

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM MONOGRAPH 108
UNIVERSITY MUSEUM SYMPOSIUM SERIES 11

The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment

edited by
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Published by



THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia 2000

Design and production

University Museum Publications
University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology
Philadelphia, PA

Printing

Science Press
Ephrata, PA

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The sea peoples and their world : a reassessment / edited by Eliezer D. Oren.

p. cm. — (University Museum monograph ; 108) (University Museum symposium series ; v. 11)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-924171-80-4 (hardcover : alk. paper)

1. Sea Peoples. 2. Mediterranean Region—Antiquities.
3. Mediterranean Region—History. 4. Middle East—Antiquities. 5. Middle East—History—To 622. I. Oren, Eliezer D. II. Title. III. Series.
IV. Series: University Museum symposium series ; v. 11

DE73.2.S4 S43 2000

939'.4—dc21

00-008331

*University Museum Publications gratefully
acknowledges the Hagop Kevorkian Fund for
partial funding of the production and print-
ing of this volume.*

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of Archaeology and Anthropology
Philadelphia
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Printed in the United States of America

Printed on acid-free paper

Contents

LIST OF FIGURES	vii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS	xi
FOREWORD, <i>Jeremy A. Sabloff</i>	xiii
EDITOR'S PREFACE, <i>Eliezer D. Oren</i>	xv
INTRODUCTION, <i>Eliezer D. Oren</i>	xvii
1. Egypt and Western Asia in the Late New Kingdom: An Overview, <i>Donald B. Redford</i>	1
2. New Evidence on the End of the Hittite Empire, <i>Itamar Singer</i>	21
3. Ras Shamra–Ugarit Before the Sea Peoples, <i>Annie Caubet</i>	35
4. Biblical Traditions: The Philistines and Israelite History, <i>Peter Machinist</i>	53
5. The Sea Peoples and the Egyptian Sources, <i>David O'Connor</i>	85
6. To the Sea of the Philistines, <i>Shelley Wachsmann</i>	103
7. Reflections on the Initial Phase of Philistine Settlement, <i>Trude Dothan</i>	145
8. The Philistine Settlements: When, Where and How Many?, <i>Israel Finkelstein</i>	159
9. Sea Peoples in the Jordan Valley, <i>Jonathan N. Tubb</i>	181
10. The Settlement of Sea Peoples in Northern Israel, <i>Ephraim Stern</i>	197
11. The Temples and Cult of the Philistines, <i>Amihai Mazar</i>	213
12. Aegean-Style Early Philistine Pottery in Canaan During the Iron I Age: A Stylistic Analysis of Mycenaean IIIC:1b Pottery and Its Associated Wares, <i>Ann E. Killebrew</i>	233
13. Cultural Innovations in Cyprus Relating to the Sea Peoples, <i>Vassos Karageorghis</i>	255
14. Mycenaean IIIC:1b and Related Pottery in Cyprus: Comments on the Current State of Research, <i>Barbara Kling</i>	281
15. The Aegean and the Origin of the Sea Peoples, <i>Philip P. Betancourt</i>	297
16. Western Mediterranean Overview: Peninsular Italy, Sicily and Sardinia at the Time of the Sea Peoples, <i>Lucia Vagnetti</i>	305
17. The Early Iron Age at Gordion: The Evidence from the Yassıhöyük Stratigraphic Sequence, <i>Mary M. Voigt and Robert C. Henrickson</i>	327

Editor's Preface

This volume presents the results of the International Seminar on Cultural Interconnections in the Ancient Near East, held at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology during the spring term, January–April 1995. This was the third seminar in a program that was initiated in 1990 with a seminar on the Rise of Civilization in the Levant and Egypt and followed by the 1992 seminar on the Hyksos against the background of Middle Bronze Age Civilizations (E. D. Oren, ed., *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*. Philadelphia 1997. The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. University Museum Monograph 96; University Museum Symposium Series 8).

The 1995 seminar focused on the Sea Peoples and their world. The main objective of the seminar was to examine current methodologies and interpretations concerning the Sea Peoples against the overwhelming new archaeological data that were generated from scores of sites throughout the Mediterranean basin. The discussions also aimed at reviewing the iconographic and textual record from Egypt, as well as the biblical, Ugaritic and Hittite texts pertaining to the history of the Sea Peoples. For reasons of tight schedule, it was decided to leave out discussion on the complex linguistic aspects concerning the identification of the Sea Peoples.

Following the structure of previous programs, the Sea Peoples seminar was conducted like a regular academic course. Over 15 consecutive weeks of the spring term we organized a series of thematic discussions that were presented by guest scholars. This way, the didactic aspects of the course were emphasized and all participants—guest scholars, faculty and graduate students—were better prepared for the scheduled discussion. Also, pre-seminar papers and agenda of subsequent presentations were distributed ahead of time, enabling the participants to take an active part in the discussions.

As in previous years, the program of the Sea Peoples seminar was complemented by two additional

components that made it much more comprehensive. Accordingly, the program included a number of workshops that utilized the extensive collections from the Levant and Egypt available in the museum. The workshops dealt with topics such as the anthropoid clay coffins from Beth Shean and Egypt (E. D. Oren and D. O'Connor), Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects from Beth Shean (E. D. Oren and P. E. McGovern), painted Philistine pottery from Beth Shemesh (T. Dothan and E. D. Oren) and early Iron Age tomb assemblages from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (J. Tubb). The program was further augmented by a series of Kevorkian public lectures organized by the University of Pennsylvania Museum. These included "Renewed Excavations at Beth Shean 1989–94" (A. Mazar), "Recent Developments in the Archaeology of Ugarit" (A. Caubet), "The Rise and Fall of Ekron of the Philistines" (T. Dothan), and "Zarethan—Trading Center of the Jordan Valley" (J. Tubb).

We regret that three of the key papers in the seminar are not included in the present volume: D. Silverman, "A Re-evaluation of the Egyptian Textual Sources," L. E. Stager, "The Interaction of the Philistines and Their Neighbours in Canaan (1180–1100 BCE)" and M. Mellink, "The Collapse of the Hittite Empire: History and Archaeology." At the same time the present volume is supplemented by four invited contributions from non-participants: "The Philistine Settlements: When, Where and How Many" (I. Finkelstein), "The Settlement of Sea Peoples in Northern Israel" (E. Stern), "Aegean-Style Early Philistine Pottery in Canaan during the Iron I Age: A Stylistic Analysis of Mycenaean IIIC:1b Pottery and its Associated Wares" (A. E. Killebrew), and "Mycenaean IIIC:1b and Related Pottery in Cyprus: Comments on the Current State of Research" (B. Klink).

For reasons beyond our control, the proceedings of the seminar appear in print nearly five years after the conclusion of the seminar. This long delay is most regrettable and we apologize to the authors for

the inconvenience with updating the text. Six of the articles were originally submitted in 1995 (Betancourt, Karageorghis, Kling, Mazar, Singer and Vagnetti), six in 1996 (Caubet, Finkelstein, Redford, Stern, Tubb and Wachsmann), four in 1997 (Dothan, Machinist, O'Connor and Voigt) and one in 1998 (Killebrew). Authors had the opportunity to update the manuscripts during the first part of 1999 and until May, 1999, when the last corrected and updated galleys reached the editor.

Above all, the success of the seminar was due to the guest scholars who came from near and far and shared with us their unique expertise and helped in delineating the complexities of the Sea Peoples and future agenda for its study. It gives me great pleasure to express my gratitude to this group of fine scholars who responded favorably to our invitation and made the seminar such a stimulating experience.

I would like to acknowledge my deep appreciation to the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and its director, Dr. Jeremy Sabloff, and Ms. Christina Shea, Assistant to the Director as well as to other staff members in the various departments of the museum for their continuous cooperation and support of the program and for having rendered invaluable assistance in every way throughout the program. First and foremost I am indebted to Dr. Robert H. Dyson, former director of the Museum, who made the program possible in the first place and also agreed to include the Kevorkian public lectures within the framework of the seminar. A special word of appreciation must go to the Kevorkian Foundation for its generous financial sup-

port of both the seminar and the series of public lectures. Thanks are due to the Department of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, its Chair, Dr. David P. Silverman, and secretary, Ms. Margaret Guinan, for much organizational support to the seminar and its graduate program.

Dr. Linda Bregstein deserves a special recognition for devoting much of her time and energy to the coordination of the seminar and for ensuring, with much patience and skill, the smooth running of the entire program including keeping the records and finances in order. Dr. Bregstein also assisted me very ably in the initial stage of editing the manuscripts. It is most unfortunate that other obligations forced her to withdraw from the role of co-editor. Throughout the program of the seminar I was indeed privileged to have had the close collegial collaboration of Dr. David O'Connor, former curator of the Egyptian section in the University Museum, in all aspects of the seminar.

Finally, I am most thankful to Ms. Karen Vellucci, Publications Department, and her assistant, Ms. Toni Montague, for their careful and efficient supervision of every phase of the editorial work and highly professional production of this volume. I would also like to thank Ms. Helen Schenck, Publications Department, for taking charge of the final and crucial stage of this publication.

Eliezer D. Oren
Beer Sheva, Israel
July, 1999

To the Sea of the Philistines

Shelley Wachsmann

Institute of Nautical Archaeology, College Station

And I will set your bounds from the Red Sea to
the sea of the Philistines . . .

Exodus 23:31

Much remains enigmatic about the Sea Peoples. Perhaps it is because of this they are so fascinating to the modern researcher. Their origins are still inadequately understood, and even their significance vis-à-vis the disintegration of the Late Bronze Age world is debated by scholars.

Whether the Sea Peoples are viewed as the primary reason for the collapse of palace-based cultures at the end of the Late Bronze Age or, alternately, as simply a catalyst, sweeping off history's stage peoples and systems that could no longer function in a changing world, one thing is absolutely certain: seagoing ships were a predominant factor in the role they played.

And herein lies our story, for the ships of a culture have the potential to reveal much about it. From the outset, however, it is important to emphasize that this is, admittedly, a narrow approach to a culture's study. We shall examine existent evidence for some of the uses to which the Sea Peoples put their ships, the types of ships they employed, and the significance of their prominent bird-head post decorations.

Regrettably, to date not a single shipwreck identifiable as Sea Peoples—or as Philistine—has been identified from among the many recorded vessels preserved for us in the sediments of the Mediterranean Sea (Parker 1992). The discovery of such a vessel would undoubtedly be one of the most exciting archaeological discoveries of the century. Until such time, we remain dependent solely on contemporaneous texts and artistic representations to shed light on the subject.

The Sea Peoples first appear in the textual record during the 14th century B.C.E., in the Amarna tablets.

In one document, the king of Alashia writes (EA 38: 7–22):

Why, my brother, do you say such a thing to me, "Does my brother not know this?" As far as I am concerned, I have done nothing of the sort. Indeed, men of Lukki, year by year, seize villages in my own country.

My brother, you say to me, "Men from your country were with them." My brother, I myself do not know that they were with them. If men from my country were (with them), send (them back) and I will act as I see fit.

You yourself do not know men from my country. *They* would not do such a thing. But if men from my country did do this, then you yourself do as you see fit.¹

In this fascinating document, the king of Alashia both denies the likelihood of people of Alashia being in collusion with Lukki forces that have apparently attacked Egyptian territory and bolsters this claim by noting that the Lukki regularly "seize" villages of Alashia. One wonders, however, if the former is not a result of the latter phenomenon, and that the Lukki raiders have actually absorbed elements of the Alashi-population, which then join them in their marauding.

Indeed, in texts dealing with the Sea Peoples and the Ahhiyawa, a heavy emphasis is placed on the taking of hostages. A seaside settlement may not have been a lucrative target vis-à-vis its material wealth, but the inhabitants themselves were a valuable commodity. The "Indictment of Madduwatas" is now dated to the reigns of Tudkhaliya II or Arnuwadas I (ca. 1450–1430 B.C.E.), thus making it the earliest Hittite document pertaining to the Ahhiyawa (Güterbock 1983:133–134, 138; 1984:116, 119). In this text, Mad-

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ILLiad TN: 1058199

Journal Title: The Sea Peoples and Their
World: A Reassessment

Volume:

Issue:

Month/Year: 2000

Pages: 103-143

Article Author: Wachsmann, Shelley

Article Title: To the Sea of the Philistines

Call #: DE73.2.S4 S43 2000

Location: Evans

Not Wanted Date: 09/10/2007

Status: faculty

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duwatas is charged with uniting with Attarissiyas ("the man of Ahhiya"), his former enemy, to carry out raids against Alashia, which the Hittite king considers to be under his own jurisdiction. Interestingly, the ensuing argument indicates that hostages were the primary "product" of these ship-based raids on Alashia, as Madduwatas is at pains to make clear (Güterbock 1983:134):

When Attarissiyas and the man of Piggaya made raids on Alašiya, I also made raids. Neither the father of Your Majesty nor Your Majesty, ever advised me (saying): "Alašiya is mine! Recognize it as such! Now if your Majesty wants captives of Alašiya to be returned, I shall return them to him."²

Interestingly, the Madduwatas text echoes precisely the words of the Alashian king.

These texts may also explain the appearance in the Linear B documents from Pylos (in the Aa and Ab series) of women who bear ethnics from sites in the Aegean, mainly along the Turkish coast—Knidos (*ki-ni-di-ja*), Miletos (*mi-ra-ti-ja*), Lemnos (*ra-mi-ni-ja*), and Kythera (*ku-te-ra₃*) as well as the possible identifications of Lycia (*a-*64-ja*), the Halikarnassos region (*ze-pu₂-ra₃*), and the more speculative identification of Khios (*ki-si-wi-ja*)—while other women are known simply as "captives" (*ra-wi-ja-ja*).³ Chadwick suggests that these ethnics indicate the locations of the slave markets where they had been acquired. Presumably, these women, and youngsters recorded with them, had been abducted in similar piratical ship-borne raids. An equivalent number of adult male slaves with similar ethnics is not recorded at Pylos. This might conceivably be the result of selective purchasing by the Pylian palace or due to the consideration that adult males were intentionally killed during these razzias. Homer describes just such a process (*Odyssey* 9:39–43):

From Ilios the wind bore me and brought me to the Cicones, to Ismarus. There I sacked the city and slew the men; and from the city we took their wives and great store of treasure, and divided them among us, that so far as lay in me no man might go defrauded of an equal share.⁴

Later, in the early 12th century B.C.E., when the Sea Peoples advanced down the Levantine coast they display a similar interest in acquiring hostages. In an Akkadian document from Ugarit, we learn that a man of that city named Ibadussu had been captured by marauding Sikils, but had managed to escape them. The Hittite king orders that Ibadussu be sent to him for questioning (RS 34.129; translation from Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1998:343):

Thus says His Majesty, the Great King. Speak to the Prefect:

Now, (there) with you, the king your lord is (still too) young. He knows nothing. And I, His

Majesty, had issued him an order concerning Ibadussu, whom the people from Šikala—who live on ships—had abducted.

Herewith I send Nirga'ili, who is *kartappu* with me, to you. And you, send Ibadussu, whom the people from Šikala had abducted, to me. I will question him about the land Šikala, and afterwards he may leave for Ugarit again.⁵

This document also gives insight into how the marauding, ship-based Sea Peoples were viewed by the rulers of the peoples upon whom they preyed. For them the Sea Peoples were, quite literally, those "who live on ships."

It seems, however, that together with the taking of hostages there were those among the local populations who joined forces with the Sea Peoples—whether willingly or under duress is not clear—against the established order. The king of Ugarit reports to his Alashian counterpart that "enemy ships" are destroying his settlements (RS 20.238; Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1998:344):

My father, now enemy ships are coming (and) they burn down my towns with fire. They have done unseemly things in the land!

My father is not aware of the fact that all the troops of my father's overlord are stationed in Hatti and that all my ships are stationed in Lukkā. They still have not arrived and the country is lying like that! My father should know these things.

Now, the seven enemy ships that are approaching have done evil things to us.

Now then, if there are any other enemy ships send me a report somehow, so that I will know.

Note that here, the king of Ugarit makes no reference to the fate of his subjects in the towns being thus destroyed.

RS 20.18, although usually taken to be the letter that initiated RS 20.238, may plausibly be interpreted as a response to it. Both documents were found in or near the home of Rap'anu (van Soldt 1991:165–166, 168, 177, 179). In RS 20.18, the chief prefect of Alashia, Eshuwara, claims that Ugaritic crews were in collusion with the enemy, and that, in fact, it was Ugaritic crews in Ugaritic ships who were the culprits (Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1998:343):

As for the matter concerning those enemies: (it was) the people from your country (and) your own ships (who) did this! And (it was) the people from your country (who) committed these transgression(s).

So do not *be angry* with me!

