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**THE INDUSTRIOUS SEA PEOPLES:  
THE EVIDENCE OF AEGEAN-STYLE  
TEXTILE PRODUCTION IN CYPRUS AND  
THE SOUTHERN LEVANT**

**Introduction**

A distinctive group of installations found in Cyprus and the Levant in 12th century BCE contexts have traditionally been identified as 'bathtubs' used either for bathing (Courtois 1992; Karageorghis 1983a), described as an Aegean innovation (Karageorghis 2000: 473), or for purification rituals in cultic settings (T. Dothan 2003: 202–7; Karageorghis 1983a: 438; Steel 2004: 174–5). A review of their find-spots, however, demonstrates that these 'bathtubs' are often found in industrial locations. In this paper, I will argue for an alternative understanding that accounts for their presence in industrial contexts. The discovery of a 'bathtub' in association with a variety of weaving instruments at the Philistine site of Tel Mique-Ekron suggests that some of these large tubs may have facilitated the manufacture and production of textiles, possibly as containers for fulling wool.

The textile industry has received little attention in reconstructions of Philistine culture despite the findings of loom weights at many Philistine sites. Discussion of weaving technologies has moved no further than recognizing the presence or absence of foreign style loom weights and associating them with gendered activities. The identification of fulling in the archaeological record of the Late Bronze and early Iron Ages corresponds with a number of other innovations in textile technologies that appear at this time on Cyprus and in the southern Levant that suggest changes in both textile manufacture and scale of production (Smith 2001). As documented in Mycenaean Linear B texts, the fuller's profession was one of high status, often associated with the royal court or other powerful institutions (Palaima 1997; Palmer 1963: 191–3; Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 123). The appearance of such a specialized craft in Philistia has significant implications for understanding the role of textile production within the economic underpinnings of Philistine society.

The bathtubs are generally described as large, "bath-shaped basins" constructed of either limestone or clay, often with a plaster lining or a rock- or gravel-lined base (Karageorghis 2000: 266). Some have a hole cut through the base or side wall, and some have attached handles or lugs. Bathtubs have been reported from a number of different contexts in both Cyprus and the Levant, including tombs, sanctuaries,

and private homes or in the large 'official' rooms of elite residences, where they are often found in or near areas interpreted as bathrooms. Descriptions of these installations usually invoke an image of wealthy individuals luxuriating in private bathing facilities (cf. Courtois 1992; Karageorghis 1983b: 373). Karageorghis even describes an image of a bather "with water being poured over him, perhaps by an attendant," and he suggests identifying a small, protruding ledge as a 'soap dish' (Karageorghis 1983a: 435).

A second interpretation for bathtubs found in Cyprus posits a religious function, in which the tubs performed some unspecified cultic role usually assumed to have involved a purification ritual (Åström and Åström 1972: 605; Karageorghis 1983a: 437–38; Steel 2004: 174–75). This particular interpretation has resonated in discussions of bathtubs discovered in Levantine contexts (e.g., Biran 1994: 174; T. Dothan 2002: 202–6).

The literature on bathtubs generally assumes that both the installations and the activity of bathing are Aegean in origin, with the tradition arriving on Cyprus in the late 13th century BCE along with other Aegean practices and material culture (Karageorghis 2000: 273). However, the earliest cited bathtub (Karageorghis 2000: 266) comes from the Ayios Iakovos Sanctuary and dates to the 14th century BCE (cf. Gjerstad et al. 1934: 356–61). Described as a "large bath-shaped basin of terracotta," it was set into a shallow pit in the floor, with only its top edges protruding above the floor's surface. The bathtub was found filled with ashes and burnt bones (P. Åström 1972: 1), and was associated with an accumulation of artifacts described as "votive gifts" (Gjerstad et al. 1934: 359). Karageorghis dismisses the identification of this basin as a 'bathtub,' proclaiming that "It is not certain whether this basin was ever used as a bathtub, or whether it really resembled a bathtub," while pointing out that its identification was further compromised because it was not preserved and the field photographs, which depict it *in situ*, do not shed light on its function (2000: 266).

Karageorghis (2000: 266–74) and T. Dothan (2003: 202–7) provide the most recent overviews of these intriguing installations. In his catalogue, Karageorghis (2000: 272) notes in passing that a number were found in industrial areas (see Table 1). These find spots are generally assumed to represent secondary contexts. The recurrent discovery of similar installations in industrial areas, however, suggests that these contexts may not necessarily be secondary, but were areas associated with the primary function of these installations. The recent publication of a number of bathtubs from Philistia (T. Dothan 2003; Master 2005: 345; Stager 2006: 13) allows for an alternative understanding of some of these large basins as industrial installations, and compels us to reexamine the contexts of earlier finds in Cyprus and the Levant.

## Cyprus

In Cyprus, bathtubs are often found on floors that are partially paved with stone slabs or have a hardened floor surface. Many

bathtubs are found smashed to pieces. Others are embedded in the floor surface. Some baths are found in contexts that suggest they were intentionally put out of use, as in the case of two examples from Enkomi, where one stood below a wall (Courtois 1992) and the other was found upside down (Courtois et al. 1986).

Rooms are often identified as either bathrooms in domestic settings (e.g., at Enkomi and Pyla-Kokkinokremos), or cultic shrines (e.g., at Kouklia), based primarily on the presence of a bathtub (see Table 1). The identification of Room B in Building II at Alassa-Paliothaverna as a "public building containing a cult place" was based on the presence of a pillar-flanked hearth and bathtub which, according to the excavators, "is yet another argument in favour of this [cult] suggestion, having in mind the ritualistic nature of these artifacts in the LBA" (Hadjisavvas 1996: 113). These arguments run the risk of circular reasoning, with the installations identified as bathtubs based on their context, while at the same time giving definition to that same context.

A number of bathtubs have been recovered from contexts that have been interpreted as secondary, or in which their function was unclear, but nevertheless seemed ill-suited for bathing. The terracotta bathtub from Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios (South 1980: 36, fig. 4, 38–39) is a good example. It was found in the corner of a large one-room structure, set into a floor of hard white plaster, with only its rim protruding above floor level. Flat-lying stones paved the area flanking either end of the tub. South mentions that the tub had two loop handles and a relief-decorated exterior, but it is not clear from her report whether these features were visible above the ground surface, though they do not appear to have been, based on her description that the tub was "sunk below floor level in such a way that its rim project[ed] a short distance above the floor surface" (1980: 39). An outlet hole was pierced in the tub's lower wall, but was not connected to a drainage channel, as is typical of these installations. This suggests that whatever drained from the tub was not meant to be collected. Other features in the room included several variously sized pits and sherds of large pithoi, leading South to conclude that "It appears extremely unlikely that this large room was a bathroom, and the bath must have been set here for some other purpose" (1980: 39). Based on architectural similarities with Building X, a monumental complex located in an area to the north of the building in which the tub was found, South identified the tub room as having a public or administrative function (1983: 101).

