THE "PHILISTINE TOMB" AT TEL 'ETON
Culture Contact, Colonialism, and Local Responses in Iron Age Shephelah, Israel

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Tomb C1 at Tel 'Eton (Israel) is a unique Iron Age I elite burial cave (excavated in 1968 by Gershon Edelstein). The finds include many metal artifacts, seals, beads, and dozens of ceramic vessels, including Philistine bichrome pottery. Although some have interpreted the finds as reflecting Philistine occupation at Tel 'Eton, the ethnic composition of the region and the cultural significance of various objects suggest that the interred were members of the indigenous Canaanite elite. By combining the current understanding of cultural interaction in the region during Iron Age I and similar processes elsewhere, the present study reexamines this tomb and the associated finds. This will enable us to gain new insights into the interaction between the various groups that inhabited the region, internal developments within Canaanite society, and the nature of local responses to colonialism.

A UNIQUE IRON AGE I TOMB WAS EXCAVATED IN 1968 BELOW TEL 'ETON, as part of a salvage project in the large cemetery that surrounded the mound (Edelstein et al. 1971; Edelstein and Aurant 1992). The tomb, labeled C1, was probably one of a small group of similar Iron Age I burials that were being looted at the time (as documented by Gershon Edelstein in an unpublished report in the Israel Antiquities Authority Archives). It contained many grave goods, including a large number of metal artifacts and a small group of well-preserved Philistine bichrome vessels, which gave the tomb its popular name—"the Philistine tomb" (although the excavators were very cautious regarding the ethnic identity of the interred and left it an open question; Edelstein and Aurant 1992:30–31).

This article follows a bottom-up approach and attempts to use the finds from the tomb to learn about social dynamics in the wider region (cf. Stein 2005:17). The first part of the article describes tomb C1 and the finds unearthed in it and demonstrates that this was an elite burial. This is followed by a summary of the information on the demographic, political, and ethnic dynamics in southern Canaan and situates the tomb within a Canaanite enclave which existed in the eastern Shephelah at the time, and of which Tel 'Eton was part. Given this background, the article discusses how the elite in this peripheral site actively engaged with other groups, both within and outside Tel 'Eton, in what I consider to be a colonial setting. The local elite appropriated some material symbols from

the Philistine "center" and adapted them to its needs as part of its negotiation not only with this "center" but also with other elite groups in the political periphery of Philistia, and with non-elite within their settlement. The article also discusses how the three circles of interaction influenced one another, how all the groups changed in the process, and also briefly addresses the mechanisms that enabled the change.

THE TOMB

Tel 'Eton is a large site (some 66 dunams at its base, or approximately 66,000 m^2) in the southeastern Shephelah (lowlands) of Israel, near the trough valley (or valleys: the trough valley is a series of narrow valleys whose overall orientation is north-south) which separates the lowlands from the western slopes of the Judean highlands (Figure 1). The site, which has been excavated since 2006 by an expedition from Bar-Ilan University (Faust 2009, 2011, 2014), is surrounded by a series of burial fields, with many hundreds, and possibly more, tombs (Faust and Katz n.d.). In 1968, following systematic looting of the large necropolis, salvage excavations were carried out on behalf of Israel's Department of Antiquities in the hills around the mound. Three tombs (C1, C2, and C3), dating to the Iron Age I and IIA (Figure 2), were excavated on a slope southwest of the site. The earliest of these, tomb C1, was dated to Iron Age I (Edelstein and Aurant 1992) and is the focus of this article.

   The tomb is a rectangular chamber, about 1.5 to 2 m wide and some 5 m long (Figure 3). Although the roof had collapsed before the excavations, the excavators estimated that it was about 3 m high. The cave is wider than it is deep, and the entrance to the tomb (labeled "3" on figure 3) was along the long wall, near its northeastern corner. Four steps led into the chamber, which was divided into two unequal sections (8, 9). There were two small niches in the wall to the left of the entrance, probably for oil lamps. Five loculi were hewn into the cave's soft limestone (*kirton*) walls, ranging from 1.5 to 2.2 m in length (counterclockwise: 5, 4, 2, 6, 1). A round repository (7) was dug into the floor of the cave near its southern end. Three of the loculi were robbed prior to the excavations, and their contents were found in a heap on the floor. One loculus contained a burial along with other material. In the northwestern part of the main chamber, two levels of burials were found on top of each other (Edelstein and Aurant 1992:23–24).

   About 88% of the vessels unearthed in the tomb were locally produced (Edelstein and Aurant 1992:24), including 15 storage jars, 4 jugs, an unspecified number of dipper juglets,[1] 1 pyxis, 6 pilgrim flasks, 37 bowls, 11 kraters, 13 chalices, 48 lamps, and a strainer (Edelstein and Aurant 1992:25). The forms continue the Late Bronze Age Canaanite traditions and date to the twelfth and eleventh centuries BCE (Iron Age I) (Figure 4). The excavators concluded that "The local pottery found in this tomb belongs to the normal repertoire of domestic vessels," adding that "many of the jars and lamps show signs of use" (Edelstein and Aurant 1992:25). Although all of the forms of local pottery unearthed in tomb C1 are also found within domestic contexts, the assemblage itself is not domestic. Completely missing are cooking pots (two of the jugs look like cooking jugs but
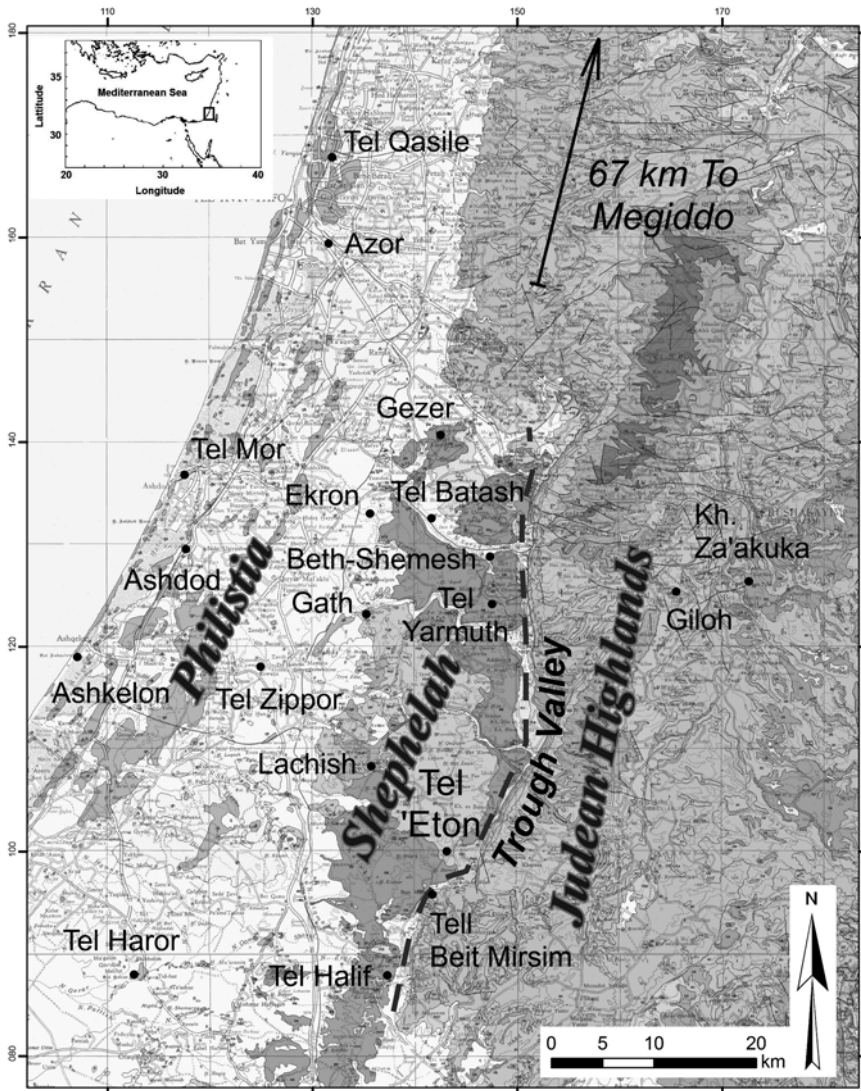
Figure 1. Map showing Tel 'Eton and additional sites mentioned in the text.

The center of the trough valley (the width is not uniform, and the valley has some offshoots) is marked as a dashed line (base map Sneh et al. 1998, courtesy Israel Geological Survey, with additions by Yair Sapir)
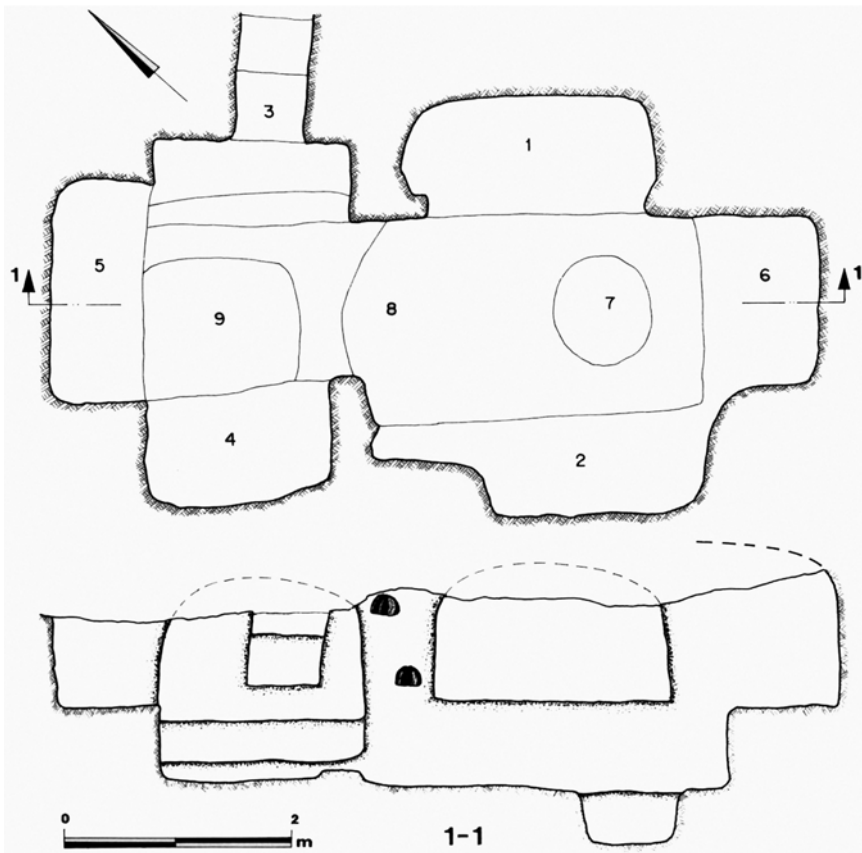
Figure 2. Schematic map of the Tel 'Eton cemeteries, showing the location of area C
(based on the plan prepared during the 1968 excavation project;
courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority)

Figure 3. Plan and profile of Tomb C1
(Edelstein and Aurant 1992: fig. 1; courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority)

are not made of cooking ware [Dothan and Zukerman 2004:43]; see below). In addition, the frequency of chalices and (especially) lamps greatly exceeds their proportion in domestic settings.

