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*The Philistines and the Rise of
Israel and Tyre,*

by

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Cover

THE PHILISTINES AND THE RISE OF ISRAEL AND TYRE

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10-8-71

ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CHAPTERS in the history of the Eastern Mediterranean is the period of transition from the second to the first millennium B.C. The succession of events during this period determined for all time the destiny of Palestine and Syria. It was then that three Semitic peoples entered the arena of history, each of them becoming capable of establishing a national state and developing a unique culture. These three peoples were the Israelites, the Aramaeans and the Phoenicians.

To understand this phenomenon we must first note that it was during the 12th century that the great empires which had controlled the Near East for centuries, crumbled and fell. Simultaneously great shifts of populations occurred. The movement of the Sea Peoples on the shores of the Mediterranean and its islands, and of the Semitic nomadic tribes on the periphery of the Fertile Crescent, altered the ethnic and cultural configuration of the Near East.

At the beginning of the 12th century, the Hittite empire was shattered into fragments under the pressure of invading peoples. It was succeeded by small Neo-Hittite kingdoms in northern Syria, while in eastern and southern Syria Aramaean nomads were tempted to penetrate into the region and to gain control over vast areas.

As for Egypt, its rule in Canaan had already begun to disintegrate by the end of the 13th century. It was only thanks to the decisive sea and land victory won at the beginning of the 12th century by Pharaoh Ramses III over the Sea Peoples, including the Philistines who had invaded the coast of Canaan, that Egypt was still able to maintain its hold on the coastal areas and its control of the trade routes in Canaan. About the middle of the 12th century, Egyptian domination declined and ceased entirely. The tenuous control during the twilight period of Egyptian domination, had been based essentially on a corps of pro-

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fessional soldiers and on troops garrisoned in fortresses. These troops absorbed increasing numbers of mercenaries and captives of war from among the Širdânu, the Philistines and the other Sea Peoples. In the course of time, the Philistine chiefs — the *seranim* of the Biblical tradition — merely took over control and established their own principalities on the coast. The Philistines and other Sea Peoples also established new settlements in the coastal region, and amidst the subjugated population a ruling class emerged out of this alien minority.

At the same time, in the interior of Canaan on both sides of the Jordan, a loose confederation of Israelite tribes had already succeeded in becoming rooted and taking possession of large areas. This was a lengthy and complicated process of settlement characterized by the growth of a relatively dense population in the hill country and the lowlands and the dispersion of surplus population in peripheral areas. Simultaneously there was a persistent struggle with the neighbours as well as with invaders from the desert and strife with Canaanite city-states which survived in various regions, especially on the coast and in the Jezreel Valley. Some of the Israelite tribes now established themselves firmly in the hill country, and constituted the dominant strain of the agricultural population in Ephraim and Judah.

During this period Assyria, under Tiglathpileser I, was the only kingdom in Mesopotamia, that successfully regained power. Tiglathpileser fought fierce battles against the Aramaeans on the Euphrates and in the Syrian desert, in an attempt to contain their forceful expansion. In his expeditions to the west, he reached the Mediterranean and imposed his rule on the main Phoenician cities. But the empire of Tiglathpileser was short-lived. It declined with his death in 1078, and did not rise again for several generations.

These conditions presented a challenge to the Phoenicians on the coast north of the Carmel, who had freed themselves from the yoke of Egypt, and to the Philistines, who had already seized key positions on the southern coast. It was open to one or the other to become the dominating maritime power in the eastern Mediterranean, inheriting the role long held by Egypt in the Canaanite coastal area, and inheriting, as well, the sea trade of the Mycenaeans.

The sources tell us, first of all, about the Sea Peoples and especially the Philistines, in the 11th century. The Egyptian onomasticon of Amenope, apparently from the beginning of that century¹, provides us with information concerning three Sea Peoples on Canaanite soil: the Širdânu, the

1 A. GARDINER, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I (1947), pp. 24 ff.; A. ALT, *Kleine Schriften*, I (1953), pp. 231 ff.

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Sikala (Tkr) and the Philistines. We are also told of three cities: Gaza, Ashkelon and Ashdod, which occupied an important position both in political affairs and in sea and land trade.

Authentic data of great value are found in the official report of Wenamon, a priest in the temple of Amon at Karnak in the second quarter of the 11th century. He had been sent to Byblos in Phoenicia to secure cedar-wood for the ceremonial barge of Amon², and we learn from his report, which is a mine of information not yet fully explored by scholars, that Smendes, Ne-su-ba-neb-ded, the ruler of Tanis, had strong commercial ties with Byblos. Zekar-Ba'al, the prince of Byblos, says to Wenamon: "Are there not twenty *mnš*-ships in my harbour which are in *hubûr* with Ne-su-ba-neb-ded?" Zekar-Ba'al is referring to large ships (called *mnš*), which set out on the high seas. This is proof of a strong commercial alliance which had a very ancient tradition.

The *hubûr* mentioned here certainly refers to powerful commercial organizations, headed by the rulers themselves, with the collaboration of a mercantile aristocracy, known as *kin'anû* according to an inscription of Amenhotep II and as *kēna'anîm* according to the Bible, i.e. traders, merchants; cf. Isa. 23:8: "Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes (*šarîm*), whose *kēna'anîm* are the honourable of the earth". This was the noble caste of a thalassocracy, engaged in ship-building, owners of magazines and workshops. It was they who developed international trade and the various industries involved in it. The formation of such mercantile organizations was of great importance in the political and economic spheres. The *hubûr* was also the organization characteristic of the relations between Tyre, Israel and Judah during the 10th and 9th centuries. It is significant that in the Bible we find the stem *hbr* used in this sense [2 Chron. 20:35-36], as well as the parallelism *habbâr* = *kēna'anî* "merchant" [Job 40:30]³.

Another interesting fact in Wenamon's report is his mention by name of four rulers of coastal cities lying between Egypt and Phoenicia. One ruler was Badar, the prince of Dor, the port city of the Sikala in the Sharon. The other three rulers bear the non-Semitic names of Warta, Makmura and Warkatara, which may be Anatolian or Aegean⁴.

2 J. A. WILSON, *apud* J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (1950), pp. 25 ff.; M. A. KOROSTOVITZEV, *Puteshestviye Un-Amuna v Bibl*, Moscow (1960); see W. F. ALBRIGHT, *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson* (1951), pp. 223 ff.

3 On *hubûr* see B. MAZAR (MAISLER), *BASOR* 102 (1946), pp. 9 ff.; W. F. ALBRIGHT, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East, Essays in Honor of W. F. Albright* (1961), p. 389, n. 8 (quoted below as *BANE*).

4 ALBRIGHT, *ibid.*, p. 359, n. 79, compares them to southwest Anatolian names.

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Wenamón is apparently referring to the princes of the three principal cities of the Philistines, Ashdod, Ashkelon and Gaza, which were known for their importance both in sea and land trade. These coastal cities were sovereign at that time and controlled the sea routes between Egypt and Phoenicia. This is particularly evident from what Wenamón says concerning Badar, the Sikalite prince of Dor. This prince had under his control both merchantmen and warships, and it was in his power to dispatch a navy of eleven warships to Byblos for the purpose of detaining Wenamón. It should also be mentioned that the funds which Wenamón brought with him from Egypt, were in part tax moneys for Warta and Makmura, as well as for Badar.

In addition to mentioning the rulers of the Philistine and Sikalite cities, Wenamón also speaks of three Phoenician cities: Byblos, Sidon and Tyre. Byblos, as we have noted, was important in the trade with Egypt. As to Sidon, it was certainly the main political and commercial centre of southern Phoenicia. Tiglathpileser I in his expedition to the Mediterranean imposed his rule on three Phoenician city-states — Arwad in the north, Byblos in the centre and Sidon in southern Phoenicia. It is significant that both the Bible and the Homeric poems note the unique status enjoyed by Sidon. The name "Sidonians" in fact became equivalent to Canaanites or Phoenicians and it is not accidental that Sidon is the firstborn son of Canaan in the list of the nations [Gen. 10:15]. Moreover, there are a number of references in the Bible which suggest Sidonian incursions and clashes between the Sidonians and the Israelites [Josh. 13:6; Judg. 10:12; 18:7–8, 28]⁵.

