

COULD YOU TAKE A PICTURE OF MY BOAT, PLEASE? THE USE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF MEDITERRANEAN SHIP REPRESENTATIONS

Summary. Representations of ships, sailors and seafarers are common in many ancient societies. They were carved, drawn or painted on a great variety of raw materials – stone, wood, metal, textiles and pottery – and can be found in settings such as caves, tombs or royal palaces. Their presence at these sites raises the possibility that these images of maritime life have symbolic or ritual connotations.

This paper presents examples of representations of Phoenician and Punic ships from the first millennium BC, in an attempt to understand the role of both their creators and their audiences. These images are subsequently analysed in more detail, focusing on their technical features and their historical contexts. This paper concludes with a consideration of the social and religious aspects of ancient Mediterranean navigation.

INTRODUCTION

Representations of ships, sailors and seafarers are frequent in many ancient societies. Navigation was a very common means of transport in antiquity; it was more efficient and safer than land transport and facilitated the moving of greater volumes, where this was needed. The representations of ships were carved, drawn, or painted on raw materials such as stone, wood, metal, textiles and pottery, and are found in a variety of contexts, for instance caves, tombs and royal palaces.

This paper sets out to explore the symbolic connotations and ritual implications of these representations. We focus on a selection of ancient Mediterranean images, mainly Phoenician and Punic ships dated around the middle of the first millennium BC.¹ Moreover, to reinforce and enrich our arguments about Phoenician and Punic ship representations, we are going to refer to some Egyptian examples as their civilization is rich in such evidence.

1 Among the many handbooks on Phoenician and Punic societies, we have found two classic references particularly useful. Aubet (1994) offers an overview of the Phoenician diaspora in the West Mediterranean (from the eighth century BC to the sixth century BC), whereas Lancel (1995) focuses on the Punic period (sixth–third centuries BC) and more specifically on the development of Carthage. The more general volume by Van de Mieroop (2004), concerning the entire ancient Near East with special reference to the Egyptian context, is also valuable.

As our aim is to analyse symbolic and ritual aspects, we apply the *longue durée* perspective (Dobres 2000, 146; Bell 2002, 274). This chronological approach is by no means new (it was first proposed by Braudel in 1958) but remains the best suited for our analysis.²

Our paper is divided into four parts. First, we list briefly the most important previous work on Phoenician and Punic navigation and the current perspectives on social maritime archaeology. Second, we describe the most tangible features of the images selected, taking into consideration the 'hardware' (the material settings on which the representations were made), and the 'software' (their manufacturers and their intended audience). Third, we investigate the social and religious aspects of ancient Mediterranean navigation, concentrating in particular on the importance of the symbolic power of the sea and navigation in constructing not only sailing practices but also daily life. Fourth, we attach a brief catalogue containing the most representative images cited in the second and third parts of the article.

ANALYTICAL TOOLS

Previous studies

Not a great deal of work has been carried out on Phoenician and Punic navigation. In the late 1970s some studies of Punic navigation were undertaken (Bartoloni 1977; 1978; Amadasi Guzzo *et al.* 1979). Alvar (1981) was the first to propose a comprehensive approach to Phoenician and Punic sailing. In the 1980s and 1990s three international congresses were held, at which many of the papers discussed Phoenician open sea navigation (see Ripoll Perelló 1988; Aubet and Barthélemy 2000; Costa and Fernández 1998). Monographic references included the book by Guerrero Ayuso (1993) on sailing in the vicinity of the ancient Balearic islands, which focused on Phoenician and Punic navigation, and the book by Medas (2000). In 2002 the conference *Phoenician navigation: technology and routes* was held in Madrid (Peña 2004).

More interpretative investigations involving the relationship between people and waterscapes are scarce. Studies carried out in other contexts such as the northern European and Scandinavian Bronze and Iron Ages (Van de Noort 2003; Chapman and Gearey 2004), or anthropological and ethnographical research in areas like Australia or South Asia (McNiven 2003), have produced interesting results. These studies have focused on social and symbolic aspects of navigation and seascape and, above all, they show how the sea, rivers and marshes construct the way people create both their everyday activities and their cosmologies. In this regard, the articles on seascapes in *World Archaeology* (2004, 35, 3) are particularly significant as they constitute a starting point for considering the social, religious and ritual aspects of navigation and the coastal and maritime way of life. Some recent reflections (Ransley 2005) have examined the conceptualization of maritime archaeology as a way of re-examining Western androcentric assumptions.