The remaining 12% of the pottery is of coastal origin. The excavators divided this assemblage into "coastal ware" and "coastal sub-group." Although no counts were provided for the pottery in each group, on the basis of the overall number of vessels we can estimate the coastal ware group to represent 4–5% whereas the coastal subgroup constitutes 7–8% of the total. The coastal ware group consists of five Philistine jugs, a pyxis, a bottle, and a bowl (Edelstein and Aurant 1992:26). The coastal sub-group includes two Amphoriskos, two pilgrim flasks, seven kraters (1 complete and 6 fragments) and three bowls (Edelstein and Aurant 1992:27–28). Some of the vessels are decorated with the Aegean-inspired Philistine decoration and others are derivative of Aegean or Philistine forms (Figure 5).
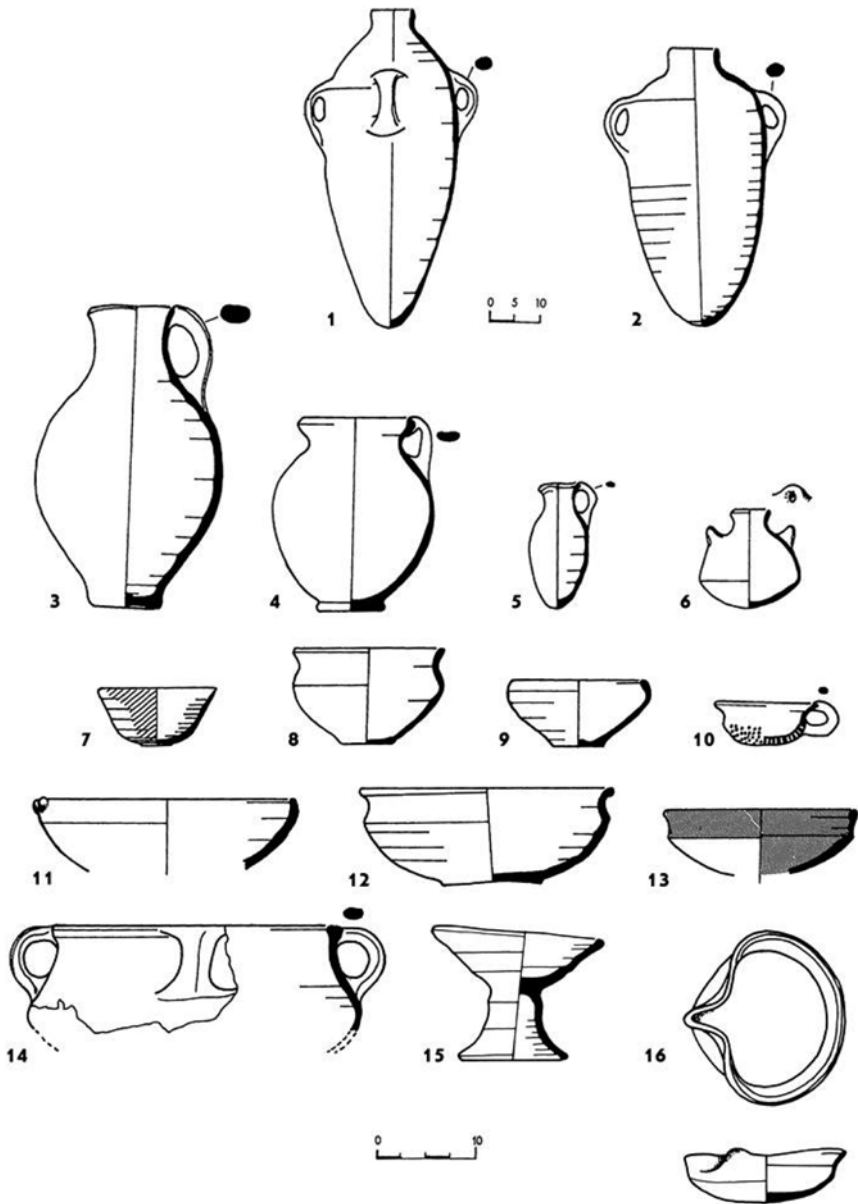
Figure 4. Local Iron Age I pottery from Tomb C1 (based on Edelstein and Aurant 1992: fig. 10; courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority)
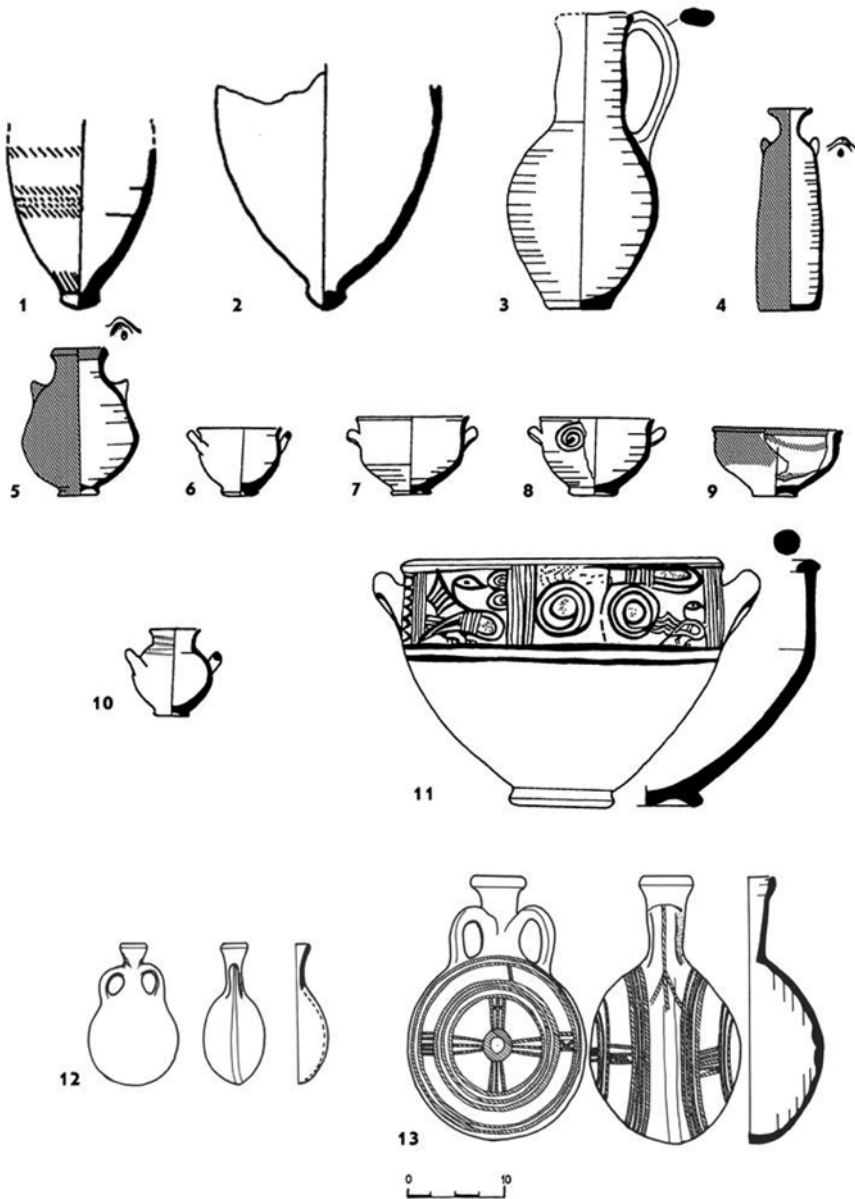
Figure 5. Coastal pottery from Tomb C1 (based on Edelstein and Aurant 1992: figs. 11 and 12; courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority)

Many metal objects were unearthed in the tomb. Bronze finds include a toggle pin, three bracelets, three finger rings, three earrings, two arrowheads, and a chain (Edelstein and Aurant 1992:28). The iron objects include five bracelets and rings and a pair of tweezers (Edelstein and Aurant 1992:29). In addition, one earring was made of silver, and one bead was made of copper (Edelstein and Aurant 1992:28). As a whole, the metal objects unearthed in tomb C1 "are of the most common types of jewelry worn during the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Ages" (Edelstein and Aurant 1992:29). The excavators, however, note that the "bronze bracelets with lozenge-shaped or rectangular sections and incised decoration do not appear to be of local origin, and seem to have parallels in central European bracelets of the thirteenth through tenth centuries BCE" (Edelstein and Aurant 1992:29).[2] Additional finds include two conoid stamps, a scaraboid seal, and a rectangular seal, along with beads, several pendants, and a few cowrie-shells (Edelstein and Aurant 1992:29–30; see also Keel 2010:604–9).