Zekar-Ba'al, the prince of Byblos, makes an interesting statement: "As to this Sidon, the other (town) which you have passed, are there not 50 *baru*-ships which are in *hubûr* with Warkatara (or Warkatala), and which are drawn up to his house?" Zekar-Ba'al is here referring to the *hubûr* of Sidon with Warkatara, based on a fleet of small ships (Ug. *bâru*, Greek Βάρης)⁶ belonging to this Philistine ruler. It is even not impossible that this passage in Wenamón points to an overlord-vassal relationship between Warkatara (or Warkatala) and the city state of Sidon.

The question poses itself: Over which of the three Philistine principalities did Warkatara rule? A conjectural answer would be that he was the lord of Ashkelon.

Ashkelon occupied a preferred position among the Philistine capitals

5 On this problem, see the author's book, *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte Syriens und Palästinas* (1930), pp. 67 ff.; the problem should be reviewed today.

6 On this kind of ship see Cl. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica IV* (1962), pp. 138 f. and on shipping in general, R. D. BARNETT, *Antiquity* 32 (1958), pp. 220 ff.

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by virtue of its convenient harbour and its ancient tradition of excellence in crafts and industry. Evidence of this excellence is the famous temple of the god Ptaḥ, the Great Prince of Ashkelon, mentioned in the 12th century ivory plaques uncovered in Megiddo⁷. This god was the Egyptian equivalent of the Canaanite deity Kōšār (Χουσσώρ in the Phoenician cosmogony) — Kṭr-w-ḥss of Ugaritic mythology — and of the Greek craftsman-god Hephaistos⁸. Early Hebrew poetry also alludes to the special importance of Ashkelon: “Tell it not in Gath, nor announce it in the bazaars of Ashkelon” [אל תבשרו בחוצות אשקלון] — 2 Sam. 1:20]. Alongside of Gath in the Shephelah, which was the seat of the Philistine monarchy in the time of Saul and David, the verse mentions Ashkelon as representative of Philistia. Note also that in the list of cities in Joshua 15, only Ashkelon, of all the Philistine cities, is not included in the territory of Judah. An important passage is also the gloss in Zeph. 2:5–7, in which כנען ארץ פלשתים “the merchantry of Philistia” is interchangeable with Ashkelon. Moreover, from Sennacherib’s inscription we learn that the district of Jaffa still belonged to Ashkelon in the 8th century, a fact which demonstrates the extent of Ashkelon’s maritime expansion along the Palestine coast. It should also be noted that Ashkelon and its connections with southern Anatolia play an important part in early Greek legends⁹. Not less interesting is the ancient tradition preserved by the historian Justin, that the Sidonians rebuilt Tyre after a defeat at the hands of the ruler of the Ashkelonites. This event is said to have occurred “one year before the destruction of Troy”¹⁰. The tradition evidently refers to the important role which Ashkelon played in the history of the Sidonians before the rise of Tyre¹¹.

7 G. LOUD, *Megiddo Ivories* (1939), pp. 12 f., pl. 63; J. A. WILSON, *apud* Pritchard, *ibid.*, p. 263; see also ALT, *op. cit.* (above, n. 1), pp. 219 f., 225 and W. HELCK, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien...* (1962), p. 480.

8 Cf. H. L. GINSBERG, *Orientalia* 9 (1940), pp. 39 ff.; J. LEBOVITCH, *Eretz-Israel* 4 (1956), pp. 64 f. (Hebrew); cf. J. LEWY, *IEJ* 5 (1955), pp. 145 ff.

9 R.A.S. MACALISTER, *The Philistines, their History and Civilization* (1914), pp. 94 ff.; A. R. BURN, *Minoans, Philistines and Greeks* (1930), pp. 151 ff.

10 Justin xviii, 3, 5; it is possible that he quotes the historian Timæus of the 4th century B.C.

11 The commonly held opinion [Ed. MEYER, *Geschichte d. Altertums* II³ (1953), pp. 79 ff.; O. Eissfeldt, *Philister u. Phönizier* (1936), p. 25] is untenable; it assumes that this source refers to the invasion of the coasts of Canaan by the Sea Peoples, including the Philistines, in the 12th century B.C. Undoubtedly the historical core of the tradition should be sought in the allusion to the king of the *Ashkelonites* who defeated Sidon, indicating that Ashkelon rose to the status of a maritime power that successfully fought the Phoenician metropolis. As for the traditional date for the foundation of Tyre, also mentioned by Josephus, no particular significance should be attached to it.

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It is therefore reasonable to assume, even from this sparse and varied evidence, that the powerful merchant prince Warkatara was the ruler of Ashkelon, and that in the 11th century Ashkelon had a *hubûr* with Sidon, based on the strong political and commercial position of the former.

This interpretation of the situation on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean finds corroboration both in archaeological finds and in Biblical sources. We will not concern ourselves here with the particular features which distinguished the eclectic Philistine culture nor with the process of its crystallization, diffusion and gradual assimilation into Canaanite culture during the 12th and 11th centuries. We shall note only that the distinctive Philistine painted pottery found in Cisjordania, especially on its southern coast, as well as the early Philistine tombs in the Egyptian garrison cities, such as Beth-Shean in the north, Lachish in the Shephelah and Sharuhen (Tell el-Far'ah) in the south, containing anthropoid coffins with characteristic weapons and other finds, reflect the original Aegean background of the Philistines, with the addition of Canaanite, Cypriot and Egyptian elements¹². Along with this tangible evidence, we must take note of other Philistine contributions to the culture of Palestine, such as the introduction of a particular type of fortifications — the so-called casemate walls — known in Anatolia and Cyprus as early as the Late Bronze Age¹³, and of a previously unknown type of private building, namely the rectangular three room house, as well as the development of metallurgy, and especially the use of iron¹⁴.

12 See T. DOTAN, *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958), pp. 55 ff. (Hebrew); *Antiquity and Survival* II (1957), pp. 151 ff.

13 The earliest fortress with a casemate wall in Palestine was uncovered at Gibeah; it dates from the second half of the 11th century (see below, n. 19). The origin of this type of fortification must be sought in the Hittite kingdom, where we find characteristic examples at Hattušaš (Boghazköy), Mersin and Carchemish [cf. W. F. ALBRIGHT, *AASOR* 21-22 (1943), § 7]. The Late Bronze Age fortress uncovered at Nitovikla in Cyprus also appears to have a casemate wall protected by a glacis, but its plan is not sufficiently clear [*Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, I (1934), p. 374 & plan xv]; cf. also S. MARINATOS, *Crete and Mycene*, London 1960, p. 163, fig. 26 (Tiryns).

14 The problem of the appearance and diffusion of iron in Palestine and its neighbours has not yet been elucidated. The origin of the ironworking industry should be sought first and foremost in Anatolia, where iron was a state monopoly in the Late Bronze Age. From there iron found its way in small quantities — mainly in the form of valuable objects — also to Greece, Cyprus and Egypt. A few iron objects were found in Philistine tombs at Tell el-Far'ah (Sharuhen) and in strata of the 12th-11th centuries at Megiddo and other sites; see W. F. PETRIE, *Beth Pelet* I (1930), pp. 8 f., 12; P.L.O. GUY, *Megiddo Tombs* (1938), pp. 162 f. However, iron seems to have been introduced into common use — alongside copper —

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It is also apparent that there was progress in the evolution of the Canaanite consonantal alphabetic script during the period of the *pax Philistaea*. I should say that during this period right-to-left horizontal writing and the reduction of the number of consonants to 22 became standard, perhaps as a result of the adaptation of the Canaanite script to the needs of non-Semitic peoples who settled in Palestine and adopted Canaanite as their language, but could not pronounce the distinctive Semitic sounds.

