.127-131).

At Kition, the aforementioned **Temple 2** was rebuilt and refurbished several times again after the last Late Bronze short lived phase during the Iron Age I (**Floors II-I**) with no apparent changes (Karageorghis 1976: 76ff, Fig. 14) (Fig. 3.104).

Temple 4 continued in use during the Iron Age I with no apparent changes (**Floor II**). The floor of this phase lay directly above the earlier floor (Karageorghis 1976: 88-89, Fig. 14) (Figs. 3.104-105).

The temple was rebuilt and refurbished twice more during the Iron Age I (**Floors I and Ia**) with only slight changes. The original walls were retained; however, no benches were constructed along their inner face. Furthermore, no stone bases were noted on the floors. In the center of the main hall, a stone and mudbrick altar and hearth were constructed (*ibid*.: 92-94, Fig. 15). The temple's altar was carved with graffiti representing ships (Karageorghis 1981: 84) (Fig. 3.106).

Temple 5 was also rebuilt during the Iron Age I (**Floor II**) with some alterations. A second entrance to the main hall was added at the western end of the southern wall. It was situated opposite of the southern face of the raised platform. To the southern face of the platform three large stone

were added, and a large stone anchor lay against them. The bench along the northern wall became narrower, and in front of it the remains of horned animals were found alongside other unique artifacts (Karageorghis *et al.* 1975: 402-403) (Fig. 3.104).

The temple was then rebuilt once more during the last stages of the Iron Age I (**Floor I**), retaining the walls of its earlier phases. The floor was badly preserved due to pits dug into it during later periods, which seems to also be the reason why no benches or pillar bases were found. A new raised platform was built at the same location of the previous one. The stone anchor of the previous platform was still visible at this phase. Another stone anchor was set upright near the northern wall of the main hall. Around it, remains of oxen and other horned animals were found. A large favissa pit was found near the temple containing copious quantities of ritual vessels including the fragments of a life-sized mask of a bearded man, an ivory plaque, and fragments of female figurines (Karageorghis *et al.* 1975: 403).

Iron Age II

At **Tell Sukas**, a sequence of temples, dated between the Iron Age II-III, were unearthed in the north-eastern part of the mound. The first phase temple (**Stratum G3**) was founded as early as the ninth century BCE. It consisted of a rectangular structure, ca. 7.30x4 m. in size, built in E-W orientation. The walls of the structure were not preserved but for the foundations, which were constructed of roughly cut large and medium sized stones, the width of which varied between 0.6-0.9 m. The floor of the structure consisted of cobbled grey earth with traces of ash. This floor rested on fine yellowish clay bedding, which may represent an earlier floor. At the western end of the structure, stood a raised platform built of a large stone block, ca. 1.2x0.95 m. in size, and other smaller stones. The large stone was pierced by two artificial holes, the larger of which was located at the center of the western part of the structure. The excavator suggested it held in place an object of importance. The structure was free standing in an open area which was paved with flat stones and cobbles (Riis 1970: 44-47, Fig. 12a-b, 13). East of the temple, the poorly preserved remains of a massive structure, ca. 7.35x4.4 m. in size were found. This structure was constructed in N-S orientation, and was interpreted by the excavator as an altar (*ibid.*: 48, Fig. 19). South-west of it remains of a walled platform of similar dimensions, built in NE-SW orientation, was also unearthed and interpreted by the excavator as a high-place (*ibid.*: 47, Fig. 19) (Figs. 3.134, 135).

The Iron Age II temple was destroyed in the beginning of the sixth century BCE, perhaps during Nebuchadnezzar's early campaigns, but it was rebuilt again shortly after along similar lines. At the western part of the temple, a large stone slab was placed (Riis 1970: 48-59, Fig. 18).

After the destruction of this temple, it was quickly rebuilt again during the sixth century BCE. The second phase temple (**Stratum G2**) was larger than the first, measuring ca. 9.9x4.95 m. in size. It reused the south and western walls, but extended further to the north and east. The eastern wall was also reused to form an inner partition within the structure. The excavator maintained that yet another wall was built west of that partition wall, thus dividing the structure into three sections (although the photo provided shows no third wall and it seems the partition was based on different floor paving, *cf. ibid*.: Fig. 20). At the western end of the structure, the raised platform was elongated to the north. Ash found in a socket in the platform suggests a wooden object was placed there. A flint blade was also found near the platform. The floor of the western room was paved with stone slabs. The middle room was paved with cobbles and at its northern side, a round vault, ca. 1.3 m. in diameter, built of stone, was sunk into the floor. At the bottom of the vault, the base of a storage jar was placed. The excavator suggested this was a libation alter. The room further east was also paved with cobbles. Rounded stone column bases were found, however not *in-situ* (Riis 1970: 62-69, Fig. 23; Buhl 1983: 110ff) (Figs. 3.135, 3.137).

The third building phase (**Stratum G1**) dated to the second half of the sixth century BCE was poorly preserved and its full plan could not be reconstructed. It seems that at least the eastern part was reused. The excavator suggested the third temple was much smaller than the previous two, measuring ca. 4.2x3.3 m. in size, consisting only of the eastern room of the previous temple (Riis 1970: 90-91, Fig. 33; Buhl 1983: 110ff) (Fig. 3.138).

As stated above, at **Tell Kazel**, Area IV, in which stood the Late Bronze-Iron Age I temple, was abandoned during the early stages of the Iron Age II ca. 925 BCE, and a new temple was built in a different area. In Area I of the excavation, several building phases of a temple complex, ca. 200 m^2, dated to the Iron Age II were unearthed. During the first building phase, dated between ca. 925-850 BCE, the temple complex consisted of several rooms and a walled courtyard. At the north-

eastern corner stood a tower like structure, ca. 5 m. high, that may have been used as a bakery.[38] West of it were several smaller units, perhaps used as living quarters. South of them was a small rectangular room, oriented E-W, that the excavators named 'the slaughter room'. The floor of this room was carefully paved with pebbles and slopes to the west in a sharp angle. The excavators suggested this was done to allow drainage of blood from sacrificial animals. South of it was a large room paved with beach rock slabs, which perhaps served as a walled courtyard. East of the 'slaughter room' and the western courtyard was a large rectangular room named by the excavators the *'cella'*. This room, oriented N-S, was paved with large beach rock slabs. A stone anchor was found in it, which may have been removed from the earlier temple in Area IV, as well as a stone slab in the floor pavement with small depressions hewn into it following an 'L-shape', which may have served for libation. East of the *'cella'*, and south of tower was the largest unit of the complex which may have served as a reception hall. The excavators suggested the main entrance to the temple complex may have been situated in the southern wall, however no evidence to support that were noted (Gubel 2009a: 455-457, Figs. 3a-b; 2009b: 50-51) (Figs. 3.97-98).

The second building phase, dated between ca. 850-738 BCE, is marked by the collapse of the tower-like structure. The excavators suggest this collapse should be attributed to natural causes rather than a violent destruction. The rest of the complex continued in use without much change. New floors were constructed and the wall separating the 'cella' from the reception hall was removed (Gubel 2009a: 459; 2009b: 52).

The third building phase, dated between 738 BCE, i.e. the conquest of Tiglath-Pileser III, and ca. 555 BCE, was badly damaged by later building activities and was not yet reported. The temple was abandoned during the Iron Age III and the area on which it stood became an industrial zone (*ibid.*: 464).

Few temple complexes dated to the Iron Age were found in Phoenicia, and judging by the material presented above and below, this temple is unlike any other discussed here. Nevertheless, both the finds and inscriptions from the complex support the interpretation of a temple used by a Phoenician population. If we attempt to isolate the 'temple', i.e. the 'cella' from the complex, the structure

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[38] Another possible evidence to the ritual of baking sacred cakes in Phoenicia may be seen by a clay model of four figures sitting in a walled courtyard around what appears to be an oven was found in the underwater near Tyre (Culican 1976a: 119-123, Pl. 12-14).

does adhere with the above-mentioned temple type. There are two possible units that could serve as the temple's main hall, in which the actual cult took place. Either the proposed 'cella', which the excavators describe as a rectangular room, built in N-S orientation, with a floor paved with stone slabs, or the smaller 'slaughter room', which is described as a rectangular room, built in E-W orientation, and paved with pebbles. The entrance to both rooms could have been lateral, as they are both flanked by open courts and auxiliary rooms. It is possible that both rooms served a cultic, rather than practical, function. Tell Kazel, Sumur, is situated on the northern border of the Akkar plain, an area that served as a corridor for inland Syria and was under heavy influence of north Syrian kingdoms. During the Late Bronze Age, and perhaps also early stages of the Iron Age, it most probably served as the capital of the kingdom of Amurru (Peckham 2001: 26; Stieglitz 1991), and prior to its incorporation into an Assyrian province as its capital during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BCE), the city was under the hegemony of Hamath (Peckham 2001: 26; Bretschneider and Van Lerberghe 2008: 43; Na'aman 2009: 105). Therefore, it is more than probable that when the site was resettled during the Iron Age II, new population elements were introduced who brought with them foreign religious traditions, and that these mixed cultural elements could account for the unorthodox plan of this temple complex.

An Iron Age II temple was found in the western extremity of **Tell 'Arqa**, near the city walls. The temple consisted of a rectangular structure, ca. 9x5 m. in size, built in NE-SW orientation. An enclosed courtyard was situated to the south-east. The structure was divided into two almost equally sized rooms. In the south-western room, a stone altar, fitted with two sockets, was erected against the south-western wall. The courtyard was partly paved with stone slabs, and flanked by two rooms, each with a clay coated basin. The courtyard was also fitted with stone and mudbrick benches, on one of which a figurine of a seated goddess was found. A circular stone reused for the pavement was engraved with the 'sign of Tanit'. Several other figurines were found in the area of the temple, all of females, some of which are figurines of pregnant females (Badre et al. 2007: 58) (Fig. 3.142).

At **Sarepta**, a sequence of temples, dated between the eighth and fourth centuries BCE was unearthed near an industrial area overlooking the harbor. The earliest phase temple, dated between the eighth and sixth centuries BCE (**Shrine 1**), was only partly preserved, however it seems it consisted of a main-hall and adjoining rooms to the north. The main-hall, consisted of a rectangular structure, measuring ca. 2.5x6.5m, built in E-W orientation. A stone-built bench was erected along

the inner walls and the entrance, ca. 1m wide, was situated in the eastern end of the southern wall, creating a bent entry. A stone-built raised platform was erected against the center of the western wall. Stone blocks with elaborate depressions and channels were embedded into the platform (Fig. 3.145) and the floor near it. The floor, which was blackened by ash, consisted of a grey cement ca. 0.10m thick. East of the platform was a square deep socket in the floor which seems to have held an object of considerable size, most likely a betil, pillar, or sacred tree. Over two-hundred cultic objects were found in this temple, most important of which was a dedicatory inscription to Tanit-Astarte on an ivory plaque (Pritchard 1975: 14-18, 37-40; 1982; 1983: 524-525; 1988: 54). To the north of the main-hall, another unit was found with votive objects on its floor (). The excavator suggested this room may have served as living quarters (Pritchard 1978: 134), however it is also possible it served as a separate storeroom. At a later phase within the Iron Age II, the original entrance was blocked and moved to the north end of the eastern wall due to changes in the adjacent street level, and the stone benches were rearranged accordingly (Pritchard 1975: 14-18).

At **Pella**, located in north-western Jordan, an Iron Age II temple was unearthed. The temple was built over remains of a 'Migdal' temple dated to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, and shows little continuation with the previous temples. The temple consisted of a rectangular structure, built in N-S orientation, divided into a main hall and a back room. Benches were built along the main hall's eastern and western walls. The main entrance was located at the south-eastern corner of the eastern wall. Against the eastern wall stood a stepped raised platform built of mudbricks. East of the temple was a square courtyard with a large altar in its center (Figs. 3.123-124). The construction of a temple of this type, which differs from the past long local tradition, might suggest a dramatic change in cult practice at Pella. The excavator suggested the temple plan and the cultic vessels found in and around it, indicate connections with the coast. However, the excavator seems to prefer a Philistine influence rather than a Canaanite-Phoenician influence (Bourke 2004: 4-11; 2012: 184-191).

On the south-eastern hillock of **Tel Michal**, a 'bent entry' structure (**117**), 5.5x3 m. in size, built in E-W orientation, with an entrance close to the south-western corner was unearthed in strata XIV/XIII, dated to the tenth century BCE. The walls were built of fieldstones and the floor of beaten earth. No finds that can suggest the function of this structure were found, however the excavator suggested it might have been connected to the cultic structures nearby (Moshkovitz 1989: 71-72, Figs. 6.6-7). These cultic structures, most likely *bamot*, all date to the Iron Age IIA

(Avigad 1960: 98-99; Moshkovitz 1989: 69-72; Herzog 1993: 1038) (Fig. 3.146).

At **Tell Qasile**, the temple was rebuilt after a short period of occupational gap over the remains of the previous Iron Age I temple. The temple of **Stratum IX** (**Temple 118**), dated to the first half of the tenth century BCE (Mazar 1980: 50-53), or more probably to the second half of the tenth to the first half of the ninth century BCE (Fantalkin and Tal 2009: 237-239), was heavily damaged by later construction activities, however enough remained so as to form a general plan. The walls of the structure were built of mudbricks set on top of the remains of the walls of the previous temple which were reused as foundations. The entrance was rebuilt in its previous location, at the far eastern end of the northern wall. The floor was built of a lime and earth mixture. Outside the temple, a large paved open courtyard was built surrounding the structure (Mazar 1980: 50-53; Fantalkin and Tal 2009: 237-239) (Fig. 3.132).

The temple was rebuilt, or rather repaired, a final time in **Stratum VIII**, dated to the late tenth or ninth century BCE. The remains of this level were even more heavily damaged by erosion and later construction activity. The walls were built of large stone blocks along the same lines of the previous temples with an enlargement to the north. No floor was found connected to these new walls and it is possible that the floor from the previous building phase was still in use. Outside the structure, a layer of sandstone gravel was found which may have served as pavement for a courtyard. Although no artifacts that indicate the use of the structures of the last two building phases were found, the excavator suggested it is likely the structures continued to serve as temples (Mazar 1980: 52-53, 55-56; Fantalkin and Tal 2009: 237-239) (Fig. 3.133).

At **Kition**, **Temple 4** was rebuilt again during the Iron Age II after an abandonment period of the site that lasted some 150 years, and remained in continuous use throughout the Persian period until it fell into ruins during the Hellenistic period. The first phases of reconstruction are dated to the mid-ninth century BCE (**Floors 3-3A**). The temple was built on top of the earlier structure, using its walls as foundations, and thus retaining its rectangular plan. The sacred area remained in the eastern part of the temple, however now a single wall was built parallel to the temple's outer eastern wall, creating a back room with an entrance at the southern end of the inner wall. The entrance to the main hall was located at the southern part of the western wall, opposite of the entrance to the back room. Two stone bases were found in N-S axis in front of the back room. In the main hall a rectangular hearth-altar was built on top of the previous one (**Floor 3A**). In the second phase of this temple (**Floor 3**), the hearth-altar was rebuilt and was surrounded by inner

walls inside the main hall. Along the northern side of the main hall three stone bases were found and the excavator suggested that only this side of the structure was roofed (Karageorghis 1976: 117-137) (Fig. 3.109).

The temple was rebuilt at the very end of the ninth century or early eighth century BCE (**Floors 2A-2**). The structure's walls, both outer and inner, were constructed along the lines of the previous temple with no apparent changes. In the main hall, two new hearth-altars were built in the center of the hall and close to the back room. The altars were built of mudbricks and clay. A raised platform measuring 1x1 m. size, built of marble slabs and fieldstones, was found at the south-eastern corner of the main hall (Karageorghis 1976: 137-139) (Fig. 3.110).

Temple 5 was also rebuilt at the same location during the ninth century BCE after a long period of abandonment. This temple was rebuilt and refurbished three more times until the mid-fifth century BCE. The structure of these periods was only partly preserved. The temple had new walls built of rubble, which seem to have been constructed along the lines of the original temple plan, however only the northern and western walls were preserved. The rectangular backroom was located in the western part of the main hall, and in front of it stood a hearth-altar (Karageorghis *et al.* 1975: 403).

The most impressive of the Iron Age II temples in **Kition**, was the '**Temple of Astarte**', dated to the ninth century BCE. The temple was built over the remains of the previous **Temple 1**, using its walls as foundations. The rectangular structure, measuring ca. 22x35m, consisted of a large hall, built in an E-W orientation. The walls were built of monumental ashlar blocks, some of which measuring 3.5x1.5 m., especially along the outer southern wall. At the western end of the main hall was a long narrow room, 22x2 m. in size, elevated ca. 1 m. higher than the floor of the main hall, which according to the excavator served as the sacred area. This room had three separate entrances and could be approached by stairs leading up from each entrance. Two rectangular pillars, 2.2x1.5 m., were erected outside the sacred area of ashlar blocks with inner rubble fill. These pillars may have been free standing. Near them stood an offering table consisting of a rectangular stone slab, measuring 2.16x0.86 m. with three holes through it. Two parallel rows of seven columns were set on the northern and southern sides of the main hall, which supported the roof. These pillars, most likely made wood, were supported by large stone bases with rectangular sockets, measuring 0.6x0.4 m. Here too the excavator suggested only the sides of the main hall were roofed, creating two porticos. The excavator suggested the temple had two entrances, a main

lateral entrance at the eastern end of the southern wall with a small exterior vestibule, and another entrance, at the north-eastern corner, which was equipped with a ramp paved with pebbles. Since the southern façade of the temple was especially monumentally built, it is safe to assume that the lateral entrance in the southern wall was the main one. Outside the temple stood a rectangular alter, ca. 1.3x1.3 m. in size, which was constructed near an older alter. Many favissa pits filled with bones, offering vessels and figurines were also noted. The temple was destroyed by fire in ca. 800 BCE and then quickly rebuilt (Karageorghis 1976: 96-101) (Fig. 3.111).

The temple retained its walls and general plan, and only a few interior changes occurred (**Floor 2A**). The two extreme entrances to the back room were blocked, and only the main one remained. In the main hall two parallel rows of six stone pillars replaced the wooden columns. The entrance to the courtyard, on the east, turned into a massive vestibule 5.4 m. long, 4.2 m. wide, with walls 1.4 m. thick. Outside the temple, new altars were erected. This temple was in use for a long period of time ca. 800-600 BCE (Karageorghis 1976: 108-109) (Fig. 3.112).

Iron Age III

At **Tell Sukas** after an occupational gap of ca. one century, another temple was built roughly at the same location of the previous temples during the fourth century BCE (**Strata F-E**). The structure consisted of a rectangular building, ca. 8.5x4.8 m. in size, built in roughly E-W orientation. Its walls were massive, however only the foundations were preserved measuring ca. 0.75 m. wide, and built of roughly cut fieldstones. The structure was paved with irregular large stone slabs. Four column bases were found along the center axis of the structure. To its western wall a smaller room was adjoined, which may have served as a storeroom. Several other walls adjoin the structure from north and south. It may have been the main part of a larger complex. Very little artifacts were found in and around this structure, and the main reason for its interpretation as a temple is the continuity of the sacred area (Riis 1970: 92-93, Fig. 44; Buhl 1983: 110ff) (Fig. 3.139).

In a different area of the excavation, south of the southern harbor, a late Persian period (**Stratum F**) temple was found. The temple consists of a small rectangular structure, 3.5x2.6 m. in size, built in E-W orientation. The structure's walls were ca. 0.65-0.8 m. wide, built of two rows of roughly cut stones. The temple may have been enclosed by a paved and walled courtyard. Immediately

north of it was an enclosure containing three stone altars (Riis 1979: 33-41, Fig. 220; Buhl 1983: 110ff).

At **Sarepta**, above the remains of the Iron Age II temple, another structure, dated between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE was unearthed (**Shrine 2**). The structure, whose exact borders are unclear, seems to have been larger than the first, and although it was poorly preserved, it appears to have been built along similar lines. Its eastern and southern walls are indicated by robber's trenches that were bordered by the remains of a cement floor. The only evidences for the interpretation of this structure as a temple are three female figurines found on the floor, as well as its location above the remains of the earlier temple (Pritchard 1975: 20-22, 37-40; 1978: 139; 1988: 54-55; Stern 2001: 480-481).

At **Tyre**, a temple complex that was excavated in the mid 1970's was recently re-exposed. Unfortunately, the results of the original excavation were never published and no documentation could be found, therefore its dating is problematic. Nevertheless, based on pottery found near the temple and on construction techniques the temple was dated to the Persian period and it may have been in use until the Roman period. Unfortunately, the various building phases of the temple could not be dated to a specific period. The temple is located in the south-eastern part of the pre-Hellenistic island (Badre 2015: 59-61, 80, Fig. 1). Several phases were noted during the renewed excavations. The earliest phase (**Phase 1**) consisted of two wall sections in a similar orientation to the later structure and perhaps also a stone pavement. The wall fragments may indicate the length-width axis of the Phase 1 structure was opposite to the later phases. The excavation of the pavement produced pottery sherds dated to the Iron Age II and the Persian period (*ibid*: 62-64, Figs. 3, 5-6). The second phase (**Phase 2**) consisted of a rectangular structure, 21m long and 6.5m wide, built on a North-West – South-East axis. The walls of the structure were preserved one to six courses high. They were built of fine sandstone blocks set in headers and stretchers. The entrance to the temple was set in the middle of the north-western wall, creating a 'long-room' structure. The façade of this wall is decorated with an Egyptian style '*cavitos*'. The entrance itself is 2m wide. It is accessed via an elevated platform built of sandstone blocks. Parallel temenos walls surround the structure and water related installations such as basins and canals were found near it (*ibid*: 68-74, Figs. 10-12). In the north-western part of the structure, a large rectangular platform was found. The platform, or podium, was constructed of large finely hewn ashlar sandstone blocks, the largest of which measures *c.* 1.8x0.6x0.8m. It is 2m high and measures 3.9x3.55m. On top of the platform,

a large monolithic limestone slab, measuring 3m², was placed (*ibid*: 64-67, Figs. 7-8). At the south-eastern part of the structure, a rectangular stone foundation preserved only one course high, measuring 4.5x3.2m and built of ashlar blocks set in headers and stretchers, was found. A small square cavity is found at the center of this foundation. The purpose of this cavity is unclear. In fact, it is not clear whether it is intentional or a result of later robbing activities. The excavators suggested the foundation may have supported a large structure such as a tower. The floor between the foundation and the podium was paved with small stones and pebbles. It was suggested this temple was an open-air structure with an earthen ramp connecting the podium and the "tower" on which an image of a deity was placed. This structure was tentatively dated to the Persian period (*ibid*: 67-68, 80, Fig. 9).

During the third building phase of the temple (**Phase 3**), another elevated platform was added at the entrance. It was accessed via a step leading from the west. The platform is bounded from the north-east by a wall. The excavators suggested that at this phase the raised platform in the western part of the structure was covered by a fill leaving only one course above ground. Supporting walls were built against the original walls of the structure that may have begun to collapse. These walls were built of ashlar blocks, of lesser quality than those of the original walls, set in two parallel rows as headers. Against the exterior north-eastern wall of the structure, another raised platform was constructed. The platform, measuring *c.* 2.65m in width, was built of ashlar stone blocks set in headers and stretchers preserved one course high over a foundation. The function of this platform is unclear. Inside the structure, a cremation kiln was built against the south-eastern face of the raised platform. Large quantities of animal bones were found deposited opposite of the kiln which may be related to its cultic function (*ibid*: 74-76, Fig. 15).

During the final phase of the temple (**Phase 4**), the temenos walls were extended to the north and south, creating two courtyards from both sides of the temple (*ibid*: 76).

Around the structure elements related to water activities such as wells and basins were found. In addition, two rectangular altars were found, as well as two stone altars that may have been offered at the site. With the absence of *in-situ* material, it is difficult to attribute these to a certain period or to any of the phases (*ibid*: 77-78, Figs. 16-17).

A Phoenician temple precinct dated to the Iron Age III was unearthed on the peak of Mount **Mispe Yamim**, 734 m. above sea level (Fig. 3.148). Pottery sherds dated to the Iron Age II were found nearby however no architectural remains belonging to this period could be identified. The complex

was probably in use until the second century BCE. The mountain is located in the upper Galilee and from its top both the Sea of Galilee and the Mediterranean are visible. The temple is part of a complex, 90x30 m. in size, comprised of two structures connected by an enclosure wall. The structures were incorporated to the southern part of the enclosure wall. The southern structure's western building served as the temple. The temple consisted of a rectangular building, 13.7x6 m. in size, with the entrance situated in the eastern end of the northern wall. The structure's floor was paved with stone slabs, on top of which three column bases were found. Along the south, north and eastern walls benches were erected, and at the north-western corner stood an altar with four steps on its eastern part. Another altar was found against the southern wall and east of it stood two ashlar blocks, perhaps *massebot* (Fig. 3.149) (Frankel 1991; 1993; Frankel and Ventura 1998: 39-40).

A late Persian or early Hellenistic period temple was unearthed at **Makmish**, located some 400 m. north-east of Tel Michal. The temple is situated on the north-western corner of a low mound located on the coast. It was constructed in the same location of a previous Iron Age II sanctuary of a different layout. The complete plan of the building could not be established; however, the temple consisted of a rectangular structure, divided into two rooms, and oriented in N-S orientation. The estimated size of the building is 15x6.5 m. The southern room was larger and to it, from the north, a smaller chamber was joined during a second building phase. The entrance, 1.1 m. wide, situated in the east, was built of ashlar masonry. The rest of the walls were built of undressed stones, and the upper level walls were most likely built of mudbricks. Traces of plaster were found on the eastern wall. In front of the entrance was a courtyard paved with thin blocks of sandstone (Avigad 1958; 1960: 90-92; 1961; 1993).

During the second phase of this building, several alterations were carried out. The main room was enlarged by 2.5 m. to the north, and the small room was added to the north side. Several installations were also added to the building and its surrounding. North of the entrance a plastered basin, 1.1 m. in diameter, was sunk in the floor. Near the south end of the building another well plastered basin, 1.5 m. in diameter, was built above floor level. A section of a shallow plastered open drain, 5.2 m. long, was also found running from east to west, and perhaps connected to the sunken basin. The northern room probably served as a storage room, as many figurines, limestone incense burners, bronze objects, faience and jewelry pieces were found in and north of it (Avigad 1958; 1960: 90-92; 1961; 1993; Tal 2008: 170).

Remains of a possible Persian period temple were found at **Yavneh-Yam**. The structure consisted of a rectangular room, ca. 3 m. wide, built in N-S orientation. The length of the structure could not be determined as only the southern, eastern and western walls were preserved. The walls, ca. 0.5 m. wide, were built of stone blocks laid in headers and stretchers with rubble intervals. Three floor layers constructed of sandstone slabs were noted, the latest of which was coated with shells. A circular stone was found on the floor, which seems to have served as a column base. In the northern part of the structure, a circular pit filled with dark soil, was cut into the floor. The southern part of the structure, which may have served as a raised platform, was divided by a line of stone slabs and in it, remains of mudbricks were unearthed (Fig. 3.147). No cultic artifacts were found within the structure, however nearby a clay altar and a boat model were found.[39]

As mentioned above, **Temple 4** at **Kition** was rebuilt once more during the mid-fifth century BCE (**Floor 1**), however very little of this building phase was preserved and thus its plan remains unclear (Karageorghis 1976: 139-140) although it is likely it was similar to its earlier phases.

Similarly, **Temple 5** was also rebuilt and refurbished until the mid-fifth century BCE; however, it too was only partly preserved (Karageorghis *et al.* 1975: 403).

Unlike Temples 4 and 5, the third building phase of the '**Temple of Astarte**', dated between ca. 600-450 BCE (**Floor 2**), was the most elaborate, as evident by the wealth of offerings found in its associated favissa pits. This is perhaps the reason two new benches were constructed along the northern and southern inner walls of the main hall. Pedestals were also erected along the outer southern wall. The floor of the main hall was paved with pebbles and small flat stones. A new offering table was erected in the same location of the previous one. The north eastern entrance was blocked and transformed into a metal workshop, and the only entrance to the temple was the lateral one at the eastern end of the southern wall. A square altar built of stone, ca. 1.5x1.5 m. in size, was erected in front of the main entrance. Traces of fire were noted on top of the altar (Karageorghis 1976: 111-114, Fig. 16) (Fig. 3.113).

The fourth and last phase of this temple (**Floor 1**) is dated to the late Iron Age III, between ca. 450-312 BCE, when it may have been destroyed by Ptolemy I. Unfortunately, this architectural phase was very poorly preserved, and the plan is difficult to determine. The floor of the temple

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[39] The author participated in the excavation of the structure. The information is provided through personal communication with Prof. M. Fisher.

was not found, and all that survived were some wall foundations. It appears that the main hall was divided into six compartments, with an altar opposite the southern entrance. These compartments may have been used for storage (Fig. 3.114) (Karageorghis 1976: 115-117, Fig. 17). Although the excavator proposed a reconstruction similar to earlier versions of the temple, these changes could indicate that the previous design was dramatically altered. Historically Cyprus was under a strong Greek influence at that time, during which hegemony over the island frequently switched hands, however the population was clearly pro-Greek (Karageorghis 1976: 115-116).

Additional Temple Types in Phoenicia

As the evidence presented above clearly demonstrates, the aforedescribed 'Phoenician type' temple was the predominant temple in Phoenicia. Nevertheless, other temple types were also found within the borders of Phoenicia dated between the Bronze and Iron Ages. These will be presented chronologically.

At **Byblos**, the fourth phase temple at the Baalat complex known as the **Hypostyle temple** was constructed during the Early Bronze IIIB over the previous 'Building 18' temple. The Hypostyle temple was only partly preserved and consisted of a rectangular structure divided into four rooms and a porch in the southern façade. The two northern room open to a large hall in which column bases were found. These column bases were set at a distance from the walls, which was uncommon in the Byblite architecture of the previous periods, and it is believed they served a hypostyle hall (of which only a small part was preserved). Furthermore, the walls were also constructed in a technique previously unknown at Byblos featuring dressed stones laid horizontally imitating brick bonding. (Dunand 1937-1939: 288-301; Saghieh 1983: 42-43, 120). Saghieh (1983: 120-121), following Dunand (1937-1939: 304), suggested that this short-lived temple, which was constructed after the destruction of the previous temple (see Bâtiment XVIII above) in a new architectural style, featuring previously unknown construction techniques, displays foreign influences, most likely Egyptian (Figs. 3.73, 3.76-77).

As described above, the phase 5 temple of the Baalat complex displayed a structure resembling the 'Phoenician type', however after its destruction by fire, a completely new complex (**Bâtiment II**) was constructed during the Intermediate Bronze Age, ca. 2250 BCE (phases 6-7). The new temple consisted of two longroom structures connected by a mutual western wall (Sanctuaries 21

and 23). The northern structure was divided into two rooms, while the southern structure was divided into three rooms in an arrangement resembling an elongated 'T-Shaped' house. The eastern end of the halls may have been left opened, leading to a portico (Dunand 1937-1939: 296-; Saghieh 1983: 45-47; Sala 2007: 48, Tab. 1) (Fig. 3.75). The architectural style of this temple appears in other cultic structures of the same period at Byblos not discussed here such as the 'Chapelle Orientale' and the 'Megaron temple' (Saghieh 1983: 57).

The partial remains of a possible temple structure were recently unearthed at **Beirut** (**BEY 003**). The structure's remains consist of a mudbrick wall, a plaster floor, and a column base built on the bedrock. The remains were poorly preserved due to later building activities. Immediately on top of these remains, the remains of an Ottoman period structure were unearthed. The plaster floor extends to a length of 16.5 m. It is not clear whether this floor was continuous, or rather divided by inner walls; however, its eastward extension suggests a connection with two rooms. A large rectangular monolithic basin was found set in the floor and in it a few animal bones were found. The elongated size and rectangular shape of the floor, which was limited by a mudbrick wall built in E-W orientation, suggests it belonged to a public structure. The free-standing mudbrick column base seems to have supported a wooden post. Pottery found *in-situ* on the structure's floor suggest it fell out of use during the Middle Bronze Age IIB (Badre 2009: 253-255) (Fig. 3.152). No artifacts of cultic nature were found in or around the structure, however according to Badre (*ibid*.: 254) the presence of a free-standing column in Bronze Age buildings indicates to a temple.

At **Sidon**, a monumental structure interpreted as a temple was partly unearthed during recent excavations in the city. The structure was erected during the Middle Bronze Age and was in use with various modifications until the Persian period. However, to date, the only remains published date from the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. The plan of the Middle Bronze Age structure is not clear as only its western wall was fully exposed to a length of over 45 m. The wall, 1.09 m. in width, was constructed of roughly hewn stone blocks. A series of thin chalky-clay floors were noted in the north-western corner of the structure. The entrance was set at the north-western end of the structure, which may suggest a 'bent-entry'. The entrance was paved with limestone and sandstone blocks, some of which were round and may have served as pillar-bases of a portico (Fig. 3.151). The excavators suggest five rooms were constructed along the wall, in which feasting ceremonies took place (Doumet-Serhal 2004: 65-66; 2009a: 229-240; 2009b: 44-45, Fig. 52; Doumet-Serhal and Shahud 2013; Doumet-Serhal 2017: 27-28). During the Late Bronze Age, the

temple, or perhaps cella, was subterranean and was probably accessed by a door placed high above the floor level, and an internal wooden staircase which emphasized the limited access to the innermost area of worship (Doumet-Serhal and Williams 2011-2012: 297-308, 309-371; Doumet-Serhal 2017: 28), functioning either as, or similar to a 'bent entry'. Recently, another subterranean room was unearthed, in which 20 stones in the shape of horns were found around a channel. Two other stone artifacts were found in the room. The first was a free-standing stone found near the end of the channel. At the top of the stone, a niche was carved which may have held an astragal bone of an ox. The second stone was carved in the shape of an astragal (Doumet-Serhal 2017: 28).

One of the largest pre-classical sanctuaries in Phoenicia is the Eshmun sanctuary in **Bostan es-Shiek**, located near the Awali River, some 3 km north of Sidon. The Eshmun temple was in continuous use from the seventh or sixth century BCE to the Roman period, during which it went through many renovations, therefore its early phases were hardly preserved and are difficult to reconstruct. The sanctuary is unique in the local landscape since it consists of a large built podium, constructed against a natural hill, which served as a base for temples built over it (Markoe 2000: 127; Stucky 2000; 2002: 66-68).

Of the first podium only the western corner survived, which was preserved to a height of 7m. The estimation of the excavators was that the podium was originally 60x37 m. in size; however, this seems to be pure speculation. The podium was constructed in a NW-SE orientation, of large blocks of different size and shape that were only worked on their outer face. They were neatly fitted together and fastened with metal pins. The inner fill consisted of rubble and earth. The earliest building phase of the sanctuary was first dated to the first part of the sixth century BCE, however it is more likely that it was constructed in the second half of the sixth century BCE. The construction is attributed to Eshmunezer II, and his mother Amoashtart, who, according to the inscription on the Eshmunezer sarcophagus (*KAI* 14), built a house for the gods of Sidon, Baal and Astarte (Dunand 1971: 20-23; 1973b: 10-12; Stucky 2005: 19-24) (Fig. 5.6).

The second podium was constructed sometimes after 530 BCE, very close to the time of the first podium's construction. It is possible that the first podium collapsed due to poor construction or a natural disaster. This structure, ca. 60 m. long, 40 m. wide, and 25 m. high, was built in NS-EW orientation of large ashlar blocks, ca. 1.5 m. long, 1 m. wide, and 1 m. high, that were fastened together with metal pins. The structure's corners were built of especially large stones. It was preserved 16 courses high (out of the original 22 courses). Later, a building attachment was added

to the western side of the north wall. This construction was 25 m. long and 5 m. wide. It was preserved 10 courses high, however it might have originally been built to the same height of the podium. A system of water channels was constructed in front of the northern façade to supply water for the sanctuary. The dating of the second podium is to the reign of Bodashtart, and some of the later renovations were perhaps dated to the reign of his son Yatonmilk, whose inscriptions were found in the filling of the podium (Dunand 1971: 20-23; 1973b: 10-12; Stucky 2005: 25-32; Elayi 2006: 16-17).

This sanctuary, although attributed to Phoenician monarchs, may have been a joint Phoenician-Achaemenid initiative. The closest parallels to such podia structures can be found in Iran, at Achaemenid sites such as Persepolis (Stucky 2005: 32). Sidon, or rather Bostan es-Shiek, seems to have been the Achaemenid capitol of the Aber Nahara satrapy, and the seat of the satrap and his officials. Diodorus (16: 41.5) states that royal gardens were built in Sidon,[40] another trademark of Achaemenid rule.[41] It should however be noted that the podium was merely the base for a temple, or temples, constructed on top of it, of which only late fragments were found out of context. The sanctuary was dedicated to the gods of Sidon and the temples built in it may have been of a similar plan as the 'Phoenician type'. However, it is also possible that the sanctuary was designed in a different layout, specifically for the use of the Persian and Phoenician elite, as a symbol of Achaemenid power, much like the site's royal gardens. It should also be noted that the only true examples of Achaemenid style architectural elements were found at Bostan es-Sheik (Contenau 1924: 277-278, Pl. XLIII-XLIV) further stressing the site's importance and status as an Achaemenid administrative, martial, and perhaps also religious, center.

Recently a large structure (**U16**), dated between the late Persian and Hellenistic periods, with features of a public building was found in a residential quarter in **Beirut**, near the harbor (**BEY 010**). The structure consists of a main hall, which may have been an open courtyard, surrounded by at least eleven rooms of various proportions. The structure's façade was set in one of its longer sides, unlike other structures found nearby. Its walls ranged between 0.8-0.45 m. in width and were preserved three courses high, to a height of 1.6 m. The structure had three entrances facing the

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[40] It is possible that the modern Arabic name, which can literally translate to 'Garden of the king', preserves the tradition of a royal garden at the site.

[41] Botanical evidence for the existence of a lavish Persian garden were found in the Achaemenid administrative center of Ramat Rahel, in Judah (Gross et al. 2014).

street, one of which was monumental. The entrance to the main hall was not direct, but rather through a smaller room. In the main hall, 4.7x4.6 m. in size, fragments of a betil, two stone basins, terracotta figurines of a female with outstretched arms, and dog bones were found. Remains of a sewage pipe system were also noted. One of the rooms in the complex was used as a repository or favissa for broken pottery and discarded figurines. The excavators were careful in denoting the structure as a temple since its plan is clearly that of a domestic courtyard house, however the presence of a betil, alongside other cultic artifacts found in it, and its monumental nature, suggest that it was indeed used for cultic activities (Elayi and Sayegh 2000: 153-54, 164-67, 264-69; Elayi 2010: 166) (Fig. 3.150).

If this was indeed a temple, as the excavators suggest, it's new plan and design may be attributed to the strong Hellenistic influence that swept Phoenicia already in the fourth century BCE. The use of a 'courtyard house' plan for public buildings was very common during the Iron Age III in Phoenicia (Tal 2005: 80-81), however it was not common for religious architecture. The use of a local architectural plan, such as a 'courtyard house', together with Hellenistic style decorative elements is a hallmark of the Hellenistic period in the southern Levant. Since the structure was dated to the late Iron Age III, it is safe to assume that it reflects a Hellenized building trend that began during the second half of the fourth century BCE.

Discussion

The first serious attempt to interpret and categorize this temple type was undertaken by A. Mazar (1980: 61-73; 1990: 321-323). Dealing with the Tell Qasile temples, Mazar equated them with the 'irregular type' temples. He also suggested these temples, sometimes found outside the city, belonged to foreign peoples and not the city's local population (Mazar 1980: 66). Stern (1984a: 28-36), dealing with the temple at Tel Mevorakh, accepted Mazar's classification of these temples as of an "irregular plan with indirect access", and suggested naming them either 'bench temples' or simply 'Palestinian temples', since Stern (*ibid*.: 36) maintained this temple type was a local manifestation of a small to medium size temple built on main roads for the use of travelers. Negbi (1988), following Mazar and Stern, suggested this temple type has influenced several Late Bronze 'popular' cult places in the Aegean which may have served Canaanite merchants abroad (*cf.* Gilmour 1993).

Although the Tell Qasile temple 131 does resemble the Lachish Fosse temple I in some respects, the ground plan of the small temple of stratum XI, and the larger strata X-VIII temples, in my opinion do not conform with the 'irregular temple' type, and neither do the rest of the temples described above. Stern was correct in his attempt to reclassify this architectural type as a local Levantine temple; however, in light of the ever-growing body of evidence, his view that this temple plan was used for small roadside temples only must be reconsidered. The evidence presented above clearly demonstrates this architectural plan served as *the* predominant type of temple in coastal sites along the Phoenician littoral from the Middle Bronze Age II to the late Iron Age III and later. Therefore, the bent-axis, bench temple type could be more specifically referred to as a 'Phoenician temple type'.

The only clear difference between the 'Phoenician type' temple, and the late Tell Qasile temples seem to be the partition to a main hall and an antechamber in the stratum X structure. However, this seems to have been not a result of a strategic building plan, but rather a result of the reuse of the pervious temple's walls and its adaptation to the 'Phoenician type' plan. This can also be seen by the fact that the sacred area in the main hall is completely visible from the antechamber, so the antechamber did not serve any true divisional purpose. However, since the entrance was moved to the northern wall from the original eastern wall, there is no clear view to the main hall from the outside. While the two main temples of stratum XII and XI at Tell Qasile show some similar characteristics with the 'Phoenician Type' temple, they are not of this type and represent a different cultural and cultic background. The construction of a 'Phoenician type' small temple in stratum XI (shrine 300) which was still in use in stratum X, and the renovation of the large temple of stratum XI to a 'Phoenician type' temple in strata X-VIII demonstrates the strong influence of the coastal Canaanite cult tradition on the local population during the Iron Age and the adaptation of these tradition by the population of Tell Qasile. As Mazar (1985: 126-127) himself suggested, the inhabitants of Tell Qasile of stratum X were of a mixed Phoenician-Philistine population (*cf.* Fantalkin and Tal 2009: 240).[42] At Tel Michal too, the excavators suggest that the appearance of two types of cultic structures may indicate a Phoenician population (Moskovitz 1989: 72).

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[42] This new type of temple, which imitates the 'Phoenician type' may have spread to other Philistine sites such as Ashdod (Building 5337) (Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 22-25, Pl. 17a); Ekron (Dothan 2003: 205, Fig. 13b-c), and Nahal Patish (Nahshoni 2009).

The same influence can be seen in the Late Bronze and Iron Age I temples at Kition. The Kition temples show a clear mixture of Aegean and coastal Canaanite traditions as demonstrated by a Canaanite-Phoenician plan with Aegean elements such as hearth altars and horned altars. Negbi (1992: 604) suggested that temples 4 and 5 at Kition were built for Canaanite refugees that escaped the Late Bronze Age upheaval of the twelfth century BCE.

This influence can also be seen at Pella, where the Late Bronze Age temple was replaced with an entirely new type, perhaps following that of Beth-Shean, where the temple stood among others. It is also noteworthy to point out temples in the fringes of Phoenicia such as at Tell 'Arqa in the north, Tel Michal in the south, and Tell el-Ghassil in the east, which display the 'Phoenician type' temple with certain variations in orientation and design. Interestingly, the temple at Tell 'Arqa shows more similarity to the Tell Qasile temples X-VIII than to the 'Phoenician type' and may indicate Philistine presence.

The distribution of the earliest examples of these temples in the southern Levant, from Tell Chuera in the North to Jericho in the south, may suggest this temple type was more common during the early age of urbanism, perhaps due to its simple design, however it may also reflect cultural and economic relations between the important centers of the southern Levant. Nevertheless, it appears that from the Middle Bronze Age II this temple type appears most frequently along the Phoenician coast. In fact, since the vast majority of temples found within the borders of Phoenicia dated between the Middle Bronze Age and the late Iron Age III display similar characteristics which include an E-W oriented rectangular structure of a 2:1 length-width ratio with a lateral 'bent' entrance, this temple type may be referred to as 'Coastal-Canaanite' or 'Phoenician', and as such can serve as a Phoenician cultural marker. Temples that resemble the Phoenician temple type but display certain variations are typically found outside the borders of Phoenicia, and seem to reflect Phoenician influence.

Summary

Phoenician architecture, much like other aspects of Phoenician culture, is marked by a stern traditional attitude combined with technological and stylistic evolution. Although the materials used and construction techniques evolved throughout the ages, the basic design of many building types remained consistent for extended periods of time. The most notable example is that of the

Phoenician temples. As the data presented above demonstrates, the design, plan, and features of Phoenician temples are rooted in Bronze Age traditions that remained virtually unchanged for millennia. It is possible that at least some of the unique elements that characterize Phoenician temples endured into the Classical period, as it can be construed from Strabo (Geography 16: 3.4) that Phoenician temples possessed a unique design even during the Roman period. This attitude seems to reflect rigid religious ideology and cultic behavior practiced by the Coastal-Canaanite population of Phoenicia. The same traditional approach is also evident by Phoenician domestic architecture, which also originates from Bronze Age traditions. The same is true for Phoenician fortifications, in which the materials, construction techniques, and design were changed only in the face of the Assyrian threat during the eighth century BCE. However, unlike domestic architecture or fortifications, religious architecture was unique to Phoenicia. As demonstrated above, the temples found within the borders of Phoenicia, all conform to the Phoenician temple type plan and design, while temples outside Phoenicia show some characteristics of the Phoenician temple type with various variations, most notably in orientation and inner division of the temple structure. Therefore, it is arguable that the 'true' Phoenician type temple may serve as a Phoenician cultural marker, while the similar but different temples may only indicate Phoenician influence. Another unique Phoenician architectural aspect was the development and construction of artificial harbors, which were unique in the southern Levantine landscape during the first millennium BCE. The artificial harbors in Phoenicia are the most noteworthy example of Phoenician innovation, environmental adaptation, and technical abilities. The design of simple elements such as silt flushing systems indicates extensive maritime engineering knowledge and skill the likes of which was no doubt the reason Phoenicians were often employed in the ambitious building projects of other nations. Artificial harbor installations of the Iron Age were found only within the borders of Phoenicia from Tabbat el-Hammam in the north and Dor in the south. The fact that other suitable locations for artificial maritime installations were not utilized may suggest that the Phoenicians, like the savvy merchants they were, wished to keep the largest and most elaborate harbors not only within the borders of Phoenicia, but also in the hands of a few cities, thus retaining their status as the main trading centers of the Levantine coast. Since artificial harbors were found solely in Phoenician sites, they too can be considered as Phoenician cultural markers and constitute part of the Phoenician cultural *koiné*.

Maritime Culture

Perhaps the most prominent characteristic of the Phoenician culture was its profound connection to the Mediterranean Sea. As stated above, the Phoenicians were renowned already in antiquity as celebrated mariners with exceptional navigational skills who sailed across the Mediterranean long before the invention of the compass, and even ventured beyond 'the Pillars of Hercules' into the Atlantic coasts of Europe and Africa. Herodotus (4.42) reported of Phoenician sailors that, on behalf of Pharaoh Necho II of the twenty-sixth dynasty, circumnavigated Africa completing their task in three years, and Roman authors (e.g. Pliny, *Hist*. *Nat.* 2: 67) recount the tale of the fifth century BCE Carthaginian navigator Himilco who crossed the English Channel landing on the shores of the English Isle. Just how far the Phoenicians actually reached on the currents of the Atlantic is a question that remains open.[43]

At a very early stage in history, the Phoenicians realized the benefits of the sea. Their homeland, a narrow strip of land bordered from the east by the Lebanon Mountains provided them with limited space to expand. However, in the west, the Mediterranean was wide open, uncharted and unventured, holding a promise of sustenance and even wealth and prosperity (Markoe 2000: 12-13; Bartoloni 2001a: 84-85; 2001b: 93).

Although the first recorded Ancient Near Eastern ships originate in Mesopotamia and Egypt, lands dominated by mighty rivers (Stieglitz 1984: 134), it seems highly likely that the coastal Canaanites ventured out into the sea as early as the Neolithic period. Why else would these people choose to settle in a narrow, rocky, and relatively isolated stretch of land that offers little possibilities of agriculture? The main resource of Phoenicia was the sea, and the foundation of cities on islands and rock promontories that provided natural harbors suitable for docking shows clear connections to the sea and to maritime activities. Furthermore, while Egyptian and Mesopotamian riverboats, as large and lavish as they may have been, were well suited to the calm waters of rivers. They were not however, suited for open sea voyages, especially a treacherous and fickle sea like the

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[43] Although the claim that the Phoenicians landed in America has been dealt with many times and concluded as false (Gordon 1968; Amadasi Guzzu 2001).

Mediterranean. Furthermore, the timber available for boat construction in Egypt and Mesopotamia was limited; while the Lebanon Mountains were richly forested with fir, pine, oak, juniper, and the highly-prized cedar (Diodorus, 19.58.2-5; Mikesell 1969: 1-3; Markoe 2000: 19), all of which suitable for the construction of large, sturdy ships. The combination of ample raw materials and a long tradition of open sea voyages in seaworthy ships is the reason why the Phoenicians dominated the Mediterranean Sea for many centuries and had managed to create a prosperous and powerful thalassocracy, an empire at sea (Niehr 2008: 14).

Navigation

The Phoenicians utilized two main navigation systems: short-haul coastal navigation used to sail from settlement to settlement always in sight of land, and deep-sea navigation used to sail the open seas to far away destinations. Short-haul sailing was mostly a daytime activity, travelling between ports no more than 25-30 nautical miles away from each other, while deep-sea sailing would take routes farther away from the coast. The traditional view is that ancient deep-sea sailing was probably still in sight of land, preferably docking overnight in anchorage points (Bartoloni 2001a: 84-85). However, the recent discovery of two Iron Age wrecks 24 nautical miles west of the southern coast of Israel shows that ancient mariners would also take more direct routes even if it meant travelling beyond sight of land (Ballard *et al.* 2002: 151-168), as was previously suggested (Negbi 1992: 614, Fig. 3; Horden and Purcell 2000: 125-126, Map 9).

Nighttime navigation is attested in the Wenammon report, dated to the eleventh century BCE (Frost 1998-1999: 249). When sailing at night, navigation is dependent on the stars, and especially on the Ursa Minor constellation, known in antiquity as 'the Phoenician star', which was a more accurate way to navigate than with Ursa Major, the preferred method by the ancient Greek (Aratus, *Phaenomena* 37-44).[44] Strabo (16: 2.24) stated that the Phoenician were skilled in the sciences of astronomy and arithmetic, having begun their studies with practical calculations and with night-sailings; for each of these branches of knowledge concerns the merchant and the ship owner.

Upon examination of the layout of the Mediterranean Sea, it appears that there are not many

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[44] The third century BCE poet Callimachus (*Iambics* 1: 52-55), credits Thales, a sixth century BCE philosopher of Phoenician origin, with the discovery of Ursa Minor for navigation.

stretches of open waters where it is necessary to navigate without reference points on the coasts. And given that the average speed of a commercial vessel was 2-3 nautical miles, then it could cover ca. 50 nautical miles per day, and thus almost always within the reach of land (Bartoloni 2001a: 84-85). Bikai (1978: 126) suggested that sailing traditions that relay on coastal reference points still used in modern times by Tyrian sailors, date as early as the beginning of the Iron Age. The winds of the Mediterranean are irregular and often change direction, frequently forcing ships to dock for days while waiting for favorable winds, due to the type of sails used in those times. Nevertheless, the frequently changing winds allowed ships to travel in all directions regardless of the season (Bartoloni 2001a: 85).

Hull Construction Techniques

The dominant Canaanite hull construction method used from the Bronze Age and throughout the first millennium BCE was the 'shell first' technique, in which the entire hull was first constructed with planks of wood, and later the integrity of the hull was reinforced by fastening wooden frames on the interior. This construction method required strong binding of the planks to maintain its integrity, which was achieved with 'mortise and tenon' joints and wooden pegs (Casson 1963; Vinson 1990: 16; Pomey *et al.* 2012) (Fig. 4.1). The Romans referred to the closed mortise and tenon joint as '*coagmenta punicana*' (Cato, *De Agricultura* 21: 18.9), i.e. 'the Punic joint' (Da Silva 2007: 36; Pomey *et al.* 2012: 291-292). Scholars believe the closed mortise and tenon joint was probably developed by Canaanites during the Middle Bronze Age (Da Silva 2007: 36-37; *cf.* Ward 1999: 202). The first examples of such hull planks joinery, with no additional sewing of the planks, were found in the remains of two Late Bronze Age Canaanite shipwrecks excavated off the coast of Turkey, at Cape Gelidonya (Bass 1961: 269-271; 1967) and Uluburun (Pulak 1998: 210). This hull construction technique continued to be used by the Phoenicians during the Iron Age, as evident by the two seventh century shipwrecks found off the coast of Playa de la Isla, Mazarron, Spain (Negueruela *et al.* 1995: 195, Fig. 11-12; Negueruela 2005).[45]

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[45] While the planks were not sewn together, the frames were fastened with ropes to the hull (Negueruela *et al.* 1995: 195). Furthermore, it should be noted that Pomey (2012) suggested these ships were not Phoenician but rather built in Iberian shipbuilding traditions with Punic influences.

The mortise and tenon technique first appeared in Egypt during the third or early second millennium BCE, however the Egyptians used open joints in their hull construction which required additional fastening by sewing the planks together with cords (Da Silva 2007: 36). The sewing method was also employed by the ancient Greeks probably from the Archaic period, as attested by Homer (*Iliad* 2: 135; *Odyssey* 5: 234-257), and demonstrated by Greek shipwrecks, until the sixth century BCE, during which they adopted the Phoenicia pegged mortise and tenon joints hull construction technique (Basch 1975: 203; Vinson 1990: 16-17; Casson 1995: 43-68; Da Silva 2007: 37-38; Pomey *et al.* 2012: 292-295).
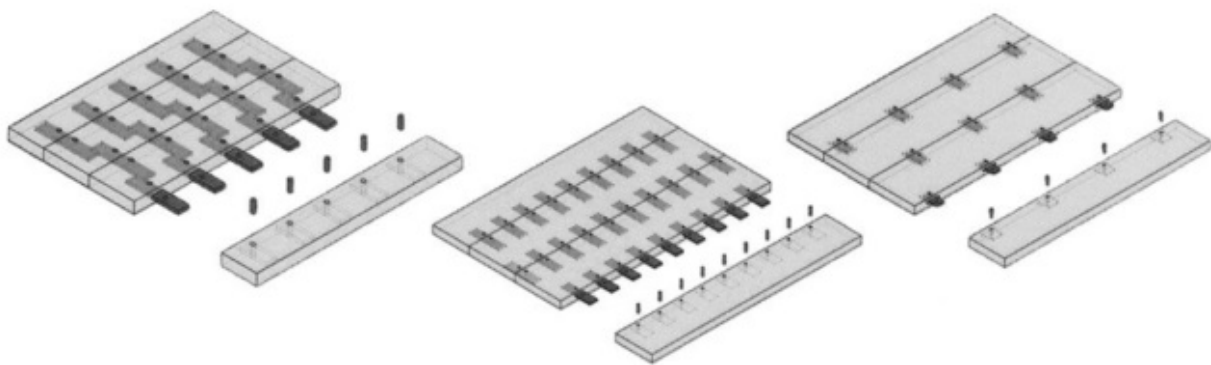
Fig. 4.1

Boats and Ships

Despite their clear strong connections to the sea, ships and other nautical motifs hardly appear in Phoenician art prior to the fourth century BCE, however this is not uncommon for maritime cultures (Westerdahl 1994: 266). Our knowledge of Phoenician ships comes mainly from exterior ancient written sources, and even more so from depictions in various forms of art.

Iron Age (and later) Phoenician sea vessels were developed from earlier Bronze Age prototypes which were not very different in design from their later successors. The most detailed examples of Bronze Age Canaanite merchant ships were found depicted on a wall painting in the 'Tomb of Kenamun' at Thebes (Fig. 4.2), although it was suggested these ships were an 'Egyptianized' version of Canaanite ships. The ships have a rounded hull, perhaps with an exaggerated gunwale or sheer. The stem and stern end in upright undecorated posts. Two rudders are situated at the stern. A screen is running from stem to stern around the deck. The ships have a single mast located

in mid ship. It is equipped with a square sail with a yard, boom, and rigging. No rowing oars or oar ports are noted (Wachsmann 1998: 42-45). These ships are clearly the proto types of the Phoenician gauloi merchantmen (see below).

The Phoenicians used different types and classes of ships for different purposes. Ships were used mainly for the transportation of water, food, raw materials, finished products, livestock, men, and especially troops (Sasson 1966: 132-133). The Phoenicians, being the savvy dealers they were, no doubt kept their boat construction skills, knowledge, and expertise to themselves, which would explain why other ancient peoples employed them in ship construction and navigation (Linder 1986: 278, fn. 54; Katzenstein 1997: 256-257).

Hippoi Ships

The Phoenicians were best known for, and by, their *'Hippoi'* ships, so named by the ancient Greeks for their distinctive decorative prow, or stern, or both, shaped as a horse's head (Strabo 2: 3.4; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 7: 56.207). Some scholars maintain that the hippoi were small boats, either used for fishing, as Strabo states (*ibid.*), or as a class of merchantman with a relatively small, and perhaps narrow, hull used for the transport of specific commodities, as they are portrayed in Assyrian reliefs. Phoenician hippoi boats appear on the famous ninth century BCE bronze bands of the Balawat Gates (Figs. 4.3-4). In a later Assyrian stone relief (Fig. 4.5) from the palace of Sargon II (721-705 BCE) *hippoi* ships again seem like small boats used to haul large trunks of wood behind them (de Graeve 1981: 41-43, 63-64, 66; Casson 1995, Fig. 92; Ballard *et al.* 2002: 166).[46] However as the iconographic and literary evidence suggest, the horse head adornment was also used for other larger ships, and even war galleys (Casson 1995: 66, fn. 115; Brody 1998: 69-70, Fig. 22). Strabo (2: 3.4) claimed that *hippoi* ships were used to circumnavigate Africa.

The earliest representations of hippoi ships in the southern Levant were found engraved in rock along the western side of the Carmel ridge, near the mouth of Nahal HaMe'arot and Nahal Oren (Figs. 4.6-8). Other ship types were also found engraved nearby. The dating of these carvings is

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[46] It was suggested by Linder (1986: 273-281) that the timber transportation scene portrayed in the latter relief, dated to the reign of Sargon II, does not represent a Phoenician sea-going vessel, but rather a Mesopotamian river craft perhaps employing Phoenician sailors.

difficult; however, they seem to be related to the nearby site of Tel Nami, which flourished during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (Artzy 2003: 241-242, Figs. 11-14). A representation of a Hippos ship was found at Karatepe on the famous Azitawadda of Adana stelae, dated to the mid eighth century BCE. The stone relief depicts a Phoenician galley with a horse head decoration situated at the stern (de Graeve 1981: 132) (Fig. 4.9). A graffiti of a mid-sized merchantman incest on an Attic pottery sherd dated to the Persian period which seems to represent a hippos ship was found in Beirut. The sherd is broken right at the prow (Elayi 2010: 163, Fig. 14), however the bow is seen curving up and inwards and then projects outwards, perhaps representing a horse's head (Fig. 4.12). Two seal impressions also dated to the Persian period which depict hippoi ships were found at Persepolis. The impressions are believed to depict Phoenician triremes, which appear to have a horse's head decoration at the stern (de Graeve 1981: 142) (Figs. 4.10-11).

Linder (1986: 275-279, fn. 49) suggested that the origin of the horse head decoration on Phoenician boats was borrowed from Mesopotamian river crafts, which Phoenicians may have been employed to operate in the service of Assyria. Nevertheless, the horse's head decorative element on sea vessels became a distinctive marker of Phoenician vessels.

These horse head figures may have been more than a simple decorative element. Some scholars maintain they were meant to symbolize the ship's speed, as galloping horses on land. However, some maintain that such zoomorphic elements were meant to imbue the vessel with a 'living spirit' that would instil in it the attributes of the animal represented. Similar decorative elements include eyes and horns at the prow (Woolmer 2012). Broody (1998: 70-71) suggested that zoomorphic elements such as the horse head and sea serpent's tail were meant to symbolically represent the ship as its tutelary deity's associated animal, specifically the hippocamp which is depicted on Phoenician coins either swimming under a ship or with a male deity riding it (Figs. 4.13-17).

Boats

Phoenician boats were similar in design and length-width ratio to the larger *gauloi* merchantmen (see below). They had rounded hulls with concave ends with upright and inwards curving stem and stern posts, which may have been decorated, most notably with a horse's head. Boats were used mainly for short haul voyages, and fishing. These small boats were either propelled by a small square sail on a single mast, or by oars (or both). They were steered by a long rudder situated near

the stern (Bartoloni 2001a: 88).

Representations of such boats were found on the bronze bands of the Balawat Gates presumably leaving the shores of Tyre laden with tribute for the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE) (de Graeve 1981: 41-43, 63-64, 66; Casson 1995 Fig. 92; Ballard 2002: 166; *cf*. Gubel 2009b: 51-52). These boats had a rounded hull, with both the prow and the stern curve upwards and end with a horse's head each facing outwards. These boats were propelled by men standing on both extreme sides of the boat. They appear to be standing at gunwale height, which suggest they were standing on decks. Each man holds a curved wooden pole (Fig. 4.3). Similar boats appear on stone relief from the palace of Sargon II (721-705 BCE) hauling timber. These boats also had rounded hulls with upright stem and stern. The stem is adorned with a horse's head, and the stern in the shape of a tail or a sort of fan. They were propelled by four to five men, sitting in a row, holding oars (Fig. 4.4).

Many clay models of boats found in Phoenicia display similar characteristics. Two clay models were found off the coast of Tyre. The first model (Fig. 4.18) is of a small oared vessel. The boat had a slightly rounded hull that becomes convex with vertical stem and stern posts. It had decks at the stern and the bow, and in between five or six benches. No traces of a rudder were noted (Chollot 1973: 83-84; Basch 1987: 305; Raban and Kahanov 2003: 67).

The second model (Fig. 4.19) is more complex and contains more components, yet it was also badly eroded. The model is of a rounded hull boat, with seemingly a lateral beam that supported a rudder. The extremities of the boat are slightly elevated; however, no decorations are noted. The sides of the model did not survive; however, it was proposed that the hull was of a tumblehome design. It seems there were decks at the prow and stern, and near the stern, two benches with seated figures are seen. This may suggest the boat was oared propelled; however, the centre of the model is too badly damaged to distinguish whether a mast also excited. It is also possible that a superstructure adorned to front deck (Chollot 1973: 85; Raban and Kahanov 2003: 67-68).

Two clay models of small boats of similar dimensions, now in the Hecht Museum, were recently found off the coast of Phoenicia. One of the models (H-3134) represents an oared boat with a rounded profile, rising significantly at its extremities. The boat's prow protrudes below in a triangular shape, above, it is a thin fin, widening towards its upper edge, where it culminates in a decorated post similar to the tail of a bird or fish. The sternpost is missing, but it may have also projected upwards similarly to that of the prow. A stern deck exists, but there is no evidence of a

rudder or its fixture. The boat was propelled by oars, manned by six oarsmen sitting in pairs on benches. In the gunwale of the boat, several holes appear that may have been used for the oars. If the proportions of the model are realistic, then it seems the boat was suited for open sea voyages, as its draft would have been ca. 0.7 m. (Raban and Kahanov 2003: 61-62, Figs. 1-2) (Figs. 4.20-21).

The second model (H-3296) is also of a rounded hull oared boat, manned by ten roars, evident by five benches. This model seems to be poorly made since the boat is asymmetrical. It is difficult to assert which side was the prow, and which was the stern. Nevertheless, the two boats share many similarities: both had round-bottomed hulls with stem and sternpost. In both the hull changes from convex amidships to concave at the bow and stern, and both models were propelled by pairs of oarsmen. However, there are also some differences that seem to stem from ware and erosion (Raban and Kahanov 2003: 63-66) (Figs. 4.22-23).

The best-preserved examples were found in tombs of the Achziv cemeteries. In the elaborate family tomb (No. 1) a complete boat model and three fragments of boat models were found. The complete boat (Figs. 4.24-25) has a rounded hull that convex on both ends. It is difficult to conclude which end was the prow and which was the stern, as they seem to have been symmetrical. At one end is an upright post that curves slightly inwards. The other end probably had a similar post; however, it was not preserved. The inner hull shows no signs of benches, rigging, mast, or oars. The end-posts may have originally had figurehead decorations; however, there are no indications to that. The model was dated to the eighth century BCE (Kahanov 2004, Fig. 33). The three other fragments found show similar characteristics (*ibid.*).

Similar boat models were found in other tombs at Achziv (Figs. 4.26-27). The models are of boats with rounded hulls concaved at the ends with both stem and stern upright and incurving posts (Mazar 2001, Fig. 18.2; Dayagi-Mendels 2002: 155-156, Figs. 7.18-19).

Less informative fragments of clay boat models were also found in other Phoenician sites such as Tell Keisan (Briend and Humbert 1980: 348, Pl. 106: 60-61) (Figs. 4.28-29) and Dor (Stern 1994: 10, Fig. 10) (Fig. 4.30).

Similar boat models were also found on Cyprus, the majority of which, in Iron Age tombs at Amathus, which were probably associated with the Iron Age Phoenician settlement.[47] Several clay

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[47] Models of unknown or uncertain provenance will not be discussed here.

models of boats and ships were found in tomb 83 at Amathus, dated to the late Iron Age II, probably seventh or sixth century BCE. One model displays an elongated, rounded hull with raised stems. It appears the stern post curves inwards while the stem post simply protrudes upwards. The hull is decorated on the exterior and interior with black, red and yellow painted horizontal bands (Westerberg 1983: 32; Karageorghis 1996: 75, Pl. 42: 7) (Fig. 4.31). The second model displays a rounder hull and an upright stem and stern posts. The hull is decorated on the exterior with black and red horizontal bands (Westerberg 1983: 33; Karageorghis 1996: 75, Pl. 42: 8) (Fig. 4.32). The third model displays an elongated hull with a rounded bottom, and two protruding stem posts. At the aft, remains of a deck appear and above which the stern post slightly curves inwards. The stem post slightly curves inwards and then projects outwards (Westerberg 1983: 32-33; Karageorghis 1996: 75, Pl. 43: 1) (Fig. 4.33). It may have culminated with a decorated animal head that was not preserved.