But now, (the) twenty enemy ships—even before they would reach the mountain (shore)—have not stayed around, but have quickly moved on and where they have *pitched camp* we do not know.

I am writing you to inform and protect you. Be aware!

In other words, at least in part, once again we observe the Sea Peoples seemingly absorbing parts of the local social strata, who then turn against their own state, or against its allies. Such a situation could also explain a document in which Shuppiluliuma II, the last Hittite king, describes sea battles against the "ships of Alashia" (Güterbock 1967:78):

My father [. . .] I mobilized and I, Shuppiluliuma II, the Great King immediately [crossed/reached(?)] the sea. The ships of Alašiya met me in the sea three times for battle, and I smote them: and I seized the ships and set fire to them in the sea.

Güterbock (1967:80) has noted the apparent disagreement between this document and the Ugaritic texts, in which Alashia is clearly an ally of Ugarit, and thus of the Hittite Empire. One possible interpretation is that the ships against which Shuppiluliuma II fought belonged to Sea Peoples who were stationed in Alashia. A second possibility, however, is that the text documents an actual political shift and that the Alashian fleet, in part or en masse, indeed joined with the invaders in opposition to the Hittites, in the same manner in which the Ugaritic ships and their crews are recorded as doing in RS 20.18.⁶ If so, there are the makings of a pattern here.

We also learn from these documents about the attack methods employed by the Sea Peoples. They seem to have eschewed direct confrontations when possible. When they were forced to fight pitched ship battles, however, the Sea Peoples fared poorly, as is evident from their nautical engagements against the Hittites under Shuppiluliuma II and against the Egyptians under Ramesses II (Petrie 1888:26, pl. 2, no. 78; Sanders 1985:50, n. 14) and Ramesses III (see below). Instead, these maritime marauders appear to have preferred hit-and-run "commando-style" raids, arriving at seaside communities to pillage and burn them, then escaping before the local military could come to grips with them. They seem to have been constantly on the move, and therefore hard to pin down. This ship-based phenomenon of incessant evasive movement, then, would have caused them to appear to the cultures upon whom they preyed as "Peoples of the Sea" who "live on their ships."

For this reason—or perhaps as a result of it—the Sea Peoples appear to have kept to small groups, at least during the period in which they were active in the northeast region of the Mediterranean, prior to their arrival at the gates of Egypt. Thus, they operated in relatively small flotillas: 7 ships are mentioned in RS 20.238 and 20 ships in RS 20.18. These numbers are particularly interesting when contrasted with the massive, 150-ship fleet that Ugarit is asked to supply in KTU 2.47 (Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartin 1976).⁷

Now, in order to carry out such piratical attacks, the ships must have been able to move under their own propulsion. In other words, these vessels must have been oared ships (galleys) that were not dependent solely on the vagaries of the wind power for purposes of attack, escape, and evasion. And, with that consideration, we can now turn our attention to contemporaneous depictions of the ships used by the Sea Peoples.⁸

The most detailed, as well as the clearest, representations of a type of ship that can be reasonably identified as used by the Sea Peoples are depicted in the midst of a naval battle with contingents of Ramesses III's forces on the outer wall of his temple at Medinet Habu (Fig. 6.1). This scene records the naval attack in Ramesses III's 8th regnal year (ca. 1176 B.C.E.) by a coalition of peoples who had already destroyed most of the kingdoms along the eastern Mediterranean coast. The peoples mentioned as taking part in the coalition include the following:

MEDINET HABU

(Breasted 1962, IV: §64) (Breasted 1962, IV: §403)

- (1) Peleset
- (2) Šikala
- (3) Sheklesh
- (4) Denyen
- (5) Weshesh

PAPYRUS HARRIS

(Breasted 1962, IV: §403)

- Peleset (3)
- Šikala (2)
- Denyen (1)
- Weshesh (5)
- Sherden (4)

While the scene has a snapshot-like quality, suggesting a moment in time within the *mêlée* of battle, Nelson (1943) has shown that in fact it is built around three elements: spatial, ideological, and temporal.

The Egyptian artists take us through four specific moments in the battle. Ships E.1 and N.1 represent the beginning of the battle (Fig. 6.2). An Egyptian sailor is in the process of tossing a four-armed grapnel—the only truly nautical weapon in the scene—into the rigging of a Sea Peoples' ship. Ships E.2 and N.2 represent a halfway point in the battle where the scales have already tipped in favor of the Egyptians. The Sea Peoples' ship is beginning to list, and the Egyptians have already taken on board some prisoners of war, who are securely manacled. Ships E.3 and N.3 represent the end stage of the battle in which one of the ships of the invaders has been capsized by means of the grapnel (Wachsmann 1998:317–319).

The appearance of a "flotilla" of five ship images is misleading, as all five of them are demonstrably reproductions taken from a single prototype (Wachsmann 1981:191). In a similar manner, only one type of Egyptian ship is represented four times, even though three types of ships are mentioned as having taken part on the Egyptian side in the accompanying inscription (Breasted 1962, IV: §65). Moreover, two



Figure 6.1. The naval battle depicted on Ramesses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu. From Medinet Habu I: pl. 37.

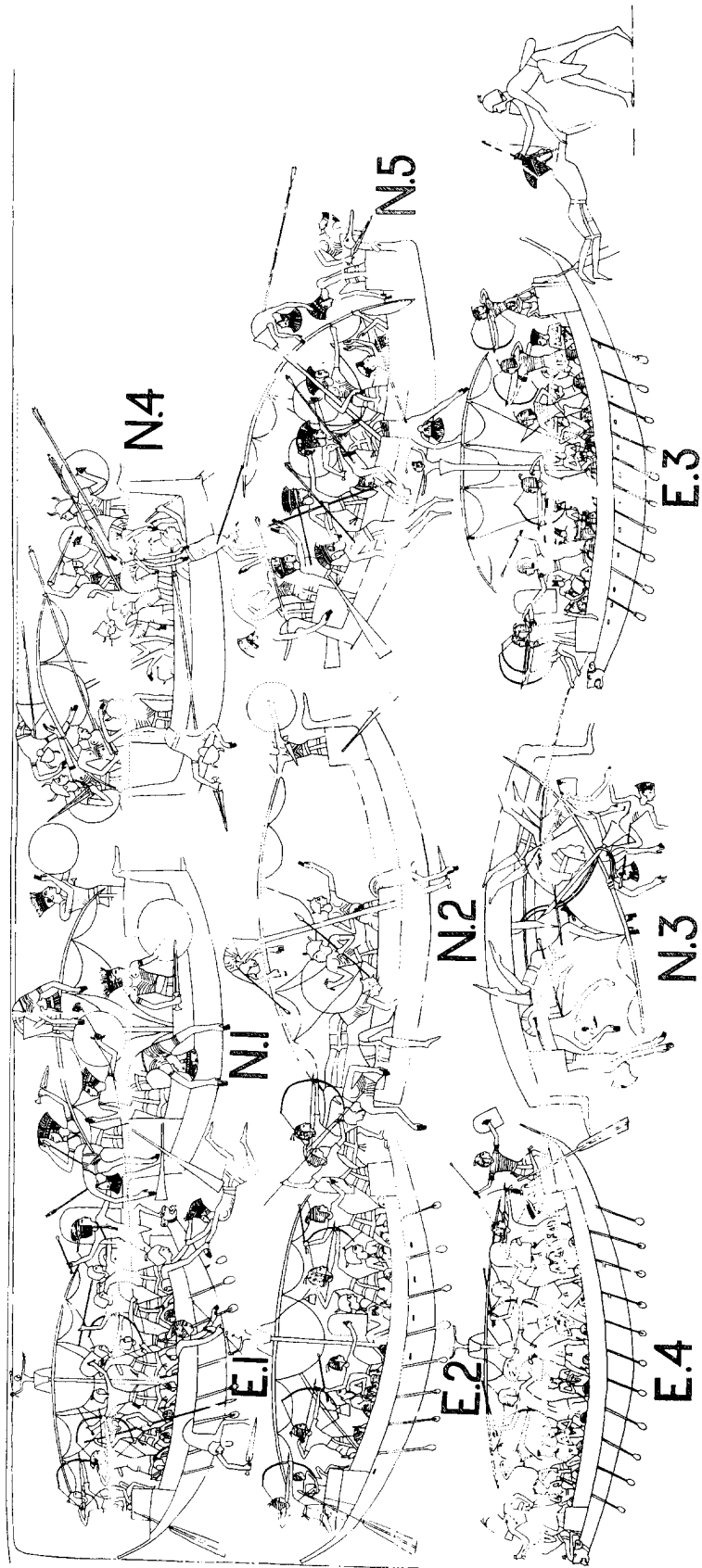


Figure 6.2. Nelson's reconstruction of the naval battle with the dead and dying Sea Peoples' warriors removed. From Nelson 1943: fig. 4.

distinct groups of warriors—one wearing horned helmets (ships N.2 and N.4), the other sporting feathered (?) ones (ships N.1, N.3, and N.5)—are represented in a single type of vessel. A review of the depictions of similar ships belonging, as we shall see, to the Aegean (Mycenaean) tradition shows that, although almost all the depictions are remarkably similar, no two are virtually identical, as is the case of the five Sea Peoples' ships at Medinet Habu (Wachsmann 1998:130–158). Clearly, the Egyptian artists employed a single prototype ship, depicting it repeatedly, even manning the various ship images with two different types of warriors, which, in itself, is suspect. Indeed, the range of ships in the invading fleet was probably far more diverse than would seem from the relief.

There can be no doubt, however, that the Egyptian artists have faithfully recorded a single foreign ship five times, and that this depiction was based on actual observation. What were their sources?

We know that artists accompanied army expeditions, as well as trade ventures, as is clear from the foreign flora and fauna in Thutmose III's "Botanical Garden," at Karnak, and the Red Sea marine life swimming in the waters beneath Hatshepsut's Punt ships in her mortuary temple at Deir el Bahri (Wachsmann 1987:5–6). Furthermore, the action surrounding the capsizing of at least one ship by means of a grapnel is a strong argument for the presence of Egyptian artist(s?) during the battle itself. Presumably, in the aftermath of the battle, he/they made a sketch study of a single Egyptian vessel, as well as one of the enemy's vessels. The Medinet Habu artists, then, would have used such sketches in creating the naval battle scene.

The ships of both sides are depicted with their sails furled to the yard. Although the Egyptian ships are under oar, the invading ships are dead in the water and show no form of propulsion. As Casson (1995: 38) has reasonably suggested, the Sea Peoples' fleet appears to have been caught by surprise, at anchor. Accompanying texts seem to allude to just such a situation (Breasted 1962, IV: §77):

The countries which came from their isles in the midst of the sea, they advanced to Egypt, their hearts relying upon their arms. The net was made ready for them, to ensnare them. Entering stealthily into the harbor-mouth, they fell into it. Caught in their place, they were dispatched and their bodies stripped.⁹

The texts, as well as the archers depicted on shore, make it clear that the battle did not take place in the open sea but rather in an enclosed waterway—possibly somewhere in the Nile Delta. Such a surprise attack, in which Ramesses III wisely utilized his archers armed with powerful long-range composite bows, and with slingers in his ships' crow's nests, would have decimated the Sea Peoples' forces for they had

no long-range weapons with which to counter such an attack effectively. As long as the Egyptians stayed out of range of their javelins, the invaders became, quite literally, sitting ducks. Similarly, the outcome of the heroes' contest between David and Goliath (1 Samuel 17) revolves around a similar selection of short- and medium-range weapons on the Philistine side, while David put his faith in the long-range sling.

The scene differs considerably today from how it would have appeared to an observer in the days of Ramesses III. The wall was originally painted as well as carved. Through the centuries the color has disappeared, leaving only the carving—and not all of that either: much of the final version of the scene had been carved on plaster, which had been applied for repairs and corrections. This plaster has long since crumbled and disappeared.

In this form of art the Egyptian artist did not seem to differentiate between carved relief and painting. If anything, it appears that the former was subordinate to the latter. Nelson (1929:22), in describing another scene of battle at Medinet Habu, gives us a remarkable view of how much detail might have been lost, along with the paint:

Here, in the upper portions of the relief, even the water-color paint is unusually well preserved, and we find that the bare sculpture has been extensively supplemented by painted details distinctly enriching the composition. The colors of the garments worn by the Libyans stand out clearly. Between the bodies of the slain as they lie upon the battlefield appear pools of blood. The painter has suggested the presence of the open country by painting in wild flowers which spring up among the dead. Moreover, it is apparent that the action takes place in a hilly region, for streams of blood run down between the bodies as the enemy attempt to escape across the hills from the Pharaoh's pursuing shafts. The details of the monarch's accouterments are indicated in color, relieving him of the almost naked appearance often presented by his sculptured figure when divested of its paint. It is not infrequent to find such details as bow strings or lance shafts partly carved and partly represented in paint. The characteristic tattoo marks on the bodies of the Libyans are also painted in pigment only. When all these painted details have disappeared, though the sculptured design may remain in fairly good condition, much of the life of the original scene is gone and many aids to its interpretation are lost.

Unfortunately, much information has disappeared along with the paint and plaster.

In 1981 I proposed that the basic features of the Sea Peoples' hull could be reasonably reconstructed by studying the manner in which the artists portrayed the dead and dying warriors in relation to the ships'

horizontal lines. Four of the five ships (N.1, N.2, N.4, and N.5) are defined by three horizontal lines—A, B, and C (Figs. 6.3–7). These ships give the impression of a vessel with a screen rising above the caprail, similar to the Egyptian ships against which they are engaged in combat. Such an interpretation, however, immediately raises problems. On ship N.2 one warrior appears to be reclining on the junction line, while a second man seems to be falling into that line. On ship N.4, even more problematic, the helmsman and a second warrior are seen appearing behind line B. None of this would make any sense if line B represented the junction of caprail and the bottom of a screen.

It is the capsized ship, N.3, in which the intention of the scene's creators becomes clear (Fig. 6.8). In this vessel a fourth carved horizontal line, X, survives between lines A and B (Fig. 6.9). Furthermore, the artists have supplied three independent clues in the form of dead or dying warriors. The most telling of these is a figure posed on the vessel's keel-line. His right leg stretches out behind him while his left leg—up to the knee—appears above the line. The leg disappears behind the hull, but the figure's left foot appears clearly planted on line X. A second figure is "wrapped around" area AX, while a third straddles the same area, his left leg appearing from behind line X and crossing lines B and C. All three figures lead to a single, inescapable conclusion: that the Egyptian artists were portraying area XB as open. The latter two figures also suggest that although the prototype ship must have had a deck running its entire length, as is clear from the men shown standing amidships on the upright ships, this deck could not

have run the entire beam of the ship.

Figure 6.10 represents a tentative isometric reconstruction of structural details of the prototype vessel based on this evidence. Figure 6.11 is a tentative sheer view of the same ship, with the bodies from ship N.3 added.

Several constructional elements are missing, including the row of vertical stanchions that was necessary to brace the ends of the beams required to support the longitudinal deck. Why are the stanchions missing? They may have been represented originally in paint that has since vanished, or, alternately, perhaps the artists had simply left them out to prevent the ships from being overburdened by details. In Geometric times, for example, Attic artists left out the stanchions from their ships when portraying rowers at their benches, but included the stanchions when they were not pulling their oars (cf. Casson 1995: figs. 67, 68, 72, and 77).