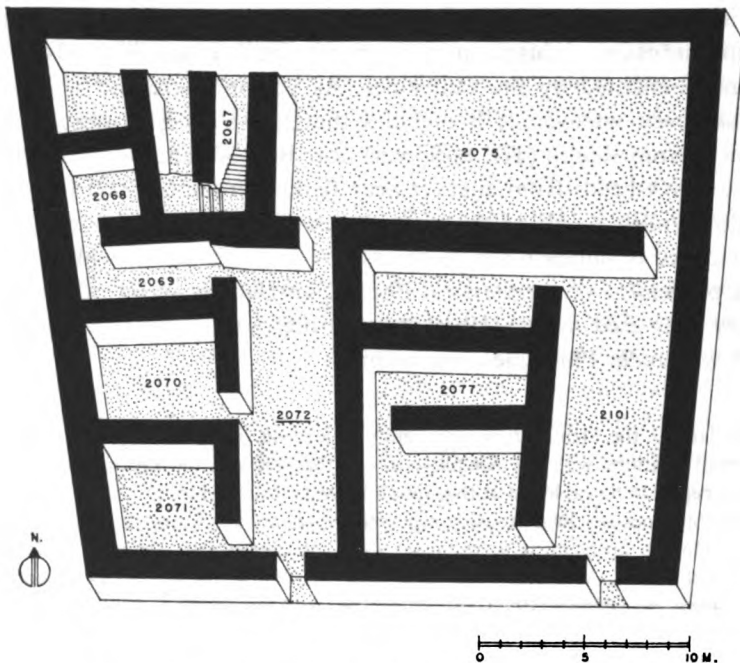
Administrative, commercial and military needs may have stimulated the use and diffusion of this simplified script in Philistia and in the Israelite regions dominated by the Philistines. As yet only sparse evidence of this has been uncovered; it includes the Beth-Shemesh ostrakon, the fragment from Rehôb (Tell eš-Şârem) near Beth Shean, the inscriptions on the arrow-heads from el-Ĥaḍr near Bethlehem, and a seal from the Ayyalon Valley — all of them written in the 11th century. However, the evidence is sufficient for us to assume that this script, which is the direct progenitor of the classical Phoenician-Hebrew script of the 10th century, was used in the 11th century in that part of western Palestine which was under Philistine domination¹⁵.

only later in the 11th century, apparently as a result of the development of commercial relations with the Anatolian coast (the mines in the Lebanon may also have begun to be exploited at that time). Its wide distribution in the eastern Mediterranean does not begin to play a prominent economic role till the 10th century B.C. On the problem as a whole see G. A. WAINWRIGHT, *Antiquity* 10 (1936), pp. 5 ff.; G. E. WRIGHT, *AJA* 43 (1939), pp. 458 ff.; V.R.d'A. DESBOROUGH, *Protogeometric Pottery* (1952), pp. 308 ff.; *The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors*, Oxford (1964), pp. 25 f.; Ch. G. STARR, *The Origins of Greek Civilization* (1961), p. 87; H. L. LORIMER, *Homer and the Monuments* (1950), pp. 111 ff.; HELCK, *ibid.*, p. 410.

15 On this epigraphic material see F. M. CROSS, *BASOR* 134 (1954), pp. 15 ff.; 168 (1962), pp. 12 ff., and references there. I shall confine myself here to a few remarks, without discussing the problem in detail. The Beth-Shemesh ostrakon appears to belong to the early 11th century (according to ALBRIGHT, *BANE*, p. 358, n. 67 — about 1100), and the inscriptions on the el-Ĥaḍr arrow-heads to the second half of the 11th century [according to Cross and Milik, *BASOR* 134 (1954), p. 15 — about 1100, but see now *Vetus Testamentum* 13 (1963), p. 312]. Thus only a short interval separates these inscriptions from the inscription on the Ruweišah arrow-head and from that of Aḥiram. The alphabetic inscriptions of the 11th century found in Palestine are characterized by the linear cursive form of the letters (although they are not yet stabilized), and by the reduction of their number to 22 as a result of the disappearance of the differences between the specifically Semitic sounds. On the other hand, in the alphabetic scripts of the Late Bronze Age — the Proto-Sinaitic, the Canaanite, the script from which the South Arabic alphabet developed, and the Proto-Byblian script [cf. now M. MARTIN, *Orientalia* 31 (1962), pp. 250 ff., 330 ff.] — the transition from the pictorial

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An instructive example of a coastal city founded and inhabited by the Philistines is Tell Qasile on the northern shore of the Yarkon River in the area that is now Tel-Aviv, which was excavated in 1948–50 and in 1956. This fortified city, built in the 12th century [Stratum XII], underwent well-planned reconstruction in the 11th [Stratum XI] and flourished as a center of maritime trade with Egypt, Phoenicia, and Cyprus in the second half of the 11th and the early 10th centuries [Stratum X].¹⁶ This

