



# Black Ships and Fair-Flowing Aegyptus: Uncovering the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age Context of Odysseus' Raid on Egypt

## Citation

Emanuel, Jeffrey P. 2015. Black Ships and Fair-Flowing Aegyptus: Uncovering the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age Context of Odysseus' Raid on Egypt. Master's thesis, Harvard Extension School.

## Permanent link

<http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:24078343>

## Terms of Use

This article was downloaded from Harvard University's DASH repository, and is made available under the terms and conditions applicable to Other Posted Material, as set forth at <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:dash.current.terms-of-use#LAA>

## Share Your Story

The Harvard community has made this article openly available.  
Please share how this access benefits you. [Submit a story](#).

[Accessibility](#)

Black Ships and Fair-Flowing *Aegyptus*:  
Uncovering the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age Context of Odysseus’ Raid on Egypt

Jeffrey P. Emanuel

A Thesis in the Field of Anthropology and Archaeology  
for the Degree of Master of Liberal Arts in Extension Studies

Harvard University

November 2015



## Abstract

While the “Second Cretan Lie” of *Odyssey* xix 199–359 and xvii 417–44 is presented as fictional tales within Homer’s larger myth, some elements have striking analogs in Late Bronze–Early Iron Age reality. This thesis examines these portions of the hero’s false *ainos* within their fictive context for the purpose of identifying and evaluating those elements. Particular focus is given to Odysseus’ declaration that he led nine successful maritime raids prior to the Trojan War; to his twice–described ill–fated assault on Egypt; and to his claim not only to have been spared in the wake of that Egyptian raid, but to have spent a subsequent seven years in the land of the pharaohs, during which he gathered great wealth. Through a comparative examination of literary and archaeological evidence from the Late Bronze–Early Iron transition in the Eastern Mediterranean, it is shown that these aspects of Odysseus’ stories are not only reflective of the historical reality surrounding the time in which the epic is set, but that Odysseus’ fictive experience is remarkably similar to that of one specific member of the ‘Sea Peoples’ groups best known from 19th and 20th dynasty Egyptian records: the ‘Sherden of the Sea.’

## Table of Contents

Dedication . . . . .	vi
Acknowledgments . . . . .	vii
List of Tables and Figures . . . . .	viii
I. Introduction: Epic, Oral Tradition, and Archaeology . . . . .	1
Project Scope . . . . .	5
Notes on Methodology . . . . .	6
Pots, People, and Evidentiary <i>Horror Vacui</i> . . . . .	10
Organization . . . . .	19
Conclusion . . . . .	21
II. Raiders, Traders, Sea Peoples in the Late Bronze Age and Beyond . . . . .	23
Late Bronze Age Geopolitics: Pylos, Ahhiyawa, and the <i>ra-wi-ja-ja</i> . . . . .	28
Existential Threats, Palatial Destructions, and Sea Peoples . . . . .	39
The Pylian ‘Rower Tablets’ . . . . .	41
Sea Peoples and the Earliest Naval Battles . . . . .	44
III. The Changing Face of War and Society . . . . .	58
New Warriors, New Warfare? . . . . .	62
Boar’s Tusks, Horsehair Crests, and Horned Helmets . . . . .	74
Sea Peoples and Returning Heroes . . . . .	81
IV. Mariners and their Ships: Vessel Types, Capacity and Rigging . . . . .	87
The Helladic Oared Galley and the Brailed Sail . . . . .	87

Maritime Innovation in Action: Medinet Habu . . . . .	95
A New Term for New Technology . . . . .	102
Sherden as Drivers of Maritime Innovation . . . . .	105
<i>Pentekontors</i> , Fleet Sizes, and the ‘Galley Subculture’ . . . . .	106
The Gurob Ship-Cart Model and Odysseus’ <i>Pentekontors</i> . . . . .	113
The Need for Speed (and Stealth) . . . . .	116
V. Αἴγυπτόνδε: Life, Prosperity, and Health in the Land of the	
Pharaohs . . . . .	122
Conclusion . . . . .	132
Tables . . . . .	134
Figures . . . . .	135
Endnotes . . . . .	176
Bibliography . . . . .	184

## List of Tables

Table 1.	Comparative chronology of the Aegean, Near East, and Egypt . . . .	134
----------	--	-----

## List of Figures

Fig. 1.	Land battle against the Sea Peoples, Medinet Habu . . . . .	135
Fig. 2.	Naval battle against the Sea Peoples, Medinet Habu . . . . .	136
Fig. 3.	Painted “Warrior Stele,” Mycenae . . . . .	137
Fig. 4.	Hedgehog–helmed warrior and hedgehog, Mycenae . . . . .	138
Fig. 5.	Obverse of the “Warrior Vase,” Mycenae . . . . .	139
Fig. 6.	Reverse of the “Warrior Vase,” Mycenae . . . . .	139
Fig. 7.	Three warriors in hedgehog helmets, Mycenae . . . . .	140
Fig. 8.	Helmet with both feathers and horns, Mycenae . . . . .	140
Fig. 9.	Helmets with zigzag bands, Mycenae and Medinet Habu . . . . .	141
Fig. 10.	Three warriors in hedgehog helmets, Iolkos . . . . .	142
Fig. 11.	Hedgehog-helmed warrior with sword, Tiryns . . . . .	142
Fig. 12.	Hedgehog-helmed warrior leading a horse, Tiryns . . . . .	143
Fig. 13.	Hedgehog–helmed warrior with shouldered spear, Tiryns . . . . .	143
Fig. 14.	Hedgehog-helmed man following chariot, Amarynthos . . . . .	144
Fig. 15.	Seal featuring a feather–hatted warrior, Enkomi . . . . .	145
Fig. 16.	Feather–hatted footman from ivory game board, Enkomi . . . . .	145
Fig. 17.	Scarab showing a feather–hatted individual, Tell el–Far’ah (S) . . . .	146
Fig. 18.	Captive Philistine prince, Medinet Habu . . . . .	146
Fig. 19.	Anthropoid coffin lids and Sea Peoples . . . . .	147
Fig. 20.	Hedgehog-helmed individual on krater sherd, Tell Ta’yinat . . . . .	148
Fig. 21.	Hedgehog–helmed warriors aboard ships, Bademgediği Tepe . . . .	149
Fig. 22.	Hedgehog–helmed warriors aboard ships, Kynos . . . . .	150



Fig. 23.	Heavily stylized feathered headdresses, Kos . . . . .	151
Fig. 24.	Combat scene on the “Warrior Krater,” Mycenae . . . . .	152
Fig. 25.	Possible Sherden warriors assaulting Dapur in Amurru . . . . .	153
Fig. 26.	Two Sea Peoples ships, Medinet Habu . . . . .	154
Fig. 27.	Captive “Šrdn of the Sea,” Medinet Habu . . . . .	155
Fig. 28.	Sherden with a remnant of painted beard, Medinet Habu . . . . .	156
Fig. 29.	Sherden with beard and textured helmet, Medinet Habu . . . . .	157
Fig. 30.	Sherden with a possible beard in relief, Luxor . . . . .	157
Fig. 31.	Horn-helmed warriors with textured helmets, Medinet Habu . . . .	158
Fig. 32.	Procession of warriors in boar’s tusk helmets, Akrotiri . . . . .	159
Fig. 33.	Boar’s tusk helmets displayed on a vessel in Akrotiri flotilla . . . . .	159
Fig. 34.	Boar’s tusk helmets on Egyptian papyrus, Amarna . . . . .	160
Fig. 35.	Aegean-style warrior depicted on a bowl, Boğazköi . . . . .	161
Fig. 36.	Faience figurine of warrior with horned helmet, Mycenae . . . . .	162
Fig. 37.	Abydos boat of Neferhotep, Thebes . . . . .	163
Fig. 38.	Kynos A and Sea Peoples vessel from Medinet Habu . . . . .	164
Fig. 39.	Ship with crow’s nest, tomb of Kenamun, Thebes . . . . .	165
Fig. 40.	Depiction of crow’s nest, tomb of Iniwia, Thebes . . . . .	165
Fig. 41.	Syro-Canaanite ship from the tomb of Nebamun, Thebes . . . . .	166
Fig. 42.	Ship relief from Saqqara . . . . .	167
Fig. 43.	Kynos A and Sea Peoples vessel with structural modifications . . . .	168
Fig. 44.	Philistine sherd showing brailed sail, Ekron . . . . .	169
Fig. 45.	Ramesside ship determinatives, Tanis II and Medinet Habu . . . . .	170
Fig. 46.	Egyptian warship, Medinet Habu . . . . .	171
Fig. 47.	LH IIIC ship representation on pyxis, Tragana . . . . .	172

Fig. 48.	LH IIIB ship representation on larnax, Gazi .....	173
Fig. 49.	Virtually reconstructed Gurob ship-cart model. ....	174
Fig. 50.	Padjesef stele, Temple of Heryshef at Herakleopolis .....	175

## Chapter I

### Introduction: Epic, Oral Tradition, and Archaeology

Myth and oral tradition occupy a unique space within human communication, vested as they are with motifs, artifacts, content, and meaning that is simultaneously reflective both of years long past, and of the temporal space which it currently inhabits. Finkelberg (2005) has noted that, “at any given moment historical myth functions as a cultural artifact representative of the period in which it circulates rather than the one which it purports to describe” (p. 10). However, this is, at best, only half of the story, as epic and oral tradition can – and almost certainly do – transmit some measure of historical truth within the received fiction.<sup>1</sup>

This does not, of course, mean that exact historical connections should be sought between characters, events, and descriptions contained in myth. Such a search is bound to end in futility, in no small part because epic is the product of such a lengthy compositional process that single characters, events, or even objects can seem simultaneously representative of analogues that are literally centuries apart. A prime example of this is the shield of the Trojan hero Hektor, which is initially described as a Bronze Age tower shield (cf. the ‘Battle Krater’ from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae):

ἀμφὶ δέ μιν σφυρὰ τύπτε καὶ ἀρχένα δέρμα κελαινὸν

ἄντυξ ἢ πυμάτη θεὸν ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης

...the black rim of hide that went round his shield beat  
against his neck and his ankles

*Iliad* VI 117–118 (Butler, 1898)

Scarcely one scroll later, this object has become the circular shield known from Late Bronze–Early Iron Age transition and succeeding period (Sherratt, 1990, pp. 810–812; cf. the Late Helladic III C Warrior Vase from Mycenae, discussed further below):

Αἶας διογενὴς προΐει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος,  
καὶ βάλε Πριαμίδαο κατ' ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' ἔϊσθη

Then Ajax threw in his turn,  
and struck the round shield of the son of Priam

*Iliad* VII 249–250

In addition to their accretive nature, the necessary *disconnection* (“poetic distance”) between Homer’s epics as written and performed, and the age(s) and events they purport to recount, further precludes simple one-to-one identifications of Homeric passages with archaeological remains or other material evidence of historical peoples and events. Nagy (2007) has explained this concept, and its connotations for the modern study of epic, thus:

The age of epic heroes is a sacred world of myth that must be set apart from the everyday world of the present. The mythology of epic heroes must distance itself from the present by holding on to a remote past far removed from the world of listeners hearing the glories of heroes. To hold on to such a past, this mythology must show not only that an age of heroes existed once upon a time but also, just as important, that such an age does not exist any more. It must privilege what is past over what is present, and it must remake that past into a sacred age of heroes (pp. 80–81).

In other words, the measures of truth contained in the Homeric epics cannot truly be accessed without peeling back several layers of a received text. This is surely a major reason why the development of, and the time period(s) reflected in, Homer's epics have been so widely discussed and hotly debated: their richness in individual themes, traditions, and references covers an immense temporal and cultural spectrum (*inter alia*, Finley, 1957; Blegen, 1962; Vermeule, 1964; Gray, 1968; Snodgrass, 1974; Dickinson, 1986; I. Morris, 1986; S. Morris, 1989; Muhly, 1992; Wood, 1998; Nagy, 2010; Poehlmann, 2012).<sup>2</sup> Homeric epic is simultaneously *expressive* of Indo-European themes that predate the Greek language as we know it (Nagy, 1974, pp. 229–261; 1990, p. 129; 1999, §4; West, 1988; J. Nagy, 1990); *reminiscent* of the earliest phases of Greek prehistory and before, like the early Late Helladic (LH) Shaft Grave culture of Mycenae and the settlement of Akrotiri (Vermeule, 1987; Morris, 1989; Watrous, 2007; cf. Demand, 2011, p. 153); and *reflective* of the “overall orientation of the eighth century, which is a watershed for the evolution of Hellenic civilization as we know it” (Nagy, 1990a, p. 10; cf. Dickinson, 1986; 2007; Poehlmann, 2012).

Interwoven into this complex tapestry are details of varying size and import that do seem to best reflect the world of the late second millennium – specifically, the Late Bronze Age and the Late Bronze–Early Iron transition (for a comparative chronology, see Table 1).<sup>3</sup> This can be seen, for example, in the geopolitical makeup of the world described in the *Iliad*, with its tension between the ‘Mycenaean’ (Helladic) coalition on the western side of the Aegean and the ‘Trojan’ confederation to the east (perhaps serving as a stand-in for the Hittite empire; see recently Singer, 2013, pp. 24–25). It can be seen in the chaos and disorder of the *Odyssey*, characterized by constant danger, marauding, and

tearing of the social fabric governing society itself – all hallmarks of the Late Bronze Age's *terminus* ca. 1200 BC in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, with its palatial collapses, movements of peoples, and disruption of the international trading networks that had fostered widespread communication and fueled years of conspicuous consumption and display by palatial elites (see further below). On a more granular level are some of the topics to be dealt with in the present study, including the development of nautical technology and sailing techniques, the conduct and expansion of piracy and coastal raiding, and the movement and experiences of specific peoples associated with these actions.

This study focuses on the experience of Odysseus as related in the hero's 'Second Cretan Lie,' found in *Odyssey* xiv 191–359 and retold in part to Antinoos at xvii 424–441, with specific focus on the ability of archaeology to interpret their details and reflect parallels to this myth within the historical and archaeological record. It is widely agreed upon that the hero's 'Cretan Lies' (*Odyssey* xiii–xix) represent a "masterpiece of mythmaking" (Nagy, 2013, 10§45):

these scenes contain some of Odysseus' most elaborate and artful lies – supreme expressions of the hero's μῆτις. Odysseus' consummate rhetorical skill is a central feature of his complex heroic identity, and the false tales of the second half of the epic showcase (King, 1999, p. 74; cf. Nagy, 2009, p. 80; 2013, 10§45).

Put more bluntly, "Odysseus is the only Homeric hero who is renowned for lying" (Schmoll, 1990, p. 67). However, though Reece (1994) has convincingly argued that they are reflective of a version (or versions) of the *Odyssey* which may have included a more central role for Crete within the epic (cf. Woodhouse, 1930, pp. 133–135; Levaniouk, 2012),<sup>4</sup> it is important to reiterate that, as their moniker suggests, Odysseus' Cretan Lies are not "true" stories even within the

poetic framework of the epic. As will be demonstrated here, though, both historical truth and analogs to real events can be accessed from within these fictions within a fiction.

### Project Scope

This project explores three elements of Odysseus' story within the setting of the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age transition (Late Helladic [LH] III B–III C; 13<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> c. BC) for the purpose of demonstrating their consistency *generally* with the historical reality in this period, and *specifically* with the experiences of the so-called Š3rd3n3 n p3 ym 'Sherden of the sea' (Epigraphic Survey, 1970, pl. 600b; figs. 1–2),<sup>5</sup> one of the groups identified with the 'Sea Peoples' phenomenon best known from Ramesside Egyptian records. These elements are:

1. Odysseus' declaration that he led nine successful maritime raids prior to the Trojan War (*Odyssey* xiv 229–233);
2. His ill-fated assault on Egypt, separately recounted to Eumaios (xiv 245–272) and to Antinoos (xvii 424–441); and
3. *His* claim not only of having been spared following his disastrous Egyptian raid, but of having spent a subsequent seven years in the land of the pharaohs, during which he gathered great wealth (xiv 285–286).

A secondary purpose, carried out in service of the first, will be to examine these tales of Odysseus and the evidence for the Sherden within the context of the Late Bronze–Iron I transition and the 'Sea Peoples' phenomenon, with particular emphasis on the development, spread, and utilization of maritime tactics, technology, and capabilities at this time. The Late Bronze–Early Iron Age

transition was a period of rapid and radical maritime innovation, and one overarching commonality between Odysseus' Cretan avatar and Sherden warriors is the key role that seagoing ships and maritime acumen played in their respective narratives. It should be noted that I use the term "narrative" broadly here: for Odysseus, that narrative is the tale he tells to Eumaios and to Antinoos, which within the larger narrative of Homer's epic is, of course, "false." For the Sherden, on the other hand, the narrative in question is that conveyed through external sources (primarily Ugaritic and Egyptian), from which a "true" history can, at least in principle, be gleaned. Through a close examination of the evidence for the ships of this period, we can better understand the connection between the Cretan Odysseus and the Sherden, as well as their ultimate place in the events that marked this transformational period in the ancient Mediterranean.

#### Notes on Methodology

In keeping with a definition of archaeological evidence that includes all analyzable remains of human activity, *including written records*,<sup>6</sup> three major categories of evidence will be marshaled for this analysis: *texts*, *iconography*, and *material remains*. The contents of these categories will by necessity span the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, from the Greek mainland to Crete, the Cyclades, Cyprus, Egypt, Syro-Palestine, the Hittite empire, and the East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface.<sup>7</sup> Each of these evidentiary categories requires its own particular type of analysis and consideration, for very little ancient material is capable of speaking pure, unadulterated truth to the modern scholar, however remarkably complete and *in situ* a text, image, or material assemblage



may be. Homeric and biblical studies<sup>8</sup> are similar cases in this regard, and can inform each other in this process: for example, though archaeology has shifted away from the use of stylized ancient texts as “guidebooks” (as famously done by Heinrich Schliemann at Troy and by the 20<sup>th</sup> century “Bible-and-spade” archaeologists whose excavations dotted the landscape of Palestine), there has been a tendency to take other texts – particularly day-books, annals, and various royal declarations – at face value, despite overwhelming evidence that such writings were composed for propagandistic purposes far more than to serve our modern definition of “history.” Lawrence Stager, in a statement specifically regarding biblical archaeology but equally applicable to the subject at hand, noted the “extreme” reversal in the treatment of biblical evidence on the part of some scholars, who are now “much more gullible about nonbiblical texts than they are about Biblical texts. They are much more suspicious of Biblical texts [whereas] if it’s said in an Assyrian annal, it’s taken literally” (Shanks, 2010, p. 54). Confronting this issue requires a level of judiciousness, hopefully displayed in the present study, that has been expressed by Sarah Morris (2003):

there is room for the baby and the bathwater, in selective use, in reconstructing the Bronze and Iron Age prehistories of the Levant. In the Aegean, a similar solution allows archaeologists and historians to apply Homeric testimony critically (p. 8; cf. Knapp, 1992, p. 128; Nikolaidou & Kokkinidou, 2007).

Iconography is another category of evidence that must be approached and interpreted with the greatest of care, always keeping in mind that that which is seen is not the thing itself, but *at best* a representation of the original. Shelley Wachsmann (1998) has astutely pointed out the relevance of a work by Belgian

painter René Magritte (20<sup>th</sup> century AD) to the mindset one must bring to the study and interpretation of iconography:

it is worth reflecting on the meaning behind the iconic image of a smoker's pipe under which the phrase '*Ceci n'est une pipe.*' ...Of course, Magritte is correct. We do not see an actual smoker's pipe but rather an image of one. To put it another way, *a representation of an object is not the object itself.* ...we must keep this concept firmly in mind (pp. 4–5; also 2013, pp. xviii–xix).

The present study deals in particular with images of ships and of people, both of which require careful consideration lest they be rashly or incorrectly interpreted. Even then, of course, no amount of consideration is guaranteed to prevent scholarly disagreement. Though the principle may seem contradictory, when it comes to assessing Bronze Age ship iconography, it is important that images both not be taken solely at face value *and* not be held up as poor representations of what we think we know. The latter has been succinctly expressed by Tilley and Johnstone (1976), who wrote, with particular regard to the Flotilla vessels on the Miniature Fresco from the West House at Akrotiri, that:

There has been a strong and persistent tendency in dealing with the iconography of ancient ships to start with an idea of what things ought to look like and then to treat the ancient pictures as evidence on which to assess the skill of ancient artists. Perhaps the most important maritime aspect of the Thera frescoes is the indication which they give that the ships and boats have been painted with an almost photographic accuracy, and by an artist who knew his subject very well (p. 292).

This statement acts as a response to, among others, Hodges' (1970) declaration that

When an Attic vase painter has illustrated a potter at work...one can be pretty sure that his drawing is right in every practical detail, but when the same artist paints a ship...one is often left in considerable doubt about the accuracy of his detail. Indeed it is only too painfully clear

that some vase painters had no idea either how a ship was constructed or how it was sailed (p. 4).

It also anticipates a similar statement from Basch (1985), made nearly a decade later, that “In the case of every ship representation, whether painted or carved, irrespective of whatever period it may be referred to...error is always to be presumed unless the contrary is proved” (p. 4133).

Not taking images at face value is of further import because, “although these images of ships...represent the actual water transport that they copy, they do so refracted through the thought processes, the artistic abilities, and the limitations of their creators” (Wachsmann, 2013, p. xix). The rigging of sailing ships has been used as a representative example by Wedde (2000), who has noted the possibility of distance between “the minimal requirements to evoke a sail in pictorial terms versus the minimum necessary to depict a fully functional rig” (p. 79). The thought processes and limitations that influence the final appearance of a representation can include intended audiences, media utilized, and countless other points along a virtually unlimited spectrum. In addition, as will be seen below in representations of peoples and ships alike, the artistic styles of differing cultures and the limitations of different media must be taken into account when interpreting an image or drawing connections between images of similar appearance. This also holds true for linguistic interpretations, as will be briefly discussed below with regard to the Sea Peoples and longstanding assumptions about their relationships and points of origin.

Pots, People, and Evidentiary *Horror Vacui*

The third category of evidence considered here is material culture, which is both the bailiwick of the archaeologist and fodder for intense disagreements, given how dependent interpretations are on what is by definition a partial and highly fragmentary picture. The search for, and study of, the Sea Peoples can serve as an instructive example about the double-edged sword that material remains can be, even when they appear in relatively complete form. At the same time, it can also provide the basis for a discussion early in the present project about the relevance of this phenomenon and its heterogeneous, shifting coalitions, which may appear on the surface to be largely Near Eastern in orientation, to Homer's *Odyssey* and the Aegean world. The best known of the Sea Peoples are the *Pršt* 'Pelešet', better known in modern translation as the *Philistines*. However, this group's notoriety is not the result of a sustained presence in Egyptian or other Near Eastern records from the Late Bronze Age; in fact, aside from the texts, inscriptions, and reliefs of a single pharaoh, Ramesses III (1183–1152 BC), they are almost entirely unknown to written history prior to the first millennium BC (aside from Ramesses III's records, the Pelešet appear only in the Onomasticon of Amenope, a ca. 1100 BC Egyptian catalog of toponyms and *ethnika* in Palestine (Gardiner, 1947, pp. 200\*–205\*). Rather, it is a result of two key factors: their identification with one of the most frequently mentioned (and, as the chief antagonist of the early Israelites, most vilified) peoples of the Hebrew Bible, and the bright light that archaeology has been able to shine on their material culture. Extensive excavation at four of the five cities that made up the Philistine "pentapolis" on the southern coastal plain of Canaan<sup>9</sup> has resulted in the reconstruction of a Philistine material culture "package," or "template," which has allowed scholars to associate this group with a Cypro-

Aegean material culture, and to trace their arrival in the region at the end of the Late Bronze Age, as well as their acculturation and eventual assimilation into Iron Age Canaan (cf. Stager, 1995; Stone, 1995).

This material culture “package” includes several components, both public and private. Among its key attributes are urban planning; cult objects and religious architecture, including hearths, bathtubs, and figurines; distinctive domestic architecture and implements, including cooking jugs, Aegean-style table wares and rolled, unperforated loomweights; intramural infant burials; unique iconography; and foreign dietary practices, including the consumption of pork (*inter alia*, Dothan, 1982, pp. 41, 234–237; Hesse, 1990; 1996; Stager, 1991; 1995; Stone, 1995; Hesse & Wapnish, 1997; Barako, 2000; Lev–Tov, 2000; Mazar, 2000; M. Dothan & Ben–Shlomo, 2005; Aja, 2009; Ben–Shlomo & Press, 2009; Ben–Shlomo, 2010; Yasur–Landau, 2010a; Sapir–Hein, Meiri & Finkelstein, 2015). This comprehensive material culture package, with its domestic wares and evidence for Aegean-style foodways, is representative of the “deep change” we would expect to see if witnessing an immigration or migration, rather than, for example, a relatively static population which is turning out imitative ceramics in an effort to replace a lost source of valuable imports (Killebrew, 2000, p. 243; Birney, 2007, pp. 441–447; Aja, 2009, pp. 484–485; Yasur–Landau, 2010a; see further below).

Unfortunately, the remarkable clarity that archaeology has brought to the Philistines does not currently extend to *any* other Sea Peoples. The Philistine material culture template has not been found in nearly so complete a fashion anywhere outside the relatively contained area of the southern coastal plain of Canaan. Further, no material culture template has been found to date that can be inarguably associated with any non–Philistine Sea Peoples group. Such a state of

affairs has unfortunately led to strong assumptions being made – in the absence of convincing evidence – about the origin, nature, and ethnicity of the Philistines' fellow-travelers among the Sea Peoples coalitions. This can perhaps be seen more clearly than anywhere in the interpretation of so-called "Mycenaean (Myc) III C" pottery, a locally-manufactured ceramic style in the tradition of LH III C pottery from the Aegean that has been associated more than any other single trait with the Philistines – and, by extension, with the entire Sea Peoples phenomenon. This ceramic style has been referred to by many names over the years, including Myc. III C:1b (Dothan, 1982), Myc. III C:1 (Dothan & Zukerman, 2004), Sea Peoples Monochrome (Stager, 1995), and White Painted Wheelmade III ware (Sherratt, 2003, pp. 45–46). This terminological problem has been addressed by Kling (1991, p. 181), who notes that there are *ten* different terms for this ceramic style on Cyprus alone.

Aegean-style pottery had been produced as early as LH IIIB on Cyprus and elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, perhaps as a form of import substitution conducted by enterprising potters and traders who sought to profit from the amazing demand for Late Helladic vessels or their contents (Karageorghis, 1990, pp. 17, 20; Sherratt, 1991; 1998, p. 295; 2003, p. 45; 2013; Sherratt & Sherratt, 1991). As van Wijngaarden (2002, pp. 323–329) has painstakingly shown, Late Helladic IIIA–IIIB wares have been found at no fewer than 348 sites, from Sardinia and Malta in the central Mediterranean, to Kilise Tepe in Anatolia, to Pyla–Kokkinokremos on Cyprus, to Qidš and Karkemiš in Syria, to el-Amarna in Egypt. Petrographic studies on ceramics from the Levant have found that "the workshops of the northeastern Peloponnese, possibly in the region of Mycenae/Berhati, had an almost complete monopoly for the export of

Mycenaean pottery” to that region (Ben-Shlomo, Maeir & Mommsen, 2008, p. 963; cf. Ben-Shlomo, Nodarou & Rutter, 2011).

However, at the end of LH IIIB, after several decades of decline, imports from the Greek mainland stopped and Myc IIIC replaced imported Aegean pottery almost wholesale across the region, from Syria and southern Anatolia southward (Birney, 2007, pp. 102–186; Lehmann, 2013). This change is particularly marked in initial layers of Philistine occupation in the southern Levant, where the material record shows the appearance of these ceramics at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century alongside the many other attributes of Philistine material culture discussed above, as well as the development of this pottery type from a “monochrome” phase into the “Philistine Bichrome” style that became the hallmark of this culture’s “golden age” in the Iron Ib (cf. M. Dothan, 1979, p. 131; 1989, pp. 65–66; Dothan, 1997, p. 99; Dothan & Gitin, 1982, p. 151; Stager, 1995, pp. 334–335; Stone, 1995, pp. 14–17). However, the clear association of Myc IIIC pottery and other Cypro–Aegean attributes with the Philistines has led to the assumption that these ceramics, and to a lesser degree other Cypro–Aegean traits, would serve as an “X marking the spot” where other Sea Peoples groups lived, encamped,<sup>10</sup> or settled (*inter alia*, Dothan 1982; M. Dothan 1986; 1989; Stager 1995). This point of view is perhaps best summarized by Gilboa (2006–7) in her description of the first Iron I excavations at Dor, a city associated with a group of Sea Peoples known as the *Sikil* or *Tjekker* by the 11<sup>th</sup> c. Egyptian text known as the *Tale of Wen–Amon*:

My uneasiness with this model started to develop following the excavations at Dor, the Šikila town according to Wenamun. In the mid–1980s, when [excavation director] Ephraim Stern first reached the Early Iron Age levels there, bets were laid. What would the Šikila material culture look

like? Jokingly someone said that Šikila pottery would be something akin to that of Philistia – but painted in purple and yellow. This was the sort of expectation, to find something analogous to Philistia, but slightly different, as befits another Sea People. It seems that this is still what some scholars expect to be uncovered along the southern Levantine coast north of Philistia, something similar, but with a different ethnic tinge.

The finds at Dor, however, have not lived up to expectations, and the ‘western association’ of the Šikila has turned out to be elusive. Though a few artifacts do find corollaries in Philistia, like a lion headed cup (for which see further below), incised scapulae and bimetallic knives, the broader picture is different. At Dor, in the earliest Iron Age phases, there are no ‘western’ architectural traits (p. 210).

When tempted to fall into the “pots equal people” trap that material culture studies so often seem unable to avoid, it is important to bear in mind two points. The first is the seemingly obvious fact that the identification of one group’s material does not itself necessitate the association of that culture with every other group with which that they have come into contact or been otherwise associated. The second is the so-called ‘Harvey Thesis’ that “the presence of any pottery of any given state at any given site is no evidence for the activity of traders [or] settlers from that state” (Harvey, 1976, p. 211). As Aja (2009) has noted:

Artifact studies provide a solid foundation for archaeological inquiry, but small portable items may be imitated or traded. Their location of discovery does not necessarily reflect the presence of a specific cultural group. For example, a fragment of ‘Philistine Bichrome Krater’ found in a courtyard of Tell X does not necessarily mean that a Philistine was present at that location. The vessel may have been made at Site Y, sold to a visiting merchant, carried on a ship to a market, and sold. In short, as is often stated in archaeological circles, “pots do not necessarily equal people” (p. 484).



This illustrates the downside of the amazingly detailed picture that literature and archaeology alike have painted for us of the Philistines, and it can serve as a representative example of the tendency, at the extreme, to project the greater evidence for one “culture” or group onto others for whom no such evidence exists. In the case of the present example, because we lack an even remotely comparable level of information about their fellow Sea Peoples, the template of Myc III C pottery and other attributes of Cypro–Aegean Philistine material culture has necessarily been extended to their fellow invaders, despite there not always being a clear reason to associate these traits with other Sea Peoples. In fact, as Tubb (2000) has noted, pottery may be one of the *least* diagnostic markers of these outsiders if they were engaged in anything other than ceramic production or wholesale resettlement:

Pottery can all but be excluded from the assessment... because there is no good reason why Sea Peoples serving with the Egyptians in Canaan should have included potters; certainly if their role was primarily military... [They] would surely have adopted whatever pots came to hand – Egyptian in Egypt, or Canaanite in Canaan (p. 182).

Thus, we must face a difficult truth: the fact that no effective material culture template has been established for any non–Philistine Sea Peoples because in large part *we do not know with any real degree of accuracy where they settled*, particularly outside of Egypt, and because *we would not know what to look for if we did*. As nature abhors a vacuum, and as scholarship abhors an absence of evidence and answers, the Cypro–Aegean Philistine Paradigm, with its emphasis on Mycenaean derivative pottery, has largely – and naturally – filled this void to date. The geographic discussion, on the other hand, has been driven by a juxtaposition of the *Onomasticon of Amenope* and the *Tale of Wen–Amon*, two

previously-mentioned Egyptian texts that date to the turn of the first millennium BC. The latter is a literary work which tells of the misfortunes experienced by an Egyptian priest on his way to Byblos to purchase wood for the sacred bark of Amun (Goedicke, 1975, p. 6). As noted above, this text refers to Dor, on the central coast of Israel, as a city of the *Sikil*. The *Onomasticon of Amenope*, on the other hand, is not a literary text, but a catalog of places and peoples:

- 259. *N'ryn* (Unknown)
- 260. *Nhryn* (Nahrin)
- 261. [Lost]
- 262. *'Iskrûn* (Ashkelon)
- 263. *'Isdd* (Ashdod)
- 264. *Gdt* (Gaza)
- 265. *'Isr* (Assyria or Asher?)
- 266. *Sbry* (Shubaru or Sbir?)
- 267. [Lost]
- 268. *Šrdn* (Sherden)
- 269. *Tkr* (Tjekker / Sikil)
- 270. *Prst* (Peleset / Philistines)
- 271. *Ḥrm* (Khurma?)
- 272. [Lost]
- 273. [Lost]
- 274. *Mki* (Meki)
- 275. *Dwí* (Djui)
- 276. *Ḥ3(í)w-nbw(t)* ('Mediterranean Islanders' or 'Islands')
- 277. *Ikd* (Iked)
- 278. *Nḥ...* (Neḥ...)
- 279. [Lost]
- 280. *Srk* (Serek or Seriqqa?)

Onomasticon of Amenope (Gardiner, 1947, pp. 171\*–209\*)

As can be seen from the excerpt above, the *Onomasticon of Amenope* names three Sea Peoples – the Sherden (268), Sikils (269), and Peleset (270) – as well as Ashkelon (262), Ashdod (263), and Gaza (264), three cities on the southern coastal plain of Canaan that have long been identified with the Sea Peoples in general, and the Philistines in particular. North–South directionality has been read into the *Onomasticon*, despite simple discrepancies like the three Philistine cities being

listed *out* of such order. When read in conjunction with *Wen-Amon's* identification of Dor with the Sikils, the *Onomasticon* has been used to place the Philistines in southern Canaan, the Sikils at Dor, and the Sherden at a site to the north of these (typically at Akko on the Carmel coast; Dothan, 1986). However, this cryptic text does not offer a single, clearly directional reading, and it could just as easily be assigning the Sherden to Ashkelon, the Sikils to Ashdod, and the Philistines to Gaza as anything else. In fact, given the absence of Akko and Dor from Amenope's list of toponyms, such a reading may even be more likely than the traditional interpretation of this text (Emanuel, 2012b).

As will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 in particular, there may be good reasons to associate certain non-Philistine Sea Peoples – including one of the main objects of this study, the *Sherden* – with at least some aspects of Aegean culture, chief among which are their ships. However, the more subtle clues about these other groups have all too often fallen victim to what may be called, without too much exaggeration, the Tyranny of the Philistine Paradigm (Emanuel, 2012b). In light of this fact, it bears reiterating that the only secure evidence we possess for Sherden inhabitation from the 12th century B.C. onward places them not in the Levant, the Aegean, or the Central Mediterranean, but in Egypt. Textual and iconographic evidence paints a clear picture of their martial affinities – perhaps at the expense of other important but currently unknown characteristics – and of at least some of their involvement and participation in the battles of Ramesses II and III. These “Sherden of the Strongholds,” or “Sherden of the Great Fortresses,” as those in the Pharaoh's service are frequently referred to, appear in depictions of the battle of Qidš (and perhaps of the storming of

Dapur), and can be seen throughout the campaigns recorded in Ramesses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu.

It is important at this point to offer one more methodological note. Even speaking of these “groups” as such carries with it its own inherent, culture–historical baggage: namely, the connotation that a group like the Sherden or any other “Sea People” participated *in its entirety* in the events with which they are associated, and that its members moved and settled *as a single unit*, in a single location or area. The present study takes a largely post–processual approach: while frequent references will be made in the current study to “the Sherden” and to other “groups,” the reader should note that uniformity in composition, geography, or movement is neither assumed nor implied. Instead, the references herein are solely directed at elements of these “groups” which are in turn so defined and identified by the Egyptian, Hittite, and Ugaritic sources on which we are dependent (though in extremely rare cases, such as the Padjeseef stele from Herakleopolis [Ch. 5], self–identification may also be involved). Some of these terms may be derived from toponymic associations, some may accurately represent the ethnicity of those to whom they refer,<sup>11</sup> and some may be designations assigned to truly heterogeneous coalitions out of simple expedience by our primary sources.

## Organization

Following this introductory chapter (Ch. 1), the present project is divided into four further chapters (2–5), including a summary and conclusion. Each is dedicated to an analysis of some aspect of Odysseus’ ‘Second Cretan Lie,’ as well as other related passages from the Homeric epics, in light of archaeological

evidence (inscriptional, pictorial, and physical) from the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age transition.

Chapter 2, “Raiders, Traders, and Sea Peoples: Maritime Affairs in the Late Bronze Age and Beyond,” uses *Odyssey* xiv 202–233 as a point of departure for an evidence–based discussion of maritime interconnections, piracy, and raiding in the hyper–internationalist Late Bronze Age and the chaotic transition to the age of Iron that followed it, with particular emphasis on the evidence for an increase in coastal threats during this period. This chapter leverages primary sources from Hatti, Ugarit, and 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> dynasty Egypt to explore the roles of piracy, raiding, and the mariners who carried out these activities in the Late Bronze Age and the Late Bronze–Iron I transition. Particular attention is paid to a polity known to the Hittites as *Aḫhiyawa* and its role in eastern Mediterranean affairs, including the geopolitical tension between this entity and the Hittite empire in Anatolia and the taking of female captives by maritime raid. The second half of this chapter addresses the slow build to the collapse of the palatial system in the Aegean, with specific focus on the evidence for a “state of emergency” at Pylos and the much–discussed series of Linear B texts known as the “Rower Tablets.” Also noted, with quotes in translation, is the inscriptional evidence for the arrival and activities of the ‘Sea Peoples’ in the Eastern Mediterranean. The most prominent written examples come from the records of three Egyptian pharaohs, Ramesses II (“the Great”), Merneptah, and Ramesses III, whose reigns covered the vast majority of the ca. 125 year period between 1279 and 1153 BC.

Chapter 3, “The Changing Face of War and Society,” contains a brief review of the palatial collapses in the Aegean and Ancient Near East at the end of

the Late Bronze Age. This time of upheaval was marked by a change in the iconography of warriors and warfare, particularly in Egypt and in the Aegean world. The first descriptions and representations of true naval combat are found at this time, along with a new type of “feather-hatted” warrior that is shown on Aegean pottery and in Egyptian relief taking part in battles on both land and sea. The Sea Peoples phenomenon, touched on preliminarily in the present chapter, is discussed in detail here, along with a comparative assessment of these warriors’ appearance and chronology in Aegean, Cypriot, Interface, Levantine, Hittite, and Egyptian iconography (painted pottery, glyptic, and relief), with particular emphasis on the comparative representational methodologies of Mycenaean pictorial pottery and painted Egyptian relief.