Despite the fragmentary state of the skeletal remains, seven individuals were identified: five adult males (ages 50, 40, and three about 20 years of age), along with one adult female (age 20) and one immature individual (Arensburg and Belfer-Cohen 1992:45). There was no evidence of trauma, violence, or any other pathology. The group is quite uniform morphologically and was apparently local (Arensburg and Belfer-Cohen 1992:45, 48).

The Ethic Identity of the Interred
The discovery of beautiful Philistine bichrome pottery in the tomb (Figures 5 and 6) led to its being labeled as "the Philistine tomb." However, the excavators did not suggest that that it was used by Philistines, and they left the identity of the interred as an open question (Edelstein and Aurant 1992:30–31). The tomb did not receive a great deal of scholarly attention, perhaps in part because of the long time that elapsed between the excavations (1968) and the final publication of the finds (1992), but gradually, probably as a result of the tomb's name and on the basis of preliminary publications (Edelstein 1968; Edelstein et al. 1971), scholars came to view it as a Philistine tomb. Thus, Amihai Mazar (1990:326) labeled it as a Philistine cemetery and argued that "these exceptional tombs are evidence of Philistine occupation" (1990:312; see also Yasur-Landau 2010:331). Gonen (1992:131) referred to the finds as "Philistine burial caves." And Maeir et al. (2013:3) used the finds in the cemetery to learn about the "cultural interaction" that "is demonstrated in Philistine culture." Clearly, however, the mere presence of Philistine pottery in the cave is not sufficient to identify the interred as Philistines. The non-Philistine nature of the tomb is amply supported by the clear differences between the assemblage unearthed in the tomb and the typical assemblages of Philistia, on the one hand, and the similarity between it and the ones found in nearby (non-Philistine) sites and occupations, on the other (see below), as well as by the lack of comparable elite tombs in Philistine sites (whereas elite burials are known for the Canaanite tradition; cf. Gonen 1992). The distance between Tel 'Eton and the nearby Philistine centers (25 km or more), along with the information we have on the settlement history of this region and the existence
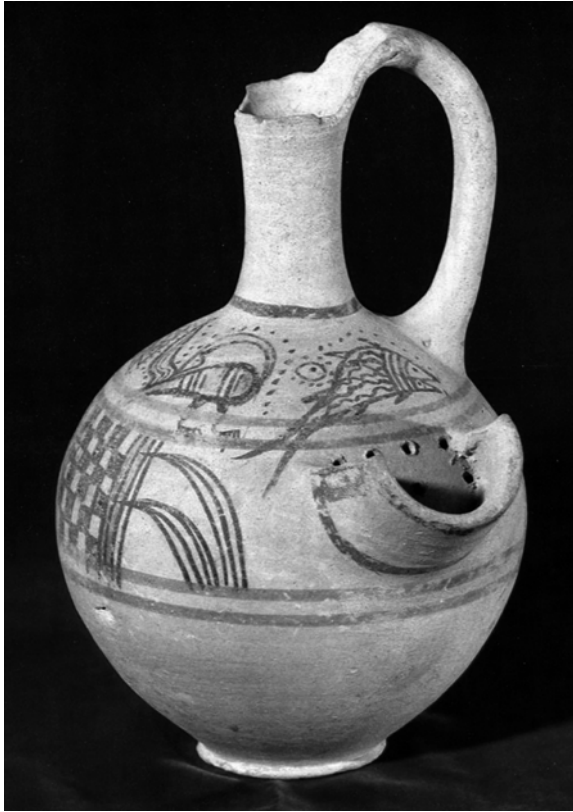
Figure 6. "Beer jug" with strainer, spout, and bichrome decoration
from Tomb C1 (courtesy Israel Exploration Society)

of a large, sparsely settled area between the trough valley (where the tomb is located) and Philistia at the time (Faust 2013b; and see below), also warns against automatic association of the people interred in the tomb and Philistia merely on the basis of the Philistine vessels unearthed in it.

The Social Status of the Interred

Regardless of the ethnic identity of the interred, a few elements show that C1 was an elite tomb. This can be seen, first and foremost, by the high quality of the hewing of this artificial cave, especially when compared, for example, with the Late Bronze Age tomb that was excavated nearby (Tzaferis and Hess 1992) and the near absence of Iron Age I tombs in the region (Faust 2004; Kletter 2002). The status of the tomb is reflected also by the finds unearthed in it, which included a very large quantity of luxury objects, and especially many metal artifacts (13 bronze objects of various types and 6 iron objects, along with one item of silver and one of copper), a few seals, and so on. The number of such finds clearly indicates high socioeconomic status. This inference is further strengthened by

the fact that some of the metal objects were imported from afar (southeastern Europe and Egypt). The foreign origin of some of the pottery vessels (compared with the local nature of the contemporary finds on the mound, described below), although not as exotic, seems also to reflect on the status of the interred. These finds seem to indicate a connection with other centers and give their owner much prestige (see extensive discussion below; cf. Arnold 2001; Gosden 2004:3–5, 20, 39–40; Petrie, Magee, and Nassim Khan 2008:1; see also Thomas 1991). The high ratio of males among the interred (5 of the 6 adults), as well as their ages, might also strengthen the notion that this is an elite, rather than a typical family, burial. It is clear that the presence of the nicely decorated Philistine pottery cannot be divorced from the social context of those interred, and all these finds should be viewed as part of the "elite paraphernalia" or an "elite vocabulary" (Arnold 2001:220, and see below).

BACKGROUND: IRON AGE I IN SOUTHERN CANAAN

Iron Age I (dating roughly to the twelfth and eleventh centuries BCE) was a formative period. Broadly speaking, this is the time in which the Philistines settled and crystallized as a distinct group in the southern coastal plain of Israel, leaving a clear mark on the archaeological record (e.g., Dothan 1982; Maeir 2013; Mazar 1992; Stager 1995, 1998; Yasur-Landau 2010). This is also the period in which the Israelites crystallized in the central highlands (e.g., Faust 2006; Finkelstein 1988; Stager 1998). As far as the indigenous cultures of Canaan are concerned, and mainly those of the lowland and valleys (usually simply called "Canaanites"; this term will also be used here as a generic name for this population, although [just like the terms "Philistines" and "Israelites"] it encompasses a number of distinct groups, who clearly recognized the differences among themselves), this was a period of decline, and it is usually agreed that significant Canaanite population concentrated only in the northern coastal plain and northern valleys (e.g., Mazar 1992:296–97; also Ben-Tor 2003:52; Finkelstein 2003).

The present paper concentrates on the processes that were operating in southern Canaan. For our purposes, the region can be divided into three major longitudinal zones: Israel's southern coastal plain (Philistia) in the west, the Shephelah in the middle, and the Judean highlands in the east. Notably, the processes described below did not follow geographical boundaries, and in the following I will refer to units in their political sense (e.g., Philistia also incorporated part of the Shephelah and was not limited to the coastal plain). The Philistines were immigrants from somewhere in or around the Aegean world (Barako 2000, 2013; Bunimovitz 1990, 1998; Dothan 1982; Stager 1995, 1998; Yasur-Landau 2010; for a different view, see Bauer 1998; Sherratt 1998). Although it was most likely not a completely homogeneous group on its arrival, and despite the possible various origins of the settlers, they clearly developed some form of shared identity (contrasted with the "natives") during Iron Age I (Faust and Lev-Tov 2011, 2014; Stager 1995, 1998), which justifies the collective term "Philistines" (although they

most likely incorporated some of the local population, this issue is beyond the scope of the present paper; see Bunimovitz 1990; Faust n.d.). Politically, the Philistines were the dominant group, especially in the south, and the consensus is that they were the most complex society in the region during Iron Age I (e.g., Finkelstein 1996:236; Hauer 1986:9; Singer 1994:299; Stager 1998:168). They occupied large cities that seem to exhibit a high level of urbanism, social complexity, and socioeconomic hierarchy (e.g., Bunimovitz 1990; Singer 1994:299; Stager 1995, 1998:166–68; Yasur-Landau 2010). Although their initial phase of settlement (sometimes referred to as the monochrome phase, or Philistine 1, after a dominant pottery style) was probably limited to a small part of the southern coastal plain, it appears that after some time (at some point during the bichrome, or Philistine 2, phase) they began to expand their influence to the east (toward the eastern Shephelah and probably also the highlands) and north (toward the Yarkon Basin) (e.g., Finkelstein 1989; Gadot 2006; Singer 1994; Stager 1998:153–54). Notably, the number of small settlements in the southern coastal plain of Philistia shrank significantly in the early part of the Iron I (relative to the situation in the Late Bronze Age), and one can speak of the abandonment of the countryside (cf. Finkelstein 1996, 2000; Shavit 2008), leading scholars to suggest that during their initial phases of settlement the Philistines enacted a policy of forced urbanization (Bunimovitz 1998:107–8; see below).

The identity of the highland settlers during Iron Age I has been the topic of a significant amount of scholarship, and the majority of scholars today accept the label of "Israelite" for those settlers (e.g., Bloch-Smith 2003; Faust 2006; Killebrew 2003; Miller 2004). Admittedly, although the new Iron Age I settlements were denser in the northern highlands, the number of sites in the south also grew significantly when compared with that of the Late Bronze Age (e.g., Ofer 1998:45–46), in accordance with the situation in the rest of the highlands (cf. Finkelstein 1988).