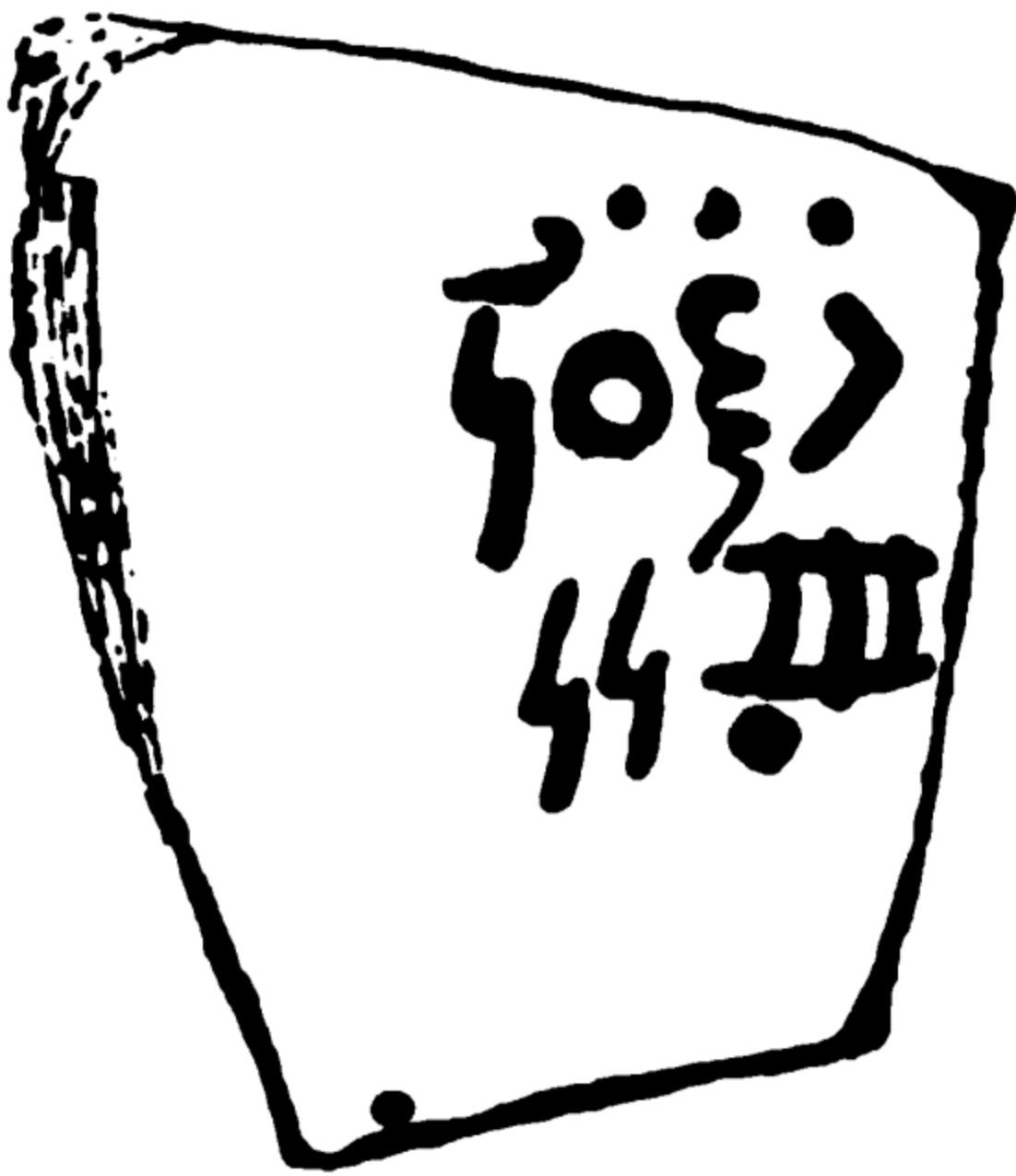


1. Megiddo. The public building of Stratum VI A (ca. 1000 B.C.).

to the linear script is evident. They are characterized, like the Ugaritic cuneiform script, by the number of signs representing sounds peculiar to Semitic languages, and as a rule the direction of writing in these scripts is not fixed. It should also be noted that in the 13th century a new phenomenon begins to make itself felt in Ugaritic script, namely mirror writing and probably a certain reduction in the number of signs through the merging of the sounds t and s , h and h . This seems to be elucidated on the basis of a new document, which has not yet been published, cf. CH. VIROLLEAUD, *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions*, 12 Febr. 1958; *AFO* 19 (1960), p. 194; C. H. GORDON, *Ugaritic Textbook* (1963), p. 16; see now also M. F. MARTIN, *Revista degli Studi Orientali* 37 (1962), pp. 175 ff.

16 Cf. the preliminary report in *IEJ* 1 (1951), pp. 61–76, 125–140, 194–218. Miss Kenyon's statement "in no case do the Philistines seem to have founded new cities" [*Archaeology in the Holy Land* (1960), p. 225] has no foundation. The settlement in Tell Qasile was founded by the Philistines and remained Philistine until the

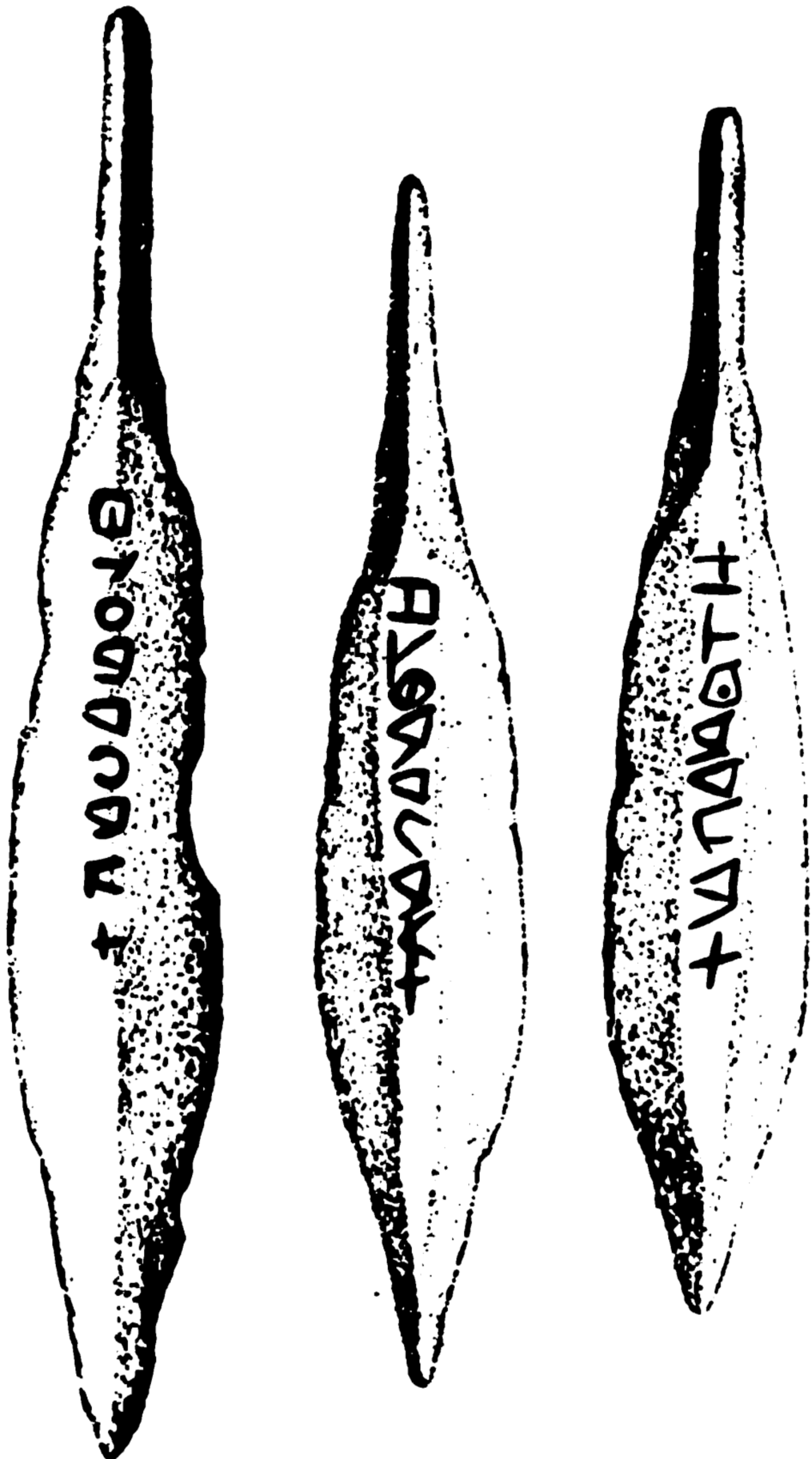
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2. The Beth-Shemesh ostracon.



3. The arrow-heads from El-Hadr bearing the inscription: ḥš'bdlb't.



4. The sherd from Rehob in the Beth Shean Valley.



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last period coincided with the time of the flowering of Philistine rule and commerce. Tell Qasile was destroyed by David, like another city under Philistine domination, Megiddo [Stratum VI A].¹⁷

Against this background we can appreciate the detailed data preserved in the Bible concerning the Philistines during the 11th century. The picture is consistently one of the gradual spread of Philistine domination over large areas of western Palestine, inhabited by Israelite tribes and the remnant of the Canaanite population.

The main objective of the Philistines in extending the area of their domination, was apparently not so much the exploitation of the subjugated farmers, as control over the vital overland communication routes, following the control they had already gained over sea communications. In this respect the Philistines continued the Pharaonic policy of the preceding period. Nor did they differ from the Egyptians in the way they ruled the population.