In every age, artists depicting ships tended to focus on certain elements of the ship's construction or rigging. Mycenaean artists were no different in this matter. The majority of the ships depicted during the Late Helladic IIIB and IIIC periods display a long narrow band, usually extending the entire length of the ship, which is intersected by numerous vertical lines, giving this element the appearance of a ladder fallen on its side:¹⁰

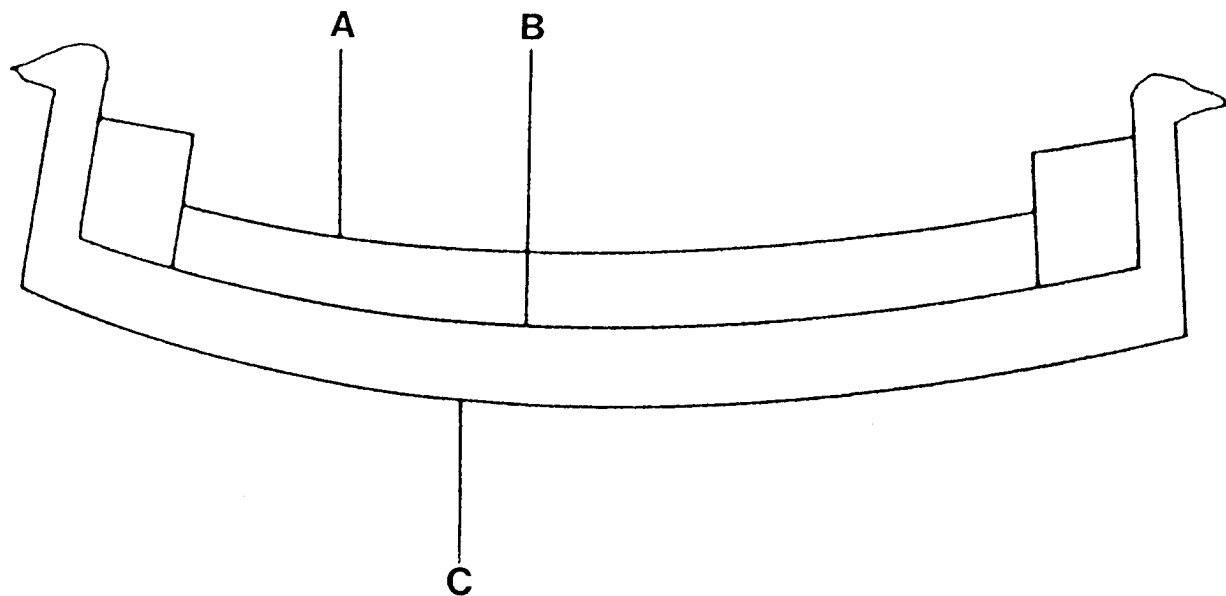
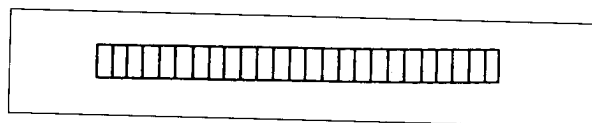


Figure 6.3. The horizontal lines on ships N.1–N.2, N.4, and N.5. Drawing: S. Wachsmann.



Figure 6.4. Ship N.1.1. From Medinet Habu I: pl. 39.



Figure 6.5. Ship N.2. From Medinet Habu I: pl. 39.



Figure 6.6. Ship N.4. From Medinet Habu I. pl. 39.



Figure 6.7. Ship N.5. From Medinet Habu I: pl. 39.



Figure 6.8. Ship N.3. From Medinet Habu I: pl. 39.

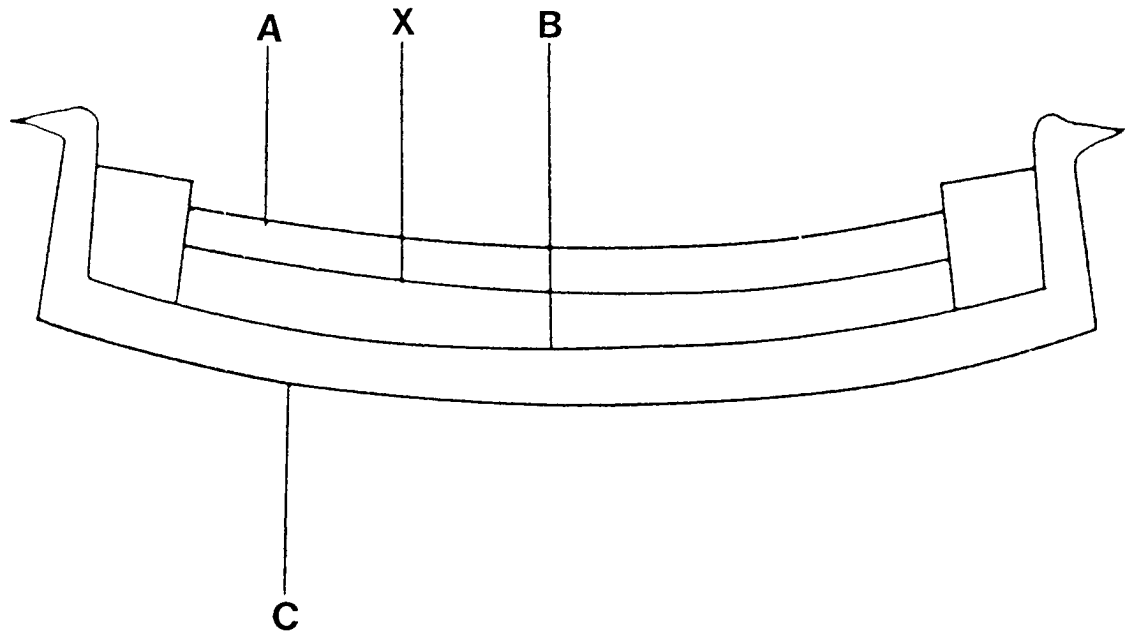


Figure 6.9. The four horizontal lines on N.3, the vessel that has capsized. Drawing: S. Wachsmann.

In fact, this element of the ships' architecture is so prominent that at times it takes up the entire height of the hull—from keel-line to caprail, leaving only a narrow line to represent the ship's wooden hull (Fig. 6.12). It also appears in paint along the sides of some terra-cotta ship models. But what does this motif represent vis-à-vis the actual architecture of the vessel after which it was patterned?

Until recently, despite the large corpus of Mycenaean ship depictions available, none of these were of sufficient detail to answer this question. Then, Dakoronia (1990; 1991; 1993; 1995), excavating in Pyrgos Livanaton, a site identified with Homeric Kynos, uncovered sherds of Late Helladic IIIC kraters decorated with ships (Figs. 6.13–15). The first of these depictions, preserved almost in its entirety, is the most detailed published representation of a Mycenaean ship known to date, finally allowing us to identify the horizontal ladder motif.

Two warriors—armed with throwing spears and protected behind shields and armor—as well as an unarmored helmsman stand on (or above) the ship. Interestingly, all three figures have lines emerging from their heads that are reminiscent of the feather helmets worn by some of the Sea Peoples at Medinet Habu as well as by mariners portrayed on sherds of Late Helladic IIIC date from the Seraglio at Cos (Morricone 1975:360, figs. 356, 357a–c, 358–360).

The ship, which moves to the left, is defined horizontally by three broad horizontal bands (Fig. 6.16). The wooden hull is defined by the dark area between lines B and C, the former representing the line of the

keel or keel-plank and the latter the caprail. The strip above this, between lines B and X, is intersected, in addition to the mast, by 19 vertical lines. Adjacent to each line is a "lunette," the convex side of which faces aft. Two bands of hemicircles decorate the uppermost strip—between lines X and A. This motif perhaps indicates that this band (AX) represents a leather screen, as it commonly appears in Mycenaean art on the hides of bulls or on the leather sides of chariots (Furumark 1941:245, fig. 27:6, 8; 332, fig. 18). Line X continues past the stem at left, suggesting that it is a free-standing wale, supported by the stanchions, into which the beams holding the deck would have been braced.

All of the lunettes lead into oars, indicating that they represent—however schematically—the torsos of the ship's rowers. The curvilinear form of the lunettes/oarsmen is in keeping with the sinuous form of the vessel's armorless helmsman. The lower portions of the men's bodies, from their waist to their feet, are hidden behind the hull; their heads are protected behind the screen, and therefore out of view.

If the rowers are facing the stern of the ship, in the normal manner of rowing, then they are at the end of their stroke. Less likely, although not impossible, is that the rowers are facing forward, while carrying out a particular maneuver such as moving the vessel stern first toward shore (Tilley 1992).¹¹

One would like to confirm such a treatment of "disappearing heads" disappearing behind superstructure in representations of oarsmen vis-à-vis a

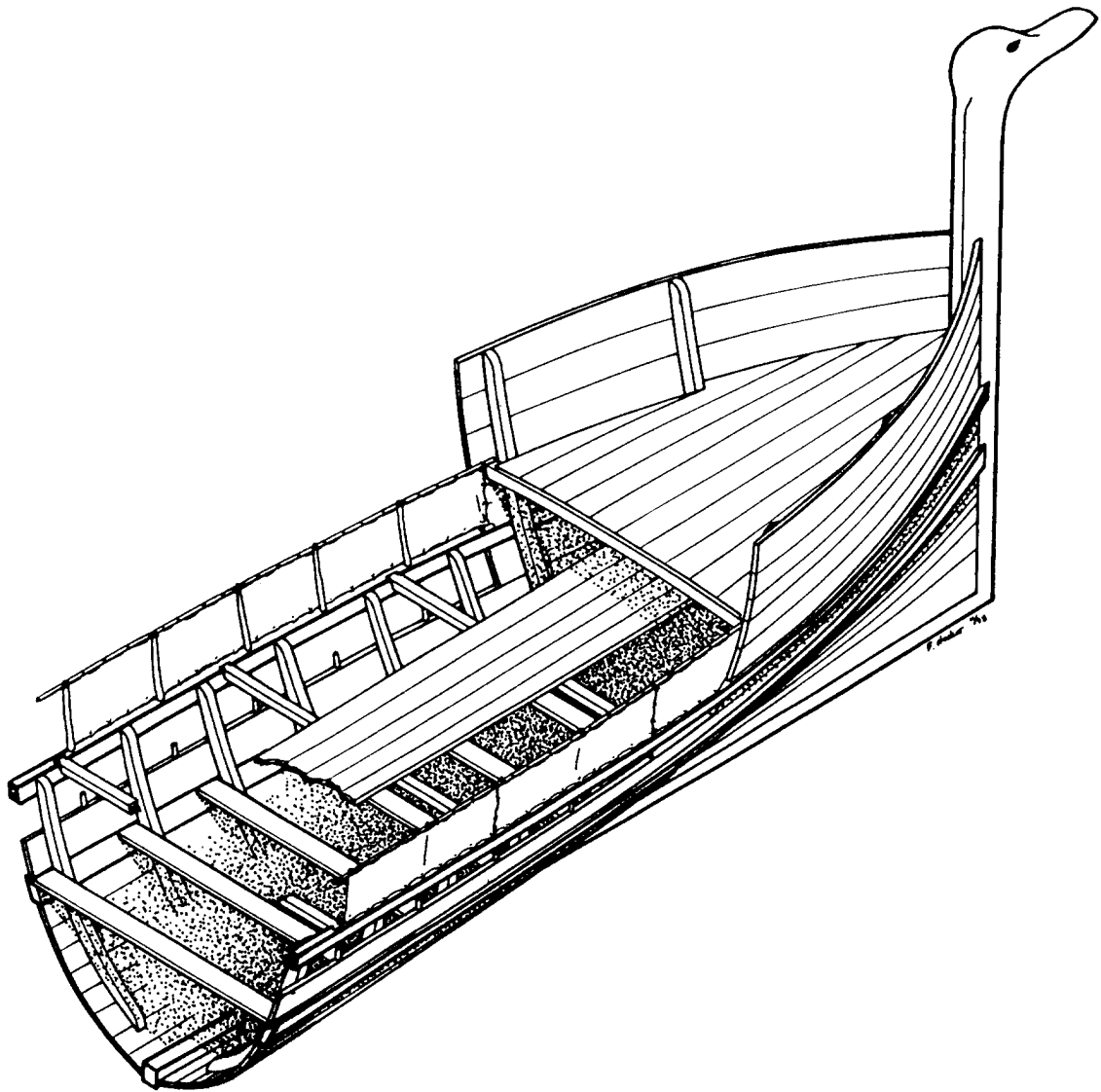


Figure 6.10. Tentative isometric view of a Sea Peoples' ship depicting the main elements derived from the dead bodies on ship N.3. Drawing: F. M. Hocker.

Geometric galley architecture, which, all authorities agree, evolved from Mycenaean prototypes. Such a demonstration is not viable, however, for no two scholars who have dealt with galleys in Geometric art agree on how to interpret them (Kirk 1949:123–131; Morrison and Williams 1968:12–17; Casson 1995: 71–74; Basch 1987:161–170).

In the waning years of the 8th century B.C.E., however, depictions of *dieres*—a type of galley in which two rows of oarsmen were superimposed, one above the other, on either side of the ship—supplies us with a nearly exact parallel to the hidden heads of

the Kynos oarsmen. A Proto-Attic sherd from Phaleron bearing one of the earliest depictions of a *dieres*, shows the heads of the oarsmen in the lower bank disappearing behind the superstructure (Fig. 6.17; Williams 1959; Wachsmann 1995:27).

This leads to the inevitable conclusion that the “horizontal ladder” motif actually represents an open rowers’ gallery crossed by stanchions—identical to the feature already noted on the Sea Peoples’ ship images at Medinet Habu (Fig. 6.18). The Kynos ship must have had a similar deck arrangement, which ran the entire length of the ship, but must have been

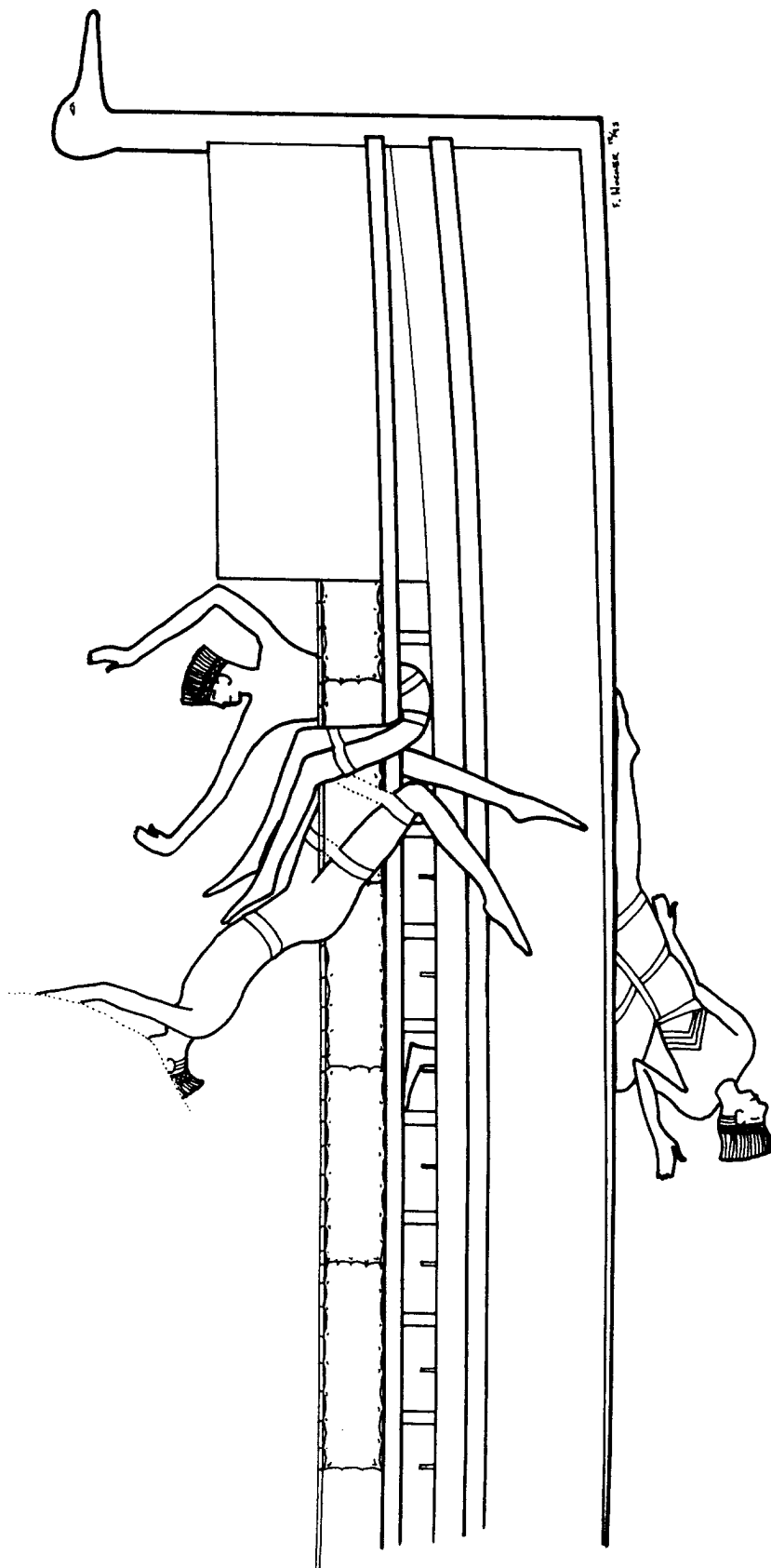


Figure 6.11. Tentative sheer view of a Sea Peoples' ship with the three bodies of warriors added to demonstrate better the constructional details
 Note that the figures are depicted on a scale smaller than the ship. Drawing: F. M. Hocker.