It is the zone between Philistia and the highlands that is the focus here. The settlement in the Shephelah during the Iron Age I was quite sparse and the region was almost empty. Although some 24 settlements appear to have existed in this region during the Late Bronze Age (based on Dagan 2000:162–63, see also his fig. 15; Faust 2013b), the number during the Iron Age I shrunk to 4 (or 6, if the Philistine settlements of Gath and Timnah [Tel Batash], which were part of the settlement system of the coastal plain at the time, are included [Dagan 2000: fig. 16, see also p. 186]), and vast regions seem to have been very sparsely settled (see also Dagan 2000:191; Faust and Katz 2011:233, n. 3). Interestingly, the limited settlement in the Shephelah was concentrated in or near the trough valley, i.e., the eastern part of the Shephelah, just below the Judean hill country. Evidence for settlement was identified at Tel Beth-Shemesh (e.g., Bunimovitz and Lederman 2009), Tel Yarmuth (De Miroschedji 1988:92, 1999:17), Tel ʻEton (Faust 2009, 2011) and Tell Beit Mirsim (Albright 1943:1–38; Greenberg 1987). Notably, practically no additional Iron Age I settlements were identified in the extensive Shephelah survey (Dagan 2000:191; Faust and Katz 2011:233, n. 4).

The Settlement at Tel 'Eton and the Southeastern Shephelah in Iron Age I
Tel 'Eton is a large site located in a strategic position, controlling an important intersection of roads and large tracts of good agricultural lands. Most scholars identify the site as biblical Eglon (Joshua 10:34–36, 12:12, 15:39; see Noth 1953:95; Rainey 1980:197; but see Galil 1985:67–71; Na'aman 2010:180). A brief salvage excavation was conducted on the mound in 1976 by the Lachish expedition, headed by David Ussishkin and directed in the field by Eitan Ayalon and Rachel Bar-Nathan (Ayalon 1985; Zimhoni 1985). Since 2006, Bar-Ilan University has carried out a large-scale excavation project along with a survey of its surroundings (Faust 2009, 2011, 2014). Of special significance is the fact that the site was settled continuously during the Late Bronze Age–Iron Age IIB periods, including Iron Age I when most of the Shepehlah was abandoned. The Iron Age I finds are limited, indicating that settlement was smaller than both its Late Bronze Age predecessor and its Iron Age IIA successor. Still, the accumulation of 1 m of eleventh-century BCE deposits in area B suggests that occupation was nevertheless substantial (Faust et al. 2014). As just noted, the few additional settlements in the eastern part of the Shephelah that survived the upheavals that accompanied the transition into the Iron Age include the nearby site of Tell Beit Mirsim as well as the more distant sites of Tel Yarmout and Tel Beth-Shemesh. Some Iron Age I remains also were unearthed at Tel Halif, further to the south, bordering the Beersheba Valley (Jacobs and Seger 2007).

Ethnic Negotiations and Ethnically Sensitive Traits in Iron Age I
Located as they were between the Israelites and the Philistines, what can we say about the settlers at Tel 'Eton? The discussion is based, among other things, on the distribution of a number of traits that have proved to be ethnically sensitive, or at least to have the potential to be so, in Iron Age contexts (Faust and Katz 2011).

Philistine Pottery
        Although the initial process of Philistine settlement, as well as the source(s) of the population, are shrouded in mystery, it is quite clear that the (core of the) settlers that are known as Philistines have foreign origin(s). The Aegean-inspired pottery that they brought with them (e.g., Dothan 1982; Killebrew 2003) was very popular in the Philistine centers and constituted some 20–58% of the assemblage in different sites and different phases (the percentage of this pottery grew as the Iron Age I progressed; Faust and Lev-Tov 2011, 2014). Still, in other regions it is practically absent. Thus, during its early (monochrome, Mycenaean 3C1, or Philistine 1) phase, this pottery is plentiful in sites such as Ekron, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ashdod (and is also found sporadically in Tel Haror and Tel Zippor; Ben-Shlomo 2006:82) but is absent from almost all other sites, including Tel Mor, Beth-Shemesh, Tel Batash, and Gezer (5–11 km from the nearest Philistine center at Ekron), as well as sites farther away such as Lachish, and of course sites in the highlands and the north (Barako 2013; Ben-Shlomo 2006:82; Bunimovitz and Faust 2001; Bunimovitz and Lederman 2008:24; Dever 1998:47–49; Faust 2006:145; Mazar 1994:251; Na'aman 2000:2–3; Ussishkin 1985) (Figure 7).
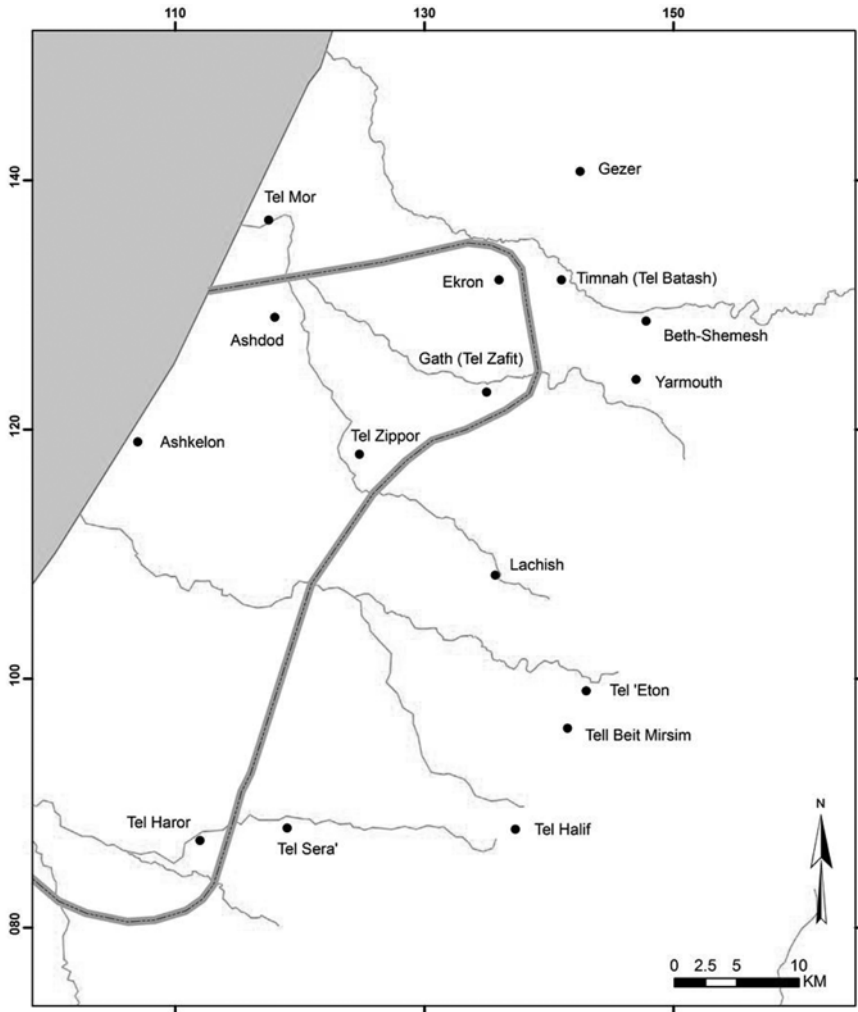
Figure 7. Map of early Iron Age I southern Canaan, with boundary separating major sites with and without Philistine monochrome pottery (prepared by Yair Sapir)

During the later (bichrome, or Philistine 2) phase,[3] this pottery is very common in Philistia, but it is completely missing from most highland sites (only a few sherds were found; Faust 2006:207–11), and even from sites in the northern coastal plain (Gilboa, Cohen-Weinberger, and Goren 2006).[4] The presence of this pottery (both monochrome and bichrome) in large quantities in Philistine centers versus its complete (or almost complete) absence in some other regions creates a clear pattern (for the trough valley sites, see below). This represents a cultural boundary; whereas some people used this highly decorated and symbolic pottery, others avoided it (e.g., Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996; Bunimovitz and Faust

2001; Gilboa et al. 2006). Furthermore, not only was Aegean-inspired decorated pottery avoided by many outside Philistia, but its popularity in Philistia itself grew over the first 150–200 years of Philistine settlement (Faust and Lev-Tov 2011:21–23, 2014:9–10; also Ben-Shlomo 2006:82),[5] instead of decreasing as might be expected following a process of acculturation, hybridization, creolization, or any other culture change pursuant to contacts between groups (Figure 8).[6] This is quite surprising, and it appears that the Philistine, Aegean-inspired pottery was seen as a "marker" not only by the Philistines' antagonists (the "other"), who subsequently avoided it, but also by the new settlers themselves, and they gradually increased its percentage in their own assemblage. Thus, once this pottery became a marker, both sides in the equation made it very clear where they stood on this matter.
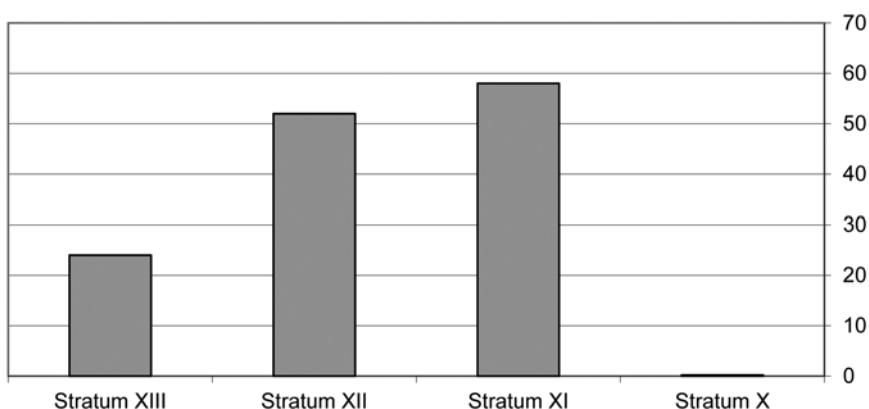

Figure 8. Frequency of Philistine, Aegean-inspired pottery from Ashdod
(representative of other sites)