Chapter 4, “Mariners and their Ships: Vessel Types, Capacity, and Rigging,” is the most comprehensive and technically involved section of the present study. This chapter introduces the Helladic oared galley, the ancestor to the sailing vessels of first-millennium Greece and Phoenicia that makes its first appearance in the transitional LH IIIB–IIIC as an instrument of naval warfare. Questions are addressed about its design, rigging, and capabilities, as well as its development and spread around the Eastern Mediterranean. Visual evidence plays a central role in this study, with iconography from the Aegean, the Levantine coast, the Interface, and Egypt providing comparative examples of the development and representation of this vessel type around the region.

Chapter 5, “Αἴγιοντόνδε: Life, Prosperity, and Health in the Land of the Pharaohs,” contains of a concluding discussion of oral poetry, visual language in the Late Bronze Age, and the search for “historicity” in epic poetry. This chapter

also uses *Odyssey* xiv 248–272 as a point of departure for a survey of those aspects of Sherden roles in Egyptian society that have not yet been addressed, including conscription into the Egyptian army, participation in raids, and the acquisition of material wealth. In conclusion, this chapter also notes where the stories of the Sherden and Cretan Odysseus diverge, with the latter departing Egypt after seven years to continue his wandering while the latter became increasingly integrated and acculturated into Egyptian society, creating new lives for themselves in the land of the pharaohs, complete with wives, children, and ownership of land that could be passed down through generations.

## Conclusion

This study is not intended to serve as an argument for the supposed “historicity” of the Homeric epics, nor is it intended to be an exhaustive survey of historical parallels between the *Odyssey* and the archaeological data we currently possess on the periods reflected in these myths. This has been a subject of scholarly inquiry on various levels for many years now, with recent edited volumes, including Carter and Morris (1995) and Morris and Laffineur (2007), tackling this and related issues from many different angles. Likewise, the Sea Peoples phenomenon has been the subject of many articles, books, conferences, and dissertations in recent years; see for example, *inter alia*, Dothan and Dothan (1992), Stager (1995), Stone (1995), Barako (2001), Harrison (2006–7), Birney (2007), Aja (2009), and Yasur–Landau (2010a), and the essays in Gitin, Mazar, and Stern (1998), Oren (2000), and Killebrew and Lehmann (2013). However, the analysis presented here offers an approach that has not been specifically carried out in previous scholarship, particularly with regard to the development and

spread of the Helladic oared galley and its associated rigging (the brailed, loose-footed sail), the possible role of the Sea Peoples in this transfer, and, more specifically, the parallels between the actions and experiences of Odysseus' Cretan avatar and one Sea Peoples group about whom a close reading of the archaeological evidence can tell us a great deal: the "Sherden of the Sea."



## Chapter II

### Raiders, Traders, and Sea Peoples in the Late Bronze Age and Beyond

πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Τροίης ἐπιβήμεναι υἷας Ἀχαιῶν  
εἰνάκις ἀνδράσιν ἦρξα καὶ ὠκυπόροισι νέεσσιν  
ἄνδρας ἐς ἄλλοδαπούς, καί μοι μάλα τύγχανε πολλά.  
τῶν ἐξαιρέυμην μενοεικέα, πολλὰ δ' ὀπίσσω  
λάγχανον

For before the sons of the Achaeans set foot on the land of Troy, I had nine times led warriors and swift-faring ships against foreign folk, and great spoil had ever fallen to my hands. Of this I would choose what pleased my mind, and much I afterwards obtained by lot.

*Odyssey* xiv 229–233<sup>12</sup>

The Late Bronze Age was a time of unprecedented communication and connectivity, with its empires, palace-based economies, and cuneiform correspondence between polities great and small. The coasts of Anatolia, the Levant, the Aegean, and North Africa in this period made up “a single organic sphere interconnected by sea” (Malamat, 1971, p. 24) throughout which goods, ideas, and people traveled, while vast terrestrial lines of communication penetrated deep into Anatolia and western Asia (Gordon, 1992, p. 189; Hallo, 1992, p. 4; Yon, 1992, p. 113; cf., e.g., *Odyssey* xvii 382–386). In such an unprecedentedly affluent and internationalist period, it is to be expected that a robust underworld of pirates and brigands would have thrived just beneath the surface (cf., e.g., Linder, 1970, p. 321; Artzy, 1997; 1998; 2003; 2013; *contra* de Souza, 1999, pp. 15–22). After all, piracy is naturally most successful when coastal settlements and trade routes are present, regular, and prosperous:

Raiders need traders upon whom to prey... But those raiders are also, in a stronger sense, part of the world of trade; they are not just parasites. Like the transfer of goods between aristocratic estates or like government requisitions, piracy is simply another form of redistribution in an economic environment where markets are often scarce. ...piracy is not an exclusive calling: one season's predator is another season's entrepreneur. Piracy can be a means of capital accumulation, a prelude to more legitimate ventures (Horden & Purcell, 2000, p. 157).

The significant seaborne threat posed to coastal polities at this time is clearly reflected in texts from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. Egyptian inscriptions, letters from the Amarna archive, and Hittite documents refer to maritime marauders carrying out coastal raids, conducting blockades, and intercepting ships at sea (for the latter in Homer, see, e.g. *Odyssey* iv 660–674). Like all sailing in the ancient Mediterranean, piracy was a seasonal pursuit, and in many cases the same groups seem to have partaken in it on an annual basis, with Cyprus, Egypt, and perhaps Troy, among others, seeming to have served as common targets. That Troy was among the more common seaborne targets may be suggested, among other evidence, by the Homeric *Iliad*, which references another Trojan expedition prior to the Achaean flotilla (the expedition of Herakles noted at *Iliad* V 638–642).

Of the many contemporary attestations, three 14<sup>th</sup> century texts are particularly reflective of this reality. The first is a LH IIIA:1–IIIA:2 Early (ca. 1400–1360 BC) Hittite document commonly referred to as the “Indictment of Madduwatta” (*Catalogue des Textes Hittites* [CTH] 27 = *Keilschrifttexte aus Boğazköi* [KBo] 14.1). This letter refers to raids on Alašiya (= Cyprus) by a “Madduwata,” and to an entity known as “Aḫḫiyawa” (see below), which was ruled by a man named “Attarissya”:

His Majesty said as follows [about the land of Alašiya]: ‘Because [the land] of Alašiya belongs to My Majesty, [and the people of Alašiya] pay [me tribute – why have you continually raided it?’ But] Madduwatta said as follows: ‘[When Attarissiya and] the ruler [of Piggaya] were raiding the land of Alašiya, I often raided it too (Beckman, 1996, p. 151).

The second is an inscription by Amenhotep son of Hapu, an Egyptian official under the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty pharaoh Amenophis III (1388–1351 BC), which refers to the need to secure “the river–mouths” (the Nile Delta) against a maritime threat:

I placed troops at the heads of the way(s) to turn back the foreigners in their places. The two regions were surrounded with a watch scouting for the Sand–rangers. I did likewise at the heads of the river–mouths, which were closed under my troops except to the troops of royal marines (Breasted, 1906–7, §916).

The third, el–Amarna (EA) 38, is a letter from the king of Alašiya to the son and successor of Amenophis III, Akhenaten (1351–1334 BC). In this text, the king of Alašiya responds to the pharaoh’s accusation of complicity in a raid on Egypt by protesting that his territory, too, has fallen victim to maritime attack by a group referred to as the “Lukki” (= Lycians = the *Lukka*, a Sea Peoples group; see below):

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 (Moran, 1992, p. 111).

A fourth inscription, the Tanis II rhetorical stele from the early years of Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC), refers a group called the *Sherden* as those “whom none could ever fight against” – a reference which likely means that they, like Odysseus, Attarissiya, and the *Lukki* in the texts quoted above, had also been raiding coastal

settlements for many years prior to that point (see below for further discussion of Tanis II). Given the seasonality of shipping and Odysseus' declaration that raiding had made him very wealthy, it seems likely that his claim of nine successful conquests is in fact a reference to raids that were regularly carried out over the course of multiple years – perhaps even nine or more (cf. Finley, 1977, p. 46).

The balance between respectable merchant activities and piracy – which is itself another stage of commerce, albeit a debased one (Pirenne, 1940, p. 22; Hafford, 2001, p. 70 n. 27; Earle, 2008, p. 200) – may be found in the entrepreneurial nature of commerce in the Late Bronze Age. The use of private intermediaries, itinerant sailors, traders, and in some cases mercenaries may have begun as an effort by states to expand their economic influence and regional prowess, and to gain an edge on their partners and rivals. Over time, the symbiotic relationship between employers and these employees may have matured and mutated to such a degree that these middle-men became integral parts both of international communication and of national economic activity (Artzy, 1997, pp. 2, 4–5; Sherratt & Sherratt, 1998, pp. 340–341; cf. Earle, 2008, p. 133). In Artzy's (1998) words, they became "an essential part of a trade network, a position obtained because of their peculiar expertise: capital in the form of a boat and knowledge of navigation, the requirement for successful maritime commerce" (p. 445; cf. Artzy, 1997, p. 7; Monroe, 2010, p. 29). The ramifications of such inclusive practice may have been far-reaching indeed. Horden and Purcell (2000, pp. 143–152, 347) have suggested that the establishment of long-distance maritime trade routes in the eastern Mediterranean may have been a direct result

of what Earle (2008) refers to as “interconnecting *cabotage* circuits” (p. 133), or local networks plied by these entrepreneurial mariners (cf. Tartaron, 2013).

However, incidents of “freebooting” (Van Wees, 1992, pp. 208, 388–389 n. 83) naturally tended to increase in number and severity when markets and resources were scarce, and when “a controlling political or military power was lacking” (Baruffi, 1998, p. 72). This upset a delicate equilibrium on the seas, further deteriorating both communication and the transport of goods (Earle, 2008, pp. 183 n.14, 221–222). Such a case seems to have developed toward the end of the Late Bronze Age, when too great a dependence on foreign sources of raw materials and prestige goods by the palatial authorities in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean may have contributed to a disproportionately severe response to tremors in the international structure of communication and trade (cf. French, 1986, p. 280; Sherratt & Sherratt, 1991, p. 359; see further below). Thus, as the Late Bronze Age wore on and the economic situation became less favorable from the point of view of some of these “fringe” merchants and mariners, a number may have “reverted to marauding practices, and the image of ‘Sea Peoples’ familiar to us from the Egyptian sources emerged” (Artzy, 1997, p. 12; cf. S. Morris, 2003, p. 10). As will be further discussed below, the end of the Late Bronze Age was a time of accelerated innovation in, and widespread adoption of, maritime tactics and technology. Georgiou (2012) has credited “the island and coastal populations of the Aegean, the pirates, the raiders and the traders” with being “the most innovative and experimental boat designers” (p. 527) – a statement that is likely accurate, if unnecessarily restrictive vis-à-vis geography. The piratical element of these “nomads of the sea,” which are seen

(interrogatively) in Homer at *Odyssey* ix 252–255 (πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρὰ κέλευθα; ἤ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν ἢ μασιδίως ἀλάλησθε, οἷά τε ληιστῆρες, ὑπεῖρ ἄλλα, τοί τ' ἀλόωνται ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι κακὸν ἀλλοδαποῖσι φέροντες 'Whence do ye sail over the watery ways? Is it on some business, or do ye wander at random over the sea, even as pirates, who wander, hazarding their lives and bringing evil to men of other lands?'), may have driven the development of superior warships, raiding craft, and tactics whose technological needs were often at odds with the merchant vessels upon which they may have preyed (Artzy, 1997; 2003, p. 245; see further below).

Late Bronze Age Geopolitics: Pylos, *Aḥḥiyawa*, and the *ra-wi-ja-ja*

ἐκ πόλιος δ' ἀλόχους καὶ κτήματα πολλὰ λαβόντες

δασσάμεθ', ὡς μή τις μοι ἀτεμβόμενος κίοι ἴσης.

There I sacked the city and slew the men; and from the city  
we took their wives and great store of treasure...

*Odyssey* ix 41–42

Though some of the greatest difficulties in reconstructing Late Bronze Age geography have been resolved by the relatively recent discovery and publication of detailed inscriptions from the Hittite empire (Hawkins, 1990; 1995; Singer, 2000), several elements of the geopolitical landscape in this heavily documented period stubbornly remain less clear than we might like. One directly relevant example of a major political entity whose composition and location remains uncertain is the aforementioned *Aḥḥiyawa* (<sup>URU</sup>*a-ah-hi-ya-a*), which is mentioned in twenty–eight Hittite texts between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, or approximately 0.1% of the 25,000–document archive of currently known Hittite

documents (Georgakopoulos, 2013).<sup>13</sup> One of the aforementioned Hittite references to annual raiding, the “Indictment of Madduwatta” (CTH 27, quoted above), provides the earliest known mention of this entity. Additionally, two texts from the Syrian *emporion* of Ras Shamra–Ugarit addressed to the Ugaritic king ‘Ammurapi, RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2523, refer to *Hi-ia-ú-wi-i* ‘(Ah)hiyawa’. These references, recognized only a decade ago, represent the first known mentions of Ahḫiyawa in Akkadian texts (Lackenbacher & Malbran–Labat, 2005; Singer, 2006, pp. 250–251). The same formulation is found centuries later, in two Luwian–Phoenician bilinguals from Çineköy and Karatepe in Cilicia which equate Luwian *hat-ta-wa* ‘Hiya(wa)’ with Phoenician *DNNYM* ‘Danunim’. The inscriptions’ dedicators claim to be of the House of Mopsos, the legendary Greek seer and founder of cities whose documented travels span from Asia Minor to the city of Ashkelon on the southern coastal plain of Canaan (Hawkins, 2000, pp. 45–71; Tekoğlu & Lemaire, 2000, pp. 981–984; Jasink & Marino, 2005; Öttinger, 2008; López–Ruiz, 2009; Oreshko, 2013). The toponym *Hiyawa* seems to have been transferred some time after the Hittite empire’s recession beyond Cilicia, probably as an *ethnikon* brought by Greek–speakers who bore with them elements of Aegean material and linguistic culture (Çambel & Özyar, 2003, pp. 84–89; López–Ruiz, 2009; Yasur–Landau, 2010a, pp. 162–163; Singer, 2012, p. 461; 2013, pp. 322–325; Oreshko, 2013). After a short period, the toponymic form of this *ethnikon*, and the cultural memory of Mopsos, became all that remained of the once–intrusive population that brought it to the southern coast of Asia Minor, though it was enduring enough that Herodotus centuries later noted that Cilicians were referred to as *Hyp–Akhaioi* (“Sub–Achaean”; Hdt. *Hist.* 7.91) (cf.

Singer, 2013, pp. 323-324; see also Ch. 3 below for the similar case of *Palistin* in Syria's 'Amuq Plain).

*Danunim* may also be related to *Ty-n<sup>3</sup>-y* 'Tanaya', a term found in the records of Thutmose III (ca. 1479–1425 BC) and thought to refer to some part of the Greek world (Redford, 2003, pp. 96–98; Jasink, 2005, p. 59 n. 1; Van de Mieroop, 2007, pp. 21–24; Podany, 2010, pp. 149, 260), and it seems on linguistic evidence alone that *Danunim* can be associated in some way with the *D3iniwn3* 'Denyen' or 'Danuna' known from the accounts of Sea Peoples invasions on inscribed on the walls of Egyptian Pharaoh Ramesses III's (ca. 1183–1152 BC) mortuary temple at Medinet Habu (cf. López-Ruiz, 2010, pp. 40–42, with references; see also below). Interestingly, *Danunim* can also be found as *Da-nu-na* in a 14<sup>th</sup> c. letter from the Amarna archive (EA 151.52; Moran, 1992, pp. 238–239).

Though a full discussion of *Aḥḥiyawa*'s identity and location is beyond the scope of the present study, it is worthwhile to note the wide range of theories about this entity's location. *Aḥḥiyawa* has been placed everywhere from the Greek mainland, including Mycenae, Boeotian Thebes, or a confederation of mainland polities (Forrer, 1924; Güterbock, 1983, p. 138; 1984, p. 121; Redford, 1992, pp. 242–243; Mee, 1998, p. 143; Latacz, 2004; Podany, 2010, p. 262; Kelder, 2012; Tartaron, 2013, p. 63), to Miletos (= Millawanda), Cilicia (= Adana), Crete, and Cyprus (Niemeier, 2011, p. 18), to Thrace (Mellaart, 1982, p. 375; Easton, 1984, pp. 33–35).<sup>14</sup> Within the Interface alone, locations from Troy in the north (Muhly, 1974; Zangger, 1995) to Rhodes in the south (Hrozný, 1929; Page, 1976, p. 15; Mountjoy, 1998) have been suggested. It is both noteworthy and characteristic of the conflicting opinions stemming from the cryptic and



incomplete evidence on this topic that an Egyptologist has declared Ahhiyawa to have been equivalent to Mycenae itself, and the Great King of Ahhiyawa to have been the *wanax* of Mycenae, who was certainly in contact, via written correspondence (in Akkadian), with the court of the Pharaoh in Egypt (Redford, 1992, pp. 242–243), while a Classical scholar has urged caution, calling Ahhiyawa’s connection to the Mycenaean world “an unproved (and...unlikely) theory” (Dickinson, 1994, p. 253).

Ultimately, this term has most commonly been accepted as referring to territory within the sphere of Mycenaean Greece, either in the Interface or on the mainland, if not to Mycenae proper (Finkelberg, 1988; Niemeier, 1998, pp. 43–45; Beckman, Bryce & Cline, 2012, p. 6). Of the reasons for this identification, two are especially noteworthy:

Firstly, in spite of the material evidence for Mycenaean contact with western Anatolia and with the countries of the eastern Mediterranean, and in spite of the extensive information in the Hittite archives of countries, states, and kingdoms involved in the affairs of this region, there is not one identifiable reference to the Mycenaeans in the Hittite texts if the Ahhiyawa–Mycenaean relation is invalid.

Secondly, it seems clear from the Hittite texts that the rulers of Ahhiyawa correspond on equal terms with their Hittite counterparts, and up to a certain point in Tudhaliya IV's reign were apparently regarded as ranking in importance with other major Late Bronze Age rulers – the kings of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria. If the Ahhiyawa–Mycenaean equation is invalid, Ahhiyawa alone of these kingdoms has left no demonstrable trace in the archaeological record (Bryce, 1989, pp. 3–5).

As Bryce (1989) notes, the rulers of Ahhiyawa are clearly identified in some Hittite texts as “ranking in importance with other major Late Bronze Age rulers – the kings of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria” (p. 5). However, a closer look reveals that our understanding of this entity’s true place within the

geopolitics of the Late Bronze Age rests on similarly uncertain ground as our identification of its specific geographic location. This status is exacerbated by CTH 105, a late 13<sup>th</sup> c. suzerain treaty between King Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti and King Šaušgamuwa of Amurru, in which the Hittite king declares:

And the kings who (are) of equal rank with me, the King of Egypt, the King of Karadunia (=Kassite Babylonia), the King of Assyria, ~~the King of Ahḫiyawa~~, if the king of Egypt is a friend of My Sun, let him also be a friend to you, if he is an enemy of My Sun, let him be your enemy also... (Bryce, 1998, p. 343).

As noted by strikethrough in the quote above, the name Ahḫiyawa was erased shortly after the document's writing, perhaps by the original scribe (Beckman, 1996, p. 118 n. 23; cf. Bryce, 1998, pp. 343–344; Van de Mieroop, 2009, pp. 102, 263 n. 2; Podany, 2010, p. 262). Prior to the Šaušgamuwa treaty, Tudḫaliya IV's predecessor Ḫattušili III had directly addressed the ruler of Ahḫiyawa as "My Brother, the Great King, my equal" at least 37 times in a mid-13<sup>th</sup> century document frequently referred to as the "Tawagalawa letter" (CTH 181 = KUB 14.3), which refers to a conflict between Ahḫiyawa and Ḫatti that seems to have centered on Troy (Singer, 1983; Güterbock, 1983, pp. 135–136; 1984, p. 120; Bryce, 1998, p. 323; Mee, 1998, p. 143):

[I]n that matter of Wiluša over which we were at enmity...we have made peace (Hoffner, 2009, p. 311).

This reinforces the fluid nature of Late Bronze Age geopolitics, particularly on the periphery of the great empires of the age (Egypt, Babylonia, Ḫatti, and Assyria, the latter of which had supplanted Mittani as a Near Eastern power by the mid-13<sup>th</sup> c.; Van de Mieroop, 2009, pp. 34–35; Podany, 2010, p. 303), while also pointing to the changes that were beginning to take place in the region as the

end of the Bronze Age approached. As has been noted, the world of Homer's epics is reflective of this period in many ways, with the *Iliad's* tension between the Hittite empire on the eastern side of the Aegean and the Helladic coalition to the west, and with *Odyssey's* haunting portrayal of the rending apart of the social and political fabric of the eastern Mediterranean world, including the Mycenaean palatial system (see, most recently, Singer, 2013, pp. 24–25). This is highlighted by the above–quoted reference to Troy as an object of contention between Ḫatti and Ahḫiyawa in CTH 181 – not to mention the subsequent (early 13<sup>th</sup> c.) mention in CTH 76 of *Alaksandu* as king of Wiluša (Güterbock, 1984, p. 120; Beckman, 1996, pp. 82–87; Bryce, 1998, pp. 244–245, 326–360; Basedow, 2007, p. 56).

Aegean culture had a clear foothold in western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age. The site of Miletos (Hittite *mi-la-wa-ta* 'Millawanda'), which displays Minoan material culture dating to the period before the fall of the Cretan palaces (Mee, 1978, pp. 134–136; Schofield, 1983, pp. 298–299; Niemeier, 1998, pp. 27–30), and following this, Miletos likely became a Mycenaean center, which it remained from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> to the mid–13<sup>th</sup> c. BC, with a brief hiatus ca. 1400 BC when the site was destroyed by the Hittite king Muršili II (Niemeier, 1998, pp. 30–40, with bibliography). Niemeier (1998, p. 46) suggests that the final loss of Miletos in the mid–13<sup>th</sup> century may have been the death knell of Mycenaean influence in western Anatolia, and may thus have led to the aforementioned removal of the Ahḫiyawan king from the list of "Great Kings" of the age.

Further extra–Homeric evidence for military action by Aegeans in the western Anatolian territories from the 15<sup>th</sup> c. BC onward may be found in Hittite

texts, such as those referring to the rebellion against the Hittite empire by the Aššuwān league in western Anatolia (Cline, 1996), as well as in weapons in the Mycenaean tradition found at Izmir and Ḫattuša, and a remarkable carving of what may be a Mycenaean warrior on a ca. 1400 BC bowl from the Hittite capital (Bittel, 1976; Salvini & Vagnetti, 1994, pp. 219–225; Niemeier, 1998, p. 42; see further below). Further, Hittite texts referencing Aḫḫiyawa frequently mention both raids and captives (NAM.RA<sup>MES</sup>), and thus may serve as evidence for Aegean seafarers obtaining slaves and other plunder through such means, and spiriting them back to territory under the control of Aḫḫiyawa (cf. *Odyssey* xiv 229–232 cited above; also Bryce, 1992, pp. 126–127).

It is possible that remnants of the NAM.RA<sup>MES</sup> being removed from western Anatolia and transported to Aḫḫiyawan territory can be found in later legend. For example, the “cyclopean” walls of Tiryns were built, according to myth, by Cyclopes who “came by invitation from Lycia” (ἦκειν δὲ μεταπέμπτους ἐκ Λυκίας; Strabo *Geographica* VIII 6.11; also ps–Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* II 2.1; Bacchylides *Epinician* XI 77–80; Pausanias II 25.8). This can be interpreted as a reference to the appropriation of Lukka NAM.RA<sup>MES</sup> in the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC to act as manual laborers on the Greek mainland (Bryce, 1992, p. 128). Certainly the Cyclopean masonry and corbeling techniques at the citadels of Athens, Gla, Mycenae, Midea, Pylos, Thebes, and Tiryns, as well as the Lion Gate at Mycenae itself, have much in common with Hittite architecture, with the LH IIIB:2 fortification wall of the Unterburg at Tiryns being perhaps the best example given the aforementioned mythological explanation of this site’s construction (Grossman, 1967, p. 100; Tritsch, 1968, pp. 129–131; Scoufopoulos, 1971, pp. 101–

106; Iakovidis, 1983, p. 106; Sandars, 1985, pp. 65–67, figs. 35–36; Niemeier, 1998, p. 43; Maran, 2010, pp. 726–729). The connection between Mycenaeans and Lycians may be further seen in participation by both *Ekwesh* (identified with Achaeans by, *inter alia*, Mellink, 1983, p. 141; Finkelberg, 1988; Adams & Cohen, 2013) and *Lukka* (Lycians; Bryce, 1992; Manassa, 2003, p. 80 n. 17) in the assault on the Nile Delta by a coalition of Libyans and Sea Peoples in the Pharaoh Merneptah's fifth regnal year (ca. 1207 BC; see further below).

A glimpse of the results of such raids may come from the Linear B archives from Mycenaean Greece. The logossyllabic Linear B script was used on the Greek mainland and at Cretan sites like Knossos to keep palace records pertaining to palace administration and economics, though the dearth of information they contain on topics like international commerce and private enterprise suggests that these activities may have taken place outside the narrow purview of the palaces' administrations (Killen, 1985, p. 241; Rutter, 2001, p. 345; Van De Mieroop, 2009, p. 156). The most complete information on Greek affairs at this time comes from the Pylian archives, records of a single year which were baked by the fire that destroyed the palace at the end of LH IIIB. Despite the limitations of such a small temporal sample, these records have frequently been extrapolated to Mycenae, Tiryns, Thebes, and other LH IIIB contemporaries of Pylos about whose organization and affairs we have less detail (Shelmerdine, 1997, p. 566).

The Linear B tablets of Mycenaean Greece are largely silent on international topics, as well as to the production of many types of goods (as opposed to the taxation of them, a matter in which the palace naturally had great interest). In fact, the records from Mycenaean Greece are almost completely silent

on any aspects of trade, industry, or other economic activities that were conducted independently of the palaces, or which may have been the purview of entrepreneurs or nongovernmental intermediaries (Halstead, 1992, p. 57). Conversely, the local economy, within which “the palace was the focal point of the redistributive system, mobilizing both goods and services” (Shelmerdine, 1997, p. 567; but see Rutter, 2001, p. 345), is chronicled in some detail in the extant records, as are palatially-controlled industries such as bronze-working and the production of prestige goods, wherein craftsmen were apparently dependent on the palace for raw materials and, in some cases, for subsistence (Killen, 1985, pp. 252–253, 272–273; Hiller, 1988, pp. 53–68). This does not mean that entrepreneurship or third-party actors were not present in the Mycenaean economy, particularly in those aspects of it which were exchange-based and international in nature; rather, if these elements of the economy did exist, they appear to have occupied a space outside that which was governed by the Mycenaean palaces and recorded in the Linear B tablets.<sup>15</sup>

However, these texts carefully recorded matters which were directly associated with palatial administration, including well as people and *materiel* under palatial control. This includes female workers, many (or all) of whom may have been slaves. Women from Lemnos (*ra-mi-ni-ja* = *Lâmniai*), Chios (*ki-si-wi-ja* = *Kswiai*), Miletos (*mi-ra-ti-ja* = *Milatai*), Knidos (*ki-ni-di-ja* = *Knidiai*), Halikarnassos (*ze-pu<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>3</sub>* = *Dzephurrai*), and Asia (*a-\*64-ja* = *Aswiai*)<sup>16</sup> are all represented in the Pylian archives, where they appear among those listed as dependents of the palace, receiving rations from the state (Bryce, 1998, p. 62; S. Morris, 2003, p. 7; Michailidou & Voutsas, 2005, p. 19; Yasur-Landau, 2010a, p. 40). Meanwhile, people referred to as *ra-wi-ja-ja* (= *\*lâwiaiai*) ‘women taken as

plunder' or 'captives' also appear in multiple Pylian tablets (PY Aa 807, Ab 596, and Ad 686; cf. *Iliad* XX 193), though unfortunately no mention is made of their homelands and they do not seem to appear in contemporary iconography (Chadwick, 1988, pp. 80, 83; Cline, 1994, pp. 68–69, 130–131; 2009, p. 199; Efkleidou, 2002; Latacz, 2004, pp. 280–281; Ergin, 2007, p. 273; Blakolmer, 2012, p. 61; Olsen 2014). Further, *do-e-ra* (= δούλος), perhaps privately-owned slaves, appear in tablets from Knossos, but not Pylos (Nosch, 2003a, p. 22; Ergin, 2007, p. 202). As Sarah Morris (2003) has noted, “rather than the romantic recovery of native women like Helen, the enslavement of fresh laborers (as Cassandra and other Trojan women became the prize of Greek warriors in the epic tradition) was a serious objective” (p. 7; cf. Kirk, 1965, p. 55; Gilan, 2013, p. 53).

As might be expected, such a theme appears repeatedly in Homer (e.g., *Iliad* I 32, 184; II 226; VI 456; IX 125–140, 270–285, 477; XVI 830–833; XIX 295–302; XX 193; *Odyssey* iv 259–264; vii 103–106; xi 400–403). Consider, for example, *Odyssey* ix 41–42 (cited above), as well as *Odyssey* xiv 202–203 from the second Cretan Lie, wherein Odysseus claims to be the son of a woman who was purchased as a slave:

ἐμὲ δ' ὄνητὴ τέκε μήτηρ  
παλλακίς  
a bought woman, a concubine,  
was my mother.

*Odyssey* xiv 202–203 (Lattimore, 1965)

How the hero's fictional mother was originally acquired, prior to her sale to Odysseus' father, is not mentioned. However, the apparent precedent in Hittite

and Linear B texts for Ahhiyawans taking female captives certainly raises the possibility that she came to Crete via a similar seaborne raid. Further, though too fragmentary to be certain, KUB 14.2 may even recount the early 13<sup>th</sup> c. BC exile to Ahhiyawa of the Hittite Queen Tanuḫepa (wife of Muwatalli II) – an interpretation which, if accurate, would lend an even greater layer of complexity to the relations between these entities, particularly with regard to the role and transfer of women between them (Güterbock, 1983, p. 134; Houwink ten Cate, 1994, p. 251; Cammarosano, 2010, pp. 47, 56). Jack Sasson (1966) has referred to the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC as “a period when a veritable epidemic of run-away wives plagued the various civilizations [and when p]owerful, sea-oriented kingdoms relied on their navies to retrieve the errant spouses” (p. 137). While this would fit well with the Homeric picture of Helen eloping with Paris and being pursued by a seaborne coalition of Achaeans, the evidence for such a situation is far less certain than it is for the taking of women (some of whom were probably married) as plunder, as well as for both the exile and the repatriation of royal wives. In fact, while the Ugaritic text Sasson cited as evidence for his “runaway wives” claim, RS 18.06, does in fact mention the preparing of ships by King Ammittamru II to, in Sasson’s words, “capture and punish his sinful wife,” the text’s reference is actually to a mission to repatriate the woman in question, who had been exiled to Amurru for an unnamed crime (Van Soldt, 2010, p. 201).

As Oliver Dickinson (2007, p. 234) has pointed out, Homer’s lack of awareness of the Hittites is troubling for historical reconstructions, particularly when it comes to (misguided) efforts to draw one-to-one parallels between our current information about Bronze Age history and the received texts of *Iliad* and



*Odyssey*. However, this is explained in part by the patchwork nature of the epics (containing, as noted above, themes from pre-Greek times through the mid-first millennium BC), and in part by the radical changes in the Eastern Mediterranean that ushered in the “Dark Age” from which Homeric epics seem to have emerged in something resembling their final arrangements. As will be discussed in the next section, the tide that permanently swept away the Mycenaean palaces and palatial system ca. 1200 BC also took with it the Hittite empire, which disappeared altogether, aside from local dynastic continuation of the dynasty at Karkemiš and the rise of Neo-Hittite “rump states” in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria (Bittel, 1983; Güterbock, 1992; Hawkins, 2009), and which seems to have been permanently forgotten in the Aegean. Thus, a lack of knowledge about the Hittites, while superficially problematic, should not deter those who recognize the aforementioned “patchwork” nature of the epics from acknowledging that the geopolitical division present in the epic remains more reminiscent of Ahhiyawan/Hittite tension in the Late Bronze Age than of any other period (cf. Hood, 1995; Singer, 2013).

#### Existential Threats, Palatial Destructions, and Sea Peoples

As noted above, as remarkable as the internationalism of the Late Bronze Age was in the eastern Mediterranean, the regional collapses and sea changes that struck the region in the years around 1200 BC were equally so. Referred to as a “watershed” event by Hallo (1992, p. 2) and labeled with the catch-all of “the catastrophe” by Drews (1993), the series of events that took place over a significant temporal period and across a wide geographic area left in its wake an eastern Mediterranean world that bore little resemblance to that which

immediately preceded it. Palaces, cities, and empires from the Aegean to Anatolia and the Levant were destroyed; Egypt's New Kingdom was set on an exorable path toward decline; migratory peoples were on the move by land and sea; the ethnic composition of localities and territories was altered; and the socio-political and core-periphery economic systems which had fueled the palatial world of the Late Bronze Age came to a relatively abrupt end. As Dickinson (1994) has described it, "over a period that might have covered a generation or more the world of the [Late Bronze Age] effectively disintegrated" (p. 308)

Already in the LH IIIB:1-2 transition (ca. 1230 BC) there were signs of growing unease within the Helladic palaces, perhaps in response to looming physical threats. At Mycenae and Tiryns, for example, walls were extended at this time, and additional domestic buildings were built within the settlements' citadels. These building projects followed a mid-century earthquake and constituted part of what Iakovidis (1986) has called program of "retrenchment and accelerating regression" (p. 259; cf. Shelmerdine, 1997, pp. 580-581). At both of these sites, as well as at Athens, this retrenchment apparently included making structural alterations to defenses in order to ensure access to potable water from safely within the city walls (Iakovidis, 1983, pp. 24-37, 70-72, 79-86; Schilardi, 1992, p. 625; Wright, 1994, pp. 348-349; Maggidis, 2006). At Pylos and Mycenae, storage facilities in close proximity to the palace were expanded in LH IIIB, perhaps to bring them under closer control of the palatial authorities in response to a growing menace or anticipated attack (Shelmerdine, 1997, pp. 581, 583). In keeping with the modern uncertainty about the cause and effect of this growing menace and final collapse, Van De Mieroop (2009) has suggested that another purpose of these fortifications – or a result of them – was to "separate the

ruler from the mass of the people” (p. 80), possibly in response to unrest driven by growing inequality in status and lifestyle.

Particular evidence for this may be seen in Linear B tablets from the last days of Pylos. This key palatial center in the Peloponnese was destroyed in LH IIIB:2 or IIIC Early, and abandoned along with the entire Messenian and Laconian hinterland (McDonald & Rapp, 1972, pp. 142–143; Shelmerdine, 1997, p. 581 n. 277; Mountjoy, 1999, pp. 343–355, figs. 116–120; Vitale, 2006, pp. 190–191; but see Popham, 1991, p. 322). Three well-known sets of tablets, commonly grouped together, have been seen by some scholars as communicating an effort to coordinate a large-scale defensive action or evacuation in response to an existential threat from the coast (*inter alia*, Chadwick, 1976, p. 141; Palmer, 1980, pp. 143–167; Baumbach, 1983; Popham, 1994, pp. 287–288; Höckmann, 2001, p. 223; Dickinson, 2006, pp. 43, 46, 55; Tartaron, 2013, pp. 64–65). The first group, known as the *o-ka* tablets, list the disposition of military personnel (770 watchers assigned to the task of guarding 10 coastal sites, led by an *e-qe-ta*), perhaps in the city’s waning days (Deger-Jalkotzy, 1978, p. 14; Hooker, 1987, p. 264; Papadopoulos, 2006, pp. 131–132). The second, a single tablet (Jn 829), records the collection of bronze from Pylian temples for the purpose of forging “points for spears and javelins” – another martial reference, and a further suggestion of increased military readiness in response to an increasing coastal threat.

#### The Pylian ‘Rower Tablets’

The third relevant record from Pylos is comprised of three texts (PY An 610, An 1, and An 724) commonly grouped together and referred to as “rower

tablets" for their references to *e-re-ta* (= ἐρέται) 'rowers' being called up to man what was most likely a fleet of galleys (Palmer, 1980, pp. 143–144; Palaima, 1991, p. 286; Wachsmann, 1998, pp. 159–161; 1999; Tartaron, 2013, pp. 64–65; see further below). Consensus about the nature (and even the existence) of the "crisis" reflected by the Pylian tablets is elusive. As Palaima (1995a) has noted, "the evidence is ambiguous," and we do not know if the measures recorded in these tablets were "standard operating procedure...in the Late Bronze Age or extraordinary adjustments to emergency conditions" (p. 625; also Hooker, 1982, pp. 209–217; Killen, 1983; Shelmerdine, 1997, p. 583). However, Shelmerdine (1999) has more recently approached a middle ground on the issue by positing that what has been painted as a 'crisis' in the past may instead be better categorized as a "general climate of wariness in the weeks immediately preceding the destruction," which came about as a result of "a very human threat" (pp. 405–410). The apparent lack of fortifications surrounding Pylos in the Late Bronze Age has been a lingering question, particularly in light of the city having been in what may be seen as a state of emergency in the time just before its demise (Shelmerdine, 1997, p. 547). Though it remains possible that Pylos was unwallled at this time, a 2.5-m. wide, 60-m. long topographic anomaly was identified during geophysical exploration in the late 1990s, which "runs roughly parallel to the contours on the steep northwestern side of [a] ridge and...continues beyond a modern two-meter-high terrace...may well indicate the remains of a massive fortification" (Zangger, et al., 1997, p. 613, also pp. 609–612; Shelmerdine, 1999).

The Rower Tablets will be discussed further below with regard to what type of ships they may have referenced. However, it is worth considering at present what actions they may signify if indeed they do reflect a palatial response to a coastal threat. The first action is a general evacuation (Baumbach, 1983; Wachsmann, 1999). Though the depopulation of Messenia in the wake of the palatial destruction is suggestive of some organized movement of peoples from the area at this time, an evacuation by flotilla was unlikely to have been logistically feasible. Likewise, should the impetus for such an evacuation have come from the coast, rather than overland, it does not seem logical that Pylians would have chosen to sail ships laden with people, belongings, and livestock directly into the teeth of an existential *seaborne* threat (cf. Wachsmann, 1999, p. 498).