Similar installations have also been found in contexts that have been identified as industrial, such as the tubs at Kition and Maa-Palaeokastro and some of the examples from Enkomi (Karageorghis 2000: 270–72). The functional nature of these areas was identified as industrial by the excavators based on the presence of production waste and industrial tools, including evidence of copper working and textile production, and/or by concentrations of tubs and tub fragments in close proximity (Karageorghis 2000: 270–72).

Perhaps the best evidence for bathtubs in industrial contexts comes from the site of Maa-Palaeokastro, where more than twelve clay

bathbubs and bathtub fragments were found (Karageorghis and Demas 1988). The majority of the fragments and the most complete examples all derive from the floors and fills in the rooms along the southern half of Building III, a building interpreted as largely for storage, with some "specialized use of its south sector" (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 63). Although many of the finds from Building III were linked to bathing activities, including a pithos for water storage, soot-covered pottery for water heating, and personal items such as a bronze fibula, pin and a beaded necklace (presumably lost by the bather), the large number of bathbubs found in the complex forced Karageorghis and Demas to suggest other possible interpretations, including the washing or dyeing of cloth or wool, or other undetermined industrial activity (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 34). It is interesting to note that their discussion of the functional use of the Maa-Palaeokastro tubs was preceded by a similar discussion when they excavated the "bathroom" at Kition in Area I, Floor IV (1985b: 9–10), where they found a bathtub fragment in a later phase (see Table 1). One of their initial suggestions was that the room was used "for the dyeing and manufacture (?) of cloth," but they rejected this idea in favor of identifying the room as a bathroom, a functional space which they felt could be considered "an appropriate appendage to a small foundry" (1985b: 10).

### Southern Levant

In the southern Levant, bathbubs have been found at a number of Philistine settlements, but they also appear at sites which are considered outside of the Philistine enclave (e.g., Megiddo and Tel Dan; see Karageorghis 2000: 266–74). The contexts in which they are found exhibit similar patterns to the bathbubs from Cyprus. In the sacred enclosure at Tel Dan, smashed fragments of a restorable bathtub were found in a stone-paved alleyway (Biran 1994: 165–83). Rooms alongside this alley contained an olive press and a large plastered bin, indicating that this part of the sacred area was set aside for industrial activity (Stager and Wolff 1981).

A photograph of a clay bathtub found *in situ* in Stratum VIA at Megiddo (Karageorghis 2000: 274; Loud 1948: 45, fig 87, 386: 6; Paice 2004: 59, pl. 21:1) shows it as a built-in, plastered feature, embedded in the room's floor, with an associated bowl at floor level into which the contents of the tub may have drained. This installation was identified by Loud as a wine or oil press (Loud 1948: 45, fig. 87). It was probably only recognized as a "bath" once it was removed from its context (Loud 1948: fig. 386: 6). The published photograph clearly indicates that one of the handles, preserved on the back wall of the tub, was at least partially concealed by the surrounding plaster construction, and therefore does not appear to have been associated with the tub's function in the context in which it was found.

At Philistine sites, T. Dothan differentiates between bathbubs found in 'bathrooms' and those which come from contexts that do not have the 'appearance' of a bathroom (2003: 202). Dothan notes that bathbubs are often discovered in association with rectangular mudbrick platform



hearths, and are commonly found in large, communal assembly rooms where they “fulfill[ed] a role in purification and/or other rituals” (2003: 203–4). Mention is also made of a possible clay ‘bathtub’ fragment found at Tell Qasile (T. Dothan 2003: 203; Karageorghis 1983a: 274). However, purification rituals do not seem to be a central focus of the cultic activities in the Philistine temple complex at this site (Zevit 2001: 125–32), nor in what we know of Philistine cultic activities in general (Mazar 2000).

The two clearest examples of Philistine bathtubs come from Area G at Ashdod and Building 353 at Tel Miqne-Ekron. The buildings in which these bathtubs were found shared a similar architectural plan, consisting of a large front room with two smaller rooms at the rear. The Area G building at Ashdod has been redefined recently as an elite residence (T. Dothan 2003: 202), although the excavators initially described it as a workshop (Dothan and Porath 1993: 72). Building 353 at Tel Miqne has been identified as domestic (Mazow 2005). A third bathtub has been discovered in the Philistine levels at Ashkelon (T. Dothan 2003: 204–7, fig. 15; Master 2005: 344–45, figs. 20.7 and 20.8; Stager 2006: 13; forthcoming). Although not fully published, it too presents interesting parallels and will be discussed further below.

#### *Ashdod*

In Area G at Ashdod, Dothan and Porath (1993: 70–73, plan 11) uncovered remains of both a terracotta (1993: 266–67, basin 4141 in pl. 22: 2–3, pl. 23:1) and a possible limestone (1993: 267, pl. 24:1 and 3) bathtub. The clay tub was originally described as “a well-fired pottery basin...with a blackened hole in the base at one of its ends” (1993: 72). According to their reconstruction, the bathtub was located in the “courtyard” of a “workshop”, which contained, among other things, “a large quantity of ashes, several grinding stones...and a stone bench or worktable...” (1993: 72). The bathtub was discovered set into the courtyard’s surface. A small fire installation, initially called a kiln in the excavation report (1993: 72), but more recently described as a hearth (T. Dothan 2003: 202), also stood near the bathtub. Fragments of worked limestone, identified as part of another possible bathtub or basin (Dothan and Porath 1993: 72–3; T. Dothan 2003: 204), were found in “secondary use” embedded in the floor of a Stratum XII complex to the north of this workshop.

#### *Tel Miqne-Ekron*

Two Aegean-style limestone bathtubs were identified at Tel Miqne-Ekron. The first, discovered in Field I, dates to the initial phase of Philistine settlement at Tel Miqne in the 12th century (T. Dothan 2003: 204–5, fig. 13; Meehl et al. 2006). This bathtub was located in one room of a multi-room complex. Other features in the room included a freestanding hearth and a mudbrick bench. A flagstone pavement was laid around the tub’s base. No other details or associated artifacts have yet been published pertaining to this example, but its location in Field I indicates that it must have been somewhere near the Field

I industrial area and pottery kiln complex (Killebrew 1996: 145–49, 151).

The second limestone bathtub was located in Field IV Lower, and dated approximately to the end of the 12th/beginning of the 11th centuries BCE (T. Dothan 2003: 204–6, fig. 14; Garfinkel et al. forthcoming; Mazow 2005: 78–80). It sat in Room A, the front room of Building 353, a multi-room complex built along the eastern side of Building 350, a temple or wealthy residential structure. Oval in shape, the tub had plastered sides and a cobble-lined floor, with a drainage hole equipped with a stone plug at one end of its sloping base. Other features in the room included a rectangular mudbrick platform hearth, flanked by two pillars, and a partially paved surface. The tub was filled with pea-sized gravel, interpreted by the excavators as evidence that this installation had fallen into disuse (Garfinkel et al. forthcoming).