A similar clay boat model was found in another tomb at Amathus. The model displays a boat with a long slender hull and a round bottom. The hull's exterior was decorated with horizontal bands of red and black paint. The stern post is raised upwards and curves inwards. The stem post is also raised upwards and slightly curves inwards and then outwards (Karageorghis 1996: 75, Pl. 43: 2). It too may have culminated with a decorated animal head which was not preserved (Fig. 4.34). Another clay boat model found at Amathus and dated to the Iron Age II also displays a rounded hull with concave ends and upright and slightly inwards curving stem and stern posts. The hull's exterior and posts were decorated with horizontal bands of purple and black paint (Karageorghis 1993: 74, Pl. 32: 2) (Fig. 4.35).

Merchantmen

The most common of the Phoenician merchantmen seems to have been a transport vessel called *'gaulos' γαῦλος* (meaning round) by the ancient Greeks due to their rounded hulls (e.g. Herodotus 3: 136.1; 8: 97.1). These were probably the biblical "אֳנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ" *the ships of Tarshish* (e.g. 1 Kings 10: 22; Isaiah 23: 1), suitable for long voyages deep in sea. Unlike the *hippoi*, these ships were quite wide at the beam and about three times as long as they were wide, measuring between 20-30 m. long and 6-7 m. wide. Their draught was ca. 1.5 m., as was the height of the ship above sea level. The two wrecks discovered west of the southern coast of Israel were loaded with around

400 amphorae filled with wine, a cargo of ca. 10 tons. Fully loaded these ships would weigh ca. 25 tons; however, these merchantmen could have carried up to 250 tons of cargo. The stern was rounded and culminated in a decoration such as a fish tail, or a spiral motif. The prow was also curved and ended in a decoration, most notably, a horse's head. Two eyes were depicted on the hull near the prow. The ship may have originally been solely oar-driven, however as the sea commerce developed, so did large commercial ships which must be equipped with a sail. The sail was rectangular and set on the ship's mast, fixed on a yard that changed direction with the wind. This type of sail allowed the ship to advance only with aft winds. The ship would be stirred by a rudder with broad asymmetrical blades, attached to the port side of the ship near the stern (Stieglitz 1984: 139-140; Casson 1995: 65-66, fn. 114; Bartoloni 2001a: 86-87; Ballard *et al.* 2002: 158-166).

Perhaps the earliest representations of such ships were found engraved on rock along the western side of the Carmel ridge. Two engravings were found near the mouth of Nahal HaMe'arot. The first engraving is of a small schematic boat, only 6 cm in length, and so it is difficult to distinguish the stern from the prow. It seems however that the stern ends in an inward facing decoration, which could be interpreted as an animal's head, and the prow is curves upwards and outwards from the end of the bow. This might also represent a schematic animal's head. The ship is outfitted with a mast with a crow's nest, a yard, and a rolled sail (Artzy 2003: 241, Fig. 11) (Fig. 4.5). The second engraving is more elaborate. It depicts a round hull ship, with an inwards curved stern, and an upright prow that ends in an animal's head. The ship is outfitted with a single mast with rigging, a yard, and a furled sail (Artzy 2003: 241, Fig. 13) (Fig. 4.6). Another rock carving was found on the lowest slopes of the Carmel, on the northern bank of Nahal Oren. The engraving is not well preserved, and only the fore part of the boat is clearly seen. The ship seems to have a rounded hull. The prow seems upright or slightly slanted inwards and it ends with an animal's head projected outwards (Artzy 2003: 241-242, Fig. 14) (Fig. 4.7). While Artzy (2003: 243-244) interprets these decorations as birds' heads, they can also represent horses' heads. The dating of these carvings is difficult; however, they seem to be related to the nearby site of Tel Nami, which flourished during the Middle, and Late Bronze Ages; however, they could also be later.

Clay model of ships were also found in tomb 83 at Amathus (see above), dated to the late Iron Age II, perhaps sixth century BCE, which may represent Phoenician merchantmen (Fig. 4.36). The first model is of a deep rounded hull vessel with a series of oar ports in the gunwale on both sides. At

the stern, a superstructure is seen near a lateral beam that fastened a metal rudder. In the middle of the model, there is a socket that may have housed a wooden mast. Inside the ship, a dark line was painted most likely to represent the keel (Westerberg 1983: 29-30; Casson 1995, Figs. 86-87; Karageorghis 1996: 76-77, Pl. 44: 2).

A second, similar model was found in the same tomb. The model displays a rounded hull ship with concave and inwards curving stem and stern posts, one more curved then the other. The stems were decorated with painted horizontal bands and they end in a fishtail-like shape. Longitudinal lines also appear on the exterior and interior of the hull in red and yellow paint. At one end of the ship, a cross beam appears, and in the center of the hull, a mast socket was set (Westerberg 1983: 31-32; Karageorghis 1996: 76, Pl. 44: 1) (Fig. 4.37).

Yet another clay model of a ship was found in a different tomb at Amathus, also dated to the Iron Age II. The model displays an elongated rounded hull, with upright and inwards curving stem and stern posts. On the gunwale near the bow and stern, crossbeams appear. In the middle of the hull, a mast socket appears. Horizontal bands of black and red paint decorate the exterior of the hull and the tips of the stems (Westerberg 1983: 27-28; Karageorghis 1996: 76, Pl. 43: 7) (Fig. 4.38).

Another somewhat similar clay model was found at sea near Amathus, therefore its dating is problematic. Nevertheless, it was tentatively dated to the Iron Age IIA. The model represents a ship with a deep round hull and a series of oar ports in the gunwale on both sides, seven on the port side, and eight on the starboard side. The stern is adjoined to a superstructure that slightly protrudes from the gunwale and rests on a crossbeam. Above it, there is another crossbeam and the two are connected with a post on each side. Another cross beam appears on the gunwale above the stem. The bow ends with an upright stem post that has a small unclear addition to its front. In the middle of the hull, a socket for a mast was set (Westerberg 1983: 14-15; Karageorghis 1993: 74, Fig. 62) (Fig. 4.39).

A ship graffiti incised on the base of an Attic Black Glazed skyphos dated to the Persian period was found in Beirut (Fig. 4.12). It probably represents a medium sized merchant ship. The ship's stern is square and lifted up and outwards. Two oars used as rudders are fastened to it. In the center of the ship is a mast with a crow's nest on top. It is fixed by two riggings. The sail is missing, and the prow is in the break of the sherd (Elayi 2010: 163, Fig. 14), however the bow is seen curving up and inwards and then projects outwards, perhaps representing a horse's head.

Oddly, several Iron Age representations of ships were found originating from Judea. A seal belonging to a man named *Ma'aseyahu*, dated between the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, depicts a rounded hull ship with what appears to be a decorative prow, and a cabin at the stern. Six lines extend outwards from the hull, one of which seems to be the mast and the others various rigging. The yard and sail are not seen, perhaps due to the limitations of space. There is also no representation of a rudder or any other oars (Stieglitz 1973: 236-237, Pl. 63 D) (Fig. 4.40).

A much more elaborate seal portraying a ship is found on a seal belonging to a man named *Oniyahu son of Merab*. The ship is very realistically portrayed. It has a rounded hull, with a raised prow in the shape of an animal's head (perhaps with a horn), most probably of a horse, and a decorated stern. The ship has a single mast rigged with ropes and a yard supporting a square sail. It is equipped with a steering rudder, but no other oar. Round shields adorn the deck's gunwale (Avigad 1982: 59-61, Fig. 1; Stieglitz 1984: 139) (Fig. 4.41).

Graffiti of two similar round hull ships was found in a burial cave at Beit Loya among other representation of humans and inscriptions (Figs. 42-43). At the entrance to the cave finds dated to the Persian period were found, however the inscriptions within the cave were dated to the seventh century BCE. The ships are schematically portrayed; however, it is clear they have a round hull, a mast with a yard and a square sail. Several vertical lines appear that may represent rigging. It seems that the stern and prow are decorated, one portraying a rounded, perhaps spiral decoration that seems to be the stern. The prow of at least one of the ships might also be decorated as it is upright and slightly curved at the end (Naveh 1963: 78, Fig. 7, Pl. 12: D; Stieglitz 1973: 237).

The Hebrew bible mentions several maritime enterprises carried out by the kingdoms of Israel and Judea, e.g. 1 Kgs. 9: 27; 1 Kgs. 22: 49-50. Even if the Israelites and Judeans had maritime aspirations that were manifested in constructing Israelite or Judean fleets, as some scholars maintain, it is highly likely they would have acquired their maritime knowledge from the Phoenicians (Yeivin 1960; Avigad 1982: 60). As Josephus (*Con. Ap.* 1: 60) states: "*Ours is not a maritime country; neither commerce nor the intercourse which it promotes with the outside world has any attraction for us. Our cities are built inland, remote from the sea*". Therefore, it is likely the ships portrayed in Hebrew art are of Phoenician origin.

Warships

For a long period of time, the only use of ships in warfare was for the transportation of troops. With the aid of sea-faring vessels, troops could arrive at their destination faster and well rested, as opposed to marching them across long stretches of land. Since speed was of the essence, warships could not rely only on the fickle winds of the Mediterranean, therefore warships were designed as galleys equipped with multiple oars. Naturally, ships laden with men-at-arms could engage other vessels at sea, or enforce a naval blockade, as described by Rib-Addi on Sumur (*EA* 98) (Vidal 2008: 8). Phoenician warships were depicted in Assyrian and Anatolian reliefs, such as the famous relief portraying the escape of king Luli of Tyre, found in the palace of Sennacherib (704-681 BCE) at Khorsabad (Barnet 1969, Pl. 1: 1-2; de Graeve 1981: 67-68) (Fig. 2.3). These reliefs suggest that Phoenician warships were basically merchantmen designed and fitted for warfare. Two types of ships appear on the Khorsabad relief; simple biremes similar to the merchantmen, and the war galleys that seem to be equipped with rams (see below). It was suggested that these galley ships were either merchantmen converted to double-decked warships, or a different type of warship suitable for land-like battles. Ships with a second, high deck, used as a fighting platform, would give archers and javelin-throwers an advantage over warriors on vessels with lower superstructures (Mark 2008: 259). However, only warships equipped with a naval ram could be used as maritime weapons capable of waging true naval battles.

Galleys

The earliest portray of a galley ship equipped with a ram may be found on a bronze fibula from Athens dated to the ninth century BCE. Galleys without rams are portrayed in Greece until ca. 1150 BCE. Therefore, many scholars attributed the invention of the naval ram to the beginning of the Iron Age (Casson 1994: 51; 1995: 49; *cf*. Basch 1975: 203; Mark 2008). The origins of the naval ram are not clear; however, it is safe to assume it was quickly adopted by all parties engaged in maritime warfare (Casson 1995: 42, fn. 4).

A portray of a Phoenician single banked war galley equipped with a ram was found on a stone relief from Karatepe dated to the mid eighth century BCE (Fig. 4.9). The ship is depicted as having a high inwards curving stern, ending with an animal's head that resembles a horse facing the stem.

At the stern is a steering rudder with a rectangular blade that seems to pass through the hull. The prow is lower, undecorated, and culminates with a ram with a straight end, which may be a result of lack of space on the stone slab. Five oars are seen on the port side situated over the gunwale. A superstructure supported by stanchions, probably forming an overall deck, created a second level on which two men are seen sited. The ship has two platforms at the bow and stern, both manned, as well as a single mast which stands in the middle of the ship. The mast is equipped with a yard and a furled sail (de Graeve 1981: 131-133).

A poorly preserved wall painting found at Til Barsip in north-west Syria, dated to the same period, may provide further details on galleys of the eighth century BCE (Figs. 4.44-45). In this painting the oars are operated through ports in the hull, rather than over the gunwale, providing extra protection to the rowers. Above the gunwale a single shield is seen, which was probably one of many. The ram is accentuated by the use of white color in contrast to the red-brown of the ship, suggesting it was a reinforced metal sheathed piece that was fastened to the hull of the ship (Basch 1975: 208; de Graeve 1981: 133-134, Fig. 83; *cf.* Mark 2008: 259-261).

Biremes

Several scholars link the development of the bireme with the introduction of the ram. Before the ram, any light galley ship could have been used for warfare, however with the introduction of the ram into naval combat, warships had to not only become faster, but also sturdy enough to endure the additional weight of the bronze ram and to withstand the impact of ramming (Casson 1994: 47-53). The reinforcement and sturdiness of the new war galleys could allow for a second deck to be constructed. To compensate for the added weight, a second level of rowers was also added (de Graeve 1981: 143). The space above the rows of rowers was decked to allow for further protection, resulting in a new type of ship, the bireme.

As briefly mentioned above, based on the Assyrian Khorsabad relief, Phoenician Iron Age biremes seem to have had the same basic design of the *gauloi* merchantmen ships, with the significant addition of a conical ram at the ship's prow. The stern was raised high above the superstructure, curving inwards. The ship's high superstructure is divided into three parts; the lowest of which housed the rowers who operated their oars from portholes and over the gunwale. The mid-section was supported by stanchions and consisted of alternating plain and crosshatched panels. These

may represent awnings that protected oarsmen from the sun, known as *pararrhymata*. The top consisted of a deck protected by rows of shields. It seems the superstructure was stretched from gunwale to gunwale, thus protecting the oarsmen and maximizing the efficiency of the upper deck as a fighting platform. The ships were also fitted with a mast and a furled sail (Basch, 1969: 227; de Graeve 1981: 136-141; Casson 1995: 49) (Fig. 4.46). The mast may have been retractable, as a fixed mast would make the ship top-heavy and more difficult to handle during combat (Mark 2008: 258). The Warships' hull may have been narrower and quite longer than that of the merchantmen, as the longer they were, the faster and thus more efficient ramming weapon they were (Bartoloni 2001a: 87). Even so, Phoenician warships seem to have still been bulkier and rounder than Greek biremes of the same period (de Graeve 1981: 140-141).

Triremes

During the fifth century BCE, triremes were introduced into naval warfare. The triremes were specifically designed for the use of the ram. The introduction of the trireme was a natural evolution of naval warfare that began with the invention of the ram. As stated above, the addition of a ram called for sturdier ships that allowed for a second level of rowers and a fighting deck. The success of the biremes had likely led to attempts to further increase speed and maneuverability, which resulted in the triremes (de Graeve 1981: 143; Casson 1995: 80-81).

Some scholars maintain that by the fifth century BCE, Greek and Phoenician warships were of similar design and traits (Morrison and Williams 1968: 134). According to Herodotus (7: 194), at the battle of Salamis (480 BCE) some Persians mistook Greek ships as part of their own fleet. However, Herodotus (8: 60) also states that the Greek ships were heavier and slower than those of the Persian fleet, which was comprised mainly of Phoenician warships. The confusion among the Persians might be explained due to the fact that their fleet included some mercenary Greek ships. Most scholars maintain that Phoenician triremes were unlike their Greek contemporary counterparts. While Greek ships included an open outrigging for their third level of rowers (Fig. 4.47), the Phoenicians further increased the vessel's height, and their third level of oarsmen operated their oars on a railing erected over the gunwale and supported by stanchions. The uppermost level served as a fighting deck, also supported by rows of stanchions extending from the gunwale. Similar to the design of the bireme, the superstructure seems to have been built from

gunwale to gunwale, which allowed for further protection of the oarsmen (Fig. 4.48). Furthermore, Phoenician triremes preserved the same ram found on the earlier bireme warships, unlike the Greek ram of the same period. Lastly, the prow or stern of the Phoenician triremes could be adorned with the traditional horse head or with other animal figures (Basch 1969: 140, 160-62; 1975; de Graeve 1981: 142-143; Casson 1995: 94-96). Mark (2008: 267-271) suggests that the Phoenician ram was not much more than a cutwater sheathed with thin metal plating while the Greek, and especially Athenian, ram was fully cast in metal, making their ships heavier and slower in comparison as recorded by Herodotus.

Few representations of Phoenician triremes were found over the years, the majority of which are on Phoenician coins minted during the late Persian and Hellenistic periods. Two seal impressions dated to the Persian period found at Persepolis depict trireme war galleys, presumably Phoenician (Figs. 4.10-11). A clay model found in Erment, Egypt, (Fig. 4.49) is also believed to represent a Phoenician trireme portraying a three-levelled hull, each level supported by stanchions (Hill 1965 Pls. I, 2; II, 17-21; Basch 1969: 152-162; Casson 1995: 94, fn. 93; *cf.* Lloyd 1975; Schmidt 1957: 30, Pl. 9: 32; Morrison *et al.* 2000: 45).

Discussion

Our knowledge of Iron Age Phoenician maritime vessels is still relatively limited as most of what we know today is based on graphic depictions and clay models rather than actual shipwrecks. Furthermore, these representations were often both created by non-Phoenicians and found outside of Phoenicia; therefore, although they are believed to represent Phoenician vessels, they may not be so. Nevertheless, upon examining the available evidence it appears that Phoenician sea crafts commonly shared certain characteristics typical to Phoenician vessels.

Boatbuilding techniques are traditionally handed down from father to son, along with other basic and advance knowledge of seamanship, navigation, and sea routes. Boatbuilding combines accumulated knowledge based on experience and on traditions. The evolution of building techniques of sea vessels do not always progress in a linear line towards improvement of the sea vessel's maneuverability and sturdiness, as marine technology may often be restricted by various cultural factors that shape and constrain the ideas, symbols and uses a society gave to its watercrafts (Da Silva 2007: 34).

The most notable characteristic of Phoenician sea vessels was the large rounded hull that appeared not only in merchantmen, to which it gave its Greek name, but also in boats and even warships. The basic design of the '*galloi*' displayed a wide beam, ca. 1:3 width to length ratio, and a relatively heavy draught. A single mast equipped with a square sail stood at the center of the ship. Oars would often be utilized as well protruding off the gunwale or through oar ports in the hull. The prow and stern were convex and culminated with upright or slightly inwards protruding stem and stern posts. These could be ornamented with various decorations, most notably were animal motifs such as a horse head or a fish tail typical to the '*hippoi*' ships which were renowned as Phoenician in origin. Although it is more than possible that these ornaments did not appear on every Phoenician ship, it seems they were common enough to be recognized by foreigners as typical Phoenician (de Graeve 1981: 41-43, 63-64, 66; Stieglitz 1984: 139-140; Casson 1995: 65-66, fn. 114; Bartoloni 2001a: 86-87; Ballard *et al.* 2002: 158-166).

Phoenician Iron Age warships were also based on the same round hull design of the '*galloi*' with the key addition of a conical ram. Based on Greek depictions of war galleys it was suggested that the ram was introduced during the early Iron Age, and was probably adopted quickly after in the southern Levant (Casson 1994: 51; 1995: 49). However, Mark (2008), following (Basch 1975), suggested that what is interpreted as a ram in early Greek and Assyrian iconography was no more than a metal sheathed cutwater designed to increase the vessel's speed. This cutwater could have been used for ramming if needed, but it was not designed chiefly for that purpose. Mark (2008: 267-271) maintains that the true metal cast ram first appeared in Greece only during the sixth or even fifth century BCE, and only afterwards in the southern Levant, most likely after the defeat of the Persian fleet at the battle of Salamis (*cf*. Casson 1994: 47-53). It is possible that the warships' hull may have been narrower and quite longer than that of the merchantmen, as the longer they were, the faster and thus more efficient ramming weapon they became (Bartoloni 2001a: 87). However, even so, Phoenician Iron Age warships seem to have still been bulkier and rounder than their Greek counterparts (de Graeve 1981: 140-141).

The introduction of the triremes during the fifth century BCE marks another evolution of naval warfare. Although some scholars, based mainly on historical records, believe that by the fifth century BCE Greek and Phoenician warships were similar in design (Morrison and Williams 1968: 134), most maintain they were still quite different. The Phoenician trireme followed the design of the Iron Age bireme, which in turn was based on the merchantman. While Greek triremes utilized

an open outrigging for their third level of rowers, the Phoenicians further increased the vessel's height with a third level of oarsmen from gunwale to gunwale supported by stanchions. The uppermost level remained a fighting deck that was also supported by rows of stanchions. Furthermore, it seems that early Phoenician triremes preserved the conical ram found on the earlier bireme warships, unlike the Greek ram of the same period (Basch 1969: 140, 160-62; 1975; de Graeve 1981: 142-143; Casson 1995: 94-96). The Greek type ram replaced the traditional Phoenician ram only during the Hellenistic period (Basch 1969: 233, Figs. 20-25).

Anchors

Anchors are the most common artifact found in maritime explorations since they were usually made of materials such as stone and metal that can withstand the forces of erosion and time (Galili *et al.* 1994: 93). Anchors dot the Mediterranean seabed, marking ancient sea routes and anchorage points. Ancient anchors can also be found on land, usually in cultic contexts as they were often used as votive offering (Brody 1998: 41ff). Stone was the preferred material for the production of anchors in antiquity, and stone anchors continue to be used to this day with little change in form (Ballard *et al.* 2002: 163).[48] Several studies carried out in recent decades attempted to classify stone anchors typology and assign them an ethno-cultural affiliation (e.g. Frost 1970; Nibbi 1975). However, recent studies have shown that previous studies were based on limited data and are no longer valid (Galili *et al.* 1994; 2012; Kingsley 1996).

Stone anchors evolved from simple rope-tied rocks to well hewn stone slabs with drilled holes and grooves (Fig. 4.50). The most common stone anchor type in antiquity consisted of an elongated trapezoid stone slab with a rounded apex and a single hole borrowed through it near the top. A depression was often carved at the apex to fasten the attached rope. This basic form (known as the 'Byblite' or 'Syrian' type) varies from a rectangular shaped body to a triangular shaped body (Figs. 6.51-53). A more elaborate type of anchor, also common from the Bronze Age (known as the 'Egyptian type'), featured a second, 'L' shaped, hole at the foot of the anchor (Fig. 4.54). This

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[48] Nevertheless, anchors made from other materials must have also been in use. Two anchors made of wood were found inland at Ein Gedi, on the western shore of the Dead Sea. One of the anchors was dated through C^{14} analysis to between 797-515 BCE, and probably belongs to Iron Age II. The excavators suggested the anchor's design (a one-armed anchor with a stone stock) could be based on a Mediterranean model (Hadas *et al.* 2005).

hole is believed to have either held a wooden stake, which would transform a simple weight anchor into a gripping anchor (Kapitän 1984: 33-36), or to fasten another rope, with which the anchor could be dislodged from the seabed (Nibbi 1975: 39). The next evolutionary step, which is also frequent from the Bronze Age, was to incorporate two holes at the bottom of the anchor, meant for wooden stakes, in order to enhance its gripping ability (Kapitän 1984: 33-36).

The frequent use of single, double, and triple-holed stone anchors throughout such a vast period of time, and virtually throughout the Mediterranean basin, makes it extremely difficult to date most anchors, which are usually found in no particular context. Identifying anchor types as ethnic markers is even more difficult since even if the anchors were found within an ethnically identifiable shipwreck site, the anchors could be of foreign origin.[49] A ship leaving its home port could lose some of its anchors on route and replace them with anchors bought in their ports of call (Kingsley 1996: 92). Anchors found in temples are also problematic as evidence for ethnicity since it is highly likely that they were offered not only by the local population, but also by foreigners who wished to thank the gods for their safe passage. Anchors incised with markings or writings may be easier to date, however they are still problematic for attributing a cultural affiliation as occasionally several anchors found in the same wreck site show similar markings on varied forms (Kingsley 1996: 91).

Nevertheless, since the vast majority of these anchors were found in the Mediterranean along the Phoenician coast, from Ugarit to the Carmel ridge, and in and around Cyprus (Shaw 1995: 284-288), it could be argued that they can be identified as typical Cypro-Phoenician anchors.

Summary

Phoenician watercrafts stem from a long Bronze Age tradition dating as early as the Middle Bronze Age II, as evident by boat models found in Phoenicia (Février 1950: 135-138), Egyptian wall painting representing Canaanite ships (Wachsmann 1998: 42-45), and remains of Canaanite shipwrecks (Bass 1961: 269-271; 1967; Pulak 1998: 210). These early examples clearly demonstrate that Phoenician ships remained virtually unchanged over an extensive period of time.

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[49] In the Kfar Samir shipwreck site two stone anchors were found (Group B). The anchors, presumably belonging to the same ship, portray similar markings; however, they are of different design (Galili *et al.* 1994: 102; Kingsley 1996: 91-92).

The most notable characteristic of Phoenician sea vessels was a large wide-beam hull capable of carrying great amounts of cargo. The Phoenician merchantman, known in Greek as 'gaulos', meaning 'tub' or 'rounded', was probably the most common vessel in the Phoenician mercantile fleets. It is therefore no wonder that the Phoenicians were credited by the Greeks with the invention of the cargo ship (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 7: 57).

The merchantman also served as the basic design for Iron Age warships. Phoenician warships could be easily distinguished from their contemporary Greek war galleys. The design of the hull of Phoenician biremes and triremes allowed for their rowers to operate their oars through oar ports in the hull, or over the gunwale, while securely housed within the ship, while Greek warships were equipped with the *parexeiresia*, an exterior open outrigger, for their third level of rowers (de Graeve 1981: 142-143; Casson 1995: 94-96). Furthermore, the Phoenician ram was an elongated massive structure projecting from the prow, unlike the Greek ram, which was a short beak-like extension of the keel (Basch 1975). The Greek ram type may have first appeared in Phoenicia already during the late Persian period, as evident by its portray on a coin of Abdashtrt II dating from 373 BCE, however it seems that only from the Hellenistic period did the Greek type ram completely replaced the traditional Phoenician ram (Basch 1969: 233, Figs. 20-25).

Phoenicians ships were also renowned for their distinctive ornaments. The most basic design was upright stem and stern posts slightly slanting or curving inwards at the vessel's extremities. However, as the iconographic evidence from the Carmel ridge may suggest, these beam posts took on elaborate decorations from an early Age. Most notably were the horse head decoration at the prow and an animal tail at the stern, best portrayed in the stone relief from the palace of Sargon II, and the Judean 'Oniyahu seal'. These ships known in Greek as 'hippoi', became synonymous with Phoenicians ships. It is more than likely that not all Phoenician vessels had these decorative elements, however their frequent portray in representations of Phoenician boat and ships, and in the later literary texts, suggest they were common enough to be identified with Phoenician ships. In fact, it is possible that since conveying the idea of a rounded hull is more difficult, the horse

head decoration was utilized as an ethnic marker in order to identify the vessel as Phoenician.[50] This idea is even more valid since the vast majority of hippoi ship representations were created by, and for, non-Phoenicians, such as the Assyrians, Neo-Hittites, and Judeans. On the other hand, it is worth noting that until the early 20th cent CE, fishermen on the coast of Cadiz used to carve a horse's head on the bows of their boats (Braudel 2002: 101), perhaps as a reminiscent of an old tradition.

It is also noteworthy that no Bronze or Iron Age representation or depiction of a Phoenician sea vessel displays apotropaic eyes on the ships' hull, a feature which appeared on Greek ships from an early age. It is safe to assume that if such a feature existed on Phoenician ships it would no doubt be depicted in at least some of their representations. It seems that apotropaic eyes first appear on Phoenician ships during the fifth century BCE. Aeschylus (*Pers*. 559-560), wrote that the ships of the Persian fleet at the battle of Salamis (480 BCE) had eyes painted on their hulls. These eyes also appear on Phoenician coins from the second half of the fifth century BCE, when Greek influence in Phoenicia grew strong. It is also from this period on that numismatic evidence show the horse head adornment was replaced with other zoomorphic elements such as a lion's head, or bull's horns,[51] sometimes together with a tutelary figure. The addition of bull's horns is also consistent with the growing use of the ram in naval combat (Mark 2008). The bull was a more suitable symbolic animal for a ship meant to ram its adversary than a horse (Woolmer 2012: 248-251).

Phoenician ships did not only differ in exterior design, but also in the building technique used for their hull construction, which was uncommon in the ship building traditions of other nations until the Persian period. As evident by remains of Canaanite, Phoenician, and Punic shipwrecks, the Phoenicians used pegged 'mortise and tenon' joints to bind the planks of their hulls (Casson 1963; Pomey *et al.* 2012). This technique, which was probably developed during the Middle Bronze Age, was still in use in Roman times, during which it was known as '*coagmenta punicana*' (Cato, *De*

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[50] Similarly, representations of Cypriot 'fan-type' ships, found along the Carmel ridge and on a stone altar from Akko (as well as in temples at Kition), display an exaggerated stem and stern in order to differentiate them from the local ships (Artzy 1987; 2003).

[51] Woolmer (2012: 239-241) maintains zoomorphic horns appear in Phoenician ships' prows already from the sixth century BCE, however these 'horns' can also be simply interpreted as a part of the ship's superstructure or rigging (Basch 1969: 227-229; Woolmer 2012: 242).

Agricultura 21: 18.9), i.e. 'the Punic joint' (Da Silva 2007: 36; Pomey *et al.* 2012: 291-292). However, from the sixth century BCE onwards, the Greeks adopted the pegged mortise and tenon joints technique (Casson 1995: 43-68; Da Silva 2007: 37-38; Pomey *et al.* 2012: 292-295).

To conclude, Phoenician sea vessels stem from Bronze Age boat building traditions whose most basic design theme was suitability for trade in the rough waters of the Mediterranean. Throughout the ages, Phoenician ships could be distinguished from their contemporary counterparts by their hull's design, construction methods, and ornaments. These characteristics became hallmarks of Phoenician sea vessels, some of which were probably also used as ethnic markers to identify the Phoenicians. The distinctiveness of Phoenician ships began to fade during the late Persian period, probably due to the ever-growing Greek influence.

Religion and Cult

Phoenician religion and cult practices, much like other aspects of Phoenician culture, remain mostly unknown. Over six thousand Phoenician and Punic inscriptions found over the years reveal little information other than names of deities, clients and rituals (Clifford 1990: 55; Ribichini 2001: 120). Classical authors such as Herodotus, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Lucian, Strabo, Appian, Josephus, Titus Livy and Silius Italicus provide us with a relatively abundant amount of information on Phoenician deities, rituals and myths. However, these are often bias and portray a Hellenized and anachronistic version of the original accounts. Perhaps the most important author is Philo of Byblos whose writings, dated to the first century CE, were only partly preserved as quotes in Eusebius' *Evangelica,* dated to the fourth century CE, and to a lesser extent in Porphyry's treaties *Adversus Christianos*, dated to the third or fourth century CE. Philo composed two works. One was a history of Phoenicia, which he claimed, as quoted by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang*. 1: 9.21), that he had based on three sources: the succession lists of the kings of Phoenicia, city records, and temple records. The second composition, which is more important to us, was the Phoenician creation myth. Philo claimed to have translated into Greek the Phoenician spiritual beliefs documented by a sixth century BCE Phoenician priest named Sanchuniathon of Beirut (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang*. 4: 16.11). While it is probable that Philo did record at least some genuine Phoenician beliefs (*cf.* Nautin 1949), his work too is considered heavily Hellenized and anachronistic (Baumgarten 1981; Edwards 1991: 213; Markoe 2000: 119; Ribichini 2001: 121).

Another informative yet problematic source is the Hebrew bible. While the bible may shed some light on the Phoenician religion, it too is a bias source. Biblical authors gravely condemned the religions, cults, and rituals of the Canaanites and often over simplify them. The Hebrew prophets often spoke and acted openly and firmly against the Canaanite religion and cultic practices. Perhaps most notable is the account of Elijah who slaughtered 450 Baal priests at the Kishon River near Mount Carmel (1 Kgs 18: 40). Furthermore, it is possible that at least in some instances, cultic practices attributed to foreign - Canaanite religions, may have actually been popular beliefs and cults practiced by the Israelites (Markoe 2000: 117; Ribichini 2001: 120-121).

Yet another important source for Canaanite religion are the second millennium BCE Syrian

religious texts found at Ugarit. These texts written in an alphabetic cuneiform script provide the most extent corpus of myths and rituals of the Late Bronze Age. However, many scholars have noted that this material represents an earlier system of beliefs that did not always apply for later periods and thus can be used mainly for general background to the subject, and for comparisons (Clifford 1990: 55; Schoville 1998: 170-171; Ward 1996: 201; Ribichini 2001: 121-122). Furthermore, it is also important to note that Ugarit did not consider itself as part of Canaan, and that it drew most of its cultural influence from the cultures of Asia Minor and north Mesopotamia. Therefore, it is possible that the mythology and cults depicted in these texts dealing with Canaanite deities, while preserving some regional traditions, portray them in accordance to the Mesopotamian and Anatolian cultic milieu. Phoenician religion on the other hand, was heavily influenced by Egyptian religion. Egyptian motifs, deities' names, and representations are found in Phoenician cults throughout the Bronze, Iron, Persian and later periods (Stern 2001: 496-497; 2003b: 313).

Before exploring the various aspects of the religion and cult of the Phoenicians, perhaps it would be wise to define these two terms. To my understanding in its most basic form an ancient religion is a system of beliefs maintained by an official authority via a complex hierarchy of clergy. In the Ancient Near East, the uppermost position of this hierarchy was often occupied by the monarch or other members of the royal house. Cult is the sum of the rituals and practices preformed as part of the worship in the religion. In religion the connection with the deity, or deities, is often indirect and is facilitated by the clergy through the cult. However, besides the official manifestations of the cult practices set by the clergy, cult often has a popular element influenced by various traditions that at times can be in direct contrast to the laws of the religion.

Phoenician religion, like any other aspect of culture, was not stagnant but rather a conscious notion subjected to economic, social and political circumstances and thus had naturally undergone an evolution throughout the ages (cf. Royce 1982: 17; Wasilewska 2009: 404). Nevertheless, as a growing body of evidence suggests, Phoenician religion and cult are marked by a continuation in belief and practice rather than an abrupt change (Oden 1976; Markoe 2000: 115). Most scholars suggest that the first major change occurred during the Iron Age II with the institutionalization of the cult of a local deity or deities as the patrons of the city and the royal house, e.g. Melqart at

Tyre, as recorded by Herodotus (2: 43-44) (Clifford 1990: 56; Markoe 2000: 115).[52] The cults of Astarte and Eshmun also experienced a growth in popularity, attested by an increase in theophoric names such as 'Abdastart' or 'Germelqart'. Markoe (2000: 116) suggested that this could be attributed to the growing autonomy the Phoenician city-states experienced during the first stages of the Iron Age, each promoting its own local cult. This autonomous nature of Phoenician religion is one the main reasons it is difficult to speak of a 'Phoenician religion' as a Pan-Phoenician belief system. Many scholars maintain that each Phoenician city held its own system of beliefs and worshiped its own separate patron gods, emphasizing the regional variety (Clifford 1990: 56; Ward 1996: 202; Gubel 2000: 204; Peckham 2001: 20; Woolmer 2011: 98). However, in recent years the view that the Phoenicians followed a similar system of beliefs, albeit influenced by a strong local or regional connection to the city-state and the local landscape, which was manifested mainly in local 'names', or rather titles, of the deities worshipped (Stern 1999: 254) is becoming increasingly accepted. Despite its regional nature, the religion practiced by the Phoenicians is still rooted in a common system of beliefs that can be defined as a Phoenician religion (Clifford 1990). This is also supported by the cultic material culture, e.g. Phoenician religious architecture (see above), as well as various artifacts, which suggest a common system of beliefs practiced by all Phoenician cities.

The Phoenician Pantheon

The belief among the Phoenicians, much like at Mesopotamia, Ugarit, and Greece, was that the gods conducted their affairs in councils, in which they would gather periodically to deliberate on important matters concerning gods and men (Mullen 1980: 113ff; Clifford 1990: 56-57; Van der Toorn 1995: 2044; Kee 2007: 259, fn. 1). In Phoenicia, the divine assembly was called *mphrt* מפחרת, and it was invoked as an entity, e.g. *mphrt 'l gbl qdšm*, "the assembly of the holy gods of Byblos" (*KAI* 4.4-5) (Clifford 1990: 57; Ribichini 2001: 122).[53]

It is widely accepted that the pantheon of a Phoenician city's consisted of a divine triad of an

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[52] It is more probable that the cult of Melqart was not introduced to Tyre by Hiram I, but rather institutionalized, as recorded by Herodotus (2: 43-44), the cult's origins go back to the third millennium (Markoe 2000: 115).

[53] It appears the divine assembly was based on a political institution that existed in Phoenician cities and consisted of an assembly of the city's dignitaries who convened regularly and gave counsel to the king (Wilson 1945).

elderly male figure, often depicted as an enthroned king (e.g. *ANEP*: 168, Fig. 493), a female figure, often depicted either as a ruling queen, a fertility goddess, or a warrior goddess, and their male offspring who is a 'dying and rising' god, symbolizing nature's cycles (Albright 1968b: 127; Moscati 1968: 62; Stern 2001: 75-79; 2003b: 311). These deities are believed to be represented in popular cult by means of clay figurines (See below). The Phoenician divine triad most probably consisted of El, Astarte, and Baal. This is also in accordance with texts and religious iconography such as Josephus' account of Hiram I who rebuilt the temples of Jupiter, Heracles, and Astarte in Tyre (*Con. Ap*. 1: 1.18), a triad that can be identified with El, Baal/Melqart, and Astarte, and the frequent appearance of three betils or pillars (Moscati 2001d: 373) which may represent a divine triad. Nevertheless, some scholars still favor a 'divine pair' paradigm, in which a male deity is a 'dying and rising' god and the female deity is his consort.[54] The worship of two major deities, a male and a female, seems to have been the norm in the religions of the southern Levant during the Iron Age. In Phoenician religion, this divine pair would consist of Baal and Astarte (Moscati 1986: 181-182; Stern 1999: 245; Markoe 2000: 116-117; Woolmer 2011: 98).

El

El, Hebrew אֵל, was the chief deity in Canaanite religion. He was the father of the gods, head of the pantheon, and the creator of the heavens and the earth. In Ugaritic texts El is often mentioned as *'abū bani 'ili*, 'father of the gods' (*CTA* 32.1.2; 9; 16; 25; 33) (*cf*. Mullen 1980: 15-17), and *bāniyu binwāti*, 'creator of created things' (*CTA* 4.2.2; 4.3.32; 6.3.5; 11; 17.1.25). In Phoenician texts, El is described as *'l qn 'rṣ,* 'creator of the earth', a term also found in the Hebrew bible, e.g. Gen. 14: 19 "קֹנֵה שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ", i.e. 'creator of the heavens and earth'. This title also appears in the eighth century inscription from Karatepe which invokes *b'l smm w'l qn 'rṣ*, "Lord of the heavens and (El) creator of the earth" (*KAI* 26.3: 18-19), and in a second century BCE inscription from Leptis Magna we find again *'l qn 'rṣ* (*KAI* 129: 1). Philo of Byblos too described El, which he identified with Kronos, as the creator of the earth, *'l qn 'rṣ*.

Besides Baal Shamayim, i.e. lord of the heavens, El was probably also known as Baal Hammon,

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[54] In this paradigm, the male deity may represent both the elderly god and the young god as two phases of the same deity.

i.e. lord of mount Amannus. Since the Amannus is the highest and most prominent mountain range in the region it was thought to have served as El's heavenly abode and the gathering place of the divine council (Picard and Picard 1968: 4546; Cross 1973: 36-39). It is also possible that El was identified with Dagon, an agricultural deity, often mentioned in Ugaritic texts as the father of Baal (Fontenrose 1957; Van der Toorn 1995: 2045-2046). While it is clear that El was the head of the gods, his worship seems to have been less important in the cults and practices of the Phoenicians during the first millennium BCE. Some scholars maintained El was overthrown as the chief god by his offspring Baal, as was common in the mythologies of other Ancient Near Eastern religions (Picard and Picard 1968: 45; Mullen 1980: 92-110; Van der Toorn 1995: 2046). However, it is possible that El was considered more aloof, and less interfering in human matters than other deities (Cross 1973: 35-36, fn. 137-142). The cult of El has regained popularity in the Punic world, and especially in Carthage, under the guise of Baal Hammon (Cross 1973: 25; Ribichini 2001: 132).

Asherah, Astarte, and Tanit

The identity of the Phoenician goddess in the divine triad is far more problematic as there were no apparent differences in the morphology, attributes, or epitaphs of the goddesses of Phoenicia. They were all connected with fertility, prosperity, love, and war, and appear to be represented in a similar fashion, most often either as an enthroned queen, a naked goddess, sometimes holding snakes, or armed with a bow and arrow, or a shield and javelin, often astride a galloping stallion or a lion (Leclant 1960; Cross 1973: 30-33; Dever 1984: 28; Katzenstein 1997: 274-275; Gubel 2000: 212; Cornelius 2004: 90ff; *cf.* Wiggins 1991). It is possible this ambiguity is simply a result of our lack of data, however it is also possible that it may reflect a functional fluidity which made each goddess interchangeable and thus syncretistic (Gubel 1985: 197; Ribichini 2001: 122-123). The three main Phoenician goddesses during the Iron Age were Asherah, Astarte, and Tanit.

Asherah

Asherah, Hebrew אֲשֵׁרָה, was the consort of El and the mother of the gods, as the Ugaritic epithet *qnyt ilm*, i.e. creator of the gods, suggests (*KTU* 1.4.4.31-32) (Van der Toorn 1995: 2046; Westenholz 1998: 79). First references to the goddess appear during the third or second millennium

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BCE in Mesopotamia (Day 1986: 385-386). Asherah was also known as Elat, i.e. the feminine version of El, and *rbt*, i.e. great one or Lady (of) (*CAT* 1.4: III:27) (Day 1986: 387; Cornelius 2004: 99). At Ugarit, Asherah had clear connections to the sea, as she sometimes appeared as '*atiratu yammi*, meaning 'she who treads upon the sea [-serpent]' (e.g. *CTA* 4.III.27; 4.V.64; 6.I.47) (Pritchard 1943: 84-85; Cross 1973: 28-31; Betlyon 1985: 54; Day 1986: 388). She was also associated with the *daggay 'atirati*, the fishermen of 'Ašerah (*CTA* 3.6.10). The Keret epic attests to the worship of Asherah specifically by the Phoenicians (Day 1986: 387-388). There the goddess is referred to as '*atrt srm w 'ilt sdnym*, i.e. 'Athirat of the Tyrians and Elat of the Sidonians' (*CTA* 14.198-99, 201-2). Like El, the cult of Asherah seems to have been less important in the Phoenician homeland during the first millennium BCE, as her name does not appear in any Phoenician inscription (Pritchard 1943: 84; Gibson 2002: 85). Asherah is known mainly from her frequent mentions in the Hebrew bible, in which she is often associated with snakes and sacred trees (e.g. 2 Kgs. 18: 4) (Wiggins 1993: 101-102; Markoe 2000: 122). Nevertheless, some scholars maintain that Asherah is depicted on Hellenistic coins from Tyre as a sea goddess, standing on a galley holding a cornucopia, with the epithet *ēlat ṣûr*, i.e. 'goddess of Tyre' (Hamburger 1954: 224, no. 137; Cross 1973: 30-32) (Fig. 5.1).

Tanit

The goddess Tanit, best known from the Punic world as the consort of Baal Hammon, can be identified with Asherah. The name Tanit might be the feminine derivative of *tannin*, 'serpent' (Cross 1973: 28-33). Recently, Mazar suggested that Tanit should be understood as a title of an Egyptian origin meaning 'her majesty/highness' and as such was a prefix to the name 'Ashtoret, not Asherah (Mazar 2009-2010: 214-226). The identification of Tanit with 'Ashtoret (Pritchard 1978: 107; Bonnet 1991) is based on several inscriptions dedicated to Tanit and Astarte found in Phoenician sites, such as the inscription found in the temple at Sarepta dedicated to Tanit-'Ashtoret (Fig. 5.2) (Picard and Picard 1968: 46; Pritchard 1978: 104-108; 1982), and an inscription from Carthage dedicated to Astarte and Tanit in Lebanon (Stieglitz 1990b). Like Asherah, Tanit was most likely associated with the sea, as one of her emblems was a dolphin (Ribichini 2001: 132-

134).[55] However Tanit was most commonly associated with an abstract emblem known as the 'sign of Tanit', which consists of a triangle or trapezoid with a circle on top and in between either a crescent, or a vertical line, often with two lines extending upwards from its extremities (Figs. 5.3-4). The earliest representation of this symbol was found in Megiddo, dated to the eleventh century BCE (Arie 2017), and it seems to represent a female holding her hands upright (Betlyon 2005: 41; *cf.* Barnett 1989). Dunand and Duru (1962: 175-177) suggested it developed from a representation of an anchor and only later evolved to its anthropomorphic form. Other popular emblems of the goddess, such as the two upright hands, the crescent, and the (sun) disc, which became popular in the western Mediterranean as reflected mainly by funerary stelae from Carthage (Moscati 2001d: 369), also originate in Canaan (Yadin 1970; Shenkar 2008). Despite Tanit's clear eastern origins, her cult, like that of Asherah, was far more popular in the Punic west, especially from the fifth century BCE (Ribichini 2001: 132-134).

'Ashtoret-Astarte

The most likely manifestation of the female Phoenician goddess in the triad was that of 'Ashtoret-Astarte. Astarte, or *'Ashtoret*, Hebrew עַשְׁתֹּרֶת, was probably the most important goddess in the southern Levant during the Bronze and Iron Ages (Albright 1968b: 132-133), as she was widely attested in various inscriptions from the beginning of the third millennium BCE (Christian and Schmitt 2013: 150). Both Astarte and Tanit often appear with the epithets *šm B'l,* i.e. name of Baal, or *pane B'l,* i.e. presence/face of Baal (e.g. *CTA* 16.6.56; *KAI* 14.18), which suggests the goddess served as a representative of Baal. These epithet 'name of Baal' appear in texts from Ugarit, as well as inscriptions dated to the first millennium BCE (Cross 1973: 30; Gibson 2002: 109).

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[55] The goddess also seems to appear on Tyrian coins dated to the Roman period portrayed on a war galley holding the 'sign of Tanit', with the inscription *'lt sr*, i.e. goddess of Tyre (Hamburger 1954: 224, no. 137; Cross 1973: 31, fn. 112).

Baal

The offspring and successor of El was known simply as Baal, Hebrew בַּעַל, whose name literally means 'lord'. Baal was the most prominent male deity in Phoenician religion; however, he had many local manifestations which many scholars view as separate deities. In Ugarit, Baal was known as *Haddu* (e.g. *CTA* 4.6.39; 5.2.22; 9.2.6; 12.2.55) or *'ilu Haddu*, i.e. the god Haddu (e.g. *CTA* 10.2.2; 5.3.9; 12.1.41). However, during the Iron Age, the name Baal almost completely replaces Haddu as the name proper name of the god and the two deities developed separately, Hadad in Syria and Baal in Phoenicia (Kapelrud 1952: 52; Morgenstern 1960: 140; Van der Toorn 1995: 2046-2047). However, Baal, like El and Astarte, cannot be considered as a proper name but rather a title. The name Baal rarely appears without an epithet that represented a local guise of the deity. This epitaph consisted most commonly of a place-name, such as Baal Lebanon, or Baal Zaphon, or an action, such as Baal Markod, or Baal Melage. Nevertheless, his two most dominant attributes were either as a storm god, under the guise of Reshef or Baal Zaphon, or a dying and rising god such as Melqart, Eshmun, and Adonis (Eiselen 1966: 126; Clifford 1990: 57-58; Markoe 2000: 118-119; Ribichini 2001: 121-125).

Local Deities

From the tenth century BCE, local cults developed in each Phoenician city that centered on a distinct pantheon with a chief male or female deity that functioned as the patron of the city, its people, and the local dynasty (Peckham 1987: 81-82; Clifford 1990: 56-57). The reason for the development of these unique cults seems to have been political rather than religious. Each royal dynasty wished to emphasize its right of hegemony that was bestowed upon it by the grace of the gods. Therefore, each city selected a local manifestation of a divine entity or entities, to serve as its unique patron or patrons.

We know of four such deities, each worshipped under a unique guise in a different city. Three of these deities were most probably local manifestations of Baal as a dying and rising god, i.e. Melqart at Tyre, Eshmun at Sidon, and Adonis at Arwad, and the fourth was most probably a manifestation of Astarte, worshipped at Byblos as Baalat Gebal.

Melqart

Melqart, whose name literarily translates to 'king of the city', is perhaps the best example of such a civic cult. Although some scholars maintain Melqart was a god of the underworld (Clifford 1990: 57), it is likely Melqart was introduced to Tyre during the tenth century BCE as the patron of the city and its royal dynasty by Hiram I, who was the first to celebrate Melqart's awakening as recorded by Josephus (*Ant.* 8: 146; *Con. Ap.* 1: 118-119; Markoe 2000: 118; *cf.* Peckham 1987: 91, fn. 25). Melqart served as the model of an ideal king and as such was considered the founder of the city of Tyre. The god also played an integral role in the founding of Tyrian colonies in the west. His divine responsibilities were numerous and included agricultural, maritime, civic, dynastic and perhaps even netherworld aspects (Markoe 2000: 118; Woolmer 2011: 100-101). Philo of Byblos identified Melqart with Hadad-Demarus, a descendant of Uranus, and classical authors identify him as Heracles, son of Zeus and Asteria ('Ashtoret) (Attridge and Oden 1981: 51-53; Clifford 1990: 57), although it should be noted that classical authors made the distinction between the Greek Heracles and the Phoenician Heracles (e.g. Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, § 3; Philostratus, *Vita Apollon. Tyan.*, 5: 5). The earliest record of Melqart is found on a ninth century BCE Aramaic stele from Bir Hadad in Syria (*KAI* 201). The stele depicts Melqart with a horned hat and battle-axe, the attributes of Baal the storm god (Cross 1972: 36-42), however his role as a 'dying and rising' god seems to have also been important (Metttinger 2001: 83-111; *cf.* Smith 1998: 277-282). According to classical authors, an annual 'awakening of Melqart' was celebrated in Tyre since the tenth century BCE (Clifford 1990: 57; Markoe 2000: 117). Melqart seems to have also had a role as a maritime tutelary deity (Woolmer 2011: 101). According to Heliodorus of Emesa (*Aethiopica* 4: 16.8), Tyrian sailors performed sacrifices to Melqart-Heracles before departing on a voyage from Greece to Carthage. Strabo (*Geographica* 3: 5.5) too, recounts sacrifices to Heracles by Tyrian sailors (Brody 1998: 34).

Eshmun

Unlike Melqart, who seems to first appear during the Iron Age II, Eshmun is already attested in Late Bronze Ugaritic and Egyptian texts (Röllig 1983b: 378, fn. 19; Steiner 1992: 194). Inscriptions mentioning Eshmun dated to the first millennium BCE were recorded in sites such as

Tell Kazel, Arwad, and Sidon (Borderuil 1985; Puech 1986; Sader 1990). The inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmunezer II (*KAI* 14) states that the king and his mother, who was a priestess of Astarte, built a house for the gods of Sidon, a house for Astarte, and a house for Eshmun on the 'Ydlal spring', identified with the sanctuary at Bostan es-Shiek. The following line refers to Baal Sidon and Astarte name-of-Baal (Gibson 2002: 109). The etymology of his name might be derived from the word שמן, meaning oil (Ribichini 2001: 129), and may be related to Eshmun's healing properties. According to Pausanias (7: 23.7-8), Eshmun is the offspring of Apollo, the sun god, and a goddess, and is identified with the Greek god of healing Asclepius (Woolmer 2011: 99-100).

Adonis

Our knowledge of Adonis of the pre-Classical era is scant at best. Even his Levantine name, which is known to us only in its Greek form, that clearly has Semitic origins, is lost to us. It is probable it stems from *adon*, Hebrew אדון, or perhaps even *baal*, i.e. lord. According to the second century CE author Lucian (*De Dea Syria* 6), yearly celebrations were held in Byblos in his honor which included ritual mourning followed by festivities. The reddening of the Adonis River (Nahr Ibrahim) before it flows into the sea, a natural phenonmenon, marked the time of mourning. According to Lucian (*ibid*.), the Phoenicians believed that during these days Adonis is wounded and his blood reddens the river and sea (Moscati 1968: 39; Clifford 1990: 57).

Baalat Gebal

At Byblos the chief deity and patroness of the royal dynasty seems to have been Baalat Gebal, i.e. lady of Byblos, which is attested in the city since the third millennium BCE. She was the consort of Baal, or Baal Shamayim, who is mentioned in the El-Amarna letters from Byblos and Tyre (*EA* 108; 147; 149), and identified with the storm god Haddu or Reshef (Clifford 1990: 57; Markoe 2000: 115; Woolmer 2011: 98-99). At some point, most likely from the Iron Age II, the cult of a 'dying and rising' deity had also developed at Byblos in the form of the cult of Adonis.

Discussion

Our knowledge of Phoenician religion is fragmented at best. We know of little more than names of deities, and ritual practices. Since no comprehensive, authentic, and contemporary Phoenician religious texts are known, scholars rely too heavily on texts dated outside the scope of the period in question, i.e. ca. 1200-332 BCE. Nevertheless, it is clear that Phoenician religion stems from the Canaanite religions of the Bronze Age. The socio-political changes that occurred during the transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age seem to have induced a religious reform in the official religion of the cities of Phoenicia. The once large Bronze Age pantheon was narrowed through a process of syncretism to a small divine family consisting of an elderly male figure, a powerful female deity, and their offspring, who may have also had a female consort (cf. Aubet 2001: 126). Morgenstern (1960: 138-140) suggests that the account of Hiram I who tore down Tyre's old temples and erected temples for Heracles and Astarte and renovated the temple of Zeus Olympus, as recorded by Josephus (*Ant*. 8: 5.3; *Con. Ap*. 1: 17ff), reflects such a process. From around the tenth century BCE, it seems the Phoenician pantheon further narrowed as each Phoenician city-state focused on a chief deity, which served as the patron of the city and the royal dynasty, and its consort. Although it seems the divine triad, or later pair, was unique to each city, it appears these deities simply represented local manifestations of deities worshiped by the Phoenicians at large.

In Apuleius's second century CE novel, '*Metamorphoses*', the protagonist Lucius prays on the shore of the Mediterranean to the moon and from the shimmering water emerges a female deity that identifies herself as various peoples around the Mediterranean refer to her, e.g. Minerva, Hecate, Venus, before finally revealing herself by her true name, Isis. Nearly every deity in the Phoenician pantheon possessed a name with an interchangeable meaning that could have served as a title or attribute. These 'names' can also be interpreted as different manifestations of a single deity (Morgenstern 1960: 141-142; Moscati 1968: 176; Clifford 1990: 57; Stern 1999: 254; Ribichini 2001: 121ff; Choi 2004: 17-18; Graf 2007: 3; Woolmer 2011: 99; 2012: 244), e.g. El, Baal Shamayim, and Baal Hammon are all manifestations of a single deity. The most notable of these 'names' is that of Baal. 'Baal', i.e. Lord, could stand alone, or be joined with a place-name, e.g. Baal Lebanon, or an action, i.e. Baal Markod, referring to a local manifestation or attribute of the deity. Furthermore, Baal could refer to both the head of the pantheon El, and to his offspring, the dying and rising god, and the feminine form, Baalat, could refer to any female deity (Ribichini

2001: 121-122). The responsibilities of these deities seem to have been primarily economic, with all of the attached related responsibilities, e.g. seasonal cycle that in Phoenicia could be related not only to agriculture, but also to the sailing seasons. The encompassing economic responsibilities of these local deities is suggested by the seventh century BCE Esarhaddon and Baal treaty in which it is stated that Melqart and Eshmun may "deliver your land to destruction… make disappear food for your mouth, clothes for your body, oil for your ointment" (Clifford 1990: 60). It appears the Phoenicians' need to differentiate their religion from that of other cities in Phoenicia was driven by political motives rather than religious ones. Each Phoenician dynasty wished to display a unique set of tutelary deities who, by virtue of their divine intervention, bestowed the kingship upon the members of the royal family. The patron deity, usually Baal, was identified with the human king who represented its divine authority on earth. This attitude probably inspired Phoenician monarchs to serve as high priests and priestess of certain deities and represent them in festivals and rituals (Morgenstern 1960: 152-153; Ackerman 2013), as reflected in royal inscriptions, e.g. *KAI* 14 (*cf.* Van der Toorn 1995: 2048-2050). It should however be stated here that this attitude did not necessarily reflect the popular belief of the common people, who without a doubt relied on other deities for their general wellbeing, as demonstrated by the use of theophoric names that do not match that of their city's pantheon.

Betils, Pillars, and Sacred Trees

Betils, stelae (*massebot*), or sacred pillars, which seem to represent sacred trees, were frequent elements in Phoenician cult places. The *bet-il*, i.e. 'home of the god', was a monolithic dressed stone in the form of a cone or a tapering pillar, which may have symbolized the deity's mountainous abode. Betils were erected either alone or in a group of two or three, and represented the presence of the deity. It was usually placed before or on altars and offering tables in temples and open-air precincts, e.g. at Sarepta and Kition (see below). The sacred pillar, known in the Hebrew bible as the Asherah, was a small votive column or wooden post that seems to have served a similar function to the betil, representing an abstract form of the sacred tree. Sacred pillars may have represented the betil's feminine version, meant specifically for female deities. Evidence to the use of betils and sacred trees or pillars appear in literary sources, iconography, and in the archaeological record from the Bronze Age and well into the Roman period (Smith 1957: 203-

204; Morgenstern 1960: 149; James 1966: 32-34; Moscati 1968: 39-40; Stockton 1974; Markoe 2000: 122; Sala 2008: 70-71).

According to Philo of Byblos, Astarte had found a star that fell from the sky, perhaps a meteorite, which she brought to her temple at Tyre and consecrated (Attridge and Oden 1981: 54-55; Baumgarter 1981: 220). O'Bryhim (1997: 40-41) suggested this was a betil which is represented in a first century CE coin found near Baalbek. The coin portrays a statue of Astarte seated on a throne with a spherical object on her knee (Mouterde 1942: 137-142, Pl. 10). According to Josephus, quoting Menander (*Con. Ap*. 1: 118), Hiram I built a temple to the Olympian Zeus, who should be identified with Melqart, and decorated it with rich offerings, among which was a golden pillar. According to Herodotus (2: 44), two pillars stood in the temple of Heracles at Tyre, one made of gold and the other made of emerald. These two pillars seem to have still housed the temple during the first century CE, as they were also mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 37: 75). Barnett (1969: 7) suggested the two pillars with lily capitals depicted in the Assyrian relief portraying the escape of king Luli from Tyre are none other than the gold and emerald pillars of the temple of Melqart mentioned by Herodotus. He also suggested that the pillar seen at the very top of the structure, which he identified, as a temple, was a 'sacred tree', either in the form of a wooden pillar or an actual tree. Some scholars suggest a reference to these pillars may also be found in Ezekiel's lament of Tyre (Ezek. 26: 11) (Stockton 1974: 11; Katzenstein 1997: 88, fn. 57):[56]

<div style="display:flex; justify-content:space-between;">

"*…and the pillars of thy strength shall
go down to the ground.*"

"וּמַצְּבוֹת עֻזֵּךְ לָאָרֶץ תֵּרֵד..."

</div>

Tyre was not the only Phoenician city famous for its sacred pillars. According to Plutarch (*De Isid. et Osir*. 16), there was a sacred wooden post dedicated to Adonis in the temple of Isis, who was identified with Astarte, at Byblos.

Betils, sacred trees and pillars were often depicted on Phoenician funerary stone stelae found mostly in the west. Hundreds of such stelae found in the *Tophet* at Carthage, dated between the

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[56] Other references to *massebot* and *asherot* in the Hebrew bible can be found in Deut. 16: 21; Jgs. 6: 25-30; 2 Kgs. 17: 10; 18: 4.

seventh and sixth centuries BCE, depict betils hewn into a niche in the center of the stele. The betils appear either as a single standing stone pillar, most often with tapering sides, or as a pair of two, or a triad of such pillars. Funerary stelae depicting betils were also found in other Punic sites such as Nora, Motya, and Cirta (Stockton 1974: 14ff; Moscati 2001d: 368-373). Betils, sacred trees and pillars were also often depicted on Phoenician coins. Tyrian coins dated to the third and fourth centuries CE often depict two stelae or betils erected adjacent to a tree, presumably an olive tree (Figs.4.5-6) (Stockton 1974: 10-12). A coin of emperor Macrinus from Byblos, dated to the second century CE, depicts an open-air precinct with a tall, cone-like object, presumably a betil, standing on a base in the center of the court (Figs. 4.7-8) attests to the permanence of this practice in Phoenician cult (Will 1950-1951: 3-4, Fig. 1; Hamburger 1954, nos. 132-133; Moscati 1968: 39-40; Stockton 1974: 5-7).

In the Archaeological record, many evidences to the use of betils, sacred pillars or sacred trees were found in cultic settings in sites throughout Phoenicia. The most renowned example of betils in Phoenicia were found in the Middle Bronze Age 'Temple of the Obelisks' at **Byblos** (Dunand 1950-1958: 644-652) (Figs. 3.83-84; 5.9-10). However, betils appear even earlier in the Early Bronze Age III 'L-shaped temple complex'. Several betils were found within the complex's temenos wall flanking entrances, or placed against the temenos wall (Sala 2008: 70-72).

The use of betils during the Late Bronze Age may be attested at the stratum XI temple at **Tel Mevorakh**, where a pit, ca. 0.5 m. deep, was cut into the plaster floor in the center of the main hall. The excavator suggested it may have been a favissa pit, however it was found empty (Stern 1977b; 1984a: 4-6, 28-39, Fig. II, 24). This pit could have accommodated a betil, a sacred tree, or a pillar. Furthermore, two lime-coated sockets, one round and the other rectangular, were recorded in the raised platforms at the western end of the structure (*ibid*.). These might have also held wooden posts or pillars (Figs. 3.90-91).

Iron Age I

In Shrine 300, attributed to strata XI-X at **Tell Qasile**, five small stones were found. These stone, measuring 0.3-0.5m, were found on the floor near the three brick-built projections erected parallel to the southern bench and interpreted as pedestals. Two of these stones were cone-shaped (one

described as pestle shaped) and were suggested to be stelae (Mazar 1980: 28, Pls. 14-15).

At the stratum X temple (Building 131) at **Tell Qasile**, a small column base was found on the southern step of the raised platform, which seems to have supported a small pillar. The imprint of a round pole was also noted on a higher step of the platform (Mazar 1977; 1980: 33-45; 1993b: 1809-1211) (Figs. 3.127-130).

At the Iron Age I-IIA temple **Tell Abu-Hawam** (Building 30, Stratum IV), a limestone pillar found erected above a rectangular shaft was found near the raised platform (Hamilton 1935: 8-11, Pl. 4, 9.2; Balensi *et al.* 1993: 10-11) (Fig. 3.121).

Iron Age II

At the Iron Age II temple at **Sarepta**, dated between the eighth-seventh to the sixth centuries BCE (Shrine 1), a square socket was cut into the floor of the temple to the east of the raised platform. This socket may have held a betil, a pillar, or a sacred tree in place. The depth of the socket suggests the object stood to a considerable height (Pritchard 1975: 14-18, 37-40; 1983: 524-525) (Fig. 5.11). In the Iron Age II temple at **Tell Sukas** (Stratum G3), a raised platform was unearthed in the western end of the structure. The platform consisted of a large stone block, ca. 1.2x0.95 m. in size, and other smaller stones. The large stone was pierced by two artificial holes, the larger of which was located at the center of the western part of the structure (Fig. 3.136). The excavator suggested it held in place an object of importance (Riis 1970: 44-47, Figs. 12a-b, 13). At the second phase temple (Stratum G2), another raised platform with a round socket was unearthed in the western end of the structure. Ash found in the socket suggests it held a wooden object (Riis 1970: 62-69, Fig. 23) which may have served as a sacred pillar (Fig. 3.137).

At the entrance to the temenos of the 'Temple of Astarte' (**Floor 3**) at **Kition**, two pits, ca. 0.5 m. in diameter and 0.5 m. deep, were recorded. The excavator suggested these pits were meant for sacred trees (Karageorghis 1976: 100, Pl. 75) (Fig. 5.12).

Iron Age III

At **Beirut** (**BEY 010**), a monumental structure (**U16**) which may have served as a temple, dated to the late Persian-Hellenistic period, was recently unearthed. Fragments of a well-dressed betil

were found in the structure's main hall, alongside other cultic artifacts nearby (Elayi and Sayegh 2000: 153-54, 164-67, 264-269; Elayi 2010: 166, Fig. 20) (Fig. 5.13).

At the Iron Age III temple at **Mispe Yamim**, two ashlar stone stelae were placed erect against the southern wall of the structure. The excavator suggested these might have served as *massebot* (Frankel 1991; 1993; Frankel and Ventura 1998: 39-40) (Fig. 3.149).

At **Yavneh-Yam**, remains of a structure, which may have served a cultic purpose, was unearthed. A circular pit filled with dark soil, which seems to indicate remains of organic material, was cut into the floor of the main hall. The excavators suggested it might have held a betil or a sacred tree in place (Fig. 5.14).[57]

Discussion

Betils and sacred pillars are perhaps the most profound expression of the aniconic nature of Phoenician religion.[58] The upright standing stone or wooden pillar was most likely meant to represent the presence of the deity. Actual representations of Phoenician deities dated to the Iron Age I-II are scarce at best (Moscati 2001b: 349-350), and normally originate from other regions such as Egypt and Asia Minor.

As presented above, evidence to the use of betils and sacred pillars by the Phoenicians were noted in the literary, epigraphic, and archaeological record from the Bronze Age and well into the Roman period. Although the use of standing stones, i.e. *massebot*, and sacred pillars was also employed by other ancient peoples, such as the two bronze pillars, Jachin and Boaz, in the temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs. 7: 15-21; Jer. 52: 17), the use of betils and sacred pillars as an aniconic representation of deities can be seen as a Canaanite-Phoenician phenomenon, as is attested by classical authors. Furthermore, although the use of stelae and stone cairns is frequently mentioned in the Hebrew bible in relation to cult places and rituals, the Pentateuchal law regards them as idolatrous (e.g. Exod. 34: 13; Deut. 12: 3) and biblical authors often equate their use with foreign

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[57] The author participated in the excavation of the structure. The information is provided through personal communication with Prof. M. Fisher, the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Cultures, Tel Aviv University.

[58] The basis for the aniconism of Phoenician religion during the Iron Age, may stem from Bronze Age traditions. According to Doumet-Serhal (2017: 26), illustrations dated from the Middle Bronze Age from Sidon demonstrate a reluctance to display precise human facial features. Rather, a mix of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic features appear.

cults (e.g. 2 Kgs. 17: 10; Smith 1957: 202-204; Stockton 1974, Figs. 1a, d-f; Doak 2015). That being said, it should be noted that while the use of betils and other aniconic representations of deities had no doubt some traction in the popular belief, these aniconic representations of deities demonstrate the official stance of the clergy regarding the gods. The common people clearly preferred less abstract representations of the deities, as clearly demonstrated by the abundance use of figurines and other small-scale anthropomorphic and sometimes zoomorphic effigies (see below).