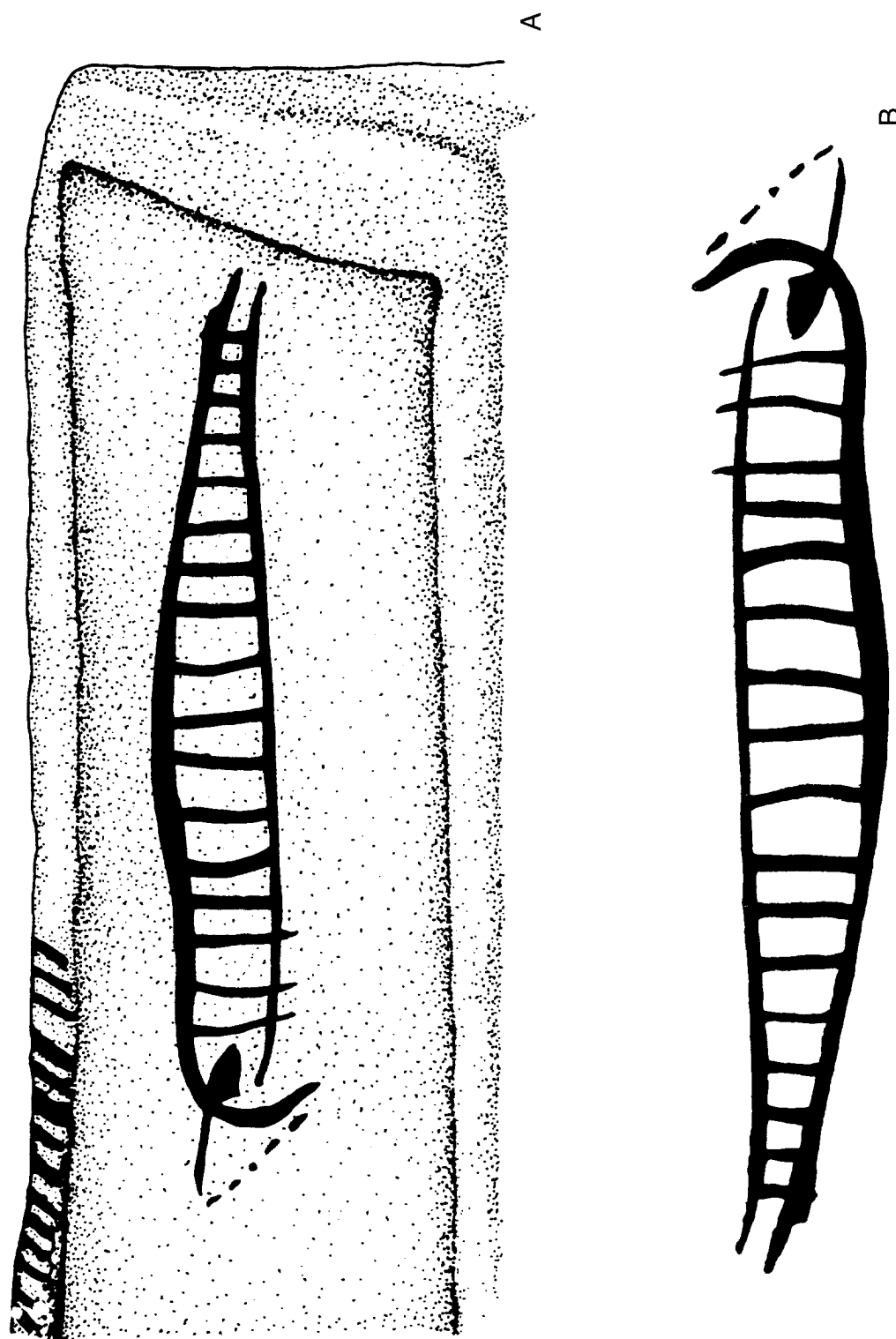


Figure 6.12. (A) The element represented by the "horizontal ladder pattern" appears to have been so striking to the observer that, in some cases, depictions of a ship's hull consist of little other than this component, sometimes with oars and rigging added. This is illustrated admirably on this painting of a ship, which was painted upside-down inside a Minoan *larnax*.

(B) The same ship, reversed to its proper orientation. After Gray 1974:C47, abb. 11.

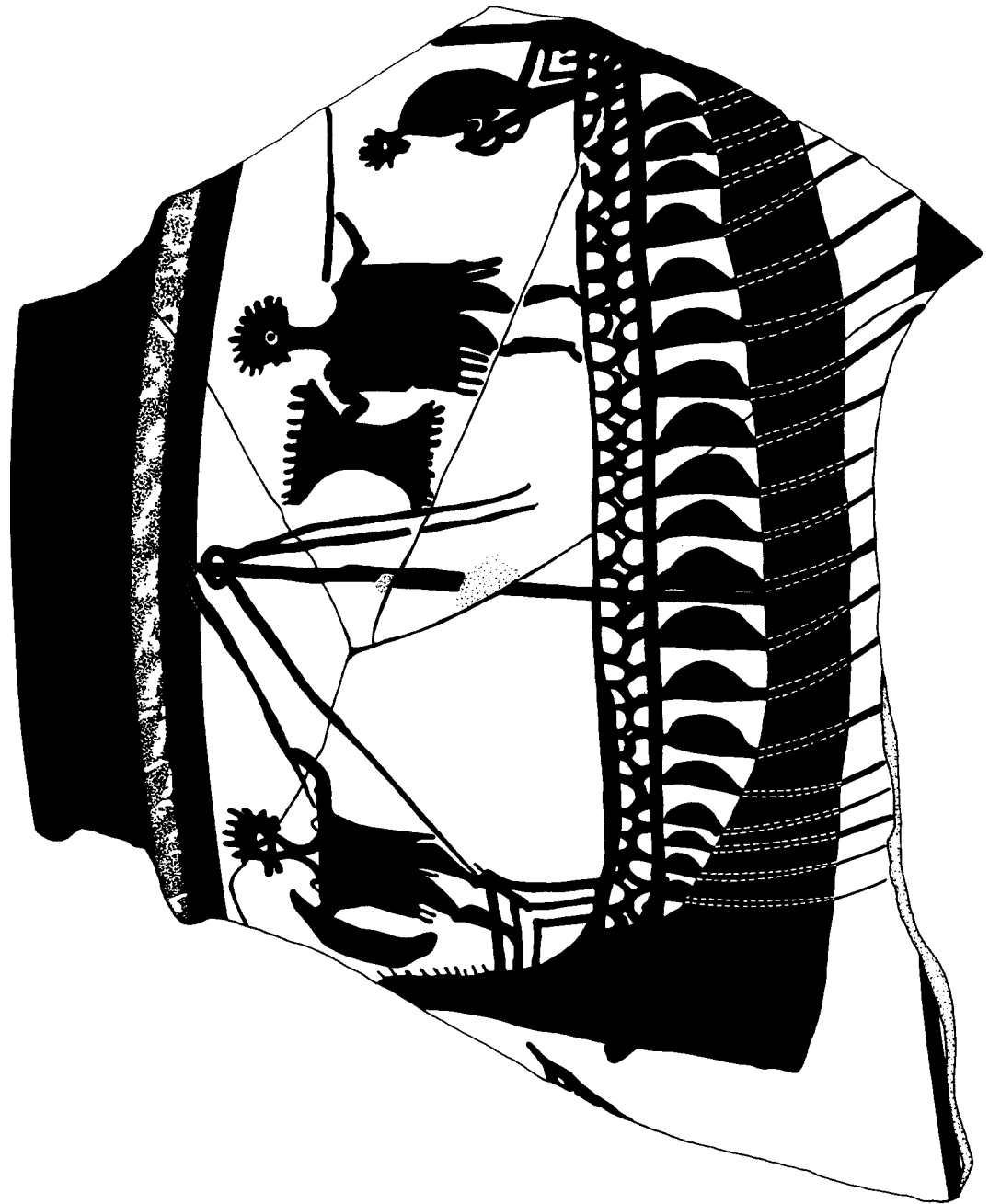


Figure 6.13. Kynos ship A. After Wachsmann 1998:131 fig. 7.8:A. Drawing: K. Bowling.

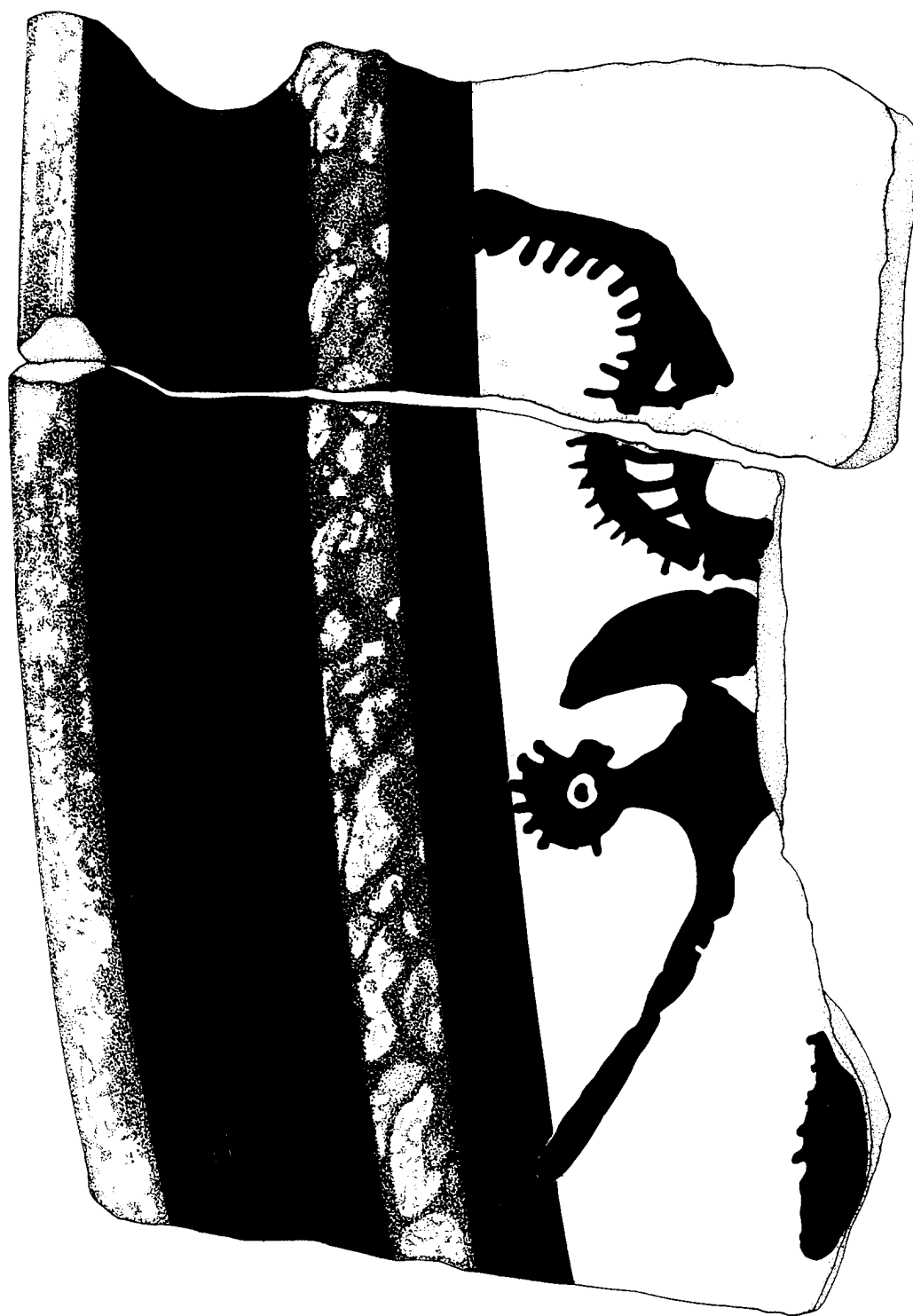


Figure 6.14. Kynos ship B. After Wachsmann 1998:134 fig. 7.15. Drawing: K. Bouling.



Figure 6.15. *Kynos ship C*. After Wachsmann 1998:135 fig. 7.16:B. Drawing: K. Bowling.

left open along the vessel's sides in order to leave room for the heads of the oarsmen. Note that this interpretation of the hull agrees entirely with Casson's reconstruction of the Late Geometric galley.

The Sea Peoples' ship(s) at Medinet Habu so closely parallels what we know of Mycenaean galleys that in our present state of knowledge we cannot differentiate between their construction. Either the ships in use by the Sea Peoples were Mycenaean, or such ships were patterned closely on Mycenaean prototypes. It would be unwise, however, to establish ethnic identity solely on the evidence of hull construction. Cultures often adopted foreign ships for their own uses (Casson 1995:105, n. 41, 141–142). There is, however, another clue to the ethnicity of the Me-

dinet Habu ship(s) crew: bird-head devices.

The five Sea Peoples' ships at Medinet Habu bear water-bird head devices facing outboard at the bow and the stern (Fig. 6.19). During the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age such bird-heads, or indeed actual representations of water birds in the round, are a distinctly Mycenaean device (Figs. 6.14–15, 6.20–22; Wachsmann 1996; 1998:177–197).

The first appearance of a bird-head device is on the post of a ship painted on some Middle Helladic sherds from Aegina (Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973:301, fig. 869). When Mycenaean ship depictions become common, during the Late Helladic IIIB, many ships bear the head and body of a bird, often with the beak noticeably curving upward. While the

representations are too schematic to identify the specific bird(s) depicted, the devices inevitably represent water fowl of the same type(s) that regularly appear on contemporaneous Mycenaean and Philistine pottery (Furumark 1941:253 fig. 30, 255 fig. 31: nos. 36–52; Benson 1961; T. Dothan 1982:201–202, figs. 61–63).

There is, however, one noteworthy difference between the manner in which the bird-heads are situated on representations of Mycenaean ships and the Medinet Habu ship depictions: on the Mycenaean vessels the bird/bird-head always appears at the bow, upon or near the stem. Although originally they seem always to face forward, by the Late Cypriote III they can also face inboard (Göttlicher 1978:35 no. 149; Wachsmann 1981:205 fig. 21, 206). The ships at Medinet Habu, however, also have a mirror-image bird-head facing aft atop the sternpost. This is not a common element on Aegean ships of the Late Helladic IIIB–IIIC. To find a multitude of exact parallels to this configuration we must look farther afield: to the Urnfield Culture of Central Europe.

The manner in which the bird-heads are placed on the Medinet Habu ships are remarkably similar to the bird-boats, or *Vogelbarke*, of the Central European Urnfield cultures, a fact first noted by Hencken (1968:568–570, 625–628). The earliest bird-boat ornaments—from the Somes River at Satu Mare in northern Romania and from Velem St. Vid in Hungary—are dated by Bouzek (1985:178) to the European Br D period (ca. 1250–1200 B.C.E.; Figs. 6.23–24). Bouzek (1994:217) notes that the Br D, to

which most of the classical comparisons with the Late Helladic IIIB materials are associated, may be somewhat earlier than previously thought. Of only slightly later date—Halstatt A1 (ca. 12th century B.C.E.)—is another ornament of bird-boat shape from Grünwald, Bavaria (Fig. 6.25: A). Following this, the bird-boat motif is a common element in Urnfield and Villanovan art (Figs. 6.25: B–E; 6.26).

The bird-boat motif is not a symbolic device common to the Mycenaean cultural realm. Notable in this regard, therefore, is a bird-boat-like depiction painted on the sherd of a Late Helladic IIIC krater sherd found at Tiryns (Fig. 6.27). Bouzek (1985:178) doubts that in this case the artist understood the motif, however.

All this is very informative vis-à-vis the Sea Peoples' ship represented at Medinet Habu. True, as we have seen above, the depictions represent a galley type that is undoubtedly of Mycenaean tradition. The manner in which the bird-heads are positioned on the stem and stern of the ship form a seagoing "bird-boat." As this motif is foreign to the Mycenaean world, we must conclude that the specific ship used by the Medinet Habu artists as a prototype for their five depictions of a Sea Peoples' ship, was manned by a crew that held religious beliefs consistent with those of the Urnfield culture. Or, to put it plainly, the crew was likely to have been composed of Urnfield people.