Rooms B and C, two smaller rooms at the back, contained an assortment of artifacts attesting to craft production and, in particular, textile manufacture. The space in Room C was occupied almost entirely by three shallow, interconnected, plaster-lined basins set into the floor. In Room B, two spinning/plying bowls were found and a cluster of loom weights, indicating the possible location of a warp-weighted loom. Although individual loom weights were found scattered throughout the excavation area, this find is one of only two loom weight caches, and the only one which may indicate a use-context. The second loom weight cache was found together with an assortment of artifacts that suggest a storage area, including ivory, jewelry, zoomorphic objects, pottery, grinding stones and flint tools (Barber 1991: 102–3).

Both caches contained a mixture of loom weight types (Mazow 2005: 165–67; Garfinkel et al. forthcoming), including the pierced pyramidal and doughnut styles, and non-perforated clay cylinders often identified as Aegean-style loom weights. The identification of these latter objects as loom weights has been proposed based in part on their discovery at Ashkelon, where large numbers have been found aligned in rows as if dropped from warp weighted looms (Stager 1995: 346). Additional hypotheses posit that these clay weights, or reels as they are sometimes called, were used to twine belts or strips of cloth which were then sewn together (Barber 1997: 516; 1999: 54–60). Either way, these clay cylinders were clearly associated with textile production.

Additional evidence of textile manufacture includes a number of large ceramic basins (cf. Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 23, fig 25: 2 and 26), which Sherratt has suggested may be connected with weaving (1998: 304–5), and a collection of spindle whorls. Worked ceramic sherds were also found concentrated in this area. These sherds, often referred to as stoppers, may have functioned as bobbins or spools around which thread could be wound, as initially proposed by Petrie (1917: 53) and Cartland (1918).

Adjacent to Building 353 was a second building, Building 354, which exhibited a similar spatial organization. Although no bathtub or

hearth platform was found in this building, it contained an assortment of small pillar bases, postholes and pits, and the area could easily have functioned as a place for warping yarn or for drying finished fabrics. A large number of sunken store jar installations were also concentrated in these two buildings. Sunken store jar installations, found at Tel Miqne (Garfinkel et al. forthcoming) and at Ashkelon (Stager 2006: 14; forthcoming), consisted of the lower part of a store jar embedded in the floor and encircled by a pavement made of small pebbles, sherds and/or shell. I have argued elsewhere that these installations were used for craft production (Mazow 2005: 236–45). The concentration of weaving and industrial equipment in these two buildings provides strong evidence for the existence of a textile workshop, with permanent installations and separate activity areas.

### *Ashkelon*

A limestone bathtub has been recovered from the Philistine city of Ashkelon. Although not yet fully published, some interesting features concerning the context of the bathtub can be noted. It was found in a secondary use context (Master 2005: 345), with a proposed “initial use belong[ing] to the early stages of Philistine settlement at Ashkelon” (T. Dothan 2003: 204). Interpolating from information provided by Stager, Dothan (2003: 205–7, fig. 15) has reconstructed the Ashkelon bathtub as situated in the corner of a large room, in the center of which was a mudbrick platform hearth. The published plans illustrate a number of built-in features, including a hearth (Stager 2006: 13), that might have been associated with the original function of the bathtub (Master 2005: 344, fig. 20.7; Stager 2006: 12). However, the bathtub was actually found embedded within a plastered construction that has been identified as a winepress (Master 2005: 345, fig. 20.8), suggesting an alternative function.

The larger context of the Ashkelon bathtub is difficult to define. Based on the very limited data published thus far, the room in which it was found was located in Grid 38, the excavation area with the largest exposure of the Philistine settlement (Master 2005: 344–45). Preliminary reports describe a large public building, dated to both the Philistine Monochrome and Bichrome phases (Stager 1995: 346), and associated with an area that “appears to have been primarily an open area, in part devoted to the production of wine and possibly also grappa...” (Barako 2001: 83). Based on the presence of large stone pillar bases, Stager has drawn architectural comparisons with Philistine palaces and temples, and has assigned it an administrative or cultic function (1995: 346). More recent architectural plans (Master 2005: Phases 20, 19 and 18a; Stager 2006: Phases 20 and 19; forthcoming) illustrate isolated blocks of single- and multi-room complexes dated to Phase 18a, which is contemporary with the use of the bathtub as a winepress. These structures are described as “industrial” (Master 2005: 345).

In addition to this wine distillery, more than 150 Aegean-style loom weights were recovered from this area along with concentrations of textile fibers, attesting to a large-scale textile industry (Master 2005:

342; Stager 1995: 346). Some of these loom weights were found aligned in rows along the walls, clearly indicating they were part of warp-weighted looms (Stager 1995: 346), and arguing against the use of this area as a storage facility (Barber 1991: 102–3).

Both the spatial and chronological relationships between these loom weights and the bathtub remain elusive, but the co-occurrence of these features in light of the parallel examples at Tel Miqne and Ashdod argues strongly for a link between the bathtub installation and textile production.

Although there have been a number of recent studies on weaving in the southern Levant, in terms of Philistine textile technologies, the discussion has not moved beyond a recognition of the presence of these foreign style loom weights at Philistine sites, and the assumption that they reflect the presence of Philistine women (e.g., Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002: 214–16). The evidence of a textile workshop at Tel Miqne and the large number of loom weights found at Ashkelon indicate active textile production at these Philistine settlements. Moreover, the parallel contexts of weaving tools with bathtubs, at both Tel Miqne-Ekron and Ashkelon, support the view that these bathtubs played a significant role in craft production, and particularly weaving.

### **Textile Production and Fulling**

However, what specific role did these bathtubs play in the production of textiles? I propose that they were used either for scouring or fulling wool. Scouring is the process of cleaning wool and removing the natural lanolin and other greases. Fulling, or felting as it is sometimes called, is the stage of textile production associated with finishing a textile, and involves matting the woven textile to form the finished fabric. Both scouring and fulling require hot water and a detergent to keep the lanolin in suspension. Descriptions of fulleries from the Roman period record that the detergent of choice consisted of a mixture of ashes and urine (Beltrán de Heredia Bercero and Jordi y Tresserras 2000: 242). The latter ingredient was collected in large public urinals (Moeller 1976: 20).

Fulling also requires some form of agitation, such as kneading, stomping or pounding the wet wool (Barber 1991: 216). Descriptions of fulling, illustrated in Roman period funerary stelae, portray men standing in large basins and treading on woollen textiles (Lovén 2000: 237, fig. 4). Roman sources also preserve information regarding both small- and large-scale fulleries (De Ruyt 2001; Pietrogrande 1976; Ward-Perkins and Amanda 1978: 61). A reconstruction of an industrial fullery from Roman Ostia depicts rows of men treading on wool, while standing in large sunken basins and leaning for support on small partition walls (De Ruyt 2001: fig. 4; Pietrogrande 1976: fig. 26). Although no evidence of fulled textiles has yet been found in the pre-classical Mediterranean world, both a fuller and the activity of fulling are described in Linear B texts (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 123, 322). These documents indicate that fulling was a specialized craft, and

traditionally a male occupation (Barber 1991: 274, 284; Palmer 1963: 191–98; Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 123; Ward-Perkins and Amanda 1978: 59–61). According to Barber (1991: 274), weavers would send their woven cloth to a fuller for finishing.