Funerary Rites

Funerary rituals are rites of passage meant to facilitate the deceased from one qualitative state to another and from the world of the living to the world beyond (Alekshin 1983: 137). Although our knowledge of Phoenician beliefs concerning the afterlife is lacking, judging by funerary inscriptions it appears that the Phoenicians envisioned a gloomy afterlife (Ward 1996: 205), as many inscriptions found in funerary context, e.g. the Ahiram sarcophagus inscription (*KAI* 1; Markoe 2000: 137-138; Lehmann 2005: 38), express a desire for a long life. The wish for longevity may be interpreted as a belief that a person received what reward he was due to during his lifetime, and that the afterlife offered no better future. This belief was common in the Ancient Near East as expressed in such works as the Babylonian 'Poem of the Righteous Sufferer' or the 'Gilgamesh epic', the Canaanite 'Aqhat epic', and the biblical book of Job. It was only during the Hellenistic period that this attitude had apparently changed (Ward 1996: 205).

It seems that the Phoenicians recognized at least two stages of death. The first was a kind of existence within the tomb, and the second was the passage into the netherworld (Saggs 1958: 159). The grave served as a liminal space that bridged between the world of the living and the world of the dead (Pearson 1993: 204). The dead were sometimes referred to as *Rephaim*, Hebrew רְפָאִים, who were the souls of glorious ancestors, heroes, or simply the dead (Moscati 1968: 68; Gras *et al.* 1991: 173-174; Markoe 2000: 137).[59] The term '*Rephaim*' appears in Late Bronze Age texts

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[59] Not to be confused with the biblical use of רְפָאִים as an ethnic group of mythical attributes, e.g. Gen. 14:5, Deut. 2: 10-11, Josh. 12: 14.

from Ugarit, and many scholars maintain that these 'sacred ancestors' were honored with ritual meals known as *mrzh* (Pope 1981: 176; King 1989; Markoe 2000: 120), although no such indication is clearly stated in the texts (McLaughlin 1991: 274ff).

Marzeah

The burial ceremony must have included certain rituals of which we have no clear knowledge. Nevertheless, it appears that during and/or after the burial, rituals involving drinking and dinning were practiced in honor of the dead (Gras *et al.* 1991: 139; Lipiński 2003: 298). It seems that the Phoenician elite engaged in lavish banquets (Gras *et al.* 1991: 139; Markoe 2000: 120; Greer 2007: 246), while the commoners were sufficed with simple meals at the cemetery. These feasts were known as marzeah - *mrzh*, Hebrew מַרְזֵחַ, or symposia, which included offering sacrifice, dining and drinking from designated vessels, and were accompanied by singing and playing of musical instruments (Pope 1981: 176; King 1989; Markoe 2000: 120). During the Bronze Age, the marzeah appears to have been both the name of an official institution as well as the actual practice (Pope 1972: 193; Greer 2007: 247), as it appears in Late Bronze Age texts. At Ugarit, the marzeah institute owned fields and vineyards (*RS* 18.01; *KTU* 4.399; 4.642) and was recognized by the royal house (*RS* 15.88).

Marzeah banquets were believed to have been held by the gods, as attested in Ugaritic texts, e.g. 'El's divine feast' (*KTU* 1.114). Scholars maintain such a banquet is attested on the Ahiram sarcophagus which depicts a god or king seated on a throne in front of a table laden with food and drink, opposite of which are seven figures paying homage (Moscati 1968: 87) (Figs. 5.1-3). Other examples appear on metal bowls (Figs. 5.15-16), dated to the Iron Age, depicting deities and men engaged in feasting, offering sacrifices, and sexual activity, often accompanied by a procession of musicians (Markoe 1985: 204; Karageorghis 1999). The appearance of banqueting scenes on drinking vessels, as well as the connection of the marzeah to vineyards, suggests the importance of wine during the ritual (Clifford 1990: 58; McLaughlin 1991).

Although the marzeah could be dedicated to a deity, as evident by a fourth century dedicatory inscription on a metal bowl to Shamash found at Sidon (Avigad and Greenfield 1982: 118-128; *cf.* Guzzo Amadasi 1987: 121-28), it appears it was mostly related to funerary rites, as attested in the

Hebrew bible (Ferris Beach 1993: 97).[60] The bible often describes feasting as a foreign cult related to mortuary practices and mourning, e.g. Jer. 16: 5-8:

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"For thus saith the Lord: Enter not into the house of mourning (mrzh), neither go to lament, neither bemoan them... Both the great and the small shall die in this land; they shall not be buried; neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them; neither shall men break bread for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead; neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother."

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"כִּי-כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה, אַל-תָּבוֹא בֵּית מַרְזֵחַ, וְאַל-תֵּלֵךְ לִסְפּוֹד, וְאַל-תָּנֹד לָהֶם... וּמֵתוּ גְדֹלִים וּקְטַנִּים בָּאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת, לֹא יִקָּבֵרוּ; וְלֹא-יִסְפְּדוּ לָהֶם--וְלֹא יִתְגֹּדַד, וְלֹא יִקָּרֵחַ לָהֶם. וְלֹא-יִפְרְסוּ לָהֶם עַל-אֵבֶל, לְנַחֲמוֹ עַל-מֵת; וְלֹא-יַשְׁקוּ אוֹתָם כּוֹס תַּנְחוּמִים, עַל-אָבִיו וְעַל-אִמּוֹ. וּבֵית-מִשְׁתֶּה לֹא-תָבוֹא, לָשֶׁבֶת אוֹתָם, לֶאֱכֹל, וְלִשְׁתּוֹת."

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Other examples of banqueting can be found in Amos 6: 4-7, and Dan. 5: 1-4, the cultic nature of which, is clearly demonstrated by Greer (2007: 243-251, 261).

The occurrence of marzeah rituals may be attested in the archaeological record by the frequent appearance of ceramic assemblages with a clear emphasis on vessels related to drinking and dining in graves along the coast during the Iron Age (Whincop 2009: 228-230). This mortuary practice seems to stem in a long-practiced Bronze Age tradition that began as early as the Early Bronze Age I (Baker 2006; 2012: 110-114).[61]

The preparation of ritual meals is clearly demonstrated by faunal remains found within cinerary urns in the large cremation cemetery of Tyre Al-Bass. An analysis of these animal bone fragments indicates they were cooked or boiled before they were placed in the funeral pyre (Aubet 2006: 40). Another indication of ritual meal preparation as part of the funerary rites are hearths found near

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[60] And also, in late rabbinic texts (Ferris Beach 1993: 96).

[61] At Sidon, ovens and stone tools used for the preparation of food, such as grinding stones and pestles and mortars, were found near burials dated to the Middle Bronze Age IIA and may reflect such mortuary practices (Doumet-Serhal 2009a: 240-241; 2009b: 24, Fig. 19a).

tombs, such as those found in the Iron Age cemetery at Achziv. Near the hearths, oil lamps, incense burners, cups, jugs, and figurines were recorded (Gras *et al.* 1991: 139; Mazar 2010: 36). Furthermore, the covering slabs of these tombs, which were dated to the tenth century BCE, display hewn holes that the excavator suggested should be interpreted as 'feeding holes' used to feed the dead. In later burials no such holes were found, however similar ceramic assemblages appear inside the tombs (Dayagi-Mendels 2002: 145-147; Mazar 2010: 36-42). During the Iron Age II, especially from the mid-eighth century BCE, this 'funerary kit' included a specific set of vessels consisting of a trefoil rim jug with a conical neck and globular body, a mushroom lip jug, and a bowl for drinking (Aubet 2006: 37ff) (Figs. 5.17-20).

Discussion

Although our knowledge of Phoenician mortuary rites is severely lacking, there is no doubt rituals were practiced during the burial process in order to facilitate the passage of the deceased to the netherworld. Evidence for such rituals is frequently found in the archaeological record. Phoenician tombs often display various funerary offerings such as jewelry and cosmetics, weapons or tools of trade, and food and drink (Lipiński 2003: 299; Wason 2004: 89-102). The most notable funerary offering in Phoenician tombs were pottery assemblages related to drinking and dining, which may have been a part of marzeah rituals conducted during the funeral (Whincop 2009: 228-230) (Figs. 5.17-20). Although many scholars maintain that the marzeah was only practiced by the socio-economic elites (Markoe 2000: 120; Greer 2007: 246-247), archaeological evidence suggests that funerary meals were conducted in modest graves as well. It is more than possible that the Phoenician elite celebrated the marzeah in lavish banquets conducted regularly. However, the consumption of food and drink as part of the funerary rites, or at least the offering of food and drink for the deceased, seems to have been a common practice in Phoenician society as a whole, as demonstrated by the distribution of pottery vessels related to drinking and dinning in Iron Age burials, is especially abundant along the coast (Whincop 2009: 228-230). These became almost standardized in Phoenicia and the western colonies during the Iron Age II, especially from the mid-eighth century BCE, as many tombs display a distinctive set of ceramics which consisted of a trefoil jug, a mushroom-lip jug, and a drinking bowl (Aubet 2006: 37ff).

Apotropaic Cult

The most notable Phoenician cult expressions found in the archaeological record are believed to have been part of a popular cult of an apotropaic nature. The common Phoenician seems to have been preoccupied with protecting himself from evil. He did so by wearing, or otherwise displaying, images and symbols made of metal, stone, glass and faience, bone and ivory, but most of all, clay. During the Iron Age, the prevailing artistic style for these cultic artifacts continued the Bronze Age tradition that was heavily influenced by Egyptian art and motifs (Gubel 2000: 210-211; Beck 2002: 203). During the late Iron Age, the Greek artistic style became increasingly popular in the southern Levant, and during the Iron Age III, equal amounts of Egyptian and Greek style artifacts are found.

Figurines

Figurines, and to a lesser extent, plaques, are among the most common expressions of popular cult in Phoenician culture. The vast majority of figurines and plaques were made of clay, though similar, and at times identical, figurines were also produced of other materials such as stone, metal, bone and ivory. Over the years thousands of figurines and figurine fragments were found in excavations throughout the southern Levant. Figurines may be found in any archaeological context; however, the vast majority of assemblages were found in favissa pits and tombs (Stern 1982: 158-162; 2001: 80-83; Paz 2007: 64-65).

The majority of Phoenician figurines are believed to represent the deities of the triad. The head of the pantheon is represented as an adult male, either enthroned or standing. The female deity is most often represented as a fertility goddess (Figs. 5.21-22), and the offspring is represented as a warrior on a horse, or an infant child, also known as a 'temple boy' (Fig. 5.23). Nevertheless, some figurines seem to represent humans in cultic or even everyday activities (Figs. 5.24-26). These were probably offered as votive offerings to certain deities (Pritchard 1943: 87; Riis 1949: 77ff; Stern 2001: 75-80, 504-505; Paz 2007: 74ff; Niehr 2008: 18-19; *cf.* Frevel 2008).

The majority of Iron Age Phoenician clay figurines were wheel-made and had a round hollow 'bell-shaped' body. This figurine type is also known as the 'Pillar figurine' (Figs. 5.21-22). The

heads were mold-made and attached later, along with the arms and other features and adornments. The figurines were painted with red and black color in order to accentuate their features. During the late seventh or sixth century BCE, a new technique was imported from Greece and from then on, most clay figurines were cast in molds. Nevertheless, hand-made figurines still appear during the Iron Age III (Pritchard 1943: 83; Holland 1975: 178ff; Stern 1982: 165; 2001: 80; Bisi 2001: 380-383).

Iron Age I-III Figurines

The most common Phoenician figurines during the Iron Age I-III were of a nude female figure supporting her breasts. During the late Iron Age and Persian period, figurines of females in advanced state of pregnancy or nursing a child also became common. These are believed to represent deities related to a fertility cult (Pritchard 1943; Culican 1969: 35-39; Gubel 2000: 201-202; Bisi 2001: 380; Stern 2001: 79-80). Another popular type of figurine in Phoenicia was of a 'musician' which most often consist of female figures playing one of four typical musical instruments; a lyre, a double flute, a frame drum, and a tambourine (Figs. 5.27-29).[62] Figurines of drummers seem to have been the most popular type in Phoenicia and Cyprus. Figurines of male musicians also appear; however, these are much rarer. These figurines are believed to represent humans, perhaps priestesses preforming a ritual that involves music (Meyers 1987: 120-122; Pritchard 1988: 52; Karageorghis 1998: 30-31, 67-75; Stern 2001: 80-82; Paz 2007).[63] Other Phoenician figurines include figures of human women engaged in various everyday activities such as kneading dough and bathing. Nevertheless, these activities may also be interpreted as parts of rituals such as the preparation of sacred cakes as offerings for a deity. These figurines are unique to Phoenicia, Cyprus, and the Punic world (Culican 1976a: 119-123; Kletter 1996: 35-36; Karageorghis 1998: 45-48; Stern 2001: 82-83).

Similar figurines were found throughout the southern Levant during the Iron Age; however, there

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[62] The figurines of females holding a disc have many other interpretations as well, such as goddesses holding the sun (Amiran 1967: 99-100), a woman holding a loaf of bread or a platter (Pritchard 1943: 55; Lapp 1964: 40), and as carrying a spherical betil (O'Bryhim 1997), *cf*. Paz 2007.

[63] Figurines holding a round disc were also popular in eighth century BCE Judah, however it is arguable whether or not their disc was a drum as it was larger and undecorated, unlike the 'drummer' figurines in Phoenicia (*cf*. Paz 2007: 102-103; Kletter and Saarelainen 2011).

are certain nuances that differ the Phoenician figurines from those of other nations. Phoenician figurines were characterized by a mold-made head with exaggerated ears, and a long 'Phoenician wig' which falls to the figure's shoulders, unlike the 'Judean wig' for example which was considerably shorter. Furthermore, figurines found along the coast were more realistic in design and often more elaborately decorated with applied necklaces (Kletter 1996: 35; 2001: 183; Stern 2001: 80). The female musician figurines which were especially common in Phoenicia and Cyprus, were also characterized by a long 'Egyptian wig' (Kletter 1996: 35-36; O'Bryhim 1997; Stern 2000: 124; 2001: 80; Paz 2007: 60-63).

During the Persian period, the distribution of clay figurines was limited to the coast and its hinterland, the Galilee, the large valleys region, and Edom that at that period stretched as far as the Hebron hills. Very few were found in Samaria and Judah (Stern 2001: 490; Fantalkin and Tal 2012: 134-135; *cf.* Schmitt 2003; de Hulster 2012). The clay figurines of the Persian period may be divided into two main groups based on their artistic style: an 'Eastern group' and a 'Western group'.

The Eastern Group

The Easter group may be further subdivided into three main groups according to their dress style: The Phoenician dress, the Egyptian dress, and the Persian-Babylonian dress (Stern 1982: 165; 2001: 492), however the most common figurine was still that of a nude female. These figurines continue the Iron Age tradition and depict a nude female figure standing with hands supporting her breasts or at her sides, and the genital region is enlarged and emphasized. These figurines are believed to represent fertility goddesses. Other types of popular female figurines depict pregnant females, either seated or standing, and females carrying a child on the shoulders or arms. These figurines most often are depicted with an 'Egyptian wig', but their distribution is restricted to the southern Levantine coast and Cyprus, which suggests they were Phoenician in origin. The pregnant figurines may represent human females rather than deities presented as votive offerings (Negbi 1966: 5; Culican 1969: 35-37; Stern 1982: 168-171; 2000: 166; 2001: 493-495; Pritchard 1988: 50-52; Nunn 2000: 35-69).

The female figurines of the Persian period differ from their predecessors in their facial expressions. While the figurines of the Iron Age depicted a frozen demeanor, the figurines of the Persian period

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are characterized by a much more naturalistic expression. Furthermore, these figurines were solely mold-made (Stern 1982: 171; 2001: 494).

The most common male figurine of this group depicts a bearded man wearing a round flat headdress and wrapped in a cloak, either sitting on a seat or standing and grasping his beard (Figs. 5.30-31). This type of headdress frequently appears on Phoenician reliefs of the period (Stern 1982: 165; 2001: 492; *cf.* Chéhab 1951-1952: 85). Another common and similar figurine portrays the same figure with a long, pointed hat in Egyptian style, known as the 'Osiris hat'. This difference seems to be the only one, and it is believed that the two types are of the same Phoenician source. These figurines are believed to represent a deity, most likely Baal, perhaps of two different locals (Stern 1982: 165; 2001: 492-493).

Another less common figurine type belonging to the 'Eastern group' portrays a male figure wearing a pointed cloth hat that also covers his chin and cheeks (Fig. 5.32). This headdress is believed to be characteristic to Persians, as evident by its portrayal in reliefs from Persepolis, and is not believed to represent deities. It is also typical to the 'Rider' figurine, also known as the 'Persian rider', which portrays a male figure, wearing the aforementioned headdress and a heavy cloak over the shoulders, on top of a horse. The horse is often depicted wearing breastplate armor. The rider and horse figurines were either handmade or cast in mold. These figurines were widely distributed throughout the Achaemenid Empire, from Egypt to Mesopotamia and Persia, and are believed to have represented Persian nobles (Stern 1982: 167-168).

The Western Group

This group represents an entirely new artistic style influenced by Greek sculpting. Figurines of this type were found throughout the Aegean world and depict subjects from the realm of Greek religion and mythology (Stern 1982: 172; 2001: 500; Bisi 2001: 381).

The most prominent female figurine in the western group depicts a mature female in two main variations. The first is seated on an elaborate throne with a backrest and armrests. She is clothed in a long dress and her hair is curled and topped with a diadem. The other is seated in a simple low chair and wears a high round hat. Another figurine type depicts a standing female, either mature or young (Figs. 5.33-36), with many variations of dress and hairstyle (Stern 2001: 503). Another new type, which appears from the fifth century BCE, is of a female with outstretched arms (Bisi 2001: 383).

The most common male figurine is known as the 'Apollo figurine'. It depicts a nude youth in a few variations. The figure's front is nude and the shoulders are covered with a cloak. The hands hang at his sides, grasp the end of the cloak, or hold a musical instrument. Other figurines portraying the characteristics of other Greek deities, such as Hermes and Hercules, were less common (Stern 1982: 172; 2001: 500). Another male figurine type is that of a small child, known as the 'temple boy' who may represent a young boy in the service of a temple, or the offspring of the divine couple. He is often depicted either as a youth in Greek garments or a small child reclining on his elbow or hand (Nunn 2000: 69; Stern 2000: 166; 2001: 503; Niehr 2008: 18) (Figs. 5.37-38).

Another common type of figurine of the western group is characteristic by its association with the Dionysus cult in Greece. This varied type includes male and female figures in reclining positions, grotesque pygmies with large bellies and exposed genitals, and figures of satyrs (Stern 1982: 172).

Phoenician Masks and Protomai

Masks, primarily made of clay, first appear during the Late Bronze Age. They frequently appear in Iron Age strata throughout the southern Levant, becoming increasingly more popular in the late seventh century BCE, and peaking during the Persian period (Stern 1976a: 109-110; 2001: 508; 2010: 24). Scholars maintain that masks and protomai were used as part of an apotropaic cult that was meant to ward off evil (Culican 1975-1976: 72-75; Stern 2001: 507-508; 2010: 24; *cf*. Pritchard 1988: 70-71). Both life size and miniature masks and protomai were produced. Life-size masks were probably worn by people, as indicated by small holes pierced in the mask used to secure it to the wearer, while the smaller masks and protomai may have been hung or otherwise displayed (Culican 1975-1976: 64-67; Pritchard 1988: 70-71; Ciasca 2001: 406). Masks and protomai were found in both cultic and non-cultic contexts, however the majority of which in the southern Levant, were found in sanctuaries, favissae, and tombs. In the Punic west, they were mostly found in tombs (Stern 1976a: 114-116; 2010: 24; Ciasca 2001: 406). Interestingly, unlike figurines, Phoenician masks and protomai predominantly display male figures (Ciasca 2001: 408).

Phoenician Iron Age masks and protomai depict both male and female faces. The masks were handmade and painted with red and black dye in order to emphasis features such as lips and facial hair. The more elaborate masks display features such as headdress and facial hair in relief (Figs. 5.43-44), while the simpler masks display these features only with paint. The eyes were often cut open in order to allow the wearer to see. Occasionally the mouth and nostrils were cut open as well. Many Phoenician masks display a plastic circular ornament on the forehead that may represent the sun disc. It may also represent a charm to ward off evil (Culican 1975-1976: 67-69; Stern 1976a: 118; 2001: 85-87, I.46, 507-510; 2010: 24). During the Iron Age, Phoenician masks display a predominantly Phoenico-Egyptian style. Male figures are often bearded (Figs. 5.39-41), and female figures are often depicted with an 'Egyptian wig' (Fig. 5.42). Typically, the eyebrows are in relief, the eyes are slanted, and the mouth is smiling (Stern 1976a: 114-115; Ciasca 2001: 407-408). On Cyprus, protomai were more popular than masks (Ciasca 2001: 408).

During the Persian period, masks, much like figurines, were produced in two distinct artistic styles: an eastern style and a western-Greek style. Masks portraying human faces seem to represent male and female deities; however, the majority of masks portray a grotesque elderly male with crescent shaped eyes and a large mouth shaped in an ominous fashion (Culican 1975-1976: 67; Stern 2001: 508) (Fig. 5.45).

Phoenician Amulets and Pendants

One of the most common objects used in Phoenician apotropaic cults of the Persian period were small faience or painted glass pendants and amulets shaped like heads that were worn in necklaces, mostly by children. These pendants first appear during the Iron Age III, in the late sixth century BCE, along the southern Levantine coast. They were also popular in the Punic west until the fourth century BCE (Stern 1976a: 116-117). Much like masks and figurines, these amulets probably portray the heads of deities, both male and female, and also grotesque heads. The male figures are usually bearded and the female figures are typically portrayed in Egyptian style. These pendants are believed to represent the deities of the pantheon, while the grotesque faces represent chthonic or demonic deities (Stern 1976a: 117; Uberti 2001: 542).

Bes

The Egyptian deity Bes deserves a special notice here, as he was a prominent figure in Phoenician popular apotropaic cult since the Bronze Age. Bes was dwarf-like deity with a grotesque appearance and a benign nature (Figs. 5.46-47). He is often portrayed as a small bearded creature with squat limbs and a lion's mane, ears, and tail, wearing a feathered crown. Bes was believed to protect women in childbirth and bring good fortune to married couples and their children. Necklaces with his image were mostly worn by children (Wilson 1975; Culican 1976b: 21; Hart 1986: 58-61; Stern 2000: 176-177; Malaise 2002: 28-29). Figurines, amulets, and masks portraying his image can often be found in cultic and other contexts in the southern Levant (Beck 2002: 203). In the southern Levant he was sometimes portrayed as a horned and bearded squat creature with a coarse, wrinkled face, broad nose, animal ears and horns (Culican 1976b: 21; Stern 2001: 508).[64]

During the Persian period Bes's popularity reached its peak (Culican 1976b: 21). Besides figurines and amulets, his face was occasionally incised in crude lines or plastered in relief on pottery vessels (Stern 1976b; 2001: 508). Bes and Bes-like figurines and plaques were also found on Cyprus and are believed to originate from Phoenicia (Karageorghis 1996: 12-13).

Discussion

It seems, as some scholars noted, that the Phoenicians were indeed preoccupied with protecting themselves from evil. One of the key methods of the apotropaic cult appears to have been the use of various effigies of deities in form of figurines, masks, and amulets. These were worn or otherwise displayed on the body or location they were meant to protect. These effigies would also accompany the dead, perhaps to protect them in the afterlife or perhaps to protect the living from the dead. Although the apotropaic cult was common throughout the southern Levant, certain elements of it were unique to the Phoenicians.

Clay figurines were the most common and popular aspect of the apotropaic cult in the southern

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[64] According to Culican (1976b), the Phoenician Bes was not modelled after the Egyptian deity, but rather after a unique Phoenician demon.

Levant throughout the ages, and can be found in all ethnically oriented regions. However, these figurines were not identical and display various nuances that can be distinguished and therefore be culturally assigned according to their artistic style and distribution.

The figurines found along the northern coast display certain differences to those found further inland or along the southern coast. During the Iron Age, the female figurines identified as Phoenician seem to have been more elaborate in design displaying more realistic features than their inland counterparts do. The head was mold made and attached to the hollow conical body alongside other adornments. They were also characterized by the long braided hairstyle known as the 'Egyptian wig'. These figurines are found in great numbers along the Phoenician coast and in various sites on Cyprus, and are believed to have originated from Phoenicia (Negbi 1966: 5; Culican 1969: 35-37; Stern 1982: 168-171; 2000: 166; 2001: 493-495; Pritchard 1988: 50-52; Nunn 2000: 35-69; Paz 2007: 61-63). Female figurines of musicians, mostly of drummers, and figurines of females in everyday activities were also unique to the Phoenician coast and Cyprus (Kletter 1996: 35-36; Karageorghis 1998: 45-48; Stern 2001: 82-83). During the Persian period, figurines were found almost exclusively in areas under Phoenician hegemony, i.e. along the coast and its hinterland, the Galilee and the large valleys region. Therefore, during that period, figurines, especially those of the 'Eastern group' may serve as indicators for Phoenician presence (Stern 2001: 490; Fantalkin and Tal 2012: 134-135; *cf.* Schmitt 2003; de Hulster 2012).

Phoenician masks and protomai display similar artistic style as figurines. During the Iron Age, they were mostly fashioned in the Phoenico-Egyptian style. Male figures were often bearded, and female figures were displays with an 'Egyptian wig' (Stern 1976a: 114-115; Ciasca 2001: 407-408). Another common element was a plastic circular ornament placed on the forehead (Culican 1975-1976: 67-69; Stern 1976a: 118; 2001: 507-508). During the Persian period masks, similarly to figurines, were produced in both Eastern and Greek style, and like figurines can be found almost predominantly along the coast (Culican 1975-1976: 67; Stern 2001: 508). Although masks have been found throughout the Ancient Near East as early as the Late Bronze Age, their distribution and abundance along the southern Levantine coast, as well as in Punic settlements, during the Iron Age and Persian period, constitute them as an element of Phoenician craft and Culture (Ciasca 2001: 406).

Similarly, amulets and pendants in the shape of heads, grotesque or otherwise, were also unique to Persian period Phoenicia, Cyprus, and the Punic west, where they are most abundantly found

(Stern 1976a: 116-117; Uberti 2001: 542). Therefore, these artifacts too, which are believed to have been used in the Phoenician apotropaic cult, can serve as cultural markers for Phoenician presence during the Persian period in the southern Levant.

Maritime Cults and Rituals

The Mediterranean Sea was a key element in Phoenician society from a very early age. In a land dominated by impregnable mountain ranges that both limit its natural resources and virtually cut it off from the inland, the Mediterranean provided both reliable sustenance and a means of transportation. Many industries were also dependent on the sea, either for the import of raw materials and food, the export of timber and finished commodities, or for produce of the sea such as the Murex used for the crimson dye industry for which the Phoenicians were most renowned (Bartoloni 2001b: 96-97). The sea also held a promise of wealth and fortune for those who dared to venture deep into its farthest regions. But the Mediterranean was also potentially dangerous, unpredictable, and fickle, influenced by winds, tides, and currents. In the Ancient Near East, the sea was often perceived as a chaotic element, in contrast to fresh water. In the Mesopotamian creation myth '*Enuma elish*', Marduk battles the sea monster *Tiamat,* and from her body creates the world. The same concept of a conflict with the sea also appears in the Ugaritic myth of Baal and Yam (Grønbaek 1985), and is also echoed in the biblical creation myth (Hasel 1972: 1-2).

The Phoenicians however were a maritime society *par excellence* with strong connection to the sea and seafaring. Their attitude towards the Mediterranean must have been ambiguous at best. The sea was a vital part of everyday life in Phoenicia, especially for Phoenician cities located on islands such as Tyre and Arwad. It is more than likely that the Phoenicians' attitude towards the sea was more positive than that of other ancient peoples. Nevertheless, and despite their superior maritime skills, the sea was, and still is, a force to be reckoned with. Therefore, the relationship between the Phoenicians and the seascape was that of permanent tension, provoking a profound respect for all maritime activities performed on water or land (Brody 1998: 102; López-Bertan *et al.* 2008: 343-346) which were deeply infused with symbolism and rituals (López-Bertan *et al.* 2008: 348).

The first and foremost protective element of seafarers is their vessel, which allows them to sail the

waters and delivers them to their destination. Sea vessels can be seen as liminal agents, as they represent a bridge between land and sea, two antagonistic and contrasting parts of the landscape. Sea vessels have the ability to annul the chaos that the sea represents. The vessel is a thing of the land at sea; it is built on land, with materials taken from the land, and as such, it adheres to the land (Westerdahl 2005: 3). However, the physical presence of the vessel alone was not enough to protect sailors from the treacherous sea. Therefore, mariners took on tutelary patron deities to protect them from the perils of the sea, to which they offered rituals and sacrifices (Brody 1998: 9).

Cults and rituals related to maritime activities were performed both on land and at sea. These were performed before departure, on route, and at the successful conclusion of the voyage, both on board the vessel and later on land. A wall painting in the 'tomb of Kenamun', dated to the Late Bronze Age portrays Canaanite sailors performing rituals on board their vessel after arriving safely to port (Artzy 1987: 80; Brody 1998: 73ff; López-Bertan *et al.* 2008: 347, Fig. 1) (Fig. 4.2). Rituals preformed on land could have taken place in temples, but perhaps more often in sacred locations which became points of pilgrimage (López-Bertan *et al.* 2008: 347-348).

Maritime Deities and Patrons

The existence of a Phoenician 'Lord of the Sea', which may be equivalent to the Greek Poseidon, is evident by the many classical references identifying such a deity with his Greek counterpart, e.g. Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 1: 10.27, 35; Diodorus 5: 58.2, 11: 21.4, 13: 86.3 (*cf.* Brody 1998: 23-25, fn. 64). However, in Phoenicia the sea and maritime activities were so important it seems several, if not all deities in the Phoenician pantheon, had an influence over the sea, seafaring, and seafarers.

Traditionally deities related to maritime activities were those with attributes related to the sky, winds, and storms, i.e. storm or weather gods. Several Phoenician deities, or rather titles, fit this definition: Baal Shamayim - Lord of the heavens, Baal Zaphon - Lord of the north and mount Zaphon, whose height and proximity to the coast made it a landmark and a navigational aid, and Baal Melage, whose title may be interpreted as 'Lord of Sailors' (Eissfeldt 1932: 7; Van der Toorn 1995: 2047; Brody 1998: 95; Woolmer 2011: 99), all of which appear in the seventh century BCE treaty of Baal and Esarhaddon, whose main interest is with maritime activities (Brody 1998: 10-

19; Woolmer 2011: 99). Baal Melage appears only in this treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre. The treaty stresses the hegemony of Assyria over Phoenicia and Phoenician maritime commerce (Brody 1998: 10; Woolmer 2012: 244). Eissfeldt (1932: 7, fn. 4) was the first to suggest that *Melage* should be read *Melahu,* meaning lord of sailors. Moscati (1968: 35) suggested that Baal Melage should be identified with Zeus Meilichios, mentioned by Philo as the lord of sailors (Eusebius *Praep. Evang*. 1: 10.11). These deities are called upon to punish those who would break the treaty, e.g.:

> "*May Baal-Shamayim, Baal-Melage, and Baal-Sapon raise an evil wind against your ships to undo their mooring and tear out their mooring pole, may a strong wave sink them in the sea and a violent tide [rise] against you*" (Column IV, 10–13) (Woolmer 2012: 244).

Phoenician deities who possessed no storm or weather attributes could also serve as tutelary sea-deities. According to Brody (1998: 33-37), Melqart may have been a patron of sailors, though he had no weather attributes (*cf.* Aubet 2001: 127; Woolmer 2011: 101). The fact that Melqart was important to Phoenician seafarers may be evident by the many islands, promontories, and ports dedicated to the 'Phoenician Heracles' as recorded by classical authors. Furthermore, Tyrian sailors are recorded as offering sacrifices to Melqart before and after sea voyages (e.g. Strabo 3: 5.5). Brody (*ibid*.) maintains Melqart's connection to mariners and maritime activities was related to his identification with Heracles who was a patron of travelers and a vanquisher of monsters and beasts. However, it is also possible that Melqart's connection to sailing, as well as the possible connection of other 'dying and rising' deities, was made through nature's cycle in relation not to agriculture, but rather, to seasonal sailing.

Female deities, who also had no clear weather attributes, seem to have also served as maritime tutelary deities. As stated above, in Ugarit 'Asherah is the only deity which has clear connections to the sea and seafarers (Pritchard 1943: 84-85; Hamburger 1954: 224, no. 137; Cross 1973: 28-32; Betlyon 1985: 54; Day 1986: 388; Brody 1998: 26-27). According to Brody (1998: 27, Fig. 66), it was her celestial emblems that made her important to early navigators. The goddess often appears accompanied by a crescent and sun-disc. These symbols were also mounted on poles and placed at the stern or prow of Phoenician ships, as evident by late Persian and Hellenistic

Phoenician coins. This, according to Brody (*ibid*.), suggests the goddess was invoked for the aid of steering and navigation. Tanit was associated with a similar set of celestial emblems, as evident by funerary stelae dedicated to the goddess and her consort Baal Hammon. Furthermore, the sign of Tanit often appears on stelae alongside maritime motifs such as ships, steering rudders, anchors, dolphins, and fish (Brody 1998: 30-33, Fig.20, 67a). Astarte may have also had celestial attributes as she is often referred to as 'Queen of the Heavens' (e.g. Jer. 7: 18; 44: 25) (Esteban and Iborra Pellín 2016: 165), and as such, could have had maritime responsibilities.

Maritime Votive offerings

As stated above, one of the most renowned examples of Canaanite sailors presenting offerings on a sea vessel is portrayed in a wall painting in the 'Tomb of Kenamun' at Thebes, dated to ca. 1400 BCE (Fig. 4.2). The sailors are seen offering prayers, food, drink, and incense on board their vessels after arriving safely at port. Most of them are depicted simply offering thanks with their hands raised in prayer. One lavishly dressed mariner, presumably the captain, is depicted standing on deck, holding up a cup and an incense burner. Before him, is another high-ranking sailor kneeling and steadying a storage jar that may have held the liquid or incense used in the ritual. Similarly, on another docked ship a high-ranking sailor is seen raising a carinated bowl in one hand and a cup in the other. Next to him stands another deck hand raising up a lit incense stand (Artzy 1987: 80; Brody 1998: 73ff; López-Bertan *et al.* 2008: 347, Fig. 1). Similar rituals were no doubt also performed during the Iron Age and Persian period. Among the items found in an Iron Age II Phoenician ship wreck off the coast of Ashkelon, was an incense burner, which may attest to such cultic practices (Ballard 2002: 163).

Another common practice among ancient seafarers was the offering of votive objects with maritime symbolism. The frequent occurrence of clay boats and ship models found at the bottom of the Mediterranean could indicate that they were used as votive offerings (Brody 1998: 40, 76). Offerings of actual parts of the ship such as oars, rudders, and prows of captured vessels, were also very common among seafarers. These could also be dedicated to the gods as offerings after a successful voyage (Brody 1998: 40, 76). However, the most predominant object used as a specific maritime offering found in the southern Levant was the anchor. These may not have been the most popular choice of offering; however since they were mostly made of stone, anchors can easily be

noticed in the archaeological record. Anchors possess an immense symbolic meaning. At an age in which ships were mainly propelled by wind power, the possibility of being hurled towards rocks was very tangible. The anchor was the sailors' last hope of survival in perilous waters. Thus, the symbolism of anchors as protective elements was great (Brody 1998: 40; Frost 1998-1999: 253; 2009: 394). Stone anchors have been used as votive offering in Canaanite temples since the Bronze Age. They were found in secondary use in temples at Byblos, Tell Kazel, Tell Sukas, and Kition. At Byblos, the anchors were found with burn marks on top, suggesting they were used as offering stands (Karageorghis *et al.* 1975: 401; Karageorghis 1976: 78; 1981: 84; Brody 1998: 43-54; Frost 2009; Gubel 2009a: 457; Gubel 2009b: 51).

Representations of Ships in Symbolic Settings

In several sites along the western ridge of the Carmel, depictions of ships were engraved in the rock (Figs. 4.6-8). The dating of the engravings is difficult; however, it is not unlikely they span a considerable period of time. Artzy (2003: 232) suggested they might have first appeared there during the Late Bronze Age. Images of ships are a form of ritualization since they emphasize their significance not only in daily context but also in their symbolic context (López-Bertan *et al.* 2008: 343, 352). The majority of depictions were found in the mouth of Nahal HaMea'rot. At this point, the river cuts through the rocks and the southern cliff drops sharply. The northern side is triangular in shape, giving the appearance of a pyramid. This unique landscape no doubt served as an ancient landmark. The site seems to be related to the maritime activities of the Late Bronze Age at the nearby Tel Nami (Artzy 2003: 232-233); however, it could have continued to serve as a landmark long after the abandonment of the site. Promontories were vital for navigation along the coast. Their importance may be demonstrated by the names they were given, which were dedicated to various deities such as Baal Rosh, or Rosh Melqart (Brody 1998: 81, fn. 81). The engraving of ships of various types can be interpreted as a symbolic offering perpetrated by sailors either before setting sail or upon the successful completion of a journey (Artzy 1999; 2003: 244).

Seafaring Vessels and Death

The connection between seafaring vessels and death in Phoenicia may be demonstrated by the occurrence of clay boat and ship models in graves. It is possible that the model boat represented a

symbolic means of transportation to the afterlife, as was common in Egypt and the Aegean world (López-Bertan *et al.* 2008: 351, fn. 12). Sea vessels can also be seen as liminal agents. A sea vessel represents a bridge between land and sea, two antagonistic and contrasting parts of the landscape. Thus, a ship has the ability to annul chaos. The vessel is a thing of the land at sea; it is built on land, with materials taken from the land, and as such, it adheres to the land. It is possible that this symbolic power of the sea vessel as a liminal agent was also used to bridge between the world of the living, and that of the dead (Westerdahl 2005: 3). However according to Brody (1998: 87-94), the paucity of ship and boat models in graves, as well as the rare appearance of other objects of nautical nature in Phoenician tombs, would suggest otherwise. Brody (*ibid.*) maintains that these objects were most likely related to the deceased profession in life, rather than a symbolic means of transportation to the underworld.

Discussion

The cult and rituals of Phoenician mariners, and almost certainly their family members in relation to their loved ones at sea, were likely deeply rooted in coastal Canaanite traditions. As stated above, the Mediterranean Sea is notorious for its fickle nature, and so seafarers could not rely merely on the sturdiness of their vessels, their skills in navigation and seamanship, or on mere chance. A higher power needed to be invoked in order to ensure the safe passage of the vessel, its crew, and passengers. Therefore, rituals were performed at departure, during the voyage, especially if danger arose, and upon the safe arrival at port.

It is more than probable to assume that the Phoenicians did not share the same negative attitude towards the sea displayed by other Ancient Near Eastern cultures, however they too would have had a profound respect for maritime activities (Brody 1998: 102; López-Bertan *et al.* 2008: 343-346). The sea was essential for everyday life in Phoenicia, especially for such cities situated on islands or promontories that were inaccessible from land. It provided a means of transportation, nourishment, and was the backbone of Phoenician economy. Many men, whose occupation relied on the regular import and export of products via the Mediterranean, as well as produce from the sea, were dependent upon it for their very livelihood. Therefore, the sea was an integral part of everyday life not only for seafarers, but also for most Phoenicians. For these reasons, all of the

deities of Phoenicia seem to have served as tutelary patrons of the sea and seafarers, whether they possessed weather attributes as storm gods such as El and Baal, celestial attributes such as Astarte, Asherah, or Tanit, or otherwise (Brody 1998: 37-38; *cf*. Christian 2014: 384-385), and as such were invoked in order to prevent storms and keep sea vessels on course and unharmed by the tribulations of the sea.

While many of the rituals performed as part of the maritime cult were similar, if not identical, to those performed during rituals with no relation to maritime activities, such as the offering of food and drink, some were unique to this specific cult and involved maritime themes. The offering of miniature ship models to the gods of the sea for example, may be evident by their frequent occurrence at the bottom of the sea (Brody 1998: 40, 76). These were probably offered as symbolic substitutes to the sea instead of the vessels of the practitioners. The offering of actual parts of vessels, such as rudders, anchors, and prows, was also common (Brody 1998: 40), however these were probably offered only after the successful conclusion of the voyage, and since most of these were made of wood, we can only rely on written sources from classical authors.

It is more than likely that maritime cults and rituals of Phoenician seafarers were similar to those of other maritime cultures, not only in the southern Levant, but also around the Mediterranean basin. Seafarers by nature are cosmopolitan as they encounter other cultures and assimilate their customs. They must also perform their rituals in foreign lands and places of worship and thus cannot be overly strict. The unique nature of Phoenician maritime religion and cult was in the fact that they did not have one specific 'Sea god', but rather multiple deities whom they could invoke before and during a sea voyage.

Dog Burials

In 1985, during excavations at Tel Ashkelon, numerous canine skeletons and skeletal remains, mostly of puppies, were unearthed in Grids 38, 50, and 57 of the excavation. The dogs were laid on their sides, tails tucked between their hind limbs, in shallow unmarked pits. In some cases, the legs were drawn together tightly, as though they had been bound during burial. No burial offerings were found in the graves, and the dogs had not been placed in any specific orientation (Figs. 5.49-50). No butcher marks were noticeable on the skeletal remains and there were almost no signs of

violence.[65] The stratigraphy of the burials, as well as the sex and age of the dogs at the time of death, does not match those of a normal urban dog population. This led the excavators to the conclusion that the dogs did not die in a single cataclysmic event, but rather, that they were buried over a long period of time. The dog burials were dated to the last half of the fifth century BCE and beginning of the fourth century BCE. Since the initial discovery, some 1400 individual dog burials were unearthed, spanning a period of ca. 80 years (Stager 1991b: 27–30; Wapnish and Hesse 1993: 55–61; 2008: 541ff).

Stager (1991b: 39–42; 2008: 565-568) suggested the 'dog cemetery' was linked to a Phoenician healing cult practiced in a sea-side temple supposedly located near the burial site, although no remains of a public or cultic structure were noted. According to Stager (1991b: 39; 2008: 565), the Phoenicians, whose material culture dominates the city of Ashkelon during the Persian period, were the only ethnic group with sufficient authority and population to account for the phenomenon. Stager (1991b: 39–42; 2008: 565-568) maintains evidence to a similar cult was found at Kition, where a fifth century BCE alabaster plaque, known as the 'Kition plaque' was unearthed. The plaque seems to list dogs as part of the 'workforce' of a temple dedicated to Astarte and Mukol, identified with Reshef-Mokul (*cf*. Van der Branden 1956). In Stager's opinion, the dogs of Ashkelon served as temple dogs, much like those in Mesopotamia, Egypt or Kition, involved in healing rituals of Astarte and Reshef-Mokul. As such, they were considered sacred and were awarded with respectable burials upon their death (*cf*. Wapnish and Hesse 1993; 2008; Heltzer 1998; Halpern 2000).

Since the discovery in Ashkelon, many other dog burial sites were found in the southern Levant, many of which in Phoenician sites and sites under Phoenician hegemony. However, unlike previously thought, dog burials was not a phenomenon restricted to the Persian period. Although the vast majority of dog burials in the southern Levant were found in Persian period strata, the burial of puppies and dogs, often in cultic settings, was practiced in the region as early as the Chalcolithic period along the coast and hinterland (Edrey 2008: 275-276). These will be presented below according to chronology and distribution.

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[65] Roughly 5% of the adult and sub-adult canine skeletal remains, displayed signs of pathologies such as damaged paws, knitted breaks and dislocations, none of which could cause trauma sufficiently extensive to kill the animal. Wapnish and Hesse (1993: 60) admit, however, they could not rule out the possibility of poisoning, drowning or strangulation, which would have left no marks on the bones).

Chalcolithic and Bronze Age

The earliest individual dog burials found in the southern Levant were found in the chalcolithic temple at **Gilat**. Inside, the remains of six dog burials were unearthed, one of which accompanied by a burial offering (Levy 1991: 14–18; Levy and Alon 1993: 92–93; Levy *et al.* 2006: 126–127, 134–135; Grigson 2006: 237–239).

Dog burials accompanied by what appears to be burial offerings were also found at **Ashkelon – Hajar Eyid**, dated to the subsequent Early Bronze Age Iron Age (Golani 1995: 122).

At **Tel Haror**, the skeletal remains of puppies and crows were found in favissa pits, often accompanied by offering vessels, inside a temple dated to the Middle Bronze Age (Oren *et al.* 1991: 2–7; Klenck 2002: 68–73).

Another dog burial was found near a Middle Bronze Age cult place at **Lachish** (Ussishkin 1996: 26–29).

At **Tell Mardikh - Ebla**, two dog burials were found in the courtyard of a temple dated to the Middle Bronze Age. The burials were unearthed near favissa pits containing many ceramic offering vessels, food offerings, and other burials of animals, as well as human heads. Two more, slightly later, favissa pits containing large amounts of ceramic offering vessels and animal bones belonging to goats and dogs were also found nearby (Marchetti and Nigro 1997: 5-7).

Iron Age I

At **Tel Miqne - Ekron**, the remains of a puppy with its skull placed between its legs were found near a cultic installation. An iron knife was also found in proximity to the burial. Remains of other dog bones bearing cut marks were found elsewhere on the site, all dated to the Iron Age I (Dothan 2002: 17).

At **Ashkelon**, skeletal remains of two puppies bearing cut marks were found buried in cooking pots with inverted bowls used as lids dated to the Iron Age I. Nearby jar burials of infants under floors were also unearthed (*ibid.*: 17, fn. 12; Stager 2008b: 1582-1583).

Iron Age II

At **Tell el-Burak**, situated on the coast of Phoenicia, some 4 km south of Sarepta, a dog burial dated to the Iron Age II was unearthed near a domestic structure (Fig.4.48). The dog was placed on sherds of a broken pottery vessel and then buried (Kamlah and Sader 2003: 149, Fig.8; Sader and Kamlah 2010: 132, Fig.6).

At **Tel Yavneh**, a large favissa pit containing numerous ceramic offering bowls, cult stands and fragments of animal bones including those of a single dog was found. The finds were dated to the Iron Age II and should probably be linked to the nearby Philistine temple (Kletter 2010; Kolska Horwitz 2015).

At **Ashdod**, a dog burial was found in building 6176 (Area stratum IX-VIII) which was interpreted as a residential dwelling, although the excavators suggested some cultic activities took place in it in, evidenced by a bench and a 'knobbed stand' found in another room (Mazar and Ben-Shlomo 2005: 45-48, Figs.2.48, 2.51). The articulated remains of a dog showed signs of skeletal altering pathologies, which may be the cause of death (Maher 2005: 286-288).

Iron Age III

At **Beirut**, eight dog burials dated to the Persian period were found. The dogs were buried in shallow pits and prior to burial, amphorae sherds and flint tools were placed over their carcasses (Sader 1996: 24; Finkbeiner and Sader 1997: 130-132). In an Iron Age-Persian period shaft tomb, also found at Beirut, probably reused in the Hellenistic period, the bones of a dog were found mixed with human bones (Curvers and Stuart 1997: 186). Dog bones were also found in a Persian-Hellenistic period temple at Beirut (BEY 010) (Elayi 2010: 166).

At **Khalde**, eight dog burials were unearthed next to several large stones, perhaps used as stelae. Ashes and both human and animal bone fragments were found nearby. These burials could be associated with the Phoenician Iron Age I cemetery, or more likely to the Persian-Hellenistic settlement found nearby (Saidah 1966; 1967b: 165–166).

At **Sidon**, five dog skulls were found in a tomb dated to the mid-fifth century BCE alongside human remains (Eddy 1887: 97-101).

Several dog burials were also found in **Akko** dated roughly to the first millennium levels.

Unfortunately, these were not properly recorded (Heltzer 1998: 149, fn. 5).

At **Dor**, twenty-five individual dog burials, mostly juveniles, were unearthed. Many of them were found in a small area that appears to have been an open zone south of a street running East-West. The dogs were placed on their sides in shallow pits with no apparent grave offerings (Fig.4.50). No signs of violence were noted on the skeletal remains. The stratigraphy of the burials indicates the dogs were buried over a long period of time, dated mostly to the Persian period, and a few to the subsequent Hellenistic period. Near the burials, favissa pits containing large quantities of pottery vessels and figurines, all of which were dated to the Persian period, were unearthed (Stern and Gilboa 1993: 39; Stern *et al.* 1995: 65; Stern *et al.* 1998: 39; Sapir-Hen 2011: 138).

At **Apollonia-Arsuf**, the articulated skull of a dog was unearthed in Persian period strata (Sade 1999).

At **Tell Qasile**, the skeletal remains of a puppy were found in a jar dated to the Persian period (Stager 1991b: 39, n. 4).

At **Tell el-Hesi**, the articulated remains of a decapitated puppy were found buried in a pit (Bennett and Schwartz 1989: 262). Another articulated headless dog was unearthed in a silo dated to the late Persian-early Hellenistic period (Bennett and Blakely 1989: 64–65). Other canid bones were also unearthed in pits dated to the same period at the site (Bennett and Schwartz 1989: 262).

Simple dog burials with no funerary offerings or cultic settings were also found at **Shoham** (Nadelman 1994: 80), **Gezer** (Gitin 1990: 20, Pl. 73), **Jerusalem** (Mazar 2009: 27-30), **Ashdod** (Haas 1971: 212; Dothan and Porath 1982: 42–44, plans 14-15), and **Tell Hesban** (Mitchel: 1992: 7–17; Driesch and Boessneck 1995: 73–74).

Discussion

As the evidence presented above clearly demonstrates, dog burials, most likely as part of a ritual or cult related to healing and purification, was a deeply rooted southern Levantine tradition practiced continuously from as early as the Chalcolithic period. It is possible that this tradition began with the interment of dogs which were revered in temples as 'sacred animals', perhaps due to an Egyptian influence, as dog and other animal cemeteries were already widely popular in pre-dynastic Egypt (Flores 2003). This would account for the fact that the two earliest individual dog burial found in the Levant, in the Chalcolithic temple at Gilat and at Early Bronze Age Ashkelon

Map 5

Beirut

Sidon

Khalde Tell el-Burak

Akko

Dor

Apollonia
Tell Qasile Yahud
Tel Yavneh Gezer
Ashdod Ekron Jerusalem Tell Hesban

Ashkelon

Tell el-Hesi Lachish

Tel Haror
Gilat

Index
■ Bronze Age
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– Hajar Eyid, were of adult dogs accompanied by burial offerings, which seem to suggest that the dogs enjoyed a special status in life (Wolff 1993: 140). Furthermore, these two sites are located in the southern part of the land, close to the border with Egypt. However even if that was the case it seems that from the Middle Bronze Age dogs were no longer the focus of the cult or ritual, but rather became sacrificial animals whose symbolic meaning was significant to the ritual, as the evidence from the temple at Tel Haror suggests (Oren *et al.* 1991: 2–7; Klenck 2002: 68–73). Upon examination of the distribution of dog burial sites in the southern Levant during the Iron Age, it appears that this phenomenon most frequently occurs along the coast and its hinterland. As the data above demonstrates, dog burial sites dated to the Iron Age I-II were found mainly within the Philistine sphere of influence, at sites such as Ashkelon, Tell Miqne, and Tel Yavneh.

During the subsequent Persian period, many dog burial sites appear to be located within the Phoenician sphere of influence, such as at Beirut, Khalde, Sidon, Dor, and Apollonia-Arsuf, but also in sites which were previously under Philistine hegemony such as Tell Qasile, Ashkelon, and Ashdod (Map 5). As Day (1984) has shown, dog burials, most likely related to purification rituals, was a common tradition in the Aegean world during the Late Bronze-early Iron Age, as well as during later periods (*cf*. Pedley 1974: 98–99; Avalos 1995: 38–46, 60–61;). Therefore, it may be argued that the Philistines, relying on their own traditions and further building upon an exciting custom in the Levant, not only continued to practice dog burials but have also made the practice more common, as the increase in dog burials sites dated to the Iron Age I-II may indicate. Nevertheless, even if the Philistines contributed to the popularity of the practice in the southern Levant, and especially in Ashkelon, dog burials as part of a cult was deeply rooted in Canaanite culture (Edrey 2008: 275-276). It is possible that the reason only one dog burial was found in Iron Age Phoenicia as of yet, is related to the general poor condition of Iron Age strata in Phoenicia (Jidejian 1968: 57-58) and not necessarily due to the practice's unpopularity in the region. The fact that the dog burials phenomenon reached a pinnacle in Ashkelon and all along the southern Levantine coast and hinterland under Phoenician hegemony seems to suggest dog burials may serve as a Canaanite marker and during the Persian period, specifically as a marker for Phoenician presence or influence.

Child Sacrifice

Child sacrifice is one of the most infamous and charged topics of Phoenician cult practices. No archaeological evidence to the practice were discovered as of yet in the Phoenician homeland (Aubet 2004), however in the central Mediterranean, many open-air sanctuaries, known as *tophets*, in which hundreds and thousands of urns containing the charred remains of children and animals were unearthed, the largest of which in Cartage (Stager and Wolff 1984; Brown 1991). Until the discovery of tophet sites in the central Mediterranean during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many scholars maintained the biblical and classical accounts on child sacrifice among the Phoenicians were largely exaggerated if not completely fraudulent. It was argued that these accounts were used as propaganda against the Phoenicians by Judahite, Greek, Roman, and Christian antagonists (Ribichini 2001: 140-141).

The discovery of so many urns containing the cremated remains of infants and young children seemed to have served as evidence for the existence of the cult. However, since the 1970's several prominent scholars began to question the interpretation of tophet sites as child sacrificial sites and argue that these may be interpreted simply as children's cemeteries (Weinfeld 1972; Moscati 1987; Gras *et al.* 1991; Ribichini 2001: 140-141). Nevertheless, many scholars still maintain that the Phoenicians did in fact practice child sacrifice (Moscati 1968: 141-144; Smith 1975; Stager and Wolff 1984; Clifford 1990: 58). Recently, interdisciplinary anthropological studies have attempted to settle the issue of child sacrifice vs. infant cemetery (Schwartz *et al*. 2010; Smith *et al*. 2011; Schwartz *et al*. 2012; Smith *et al*. 2013). Unfortunately, these studies arrived at contradicting conclusions and so, we are still in an academic cul-de-sac.

Epigraphic and Textual Evidence

The epigraphic evidence for child sacrifice in the southern Levant are extremely scarce. To date, only one inscription that seems to clearly mention child sacrifice was found along the southern Levantine coast. It was found in Nebi Yunis (*RES* 367), on the central coast of modern Israel, during the late nineteenth century and dated to the third or second century BCE (Lagrange 1892; Delavault and Lemaire 1976: 569; Gianto 1987: 397). The first and second lines read (Delavault and Lemaire 1976: 574-577; Gianto 1987: 398-400):

"Stele of a *mlk* sacrifice which they vowed and they paid the arranged price, each one, Abdo son of Abdis, to their Lord, to Eshmun…"

"[n]ṣb mlk ʾš ndr wytn hʾrkt ʾš ʾbdʾ bn ʾbdʾs lʾdnnm lʾšmn…"

However, the transliteration and interpretation of the inscription has been criticized in the past (see Vainstub 2010: 152-153 with bibliography there), as well as the very authenticity of the stele (Lidzbarski 1902: 287-285), all of which severely weaken its credibility.

Further north but outside the Levant, another inscription that may mention child sacrifice was found in 1993 during a regional survey in Anatolia. The trilingual inscription in Luwian, Neo-Assyrian, and Phoenician, was found in the village of Incirli. The basalt stone, on which the inscription was incised, was very weathered, and the reading is extremely difficult and tentative. To make matters worse, a Greek inscription was added on the stone later, further complicating the reading. Nevertheless, the inscription was dated to the eighth century BCE, the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III, and tells of a local rebellion led by the king of Arpad, during which the king wished to offer his son in order to save his city. However then, he is advised by a wise man, or priest, to offer an animal substitute. It should be stated here however, that since the text is so worn and fragmentary, this reading has been criticized (e.g. Vainstub 2010: 172). The suggested reading of lines 11-15 is (Kaufman 2007)[66]:

"There was a rebellion through the Hittite country, and the king of Arpad *sacrificed for the benefit of Hadad-Melek* (or: *for the purpose of a molk-offering for Hadad*), and redeemed [the human sacrifice] with butchered animal parts, because Arpad *feared* (*a living molkomor*)/(*the King of Assyria. He* [*the wise man*] *arose*) and a wise man gave advice as follows:

וכן מרד בכל מת ח[ת] וזבח מלך ארפד
ליען הדד מלך וגזר מכפר כ ארפד
פחד מלך אמ/שר (חי)/(על) ועץ חכם ל/ואמר
כם חק מלך ארפד וחלב אל תגזר/ל אד[ם]
[…]אל תפחד כאם כפר אש פחתר אל יחר[ב/ם]..

According to the law of the *King of Ar*pad and Aleppo, do not sacrifice a human-being… *do not fe*ar, *rather offer a substitute that your province* he not destr[oy...]"

The biblical, classical, and early Christian textual evidence to the existence of this cult in the southern Levant are much more abundant, regarding both Phoenicia and the central Mediterrnean. The Hebrew bible states that child sacrifice, which involved passing through fire, burning, and slaughtering, was practiced on the 'high places', במות, of the *tophet* in the valley of Hinnom, near Jerusalem. In 2 Kgs 23: 10, we find the account of King Josiah who abolishes foreign worship in Judah as part of his religious reform, among them the tophet:

"And he defiled the Topheth, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech."

"וְטִמֵּא אֶת-הַתֹּפֶת, אֲשֶׁר בְּגֵי בני-הִנֹּם: לְבִלְתִּי, לְהַעֲבִיר אִישׁ אֶת-בְּנוֹ וְאֶת-בִּתּוֹ בָּאֵשׁ—לַמֹּלֶךְ".

In Isaiah (57: 5) there is a reference to the slaughtering of children in river valleys as part of a foreign, most likely, Canaanite cult:

"Ye that inflame yourselves among the terebinths, under every leafy tree; that slay the children in the valleys, under the clefts of the rocks."

"הַנֵּחָמִים, בָּאֵלִים, תַּחַת, כָּל-עֵץ רַעֲנָן; שֹׁחֲטֵי הַיְלָדִים בַּנְּחָלִים, תַּחַת סְעִפֵי הַסְּלָעִים".

Similar descriptions using the term 'to offer', זבח, can be found in Ezek. 16: 20-21, and in Pslm. 106: 37. While in Jeremiah (7: 31), it states plainly the children were burned on the high places of the tophet:

"And they have built the high places of

"וּבָנוּ בָּמוֹת הַתֹּפֶת, אֲשֶׁר בְּגֵיא בֶן-הִנֹּם, לִשְׂרֹף אֶת-

Topheth, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire…"

בְּנֵיהֶם וְאֶת-בְּנֹתֵיהֶם, בָּאֵשׁ…"

And a similar reference to burning children as an offering can be found in Deut. 12: 31.

Among the classical authors, most notable is Philo of Byblos, as quoted by Eusebius of Caesarea (*Praep. Evang.* 1: 10.45), who claimed that the Phoenicians, in times of great distress, such as a draught or a plague, would put to death some of their own children, sacrificing them to Saturn (See also 4: 16.6, quoting Prophyry, *De Abstinentia* 2: 56). Quintus Curtius (4.3.23) claimed that during the siege of Alexander on Tyre, some of the city's citizens wished to reinstate the custom of sacrificing freeborn boys to Saturn, a custom that according to him was no longer practiced.

The textual evidence concerning child sacrifice in the Punic world is much more abundant, particularly concerning Carthage, but these will not be discussed here (See Day 1975: 87-91; Stager and Wolff 1984: 32-33; Brown 1991).

The Tophet

A *tophet*, Hebrew תֹּפֶת, was an open-air area often enclosed by walls, and separated from settlements, in which the burnt remains of infants and animals, either separately or together, were deposited in urns. In most cases, a stele, often with a dedicatory inscription, would have been placed over the burial. These dedications seemed to serve as further evidence for the sacrificial nature of the interment, as the child, or substitute animal, were dedicated to a deity or deities (Brown 1991: 59-70). The tophet was clearly a precinct with a communal function. Between the eighth and fourth centuries BCE, worshiping in the tophet was permitted to certain families only, however from the fourth century BCE, the tophet was opened for worshippers from the entire socio-economic range (Ferjaoui 1991). In contrast to Phoenician cemeteries, there was only one tophet site for each settlement (Gras *et al.* 1991: 150ff; Ribichini 2001: 141).

The Ritual

As demonstrated above, the Hebrew bible is very clear about the nature of the ritual. Children were slaughtered and burned either on the 'high places' of the tophet, or in nature, under trees and near streams (e.g. 2 Kgs 23: 10; Isa. 57: 5; Jer. 7: 31) (Day 1989: 15). The slaughtering of the infants is also recorded in classical writings (Vinestaub 2010: 156ff). According to Philo of Byblos, as quoted by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* 1: 10.44, 4: 16.6), the child was dressed in fine clothing[67] and placed on an altar, where it was then slaughtered and burned. During the ritual loud music would be played in order to drown the cries of parents and infants. According to various classical authors, crying of both parents and children seems to have lessened the value of the sacrifice offered (*cf.* Plutarch, *De Super.* 13; Tertullianus, *Apologeticus* 9: 2-4).

This gruesome rite was believed to be associated with a deity referred to as *mlk* מוֹלֶךְ, e.g. 2 Kgs 23: 10. Early scholarship attempted to identify this deity with Canaanite or other Ancient Near Eastern deities. One of the identifications was with Melqart, which contributed to the notion he was a god of the underworld (Mosca 1975; Heider 1985: 1-39; Day 1989: 4-9). However, since the early twentieth century, the scholarly consensus in that *mlk* signifies a sacrificial term, similar to *olah*, and not the name of a deity (Eissfeldt 1935; Mosca 1975; Day 1989: 9-14). Indeed according to 2 Kgs. 21: 3, 6 the god to which this cult was offered was Baal:

"For he built again the high places which Hezekiah his father had destroyed; and he reared up altars for Baal, and made an Asherah, as did Ahab king of Israel, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them." *"And he made his son to pass through the fire, and practised soothsaying, and used enchantments, and appointed them that*	"וַיָּשָׁב, וַיִּבֶן אֶת-הַבָּמוֹת, אֲשֶׁר אִבַּד, חִזְקִיָּהוּ אָבִיו; וַיָּקֶם מִזְבְּחֹת לַבַּעַל, וַיַּעַשׂ אֲשֵׁרָה כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אַחְאָב מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל, וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ לְכָל-צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם, וַיַּעֲבֹד אֹתָם." "וְהֶעֱבִיר אֶת-בְּנוֹ, בָּאֵשׁ, וְעוֹנֵן וְנִחֵשׁ, וְעָשָׂה אוֹב וְיִדְּעֹנִים..."

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[67] The practice of dressing the children in fine clothing may be evident by fibulae pins found in the cinerary urns at tophet sites (Vainstaub 2010: 157).

divined by a ghost or a familiar spirit…"

And also according to Jer. 19: 4-6:

"Because they have forsaken Me, and have estranged this place, and have offered in it unto other gods, whom neither they nor their fathers have known, nor the kings of Judah; and have filled this place with the blood of innocents; and have built the high places of Baal, to burn their sons in the fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal…"	"יַעַן אֲשֶׁר עֲזָבֻנִי, וַיְנַכְּרוּ אֶת-הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וַיְקַטְּרוּ-בוֹ לֵאלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים, אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יְדָעוּם הֵמָּה וַאֲבוֹתֵיהֶם, וּמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה; וּמָלְאוּ אֶת-הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה, דַּם נְקִיִּם. וּבָנוּ אֶת-בָּמוֹת הַבַּעַל, לִשְׂרֹף אֶת-בְּנֵיהֶם בָּאֵשׁ--עֹלוֹת לַבָּעַל..."

According to Philo of Byblos (Eusebius, *Preap. Evang.* 1: 10-45) the Phoenicians used to sacrifice their children to El, who was identified with Kronos. Kronos was also identified with Baal Hammon, the Punic deity to which so many inscriptions found on stelae in tophet sites were dedicated (Cross 1973: 36-39; Vainstaub 2010: 160ff).

Nevertheless, in recent years, as part of the scholarly movement that attempts to refute the practice of child sacrifice among the Phoenicians, some scholars maintain that the authors of the Hebrew bible misunderstood or deliberately distorted the ritual, and that the act of 'passing through fire' is to be understood as a rite of passage, initiation, or purification, during which these children were dedicated to the gods. Such a dedication meant that the children were selected to serve in the temples of the gods they were dedicated to (Weinfeld 1972; 1978; Day 1989: 15ff; Ribichini 2001: 141).

Discussion

The question of child sacrifice in Phoenicia is a difficult one, especially since there are no archaeological evidence that support the existence of the practice. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore the abundant textual evidence, both by biblical and classical authors, and more importantly the Phoenician dedicatory inscriptions from tophet sites in the central Mediterranean. These

inscriptions, which were usually formed in a typical formula read: "*To the Lady, to Tanit face of Baal, and to the Lord, to Baal Hammon, a vow which X vowed. He heard his voice, he blessed him*" (*cf*. Vainstub 2010: 142-143).

This dedication is rather ambiguous however; several inscriptions speak more plainly of the vow that was promised. In an inscription found at Carthage (*KAI* 107) it states:

"To the Lord, to Baal Hammon, a vow which Adonbaal son of Abdeshmoun vowed, an offering of a man, his own child, his son in perfect condition. He heard of voice, he blessed him."	"*l'dn lb'l ḥmn ndr 'š n'dr 'bd'šmn mlk 'dm bśrm bn' tm šm' ql' brk'.*"

Other inscriptions speak of a substitute in the form of a sacrificial animal instead of the child that was promised (Moscati 1968: 142), e.g. a dedication found on a stele at Sousse (*KAI* 99; *cf*. Day 1989: 6-7, fn. 13):

"To the Lord, to Baal a gift. His gift was an offering in place of a child, which Azurbaal, son of Baalhanno, son of Baalyaton had vowed, who belongs to the people of *'ytnm.*"	"*l'dn lb'l mtnt mtnt' mlk b'l 'š ndr 'zrb'l bn b'lhn' bn b'lytn 'š b'm 'ytnm.*"

The custom of substitute offering is mentioned by classical authors such as Diodorus (20: 14.4), who wrote that during the siege of Carthage by Agathocles the people of the city believed the gods have abandoned them since the rich citizens of Carthage would buy the children of the poor and sacrifice them instead of their own (*cf*. Plutarch, *De Superstitione* 13).