As we have seen above, the five ship images in the invading fleet are almost surely all *studies* of a single northern vessel. Keeping this in mind, and following

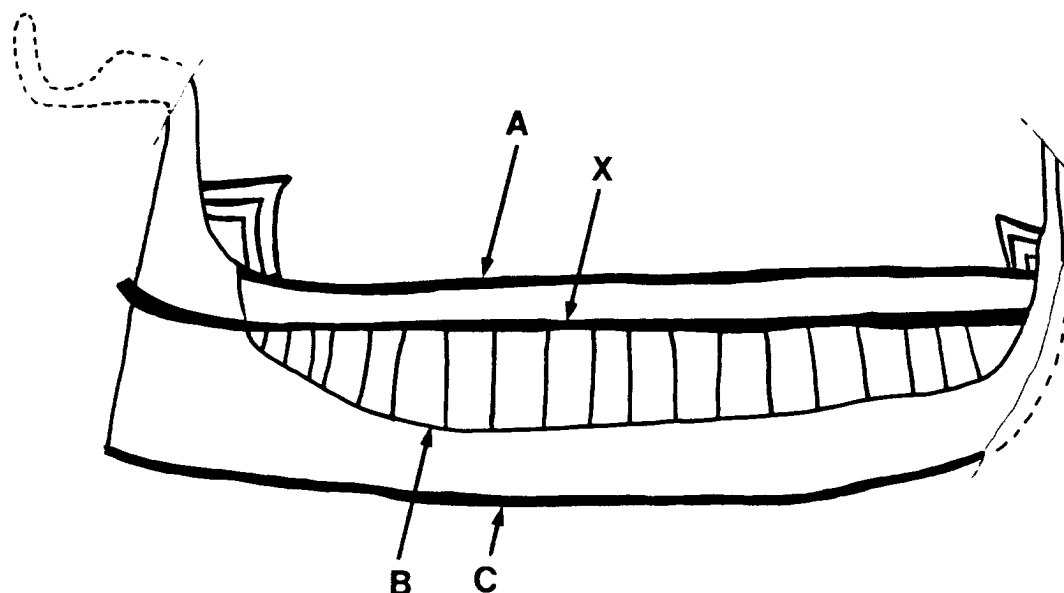


Figure 6.16. The horizontal lines indicating constructional details of the Kynos A ship.

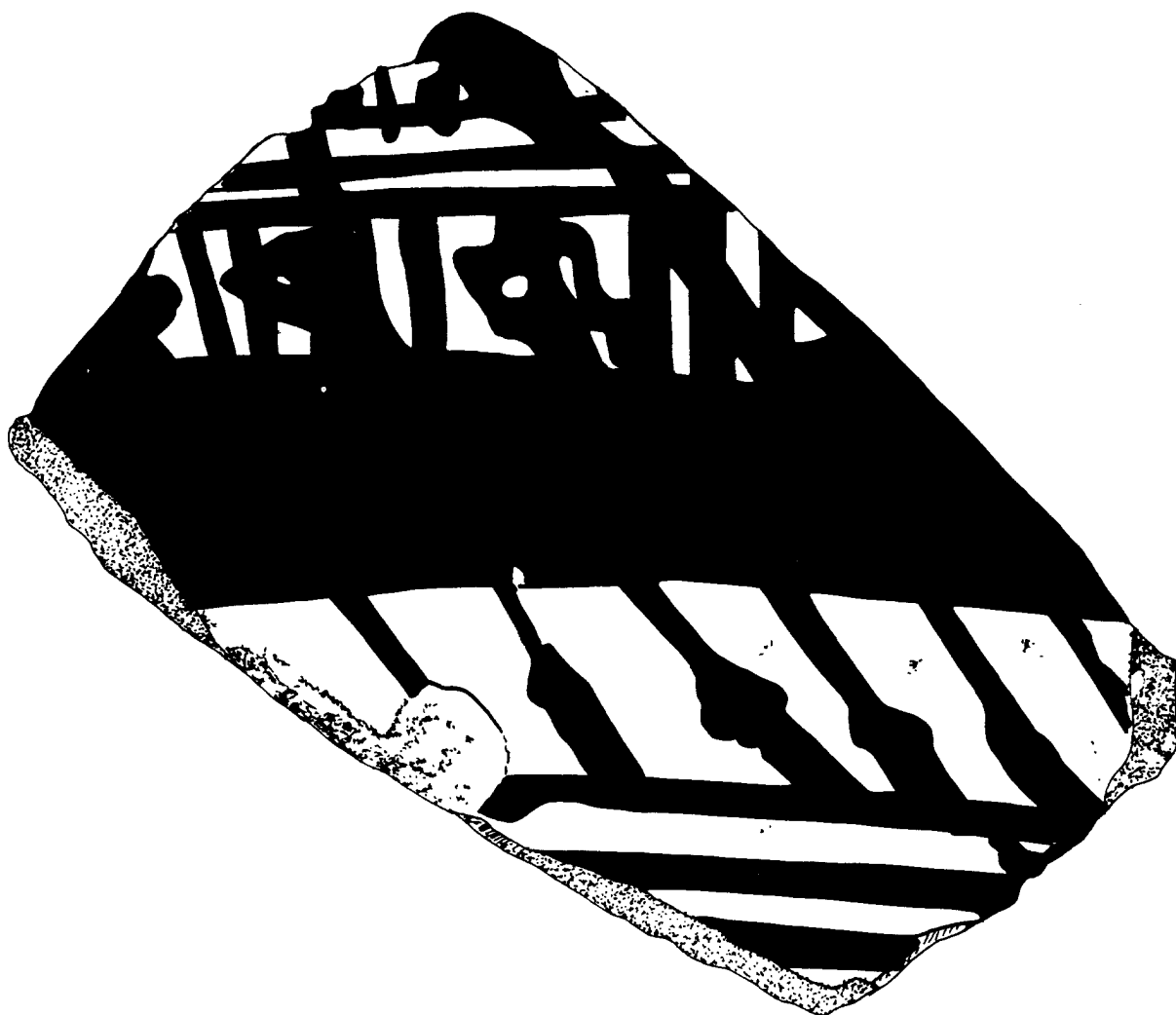


Figure 6.17. Part of a *dieres*, depicted on a Proto-Attic sherd from Phaleron. After Williams 1959:160 fig. 1.

a minimalist approach, we may conclude that *at least* one ship that was manned by Urnfield warriors took part in the naval battle memorialized by Ramesses III's artists. It is important to emphasize that the appearance of a single ship crewed by Urnfield culture warriors does not necessarily indicate that all—or even a majority—of the ships in the invading fleet were crewed by Urnfield warriors. A single ship does not make a fleet.

We *cannot* assume that this particular class of ship was preferred because it was the predominant ship class in the invading fleet. The choice of the artist, to record a specific ship over others that would have been available to him in the aftermath of the battle, may have been the result of a variety of considerations that, at a chronological distance of over three thousand years, we are simply unable to determine.

Indeed, serendipity may have been a factor: perhaps the artist chose the particular ship that he recorded *specifically because it was so rare or unique*.

Indeed, studies of the material culture of those groups of Sea Peoples who settled in the southeast corner of the Mediterranean coast in the wake of the mass migrations at the end of the Late Bronze Age indicate an overwhelming predominance of Mycenaean characteristics (T. Dothan 1982; Dothan and Dothan 1992; Mazar 1985; Stager 1991:6–7, 9–18; 1995). This argues for the Urnfield folk having constituted a relatively small component from among the groups that settled in the Near East. There is, however, one additional consideration in our evaluation of the impact of the Urnfield culture there: the Urnfield cremation cemeteries at Hama.

Over a thousand urns relating to cremation burials

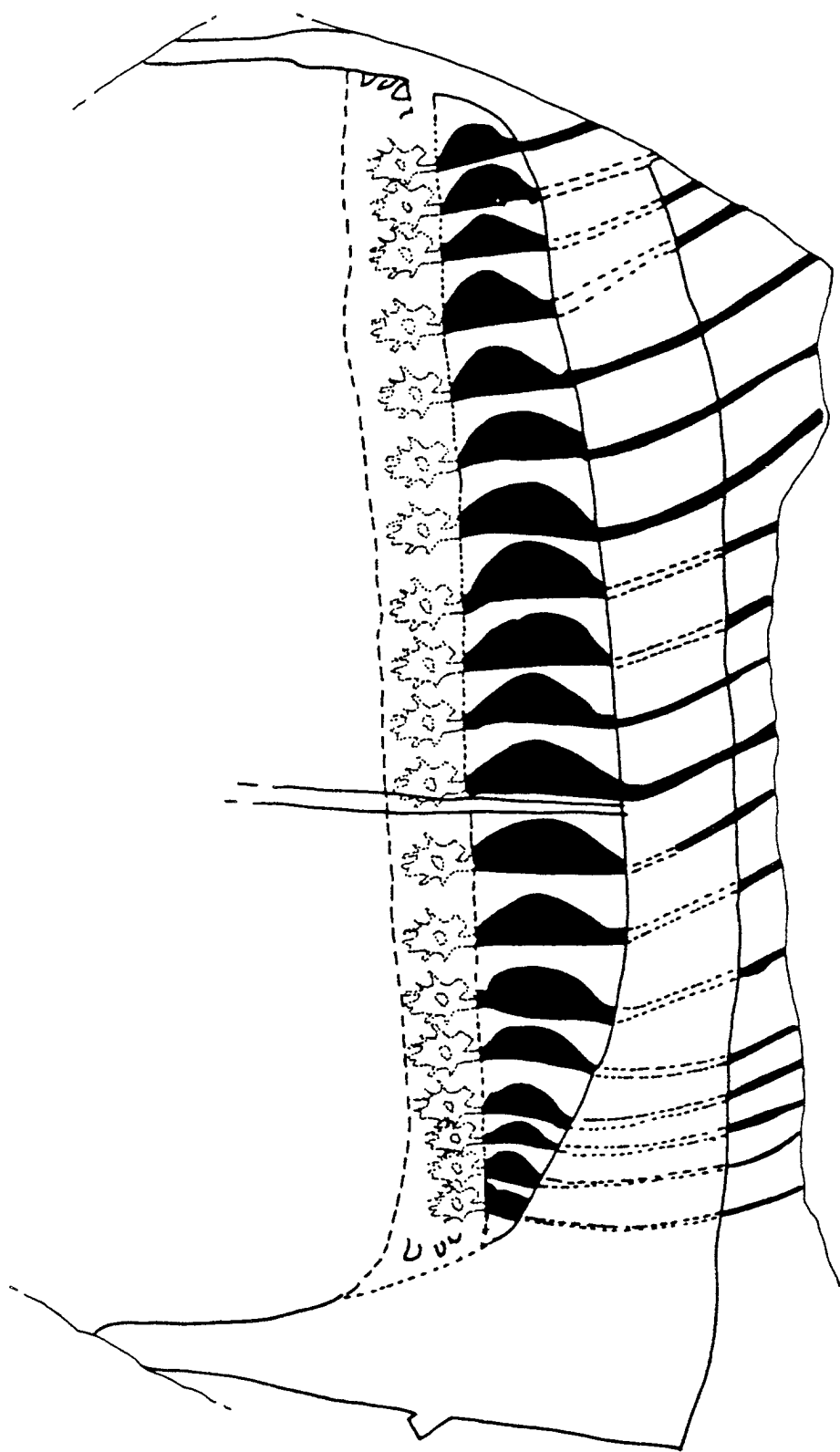


Figure 6.18. Hypothetical reconstruction of Kynos ship A. Oars leading to the 19 lunettes indicate that they represent the torsos of rowers as seen through an open rowers' galley. A screen rising from deck level hides the heads of the oarsmen from view. Drawing: S. Wachsmann.

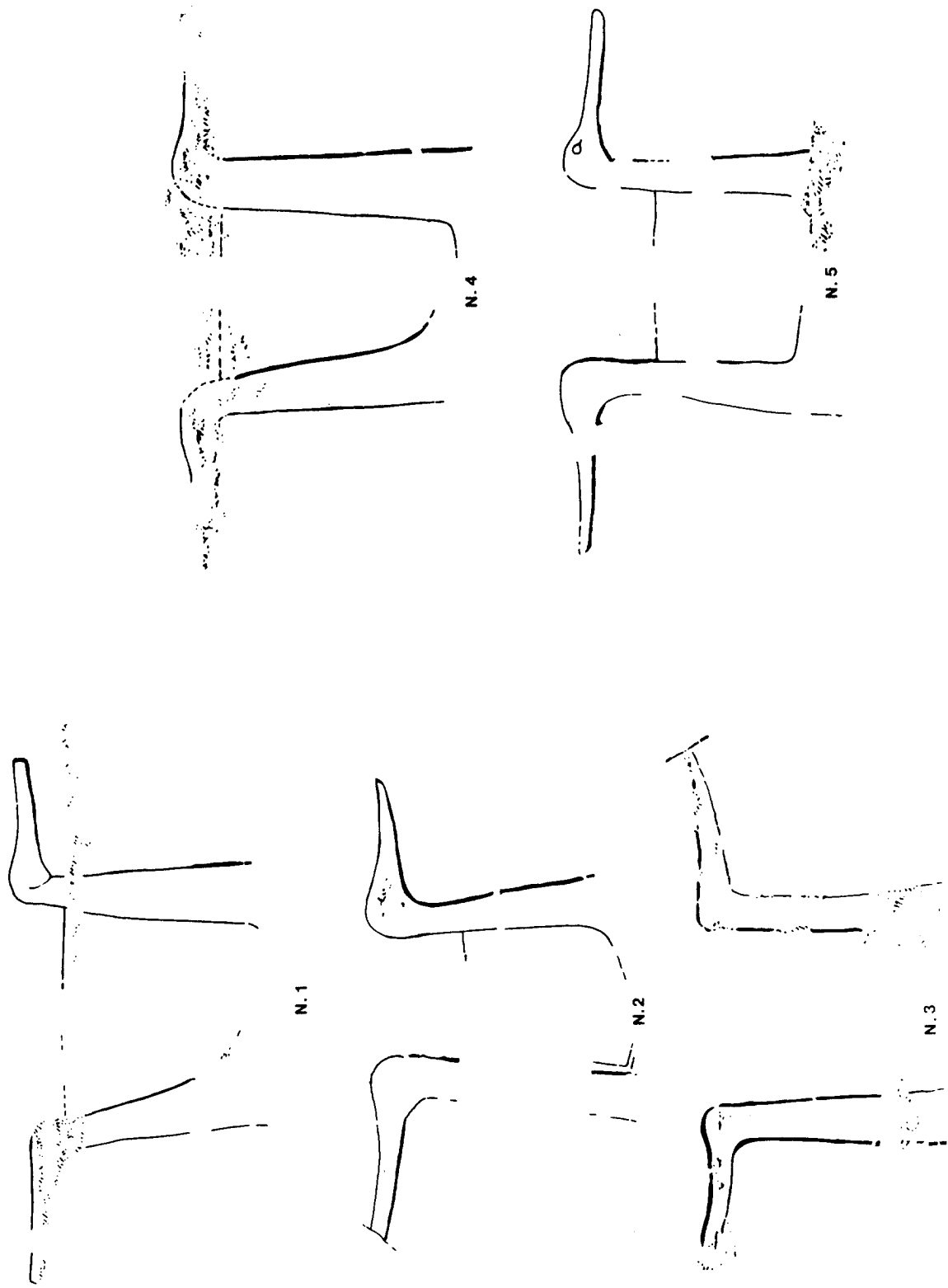


Figure 6.19. Bird-head devices on the five representations of a Sea Peoples' ship as depicted at Medinet Habu. After Medinet Habu I: pl. 39.

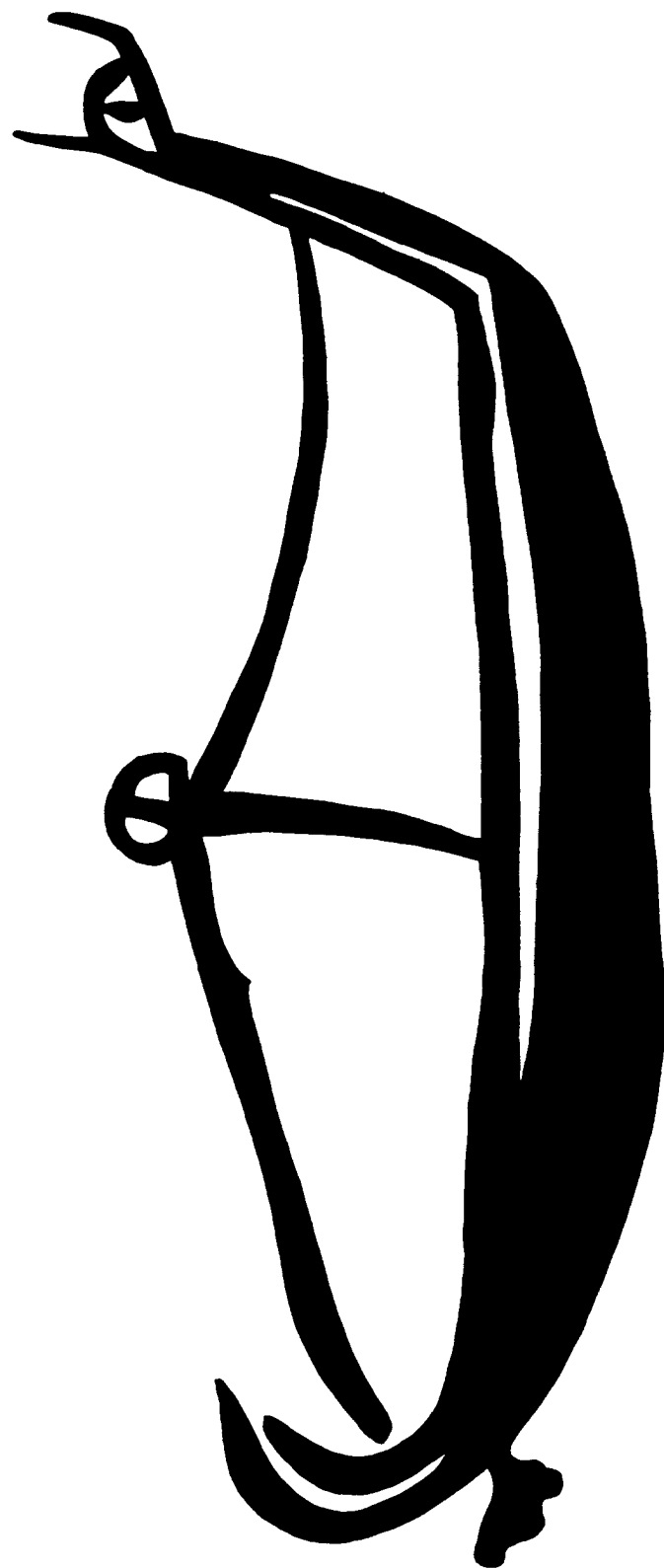


Figure 6.20. Ship with a stem ending in a water-bird head device painted on a stirrup jar from Skyros. Late Helladic IIIc. After Hencken 1968:537 fig. 486.