Our starting point: ship representations as rituals

Traditionally, rituals have been interpreted as irrational, unusual activities, clearly divorced from everyday actions. They have been studied above all as self-contained entities:

2 One session at the XTAG'06 in Exeter was devoted to 'Scaling and Networks in Archaeology'. Scholars such as John Robb advocated the use of the large-scale perspective to deal with particular topics.

scholars have considered them as forming a well-defined category in which all activities and materials that cannot be explained by our 'rational' knowledge can be placed. With this methodology, ritual appears as a universal, unique idea able to explain many chronologically and geographically disparate situations (Bell 1992, 69–71). But this approach does not allow an analysis of rituals as specific activities. If we want to go beyond this explanation of ritual based on its universal, illogical features, we need to look for other formulas.

Bell's theories (1992) propose a new approach based on the concept of 'ritualization'. This term defines rituals in terms of practices and plays down their generic features. By interpreting rituals as practices we can study them in a new way: as they are activities, we should look at them taking into account to what extent, and in what ways, they differ from other practices (Bell 1992, 74). According to this view, the focus on ritualization involves seeing rituals as daily actions which, for particular reasons, are intentionally overemphasized.

In the case that interests us here, we consider the images of ships and seafarers as a form of ritualization because they represent a mode which emphasizes their significance. Indeed, they constitute elements of daily practices which are highlighted or ritualized through their representations.

The ritualization of ships, navigation and seascape reflects the desire to emphasize the specific features of coastal and maritime contexts. The relationship between inhabitants of coastal areas and the seascape is one of permanent tension: the sea is the source of vital commodities but, at the same time, it is dangerous, unpredictable, and volatile. Its rhythm is influenced by winds, tides or currents, so people have a profound respect for all the activities performed on water or on land. Seas are specific landscapes with their own ecological and religious meanings (Cooney 2003; Brody 1998, 102; Romero Recio 2000, 151).

HOW THE IMAGES WERE MADE: 'HARDWARE' AND 'SOFTWARE'

'Hardware'

Our 'hardware' comprises a variety of materials: stone, clay, pottery and metal.³ These substrates vary in terms of their availability, preservation and consistency and naturally their surfaces favour different techniques of representation (Table 1). Let us now briefly describe each setting.

The setting most frequently used is stone (Gunter 1995, 1543–4; Mannoni and Giannichedda 2004, 114–21; Moorey 1999, 21–110). Stone is a hard raw material that is easily preserved over the centuries and can be used either with or without preparation. For example, images like those in Grotta Regina (catalogue no. 1) are made on the stone in the walls of the cave, whereas the reliefs from the Neo-Assyrian palace of Khorsabad (catalogue no. 2) are made on polished, cut stone plaques. Obviously the amount of work involved in obtaining one kind of stone or the other is not the same.

The techniques applied on stone are paintings, incisions and reliefs, each of which would have required a different degree of specialization. Many of the selected images on the walls of the Laja Alta cave (catalogue no. 3) and Grotta Regina (catalogue no. 1) are more

3 Phoenician and Punic representations were made on a restricted variety of materials, in contrast to Egyptian ones, which could be found on materials such as wood, ivory, cloth and papyrus, all of them perishable and fragile.

TABLE 1
The 'hardware'

Raw material	Technique or final product	Manufacturers	Examples (catalogue numbers)
Stone	incision	non-specialized	8
	painting	specialized	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 15, 17
	relief	specialized	2, 14
Wood*	<i>models</i>	<i>specialized</i>	19
Clay	models	non-specialized or specialized	9, 18
	<i>painted pottery</i>	<i>non-specialized or specialized</i>	11, 12
	incised pottery	non-specialized	10
Metal	coins	specialized	16
	jewellery	specialized	13, 20
	furniture	specialized	14
Ivory	<i>relief</i>	<i>specialized</i>	21
Cloth	<i>painting</i>	<i>specialized</i>	22
Papyrus	<i>painting</i>	<i>specialized</i>	23

* Italics denote Egyptian representations found in Phoenician and Punic contexts or depicting Phoenician and Punic ships.

properly drawings, in which the most important feature is outline painting; by contrast, some Egyptian ones (catalogue nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7) are complex polychrome scenes. In short, the examples from Egypt were clearly made by artisans trained and paid to do this kind of work, while the examples from the Iberian Peninsula and Sicily were the work of a non-artisan, who may have been a professional sailor rather than an artist.

Reliefs make up the rest of the images on stone in our collection. This technique requires a degree of knowledge possessed only by artisans or specialists. Examples are the Neo-Assyrian reliefs (catalogue no. 2) and the more simple representations on the stelae from Carthage (catalogue no. 8).

The models we have considered were made of clay.⁴ Clay is a soft inorganic material which was easy to obtain, especially in the ancient Near East, with its abundance of fluvial territories (Gunter 1995, 1544–5). The material is also easy to mould: one did not have to be a specialist to make models like the one from Cyprus (catalogue no. 9) shown here.