These inscriptions alongside the remains of animals such as sheep, goats, calves, birds, dogs and cats, in urns deposited next to those with the remains of infants can arguably weaken the theory that tophet sites were cemeteries dedicated to children. As the recent anthropological study mentioned above (Schwartz *et al.* 2010) states, it is not likely that children were systematically slaughtered and burned to death, as so many classical authors would have us believe. Nevertheless,

many authors suggest that in times of great peril, the Phoenicians would offer up their children to the gods, e.g. Philo of Byblos, as quoted by Eusebius (*Preap. Evang.* 1.10.45), Porphyry (*De Abstinentia* 2.56), or Quintus Curtius (4.3.23). This attitude was not uncommon in the southern Levant. A fragment of a text found at Ugarit (*RS* 24.266: 31 [1.119]) may suggest human sacrifice was practiced in the city, although the evidence is insubstantial (Clemens 2001: 54-55). The Hebrew bible also recounts that when the king of Moab, Mesha, realized he was about to lose his city, has brought his eldest son and sacrificed him on the city's wall (2 Kgs. 3: 27).[68]

Child sacrifice was most likely also practiced by the Israelites. Perhaps the most famous narrative concerning child sacrifice is the story of Abraham's offering of Isaac (Gen. 22). According to the story, Abraham had every intention of sacrificing his eldest son, and it is only by divine intervention that this act was prevented and a substitute in the form of a ram was offered. The idea that this story was meant to condemn the practice is unfounded since Abraham is richly rewarded for his willingness to sacrifice his son (Levenson 1993: 3-13). The idea that Yahweh demands the offering of the first-born is also echoed in Exodus 22: 28-29:

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"Thou shalt not delay to offer of the fullness of thy harvest, and of the outflow of thy presses. The first-born of thy sons shalt thou give unto Me. Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen, and with thy sheep; seven days it shall be with its dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it Me."

</td>
<td>

"מְלֵאָתְךָ וְדִמְעֲךָ לֹא תְאַחֵר בְּכוֹר בָּנֶיךָ תִּתֶּן לִי. כֵּן תַּעֲשֶׂה לְשֹׁרְךָ לְצֹאנֶךָ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים יִהְיֶה עִם אִמּוֹ בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי תִּתְּנוֹ לִי."

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Although some scholars maintain this demand is not to be taken literally (De Vaux 1964: 71), many scholars today maintain this was an actual law. According to Levenson (1993: 3-5) the law in Exod. 22: 28-29 stands out in contrast to other laws such as Exod. 13: 2-13 and 34: 20 which

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[68] The only archaeological evidence to support human sacrifice comes from nearby Amman, Jordan. During the construction of the Amman airport, a Late Bronze Age II temple was unearthed dated to the fourteenth or thirteenth centuries BCE. Three phases were recorded in the temple. The earliest of which contained many bones of animals and humans, as well as jewellery made of precious metals, beads, and semi-precious stones (Herr 1983: 2-3). The human bones were burned, while those of the animals were not. It was first suspected this could have been a child sacrifice site; however, the skeletal material belonged to adults (Little 1983).

state that a firstborn man must be redeemed. The absence of a clause which states that firstborns should be redeemed may serve as evidence that child sacrifice was only prohibited fairly late in Israelite history, specifically during the seventh century BCE, the time of the prophets who spoke fiercely against the phenomenon which was clearly practiced by some Israelites and Judahites (Levenson 1993: 3-17), as attested in 2 Kgs. 21: 2-6 in which king Manasseh adopts 'foreign' cults, builds altars to Baal, and passes his son in fire. The fact that the most common place that is mentioned in regards to child sacrifice in the Hebrew bible is the valley of Hinnom, situated near Jerusalem far outside Phoenician territory is by itself evidence that child sacrifice was practiced by Judahites and Israelites.

It is more than likely that the practice of child sacrifice was common in the southern Levant and deeply infused in Canaanite religion. The practice is even accounted for in Phoenician mythology. According to Philo of Byblos (Eusebius, *Preap. Evang*. 1: 10.45), Kronos (El) had sinned before his father Uranus, and as a result plague, draught, and famine ravaged the earth. In order to atone for his sins, Kronos sacrificed his son Iedud. According to Levenson (1993: 27) the name Iedud was misconstrued from the word יחיד, meaning only, and therefore it should be understood that Kronos sacrificed his only son.

It seems reasonable that child practice was not as common as biblical and classical authors would have us believed. Child sacrifice was probably reserved as a last course action during situations of great distress. Quintus Curtius (4.3.23) recounted a notable example during the siege of Alexander on Tyre. He argued that the people of Tyre became so desperate they wished to reinstate the past practice of child sacrifice. This would suggest that child sacrifice was no longer practiced in Phoenicia for quite some time. It is possible that child sacrifice was abolished in the Phoenician homeland during the Persian period given that the Achaemenid monarchs did not approve of it. According to Pompeius Trogus, quoted by Justinus (*Epitoma*. 19: 1.10), Darius sent a royal decree to Carthage demanding they would cease from child sacrifice and the consumption of dog meat (Vainstaub 2010: 180). Whether or not the practice was more common in the central Mediterranean is a question that still awaits a conclusive answer.

Summary

As stated above, religion is a conscious notion subjected to economic, social and political circumstances, and as such undergoes changes and evolution throughout the years. However, while Phoenician religion developed, adapted and changed, the Phoenician cult practices seem to have remained rigidly consistent. Cult, which is the embodiment of worship that is often manifested in the material culture, may reflect popular traditions that stand in contradiction to the laws of the religion. Cult practices may even be retained as traditions long after losing their symbolic context. Naturally, cult practices undergo evolution and change as well, e.g. the introduction of new artistic styles; however, these changes are seldom acute. Nevertheless, both the religion and cult practiced by the Phoenicians were rooted in a system of beliefs that stems from the Bronze Age Canaanite religion.

There is no doubt that major changes occurred in Phoenician religion during the beginning of the Iron Age II, most notable of which is the emergence of 'new' local deities to the pantheons of Phoenician cities and the institutionalization of their cult, such as that of Melqart in Tyre (Clifford 1990: 56). This process of syncretism of the deities of the Bronze Age Canaanite pantheon and the centralization of a chief deity could be inspired by the same monotheistic sentiments that influenced the Israelites, which may have begun with the religious reform of Akhenaton during the Amarna Age. However, these changes were more likely politically rather than religiously inspired. The institutionalization of dynastic patron deities, which also served as patrons of the city, should be understood as part of the political change that occurred in the beginning of the Iron Age. As previously stated, the cities of Phoenicia emerged virtually unharmed from the cataclysmic events of the Late Bronze Age, and during the Iron Age I and especially early Iron Age II, they became powerful entities with well-established royal families. These dynasties wished to validate their hegemony through divine intervention of a patron deity, and differentiate themselves from other Phoenician cities and their royal dynasties.[69] A key element in this process seems to have been the localization of pan-Phoenician deities, most often Baal and Astarte, and their portrayal as part of a unique city pantheon. Nevertheless, these local deities display many

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[69] Morgenstern (1960: 139-141) suggested that the religious reform at Tyre was inspired by its commercial expansion westward which brought the people of Tyre in contact with different cultures and developed a cosmopolitan society which required a more sophisticated religion than the previous agricultural-based religion.

similar attributes and should probably be seen simply as localized manifestations of the Phoenician triad under local names or titles (Morgenstern 1960: 141-142; Clifford 1990; Stern 1999: 254; *cf.* Zernecke 2013). It would appear therefore that despite the localized nature of Phoenician religion and cult, the Phoenicians worshipped the same deities (Christian 2014: 376), and thus practiced a pan-Phoenician religion which was rooted in a common system of beliefs.

The Phoenician cultic material culture also supports a pan-Phoenician system of beliefs. As demonstrated above (see chapter 3), temples found within the borders of Phoenicia, all display the same characteristics, and those found within the Phoenician sphere of influence display many similar characteristics with certain nuances. The architectural principles followed in the construction of Phoenician temples, such as a sacred area facing west or a lateral entrance, must have been religiously inspired. Their reoccurrence in temples situated in the territory of different Phoenician cities, e.g. Sarepta, which was under Sidonian hegemony, and Mispe Yamim, which was under Tyrian hegemony, suggests that they too were constructed following a similar system of beliefs. Furthermore, the long continuity of temples of the 'Phoenician type', which spans from as early as the Middle Bronze Age II to the Persian period, found within the borders of Phoenicia and remains virtually unchanged, suggests that this system of beliefs was deeply rooted in the region.

The modesty of Phoenician temples, demonstrated mainly by the relatively small size of their temples, seems to reflect one of the key elements of Phoenician religion. It would appear that Phoenician religion was a religion of nature, practiced not only in manmade structures, but also, and perhaps primarily, in natural surroundings (Moscati 1968: 38-39; Christian 2014: 382ff). As the Hebrew bible frequently states, Canaanite worship was practiced on mountain and hill tops, by river streams, below rocky cliffs, and under leafy trees, e.g. Deut. 12: 2; 2 Kgs. 17: 10; Isa. 57: 5; Jer. 3: 6. Later classical authors also mention this attitude, e.g. Tacitus (*Hist*. 2: 78).

Another key element of Phoenician religion was the abstract representation of deities (Doak 2015). Anthropomorphic representations of Phoenician deities dated to the Iron Age I-II are scarce at best and normally originate from other regions such as Egypt and Asia Minor (Moscati 2001b: 349-350). Only from the Iron Age III do we find few representations of deities, mainly on dedicatory stelae, e.g. the Yehaumilk stele from Byblos (Markoe 2000, Fig.34). This aniconic attitude was manifested mainly in the use of standing stones, i.e. betils or stelae, and wooden pillars, i.e. Asherot, to represent the presence of the deity. Although the use of betils and pillars was fairly

common during the Bronze and Iron Ages in the southern Levant, the tradition was preserved by the Phoenicians well into the Roman period as attested by their portrayal on Phoenician coins (Moscati 1968: 40; Stockton 1974, Fig.1) and the writings of classical authors, e.g. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 37: 75) and Silius Italicus (*Punica* 3: 30-31).

This continuity in Canaanite traditions, and specifically coastal Canaanite traditions, is a hallmark of Phoenician culture that is displayed mainly in cultural aspects related to religion and cult. The most consistent aspect of Phoenician mortuary practices evident in the archaeological record is the occurrence of ceremonial meals as part of the burial process. The occurrence of such meals is evident by ceramic assemblages related to drinking and dinning frequently found in and around Phoenician graves. The distribution of this type of funerary assemblages is especially abundant in Iron Age burials found along the coast (Whincop 2009: 228-230), a mortuary practice that stems from a Bronze Age tradition dated as early as the Early Bronze Age I (Baker 2006; 2012: 110-114; Doumet-Serhal 2009a: 240-241; 2009b: 24, Fig.19a).

Dog burials may also serve as an example for such continuity. As demonstrated above, the interment of dogs was practiced in the southern Levant from as early as the Chalcolithic period. During the Iron Age and Persian period, dog burial sites were found mainly along the coast and its hinterland. Although the majority of dog burials sites during the Iron Age were found within the borders of Philistia (Map 5), this practice seems to have been rooted in a much older coastal Canaanite tradition, especially at Ashkelon. Furthermore, the majority of dog burial sites are dated to the Iron Age III, during which the coast and its hinterland were under Phoenician hegemony. It would appear therefore that the Phoenicians carried on a long-lasting southern Levantine or Canaanite tradition well into the Hellenistic period.

The same also applies for the figurines, masks, and pendants used in the Phoenician apotropaic cult. As stated above, although the cult was also practiced by other cultures in the southern Levant during the Bronze and Iron Ages, during the Iron Age the artifacts found along the northern coast and on Cyprus display an artistic style unique to the region. During the Persian period, the artistic style was mixed and largely influenced by both western and eastern influences, however at that time, these artifacts were found almost solely along the coast and its hinterland, which were under Phoenician hegemony. Therefore, once again it seems that it were the Phoenicians that continued a long lasting Canaanite tradition well into the classical period.

Another aspect of Phoenician religion and cult unique to the coast was the cult and rituals

surrounding maritime activities. As seafaring was such a vital part of everyday life in Phoenicia, maritime cult must have played a key role in Phoenician religion. Although the rituals and cults of Phoenician mariners, such as the offering of ship parts or miniature ship models, was not unique solely to the Phoenicians, the sheer magnitude that maritime cult took in Phoenician culture and religion was unique in the Ancient Near East. Therefore, unlike other maritime nations who worshipped a single 'god of the sea', it appears that all deities in the Phoenician pantheon could serve as tutelary patrons of the sea, seafaring, and mariners (Brody 1998: 37-38).

Upon examining the various aspects of Phoenician religion and cult, two key elements emerge. The first is that Phoenician religion and cult is deeply rooted in southern Levantine coastal traditions that often date as early as the Middle Bronze Age, if not earlier. The second is that these traditions were still practiced by the Phoenicians long after they disappear in nearby cultures. This attitude of conservatism, which can also be noted in other aspects of Phoenician everyday life, appears to be much more prominent in Phoenician religion and cult. Naturally, religion is a conservative element in culture; however, it too is subjected to evolution and change. Nevertheless, although changes did occur in the belief system of the Phoenicians, Phoenician religion and cult is marked by long continuation of Bronze Age traditions rather than abrupt change as described by some scholars (*cf*. Bondi 2001a: 23).

Phoenician Funerary Practices

Phoenician burial practices, perhaps more than any other aspect of Phoenician culture, display both strong traditions and evolution and change. Phoenician cemeteries often reveal a wide range of burial traditions demonstrated by a diversity in tomb types and burial methods, not only from site to site but also within a single burial ground. Nevertheless, certain principals remain consistent. The Phoenicians often buried their dead near their settlements, and often in more than one cemetery. Evidence from sites in Phoenicia suggest there was an attempt to bury the dead beyond a natural border, such as the other side of a river bank, a neighboring hill or even a nearby island (Gras *et al.* 1991: 132-133; Woolmer 2011: 109). At Sidon the largest necropolis was found less than 1 km south-east of the city, beyond the Barghout River (Torrey 1919-1920: 1; Jidejian 1971: 117). The necropolis of Tyre was located on the mainland, some two km opposite of the island (Aubet 2004: 9; 2010: 144). At Achziv, four separate cemeteries were found, one on the mound and three more to the north, east, and south. The northern cemetery was located on a *kurkar* ridge on the northern bank of the Khziv River (Mazar 1990: 104). Many Phoenician cemeteries, much like Phoenician settlements, were in use throughout extended periods of time, often making it difficult to date tombs, as these were regularly reused (Prausnitz 1960: 260).

The Phoenicians employed two main funerary practices during the Iron Age; inhumation and cremation.

Inhumation

The most common burial practice in Phoenicia throughout the ages was inhumation in a variety of graves and tomb types (see below). The majority of Phoenician burials were oriented east-west, with a preference to a supine position of the deceased with the head pointed east (Curvers and Stuart 1998-1999: 23; Stuart 2001). The east-west orientation was very common in the Levant and is believed to suggest a solar analogy of death and rebirth, i.e. the setting sun represents death while the sunrise represents rebirth. Supine position is believed to represent eternal sleep (Baker 2006: 4).

The Treatment of the Body

The treatment of the deceased prior to burial was inconsistent and seems to have been directly linked to the person's status in life. Commoners appear to have received little to no *post-mortem* treatment, while the upper classes were dressed and adorned with jewelry and other burial offerings (Gras *et al.* 1991: 137-141; Markoe 2000: 138-139).

Phoenician royalty practiced mummification to a certain extent during the Bronze and probably Iron Ages. The earliest evidence of embalming was recorded in the royal necropolis of Byblos (Moscati 1968: 40-41; Jidejian 1971: 115-117; Gras *et al.* 1991: 137-141; Lipiński 2003: 298). A brittle black substance with the imprint of closely woven cloth was found in the sarcophagus of king Abishemu dated to the nineteenth century BCE (Virolleaud 1922: 281; Jidejian 1971: 115).

In the Ayaa royal necropolis of Sidon the undisturbed tomb of king Tabnit I, dated to the sixth century BCE was unearthed. The king's body was embalmed and interned in an Egyptian style sarcophagus (Fig. 6.1). Inside the sarcophagus, remains of embalming fluids were discovered, as well as fine sand that covered the body. The well-preserved remains of the monarch indicate an elaborate embalming process during which some internal organs may have been removed (Selah 1888; Hamdy Bey and Reinach 1892: 97-103, 403; Jidejian 1971: 116-117) (Figs. 6.2-3).

During the Iron Age III embalmment seems to have become more popular and was practiced not only by the nobility but also by members of the social elite. A Persian period inscription found engraved on a sarcophagus at Byblos states that the body was swathed with myrrh and bdellium (Teixidor 1986: 479-480), materials used in the embalming process.

At Beirut, animal bone rings were found around skeletal remains in several graves, which may indicate the use of burial shrouds (Curvers and Stuart 1997: 193; Stuart 2001: 88-89). Similar rings made of gold were found in the sarcophagus of Tabnit I (Jidejian 1971: 117).

At Qiryat Shemona, remains of linen were noted on a bronze scepter found near the skeletal remains of an individual, which may suggest the deceased was wrapped with burial shrouds (Covello-Paran 2012: 102; Shamir 2012: 205).

At Achziv a plastered pool was found near the crematorium in the northern Iron Age cemetery, which the excavator suggested may have been used for bathing and purification of corpses as part of the funerary rites (Mazar 2010: 43).

Burial in Coffins

The practice of burial in coffins was no doubt inspired by Egyptian traditions introduced to the southern Levant during the Bronze Age (Stern 1973: 91; 2001: 474; Gonen 1992a: 28-29; 1994: 88). Interment in lavish stone sarcophagi was practiced by Phoenician monarchs as early as the Middle Bronze Age, as evident by the royal necropolis at Byblos. In 1922, the necropolis was exposed due to a landslide and excavations soon followed. Nine rock-cut tombs were discovered, most of which were looted in antiquity (tombs IV-IX), yet some remained unviolated. Inside the tombs several stone sarcophagi were found (Virolleaud 1922; Montet 1927: 85; Jidejian 1968: 26-29), the most impressive of which was the 'Ahiram Sarcophagus' (Figs. 6.4-6), found in tomb V which was dated as early as the thirteenth or twelfth centuries BCE and reused during the eleventh or tenth century BCE, during the reign of Ahiram. Most scholars date the inscription on the sarcophagus to the eleventh or tenth century BCE, though it seems it was added to the sarcophagus at a later stage, which suggests the sarcophagus was reused (Harden 1963: 182; Jidejian 1968: 29-35; Moscati 2001c: 355; Lehmann 2005). However, this dating was challenged by other scholars who suggested a later date, between the ninth and seventh centuries BCE (Wallenfels 1983; Sass 2008).[70]

Lavish stone sarcophagi were also found in Sidon, belonging to the Sidonian monarchs Tabnit I (Fig. 6.1) and his successor Eshmunezer II (Fig. 6.7), dated to the sixth century BCE. These sarcophagi were most likely manufactured and imported from Egypt (Eiselen 1966: 140-143; Stern 2001: 474).

Stone sarcophagi became extremely popular during the Persian and subsequent Hellenistic and Roman periods in Phoenicia and the Punic world. During the Persian period Sidon was the largest centre in the southern Levant for the production of marble anthropoid sarcophagi that were widely traded throughout the eastern Mediterranean (Markoe 2000: 52). In the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, Phoenician sarcophagi began to show Greek influences in style rather than the traditional Egyptian style. The more modest practice of interment in wooden coffins is also widely attested during these periods, evidenced by metal nails found in tombs (Stern 1982: 87; Gras *et al.* 1991: 137-141; Moscati 2001c: 355-356).

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[70] For a detailed discussion on the dating of the Ahiram inscription, see Rollston 2008: 57-93.

Funerary Offerings

Various 'grave goods' would often accompany the deceased in the tomb. These can be divided into three main categories; personal, status, and essential. Personal items include those that represent the individual's persona, such as jewelry and cosmetics. Status items portray the individual's social rank in society, such as weapons or tools of his trade, and essential items include furnishing used in the afterlife, such as furniture, food and drink (Lipiński 2003: 299; Wason 2004: 89–102; Baker 2006: 1). Lipiński (2003: 289) maintains that the presence of burial offerings in Phoenician tombs cannot necessarily attest to the social status of the deceased, since no grave goods were found in the royal tombs of Tabnit I and Eshmunezer II, kings of Sidon, save for their sarcophagi (Luynes 1856). Lipiński (2003: 289) suggests that the lack of grave goods was not simply motivated by fear of grave robbers, and that this concept can also be seen at the cemetery at Makmish, dated between the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, where most graves were found with no funerary offerings (Avigad 1960; 1961; 1993). However, in later excavations at the Persian period cemetery at Tel Michal, the excavators pointed out that only in the poorer constructed tombs little to no grave goods were found, while in the more elaborate graves funerary offerings were noted (Herzog and Levy 1999: 18).

Iron Age burials along the southern Levantine coast differ from inland burials not only in the burial traditions practiced but also in the items found in them. Along the coast the ceramic assemblages show emphasis on vessels related to drinking and dining, which may be related to marzeah rituals (Whincop 2009: 228-230; Núñez 2015) (Fig. 4.20). This mortuary practice seems to stem in a long practiced Bronze Age tradition (Baker 2006; 2012: 110ff).[71] Furthermore, Wolf (2002: 136) demonstrated that during the Iron Age III, funerary offerings were found mainly in Phoenician graves along the coast, while other graves located inland displayed few to no funerary offerings.

From the sixth century BCE, coins begin to appear in Phoenician tombs. The custom of placing a coin in the mouth of the deceased, as payment for the ferryman, is renowned in the Aegeans, however it is possible that the custom's origins are far earlier and lay in the east. In the Gilgamesh epos, the hero is ferried beyond the river of the dead by Urshanabi, in order to meet with

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[71] At Sidon, ovens and stone tools used for the preparation of food, such as grinding stones and pestles and mortars, were found near burials dated to the Middle Bronze Age IIA and may reflect such mortuary practices (Doumet-Serhal 2009a: 240-241; 2009b: 24, Fig. 19a).

Utnapishtim (Lipiński 2003: 299).

Funerary Architecture

As stated above, Phoenician funerary architecture was extremely heterogeneous and may vary not only from site to site but also within a single cemetery. The different burial methods utilized were a result of tradition, belief, social status, and environmental conditions. Phoenician graves were predominantly constructed in an east-west orientation, and may hold a single or multiple inhumations and cremations.

Phoenician inhumation burials may be divided into two main categories: burials deposited in the earth, and burials deposited in rock. The first group can be subdivided into three main sub-types found in Phoenician cemeteries in the southern Levant. These include pit graves, cist tombs, and built tombs. The second group can also be subdivided into three main sub-types that include burial in natural rock cavities, rock-cut tombs, and shaft tombs.

Since many of the cemeteries were in use for extended period of time, they will be presented according to geographical distribution, from north to south.

Pit Graves

Pit graves represent the simplest form of burial practiced in Phoenician cemeteries. These graves consist of shallow trenches or circular pits dug into the ground for inhumation and cremation burials. Pit burials often leave no mark save for the human remains and funerary offerings. Occasionally, stone stelae or wooden posts used as grave markers or headstones were set above the graves. In some pit graves the deceased was covered by stone slabs, or pieces of intentionally broken pottery. This form of burial was very common throughout the ages, not only in Phoenicia, and often seems to represent the graves of people of lower socio-economic classes (Bondi 2001c: 321).

At **Tell Sukas**, a cemetery dated between the late seventh and fourth centuries BCE was found near the southern harbor. In it the remains of individuals buried in simple pit graves were unearthed. The majority of the deceased were place in a supine position with their head pointed

east. Few funerary offerings were found in the graves that consisted mainly of pottery vessels, jewelry, and other everyday items. Bronze nails were found in some of the graves, which may suggest the use of wooden coffins. Cinerary urns were also recorded in the cemetery (Riis 1979: 9-32).

Many pit burials were unearthed in **Beirut's** cemeteries. Near the coast (**BEY 066**) a burial ground dated to the late Iron Age II-III was unearthed. The cemetery consisted mainly of simple pit graves and rock-cut tombs. The graves were aligned on an E-W axis, with the majority of the deceased laid in a supine position with their head towards the east. The majority of the burials were of adults of both sexes. Very few children were found. No funerary offerings were noted in the graves (Curvers and Stuart 1998-1999: 23; Stuart 2001: 89). Ten more pit burials were discovered in the Iron Age glacis (**BEY 032**). All of the burials were oriented on a NW-SE axis. The majority of the deceased were laid in a supine position with their head pointed towards the south-east. In some of the graves iron nails were found which may indicate the use of wooden coffins. No grave goods were noted save for animal bone rings, which were found in two of the graves around the skeletal remains. These may suggest the use of burial shrouds. The tombs were dated between the Iron Age and the Hellenistic period (Curvers and Stuart 1997: 193; Stuart 2001: 88-89). Not far off the coast (**BEY 045**), eleven more pit burials dated between the fourth and third centuries BCE were unearthed (only four of which were excavated). All of the tombs were E-W oriented and the deceased were laid in a supine position with their heads towards the east (Stuart 2001: 89).

At **Khalde**, simple pit graves containing the remains of adults and children of both sexes, dated between the tenth and late eighth centuries BCE, were unearthed. The deceased were laid in various positions, some in a supine position, some on their sides, and others facing down, in no specific orientation. Many of the deceased were covered with large stone slabs. Most of the graves contained burial offerings consisting mainly of pottery vessels. At the same cemetery, pit graves containing cinerary urns were also recorded (Saidah 1966; 1967b: 166-168; Shanklin and Ghatus 1966: 91; Bondi 2001c: 321) (Figs. 6.8-9).

At **Shave-Zion**, a simple pit grave containing the remains of an infant placed in a jar was unearthed. Fragments of human bones were noted in the vicinity suggesting the area was used as a burial ground. The burial was dated to the Persian period (Porat 2010).

At **Lohame Hageta'ot** (Tell Es-Sumeiriya), located some 8 km south of Achziv, a cemetery dated between the Persian and Roman periods was unearthed. The Persian period burials were dated to

the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Many rectangular pit graves dug into the ground in E-W orientation were found among the tombs in the cemetery. Above some of the graves, hewn stelae were erected. The majority of the graves contained the remains of a single individual, and funerary offerings consisting of pottery vessels (Peleg *et al.* 1984: 72).

Several pit burials were found in the Iron Age III cemetery at **Tel Megadim**. Most graves contained remains of cremation burials; however, two inhumations were also noted. The graves were covered by sandy mounds, which was occasionally paved with pottery sherds. Sandstone stelae were set above the graves (Broshi 1967: 278; 1969: 125-126).

At the Iron Age III cemetery at **Tel Michal**, many pit graves were unearthed alongside other tomb types. The graves were dug into the earth to a depth of ca. 1 m. in an E-W orientation, and were sometimes covered with stone, mudbricks, or a combination of the two. The majority of the deceased were laid in a supine position with the head pointed east. Grave goods found in the tombs included weaponry, jewelry, and other everyday items (Davies *et al.* 1989: 153-154, 160-163). Jar burials, mostly of children under the age of 4, but also of adults (perhaps females), were also found in pit burials. The funerary jars were laid above or on the bedrock layer. The jars were intentionally broken in order to accommodate the body. In some cases, more than one jar would be used in order to cover the deceased. The jars were mostly E-W oriented and the deceased were laid with their head pointed either east or west (*ibid*.: 154-158).

Cist Tombs

Cist tombs are an elaborate version of the pit grave. The tomb consists of a trench dug into the ground and lined with stone slabs. The tomb was often covered with stone slabs as well, forming a roofed stone subterranean structure that simulates a rock-cut tomb.

A well-built cist tomb dated to the Iron Age II was excavated at **Khalde**. The tomb was 3 m. long and 1.7 m. wide. It was built of three courses of ashlar blocks, in a N-S orientation. The tomb was reused for a long period of time and the skeletal remains of the previous interred were gathered in the north western corner. The tomb also contained many burial offerings consisting mainly of pottery vessels (Saidah 1966: 64-65) (Fig. 6.11).

Many cist tombs dated to the Iron Age II, from the tenth to the sixth century BCE were found in the northern cemetery at **Achziv**. The tombs were built of ashlar blocks, roughly cut fieldstones,

and rubble, mostly in an E-W orientation. Many of the tombs were also sealed with covering stone slabs. The tombs contained the remains of adults and children of both sexes. Infants were mostly buried in jars near these burials. The tombs were apparently reused, as skeletal remains of previous burials were gathered in the corners of the tombs. The majority of the deceased were placed in a supine position with the head pointed east. Burial offerings found in the tombs included pottery vessels, jewelry, and other everyday items (Prausnitz 1975b: 27; 1993b: 32; Mazar 2001: 15-19). At **Tel Michal**, many cist tombs were unearthed in the Persian period cemetery. The tombs were constructed of roughly cut fieldstones and ashlars or mudbricks, in E-W orientation. The deceased were laid in an extended supine position, some with their hands placed over the pelvis, and the head pointed towards the east. In some of the tombs metal nails were found, suggesting the deceased were interred in wooden coffins. Funerary offerings found in the tombs included mainly jewelry, however some tombs also contained other everyday items such as weapons, tools, and cosmetic implements (Davies *et al.* 1989: 153ff) (Fig. 6.10).

Built Tombs

This type of tomb is quite rare. It seems to imitate rock-cut burial caves in areas where the natural rock was hard to reach. Ashlar built tombs dated back to the Middle Bronze Age. Such tombs were found at Akko (Dothan 1983) Megiddo (Gonen 1992b: 153) and Ugarit (Schaeffer 1939 Fig. 49). At **Amrit**, large mausoleums were recorded, dated between the Persian period and the Hellenistic period. The monumental stone structures were several stories high, crowned by a dome or an obelisk, and built entirely above ground (Bondi 2001c: 321).

At **Qiryat Shemona**, situated some 45 km east of Tyre, a built Iron Age I tomb was unearthed. A circular silo built of ashlars and roughly cut fieldstones was reused for the construction of the tomb and served as its burial chamber. A dromos, which led to the interior, was added from the east, thus imitating a shaft-tomb. In the tomb, four inhumation burials were found. The three individuals found within the burial chamber were placed in a supine position, on an E-W axis, two with the head towards the west and one in the east. The fourth interment was found in the dromos and seems to represent a later burial. Funerary offerings found in the tomb consisted of animal bones belonging to a sheep or a goat, a jug, and a bronze sceptre. Traces of linen were recorded on the sceptre that may suggest the deceased were wrapped in burial shrouds. Based on the positions of

the skeletal remains, it was suggested that the three individuals in the burial chamber were interred at the same time or within a short period of time (Covello-Paran 2012: 101-103, Figs. 6.33-41, 6.49).

At **Achziv** several examples of built tombs were found dated to the Iron Age II. These tombs were rectangular in shape and built entirely of well-dressed stone blocks, either buried in the ground or above it. The tombs were reused through long periods of time. The family tomb (N.1) at the northern cemetery was dated between the tenth and sixth centuries BCE. It was built of large ashlar blocks set in the ground with a pediment roof and a short dromos (Figs. 6.13-14). It contained the remains of at least fifty individuals of both sexes and various ages. The majority of the deceased were placed in a supine position on the floor of the tomb, with their head towards the east. The burial chamber contained many funerary offerings including pottery vessels, jewelry, figurines, boat models, and other everyday items (Prausnitz 1963: 338; Dayagi-Mendels 2002: 103-104; Mazar 2001: 49-54, 72-73; 2004: 16-23).

Rock Cavity Burials

Rock cavity burials represent the simplest form of burial in rock. This type of burial utilized naturally formed cavities or shelves which were then emptied, and occasionally enlarged in order to accommodate the deceased, cinerary urn, or other pottery vessels which were placed in it. Rock shelves would often be sealed by several rock slabs. In simple rock cavities, the interred would sometimes be covered by intentionally broken pottery vessels.

At the Persian period cemetery at **Tel Michal**, several infant jar burials were found in rock-cut niches. The jars were intentionally broken in order to accommodate the deceased. The jars were laid on an east-west axis, presumably with the deceased's head pointed east. Stone slabs covered the jars in order to seal them. Beads of different materials were found in the jars (Herzog and Levy 1999: 19-22).

At **Jaffa** several burials of adults and children of both sexes were found in seemingly natural rock cavities in a cemetery dated to the Persian period. A burial of an adult individual laid on its side in an east-west orientation, head pointed west, was found in a rock-shelf niche. The rock cavity seemed to be natural, however it may have been enlarged to accommodate the deceased. The cavity was sealed with two rows of roughly hewn stone slabs. The outer row was more carefully cut. No

burial offerings were found (Figs. 6.15-16). At the same site the remains of a child, laid on its side, on an east-west axis, head pointed west, was found in a shallow natural rock crevice. The deceased was covered with two intentionally broken amphorae. Two bronze bracelets were noted on its wrist. Nearby the remains of two infants were found inside intentionally broken amphorae laid in a small and shallow rectangular rock cavity (Edrey *forthcoming*). Similar jar burials were found at the same site in an earlier excavation (Avner-Levy 1998: 55).

At **Amathus**, on the southern coast of Cyprus, a large cremation cemetery dated between the eighth and sixth centuries BCE was found and partly unearthed. Clusters of cinerary urns were placed in seemingly natural rock cavities, which may have been enlarged. Due to modern construction work it is not clear whether the pits were marked with stone stelae or other burial markers (Christou 1998; Karageorghis 2010).

Rock-cut Tombs

Rock-cut tombs consist of vertical shafts hewn in the natural bedrock, often as a rectangular pit, ca. 0.5-1 m. deep, cut to the size of the body, or a rounded pit 0.5-1 m. in diameter. In Phoenicia the rectangular tombs were often hewn in an E-W orientation. Some were covered and sealed with stone slabs.

At **Beirut** (**BEY 066**), five rock-cut tombs were found in a cemetery near the coast. All the tombs were oriented E-W. The deceased were laid in a supine position with the head towards the east (all but one who faced west). No burial offerings or other finds were recorded. Nevertheless, the excavators suggested a late Iron – Persian period date for the cemetery (Stuart 2001: 89) (Fig. 6.17). At another site not far off the coast (**BEY 045**), a small section of a cemetery dated between the fourth and third centuries BCE was unearthed. The tombs consisted of trenches cut in the bedrock in an E-W orientation. The deceased were placed within in a supine position, head towards the east. The tombs may have been marked by small cairns of broken limestone. No funerary offerings were recorded. (Thorpe 1998-1999: 63-65, Fig. 6).

At **Sidon**, rock-cut tombs were found in the large **Magharat Abloun** necropolis located some 1 km south-east of the ancient city beyond the Barghout River. The tombs consisted of vertical rectangular shafts cut into the natural rock. Unfortunately, the necropolis was extensively robbed during the nineteenth century and earlier. The most renowned tomb in this cemetery belonged to

king Eshmunezer II in which the famous 'Eshmunezer sarcophagus' was discovered. The sarcophagus was placed in a simple rectangular rock-cut pit, ca. 2 m. deep (Renan 1864: 401ff; Jidejian 1971: 117-120; Lembke 2001: 8-14). Renan (1864: 483) suggested a mausoleum might have been built over the tomb.

At **Siddiqine**, located some 15 km south-east of Tyre, several looted rock-cut tombs, presumably dated to the Iron Age II, were found, however never fully published (Sader 1995: 25).

In the southern cemetery at **Achziv** many rectangular and round rock-cut tombs, dated to the Iron Age II, were unearthed. The rectangular tombs contained inhumations, while the smaller round tombs, ranging between 0.5-1 m. in diameter, contained cinerary urns. The majority of the rectangular tombs were cut in E-W orientation, and contained the skeletal remains of individuals placed in a supine position. Many of these rock-cut tombs were connected by a narrow opening to another round or rectangular grave. Above some of the round graves, stone stelae used to mark the burials were found. Remains of hearths and pottery vessels that seem to indicate ritual meals were practiced were also found above some of the graves (Prausnitz 1960: 260; 1975b: 26-30; 1982; Stern 1982: 68; Dayagi-Mendels 2002: 26; Mazar 2001: 147; 2010: 42).

In the Persian period cemetery at **Lohame Hageta'ot** (Tel Es-Sumeiriya), several rock-cut graves were found. Above some of the graves, hewn stelae were erected. The majority of the graves contained the remains of a single individual, and pottery vessels placed next to the head (Peleg *et al.* 1984: 72).

At the Persian period cemetery at **Tel Michal**, many rock-cut tombs were found. The rectangular tombs were cut into the bedrock in an E-W orientation. Some of the tombs were also inlaid with stone slabs, or mudbricks, to create cist tombs within the rock. The tombs were also sealed with covering stone slabs, wood, mudbricks, or a combination of them. The majority of deceased were laid in a supine position with the head pointed east. Grave goods consisted mainly of jewelry, cosmetic items, weaponry, and other everyday items (Davies *et al.* 1989: 158-160; Avigad 1993: 934; Herzog and Levy 1999: 6-22).

At a cemetery at **Jaffa**, four damaged rock-cut tombs dated to the Persian period were found (Avner-Levy 1998: 55). During later excavations at the same cemetery, several more well-preserved rock-cut tombs were unearthed. All the tombs were aligned on an east-west axis. The deceased were placed within in a supine position with the head pointed towards the west (Edrey *forthcoming*) (Fig. 6.18).

Shaft Tombs

These rock-cut tombs consist of a shaft, either horizontal or descending (*dromos*), which often led to one or more enlarged burial chambers. When no adjoining burial chamber was cut, stone slabs would be fitted between ledges hewn, or built, in the shaft to form a roofed chamber at the bottom. Occasionally staircases, or steps hewn into one side of the shaft to form a crude ladder, facilitated the descent to the burial chamber. Shaft tombs were usually meant for multiple interments and were probably family owned. They were often reused, and earlier skeletal remains were set aside in the chamber. Occasionally the shafts themselves were also used for burial as rock-cut tombs. Shaft tombs with burial chambers (or caves) first appear during the Early Bronze Age and became common in along the Levantine coast, especially where the soft kurkar ridges could be easily hewn. These tombs most likely represent a local development of Mesopotamian and north-Syrain/Anatolian traditions from the late third millennium BCE (Carter and Parker 1995: 113-114). Bronze Age shaft tombs, which were sometimes still in use during later periods, were found in most major Phoenician sites, e.g. Sidon (Gras *et al.* 1991: 135-136), Byblos (Virolleaud 1922; Montet 1927; Jidejian 1968: 26-27), and Beirut (Kharji) (Saidah 1993: 141-143).

At **Beirut** (**BEY 007**), an Iron Age I shaft burial was found close to the coast. The deceased was placed in a round shaft that was ca. 4 m. deep. The deceased was placed on top of thick fill, ca. 2 m. thick, which contained earlier artifacts. Chisel marks were noted on the shaft indicate it was enlarged, however it could hardly contain a body in an extended position. The deceased was laid on its back in a cramped unnatural position, in a NW-SE orientation, with the head at the south-east. It seems that the body was covered by a layer of small rounded stones. The mouth of the shaft was blocked by a boulder. A small bone amulet inscribed with the cartouche of Ramses IV was found near the head of the deceased (Seeden and Thorpe 1997: 226-227; Beayno 1998-1999: 50-51). A large necropolis dated between the Iron Age II and the Hellenistic (and perhaps Roman) period was unearthed in **Beirut** (**BEY 018, 040, 063**). The majority of the tombs were disturbed or looted. The shafts and burial chambers were mostly E-W oriented, though N-S oriented tombs were also noted. The deceased were predominantly laid in a supine position, with the head pointing to the east. Many of the shafts led to more than one rectangular burial chamber. Walls were erected in some of the chambers in order to create a sealed area. In an elaborate shaft tomb (at **BEY 040**) which led to two burial chambers, two stone sarcophagi were found together with many lavish funerary offerings. The use of wooden coffins was also evident by metal nails and animal bone

rings, which may represent wooden coffins decorations (Curvers and Stuart 1997: 170, 184-189; Stuart 2001: 89-96). These rings may also suggest the deceased were draped with burial shrouds. At **Sidon**, three shaft-tomb necropoleis, which were in use from the sixth century BCE and to the Roman period, were unearthed during the nineteenth century. The royal necropolis of **Ayaa**, situated ca. 1.5 km north-east of Sidon, in the rocky foothills of the Lebanon Mountains, consisted of two rectangular vertical shafts which led to a series of burial chambers. The first shaft (Hypogeum A), ca. 10 m. deep, had four entrances at the bottom of each wall leading to burial chambers. Inside the burials chambers some of the most renowned Phoenician sarcophagi were found such as the 'Alexander sarcophagus' and the 'Lycian sarcophagus' dated to the Hellenistic period. The most renowned tomb in the necropolis (**Hypogeum B**) belonged to king Tabnit I, which remained undisturbed thanks to the special precautions taken during the burial. The tomb, located 6 m. north of the above-mentioned shaft, consisted of a rectangular vertical shaft, ca. 7 m. deep that led to two burial chambers, to the north and to the south. The southern chamber contained four burial pits cut into the floor. In the floor of the northern burial chamber, a rectangular pit was cut, ca. 1.5 m. deep and sealed by three layers of carefully placed flagstones that laid on top of a large monolith. Inside the pit, the sarcophagus of Tabnit was found (Hamdy Bey and Reinach 1892: 90-91; Jidejian 1971: 116-117, 120-137) (Figs. 6.19-20). Some 1 km south-east of the city, the large **Magharat Abloun** necropolis was found consisting of shaft-tombs and rock-cut tombs. The shaft-tombs contained the earliest burials in this necropolis, dated between the fifth-fourth centuries BCE. Unfortunately, the necropolis was thoroughly robbed during the nineteenth century and earlier. The shaft-tombs, consisted of vertical shafts cut into the natural rock, which normally led to two burial chambers. In some of the burial chambers, the deceased were laid in pits hewn into the floor that were often covered by flagstones (Renan 1864: 481-483; Saidah 1967a: 164-165; Jidejian 1971: 118-119; Lembke 2001: 8-14). The third necropolis, **Ain el-Helwe** consisted of several vertical shaft-tombs with an opening ca. 3x1 m. in size on an E-W axis. The shafts, hewn in the limestone rock, were ca. 5.5 m. deep and led to two burial chambers of various size. In the burial caves many anthropoid sarcophagi were found, many of which were reused throughout centuries (Torrey 1919-1920; Jidejian 1971: 138-141).

At **Sarepta**, some forty burial caves were discovered in the hills overlooking the site. The majority of the tombs were found looted, however a small few remained unmolested. Unfortunately, the tombs were never fully published and our information on them is limited. The material found in

the tombs suggests they were in use during the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, and some were reused during the Roman period. Only two plans of the tombs were published. One of the tombs consisted of a stepped shaft that led to a single chamber with loculi hewn into its inner faces (Fig. 6.21). The second tomb consisted of a vertical shaft that opened to a burial chamber with loculi on both sides and hewn trenches in the floor of the chamber (Fig. 6.22). Funerary offerings found in the tombs included terracotta figurines, a mask, scarabs, and jewelry (Saidah 1969: 134-137, Pl. 9).

At **Tell er-Rachidiyeh**, located ca. 5 km south of Tyre, many Iron Age II rock-cut tombs containing inhumation and cremation burials were found. Many of the tombs were found looted, however a few were still sealed by stone slabs that were dated between the ninth and eighth centuries BCE. Some of the tombs consisted of burial chambers with loculi. The deceased were placed in the loculi and on the floor of the chamber surrounded by many funerary offerings including pottery vessels, weapons, scarabs, and jewelry. Cinerary urns were also found in the tombs alongside the inhumations (Macridy-Bey 1904 564ff, figs. 12-13; Chéhab 1940: 123-124; 1983: 169-170; Doumet 1982: 89-136).

At the **Achziv** cemeteries, dated to the Iron Age II-III, the vast majority of tombs were shaft tombs of various designs. Most of the tombs had a vertical shaft, often with a staircase hewn into one side that led into a single burial chamber (Figs. 6.23-26). The Achziv shaft tombs are relatively shallow and the burial chamber was cut from above, like the shaft, and then sealed with stone slabs (Prausnitz 1963: 338; Mazar 1990: 106; 2001: 77-134; 2010; Dayagi-Mendels 2002). No record of the type, orientation, or sex and age, of the deceased found in the earlier excavations of the southern and eastern cemeteries was published; however, we can assume that the data from the later excavations is relevant to the other cemeteries of Achziv. The tombs, which were used throughout centuries, contained mainly the remains of adult individuals of both sexes. The majority of deceased were laid in the burial chamber in a supine position, on an E-W axis, with the head towards the east, and funerary offerings around them. Remains of earlier burials were gathered along the back and corners of the burial chambers. Some of the deceased were placed in sarcophagi, and others were laid in loculi hewn inside the burial chamber. Cremation urns were also found in some of these tombs. Funerary offerings found in the tombs consisted mostly of pottery vessels and terracotta figurines (Prausnitz 1975b: 26-30; Stern 1982: 68; Dayagi-Mendels 2002: 106-107, Fig. 4.31; Mazar 2004: 21-23, Fig. 17; 2010: 38).

A Persian period cemetery was excavated at **Gesher Ha-Ziv**, in which five shaft tombs, which

were probably looted in antiquity, were found. The tombs consisted of a stepped shaft leading to a rectangular burial chamber with loculi hewn into the inner sides to accommodate the deceased (Stern 1982: 68).

At **Bet-Ha-Emek**, a Persian period shaft-tomb, probably dated to the fifth century BCE, was found. The tomb consisted of a rectangular shaft that led to a burial chamber with two loculi hewn into the sides. Funerary offerings included pottery vessels, jewelry, and a seal (Stern 1982: 70).

In the Persian period cemetery at **Lohame Hageta'ot** (Tel es-Sumeiriya), several shaft tombs were found. The tombs consisted of a vertical shaft that led to one or more rectangular and rounded burial chambers. The tombs contained the remains of several individuals, with their head pointed east, and grave good, mainly in the form of pottery vessels. In one of the tombs, iron nails were found around the skeletal remains of an individual, which seems to indicate a wooden coffin (Peleg *et al.* 1984: 72).

At **Yasur**, a Persian period shaft-tomb was found. The tomb consisted of a shaft, 1.5 m. deep, which led to a burial chamber with three loculi hewn into its walls. A trench was also hewn in the chamber's floor, which contained a large amount of skeletal remains. Funerary offerings found in the tomb included pottery vessels, a fibula pin, an arrowhead, and a metal knife (Stern 1982: 70).[72]

At **'Atlit**, a section of a shaft-tombs cemetery, dated between the Iron Age II and the Hellenistic period was unearthed. The tombs consisted of a vertical rectangular shaft, 4-5 m. deep, leading to a single, or up to three burial chambers. Steps were hewn in the shaft in order to facilitate the decent into the tomb. A ledge was also hewn to hold stone slabs that sealed the shaft. Inside the burial chambers, trenches were cut in the floor to accommodate the deceased. These were also sealed with stone slabs. Both the tombs and eventually the shaft were used for interment over a long period of time. The majority of deceased were laid in a supine position with the head towards the east. According to the excavator, men and women were buried in separate graves and the funerary offerings were different for each of the sexes. In the male tombs, funerary offerings included pottery vessels, simple jewelry, and arrowheads. The females' funerary offerings consisted of pottery vessels, jewelry, scarabs, and other everyday items (Johns 1933; 1991: 114-116; Stern 1982: 70-72; Haggi 2006: 44-45).

At **Dor**, a group of shaft tombs were discovered during a survey. The tombs were never properly

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[72] See also *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 36: 8 (Hebrew).

published; however, they were reported to be very similar to those found at 'Atlit (Stern 1982: 72).[73]

A group of burial caves dated between the Iron Age and Persian period were found in the **Carmel**. The tombs consisted of a burial chamber with loculi hewn to its inner faces and trenches hewn into the floor. Funerary offerings consisted mainly of pottery vessels (Guy 1924: 47-55; Stern 1982: 70).

At **Jaffa**, over twenty shaft tombs dated to the Persian period were found. The tombs were hewn on an E-W axis. Most of the shafts were horizontally cut, although some had a stepped dromos-like entrance leading to the burial chamber. The majority of the shaft-tombs led to a single rectangular burial chamber. Inside, the remains of many interred individuals, men, women, and children, were found accompanied by funerary offerings consisting mainly of pottery vessels, jewelry, and other everyday items. The majority of deceased were laid in a supine position with the head towards the west. Skeletal remains were also found huddled in corners, which indicates reuse of the burial caves. In several burial caves, iron nails and dark residue patches were found which might indicate the use of wooden coffins. Occasionally the shaft would be utilized for burial as well (Avner and Eshel 1996: 59-60; Avner-Levy 1998: 55; Wolf 2002: 133; Dayan and Levy 2012; Edrey *forthcoming*).

A presumably Persian period shaft tomb was found at **Bat-Yam**. A descending stepped shaft led to a rectangular burial chamber, 3x3 m. in width and 2 m. high. The cave was cut in a N-S orientation. Other than that, it is similar to other shaft tombs found. However, no human remains were found in it, and the pottery vessels within were dated to the Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, it was found near a small settlement dated between the Iron Age and Hellenistic period, and it is reasonable to assume it was meant to be used as a burial cave (Shapira 1966: 8-10).

At **Kition**, a large section of the city's necropolis, dated between the ninth or eighth and fourth centuries BCE, was unearthed. The tombs were hewn in the soft rock and consist of a stepped shaft (dromos) which led to one or more burial chambers with a barrel-shaped roof. Many of the tombs were looted in antiquity; however, some still contained many finds. In some of the tombs, the deceased were placed in stone sarcophagi. Funerary offerings found in the tombs consist mainly of pottery vessels, some bearing inscriptions, figurines, jewelry, and amulets. Several stone stelae

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[73] See also *Hadashot Arkheologiot* 31-32: 13 (Hebrew).

which no doubt marked the tombs were also found, although not *in-situ* (Karageorghis 1983: 175-176).

Discussion

Inhumation was practiced in Phoenicia continuously throughout the ages. During the Iron and Persian period, the deceased were most often laid in a supine position, in an east-west orientation, with the head set in the east. It appears, the Phoenicians preferred interments in a more elaborate setting than a simple pit in the ground. Even when such burials occurred, slabs of stone or even pottery sherds were placed over the deceased to create the illusion of a cist. It appears that collective burials, in family plots or well-constructed tombs were also preferred to solitary burials, which are usually poorer in funerary offerings and may represent burials of people of a lower socio-economic status. The most elaborate tombs, i.e. built tombs and shaft tombs were often used through extensive periods of time, containing the remains of hundreds of individuals.

During the early Iron Age, it is difficult to discern 'Phoenician burials' from those of other ethnicities based solely on funerary architecture. We must therefore take into consideration other aspects such as burial type (including burial method, position, and orientation), inscriptions, and funerary offerings (Gras *et al.* 1982: 132). It appears that the only clear indication of a 'Phoenician' burial during the Iron Age are the funerary offerings found alongside the burial. The most common grave good found in Phoenician burials was pottery, with a clear emphasis on drinking and dining vessels. The distribution of such pottery assemblages in graves were found mainly along the southern Levantine coast, accompanying both inhumation and cremation. A phenomenon which seem to stem in a long Bronze Age tradition that appeared as early as the Early Bronze Age I and may be related to marzeah rituals (Baker 2006; 2012; Whincop 2009: 228-230; Núñez 2015).

During the subsequent Persian period, we encounter a renewal of another Bronze Age tradition that was also practiced continuously throughout the Iron Age though in smaller numbers, i.e. inhumation in shaft-tombs. Between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE, shaft-tombs became increasingly popular in the southern Levant mainly along the coast, as opposed to the Iron Age during which rock-cut shaft-tombs were found inland as well.

Another characteristic of Phoenician burials in the Persian period is interment in elaborate sarcophagi, a phenomenon practiced only by Phoenician monarchs during earlier periods.

Phoenician-made sarcophagi became increasingly popular in Phoenicia and the Punic world during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, and continued to be popular during the subsequent Hellenistic and Roman periods. Naturally, both shaft-tomb burials and interment in sarcophagi represent the burial practices of the higher socio-economic class. Nevertheless, their popularity during the Persian period seems to relate to the Phoenicians' prosperity at that time, making this type of burial more affordable for larger sections of the population. It should also be noted that the phenomenon of interment in simpler wooden-made coffins, evident by metal nails found in tombs, is also more frequent at that time, although wooden and metal coffins were also found inland, and therefore unlike stone sarcophagi, these cannot attest to Phoenician burials.

Cremation

Cremation was practiced sporadically in the Levant since the sixth millennium BCE (Bieńkowski 1982; Bieńkowski and Millard 2000: 82; Genz and Sader 2007: 262). It was first practiced systematically in Anatolia during the second millennium BCE. In the Levant, it remained common on a small scale during the Late Bronze Age and the early Iron Age I (Bieńkowski 1982; Bieńkowski and Millard 2000: 82; Ilan 2017: 52). Evidence to cremation burials during the Iron Age I along the coast were found at Azor (Dothan 1962; 1989; Ben-Shlomo 2008), and recently in Ashkelon as well (Master and Aja 2017). However, during the Iron Age II, from the tenth or ninth to the sixth centuries BCE, cremation suddenly became widely popular in along the southern Levantine coast (Markoe 2000: 139-140).

Unlike inhumation, the cremation process is relatively more complex. The flesh is consumed by fire and then the remains, including bones and ashes, are usually gathered and buried. The cremated remains were most often collected into one or two ceramic containers, urns or otherwise, although simpler cremation burials in which the charred remains were simply buried in the same pit in which they were cremated had also been recorded (Bieńkowski and Millard 2000: 82; Aubet 2013: 77). At Tyre Al-Bass a fire was also lit inside the grave after the cinerary urns and burial offerings were deposited in the ground, as indicated by charred remains of organic material at the bottom of the pit and on the ceramic vessels. The material used for this final pyre was consistent and reflects a carefully selected assortment of plants and trees. These would include fast burning plants such as reeds and aromatic trees such as olive, lime, and pine that would produce aromatic

smoke (Aubet 2006: 43). Often a stone stele or a wooden post was set above the burial, most likely to serve as a burial marker (Aubet 2004: 29; Sader 2004).

The cremation process was preformed either in a specific installation found within the burial site, or more plainly in the grave dug for the deceased. To date only two crematoriums were unearthed in Phoenician sites. At Achziv, a cremation installation was found in the northern cemetery, which was dated between the tenth or ninth to sixth centuries BCE (Fig. 6.27). The crematorium was a round structure, ca. 4 m. in diameter, and preserved to a height of 3 m. Its walls were built of stone and are sharply inclined to the bottom of the structure. A well-plastered wind tunnel was built on its western side, to feed the intense fire (Mazar 2008; 2009-2010: 181-206; 2010: 43). At Amathus, another crematorium was found in an eighth century BCE cemetery in which many cinerary urns were unearthed. The crematorium complex consisted of a circular stone structure, 3.7m in diameter, and a smaller rectangular structure, 2.9x1.8m in size, both enclosed by a circular ashlar wall (Christou 1998: 214). Nearby another circular structure which may have been a second crematorium was also noted (Karageorghis 2010).

It was previously argued that cremation was only practiced in small numbers in the southern Levant and represent the funerary practices of foreign populations settled along the coast in Phoenician settlements (*cf*. Harden 1963: 105-106; Bieńkowski 1982: 82; Gras et al. 1991: 136-138; Raban and Stieglitz 1993: 17; Wolff 2002: 133), however recent discoveries in Phoenicia prove otherwise. The largest cemetery found in Phoenicia to date is the necropolis at Tyre (Al-Bass), dated between the tenth and the end of the seventh centuries BCE, which consists almost entirely of cremation burials (Aubet *et al.* 1998-1999: 267-290; Aubet 2004: 9-62; 2010: 144-155). In many Phoenician cemeteries, cremations were found alongside inhumations, which attests to varied funerary practices. At Achziv, cremation burials found in round rock-cut tombs were sometimes linked to rectangular rock-cut tombs containing inhumations (Mazar 2001: 152). Furthermore, cremations along the Levantine coast portray similar repertoire of grave goods found in other burials along the coast, which seems to suggest similar post-mortem rites (Whincop 2009: 228-230). E. Mazar (2010: 47) suggested that cremation was practiced in Phoenicia only for firstborns, both male and female, of each family. These firstborns belonged to the gods and upon their death needed to undergo purification by fire.

As the archaeological evidence now suggests, it would appear that from the ninth to the end of the seventh-early sixth centuries BCE, cremation was *the* dominant burial practice in Phoenicia

(Dixon 2013: 490-491).

The Treatment of the Body

It is highly likely that the deceased's corpse received some sort of treatment prior to the cremation process. At Achziv, a plastered pool was found near the crematorium in the northern cemetery, which seems to have been used for bathing and purification of the corpse as part of the funerary rites (Mazar 2010: 43). Residue analysis of 'mushroom lip' type jugs from the cremation cemetery at Tyre Al-Bass yielded remains of wax. This may indicate the jug held perfumed oils that were used to anoint the body prior to the cremation (Aubet 2006: 42).[74] It appears that like in inhumation burials, the deceased would be dressed and sometimes adorned with jewelry prior to cremation, as evident by the occurrence of such items in the cinerary urns or graves.

Burials in Cinerary Urns

The cremated remains of one or more individuals were most often gathered into one or two distinctive ceramic cinerary urns, one used for the ashes, and the other for the skeletal remains as displayed in Tyre Al-Bass, Achziv, and Khalde (Trellisó 2004; Núñez Calvo 2011: 279-280; Aubet 2015). These urns consisted most often of large amphoroid craters; however, other ceramic vessels such as cooking pots and storage jars were also commonly employed. On top of the urns, a small bowl or plate was often placed to serve as a lid. It is possible the bowl contained remains of food, placed there at the time of the burial, however it is more likely the bowl served as a drinking bowl (Aubet *et al.* 1998-1999: 276; Núñez 2004b; Aubet 2006: 42) (Figs. 5.17, 20).

Funerary Offerings

Grave goods can also be found accompanying cremation burials. These usually include pottery vessels placed near the cinerary urns or next to the deceased before cremation. At times, small

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[74] However, these remains may also derive from a number of other substances such as honey or hydromel (honeyed water) (Aubet 2006: 42).

pottery vessels were placed within the cinerary urns. Often a small plate or bowl was placed on top of the urn to serve as a seal. Small items such as jewelry, amulets, scarabs, and fibula pins were also placed within the cinerary urn together with the cremated remains. These may have been worn by the deceased prior, or during, the cremation process, or placed in the urn with the cremated remains.

At the cemetery at Tyre (Al-Bass), the deceased's remains were often gathered into two urns. The excavator noted that the grave goods were placed together with the skeletal remains, and in the ash urn a scarab was often placed (Aubet *et al.* 1998-1999: 276-299; Gamer-Wallert 2004: 397; Aubet 2010: 147-148; Núñez 2011: 279). At Achziv, occasionally a scarab or other metal implements, interpreted by the excavator as cultic objects were placed in the urns (Mazar 2009-2010: 209). At Tell el- Ruqeish, the pottery vessels were placed inside the urns (Culican 1973: 67, Fig. 1), and at 'Atlit, where the cremated remains were mostly not gathered into cinerary urns, the grave goods, which include pottery vessels, jewelry, scarabs, and other everyday items, were place near the deceased prior to cremation (Johns 1938: 139-152).

Cremation Cemeteries

Many cremation burials were found in cemeteries in Phoenicia and along the southern Levantine coast, dated between the late tenth to sixth centuries BCE.

At **Ras el-Bassit**, located on a promontory in northern Syria, a cremation cemetery dated between the tenth/ninth to the seventh centuries BCE was found. The cremated remains of individuals of all ages were gathered and interred in cinerary urns placed in shallow depressions in the bedrock. Clustered urns were interpreted as family plots. Funerary offerings consisted of metal jewelry, bronze fibulas, spindle whorls, bone spatulas, decorated shells, and occasionally weapons (Courbin 1986; 1990; 1993).

At **Tell Sukas**, a cremation and inhumation cemetery dated between the late seventh to the fourth centuries BCE was unearthed. Most of the cremated remains were gathered into urns which were buried in shallow pits accompanied by funerary offerings consisting of pottery vessels. However, remains of elongated pyres with human skeletal remains were also noted. These may indicate cremation burials in simple pit graves or remains of the funerary pyres. Some of the burials were marked with stone stelae (Riis 1979: 9-32).

At **Tell 'Arqa**, several cremation burials were unearthed in a cemetery dated between the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. The cremated remains were not gathered into urns, but rather buried in simple pits graves which served for the funeral pyre. Funerary offerings consisting of pottery vessels were placed in the grave prior to the cremation process (Thalmann 1978a: 71-73; 1978b: 71-89; 1983: 217-221).

Cremation burials were also found near Sidon. At **Qarye**, located south-east of Sidon, cremated burials in urns accompanied by grave goods dated to the Iron Age II were found (Chapman 1972). At **Khalde**, located on the coast north of Sidon, a cemetery with cremation burials and inhumations dated between the tenth and eighth centuries BCE was unearthed. The cremated remains were gathered into urns that were sealed with plates, and accompanied by grave goods consisting mainly of pottery vessels. Some of the urns were found together with inhumations in simple pit graves and in an elaborate cist tomb (Saidah 1966; 1967b: 166-168) (Figs. 6.11-12).

An Iron Age II cremation burial found in a cave near **Sidon** was described by Renan (1864: 464, 485, Pl. 63). The cremated remains of an individual were unearthed in a pit covered by four large stone slabs. The remains were not gathered into an urn, but rather buried in the same pit that served for the funeral pyre. Funerary offerings consisting of pottery vessels were placed within the pit prior to the cremation process. Fragments of other vessels were also noted near the grave. Cinerary urns dated to the eighth century BCE, presumably looted from the vicinity of Sidon were purchased in the antiquities market and published by Puech (1994: 47-73). These seem to also suggest a cremation cemetery excised in the city during the Iron Age II (Sader 1995: 19-20).

At **Tambourit**, located 6 km south-east of Sidon, several cremated burials were found in a rock-cut tomb dated to the ninth century BCE. The cremated remains were gathered into urns and accompanied by funerary offerings consisting of pottery vessels (Saidah 1977: 135-146; 1983: 213).

The largest cremation cemetery found as of yet in Phoenicia is situated on the coast some 2 km opposite of **Tyre** (**al-Bass**), dated between the tenth or ninth and late seventh-early sixth centuries BCE. The cemetery consisted entirely of cremation burials of adults, none younger than 12-14 years of age, whose cremated remains were gathered into cinerary urns. Most of the cremated remains were divided into two separate urns, one containing the skeletal remains and the other containing the ash. Many of the urns were found in clusters that suggest family plots that were marked by stone stelae and buried within an enclosed wooden fence. Funerary offerings consisting

mainly of pottery vessels used for drinking and dining were set besides the urns. Many of the urns were sealed with a plate or bowl (Figs. 5.17, 6.28-29). Other everyday items such as scarabs and jewelry were placed inside the urns (Seeden 1991; Aubet *et al.* 1998-1999: 267-290; Aubet 2004: 9-62; 2010: 144-155).

Many cremation burials were also found in Tyre's periphery, however most of the material was never fully published and little is known of the excavations. At **Tell er-Rachidiyeh**, located on the coast just south of Tyre, a cremation and inhumation cemetery dated between the ninth and eighth centuries BCE was unearthed. Although both mortuary practices were noted in this cemetery, cremation was far more dominant. Cinerary urns were found in rock-cut burial caves near inhumation burials accompanied by many funerary offerings such as pottery vessels, weapons, scarabs, and jewelry (Macridy-Bey 1904 564ff, figs. 12-13; Chéhab 1940: 123-124; 1983: 169-170; Doumet 1982: 89-136; Doumet-Serhal 2003). Similar cremation burials were also excavated in **Qasmieh**, situated just north of Tyre on the northern bank of the Litani River, at **Joya**, located just east of Tyre, and at **Khirbet Slim**, located further inland east of Tyre, all dated to the Iron Age II, mostly between the ninth and seventh centuries BCE. It appears the cremated remains were gathered into urns and accompanied by funerary offerings that consisted mainly of pottery vessels (Chapman 1972). Another cremation cemetery may have excited at **Burg as Samili**, located some 3 km east of Tyre, as several cremation urns found in the antiquities market seem to originate from the site (Sader 1995: 23).

Cremation burials were also found alongside inhumations at the cemeteries of **Achziv**, dated between the tenth and sixth centuries BCE. The cremated remains were gathered into urns that were sealed with shallow plates. Cremated remains were also found within other pottery vessels such as amphorae. The cinerary vessels were buried in simple pits and rock-cut tombs alongside inhumations. Several cremations were also found in an elaborately built tomb near inhumation burials. Funerary offerings consisted mainly of pottery vessels which were placed near the urns, however other artifacts such as figurines were also noted and inside some of the urns, jewelry was found (Prausnitz 1959: 271; 1969: 87; 1975b: 27; Mazar 1990: 105; 2001: 153; 2010: 42-47; Dayagi-Mendels 2002: 106-107).

At **Tell Dan**, a cremation burial of an adult in a hole-mouth krater with no funerary offerings was found in a cemetery near inhumations. The cemetery was dated between the seventh and sixth century BCE (Hartal 2006).

At **Tel Bira**, located 9km south-east of Akko, at the foot of the Lower-Galilee hills, the remains of two disturbed rectangular cist tombs built on the bedrock were found near a large patch of ash containing incinerated human bones. The tombs were dated to the late eighth century BCE. The circular burnt area seems to represent the pyre in which the deceased were cremated. Due to the fragmentary nature of the site, it was difficult to discern the finds of each tomb. Nevertheless, 68 pottery vessels, consisting mainly of bowls, as well cooking pots, jugs and juglets, storage jars, and one fragment of a zoomorphic vessel were found associated with the tombs. The remains of a metal knife were also noted. Incinerated human remains were found inside of a cooking pot, a jug, and a storage jar which were placed in natural depressions in the bedrock (Alexandre and Stern 2001: 183-196).

At **'Atlit**, a cemetery dated between the late ninth-early eighth and the seventh or sixth centuries BCE was unearthed. The majority of the deceased were placed in E-W orientated pits, which served for the funerary pyre, with the head pointed towards the east. The graves contained the cremated remains of adults and children of both sexes. It appears the deceased were buried before the fire had completely consumed the flesh. Funerary offerings including pottery vessels, jewelry, scarabs, and other everyday items, often accompanied the burials. A single cinerary urn was also found at the cemetery. The urn contained both ashes and skeletal remains. A plate was placed on top of the urn to serve as a lid (Johns 1938; 1993: 114-116; Haggi 2006: 44-49).