Collared-Rim Jars

Large storage vessels with collared rims predominated in the highlands during Iron Age I, where they represented substantial percentages of the assemblage in many sites, being a major component of the very limited repertoire there (Faust 2006:191–205; Finkelstein 1988:275–85; Mazar 1981:31). In Giloh, for example, collared-rim jars constituted some 34% of the assemblage at the time (Mazar 1981:31), and at nearby Kh. Za'akuka the percentage was even higher (Eisenberg 2012:*6). Although this pottery is also found outside the highlands, for example in the northern valleys (even if in smaller quantities; e.g., in Megiddo [Esse 1991, 1992]), hence suggesting that its usage did not always follow a presence/absence pattern (e.g., Faust 2006:191–220), it is practically absent in Philistine sites (Esse 1991:107; Faust 2006:195–96, 204–5, 211–13). Not a single sherd was found, for example, at Ashkelon (Daniel Master, co-director of the Ashkelon excavations, personal communication 2014; also Barako 2000: 524, note 95); only one was unearthed at Ashdod (Zukerman 2012:293); and very few sherds were discovered at Ekron (Sy Gitin, co-director of the Ekron excavations, personal communication

2007; see also Barako 2000: 524, note 95) and Gath (Zukermman 2012:293), Clearly, these statistically insignificant findings indicate that in this region there was a very sharp boundary between neighboring communities.[7]

Pork Consumption

Pork was very popular in the Philistine centers, where it constituted a significant component of the diet (Hesse 1986, 1990; Faust and Lev-Tov 2011, 2014:6–7, 10–11). This is not an ecological issue, since the percentage of pig remains in the phases preceding the Philistine settlement is very small (e.g., Lev-Tov 2006:210, 212); it is clearly a cultural issue. Pork was completely avoided during Iron Age I in the highlands, for example (it was consumed in this region in earlier epochs; Faust 2006:36–37). In this case, too, it is not only the clear boundary that suggests that this trait is meaningful, it also indicated by the trajectory of the popularity of this meat in the Philistine centers. Evidence suggests that just like the decorated pottery, pork grew in popularity during Iron Age I (from 14% to 26% in Ekron for example; Lev-Tov 2006:211–12), before it decreased in most sites in Philistia in Iron Age II (Lev-Tov 2006; Hesse et al. 2011:624, 626, 627, 628, 630; Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001:283; Faust and Lev-Tov 2014) (Figure 9).[8] The mere increase in the consumption of pork during Iron Age I at Ekron (the only site for which good resolution data is published), which contradicts the expected process of decreasing the percentage of pork as local influences on the new immigrants increase, suggests that it was a meaningful trait and that it was used by the Philistines to stress the differences between them and their neighbors. While this trait was used in Philistia for external boundary maintenance, it probably also served to increase the local cohesion in Philistia and to crystallize the common identity of the inhabitants (Faust n.d.). Note that in other regions or epochs, its usage might have had nothing to do with ethnicity.
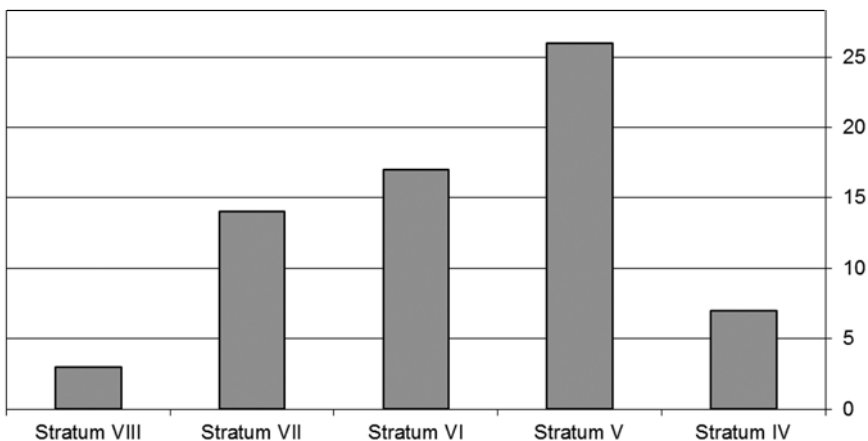

Figure 9. Frequency of pork remains in Ekron

The Identity of the Iron Age I Settlers at Tel 'Eton and the Southern Shephelah
Many traits were, of course, shared by all groups in the region. However, given the information on the significance of various traits mentioned above and their patterned distribution in southern Canaan, can we use them to determine the identity of the settlers in the isolated settlements on the eastern edge of the relatively empty Shephelah?

When we examine the relevant finds in these sites, a surprising picture emerges (Faust and Katz 2011). As far as pottery is concerned, Philistine pottery is present at all sites—for example, Tell Beit Mirsim (Greenberg 1987:76; see also Albright 1932:61–64, 1943: 1, 4, 9–10, 25, 36), Tel 'Eton (Faust and Katz 2011:234), Yarmuth (De Miroschedji 1999:17), and Tel Beth-Shemesh (Bunimovitz and Lederman 2009:121)—though in small quantities (very little at Tell Beit Mirsim [Greenberg 1987:76], about 5% in Beth-Shemesh [Bunimovitz and Lederman 2009:123], and even less at Tel 'Eton; see also Faust and Katz 2011:234). Collared-rim jars, on the other hand, are practically absent (in most sites only one example was unearthed: see Greenberg 1987:64, 71 for Tell Beit Mirsim; Bunimovitz and Lederman 2009:123 for Beth-Shemesh; and for Tel 'Eton, and a general discussion, see Faust and Katz 2011:234, 239). The overall assemblage is quite rich and not as limited as the one from the highlands (Faust and Katz 2011). The pattern (in pottery) is therefore more similar to Philistia, or to be more precise, it is completely different from that of the highlands (Bunimovitz and Lederman 2009:123; Faust and Katz 2011:239; Greenberg 1987:76). Pork consumption, however, was avoided at these sites (Bunimovitz and Lederman 2011; Faust and Katz 2011:239–40). In this sense, the local population marked itself as quite different from that of Philistia.[9] It must be stressed that the traits in the trough valley are not blurred, as would be expected in an open, transitional zone (e.g., we do not have any evidence of pork consumption, which would have reflected Philistine influence). Each trait exhibits sharp boundaries (i.e., sharp drop-offs at the edges); some traits distinguish the inhabitants from the Philistines, while others differentiate them from the Israelites.

So, who were the settlers? Although both Philistine (e.g., for phase B2 at Tell Beit Mirsim [Albright 1943:36]) and Israelite (e.g., for phase B3 at the same site [Albright 1943:36]) labels have been proposed for the Iron Age I occupations in the region, it is becoming quite clear today that the population of the trough valley wanted to show that it was neither Philistine nor Israelite. The population should be viewed as Canaanite, descendant of the local Late Bronze Age population (see Greenberg 1987 for Tell Beit Mirsim; Faust and Katz 2011; Faust 2012; Bunimovitz and Lederman 2011; Lehmann and Niemann 2014). Since identity is not always simply "inherited" and is rather fluid and in an endless process of negotiation and renegotiation, the way the Canaanite population defined itself was transformed, just as the groups in relation to whom it defined itself changed. The "others" (in relation to whom those Iron Age I settlers in the eastern Shephelah defined themselves) were different from those with whom their forefathers interacted. The local Iron I population in the trough valley negotiated its identity with both the newcomers on the coastal

plain (i.e., the Philistines) and the settlers in the highlands (i.e., the Israelites), and they used the new material symbols that dominated the nonverbal symbolic language of the Iron Age I (e.g., collared-rim jars, Philistine pottery, and pork consumption) to distinguish themselves from both groups. The trough valley was therefore another enclave (similar to the one in the northern valleys, though smaller) in which Canaanite culture and identity survived during Iron Age I (see extensive discussion in Faust and Katz 2011).

Petrography and Tel 'Eton's Interaction with the Highlands and the Coast
Interestingly, the isolated nature of the settlement is also supported by the results of petrographic examination of pottery at Tel 'Eton. Some 96 vessels/sherds from occupation levels (i.e., not including the samples from the tombs) of the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age I, Iron Age IIA, Iron Age IIB and late Persian–early Hellenistic periods were examined (Faust et al. 2014). The results indicate that Iron Age I was the most "local" period of all, and 71% of all the vessels examined (10 of 14 bowls, cooking pots, and storage jars) were manufactured at Tel 'Eton and its immediate vicinity. Only one of the vessels was manufactured in the highlands, one was brought from the coastal plain, and two were from northern Negev. In the Late Bronze Age, by contrast, only 38% were locally produced, and in the Iron Age II the percentage was 56% (Iron Age IIA) and 40% (Iron Age IIB). Those preliminary results clearly support the view that Iron Age I Tel 'Eton was quite isolated, and its interaction with other sites was limited.

Philistine Pottery and the Canaanites: An Intermediate Summary
What can we say, in light of the above, on the way Philistine pottery was used in southern Canaan during Iron Age I? (in the north, developments were somewhat different.)

First, the Aegean-inspired decorated pottery was identified by all Iron Age I groups with the most powerful and dominant group in the region—the Philistines. A possible reaction to a significant "other" is a total rejection of things that were associated with it or its "symbols" (Bunimovitz and Faust 2001; see below). This was apparently the case during the initial phase of the Philistine settlement in the region, when the monochorome pottery is missing from all Canaanite sites in the region (above, Figure 7). And a similar reaction continued among some groups even during the bichrome phase: for example, the Israelites in the highlands (Faust 2006:209–11) and other groups elsewhere (e.g., Gilboa et al. 2006). This avoidance was met with increased production and usage within Philistia (Faust and Lev-Tov 2011). Clearly, once this pottery became a marker, both sides defined themselves by using or avoiding it (for the pottery's role in Philistine society, see Faust n.d.; see also Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996; Ben-Shlomo et al. 2008).[10]

Second, while many groups did indeed avoid this pottery, this was not a consistent reaction. While the Israelites avoided this pottery throughout the Iron Age I, the Canaanite response was more complex. During the initial phases of Philistine settlement the Canaanite inhabitants of the Shephelah appear to have

avoided it altogether. Gradually, however, this pottery came to be used in the Canaanite settlements in the region. The population of the trough valley still maintained a boundary between itself and the Philistines, manifested for example in the avoidance of pork, but gradually began using this decorated pottery.