Another product made from clay is pottery: since pottery itself is a manufactured product and not directly a raw material, elaborate preparation is needed. Pottery accounts for the greatest amount of archaeological material from antiquity. It is found practically everywhere, both in funerary and domestic contexts. We can distinguish certain types according to both the quality of the clay and the kind of decoration.

Pottery could be decorated with incisions. This technique is cheaper and easier than painting and requires less skill. A good example is the Phoenician *hippos* on the pottery fragment in Lisbon (catalogue no. 10). In contrast, more complex ones bear paintings. In the paintings on pottery vases, seascapes and ships are widespread motifs in the Levant and the ancient Near East, as is the case with many vases from pre-Dynastic Egypt (catalogue no. 11) decorated with simple drawings of large riverboats with long oars, painted red. Another kind of painting found in Egypt is on the inside of pottery vessels. Here we refer to the only two-dimensional representation we

4 In Egypt, however, most models are made of wood and those found at the Meket-Re tomb are good examples of ship wood models (catalogue no. 19).

have found viewed from above: a black bowl from pre-Dynastic Egypt (catalogue no. 12). As boats are usually represented from the side, this perspective is totally exceptional.

Metal was another frequently used material (Gunter 1995, 1545–6; Moorey 1999, 216–301). Different kinds of metals were in use in antiquity: here we show examples made of bronze, copper and precious metals used to obtain a variety of end products. Coins are found in many different settings. Their function is mainly economic, but their symbolic implications are undeniable. Coins are minted by institutions, which choose the images to be represented to project their image both inside and outside their society. The coins they make bear the faces of governors, important monuments and historic sites. In antiquity the images of boats were very common. A good example is the Punic coin selected here (catalogue no. 16), but it is obviously a widespread motif that survived until Roman times.

Other metallic objects were jewels. These are usually metal pieces of gold or silver, with precious or semi-precious stone inlays. In these cases the metal structure, the polishing of the stones and the inlaid work were done by specialized manufacturers. Few people would have been rich enough to own pieces of this kind. As in the case of the coins, the choice of ships to decorate jewels is significant: ships can be considered not only as representative items of everyday life practices, but also as markers of social status. A good example is the Phoenician piece from Aliseda (catalogue no. 13).

Metals were also used to build structures and furniture. Among the examples are the Balawat bronze gates (catalogue no. 14) decorated with reliefs in many registers. Some of them were related to the sea and navigation, specifically those representing Phoenician ships.

'Software'

As we have seen above, a variety of techniques could be applied depending on the settings and contexts. In fact, both raw materials (Drenkhalm 1995) and the characteristics and uses of final products (Wattenmaker 1998, 47; cf. Wright 1998, 67) reveal the differences between the artisans' levels of expertise.⁵ All these factors had a major impact on the two contexts of the representations (d'Azevedo 1958, 710): that is, their production (by the manufacturers or agents) and their appreciation or consumption (by the audience or consumers).⁶ Starting from these two contexts, in this section we analyse the relationship between the production and the consumption of the images (Bevan 2006, 21; Dabney 1997, 467).

First of all we should note that expensive and fragile materials were available only to qualified manufacturers working for a select group of consumers. Examples of the use of cloth or papyrus in Egypt are very clear.⁷ Other expensive materials, like ivory or jewellery, are less fragile but require a specialist to work on them: they present complex scenes and the artistic work is technically of a very high quality.⁸ One consequence of the participation of a specialist producer and the use of expensive and rare materials is that the intended audience is usually

5 Here we distinguish between artisans and non-artisans without discussing the limits of the term 'artisan' itself or its differences vis-à-vis the term 'artist'. In our view, this differentiation is not applicable in antiquity: what we consider artistic objects were usually the result of a joint project (Drenkhalm 1995, 336).

6 Here we use 'artisan' as a synonym of 'manufacturer' (D'Azevedo 1958) and 'agent' as a synonym of 'consumer' (Dobres 2000, 127).

7 For ship representations on cloth and papyrus see catalogue nos. 22 and 23.

8 See catalogue nos. 20 and 21 for examples of some fine Egyptian products made of ivory and jewellery.

restricted as well (Wattenmaker 1998, 50). Another is that since boats and seascapes are among the objects that the elites⁹ selected to be represented on their goods, we can assume that they considered ships and the maritime context to be particularly significant.

The degree of complexity varies only on cheap or easily obtained materials such as stone or clay. All of them are generally plentiful raw materials which, unlike cloth or papyrus, are not manufactured. Just as the manufacturers of the images varied, the consumers were likely to vary too.