The second action perhaps described by the Rower Tablets is an evacuation organized by, and limited to, palatial elite, who sought to escape as their situation became precarious late in the LH III B. There is little doubt that the highest level of Mycenaean Greece's stratified society suffered most from the collapse of the palatial system; as Shelmerdine (1997) has noted, "The key elements lost in the disasters were the trappings of those in power: the *megaron* proper, the enriching contact with other cultures, the elaborate administrative system, and, with nothing to record, the art of writing" (p. 584). Schilardi (1992) and Karageorghis (2001, p. 5) have suggested that Mycenaean elites may have fled to the Cyclades in advance (or in the wake) of the destructions in the LH III B:2 and LH III B–III C transition:

The Cycladic islands, not very far from the main Mycenaean palaces of the Peloponnese, were the obvious places of refuge for the refugee *wanaktes* after the collapse of the

Mycenaean empire. They could find refuge quickly in small ships and, if need be, in successive waves. There were no major urban centres in these islands and they would not, therefore, feel threatened by the local population (Karageorghis, 2001, p. 5).

An example of such a site may be Koukounaries on Paros, which was founded in transitional LH IIIB:2–IIIC Early (Schilardi, 1984; 1999). The site boasts a fortified “mansion” or palatial structure on an acropolis, complete with storerooms and prestige items that support both prosperity and trading activity (Earle, 2008, p. 192). The possible arrival of high–status immigrants from the Greek mainland may have resulted in the transference of a smaller form of the palatial system to a small number of these islands, where it remained in place and functioning through the 12th century (Schilardi, 1992). However, as Barako (2001) has noted, “one must wonder if preparations made under such duress would have been written down” (p. 136 n. 21). Further, the presence of the palatial elites and their retinues, who controlled the art of writing in the Mycenaean world, may be contradicted by the lack of written records attesting their presence at these island sites (Schilardi, 1992, p. 637).

A third possible purpose of the Rower Tablets may have been to document a calling–up of crewmembers in preparation for a direct, and ultimately unsuccessful, naval action against a seaborne threat, either from within or from without – a topic which will be discussed more fully below.

### Sea Peoples and the Earliest Naval Battles

An increase in alarm about maritime threats is also seen in Egyptian inscriptions and reliefs, and in texts from the last years of Hatti and Ugarit. Singer (1983) has characterized the threat during the Late Bronze–Early Iron

transition as the same in *nature* as during the preceding Late Bronze Age, but with a change in “the scale of [seaborne] movement,” which was accompanied by a change in “the ability of the established powers to cope with the problem” (p. 217). As noted above, evidence from several sources suggests that seaborne threats increased in number and severity as the age of Bronze gave way to that of Iron, perhaps playing a central role in the widespread palatial destructions that marked this watershed period in Mediterranean history (*inter alia*, Baruffi, 1998, pp. 10–13, 188; Nowicki, 1996, p. 285; Wachsmann, 1998, pp. 320–321).

Somewhere into these events fit the so-called ‘Sea Peoples,’ a heterogeneous series of coalition-like groups mentioned primarily in records from Ramesside Egypt (the 13<sup>th</sup> and early 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC). The most famous representations of these warriors come from Medinet Habu, where two massive battles – one on land and one at sea – are recorded in monumental relief. The land battle relief (*Fig. 1*) depicts ox-carts, women, and children amidst the Sea Peoples warriors, suggesting that the “invasion” may have been part of a migratory movement from the Aegean and western Anatolia (*inter alia*, Stager, 1995; Sweeney & Yasur-Landau, 1999; Yasur-Landau, 2010a). The naval battle (*Fig. 2*), widely considered the first ever depicted (and perhaps the first ever engaged in), will be discussed further below.

Though almost always ascribed to Ramesses III’s eighth year (ca. 1175 BC), these migratory land and sea invasions were important enough to be mentioned in no fewer than five inscriptions at the pharaoh’s mortuary temple at Medinet Habu:

The northern countries shivered in their bodies, namely the Philistines and the Sicels. They [were] cut off <from> their land, coming, their soul finished. They were *tuhir*-warriors

on land, and another (group) on the Great Green (sea). Those who came by [land] were overthrown and slain [....]; Amen-Re was after them, destroying them.

Those who entered the Nile mouths were like birds snared in the net, made into a mash (?) [...], their arms; and their hearts removed, taken away, no longer in their bodies. Their leaders were brought away and slain; they were prostrate and made into pinioned [captives....]. They [cried out] saying, 'There's a charging lion, wild, powerful, seizing with his claw. A Unique Lord has arisen in Egypt, un[equaled], a warrior precise (with the) arrow, who cannot miss. [.....] the ends of the outer ocean.

They tremble with one accord, (saying): 'Where can we (go)?' They sue for peace, coming humbly through for fear of him, knowing (that) their strength is no (more), and that their bodies are enfeebled, (for) the renown of His Majesty is before them daily.

Great Inscription of Year 5 (Kitchen, 2008, p. 22)

Year 8 under the majesty of (Ramesses III)...The foreign countries made a conspiracy in their islands [Haider (2012, p. 158, 160 n. 42): "separated from their islands"]. All at once the lands were removed and scattered in the fray. No land could stand before their arms, from Ḫatti, Kode, Karkemiš, Arzawa, and Alašiya on, being cut off at [one time]. A camp [was set up] in one place in Amor [Amurru]. They desolated its people, and its land was like that which has never come into being. They were coming forward toward Egypt, while the flame was being prepared before them. Their confederation was the Philistines, Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denye(n), and Weshesh, lands united. They laid their hands upon the lands as far as the circuit of the earth, their hearts confident and trusting: 'Our plans will succeed!'

Now the heart of this god, the Lord of the Gods, was prepared and ready to ensnare them like birds...I organized my frontier in Djahi, prepared before them: – princes, commanders of garrisons, and *maryanu*. I have the river-mouths prepared like a strong wall, with warships, galleys, and coasters, (fully) equipped, for they were manned completely from bow to stern with valiant warriors carrying their weapons. The troops consisted of every picked man of Egypt. They were like lions roaring upon the mountaintops. The chariotry consisted of runners of picked men, of every good and capable chariot-warrior. The horses were quivering in every part of their bodies, prepared to crush the



foreign countries under their hoofs. I was the valiant Montu, standing fast at their head, so that they might gaze upon the capturing of their hands...

Those who reached my frontier, their seed is not, their heart and their soul are finished forever and ever. Those who came forward together on the sea, the full flame was in front of them at the river-mouths, while a stockade of lances surrounded them on the shore. They were dragged in, enclosed, and prostrated on the beach, killed, and made into heaps from tail to head. Their ships and their goods were as if fallen into the water...

Great Inscription of Year 8 (Wilson, 1974, pp. 262–263)

Now then, the northern countries which were in their islands were quivering in their bodies. They penetrated the channels of the river-mouths. Their nostrils have ceased (to function, so) their desire is to breathe the breath. His majesty has gone forth like a whirlwind against them, fighting on the battlefield like a runner. The dread of him and the terror of him have entered into their bodies. They are capsized and overwhelmed where they are. Their heart is taken away, their soul is flown away. Their weapons are scattered upon the sea. His arrow pierces whom of them he may have wished, and the fugitive is become one fallen into the water...

Naval Battle Inscription (Wilson, 1974, p. 263)

...I overthrew the Tjek[er], the land of Pele[set], the Danuna, the [W]eshesh, and the Shekelesh; I destroyed the breath of the Mesh[wesh], —, Sebet, —, devastated in their (own) land. I am fine of plan and excellent of—...

South Rhetorical Stele of Year 12  
(Edgerton & Wilson, 1936, pp. 130–131)

As for the countries who came from their land in their isles in the midst of the sea, as they were (coming) forward toward Egypt, their hearts relying upon their hands, a net was prepared for them, to ensnare them. They that entered into the Nile mouths were caught, fallen into the midst of it, pinioned in their places, butchered, and their bodies hacked up.

Celebration of Victory over the Sea Peoples  
(Edgerton & Wilson, 1936, p. 42)

As can be seen in the above–quoted inscriptions, five groups of Sea Peoples are named at Medinet Habu: the *Pršt* ‘Peleset’ (= Philistines), *T3k3r* (also *T3kk3r*) ‘Tjeker’ or ‘Sikil’ (see below), *Š3krwš3* ‘Shekelesh’, *W3š3š3* ‘Weshesh’, and *D3iniwn3* ‘Denyen’ or ‘Danuna’ (=Δαναοι or Adana?). A later inscription of Ramesses III, on a rhetorical stele in Chapel C at Deir el–Medineh, also mentions the Peleset and the *Twrš* ‘Teresh’ (among up to 24 groups, all but two of which have been lost) as defeated enemies who had “sailed in the midst of t[he s]ea” (Peden, 1994, p. 65). The slight change in Ramesses’ enemies list seen in the Medineh stele (namely, the addition of the Teresh, who are not mentioned in the Medinet Habu inscriptions) can also be seen in another, later document. The Great Harris Papyrus (Papyrus Harris I), a posthumous *res gestae* of Ramesses III, omits the Shekelesh from the narrative of the pharaoh’s encounters with the Sea Peoples, replacing them instead with the Sherden:

...I extended all the frontiers of Egypt and overthrew those who had attacked them from their lands. I slew all the Denyen in their islands, while the Tjeker and the Philistines were made ashes. The Sherden and the Weshesh of the Sea were made nonexistent, captured all together and brought in captivity to Egypt like the sands of the shore. I settled them in strongholds, bound in my name. Their military classes were as numerous as hundred–thousands. I assigned portions for them all with clothing and provisions from the treasuries and granaries every year (Wilson, 1974, p. 262).

As noted above, though he boasts the best known of our available inscriptions and images, Ramesses III was not the first pharaoh to encounter groups associated with the Sea Peoples. A century prior, in the formulaic Aswan stele of his second year (ca. 1277 BC), Ramesses II claimed among other

conquests to have “destroyed” [*fl*; also ‘captured’] the warriors of the Great Green (Sea),” so that Lower Egypt can “spend the night sleeping peacefully” (de Rougé, 1877, p. 253.8; Kitchen, 1996, p. 182). Tanis II mentions the defeat and impressment of seaborne Sherden warriors in what is frequently assumed to have been the same battle as that referenced in the Aswan stele. There is no clear evidence that this is the case, however: the aggressor is not named in the Aswan inscription, and as noted above, raids on the coasts of Egypt seem to have been carried out by various groups with relative frequency during this period.

Immediately following this, Sherden appear in relief as members of the Egyptian army, perhaps having been pressed into service. This coincides with an apparent dissipation of the threat to Egypt from this and other Sea Peoples groups which, judging from written records, lasted for the remainder of Ramesses II’s reign. Reasons for this lull may include the defeat and capture of more raiders like the Sherden, as well as a series of forts established by Ramesses II in the western Delta and along the North African coastal road, from Memphis to the Mediterranean coast and as far west as Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, some 300 km from Alexandria. These fortresses may have served multiple purposes, including protecting water sources (Snape, 1997, p. 23; S. Morris, 2001, pp. 821, 827) and serving as depots or processing centers into Egypt from beyond her borders (cf. Askut in Nubia; Smith, 1991, p. 115; 1995, pp. 41–43; Snape, 1998, p. 503). However, whatever their additional activities, it seems clear that these fortresses served to protect the desert coast and the fertile Nile Delta from marauding Sea Peoples (Habachi, 1980), restless, eastward-looking Libyans (Snape, 2010, pp. 273–275), or a combination of both (Yurco, 1999, p. 877).

This seems particularly true for Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, an “isolated military outpost reared against a backdrop of near total emptiness” at the edge of the Egyptian frontier (White & White, 1996, p. 29). As noted above, Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham sat on the Marmarican coast nearly 300 km from Alexandria, but it was a scant 20 km west of Marsa Matruh, the southwesternmost known point in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean maritime trading circuit (White, 1986; 1999a; 1999b, pp. 564–567; 2002, p. 24; see Ch. 4). A massive site nearly 20,000 m<sup>2</sup> in size, with a plastered glacis and heavily fortified gate, the fort’s imposing nature against the largely barren landscape is belied by evidence for its residents’ peaceful interactions with the native population surrounding it. Based on the scale of the fortress, which incorporated between 1.3 and 1.8 million bricks, Snape (2010, p. 273) has argued that the time and effort required for construction, and the necessary cultivation of land around it referred to in inscriptions, would have required a docile indigenous population in the surrounding area at the very least, if not the active participation of that population as a labor force (cf. Snape, 2010, pp. 286–287).

The fort’s relationship with Marsa Matruh remains an open and interesting question. Matruh’s heyday as a node in the sprawling Late Bronze Age maritime trade network appears to have been the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC (the last third of the 18<sup>th</sup> Egyptian dynasty), and its decline appears to correspond chronologically with Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham’s establishment in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (White, 2002, p. 24; for more detail on the Late Bronze Age maritime trade network, see Ch. 4 below). Additionally, a significant number of foreign imports have been found at Zawiyet, including Canaanite amphorae, Cypriot base-ring juglets, and Minoan and Mycenaean coarseware stirrup jars (Snape,

1997, p. 24; Thomas, 2003; Ben-Shlomo, et al., 2011, p. 336). These facts, in combination with the aforementioned evidence for increased piratical activity in the Eastern Mediterranean around this time, may suggest that Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham was constructed both to defend Egypt's westernmost flank against invasion, and to provide a fortified replacement for the remotest node on the maritime trade network (Snape, 2010, p. 273).

While inscriptional evidence demonstrates how devastating seaborne raids on unprotected coastal outposts could be, the Tanis II stele and some of Odysseus' own tales show the flip side of that coin: the danger to raiding parties that could come from contact with regular troops (*Odyssey* ix 39–61, xiv 262–272, xvii 431–441; see also below). Thus, Zawiyet may have stood as a deterrent against raids, providing a heavily fortified and highly defensible site for direct importation of the goods being traded on the Eastern Mediterranean circuit.

Effective as they may have been for the majority of his lengthy reign, Ramesses II's line of fortresses does not appear to have survived beyond his tenure. As if on cue, as these defenses went out of use, the Sea Peoples – Sherden included – arose once again in Pharaonic records, this time in the accounts of Ramesses' son and successor Merneptah (1213–1203 BC). An example of this can be seen in a fragmentary passage from Papyrus Anastasi II:

...Sherden of the Great Green [Sea] that are captives of His Majesty, they are equipped with all their weapons in the court, and bring a tribute of gallons of barley and provender for their chariotry, as well as chopped straw.

P. Anastasi II, *Verso*, Frag. Text 5 (Caminos, 1954, p. 64)

This text may also suggest a mobilization of some of those Sherden who had been captured by Merneptah's predecessor, or perhaps an attempt to emulate Ramesses III by claiming to have captured an enemy known from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

The threat to Egypt became much more immediate in Merneptah's fifth regnal year (ca. 1207 BC), when a migratory coalition tens of thousands strong of Libyans (*Rbw*) and Sea Peoples invaded from the west, managing to occupy a portion of the western Delta for one month before being routed by the pharaoh's army in the six-hour Battle of Perire. The battle is recounted in two inscriptions, the Athribis stele and the monumental Great Karnak Inscription:

Year 5, third month of third season, third day, under the majesty of King [Merneptah]...Re himself has cursed the people since they crossed into [Egypt] with one accord...They are delivered to the sword in the hand of Merneptah-Hotepirma... [Pharaoh's] fame against the land of Temeh...and how they speak of his victories in the land of Me[shwesh]...making their camps into wastes of the Red Land, taking — every herb that came forth from their fields. No field grew, to keep alive...The families of Libya are scattered upon the dykes like mice —. There is found among them no place of [refuge]... every survivor among them [is carried off as a living captive]. They live on herbs like [wild] cattle—...

...Ekwesh [of] the countries of the sea, whom 2,201 [+x]  
men  
had brought the wretched [fallen chief of Libya,  
whose] hands [were carried off]

Shekelesh 200  
men

Teresh 722 [+x]  
men

—Libya, and Sherden, slain  
—men

Athribis Stela (Breasted, 1906–7, §§254–5)

[Beginning of the Victory which His Majesty achieved in the land of Libya, ...whom Mariyu son of Di]di [brought together]: Ekwesh, Teresh, Luk(k)a, Sherden, Shekelesh, Norther[ners, wander]ers of all lands,<sup>17</sup> [...who slays] with his sword, by the power of his father Amun – (even) the King of South and North Egypt, Baieren Meriamun, Son of Re, Merenptah, given life.

...Then(?) [...spies were sent out?..., then one came to inform His Majesty, In Year 5, 2<sup>nd</sup> Month of] Shomu, day <1?>, as follows:

'The despicable, fallen ruler of Libya (Libu), Mariyu son of Didi, has descended upon the land of Tejenu (in Libya), along with his troops, [...and also the...] Sherden, the Shekelesh, the Ekwesh, the Lukka and Teresh, and calling up ("taking") every single warrior and every able-bodied man of his country. He has brought (also) his wife and his children [...] chief [men] of the camp. He has reached the Western frontier in the terrain of Pi-Ir[u].'

Then His majesty was angry with them (=Libyans) like a lion..."

[...]

"List of prisoners who were carried off from this land of Libya (*Libu*), together with the foreign countries that he had brought with him...

[Tursha], Sherden, Shekelesh, Ekwesh, of the foreign countries of the sea (ya(a)m), who had no fore[skin, slain, whose hands were carried off, because they had no] foreskins:

Shekelesh	222 men	Making 250 hands
Teresh	742 men	Making 790 hands
Sherden	—	[Making] —

[Ek]wesh who had no foreskins, slain, whose hands were carried off, (for) they had no [foreskins] —

...Shekelesh and Teresh who came as enemies of Libya—

—Kehek, and Libyans, carried off as living prisoners 218 men

Great Karnak Inscription (Kitchen, 2003, pp. 2–4)

It is from the Great Karnak Inscription that we derive the modern term “Sea Peoples.” As seen above, five of these groups are named in Merneptah’s records – the Sherden (*Šrdn*), *Ikwsš* ‘Ekwesh’, *Škršš* ‘Shekelesh’, *Twrsš* ‘Teresh’, and *Rkw* ‘Lukka’ – with all but the latter being referred to as *n n3 ḥas.wt n p3 ym* ‘of the foreign countries of the sea’. The lack of such designation for the Lukka is interesting, given their association with seaborne raiding since at least the reign of Akhenaten (cf. EA 38, quoted above), though this may be connected to the fact that the most recent mention of this group in Egyptian records prior to Merneptah comes from Ramesses II’s account of the Battle of Qidš, where they are listed among the land-based troops of the Hittite king Muwatalli II. All five groups are also referred to in line one as *mḥ.t[yw] iw.w n t3.w nb.w* ‘northerners coming from all lands’ (Manassa, 2003, pp. 154–155). The Ekwesh = Achaeans (=Aḥḥiyawa) identification is both linguistically and geographically tempting, and has been accepted by many scholars (e.g.. Wainright, 1939, pp. 150–153; 1960, p. 26; Garstang, 1943, p. 36 n. 2; Mertens, 1960, pp. 81–82; Kirk, 1965, pp. 55–56; Liverani, 1963, pp. 232–233; 1988, p. 634; Adams & Cohen, 2013). Perhaps the most important argument against it is the apparent practice of circumcision by the Ekwesh, who, according to the Great Karnak Inscription, “had no foreskins.” This stands in contrast to the cultural norms of Bronze Age Aegeans (Barnett, 1975, p. 367; Sandars, 1985, p. 107–111; Bunnens, 1986, p. 230; Niemeier, 1998, p. 46), as well as of the *Peleset*, the later Sea Peoples group identified with the biblical Philistines whose lack of circumcision is well documented in the



Hebrew Bible (e.g. Judg. 14:3, 15:18; 1 Sam. 14:6, 17:26, 17:36, 31:4; 2 Sam. 1:20; 1 Chron. 10:4).

As seen above, the Athribis stele omits the designation “of the sea” for all groups save the Ekwesh. The other two inscriptional references to this battle, on the Cairo Column and Heliopolis Victory Column, contain between them the mention of only one Sea Peoples group, the Shekelesh, whose naming is followed with “and every foreign country” (Kitchen, 2003, pp. 19, 29). Three of the Sea Peoples named by Merneptah are also found in the records of Ramesses III, though each appears in a different source: the *Shekelesh* at Medinet Habu, the *Sherden* in the Great Harris Papyrus, and the *Teresh* in the Deir el-Medineh stele.

The appearance of Sherden in another attack on Egypt so shortly after the end of Ramesses II’s reign is worth considering a bit more closely than has been done in the past. While a nautical role for this group in Egyptian society will be explored further below, both Ramesses II’s inscriptions commemorating his “victory” over the Hittite armies of Muwatalli II at the Battle of Qidš (ca. 1275 BC) and the Papyrus Anastasi II refer to Sherden prisoners-of-war acting as augmentees in Egypt’s expeditionary forces. A reference to “Sherden thou didst carry off through thy strong arm” having “plundered the tribes of the desert” in R4.7–5.3 of Papyrus Anastasi II may suggest that some number of the Sherden captured by Ramesses II were dispatched to, or stationed in, the western deserts of Libya – perhaps at an outpost along the pharaoh’s aforementioned line of fortresses:

The victorious army is come after he has triumphed, in victory and power. It has set fire to Isderektiu and burnt the Meryna. The Sherden thou didst carry off through thy strong arm have plundered the tribes of foreign lands [Gardiner (1906–7, p. 210): “the tribes of the desert”]. How delightful is

thy going to Thebes, thy war-chariot bowed down with hands and chiefs pinioned before thee! (Caminos, 1954, p. 45)

This would fit with Ramesses II's claims to have settled captured foes in areas distant from those whence they came (easterners in the west, westerners in the east, northerners in the south, etc.). An example of such a claim can be found on the southern wall of the Great Hall in the temple at Abu Simbel, where a representation of the pharaoh smiting Libyans is accompanied by text claiming that the Shasu of Canaan (northeast of Egypt) were stationed in the west by the pharaoh, and the Libyan \**hmnw* 'Tjehenu' sent east:

He has placed the Shasu in the Westland and has settled the Tjehenu on the ridges. Filled are the strongholds he has built, with the plunder of his puissant arm/sword (Kitchen, 1996, p. 67).

A reference to the Canaanite god Horon at el-Gharbaniyat, one of Ramesses II's western fortresses ca. 70 km west of Alexandria, may also support this. While Horon was venerated in Egypt from the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty due to a syncretistic relationship with Horus (Helck, 1971, p. 454; Stadelmann, 1967, p. 81; Van Duk, 1989, pp. 62–63), Habachi (1980, p. 29) has suggested that this reference may signal such a stationing of troops from the eastern Delta or Palestine in this western fort. When considered in this context, the "Sherden whom thou hast taken in thy might" being sent against "the tribes of the desert" in Papyrus Anastasi II may support the stationing of these warriors in one of Ramesses II's western fortresses, particularly if they originated from an Aegean, Anatolian, or Levantine location. Given this context, Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham is even more of an interesting case. As noted above, evidence from the site demonstrates a level

of cooperation and interaction between the personnel stationed there and the indigenous Libyans (Snape, 2010, pp. 286–287). This, combined with the fact that these western fortresses did not survive beyond the end of Ramesses II’s reign, may suggest that some occupants of this outpost – perhaps some of the Sherden who had been dispatched against “the tribes of the desert” – were swept up in the Libyan movement that culminated in the famous battle of Merneptah’s fifth year (Emanuel, 2012a, pp. 6–7).

## Chapter III

### The Changing Face of War and Society

Though Pharaonic records provide excellent documentation of the phenomenon, Egypt was not the only Eastern Mediterranean power to have been threatened by maritime foes in the waning years of the Late Bronze Age. The Hittites in particular, who were not historically inclined toward maritime affairs, seem to have been forced to look to the sea with more interest at this time, possibly as a result of the threat posed by an increase in coastal raiding. Two texts from the early 12<sup>th</sup> century in particular seem to show increased Hittite concern with threats from the Mediterranean coast and beyond. In the first, Ras Shamra (RS) 34.129, the Hittite king writes to the prefect of Ugarit about the *Šikala* (LÚ.MEŠ KUR.URU.Ši-ka-la-iu-ú and KUR.URU Ši-ki-la) “who live on ships,” and requests that a Ugaritian who had been taken captive by them be sent to Ḫattuša so that the king can question him about this people and their homeland:

...I, His Majesty, had issued him an order concerning Ibnadušu, whom the people from *Šikala* – who live on ships – had abducted.

Herewith I send Nirgaaili, who is *kartappu* with me, to you. And you, send Ibnadušu, 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 (Hoftijzer & van Soldt, 1998, p. 343).

The *Šikala* have been connected to two groups of Sea Peoples from the aforementioned records of Merneptah and Ramesses III: the *Škrš* = *ša-ka-lú-ša* ‘Shekelesh’ (Lehmann, 1979; Yon, 1992, p. 116; Redford, 2006, p. 11) and the *Škl* =

*ší-ka-ar* ‘Sikil’ or *Tkr* ‘Tjeker’ (Wachsmann, 1982, p. 297; 1998, p. 359 n. 10; Stager, 1991, p. 19 n. 23).<sup>18</sup> The second text, attributed to the last Hittite king, Šuppiluliuma II (ca. 1207–1178 BC), mentions a series of three naval skirmishes against the “ships of Alašiya,” followed by a land battle, presumably against the same people he had fought at 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.

But when I arrived on dry land(?), the enemies from Alašiya came in multitude against me for battle. I [fought] them, and [.....] me [.....]...”

KBo XII 38 (Güterbock, 1967, p. 78)

The latter is reminiscent of the aforementioned claim by Ramesses III of having fought land and sea battles against migratory Sea Peoples, which would have taken place at generally the same time. This similarity in chronology and narrative raises the possibility that Šuppiluliuma may have been facing repeated waves of raiders or migrant warriors (perhaps the same ones mentioned in Egyptian records), while clearly reinforcing the aforementioned threat felt from the previously distant Mediterranean coast during the last days of the Hittite Empire.

Rather than belonging to a “state” of Alašiya, it is likely that the vessels against which Šuppiluliuma fought were called “ships of Alašiya” not because they were a Cypriot military force dispatched by their ruler, but because they had either sailed eastward via Cyprus or used a captured portion of the island as a forward staging area (cf. Wachsmann, 2000, p. 103; *contra* Linder, 1970, p. 319). The island had long been a target of seaborne raids by pirates from southwestern Anatolia and the Aegean, as can be seen from the aforementioned 15th–14th c.

BC Hittite text which speaks of Ahḫiyawans “often” raiding the land of Alašiya and taking captives (CTH 27, quoted above) and EA 38, also quoted above, which refers to annual raids on Cyprus by the Lukka (= Lycians). Textual evidence also supports the use of Cyprus as a base for launching raids against coastal polities in the eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age, much as Odysseus claims to have done from Crete in his tale to Eumaios. See, for example, RS 20.18 (quoted below) and perhaps also EA 38, although in the latter the King of Alašiya is quick to protest that the raiders did not stage from an area under his control.

The settlement changes and destructions that marked the end of the Late Bronze Age affected polities around the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean at this time, including at Odysseus’ fictive home port of Crete, which had been a key node in the maritime trade networks that characterized the Late Bronze Age in this region (Kanta, 1980, p. 30; Andreadaki-Vlasaki, 1991, p. 405; Rehak & Younger, 1998, pp. 166–168). Settlements across Crete appear to have been abandoned or destroyed at the end of the Late Minoan (LM) IIIB, while new sites with larger, more concentrated populations were founded in defensible areas of the island, both inland and on coastal hilltops (Nowicki, 1987, p. 217; 2001, pp. 25–36, 2002, p. 154; 2011).<sup>19</sup> Inland refuge settlements took advantage of precarious positioning, heavy natural fortifications, and distance from the coast to provide safety and defense, seemingly in response to a new (or more serious) threat from the sea (Nowicki, 1994, p. 268; 2000, pp. 257–263; 2001, p. 37; also Desborough, 1973, pp. 62–69; Watrous, 1975, p. 326; Rehak & Younger, 1998, p. 167; Haggis & Nowicki, 1993). Coastal hilltop settlements, on the other hand, were primarily founded on rocky promontories overlooking the water. These not

only provided for early warnings of approaching ships, but they may also have been used as bases for seaborne raiding of exactly the type claimed by Odysseus (Nowicki, 1996, p. 285; 2001, pp. 29–30). Nowicki (2001) has explained these and similar sites on the Cyclades and Cyprus, discussed below, as “phenomena [which] reflect the way of thinking of people who quite simply live by and work on the sea,” saying that “it is probable that sailors always look for such points, in a way similar to shepherds who often look for the same places for the *mandras*, and their houses” (p. 39).

Similar sites in the Cyclades, such as Koukounaries on the island of Paros, may have been used as bases for piracy, as well as possible refuge sites for palatial officials fleeing the mainland (Schilardi, 1992; Karageorghis, 2001, p. 5; cf. Wachsmann, 1999; see above), while the promontory site of Maa–*Paleokastro* on western Cyprus provides a relevant example of one or both from outside the Aegean world. This site, which offered both a clear view of and easy access to the sea, was home to a short-lived but highly-defensible settlement of Aegean–Anatolian nature in the years surrounding and immediately following 1200 BC (Karageorghis, 1985, p. 932; Symons, 1987, p. 71). The lack of potable water and arable land in the vicinity of Maa reinforces the primary emphasis its inhabitants placed on defensibility and sea access, while the establishment of this site in a secluded area of the island, away from Cypriot settlements, appears to reflect a strategic separation from those already inhabiting the western part of Cyprus (Yasur-Landau, 2010, p. 190). The material evidence from the site, which included Myc III C pottery, rolled and perforated loomweights, the organization of domestic space in Aegean fashion, and the presence of hearths, led the excavator to suggest that its founders were a heterogeneous group of Anatolians,

eastward-moving Aegeans, and some Cypriots (Karageorghis, 1982, p. 722; 1992, p. 80; Symons, 1987, p. 71) – a makeup that has led to the identification of the inhabitants of Maa–*Paleokastro* with the similarly heterogeneous ‘Sea Peoples,’ as well as with Mycenaeans fleeing the palatial destructions in the Aegean (Karageorghis, 1982, pp. 721–722; 1983, p. 924; 1984, pp. 944–946; 1985, p. 932; 1986, p. 850; 1992, p. 80; 2001, p. 1; Karageorghis & Demas, 1988, pp. 264, 488; Symons, 1987, pp. 71–72; Deger–Jalkotzy, 1998, p. 122; Yasur–Landau, 2010, pp. 143–151).

#### New Warriors and New Warfare?

Along with the evidence for an increase in coastal threats and piracy discussed above, this period is also marked by the sudden appearance of a new type of warrior in Eastern Mediterranean iconography, as well as the first known representations of naval battles. These new warriors, who are pictured wearing so-called “feathered headdresses,” appear seemingly *ex nihilo* at this time.<sup>20</sup> They are found in martial scenes on land and at sea across the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean beginning in the Transitional LH IIIB:2–IIIC Early period, and have typically been associated with the ‘Sea Peoples’ who are so well known from Ramesside Egyptian and other contemporary records.

Though commonly referred to as feathers in scholarship – and thus, for consistency, in the present study – these headdresses could also represent leather, folded linen, rushes, or hair stiffened with lime (Sandars, 1985, p. 134; Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, p. 132; Mountjoy, 2005, p. 425; Yasur-Landau, 2012a). The reliefs at Medinet Habu portray these headdresses, and the warriors wearing them, in great detail (Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pls. 19, 33–34, 37–39, 41–



44, 46). The plumed portions are largely identical, but individual groups of warriors seem to be differentiated from each other by the patterns on the headbands beneath the feathers. These include zigzag, circular, and crosshatched patterns, with some headdresses featuring two courses of the same pattern (Oren, 1973, pp. 136–137 figs. 9, 18) and one (perhaps two) featuring both circular decoration and crosshatching (Oren 1973, pp. 136–137 figs. 7, 19). Characters painted on Mycenaean vases, on the other hand, are often shown in silhouette, and are always portrayed far more schematically and stylistically, and in less detail, than their companions in Egyptian relief. In the case of the feathered headdresses depicted at Medinet Habu, therefore, the Aegean analog appears to be a much less detailed set of dark spikes or lines protruding from the head, sometimes set above a checkered or “zigzag” band. Most examples of the latter style take the form referred to as the “hedgehog helmet” for its similarity to Aegean portrayals of hedgehogs in similar media (Figs. 3–4; Furumark Motif [FM] 8.6), though representations from the Dodecanesian island of Kos provide slightly different portrayals of this headdress (see below). While Furumark (1941, p. 240 n. 5) suggested that these helmets were fashioned from the skin of actual hedgehogs, it seems more likely that the resemblance, even if intentional, was more an artistic convention than it was the result of fashioning headwear out of hedgehogs, particularly in light of the Near Eastern and Dodecanesian analogues discussed here (cf. Holland, 1929, pp. 202–203).

The best-known example of the “hedgehog”-style headdress, and the most complete picture of warriors in full complementary combat gear, comes from the Warrior Vase, found by Heinrich Schliemann in the now-eponymous “House of the Warrior Vase” at Mycenae (Figs. 5–6; Vermeule & Karageorghis,

1982, pp. 130–132, 222). This vessel, which like almost all examples of the motif is dated to LH IIIC Middle, features processions of warriors on each side. On the obverse are six bearded soldiers marching “in step” to the right (Furumark, 1941, p. 240; Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, p. 131). They carry nearly-circular shields and leather “ration bags” (Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, p. 131), and on each warrior’s right shoulder rests a single spear with a leaf-shaped point. They wear corslets, kilts, greaves, and horned helmets with plumes flowing from the crest (see further below). The five soldiers on the reverse are identical except for the placement of their spears (which are cocked in each soldier’s right arm in preparation for throwing), the absence of the “ration bags,” and the composition of their helmets, which are “hedgehog” in style instead of horned. This latter scene finds a nearly identical analogue in a painted limestone stele, also from Mycenae (Fig. 3).

Several further comparanda also come from Mycenae, all of which date to LH IIIC Middle. This was a period in which the introduction of new features into ceramic decoration – and perhaps new people into mainland Greece – may have been at its peak (French, 1998, p. 4; see also below). These examples include a fragmentary larnax with up to three hedgehog-helmed warriors on it (Fig. 7) and three krater fragments, one of which may be the only known example of a helmet simultaneously adorned with horns *and* hedgehog motif (Fig. 8; Furumark, 1941, pp. 240–241; Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, p. 222). The second may show two warriors with spears and round shields walking in front of a horse (Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, pl. XI.1B), while the last either shows two soldiers in hedgehog helmets or a soldier and an actual hedgehog (Fig. 4; Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, p. 222). Of particular interest in the present discussion are

fragments of another larnax and krater, each of which shows a warrior's head with a "zigzag" band around the bottom of the headdress that is conspicuously similar to some of the feathered hats from Medinet Habu (Fig. 9).

Examples of this motif have been found elsewhere on the Greek mainland, as well, including on a krater from Iolkos in Thessaly that shows three warriors wearing such headdresses, two of whom carry spears (one shield also remains) and the third of whom may be wearing a metal corslet (Fig. 10; Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, p. 223). A rhyton or stirrup jar from Tiryns shows a soldier in full armor (greaves, corslet, kilt, and hedgehog helmet, and armed with a short sword) who may be in the act of leaping (Fig. 11), while krater fragments from the same site show what appear to be a hedgehog-helmeted warrior leading a horse (Fig. 12) and another carrying a spear over his shoulder (Fig. 13). Additionally, a krater fragment from Amarynthos on Euboea shows a man in the same type of headdress following what may be a chariot and driver (Fig. 14). Finally, two LH IIIC Middle krater rim fragments of unknown geographic provenience show hedgehog headdresses, one of which is clearly a helmet (Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, pls. XI.64, 64.1), while a LM IIIC Middle figurine fragment from Faneromeni Cave in eastern Crete may also be an example of this motif (Kanta, 1980, fig. 24.8).

Warriors with this style of headdress also appear *de novo* in Cyprus and the Levant at this time, as well as in Egypt, where they are shown in the aforementioned reliefs from the mortuary temple of Ramesses III. On Cyprus, a seal from Level IIIB at Enkomi (LH IIIC Middle) shows a bearded, shield-bearing warrior wearing a feathered hat with a beaded band (Fig. 15; Mountjoy & Gowland, 2005, pp. 165, 210). An ivory "game box" from Tomb 58 (also 12th c.

BC) at the same site depicts a chariot-borne hunting scene featuring two footmen who wear kilts and bead-banded feather headdresses identical to those worn by several of the enemies of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, as well as to that on the Enkomi seal (Fig. 16; Murray, Smith & Walters, 1900, pl. 1; Evans, 1900, p. 210). In the Levant, a seal from Tomb 936 at Tell el-Far'ah (S), a 12<sup>th</sup> c. chamber tomb, shows what has been interpreted as a "feather-hatted person" presenting an offering to the Egyptian god Amun (Fig. 17; Keel & Uehlinger, 1998, p. 110; Yasur-Landau, 2010, pp. 209–210). This image compares favorably to a "Philistine prince" pictured in the first court at Medinet Habu as one of many symbolic victims of Ramesses III (Fig. 18), while a Philistine bichrome krater from Ashkelon (late 12<sup>th</sup>–early 11<sup>th</sup> c.) shows two warriors with feathered headdresses in the "hedgehog" tradition (Stager & Mountjoy, 2007; color plate in Stager, Master & Schloen, 2011, p. 270 fig. 15.40).

The northern cemetery at Beth Shean, an Egyptian administrative center in Canaan from the late 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty until the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century BC, produced five anthropoid coffins (of over fifty total) whose decoration bears a clear resemblance to the "feather-hatted" warriors from Medinet Habu (Fig. 19; Pritchard, 1943, p. 39; Oren, 1973, pp. 129–130; Mazar, 1993, p. 218). All five coffin lids feature decorative courses around their subjects' foreheads that find parallels in these portrayals, while one (from Tomb 66) also features vertical fluting above the forehead decoration – a possible attempt to portray feathers (Yasur-Landau, 2012a, p. 33). The discovery of these lids led to the association of anthropoid burial containers in the "grotesque" style<sup>21</sup> with Sea Peoples mercenaries of the Ramesside pharaohs, following the claim made in the Great Harris Papyrus that Ramesses III "settled" these defeated peoples "in

strongholds, bound in my name” (Wilson, 1974, p. 260). This, in turn, led to the suggestion that the custom of burial in clay anthropoid coffins as a whole was brought to Canaan by the best-known of these groups, the Philistines (T. Dothan, 1957), despite this interment method’s long history as an Egyptian practice - and despite Egypt’s significant New Kingdom presence in Canaan from the 18th dynasty (inter alia, Weinstein, 1980; 1992; 2012; Redford, 1992, pp. 192–213; Higginbotham, 1996; 2000; Killebrew, 2005: 51–92). This fallacy led to another, greater error: the association of clay anthropoid coffin burials in Egypt with the Philistines, as well, where they were, in the words of Earnest Wright (1959), posited to be evidence for “colonies of them...in the Nile Delta and on Egypt’s southern frontier in Nubia” (p. 54; also 1966, p. 71; Albright, 1932; T. Dothan, 1957, pp. 163–164; 1958, pp. 63–66; 1979, p. 103).