Fullers also appear to have held relatively high status (Palaima 1997; Palmer 1963: 191–98; Shelmerdine 1999; Ward-Perkins and Amanda 1978: 59–61), and are listed along with potters on Linear B tablets from Pylos as specialists associated with the wanax, a term usually understood to mean king or ruler (Shelmerdine 1999). Palaima (1997) has proposed that the relationship between fuller and wanax was that of an attached royal craftsman. Ventris and Chadwick (1973: 123) have also recognized references to royal fullers in the Linear B documents, and the role of these royal craftsmen as attached specialists has been further examined by Shelmerdine (1999).

A symbiotic relationship might also have existed between fullers and the cosmetics industry. Lanolin, used as a moisturizer in cosmetics, could theoretically have been strained from the heated scouring water once the wool was removed from the tub. This relationship might be symbolized by a miniature bathtub-shaped ivory pyxis found in a large tomb at Kition (Karageorghis 1974: 42–43, 62–94, pls. LXXXVII, CLXX), and a second example of soapstone found at Enkomi (Dikaios 1971: 768, pls. 147:8, 176:55).

### **Maa-palaeokastro – A Late Bronze Age Fullery**

The strongest evidence for the use of bathtubs in a large-scale fullery comes from Building III at Maa Palaeokastro on Cyprus. When compared to reconstructions of a Roman fullery (De Ruyt 2001: fig. 4; Pietrogrande 1976: fig. 26), striking parallels can be observed. These include rows of small, individual cells, with semi-partition walls between them, with each cell containing its own basin- or bathtub-like installation embedded in the floor.

The plan of Building III at Maa-Palaeokastro includes a long narrow corridor backed by a series of rooms separated from each other by low partition walls. These partitioned cubicles, which lacked any apparent structural function, puzzled the excavators, and prompted them to posit the existence of a possible staircase or light and ventilation access. Most of the bathtubs and bathtub fragments came from the floors and fills in these small rooms (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 63). One of the most complete tubs was found in the corner of one of the cubicles, its smashed fragments found lying above a pithos- and pebble-paved surface in the corner of the room.

The northern part of the building at Maa-Palaeokastro is similar in plan to rooms along the southern end of the building. A wide hall that stretches the length of the building separates these two sections, and it is not clear whether access between them was possible. Objects of note found in this building include a large number of Aegean-style loom weights ( $n > 30$ ), which appear to have been concentrated in the central and northern parts of the building (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 27–33, 227, 239, 251). Large numbers of pierced terracotta loom

weights, which have been traditionally recognized as weights for warp weighted looms, were also found throughout the site, although none were associated with Building III (1988: 227). This spatial distribution of artifacts suggests a segregation of tasks, with fulling occurring in the southern sections of Building III, weaving or twining with Aegean-style loom weights in the north, and weaving with pierced loom weights in other building complexes at the site. This distribution also provides compelling evidence in support of a functional link between Aegean-style loom weights and bathtubs.

## Conclusions

Sherratt (2003: 44) has questioned the widespread assumption that trade ceased with the collapse of Late Bronze Age society, pointing to the increasing evidence of a flourishing urban economy in the Early Iron Age. She has argued instead that trade continued between Cyprus and the Levant, fueling the economy of the eastern Mediterranean, albeit involving different mechanisms than those that had preceded it during the Late Bronze Age (1998; 2003). Although Sherratt cites evidence for contemporary industrial-scale production systems on both Cyprus and in the southern Levant (1998: 302–5; 2003: 46–48), her emphasis is on trade as the economic catalyst. Thus, in her view, it was the development of decentralized, direct commercial exchanges that fostered the growth of a new urban settlement pattern, seen particularly along the coastal areas of the Levant, and resulted in a large, pan-eastern Mediterranean “economic and cultural community” (1998: 294). Bauer (1998) has proposed similarly that the Sea Peoples, or Philistines more specifically, were mercantilists who, through decentralized trade networks, established trading colonies along the southern Levantine coast. Alternatively, I propose that the Philistines were not only distributors, as suggested by Bauer’s model, but also active producers.

By re-examining a selected number of contexts that have produced remains associated with Philistine material culture, this paper has identified clear evidence for an active textile industry that has gone relatively unrecognized in previous reconstructions of Philistine society. My review of the contexts in which ‘bathtubs’ have been found suggests that some of these installations were not used for purification rituals or Aegean-style elite bathing etiquette. An industrial interpretation fits better with the find spots of many of these tubs. In particular, I have noted the link between a number of bathtubs and Aegean-style loom weights, and I have argued that those bathtubs found in contexts associated with textile manufacture might have been used for fulling wool. Although preliminary, the evidence points to the existence of at least two large-scale, specialized industries associated with Philistine society: pottery (cf. Killebrew 1998) and textile production.



Table 1. Bathtubs in the Levant and Cyprus

Levant Site	Location	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Tell Abu Hawam	Grid D4, Bldg 24?	Str. III 10th-late 8th c. (Balensi, <i>et al.</i> 1993)	Terracotta, "broken but in position" (Hamilton 1935: 24)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 exterior handles, two on a side,</li> <li>• at north end of multi-room building</li> </ul>	Hamilton 1935: 24, Plate III and XXXVI; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 273
Acco, The Persian Garden	Tomb C2	14 <sup>th</sup> c. <sup>1</sup>	Terracotta, upside down, missing base	1.15 long, 0.35 wide, 0.64 deep	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 loop handles, 4 horizontal parallel ridges below handles</li> <li>• Karageorghis remarked on its similarity to the tub from Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios (2000: 273)</li> </ul>	Ben-Arieh 1993: 28; Ben-Arieh and Edelstein 1977: 9, 19 fig. 6 and Plates II: 2,3, XV: 10; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 273
Ashdod	Area G, courtyard of work-shop	XII, 12th century (Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005: 9, table 1.1) <sup>2</sup>	Terracotta, immersed in floor		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• hole in base, stood next to platform hearth, other finds in room include grinding stones and a large quantity of ash</li> <li>• building defined by excavators as "workshop" in residential area (Dothan and Porath 1993: 72) or "elite...communal..." with cultic associations (T. Dothan 2003: 202-203)</li> </ul>	Dothan and Porath 1993: 70-73 plan 11, 266-267, basin 4141 in pl. 22: 2.3, pl. 23: 1; T. Dothan 2003: 202-203, fig. 12; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 273

<sup>1</sup> Based on published photographs of the Cypriot pottery associated with the tomb, Karageorghis (2000: 273) suggests that this date "may be too high".<sup>2</sup> Ashdod Stratum XII-XI in Area G is contemporary with Tef Mique-Ekron Stratum VIA-VA according to Dothan and Zukerman (2004: 6, table 2).