At **Azor**, several cremation burials were found alongside inhumations in a cemetery dated between the eleventh and ninth centuries BCE. The cremated remains were gathered into pottery containers and accompanied by funerary offerings consisting of small pottery vessels. One of the cremations was set in a small built tomb, ca. 1.20x1.25 m. in size, constructed of roughly cut fieldstones (Dothan 1962; 1989 figs. 3-5; Ben-Shlomo 2008). The recent discovery of similar burials dated to the early Iron Age IIA at Philistine Ashkelon, may suggest that the Azor cremations belong to the Philistine cultural sphere, rather than to a Phoenician one (Master and Aja 2017).

At **Tell el-Ajjul**, another inhumation and cremation cemetery dated to the ninth century BCE was unearthed. The cremated remains were found in cinerary urns, accompanied by funerary offerings consisting mainly of pottery vessels (Petrie 1932: 14-15, pls. 56-59; Culican 1973).

At **Tell el-Fara South**, a cremation and inhumation cemetery dated to the Iron Age I-II was unearthed. The cremated remains of adults and children of both sexes were found, both in urns and simple pit graves, alongside inhumation burials. The urns were buried in shallow pits and often

sealed with a plate which was occasionally topped with stones. Inside the urns, pottery vessels, arrowheads and a single figurine were found. A single urn was also found inside a cist tomb containing inhumations (Tufnell 1930: 12-13).

At **Tell el-Ruqeish**, cremation burials dated between the tenth and ninth centuries BCE were found in a cemetery alongside inhumations. The cremated remains were gathered into urns and other pottery vessels such as amphorae. The urns were sealed with plates and bowls. Inside the pottery containers, smaller pottery vessels, jewelry, and scarabs were found (Johns 1948: 88; Culican 1973).

Cremation cemeteries were also found on Cyprus. At the cemetery at **Amathus**, dated between the eighth and sixth centuries BCE, many cinerary urns were unearthed. The cremated remains of adults and children were gathered into pottery vessels. The remains of adults were gathered into large urns and buried in rock cavities in the bedrock, and later in simple pits in the ground. The remains of infants, which were gathered into smaller urns, were also found in a separate part of the cemetery (Christou 1998: 207-215).

Discussion

As clearly demonstrated above, unlike previously thought (*cf.* Bieńkowski 1982: 80; Gras *et al.* 1991), cremation was not only widely practiced in Phoenicia, but it also became the dominant Phoenician burial practice during the Iron Age II. The deceased would either be cremated in a specifically constructed installation, or simply in the grave in which it was buried. Similarly, to inhumation, the Phoenicians favored burial of the cremated remains in a vessel which was then interred in a grave. At Tyre Al-Bass, the skeletal remains were often separated from the ash and deposited into two different urns. However simpler pit burials of the cremated remains which were not gathered into any vessel were also found.

As stated above, during the Iron Age I the dominant burial practice in Phoenicia was inhumation in tombs dug into the earth or hewn in rock, continuing a long Bronze Age tradition, however at some point during the tenth or ninth century BCE, cremation remerged in Phoenicia, especially in the south, and had reached a pinnacle between the eighth and sixth centuries BCE (Markoe 2000: 139-140; Aubet 2013: 78-79). It is clear today that cremation was practiced by the Phoenician population and not by foreign elements residing in Phoenician settlements, as some scholars

previously suggested (*cf*. Harden 1963: 106; Raban and Stieglitz 1993: 17).

What could have been the reasons for this change in what is customarily an extremely conservative element in society? The change may have been related to a religious revolution, with the institutionalization of the cult of local deities such as Melqart, Eshmun, and Adonis in the beginning of the Iron Age II (Clifford 1990: 56; *cf*. Aubet 2013). It is possible that cremation was associated with the idea of immortality, as Melqart, according to the myth, became immortal after his death by fire (Aubet 2013: 79). Since the cremation process was not restricted to infants, it appears that the phenomenon was not related to the infamous *Molech* cult (Seeden 1991). Mazar's suggestion (2010: 47) that cremation was practiced in Phoenicia only for firstborns, both male and female, of each family, seems appealing, especially if considering the '*tophet*' phenomenon in the west. However, with the discovery of so many cremation burial cemeteries in Phoenicia and what appears to be family plots within cremation cemeteries, it seems less likely this practice was reserved for only a small section of the population.

It is possible the reason was not religious, but rather practical. Between the tenth and eighth centuries BCE, the cities of Phoenicia experienced a period of prosperity that no doubt led to population growth. This prosperity however, was manifested economically rather than territorially. In fact, from the Iron Age II Phoenician territory was being further and further reduced by their neighboring states and later, by the Assyrians. It is possible therefore, that cremation was simply a more practical solution than inhumation for an ever-growing population in a limited area. This might also explain why during the Persian period, when the Phoenician held sway over almost the entire southern Levantine coast, the practice of inhumation was reinstated, with an emphasis on elaborate shaft tombs.

Phoenician Burials

Site		Period	Date	Tomb Type	Burial Type	Tomb Orientation	Position	Funerary offerings	Notes
Tell Sukas		IAII-III	7th-4th	P	I+C		Sup.	X	Metal nails
Tell 'Arqa		IAII	8th-7th	P	C			X	
Amrit		IAIII-H		B					
Beirut	BEY 007	IAI		S	I		Sup. (SE)	X	Circular shaft
	BEY 066	IAII-III		P	I	E-W	Sup. (E)	-	
				R	I	E-W	Sup. (E)	-	
	BEY 032	IA-H		P	I	NW-SE	Sup. (SE)	-	Bone rings
	BEY 045	IAIII-H	4th-3rd	P	I	E-W	Sup. (E)		
				R	I	E-W	Sup. (E)	-	Marked by stone cairns
	BEY 018	IAII-H		S	I	E-W	Sup. (E)	X	Metal nails, bone rings
	BEY 040	IAII-H		S	I	E-W	Sup. (E)	X	Metal nails, bone rings
	BEY 063	IAII-H		S	I	E-W	Sup. (E)	X	Metal nails, bone rings

Khalde		IAII	10th-8th	P	I+C	Various	Various	X	
				B	I+C	N-S		X	
Sidon	Ayaa	IAIII-R	6th-2nd	S	I			X	
	Magharat Abloun	IAIII	5th-4th	R	I				
				S	I				
	Ain el-Helwe			S	I	E-W			
		IAII		P	C			X	
Qarye		IAII		P	C			X	
Tambourit		IAII	9th	S	C			X	
Sarepta		IAIII	6th-5th					X	
Qasmieh		IAII	9th-7th	P	C			X	
Tyre	Al-Bass	IAII	10th-6th	P	C+I			X	
Joya		IAII	9th-7th	P	C			X	
Khirbet Slim		IAII	9th-7th	P	C			X	
Burg as Samili		IAII			C				
Qiryat Shemona		IAI		B	I	E-W	Sup. (E+W)	X	Remains of burial shrouds
Tel Dan		IAII	7th-6th		I+C			X	
Tel Bira		IAII	Late 8th	C	C			X	
Tell er-Rachidiyeh		IAII	9th-8th	S	C+I			X	
Siddiqine		IAII		R					
Achziv	Northern	IAI	11th	C	I	E-W	Sup. (E)	X	Infant jar burials
		IAII-III	10th-6th	B	I+C	E-W	Sup. (E)	X	
	Southern	IAII		R	I+C	E-W	Sup. (E)	X	Stelae
		IAII-III		S	I+C	E-W	Sup. (E)	X	
Gesher Ha-Ziv		IAIII		S					
Bet-Ha-Emek		IAIII	5th	S					
Lohame Hageta'ot		IAIII	5th-4th	P	I			X	Stelae, covered by stone
				R	I			X	
				S	I	E-W	Sup. (E)	X	
Yasur		IAIII		S	I			X	
Tel Megadim		IAIII		P	C+I				Stelae, covered by sherds
'Atlit		IAII-H	9th-4th	S	I+C	E-W	Sup. (E)	X	
Dor		IAIII(?)							
Tel Michal		IAIII		P	I	E-W	Sup. (E)	X	Covered by stone and mudbricks. Jar burials
				C	I	E-W	Sup. (E)	X	Metal nails, hands over pelvis.
				N	I	E-W		X	Infant jar burials
				R	I	E-W	Sup. (E)	X	
Jaffa		IAIII		N	I	E-W	Various (W)	X	
				R	I	E-W	Sup. (W)	X	
				S	I	E-W	Sup. (W)	X	Metal nails
Azor		IAI-II	11th-9t	P	I+C			X	
		IAI-II	11th-9th	B	C			X	
Bat Yam		IAIII		S		N-S			
Tell el-Ruqeish		IAII	10th-9th	P	I+C			X	
Tell el-Fara south		IAI-II		P	I+C			X	
				C	I+C			X	
Tell el-Ajjul		IAII	9th	P	I+C			X	
Kition		IAIII-III	9th-4th	S	I				
Amathus		IAII	8th-6th	N	C				

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Tomb Type

P = Pit burial **N** = Rock niche

C = Cist **R** = Rock cut

B = Built tomb **S** = Shaft tomb

Burial Type

I = Inhumation

C = Cremation

Position

Sup. = Supine

(x) = Head direction

Summary

Burial customs tend to be a conservative element in society, often representing religious ideas regarding death and the afterlife, and therefore can serve as a good 'ethnic marker' and help distinguish between one ethnic group and another (Edelman 2002: 53). However, Phoenician burial practices tend to display both strong continuation of Bronze Age tradition, but also diversity, adaptation, and change (Lipiński 2003: 297). Throughout the Iron Age, the Phoenicians employed two different burial methods that encompass many variations in the burial process and the tomb type, at times simultaneously not only in in a single burial site, but also within a single tomb. The greater diversity in tomb types found within a single cemetery may be evident of a more complex social stratification within Phoenician society than commonly found in contemporary southern Levantine societies that were fundamentally agrarian. The specialization in finer arts such as precious metal-crafting, ivory working, and the purple-dye industry, as well as the basic involvement in trade, must have resulted in greater ability for social mobility and a more stratified middle-class that could afford various types of tombs.

Although it is difficult to distinguish Phoenician burials from those of other ethnicities during the Iron Age I,[75] the situation is slightly easier during the Iron Age II and subsequent Persian period. With the discovery of so many cremation cemeteries in the Phoenician homeland, as well as in Punic sites in the west, it is widely accepted that cremation was practiced by the Phoenicians along the Levantine coast during the Iron Age II (Markoe 2000: 139-140; Aubet 2013: 78-79; Dixon 2013: 490-491) and can therefore serve as a 'Phoenician marker'. This is also relevant to cemeteries with mixed inhumation and cremation burials. Iron Age II inhumation burials are less distinguishable, as most tomb types, including pit graves, cist tombs, and the various rock-cut tombs found in Phoenicia, can also be found throughout the southern Levant at that time (Stern 2001: 476-477), e.g. Israel (Yezerski 2013). Only during the Persian period do we find certain aspects of inhumation burials which were more characteristic to the Phoenician coast at that time, i.e. inhumation in shaft-tombs and the use of stone sarcophagi. The vast majority of shaft tombs dated to the Persian period were found along the coast, and some further inland in the Shephelah.

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[75] The paucity of burials dated to the Iron Age I is not a solely 'Phoenician' or coastal phenomenon. The same situation was noted throughout the southern Levant. For a recent discussion and theories on this issue, see Ilan 2017.

No similar shaft-tombs were found further east, and therefore they can be recognized as Phoenician (*cf*. Stern 1982: 68ff; 2001: 473-474). As for interment in elaborate anthropoid sarcophagi, the vast majority of Persian period sarcophagi in the southern Levant were found in Phoenicia, most of which in Sidon, and can be defined as a Phoenician phenomenon. Only one example was found in the southern part of the coast, at Gaza (Stern 2001: 474-476).

Besides these unique characteristics of Phoenician burial practices in each of the periods, there was one element that reappeared throughout the ages regardless of funerary architecture and burial method, and can be found in the large majority of burials mentioned above, i.e. the pottery vessels of the funerary offerings. The pottery assemblages found most frequently in Phoenician burials, both accompanying inhumations and cremations, show a clear emphasis on drinking and dining vessels (Whincop 2009: 228-230). This custom stems from a coastal Canaanite Bronze Age tradition, which is likely related to marzeah rituals, in which feasting was a key element (Pope 1981: 176; King 1989; Markoe 2000: 120), and is evident in Phoenician burials of the Bronze, Iron, and Persian periods along the coast. It appears therefore that while the mortuary *modus operandi* changed, the funerary rites, which were more significant, remained the same.

Ethnicity and Identity

An ethnic identity is one of the most complex subjects of the social sciences, and much more so when dealing with the ethnicity and identity of ancient cultures (*cf*. Sherratt 2005: 32; Quinn 2013: 26-27). Identity is a fundamental concept for the clarification of various social phenomena. An ethnic group is defined by most sociologists and cultural anthropologies as a collection of individuals who view themselves "as being alike by virtue of common ancestry, real or fictitious,[76] and who are regarded so by others" (Shibutani and Kwan 1965: 47; *cf*. Kamp and Yoffee 1980: 88; Sparks 1998: 1). Others do not view kinship as an essential requirement of ethnicity, as it appears to have been more relevant to ruralized societies (Joffe 2002: 431), but rather "a commonness of subjective apprehensions, whether about origins, interests or future (or the combination of these)" (Cashmore 1994: 106). Renfrew (1987: 216) defines ethnicity as a firm collective of people, historically established on a given territory, possessing common characteristics of language and culture, and also recognizing their unity and difference from other similar groups and expressing it in a self-appointed name. This self-definition and group association, alongside elements of ethnic, cultural, and traditional behavior, form part of the identity of the individuals in that group. Ultimately ethnicity creates social boundaries that distinguish one ethnic group from the other by a combination of self-ascription and ascription by others, and the realization that many cultural aspects are common, shared, and similar, constitutes an identity (Malkin 2003: 59-60).

The Phoenicians in the eastern Mediterranean were a people without an acknowledged common name, without a state with fixed borders, and without political unity. Furthermore, some scholars maintain that there was no substantial difference between the language, religion, or craftsmanship of the city-states that constituted Phoenicia and that of the rest of the southern Levant, at least until the Iron Age II (Aubet 2001: 9; Moscati 2001a: 17; Lipiński 2003: 297; Woolmer 2011: 12-15).

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[76] The manipulation of genealogies was a common practice of leaders who wished to establish their legitimacy in local, historical, and cosmological terms (Van Seters 1983).

All of these begs the question, was there a broad 'Phoenician' ethnic identity (*cf.* Quinn 2017), and if so, did it in fact emerge only during the late Iron Age?

As stated above, the Phoenicians did not refer to themselves as 'Phoenicians', nor did any other ancient people save for the Greeks. According to Sherratt (2005: 36) the earliest mentions of the Phoenicians, as presented in the Homeric epics, are in part an entirely Greek invention created in the process of defining Greek identity (*cf.* Malkin 2003: 59) and did not necessarily reflect an ethnic group.[77] The Phoenicians mainly referred to themselves as the citizens of their city-state, e.g. Tyrians, Sidonians, Bybliates (Paraskevaidou 1991: 523-524; Markoe 2000: 10; Sherratt 2005: 35). Such a 'regionalist' attitude, typical to Phoenician culture, contributed to the modern scholarly view that distinguishes each Phoenician city as a separate and autonomous entity with its own unique identity, history, and religious system. A common name is a fundamental element that defines a people (Moscati 1968: 21), an element the Phoenicians seemingly lacked (Sherratt 2005: 35). Nevertheless, as a growing body of evidence suggests, it appears the Phoenicians did in fact identify themselves as part of a broader ethnic unit, i.e. Canaanites (Joffe 2002: 434; Bourogiannis 2012a: 38-39). As mentioned above, the rulers of the Late Bronze Age city-states referred to themselves as Canaanites in the El-Amarna correspondence (Na'aman 1994a: 399-403; Schoville 1998: 158-159, 161), a tradition that persisted well into the Hellenistic period, as evident by coins from Beirut (Babelon 1893: 166 Babelon 1893: 166). Besides this self-ascription as Canaanites, it is also possible that the Phoenicians used the name 'Sidonians' to identify themselves specifically when dealing with foreigners (Lemaire 2004; Elayi 2006: 23; Boyes 2012: 35-38), as 'Sidonians' was both synonymous with Canaanites and Phoenicians (Mazar 1946: 7; Winter 1995: 247; Moscati 2001a: 17). According to Moscati (2001a: 17), the use of different names for the Phoenicians was a linguistic phenomenon that emphasized the lack of unitary awareness among the Phoenicians. What could have been the cause or causes for the zealous Phoenician inclination for individuality and autonomy?

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[77] The term 'Phoenician' was applied loosely by the ancient Greeks and could refer to any merchant of eastern origin (Aubet 2001: 9; Sherratt 2005: 35-36). According to Sherratt (*ibid.*) this may be the reason for the contradicting views on the Phoenicians in the Iliad and the Odyssey as both honourable and deceitful individuals. However, as Carpenter (1958: 35) noticed, this change in attitude from positive to negative occurs only in the later epos and might reflect the growing competition the Phoenicians posed to Greek merchants during the Iron Age.

One of the fundamental aspects that shapes culture, and especially that of ancient societies, is nature (Flinn and Alexander 1982: 397).[78] Nature produces culture that in turn changes nature (Eagleton 2000: 3). The landscape and climate of a region in which a culture is developed deeply influences it. This cultural process is evident most vividly via the material culture, e.g. building materials, architectural designs, types of agriculture, diet, and dress. But nature also forms and shape basic ideas in man's thought process which result in social behavior, iconography and symbolism, which is mainly represented in art, religion, and cult (Deffontaines 1953; Hultkrantz 1966; Kong 1990: 355; Foxhall 2003: 75).

The majority of 'Phoenicia' is situated on a narrow strip of land ranging between 6.5 km to a few hundred meters in width and bounded by mighty mountainous ranges from the east and the Mediterranean Sea from the west. This narrow land is segmented by river gorges and rocky mountain slopes that reach directly to the Mediterranean into small territorial units. While the many freshwater sources which allow for yearlong agriculture create a fertile land, arable terrain is often limited due to sand dunes and rocky terrain (Bartoloni 2001b: 92). Within each of these units, only a single major urban center emerged surrounded by its smaller dependencies that constituted its agricultural hinterland. Due to their limited resources the cities of Phoenicia were heavily dependent on trade (Abulafia 2011: 67). A dependency that only grew with the rise in demography (Aubet 2001: 56-59). The acute lack in natural resources and dependence on trade must have resulted in an innate state of competition, both economically and politically, from a very early age (*cf.* Aubet 2001: 17). This is also in accordance with the principals of the 'classical realism' theory, one of the oldest and most fundamental theories of international relations, which argues that nations are in a constant state of competition over political power and resources (Sylvest 2008: 443). This perpetual state of competition may be best demonstrated by the continuous rivalry of Tyre and Sidon, which coexisted in the same territory. These two major cities were situated on a narrow coastal strip some 50 km long but only 2 km wide at its widest extremity. As history has shown, the prominence of one city always came at the expense of the other, and thus both cities often turned on one another displaying no signs of comradery.

 The dependency on trade may have also contributed to the political segregation of the cities of

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[78] It should be noted that the deterministic approach to the acute influence of the environment on culture was met with criticism (*cf.* Grossman 1977; Price and Lewis 1993).

Phoenicia. Being a nation of traders, it was in the Phoenicians best interest to remain non-threatening political entities with no allegiance to one another. As 'neutral' city-states, the Phoenicians could engage in trade with a variety of client states and markets, even at times of war. Furthermore, as relatively small political entities with no apparent ambitions for territorial expansion, the Phoenician city-states posed little threat to other powers in the region. As flourishing emporiums, the cities of Phoenicia could supply both a wealth of products which were otherwise unattainable to none seafaring peoples, as well as heavy tribute. This must be the main reason the Phoenician cities were often permitted to maintain their autonomous conduct, politically, socially, and economically even as subordinate of major empires.

The importance of economic independence to the Phoenicians is clearly demonstrated by the historical records, especially under Assyrian rule. Providing the Phoenicians enjoyed economic autonomy, they were usually content to remain under the hegemony of a foreign yoke. However, when their economic independence was restricted or strictly regulated, frequent uprisings occurred. The economic policy of the Assyrian monarchs during the ninth and the first half of the eighth century BCE was to allow the Phoenicians to conduct their economic affairs with little regulation. Therefore, Phoenicia not only endured, but also became further prosperous (Katzenstein 1997: 106-107; Markoe 2000: 40-41). A situation that swiftly changed during the mid-eighth century BCE under Tiglath-Pileser III. His reign signals the beginning of Assyrian ambitions to dominate Phoenicia not only politically, but also economically (Oded 1973: 143; Markoe 2000: 41-42; Bondi 2001b: 43; Stern 2001: 58). This policy led to continuous Phoenician uprisings that resulted in their brutal suppressions, destructions, and deportations.

Considering these economic factors combined with the naturally dividing landscape, it is no wonder the Phoenicians were inclined to political division. However, there may have been another possible reason for the Phoenicians inability to unite which is rooted in Bronze Age traditions. While the Iron Age saw the rise of new ethnic states, the Phoenicians preserved the Bronze Age city-state socio-economic system. Some scholars suggested that the Egyptian court of the Late Bronze Age employed a 'divide and conquer' policy in Canaan as it was in Egypt's interest to keep their Canaanite subordinates un-united and preferably in constant discord (Giles 1972:183-184; 200-202; Aldred 1975: 82; 85). It is also possible that as part of this policy, Egypt favoured certain cities over others, which no doubt created animosity. In Phoenicia, Byblos enjoyed a warm

relationship with Egypt, which dates back to the beginning of the third millennium BCE (Jidejian 1968: 16-17; Bondi 2001a: 23). During the Late Bronze Age Byblos' favorable status may be evident by the frequent correspondence between Byblos and the Egyptian court, and the unrelenting loyalty of Rib-Addi, the king of Byblos, to Egypt despite Egyptian indifference to his distress.

Material Culture

Davies (1992: 11) suggested there are three dimensions to an 'ancient ethnicity': literary, historical, and what modern scholars have constructed of the two. To that, the dimension of archaeology, and material culture, should be added (Lehmann 2001: 66; Dever 2007). Especially when dealing with a culture that left us only a few original literary sources. However scholars such as Barth (1969), followed by many others (e.g. Kamp and Yoffe 1980: 94ff; Hodder 1982; McGuire 1982: 160; Emberling 1997: 299; Jones 1997: 113;), have long maintained that material culture should not be directly equated with ethnicity and that "archaeological identification of a given culture cannot easily demonstrate that the culture displayed ethnic sentiment and behaviour" (Sparks 1998: 4).[79] This view is further stressed in relation to the material culture of the southern Levant's Iron Age, as it is considered especially elusive. Edelman (2002: 42-53), discussing various elements of material culture that scholars tend to use in order to identify ancient ethnicity, stated that identifying the Iron Age peoples of the southern Levant based on material culture solely "is to wish upon a star" (*ibid.*: 54-55). Furthermore, the biblical nihilist scholarly approach that often deals with the subject of ancient Israel is occasionally applied to other southern Levantine peoples, especially in regards to attempts of their identification based on material culture. Thompson (1997: 177) stated that biblical peoples such as Philistines, Canaanites, and Israelites are "people writ large in tradition for purposes fictional." It seems therefore that this approach is all the more applicable for the Phoenicians, as some scholars have pointed out, they lack many ethnic elements which distinguish them as a distinct ethnic group, such as an acknowledged land,

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[79] The common example given to support this view is the study of T. Özgüç (1963: 101-102) at Kültepe, who pointed out that without the cuneiform texts and seal impressions found, it would have been difficult to distinguish between the Assyrian traders and their Hittite counterparts.

a unique language, a common cultural and historical background, and a singular unified political entity (Aubet 2001: 9; Moscati 2001a: 17; Woolmer 2011: 12-15).

Nevertheless, it is also undeniable that in the course of self-definition of any human group, certain aspects of material culture, alongside other cultural traits such as language, religion, or dress, are chosen or used to mark ethnicity and may reflect symbolism and ethnic behavior (Joffe 2002: 426; Bunimovitz and Faust 2003: 420; Dever 2007: 51-52). Material culture constitutes an indirect reflection of society as ideas, ideology, and systems of belief are often manifested in its people's handiwork (Hodder 1986: 3). The utilization of certain aspects of material culture was often adopted in order to distinguish a certain group from other groups, and thus assist in the formation of a unique identity. In time, these aspects become a part of everyday life and tradition, and may be seen as symbols of their identity (McGuire 1982: 160; Sherratt 2005: 26). To these social boundaries, which separate the "we" from the "they," a territorial expression may also be added (Barth 1969: 15).

Attempting to identify markers of material culture, which can be ascribed to a specific ethnic group within a certain period, is often problematic and elusive. Especially since ethnicity is very flexible and even when certain elements are lacking, the ethnicity of a group may still occur since ethnic identity rests upon the conscious awareness of its group members (Kamp and Yoffee 1980: 88). Braudel (1980: 202; 1993: 11, 22) even suggested that people sharing cultural characters within a geographical area, shared a collective awareness and mentality that stems from the collective unconscious. Herodotus (8: 144.2), when dealing with the question of Greek identity argued that the Greeks share blood, language, religion, and custom (*cf*. Thucydides 1: 5). This archaic definition still applies in many respects, however ethnic markers may come from all aspects of life, e.g. script, physical features, dietary restrictions, architecture, ritual behavior, and so on (*cf*. Finkelstein 1996b: 203; Sherratt 2005: 26). For an ethnic marker to be deemed as such it must show continuity, it must be found in great or greater numbers within a geographic region affiliated with the ethnic group, and it must be patterned, and thus deemed intentional (Prins 1965: 3; Dever 2007: 51).

In the previous chapters, I have discussed various aspects of Phoenician culture in the eastern Mediterranean, mostly as it is represented in its material culture. Let us now examine whether these may be defined as part of a Phoenician cultural *koiné*.

Architecture

As stated above, the origins of Phoenician architecture, which include an extensive use of ashlar masonry in public structures, fortifications, and tombs, can be traced back to the third millennium BCE and is deeply rooted in Canaanite traditions (Jidejian 1968: 15; Raban and Stieglitz 1993: 13; Badre 1997: 13-14). Therefore, most features of Phoenician architecture cannot be differentiated from that of neighboring nations, e.g. domestic architecture, decorative elements, fortifications, and city planning (Braemer 1982: 1; Cecchini 1995: 395). Nevertheless, two distinct aspects of Phoenician architecture are unique to Phoenicia and Phoenician culture; maritime architecture, and religious architecture.

Phoenician Maritime Architecture

All of the major Phoenician cities were founded on the coast near rock promontories, small islets, or reefs, which create at least one natural anchorage providing protection against the Mediterranean swells. When artificial harbors construction began in Phoenicia, these natural elements were incorporated into the harbor installations. Most of the major cities of Phoenicia used at least two harbors that seem to have served different functions. Some may have served in different seasons, others were used for foreign or domestic traffic, and some served a military or economic purpose. But more often it seems that the northern harbor served as the main harbor, as it was better protected against the dominant south-westerly and westerly winds along the Levantine coast. Therefore, maritime construction took place only in the northern harbors during the Iron Age, while the southern harbor remained a natural anchorage for smaller vessels and used in favorable weather conditions (Haggi and Artzy 2007: 83).

Artificial harbor installations and maritime landscape manipulation began in Phoenicia already in the Middle Bronze Age, although the first true artificially closed harbors seem to appear during the Iron Age (Blackmann 1982: 92-93; Marriner *et al.* 2005: 1319; Haggi 2006: 56; Marriner *et al.* 2006: 1525; Marriner *et al.* 2008: 1289). Since the ports of both Tabbat el-Hammam and 'Atlit, which belong to relatively small settlements, date to the late ninth or early eighth century BCE (Braidwood 1940: 207-8; Peckham 2001: 27; Haggi 2006: 57; Haggi and Artzy 2007: 80), it is safe to assume that the construction of large scale artificial maritime installations in the major

cities of Phoenicia was either contemporaneous or earlier.

Although our information on Phoenician harbors of the first millennium BCE is fragmented at best, the data presented above demonstrates that Phoenician harbors exhibit many similar characteristics. The key features were an artificially closed harbor facing north, the extensive use of massive ashlar blocks set in headers facing the sea with rubble fill, and silt flushing systems consisting either of simple gaps in the construction of marine installations or elaborately designed flushing channels and sediment collective vats. Such marine installations and construction techniques dated to the first millennium BCE, which indicate a profound understanding of maritime engineering that was no doubt developed over centuries, were found in the Levant solely along the Phoenician coast. Therefore, Levantine harbors containing such marine installations in the southern Levant were of Phoenician origin and may be regarded as part of the Phoenician material cultural koiné.

Religious Architecture

Phoenician temples, much like Phoenician settlements, were relatively modest structures both in size and style (Markoe 2000: 128-129). They were typically located within settlements (Kamlah 2009), and display many characteristic features. A typical Phoenician temple consisted of a rectangular structure constructed in ca. 2:1 length-width ratio, in east-west orientation, with a lateral entrance and a sacred area located to the west. Other frequent features include benches built along the inner walls, columns, a betil or a small pillar in front of the sacred area, and elements related to water or other liquids, such as channels, drains, or basins. Often, a 'back room' used for storage was added to the main hall. This type of temple was found chiefly in sites along the Phoenician coast, dating from the Bronze Age onwards. However similar, if not identical temples were also found in regions outside Phoenicia, which often were at some point within the Phoenician sphere of influence. Although in the past this temple type was wrongly equated with the 'irregular type' (Mazar 1980: 61-73; 1990: 321-323), and later recognized merely as a local manifestation of a small to medium size roadside temple (Stern 1984a: 28-36), in light of the material presented above this type of temple should be recognised as the predominant coastal-Canaanite, or rather Phoenician, type temple and its existence seems to suggest Phoenician presence or strong cultural influence.

This temple type remained virtually unchanged for centuries on end, and seem to reflect a rigid religious ideology and cultic behavior practiced by the coastal-Canaanite population of Phoenicia. While similar temples were found outside the 'Phoenician core', these display various variations expressed mostly in orientation and room division. These temples may reflect Phoenician influence on non-Phoenician populations. However, 'true' Phoenician type temples seem to suggest strong Phoenician presence and reflect part of the Phoenician cultural koiné.

Maritime Culture

The connection the Phoenicians had to the Mediterranean was undeniably strong. It is what brought them to settle on islands and promontories along the coast, in a land that offered limited arable terrain and natural resources (Aubet 2001: 17; Bartoloni 2001b: 92). It was however abundant with natural coves suitable for anchorage and with forests full with tall trees suitable for the construction of sturdy seagoing crafts. The unique characteristics of their landscape forced the Phoenicians to rely heavily on the sea and its bounty. The sea provided transportation, sustenance, commerce and industry. Eventually the Phoenicians honed their maritime skills and created a thalassocracy, an empire at sea (Niehr 2008: 14).

According to Westerdahl (1994: 265), a maritime culture "can be defined by a recurrent set of significant maritime traits." These may include maritime imagery in art and language, the frequent occurrence of boat and ship models in everyday life and cult, the symbolic occurrence of the sea, its creatures, sea vessels and their rig in votive offerings, mortuary rites which involve boats or the sea, elaborate myths concerning the sea; the occurrence and importance of maritime patron deities or saints, and a general favorable attitude toward things maritime. Another significant factor is that others consider that culture, society, or people as a maritime one (Westerdahl 1994: 265). Phoenician culture seems to meet all these criteria, save for the frequent use of maritime motifs in its material culture. Some maritime societies, such as the European Nordic peoples, show a profoundly strong connection to the sea in their material culture. However, the lack of such representation is not uncommon for maritime societies. Similarly, to the Phoenicians, both the Minoans and the ancient Greeks displayed little maritime motifs, such as sea vessels, in their art (Westerdahl 1994: 266).

The reason might be related to the different relationship the various elements of society had with

the sea. The social elites saw the sea and sailing as an instrument of political power, as a way to wage war, as a source for new markets, raw materials, and lucrative commercial activity. Their relationship with the sea was usually indirect, as they employed the lower classes of society in their ventures. For the latter, seafaring was a way of life and a means of subsistence, but also always a potentially dangerous activity. Their relationship with the sea could not have been more direct (López-Bertan *et al.* 2008: 346). These differences in attitude are manifested in the various ways in which maritime elements were represented in the material culture. Thus, warships appear on Phoenician coins, as maritime representations of the elites, while simple, and sometimes crude, clay boat and ship models were representations of common men.

Phoenician Boats and Ships

Boatbuilding is traditionally handed down from father to son along with basic and advanced knowledge of seamanship, navigation, and routes. The Phoenicians must have developed seaworthy ship of superior design very early in history and would have kept the secrets of the trade to themselves. Boatbuilding combines accumulated knowledge and expertise based on experience and tradition. The evolution and building techniques of sea vessels did not only progress in a linear line towards improvement of maneuverability and sturdiness, since often marine technology was restricted by factors such as religion, tradition, political, or economic systems which shaped and constrained the ideas, symbols and uses the society gave to its watercrafts (Da Silva 2007: 34). Boatbuilding itself does not constitute ethnic behavior, nevertheless it is possible to distinguish certain common boatbuilding traits to ethnic identity, and therefore it is possible that ethnic identity in a maritime sense can be expressed to some extent in boatbuilding traditions such as construction techniques, design and ornaments (Artzy 1987: 78-79; Westerdahl 1994: 267). The *'galloi'*, and especially the *'hippoi'* ships, recognized by the ancient Greek as distinctive Phoenician in character, would fall squarely into this definition. It should be noted that according to some scholars the ancient Greeks may have used the term Phoenician for any eastern merchant group since the ninth century BCE (Markoe 2000: 10-11). However, it should also be said that despite possible competition from Philistines, and perhaps also Israelites and Judeans, southern Levantine maritime activities were dominated primarily by the Phoenicians during the Iron Age (Stieglitz 1984: 139-141). Furthermore, the fact that other ancient peoples frequently depicted Phoenician

sea-vessels with the horse head ornament suggests it was identifiable with Phoenician watercrafts. It was only during the late Persian period that Greek influence began to take effect on Phoenician vessels. From the second half of the fifth century BCE Phoenician warships display eyes painted on the hull as well as other zoomorphic elements for the prow such as a lion's head or a bull's horns (Mark 2008; Woolmer 2012: 248-251).

Phoenician Iron Age sea-vessels were also distinct in building methods. The Phoenician hull construction technique which utilized pegged 'mortise and tenon' joints to bind the planks of their hulls, a technique which first appeared during the Middle Bronze Age, was also unique to Phoenician crafts till the sixth century BCE during which it was adopted by the Greeks (Casson 1963; 1995: 43-68; Da Silva 2007: 36-38; Pomey *et al.* 2012).

Religion and Cult

Religious beliefs are often central to the construction of identities and the cultural practices of everyday life, such as dietary habits and dress codes, and also to the practices of key life events such as births, deaths and marriages (Holloway and Valins 2002: 6). The Phoenician religion of the Iron Age is still largely unknown. Much of our data relies heavily on anachronistic and bias religious and historical texts. The rest we may gather from the cult practices as reflected in the material culture. Although it is clear that the origins of the Phoenician religion lay in the Bronze Age traditions and religious beliefs of Canaan, these do not necessarily apply for the first millennium BCE. Nevertheless, continuity of Canaanite traditions, and specifically coastal-Canaanite traditions, is a hallmark of Phoenician culture, and is mainly manifested in cultural aspects related to religion and cult. Yet, since aspects of ethnicity and ethnic behavior are derived from human behavior, "there is the same continuity and change about them as there is about human behavior" which is subjected to economic, social or political circumstances (Royce 1982: 17). As stated above, Phoenician religion and cult are marked by both strict conservatism and also renewal, adaptation, and change. This approach may be seen through the changes in the importance of deities during the period in question. It is highly likely that the Bronze Age Canaanite pantheon was much broader than that of the Iron Age, as evident by the second millennium BCE mythological texts from Ugarit. From the tenth century BCE, a religious reform swept through Phoenicia. Unique local cults developed in each Phoenician city, which centered on a distinctive

pantheon (Packham 1987: 81-82; Clifford 1990: 56-57; Malkin 2005: 241-243). In the past, it was widely accepted that these processes reflected the development of individual religious systems that centered on a set of idiosyncratic deities (Clifford 1990: 56; Ward 1996: 202; Gubel 2000: 204; Peckham 2001: 20; Woolmer 2011: 98). Today it is becoming increasingly accepted that these deities simply represent a localized version of a pan-Phoenician pantheon that consisted of a divine triad or pair. Nearly all the deities in the Phoenician pantheon had a name with an interchangeable meaning that could have also served as a title or attribute. These 'names' can also be interpreted as different manifestations of a single deity (Moscati 1968: 176; Clifford 1990: 57; Stern 1999: 254; Ribichini 2001: 121ff; Woolmer 2011: 99; 2012: 244). Indeed, many localized deities such as Melqart, Eshmun, and Adonis display similar attributes that seem to suggest they were different manifestations of a single deity, i.e. Baal.

The institutionalization of these deities as tutelary patrons of the city and its royal dynasty coincides with the socio-political changes that transpired during the early Iron Age. Therefore, it is more than possible that the aforementioned 'religious reform' was politically rather than ideologically induced. As stated above, the cities of Phoenicia emerged out of the cataclysmic events of the Late Bronze Age as powerful city-states with established royal dynasties who competed with one another economically and politically. Each dynasty wished to emphasize its unique right to rule as bestowed upon it by the grace of the gods. Therefore, each city-state selected a local manifestation of a divine entity or entities, to serve as its exclusive patron or patrons and thus differentiate themselves from their counterparts. Therefore, although each Phoenician city-state and its monarchs pride themselves on their special relationship with their 'unique' tutelary deities, Phoenician religion was rooted in a common system of beliefs that can be defined as a pan-Phoenician religion. This is also supported by the similar cultic material culture found in cult places which were under the influence of different Phoenician city-states.

Temples

As stated above, Phoenician temples were modest in size and style, which is why they are often defined by scholars as mere shrines rather than temples. The modesty of Phoenician temples seems to reflect the importance of nature in Phoenician religion. As both biblical and classical authors often suggest, Phoenician cult was practiced not only in manmade structures, but perhaps primarily

in various natural settings such as mountain and hill tops, by river streams, below rocky cliffs, and under leafy trees (Moscati 1968: 38-39; Christian 2014). It is possible that since Phoenician culture was an urban culture centered in vibrant city centers, the dissonance of urban versus natural was perceived as secular versus holy. Nevertheless, temples have been found within the confinement of Phoenician cities, and not necessarily in a specific district. These temples follow architectural principals that were no doubt inspired by ideology and virtually unchanged from the Middle Bronze Age II to the Persian period. The long continuity and distribution of these temples and their rigid plan and layout suggests they follow a pan-Phoenician system of beliefs that was deeply rooted in the region and may also suggest that the same deities were worshiped within them.

Betils

Another feature of Phoenician religion was the abstract representation of Phoenician deities (Moscati 2001b: 349-350). This aniconic attitude, similar to that professed in the Hebrew bible, was manifested mainly in the use of standing stones and wooden pillars which are often found within Phoenician temples. The use of betils and pillars was common during the Bronze and Iron Ages in the southern Levant; however the tradition was preserved by the Phoenicians well into the Roman period (Moscati 1968: 40; Stockton 1974).

Dog Burials

The same continuity is displayed in the practice of dog burials, which was defined as a Phoenician phenomenon (Stager 1991b: 39–42; 2008: 565-568; Heltzer 1998). Although dog burials in cultic context were practiced from a very early age in the southern Levant (Edrey 2008: 275-276), it appears that its distribution along the coast and its immediate hinterland is dominant (Map 5). Furthermore, the phenomenon reached its peak during the Persian period, during which the coast and its hinterland were under Phoenician hegemony. Therefore, it seems that although dog burials were not exclusively practiced by the Phoenicians, they maintained a deeply rooted Canaanite tradition throughout the Iron Age which endured at least into the Hellenistic period.

Apotropaic Cults

Apotropaic cult appears to have been an essential component in Phoenician culture and everyday life, as the items related to this form of cult are the most abundant in the archaeological record and include various figurines, masks, and pendants that were worn or otherwise displayed. Although other peoples in the southern Levant and the Ancient Near East at large similarly practiced this cult, the artifacts attributed to the Phoenicians display variations in artistic style and themes that distinguish them from similar contemporary artifacts. Their association to Phoenician culture is based mainly on their distribution that is limited to the Phoenician coast, its hinterland, and Cyprus. During the Iron Age, Phoenician imagery followed the Bronze Age artistic traditions of strong Egyptian influences (Gubel 2000: 210-211; Beck 2002: 203). The late Iron Age saw the rise of the Greek artistic style, which became even more popular along the coast during the Persian period. During the Persian period, apotropaic cultic artifacts were found almost exclusively within the borders of Phoenician hegemony (Stern 2001: 490; Fantalkin and Tal 2012: 134-135). Therefore, once again we are faced with continuity of Canaanite Bronze Age traditions practiced solely by the Phoenicians well into the classical period.

Maritime Cults

One aspect unique to the Phoenicians, at least in the region, was the practice of maritime cults and rituals. The Mediterranean Sea was a significant element in Phoenician society from its very beginning, as the sea provided economic wealth, sustenance, and transportation, which was sometimes otherwise difficult. But the Mediterranean was also potentially dangerous, unpredictable, and fickle. In the Ancient Near East, the sea was often perceived as a chaotic element filled with ominous beasts (Hasel 1972: 1-2; Grønbaek 1985). The Phoenicians' attitude towards the Mediterranean must have been more positive than that of other nations. Even so, as seafarers the Phoenicians understood the sea was a force to reckon with. Therefore, their relationship with the seascape was that of permanent tension, provoking a profound respect for all maritime activities, and as such, these were deeply instilled with symbolism and rituals (Brody 1998: 102; López-Bertan *et al.* 2008: 343-348). Although the cultic practices of Phoenician seafarers were not dissimilar to those practiced by other Mediterranean seafaring peoples,

maritime cults and rituals seem to have played a pivotal role in Phoenician religion, much more so than in other Ancient Near Eastern religions. These include votive offerings of a maritime nature such as boat models, actual parts of ships such as rudders or anchors, and ship graffiti, all of which are found more abundantly along the Phoenician coast. The importance maritime cult played in Phoenician religion may be best demonstrated by the fact that unlike other seafaring nations that worshipped a main 'sea god', it appears that all deities in the Phoenician pantheon have served as tutelary patrons of the sea, seafaring, and mariners (Brody 1998: 37-38).

Burial Practices

Burial practices tend to be a very conservative element in society and are often used to distinguish one ethnic group from the other (Edelman 2002: 53), and many scholars maintain that a change in burial practices suggests the arrival of new population elements or a dramatic change in religious beliefs (Alekshin 1983: 137-138; Aubet 2013: 77-78). Yet Phoenician burial grounds often display a wide range of burial traditions, which are mostly manifested in a variety of tomb and grave types, but also in the treatment of the body and the funerary method, which seems to suggest a significantly socially stratified society. Nevertheless, it appears that certain aspects of the mortuary practices display long continuity that stems in Bronze Age traditions. These variations in Phoenician burials may represent different socio-economic classes within Phoenician society.

Both inhumation and cremation were practiced in Phoenicia. Inhumation, with a preference to a supine position of the deceased with the head pointed east, was the most common burial practice in Phoenicia throughout the ages (Curvers and Stuart 1998-1999: 23; Stuart 2001). Cremation was practiced in the southern Levant sporadically during the early Iron Age, but it became widely popular in Phoenicia and the Punic west during the Iron Age II, between the tenth and sixth centuries BCE. In fact, it appears that cremation became the predominant burial practice in Phoenicia during the Iron Age II (Markoe 2000: 139-140; Aubet 2013: 78-79; Dixon 2013: 490-491). During the subsequent Persian period, inhumation returned to be the dominant burial practice, with a preference to elaborate burials in stone sarcophagi or wooden coffins placed in shaft tombs. Unlike earlier periods, the distribution of shaft tombs in the Persian period is mostly limited to the coast and its hinterland (*cf*. Stern 1982: 68ff; 2001: 473-474; Dixon 2013: 491). Interment in stone sarcophagi at that period is also recognised as a Phoenician phenomenon as few

examples were found outside Phoenicia, with the largest concentration in Sidon (Stern 1982: 68ff; 2001: 474-476).

Both inhumation and cremation burials share certain elements in Phoenicia. Collective burials in family plots or tombs seemed to have been preferred over solitary interments that usually display poorer material culture if any. Funerary offerings were often placed in the grave to accompany the deceased and would include pottery vessels, jewelry, and other everyday items. The most common grave good found in Phoenician burials was pottery vessels used for drinking and dining. The distribution of such pottery assemblages in funerary context during the Iron Age were found mainly along the coast, continuing a Bronze Age tradition that began during the Early Bronze Age that is probably related to marzeah rituals (Aubet 2006: 42; Baker 2006; 2012: 110-114; Whincop 2009: 228-230; Núñez 2015: 249-250). These assemblages may serve as an indicator for Phoenician burials during the Iron Age as they differ from funerary offerings found inland. During the Persian period, funerary offerings were found almost exclusively along the coast and its hinterland (Wolf 2002: 136) and may therefore constitute a Phoenician cultural phenomenon. It appears therefore that while the mortuary *modus operandi* changed, the funerary rites remained the same.

Discussion

Upon examination of the various unique aspects of Phoenician material culture, as presented above, several key elements emerge: The first is that Phoenician material culture is deeply rooted in southern Levantine or Canaanite traditions which often first appear during the Middle Bronze Age II and display continuity until the late Persian or subsequent Hellenistic period. The second is that these unique material culture traits are manifested in two main aspects of Phoenician culture; religion and cult, and maritime culture. The latter is more obvious as Phoenician society was *the* maritime culture of the southern Levant, thus features related to the sea, seamanship and all things maritime had a more significant meaning for the Phoenicians than to other neighboring nations. Therefore, it is no wonder that maritime manifestations of material culture, such as elaborate artificial harbors, were a Phoenician phenomenon.

As for religion and cult, the situation is more complex since the religions of other southern Levantine peoples, such as the Israelites (Coogan 1987), were also rooted in Canaanite traditions,

and so their cultic material culture often displays similar, if not identical, features. Nevertheless, these ethnic nations that emerged during the Iron Age II formed new systems of belief, among other cultural elements (Herr 1997; Nigro 2014: 263), and by doing so, distancing themselves from their Canaanite predecessors and other contemporary nations. While the Phoenicians maintained their Canaanite, or more precisely, coastal-Canaanite heritage and ethnic identity. As stated above, there are many evidences that suggest the Phoenicians and their Punic successors addressed themselves as Canaanites long after the fall of Carthage (Harden 1963: 22). This is not to say that Phoenician religion and cultic practices were stagnant. They too were subjected to change due to political, social, and economical factors, such as the institutionalization of patron deities during the early Iron Age II (Clifford 1990: 56; Markoe 2000: 115-116). Even so, religion tends to be a conservative cultural element, as evident by the long continuity of Phoenician cultic material culture demonstrated above. These cultural elements, manifested in the material culture of the Phoenicians during the Iron Age, demonstrates a common ethnic behavior that supersedes their prominent regional attitude and suggests a pan-Phoenician identity.

The Emergence of Phoenician Culture

As stated above, there are two leading approaches to the emergence of Phoenician culture: One is that Phoenician culture only emerged during the early Iron Age, ca. 1200 BCE, and the other is that the origins of Phoenician culture reach as far back as the third or second millennium BCE. The first approach maintains that Phoenician civilization could only come to be after the demise of Egyptian hegemony over the southern Levant. Elayi (1980: 14), probably following the early writings of Moscati (1968: 23), suggested that the Phoenicians' confinement to the coast by the more powerful inland kingdoms of the Iron Age "compelled them to develop their own civilization." Moscati (2001a: 19) takes a more cautious approach and states that the emergence of an independent Phoenician civilization from 1200 BCE and onwards was both a result of the innovation that took place around it at that time, and the continuation of earlier traditions.

It appears that the scholars citing the first approach inequitably associate Phoenician ethnicity with nationalism and statehood as if one cannot exist without the other. Ethnicity has been entangled with the idea of the nation state during the early twentieth century in the wake of the First World War, which followed the collapse of the political system of kingdoms and empires during the early

nineteenth century. With the rise of the new European concept of nation states, elements such as language, religion, culture, were tied to a well-defined territorial 'homeland' to which its people had an inherited right, either by birth or conquest, that was legitimized by a deep historical connection (Sherratt 2005: 27).[80] The key word in the arguments of supporters of the 1200 BCE emergence is 'autonomous' or 'independent'. Moscati (1968: 21-22) and others (e.g. Elayi 1980: 14; Bondi 2001a: 23) suggest that Phoenician civilization could only come to be after it broke free of the Egyptian yoke of the Late Bronze Age, as only then the Phoenicians emerged as politically independent city-states. Thus, rendering the Bronze Age inhabitants of the northern Canaanite coast as 'Proto-Phoenicians' (e.g. Elayi 1980: 14; Negbi 1992). However, if we follow this logic, would it not call for a new ethnic definition after the Assyrian conquest during the Iron Age II, or their consequent subjugation to any other foreign major power? There is no doubt that the Iron Age brought fourth changes to Phoenician society, however these changes can also be attributed to a natural process of development and evolution of their culture. As Finkelstein (1996b: 199) points out, "Overnight creation of an ethnic entity is difficult to comprehend even in cases of discontinuity in the material culture; how much more in this case of continuity." Nothing acute changed in the social construct, cultural traditions, or character of the Phoenician city-states during the Iron Age. Rather, changes occurred around them with the emergence of new ethno-political entities in the southern Levant during the Iron Age, such as the Israelites, Ammonites, and Moabites. Identity is often constructed in opposition to an 'other', and it was in the process of self-ascription of these newly formed ethnic groups that the Phoenician city-states were recognized by them as part of a distinct geographic and ethnic unit which was culturally integrated albeit their political segregation (Joffe 2002: 446; Boyes 2012: 39). This is not to say Phoenician identity was formed at that time but rather the opposite. These newly formed ethnic groups, emerged in opposite of the traditional Bronze Age social and political structure that was preserved in the Iron Age by the city-states of Phoenicia. Notions such as that portrayed by Elayi (1980: 14) and Aubet (2001: 17), that the Phoenicians were confined to their land by the more powerful ethno-political entities during the Iron Age and thus were forced to develop a unique culture disregards the fact that the Phoenicians chose to inhabit their land long before the cataclysmic events that ushered in the Iron Age, and that their culture displays long continuity that stems as early as the Middle Bronze Age.

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[80] *Cf.* Parpola (2004), who maintains a national identity appears already in the Assyrian empire.

Summary

Phoenician ethnicity and identity are concepts that remain debatable, primarily since we lack Phoenician written sources that clearly state the inhabitants of the Phoenician coast perceived themselves as a conscious ethnic collective that shared common cultural traits. Quite the opposite, the Phoenicians often attempted to emphasize their distinctive regional identity rather than ascribe themselves to a broader ethnic definition. Nevertheless, as presented above, there is evidence suggesting that the Phoenicians did in fact perceived themselves as belonging to an ethno-geographic group, i.e. the Canaanites (Bourogiannis 2012a: 38-39). To quote Rainey (1996: 12); "The self-consciousness of being Canaanite and of living in Canaan was not lost on some segments of the Iron Age population. It was even kept alive, especially among the residents of the Phoenician cities, down into the Hellenistic period." As such it seems the Phoenicians considered themselves, alongside other cultures such as Egypt and Mesopotamia, as an 'old culture' evident both by historical kings lists and a mythical past (Machinist 1994: 51; Wazana 2005: 238, fn. 25). The problem with this evidence is that its origins often date outside the scope of the periods in question and may depict an anachronistic view of the Phoenicians (*cf.* Lemche 1991: 52; 1996; 1998). Nevertheless, many scholars (e.g. Shibutani and Kwan 1965: 47) maintain that ascription by others is as important to ethnic identity as self-ascription. And although the evidence to the self-ascription of the Phoenicians is scarce, there is no doubt that at least from the Iron Age, the inhabitants of the Phoenician coast were perceived by their neighboring ethno-political entities as a unified ethnic group based on cultural commonness rather than political unity. The concept of an ethnic state was vital to entities that wished to dominate large areas and unite populations using kinship as an organizing mechanism (Joffe 2002: 454). The distinction between them and others by means of social boundaries, based on shared cultural traits as well as self-ascription and ascription by others (Malkin 2003: 59-60), ultimately formed political borders. Since the Phoenicians had no such aspirations, their self-determination as a unified ethnic group was less significant to them (Sherratt 2005: 35). It was immensely more important for others to define the Phoenicians as an ethnic group for their own identity forming process since identity is often shaped in opposition of an 'other'. The origins of most Iron Age southern Levantine peoples such as the Israelites, Ammonites, or Moabites stem from the same Canaanite culture (Finkelstein 1996b; Wazana 2005: 234-235), however these Iron Age emerging nations, in the pursuit of their own unique identity, have

effectively distanced themselves from their shared Canaanite heritage (Machinist 1994: 49-51), particularly socially and religiously. The Phoenicians on the other hand were the only Iron Age group that preserved their Bronze Age Canaanite legacy. Interestingly this legacy is manifested mainly socially and religiously as demonstrated above. Their perception by others as Canaanites is clearly evident by the Hebrew bible's frequent reference to the Phoenicians as Canaanites and to the Phoenician coast as Canaan. As stated above, the bible also often interchanges 'Canaanites' with 'Sidonians'. The link between Canaan and Sidon is further emphasized in the table of nations (Gen. 10: 15) in which the eponym Canaan is described as the father of Sidon among other Phoenician cities (Aharoni 1967: 7; Na'aman 1994a: 397; Aubet 2001: 10). Interestingly this is similar to the use of 'Sidonians' as a synonym to 'Phoenicians' in the ninth century BCE Homeric epics (Mazar 1946: 7; Winter 1995: 247; *cf*. Sherratt 2005: 35; Boyes 2012: 38-39, fn. 10). The autochthonic nature of the population of Phoenicia and its cultural continuation from the Bronze Age may be further stressed by the fact that unlike the newly emerging entities of the Iron Age, the Hebrew bible mentions no exogenous origins to the cities of Phoenicia (Wazana 2005: 236).

The cultural commonness of the Phoenicians is evident not only in light of written sources, but also, and perhaps more strongly, in light of its material culture. As demonstrated above, Phoenician material culture shows both strict continuity and uniformity in two key cultural elements, i.e. maritime culture and religion. Phoenician culture both evolved and revolved around the sea, which was a central element in their society from its very beginning. All major, and most mid-sized, Phoenicians settlements were situated directly on the coast or on islands as direct access to the sea was imperative. Unlike other major southern Levantine urban centers that utilized a separate harbor town and were situated slightly further inland. This is also true for the later colonization process in the western Mediterranean basin in which outposts and colonies were founded in the same manner. As stated above, the Phoenician coast provided limited natural resources, especially in terms of agriculture as arable terrain was scarce (Bartoloni 2001b: 92). This narrow stretch of land, which at times is only several hundred meters in width, was often filled with sand dunes, marshes, and rocky terrain. Therefore, although it is rich with fresh water sources that could provide yearlong irrigation, Phoenician agriculture was unable to sustain the growing population (Aubet 2001: 17). The coast of Phoenicia is also virtually isolated from the mainland by the impregnable Lebanon Mountains, save for two natural corridors located in the Akkar plain in the north and the Akko plain in the south. The land is also divided into small territorial units by mighty

rivers that flow from the mountain range and created large river gorges that often served as natural borders. This somewhat harsh landscape was ideal for the development of a maritime society as the coast is rich with rocky promontories, small islets, and reefs that provide natural anchorage and protection against the swells. Furthermore, the forests of the Lebanon were abundant with tall trees, most famous of which were the mighty cedars, which provided quality timber for the construction of large sturdy sea-going vessels (*cf.* Stern 1990: 30). Such favorable maritime conditions can be found solely in the Phoenician coast in the entire southern Levant. The Phoenician landscape had forced the inhabitants of the land to rely heavily on the sea for sustenance, transportation, but most importantly, maritime trade, especially with the rise in demography. There is no wonder therefore that Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 7: 208) credited the invention of the cargo ship to the Phoenicians. As archaeological, textual, and iconographical evidence suggests, Iron Age Phoenician ships were not only built using unique construction methods, they must have also been easily recognizable as 'Phoenician' by their design. It appears that both merchantmen and warships shared the same basic design of the 'gaulos', a large vessel distinguishable by its rounded hull and ability to carry heavy loads. Phoenician vessels were also frequently depicted as 'hippoi', bearing a horse head ornament at the prow. It is more than likely that not all, or perhaps even most, sea vessels of Phoenician origin portrayed such ornaments; however, the horse-head ornament may have become an ethnic marker for Phoenician vessels and was used to identify Phoenician ships by other ethnicities.

Phoenician harbors were also unique in the southern Levant during the Iron Age and Persian period. All major Phoenician centers utilized at least two harbors, a main harbor, artificially constructed and facing north, and a natural harbor facing south. The artificial harbors of Phoenicia best example Phoenician innovation, environmental adaptation, and technical abilities. All Phoenician harbors portray two key elements that display extensive maritime engineering knowledge and skills. The harbor installations were built of massive ashlar blocks set in headers facing the sea, and a rubble fill, which offered greater stability and durability against the constant energy of the waves, and a silt flushing system, which could consist of elaborately designed flushing channels and sediments collective vats, or simple gaps intentionally left between the harbor's installations. Such artificial harbors were found solely within the Phoenician sphere of influence and may serve as a strong indicator for a Phoenician settlement.

Phoenician religion remains mostly unknown as our knowledge is based mainly on unoriginal and

anachronistic biblical and classical texts. Even the most important Phoenician religious text we know of, however fragmented it may be, i.e. the accounts of Philo of Byblos, are heavily Hellenized and may not be so easily applied to earlier periods (Baumgarten 1981; Edwards 1991: 213; Ribichini 2001: 121). Although many scholars (e.g. Bondi 2001a: 23) suggest Phoenician religion was subjected to dramatic change during the early Iron Age, as suggested by the appearance of 'new' deities, e.g. Melqart at Tyre (Clifford 1990: 56), as demonstrated above Phoenician religion and cult is characterized by long and strict continuity that originates from the Bronze Age rather than abrupt change. Nevertheless, since cultural aspects are ultimately derived from human behavior, they are subjected to economic, social, or political circumstances (Royce 1982: 17). The institutionalization of the cult of local deities such as Melqart, Eshmun, and Adonis in the beginning of the Iron Age II (Clifford 1990: 56; Markoe 2000: 115-116) was most likely the result of changes in the political system rather than a true religious reform. Since all these deities portray similar attributes, they may all simply be a local manifestation of Baal, the chief deity of the pantheon (Moscati 1968: 176; Clifford 1990: 57; Stern 1999: 254; Ribichini 2001: 121ff; Choi 2004: 17-18; Woolmer 2011: 99; 2012: 244). It is therefore possible that the Phoenicians worshipped the same deities and practiced a pan-Phoenician religion that was rooted in a common system of beliefs (Clifford 1990; Christian 2014: 376) despite its localized attitude. As demonstrated above, this is also supported by the cultic material culture, perhaps most notably by Phoenician temples. These temples were built in similar design, plan, proportions, and spatial arrangement that suggests that the cult practiced within them was rooted in a common system of beliefs. The distribution of these temples suggests they were under the hegemony of different Phoenician cities, which may also point to a pan-Phoenician belief system.

To conclude, the evidence to the self-ascription and ascription by others of the Phoenicians as a distinct ethnic group with a conscious identity that extends beyond its local scope is compelling. The Phoenicians saw themselves first and foremost as the citizens of their respective city-states, similar to the ancient Greek attitude towards the polis, as demonstrated in the writings of Plato and Aristotle (Kleingeld and Brown 2013). However, they have also ascribed themselves to a broader ethno-geographic identity as Canaanites, a definition that must have incorporated all the cities of Phoenicia. As the evidence presented above clearly demonstrate, this ethnic definition, whose origins date back to the Bronze Age, has been preserved in the memory of the Phoenicians in the east well into the Hellenistic period, and far later in the memory of their descendants in the Punic

west. This long continuity is also demonstrated in various aspects of their material culture that at times remained virtually unchanged from the Middle Bronze Age II and to the late Persian period and constitutes a 'Phoenician koiné'. Such a cultural continuity manifested in the material culture indicates to a conscious autochthonic population that preserved its culture, heritage, and identity for centuries within a limited and relatively isolated geographical area in the southern Levant, known as Phoenicia.

Conclusions

The Phoenicians in the eastern Mediterranean are still considered by modern scholars a lost civilization, especially during the early Iron Ages, between the twelfth and sixth centuries BCE. This is largely due to the acute lack of original Phoenician compositions that could shed light on various aspects of Phoenician society, religion, and everyday life. In the past centuries, our knowledge of the Phoenicians was chiefly derived from anachronistic exterior sources, most prominent of which were the Hebrew bible and various Greek and Latin classical authors, such as Herodotus, Josephus, and Eusebius. Original Phoenician writings were preserved only in the form of inscriptions on stone and metal, which are usually far too short and laconic. To these limited sources, the field of archaeology was added in the past century and it quickly became the leading method for the rediscovering of Phoenician civilization, especially in their homeland in the east. Throughout this dissertation, I have attempted to recognize aspects of material culture unique to the Phoenicians in the eastern Mediterranean that can serve as ethnic markers of a Phoenician cultural *koiné*. It soon became apparent that although my study aimed to focus on the Iron Age I-III, it could not be restricted to these periods alone, as many aspects of Phoenician material culture tend to demonstrate strict continuity throughout millennia. This long continuity itself should be considered a hallmark of Phoenician culture, and any attempt to differentiate between the ethnic population of the Phoenician coast during the Bronze Age and that of the Iron Age via terms such as 'Proto-Phoenicians' vs. Phoenicians, is artificial and motivated by the socio-political conditions that occurred around the coast at the beginning of the Iron Age I, and to a larger degree during the Iron Age IIA rather than in Phoenicia itself. The Phoenicians of the Iron Age did not consider themselves as the descendants of the once mighty Bronze Age culture of Canaan, but rather as Canaanites living in Canaan, as later epigraphic and textual evidence suggests.

A thorough examination of the material culture of Phoenicia and its dependencies indicates that this long and rigid continuity is best demonstrated in Phoenician religion and cult, two cultural aspects which are traditionally considered conservative. This is not to say that Phoenician religion was stagnant, as religion is a conscious concept subjected to social, economic, or political circumstances and can therefore undergo changes throughout the ages. The Canaanite pantheon seems to have narrowed significantly during the Iron Age, most probably due to a process of syncretism that ultimately resulted in the Phoenician divine triad or couple scheme. Furthermore,

the Iron Age marks the institutionalization of official city-gods in Phoenicia, some of which have no record prior to the tenth century BCE. However, it is likely that these 'new deities' were merely local manifestations of the familiar gods of the triad, most likely Baal and Astarte. Therefore, if all Phoenicians worshipped the same deities, albeit under various aliases, it is more than possible that they practiced a pan-Phoenician religion rooted in a common system of beliefs.

This assumption is also supported by the Phoenician cultic material culture. As demonstrated above, Phoenician temples shared a similar basic design that first appeared during the Bronze Age and endured until the Persian period. The long continuity of this tradition, as well as the distribution of such temples which were found mainly along the Phoenician coast, suggests their design must have been inspired by a religious ideology and reflects cultic behavior that stems from a unitary belief system. The size and relative modesty of Phoenician temples seems to reflect the importance of nature in its cults, as evident by both biblical and classical authors. It would appear that Phoenician cults were performed mainly on mountain and hilltops, by river streams, below rocky cliffs, and under leafy trees, rather than in manmade structures.

Another key principle of Phoenician religion reflected in its material culture was its aniconic attitude that favored the use of betils, sacred pillars, and sacred trees rather than effigies of deities. No large-scale Iron Age representations of Phoenician deities were found in Phoenician sites. All known representations of supposed Phoenician deities originate from regions outside Phoenicia such as Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor. However, the use of betils in Phoenician sites was widespread from the Bronze Age to the Roman period, as evident by both literary and iconographic evidence, as well as the archaeological record.

Phoenician cultic continuity is also demonstrated in funerary rites, which appear along the coast during the Bronze Age and continue to be practiced throughout the Iron Age, and also in dog burials, a phenomenon which appear even earlier during the Chalcolithic period, and is practiced throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages, and well into the Hellenistic period.

Another key feature of Phoenician culture is its deep connection to the Mediterranean and maritime activities. Phoenician culture was a maritime culture *par excellence*. The Phoenicians settled the Levantine coastal plain and off shore islands, ventured the Mediterranean Sea and beyond in search of sources of raw materials and markets, founding colonies and trading stations along the way. The reason the Phoenicians chose to settle along the Phoenician coast and its islands must have been motivated by a maritime agenda, as this stretch of land is relatively isolated and poor in

natural resources and arable soil. It is however the only region in the eastern Mediterranean that provides both abundance of the finest timber, suitable for the construction of sturdy sea-going vessels, and natural bays, coves, and islets offering protection against the Mediterranean swells. This land's unique characteristics has forced its inhabitants to rely heavily on the sea for sustenance, transportation, and especially, maritime trade, which grow increasingly more important with the rise in demography. The Phoenicians were renowned most of all as maritime traders, hauling commodities to and from the major emporia of the Ancient Near East. It is no wonder that the ancient Greeks credited them as the inventors of the merchantman. Archaeological, textual, and iconographical evidence suggests that Iron Age Phoenician ships were unique in design. The typical Phoenician cargo ship, known as the '*gaulos*', was distinguishable mainly by its rounded hull. This basic design was also the prototype of Phoenician warships that appear to have changed only with the introduction of the metal-cast ram late during the Iron Age III. Furthermore, it would appear that Phoenician vessels were also recognizable by their adornments, expressed chiefly as '*hippoi*' ships which were characteristically displayed with a horse head at the prow or stern (or both). As stated above, although it is more than probably that not all Iron Age Phoenician vessels were constructed as '*hippoi*' ships, the horse head motif became an attribute affiliated with them and was often used as a means of identification in artistic expressions.

Phoenician maritime material cultural was also expressed in the construction of artificial harbors, which were unique in the southern Levant to the cities of Phoenicia during the Iron Age. These harbors display innovation, environmental adaptation, and maritime engineering skills unparalleled in the southern Levant, as expressed by silt flushing systems and harbor construction techniques.