As Liza Kuchman (1977) has previously noted, the lack of attention traditionally paid to clay anthropoid coffins found in Egypt, particularly in comparison to those discovered in Canaan, resulted in all such finds being viewed through the Syro–Palestinian prism. This, in turn, gave way to the assumption that, because such burials are clearly intrusive to Palestine, they must also be considered foreign in Egypt (Kuchman, 1977, pp. 11–12). Even more moderate analyses have, at times, reflexively associated those in the grotesque tradition with the Aegean and, therefore, with the Sea Peoples. In just one example, Ellen Morris (2005) recently followed Petrie in referring to these sarcophagi as “Aegean–style anthropoid coffins” and explaining this style as the Aegeanization of an Egyptian burial practice (p. 702). In this vein, she further noted, in reference to the gold and electrum funerary masks from Grave Circles A and B at Mycenae (but sans any evidence for the association), that “it would be

very interesting to know...whether the lids had been originally painted yellow to imitate the gold of Mycenaean facemasks" (E. Morris, 2005, p. 702 n. 30). Such a suggestion encounters two problems: first, the four centuries of chronological separation between the Sea Peoples and these 16th century (LH I) Mycenaean shaft graves (Dickinson, 1977, pp. 42–46; Taylour, 1983, p. 69; Graziadio, 1988); and second, the lack of evidence for such a burial tradition within the Aegean world in the Late Bronze or Early Iron Ages (as Albright (1932, p. 304) noted nearly a century ago).

There has since been a reflexive move to reassign all anthropoid coffins in Canaan and Egypt alike back to the Egyptians (T. Dothan, 1982, p. 288; Brug, 1985; Stager, 1995, pp. 341-342). Unfortunately, this approach has, at its extreme, attempted to throw the baby out with the bathwater, reassigning even those at Beth Shan to Egyptian personnel (Stager, 1995, p. 341; Birney, 2007, p. 395). The answer is likely to be found in the middle ground between these hypotheses: while the anthropoid coffins is clearly an Egyptian interment method, the five from Beth Shean may represent Egyptianizing burials of a small number of Sea Peoples–related mercenaries, conscripts, or recruits serving in the pharaoh's garrison there in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Oren, 197, pp. 135–142, figs. 1–19; T. Dothan, 1982, p. 274).

Finally, in a recent dissertation on the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age transition at Tell Ta'yinat on the plain of 'Amuq (Antioch), Brian Janeway (2013) published the first known sherd featuring a hedgehog-helmed individual to be found in Syria (Fig. 20). This krater fragment represents only the second hedgehog helmet depiction to have been found within a purported Sea Peoples settlement, comes from Tell Ta'yinat (ancient *Kunulua*), which seems to have

been the capital of a polity formerly known to scholars from hieroglyphic Luwian evidence as *Wadasatani* (= *Walistin*). This site has become highly important in recent years due to the combination of ongoing excavation by the University of Toronto and a recent reassessment of the term *Walistin* by David Hawkins (2009), who recently has resulted in a new reading – *Palistin* – that is all too familiar in appearance and pronunciation to scholars of the Sea Peoples in general, and the archaeology of the southern coastal plain of Canaan in particular. Based on epigraphic evidence found over a wide geographic area, *Palistin* has been reconstructed as a sprawling Iron Age kingdom extending from the Amuq plain to Aleppo in the east and Hama in the south, with its capital at Tell Ta’yinat. The earliest epigraphic evidence for *Palistin* comes from a Neo-Hittite context. In a relief (ALEPPO 6) associated with major architectural renovations at the Temple of the Storm God at Aleppo, an individual named Taita references himself as “Hero and King of *Palistin*” (Kohlmeyer, 2000; 2008; 2009; 2011; Hawkins, 2009, p. 169). Like *Hiyawwa* mentioned above (Ch. 2), the toponym for the territory Taita oversaw seems to have been a lingering remnant of a materially and chronologically ephemeral agro-pastoral settlement, with clear Aegean affinities, which was present at Tell Ta’yinat and the surrounding area in the immediate aftermath of the end of the Late Bronze Age (Janeway, 2006; 2013, pp. ii, 107-110; Harrison, 2009 p. 183). In this period of Aegean-related occupation, marked by Field Phases 6 through 3 at Ta’yinat, the intrusive population lived alongside the indigenous inhabitants of the Amuq, bequeathing to the region a toponym – *Palistin* – that, like the possibly related *Philistia* (= Palestine) in southern Canaan, would far outlast their own relevance and archaeological visibility.

The Ta'yinat sherd may combine with the Ashkelon krater, the Far'ah seal, and Beth Shean coffin lids to serve as the only self-representations of Sea Peoples in what scholars consider to be their "traditional" regalia. The greatest value provided by these examples is the fact that, as self-representations, they can signal to the modern observer (as they did to contemporaries at the time of their creation) just which aspects of their appearance were most critical to their self-identification as individuals and as members of the group(s) with which they most closely identified.

The status associated with the commissioning of such objects as the Beth Shean coffins and the Enkomi and Tell el-Far'ah (S) seals is worth noting. Though they may have begun as mercenaries or rank-and-file soldiers, the occupants of the Beth Shan coffins had, at the time of their deaths, clearly attained high enough status to commission such burial sculpture, while the designs implemented demonstrate a keen interest in preserving and presenting their ethnic identities for all eternity. An example of such progression may be seen in the aforementioned game box and seal from Enkomi. The scene on the game box shows an individual acting in service to nobility in general or to the crown in particular – a very similar role to that which the individuals interred in the Beth Shan coffins may have carried out in the service of the pharaoh.

The progression from companion on a hunt to commissioner of a seal, read across these two objects, shows an increase in status that may be reflected once again in the coffins from Beth Shan. A personalized seal like that from Enkomi clearly indicates status, and the representation on it shows a clear interest on the part of its commissioner to display his ethnic identity. The seals and coffins alike, therefore, follow a pattern of foreigners of certain rank



adopting a local motif or medium of expression, while choosing to clearly mark themselves as “others” through the self-representations they commissioned (Yasur-Landau, 2010a, pp. 152, 208–209; 2012a, p. 33). Such an attainment of status by a foreigner in Egypt can also be seen in Odysseus’ Second Cretan Lie: as will be discussed further below (Ch. 5), the hero claims that, after suffering ignominious defeat and capture in his attempted raid on the Nile Delta, he became a man of “much wealth” while living in the land of the Pharaohs (*Odyssey* xiv 276–277, 285–286).

It may be no coincidence that some of the earliest representations of these feather-hatted and hedgehog-helmed warriors can be found in the earliest known scenes of ship-to-ship combat, and in conjunction with oared galleys (on the latter, see below). The first known representation of the feathered headdress from the Aegean and the Interface is on an unstratified locally-made krater from Bademgediği Tepe (ancient Puranda) in southwestern Anatolia, a site that appears to have been reinhabited at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. after a settlement hiatus, with locally-made LH IIIC pottery appearing among the ceramics used by its new inhabitants (Meric & Mountjoy, 2002, p. 82; Meric, 2003). Mountjoy has dated the Bademgediği krater (Fig. 21) to Transitional LH IIIB2–IIIC Early or LH IIIC Early based on the appearance of the rowers (Meric & Mountjoy, 2002, p. 92; Mountjoy, 2005; 2011, pp. 484, 487). Benzi (2013, p. 521), on the other hand, appears to date it to LH IIIC Middle; this, if accurate, would make the vessel and its representation synchronous with two other key naval representations – those from Pyrgos Livanaton (Homeric Kynos, north of modern Livanates; *Iliad* II 531; Fig. 22) and from Seraglio on Kos (Fig. 23),<sup>22</sup> both of which are discussed further below – as well as with virtually every other known feathered headdress and

“hedgehog” helmet representation. However, Mountjoy (2007, p. 226), an authority in regional Mycenaean decorated pottery and its chronology, recently noted that her dating of the Bademgediği krater may necessitate a backdating of the Koan sherds from LH IIIC Middle to at least LH IIIC Early. The implications of such a shift would be significant, as it would place the earliest representations of “feather-hatted warriors” in southwestern Anatolia and the Dodecanese less than a quarter century prior to their appearance in Egyptian relief, and well before their appearance on the Greek mainland in the late 12<sup>th</sup>–early 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. This, in turn, may support the possibility that at least some of these warriors originated in the area of southwestern Anatolia and the Dodecanese and spread from there westward to the Aegean and south– and eastward to Cyprus and the Levant.

The prospect of ship-to-ship combat is hinted at in *Iliad* and *Odyssey* alike. The former contains a more oblique reference, consisting of the *hapax legomenon* ναύμαχα:

οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν ὕψι μελαινάων ἐπιβάντες  
μακροῖσι ξυστοῖσι, τά ρά σφ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἔκειτο  
ναύμαχα κολλήεντα, κατὰ στόμα εἰμένα χαλκῷ.

the Achaeans high up on the decks of their black ships to which they had climbed, fought therefrom with long pikes that lay at hand for them upon the ships for sea-fighting — jointed pikes, shod at the tip with bronze...

*Iliad* XV 387–389

The relevant reference in the *Odyssey* pertains to Penelope's suitors and their plot to intercept Telemakhos' vessel at sea:

ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι δότε νῆα θοὴν καὶ εἴκοσ' ἑταίρους,  
ᾧφρα μιν αὐτὸν ἰόντα λοχίσομαι ἠδὲ φυλάξω  
ἐν πορθμῷ Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης,  
ὡς ἂν ἐπισμυγερῶς ναυτίλλεται εἵνεκα πατρός...

μνηστῆρες δ' ἀναβάντες ἐπέπλεον ὕγρὰ κέλευθα  
Τηλεμάχῳ φόνον αἰπὺν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ὀρμαίνοντες.  
ἔστι δέ τις νῆσος μέσση ἄλι πετρήεσσα,  
μεσσηγὺς Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης,  
Ἄστερις, οὐ μεγάλη: λιμένες δ' ἐνὶ ναύλοχοι αὐτῇ  
ἀμφίδυμοι: τῇ τὸν γε μένον λοχόωντες Ἀχαιοί.

But come, give me a swift ship and twenty men, that I may watch in ambush for him as he passes in the strait between Ithaca and rugged Samos. Thus shall his voyaging in search of his father come to a sorry end...

But the wooers embarked, and sailed over the watery ways, pondering in their hearts utter murder for Telemachus. There is a rocky isle in the midst of the sea, midway between Ithaca and rugged Samos, Asteris, of no great size, but therein is a harbor where ships may lie, with an entrance on either side. There it was that the Achaeans tarried, lying in wait for Telemachus.

*Odyssey* iv 656–674, 842–847

Such a scene may be reflected in the Bademgediği and Kynos kraters, each of which appears to depict a naval battle between spear-wielding warriors, who are pictured aboard antithetic oared galleys. Interestingly, if the feathered headdresses of the warriors on these vessels do in fact mark them as Sea Peoples, then these may not only be Sea Peoples vessels, but participants in a battle scene portraying combat *between* ships manned by Sea Peoples. The naval battle relief at Medinet Habu is the only such representation from this period that includes non-Sea Peoples participants – evidence, perhaps, that only Egypt was able to successfully defend against these foes at sea, though their victory was short-

lived, as the events of this period set the Egyptian empire on a course toward inexorable decline. It should be noted, though, that the iconography of warfare throughout the Mycenaean period overwhelmingly depicted similarly attired and equipped warriors in combat with each other (e.g. the combatants shown on the LH I “Warrior Krater” from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae; Fig. 24). In other words, whether read thematically or as representations of actual events, war in Mycenaean iconography was almost exclusively depicted as being fought between individuals or groups from within the Aegean milieu (Blakolmer, 2012). Thus, the nature of the nemeses pictured on the Kynos and Bademgediği kraters are consistent with the preceding phases of the Late Helladic, even if the appearances of the figures and the presence of the ships represented radical developments.

#### Boar’s Tusks, Horsehair Crests, and Horned Helmets

Given the stylistic differences between Helladic pictorial vase painting and Egyptian art, it may be that the soldiers in horned helmets on the obverse of the Warrior Vase (see above) were intended to represent something akin to the Sherden, who are depicted in horned helmets in the reliefs of Ramesses II and Ramesses III. Only shown in relief (never, at least in examples found to date, on papyrus), the first pictorial representations of warriors we identify by this name appear in the commemorations of Ramesses II, at Abu-Simbel, Abydos, Karnak, Luxor, and the Ramesseum, of his Qidš “victory” over the Hittites (Kuentz, 1934, pls. 22, 28, 32, 35, 42). Sherden are generally differentiated from their native counterparts in Egyptian art by three key features. The first two are their circular shields and the swords or dirks they sometimes wield either instead of, or as a

supplement to, the spears carried by their Egyptian counterparts (Hoffmeier, 2001). The third, and most distinctive, are horned helmets that, with two possible exceptions, feature a protrusion at the crest with a disc or other circular accouterment mounted atop it. The exceptions to the latter guideline include a group of helmet-wearing warriors from Luxor, shown fighting alongside the forces of Ramesses II in an assault on Dapur in Amurru (Fig. 25), and two ships of warriors fighting against Ramesses III in the naval battle pictured at Medinet Habu (Fig. 26; Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pls. 37–39, 41, 50c–d, 51g, 52a, 53d). Also of interest are two additional horn-helmed figures featured elsewhere in the Dapur reliefs (Youssef, Leblanc & Maher, 1977, pls. XXXI–XXXII), at least one of which may be a Sherden shown either from a different angle than seen in other images, or in a style that was abandoned as the depiction of these warriors became more standardized.

Though the identification of Sherden has been considered “one of the few sartorial certainties in the complicated history of Egypt’s friends and attackers” (Sandars, 1985, p. 106), it is important to note that our visual identification of this people is solely dependent on two determinative uses. The first is seen in the phrase  $\check{S}3rdn3 n h3q hm=f$  ‘Sherden of his majesty’s capture’, a phrase in “The Poem” of Ramesses II in which a horn-helmed figure serves as the determinative for the term  $\check{S}3rdn3$ . This text has been found in inscriptional form at Abydos, Luxor, the Ramesseum, and twice at Karnak (Kuentz, 1929, pl. 6.3; 1934, pl. 220.26). The second exemplar is a single captioned image from the front pavilion wall of at Medinet Habu, which shows a monumental series of captive foreign princes or chieftains acting as determinatives for their accompanying hieroglyphic descriptors (Fig. 27). The latter representation is problematic in

nature: while this lone figure at Medinet Habu who bears the label *š3rd3n3 n p3 ym* 'Sherden of the Sea' is wearing the distinctive helmet associated with this people, his aquiline nose and earring are distinctive among the numerous warriors who are pictured in Egyptian reliefs wearing the standard horned headgear. His long beard is also unique, though the remaining decoration on another Sherden at Medinet Habu shows that beards were depicted *in paint* on at least some of these individuals (Fig. 28). Short beards may also appear *in relief* on two other Sherden – one from Medinet Habu, and the other from the Qidš reliefs of Ramesses II at Luxor (Figs. 29–30).

Though they are by far the most obvious and the most discussed examples, horns and a central protrusion are not the only distinctive aspects of Sherden headwear. On at least two occasions – on one individual in the land battle, and on a group of at least nine victims lying prostrate beneath the feet of Ramesses III in the naval battle scene – the Medinet Habu artists chose to give *texture in relief* to these horned helmets (Figs. 28 and 30; Wainright, 1961, p. 85 referred to them as “laminated”). Why would this be the case, particularly on such a small scale? The answer, helpfully informed also by the painted beard noted above, may lie in further explanation of Egyptian visual representation. While they primarily exist as unadorned reliefs now, at the time of their composition the representations at Medinet Habu followed Egyptian artistic tradition in combining *both relief and paint* to make a complete picture (Nelson, 1929, p. 21). Settings, actions, and even individuals could be augmented or even portrayed in their entirety through painting, a medium that may even have taken precedence over relief in some cases (Nelson, 1929, p. 22; Wachsmann, 1981, pp. 191, 195; 1998, p. 170). The millennia since the composition of the Medinet Habu

images have stripped them almost completely of pigment, leaving behind largely unadorned reliefs. These remnants may seem to tell a clear story, and to hold within them clear and critical details that can aid in our interpretation of their meaning; however, it is critical to consider that “[once] 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” (Nelson, 1929, p. 22).

With this in mind, a hint of what is *no longer there*, but which might have been *visible in antiquity*, may be found in these outliers among the carved scenes – specifically, the “laminated” helmets and beards on Sherden individuals, each of which is depicted but twice in relief. The aforementioned Sherden individual on whom a painted beard can still be seen also wears a helmet on which paint has survived. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the clues provided thus far, there is evidence for texture (or lamination) on this individual. This may confirm that such texture (like a beard) was a standard feature of Sherden in Egyptian iconography, despite the small sample size remaining in the absence of paint. This Sherden individual also retains skin pigment: he is painted reddish brown in similar fashion to the *K3ftiw* ‘Keftiu’ (= Cretans) last seen in the tomb of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty Egyptian official Rekhmire (Theban tomb (TT) 100), as well as in similar fashion to the warriors in the well-known battle fresco from Pylos.

At this point, it is worthwhile to return to the Mycenaean Warrior Vase, and to consider the possible connection between Egyptian representations of Sherden warriors at Abu-Simbel, Luxor, Karnak, Abydos, and Medinet Habu, and the representation on painted Mycenaean pottery of horn-helmed warriors marching into battle. Warrior headgear in the Aegean Late Bronze Age took

many different forms, from relatively straightforward bronze helmets to the famous boar's tusk headgear associated with Odysseus himself:

Μηριόνης δ' Ὀδυσῆϊ δίδου βιὸν ἠδὲ φαρέτρην  
καὶ ζῖφος, ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε  
ρίνοῦ ποιητήν: πολέσιν δ' ἔντοσθεν ἰμᾶσιν  
ἐντέτατο στερεῶς: ἔκτοσθε δὲ λευκοὶ ὀδόντες  
ἀργιόδοντος ὑὸς θαμέες ἔχον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα  
εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως: μέσση δ' ἐνὶ πῦλος ἀρήρει.

And Meriones gave to Odysseus a bow and a quiver and a sword, and about his head he set a helm wrought of hide, and with many a tight-stretched thong was it made stiff within, while without the white teeth of a boar of gleaming tusks were set thick on this side and that, well and cunningly, and within was fixed a lining of felt.

*Iliad* X 260–265

Both bronze and boar's tusk helmets are known from as early as the LH I–II. An early example of the former can be found in a 15<sup>th</sup> c. warrior burial at Knossos, while the latter appear in significant numbers in battle, ceremonial, and funerary contexts. Examples (among many) include the Dendra panoply, the northern and southern wall friezes from Room 5 of the West House on Akrotiri on land-based warriors and displayed on flotilla vessels (Figs. 31–32), and the “Battle Krater” from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae (Fig. 24; cf. Mylonas, 1951; Blakolmer, 2007). The endurance of the boar's tusk helmet through the centuries is attested, *inter alia*, in paint, including on a 14<sup>th</sup> c. Egyptian papyrus from el-Amarna (Fig. 34; Schofield & Parkinson, 1994; Parkinson & Schofield, 1995) and in the battle fresco at the Palace of Nestor at Pylos; in sculptures, sealings, and physical remains, as seen, for example, in the LH IIIC Tomb B at Kallithea (Yalouris, 1960, p. 47) and warriors' heads from Mycenae (LH IIIA–IIIB; Tsountas, 1888, pl. 8.12) and Enkomi (LC IIB–IIIA; Krzyszkowska, 1991, pp. 119–



120, pl. 5), both sculpted of ivory; and in text, such as the above–quoted passage from Homer’s *Iliad*.

The characteristic feature of the boar’s tusk “helmet,” whose base of material was most likely leather, was the antithetic rows of cut boar’s tusks that encircled it. From bottom to top, these rows of cut tusks were made up of progressively smaller pieces, until the crown itself was covered in the pointed tips. While the number and size of the rows could vary, along with the general shape, this construction seems generally uniform across the existing evidence for these helmets. However, in both boar’s tusk and bronze helmets, many differences in accompanying accouterment can be seen in both iconography and material remains. For example, some helmets featured ear– (and sometimes cheek–) guards, in similar fashion but, on boar’s tusk helmets, manufactured from leather and perhaps additional cut tusks. The most heavily customized zone of both types of Mycenaean helmet appears to have been the crest, atop which a knob was frequently mounted, to which could be attached a vertical tusk, or crests and plumes of various shape, size, color, and texture (cf. Mylonas, 1951, p. 143 fig. 7). The variety of this helmet adornment even within a single representation is striking; for example, in both the north wall frieze of the miniature fresco at Akrotiri (eight examples) and the Mycenaean battle krater (seven remaining examples), no two boar’s tusk helmets feature identically–depicted accouterments.

The most common accoutrements attached to the knob at the crest of these helmets appear to have been horsehair plumes or large, circular crests with feathered appearance, though the circular crests also seem to have been placed on front and sides of the helmets at times, resulting in an appearance very similar

to horns. With its circular shape, the latter provides an interesting analog to the disc mounted atop the crest of Sherden helmets in Egyptian relief. One of the most remarkable helmets in this style known to date includes both horsehair plume and circular accouterment – along with, perhaps most interestingly, horns (Fig. 35; Bittel, 1976, pp. 9–14). This image comes from an inscribed bowl from the Hittite capital at Boğazköi/Ḫattuša dated to ca. 1400 BC, and it has generally been accepted as representing an Aegean warrior (Bittel, 1976; Güterbock, 1984, p. 115; S. Morris, 1989, p. 533; Cline, 1996, p. 147; Niemeier, 1998, p. 42; Kelder, 2010a, p. 40). Expected stylistic differences aside, the warriors represented on this Hittite bowl and on a slightly earlier fragment of a faience figurine from Mycenae (Fig. 36) are strikingly similar to the horn-helmed soldiers depicted on the Warrior Vase from Mycenae, which dates to LH IIIC Middle (Fig. 5).

It is interesting to consider the Boğazköi bowl and the Warrior Vase in light of the nearly three centuries that separate them (from the 15<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC). On one hand, this seems to further demonstrate the intergenerational continuity of some aspects of Mycenaean warrior dress and equipment, as has already been discussed with regard to the boar's tusk helmet. On the other hand, though, this type of dress – in particular, the horned helmet – is, apart from the aforementioned highly fragmentary faience figurine from Mycenae, only seen in Aegean contexts in these two examples. Further, it is of particular interest that an association with Anatolia can be argued in both cases. While this is obvious in the case of the Boğazköi bowl due to its provenience, the representation of horn-helmed warriors on the Warrior Vase is connected to Anatolia more indirectly: via the image on the reverse of the vase, the “hedgehog-helmed” warriors whose earliest known appearance is at

Bademgediği Tepe (and perhaps Kos) in the East Aegean–West Anatolian Interface.

### Sea Peoples and Returning Heroes

Rather than simply a sign of a westward movement by Anatolian warriors, the iconography seen in Egypt and on Cyprus early in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and in mainland Greece in the LH IIIC Middle, may demonstrate the martial assertion of people from the Interface at the end of the Late Bronze Age. Certainly, as shown above, the “feather-hatted” warriors appear in the Eastern Mediterranean first in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century and appear to spread westward across the Aegean through the 12<sup>th</sup> century, while the horn-helmed warriors on the obverse of the Warrior Vase are both new to LH III imagery, and nearly identical to the “Mycenaean” warrior pictured on the Boğazköi bowl two to three centuries prior. Further support for this area as an origin point for the people and styles that appear slightly later in the Aegean proper may be found in the fact that the ceramics that mark the LH IIIC period seem to have developed first in the Interface or even on Cyprus, and to have spread westward to the Greek mainland from there (Mountjoy, 1998; Wiener, 2007, p. 20). An origin within – or, at very least, close ties to – the Interface may also be supported by the material culture of the Philistines, whose Cypro–Aegean affinities are well known (Dothan, 1982; Stager, 1995; Stone, 1995; Master, 2005; Yasur–Landau, 2010a).

Such an association provides a subtle but interesting twist to our present consideration, in light of Homer’s *Odyssey*, of the Sea Peoples movements and other events of the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age transition. While Odysseus was posing as a Cretan within the micronarrative of the Second Cretan Lie, his

character in the macronarrative of the *Odyssey*, though a native of Ithaca, was engaged in his ten years of trials and tribulations in search of a *nostos* from Troy. In geographic terms, Odysseus was undertaking a dangerous and circuitous journey westward from *the northernmost point in the East Aegean–West Anatolian Interface to the Greek mainland*. Thus, he may be a Sea Person in the truest sense: a “nomad of the sea” (Artzy, 1997) who has arisen from within the Interface and who is, over the course of a most turbulent decade, making his way west toward permanent settlement in the Aegean, all the while engaging in extracurricular activities around the Eastern Mediterranean, including piracy, raiding, trading, and outright warfare. Odysseus references just this situation in the narrative he tells to the Phaeacians:

ἡμεῖς τοι Τροίηθεν ἀποπλαγχθέντες Ἀχαιοὶ  
παντοίοις ἀνέμοισιν ὑπὲρ μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης,  
οἴκαδε ἰέμενοι, ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἄλλα κέλευθα  
ἦλθομεν: οὕτω που Ζεὺς ἤθελε μητίσασθαι.

We, thou must know, are from Troy, Achaeans, driven  
wandering by all manner of winds over the great gulf of the  
sea. Seeking our home, we have come by another way, by  
other paths; so, I ween, Zeus was pleased to devise.

*Odyssey ix 259–262*

As briefly noted above, Kirk (1965) drew a similar, though more limited, parallel between the *Odyssey*, the Interface and Near East, and the Sea Peoples – specifically, Merneptah’s *Ekwesh* – suggesting that the latter “are Achaeans of some kind, probably not from the mainland but from Rhodes, Cyprus, or the

Levant – one reason being that the *Odyssey* contains a probably reminiscence of one such raid on Egypt” (pp. 55–56). The parallel is true not only for Odysseus, of course; the wanderings of other heroes in the aftermath of the collapse of Troy – and amidst the collapse of Late Bronze Age civilization – are also remarkably similar:

ἦ γὰρ πολλὰ παθὼν καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθεῖς  
ἠγαγόμεν ἐν νηυσὶ καὶ ὀγδοάτῳ ἔτει ἦλθον,  
Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπαληθεῖς,  
Αἰθίοπας θ' ἰκόμην καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἐρεμβοὺς  
καὶ Λιβύην, ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσι.

For of a truth after many woes and wide wanderings I brought my wealth home in my ships and came in the eighth year. Over Cyprus and Phoenicia I wandered, and Egypt, and I came to the Ethiopians and the Sidonians and the Erembi, and to Libya, where the lambs are horned from their birth.

*Odyssey* iv 81–85

Catling (1995; 1996, pp. 645–649) sought to identify wealthy Subminoan (ca. 1050 BC) burials at Knossos with the wandering heroes described in Homer’s *Odyssey*. The tombs in question, numbers 186 and 200–202, were found relatively undisturbed, with cremation burials and grave goods largely intact, in a cemetery that was in use into the early Christian period (though tombs 201 and 202 were numbered separately by the excavator, each consisted of a separate “cave” dug into a single pit; Catling, 1995, pp. 123–124). Two tombs in particular – T186 and T201 – follow in the “warrior burial” tradition, containing a significant number of bronze and iron weapons, including spears and arrowheads and perhaps fragments of boar’s-tusk headwear (Catling, 1995, pp. 124–125). The presence of these burials, and the continuity of settlement at Knossos (as at other large sites, like Chania and Kastelli Pediada), stands in sharp

contrast to the aforementioned refuge settlements that marked much of Late Minoan IIIC civilization. Because of this, Catling (1995, p. 128) has suggested Homer's "heroes returned" as a cause of both the wealthy burials at Knossos and the refuges high above (cf. Warren, 1982, p. 83; Nowicki, 2000, p. 223–241). Analogues to these tombs can be found in the "hero" burial in Lefkandi on Euboea (Popham, et al., 1982), in a LC IIIB cremation burial at Kaloriziki in Kourion on Cyprus (Tomb 40; McFadden & Sjöqvist, 1954), and in a slightly later inhumation grave at Tiryns (Verdelis, 1963, pp. 10–24). Along with being located at major sites, each of these is among the earliest grave at a new cemetery, and several have multiple additional features in common, including weapons and defensive armor (Catling, 1995, p. 127). Of particular interest is the co-interment of women with the "warrior" males in each of these tombs save T186 at Knossos, a practice which may be reflected in the sacrifice of Polyxena at the tomb of Achilles (*Ilioupersis* 21) and in the taking of women as booty in the *Iliad* (Catling, 1995, p. 127).<sup>23</sup> However, while we have evidence for captive women in the LH III Aegean, there is no clear evidence to assign to these women the status of either chattel slave or burial sacrifice. In fact, the grave goods with which they were interred seem to suggest the opposite: as Catling himself notes (1995), "the woman represented by the ashes of Tomb 200 was equipped more richly than any contemporary Subminoan or Submycenaean burial known to me" (p. 125).

Rather than being the graves of "returning heroes," T186 and 200–202 at Knossos and their analogues on the Greek mainland (and perhaps Cyprus) may signal internal developments in post-palatial society. As noted previously, the 12<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries in the Aegean saw the devolution of power and prestige from the centers into the peripheries – or, as Palaima (1995b, p. 128) has

suggested, a reversion from the Minoan-inspired palatial system led by the still-mysterious *wanax* (*wa-na-ka* = ἄναξ)<sup>24</sup> to a more traditional, loosely-knit, and localized mainland Helladic system wherein the local leader (*qa-si-re-u* = βασιλεύς) held power (cf. Finley, 1957, p. 142; Gschnitzer, 1965; Crielaard, 2007). This period would be recalled much later by Thucydides as a time of insecurity and shifting power structure, when “the richest soils were always most subject to...change of masters” (1.2–8), and the “goodness of the land favored the aggrandizement of certain individuals” (1.3–4). With the topmost stratum of Late Bronze Age society no longer present, power and property were left to be seized by those who could take and hold them. In anthropological terms, the states of the Aegean were broken up once again into a number of chiefdoms, with local leaders acquiring more power and responsibility.

Such development would have been marked by the ascent of charismatic leaders – in this case, Submycenaean and Dark Age “big men” whose physical strength, guile, and force of will allowed them to achieve and maintain power, and to hold a population of some size together in general order (Donlan, 1985; Halverson, 1986; cf. Carlier, 2007). As noted above, Catling (1995; 1996, p. 648) has called these individuals “*grandees*,” and suggested that they were heroes in the mold of Odysseus, wandering the Eastern Mediterranean in search of a *nostos* from the wars of the final Late Bronze Age. It may also be, though, that the individuals that Tombs 186 and 200–202 at Knossos, along with their analogs at Lefkandi, Tiryns, and on Cyprus (Crielaard, 1998), represent what Muhly (2003) has referred to as “warrior princes” – our charismatic leaders – in whose hands rested the transference of power and whatever order there was to be found in the

post-palatial period, all of whom – like the suitors in Odysseus palace at Ithaca – were “out to seize what they could for themselves” (p. 31). However, the appearance in Mycenaean iconography at this time of the new type of warrior discussed above – which begins a trend in pictorial representation, specifically with regard to headwear, that lasts into the Geometric period – should at very least preclude assumptions about the identity of those buried in these tombs.



## Chapter IV

### Mariners and their Ships: Vessel Types, Capacity, and Rigging

έννέα νῆας στεῖλα, θοῶς δ' ἔσαγείρατο λαός.

Nine ships I fitted out, and the host gathered speedily.

*Odyssey* xiv 248

When evaluating the makeup of Odysseys' fleet against the magnitude of his undertaking, it is important to consider both the *type* and the *potential capacity* of the hero's ships. This is particularly true in light of new maritime technology that appears to have been introduced in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean at this time.

#### The Helladic Oared Galley and the Brailed Sail

Traditional ship design in the Mediterranean had previously been typified by Minoan and Egyptian sailing vessels, including the craft depicted on the miniature wall painting on the south wall in Room 5 of the West House at Akrotiri (Doumas, 1992, p. 68). The construction and use of these vessels carried over into the Mycenaean period, with iconography providing evidence for its adoption by polities on the Greek mainland. This can be seen in particular in a LH IIB–IIIA1 fresco from Iklaina (Cosmopoulos, 2010, pp. 3–4) and LH IIIA2–IIIB painted ship representations from Hall 64 of the southwestern building in the palace complex at Pylos (Shaw, 1980, pp. 177–178; 2001). Alongside this, though, the LH IIIA:2–IIIB period saw the development and introduction of an altogether

new type of vessel: the Helladic oared galley. A long, narrow, light craft propelled primarily by rowers and designed specifically for speed, the galley was a vessel well suited for martial purposes, including raiding, piracy, and naval warfare (Wedde, 1999, p. 470; Tartaron, 2013, pp. 63–64). The galley “is faster, it turns quicker due to the better steering–gear, it is less dependent on favorable winds, and it can be drawn out of the water with greater ease” than its Minoan predecessors (Wedde, 2005, pp. 31–32). As a result of this, its invention has been called “the single most significant advance in the weaponry of the Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean” (Wedde, 1999, p. 465).

The first depictions of this vessel type appear late in the LH IIIB (Wedde, 1999, pp. 466–467; Tartaron, 2013, p. 68). Wedde (1999) has placed the galley’s development as early as the LH IIIA (14<sup>th</sup> c. BC), though he admittedly bases this on an “assum[ption] that the pictorial evidence post–dates the actual invention by some time” (p. 468), wherein the value of “some time” is arbitrary. This chronology for the beginning of galley development may be high based on present evidence (particularly iconography, which only begins to appear in the LH IIIB and is most common in LH IIIC; cf. Tartaron, 2013, pp. 61–62, 71; Wachsmann, 2013, p. 28). However, Wedde (1999) is correct in viewing the Mycenaean galley as representing a true “break with the preceding development” (p. 465) of sailing vessels, which were descendants themselves of Cycladic longboats via the earliest known Minoan vessels. Unlike these earlier ships, the galley was a vessel built around its human “motor” – a crew of oarsmen – and its development was marked by “the struggle to place as many rowers as possible into as small a hull as practical” (Wedde, 1999, p. 465). This is the opposite principle of that governing merchantmen, on which rowers occupy

space at the expense of cargo (Georgiou, 1991, p. 62). This does not, of course, mean that Minoan vessels were not rowed (*contra* Georgiou, 1991, p. 62); however, the primary form of propulsion on these “oared sailing ships” was not oars, but downwind sails (Wedde, 2005, p. 30).

Sometime around the LH IIIB–IIIC transition, the Helladic oared galley type began to be outfitted with the brailed rig and loose-footed sail, according to iconographic evidence from Egypt and the Aegean. As will be shown below, this combination, which would become a mainstay of eastern Mediterranean sailing vessels for the next two millennia (Roberts, 1991, p. 59), was most likely developed in the area of the Syro–Palestinian littoral and diffused from there to the south and west via the aforementioned “raiders and traders” of the Late Bronze Age (cf. Artzy, 1997; 2003, p. 245; Höckmann, 2001, p. 228; Georgiou, 2012, p. 527). The brailed rig consisted of lines attached to the bottom of a sail and run vertically through rings called “brails” (also called “fairleads,” possibly Homeric *κόλοι*; cf. *Odyssey* v 260), which were sewn into the front of the sail. From there, they were run vertically over the yard and aft to the stern, where they were controlled by the steersman. Using this system, sails could be easily raised, lowered, and otherwise manipulated in a manner similar to a set of Venetian blinds (cf. Roberts, 1991, pls. XVIIa, XIX–XX; Wachsmann, 1998, p. 251; Mark, 2000, p. 130 fig. 5.8; on brailed sails in *Odyssey*, e.g., Monro, 1886, p. 547; Seymour, 1914, p. 314 n. 1; Kamarinou, 2002, p. 451; see also below).

If the development of the Helladic oared galley was “a strategic inflection point in ship architecture” (Wedde, 1999, p. 465), the adoption of the loose-footed, brailed squaresail was no less than a technological revolution in

Mediterranean seafaring. Until this time, sailing craft had relied on large square sails held fast by upper and lower yards, referred to as “boom-footed squaresails” (the yards that secured the square sail at top and bottom are referred to as a “yard” and a “boom,” respectively). At least 33 representations of vessels with boom-footed squaresails are known from the Bronze Age Aegean, including the famous sailing vessel in the Akrotiri Miniature Fresco (Wedde, 2000, pp. 80–85, nos. 616–617). While clearly an advantage over oared propulsion alone, vessels outfitted with the boom-footed squaresail were largely limited to downwind travel (Sølver, 1936, p. 460; Casson, 1971, pp. 273–274; Wachsmann, 1998, p. 330).

Georgiou (1991, pp. 67–68) has argued for the existence of an “all-around” brailing system utilized by boom-footed vessels to manipulate the sail for better maneuverability and windward performance. In such a system, brailing lines would be looped around both yard and boom before being passed aft to the stern of the vessel, theoretically allowing the sail to be shaped for better maneuverability by adjusting the angle of the yard and boom relative to each other (an adjustment from their standard positioning, which was parallel to each other and perpendicular to the mast), rather than by simply shaping the windward edge of the sail itself, as with a loose-footed sail. However, while this type of adjustment may have been made on Bronze Age vessels, such a system would, for the most part, likely have been too unwieldy to have been worth the minor benefits, particularly on large merchantmen. Further, no secure evidence from the Mediterranean world currently exists to support the use of brails with a boom-footed sail in the “all-around” manner suggested by Georgiou. In fact, the lines she refers to as “brails” are not brails at all, but lifts run through multiple

deadeyes atop the mast to support the upper and lower yard. This may be best depicted in the “web of lifts” seen on the Punt vessels in the Egyptian Queen Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri (Säve-Söderbergh, 1946, p. 14 fig. 1).<sup>25</sup>

The only depictions that have been somewhat plausibly argued to be representations of brails on boom-footed vessels feature sails affixed only to the upper yard (supposedly “brailed up”), rather than around both yard and boom. An Abydos boat from the late 18th dynasty tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50; Fig. 37), an Egyptian official during the reign of the final pre-Ramesside pharaoh, Horemheb (1319–1292 BC), shows a sail which may be interpreted as being brailed to an upward-curving yard. However, the boom is still present, no brailing lines are explicitly shown, and the ship appears elsewhere in the same relief with the sail secured to both upper and lower yards. Turin Papyri 2032 and 2033, which date to the early Ramesside period, likewise show riverine vessels whose sails appear similarly brailed-up to upward-curving upper yards, but which still carry booms (Museo Egizio di Torino, 1987, p. 195, fig. 270; for a color illustration, see Vinson, 1994, cover).