Site	Location	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Ashdod	Area G	XII, 12th century BCE (Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005: 9, table 1.1) <sup>3</sup>	Limestone, found in secondary use, embedded in floor	1.05 long x 0.27-0.18 wide x 0.10 thick	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>long ends end in raised projections</li> <li>doesn't seem to resemble other bathub examples</li> <li>located in building immediately north of residential area (Dothan and Porath 1993: 72)</li> </ul>	Dothan and Porath 1993: 70-73 plan 11, 266-267, basin 4141 in pl. 22: 2.3, pl. 23: 1; T. Dothan 2003: 202-203, fig. 12; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 273
Ashkelon	Grid 38	Phase 18a, <sup>4</sup> approx. 1050 BCE (Master 2005)	Limestone, found in secondary use as "winepress"		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>located in corner of room</li> <li>near large caches of loomweights but exact spatial and chronological relationships are not known</li> <li>associated with a platform hearth (T. Dothan 2003: 204; Stager 2006: 13)</li> </ul>	T. Dothan 2003: 204, 207 fig. 15; Master 2005: 344, fig. 20.7, 345, fig. 20.8; Stager 2006: 13; forthcoming
Dan	Sacred Precinct	10 <sup>th</sup> -beg. 9 <sup>th</sup> c. BCE	Terracotta, smashed above cobbled surface	1.41 long x 0.82 wide x 0.65 high	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>raised shelf or "seat" at end of tub</li> <li>located in alley outside olive press installation, in "sacred precinct"</li> </ul>	Biran 1994: 176, fig. 137 and 182, fig. 143; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 274
Miqne-Ekron	Field IV/Lower Bldg. 353a	VIA, 4th quarter 12th/beg. 11th c. BCE (T. Dothan and Gitin 2005)	Limestone w/plastered sides and cobbles in base, set into floor	1.09 long x 0.70 wide x 0.38-0.028 deep	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>oval in shape, "plug" in base; located next to platform (hearth) with 2 columns; tub filled with pebble debris.</li> </ul>	T. Dothan 2003: 204, 206 fig. 14; Garfinkel, <i>et al.</i> forthcoming; Mazow 2005: 78-80

<sup>3</sup> See note 2.

<sup>4</sup> The bathub was found in a Phase 18a context, but the excavators' assume that it had a prior use in Phase 19, dated to approximately 1150 and contemporary with Tel Miqne-Ekron VI (Master 2005).

Site	Location	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Miqne-Ekron	Field INE (sondage)	VII, 2nd-3rd quarter 12th c. BCE (T. Dothan and Gittin 2005)	Limestone, burnt, set into cobblestone surface		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• other finds include: loomweights, spinning bowl, lg. ceramic basins</li> <li>• located in multiuse front room of crafts workshop/residence (Mazow 2005: 349-354)</li> </ul>	T. Dothan 2003: 204, 205 fig. 13; Meehl, <i>et al.</i> 2006 <sup>5</sup>
Megiddo	Area AA, Room 2022 <sup>6</sup>	Str. VI, 1150-1100 (Harrison 2004b: 13)	Terracotta, cemented into floor, identified as wine or oil press	0.58 long x 0.54 wide x 0.52 high	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• four small handles, at rim; shallow bowl at one end, "remains of three wood posts" in room (Loud 1948: 45).</li> <li>• area defined by excavators as "domestic" with many grinding stones, ovens and stone tubs throughout.</li> </ul>	Harrison 2004a; Loud 1948: 45, fig 87, 386: 6; Paice 2004: 59, plate 21: 1; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 274

<sup>5</sup> Note corrections to the drawing published in T. Dothan (2003: 205, Fig. 13), which include 1, the direction of the north arrow should point from the upper left corner of the drawing down toward the lower right corner (north), adjusting the orientation of the building so that its entrance is in the south, 2, the location of the bathtub should be moved to the southeast corner of the room (to the left of its present location), set into a flagstone surface, and 3, entrance into the building is through a doorway in the south wall of the smaller, southern room. For a more detailed drawing of this installation, reference should be made to Meehl, T. Dothan and Gittin (2006).

<sup>6</sup> The "wine or oil press," which appears *in situ* in Fig. 87 (Loud 1948) most likely includes the clay "bath" that is pictured in Fig. 386: 6 in its reconstructed state (note the similarity in the handle, which appears in the foreground of Fig. 87, and the shape of the vessel's rim). Confusion over Loud's original description, where he also mentions the spatial distribution of a number of stone tubs in the vicinity of Room 2022, and the fact that in his text he does not associate the installation in Fig. 87 with the "bath" in Fig. 386: 6, led to Karageorghis' (2000: 274) cataloguing of these figures as portraying two separate bathtubs, one of clay and a possible second one of stone. Numerous stone tubs have been discovered in Stratum VI at Megiddo (Harrison 2004a), but, as they were not initially included in either Karageorghis' (2000) or Dothan's (2003) catalogues, they will be dealt with in a future publication.

Site	Location	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Megiddo	Bldg. 1060 <sup>7</sup>	Str. III-II, 780-600 BCE (Harrison 2004b: 13)	Terracotta, set into floor	0.62 long x 0.37 wide x 0.32 high <sup>8</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>raised double band below rim</li> <li>located in corner of central room with steps leading into this room and 2 side rooms</li> <li>area defined by excavators as "domestic," but building noted as unusual (Lamon and Shipton 1939: 63)</li> </ul>	Lamon and Shipton 1939: 63-64, fig. 74, plates 18, 19 and 54; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 274
Qasile			Terracotta, fragment			cited in T. Dothan 2003: 203; and Karageorghis 1983a: 274 as personal communication from A. Mazar

## Cyprus

Site	Building	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Allassa-Palitoverma	Room B, Bldg. II, south wing of large ashlar building	LCIIIa	Terracotta, crushed on top of "well-head"		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>two handles visible in photo (Hadjisavvas 1996: XIX: 2)</li> <li>located in one of two rear rooms off of courtyard; parallel room complex at west end of south wing with "hearth room" and "sunken construction" between them.</li> <li>tub described as "almost identical" to one from sanctuary at Palaepaphos; assoc. with hearth</li> </ul>	Hadjisavvas 1994; 1996: 109, 112, 113, fig. 2, plates XIV: 2, XV: 2, XIX: 2; Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavvas 1997; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 270

<sup>7</sup> Plates 18 and 54 note that this bathub, Jar 91, was from locus 850, which appears in square O9 in Fig. 117 on the Stratum II plan. Although, as labeled in the air photograph, this locus does not seem to appear in building 1060, it seems logical to suggest that this clay bath is the one referred to in the text as coming from Building 1060, and the one which appears in the photograph in fig. 74.

<sup>8</sup> Measured off drawing. Measurements from exterior walls.