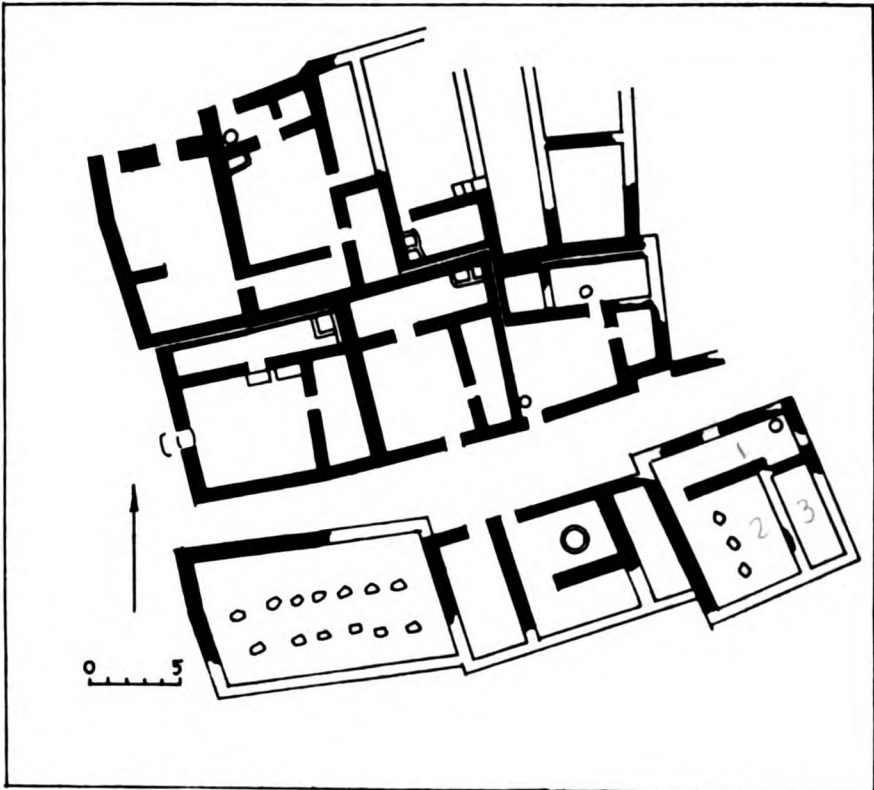
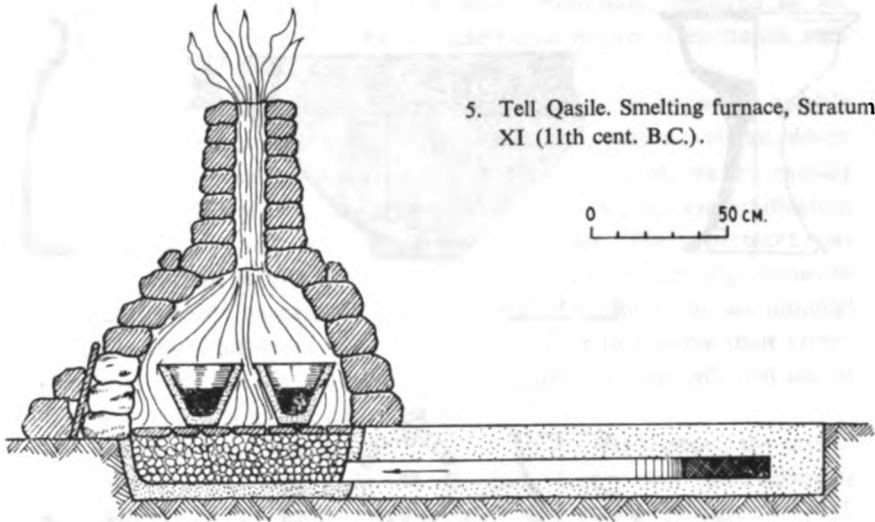
In the course of time two more Philistine city-states, Gath and Ekron in the Shephelah, were added to the three original cities, and a confederation of five Philistine principalities was established. As a result of the Philistine victory over the Israelite tribes at Ebenezer (near Aphek in the Sharon Valley) about the middle of the 11th century, the road into the interior of the mountains of Ephraim was opened to them and their domination of the *Via maris* made secure.

We have some instructive data concerning the methods employed by the Philistines in order to retain control over occupied areas. They posted governors (נציבים) and garrisons (מצבים) in strongholds placed at strategic points and on the main roads. When an uprising occurred, the *mašhit*, a mobile professional military unit, which included chariotry, was dispatched to aid the garrisons. The sources at our disposal indicate the superiority of the Philistines over both Israelites and Canaanites in respect of military organization and the quality of their weapons. Thus the Philistines were in a position to dominate large areas and impose levies and taxes on the subjugated population. They could even mobilize auxiliary units from the native population [the 'ibrim in 1 Sam. 14:21]. In addition, at least at the end of the 11th century, the Philistines made

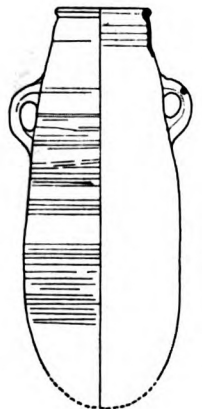
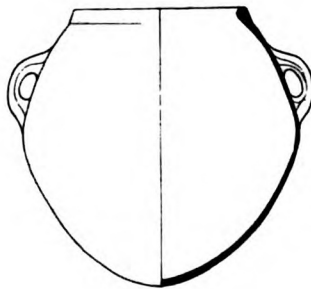
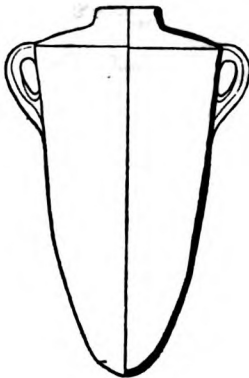
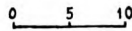
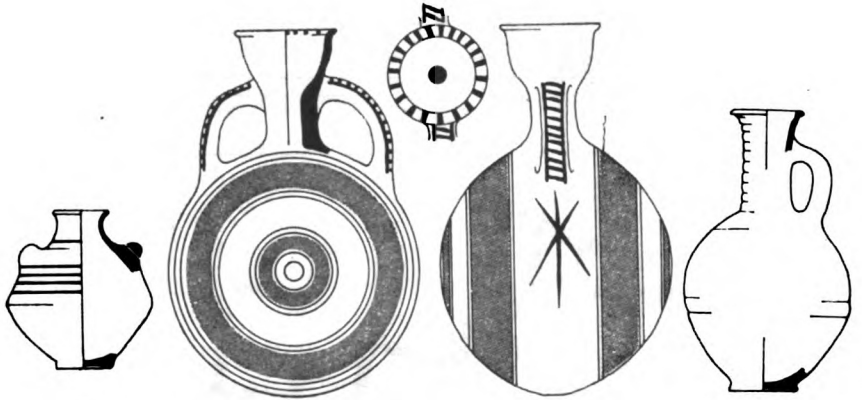
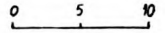
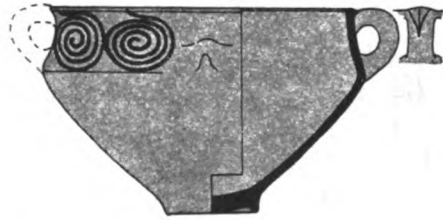
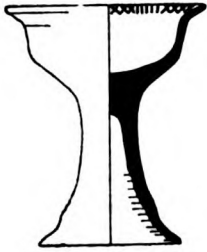
early 10th century, and there are also other instances of settlements founded by the Philistines in the Early Iron Age.

17 G. LOUD, *Megiddo II* (1948), pp. 33 ff.; for the dating of stratum VI A, cf. B. MAZAR, *BASOR* 124 (1951), pp. 21 f.; G. E. WRIGHT, *BASOR* 155 (1959), pp. 13 f. The brick public building (No. 2072) appears to have served as the residence of the Philistine governor. Its plan (as far as it can be determined from the remains) — a quadrilateral courtyard with rows of rooms on two sides — can perhaps be compared to the private houses of stratum X at Tell Qasile, with the difference that it is much larger.

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all metallurgy of bronze and iron their monopoly, centered in the Philistine craft guilds. This was an additional means of economic subjugation [1 Sam. 13:19–21]¹⁸.

Nevertheless, Philistine rule did not last very long; it crumbled quickly as soon as a resistance movement arose in Israel. This movement, which on the face of it aimed at action against the oppressors, was essentially part of the larger goal of liberation from the alien yoke and unification and political organization of the Israelite tribes. The movement was aided by certain weaknesses in Philistine administration. Far removed from their home bases near the coast and surrounded by an inimical populace, the Philistines did not have the power to enforce their tyrannical rule over the hill country and were unable to make efficient use of their war chariots in the hour of need.

The historiographic sources in the Bible tell us that Samuel, the last of the Israelite charismatic judges, achieved a victory over the Philistines near Mizpah in the southern mountains of Ephraim [1 Sam. 7:7–11]. The subsequent proclamation of the Benjaminite Saul as king of Israel was a challenge which led to the unification of the Israelite tribes and to the establishment of national sovereignty based on a standing army including professional archers [1 Chron. 8:40; 12:2]. With the conquest of the Philistine fortress at Gibeah, an end came to Philistine domination in the territory of Benjamin. This fortress, with its casemate walls and corner towers, was apparently built by the Philistines to serve as an administrative and military center. After destroying it, Saul rebuilt it on the same plan, with some improvements, and made it his capital¹⁹. The war was transferred from the mountains to the Shephelah, where

18 The development of metallurgy is illustrated by the excavations at Beth-Shemesh (Stratum III), Tell Qasile (XI–X) and Tell Jemmeh (Yurza), cf. E. GRANT & G. E. WRIGHT, *Ain Shems Excavations* v (1939), pp. 56 ff.; B. MAZAR, *IEJ* 1 (1951), p. 75; W. F. PETRIE, *Gerar* (1928), pls. VII, IX. The Philistine smiths were apparently organized into guilds similar to the guilds at Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age and in Judah during the Monarchy. For the problem as a whole, see I. MENDELSON, *BASOR* 30 (1940), pp. 17 ff.; R. DE VAUX, *Les institutions de l'Ancien Testament*, I (1958), pp. 119 ff.; C. H. GORDON, *Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman* (1956), pp. 136 ff.