And third, the available evidence from Beth-Shemesh, Tel 'Eton, and perhaps also Tell Beit Mirsim suggests that the percentage of this pottery was quite low. Clearly, if tomb C1 is an example, this pottery was used in elite burials more than in common domestic occupations (also see Ben-Shlomo 2006:82).

DISCUSSION: TOMB C1 AND LOCAL RESPONSES
IN A COLONIAL SETTING

Given the location of Tomb C1 near Tel 'Eton, whose population was Canaanite, and in light of the distance between it and Philistia (Figure 1), it is unlikely that the interred were Philistines. The finds in the tomb itself are similar to the materials in the occupation levels in the region and are very different from those in the Philistine centers. The percentage of decorated Philistine pottery in the tomb is only about 3%, and the total amount of coastal pottery is 12%. While this is somewhat higher than in the nearby settlement (see also Ben-Shlomo 2006:82),[11] it is much lower than the 40–50% found in the Philistine centers at the time (Faust and Lev-Tov 2011; 2014; cf. Figure 8). As noted, no elite burials were unearthed in the Philistine centers, so it is impossible to compare the finds. Still, the mere fact that there are no comparable data in Philistia shows that this is not a Philistine phenomenon, and that the Philistine pottery, along with other foreign and exceptional objects, were used for a non-Philistine interment. Furthermore, the cooking jugs, while similar in form to those in Philistia, were not made of cooking ware. Hence, they were clearly not used in the way they were used in Philistia (Dothan and Zukerman 2004:43; cf. Stein 2005:15–16 and see below). The overall assemblage is, therefore, in line with finds in the trough valley sites, indicating that the interred were locals. In the following, this elite burial is examined in order to learn about social relations in Tel 'Eton during Iron Age I, and about social dynamics in this region.

The Local Population and the Philistines: Initial Interaction
The southern coastal plain and the Shephelah were colonized by the Philistines in the Iron Age I. In this process, many settlements were destroyed or abandoned (Bunimovitz 1998; Faust 2013b; Finkelstein 1996, 2000; Shavit 2008). Although some of the local population in Philistia became Philistine in the process (not all of course; see Bunimovitz 1990; Faust and Lev-Tov 2014:6–8, 10–11, 14), the situation in the Shephelah was more complex, especially since much of the area was sparsely settled. Unlike at other nearby sites (e.g., Lachish), the inhabitants at Tel 'Eton survived the turmoil and the site continued to be occupied. Still, the population there was clearly affected, both by the destruction of nearby sites and by the severing of cultural and economic (and probably also kinship)

connections, and even more so since the size of the settlement at Tel 'Eton itself decreased significantly, probably following the destruction of the settlement during the twelfth century BCE (Faust 2011:213, 220, 2014:588, 597). Even if not all the damage to the Shephelah settlements was done by Philistines (Dagan 2000:172–74; Ussishkin 2004:70–72), it is quite clear that some of it was (also see Bunimovitz 1998), and attitudes toward the Philistines were likely hostile or negative to a large extent. The initial response was avoidance of things that were associated with the "other," and hence the Philistine pottery is absent from practically all the non-Philistine sites in the first decades of Philistine settlement (i.e., the monochrome phase; Figure 7; cf. Bunimovitz and Faust 2001).

Still, it appears as if the Canaanite population in the small trough valley enclave changed its attitude toward this Aegean-inspired decorated pottery and began using it at some point in the bichrome phase. To appreciate how this change came about, we have to understand (1) the role of elites in colonial settings and (2) the importance of material culture in such encounters.

Material Culture, Elites, and Colonial Encounters: Later Interactions
While the local attitude toward the Philistines was clearly hostile, they were likely also viewed with fear and admiration. Using artifacts or items of foreign powers or centers can improve the users' status and enhance their position (e.g., Thomas 1991). Usually, those who can use these items to advance their standing are the local elites (Arnold 2001; Baltali 2007; Gosden 2004; Thomas 1991; see also Higginbotham 1996, 2000). Baltali (2007:10), for example, referred to the imitation of foreign styles by the Arslantepe elite and wrote about the "representation of the 'foreign-other,'" adding (p. 10) that the foreign style had a prestigious meaning signifying the connection of the local elite with the more important ones, "revealing commonalities in ruling ideologies." He noted that the local elite "gained prestige and legitimacy by the way of their access to the Uruk 'other.'" Arnold (2001:215), who studied Iron Age Europe, noted that "West Hallstatt elite mortuary ritual is literally global" as "it draws on the 'center out there,' i.e., the Mediterranean world, in its acquisition of elite status markers." And Petrie, Magee, and Nassim Khan (2008:1) claimed that "dominated" elites emulate the ruling elites in order to enhance their own prestige or stress "political affinity" (for the local elites' constant need for legitimation, see Elson and Covey 2006:5). According to Higginbotham (1996:155):

> Political units at some distance from the prestigious culture tend to view it as a center of civilization and power. By linking themselves to such centers, local rulers are often able to enhance their own stature and authority. Therefore, local elites and their communities adopt and adapt features of the "great civilizations" such as language, attire, artistic and architectural styles and, of course, symbols of governance. The emulated features provide an iconography of power which transfers some of the prestige of the distant center to the local rulers.

Indeed, the significance of material culture in such circumstances cannot be overestimated. According to Gosden (2004:3), material objects attach people to new values, and those values have a "center," real or symbolic. He noted that "Power emanates from artefacts and practices connected to that centre" (2004:3), and the attractive objects and practices appeal to people. As noted by many (e.g., Thomas 1991), a "thing" maintains a link to "those through whose hands it has passed, even though it may take a new significance" (Gosden 2004:20). Gosden (2004:39) even claimed that "Early colonialism begins at the point at which objects are starting to break out of purely local value systems." This "break" is not incidental, and as we have seen it usually takes place through the agency of the elite, which is exposed to new forms or traits and might be attracted to them and their symbolic power. In discussing colonialism without colonies, Gosden (2004:41) wrote: "these are processes whereby the values attached to material culture are created and appropriated by a few, and become attractive to an elite over a large area, but are still maintaining a symbolic center of reference . . . which is an important part of their power."

Thus, whatever the exact composition of the local elite at Tel 'Eton, using foreign "stuff" was quite useful, and even more so when it was that of the local overlords (i.e., the Philistines). We can now return to the Shephelah and to the significance of Tomb C1. It is clear that the use of these very noticeable objects (i.e., Philistine bichrome pottery) that were explicitly associated with the political and militarily powerful group in the coastal plain helped the local elite attain status and even achieve legitimation at both the regional and local levels. And the same applies, of course, to the use of Egyptian and even European objects (Edelstein and Aurant 1992; Keel 2010:604–9). At the local level, the elite maintained its prestige by actively showing its connections with other places in general and with powerful and central places in particular (cf. Petrie et al. 2008:1). It was viewed, from the perspective of the common people, as something extraordinary. On the regional level, by using the "new" style of the region's powerful group, the elite sent a clear message also to what it viewed as its peers, that it was part of the elite network (see also Arnold 2001:220, and see below).

Philistine Pottery and Local Elites in the Eastern Shephelah:
From Ethnic "Avoidance" to "Social" Usage
After a few decades during which the local Canaanite population avoided the use of Philistine pottery, the local elite gradually began to use it, presumably for status purposes. As the years passed some of the negative associations weakened, and during the endless ethnic (with Philistines and Israelites) and class (with non-elites within the Canaanite enclave) negotiations the local elite began using this pottery because it gave it power and legitimation.

It is likely, therefore, that while the avoidance of Philistine pottery in earlier phases at Tel 'Eton and other sites resulted from ethnic boundary maintenance, its later usage was not meant to carry ethnic meaning (although it indirectly helped to distinguish the inhabitants from the Israelites in the highlands, who avoided it altogether), and it was adopted (and adapted) for social or status purposes.

This explains not only why the Canaanites began to use this pottery, but also why the percentage of this pottery in the tomb was higher than in the settlements themselves. Clearly, the elite was the first to adopt this pottery (for emblemic purposes; see Wiessner 1990), and the others followed.

Habitus, Structuration, and Social Change

These developments within Canaanite society can serve as an example of the way in which societies change. While existing social structures tend to reproduce themselves, social agency or practice enables changes. According to Bourdieu (1977:72): "The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g., the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce *habitus,* systems of durable, transposable *dispositions,* structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules." When actors face new or changing circumstances, they are not completely free to find new courses of action, but nor are they completely unable to cope—it is the habitus that generates new ways to cope with the situation. Bourdieu's theory of practice is somewhat similar in this sense to Giddens's (1984) structuration theory, which explains the way social relations are restructured as a result of the interplay of preexisting structures and individual agency (cf. Giddens's concept of the duality of structure, which views social structure as both the medium and the outcome of social action). Although both are helpful in archaeological studies of social change (e.g., Hodder and Hutson 2003:90–105), the concept of habitus was developed directly in relation to material culture and is therefore especially suitable.