Site	Building	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Ayios Iakovos	Sanctuary	14 <sup>th</sup> c.	Terracotta, with base formed by flat, sawn conglomerate piece; set into shallow pit in the rock	1.28 long x 0.63 x 0.47 (exterior dimensions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>building function identified by excavators as "public building containing a cult place" (Hadjisavvas 1996: 113); also referred to as a "bathroom" (Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavvas 1997: 145)</li> </ul>	P. Åström 1972; Gjerstad, <i>et al.</i> 1934: 356-361; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 266
Enkomi	Quarter 5W, NE of Bâtiment 18	LCIIIA	Carved limestone	1.23 long x 0.68 wide x 0.64 high	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4 small, vertically oriented, rectangular projections on exterior below rim</li> <li>found <i>in situ</i>, in a "private house" (Courtois 1992: 51) but with a wall built across it essentially putting it out of use; next room to east had a flagstone paved surface and "latrines" (Courtois 1992: 51);</li> <li>interpreted by excavators as a bathroom complex</li> </ul>	Courtois 1984: 104, inv. 929, fig. 39/17; 1992: fig. 2; also cited in Karageorghis 1983a: 435 note 1, 436 fig. 3; and in Karageorghis 2000: 266

Site	Building	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Enkomi	East of Bâtiment 18, domestic		Terracotta	1.40 long x 0.58 wide	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>one projection on exterior of each long side, found near well</li> <li>described by excavators as domestic</li> </ul>	Schaeffer 1952: Plan LXXXVII; also cited in Courtois 1992: 151; and in Karageorghis 2000: 266, 270
Enkomi	West of Bâtiment 18, domestic		Terracotta	1.75 long x 0.70 wide	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2 exterior projections along one long side<sup>9</sup></li> <li>built along wall in corner of room</li> <li>described by excavators as domestic</li> </ul>	Schaeffer 1952: Plan LXXXVII; also cited in Courtois 1992: 151; and in Karageorghis 2000: 266, 270
Enkomi	Quartier 6W	LCIII B	Terracotta	1.10 long x 0.54 wide x .635 high	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>drainage hole in base</li> <li>found broken but almost complete within collapsed debris</li> <li>other finds in the room include ceramic and stone loomweights, a bone tool, a round pottery slice (possibly a "stopper"), a miniature bathtub, and various utensils made from pebbles. Additional finds in the building include 3 or 4 large basins with drainage holes, and a large number of terracotta "reels"</li> <li>described by excavators as domestic and industrial (Courtois, <i>et al.</i> 1986: 51-53)</li> </ul>	Courtois, <i>et al.</i> 1986: 52 <sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Courtois (1992: 151) describes this tub with handles along one side only, but it is not clear whether this description is based only on Schaeffer's plan, where the tub is set against a wall and therefore only one side is clearly visible, or if Courtois' description is based on seeing the tub itself. Karageorghis noted that neither this tub nor the tub from east of Bâtiment 18 can now be located (2000: 270).

<sup>10</sup> Based on its location, this may be the same vessel as mentioned by Schaeffer (1952: 28, plate LXII) and cited in Åström (1972: 519), discovered in the *Chantier dit des Ateliers*. If so, then the bone tool mentioned by Courtois *et al.* is probably the bone stylus/weaving tool described by Schaeffer (see also the objects found with the Enkomi tub found in Area I, Ashlar Building, Room 2), and one should also note the large amount of evidence for copper working in this area.



Site	Building	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Enkomi	Quartier 4E		Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>one handle visible in photograph</li> <li>found upside-down (next to silver bowl with Cypro-Minoan inscription)</li> <li>described by excavators as domestic and industrial area/crafts (Courtosis, <i>et al.</i> 1986: 26-27)</li> </ul>	Courtosis, <i>et al.</i> 1986: plate XIV.4; also cited in Courtosis 1992: 151-152; and in Karageorghis 2000: 270
Enkomi	Area I, Ashlar Building, Room 2	Level IIIA	Terracotta, fragments in pit fill		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>room 2 has 2 wells and slab-paved floor</li> <li>pit sealed by floor V surface in Room 2, although mention also made that stone slabs of surface showed disturbance</li> <li>finds in the wells include a wooden comb and 2 bone beaters/weaving tools (cf. Smith 2001: 89)<sup>11</sup></li> <li>described by excavators as "service" rooms for the residence on the upper floors (Dikaios 1969a: 182)</li> </ul>	Dikaios 1969a: 181-182; 1969b: plan 273; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 270 <sup>12</sup>
Enkomi	Area I, Ashlar Building (reconstructed), courtyard	Level IIIB	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>inv. 473, fragments</li> <li>other finds in courtyard include grinders, pestle, spindle whorl, terracotta loomweight</li> <li>Dikaios suggested domestic</li> </ul>	Dikaios 1969a: 205; 1969b: plan 276

<sup>11</sup> Joanna Smith (2001) has recently argued that what had been formerly called 'bone stylae' are actually weaving tools.

<sup>12</sup> In Area I, Level IIIA of the Ashlar Building, Dikaios (1969a: 181-182) describes fragments of a clay bathtub found amongst other things sealed in a pit. The room, Room 2, in which the pit was found, had a stone-paved flooring and two dug wells. Finds from this room include a "bone stylus"/weaving tool, INV.6336/2 (see note 11).

Site	Building	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Enkomi	Ashlar Building (reconstructed), Rooms 39/39B	Level IIIB	Terracotta, partially paved floor	0.80 x 0.45	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>rectangular in shape</li> <li>well in room</li> <li>Dikaios described room function as bathroom in domestic context</li> </ul>	Dikaios 1969a: 205; 1969b: plan 276; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 270
Enkomi	Area III, Sector B (plan)	Level IIIA late (floors IV and III) and IIIB, floor II	Limestone, on slab-paved area (floor IV), concrete or red mortar (floor III)	0.76 x 0.50	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>near well and cemented sherd surface which was "probably for bathing" (Dikaios 1969a: 107)</li> <li>"bathroom" built above Level II copper industry and megaron-like hall with hearth</li> </ul>	Dikaios 1969a: 107, 141; 1969b: plan 256; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 270 <sup>13, 14</sup>
Enkomi	Room 44 (Ashlar Building?)		Terracotta	0.80 high x 0.57 diameter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>inv. 388, round, basin shaped, with outlet hole</li> <li>although not a typical bathtub shape, according to Karageorghis, "It was certainly used as a bathtub".</li> </ul>	Karageorghis 1983a: 434, note 1, 435 fig. 2 <sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> All examples of bathtubs in Dikaios' report are marked as "jarnax" where noted on plans, except for the fragmentary one from the courtyard in Level IIIB, where its inventory number is noted.