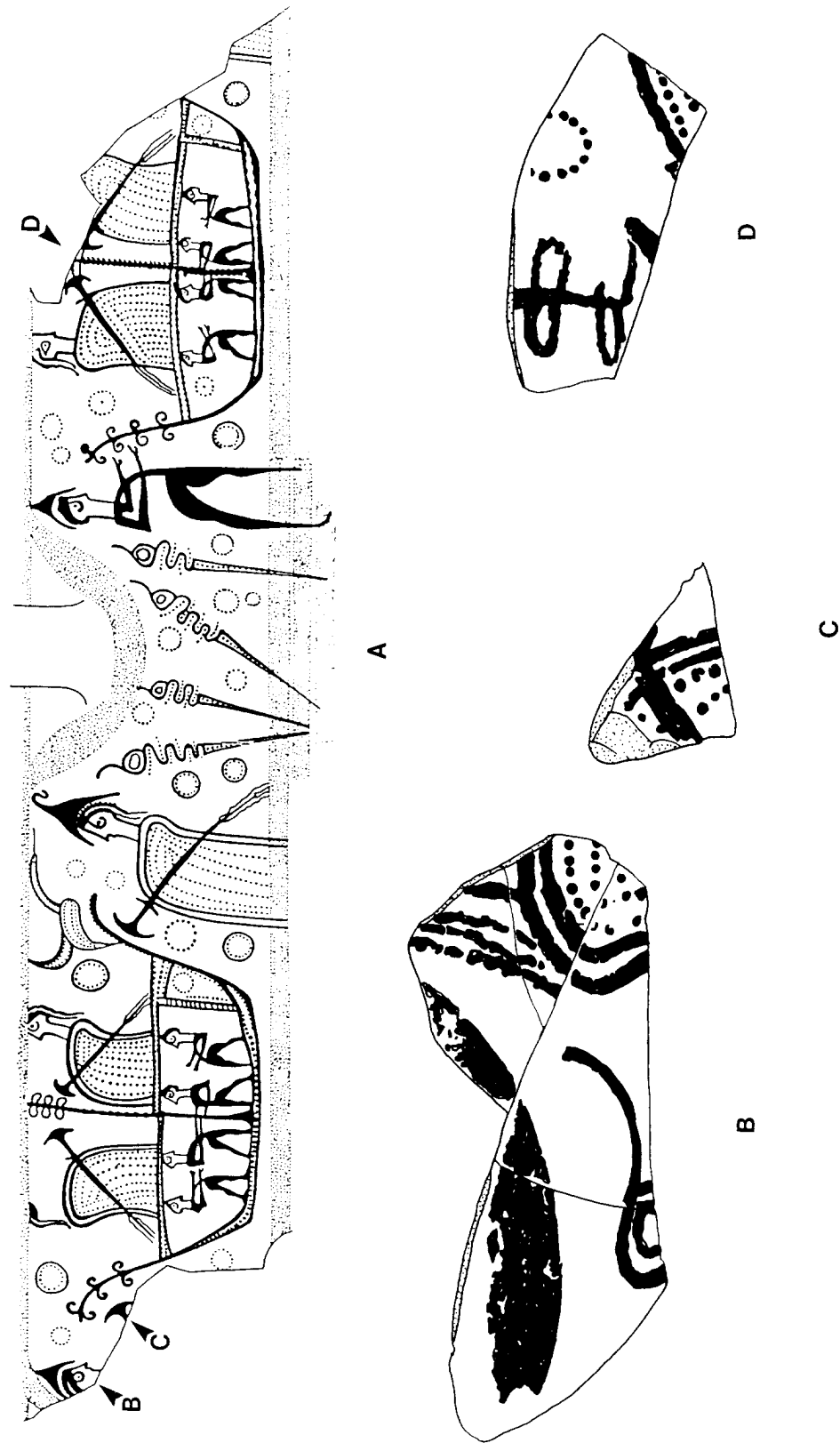


Figure 6.21. (A) Ship scene on a decorated Mycenaean amphoroid krater from Tomb 3, Enkomi. Note the water-bird device attached to the stem on the ship at left. Late Helladic IIIB. (B-D) Additional sherds from the same krater. A from Sjöqvist 1940; fig. 20:3. B-D after Karageorghis 1960; pl. X: VII.

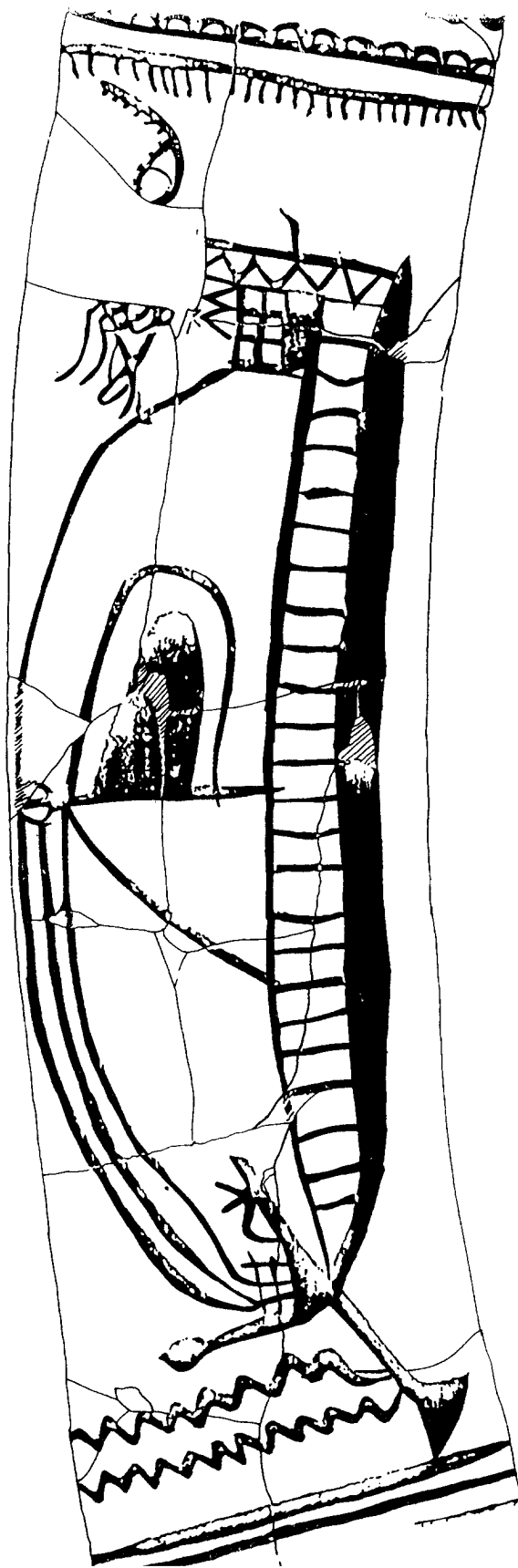


Figure 6.22. Ship with a water-bird device in the bow depicted on a pyxis from a tomb at Tragana, near Pylos. Late Helladic III C. After Korres 1989:200.

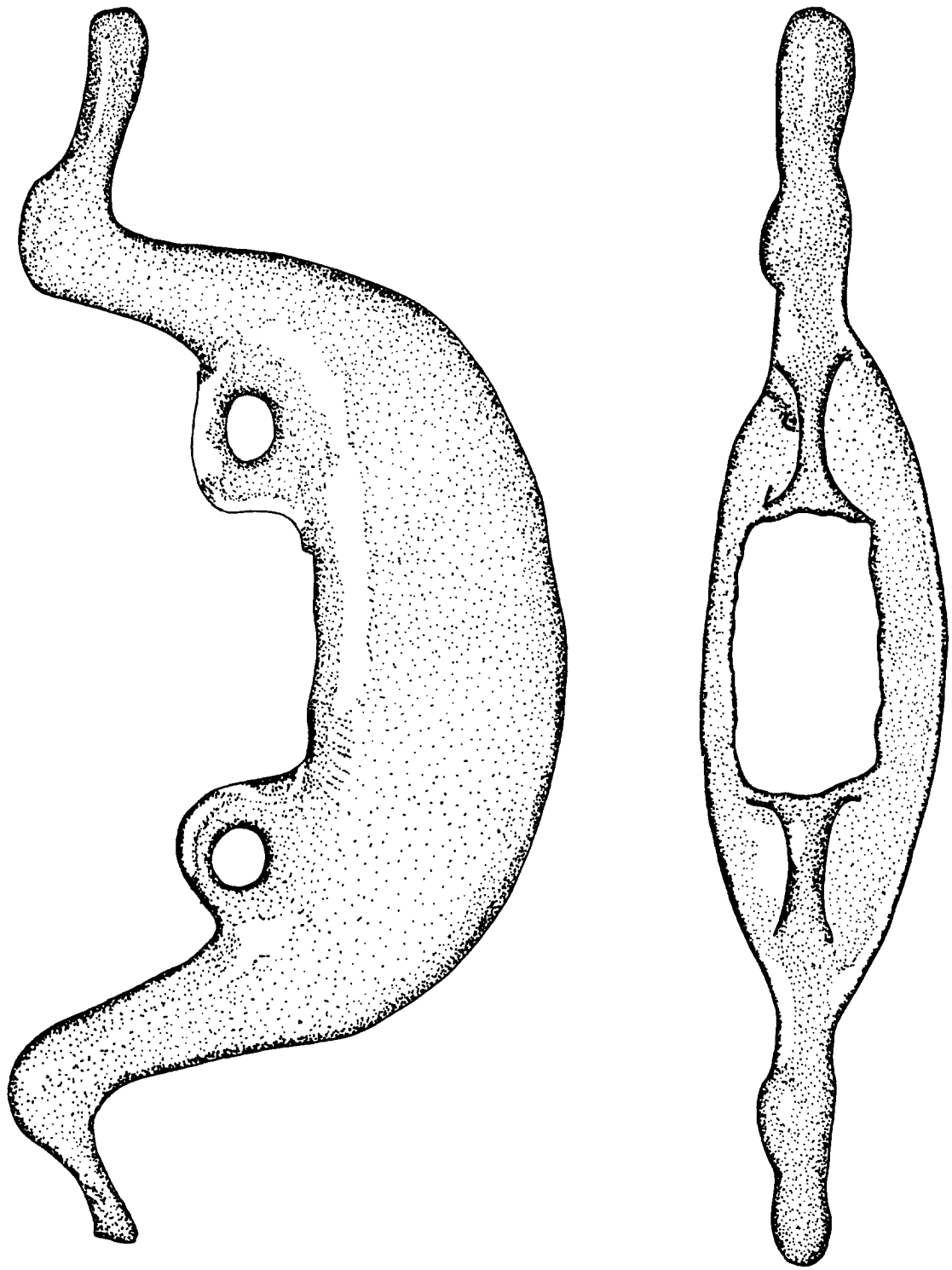


Figure 6.23. A bronze "bird-boat" ornament from the Someș River at Satu Mare in northern Romania. Br D(?). After Götlicher 1978: taf. 33:439.

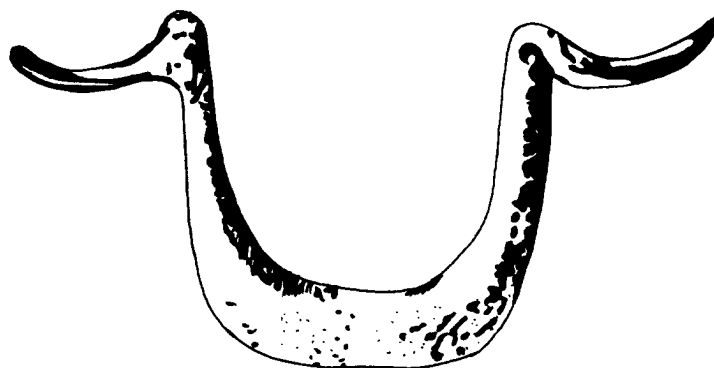


Figure 6.24. A bronze "bird-boat" ornament from Velem St. Vid, Hungary. Br D(?).
After Göttlicher 1978: taf. 34:440.

were found in Hama F, early phase, which is equivalent to Period I of the cremation cemeteries (Ingholt 1940:69–84, pls. XXI–XXVI; Riis 1948). These cremation burials are exceptional, and are clearly not the result of a local development, indicating rather the arrival of a foreign, intrusive, cultural element at Hama. The material culture of this new group—fibulae, flang-hilted swords, as well as the Urnfield burials themselves—are undoubtedly of European origin. The Urnfield level at Hama was attributed by the site's Danish excavators to the migratory upheavals at the end of the Late Bronze Age.

Of unique interest to the present study is a ship depicted on one of the crematory urns found at Hama (Fig. 6.28; Ingholt 1940:71, pl. XXII: 2; Riis 1948:48 fig. 25, 97 fig. 130B: 112, 105–106, pl. 12C—no. G VI-II, 551 [5B902]; Hencken 1968:627). The vessel's stem is topped with the ubiquitous bird-head with a strongly recurved beak, and a typical Mycenaean open rowers' gallery with vertical stanchions takes up the hull. Above it, another "horizontal ladder" design presumably is intended to represent a screen with supporting stanchions.

Another rare example of cremation burials interred inside a ceramic container is noteworthy: at Azor, near Tel Aviv, a jar filled with the cremated remains of one or two individuals (Burial 63). The jar had been deposited inside a roughly square stone construction (M. Dothan 1960; 1961:173, pls. 33: =5–6, 35:2; Dothan and Dothan 1992:112–117; Stern 1993, I:129). Ceramic and metal artifacts—including a small mouthpiece made of gold foil—were found in association with the burial. This burial was dated to the latter part of the 11th century B.C.E., on the basis of a comparison with similar jars found at Tel Qasile, Stratum X. Note also that the men of Yavesh-Gilead cremated the bodies of Saul and his sons—a decidedly non-Semitic method of burial—before burying them (II Samuel 31:12–13).

The appearance of *at least one ship* manned by Urnfield folk in the Sea Peoples' fleet raises the interesting question of how people from a decidedly inland culture were able to take to the sea with such ease. Hencken (1968:627–628) offers a fascinating historical parallel:

The Vandals had long been inland migrants in Europe when they crossed over from Spain to Africa in A.D. 429. But a mere eight years later, in 437, Vandal pirates were scouring the Mediterranean and attacking the coasts of Sicily. In 440 Gaiseric, the Vandal king, fitted out a powerful fleet to attack not only Sicily but Sardinia, and in 455 he sailed to Italy and plundered Rome. His fleet commanded the whole Mediterranean and by 468 was attacking Greece. Native North Africans are sometimes mentioned as accompanying him, and they may well have taught seamanship to their masters. But if the Vandals could take to the sea so quickly and so effectively, there is little need to doubt that Urnfielders could have done the same.

In recent years, additional depictions of ships of a decidedly Aegean tradition have come to the attention of scholars.