All these unique cultural elements were manifestations of a cultural *koiné* that was recognized not only by others as distinctive 'Phoenician' or 'Canaanite' in nature, but also by the Phoenicians themselves. This self-ascription and ascription by others of social boundaries expressed in cultural elements manifested in a shared material culture established an identity known to us today as 'Phoenician'.

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Map 6

Map 7

Black Sea

Mediterranean Sea

Red Sea

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Fig. 2.1

Fig. 2.2

Fig. 2.3

Fig. 2.4

Fig. 2.5

a. Before Hiram.

b. After Hiram.

c. Alexander's mole.

d. Roman and modern periods.

Fig. 3.2

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Fig. 3.3

STRATUM XIII

348

Fig. 3.4

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Fig. 3.5

Fig. 3.6

Fig. 3.7

Fig. 3.8

Fig. 3.9

Fig. 3.10

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Fig. 3.11

Fig. 3.12

Stratum II, Persian period

Mutatio Certha,
Roman-Byzantine
period

N

0   20   40
              m

Fig. 3.13

Tel Dor:
The Persian Period

Wall

Presumed Street Line

Exposed Street Line

Location of Street in Hl and Rm Periods

Residential
Area

Open
Area

Residential
Area(?)

Residential
Area

Residential
Area

Residential/
Warehouse?
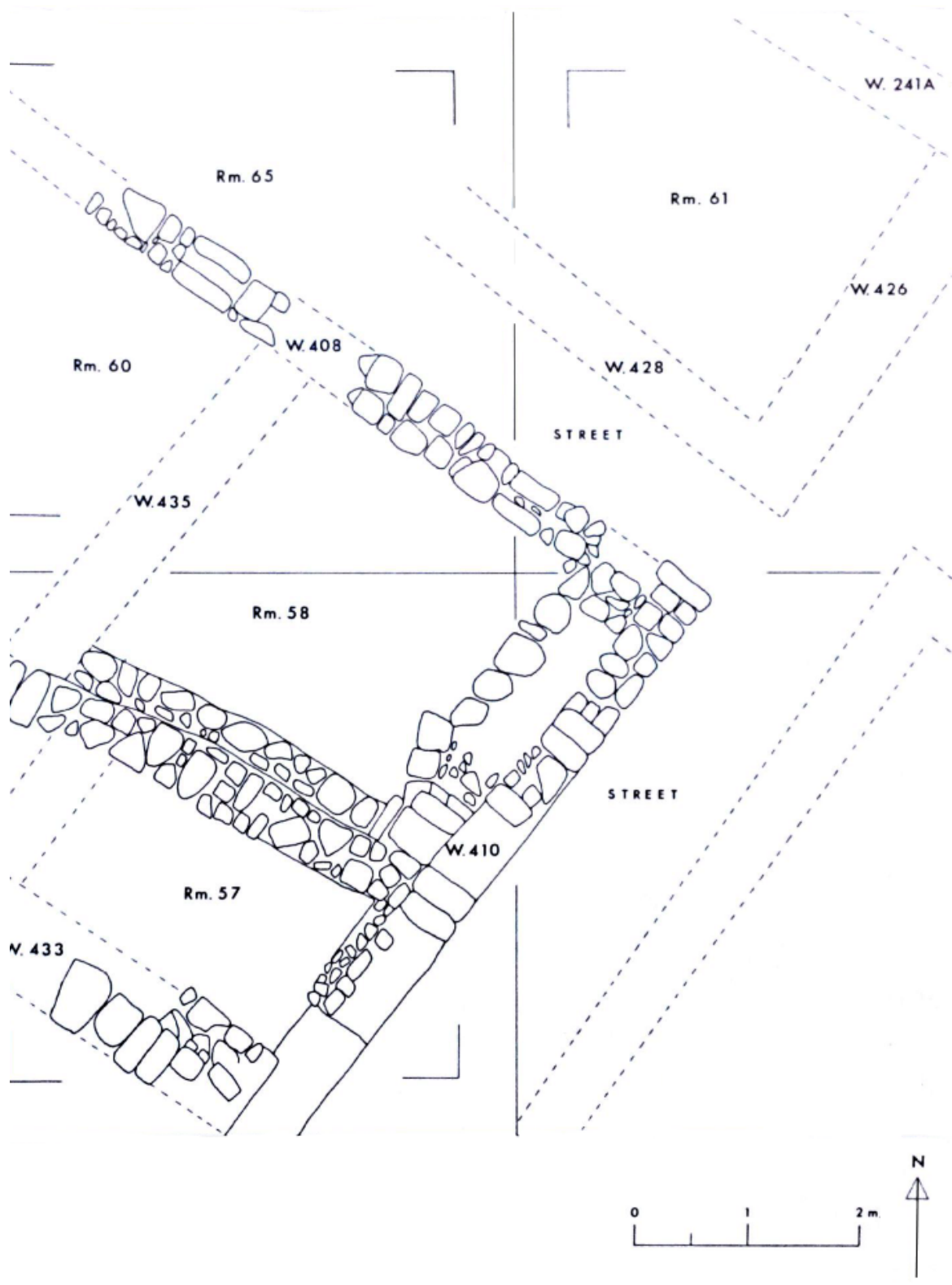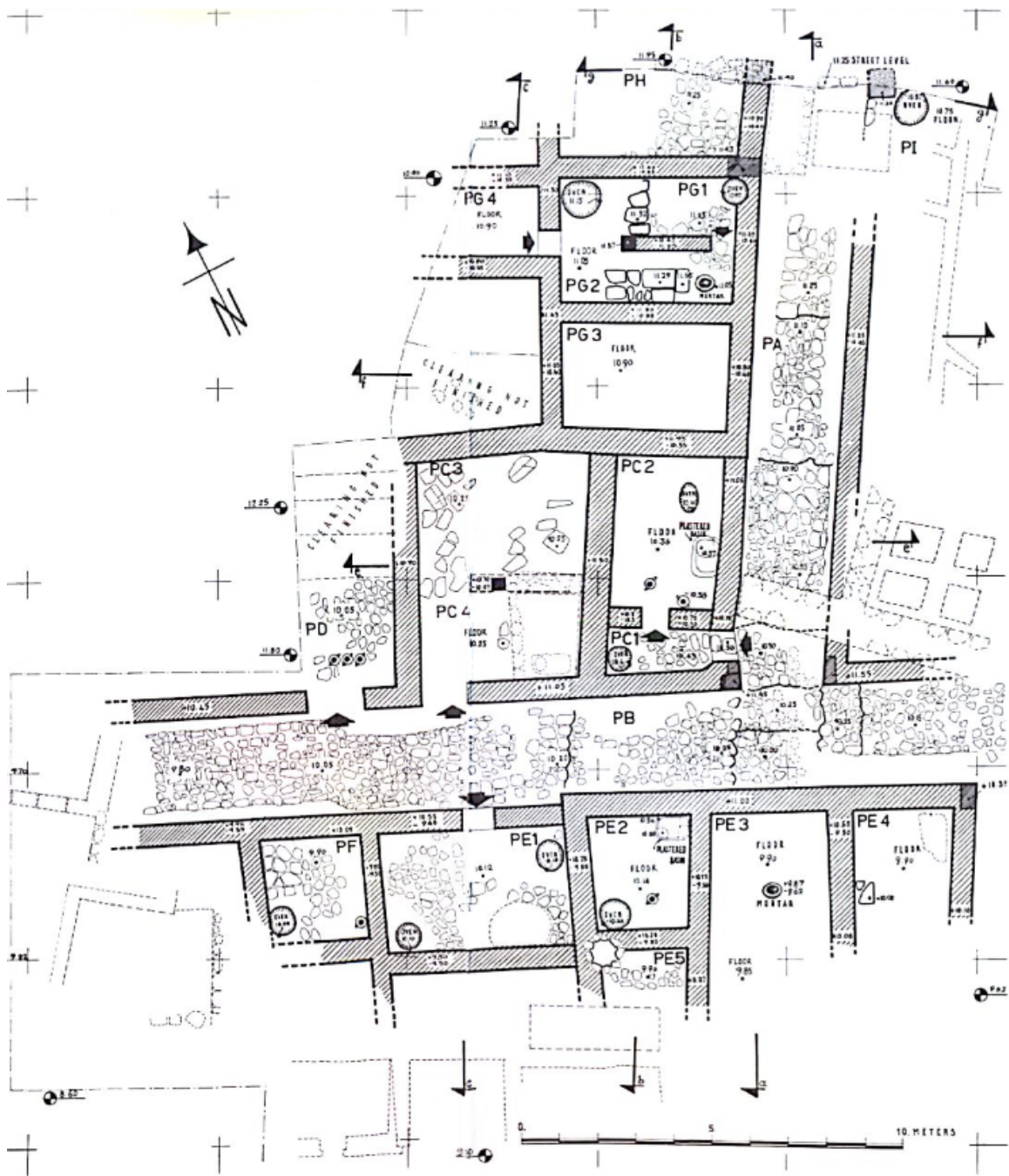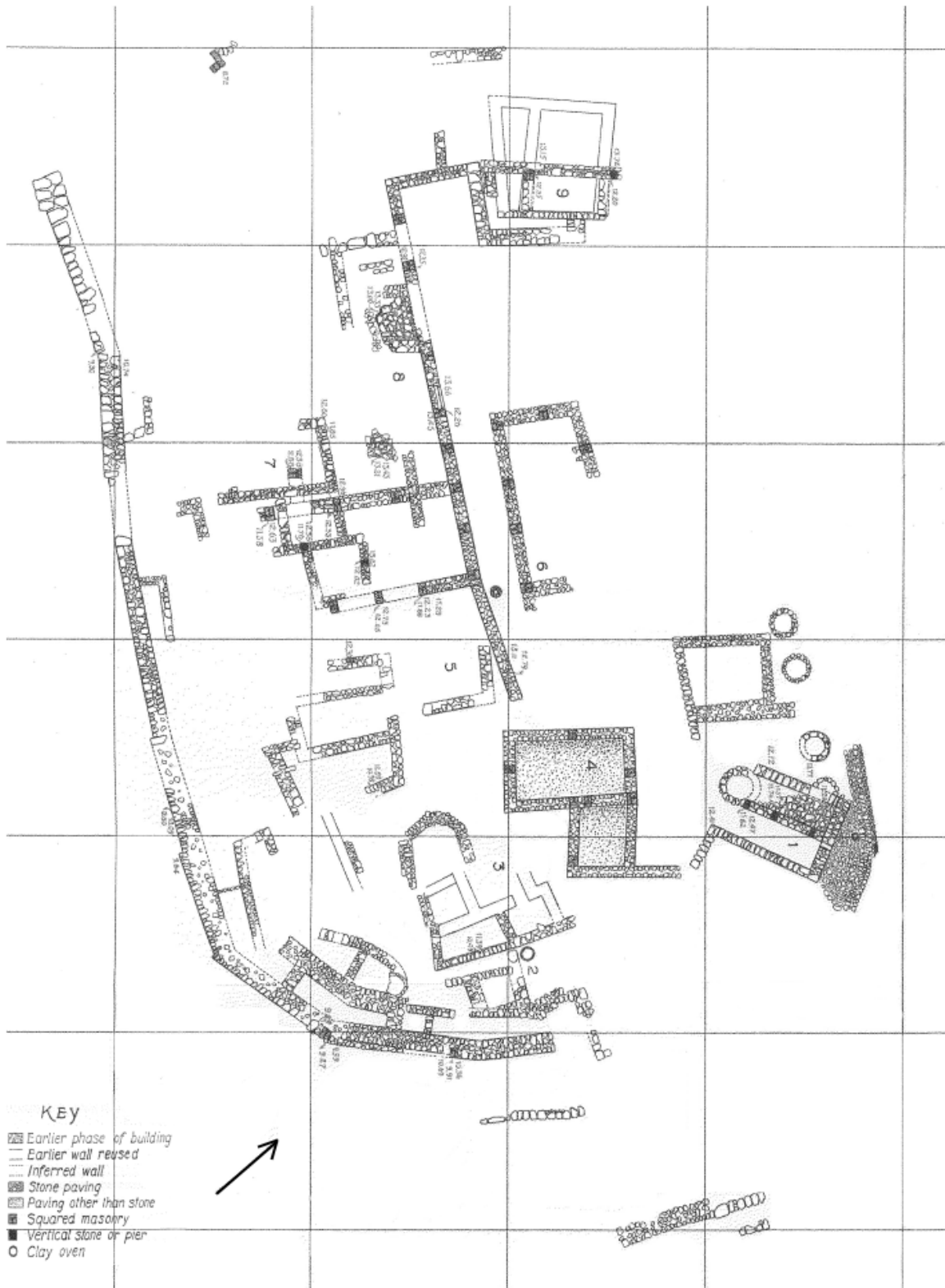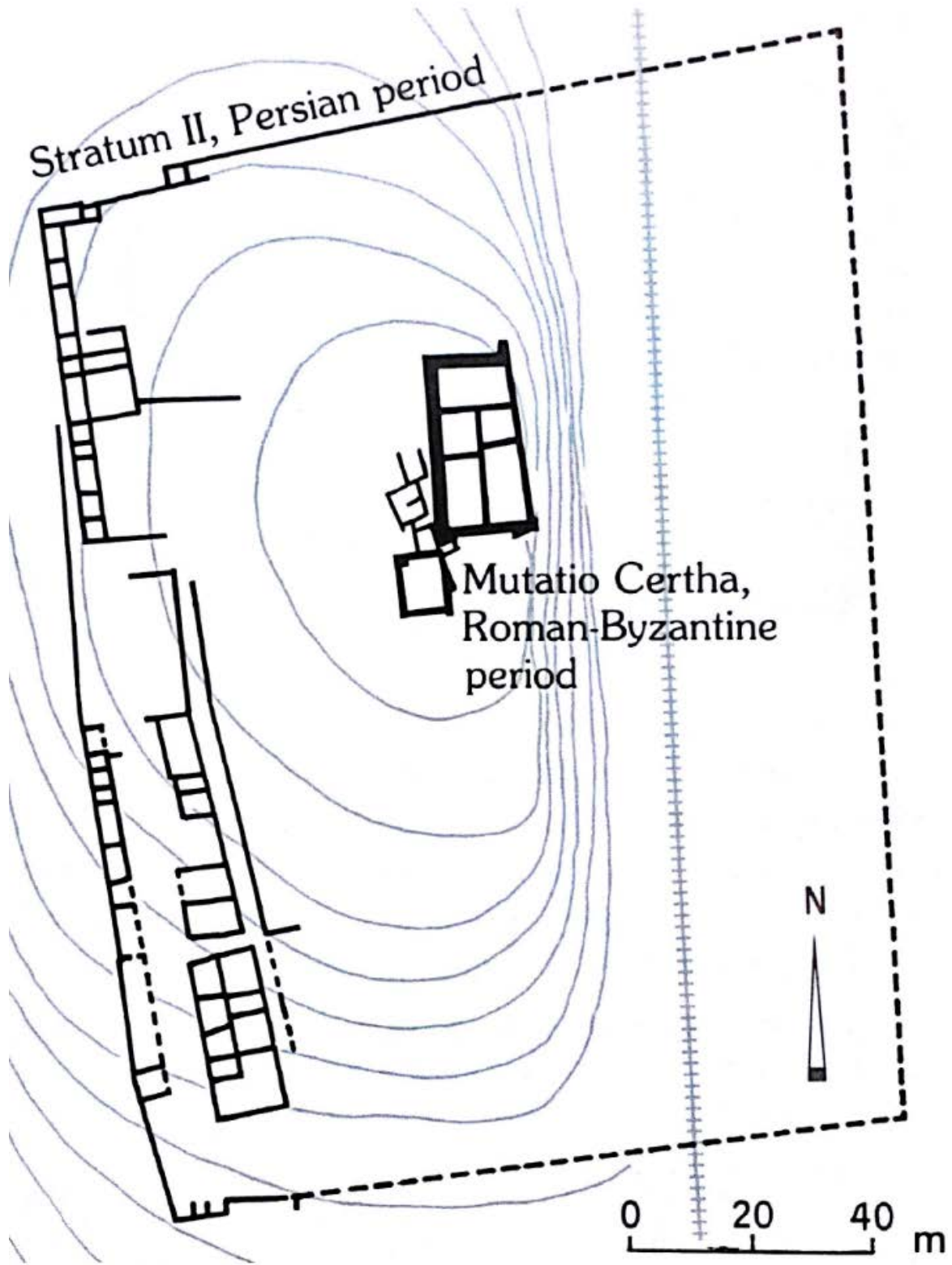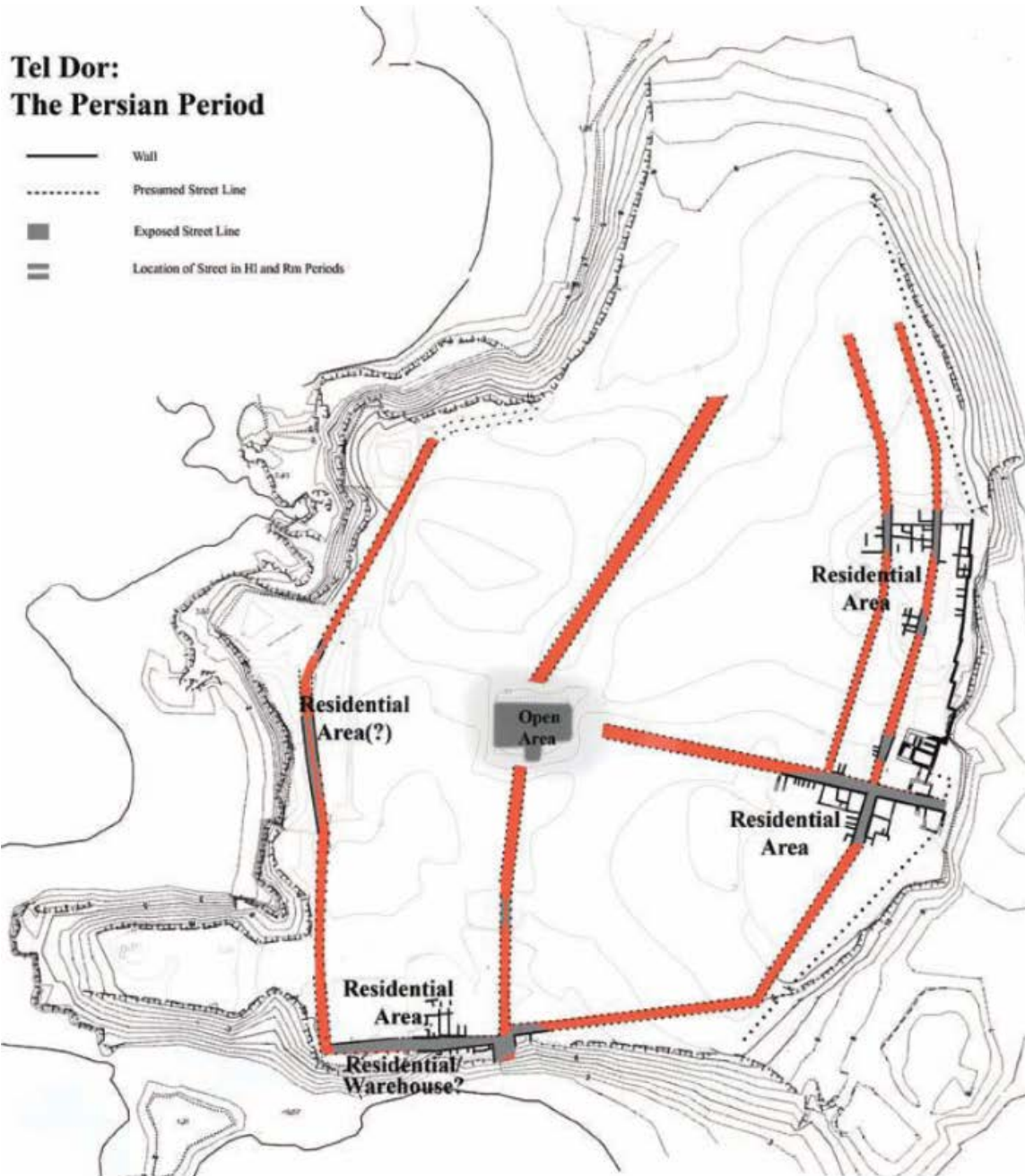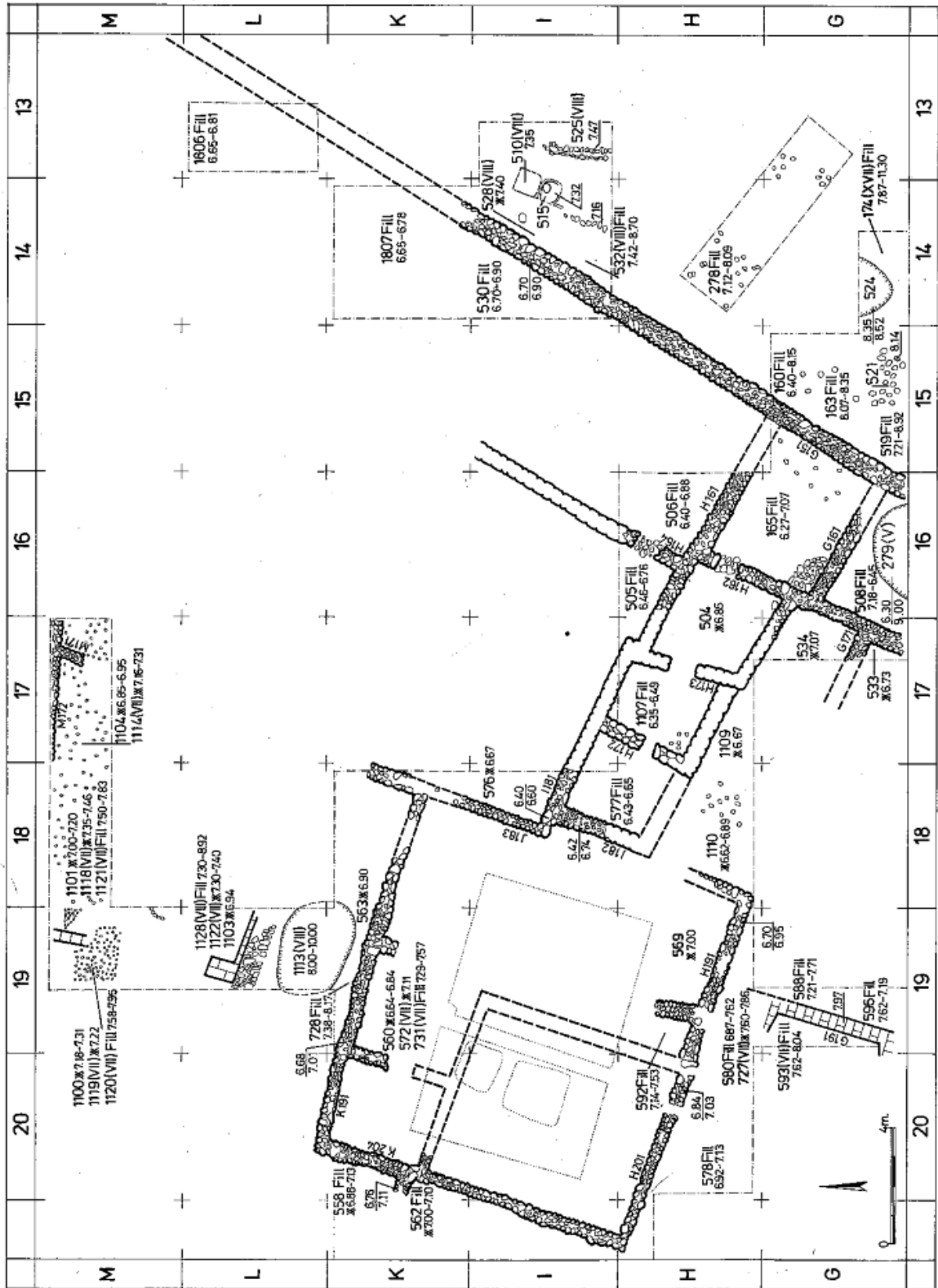
Fig. 3.14

Fig. 3.15

Fig. 3.16

Fig. 3.17

Fig. 3.18

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Fig. 3.19

Fig. 3.20

Fig. 3.21

Tell el-Burak
Area 2 - East Section
Sketch-drawing

Perpendicular wall,
Iron Age

Fortification wall,
Iron Age

Retaining wall,
Middle Bronze Age

Middle Bronze
Age sherds

Middle Bronze
Age and Iron
Age sherds

Iron Age
sherds

364

Fig. 3.22

365

Fig. 3.23

Fig. 3.24

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Fig. 3.25

Fig. 3.26

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Fig. 3.28

Fig. 3.27

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Fig. 3.29

Fig. 3.30

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Tombes arabes
Mosaïque
Dallage
Canalisation
Radier
Mur
Fondation de mur
Remblai
Murs en pierres calcaires
Sable

Canalisation
Dallage
Sol
Sol

Tombes arabes
Dallage
Canalisation
Canalisation
Sol
Sol
Rampe
Mur

Mosaïque
Sol
Mur en pierres sableuses
Fondations en calcaire
Mur
Dallage
Remblai
Mur en pierres calcaires
Sable

370

Fig. 3.33

371

Fig. 3.24

Casemates (IA)

Hellenistic / Persian

Glacis (MB) I

Glacis (LB/IA) II

modern sewage

Canalisation

BEY 003

Plaster's Wa

Monumental Gate (MB

s Building

372

Fig. 3.35

STRATUM I שכבה
STRATUM II שכבה
STRATUM III שכבה

Fig. 3.36

Extant wall
Extant revetment
Reconstruction

0   5
     m

Fig. 3.37

374

Fig. 3.38

Stratum IV

Fig. 3.39

Fig. 3.40

Fig. 3.41

Fig. 3.42

Fig. 3.43

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Fig. 3.44

Fig. 3.45

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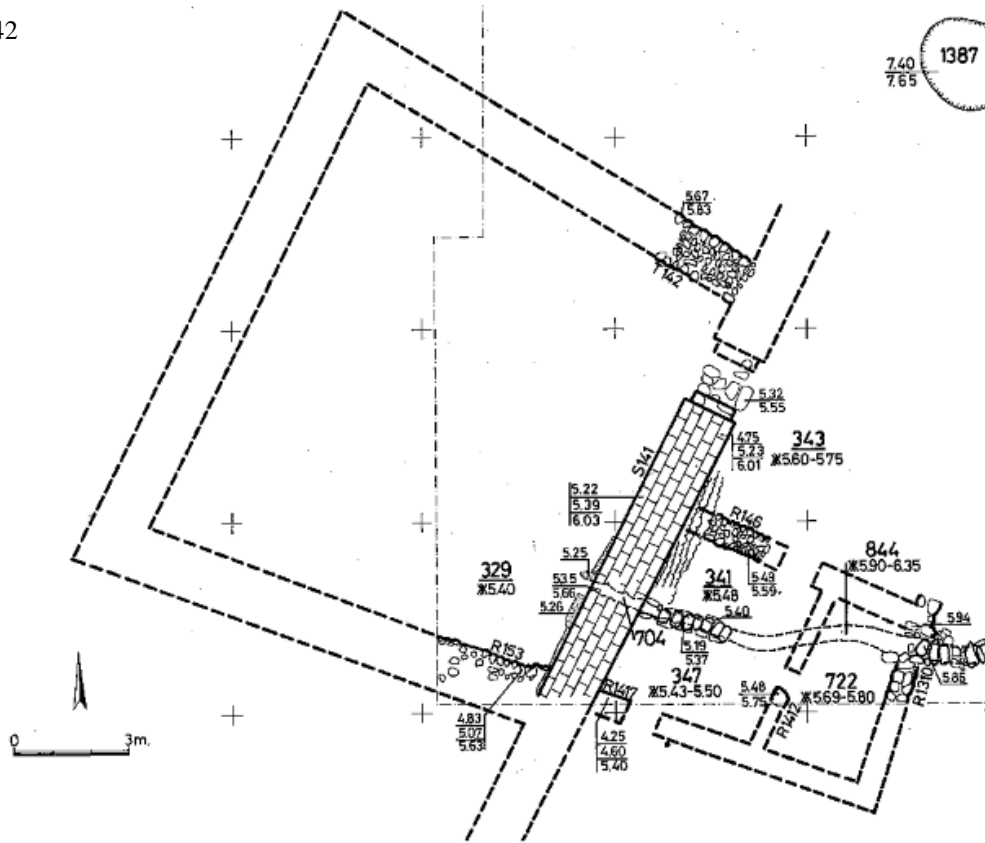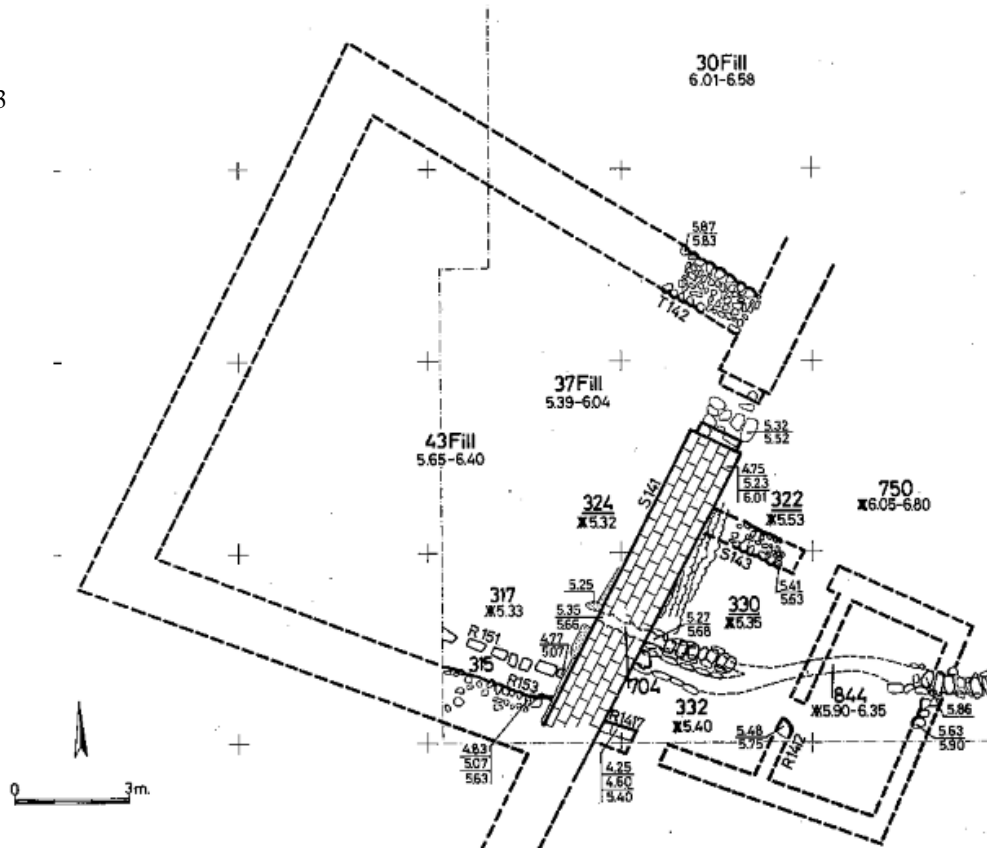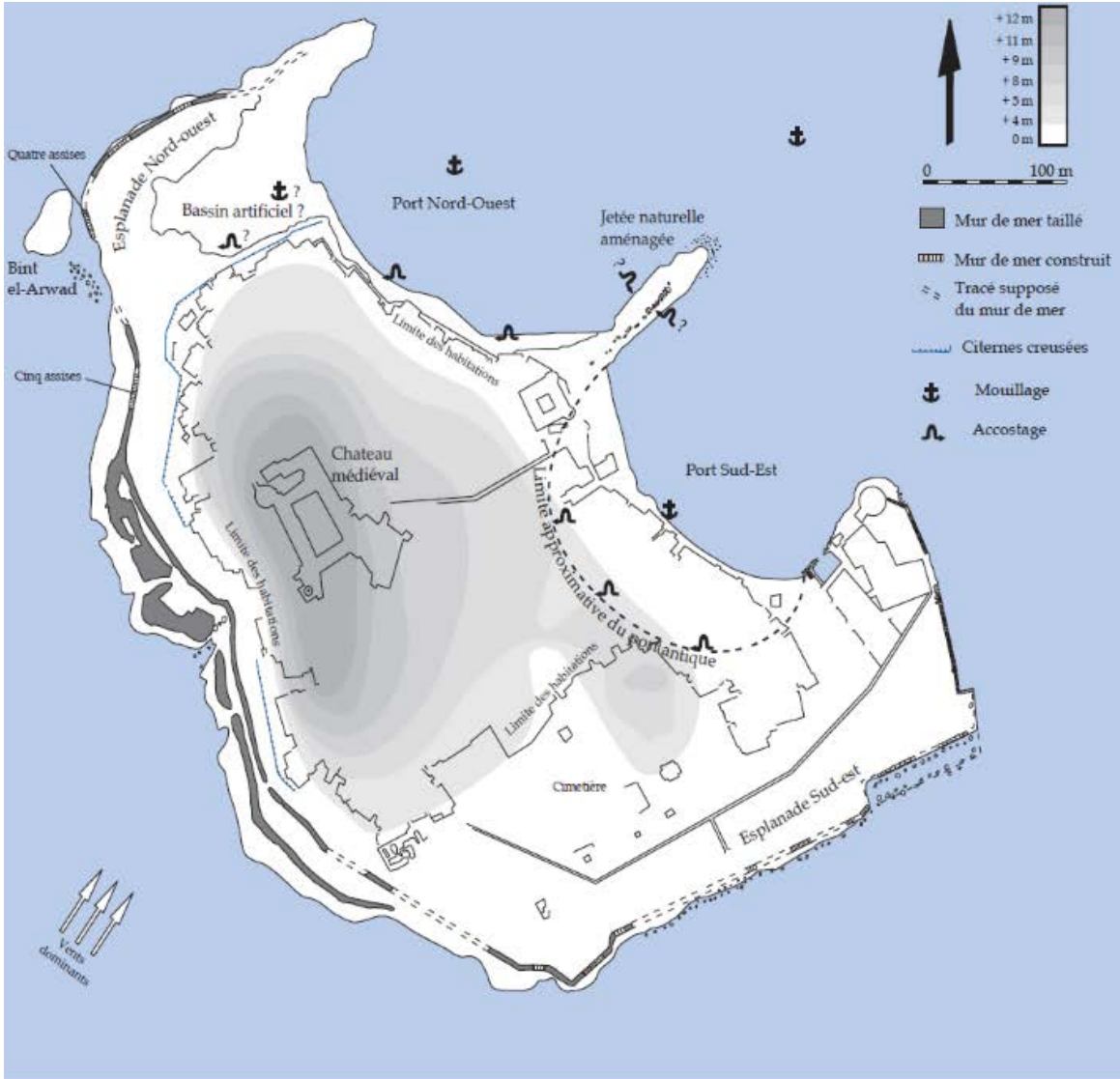
Fig. 3.46

Fig. 3.47

Fig. 3.48

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Fig. 3.49

Fig. 3.50

380

Fig. 3.51

Fig. 3.52

Fig. 3.53

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Fig. 3.54

Medieval castle

Northern Harbour

Quai Mission de Phénicie

Languette rocheuse

Fouilles du "college"

Château de la Terre

Colline de murex

Open southern harbour

XI

0 15 noeuds

N

Rose des vents

Sidon-Dakerman

VIII

Anchorage

Berthing

Ramleh

Plage de sable

I à XIV   Carottages sédimentaires

0 _____ 200 m

Fig. 3.55

382

Fig. 3.56

Fig. 3.57

Al Moubarkeh Tower

Test Pit

Fig. 3.58

384

Fig. 3.59

Khan el-'Umdan

Sea gate

Chain tower

Sea wall

Southern breakwater

Tower of the Flies

Eastern breakwater

Naval academy

N

0
100
200
m

385

Fig. 3.60

IRON AGE II
SETTLMENT

CRUSADER
CEMETERY

SALT POND

7th CENTURY BCE
WRECK

M.B. II
GRAVES

ATLIT
RAM

MOAT

GATE

OUTER CITY WALL

BATH

CRUSADER
CITY

ANCIENT
TELL

JOHNS
BASE CAMP

MOLE

TOWER ?

QUAY

HARBOUR
GATE

PHOENICIAN HARBOUR
BASIN

MOAT

SAND

MOLE

QUAY

CRUSADER
CASTLE

WAREHOUSE

ROCKY BOTTOM

PHOENICIAN
QUARRY

SAND

N

0   50   100   200 m

Fig. 3.62

Fig. 3.63

Fig. 3.64

Fish Ponds

Fish Ponds

KIBBUTZ

NAHSHOLIM

TANTURA

ANCHORAGE

TEL DOR

THE COASTAL AREA

0   500 m

N

388

Fig. 3.65

Fig. 3.66

389

Fig. 3.67

Légende:
- ⚓ Mouillage
- ⏅ Accostage
- ┄┄ Chantier archéologique
- ▨ Plage de sable

+ 20 m
+ 15 m
+ 10 m
+ 5 m
0 m

Mer Méditerranée

Carrière

Sarcophages romains

Baie Nord

Tombes romaines

Tell Sukas

Route moderne

Village de Tell Sukas

N. al-Sukas

Baie Sud

Carrière

Pont ruiné

Sanctuaire à ciel ouvert

Tell Sukas Port Sud

Vents dominants

0   500 m

390

Fig. 3.68

Fig. 3.69

CREUX DE LA SOURCE

391

Fig. 3.70

Fig. 3.71

Fig. 3.72

Fig. 3.73

Fig. 3.74

Fig. 3.75

0 ⊨▬▬⊨ 10 m

Fig. 3.76

Fig. 3.77

393

Fig. 3.78

plan

section A-A

north

0 2 4 6 8 10m

Fig. 3.79

Fig. 3.80

395
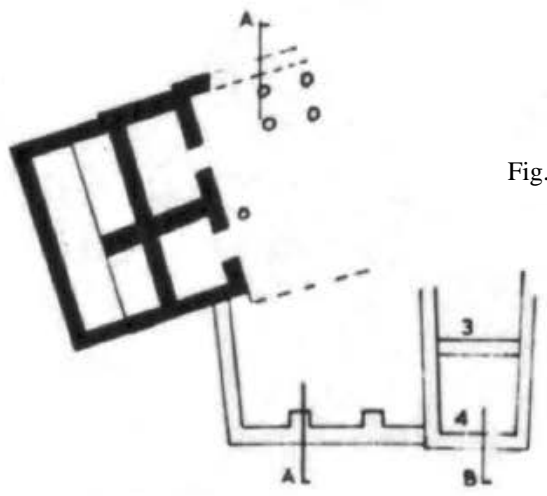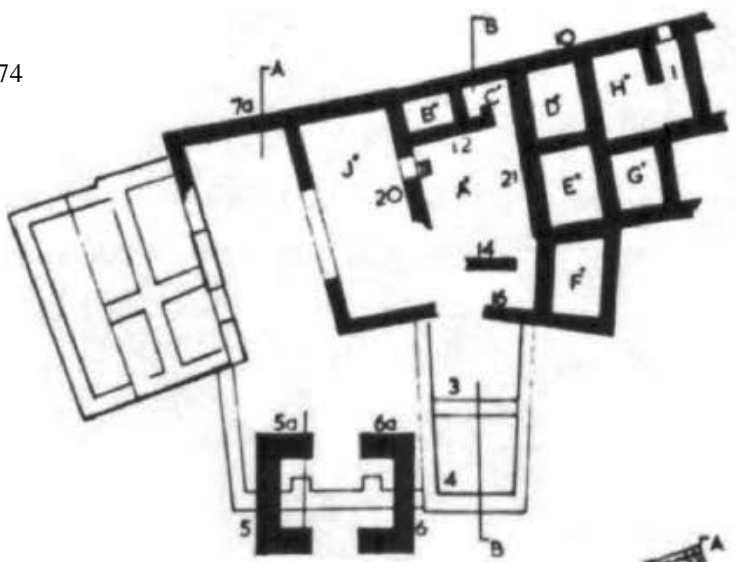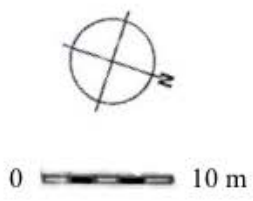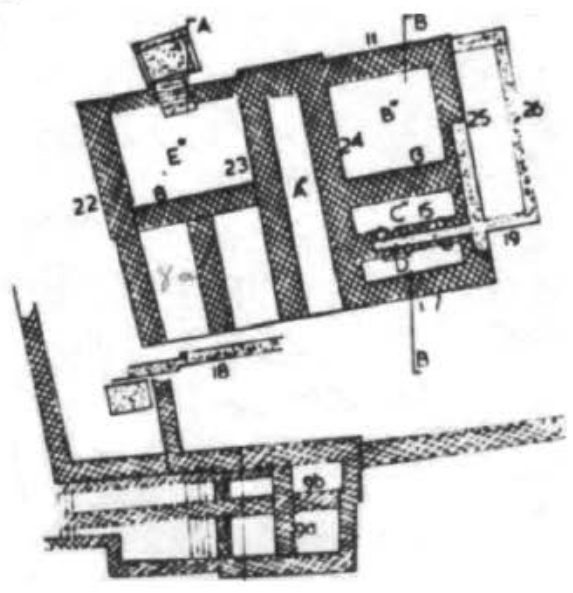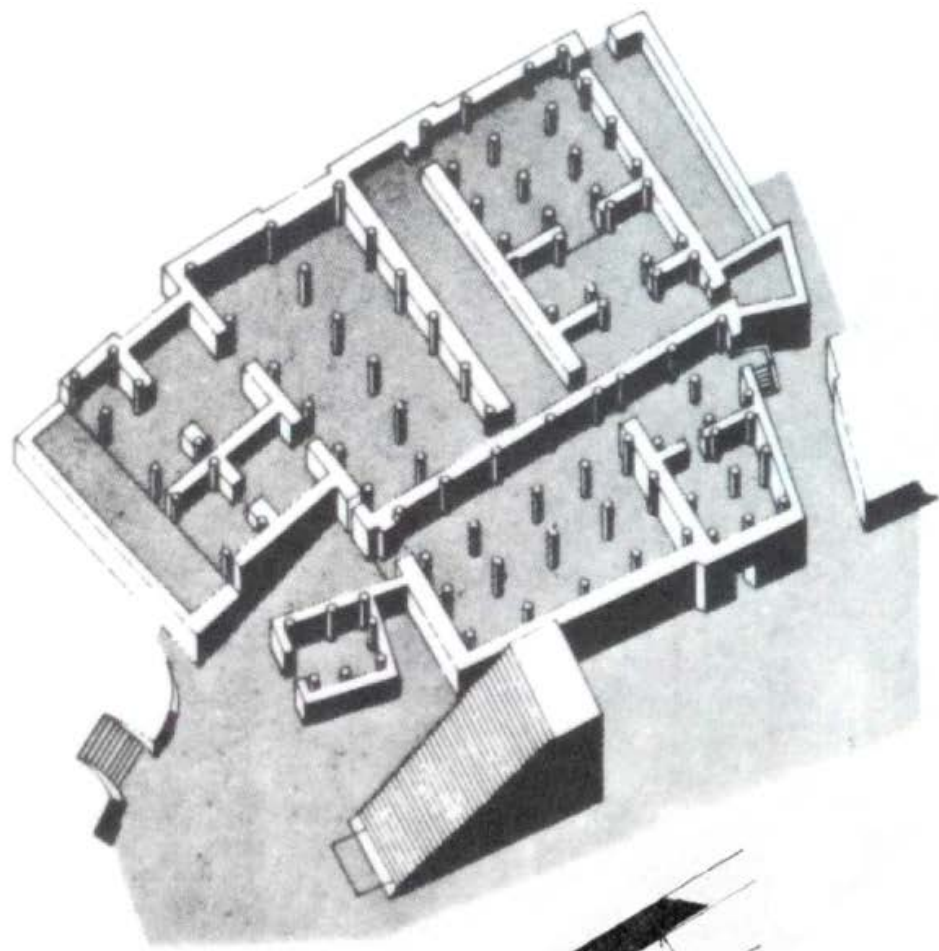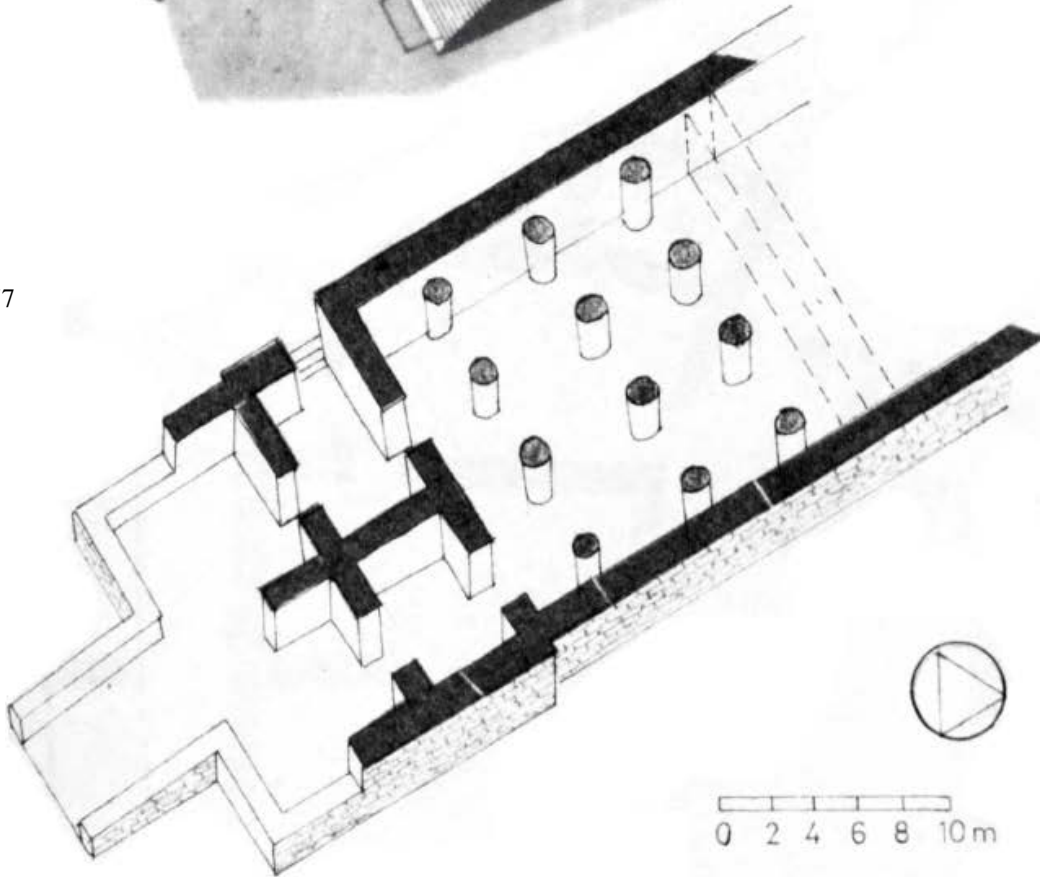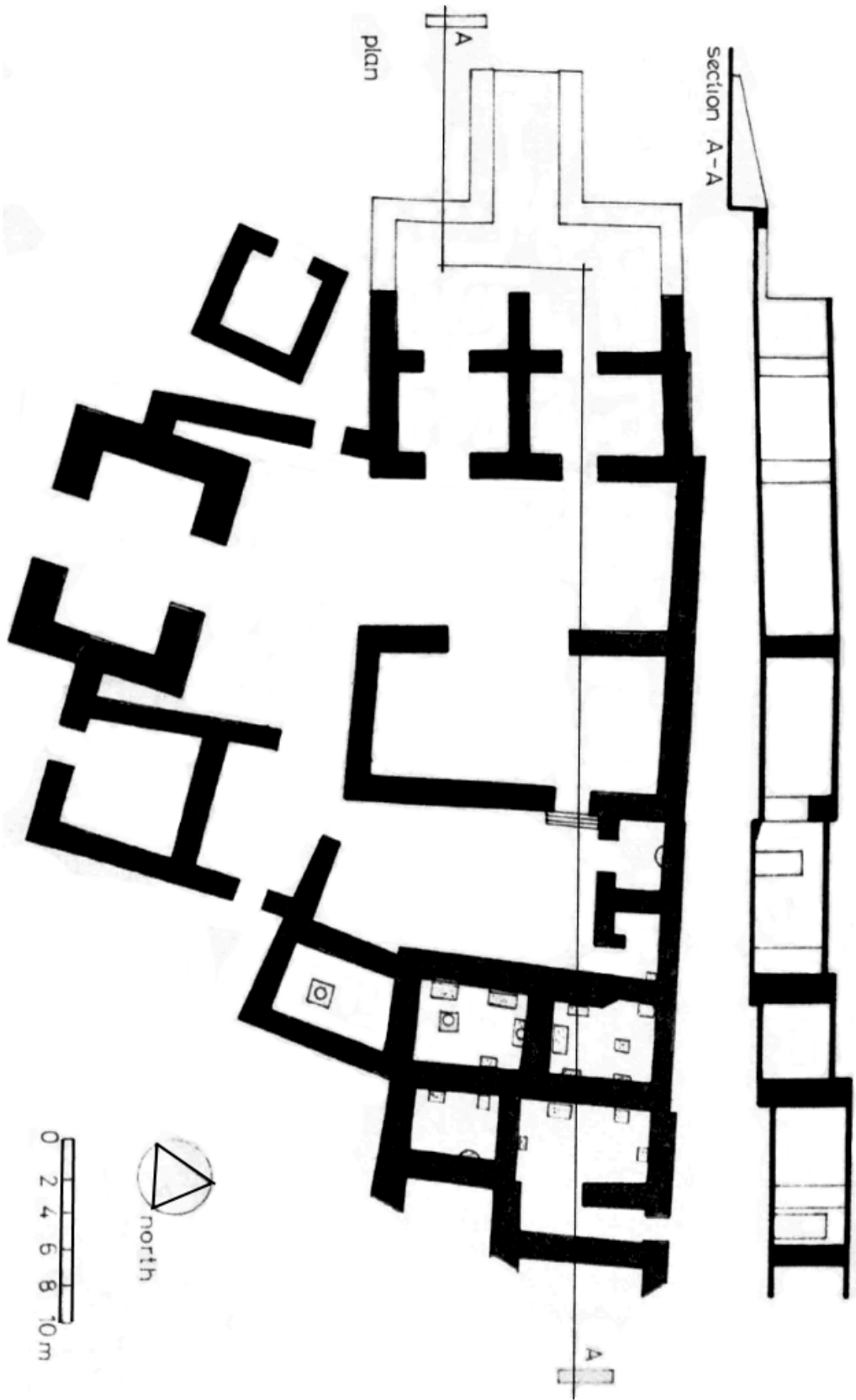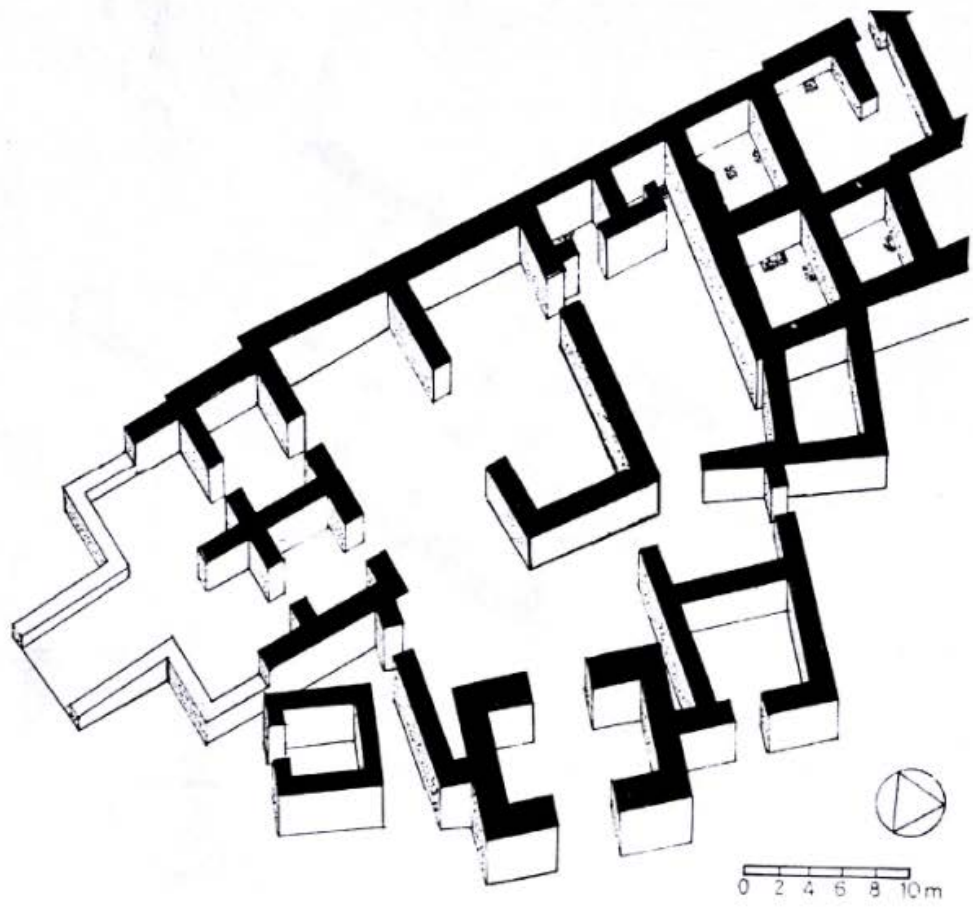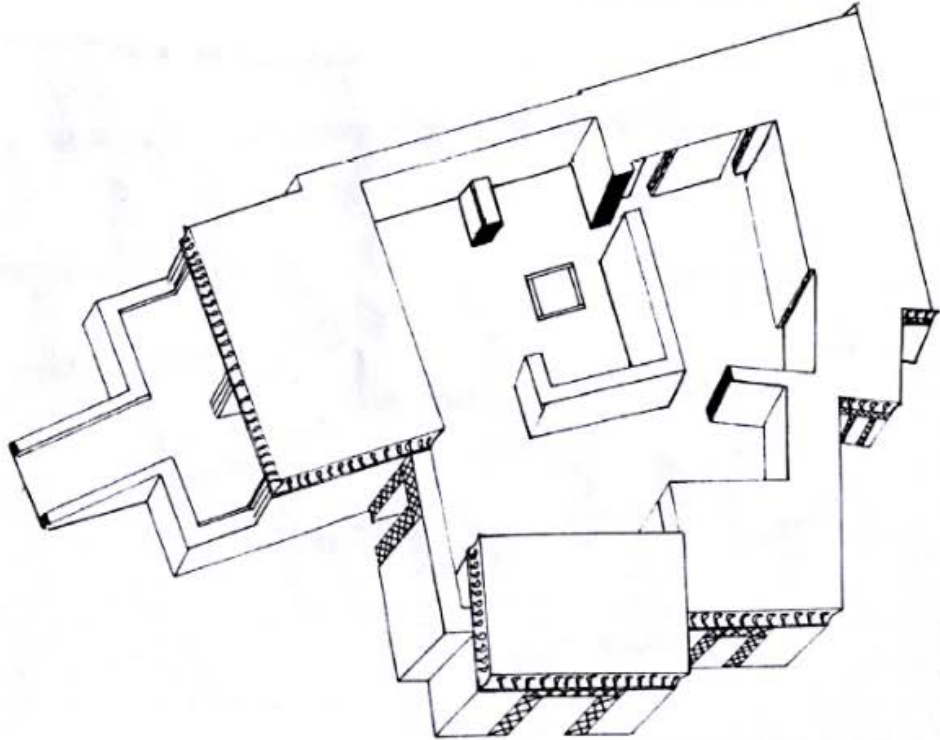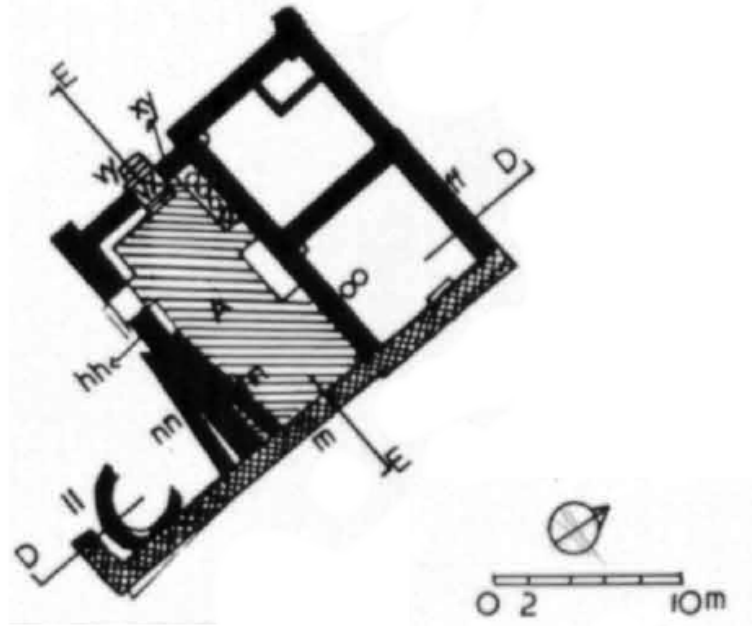
Fig. 3.81

Fig. 3.82

Fig. 3.83

Fig. 3.84

397
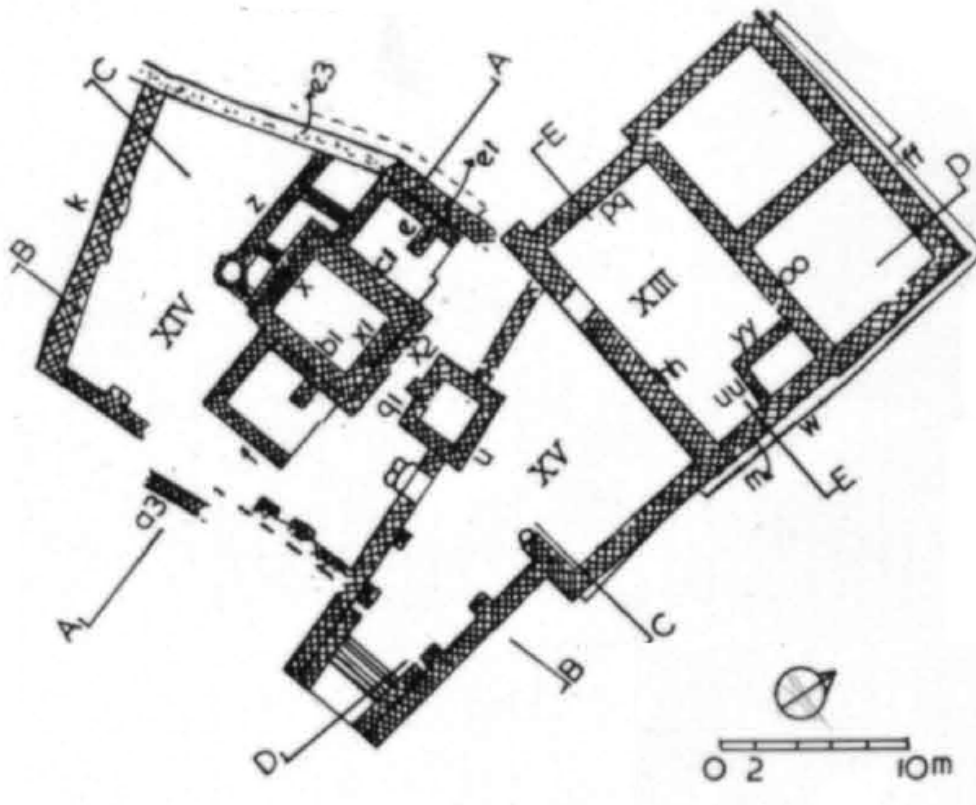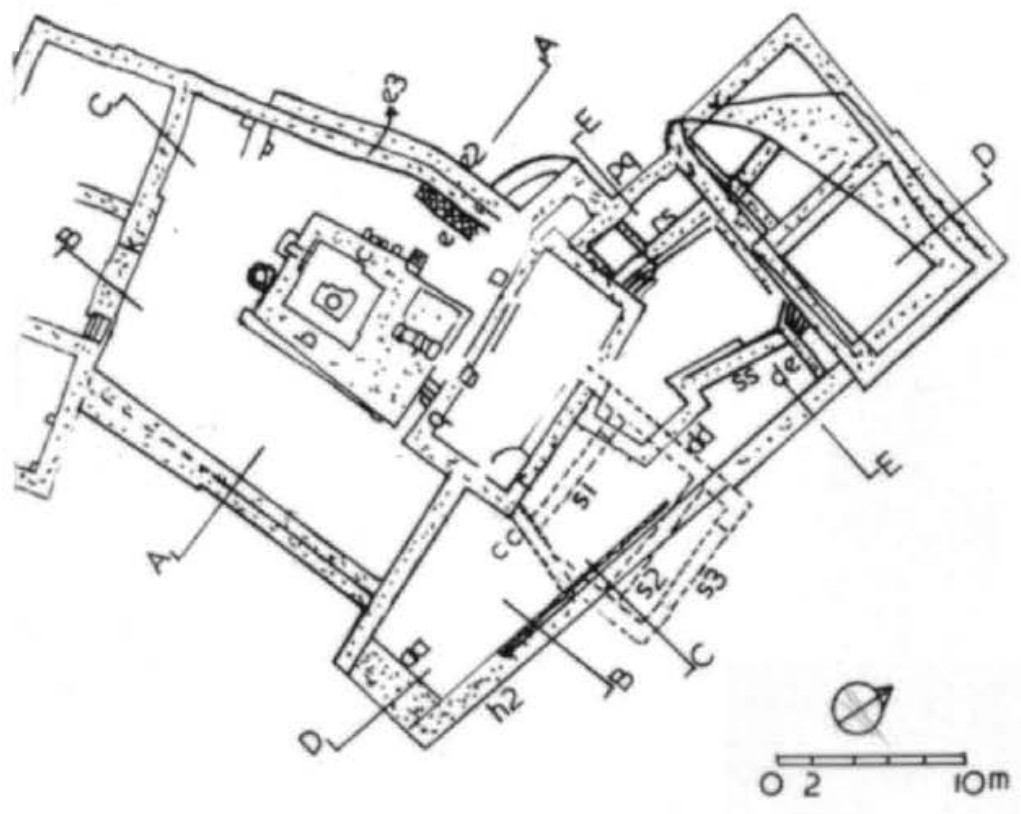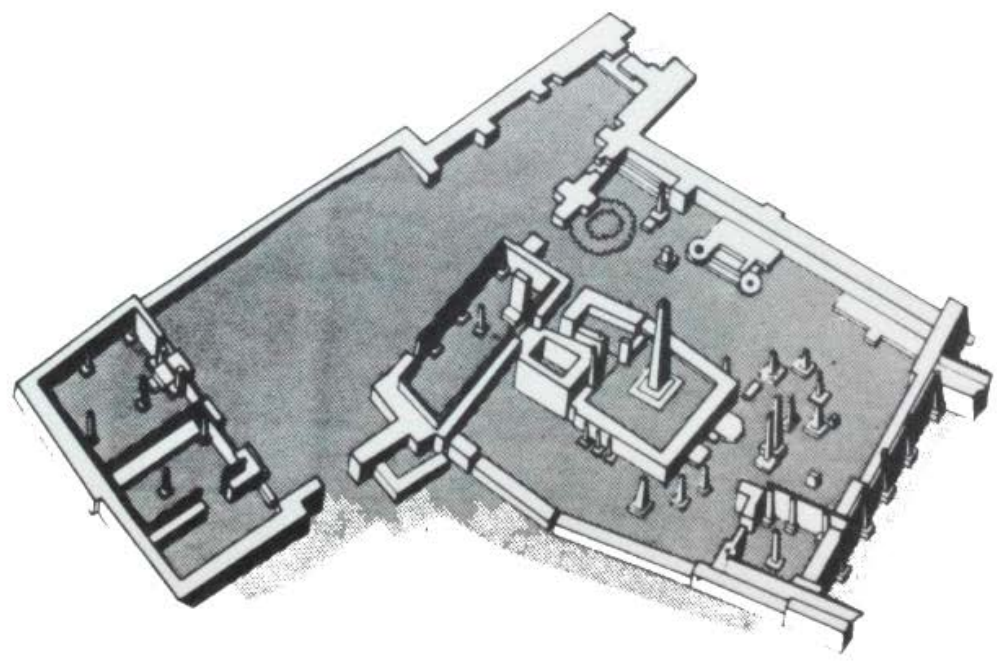
Fig. 3.85

Fig. 3.86

Fig. 3.87

Fig. 3.88

Stratum A
Stratum B
Stratum C

0   2   4
m

Fig. 3.89

I   II   III

5 m.