Applying the concept of habitus can indeed explain how the Canaanites coped with the new circumstances in the trough valley sites in the twelfth century BCE (and the same applies to other Canaanite sites, such as Lachish, in the earlier twelfth century, prior to their destruction). When the Canaanite population interacted with new social formations, such as the Philistines and the Israelites, their existing dispositions restructured their responses. Thus, when confronted by the pork-eating Philistines, it was quite easy for them to completely cease the consumption of pork since it had been only a very marginal part of their diet (at least in the Shepehlah sites) before the arrival of the Philistines. In other words, they were already predisposed to avoid pork, and it is likely that even a taboo on pork was known to some populations (Hesse and Wapnish 1997). After all, the habitus is, in a sense, the tool-kit from which ethnicity chooses its traits (Jones 1997:120–21; Shennan 1989:20), which are then vested with new meanings (also Faust 2006:152–55). The concept of the habitus can also explain the changes in the attitudes of the Canaanite elites in the later phase, when they did appropriate Philistine traits and incorporated them into their social world. Since using decorated and imported pottery was, for centuries, an important part of the Canaanite habitus (e.g., Franken and London 1995; Faust 2006:41–42), the mere adoption of this pottery should not come as a surprise. The way it was used, however, as a grave good rather than in feasting or even as a cookware (regarding

the cooking jugs), reveals that it was not used by Philistines and instead its use was embedded within the Canaanite world (cf. Yasur-Landau 2005:180–82). Thus, its use in an elite burial continues a long-held tradition of such burials in Canaan (but at least as of now is not known in Philistine sites).

Bichrome Pottery and Canaanite Elite Vocabulary
The suggestion that bichrome pottery was initially adopted by local Canaanite elites in the eastern Shephelah can be further supported by its distribution in other non-Philistine sites. Tel Qasile was regarded as a Philistine site because of the relatively large percentage of Philistine pottery unearthed there. (This was before detailed statistics were available from many Philistine sites. For the actual figures, see below.) Still, many of its features disconfirm this identification, and in the final report Mazar (1985:104, 123, 126–27) had already raised the possibility that at the time of stratum X, only the inhabitants of Area C were Philistines, and the population of Area A was not (see also Bunimovitz and Faust 2001:4–5). The major difference is that Philistine pottery was found only in Area C (the area around the temple), whereas it is completely absent from Area A (cf. Mazar 1980:10, 1985:104, 122–23; see also Maisler 1950–1951:128). Still, the percentage of Philistine bichrome pottery is lower than in Philistine sites (24% at most, compared with much higher figures in contemporaneous Philistine centers; see above, and Faust and Lev-Tov 2011, 2014), and the trajectory of the Philistine decorated ware at Tel Qasile is also different, exhibiting a decrease rather than an increase during the Iron Age I (from 24% in stratum XII to 14.3% and 14.6% in strata XI and X, respectively; Mazar 1985:105; the percentage in stratum X would have been even lower had Area A been taken into consideration). The non-Philistine nature of Tel Qasile is also expressed by the extremely low level of pork consumption (about 1.5%; Davis 1985:148) and the almost complete lack of hearths (Yasur-Landau 2005:181; hearths were a typical Philistine feature, whereas the local population continued to use ovens/tabuns. See Yasur-Landau 2005, and references). While Mazar suggested that the differences between Areas A and C might result from the ethnic identity of the inhabitants, the additional features mentioned above (low percentage of bichrome pottery and the different trajectory in its consumption, along with rarity of pork and hearths) suggest that perhaps the inhabitants of Area C were not Philistines, but only a group affiliated with them.

Seen in this light, it is much more probable that, during the time of stratum X, the bichrome pottery was used only by the elite (cf. Stein 2005:15), and that the inhabitants of Area C were simply the local elite, who were associated with the temple (this was also suggested by Mazar [1985:104, and see pp. 122–27 for additional interpretations]). While it is likely that this elite was in some way affiliated with the Philistines, which supported their elevated status, this affiliation was probably more along class lines than ethnic ones (i.e., the local elite adopted a metamorphosed, localized, Philistine identity; for the possible association between social classes and ethnic identity, see, e.g., McGuire 1982, especially p. 164). One should also consider the possibility that at least some of the inhabitants

belonged to the northern sea peoples (Stern 2013:5), but even if this suggestion is accepted we are still discussing an elite group at the periphery of Philistia. The exact social processes that were operating at Tel Qasile are beyond the scope of this paper, but the data presented support the association between local elites in the periphery of Philistia and the use of Philistine bichrome pottery.

The percentage of Philistine pottery in Azor (18%, Ben-Shlomo 2012b:114, 142–43) is more akin to that at Tel Qasile than to any other site, and it is possible that a similar situation prevailed in Megiddo VI (also late Iron Age I). Philistine pottery is clearly present but is not common and was most likely used by part of the population only (Mazar 2002; see also Faust 2006:215–18; for attributing this pottery to another group, see Gilboa 2009).

To reiterate: while in the past the Philistine pottery at all these sites, and especially at Tel Qasile, was often and simplistically taken to indicate that the inhabitants were Philistines, this assumption seems to be unwarranted (as recognized early on by Mazar [1985:104, 122, 123, 126–27]; also see Bunimovitz and Faust 2001; Faust and Lev-Tov 2014:8, 10). It appears that during the late Iron Age I Philistine pottery was gradually "used" by local population in a different way than the "simple," "ethnic" association that accompanied its usage in the earlier part of the Iron Age I (though it still served in a similar fashion in some contexts; see above). Not only can one identify differences between the various sites in Philistia's political periphery, it appears that there were also differences between the uses of Philistine pottery in the Philistine centers and in the periphery (for Azor, see for example Ben-Shlomo 2012b:114; for Tel Qasile, see Mazar 1985:105). Given the additional differences between the Philistine centers and sites in Philistia's periphery—for example, the adoption of cooking jugs, but not hearths (Yasur-Landau 2005:180–82; cf. Lehmann 2011)—it is quite clear that the vessels that were preferred in the periphery were those that were more suitable to the needs, or catered to the taste, of the Canaanite elite. Thus, we can see a regional elite style, or even an "elite vocabulary" (Arnold 2001:220), in the entire (political) periphery of Philistia.

Canaanites and Philistines: A Colonial Encounter?
Colonialism and colonial encounters have received a great deal of scholarly attention over the years, but definitions vary greatly (e.g., Dietler 2010; Given 2004; Gosden 2004; Malkin 2002; Osterhammel 2005; Stein 2005; van Dommelen 1997). Precise definitions of colonialism, however, are not as important for our purposes: understanding the social dynamics. Gosden's (2004) definitions of colonialism and colonial interaction are used here because they reflect different types of interaction and have heuristic value. Gosden (2004) created a "loose" typology of colonial situations, with three ideal types: "colonialism within a shared cultural milieu," "the middle ground," and "*terra nullius*." Simplistically put, the third type refers to the interaction of two completely different cultures who share nothing in common, and in which one dominates the other. This type involves massive destruction and even genocide and an almost complete replacement of the indigenous population, and it is commonly agreed that (in its "ideal" form) it

is relevant mainly to the past five hundred years or so (but see below). Colonialism within a shared cultural milieu is a very old form of colonialism that often occurs even in the absence of actual colonies, in an area in which most societies have many things in common and there is clearly a common language between all those who participate in the interaction. The middle ground is created when two different cultures interact and have a *modus operandi* in which both can operate, and both tend to think that they are the benefitting side from the interaction, and even the side setting the rules. As noted by Gosden, these are ideal types; in reality there is a continuum, and many situations fall between the types.

The Philistines were newcomers from a different area, and from a different cultural milieu. Whatever the exact process of their settlement and expansion in the region was, it was not completely peaceful—it involved hostilities and conquest (see above). While I do not wish to discuss their initial settlement process (and origins), and whether this phase can be regarded as colonialism or not, it is quite clear that their subsequent expansion, and their interaction with the local, indigenous population falls well within Gosden's colonial situations, as well as other definitions (e.g., van Dommelen 1997:306; note that not all definitions of colonialism will embrace the Philistine, for example because the Philistines probably did not have continuous contact with their place[s] of origin[s]; cf., Stein 2005:11). We can therefore treat their expansion as a colonial (or at least colonial-like) setting. When the foreignness of the Philistines was "real" (i.e., in the first phase of their settlement), the Canaanite centers avoided using the new material culture. At this time, the type of interaction was somewhere between the "middle ground" and *terra nullius,* especially if the Philistine settlement involved a violent takeover of part of the region, which was accompanied by destruction and dislocation (e.g., Bunimovitz 1998; Stager 1995:342). As time progressed the two societies found ways to work together, and after a generation or two the interaction probably shifted more toward the "middle ground," and perhaps gradually even toward the "shared cultural milieu," as both societies gradually changed (despite the strong boundaries they still maintained as far as their ethnic identity was concerned). Hence, we are observing a process of "accommodation," in which the Canaanites came to accept and accommodate some of the values of their opponents. Thus, the local elites appropriated some Philistine symbols and used them for their own purposes. There are many examples in which something that was associated with the enemy turned into a powerful symbol within the colonized society (e.g., Thomas 1991:83–124; see also the above discussion of "Material Culture, Elites, and Colonial Encounters"). Thus, the Marquesans valued European muskets not as weapons, since many of them were dysfunctional, but "as modes of connection to Europeans, who were beings of power, and that power attached itself to European objects" (Gosden 2004:20). Gradually, what used to be a Philistine marker, and continued to be so in other contexts in the region, was appropriated by some non-Philistines and became, in some specific contexts, a social marker.

The foreign objects were used in order to accumulate symbolic capital, and it is clear that they were not necessarily used in the same way they were used in Philistia (Thomas 1991:83–124; see also Yasur-Landau 2005:181–82). For

example, the usage of the vessels to accompany burials is not known in Philistia and appears to be in line with the local Canaanite burial traditions (Gonen 1992). This "appropriation" of the Philistine items and their use in a completely different way can also be exemplified by the two cooking jugs unearthed in tomb C1. The jugs, while clearly emulating Philistine forms, were not created from a material suitable for use in cooking (Dothan and Zukerman 2004:43). Apparently, they were manufactured only for "display" (cf. Stein 2005:15–16)—to show the elite's connection with the new center, and hence to empower it (in this case the form, which was undecorated also in Philistia, served to show this "connection"). Thus, the foreign things "were transformed and integrated" into the existing system, and the elite adapted the things it borrowed to its own social needs. It took things and reinterpreted them (Baltali 2007:11). Once these vessels were used (even if in a different way) by the elite, an internal process of emulation was initiated within the indigenous society (cf. Miller 1985:184–96; Arnold 2001:216–18), and others gradually also used this pottery. The pottery that a generation or two earlier was absent from all sites in the Shephelah (Figure 7) was now acceptable.