Though ships and the seascape are present in the everyday and symbolic universe of both our 'agents' and our 'consumers', the meanings of the representations for the various groups are different. For the elites, sailing was a lucrative commercial activity, a means of acquiring raw materials, a way to wage war, or an instrument of political strategy. Their relationship with the sea was usually indirect: they did not remain on board a ship day after day. For the groups outside these elites, navigation was a way of life and a means of subsistence, a central, always potentially dangerous activity. Their relationship with navigation could hardly be more direct.

Just as the relationships of the elite and non-elite groups with navigation are likely to have differed, so too are the ways in which they represented it (Winter 2003). Both groups needed to represent ships as a basic element in their *imaginaire*, but their economic and social possibilities conditioned the representations they could make. Elite patrons would have employed artisans to paint, carve, and sculpt vessels used for commercial transport, war or funerary purposes (Drenkhalm 1995, 334); some of them were probably unaware of the exact details of the technical characteristics of ships and sailing.¹⁰ In contrast, the greater part of the non-elite groups were representing *themselves* and the small boats and ships they used for fishing or transporting goods. They were very familiar with the practice of sailing and of constructing the ships themselves, but they did not have the resources or the artistic skills needed to produce more sophisticated representations. The images produced by the seafarers themselves and those commissioned by the wealthy highlight the differences in sailing expertise and the kind of relationship, indirect or direct, that the two groups had with the seascape and ships.

GIVING LIFE TO THE REPRESENTATIONS: RITUAL AND SYMBOLIC ASPECTS

The central role of navigation and the sea has material consequences for the relationship between people and ships. The images we have selected provide examples of this, mainly of four kinds. First, some represent the performance of rituals on board, which can be defined as maritime or shipping rituals. Second, some pieces and images are themselves part of ritual performances related to specific features of landscape. Third, many of them are accompanied by sacred symbols such as representations of gods and goddesses, sea spirits, or sacralized objects. Fourth, there is a clear link between people, seafarers, and ships.

9 Following Wattenmaker (1998, 47–50) we use elite and non-elite to distinguish two tendencies. We consider both terms in a broad sense and do not discuss whether this division is mainly social or economic.

10 However, in a context in which the livelihood of a large part of the population depended on the sea, some members of these elites might have had some technical knowledge of navigation.

Daily life navigation: rituals on board

Phoenicians and Carthaginians sailed not only for commercial reasons, but also because their settlement pattern meant that maritime navigation was an essential form of travelling. These peoples lived in coastal areas, islands and marshes and sometimes communication between the settlements was easier by sea than by land.

Sailors used to perform rituals at the beginning and at the end of journeys, throwing flowers, honey, incense-burners or cups into the water (Romero Recio 2000). We present some iconographical examples: in the images in the tomb of Kenamon at Thebes (catalogue no. 7), some figures are praying and making burnt offerings with incense-burners as gifts to the divinities (Brody 1998) (Fig. 1). Moving onto another case study, the Cypriot ship miniature found on the seabed at Amathus (catalogue no. 9) is associated with ritual practices of this kind. These and similar figurines have been interpreted as votive offerings cast into the sea by seafarers performing rituals (Karageorghis 2002, 2008).

Performing rituals during journeys is a way of conceiving the sea as a dynamic element in which people's actions create cultural and social meanings. The sea is not a passive element observed from the shore, from the land, but a rich world with its own ways of functioning. This point is especially important in the Phoenician and Punic periods because, influenced by Classical authors and the archaeological evidence, the research until now has focused exclusively on rituals performed on the seashore (Romero Recio 1999; Salinas 1988; Alvar 1999).

Landscape and rituals

As we have already suggested, representing ships and seascapes can be considered a ritualized practice in itself. We will now focus on two cases in which representations of ships are part of a complete ritual: the paintings on the cave walls in Laja Alta (catalogue no. 3) and Grotta

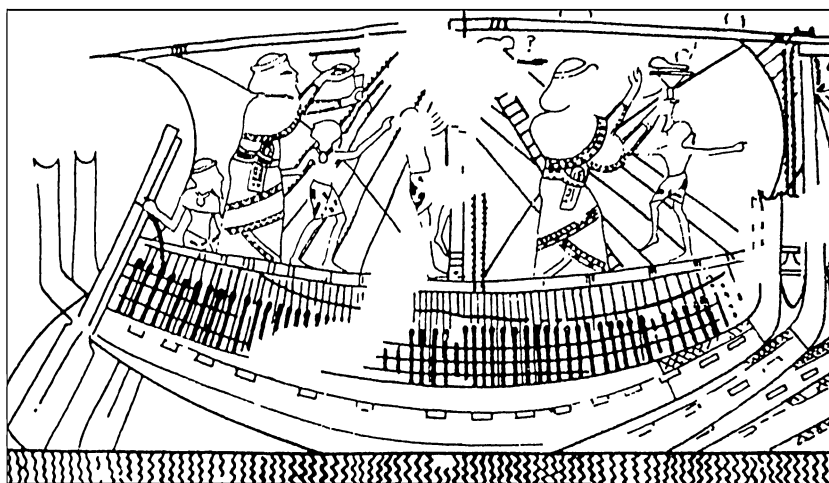


Figure 1
Performing rituals on board (tomb of Kenamon).