19 On the fortress at Gibeah see W. F. ALBRIGHT, *BASOR* 52 (1933), pp. 6 ff.; R. L. CLEVELAND, *AASOR* 34–35 (1960), pp. 10 ff. Only a tower and part of the wall have been preserved from this fortress, so that it is difficult to determine its plan with certainty. According to Albright, the fortress was built by Saul and rebuilt by him (or his son). It appears very likely, however, that it was erected by the Philistines as a residence for the Philistine governor [1 Sam. 10:5; 13:3], cf. B. MAZAR, *BJPES* 10 (1943), pp. 73 ff. (Hebrew); A. ALT, *PJB* 30 (1934), pp. 8 f. After its destruction during the battle of Michmash, Saul rebuilt the fortress with improvements. Cf. GIBEAH, *Encyclopaedia Biblica* II (1954) (Hebrew).

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the fringe of the Israelite area of settlement faced Philistia itself.

The Philistines then attempted to turn the tide by a tactical maneuver. They attacked Israel from their bases on the *Via maris* in the Jezreel Valley. This attack ended in Saul's downfall and death on Mt. Gilboa and in the strengthening of Megiddo and Beth-Shean, the Philistine bases in the Jezreel Valley. Apparently the Philistines also employed the ancient device of *divide et impera* by supporting David as lord of Judah against the house of Saul in Israel. These political and military devices, however, missed their mark. Although the Philistines aggravated the conflict between the two parts of the people of Israel, the crisis passed quickly and had grave effects on the Philistines. David became king of all Israel; solidified the state Saul had founded; reunited the Israelite tribes, annexed groups and the population of conquered areas, under a stable centralized regime. This was strong enough to make Israel one of the important factors in the political life of western Asia, and Jerusalem, the new capital, the political, national and religious centre of Israel. David and his successor Solomon gave Israel a position which had far-reaching consequences for the historical development of the eastern Mediterranean and Syria. For the span of two generations Israel enjoyed a great measure of political success, external power and economic prosperity. As for the fate of the Philistines, we learn from Biblical sources that David defeated them in a number of battles in the northern Shephelah and opened the road to the Sharon and the Jezreel Valley. He gained control over large sectors of the *Via maris* and the coastal plain; the cities he conquered included Dor, Megiddo and Beth-Shean. He succeeded in breaking Philistine military, political and economic power by annexing areas they had formerly conquered. However, he was not powerful enough to gain control over the great Philistine cities on the southern coast.

It would appear that as a result of Israel's spectacular rise to power, Egypt during the twenty-first Dynasty began to aspire to reestablish Egyptian rule over Philistia. We find allusions to this in Biblical sources and on a fragmentary Egyptian relief of Pharaoh Siamon from Tanis. In particular, we learn from the story of Pharaoh's conquest of Gezer [1 Kings 9:16-17] that Philistia, up to Gezer in the north, was under Egyptian control at the beginning of Solomon's reign. This is confirmed by an analysis of the list of towns conquered by Pharaoh Shishak. In this list, Gezer, the fortified Israelite town facing Philistia, comes immediately after Gaza, the starting point of Shishak's campaign, while other Philistine cities are not mentioned at all, indicating that at that time they were already under Egyptian rule²⁰.

20 J. GOLDWASSER, *BJPES* 14 (1948), pp. 82 ff. (Hebrew); B. MAZAR, *Vetus Testamen-*

The Philistines and the Rise of Israel and Tyre

When in the early 10th century the Philistines declined as a political and economic factor in the eastern Mediterranean, their sea power was inherited to a limited extent by Egypt and Israel, and to an ever increasing degree by the Phoenicians. Tyre, once a city kingdom but a dependent of Sidon since the 12th century, now found the propitious moment to achieve independence and to establish a strong and farflung sea empire. Of especial importance to us is the cause and effect relationship between the rise of Israel and the ascendancy of Tyre, the new capital of the Sidonians, the "trader of peoples even unto many islands" [Ezek. 27:3]. We cannot establish with certainty the date of Tyre's liberation from the control of Sidon and its subsequent conversion into an independent state, but this event could not have happened much before the year 1000. In his *Contra Apionem*, Josephus Flavius, drawing his information from Menander and Dios, mentions Abiba'al, father of Hiram I of Tyre; it may be conjectured that he was the founder of the dynasty which brought prosperity to Tyre (*Contra Apionem*, I Ch. 18; *Ant.* V, 8, 4). It would seem that Abiba'al knew how to capitalize on the rise of Israel and the decline of Philistia, and how to make use of the opportunity to impose the domination of Tyre upon southern Phoenicia and the sea-routes in the eastern Mediterranean.

It was, however, Hiram, his son, who brought greatness to Tyre as a commercial empire. Menander states that Hiram waged war against a Tyrian colony which had ceased to pay taxes, and that he subdued this colony by force. The name of this colony is preserved only in an unclear form, and we cannot determine exactly whether it was Utica in North Africa, as proposed by Gutschmit, or, as seems more likely, Kition in Cyprus, Phoenician Kittî and Biblical אֵי כִּתִּיּוֹן, a reading proposed by Albright²¹. It is reasonable to assume that this colony was founded by Hiram's father, Abiba'al. Another trading post founded by the Tyrians at the very beginning of the 10th century is, in my opinion, Şalmôn, the harbour city of Tell Abû Hūwâm north of Haifa. This city [Stratum IV b] was built on the ruins of an earlier settlement dating to the Late Bronze Age, which may have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples. The new settlement on this site provides us with a useful example of a port which in the early stages of Tyrian power served the Phoenician cities in their trade with Israel and Egypt. The archaeological discoveries in this city bear witness to its extensive cultural relations²².

tum Suppl. 4 (1957), p. 61; A. MALAMAT, *The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah* (1961), pp. 37 f. (Hebrew); *JNES* 22 (1963), pp. 10 ff.

21 ALBRIGHT, *BANE*, p. 361, n. 101. On the excavations at Kition See V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Report of the Dep. of Antiquities, Cyprus* 1963, and references there.

22 See the report by R. W. HAMILTON, *QDAP* 4 (1935), pp. 8 ff. and the discussion

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Menander and Dios tell us that Hiram carried out grandiose building projects in Tyre and turned it into a splendid metropolis. This reflects the rise of Tyre to greatness as a trade empire and as the first *amplificator mundi*.

The tradition of Tyre's greatness is prominent in classical literature, where she is called the "mother" of the Phoenician colonies in the Mediterranean. Similarly, on late Phoenician coins she is called the "mother" of the Sidonians. This tradition corresponds to what is known from Biblical sources. The Bible speaks of Tyre's unique position as a commercial and maritime power, as well as of its strong ties of alliance with Israel. These ties had already begun in the days of David, reached their peak during the reign of Solomon who concluded an alliance with Hiram, were renewed by the dynasty of Omri, and endured so long that Amos was still able to call them a "covenant of brothers" [ברית אחים — Amos 1:9].

The turbulent events during the transitional period from the second to the first millennium help to explain the rise of Tyre. With the downfall of the Philistine principalities as a competitive power and with the subsequent decline of their ally Sidon which was dependent upon them, great potentialities presented themselves to Tyre, the nearest Phoenician neighbour of Israel. Tyre entered into a *hubûr* with the rising kingdom of David and Solomon and probably also with Egypt (cf. the relations between Byblos and Egypt), and established trading posts along the sea coast.