399

Fig. 3.90

Fig. 3.91

400

Fig. 3.92

Fig. 3.93

401

Fig. 3.94

Fig. 3.95

402

Fig. 3.96

Fig. 3.97

403

Fig. 3.98

Fig. 3.99

KITION
AREA II
FLOOR IV

TEMPLE 2

TEMPLE 3

SCALE

405

Fig. 3.100

TEMPLE 2

KITION
AREA II
FLOOR IV

SCALE

Fig. 3.101

TEMPLE 2

KITION
AREA II
FLOOR III

SCALE

406

Fig. 3.102

Temple 1

Temenos A

Temple 2

Temenos B

Temple 4

Temple 5

0   5   10 m

Fig. 3.103

KITION
AREA II
FLOOR III

Fig. 3.104

KITION
AREA II
FLOOR II

TEMPLE 1

TEMPLE 2

TEMENOS B

TEMENOS A

TEMPLE L

TOWER

City wall

STREET

SCALE

409

Fig. 3.105

TEMPLE 4

KITION
AREA II
FLOOR II

SCALE

0   5   10   15   20
                              M

Fig. 3.106

COURTYARD

ENTRANCE

WELL

SLABS

ENTRANCE

KITION
AREA II TEMPLE 4
FLOOR IA

0   5   10
                        M

410

Fig. 3.107

TEMENOS B

TEMENOS B

Altar

Entrance

Entrance

Room 36

K I T I O N
A R E A I I
F L O O R 3

SCALE

Fig. 3.108

KITION
AREA II
FLOOR 2a

SCALE
0 5 10 15 20

ALTAR B

ALTAR C

Entrance

Entrance

BOTHROS 9
2nd LAYER

ALTAR
Bothros 7

mudbrick wall

Entrance

Bothros 10

R. 36

Altar B

Altar A

412

Fig. 3.109

KITION
AREA II
FLOOR 3

SCALE

Fig. 3.110

KITION
AREA II
FLOOR 2A

SCALE

413

Fig. 3.111

KITION
AREA II
FLOOR 3

SCALE
0   5   10   15   20
M

Fig. 3.112

ALTAR B

ALTAR C

Entrance

ALTAR
Bothros 7

BOTHROS 9
2nd LAYER

Entrance

KITION
AREA II
FLOOR 2A

SCALE
0   5   10   15   20
M

414

Fig. 3.113

KITION
AREA II
FLOOR 2

SCALE
0   5   10   15   20
M

Fig. 3.114

KITION
AREA II
FLOOR 1

SCALE
0   5   10   15   20
M

415

Fig. 3.115

Fig. 3.116

0   5   10 m

Fig. 3.117

0   5   10 m

Fig. 3.118

Fig. 3.119

417

Fig. 3.120

Fig. 3.121

Fig. 3.122

Fig. 3.123

Fig. 3.124

419
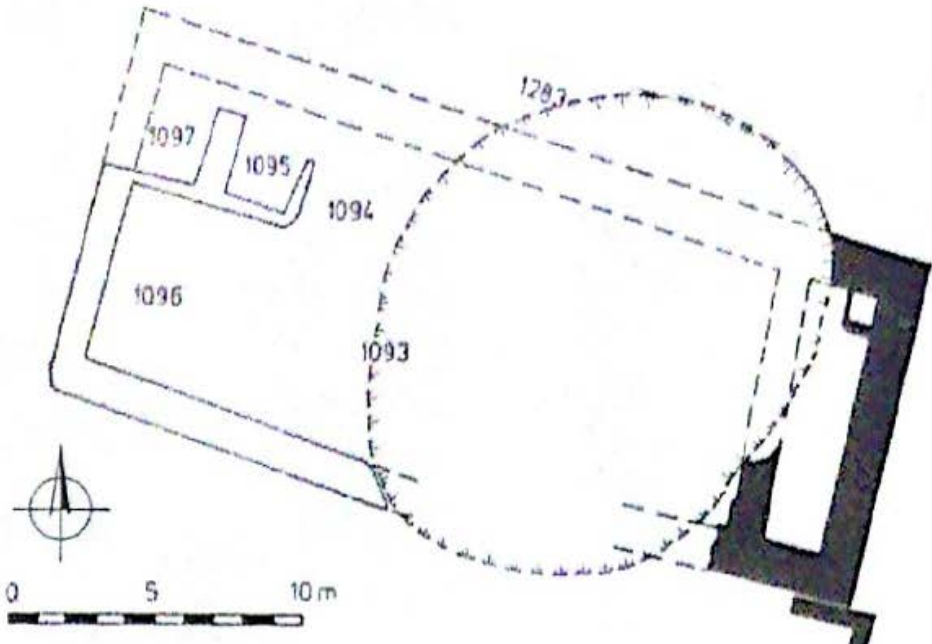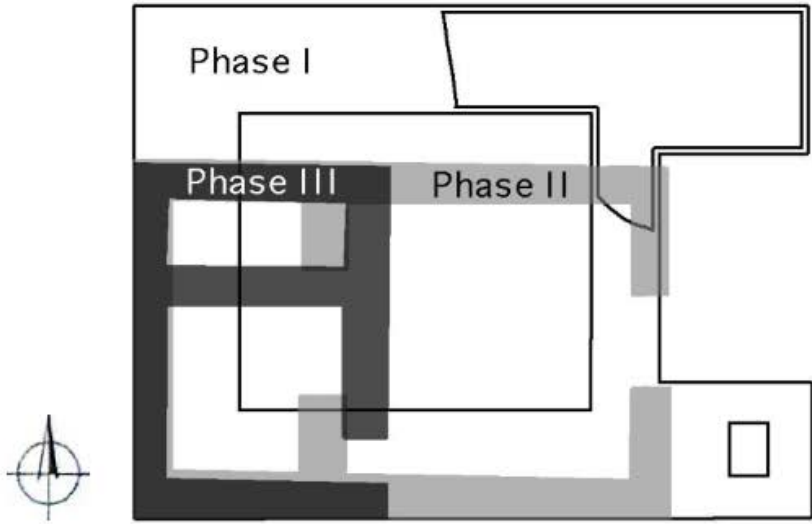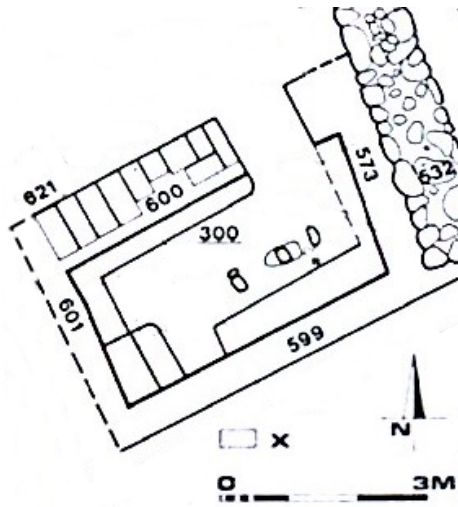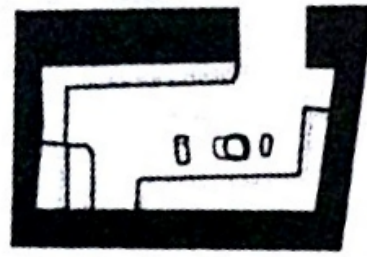
Fig. 3.125

Fig. 3.126

Fig. 3.127
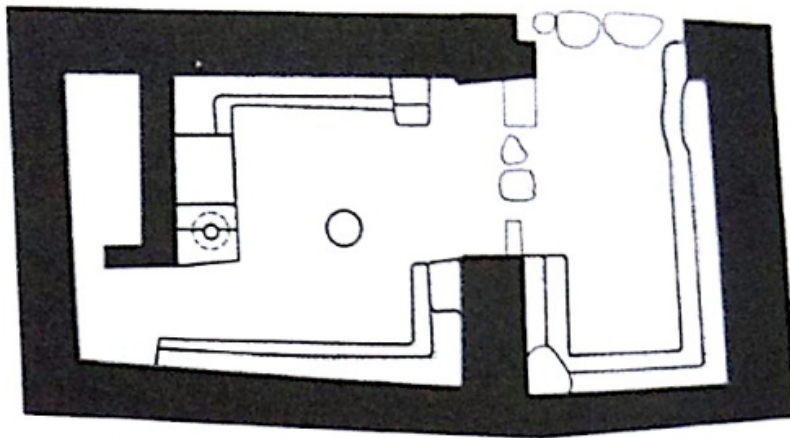
Fig. 3.128

Fig. 3.129

Fig. 3.130

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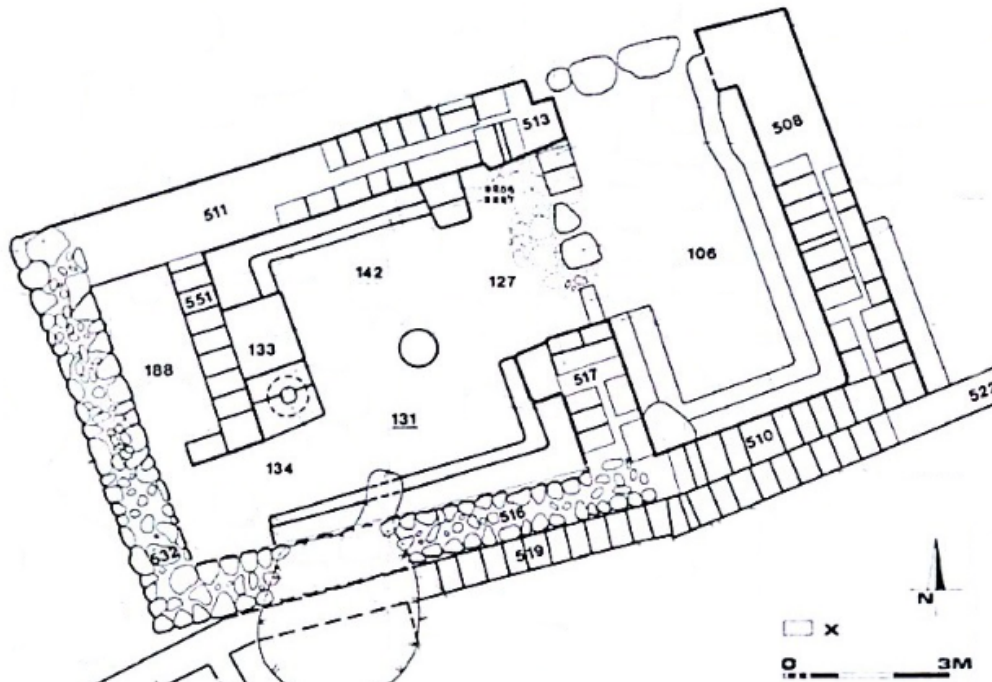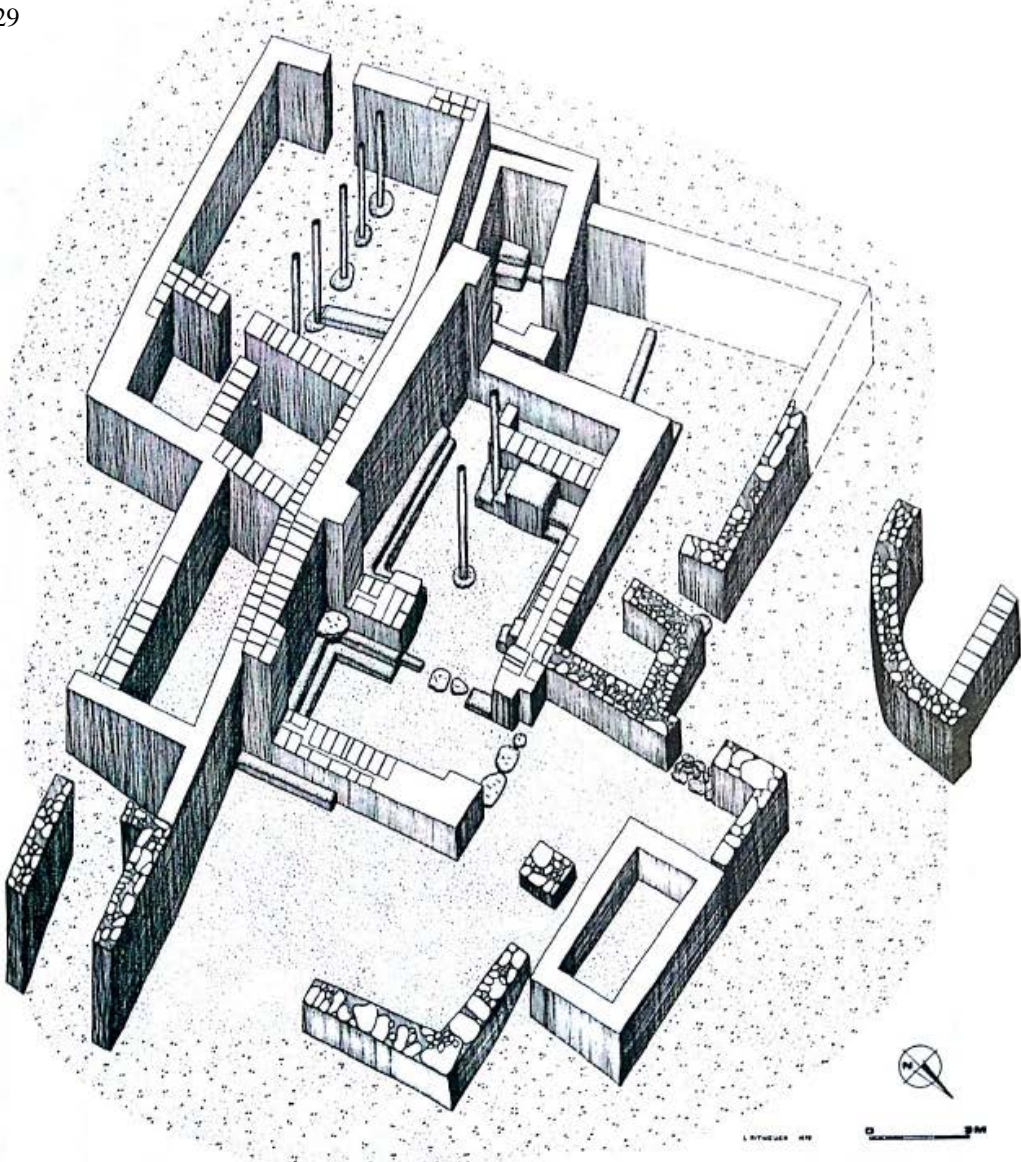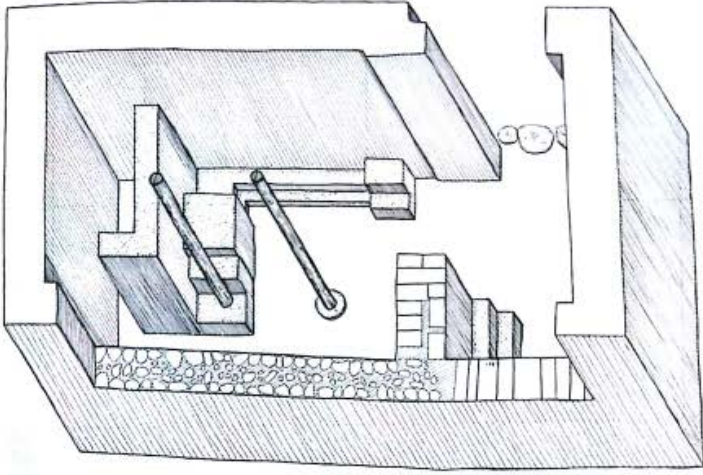
Fig. 3.131

Fig. 3.132

Fig. 3.133

423

Fig. 3.134

"High Place"

Temple

Altar

PERIOD G³

1:400

Fig. 3.135

Temple

Altar

"High Place"

PERIOD G²

1:400

Fig. 3.136

G14 | G15

1:100

Fig. 3.137

G14 | G15

1:100

425

Fig. 3.138

Temple

Altar

"High Place"

PERIOD G¹

1:400

Fig. 3.139

Temple

E

PERIODS F-E

1:400

426

Fig. 3.140

TELL TWEINI - FIELD A
detailed view of Level 6D

427

Fig. 3.141

TELL TWEINI - FIELD A
detailed view of Level 6D

Legend:
- unexcavated
- structures
- stone floor
- earth beaten floor
- ceramic installation
- stone installation
- 26,25m height structure
- 25,06m height floor

Street S6D:1

26,06m

26,37m

25,69m
25,99m
25,71m
6D:4/2

6D:4/1

26,54m
25,69m

26,11m

6

7

25,84m 25,87m
25,86m

Modern Aquaduct

26,19m
26,44m

6D:7/1

25,96m

25,68m

26,55m 26,51m

6D:6/2

25,88m

25,29m

26,25m 26,23m
25,89m 25,90m

6D:6/1

25,56m

26,62m

6D:7/2

25,77m

26,06m

25,96m

26,39m

25,98m

25,74m

26,21m

26,21m

10

6D:6/4

6D:6/3

26,06m

26,11m

25,54m

11

A   B   C   D

Fig. 3.142

terrasse
limite NE

cour

bassin

cella
autel

cour?

rue?

N

0   10 m

429

Fig. 3.135

Fig. 3.144

430

Fig. 3.145

SIDE

TOP

0   20CM.

FRONT

431

Fig. 3.146

Fig. 3.147

Fig. 3.148

Fig. 3.149

433

Fig. 3.150

BEY 003
plan Area IV

Plaster
Mud Brick

JAR BURIAL

ROCK-CUT CHAMBER (LB)

Column base

Basin

"SLO"

1306

1264

1208

1282

1256

1410

1391

1309

1241

1277

1233

1312

1247

1257

1019

1129

719

434

Fig. 3.151

Room 5

Room 4

Room 3

Room 2

Room 1

Entrance
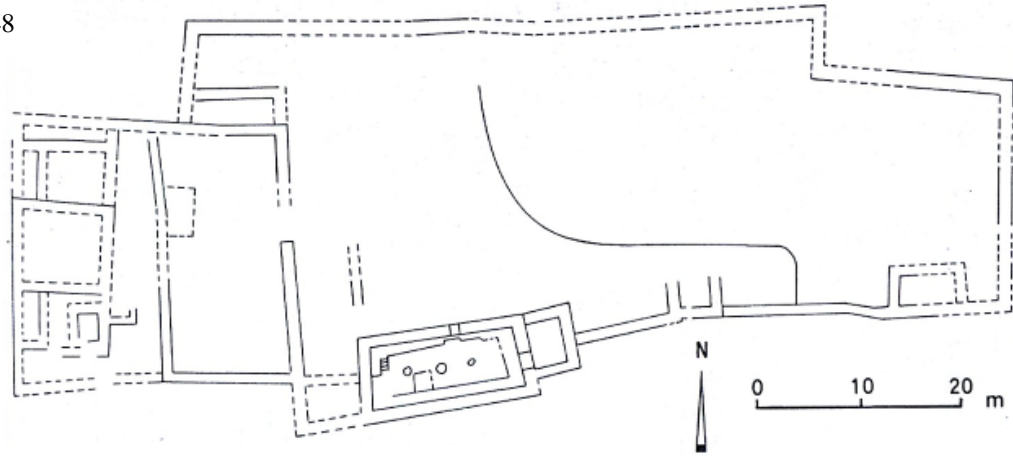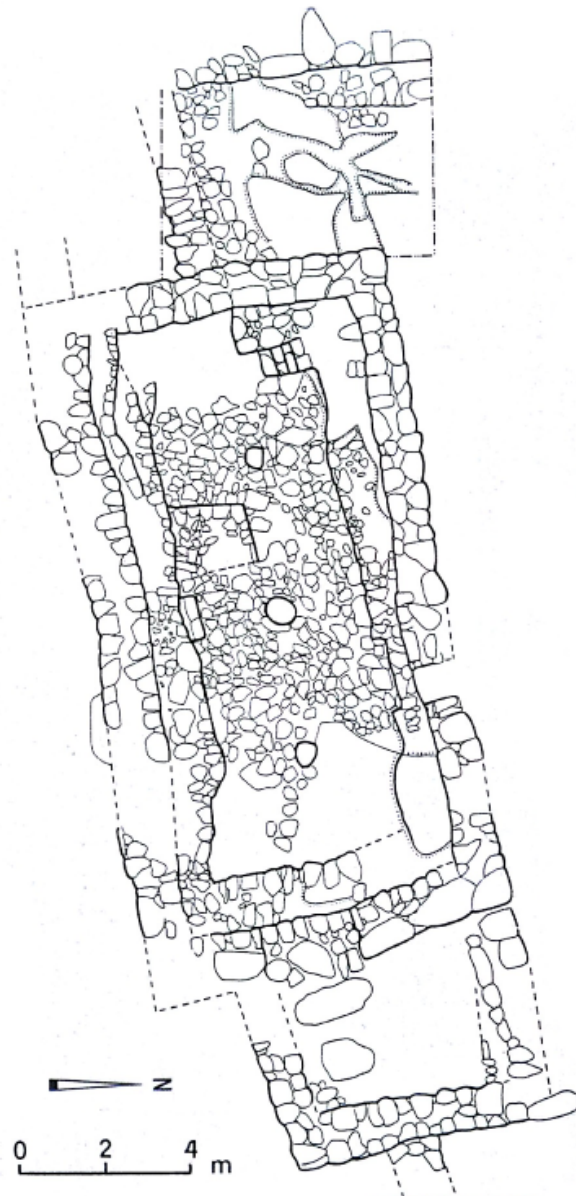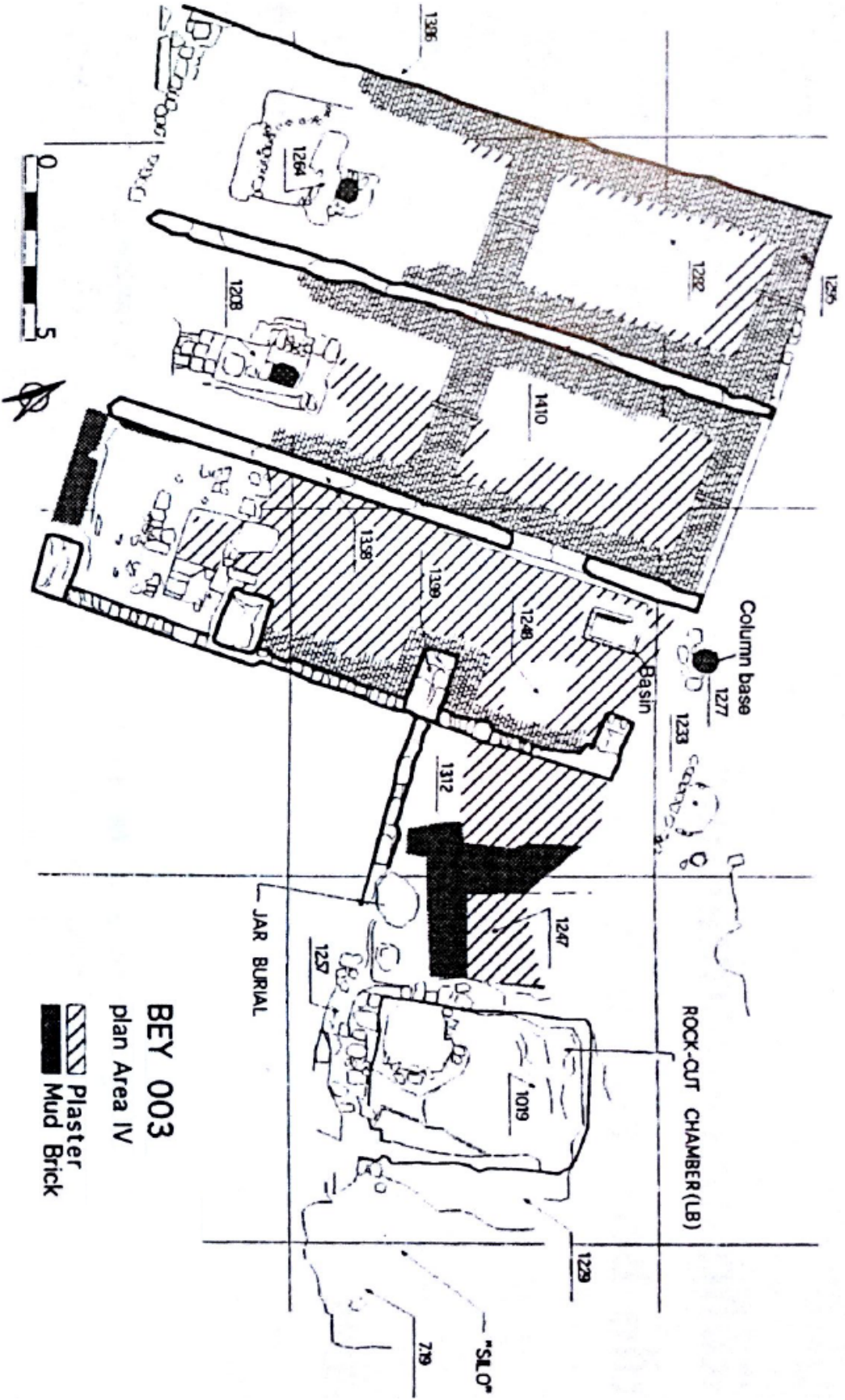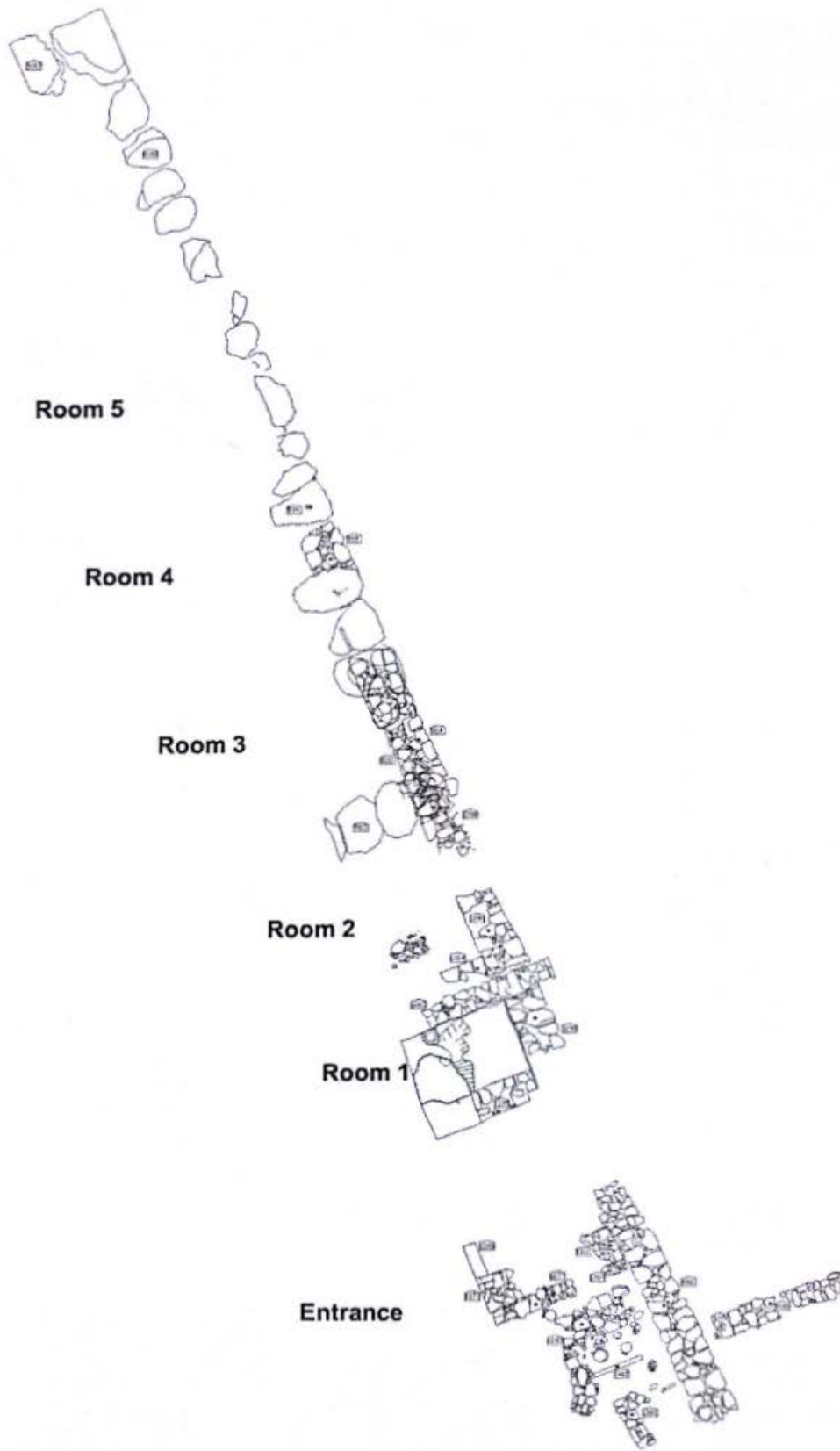
Fig. 3.152
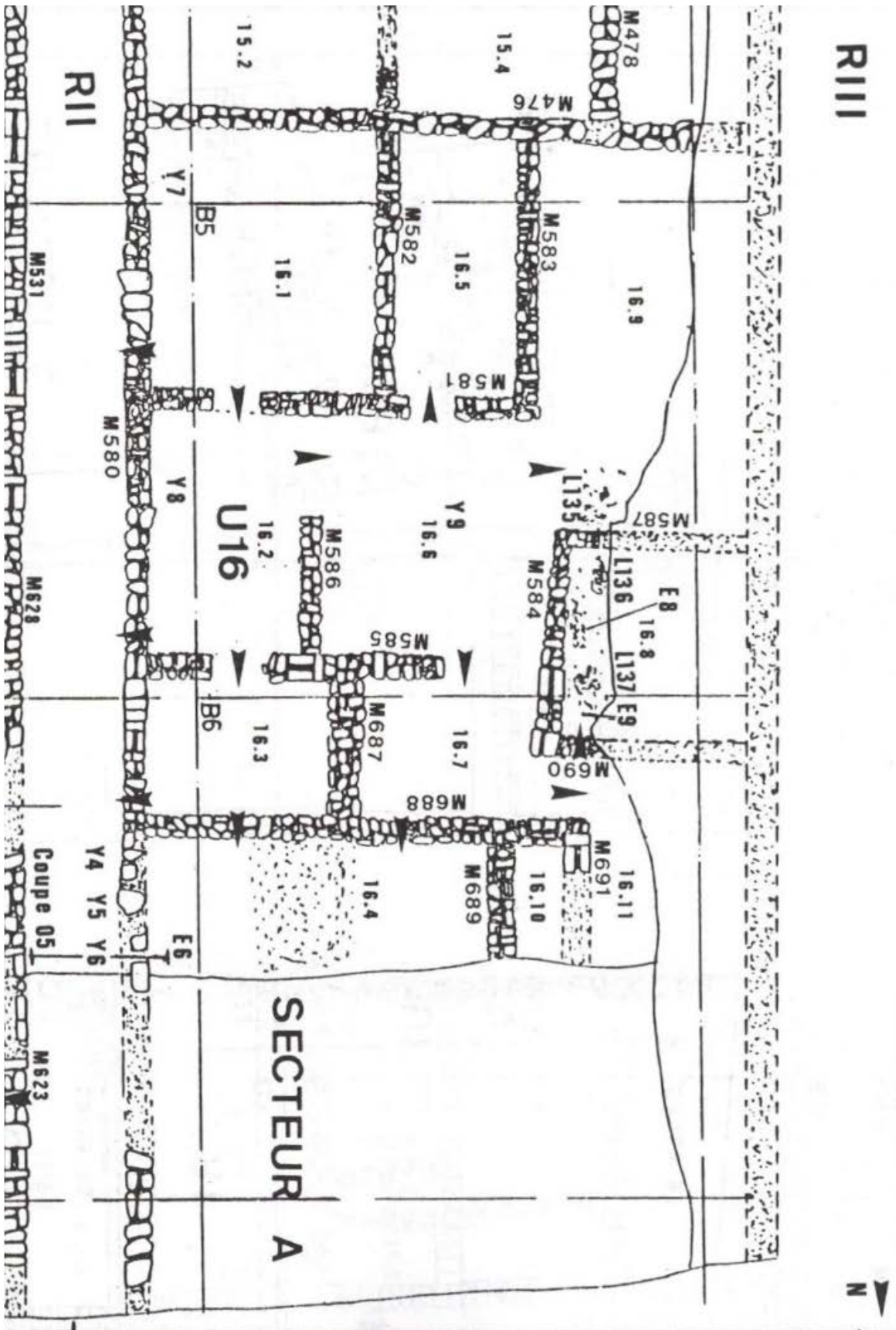
Fig. 4.2

Fig. 4.3

Fig. 4.4

Fig. 4.5

438
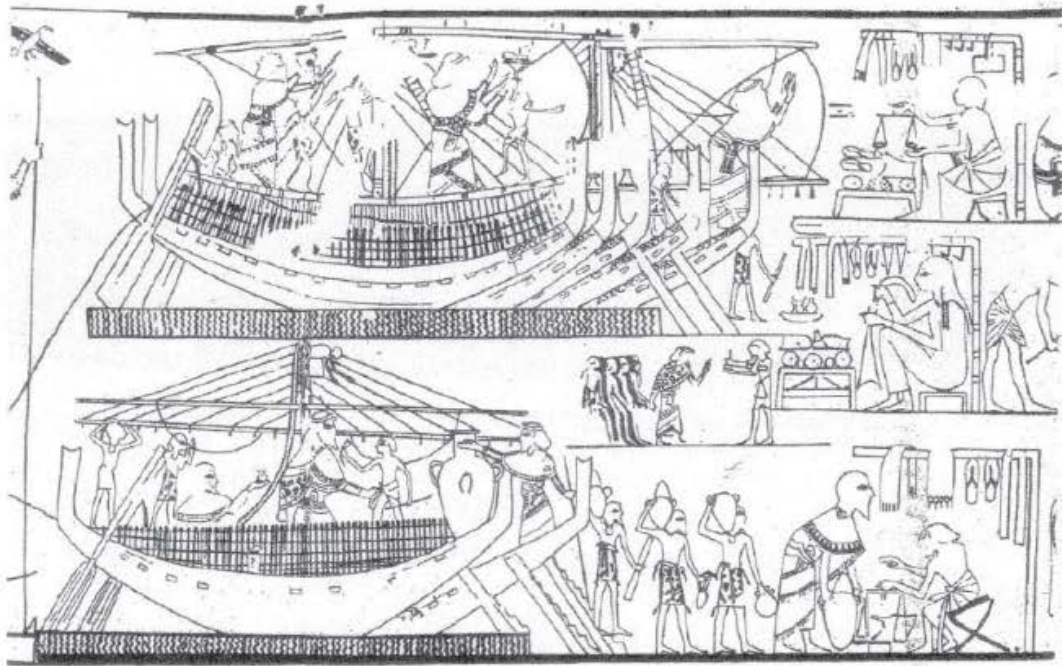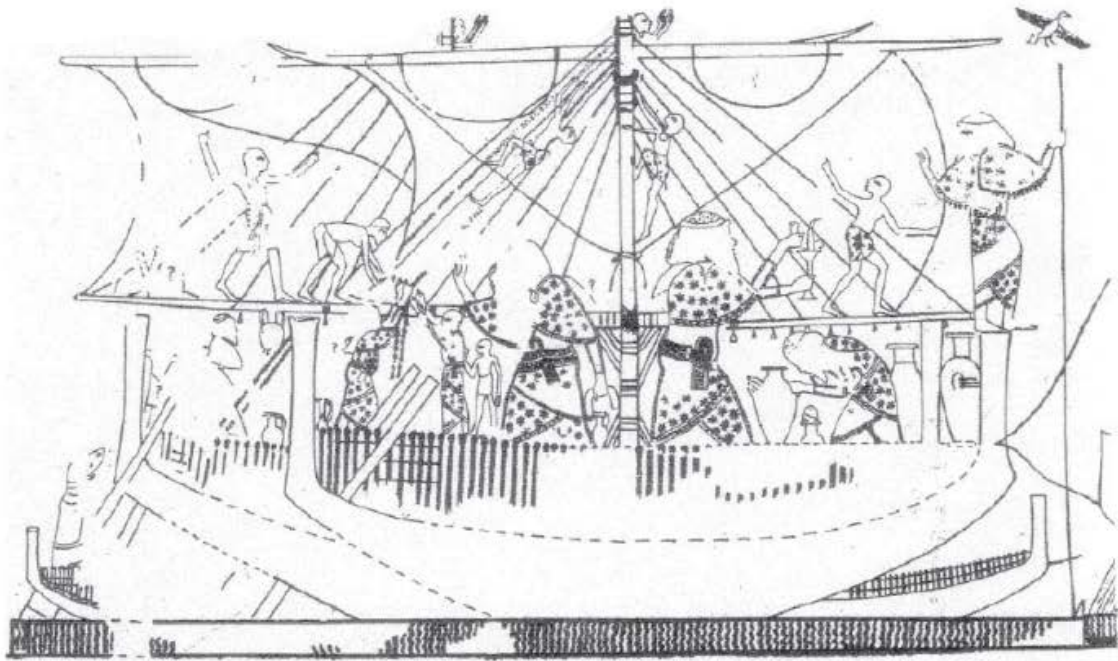
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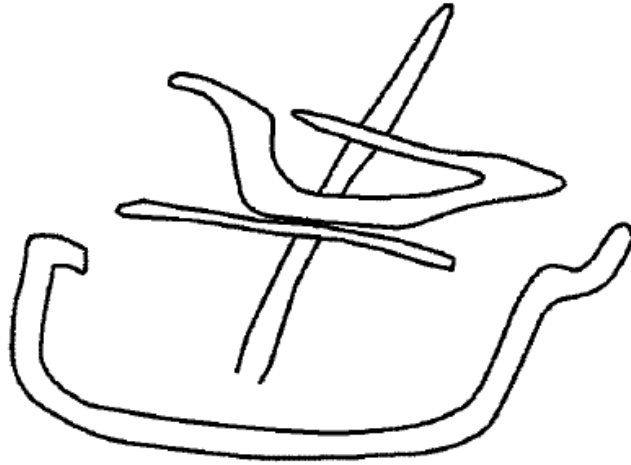
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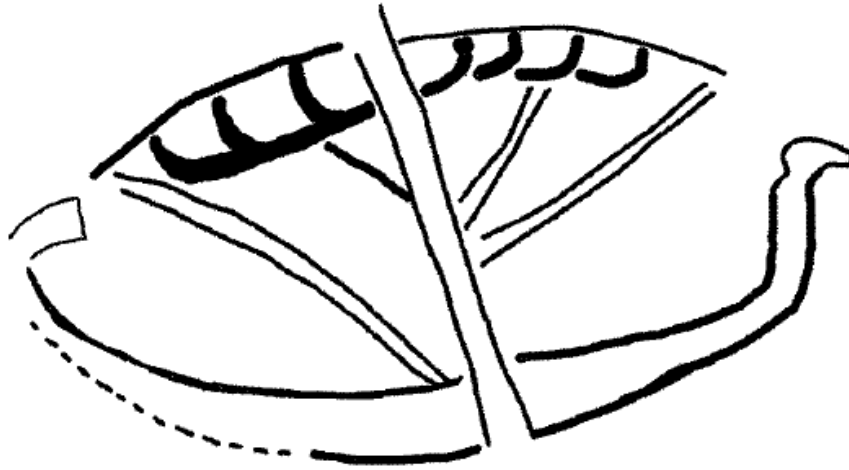
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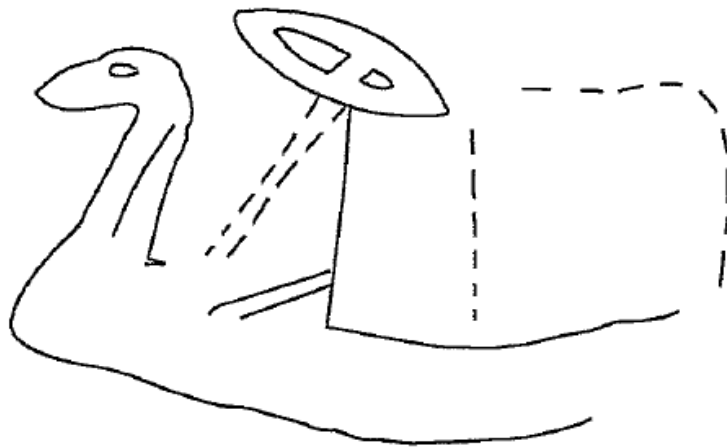
Fig. 4.9

Fig. 4.10

Fig. 4.11
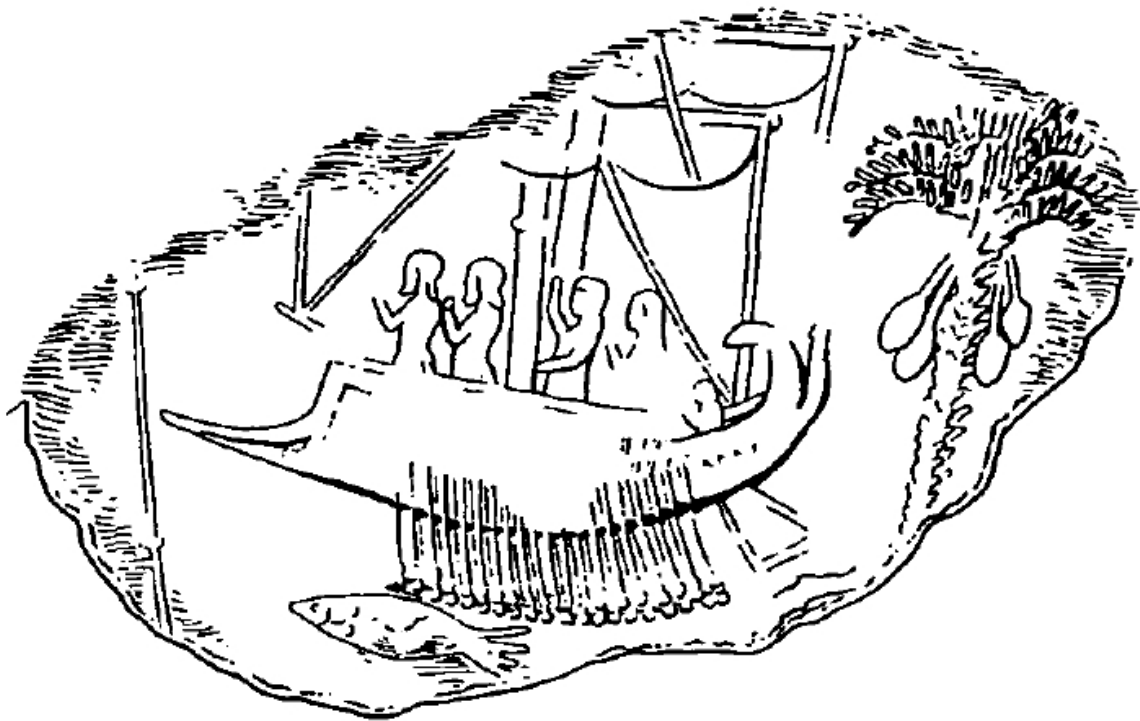
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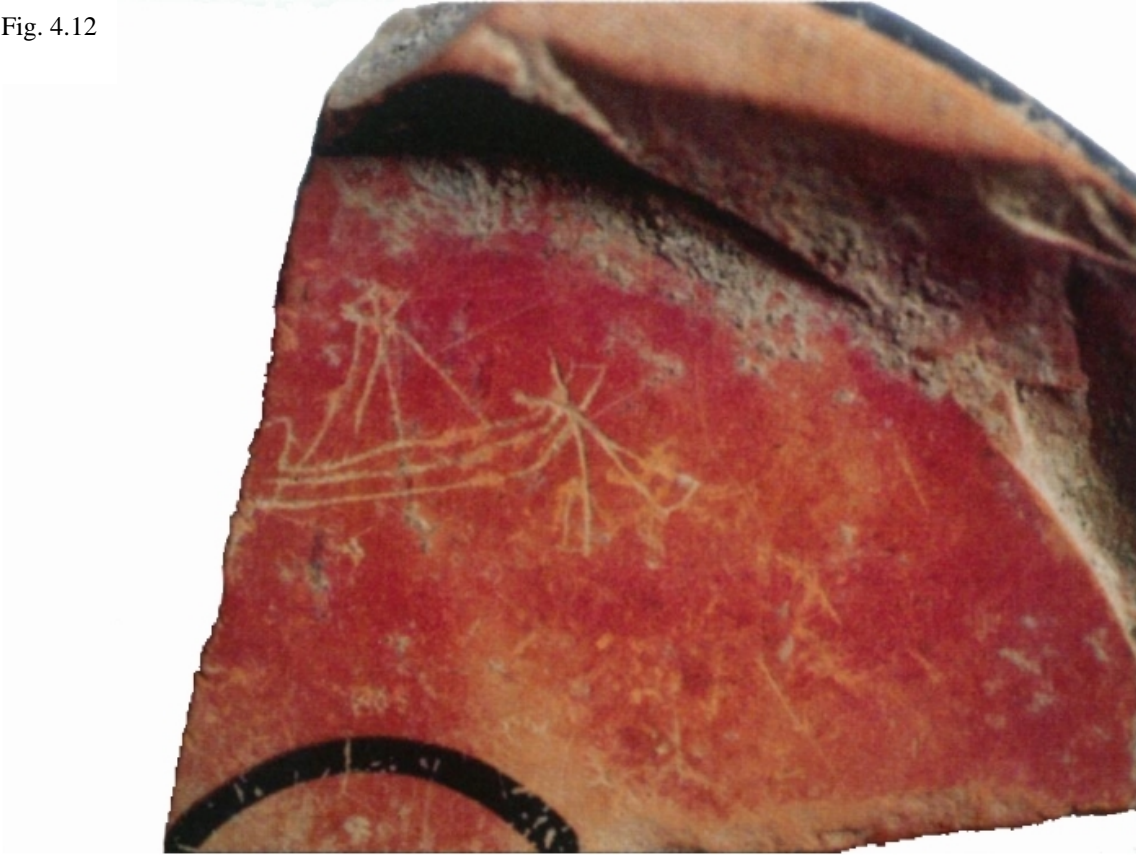
Fig. 4.13

Fig. 4.14

Fig. 4.15

Fig. 4.16

Fig. 4.17

Fig. 4.18
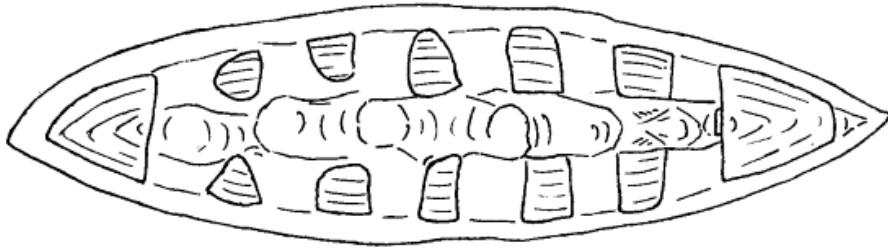
Fig. 4.19

Fig. 4.20

Fig. 4.21

0   5   10 cm

445
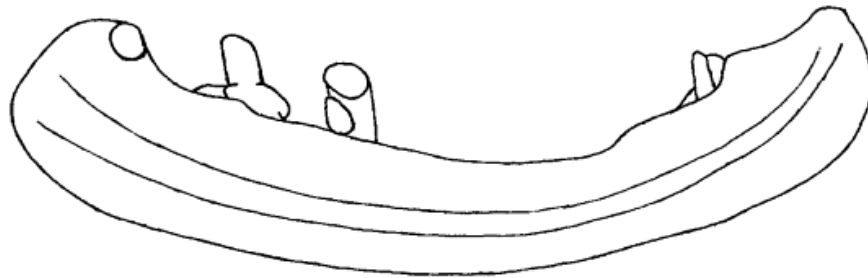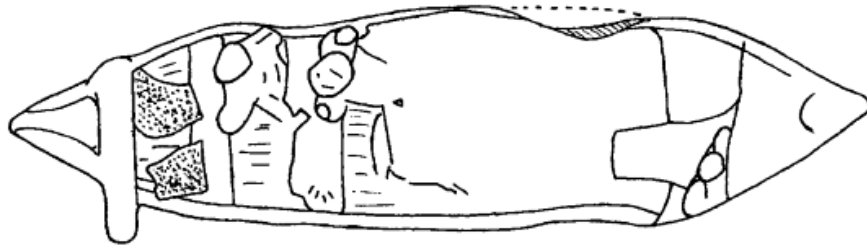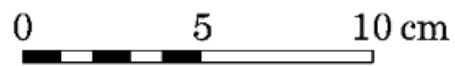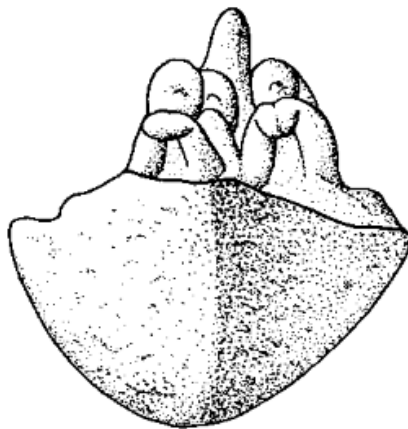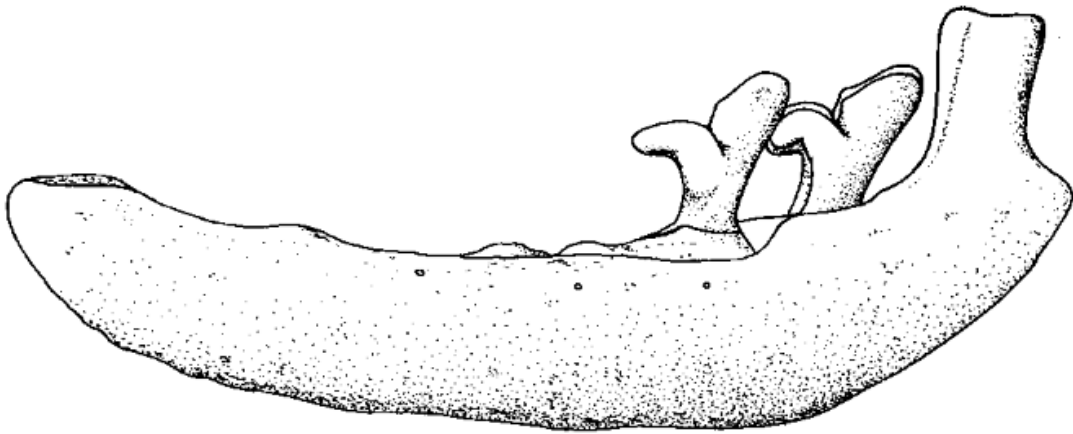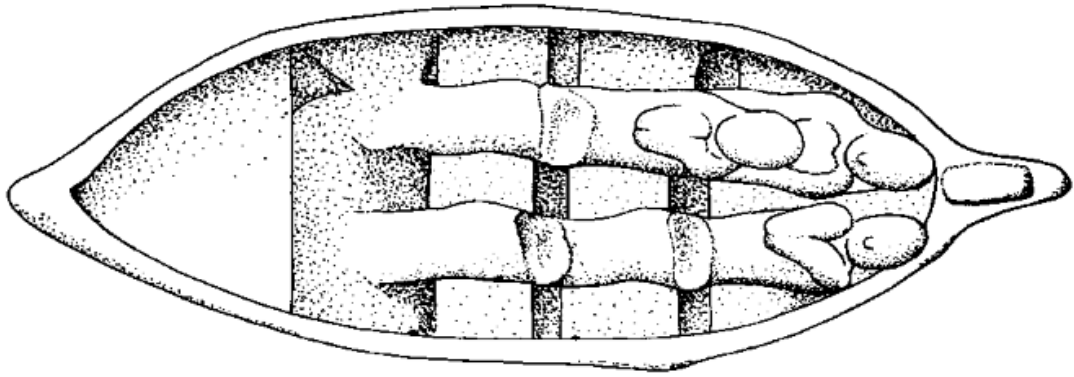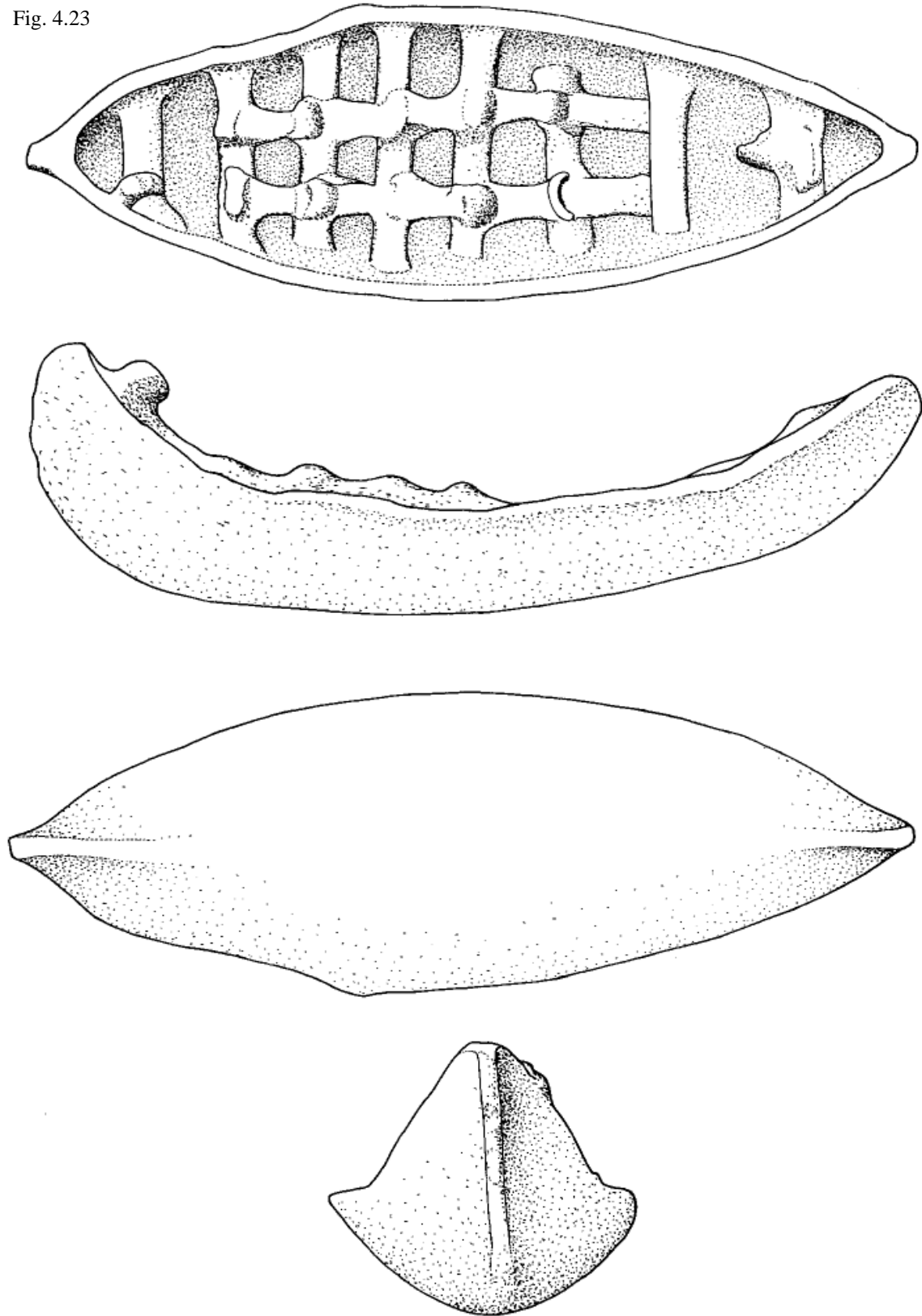
Fig. 4.22

Fig. 4.23

0   5   10 cm

Fig. 4.24
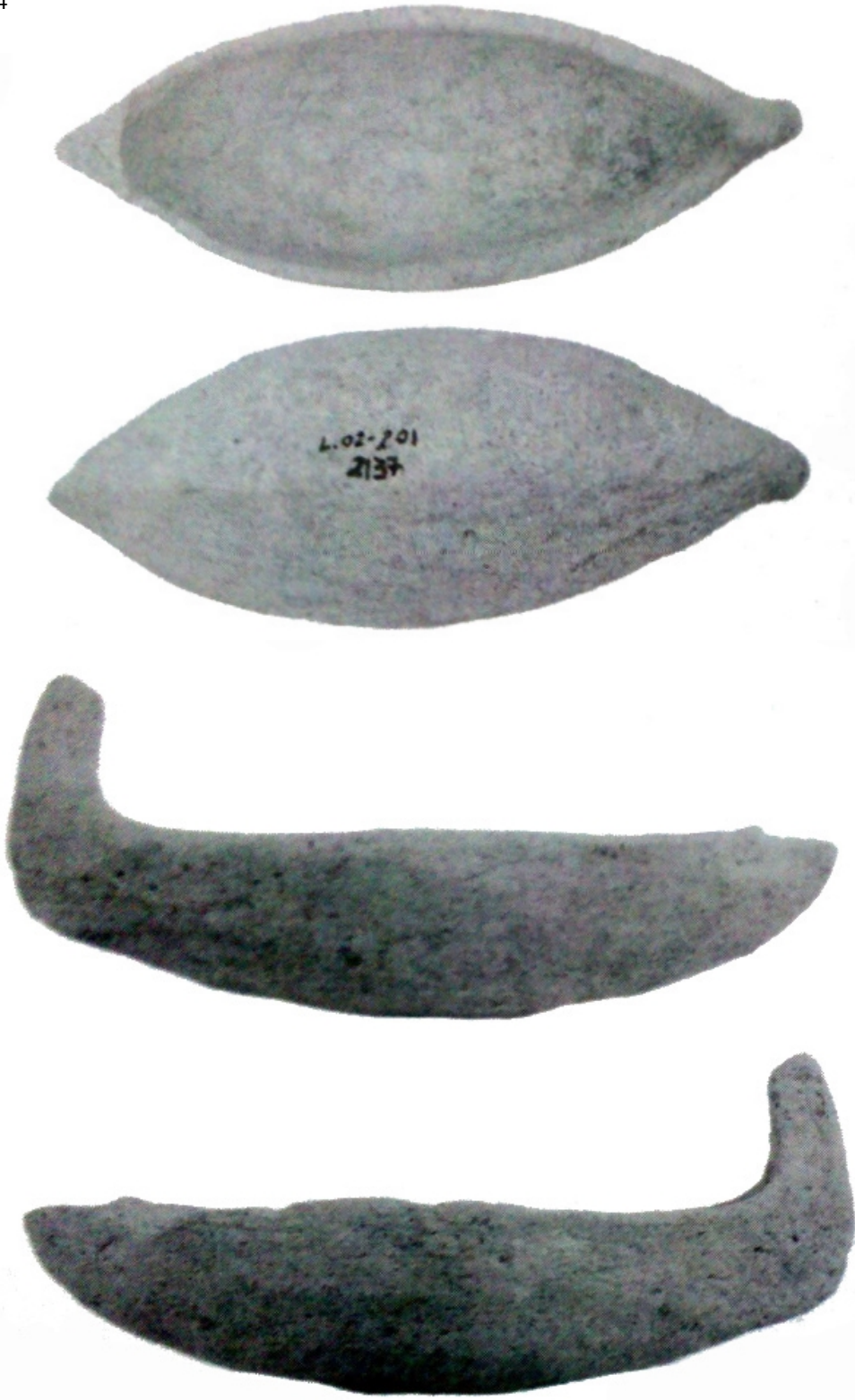
0 _____ 5 cm

Fig. 4.25

Fig. 4.26

Fig. 4.27

449
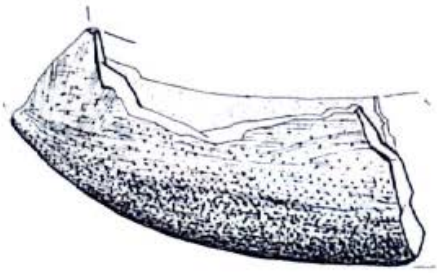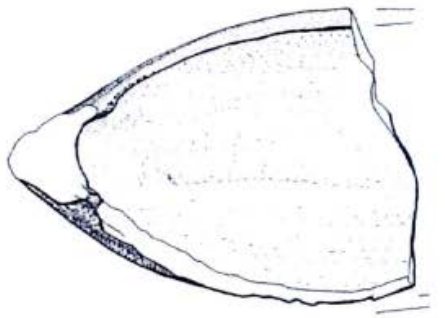
Fig. 4.28   Fig. 4.29
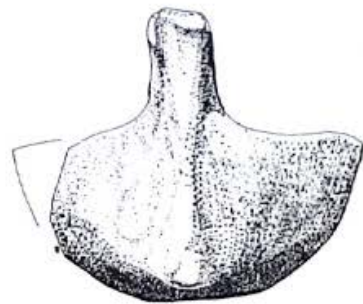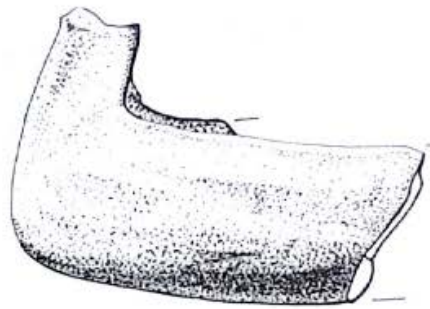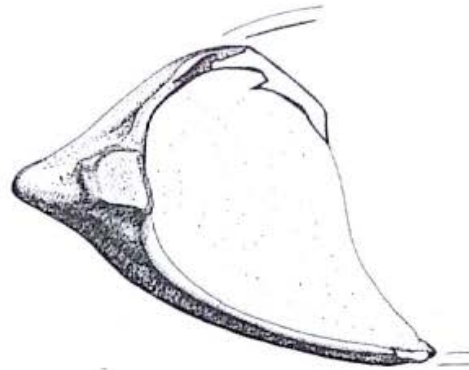
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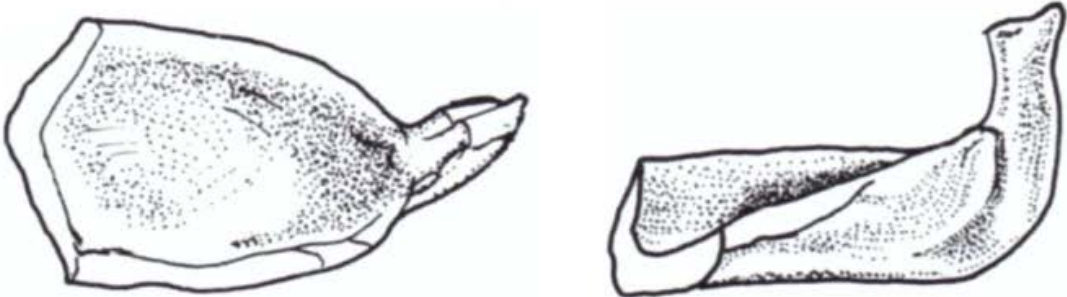
Fig. 4.31

Fig. 4.32

Fig. 4.33

Fig. 4.34

Fig. 4.35

Fig. 4.36

Fig. 4.37

Fig. 4.38

Fig. 4.39

455
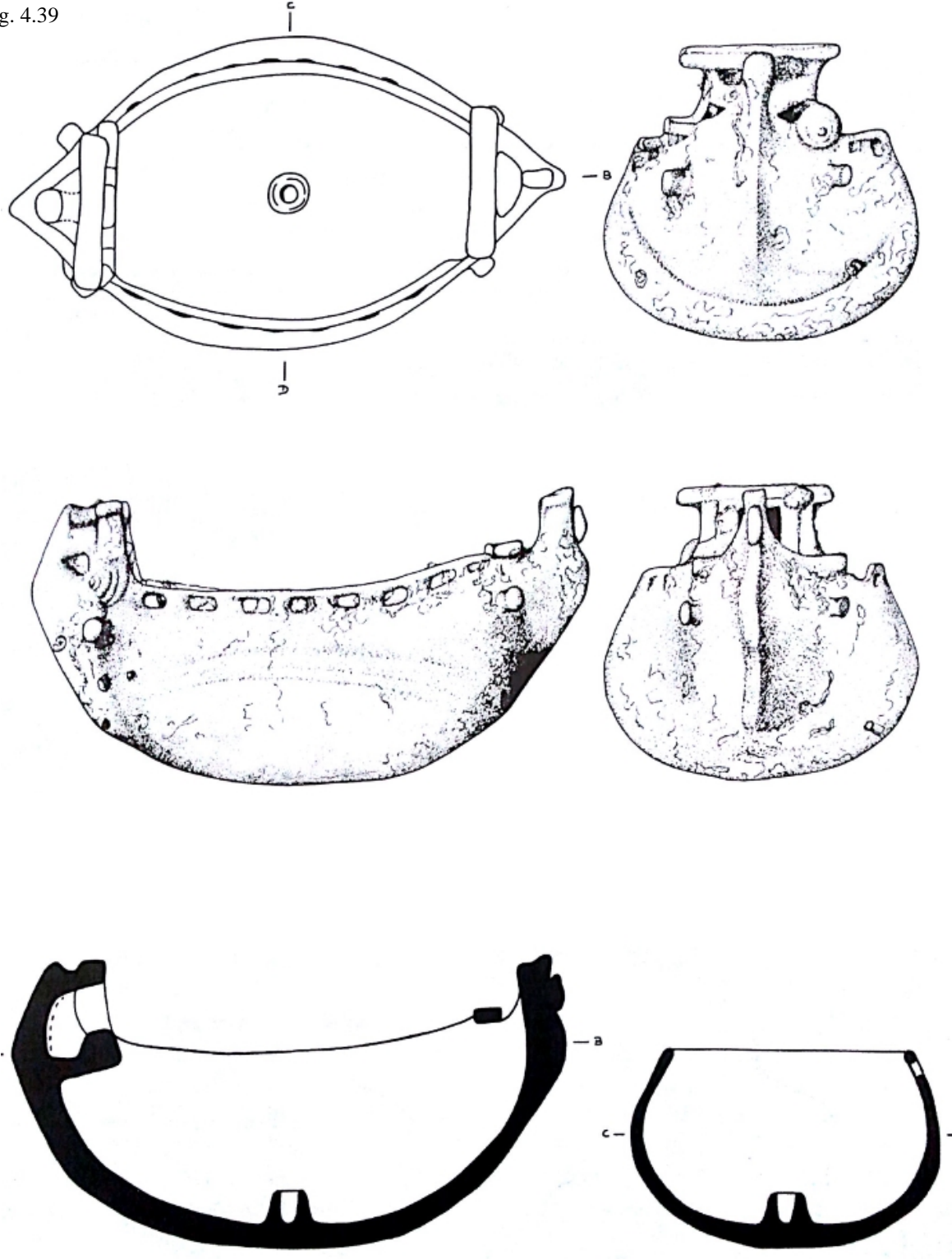
Fig. 4.40

Fig. 4.41

Fig. 4.42

Fig. 4.43

456
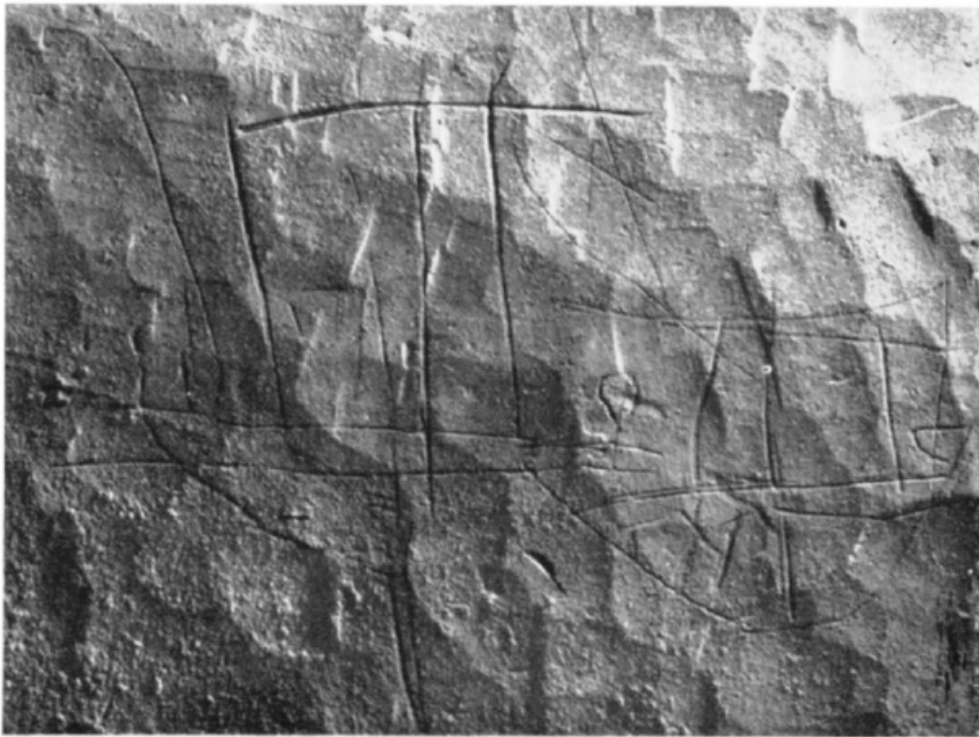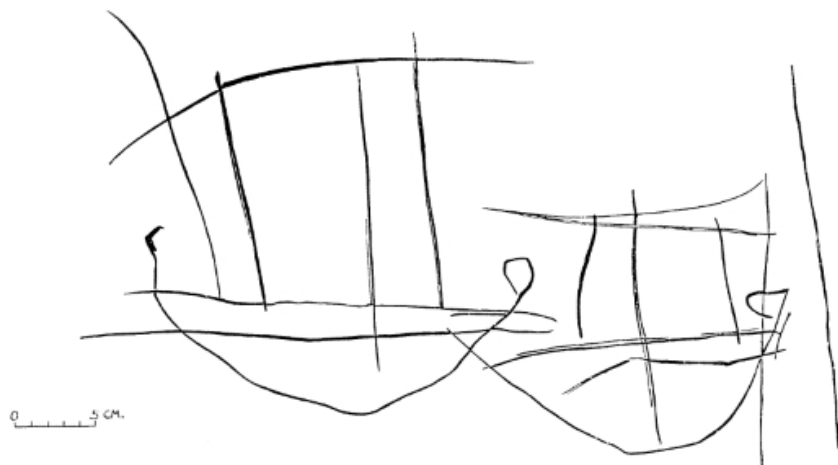
Fig. 4.44