Figure 2
Boat painting from Laja Alta.

Regina (catalogue no. 1) (Fig. 2). Both caves are particularly difficult to reach, and in our view the drawings should be seen in the context of the whole ritual practice of a journey. Travelling to the caves is a kind of pilgrimage, since people go there with a specific purpose, but it is also a way of marking the landscape. Using these caves in connection with the sea is a way of ritualizing the Mediterranean seascape: these images on the walls bear witness to a ritualization strategy related to navigation and fishing.

Drawing ships on the walls is a way of indicating important landmarks in connection with sailing and commercial routes (Artzy 1999). Both caves offer an excellent view of the coast, so this ritual practice of pilgrimage and representing ships is a way of defining the landscape and creating identity and memory (Taçon 1994). The Egyptian tomb of Konshou (catalogue no. 5) presents a similar case; a group of men is carrying a ship model in a ritual procession in honour of the god Amon. Taken together, these examples represent different ways of considering images of boats as votive offerings.

Divinities and fantastic animals

As we have seen above, seascapes and navigation form a part of daily life but simultaneously they are ritualized. Consequently images of divinities and fantastic animals are embedded in these contexts and embody their symbolic and ritual aspects.

We take into consideration three stelae from Carthage (catalogue no. 8): one associated with Astarte and the other two with Tanit (Fig. 3a). Both are goddesses who held positions of importance in the Phoenician and Punic pantheons and their astronomical powers are particularly relevant in connection with these representations. Indeed, the observation of the stars was the main method used for navigation in ancient times (Medas 1998). The goddesses' association with fertility is also important here if we consider the sailors' desire for a safe journey and good fishing.

The representations show the enormous wealth of the maritime universe with its huge variety of fishes and fantastic animals. Almost all the representations show a seascape with real symbolic significance inhabited by magical characters. The relief from the Palace of Sargon

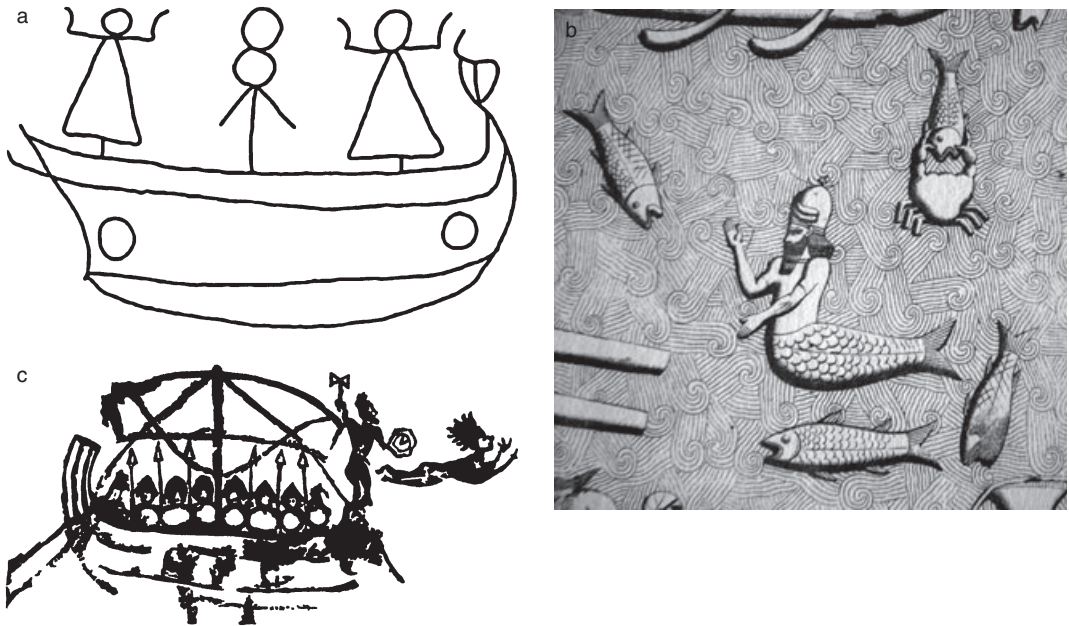


Figure 3

a. Punic carved boat with Tanit representation; b. Hybrid fish-men from the relief of the Palace of Sargon; c. Flying figure of the Kef el-Blida wall painting.