In part because of the boom-footed squaresail’s limitations, merchantmen in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean traveled in a counterclockwise circuit (Vercoutter, 1954, pp. 17, 24–25, 173–174; Bass, 1987, pp. 697–698; Cline, 1994, p. 254), with ships sailing from the Aegean likely departing the key port site of Kommos on the southern coast of Crete (Shaw, 1981, p. 219; 1984, pp. 257–258; Watrous, 1992, p. 176; Cline, 1994, p. 290; Tomlinson, Rutter & Hoffman, 2010, p. 194; Day, et al., 2011) and sailing south to Marsa Matruh (Cline, 1994, p. 131; Lambrou-Phillipson, 1991, p. 11; Watrous, 1992, pp. 176–177; White, 1986;

2002, p. 24) or the Ramesside fortress site of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (Snape, 2000, p. 18; Thomas, 2003, p. 528) on the Marmarican coast before proceeding eastward to Egypt (Vercoutter, 1956, pp. 419–422; Bass, 1987, pp. 697–699; Pulak, 1988, pp. 36–37; Lambrou–Phillipson, 1991, p. 14). Ships departing Egypt, or seeking to travel in a westerly direction more generally, would likely have sailed up the Canaanite littoral, perhaps putting in at Cyprus or Ugarit before traveling west along the Anatolian coast and entering the Aegean that way, as demonstrated by the late 14<sup>th</sup> c. Uluburun shipwreck (Pulak, 1987; 1988; 1998; Watrous, 1992, pp. 175–176; Bass, 1998, pp. 184, 190).

The manipulation of the sail made possible by the addition of brails and removal of the lower yard (boom), on the other hand, allowed for much greater maneuverability, as well as the ability to sail much closer to the wind (Roberts, 1991, pp. 57–59; 1995, p. 314; Wedde, 2000, p. 90). Another advantage of the loose-footed sail, noted by Monroe (1990), can be seen in the Medinet Habu naval relief: “warriors would not be obstructed by [the lower yard] as they moved about the decks, throwing spears, shooting arrows, etc.” (p. 87). Thus, once outfitted with the brailed rig and loose-footed sail, the Helladic oared galley became an ideal vessel for rapid travel and lightning-fast raids on coastal settlements. As Roberts (1991) characterized it:

In the beginning the brailable square sail allowed hull forms quite unsuited to propulsion by sail of the Thera-type [the traditional boom-footed squaresail] the opportunity to extend their cruising range due to the lightness of gear and ease of control. Skills learnt in handling the rig coupled with improvements in gear and fittings enabled effective courses to be sailed in a wide range of directions other than before the wind. The ability to conserve the strength of the rowing crew [and the ability to sail in most directions economically with small crews, given a slant of wind] opened greater horizons to military adventurers (p. 59).

The belief that ancient sailors could (or would) *only* travel in sight of land has long been promulgated, but is demonstrably incorrect (McGrail, 1996; Davis, 2002). For example, amidst the prevalent counterclockwise trade routes plied by boom-footed merchantmen, there existed a blue water route, aided by the Etesian winds, that could be taken by vessels seeking a direct (albeit riskier) path from the southern coast of Crete to Egypt. As can be seen from the reference to running before the wind, Odysseus' δολιχὴν ὁδὸν 'far voyage' (*Odyssey* xvii 426) to the Nile Delta is likely an example of this route in action:

ἑβδομάτη δ' ἀναβάντες ἀπὸ Κρήτης εὐρείης  
 ἐπλέομεν Βορρὴν ἀνέμῳ ἀκραεῖ καλῷ  
 ῥηϊδίως, ὡς εἶ τε κατὰ ῥόον: οὐδέ τις οὖν μοι  
 νηῶν πημάνθη, ἀλλ' ἀσκηθέες καὶ ἄνουσοι  
 ἤμεθα, τὰς δ' ἀνεμὸς τε κυβερνήται τ' ἴθυνον.  
 πεμπταῖοι δ' Αἴγυπτον ἐϋρρεῖτην ἰκόμεσθα,  
 στήσα δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμῷ νέας ἀμφιελίσσας.

On the seventh [day] we embarked and set sail from broad Crete, with the North Wind blowing fresh and fair, and ran on easily as if down stream. No harm came to any of my ships, but free from scathe and from disease we sat, and the wind and the helmsman guided the ships. On the fifth day we came to fair-flowing Aegyptus, and in the river Aegyptus I moored my curved ships.

*Odyssey* xiv 252–258

This four-day sailing period from Crete (likely Kommos) to Egypt is identical to that reported by Strabo (10.4.5) a millennium later, which suggests both that this route and its duration were common long before the Classical period (Mark, 2000, pp. 148–149). In fact, sailors may have sailed it with some frequency from the 15<sup>th</sup> c. BC, though the aforementioned circuitous return trip would still have been required (Lambrou–Phillipson, 1991; Wachsmann, 1998, pp. 298–300). On the surface, such a reference to a downwind trip as that made

by Odysseus might seem to offer no specific information about the type of vessel the hero employed in this expedition; in fact, given that the blue water route from Crete to Egypt likely predates the advent of the brailed rig and oared galley, this passage might even be read as suggesting the use of vessels equipped with the traditional boom-footed squaresail. However, a potentially important clue is embedded in the phrase ἀσκηθέες καὶ ἄνουσοι ἡμεθα, τὰς δ' ἄνεμός τε κυβερνῆται τ' ἴθυνον (*Odyssey* xiv 255–256): the fact that Odysseus finds it worthwhile to specifically mention that the wind and helmsman “guided the ships,” while he and his men “sat...free of scathe,” suggests that this stroke of good fortune (ἐσθλὸν ἐταῖρον ‘goodly comrade’; *Odyssey* xii 149) allowed for a crew *that would otherwise have been rowing* to instead rest in preparation for their assault on the Delta (cf. *Iliad* VII 4–6). Support for this reading can be seen in Odysseus’ other use of the phrase “ἡμεθα: τὴν δ' ἄνεμός τε κυβερνήτης τ' ἴθυνε” (*Odyssey* xii 152), the context of which makes clear that the vessel would have been propelled primarily by oar had Circe’s “fair wind that filled the sail” not provided a fortuitous reprieve for the hero’s crew:

ἐξῆς δ' ἐζόμενοι πολιὴν ἄλα τύπτον ἐρετμοῖς.  
 ἡμῖν δ' αὖ κατόπισθε νεὸς κυανοπρώροιο  
 ἴκμενον οὔρον ἴει πλησίστιον, ἐσθλὸν ἐταῖρον,  
 Κίρκη ἐνπλόκαμος, δεινὴ θεὸς αὐδήεσσα.  
 αὐτίκα δ' ὄπλα ἕκαστα πονησάμενοι κατὰ νῆα  
 ἡμεθα: τὴν δ' ἄνεμός τε κυβερνήτης τ' ἴθυνε.

So they went on board straightway and sat down upon the benches, and sitting well in order smote the grey sea with their oars. And for our aid in the wake of our dark-prowed ship a fair wind that filled the sail, a goodly comrade, was sent by fair-tressed Circe, dread goddess of human speech. So when we had straightway made fast all the tackling throughout the ship we sat down, but the wind and the helmsman guided the ship.



It light of this evidence, it can be posited that the “fleet” employed on Odysseus’ Egyptian expedition was made up of the aforementioned oared galleys, and the chronology of events into which this seems to best fit suggests that those galleys were likely equipped with the loose-footed, brailed squaresail.

#### Maritime Innovation in Action: Medinet Habu

Brailed sails are first shown on galleys in the naval battle depiction from Medinet Habu, carved no later than Ramesses III’s twelfth regnal year, ca. 1171 BC (Fig. 2). This relief serves as a monumental “coming out party” for several other new features of maritime technology, as well, including the top-mounted crow’s nest and partial decking, from which warriors could engage enemy vessels with spears, slings, and grapnels. Remarkably, these attributes – including sail and rigging – are presented identically on both the Sea Peoples’ and the Egyptian vessels.

In the Medinet Habu depiction, rowers are only shown aboard the Egyptian ships. However, this does not mean (as has previously been posited) that sail was the Sea Peoples ships’ sole means of propulsion; in fact, this was almost certainly not the case. Wachsmann (1981) convincingly demonstrated thirty years ago that the Sea Peoples ships pictured at Medinet Habu were patterned closely after Helladic oared galley prototypes (see, since then, Wachsmann, 1982; 1998, pp. 164–172; 2000, pp. 116–122; 2013, pp. 33–84; *contra*, e.g., O’Connor, 2000, p. 85).<sup>26</sup> The best analogue for the Medinet Habu ships seems to be “Kynos A,” the nearly complete vessel at right on the

aforementioned LH IIIc Middle krater from Pyrgos Livanaton (Figs. 22 and 38). As might be expected given their different authors and media, though, differences between the two can be noted. For example, while the single quarter rudder depicted on Kynos A, characteristic of Mycenaean ships (Wachsmann, 1998, p. 157), is paralleled on Sea Peoples ships N2 and N4, ships N1 and N5 have two quarter rudders (steering oars). On the former, both are on the starboard quarter, while the latter has a rudder on either quarter. No quarter rudder is depicted on ship N3. Wachsmann (1998) notes that there may be multiple reasons for this inconsistency:

Presumably, the normal complement was two steering oars, and those missing are attributable to loss during battle. In this matter they differ from contemporaneous representations of craft from the Aegean but seem to herald the use of the double steering oars that were to become common equipment on Geometric craft. Alternately, the Sea Peoples may have adopted the use of a pair of quarter rudders after encountering and capturing Syro-Canaanite and Egyptian seagoing ships that normally used two steering oars, one placed on either quarter (p. 175).

Additionally, aside from the yard and sail so clearly shown at Medinet Habu but altogether missing from the Kynos vessels, the most notable difference between Kynos A and the Sea Peoples ships may be the lack of a crow's nest atop the former's mast. Though it should be kept in mind that the absence of a feature in iconography does not necessitate its physical or historical absence, the crow's nest is neither a feature of Helladic ships, nor of Egyptian vessels in the pre-Medinet Habu period. For example, as Wachsmann (1998) notes, "Kamose (the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty), during his struggle to expel the Hyksos, was forced to place his lookouts on the cabins of his ships because they were not equipped with crow's nests" (p. 253). The first crow's nests to appear in Late

Bronze Age representations of seagoing ships come from depictions of Syro–Palestinian vessels in two Egyptian tombs, the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty tomb of Kenamun (TT 162; Fig. 39) and the 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty tomb of Iniwia (Fig. 40). However, unlike the Medinet Habu vessels, the crow’s nests depicted on these ships are side–mounted, being hung from the masthead or affixed to forward face of the mast (Vinson, 1993, pp. 137–138). A ship from the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty tomb of Nebamun (TT 17; Fig. 41) features an implement atop its mast that Davies and Faulkner (1947, p. 43) identified as a top–mounted crow’s nest, but based on comparative iconography, this seems more likely to be a mast cap (Wachsmann, 1981, p. 214; 1998, pp. 45–47, 253).

Because Egyptian depictions of Syro–Palestinian vessels are the only source of representations prior to the 12<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., it has been suggested that the crow’s nest originated from this area (Davies & Faulkner, 1947, p. 43; Wachsmann, 1981, p. 214; 1998 pp. 51, 56). Given their regular contact with the Syro–Palestinian littoral, as well as the clear value of a lookout on a raised platform for raiding and paramilitary functions, it is perhaps unsurprising that the Sea Peoples may have adopted the crow’s nest from Levantine seafarers just as they seem to have adopted the brailed rig from this area (Raban, 1989, p. 170; Wachsmann, 1998, p. 252; 2013, p. 262 n. 135; *contra* Wedde, 2000, p. 89; Haider, 2012, p. 152).

If correctly dated to the late 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> dynasties (the first quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. BC), a critically important but rarely–cited portion of a relief from Saqqara (Fig. 42) may provide support for the Levantine origin of the crow’s nest, loose–footed sail, and brailed rig, while providing a crucial missing link between Syro–Canaanite ship construction and the technology utilized by both

sides of the naval battle. The mast, furled sails, downward-curving yard, and top-mounted crow's nest of the seagoing ship depicted in this relief are identical to those from Medinet Habu. Part of the yard, furled sail, and double backstay of a second, identically-rigged vessel is partially visible on the left edge of the relief. Unfortunately, the mast and rigging are all that is shown of these ships; no hints are provided as to the hull design and shape.

Capart (1931, p. 62), followed six decades later by Vinson (1993, pp. 136 n. 12, 138–139), assigned this artifact to the late 18th dynasty. Schulman (1968, p. 33) assigned it specifically to the reign of Horemheb (1319–1292 BC), with whose rule the 18th dynasty culminated, while Millet (1987), the only other scholar to cite this relief, is a chronological outlier with a proposed date of 1350 BC. A date range between the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> dynasties is supported by the ceramics visible in the sculpted scene. Of particular note are the Canaanite amphorae being carried in the foreground, which are consistent with Killebrew's Family 11 Form 22, which was in use from the 14<sup>th</sup> into the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (late 18<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> dynasties in Egypt) (Killebrew, 2007, pp. 167–173, figs. 1.3, 4.6; cf. Amiran, 1970, pls. 43:5, 9; Ben-Arieh & Edelstein, 1977, pl. XII:2; Pulak, 1987, pp. 39, 41).

Such a date would place the appearance of this vessel at the same general time as the first recorded appearance of the Sherden on Egypt's coast. While Capart (1931, p. 62) noted the similarity between the top-mounted crow's nest on this piece and the Medinet Habu ships, only Millet (1987) and Vinson (1993, pp. 138–139; 1994, p. 42), both writing over thirty years ago, have to my knowledge noted these similarities in yard and rigging, and thus fully understood the potential true significance of this relief.

Unlike the brailed rig, the downward-curving yard – likely the result of a light yard responding to downward pressure from the furled sails (Roberts, 1991, p. 55) – is primarily seen in depictions of Syro-Canaanite seagoing vessels in the Late Bronze Age,<sup>27</sup> such as the aforementioned ship from the tomb of Nebamun (Fig. 41) and a 13<sup>th</sup> c. scaraboid from Ugarit (Wachsmann, 1981, p. 214, fig. 28), and it disappears from Egyptian iconography following its appearance at Medinet Habu. Along with the yard, brailed sail, and crow’s nest, the Syro-Canaanite origin of this vessel is strongly suggested by the relief’s depiction of the aforementioned Canaanite amphorae being unloaded at an Egyptian port (Vinson, 1993; 1994, p. 42), and as noted above its date, while perhaps roughly a century earlier than Medinet Habu, is consistent with late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty references to Sea Peoples in the eastern Mediterranean, including Ramesses II’s early 13<sup>th</sup> century defeat of “rebellious-hearted Sherden” off the Egyptian coast.

A Syro-Palestinian provenience of the top-mounted crow’s nest and downward-curving yard helps explain both their *absence* on galleys depicted in their native Aegean milieu and their *presence* on Sea Peoples’ vessels of Helladic oared galley type that are shown in the area of the Levant and Egypt, while the development of the brailed rig in the area of the Canaanite littoral could also explain its nearly simultaneous appearance at a slightly later date, in the early-to-mid 12<sup>th</sup> c. BC, on Egyptian and Aegean ships (*contra* Wedde, 2000, p. 89; Haider, 2012, p. 152). The brailed sail’s spread, in turn, can be credited without much difficulty to those aforementioned people who are referred to by Artzy as the “nomads of the sea” (Artzy, 1997; 1998; 2013) and by Georgiou as “pirates, raiders, and traders” (Georgiou, 1991, p. 69; 2012, p. 527), whose travels took

them around the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, and whose livelihoods depended on effective maritime technology.

Returning to Kynos A and the Sea Peoples vessels at Medinet Habu: relevant differences having been noted, it is clear that Kynos A, if not identical to the Sea Peoples ships, is an extremely close relative. Due to the style of the warriors and rowers depicted on them, it can be cautiously suggested that the vessels on the Bademgediği krater are of this type, as well, despite the lack of a visible mast or rigging. As can be seen in Figure 43, mounting the yard and furling the sail on Kynos A in the manner shown at Medinet Habu, and adding the missing oars to the Sea Peoples vessels, produces two nearly identical ships. The above-noted Aegean association of at least some Sea Peoples, along with the importance of maritime technology to their lives and livelihoods, provides a logical basis for their use of the Helladic oared galley, while the well-documented travels of these groups throughout the Eastern Mediterranean may explain their exposure to and adoption of the top-mounted crow's nest and brailed rig (only the latter of which appears on Aegean and Interface ships at this time). Further, while exceedingly few nautical references have been found in Philistine material culture, the connection between Sea Peoples and the brailed rig is further attested ceramic evidence from Ekron (modern Tel Mique). Sherds of a 12<sup>th</sup> c. Philistine Monochrome krater feature the characteristic semi-circles of a furled brailed sail, along with the horizontal line of the yard and three vertical lines, which likely represent a mast and halyards or brails (Fig. 44). Additionally, one of the 13<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> c. boats incised on the cliffs above the Me'arot river in northern Israel appears to display a brailed, loose-footed sail on downward curving yard, along with what may be a forward-looking bird-head finial on the

stem (Artzy, 2003, p. 241 fig. 13; 2013, p. 338 fig. 4:5). Further, Stager and Mountjoy (2007) have suggested that a cryptic circular representation on a krater fragment from Ashkelon may represent the mast top and deadeyes of a brailed sail.<sup>28</sup>

How exactly did Egypt come to acquire and adopt these innovative components of maritime technology, which appear on their ships at the same time as those of the Sea Peoples? A simple explanation may be that they were acquired through direct contact with those same “pirates, raiders, and traders” – groups like the Sherden and men like Odysseus – during the century prior to Ramesses III’s famous battle (cf. Artzy, 1988; Raban & Stieglitz, 1991). The first direct mention of seaborne threats against Egypt during the Ramesside period can be found in the aforementioned Aswan and Tanis II stelae of Ramesses II, which refer to sea raiders and Sherden, respectively (cf. EA 38 and the inscription of Amenhotep son of Hapu for oblique earlier references).<sup>29</sup> If the early 13<sup>th</sup> century date is correct for several Ugaritic texts thought to refer to Sherden individuals in that coastal Syrian *emporion* (Liverani, 1977, pp. 212–216; Loretz, 1995; Adams & Cohen, 2013, p. 651), and if the *trtn(m)* and *srdnn(m)* found at Ugarit are in fact to be identified with the Ramesside *Šrdn* (Liverani, 1969, pp. 194–195; Dietrich & Loretz, 1972, pp. 39–42; Heltzer, 1979, pp. 9–16; 1994, pp. 318–321), then Tanis II in particular seems to support the contemporaneous movement and/or dispersion of these people along the eastern Mediterranean coast early in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, albeit with widely differing levels of integration. In fact, some Sherden living at Ugarit appear to have been significantly integrated into society, including maintaining multigenerational residency on intergenerationally–tenured landholdings (cf. RS 15.167+163). Some Sherden

living in Egypt appear to have achieved a similar level of integration a century and a half later, as shown by the monumental Wilbour Papyrus and dedicatory stele of Padjesef the Sherden (see below, Ch. 5).

As noted above, trade *emporia* dotted the region in this period, with shipping lanes and anchorages alike doubtless serving as tempting targets for skilled privateers and opportunities for similarly skilled swords-for-hire to defend those potential targets (Pulak, 1998, p. 219; Wachsmann, 1998, p. 320; Hafford, 2001, pp. 70 n. 27, 199–202; cf. Schofield & Parkinson, 1994, p. 169; Parkinson & Schofield, 1995). Thus, we should not be surprised to find warship-sailing “Sherden of the Sea” at various locations around the eastern Mediterranean – particularly if their maritime exploits were by this time based in some part on piracy, as Ramesses II’s inscriptions (along with those of Merneptah and Ramesses III) have traditionally been read as reporting, or on mercenary activities, as modern scholars have generally inferred. Further, if the encounter with the Sherden recorded in Tanis II took place while they were engaged in such marauding, then it stands to reason that they may have employed ships and/or sailing tactics that were similar in construction and nature to other sea raiders operating in the eastern Mediterranean at this time. Certainly the characterization of the Sherden as those “whom none could ever fight against” suggests that they, like their fellow-travelers the Lukka (cf. EA 38, the Great Karnak Inscription, and the Athribis stele, quoted above), had been engaging in such activities for some time by this point.

A New Term for New Technology?



A noteworthy element of the Tanis II inscription is the fact, first observed by Yoyotte (1949) and subsequently followed by Kitchen (1999), that the encounter it describes was unique enough that it apparently forced the Egyptians to invent a new term for “warship” in order to commemorate it. The result was the somewhat clumsy *ahaw ah3 m-hry-ib p3 ym* ‘ships of fighting in the heart of the sea’, which Yoyotte (1949) glossed as “ships-of-warriors-on-the-sea” (p. 67) and Kitchen (1999) rendered as “ships of fighting” (p. 174). As seagoing ships had been used for some time in the Egyptian military (for example, the *imw n t3 aht* of Seti I and Thutmose III, which have been glossed ‘warship’ or ‘battleship’ in modern scholarship; Spiegelberg, 1896, p. 82.5; Sethe, 1909, p. 998.1; Jones, 1988, pp. 130.5, 131.13; cf. also Faulkner, 1941, p. 18), the need to fabricate a new term suggests a certain lack of prior experience either with the *type* of vessel sailed by the Sherden, with the *capabilities* of those vessels, or with both. Thus, the term employed on Tanis II may have been intended to describe Sherden vessels as maritime fighting platforms (as the literal translation of the Tanis term may suggest), or it may have been a reference to a method of coastal marauding that made use of specialized ships or sailing techniques to conduct lightning-fast raids and then disappear back into the sea and over the horizon before military forces could be mobilized against them.

This absence of such fighting platforms from Egyptian maritime culture suggests, in turn, that the pharaoh’s defeat of the Sherden may have taken place either on land or in the “river-mouths” of the Nile Delta, which had been defended at least since the time of Amenhotep III (see above), and where the Egyptian army would have been better able to ensnare an enemy whose success was dependent on a combination of speed, stealth, and, above all, the avoidance

of contact with professional soldiers (Ormerod, 1924, p. 31; Wachsmann, 1998, p. 320; see also above). It was here, of course, that Ramesses III would later famously claim to have defended the coast against another, much larger onslaught of Sea Peoples.

The introduction of a new vessel type, perhaps by Sherden raiders (see below), may also be supported by a comparative analysis of the determinatives used in the Tanis II inscription and in Ramesses III's Inscription of Year 8 at Medinet Habu. The determinative utilized with *ahaw* in Tanis II is a typical Late Bronze Age Syro-Palestinian ship (Fig. 45g), similar in form to the trading vessels depicted in the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty Tomb of Kenamun (TT 162). At Medinet Habu, on the other hand, the determinatives are dramatically different. The Year 8 inscription mentions ships four times: the Sea Peoples' ships are referenced once, and three types of Egyptian vessels are said to have been "prepared like a strong wall...along the Nile mouth" against the assault (Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pl. 46 col. 20; Edgerton & Wilson, 1936, p. 54). Each reference to an Egyptian ship is accompanied by a distinct determinative, which seems related to that ship's function. As can be seen from Figures 45a and 45b, two vessel types – *b3r* and *mnš* – were primarily utilized for cargo or transport (Artzy, 1988, pp. 184–185). The third is the *aha* ship (*ahawt*), familiar from Tanis II (Yoyotte, 1949, p. 67; Artzy, 1988, p. 184); however, instead of being paired with a Syro-Palestinian cargo ship (as in Tanis II), the associated determinative is unmistakably a vessel of the same type as that manned by the Egyptians in the naval battle relief (Figs. 45c and 45e). Much like the Tanis II determinative's relationship to the vessels from TT 162, the Medinet Habu determinative for *aha* ships does not include the mast and rigging, but unlike the former, there are additional details besides the

essentials of the hull shape – in particular, the forecastle and steering oar which are such integral parts of the Egyptian vessels shown in the relief. The mention of the Sea Peoples' vessels also utilizes the term *ahawt*, with a determinative that is quite similar to that paired with the term in col. 20, but with a castle amidships (Fig. 44d; Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pl. 46 col. 24; Edgerton & Wilson, 1936, p. 54). It is perhaps noteworthy that the determinative appearing as part of the mention of the Sea Peoples' *ahawt* is much more similar in appearance to the Egyptian vessels than to those of the Sea Peoples in the naval battle relief (compare Figs. 45d and 45f). Additionally, in keeping with its slightly different presentation of the Sea Peoples narrative (and of his reign altogether), P. Harris I omits *ahawt* from the catalogue of vessel types built by Ramesses III, replacing it instead with *qrr*-ships:

...I made for thee [Amun of Karnak] *qrr*-ships, and *mnš*-ships, and *b3r*-ships, with bowmen equipped with their weapons on the Great Green Sea. I gave to them troop commanders and ship's captains, outfitted with many crews, without limit to them... (Wilson, 1974, p. 262).

#### Sherden as Drivers of Maritime Innovation?

The aforementioned change in Egyptian terminology (including the use of determinatives) following their 13<sup>th</sup> century encounter with the Sherden suggests that the ships of war depicted at Medinet Habu were developed after the defeat of this "rebellious-hearted" foe early in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Further, the striking similarity between the two fleets in the naval battle raises the possibility that Ramesses II's capture of Sherden warriors resulted not just in an increase in the ranks of Pharaonic conscripts, but in the transference of maritime technology as well. An example of such transference, during a military conflict that took place

a millennium later, can be seen in Rome's ingenious reverse-engineering of Carthaginian warship design in the First Punic War. As Polybius tells it in his well-known account of the genesis of the Roman navy:

ὅτε γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεχείρησαν διαβιβάζειν εἰς τὴν Μεσσήνην τὰς δυνάμεις, οὐχ οἷον κατάφρακτος αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρχεν ναῦς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθόλου μακρὸν πλοῖον οὐδὲ λέμβος οὐδ' εἷς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ Ταραντίνων καὶ Λοκρῶν ἔτι δ' Ἐλεατῶν καὶ Νεαπολιτῶν συγγρασάμενοι πεντηκοντόρους καὶ τριήρεις ἐπὶ τούτων παραβόλως διεκόμισαν τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἐν ᾧ δὴ καιρῷ τῶν Καρχηδονίων κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐπαναχθέντων αὐτοῖς, καὶ μιᾶς νεῶς καταφράκτου διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν προπεσούσης, ὥστ' ἐποκείλασαν γενέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑποχείριον, ταύτη παραδείγματι χρώμενοι τότε πρὸς ταύτην ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τοῦ παντὸς στόλου ναυπηγίαν, ὡς εἰ μὴ τοῦτο συνέβη γενέσθαι, δῆλον ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν εἰς τέλος ἂν ἐκωλύ

When they first took in hand to send troops across to Messene they not only had no decked vessels but no warships at all, not so much as a single galley: but they borrowed quinqueremes and triremes from Tarentum and Locri, and even from Elea and Neapolis; and having thus collected a fleet, boldly sent their men across upon it. It was on this occasion that, the Carthaginians having put to sea in the Strait to attack them, a decked vessel of theirs charged so furiously that it ran aground, and falling into the hands of the Romans served them as a model on which they constructed their whole fleet. And if this had not happened it is clear that they would have been completely hindered from carrying out their design by want of constructive knowledge.

Polyb. *Hist.* 1.20 (Shuckburgh, 1962)

The Egyptian ships depicted in the naval battle were neither Helladic galleys nor traditional Egyptian vessels (Fig. 46). Instead, they seem to have been developed by combining elements of the new Sea Peoples vessels and old, familiar riverine “traveling ships” into a hybrid form of warship. Though a lack of hogging trusses, seen on earlier Egyptian vessels, points to a sturdier hull than previous Egyptian boats and ships, the shape (absent the papyriform stern;

Landström, 1970, p. 108), “shell–first” construction, fore– and aftercastles, and lion’s head stem are consistent with the Egyptian shipbuilding tradition (Landström, 1970, pp. 98–115; Casson, 1971, p. 37; Jones, 1995, p. 59).

As the first Sea Peoples group to be specifically named as such in the Egyptian sources – and the first whose capture and impressment is documented (in “The Poem” and in P. Anastasi II) – it is worth considering that elements of the ships sailed by the Sherden at the time of their initial defeat by Ramesses II may have been used as prototypes for the hybrid Egyptian vessels that were sailed against the maritime component of the latter invasion. Precedent exists for Levantine influence on Egyptian ship design and construction; for example, a heavily Asiatic workforce at the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty shipyard at *prw–nfr* on the Nile is strongly suggested by the worship of Semitic deities Ba’al and Astarte (Baruffi, 1998, p. 97). Though the Saqqara relief suggests that Egyptians may have come into contact with this sail type and rigging system (as well as the top–mounted crow’s nest) via Syro–Palestinian traders in the late 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, it is possible that the full value of such a technological ‘package’ only truly became apparent when the Sherden and their *ahaw ah3 m–hry–ib p3 ym* were encountered – and defeated – early in Ramesses II’s reign. Of course, as Artzy, Georgiou, and Horden and Purcell (cited above), among others, have noted, the distinction need not be binary, as *both* the Sherden and those aboard the ship offloading Canaanite amphorae in the Saqqara relief may belong to the population elements variously referred to as “pirates, raiders, and traders” or as “nomads of the sea.” Further, they may be related (or even identical) groups; we simply lack the evidence, at present, to make such clear identifications and to draw such fine distinctions between the various individuals and groups operating in such

capacities at this time. However, appropriating this technology from these “rebellious-hearted” enemies in the first quarter of the 13th c. would have allowed for a “breaking in” period of roughly a century prior to the flawless integration of these components seen in the Egyptian ships whose naval triumph is memorialized at Medinet Habu.

#### *Pentekontors, Fleet Sizes, and the ‘Galley Subculture’*

Painted pottery provides evidence for the use of *pentekontors*, or galleys rowed by fifty men (twenty-five on each side), as early as transitional LH IIIB:2–IIIC Early in the Aegean (Barako, 2001, p. 134). A LH IIIC pyxis from Tholos Tomb 1 at Tragana (near Pylos) features a ship with twenty-four vertical stanchions, thereby separating the rowers’ gallery into twenty-five sections on each side of the vessel (Fig. 47). A LM IIIB larnax from Gazi on Crete features a large ship with what appears to be twenty-seven stanchions, which could signify a ship crewed by even more than fifty men (Fig. 48). However, as the “horizontal ladder” motif used to represent rowers’ galleries on Late Helladic ship depictions also seems to have served to address a certain *horror vacui* on the part of Mycenaean artists (cf. Wachsmann, 1998, figs. 7.7, 7.27, 7.30–31; Petrakis, 2004, pp. 4–5), it seems more likely that the Gazi painter intended to portray a *pentekontor* than a ship with fifty-four oarsmen (Wachsmann, 1998, p. 138).<sup>30</sup> As seen in Figures 22 (right) and 38, the vessel known as “Kynos A” features 19 oars and schematically-rendered rowers. The odd number of rowers, combined with the need to fit two antithetic vessels onto a single side of a krater, suggests that this vessel was also intended as a *pentekontor* that the artist was forced to abbreviate due to space constraints (Wachsmann, 1998, p. 132).

The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* contain multiple mentions of *pentekontors*, as do other tales that touch on subjects addressed in Homer's epics. In the *Iliad*, for example, Philoctetes is said to have led a fleet of seven *pentekontors*, and Achilles fifty (*Iliad* II 719–720, XVI 169–170; see Kirk (1949, pp. 140-141) and Kamarinou (2002) for arguments in support of Homeric ship descriptions as reflective of LH IIC iconographic representations). Additionally, while the *Iliad* makes mention of Herakles leading six ships in a sack of Troy in the time of Priam's father Laomedon (*Iliad* V 638–642), an alternate tradition instead assigned Herakles a fleet of eighteen *pentekontors*:

μετὰ δὲ τὴν λατρείαν ἀπαλλαγείς τῆς νόσου ἐπὶ Ἴλιον ἔπλει  
 πεντηκοντόροις ὀκτωκαίδεκα, συναθροίσας στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν  
 ἀρίστων ἑκουσίως θελόντων στρατεύεσθαι.

After his servitude, being rid of his disease [Herakles] mustered an army of noble volunteers and sailed for Ilium with eighteen ships of fifty oars each.

ps–Apollod. II 6.4 (Frazer, 1921)

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐστράτευσεν εἰς Ἴλιον, ἐγκαλῶν Λαιομέδοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ. οὗτος γὰρ Ἡρακλέους στρατεύοντος μετὰ Ἰάσονος ἐπὶ τὸ χρυσόμαλλον δέρος, καὶ τὸ κῆτος ἀνελόντος, ἀπεστέρησε τῶν ὁμολογημένων ἵππων, περὶ ὧν ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναύτοις τὰ κατὰ μέρος μικρὸν ὕστερον διέξιμεν.

καὶ τότε μὲν διὰ τὴν μετ' Ἰάσονος στρατείαν ἀσχοληθεῖς, ὕστερον δὲ λαβὼν καιρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἐστράτευσεν, ὡς μὲν τινὲς φασι, ναυσὶ μακραῖς ὀκτωκαίδεκα, ὡς δὲ Ὅμηρος γέγραφεν, ἕξ ταῖς ἀπάσαις...

After this Heracles, returning to Peloponnesus, made war against Ilium, since he had a ground of complaint against its

king, Laomedon. For when Heracles was on the expedition with Jason to get the golden fleece and had slain the sea-monster, Laomedon had withheld from him the mares which he had agreed to give him and of which we shall give a detailed account a little later in connection with the Argonauts.

At that time Heracles had not had the leisure, since he was engaged upon the expedition of Jason, but later he found an opportunity and made war upon Troy with eighteen ships of war, as some say, but, as Homer writes, with six in all...

Diod. Sic. IV 32.1–2 (Oldfather, 1935)

Homer's *Odyssey* attests to vessels crewed by fifty men, as well, with one being specifically attributed to the Phaeacians:

κούρω δὲ κρινθέντε δύω καὶ πενήκοντα  
βήτην, ὡς ἐκέλευσ', ἐπὶ θῖν' ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτιο.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἐπὶ νῆα κατήλυθον ἠδὲ θάλασσαν,  
νῆα μὲν οἷ γε μέλαιναν ἀλὸς βένθοσδε ἔρυσσαν,  
ἐν δ' ἰστόν τ' ἐτίθεντο καὶ ἰστία νηὶ μελαίνῃ,  
ἠρτύναντο δ' ἔρετμὰ τροποῖς ἐν δερματίνοισι,  
πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν, ἀνά θ' ἰστία λευκὰ πέτασσαν.

And chosen youths, two and fifty [most likely fifty rowers, a captain or coxswain, and a helmsman], went, as he bade, to the shore of the unresting sea. And when they had come down to the ship and to the sea, they drew the black ship down to the deep water, and placed the mast and sail in the black ship, and fitted the oars in the leathern thole-straps, all in due order, and spread the white sail.

*Odyssey* viii 48–54

Crews of roughly *pentekontor* size may also be attested in the aforementioned Rower Tablets from Pylos. Tablet An 610 records approximately 569 oarsmen, a number that Chadwick (1987, p. 77) reconstructed as 600, while An 1 lists thirty *e-re-ta pe-re-u-ro-na-de i-jo-te* 'rowers to go to Pleuron' (Chadwick, 1973, pp. 186–187, 431) who are being summoned to man what is likely a single ship, a 30-oar *triakontor*. Interestingly, this crew size may have a



parallel in a Ugaritic text (UT 83), which lists  $18 + x$  rowers from four locations to man a single vessel (Linder, 1970, p. 321; Heltzer, 1976, pp. 22–23; Killen, 1983). When ship numbers are considered in light of likely crew sizes, the danger that raiding parties made up of small “fleets” could pose to unwary coastal settlements is clear. For example, if the ships crewed by the men of An 610 were *pentekontors*, the 600–man force would be enough to man only twelve ships. Even if they were *triakontors*, like the vessel crewed by the An 1 rowers, there would only be enough to fully man twenty ships.

Beyond simply opening up new maritime possibilities, the development of the oared galley may have created a significant *social* impact, as well. The development of a community that specialized in seafaring and maritime technology organization, and the organization and cohesion of this community that resulted from the unique requirements that came along with the organization of personnel into crews, and the importance of unit cohesion to effective rowing, led to the development of a “galley subculture” in Aegean coastal territories (Wedde, 2005; Tartaron, 2013, pp. 132–133). As Wedde (2005) notes:

[R]owing a galley led to the fusing of rowers into a team, creating an esprit de corps, further enhanced by the virile activities in which rower–warriors usually engage. The enhanced position of the helmsman and the aeonian authority of the captain provided two leader–figures for the crew (p. 32).

The subculture that resulted from such cohesive communities may have resulted in power bases for maritime leaders, who in the coastal areas of the Aegean would also have had, as shown above, one of the most lethal weapons of the age at their disposal in the form of fully–manned oared galleys (Wedde, 2005,

pp. 33, 36). As 1200 BC approached, these growing power bases may have played a role in the increased maritime threats to the Eastern Mediterranean trade network, but even more importantly it is possible that they morphed into discrete but powerful threats to the major Aegean polities of the age – particularly on the coast (Tartaron, 2013, p. 69–70).

As noted previously, the Rower Tablets have been seen by some scholars as reflective of an attempt to sortie a fleet of galleys against a seaborne threat. While this threat may have been external, particularly if it was made up of ‘Sea Peoples’ moving westward from the Interface, it is also worth considering, in light of the coastal power bases that may have resulted from the “galley subculture,” that the threat may ultimately have been of the palatial structure’s own creation. Odysseus himself acts in this role throughout much of the *Odyssey*: though still a “noble,” he is, as the Phaeacians note, a ἀρχὸς ναυτῶν ‘captain of sailors’ (*Odyssey* viii 162), with his ships as his property and their crews as his subjects. Much as Homer’s Odysseus can be viewed as a ‘Sea Person’ in the historical and archaeological sense, wandering westward from the Interface to the Greek mainland amidst the chaos of a transforming age (while causing his own share of disruptions, of course), he also acts in the capacity of a naval captain who has at his disposal the power base and maritime capability that may have been associated with the “galley subculture” of the Late Bronze Age Aegean coast (Wedde, 2005, p. 36). As such, he represents a component of Late Helladic society that proved most durable in the centuries following the palatial collapse.

As briefly noted above, warriors in Geometric art are frequently represented with hair or headdresses similar to the LH IIIC “hedgehog”-style. Along with this, the Helladic oared galley is a mainstay of Geometric art, reappearing on painted pottery ca. 800 BC in a form that clearly represents continuity of style with and, perhaps more importantly, continuous development of the galley from LH IIIC onward (Wachsmann, 1998, p. 133; Wedde, 1999, p. 471, pl. XCII:E7–E8; 2005, p. 36). This certainly suggests that, whatever their role in the fate of the Late Helladic palaces and the palatial structure, the “galley subculture” was able to remain strong, with remarkable continuity, throughout the “Dark Age” that followed the end of the Late Bronze Age. This may have been achieved in part through piracy, and in part through transit and migration – in other words, through actions that have been associated in large part with the Sea Peoples. It may also, though, have been accomplished through the localized actions of these maritime leaders, some of whom may have acted as the “big men” discussed above, who mobilizing their coastal power bases and took charge of peoples and territories in the post-palatial world through charisma and force.