Fig. 4.45

Fig. 4.46

459
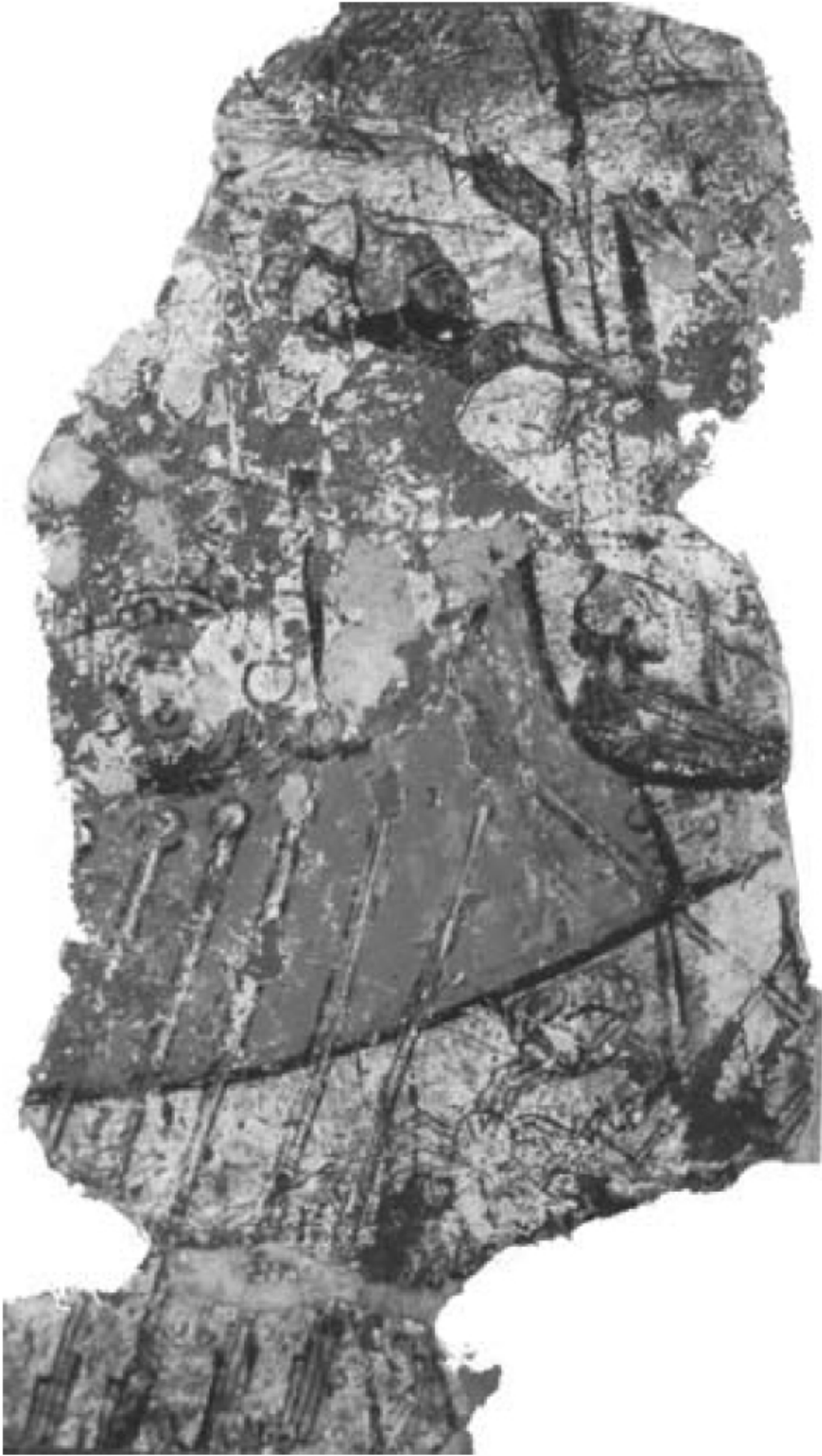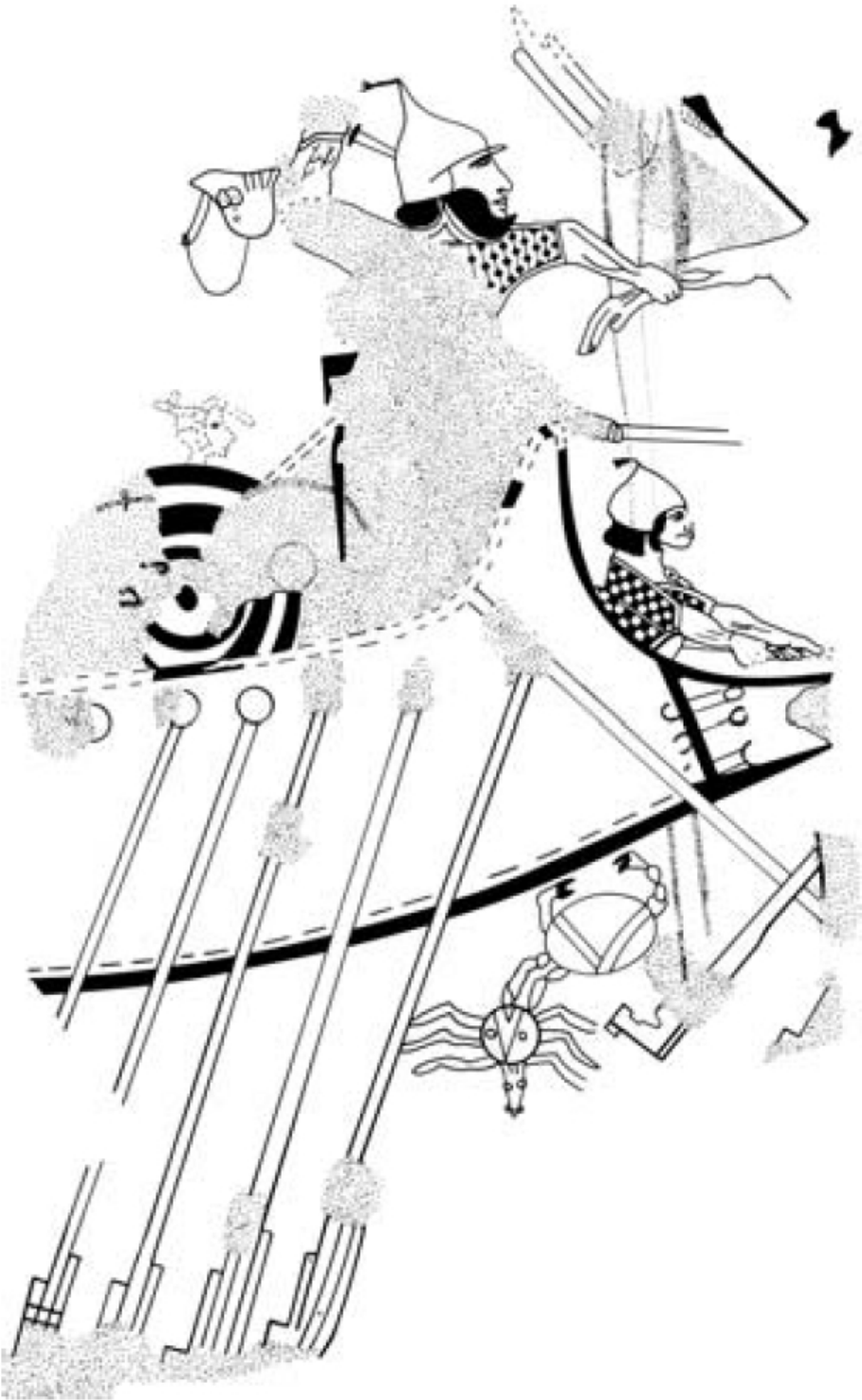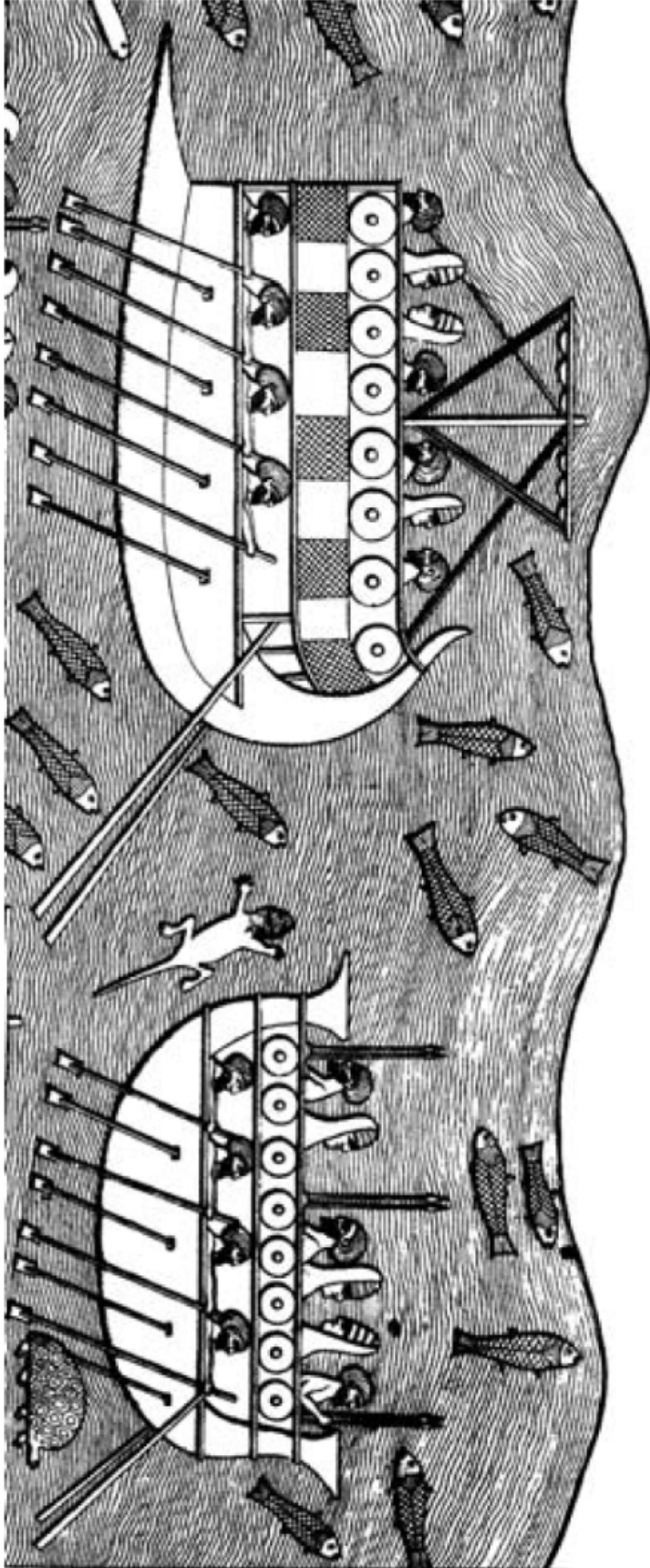
Fig. 4.47

Fig. 4.48

Fig. 4.49

461
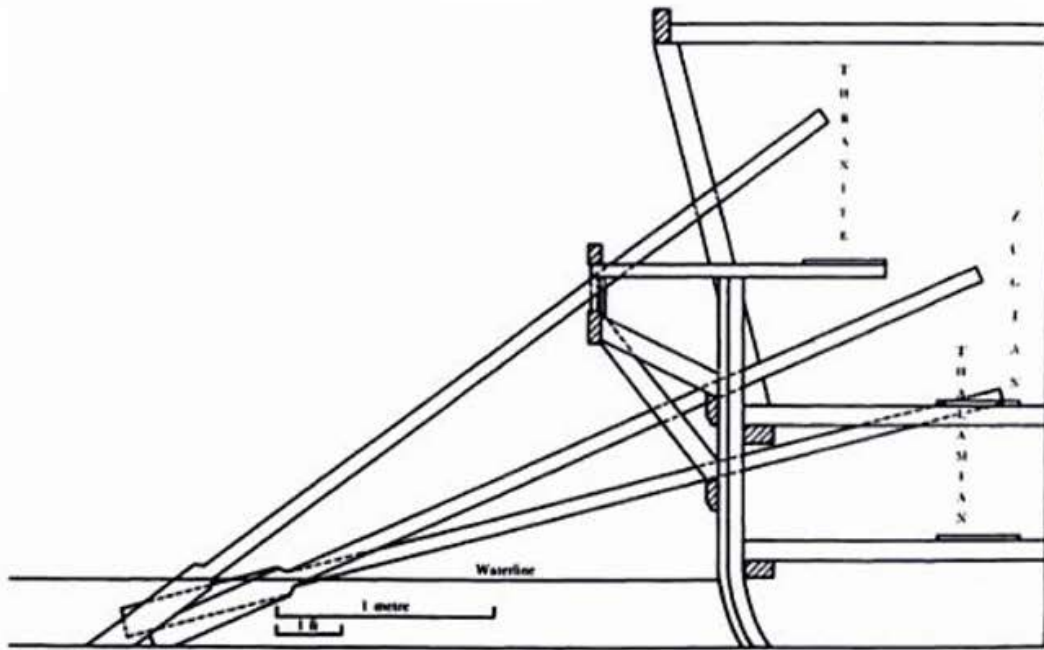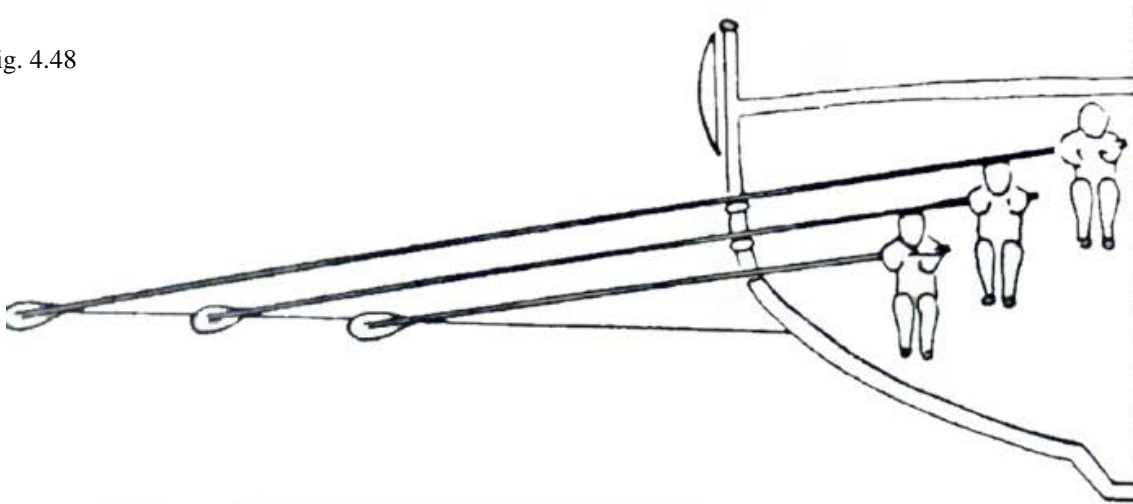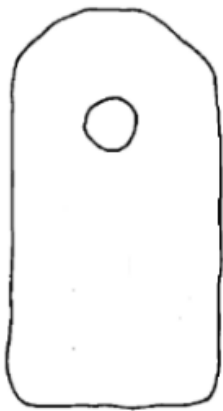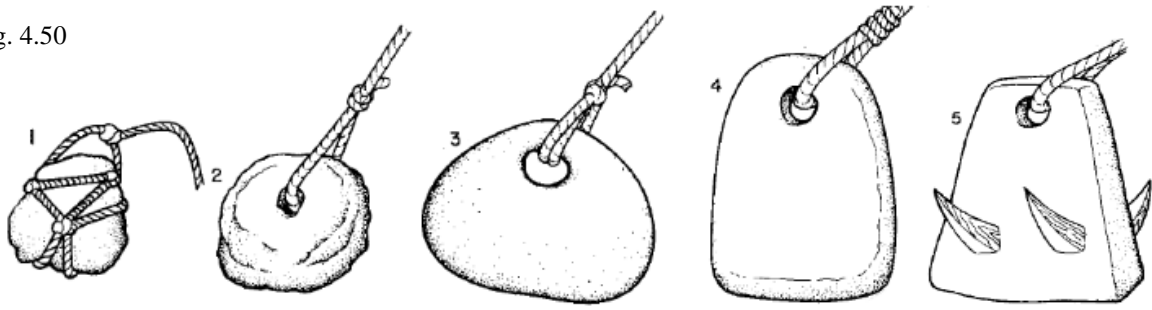
Fig. 4.50

Fig. 4.51   Fig. 4.52   Fig. 4.53

Fig. 4.54
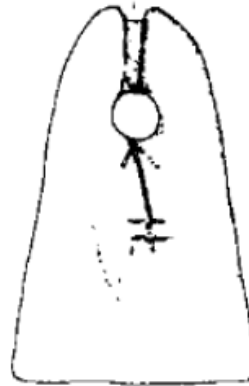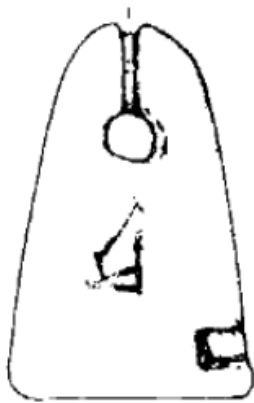
Fig. 5.1

Fig. 5.2

hsml ʾz pʿ
l šlm bn m
p ʿl bn ʾzy l
tnt ʿštrt
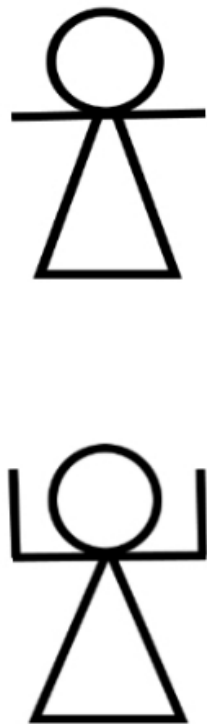
Fig. 5.3

Fig. 5.4

Fig. 5.5   Fig. 5.6   Fig. 5.7   Fig. 5.8

Fig. 5.9

Fig. 5.10

464
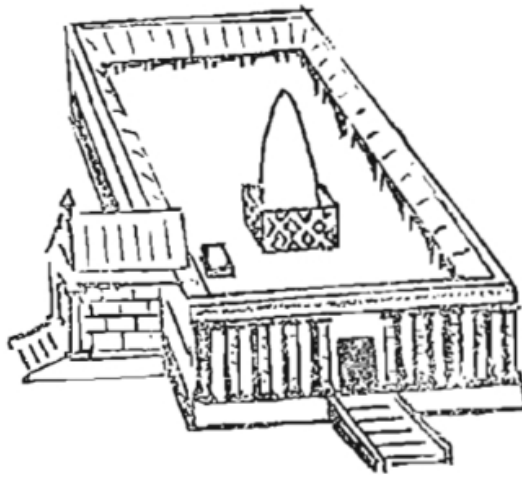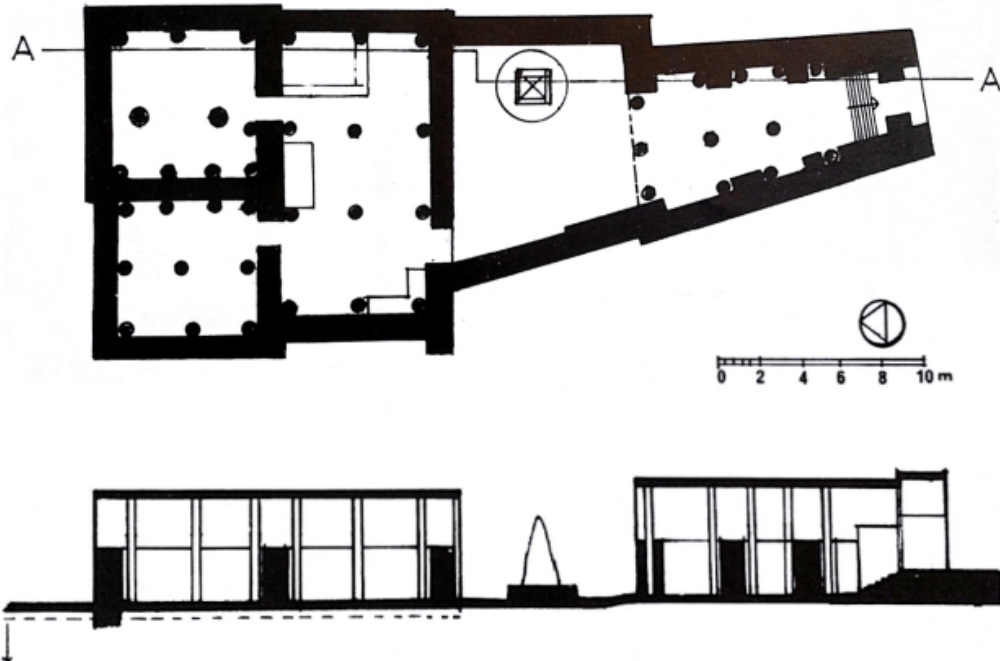
Fig. 5.11

Fig. 5.12

Fig. 5.13

Fig. 5.14

Fig. 5.15

Fig. 5.16

467

Fig. 5.17

Fig. 5.18

Fig. 5.19

468

Fig. 5.20

2. TT97-II/III-002-45

1. TT97-II/III-002-42

4. TT97-II/III-002-44

3. TT97-II/III-002-43

TT97-II/III-002-46'
(scarab nr. 6)

5

1 cm.

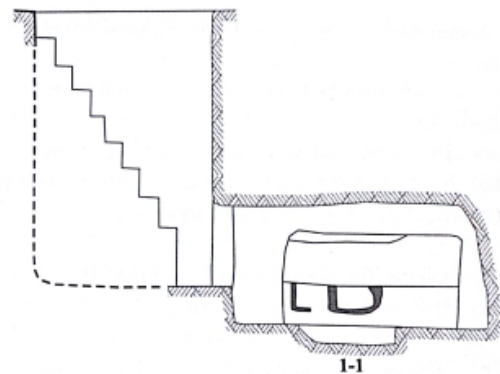0   5 cm
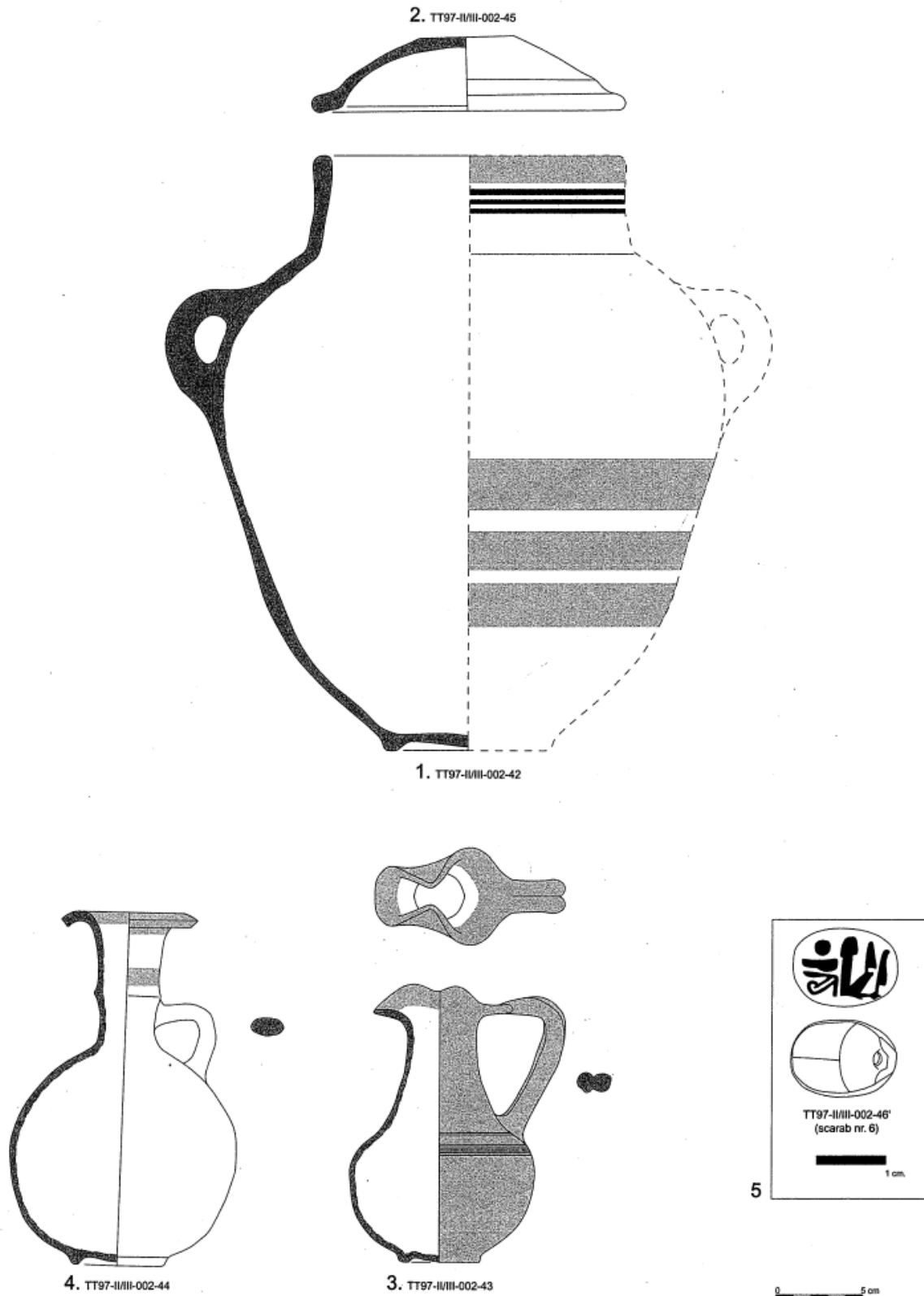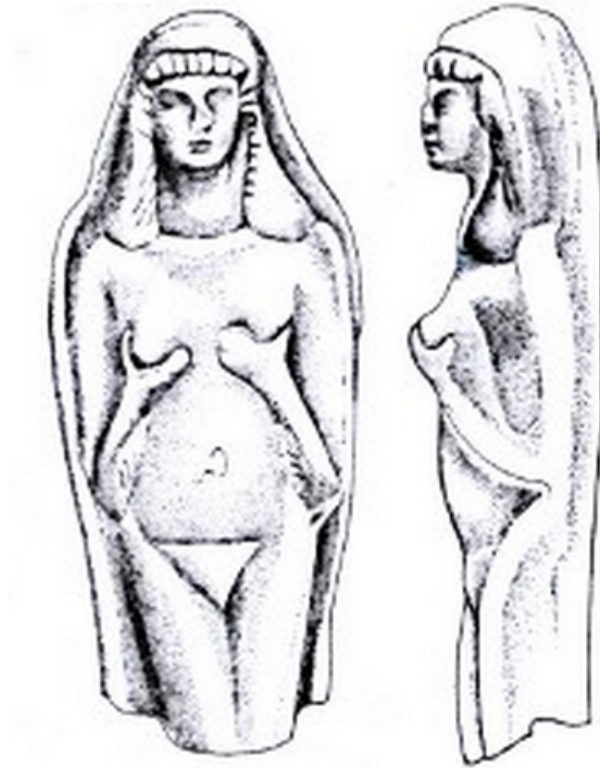
Fig. 5.21

Fig. 5.22

Fig. 5.23

Fig. 5.24

Fig. 5.25

Fig. 5.26

Fig. 5.27

Fig. 5.28

Fig. 5.29

Fig. 5.30

Fig. 5.31

Fig. 5.32

471
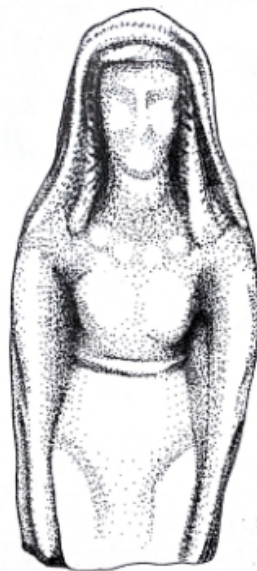
Fig. 5.33

Fig. 5.34

Fig. 5.35

Fig. 5.36

Fig. 5.37

Fig. 5.38

472
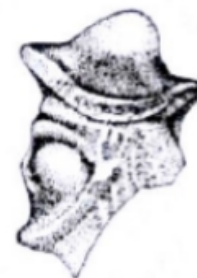
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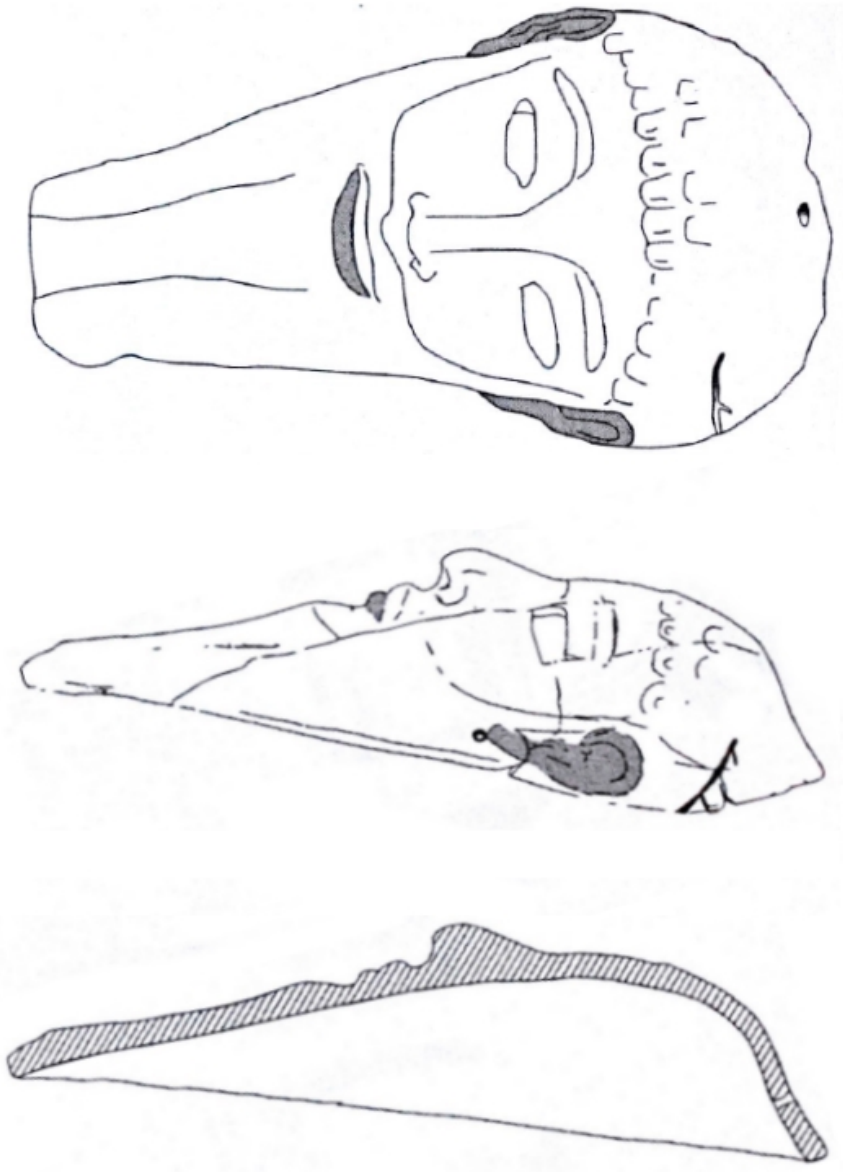
Fig. 5.40

Fig. 5.41

Fig. 5.42

Fig. 5.43

Fig. 5.44

Fig. 5.45

474
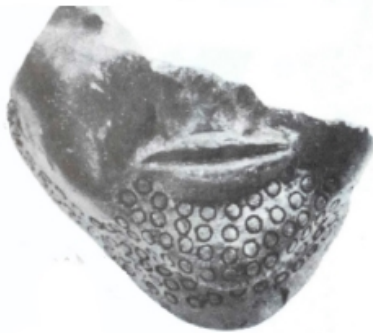
Fig. 5.46   Fig. 5.47

Fig. 5.48

475

Fig. 5.49

Fig. 5.50

476
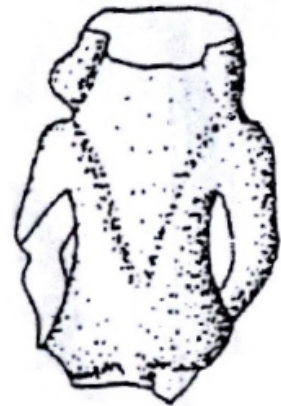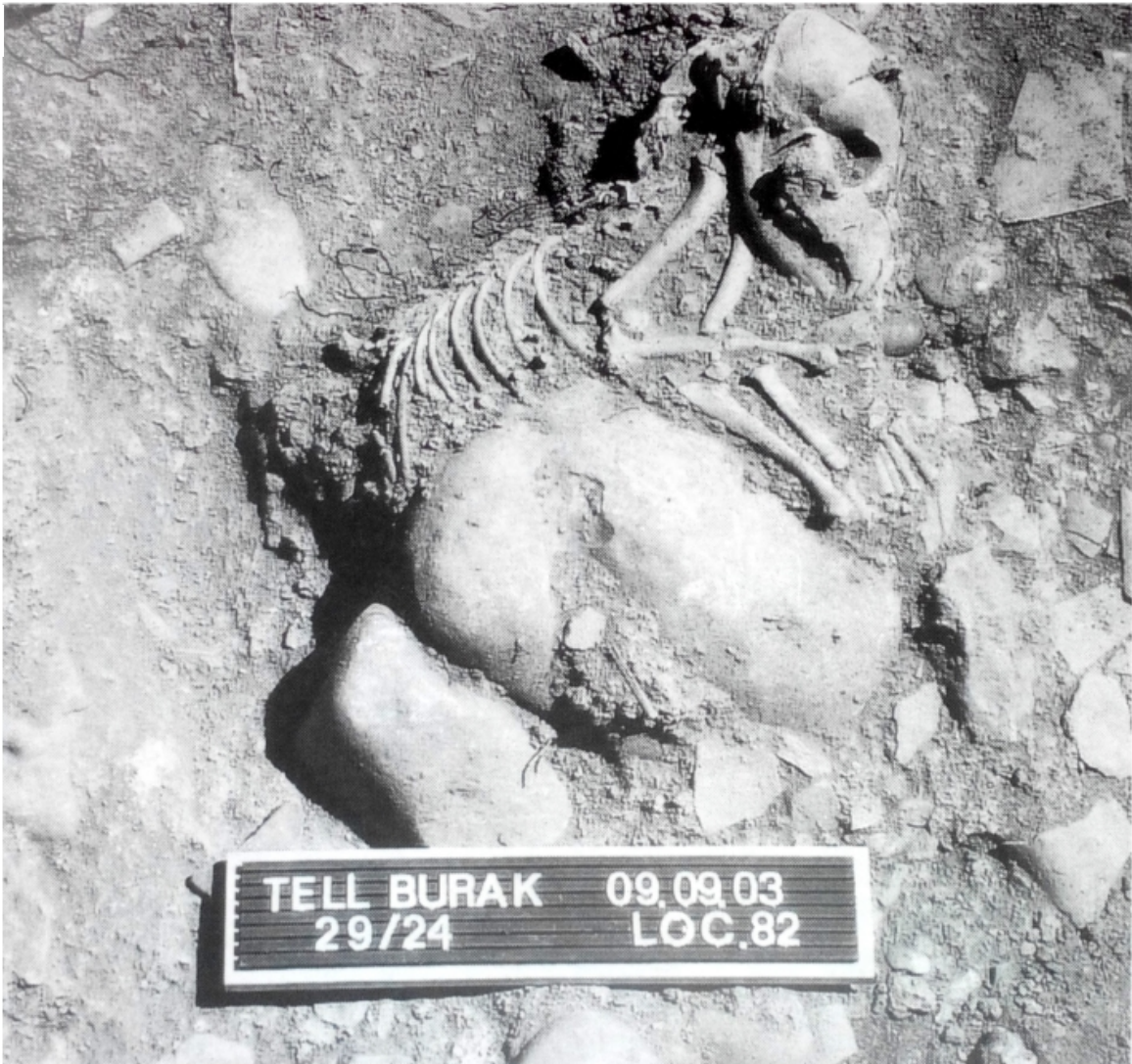
Fig. 6.1

Fig. 6.2

Fig. 6.3

Fig. 6.4

Fig. 6.7

Fig. 6.5

Fig. 6.6
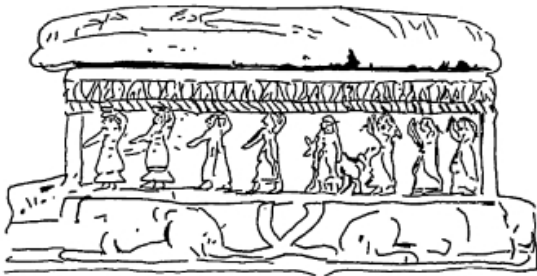
Fig. 6.8

Fig. 6.9
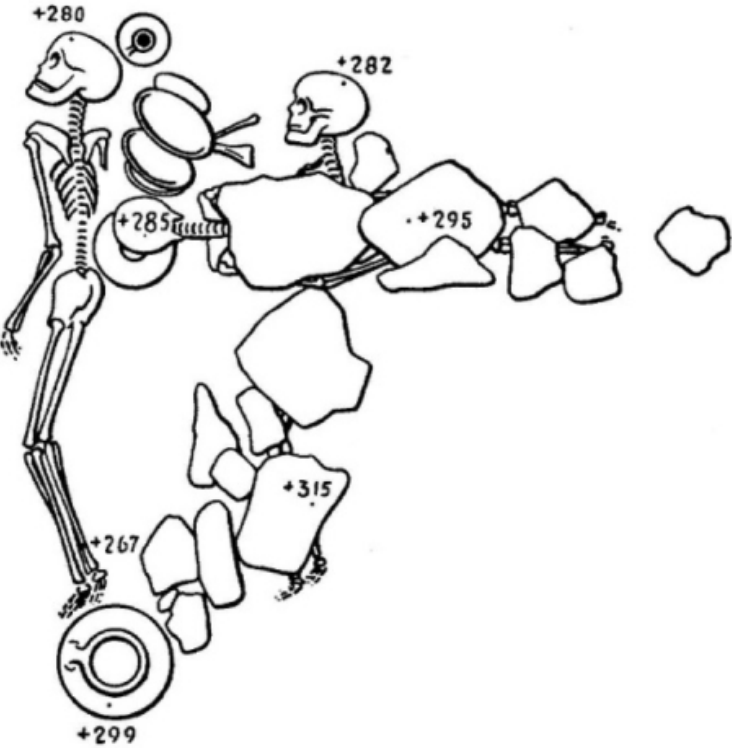
Fig. 6.10

Fig. 6.11

Fig. 6.12

+359

N

0   50   100 cm.

481
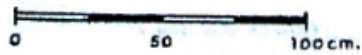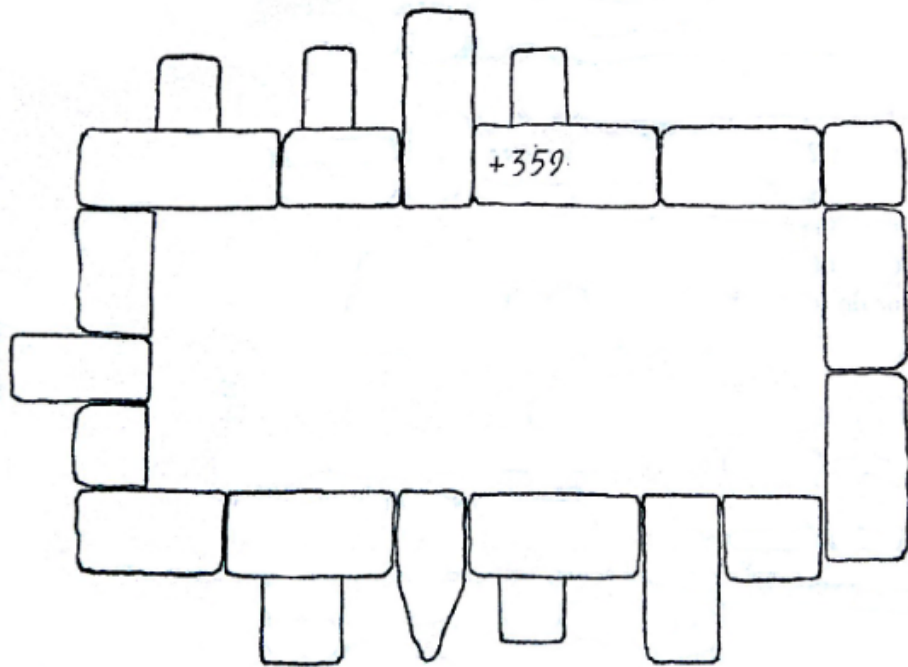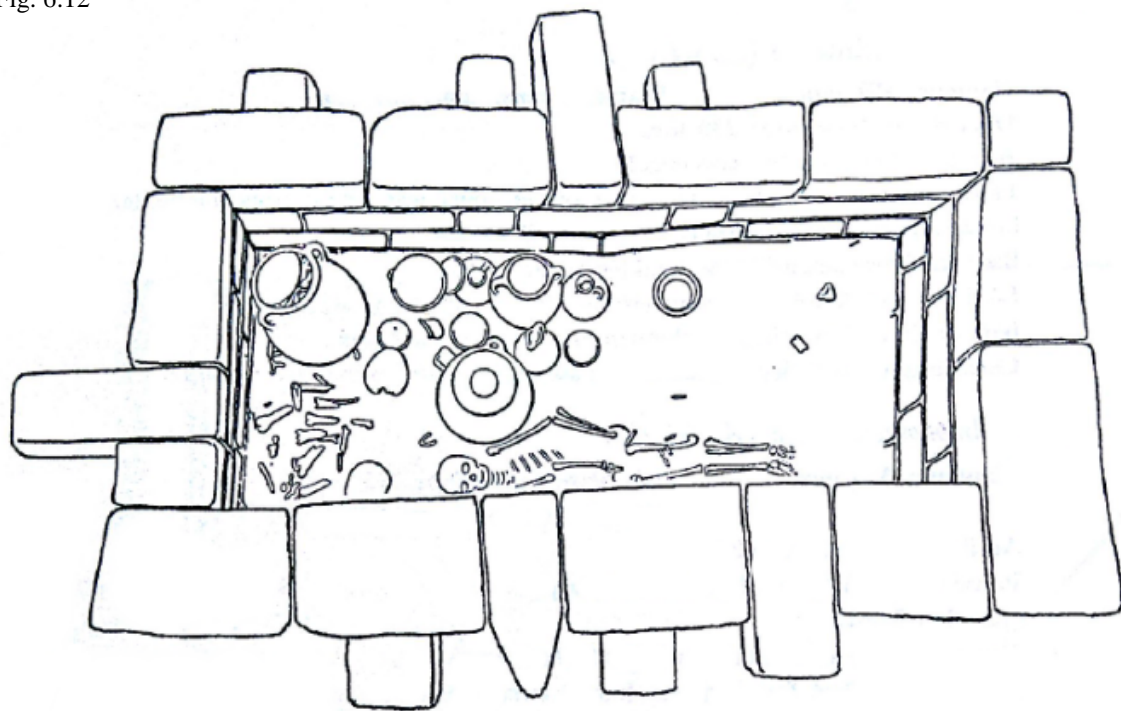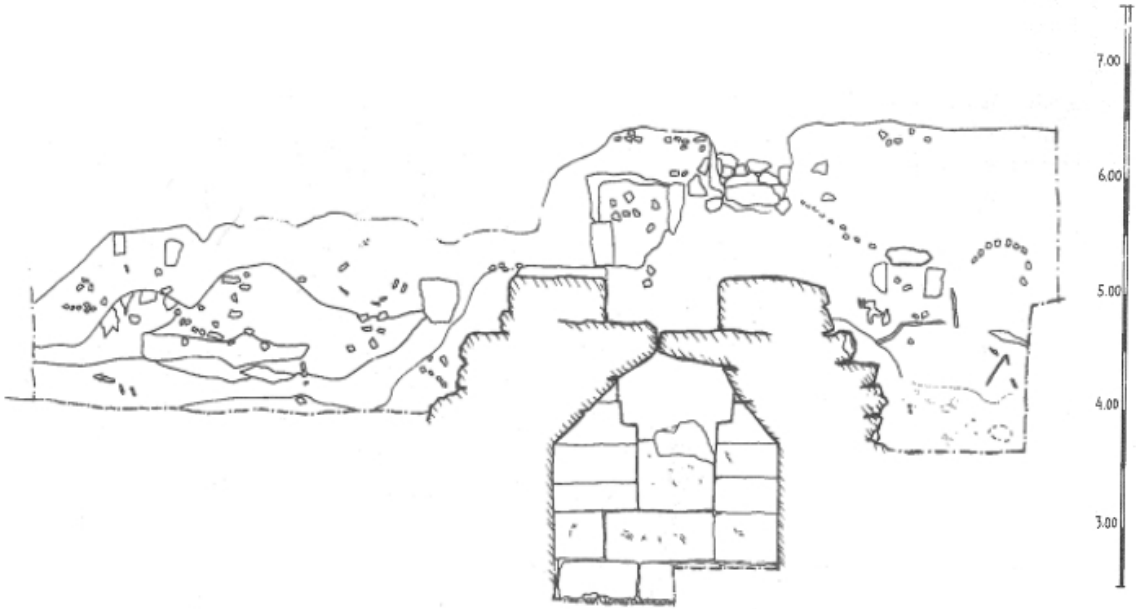
Fig. 6.13

Fig. 6.14

Fig. 6.15

Fig. 6.16

Fig. 6.17
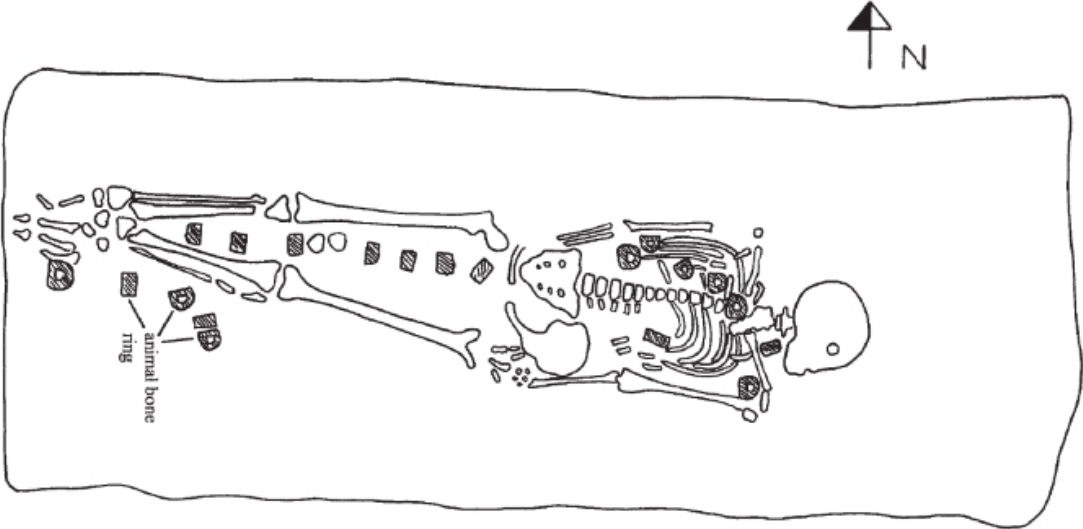
Fig. 6.18

Fig. 6.19
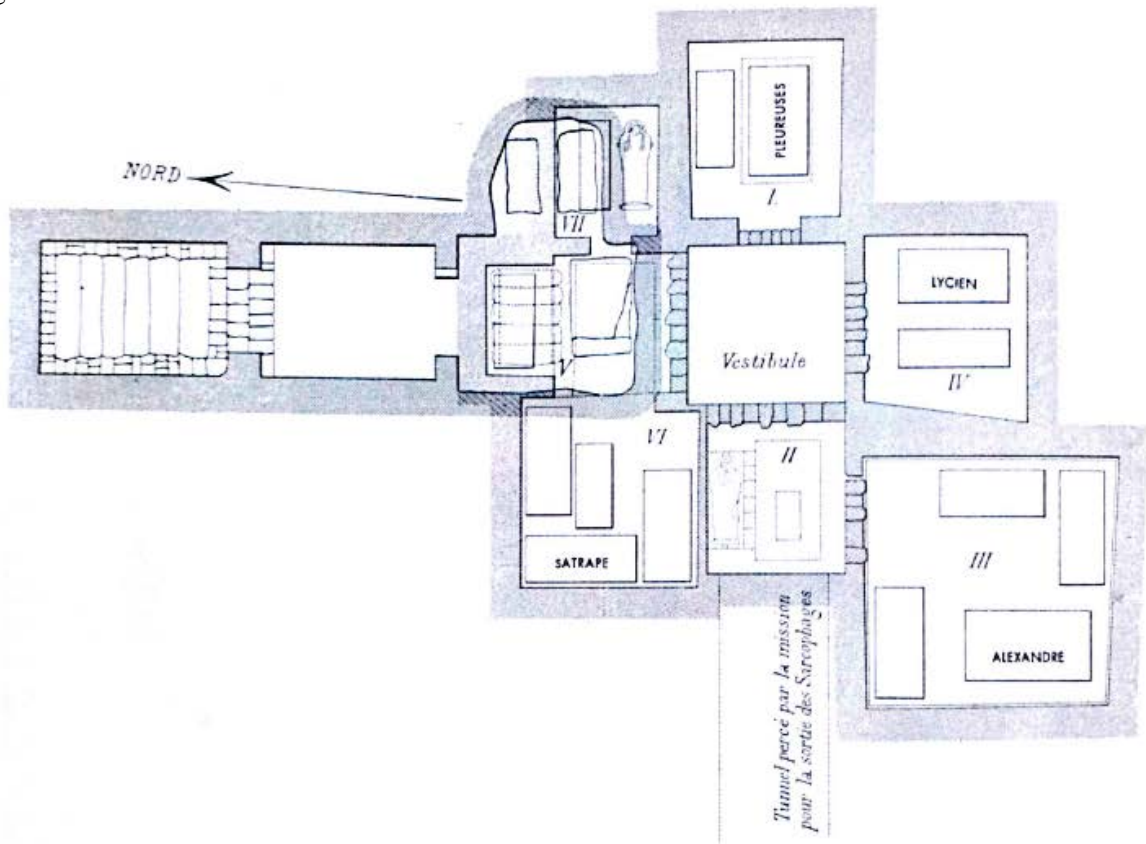
Fig. 6.20
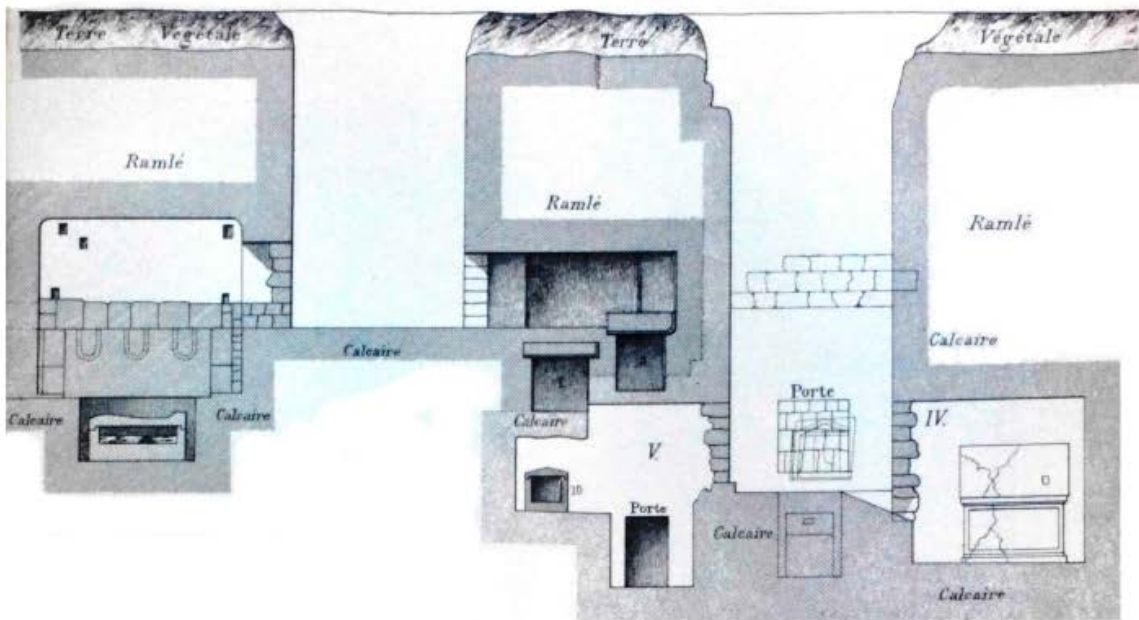
Fig. 6.21
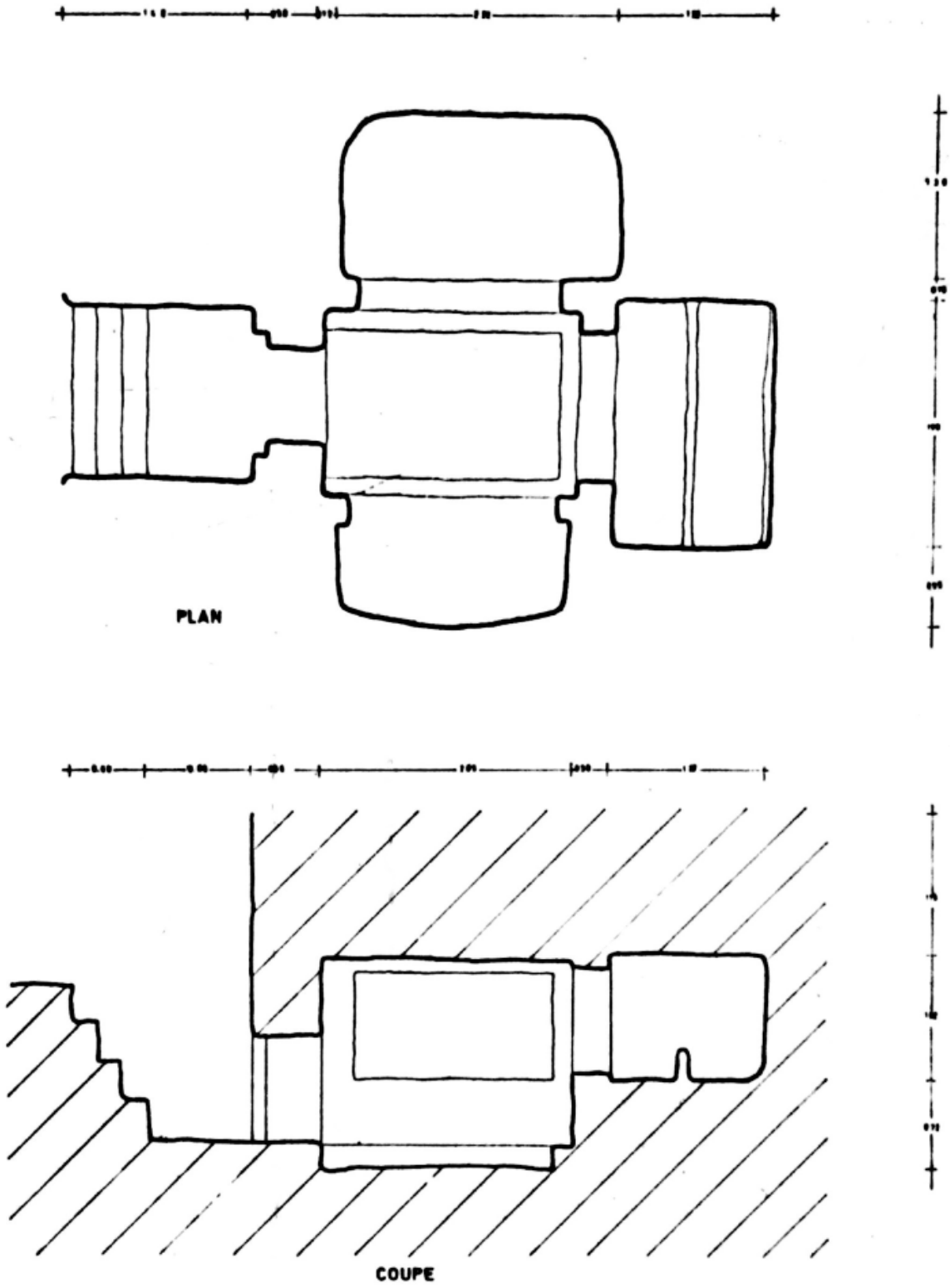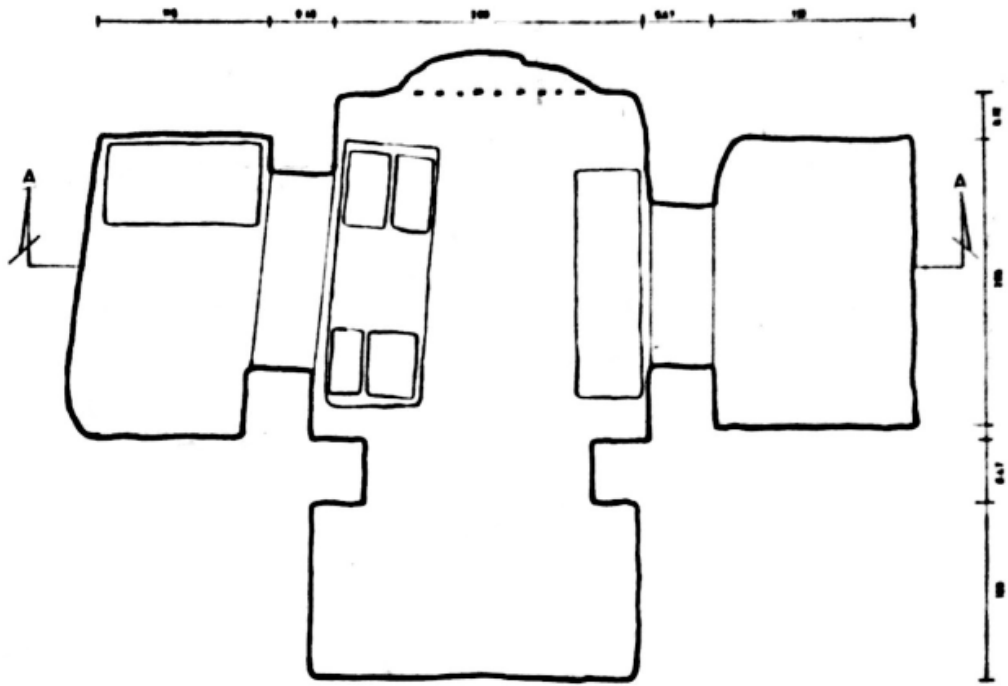
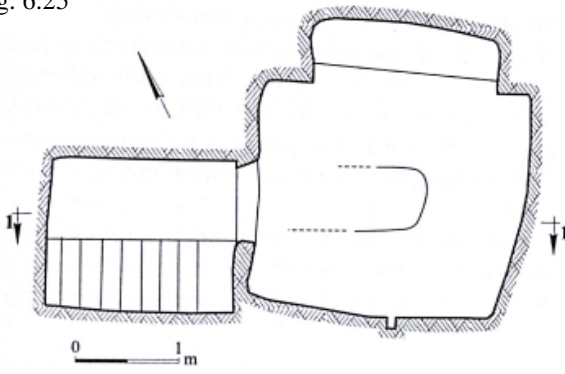PLAN

COUPE

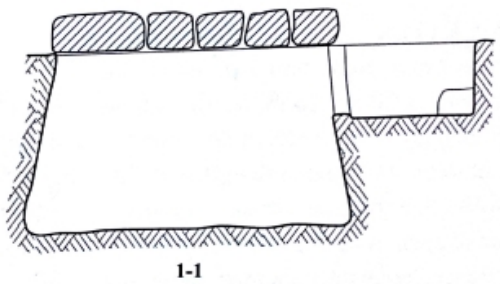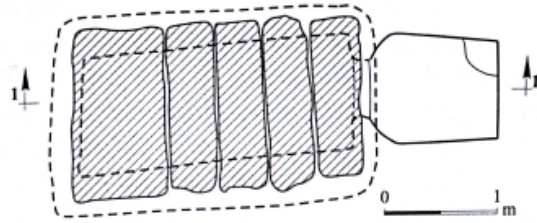Fig. 6.22

PLAN
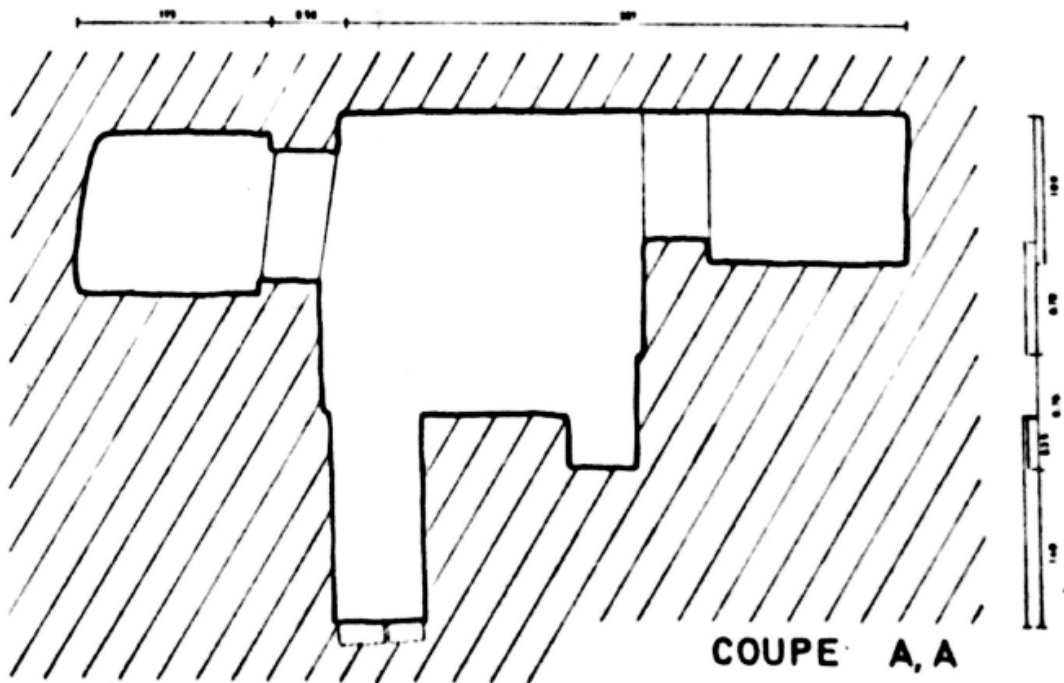
COUPE A, A

Fig. 6.23

Fig. 6.24
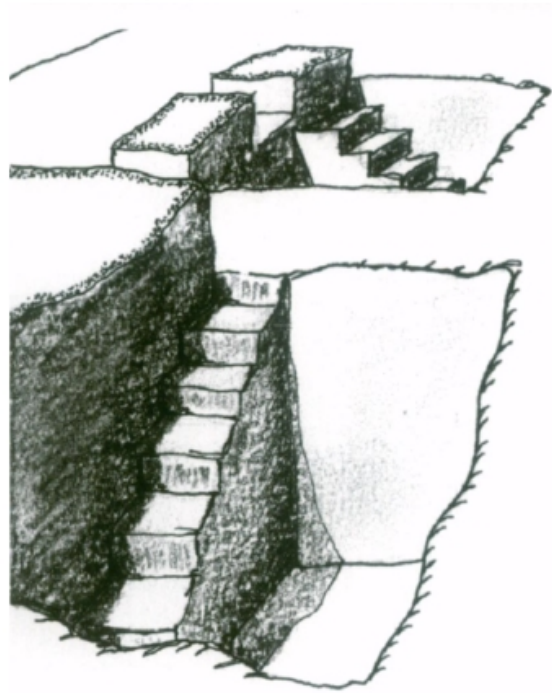
Fig. 6.25

Fig. 6.26

Fig. 6.27

Fig. 6.28

Fig. 6.29