(catalogue no. 2) depicts hybrid fish-men; the wall painting of Kef el-Blida (catalogue no. 15) shows a flying figure; and coins present hybrid animals resembling dragon-fishes or horse-fishes (catalogue no. 16) (Figs. 3b and 3c).

Hybrid representations materialize the fascination and fear in the real and imagined scenes. Likewise, these creatures are considered maritime spirits, so seascapes become spiritscapes in which they have extraordinary powers. As McNiven (2003, 330) states, seascapes are full of these characters which can be engaged ritually in order to mediate human spiritual relationships with the sea. All these examples are significant ways of constructing the Mediterranean as a specific landscape, with their own ecological and religious meanings. The inclusion of divinities and fantastic animals in the representations emphasizes the liminality of the sea. As an area of contact between land and water, sea has a symbolic role in the life of the society. Divinities and fantastic animals people liminal worlds, and water is a fascinating and powerful element (Meskell and Joyce 2003, 80; Olmos 2003, 29–36).

Ships + people = maritime personhood

Symbolic and ritual features are also constructed in the way people engage and relate to ships. The representations show boats not as simple methods of transport, or passive objects, but as persons with their own features and lives. There is more evidence of this in the ethnographic and anthropological record. Among the examples are the apotropaic eyes depicted on the prows of most Punic ships (catalogue no. 8), which, due to their location, are explained in magical and

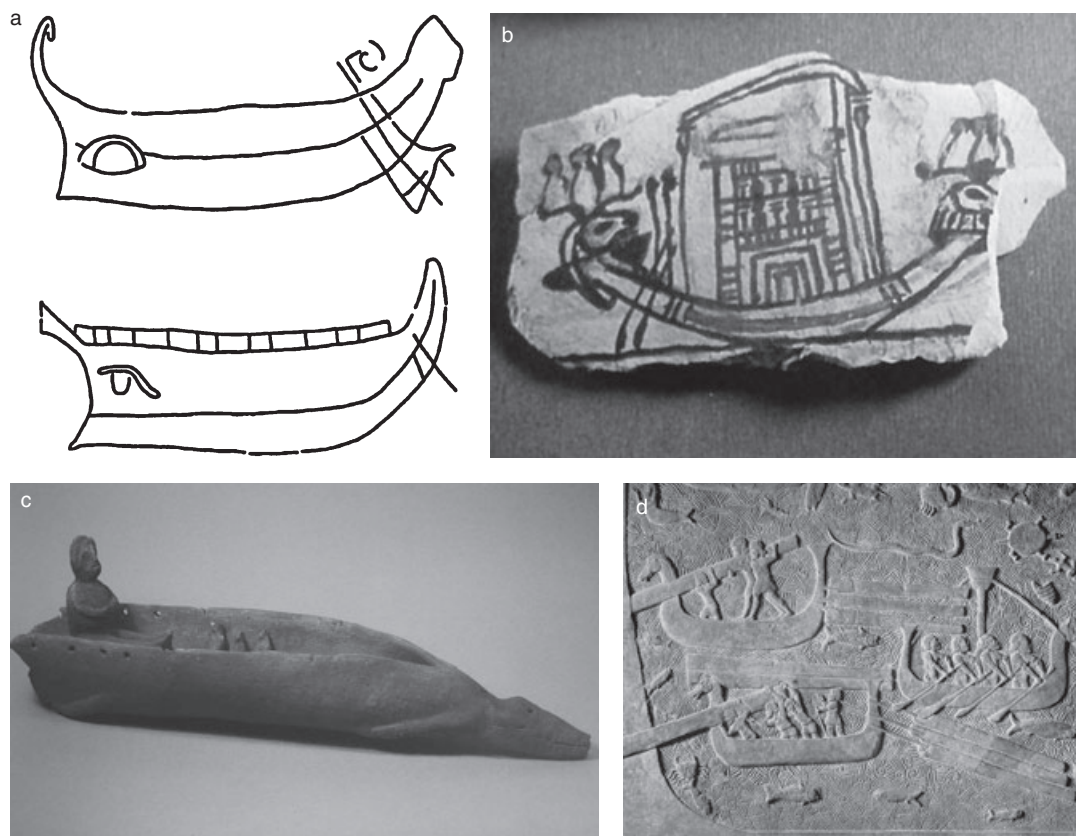


Figure 4

a. Punic carved boats with eyes; b. *Ostrakon* of Deir el-Medina; c. Egyptian miniature boat represented as a crocodile; d. Relief from the Palace of Sargon.

symbolic terms (Fig. 4a); placed at the very front of the boat, they have an emblematic value in the area that guides navigation and wards off ill luck (Brody 1998, 63; Romero Recio 2000, 27). Similarly, some Classical authors record that ships were named after divinities.