#### The Gurob Ship–Cart Model and Odysseus’ *Pentekontors*

Further evidence for the use of fifty-oared Helladic galleys in the years surrounding the Late Bronze–Early Iron transition (and for the employment of such a vessel by *Sherden* sailors, discussed below) may be found in a remarkable recently-published model of a Helladic oared galley from Tomb 611 at Gurob in Middle Egypt (Wachsmann, 2013). Incorrectly assembled but perceptively labeled “Pirate Boat?” by the overseer of its excavation, Flinders Petrie (1933, p.

74 fig. 85), the model was paired with a wheeled cart, and its cultic affinities are suggested both by its cart and by its hole for a *pavois*, to which bars were attached for priestly porters to shoulder as they carried a cultic ship over land (Wachsmann, 2013, pp. xviii, 20–21, 28, 202). Like the vessels shown on LH IIIB and IIIC pottery, the ship–cart model features stanchions and a stempost with an upturned finial, similar to those on the ships pictured on Mycenaean pottery.<sup>31</sup> Flanking the model just below the caprails are rows of black dots, interpreted by Wachsmann as oarports, whose number and spacing make it probable that the vessel after which the model was patterned was also a fifty–oared *pentekontor* (Fig. 49). Also present is a bow projection at the junction of stempost and keel, shown on some depictions of Late Helladic ships, which would become a standard feature of oared galleys in the Iron Age.

Radiocarbon dating of the Gurob ship–cart model returned a  $2\sigma$  calibrated age range of 1256 to 1054 BC (Prior, 2013, p. 241), and as Wachsmann (2013, p. 28) has noted, its appearance is most similar to iconography from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. The model was painted with a base layer of white, over which were added black, covering the bottom half of the hull, and red, a stripe of which appears just below the caprail and above the oarports (Davis, 2013, p. 219; Siddall, 2013, p. 243). In all, seven pigments were detected (Siddall, 2013, table 1). This preserved polychrome schema not only makes the model unique among known representations of Helladic ships (Davis, 2013, p. 219), but it aligns with Homer’s description of the Achaeans’ ships as μέλας ‘black’ or κυανόπρωρος ‘dark–prowed’ and, remarkably, with the poet’s description of Odysseus’ ships specifically as μλτοπόρηος ‘red–cheeked’ (*Iliad* II 637; *Odyssey* ix 125). Odysseus’

ships are also referred to as φοινικοπάρηος ‘purple-cheeked’ (*Odyssey* xi 124; xxiii 271) but most noteworthy is the fact that *only* Odysseus’ ships are identified by the “red-” and “purple-cheeked” epithets.

The phrase μέλαινα ναῦς ‘black ship’ is a common epithet in Homer, appearing 81 times in *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined,<sup>32</sup> while ναῦς κυανόπρωρος ‘dark-prowed ship’ appears a further eleven times.<sup>33</sup> This reference alludes to the coating of hull planking with dark pitch or asphalt, a practice which, though known from at least the Bronze Age (Casson, 1971, pp. 211–22; Kurt, 1979, p. 33; Steffy, 1994, p. 277), is seen in physical representation for the first time on the Gurob ship-cart model (Davis, 2013, p. 220). References to the use of pitch or asphalt to seal wooden ships can be seen in such diverse ancient examples as the biblical instructions for building Noah’s Ark (Gen. 6:14), and a more chronologically relevant letter (KUB III 82) from Ramesses II to the Hittite king Ḫattušili II (mid-13th c. BC), in which the pharaoh apparently writes that he is sending a pair of ships to the Hittite king so that the latter’s shipwrights can “draw a copy” of them for the purpose of building replicas, which they are instructed to coat with asphalt so the vessels will remain seaworthy (Edel, 1994, pp. H4, 283–285; Basch, 2009; Pomey, 2009).

Whether the ships sailed on Odysseus’ Egyptian raid were in fact fifty-oared *pentekontors* or thirty-oared *triakontors*, his nine vessels may well have carried between 360 and 450 combatants. Relatedly, Herakles’ aforementioned raid on Troy, which consisted of either six (*Iliad* V 638–642) or eighteen (ps-Apollod. II 6.4; Dio. IV 32) vessels, would have carried between 300 and 900 combatants.

This force would certainly have been large enough to carry out a raid on a coastal settlement – while also being small enough to be highly vulnerable to encounters with organized military units, as Odysseus himself (and his Cretan avatar) would learn, much to his chagrin (*Odyssey* ix 39–61 and xiv 262–272, quoted below).

### The Need for Speed (and Stealth)

Two late 13<sup>th</sup>–early 12<sup>th</sup> century texts from Ugarit attest to the panic small numbers of ships could create in the inhabitants of coastal targets. The first, Ras Shamra (RS) 20.238, is addressed from King Ammurapi of Ugarit to the King of Alašiya (Cyprus):

My father, now the ships of the enemy have been coming. They have been setting fire to my cities and have done harm to the land. Doesn't my father know that all of my infantry and [chariotry] are stationed in Ḫatti, and that all of my ships are stationed in the land of Lukka? They haven't arrived back yet, so the land is thus prostrate. May my father be aware of this matter. *Now the seven ships of the enemy which have been coming have done harm to us.* Now if other ships of the enemy turn up, send me a report somehow(?) so that I will know (Hoftijzer & Van Soldt, 1998, p. 343).

The second, RS 20.18, is addressed from the prefect of Alašiya to King

Ammurapi:

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! (Hoftijzer & Van Soldt, 1998, p. 343).

The seven ships mentioned in RS 20.238 may have contained between 210 and 350 rowers, and the twenty mentioned in RS 20.18 may have contained between 600 and 1000, if they were composed of *triakontors*, *pentekontors*, or some

combination thereof. Thus, as with Odysseus' small fleet, the number of rowers (and potential combatants) aboard the enemy ships mentioned in these two Ugaritic texts are clearly enough to strike fear in the hearts of one of the major polities of the age – let alone to create havoc on an unprepared or lightly defended coastal settlement.

However, the combination of small raiding parties and heavily militarized targets (with Egypt serving as an excellent example of the latter) meant that success in piratical endeavors was dependent on a combination of speed, stealth, and – above all – the avoidance of conflict with professional soldiers (Ormerod, 1924, p. 31; Wachsmann, 1998, p. 320). As Dickinson (2006) has noted

raiders and pirates in the Aegean and elsewhere... historically tended to operate in relatively small groups, whose basic tactic would be fast sweeps to gather up what could be easily taken, whether human captives, livestock, or portable loot (p. 48).

Success in piratical endeavors – and the very survival of raiding parties – required not only the adoption of new sailing technology, but also the development of tactics that could satisfy such a life-and-death need for stealth and celerity. One such tactic was the deliberate beaching of vessels, which allowed attackers to disembark and conduct their raid as quickly as possible. The fastest way to land, and disembark from, a vessel is to row it bow first directly up onto the beach. The aforementioned keel extensions seen on some depictions of Helladic ships (Figs. 47–48), on the Sea Peoples vessels in the naval battle at Medinet Habu (Fig. 2), and on the Gurob ship-cart model may have served as beaching aids, allowing raiders' ships to sail more easily up onto land for the purpose of facilitating a rapid disembarkation (Kirk, 1949, pp. 125–127; Wachsmann, 2013, p. 70; Wedde, 1999, p. 469). The prominence of these

extensions, which also appear at the waterline in Late Helladic depictions (Fig. 22, right), would become a standard feature of oared galleys in the Iron Age, serving as a key delineating feature in the development of the oared galley (Wedde, 1999, p. 467).

The technique of beaching a galley is described elsewhere in the *Odyssey*, when the Phaeacians, returning Odysseus to Ithaca, run their vessel aground for the purpose of quickly offloading their human cargo:

ἔνθ' οἳ γ' εἰσέλασαν, πρὶν εἰδότες· ἡ μὲν ἔπειτα  
ἠπειρώ ἐπέκελσεν, ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ ἡμισυ πάσης,  
σπερχομένη· τοῖον γὰρ ἐπείγετο χέρσ' ἐρετάων

The ship, hard-driven, ran up onto the beach for as much as half her length, such was the force the hands of the oarsmen gave her.

*Odyssey* xiii 113–115 (Lattimore, 1965)

The overall importance of *speed* in raiding is likewise reinforced in the epic, as Odysseus clearly explains the catastrophe that could befall a raiding party that lingered too long on an objective, as well as that which could result from contact with regular troops:

Ἴλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσεν,  
Ἴσμάρω. ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραθον, ὤλεσα δ' αὐτούς·  
ἐκ πόλιος δ' ἀλόχους καὶ κτήματα πολλὰ λαβόντες  
δασσάμεθ', ὡς μή τις μοι ἀτεμβόμενος κίοι ἴσης.  
ἔνθ' ἦ τοι μὲν ἐγὼ διερῶ ποδὶ φευγέμεν ἡμέας  
ἠνώγεα, τοὶ δὲ μέγα νήπιοι οὐκ ἐπίθοντο.  
ἔνθα δὲ πολλὸν μὲν μέθου πίνετο, πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα  
ἔσφαζον παρὰ θῖνα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς·  
τόφρα δ' ἄρ' οἰχόμενοι Κίκονες Κικόνεσσι γεγώνευν,  
οἳ σφιν γείτονες ἦσαν, ἅμα πλέονες καὶ ἀρείους,  
ἠπειρον ναίοντες, ἐπιστάμενοι μὲν ἀφ' ἵππων



ἀνδράσι μάρνασθαι καὶ ὄθι χρὴ πεζὸν εὐόντα.  
ἦλθον ἔπειθ' ὄσα φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίγνεται ὄρη,  
ἠέριοι: τότε δὴ ῥα κακὴ Διὸς αἴσα παρέστη  
ἡμῖν αἰνομόροισιν, ἴν' ἄλγεα πολλὰ πάθοιμεν.  
στησάμενοι δ' ἐμάχοντο μάχην παρὰ νηυσὶ θοῆσι,  
βάλλον δ' ἀλλήλους χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχείησιν.  
ὄφρα μὲν ἠὼς ἦν καὶ ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἦμαρ,  
τόφρα δ' ἀλεξόμενοι μένομεν πλεονάς περ εὐόντας.  
ἦμος δ' ἠέλιος μετενίσσετο βουλυτόνδε,  
καὶ τότε δὴ Κίκονες κλῖναν δαμάσαντες Ἀχαιοῦς.  
ἔξ δ' ἀφ' ἐκάστης νηὸς εὐκνήμιδες ἑταῖροι  
ὄλονθ': οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φύγομεν θάνατόν τε μόρον τε.

From Ilios the wind bore me and brought me to the Kikones,  
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. Then verily I gave  
command that we should flee with swift foot, but the others  
in their great folly did not hearken. But there much wine  
was drunk, and many sheep they slew by the shore, and  
sleek kine of shambling gait.

Meanwhile the Kikones went and called to other Kikones  
who were their neighbors, at once more numerous and  
braver than they—men that dwelt inland and were skilled at  
fighting with their foes from chariots, and, if need were, on  
foot. So they came in the morning, as thick as leaves or  
flowers spring up in their season; and then it was that an evil  
fate from Zeus beset us luckless men, that we might suffer  
woes full many. They set their battle in array and fought by  
the swift ships, and each side hurled at the other with  
bronze-tipped spears. Now as long as it was morn and the  
sacred day was waxing, so long we held our ground and  
beat them off, though they were more than we. But when the  
sun turned to the time for the unyoking of oxen, then the  
Kikones prevailed and routed the Achaeans, and six of my  
well-greaved comrades perished from each ship; but the rest  
of us escaped death and fate.

*Odyssey ix 39–61*

οἱ δ' ὕβρει εἷξαντες, ἐπισπόμενοι μένει σφῶ,  
αἶψα μάλ' Αἰγυπτίων ἀνδρῶν περικαλλέας ἀγροῦς  
πόρθεον, ἐκ δὲ γυναικας ἄγον καὶ νήπια τέκνα,  
αὐτοῦς τ' ἔκτεινον· τάχα δ' ἐς πόλιν ἵκετ' αὐτή.  
οἱ δὲ βοῆς ἄϊοντες ἅμ' ἠοῖ φαινομένηφιν

ἦλθον· πλῆτο δὲ πᾶν πεδίον πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππων  
χαλκοῦ τε στεροπῆς· ἐν δὲ Ζεὺς τερπικέραυτος  
φύζαν ἐμοῖς ἐτάροισι κακὴν βάλεν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη  
μεῖναι ἐναντίβιον· περὶ γὰρ κακὰ πάντοθεν ἔστη.  
ἐνθ' ἡμέων πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτανον ὄξει χαλκῷ,  
τοὺς δ' ἄναγον ζωούς, σφίσιν ἐργάζεσθαι ἀνάγκη.

But my comrades, yielding to wantonness, and led on by their own might, straightway set about wasting the fair fields of the men of Egypt; and they carried off the women and little children, and slew the men; and the cry came quickly to the city. Then, hearing the shouting, the people came forth at break of day, and the whole plain was filled with footmen, and chariots and the flashing of bronze. But Zeus who hurls the thunderbolt cast an evil panic upon my comrades, and none had the courage to hold his ground and face the foe; for evil surrounded us on every side. So then they slew many of us with the sharp bronze, and others they led up to their city alive, to work for them perforce.

*Odyssey* xiv 262–272 and xvii 431–441

These descriptions are remarkably similar to the inscription accompanying the naval battle relief from Medinet Habu:

“Now then, the northern countries which were in their islands were quivering in their bodies. They penetrated the channels of the river–mouths. Their nostrils have ceased (to function, so) their desire is to breathe the breath. His majesty has gone forth like a whirlwind against them, fighting on the battlefield like a runner. The dread of him and the terror of him have entered into their bodies. *They are capsized and overwhelmed where they are.* Their heart is taken away, their soul is flown away. *Their weapons are scattered upon the sea.* His arrow pierces whom of them he may have wished, and the fugitive is become one fallen into the water.”

Medinet Habu Naval Battle Inscription (Wilson, 1974, p. 263)

As noted above, the Sea Peoples vessels battling Ramesses III's navy are not shown actively utilizing any means of propulsion, as no oars are visible and the sails, as on the Egyptian vessels, are clearly brailed up. The reason rowers are absent from this scene because a surprise attack by the Egyptian army left the

enemy rowers no time to run out their oars and attempt to escape, thus “capsiz[ing] and overwhelm[ing them] where they” were. This is supported by the scene at right in the relief, which shows the Sea Peoples’ vessels pinned against land, with the Egyptian fleet as waterborne aggressors and a supporting force on land both firing arrows and collecting prisoners at water’s edge, who are then marched away for presentation to the pharaoh and to the Theban triad (see especially Nelson, 1943, fig. 5). This reading is supported by the accompanying inscription, which refers to the Sea Peoples as being

Rather than being engaged in open water, then – even in a riverine environment – the Sea Peoples’ ships were most likely at anchor when Ramesses III “capsized and overwhelmed” them (Nelson, 194, p. 46; Wachsmann, 1981, p. 188; Dothan, 1982, p. 7; Barako, 2001, p. 138). It is possible that this signals migration rather than coastal raiding as an aim of those on board the Sea Peoples’ ships (much like their land-based counterparts who traveled with ox-carts), as it makes little sense that they would be so completely unprepared to depart as to have oars stowed and sails furled, if their intention was to conduct a surprise coastal raid. However, Odysseus’ tale of *hubris* on the part of his undisciplined crewmembers can account equally well for the raiding party’s lack of preparation to make haste away from the Egyptian coast upon the arrival of military forces against whom they surely had little chance of martial success.

## Chapter V

### Αἴγυπτόνδε: Life, Prosperity, and Health in the Land of the Pharaohs

Like all epic products of oral tradition, the “master myth” of the Homeric *Odyssey* is a tapestry woven from many fascinating micronarratives, each of which has its own individual grounding (or lack thereof) in historical truth. Further, though the stories most closely considered in the present study – those told by Odysseus to Eumaios and Antinoos, respectively – are portrayed as fiction within the Homeric macronarrative, several of their elements have precedent in archaeological and literary records dating to the Late Bronze Age and the Late Bronze–Iron I transition (LH IIIB–C).

This is not to say, of course, that the Homeric epics in their current (or classical) form were composed in, or are entirely reflective of, this period. The multitextual nature of the Homeric tradition dictates that the epics’ contents remained simultaneously reflective and incorporative of *multiple* times, as well as multiple historical, linguistic, and poetic traditions (*inter alia*, Kullmann, 1984; Nagy, 1990b; 1995; Burgess, 2001; Dué, 2012; Filos, 2012; Levaniouk, 2012). Further, these epics continued to evolve into the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and beyond via a “streamlining of variations” (Nagy, 2010, pp. 313, 325). This can be seen in the countless elements of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which are clearly anachronistic in their fictive setting, or which are wholly appropriate to various periods within the first millennium BC (*inter alia*, Taylor, 1977; Dickinson, 1986; 2007; Sherratt, 1990; Burkert, 1992; Kullmann, 1995; West, 2011).

The possible existence of epic in oral tradition from earliest Mycenaean times and even before, perhaps conveyed to us in art – like that seen in Miniature Fresco from the West House at Akrotiri (Morris, 1989), or on the Siege Rhyton from Shaft Grave IV (Blakolmer, 2007) – should help explain the strands of continuity and vague memories of people, places, and events that seem to have come down to the archaic composer(s) of Homer’s epics from centuries long past (Vermeule, 1964, p. x; 1983; 1987; S. Morris, 1989; Vlachopoulos, 2007). Morris (1989) refers to these works of art as “a visual counterpart to early epic poetry” (p. 515), while Cline and Yasur-Landau (2007) have suggested that

miniature narrative art, possibly relating to an early epic tradition...could serve as a unifying *epos* or epic cycle in the time of extended colonization and diaspora, for instance on Crete, Kea, and Santorini during the LM IA period, and it served somewhat as a membership card to a Mediterranean club of members who shared this tradition – a club which extended from the northern Cyclades to Crete and perhaps beyond (p. 164; also Niemeier & Niemeier, 1998).

Further, the importance (and pride of place) that oral tradition held in pre-literate societies should not be underestimated. Writing in Mycenaean Greece was very limited in comparison to the literatures, legends, international correspondence, and enumerated deeds of kings known from Near Eastern texts, and the citizens of Late Bronze Age Aegean polities were almost certainly illiterate, given the apparent restriction of Linear B to palatial administrators. Thus, the incorporation of names and events into epic that are reminiscent of (or find their origin in) those known from centuries long past should not necessarily be surprising, and the conglomeration of such events and people from such a wide period of time may in fact support their basis in real events, chronologically scattered as they may have been in actual history. A prime example of this is the

Trojan War, still a topic of intense importance and debate to Homerists and Bronze Age archaeologists alike.

In this vein, it is important to note that a later date of composition, and a reflection of geography and events that fit accurately in an earlier age (in this case, in the fictive period of the epic's setting), need not be mutually exclusive realities. As Singer (2013) has recently noted:

To be sure, [Homer's epics] had to be revised and adapted to contemporary needs, but [their] basic features had been remembered and kept alive in all probability *without* any written transmission. In evaluating the historicity of a story, a distinction should be made between its main structure and its secondary details. In other words, even if Odysseus's boar-tusk helmet were proven to be late,<sup>34</sup> there would still remain the general situation described by Homer, which fits much better the Mycenaean age than his own times (p. 25).

In the case of the *Odyssey* and its hero's Second Cretan Lie, the experiences of the central character find a remarkable analogue in a very real and very specific group of sea raiders, the *š3rd3n3 n p3 ym* 'Sherden of the Sea', who set upon Egypt in their ships – likely multiple times – around the same time Odysseus claims to have carried out his ill-fated raid.

ἔνθα μὲν ἐπτάετες μένον αὐτόθι, πολλὰ δ' ἄγαιρα

χρήματ' ἀν' Αἰγυπτίους ἄνδρας· δίδοσαν γὰρ ἅπαντες.

There then I stayed seven years, and much wealth did I  
gather among the Egyptians, for all men gave me gifts.

*Odyssey* xiv 285–286

The Tanis II rhetorical stele marks the first of many Ramesside claims to have defeated and captured named maritime foes. As noted above, various Sea Peoples groups, including Sherden, are also claimed by name as victims and

captives by Ramesses II in the Poem recounting his “victory” at Qidš over the forces of the Hittite king Muwatallis II; by Merneptah in the Great Karnak Inscription and Papyrus Anastasi II, as well as on his Aswan Stele, Cairo Column, and Heliopolis Victory Column; and by Ramesses III in three of the five inscriptions at Medinet Habu that reference the Sea Peoples invasions, on the front pavilion wall at Medinet Habu, in the Great Harris Papyrus, and on a stele at Deir el-Medineh (Adams & Cohen, 2013; Emanuel, 2013). The treatment of Sherden as prisoners may be supported by the Papyrus Amiens, a ledger from the time of Ramesses V (ca. 1149–1145 BC) or later which records transport ships and revenue in the form of grain collected from the domains of various temples (Gardner, 1940, p. 7; 1941a, p. 43; Helck, 1959, p. 125; Katary, 2001; Janssen, 2004, pp. 4–5). This document lists two “houses...founded for the people of the Sherden,” one by Ramesses II and the other by Ramesses III, as well as a “House of the Sherden” whose founder is unknown (R. 4.9–10, 5.4, V. 2.x+10), alongside a “domain” established for “the people who were brought on account of their crimes,” or convicted criminals (R 5.3–4; Gardiner, 1940, pl. 7; 1941a, p. 41), though this may refer to those sentenced to carry out agricultural labor (Katary, 1989, p. 186).

However, despite typical Pharaonic bombast such as that seen in Ramesses II’s Tanis II inscription, not all of those Sherden who were “carried off to Egypt” after their initial capture early in the 13<sup>th</sup> century languished in prison or spent the rest of their days serving the state as slave laborers, as many of the survivors of Odysseus’ fictional raiding party are said to have done. Rather, like Odysseus himself, they appear to have been welcomed into Egypt and allowed to profit from the employment of their unique skills, which were utilized in the

direct service of the pharaoh. Already in the fifth year of Ramesses II's reign (1275 BC), for example, Sherden appear as members of the Pharaonic bodyguard – surely a place of high honor among soldiers, as well as one requiring great trust (Breasted, 1906b, pp. 2–3; Spalinger, 2005, p. 256; Hasel, 1996, p. 420). Evidence for the place of honor afforded those *Sherden* who gave allegiance to Egypt may also be found in §75 of the Great Harris Papyrus, wherein Ramesses III addresses “the officials and leaders of the land, the infantry, the chariotry, *the Sherden*, the many bowmen, and all the souls of Egypt” (Wilson, 1974, p. 260). The term ‘Sherden’ is the only *ethnikon* employed in this Pharaonic salutation; all others are grouped solely by rank, title, and occupation. This may signify that, in the century following their initial defeat at the hands of Ramesses II, Sherden had joined the Egyptian army in such great numbers, or to such great and distinctive effect, that they had earned specific mention among the more general list of military specialties (Emanuel, 2013, p. 18). It is, of course, also possible that this term had at some point become a military title, or had given its name to a martial specialty other than the aforementioned three (infantry, chariotry, and bowmen). However, later in the same document Ramesses III makes direct reference to the enemy “Sherden and the Weshesh of the Sea,” as well as to the “Sherden and Kehek...in their towns,” thus associating the Sherden once again with named groups. This supports the continued use of the term as an *ethnikon* or other avocational associative marker (Emanuel, 2013, p. 18).

Section 78 of the Great Harris Papyrus also provides the first evidence for this people in an Egyptian domestic setting, including a particularly noteworthy mention of Sherden *families* living together in Egypt:



I made the infantry and chariotry to dwell [at home] in my time; the Sherden and Kehek were in their towns, lying the length of their backs; they had no fear, for there was no enemy from Kush [nor] foe from Syria [a reference to the southern and northern frontiers, respectively]. Their bows and their weapons were laid up in their magazines, while they were satisfied and drunk with joy. *Their wives were with them, their children at their side* [for] I was with them as the defense and protection of their limbs (Wilson, 1974, p. 262).

Like Cretan Odysseus, the importance of the *Sherden* within Egyptian military and society also earned them significant material benefits. This can be seen in particular in the Wilbour Papyrus, a monumental land registry from the reign of Ramesses V covering portions of the Fayum region of Middle Egypt (Gardiner, 1941, p. 40; Faulkner, 1953, pp. 44–45). Among those listed in this text as land owners and occupiers are 109 *Sherden*, “standard-bearers of the *Sherden*,” and “retainers of the *Sherden*.” Of the 59 plots assigned to *Sherden* in this document, 42 are five *arourae*, or slightly under four acres in size. This allocation was commensurate with priests, standard bearers, stablemasters, and others of similarly high rank, rather than with soldiers, who were generally allotted three *arourae*, or approximately two acres (Gardiner, 1948b; Katary, 1989, p. 49). Further, the wealth bestowed on the pharaoh’s *Sherden* in the form of land was not limited to a temporary inhabitation of this Middle Egyptian oasis; rather, their significant contributions were repaid with an equally significant reward: land they could pass down through the generations. This can be seen, for example, in §§59.27.19, 150.59.9, and 150.59.25, which refer to land belonging to deceased *Sherden* being “cultivated by the hand of [their] children” (Gardiner, 1948b, pp. 28, 62)

The inclusion of *Sherden* in the Wilbour Papyrus’s register of landowners has been seen as evidence that those fighting in the service of Egypt by this time

were mercenaries rather than prisoners of war, due to the assumption that captive enemy soldiers would not have been given land of their own (Faulkner, 1953, pp. 44–45). It does seem likely that the landholding status of these Sherden was tied to their military service, and that it should be viewed either as a conditional grant exchanged for ongoing service to the pharaoh, or as an award presented after retirement for services rendered (Faulkner, 1953, pp. 44–45; Baruffi, 1998, p. 163). However, the aforementioned references to Sherden land being cultivated by their descendants demonstrate that at least some of these people came into possession of territory through hereditary tenure. Needless to say, this would be an unlikely situation if continuous military service were required in exchange for the right to occupy land. Menu (1970, p. 127) has further suggested that some of these landholders came to own their territory through purchase rather than through military service. Additionally, P. Wilbour makes a clear distinction between land ownership and indentured servitude, as the references to individuals – including Sherden – living on and cultivating land belonging to others are clearly distinguished from references to the landowners themselves (e.g. §123:48.45–46 and 49.4–5). The mentions of Sherden being assigned to work others' lands are significant because they provide evidence for different social statuses, and perhaps different levels of integration, enjoyed by Sherden individuals within Egyptian society, as some were either forced or allowed to work land belonging to non-Sherden owners, while others among them not only owned land, but were evidently able to pass it along to their children.

Aside from owning land, which was itself of significant value, it would be far from surprising if *Sherden* fighters, like Odysseus, also accumulated

additional material wealth as a result of their exploits. Papyrus Anastasi I, a text from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> dynasties that discusses proper preparation and provisioning for a military mission to Canaan, lists 520 *Sherden* among a mixed force of 5,000 soldiers. This suggests that, by midway through Ramesses II's reign, they had already become a standard component of Egypt's northern expeditionary forces. With regular exposure to warfare most likely came regular opportunities for plunder (Hasel, 1996, pp. 187, 251, 362; Lorton, 1974, pp. 56, 61–62), which could be taken individually or divided among the conquering forces after a successful siege or battle, much in the way that *Sherden* pirates and Odysseus' raiding crews likely divided the booty after their own successful raids:

τῶν ἐξαιρέυμην μενοεικέα, πολλὰ δ' ὀπίσσω  
λάγχανον: αἶψα δὲ οἶκος ὀφέλλετο, καὶ ῥα ἔπειτα  
δεινός τ' αἰδοῖός τε μετὰ Κρήτεσσι τετύγμην.

Of this I would choose what pleased my mind, and much I afterwards obtained by lot. Thus my house straightway grew rich, and thereafter I became one feared and honored among the Cretans.

*Odyssey* xiv 232–234

Rather than being a benefit of Egyptian generosity, it seems likely that the wealth Odysseus characterizes as being amassed via gifts from the Egyptians (δίδοσαν γὰρ ἅπαντες; *Odyssey* xiv 286, cited above) was likewise gained through a division of plunder from further raids in which he was a now–“legitimate” participant.

As noted above, the territory recorded in the Wilbour Papyrus included Gurob, and the text's date of composition falls directly within the chronological range of the ship-cart model found in Tomb 611 at that site. If the ship-cart model belonged to one of the *Sherden* mentioned in this text or to one of their descendants, as Wachsmann (2013, p. 206) has proposed, then members of this group may have been sailing Helladic oared galleys as they plundered the coasts of the eastern Mediterranean, much as Odysseus himself likely was. This fact, of course, would tie them even more closely to the culture that spawned Homer's *Odyssey*.

While the seafaring nature of the Sherden is clear, an effort seems to have been made to downplay the nautical affinities of those who had entered Egyptian service and society. As noted above, Sherden in the Egyptian military and society are never referred to as being "of the Sea," an epithet that appears to be reserved for those fighting against Egypt. Thus, the ship-cart from Gurob, if properly attributed to a Sherden (or to one's descendant), can be seen as evidence not only for this group's association with the type of ship represented at Medinet Habu, but also for at least one Sherden's attempt to maintain his foreign identity during a period of perhaps forcibly accelerated acculturation into Egyptian society (for an opposite example, see the Padjesef stele below). If such is the case, this may compare favorably to the self-representations like the Beth Shean coffins and seals from Enkomi and Tell el-Far'ah (S) discussed above (Ch. 3), which memorialized the commissioners' (foreign) ethnic identities in traditional Egyptian media.

Our dwindling evidence for the Sherden in the years following the Papyrus Amiens suggests a state of accelerating integration and assimilation into

Egyptian society. In the “Adoption Papyrus” (P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.96), a document from Spermeru in Middle Egypt that dates to the reign of Ramesses XI (ca. 1107–1078 BC), an Egyptian woman named Nenūfer recounts her adoption as her stablemaster husband’s legal child and heir (Gardiner, 1941b; Cruz–Uribe, 1988, pp. 220–223; Eyre, 1992). Seven witnesses to the procedure are listed, of whom two, Pkamen and Satameniu, are Sherden, with a third identified as Satameniu’s wife. Though this legal action is local and essentially private in nature, the presence of Sherden among the witnesses demonstrates their legal and social ability to act in that capacity, while the inclusion of Satameniu’s wife reinforces the theme of Sherden marrying and settling in Egypt, though the ethnicity (or ethnicities) of their spouses is never explicitly stated.

The final references, including perhaps the most intriguing of all, come in the form of three dedicatory stelae. The latest of these, the Donation Stele of Djedptahiuefankh (Cairo Journal d’Entrée 45327), which dates to the reign of Osorkon II in the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, mentions “the fields of the Sherden, under the control of the prophet Hor” (Ritner, 2009, p. 346). While this use provides evidence of the term’s endurance, its context does not allow for any conclusions to be drawn regarding its meaning by this time. The other stelae come from the Temple of Heryshef at Herakleopolis, and have been dated anywhere from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasties (Petrie, 1904, p. 22; Gardiner. 1948a, p. 80; Cifola, 1994, p. 8; E. Morris, 2001, p. 593 n. 384; Sagrillo, 2009, p. 347 n. 46). The first of these mentions “the three fortresses of the Sherden” while the second claims “Padjesef...Sherden soldier of the great fortress” as its dedicator (Fig. 50).

While these inscriptions reinforce the Ramesside theme of Sherden being associated with strongholds or fortresses, the latter is also noteworthy for the

image above its text, which appears to show Padjesef himself bringing offerings to Heryshef and Hathor. The unique importance of this stele stems from its status as the only known self-identification and self-representation of a Sherden individual, and from the fact that the scene it presents is entirely Egyptian, including the portrayal of Padjesef himself. Roberts (2009, p. 63) has argued that the lack of a distinctive horned helmet in this image should be seen as be evidence of settlement and integration. However, it may be unsurprising that such a detail would be omitted here both because of the dedicatory nature of the scene, and because we have no evidence that Sherden ever identified *themselves* by such an accouterment. Thus, the level to which Padjesef, and perhaps other Sherden, had been integrated into Egyptian society by this time is not demonstrated so much by what is *not* there – the distinctive Sherden helmet – so much as by what *is* there: a self-portrait in which the dedicator appears – in dress, action, and the location of the dedication itself – to be entirely Egyptian.

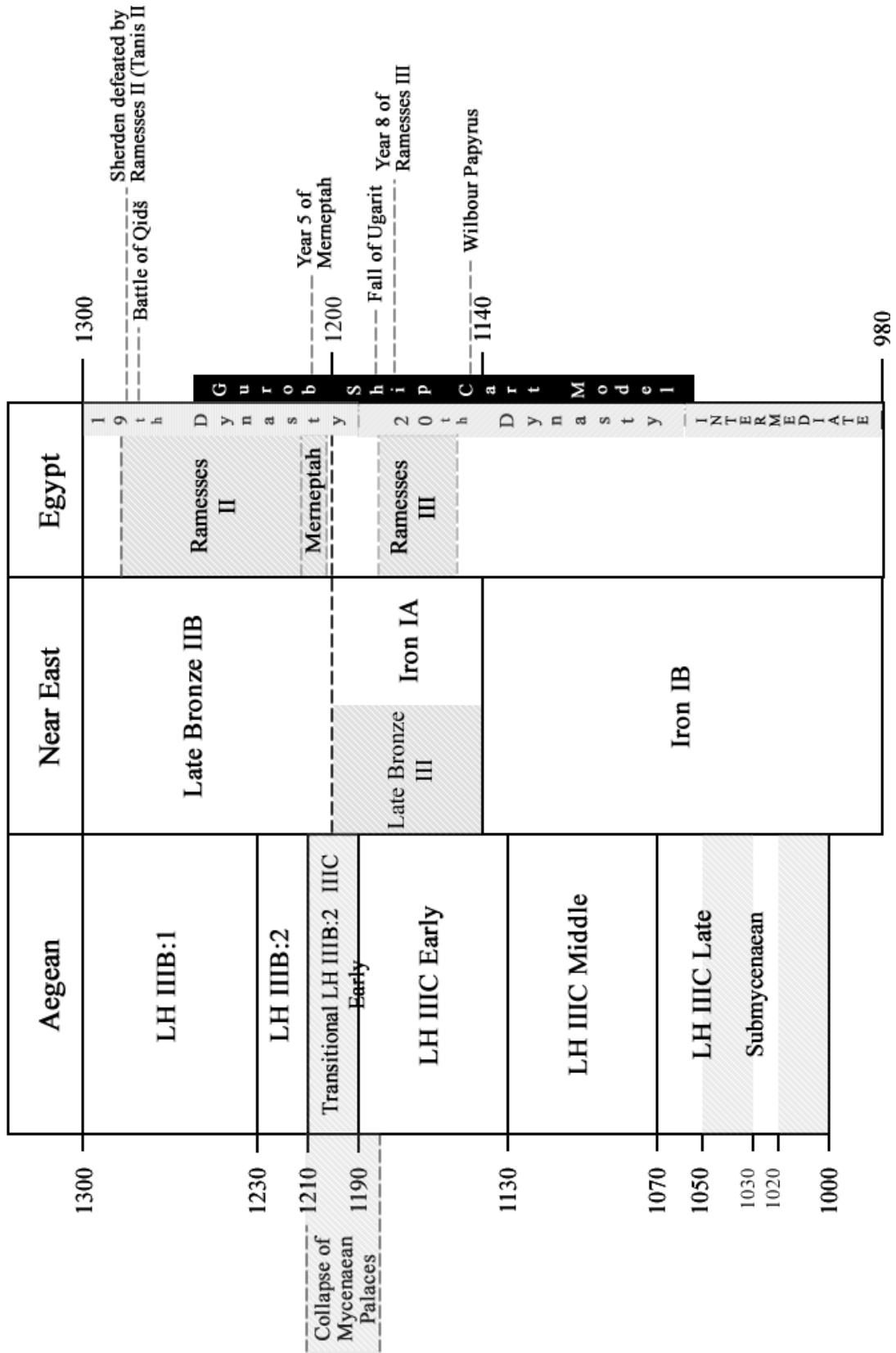
## Conclusion

The Sherden of the Sea are named as a participant in maritime raids against Egypt from the time of Ramesses II in the early 13<sup>th</sup> c. to that of Ramesses III a century or more later. While the geographic origin of these people is uncertain, there is evidence to connect them to polychromatic, fifty-oared galleys of the type described by Homer – in one case, in terms reserved specifically for Odysseus' ships. Further, their story is extraordinarily similar to the tales that make up Odysseus' Second Cretan Lie, as well as the portion of this tale retold later in the epic: years of successful maritime raiding, at least one ill-fated

attempt on the Nile Delta, and a subsequent sojourn in Egypt, during which they were valued as a part of society and made prosperous for their efforts.

The two stories diverge as Odysseus' seven year stay in Egypt draws to a close: while the *nostos* that makes up the *Odyssey's* macronarrative dictates that its hero move on, those Sherden who settled in Egypt were able to create a new home for themselves in the land of the pharaohs, complete with wives, children, and land they could pass down through generations.