Concurrent Changes in Philistia

The changes were not unidirectional of course, as both the center and its periphery are transformed during the interaction (e.g., Gosden 2004; Stein 2005). Indeed, the contacts between the groups led to changes in Philistia already in the early phases of Philistine settlement (cf. Dothan 1982:185–98, 215–18; Dothan and Zukerman 2004:41; Killebrew 2003:233–34; Mountjoy 2010, 2013). Thus, Philistine pottery in particular, and Philistine culture in general, changed gradually during Iron Age I. This is manifested already in the monochrome pottery, and mainly by the development of the bichrome pottery and the adoption of local ceramic forms. Many of these changes have nothing to do with identity and are simply the inevitable result of intercultural interaction. No society is an island (e.g., Burke 2009), and all groups change during interaction. This is hybridity in material culture (e.g., the adoption of local forms for the Philistine pottery, and the creation of a hybrid material culture; Ben-Shlomo 2006:89, 172; Dothan 1982), which can be identified by our etic perspectives. From the emic perspective, however, nothing changed, and the Philistines maintained strong boundaries and a separate identity, and even increased their "foreignness" as is manifested by the rising percentages of Aegean-inspired decorated wares during Iron Age I. When groups interact, most material and behavioral traits will cross the boundaries between groups, and only the things that are chosen, or came to convey messages on identity, will not cross. In the Iron I context, the Aegean-inspired decoration was important (as can be seen in the non-random pattern of their usage), whereas other elements (e.g., forms) were not. This is a good example for the differences between emic and etic perspectives and can serve as a warning that identifying hybridity is usually based on an etic perspective and does not necessarily say much about the emic one (i.e., about what people within the society considered important). Thus, hybridity in material culture (etic) does not necessarily mean a hybrid identity (emic).

At a later stage (early Iron Age II) the Philistines lowered the boundaries they maintained with other groups. Thus, although they maintained a separate identity to the end of the Iron Age, their material culture was much more similar to that of their neighbors, and they abandoned most of their foreign traits (including the production of Aegean-derived decorated pottery). Following Stone (1995), many scholars view this process as acculturation, but exact definitions vary (Faust n.d. and references), and the issue is beyond the scope of the present article (see Faust 2013a).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the first phase of Iron Age I, immediately after the settlement of the foreign group(s) in the southern coastal plain and during what is usually called the monochrome phase, this Aegean-inspired, foreign-looking pottery is not seen in any non-Philistine (Canaanite) sites in the Shephelah (as well as in other regions). At this stage this pottery served in ethnic negotiations between groups, and as an ethnic marker (though within Philistia itself it might have had additional, internal meanings; Faust n.d.). Not only does the lack of this Aegean-inspired pottery in non-Philistine sites show that it was ethnically sensitive, its growing popularity within Philistia itself during the Iron Age I clearly signifies that it was important (for boundary maintenance) for the Philistines too.

While some groups (e.g., the Israelites and some groups in the Sharon) continued to avoid this pottery throughout Iron Age I, the situation in the indigenous enclave in the Shephelah was different. Here, the pottery that was avoided earlier in Iron Age I was gradually adopted and used, even if not extensively. The "adoption" of this pottery was not a result of direct change in ethnic boundary maintenance, as there are clear indications that those remained strong, but rather a consequence of internal social processes within the Canaanite society in the trough valley. For the local elite, the Philistine pottery had two "sides." The first is negative and hostile, representing the definitive "others" that came from outside the Levant and destroyed the old order, and hence its clear role in boundary maintenance throughout the region at the time. The second "side" of this pottery was that it signified the new center of power that developed. The Philistine pottery was therefore both repulsive and attractive. Whereas in the first generation after the Philistine settlement the first quality was more dominant, the second quality gradually prevailed, and at some point during the bichrome phase the local elite in the trough valley sites started to use it.

Tomb C1, dated to the late twelfth or early eleventh century, was an elite burial. In its use of foreign pottery, metal objects, seals, and more, it stressed the status of the interred and transmitted messages in this regard to other inhabitants of the site, boasting the deceased's connection to the outside "center(s)."[12] Thus, by actively using what (as a result) became the regional elite vocabulary, the burial also transmitted a message of affiliation to other elites in the area, or in other words to what the local elite regarded as its peers. The elite were the agents through which the Philistine pottery became acceptable and perhaps even desired, after having been avoided.

Tomb C1 can therefore serve as an example of the complexity of material culture, and how the meanings of various traits gradually change, and also how material culture influences people's behaviors. Thus, in the first phase the use or avoidance of the Aegean-inspired decorated pottery outside the Philistine centers (and, generally speaking, also within them) was mainly along ethnic lines (cf. emblemic style; Wiessner 1990). Later, during the bichrome phase, things changed. Although it was still an ethnically sensitive trait for both Philistines and non-Philistines (especially Israelites, who continued to avoid it), the Canaanite elite in the political periphery of Philistia began to use this pottery to advertise their status (cf. assertive style; Wiessner 1990). The adoption of Philistine items for status purposes by members of the elite, such as those who were buried in this tomb, led to its later usage by other members of the group, and hence its existence in all the sites discussed here (cf. Hodos 2006:131, 204). The Philistine pottery was not only adopted, however, but also adapted in the process, and was used in a different manner than in the Philistine centers of the coastal plain (e.g., the above-mentioned cooking jugs; cf. Stein 2005:15–16; Yasur-Landau 2005). Clearly, the local elites were not only passive recipients of traits, but active players who chose what to adopt/adapt during the interaction (cf. Stein 2002). Furthermore, the "center" also changed in the process (e.g., the development of the bichrome pottery), revealing the complex process of intercultural interaction, even where there is asymmetry in power between groups.

Still, although used for internal communication (emblemic style), the unique assemblage in the trough valley sites as compared with both Israelite and Philistine sites is perhaps an example of how elements that are used for intragroup communication can, as a by-product, also teach about the boundaries of this group (David et al. 1988:378; also Hodder 1982:54).

NOTES

1. Since the number of all other vessels is supplied, and we have the percentages of the local versus the nonlocal (coastal) types, we can estimate the number of juglets at 26. Bloch-Smith (1992:172), who referred to the finds in the tomb before they were published, mentioned only three juglets, and she may be correct. Another difference between the information she supplied and that in the report relates to the number of pilgrim flasks (only three, according to her review of the finds).

2. The decorated belt (from Tomb C3), which was also imported and was attributed to the Iron Age I (Edelstein and Schreiber 2000), is actually dated to the Iron Age IIA (Katz and Faust 2014).

3. There was, naturally, overlap between the phases (e.g., Kang 2013; Kang and Garfinkel 2009), but here we discuss the distribution of the pottery itself, each type represents a ceramic horizon.

4. Since this is decorated pottery, even tiny body sherds were reported, further reducing the statistical significance of the few sherds that were reported.

5. For Ashdod, see Ben-Shlomo 2005:70, 78, 120, 132, 161, 185; for Ekron, see Dothan, Gitin, and Zukerman 2006:92–94; for Ashkelon, see Master and Aja 2011:130–31; no quantitative data are available from Gath.

6. The pottery itself (e.g., its forms) changed over time (e.g., Ben-Shlomo 2006:172; Dothan 1982:185–98, 215–18; Dothan and Zukerman 2004:41; Killebrew 2003:233–34; Meiberg 2013; Mountjoy 2010, 2013), and some changes can be attributed to these processes, showing the complexity of interaction, and how all groups are transformed in the process, even if they maintain separate identities, and while increasing the significance of their boundary maintenance (demonstrated by the increase in the percentage of the Aegean-inspired decoration; Faust 2013a; cf. Kaiser 2000:191, 198). The issue is addressed in detail below.

7. When discussing the collared pithos, Zukerman (2012: 293) notes that only one example "can be attributed to this type with certainty"; it appears that there were also two examples of collared jars (Ben-Shlomo 2012a:408; Zukerman 2012:292).

8. The small sites in Philistia at which pork is rare or even absent (Sapir-Hen et al. 2013:10) were probably inhabited by local, Canaanite groups (Faust 2013a:176, 187, 194; Faust and Lev-Tov 2014:6–8, 18; also Lehmann 2011:291; cf. Yasur-Landau 2005:181–82; Faust n.d.; contra Sapir-Hen et al. 2013:10, 11).

9. A low percentage of pig consumption is typical of many Canaanite sites of the Late Bronze Age (Lev-Tov 2006:212, see also p. 210, chart 6.1; Croft 2004:2259, table 33.3; Zeder 1998; Hesse 1990:215–16, table 3) although it was usually not as low as in Iron Age I Israelite sites.

10. Other traits, which were not ethnically sensitive, "moved" freely between the groups. Only traits that were "chosen" to serve in ethnic negotiations do not cross ethnic boundaries (McGuire 1982; Faust 2006; cf. Hodder and Hutson 2003:3). This is also the reason for the focus on the rarer phenomena because they create clear boundaries.

11. Coastal pottery constitutes less than 1% of the Iron Age I assemblage at Tel 'Eton (Faust et al. 2014). At the Iron Age I levels at Tel Beth-Shmesh, coastal pottery, including undecorated Philistine pottery, was about 2.6–5.3% (Bunimovitz and Lederman 2009:42–44). Interestingly, while the Iron Age I is (petrographically) the most "local" period in the history of Tel 'Eton, this is not reflected in the tomb, thus reinforcing its exceptional nature (by contrast, during the Iron Age IIA, the finds in the tombs are similar to those in the site).

12. It is less clear where some of the metal artifacts were imported from. They could just be a chance find, or perhaps the inhabitants were in touch with another group that immigrated to this region during this unrestful era, and perhaps some of the local elites were immigrants (the physical anthropology does not support this).

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