A sherd of Late Helladic IIIC 1b ware, uncovered at Ashkelon by the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon, is believed to be of local make, and bears a ship's post ending in a bird-head device (Fig. 6.29). The sherd was discovered in a fill, but has been identified as of typical Late Helladic IIIC 1b ware and is believed to have been manufactured locally.¹²

The original painting from which this is but a fragment must have contained at least one ship. The post is essentially horizontal; it is not possible to determine whether this is a stem or sternpost, or whether the head faces inboard or outboard. A circle forms the bird's head with a central dot representing the

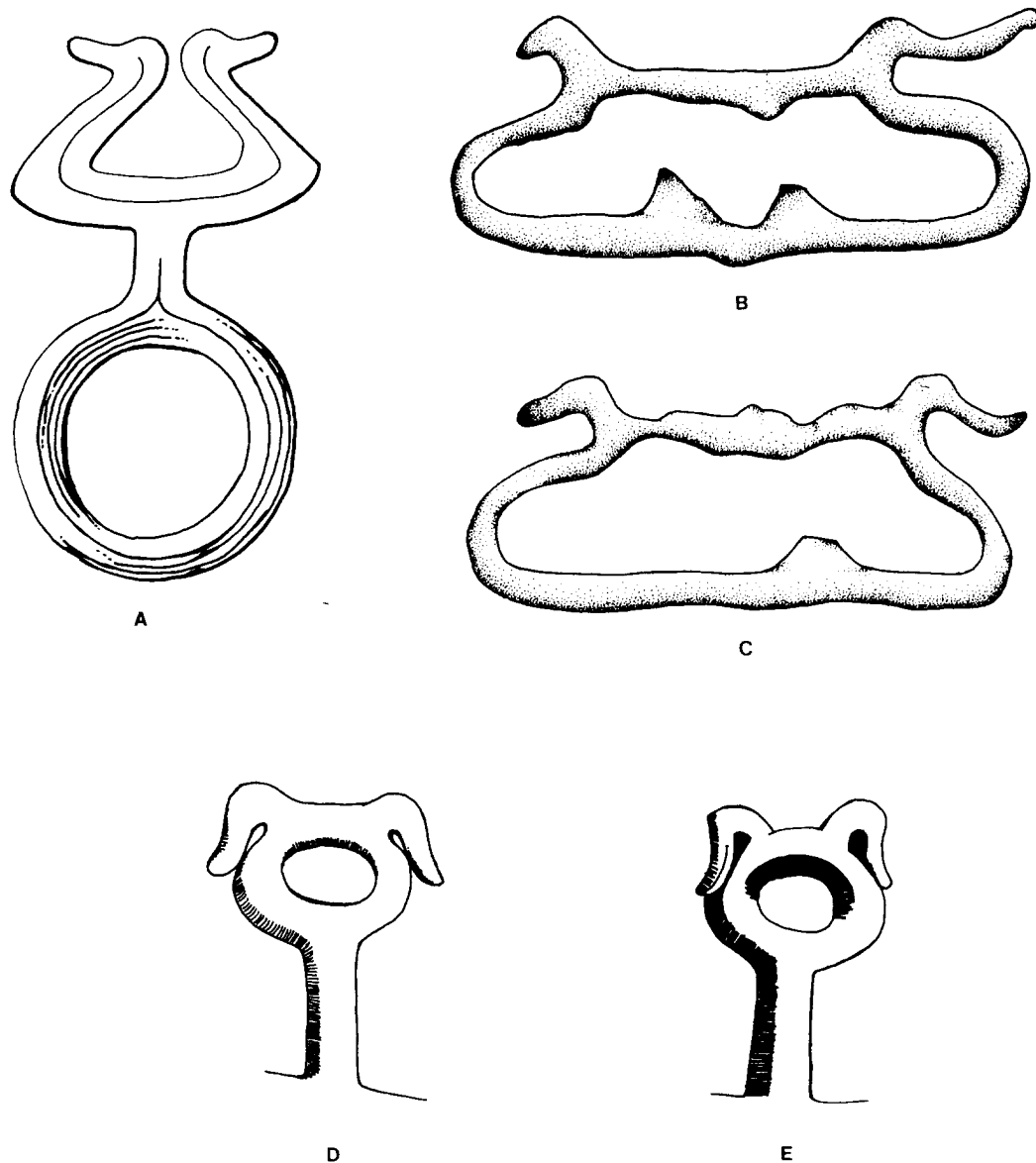
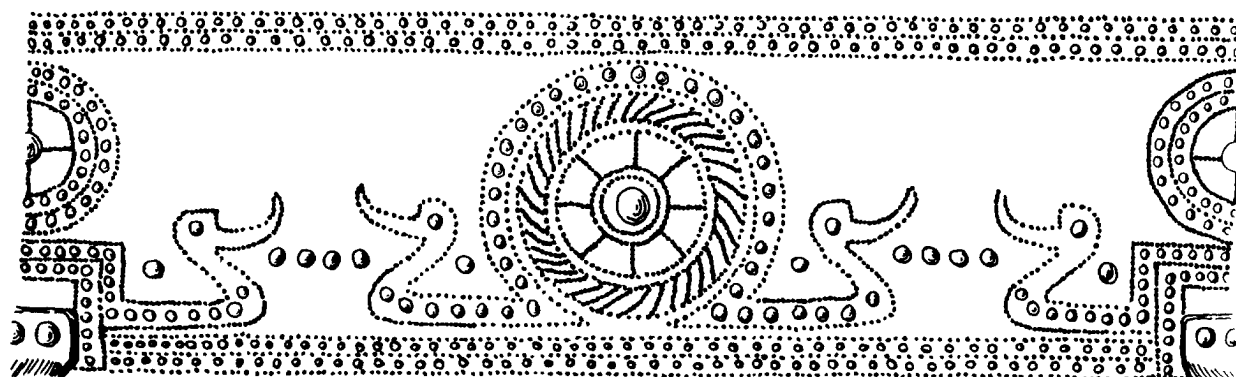
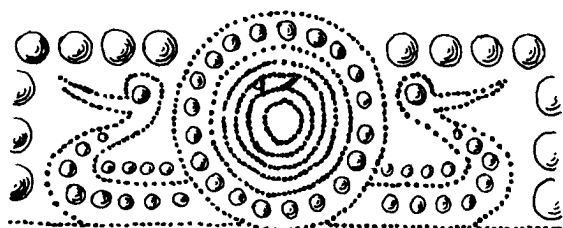


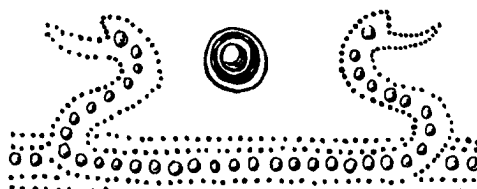
Figure 6.25. Double-headed "bird-boats" in Urnfield and Villanovan art. (A) On an ornament from Grünwald, Bavaria. Halstatt A1. (B–C) Cheekpieces from Impiccato, Grave 39. Probably Villanovan I. (D) Lunate razor blade handle from Selciatello Sopra, Grave 147. Villanovan IC. (E) Lunate razor blade handle from Selciatello Sopra, Grave 38. Probably Villanovan II. After Hencken 1968:516 fig. 478:f, 236 fig. 214:b, 105 fig. 92:b, 247 fig. 226.



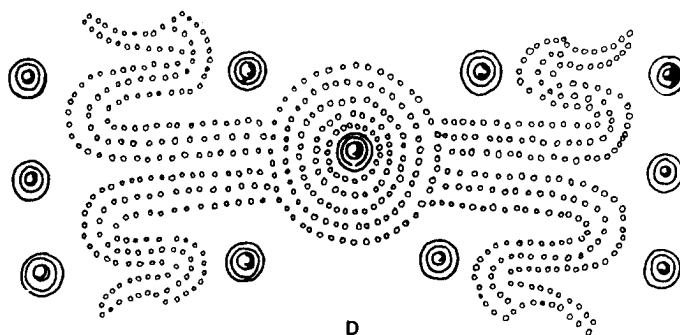
A



B



C



D

Figure 6.26. Single and double "bird boats" represented in embossed Urnfield ornament.
 (A) From Lavindsgaard, Denmark. Halstatt A2. (B) From "Lucky," Slovakia. Halstatt A2.
 (C) From Rossin, Pomerania. Halstatt B.
 (D) From Este, Italy. Este II (= Villanovan II).
 After Hencken 1968:516 fig. 478:a, b, e, and g.



Figure 6.27. A "bird-boat" motif painted on a krater sherd from Tiryns. Late Helladic IIIC. After Bouzek 1985:177 fig. 88:6.

fowl's eye. The beak, which is largely missing, continues the curving lower line of the post. It is not inconceivable that this might represent the head and neck of an actual bird mounted as a device on the ship, similar to those on the ship depictions from Enkomi and Tragana (Figs. 6.21–22). This seems less likely, however, considering the relative size of the legs of the man standing upon it.

Zigzag lines decorate the visible edges of the post. This matches decorations on the vertical bow of the

Tragana ship. Note that two additional wavy, or zigzagging, lines rise from the latter ship's single quarter rudder. Similar lines also appear on a ship painted on a *larnax* from Gazi, a terra-cotta ship uncovered at Tiryns, and on *askoi* in the form of ships from Cyprus and the Athenian Acropolis, as well as on a bird-head device from Maroni, which has broken off from a model (Wachsmann 1998:136 fig. 7.19, 139, 150 fig. 7.45, 151 fig. 7.48, 152 fig. 7.49, 185, 187 fig. 8.48).

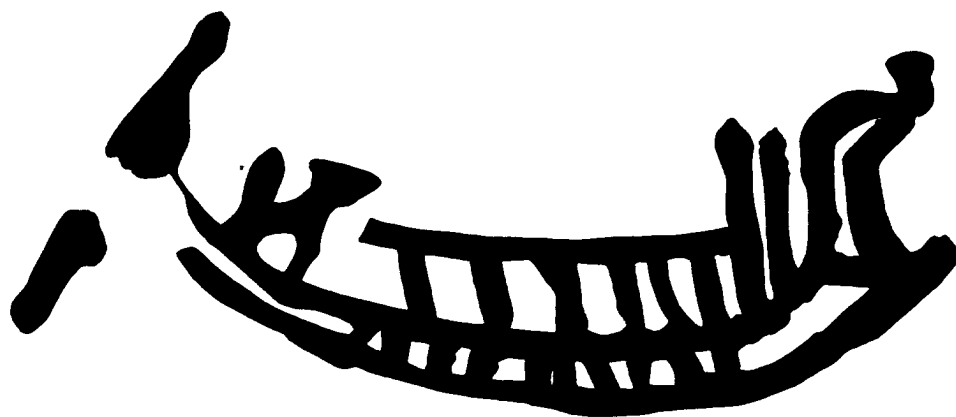


Figure 6.28. Detail of a ship appearing on a cremation urn from Hama. Note the bird-head device atop the stem and the open rowers' gallery with vertical stanchions. Ca. 1200–1075 B.C. After Ingholt 1940: pl. XXII:2.

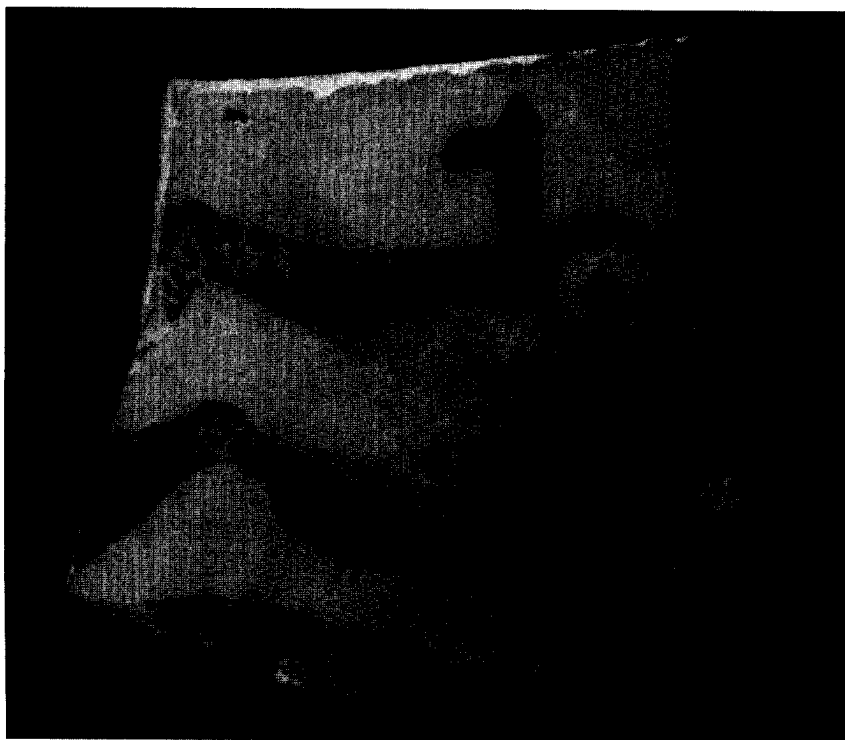


Figure 6.29. Scene of a man standing on a ship's bird-head post decoration painted on a sherd from Ashkelon. Late Helladic IIIC 1b. Courtesy L. E. Stager and the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon. Photo: Stulman-Kessel. Drawing: P. Sibella.

The legs of a man standing on the post are preserved to thigh level. If we assume a frontal view, the figure stands with his left heel planted on the bird-head's device, while his right foot is positioned behind it, on the post. A line rises vertically from near the toe on the left foot. The artist's intention in this detail is unclear, and this may be the simple result of the paint running while still wet. If the artist indeed intended to depict a shoe curving at the toe, for which parallels exist in both the Aegean world and Asia Minor, his attempt was unsuccessful.¹³ Furthermore, if this was the case, we would expect the figure to wear the same type of shoe on both feet.

A curving line appears on the left edge of the sherd, behind the legs. This may represent a shield depicted in profile (cf. Figs. 6.13–14). Alternately, it might represent a bow (Wachsmann 1998:137 n. 65).

On Aegean galleys, warriors are commonly depicted standing in the castles, situated next to the stem or sternposts (Figs. 6.13–15). The same is true of the Sea Peoples' vessels at Medinet Habu (Figs. 6.4–7).¹⁴ The nearest parallels for warriors actually standing on the post ornaments are on the representation of an Attic Geometric galley dating to the mid-8th century B.C.E. and a 7th-century B.C.E. Beotian bronze fibula from Crete (Morrison and Williams 1968: pl. 8e; Basch 1987:175 fig. 362, 193 fig. 411; Casson 1995: fig. 62).

The appearance of a ship with a bird-head device on this Late Helladic IIIC 1b sherd, found in the heartland of Philistia, indicates that the ships employed in the water-borne invasion of Egypt continued in use by the Sea Peoples after their settlement along the southeastern Mediterranean coast (Mazar 1985; Stager 1991:9–18; 1995:334–340).

Another illustration of a ship is engraved on a limestone seal from Beit Shemesh (Fig. 6.30; Grant 1932:21, 82–83 pl. XLVIII: no. 1107; Keel 1990: 386 no. 30, 389 fig. 98; 1994: 33 n. 39, 34 fig. 20). The ship, although schematic, contains sufficient information to make it clear that the artist intended to depict an Aegean-style ship with an open rowers' gallery.

The vessel faces right. It displays a vertical stem and an angular stern, a form common in Aegean-type ships (compare, e.g. Figs. 6.20, 6.22). The stem appears to be capped by a slightly curved, perpendicular device, but this is too schematically portrayed for us to venture an identification. The hull is taken up with an open rowers' gallery, crossed by four vertical lines (stanchions), with four oars appearing beneath it. Two men, who hold curving objects in their right hands, stand amidships and in the stern. Above the stem is another ladder-like design that does not make sense in relation to the ship under question. Perhaps this element is the hull of a ship that was never completed. Above and below the ship's stern are sets of



Figure 6.30. Aegean-type ship engraved on a seal from Beit Shemesh. After Keel 1994:34 fig. 20.

three dots drilled into the seal. Similar motifs appear with ship graffiti on a small stone receptacle from Acco (Artzy 1987:77, fig. 2).

Philistine wares are prevalent at Beit Shemesh (T. Dothan 1982:50–51 for summary and bibliography). Therefore, it seems probable that the prototype of the ship engraved on the seal was Philistine.

A number of rock graffiti, including one representing a ship, were identified by Wreschner (1971:218, fig. 1, no. 5, pl. 47: C) and Prausnitz in 1967 near the top of Nahal ha-Me'arot's northern bluff. More recently, Artzy (1991; 1994) reports numerous additional ship graffiti discovered in Nahal ha-Me'arot and another one, found near the entrance of Nahal Oren, about 5 km to the north. Artzy notes three types of ships depicted in the graffiti (Fig. 6.31). Her future publication of this important group of ship depictions will be a valuable addition to our ever-growing corpus of Aegean ship iconography.