Table 1. Comparative Chronology of the Late Bronze - Early Iron Ages in the Aegean, Near East, and Egypt





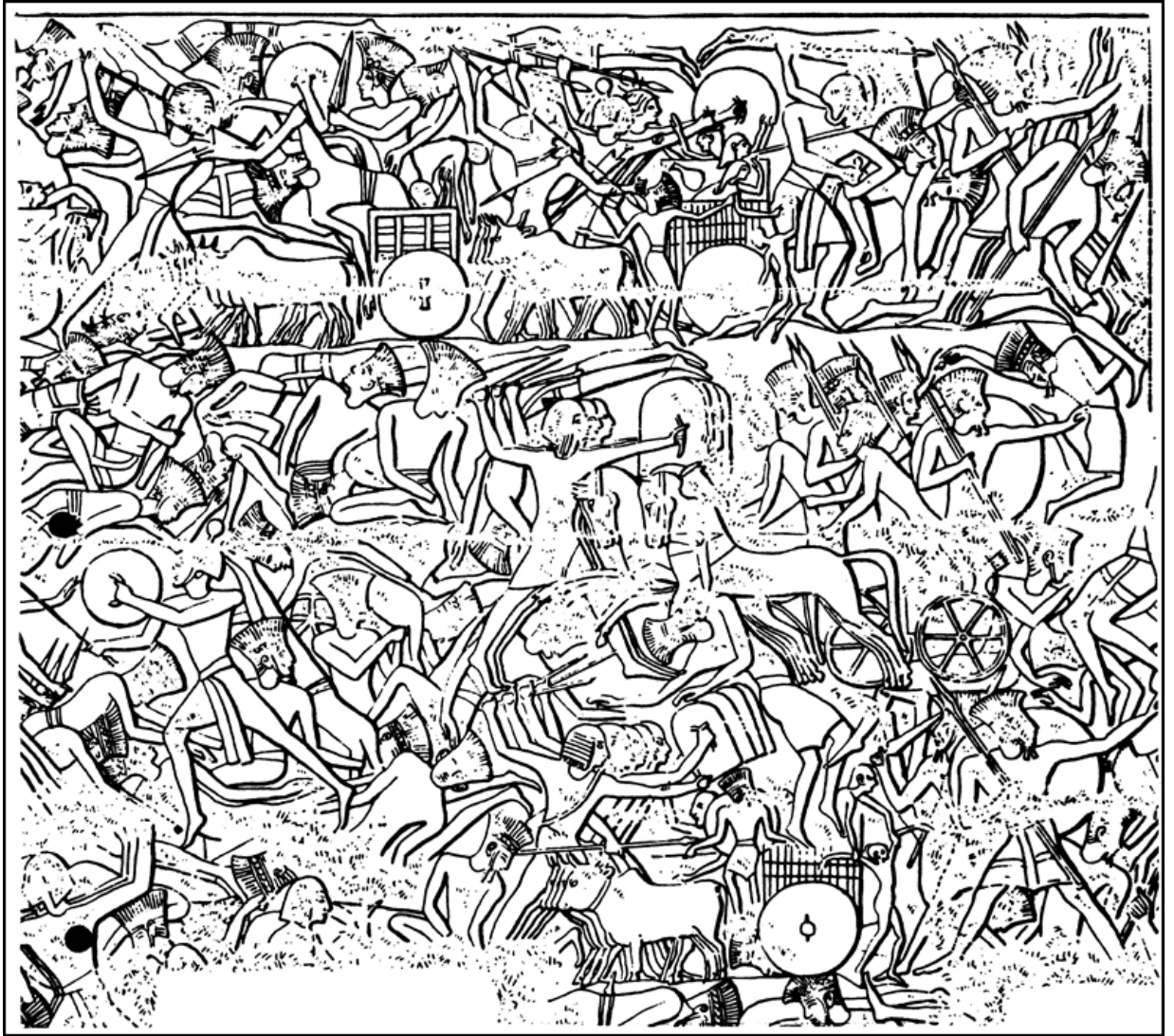


Figure 1. Ramesses III's year 8 land battle against the Sea Peoples, Medinet Habu (after Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pl. 34).



Figure 2. Ramesses III's naval battle against the Sea Peoples, Medinet Habu (after Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pl. 37).

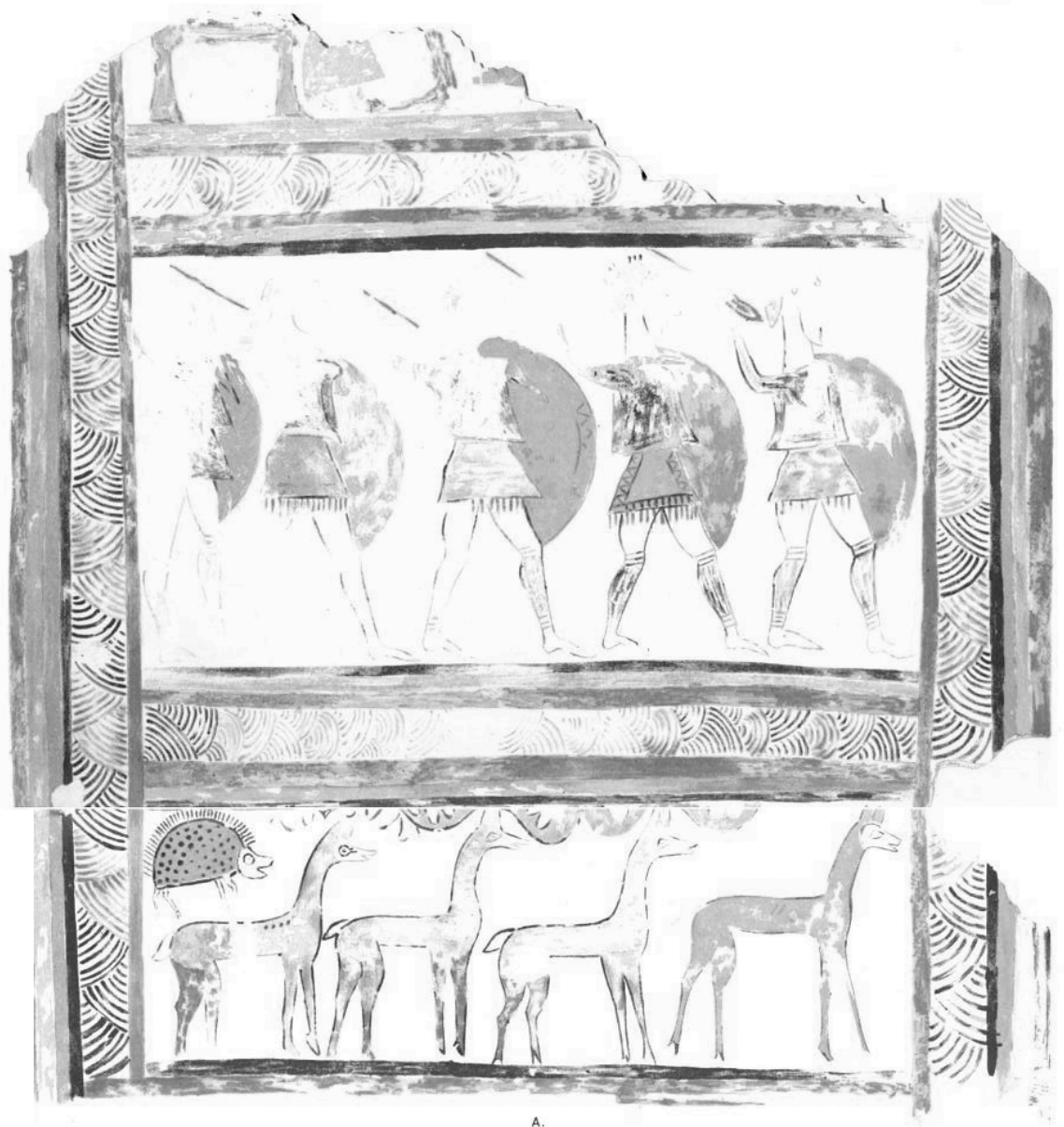


Figure 3. LH IIIIC Middle painted 'Warrior Stele' from Mycenae featuring armed men in hedgehog-style helmets in the upper course, and a hedgehog in the lower course (after Tsountas, 1896, pl. 1).

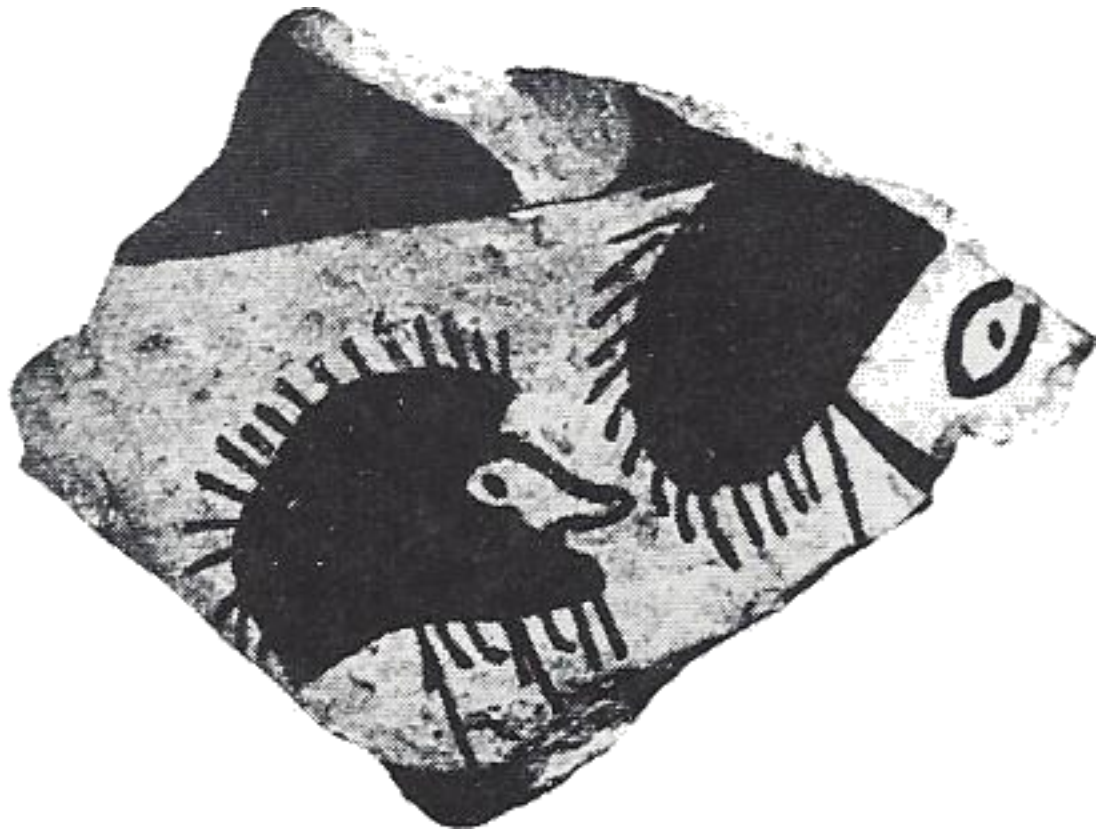


Figure 4. Fragment of a LH III C Middle krater from Mycenae showing a hedgehog-helmeted warrior and what may be an actual hedgehog (Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, pl. XI.45).

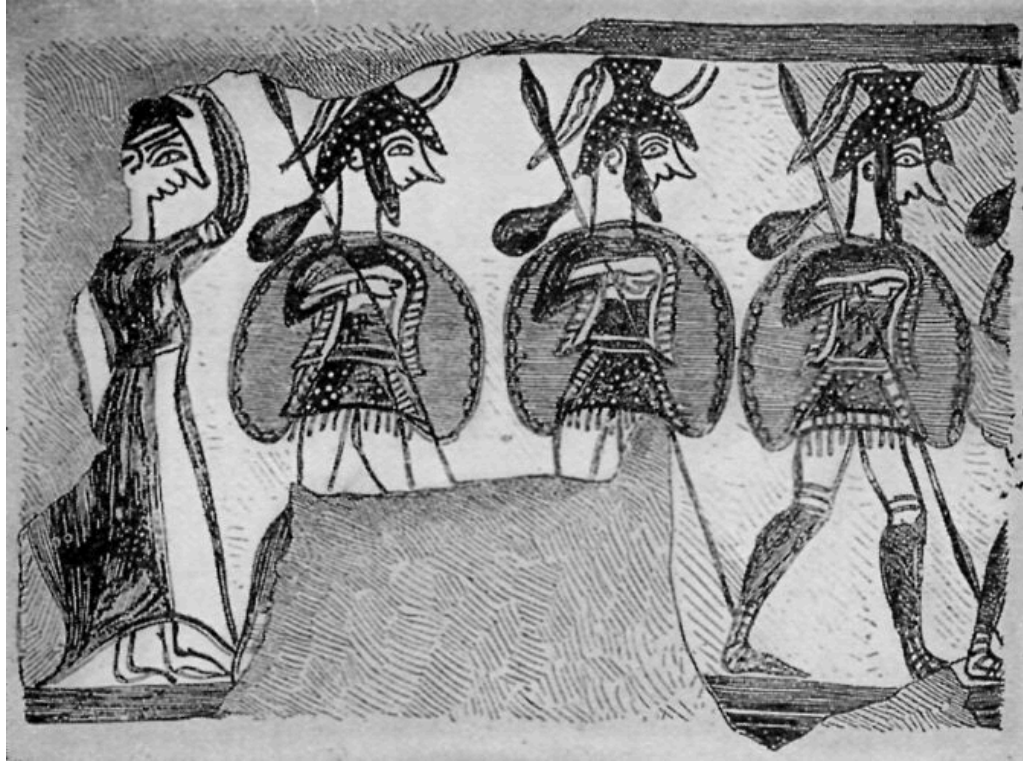


Figure 5. Obverse of the "Warrior Vase" from Mycenae, featuring armed men in horned and plumed helmets (after Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, pl. XI.42).



Figure 6. Reverse of the 'Warrior Vase' from Mycenae featuring armed men in hedgehog-style helmets (after Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, pl. XI.42).



Figure 7. Fragments of a LH IIIC Middle larnax from Mycenae featuring up to three hedgehog-helmed warriors (Crowel 1991 fig. 7b).

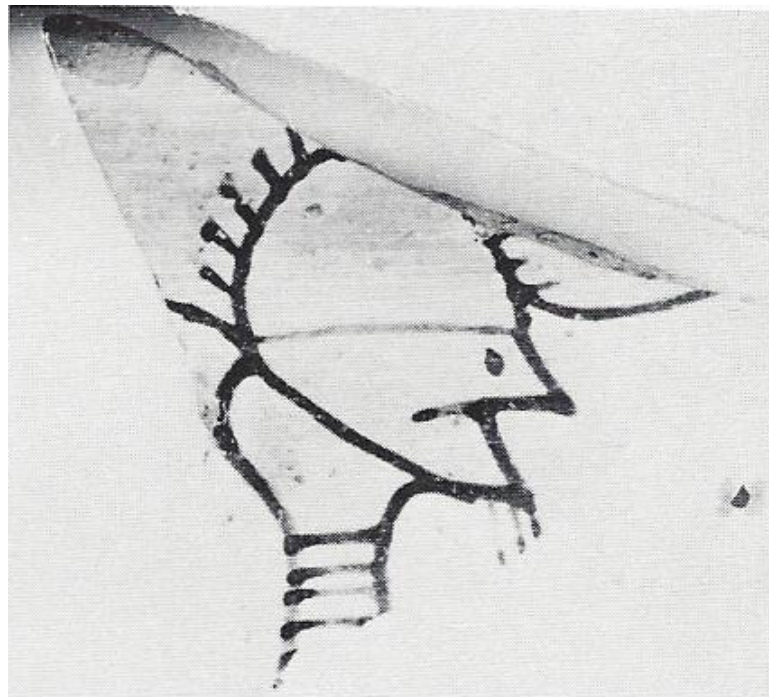


Figure 8. Fragment of a LH IIIC Middle krater from Mycenae that may show a helmet with both feathers and horns (Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, pl. XI.46).

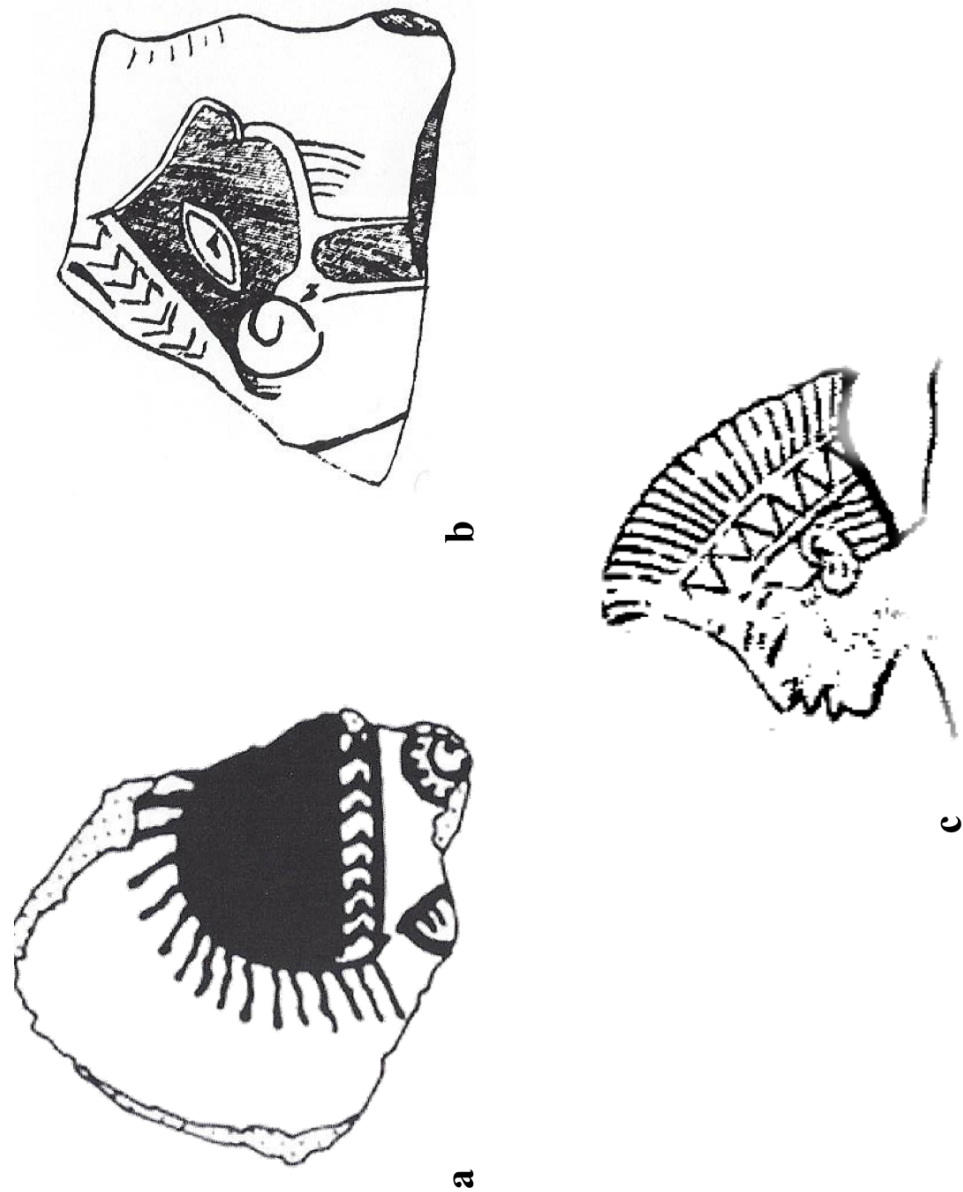


Figure 9. (a) Fragment of a LH IIIC Middle larnax from Mycenae showing a hedgehog helmet with zigzag band (Crouwel, 1991, fig. 7b); (b) Fragment of a LH IIIC Middle krater from Mycenae showing a bearded warrior wearing a hedgehog helmet or feathered hat with zigzag band (Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, pl. XI.47); (c) Warrior from ship N.3 of the naval battle relief at Medinet Habu wearing a feathered headdress with a zigzag band (Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pl. 39).

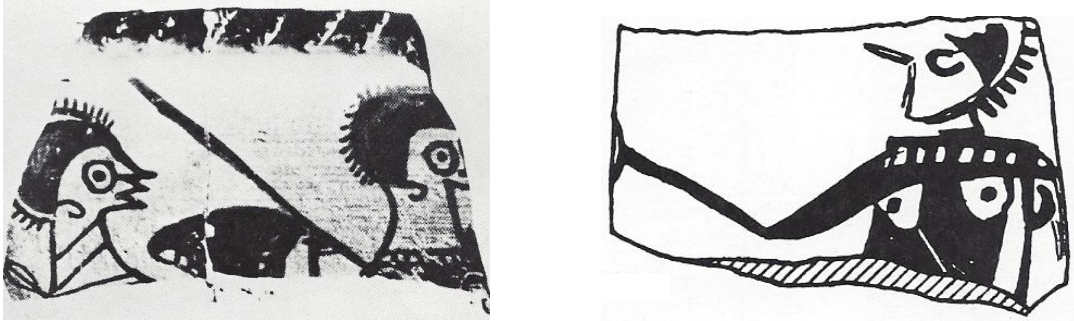


Figure 10. Fragments of a LH III C Middle krater from Iolkos featuring three warriors in hedgehog helmets, one of whom may wear a corslet (Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, pl. XI.57).

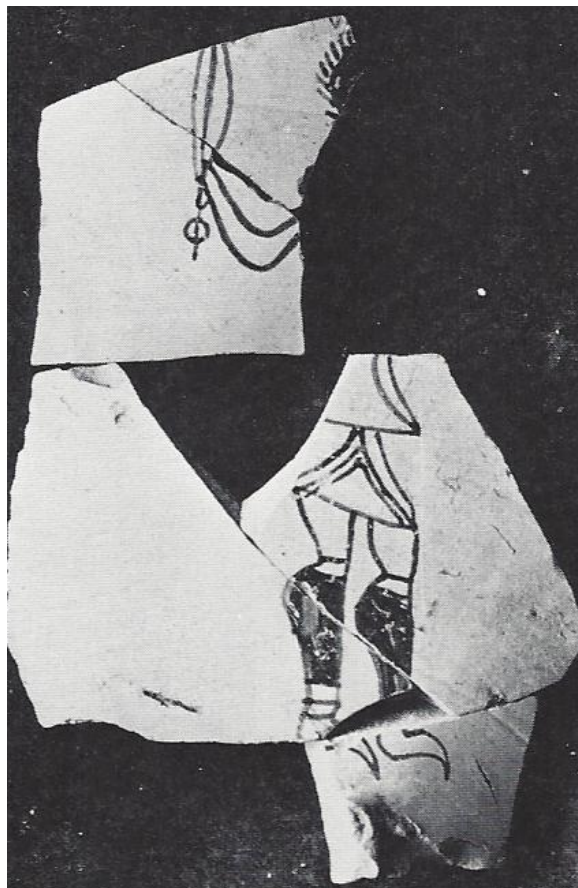


Figure 11. Fragment of a LH III C Middle rhyton or stirrup jar from Tiryns showing a warrior wearing a hedgehog helmet and armed with a sword (Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, pl. XI.49).



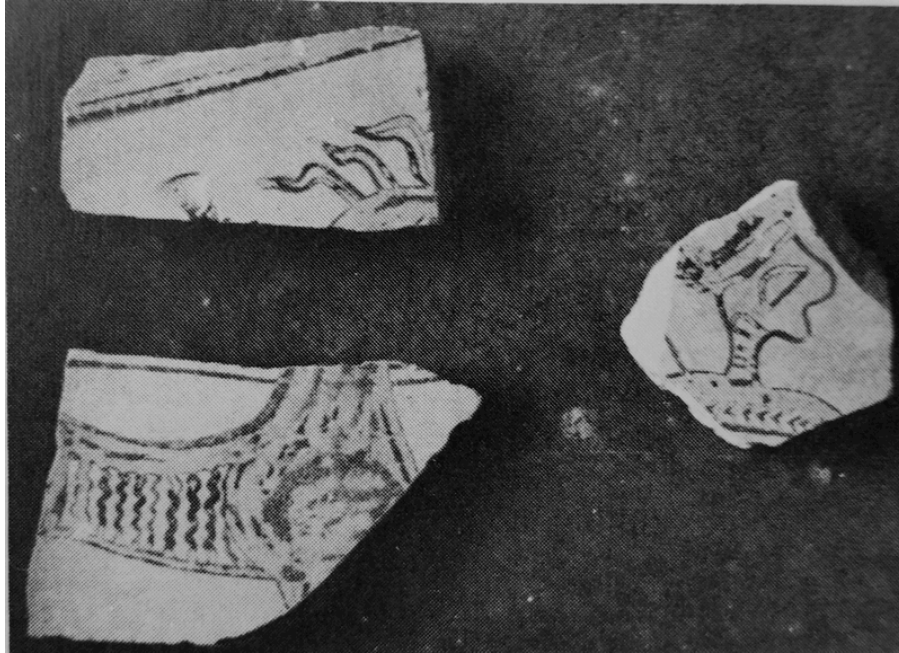


Figure 12. LH IIIIC Middle krater fragment from Tiryns, which may show a hedgehog-helmed warrior leading a horse (Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, pl. XI.16.1).



Figure 13. LH IIIIC Middle krater fragment from Tiryns showing a hedgehog-helmed warrior carrying a spear over his shoulder (Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, pl. XI.51).

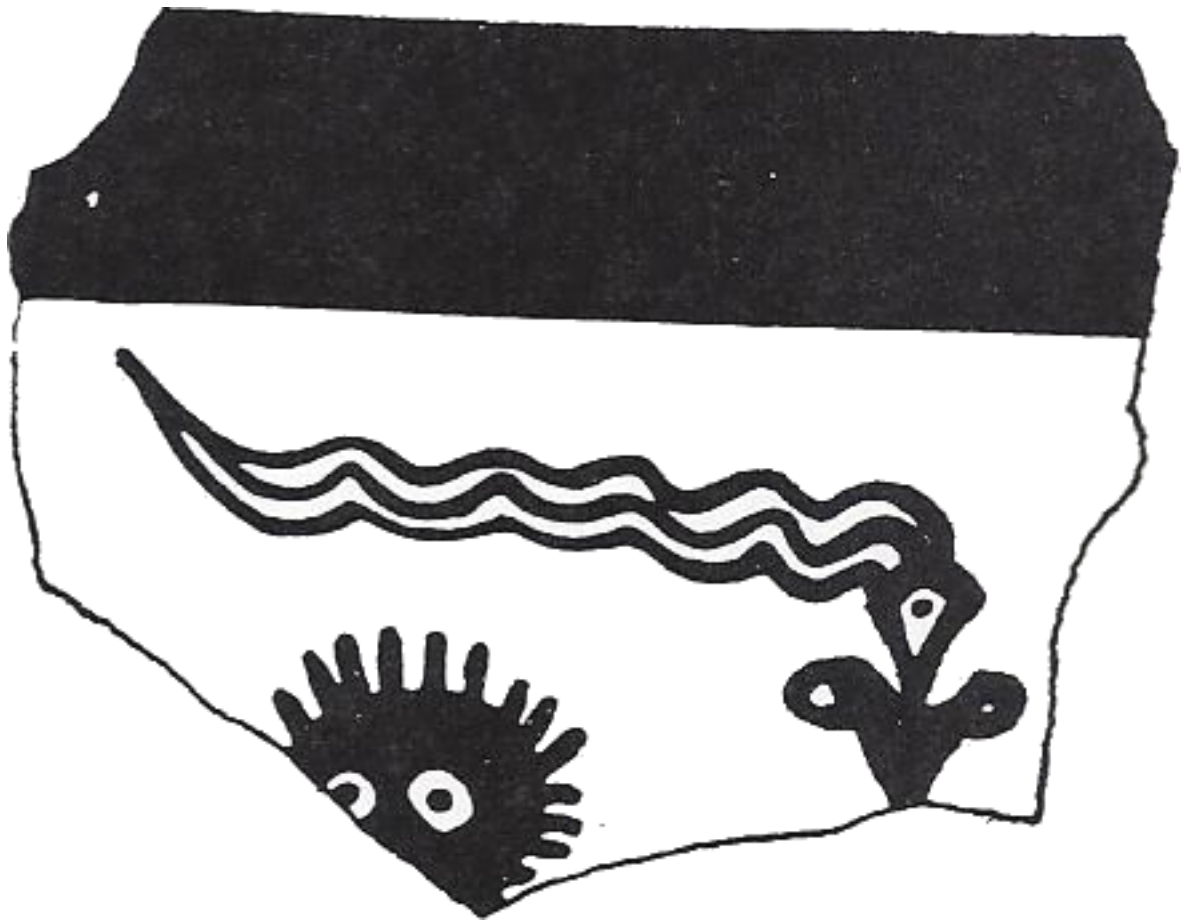


Figure 14. LH IIIC Middle krater fragment from Amarynthos showing a man in a hedgehog-style headdress following what may be a chariot and driver (Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, pl. XI.56).



Figure 15. Feather-hatted warrior on a LH IIIC Middle seal from Enkomi (after Dothan, 1982, p. 277).



Figure 16. Feather-hatted footman on a 12<sup>th</sup> c. game board, Tomb 58, Enkomi (after Dothan, 1982, p. 277).



Figure 17. Scarab from Tomb 936 at Tell el-Far'ah (S) showing a feather-hatted individual making an offering to Amun (Keel & Uehlinger, 1998, p. 112).

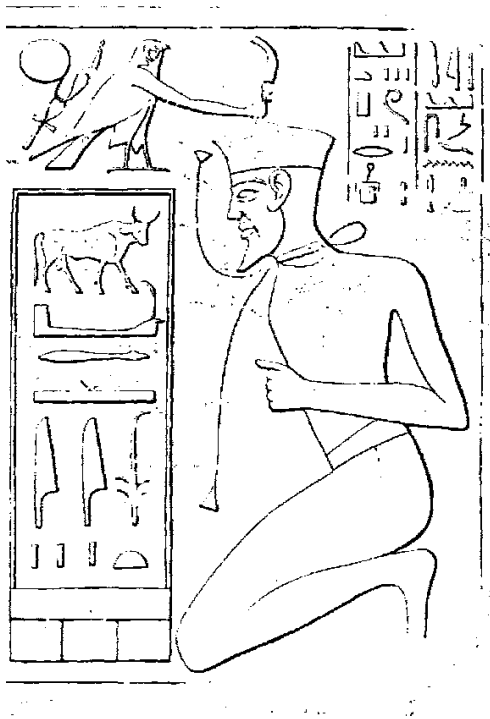


Figure 18. Captive Philistine prince, Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey, 1932, pl. 118c).

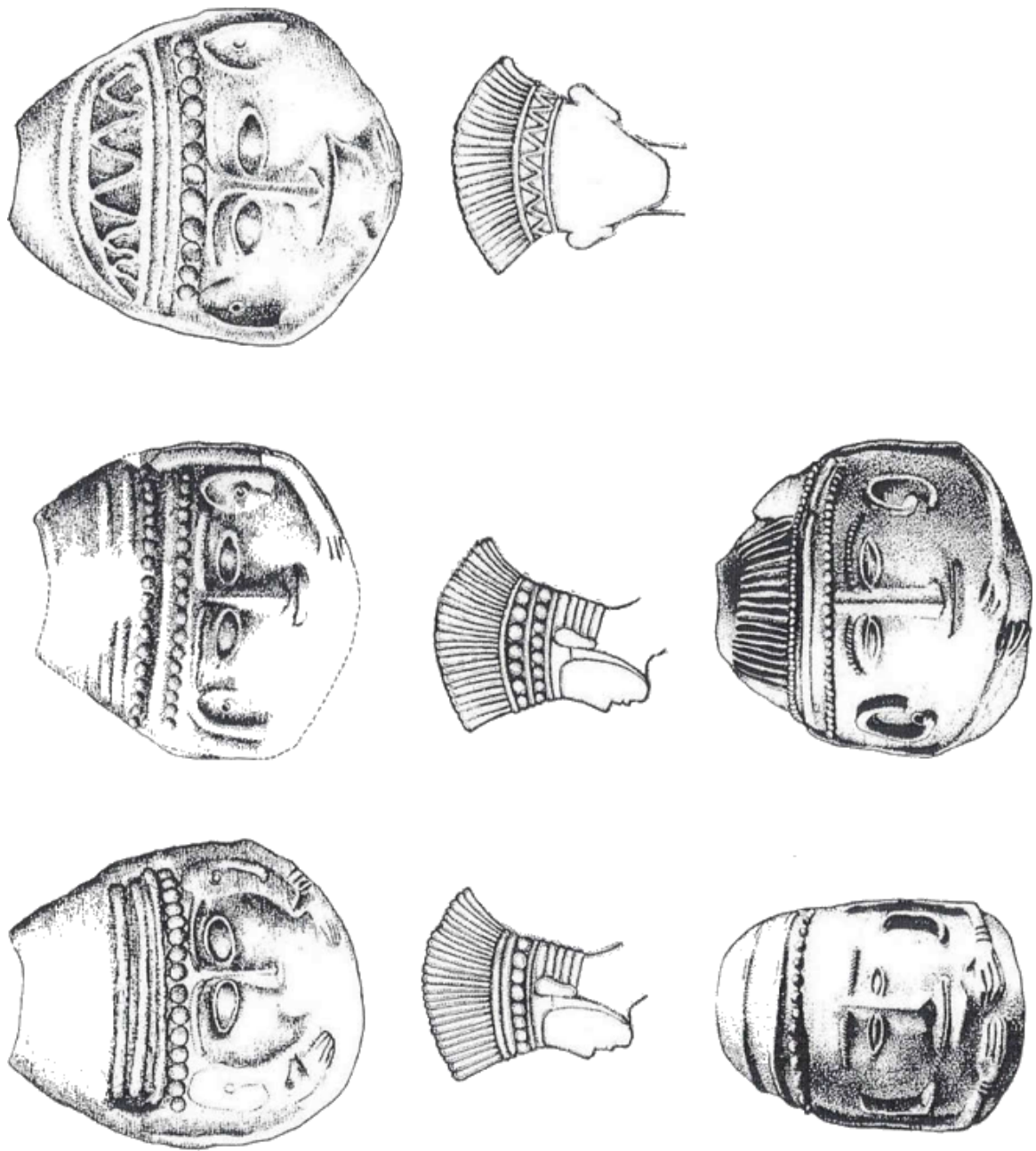


Figure 19. Anthropoid coffin lids from Beth Shan, with interstitial Sea Peoples profiles from Medinet Habu (after Dothan, 1982, figs. 11–12).



Figure 20. Krater body sherd featuring a hedgehog-helmed individual, Tell Ta'yinat (Janeway, 2013, pl. 9.15).



Figure 21. Fragments of Transitional LH IIIB:2–IIIC Early or LH IIIC Early krater from Bademgediği Tepe showing opposing ships manned by hedgehog-helmeted warriors (Mountjoy, 2011, fig. 3 bottom).



Figure 22. LH IIIC Middle krater from Pyrgos Livanaton (Kynos) featuring a scene of warfare between hedgehog-helmed warriors (Dakaronia & Mpougia, 1999, p. 23).



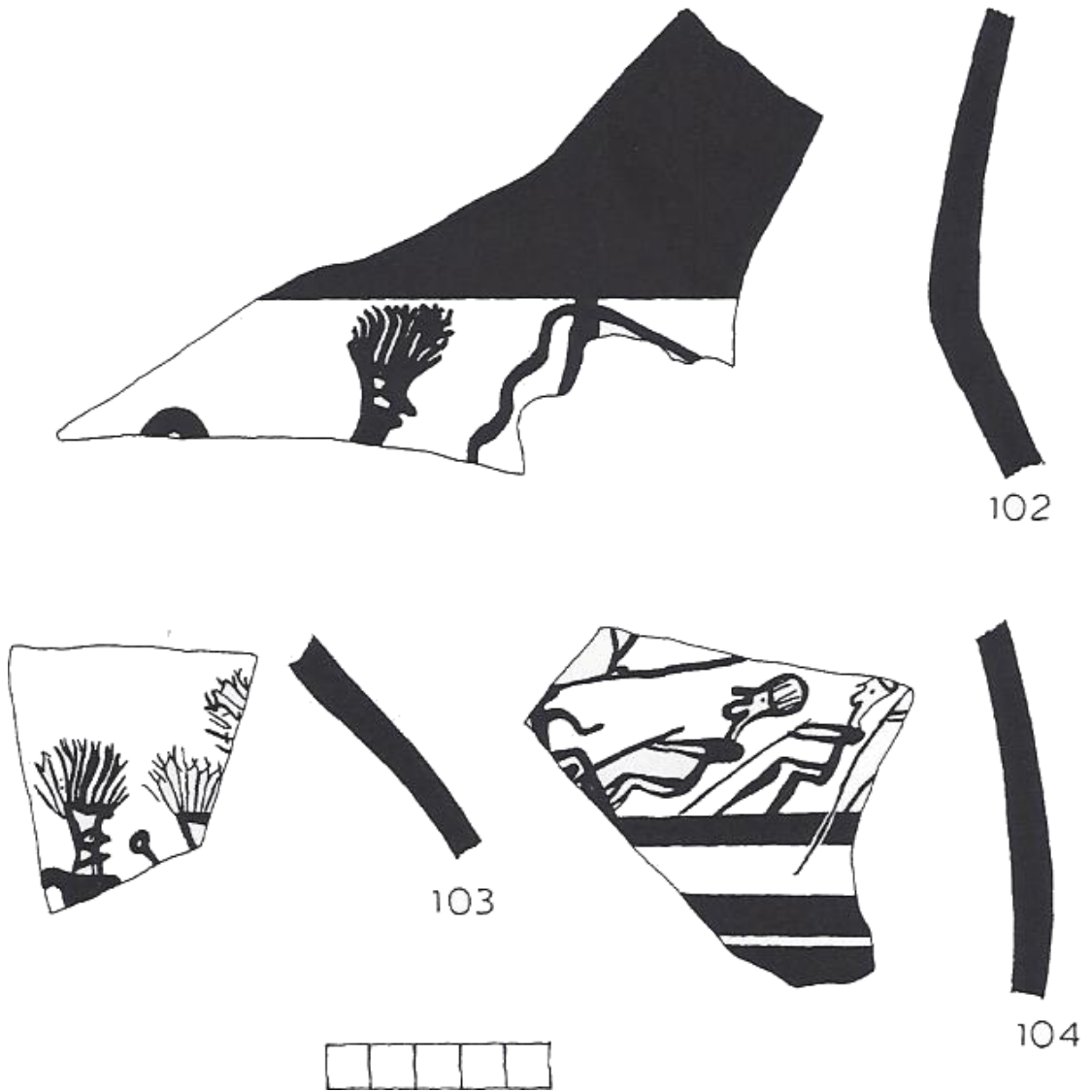


Figure 23. Fragments of LH III C Middle or LH III C Early kraters from Kos showing heavily stylized feathered headdresses (Mountjoy, 1999, p. 1075).

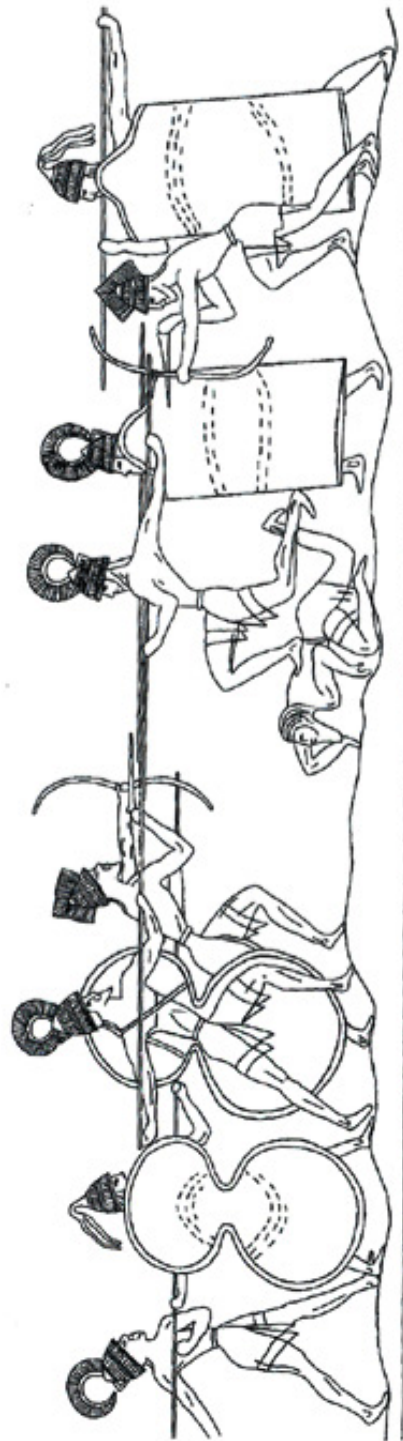


Figure 24. Combat scene between similarly-attired warriors, the LH I (16th c. BC) "Warrior Krater," Shaft Grave IV, Mycenae (Blakolmer, 2007, pl. LVIIa)



Figure 25. Possible Sherden warriors participating in Ramesses II's assault on Dapur in Amurru (after Youssef, LeBlanc & Maher-Taha, 1977, pl. VII).