This cooperation made possible a new chapter in the history of international trade, which now encompassed not only the Near East and the nearby Aegean, but also new areas of maritime trade and colonization along the entire length of the Mediterranean, its shores and its islands, as far as Nora in Sardinia, Utica in North Africa and Gadara-Gades in Spain beyond Gibraltar²³. From the Red Sea Phoenician-

of the chronology of stratum IV b, B. MAZAR, *BASOR* 124 (1951), pp. 21 f.; G. W. VAN BEEK, *BASOR* 138 (1955), p. 38, n. 15; G. E. WRIGHT, *BANE*, pp. 95 ff. Two richly equipped Phoenician cist-tombs recently discovered by M. Praussnitz at Achzib (ez-Zib) may be contemporary with Tell Abû Huwâm IV b.

23 See now D. HARDEN, *The Phoenicians* (1962), pp. 57 ff. and especially ALBRIGHT, *BANE*, p. 343 f., who disagrees with the various attempts [including R. CARPENTER, *AJA* 62 (1958), pp. 38 ff.] to lower the date of Phoenician colonization in the west. Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte d. Altertums* II (1953), pp. 77 ff.; A. GARCIA Y BELLIDO, *Fenicios y Cartagineses en Occidente* (1942); *Historia Mundi* II (1954), pp. 328 ff. It appears that the Phoenicians were able to reach these distant shores because they made use of the experience accumulated since Mycenaean times; this seems likely in view of the abundant archaeological evidence attesting to the spread of Mycenaean civilization to Southern Italy and Sicily [L. B. BREA, *Sicily* (1957),

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Israeli trade made its way to southern Arabia, East Africa and, it has even been suggested, to India²⁴. The Kingdom of Israel now had the unique opportunity to serve as a bridge between the Mediterranean and the shores of the Red Sea. Moreover, the "King's Highway", the main route leading from Damascus through Transjordan to Elath and Arabia, was already under the control of David and Solomon. A distinct cultural advance was made possible by the relative security which was imposed by the supremacy of Tyre and Israel and prevented invasions or intrusions, and by the peaceful political and commercial relations with Egypt and the Neo-Hittite kingdoms in Syria. Art and architecture, metal, wood and ivory working and the purple-garment industry flourished, and agriculture and the exploitation of copper and iron mines reached new levels of development. Great progress was made in the construction of ships, especially of the seagoing "merchantmen of Tarshish", and in the foundation of harbours and trading posts. At the same time, the attractive Phoenician pottery came into widespread use, especially the black-on-red and the burnished bichrome wares²⁵. We have the testimony of the Bible: "For the king (Solomon) had at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram. Once in three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, and apes and peacocks" [1 Kings 10:22].

An eclectic cosmopolitan culture, a sort of Phoenician *koiné* evolved. The Phoenician language, written in the fully standardized and stabilized cursive script containing 22 consonants (e.g. the Byblos inscriptions and the Gezer calendar from the 10th century) now became prominent in the eastern Mediterranean and within the periphery of Phoenician economic and colonial activity, and was used as a sort of *lingua franca* in commercial negotiations. We have clear evidence of this in the Phoenician inscriptions of the 9th century which have been uncovered in Sardinia and in Cyprus²⁶, and in the adoption by the Greeks and

pp. 125 ff., 169 f., etc.; W. TAYLOUR, *Mycenaean Pottery in Italy...* (1958) and even further westwards, to the islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea.

24 We have no evidence about Ophir, with the exception of the fact that gold, almuq wood and ivory were brought from there in ships to Elath. Ophir is generally thought to have been in East Africa or South Arabia. Recently Barnett attempted to return, with new arguments, to Josephus' theory (Ant. VIII, 6, 4) that Ophir was situated in India, and to identify it with Supara near Bombay, see R. D. BARNETT, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (1957), pp. 59 f., 168. For the present, however, we have no clear evidence to confirm such a far-reaching theory.

25 See now J. BIRMINGHAM, *AJA* 67 (1963), pp. 15 ff. and references there. From the 10th century onwards the Southeast of Cyprus shows strong influence from the Phoenician coast, as well as cultural connections westwards, esp. with Sardinia.

26 On these inscriptions see W. F. ALBRIGHT, *BASOR* 83 (1941), pp. 14 ff. The author

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Phrygians of the cursive Phoenician script, probably at the end of the same century²⁷.

Mesha'	Gezer Calendar	Inscription from Cyprus	'Abda	Šiptiba'al	Eliba'al	Yehimilk	Abiba'al	'Azruba'al	Ahiram	Phoenician
𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀
𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁
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8. A comparative table of the alphabetic scripts from the 10th—9th centuries B.C.

intends to discuss in a special article the Phoenician inscriptions from Sardinia, which he examined in the museum at Cagliari in August 1962. From a palaeographic point of view, the author would ascribe them to the 9th century B.C.

²⁷ Or in the early 8th century at the latest. See now in detail L. H. JEFFERY, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (1961), pp. 12 ff.

The Philistines and the Rise of Israel and Tyre

This revolutionary development in Phoenicia apparently achieved striking expression in the sphere of religion as well. For in the first half of the 10th century the principal deity of the Phoenician pantheon appears for the first time under the name of Ba'al Šamêm, the lord of the heavens. The earliest reference to him occurs in the inscription of Yehîmilk, king of Byblos, a contemporary of Hiram and Solomon in the middle of the 10th century²⁸. This monumental inscription is dedicated to the erection of a temple to this god and his consort, the Lady of Byblos. Only incidentally does it mention repairs in the temples of other gods. Dios and Menander of Ephesus are apparently referring to the temple of Ba'al Šamêm when they speak about the temple of Olympic Zeus at Tyre. They describe this temple as situated on a small island, which Hiram joined to the main island of Tyre. Distinct from this temple was the temple of Heracles, the Greek equivalent of Melqart (Melcarth), the national god of the Tyrians, which was restored by Hiram²⁹. An interesting mention of Ba'al Šamêm has been preserved in the fragments of Philo Byblius, who quotes various details of Phoenician mythology from the book of Sanchuniaton, the early Phoenician priest. According to him, this deity is identical with the sun-god, the only god of the heavens; his name is *Baalsamen*, the lord of the heavens in Phoenician, called by the Greeks *Zeus*³⁰.

From the treaty of Esarhaddon with Ba'al king of Tyre, we learn that Ba'al Šamêm (Ba-al-sa-me-me) was a cosmic deity, particularly of the sea and of storms at sea, and the patron of shipping. Melqart (Melcarth), the god of Tyre, and Ešmûn, the god of Sidon, on the other hand, appear in this document as distinctly chthonic deities with disruptive powers³¹. It is for this reason that Ba'al Šamêm was held in awe by Phoenician seamen, either under this name or under one of his other appellations. Little wonder that in a period of great maritime development, of flourishing international trade and negotiations which encompassed *orbis terrarum*, Ba'al Šamêm should have assumed a cosmopolitan character. On this basis, it is readily understandable that Solomon, a contemporary of Hiram and Yehîmilk, should have carried innovations so far in his new capital of Jerusalem that not only was the temple he erected to Yahwe built according to a Phoenician plan and with the help of Tyrian

28 B. MAZAR, *Lešonenû* 14 (1946), pp. 166 ff. (Hebrew); W. F. ALBRIGHT, *JAOS* 67 (1947), pp. 157 ff. It appears that Yehîmilk was the father of Abiba'al (the contemporary of Shishak I) and of Eliba'al (the contemporary of Osorkon I), and hence Yehîmilk must be placed in the time of David and Solomon.