Although these interpretations are valid, they do not take into account the *agency* of ships: that is to say, the eyes are not symbols of expressing magical powers, but a means of constructing a living object with its own personhood. This is particularly relevant in the representations of ships with animal forms. These forms are found on some Punic stelae (catalogue no. 8), where birds' heads are represented on the ships' prows. This is also shown in other examples from Egypt, like the stone *ostrakon* of Deir el-Medina (catalogue no. 17) that has two animal heads at each extreme of the boat (Fig. 4b), and one miniature boat represented as a crocodile (catalogue no. 18) (Fig. 4c).

The selection of these animals is closely connected not only to their features but also to navigation in the Mediterranean or on the Nile. Indeed, one kind of Phoenician vessel is named *hippos* because of the horse's head it bears at the top of the prow (see both the reliefs from Balawat and Khorsabad in Iraq, catalogue nos. 2 and 7) (Fig. 4d). Placing a horse's head on a

ship is a way of transmitting the animal's speed to the vessel, especially bearing in mind that *hippoi* were used for both commercial and military purposes (Luzón 1988). In addition, the bird's head is again connected with seafaring because these animals were used as guides in pre-astronomical navigation (Luzón and Coín 1986). For its part, the Egyptian crocodile boat is a means of ritualizing this animal. The Nile crocodiles were appreciated and feared at the same time: they had apotropaic properties but were a real danger to shipwrecked sailors (Donadoni Roveri and Tiradritti 1998, 173).¹¹

These examples support recent theoretical suggestions (Meskell and Joyce 2003; Fowler 2004) proposing an abandonment of our Western assumptions about personhood that maintain a total separation between humans, animals and objects. Considering ships as persons is a way of understanding how personhood is created, especially through the daily interactions between things, people, animals, places and spirits (Fowler 2004). Unfortunately, these representations do not allow us to follow the entire process of the ship's life, from its birth till its death, but we can see how they became living and spiritual beings through their zoomorphic and anthropomorphic forms.

Ships and death

The relationship between boats and persons is clearly constructed in funerary contexts,¹² as could be seen through the Punic stelae (catalogue no. 7) from Carthaginian cemeteries. Depicting boats and nautical elements like fishes or anchors is an example of how personhood is divisible and partial because it is a means of looking at both elements as simultaneously connected (Fowler 2004). In other words, the person buried with these representations shares the maritime personhood with boats and the sea (see above). In these representations we see that the stelae show not only the maritime identity of buried people, but also that these people conceived seascapes and their objects with their own features and personhood. Thus, representing fishes, boats or anchors on stelae is a way of connecting persons with these objects, creating a strong link between them, so that both are participating in the creation of a specific personhood.

Carthaginians thus used the representations of ships and seascapes in funerary contexts as a way to negotiate between the living and the dead (McNiven 2003, 344). The sea constructs its own cosmology because slipping beneath the surface of the water, either physically or symbolically, involves entering an unpredictable, changeable world. In fact, the dead do not disappear from society but are reinterpreted and transferred to another world, closely attached to the world of the living.

TO SUM UP . . .

Representing ancient Mediterranean ships is a way of constructing the significant role of navigation in everyday practices. In fact, the existence of different forms of 'hardware' and

11 Precisely for this reason the form of the crocodile was used to depict the god Sobek, who had temples along the Nile banks and who is often identified with other prominent gods in the Egyptian pantheon, such as Ra, Horus or Amon (García Font 1987, 141).

12 The relationship between ships and death is clearly shown in several Egyptian representations (catalogue no. 8), more than half of which come from graves (catalogue nos. 4, 5 and 19). The symbolic implications of ships in Egyptian mortuary practices are well known: boats are vehicles for moving both bodies and spirits from the world of the living to the underworld, the world of the dead.

‘software’, all closely bound together, bears witness to the enormous importance that these peoples attached to sailing and seafaring.

In other words, depicting these images is a way of signalling the importance of the sea and ships in the construction of everyday life for a group of people who carried out their day-to-day and ritual activities in the Mediterranean. Precisely because of their significance in these daily contexts, they became important elements in ritual performances and in creating cosmologies, as their use in funerary activities demonstrates.