<sup>14</sup> Although Karageorghis (2000: 270) mentions two bathtubs associated with Dikaios' (1969a) excavations in Area III, a rereading of the text suggests that there may only have been one, which was in use in both late Level IIIA (floors IV and III) and B (floor II) (1969a: 107 and 141). Dikaios' description of this area is difficult to follow, but he initially appears to be describing one room in Sector B, Room 77 (plan 254), where, at the beginning of Level IIIA, a long, pillared hall is built with associated hearth, above what in Level II had been the location of a copper workshop. In a second and/or third phase of use, associated with floors IV and III but still dated to Level IIIA, "the room was changed into a bathroom" (1969a: 107). Although Dikaios' text seems to continue to point the reader to the Level IIIA plan (plan 254), his description of the redesigned bathroom area, with slab paved area around the tub, a stone-lined well to the north of the tub and a low walled area, resemble more the illustration of this room as depicted in the Level IIIB plan (Room 9 on plan 256), and it is probably this latter spatial organization that should be considered when describing the Area III bathtub.

A second feature found in Room 8, just to the north of Room 77 of the Level IIIA building (plan 254), described as "a sandstone trough (L.070 m, W.065 m, H.044 m) with a perforation in the side at the level of the bottom" (1969a: 107), seems similar in size and shape to the other 'bathtubs' and may have performed a similar function. Found on its side in a depression, it was assumed to have fallen from an upper storey and therefore not associated with the room in which it was found, where there were remains of a sherd paved area.

<sup>15</sup> Cited in Karageorghis but I could find no further description of it in the Enkomi reports.

Site	Building	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios <sup>16</sup>	Area 24, East Area	LCIIC	Terracotta, sunk into plaster floor, with flagstones placed at ends even with rim of tub	1.00 long x 0.65 wide x 0.63 high <sup>17</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NE corner of room, sunk into floor with rim of tub just above floor surface; floor surface composed of hard plaster floor with flagstones placed at either end of tub.</li> <li>• low placement of "outlet" hole through side of tub, 2 opposing handles (on exterior?); and 4 parallel relief bands on exterior</li> <li>• large room, not a bathroom according to South (1980: 39), possibly "public or administrative" (South 1983: 101).</li> </ul>	South 1980: 38-39, 36 fig. 4; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 270 <sup>18</sup>
Kition	Area I, Room 30, floor III	LCIIIA	Terracotta	(base only) 0.35 long x 0.405 wide x 0.138 high	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• fragments of base.</li> <li>• also in room were "well" and square pit, in room 31 was "unsuccessful" "well" with footholds, end of hall in room 32 was hearth.</li> <li>• Karageorghis (2000: 272) associated the tub room (Room 30, floor III) with a "bathroom" from the previous phase (Room 30D of floor IV) with a cement paving. One should also note from this same area</li> </ul>	Karageorghis 1985: 30,34; Karageorghis and Demas 1985a: plates XX, XLV; 1985b: 5-23, plates 5-8; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 272

<sup>16</sup> A number of large open vessels described as "tubs with rectangular mouths and relatively straight sides" (Keswani 1989: 19, see in particular fig. 20: 31, 32) have also been recovered from the site. At this time, it is not possible to determine whether or not these vessels are a similar type of bathtub, but it is interesting to note the mention of a spatial distribution pattern, where, at least at the time of Keswani's report, these large tubs were only found in the South-East, East and West areas of the site (Keswani 1989: 19).

<sup>17</sup> These measurements appear in Karageorghis (2000: 270).  
<sup>18</sup> Photograph of bathtub in Karageorghis (2000: 270, fig. 13.16) is identified in the caption as from *Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios*, but it is probably the bathtub from Kourion illustrated in Christou (1994: 187, fig. 9).

Site	Building	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Kouklia-Palaeophos <sup>19</sup>	Sanctuary I	LCIII/12th century	Terracotta, broken, found in a rock-cut trench	0.72 long	<p>in floor II a large pithos, set into a deep pit with its rim at surface level (Karageorghis and Demas 1985b: 19).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>area identified by excavators as residential, associated with stone and bronze tools and "weaving implements," including terracotta reels, in all floor phases (Karageorghis 1985: 35; Karageorghis and Demas 1985b: 5-23). Karageorghis later defined this area as "residential-industrial" (2000: 272), probably based on the earlier, floor IV, workshops and "bathroom".</li> </ul>	<p>Mater 1976: 95-97, plate XIX : 4; Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 91-102, figs. 74, 78; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 272<sup>20</sup></p>

<sup>19</sup> Karageorghis (1980, cited in Courtois 1992: 153, note 5) also mentions a limestone bathtub from a tomb in Kouklia-Palaeophos.

<sup>20</sup> Maier's (1976: 97) reference to plate XVI should read XIX.

Site	Building	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Kourion-Bamboula	Trench 4, Room 39	LCIII	Terracotta		<p>possibly purification. Also possibly for burials (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 97)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>area defined by excavators as sanctuary/ shrine</li> </ul>	Daniel 1938: 263, fig. 2, 270
Kourion-Bamboula	Trench 4, Room 37	LCIII	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>located in one room, with crushed limestone flooring, of multi-room domestic complex. No other information recorded</li> <li>found upside down, standing next to possible stone tub</li> <li>other objects in room include an amphora sunk into the floor</li> <li>located in one room of multi-room domestic complex. No other information recorded</li> </ul>	Daniel 1938: 263, fig. 2, 270-271, fig. 12; also cited in L. Åström and Åström 1972: 519
Kourion-Bamboula	Trench 4, Room 37	LCIII	Limestone		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>possible bathtub, L. Åström described it as "rectangular basin with outlet channel on one of the long sides" (L. Åström and Åström 1972: 544)</li> <li>found standing next to upside down clay tub (see above). Other objects in room include an amphora sunk into the floor</li> <li>located in one room of multi-room domestic complex. No other information recorded</li> <li>according to P. Åström, it "must have been used for bathing since it has an outlet channel" (L. Åström and Åström 1972: 605).</li> </ul>	Daniel 1938: 263, fig. 2, 270-271, fig. 12; also cited in L. Åström and Åström 1972: 544, 605

Site	Building	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Kourion-Bamboula	Tomb 35	LCIII B-beg. Of CG I	Terracotta	0.92 long x 0.62 wide x 0.63 high	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 sets of opposing vertical loop handles (4 handles <i>in toto</i>); "tomb gifts" found inside</li> </ul>	Christou 1994: 180-183, 187, figs. 6, 9; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 272
Maa-Palaeokastro	Bldg. III, Room 79, Floor II	LCIII	Terracotta, smashed, above pithos- and pebble-paved surface	0.995 long x 0.51 wide x 0.567 high <sup>21</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• obj. no. 588, almost complete example, straight sided, 2 sets of opposing handles, hole in base through one of short sides<sup>22</sup></li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 29, 226, plates LXI, CLXXXIV; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 270
Maa-Palaeokastro	Bldg. III, Room 79D, Floor II	LCIII	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• fragments</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 29, 226
Maa-Palaeokastro	Bldg. III, Room 79E, Floor II	LCIII	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• fragments</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 29, 226
Maa-Palaeokastro	Bldg. III, Room 79F (pit in Room 79C)	LCIII?	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• obj. No. 393, one of long sides preserved with 2 handles<sup>23</sup></li> <li>• found within fill of pit 2 from Room 79C which cut into floor II of this room and is "likely to derive from the use of this room" (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 30)</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 30, 226, 251, plates CXLIV, CCXXXVI
Maa-Palaeokastro	Area 99, Floor II	LCIII	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• obj. No. 616 rim fragment with handle</li> <li>• possibly roofed space</li> <li>• only other feature in area is U-shaped hearth</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 43-44, 229-230, plates LXXXIII, CXCVI

<sup>21</sup> These measurements appear in Karageorghis (2000: 270).