29 JOSEPHUS, *Contra Apionem*, I, chap. 18.

30 See O. EISSFELDT, *Ras Shamra und Sanchuniaton* (1939), p. 86.

31 R. BORGER, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (1956), pp. 107 ff.

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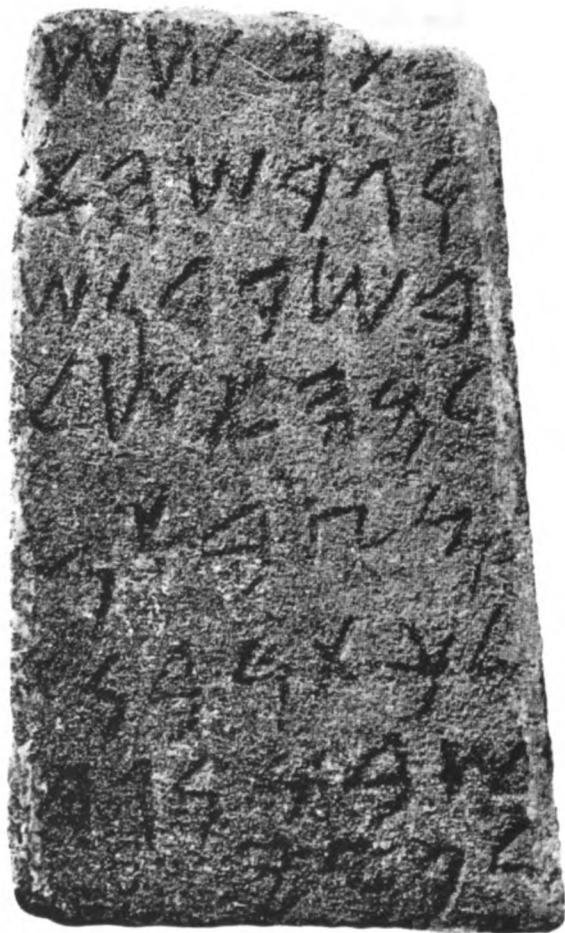
artisans, but also the deity worshipped in this temple appropriated some characteristics of Ba'al Šamêm. This theological conception is presumably expressed in the dedicatory address of Solomon in 1 Kings, 8:23-53, which is basically authentic³². This is probably the meaning of the verse concerning the stranger in Solomon's prayer: "Moreover, concerning a stranger, that is not of thy people Israel, but cometh out of a far country for thy name's sake. For they shall hear of thy great name... when he shall come and pray towards this house. *Hear thou in heaven thy dwelling*, and do according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for, that all people of the earth may know thy name to fear thee, as do thy people Israel; and that they may know that this house, which I have builded, is called by thy name". It is no wonder that in the book of Jonah, the God of Israel appears as the God who creates winds and tempests at sea. He is worshipped not only by the Israelites but also by gentile sailors and he is called the God of the Heavens [אלהי השמים; 1:9]. The cult of the lord of Heavens, the cosmic and universal god of the Phoenician sea-power, who assimilated characteristics of the Canaanite El, the father of the gods, and of Yam, the god of the seas, as well as of the storm-god Hadad and the solar deity — this cult spread from Tyre and the cities of the Phoenician seaboard not only among the Phoenicians, but especially among the Aramaeans and the other peoples of Syria. It assumed many forms and the name "Lord of Heavens" was applied to the chief gods to such an extent that we find the god of the ruling dynasty of Ḥamât in about 800 called Ba'al Šamên³³. It is possible that Jezebel's Ba'al in the Book of Kings is not Melqart, the god of Tyre, but as Eissfeldt has proposed, Ba'al Šamêm³⁴.

32 On this chapter see *i.a.* J. A. MONTGOMERY, *The Books of Kings* (ICC, 1951), pp. 185 ff., and especially Y. KAUFMANN, *The History of the Religion of Israel*, II, 1 (1953), pp. 206 ff., 361 ff. (Hebrew); Kaufmann is certainly correct in saying: "... this prayer also serves as an expression of the ancient universalism which antedates literary prophecy"; he is correct in stressing its antiquity. On the background see also A. S. KAPELRUD, *Orientalia* 32 (1963), pp. 56 ff. It seems likely that the ornaments and the paraphernalia of the Temple at Jerusalem (Jachin and Boaz, the *Kiyôr*, the Sea, the Cherubim, etc.; cf. W. F. ALBRIGHT, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 1942, pp. 142 ff.), in which the cosmic symbolism evolved in Phoenicia found expression, were created under the direct influence of the temple of Ba'al Šamêm at Tyre.

33 On the Zakûr stele see M. NOTH, *ZDPV* 52 (1929), pp. 124 ff.; Ḥamat, *Encyclopaedia Biblica* III (1958) (Hebrew).

34 O. EISSFELDT, *ZAW* 57 (1939), pp. 1 ff. Ba'al Šamêm appears to have been worshipped especially on mountain tops. It is possible that Ba'al Ḥammôn (the Ba'al of Mt. Amanus? cf. EISSFELDT, *Ras Shamra und Sanchunjaton*, pp. 36 ff.) worshipped in the Western Mediterranean (where he was identified with Zeus or Saturn-Kronos, and where he had his renowned sanctuary at Jebel Bū-Qurnein

9. The Phoenician inscription
from Nora (Sardinia).



10. The seal from the Ayalon
Valley bearing the inscription:
l'b'.



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The paramount position of Tyre, the capital of the Sidonian trade and sea empire and the Phoenician centre, finds expression in the traditions and epics of the Phoenicians as they are preserved in classical literature and in the Bible. Especially worthy of note is the Tyrian poem, fragments of which Ezekiel wove into his prophecy on the destruction of Tyre [Ezek. 26–28]: “the renowned city, which was strong in the sea, she and her inhabitants, which cause their terror to be on all that haunt it.” We may assume that when he dwelt in Tel Abib on the River Chebar, Ezekiel learned this poem from the inhabitants of Bît Şurraia, a colony of Tyrian exiles in the neighbourhood of Nippur on the Chebar.³⁵ The poem was apparently composed in the 10th–9th centuries, at the time of Tyre’s greatness. It is not accidental that it attributes metaphorically to the prince of Tyre thoughts and phrases taken from the Phoenician myths and from the traditions about the exalted position of Tyre: “Because your heart is proud, and you have said: I am El, I sit on the divine throne in the midst of the seas” [Ezek. 28:2]. “O Tyre, you have said: I am perfect in beauty. Your borders are in the midst of the seas, your builders have perfected your beauty” [ibid. 27:3–4]. “You were the signet of perfection, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty. You were in Eden, the garden of God” [ibid. 28:12]. “With the abundance of your wealth and your merchandise you enriched the kings of the earth” [ibid. 27:33]. One of these kings was, of course, the king of Israel, the closest neighbour and ally of Tyre, who supplied the capital of the trade empire with agricultural commodities³⁶; he was Tyre’s partner in commerce with Arabia and Ophir; and protected the caravan routes leading to Egypt, Syria and the shores of the Red Sea.

It is noteworthy that even in a much later period we find reminiscences of the greatness of the Phoenician nation and civilization. Pomponius Mela writes in the 1st century A.D.: “The Phoenicians were a clever

overlooking Carthage in Africa) and Ba'al Lebanon, the god whom the agent of Hiram II worshipped in Carthage in Cyprus, were only epithets of Ba'al Šamēm. This is the case also with respect to the Tyrian place of worship on Mt. Carmel (ἄρος ἱερὸν Διός of Pseudo-Scylax). On the spread of the worship of Ba'al Šamēm in the Phoenician world see Ed. MEYER, *Geschichte d. Altertums*, II³, p. 159, n. 2. Ba'al Šamēm also heads the list of the great gods in the Karatepe inscription (B, 18). Cf. M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 2 (1952), pp. 118 ff.; R. de Vaux, *RB* 63 (1956), pp. 116 ff.; O. Eissfeldt, *Der Gott Karmel*, 1954.

35 Mentioned in Neo-Babylonian inscriptions; see *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, p. 52.

36 Ezek. 27:17: “Judah and the land of Israel they were thy merchants; they gave wheat of Minnith [cf. Judges 11:33] and pannag(?) and honey and oil and balm as your exchange commodities”. Incidentally, this verse furnishes proof that the source dates back to the time of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

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race, who prospered in peace and war. They excelled in writing and literature and in other arts, in seamanship, in naval warfare, and in ruling an empire"³⁷.

37 Pomponius Mela I, 12.