CATALOGUE OF QUOTED REPRESENTATIONS¹³

1.
 - a. Painted boat on a cave wall from Grotta Regina (Sicily).
 - b. Hellenistic times.
 - c. Bartoloni 1978, 30–6, pls. 3–4; Amadasi Guzzo *et al.* 1969; Amadasi Guzzo *et al.* 1979.
2.
 - a. Relief from the Palace of Sargon, Khorsabad (Mesopotamia).
 - b. Eighth century BC.
 - c. Botta and Flandin 1849–50, pls. 31–5; de Graeve 1981, 66, fig. 85; Linder 1986, 273–81; Smith 1965, 121–2, fig. 156.
3.
 - a. Painting from Laja Alta (Iberian Peninsula).
 - b. Eighth–sixth centuries BC.
 - c. Almagro-Gorbea 1988, 389–98; Guerrero Ayuso 1998, 61–103.
4.
 - a. Painting on a stone wall from the tomb of Payry (nr. 139), Cheikh Abd-el-Qournah (Egypt).
 - b. XVIII dynasty.
 - c. Lhote 1954, pl. 93.
5.
 - a. Painting on a stone wall from the tomb of Khonsou (nr. 31), Cheikh Abd-el-Qournah (Egypt).
 - b. XIX dynasty.
 - c. Lhote 1954, pl. 20.
6.
 - a. Depictions of ships on the wall of tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis (Egypt).
 - b. Fourth millennium BC.
 - c. Quibell and Green 1902.
7.
 - a. Representation of a Phoenician ship in the tomb of Kenamon, Thebes (Egypt).
 - b. XVIII dynasty.
 - c. Brody 1998; Wachsmann 1998.

¹³ In this section we present the iconographical material, organizing each description into three parts: Definition of object (a), Chronology (b) and Bibliography (c).

8.
 - a. Punic carved boats on stelae from Carthage.
 - b. Third–second centuries BC.
 - c. no. 1: Fantar 1970, pl. 13; no. 2: CIS 4380; no. 3: CIS 4380; no. 4: CIS 2630; no. 5: CIS 4901; no. 6: CIS 1310; no. 7: CIS 2604: Hors-Median 1951, pl. 39 – All in Bartoloni 1979, 189–91, pls. 54–63.
9.
 - a. Clay model of a ship from Amathus (Cyprus).
 - b. Seventh–sixth centuries BC.
 - c. Guerrero Ayuso 1998, fig. 5.
10.
 - a. Representation of a boat on a piece of pottery from Lisbon (Iberian Peninsula).
 - b. Eighth–sixth centuries BC.
 - c. Arruda 1999–2000, 28, fig. 6.
11.
 - a. Pottery vase with painting of a red ship (Egypt).
 - b. Mid-fourth millennium BC (Nagada II).
 - c. cf. Other pottery samples with ship representations: Vinson 1994, 13; Donadoni Roveri *et al.* 1988; Donadoni Roveri and Tiradritti 1998.
12.
 - a. Interior of a pottery bowl with a painting of a ship from Mahasna (Egypt).
 - b. Fourth millennium BC.
 - c. Petrie 1920, pls. 15 and 49.
13.
 - a. Representation of a ship on jewellery from Aliseda (Iberian Peninsula).
 - b. Eighth–sixth centuries BC.
 - c. Barnett 1958, 228.
14.
 - a. Bronze relief from the Gates of Balawat (Mesopotamia).
 - b. Ninth century BC.
 - c. de Graeve 1981, 63–4, fig. 80; Lenormant 1878, 119–29, pls. 22–3.
15.
 - a. Painting on a wall of a tomb from Kef el-Blida (Tunisia).
 - b. Seventh/sixth century BC(?).
 - c. Alvar 1981, 33–4.
16.
 - a. Hellenistic coin from Byblos (Lebanon).
 - b. Fourth century BC.
 - c. Medas 2000.
17.
 - a. Stone *ostrakon* with a black and red painted ship from Deir el-Medina (Egypt).
 - b. XVIII dynasty.
 - c. Donadoni Roveri *et al.* 1988.
18.
 - a. Terracotta representing ship models.

- b. Mid-fourth millennium BC (Nagada II).
 - c. Donadoni Roveri and Tiradritti 1998, figs. 81, 82, 83.
- 19.
- a. Model of a ship from the tomb of Meket-Re, Thebes (Egypt).
 - b. XI dynasty.
 - c. Winlock 1955, boat 10.
- 20.
- a. Pectoral of Queen Aahhotep (Dra Abu Naga, W. Thebes, Egypt), inlaid with turquoise, cornelian and lapis lazuli.
 - b. XVIII dynasty.
 - c. Andrews 1990.
- 21.
- a. Ivory (hippopotamus) and silex knife with some registers with ship representations from Gebel El-Arak (Egypt).
 - b. Mid-fourth millennium BC (Nagada II).
 - c. Andreu *et al.* 1997; Ziegler 1990, 12–14.
- 22.
- a. Gebelein cloth (Egypt).
 - b. Mid-fourth millennium BC (Nagada II).
 - c. Ciałowicz 1997; Donadoni Roveri and Tiradritti 1998; Scamuzzi 1964, pl. 5; Williams and Logan 1987.
- 23.
- a. Papyrus, part of the Book of the Dead depicting a ship (Egypt).
 - b. XX Dynasty.
 - c. Scamuzzi 1964, pl. 91.

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