<sup>22</sup> This description of the tub appears only in Karageorghis (2000: 270).

<sup>23</sup> Karageorghis and Demas describe only rim and base fragments (1988: 30) or "restorable" (1988: 226), but the photograph and illustration of obj. 393 on plates CXLIV and CCXXXVI depict a larger piece.



Site	Building	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Maa-Palaeokastro	Bldg. I, Area 2-4/4, btwn. Floors I/II	LCIII	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>rim and base frags, described as similar in shape to no. 588</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 235
Maa-Palaeokastro	Bldg. I, Area 2-4B/1, btwn. Floors I/II	LCIII	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>fragment</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 236
Maa-Palaeokastro	Building IV, Room 77A, Floor I	LCIII	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>obj. No. 253, bathtub or basin fragment, with outlet hole</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 84-85, 250, plates CLIII, CCXLV
Maa-Palaeokastro	Building IV, Room 75B/2, Floor I	LCIII	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>fragment</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 249
Maa-Palaeokastro	north of Building II, west of Room 60/2, Floor II	LCIII	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>fragment</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 223
Maa-Palaeokastro	Bldg. III, Room 78, Floors I/II	LCIII	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>obj. no. 403, fragment of base with outlet hole</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 239, plates CIX, CCXI
Maa-Palaeokastro	Bldg. III, Pit 5 (Room 83)	LCIII	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>small fragments with outlet hole</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 251
Maa-Palaeokastro	Bldg. III, Pit 1A (Room 88A)	LCIII	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>obj. no. 279, rim sherd with handle</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 251, plates CXLIV, CCXXXVI
Maa-Palaeokastro	Bldg. III, Room 59 and Area 100A	LCIII	Terracotta		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>obj. no. 214, base fragment</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 251, plates CXXXIV, CCXXX
Palaeophosphates	Tomb T.49	11 <sup>th</sup> c.	Limestone	1.53 long x 0.74 wide x 0.73 deep	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>elliptical shape, sloping bottom, horizontal band of 'half-reel shaped' projections on exterior below rim with one 'protruding half bowl'</li> </ul>	Karageorghis 1983a: 435-438; 1983b: 59-76, Plate LXIV, Fig. XC; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 272

Site	Building	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Pyla-Kokkinokremos	Area II, Complex d, room 24	LCH/LCIII (ca. 1230-1200)	Terracotta	0.74 long x 0.46 wide x 0.575 high	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>filled with gravel almost up to the rim, with 12 bowls and cups on top of the gravel (Karageorghis 1983b: 60)</li> <li>obj. no. 30, almost whole, rectangular with rounded corners, 4 handles (1 near each corner), and outlet hole through side near base</li> <li>found broken, together with tub base no. 30A, near large square pit cut into bedrock; patches of ash to south of pit suggested possible hearth. Also a lot of pithos sherds</li> <li>located in one room of multi-room complex with large front courtyard; part of a row of complexes of standardized design identified as domestic space.</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 16-18, 26-28, 35, 52, plates XXI, XLII, plan I, see also fig. 4 for block architectural plan; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 272
Pyla-Kokkinokremos	Area II, Complex d, room 24	LCH/LCIII (ca. 1230-1200)	Terracotta	0.57 long x 0.38 wide x 0.128 high	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>obj. no. 30A, lower part of tub with an outlet hole in short side near bottom<sup>24</sup></li> <li>see obj. no. 30 from Pyla-Kokkinokremos for description of location</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 16-18, 26-28, 35, 52, plates XXI, XLII, plan I, see also fig. 4 for block architectural plan; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 272

<sup>24</sup> Although there is no mention of an outlet hole in the description (Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 35), one is visible in the photograph and drawing of this bathtub (Karageorghis and Demas 1984: plates XXI, XLII)

Site	Building	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Pyla-Kokkinokremos	Provenience not given <sup>25</sup>	LCII/LCIII	Terracotta	0.453 long x 0.228 high	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>obj. no. 117, lower part of tub, outlet hole near base in center of short side</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 42, 52, plates XXI, XLII; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 272
Pyla-Kokkinokremos	Trial A, in entrance between room 5 and 6		Limestone	(base only) 0.88 x 0.47 x 0.15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>obj. no. 1, lower part/ tub base, nearly rectangular in shape, flat base, perforation at bottom in center of short side, smoothed interior, upper part "chipped away"</li> </ul>	Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 19-20, 43-44, 59, 91, plates XXI, XLIX, plan II; also cited in Karageorghis 2000: 272

### Miniature Bathubs

Site	Building	Date	Construction	Dimensions (m)	Associated Finds	Published
Enkomi	Area III, room 73	end of LCIII C	Soapstone	0.092 long	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No. 3269, miniature bathtub, moulding and a pair of projections on long sides, band of hatched triangles and incised lines on exterior</li> </ul>	Dikaios 1971: 768, Plates 147: 8, 176: 55; also cited in Courtois 1992: 153, note 3 <sup>26</sup>
Enkomi	East Building Site	LCIII	Steatite	0.054 long x 0.032 wide x 0.03 high	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No. 904 (Enkomi 1958, Inv. No. 153), miniature bathtub, pair of small projections on long sides</li> </ul>	Courtois 1984: 101, fig. 35/1; also cited in Courtois 1992: 153, note 3
Kition	Tomb 9, upper burial, Area I	LCII	Ivory	0.117 long x 0.045 wide and 0.033 high	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>pyxis in form of miniature bathtub, with two sets of opposing handles (4 <i>in toto</i>), originally probably had a lid</li> <li>Karageorghis suggested its function as a cosmetics box</li> </ul>	Karageorghis 1974: 83, 91, plates LXXXVII, CLXX; Karageorghis and Demas 1985b: plate 5

<sup>25</sup> This bathtub, object number 117, is listed in the finds catalogue with those from Area II, complexes B.C. and D, and therefore can be assumed to have been found in one of these complexes.

<sup>26</sup> Courtois describes both of the miniature bathtubs from Enkomi as "steatite" and dates them to the LCIIIB (level IIC)

## Acknowledgments

I wish to acknowledge Bonnie Pulver of Woven Dreams for providing information on weaving technology, Sy Gitin, Trude Dothan and the Tel Miqne-Ekron Excavations and Publications Project for allowing me access to the Tel Miqne material, and Benjamin Saidel for his comments on this manuscript. Lastly, I wish to thank Tim Harrison for inviting me to participate in the conference that resulted in the production of this paper. Any errors are the sole responsibility of the author.

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