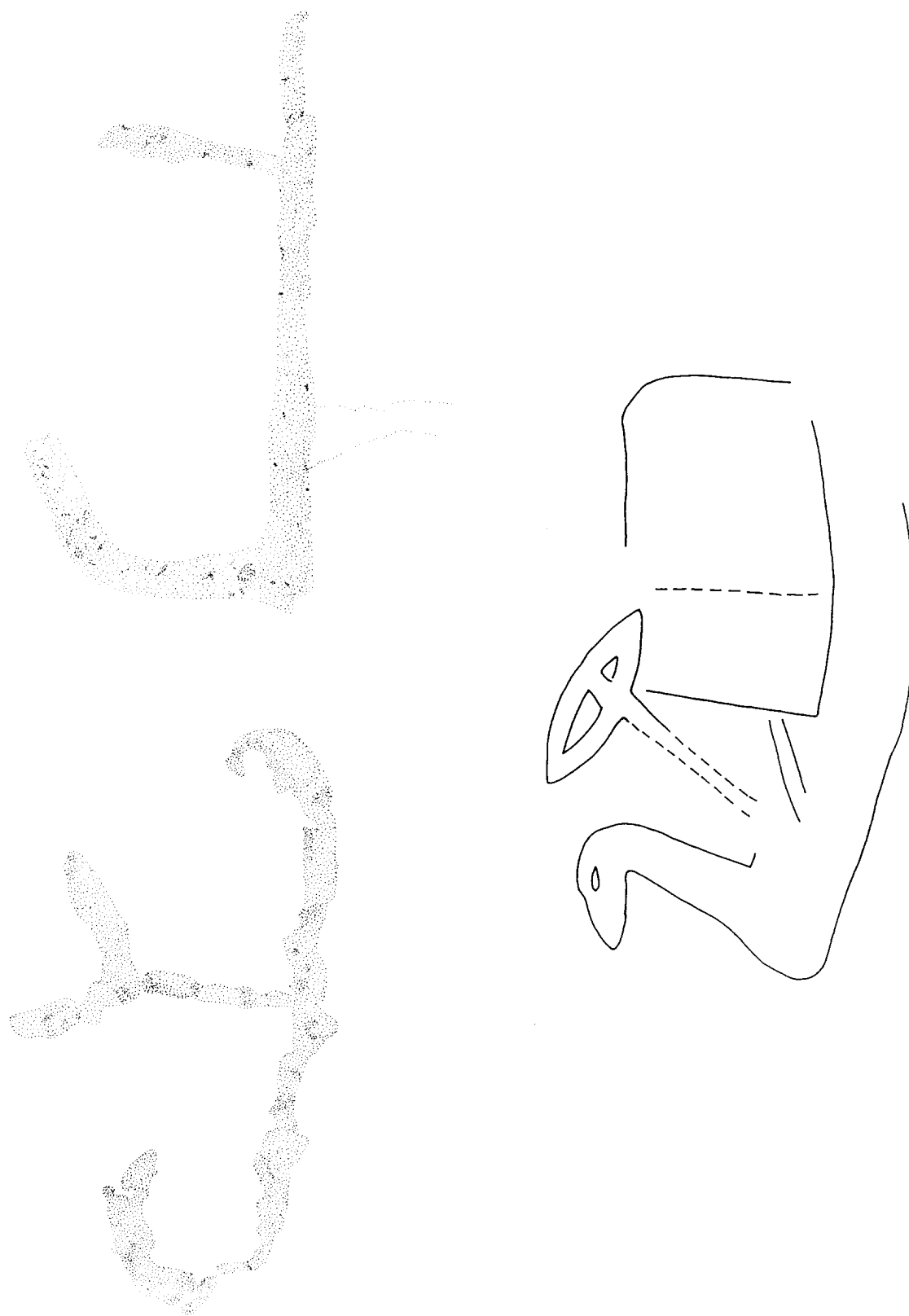


Figure 6.31. Ship graffiti from Nahal ha-Me'arot (NTS). After Artzy 1994:2-3.

Winkler, during a survey in the Oasis of Dakhla undertaken in 1937–1938, photographed a ship graffito carved into a rock at Teneida, on the eastern border of the oasis (Winkler 1939:1–2, 7–9 and plan—sites 61–69; Winlock 1936: pl. I). The photograph went unpublished until 1994 when Basch, in a penetrating study, noted the distinct similarities this ship has to the Aegean ship tradition (Fig. 6.32).

The ship faces right. The line of its keel/keel-plank is straight. It has a vertical stem and a diagonal stern-post. The hull/keel continues beyond the stem into a ram-like cutwater, for which there are numerous parallels (Wachsmann 1981:203 figs. 17–18, 205 fig. 20, 207 fig. 22, 216–217; 1998:134 fig. 7.17, 136 fig. 7.19, 139 fig. 7.22, 141 fig. 7.27, 142 fig. 7.29, 150 figs. 7.44–45, 151 fig. 7.48:A, 174 fig. 8.19). There is a mast in the center, and a forecastle in two levels nestles behind the stem. At the stern, a quarter-rudder descends at an angle in a manner reminiscent of that on the ship depiction from Phaistos (above).

There are at least nine male figures on and around the ship. These figures are decidedly non-Aegean. On their heads they wear something with a long appendage, perhaps a hat or mask(?). They also have exaggerated genitalia, and appear to be circumcised. Four figures hold objects that Basch has reasonably identified as ship models bearing long-beaked bird-heads facing forward atop the vertical posts (Fig. 6.33).

Basch connects the appearance of this Aegean ship

graffito in the oasis with the bands of Libyans and Meshwesh, who fought against Ramesses III. There was contact between the Oasis of Dakhla and the Nile Valley during the New Kingdom (Giddy 1987: 170–173). The earliest historical reference to the oasis dates to the accession of Amenhotep II (Winlock 1936:58).

Concerning the origins of the groups in the Sea Peoples' coalition confronted by Ramesses III in his 8th year, Redford (1992:251 n. 48) writes, "Regardless of what specific identifications are opted for, it is generally agreed that it is wrong to look north of the Aegean for some mysterious group of invaders who broke in upon the Mediterranean." The evidence, however, suggests otherwise. Indeed, it would be of particular interest to determine which, if any, among the groups enumerated as taking part in the invasion in the 8th year of Ramesses III, should be identified with elements of the Urnfield culture.

The above review of ship iconography confirms the significant interconnection between Mycenaeans and Sea Peoples, documented so well in other aspects of material culture. At the same time, it points clearly to at least one additional cultural element among the Sea Peoples, from Central Europe, that has, until now, been all but overlooked. It is important to emphasize, however, that such an Urnfield presence within the Sea Peoples' coalition does not preclude their absorption of other cultural groups, including groups of Anatolian origin.

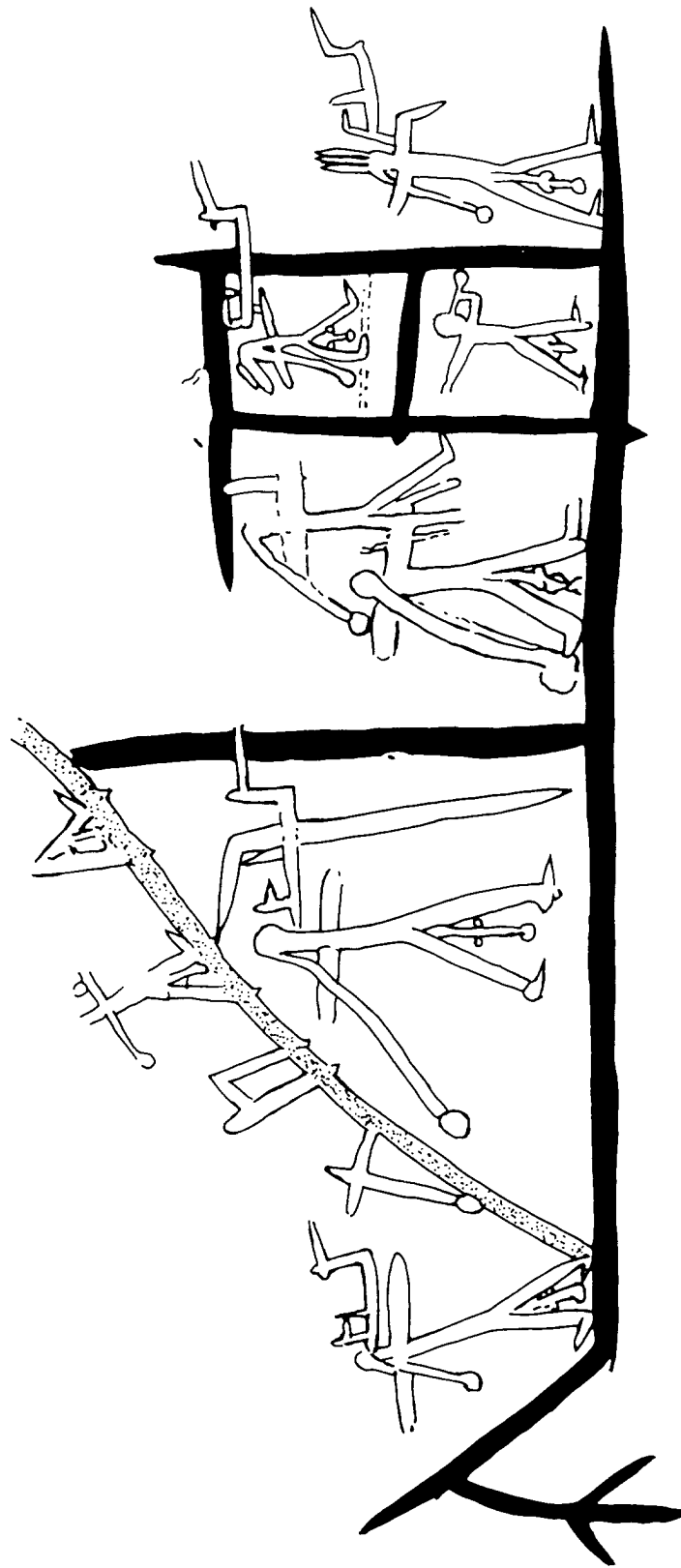


Figure 6.32. Rock graffito of a ship of Aegean tradition carved on a rock at Teneida, in the Oasis of Dakhleh, Egypt. After Basch 1994:24.

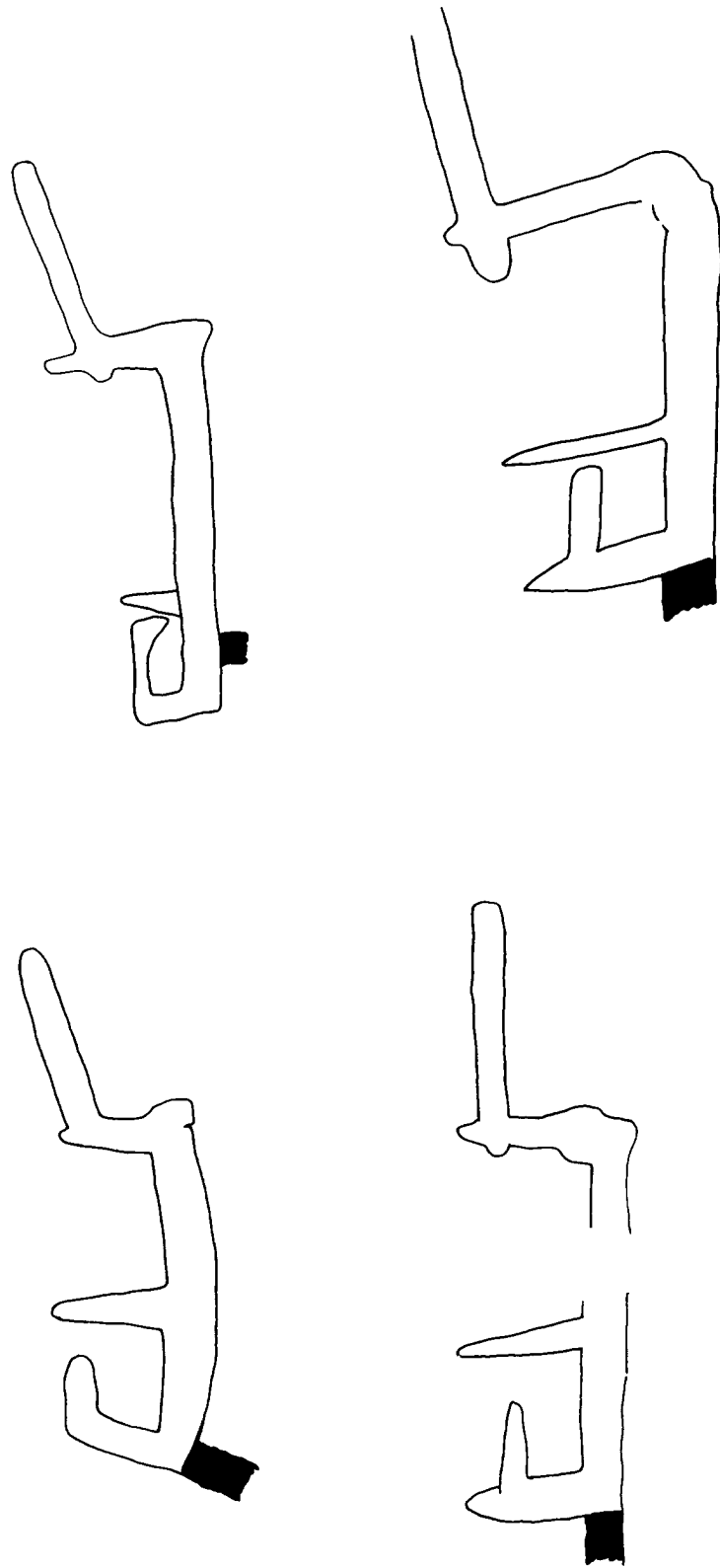


Figure 6.33. Ship models(?) held by four of the male figures in the Teneida ship graffiti. After Basch 1994:25 fig. 15.

Notes

1. Translation from Moran 1992. Based on EA114, Alashia must be identified as part, or all, of Cyprus (Wachsmann 1986).
2. My italics—S. W.
3. Chadwick 1988:79–84, 91–93. See also Ventris and Chadwick 1973:156, 159; Chadwick 1973:417; 1976: 80–81; Vermeule 1983:142; Palaima 1991:279–280.
4. Translation by A. T. Murray.
5. These Sikils are to be equated with the *Tkrw* of the Egyptian texts (see Rainey in Wachsmann 1972:304 n. 1). This group appears relatively late on the scene. They took part in the coalition that attacked Egypt during Ramesses III's 8th regnal year, but are not recorded in the previous attacks on Egypt. Wenamun found them settled at Dor, ca. 1075 B.C.E. They are further confirmation that the destruction of Ugarit took place chronologically near to the time of the attack of year 8 (Wachsmann 1982:297; Stager 1995: 335–336).
6. I thank Lionel Casson for bringing this latter possibility to my attention (personal communication).
7. Interestingly, the approximately 600 men thought to have been listed originally on one of the Pylos "Rower Tablets," PY An 610, also would be sufficient to man a fleet—whatever its purpose—of about 20 triaconters or 12 penteconters (Chadwick 1987:79; Wachsmann 1981:213–214; 1998:123–124, 159–161; in press). Note also that 11 Sikil ships were sent to Byblos to arrest Wenamun (Simpson 1973:153).
8. I do not discuss here the possible evidence for the use of ship-based Sea Peoples in mercenary actions, for which see Wachsmann 1998:129–130.
9. See also Breasted 1962, IV: §65.
10. For a full listing of Late Helladic/Late Minoan III B–C ship depictions bearing this motif, see Wachsmann 1998:130–151, 155–156.
11. I thank Mr. Rezart Spahia for bringing this possibility to my attention.
12. The sherd is inventoried as #5/86.50.59. L50.B291.(21). It is 3.5 x 3.1 cm, and 5–6 mm thick. The following is a description of the sherd based on the Munsell Soil Color Charts. Clay color: pink (7.5 yr 7/4). Interior surface: very pale brown (10 yr 7/3). Exterior surface: very pale brown (10 yr 8/4). Color of decoration: very dark gray (2.5 yr N3/). I thank Barbara Johnson for supplying me with this information.
13. See, e.g.: (Minoan) Wachsmann 1987: pls. XLI–XLIII; (Mycenaean) Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973:103 no. 1248f., 379 fig. 1248f.; (Hittite) Gurney 1990:24, 164. See also Wachsmann 1987: 40 n. 81.
14. See also the men facing outboard at the bow and stern of a Late Minoan IIIC ship depiction from Phai-stos (Laviosa 1972:9 fig. 1b; Wachsmann 1998:141 fig. 7.27, 142).

Acknowledgments

I thank Eliezer Oren for inviting me to take part in this seminar. My appreciation goes also to Lawrence E. Stager for inviting me to publish the Ashkelon sherd, and to Barbara Johnson for her valuable help

in preparing the sherd for publication. I also benefited greatly from conversations with Anson Rainey, to whom I am grateful.

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