Figure 26. Sea Peoples ships N.2 and N.4, crewed by horn-helmeted warriors.

Naval Battle relief, Medinet Habu (after Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pl. 37).

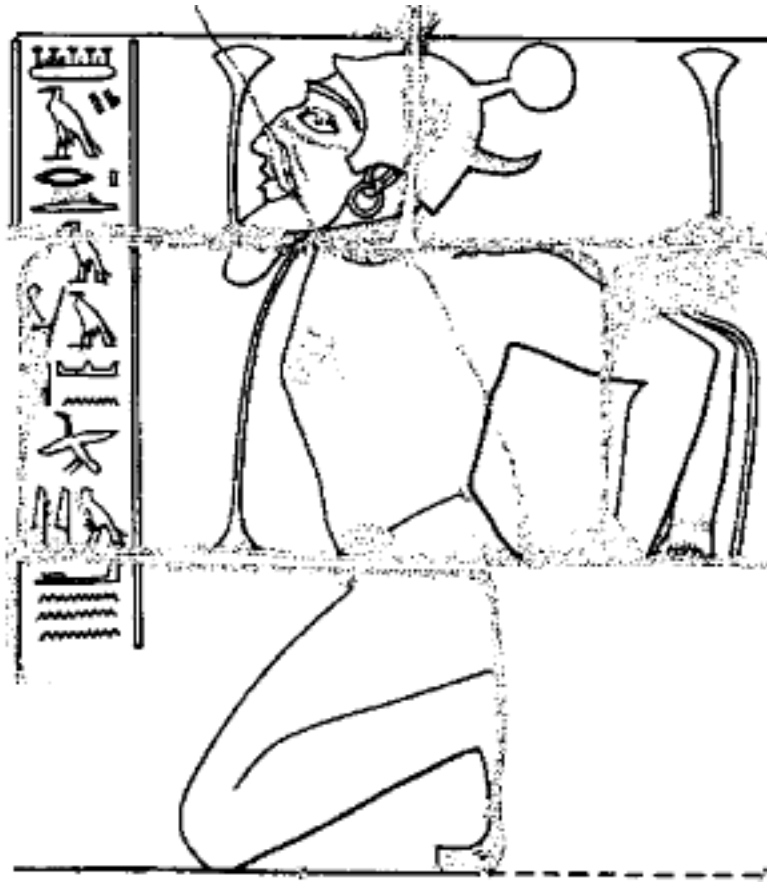


Figure 27. *Šrdn of the Sea*, front pavilion wall, Medinet Habu (after Epigraphic Survey, 1970, pl. 600b).



Figure 28. Sherden with a remnant of painted beard, from a victory procession of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (after *Epigraphic Survey*, 1932, pl. 65c).



Figure 29. Sherden with beard and textured helmet shown in relief, land battle of Ramesses III against the Sea Peoples, Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pl. 34).



Figure 30. Sherden with a possible beard shown in relief, from Ramesses II's Qidš reliefs at Luxor (after Kuentz, 1934, pl. 35).



Figure 31. Horn-helmed warriors with textured helmets beneath the feet of Ramesses III, Sea Battle relief, Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey, 1930, pl. 37).



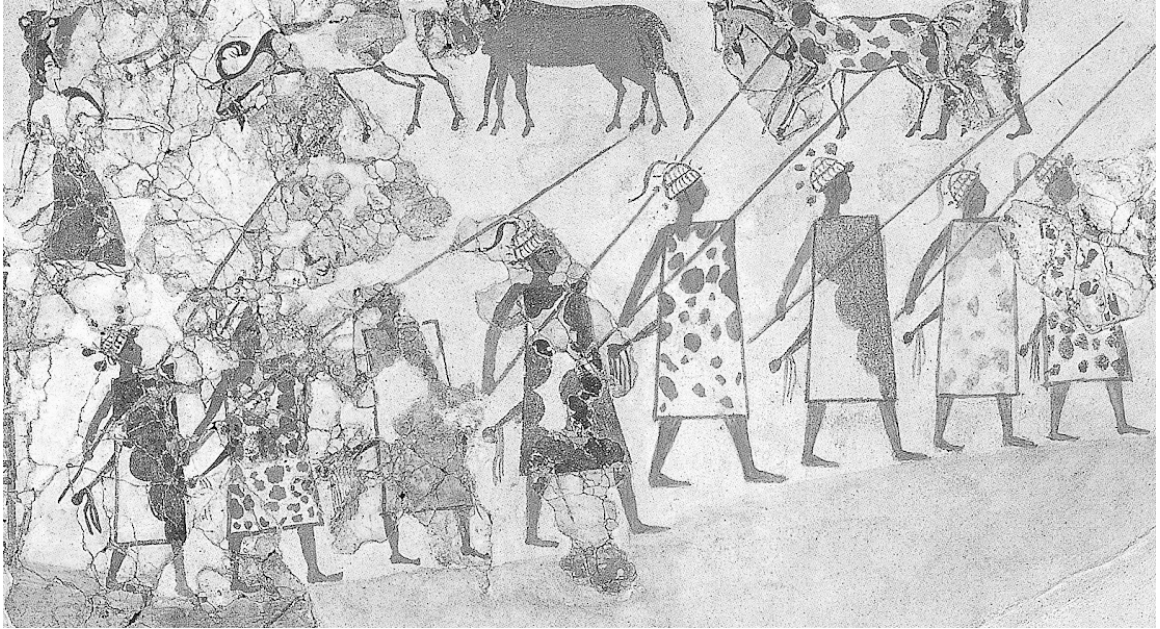


Figure 32. Procession of warriors in variously decorated boar's tusk helmets, north wall, Room 5 of the West House at Akrotiri (after Doumas, 1992, p. 68).

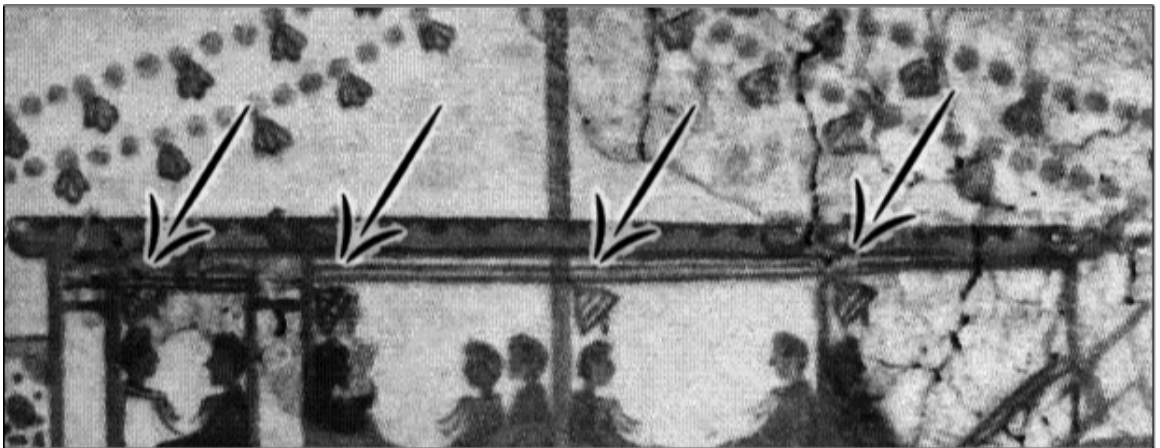


Figure 33. Boar's tusk helmets displayed on a vessel from the flotilla scene, south wall, Room 5 of the West House at Akrotiri (after Doumas, 1992, p. 68).



Figure 34. 14<sup>th</sup> century Egyptian pictorial papyrus from Amarna (EA 74100) depicting combatants in boar's tusk helmets (after Schofield & Parkinson, 1994, pl. 22a).

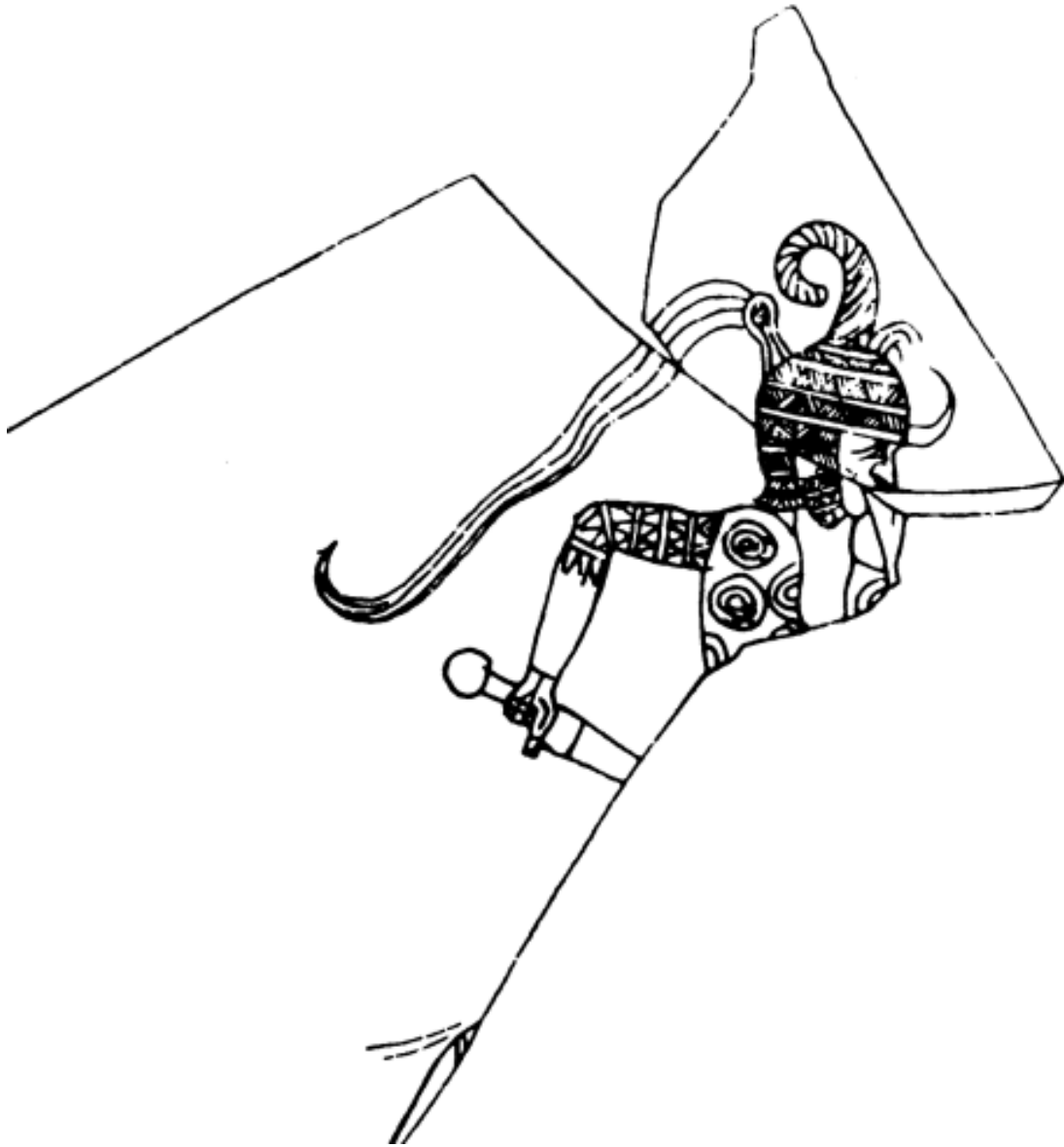


Figure 35. Aegean-style warrior on a bowl from Boğazköi (after Bittel, 1976, p. 11).



Figure 36. LH I faience fragment from Mycenae depicting a warrior with horned or multi-plumed helmet (Borchhardt, 1972, taf. 7.11).

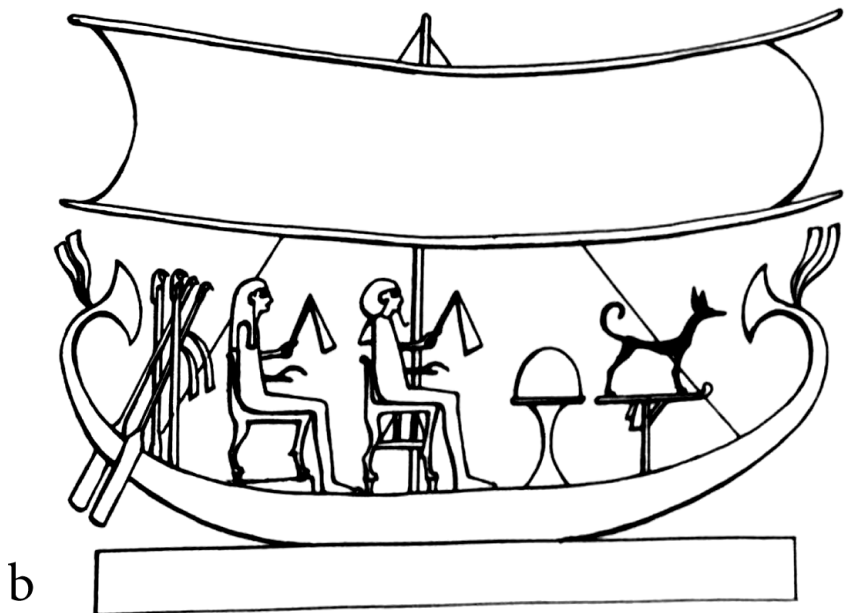
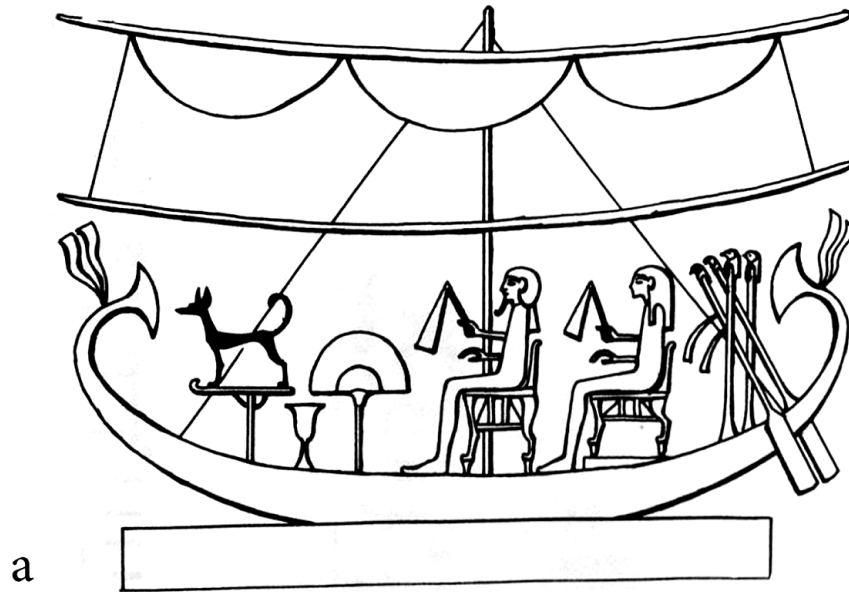


Figure 37. Abydos boat of Neferhotep (TT 50; after Hari 1985 pl. XXX).

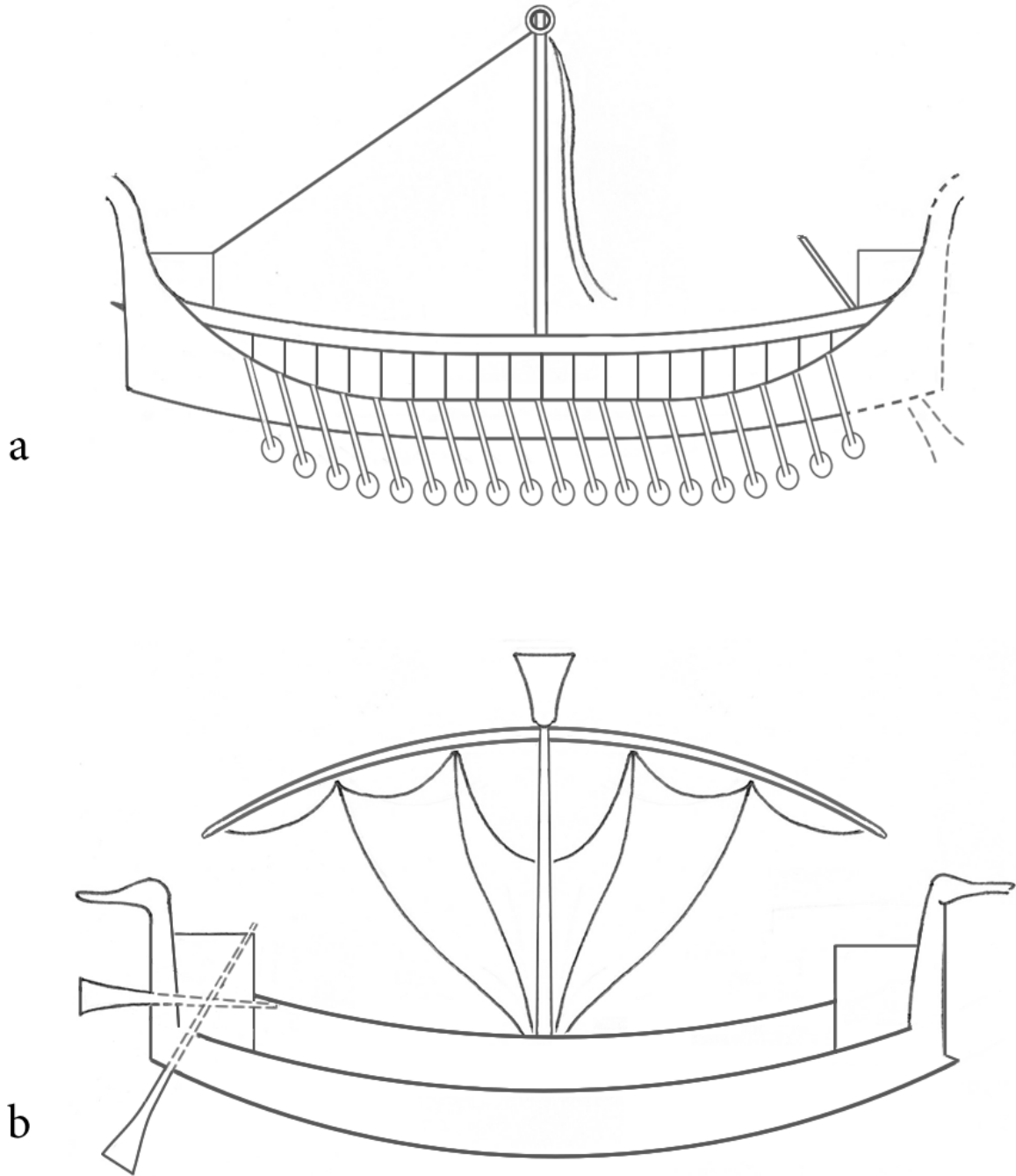


Figure 38. (a) “Kynos A” vessel from Pyrgos Livanaton; (b) Sea Peoples ship from the Medinet Habu naval battle (illustrations by the author).

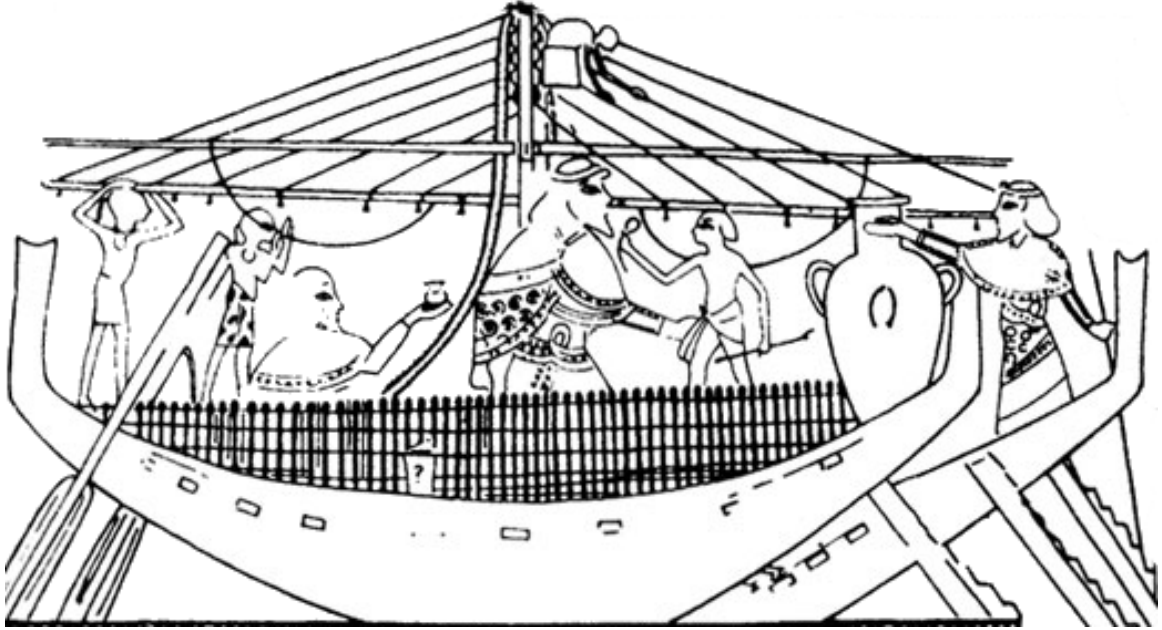


Figure 39. First known depiction of a crow's nest, on a Syro-Canaanite vessel from the tomb of Kenamun in Thebes (TT 162) (after Wachsmann, 1987, pl. V).



Figure 40. Depiction of a crow's nest on a Syro-Canaanite vessel from the tomb of Iniwia in Thebes (after Wachsmann, 1987, pl. VI).

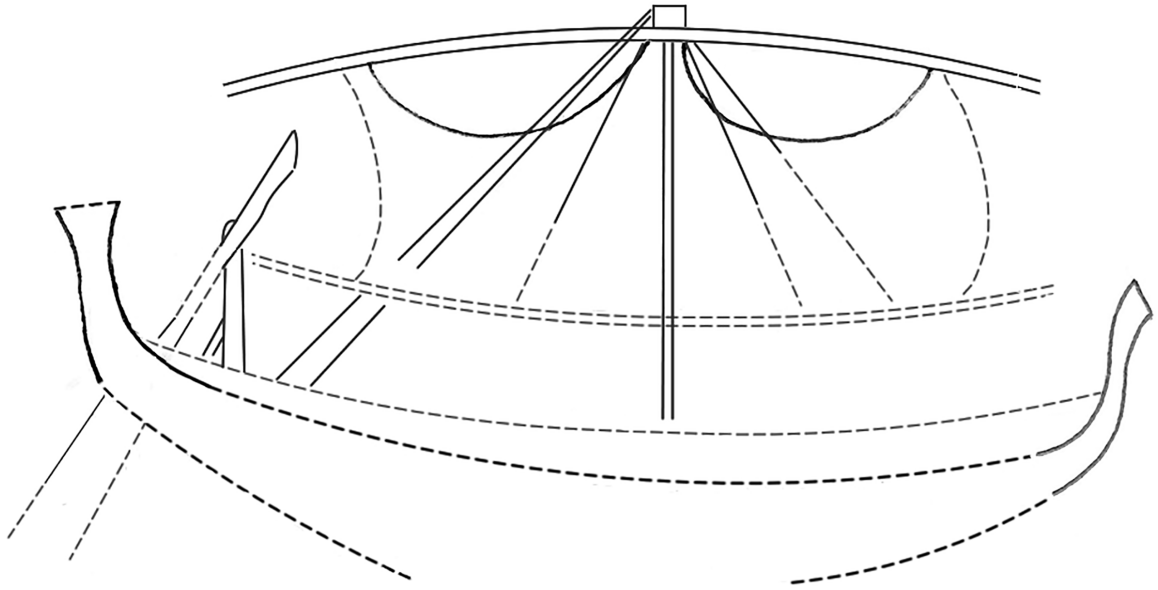
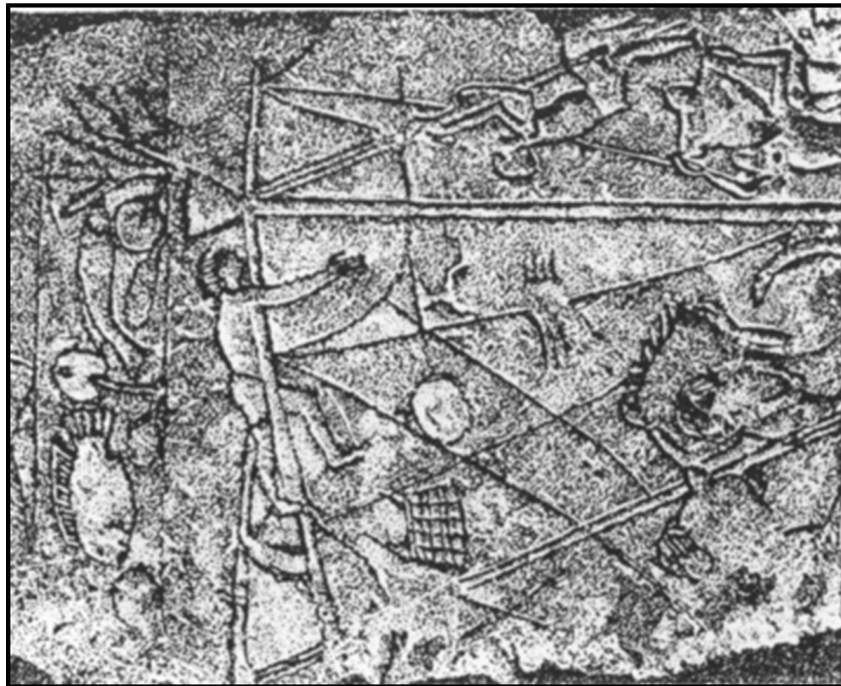
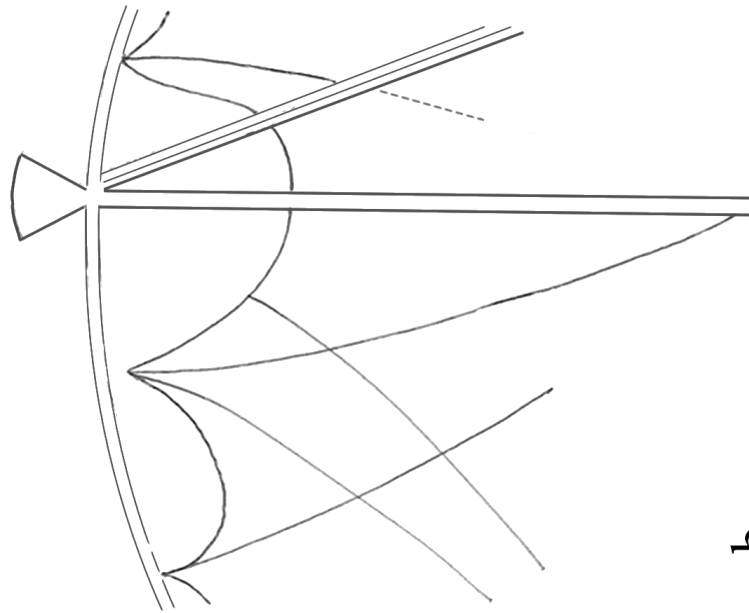


Figure 41. Syro-Canaanite ship with downward curving yard from the tomb of Nebamun, Thebes (TT17) (illustration by the author).





a



b

Figure 42. (a) Late 18th–early 19th dynasty relief from Saqqara showing two vessels with downward–curving yards, brailed rigs, and top–mounted crow’s nests (Vinson, 1993, p. 137); (b) Detail of the mast, yard, and rigging (illustration by the author).

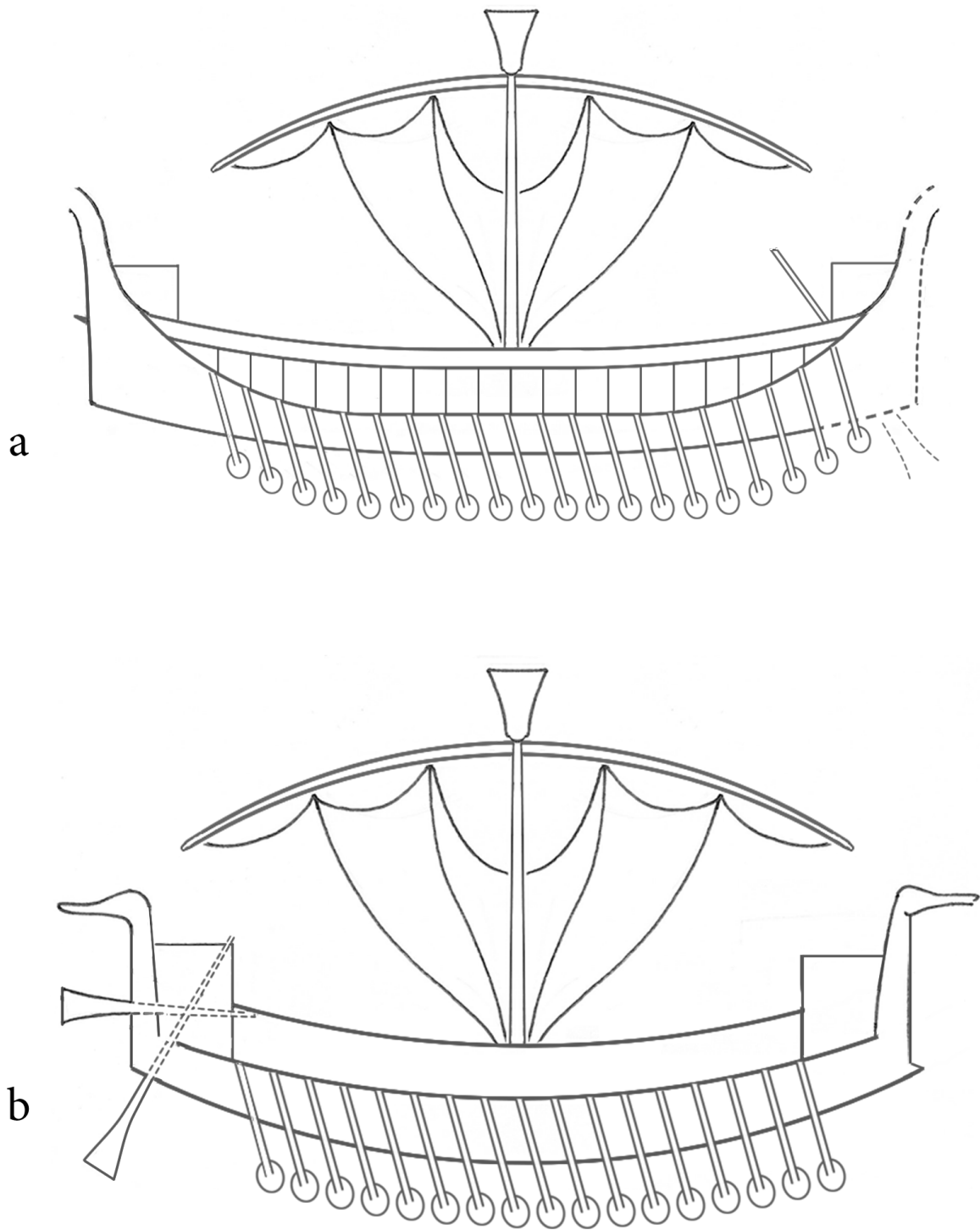


Figure 43. (a) Kynos A with Sea Peoples rigging added; (b) Sea Peoples ship from Medinet Habu, with oars added (illustrations by the author).

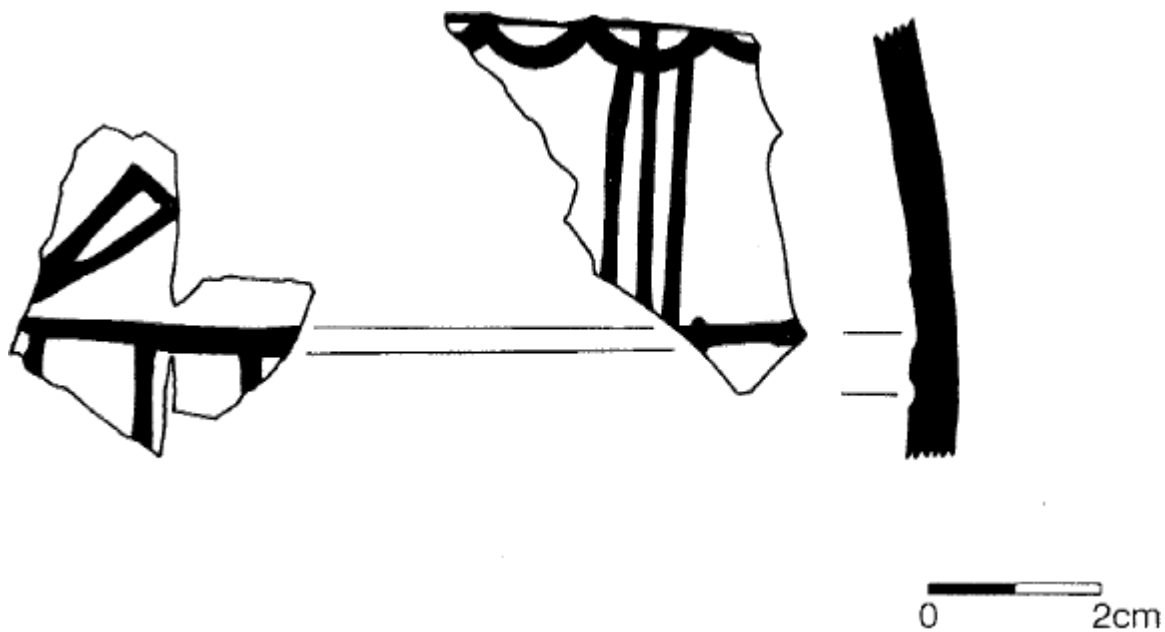


Figure 44. Philistine monochrome sherd from Ekron showing a brailed sail (after Dothan & Zukerman, 2004, fig. 35.10).

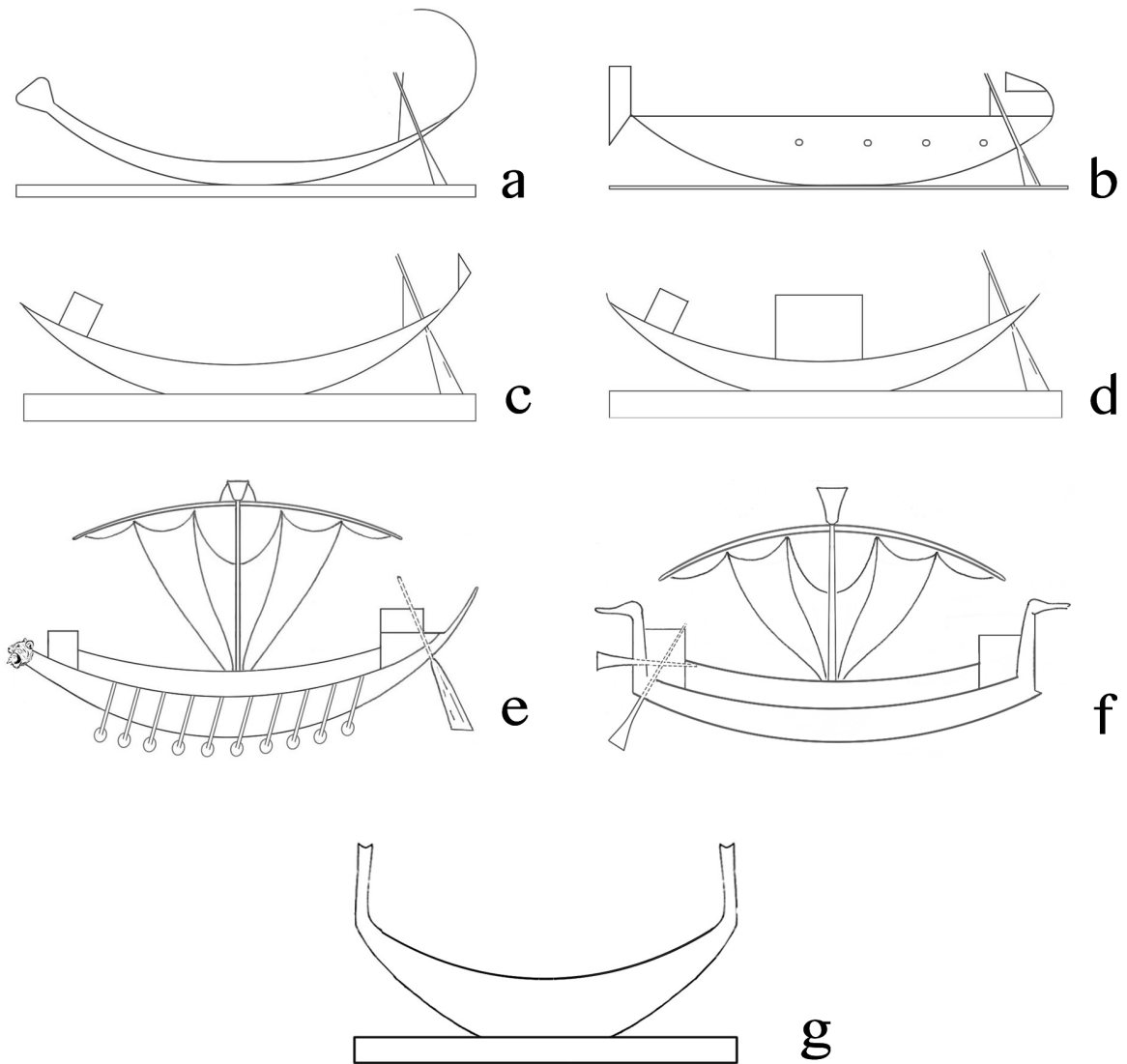


Figure 45. Ramesside ship determinatives and the vessels from Medinet Habu (MH): (a) *b3r* determinative, Great Inscription of Year 8, MH; (b) *mnš* determinative, MH; (c) *aḥawt* determinative, MH; (d) *aḥawt* determinative used in reference to Sea Peoples vessels, MH; (e) Egyptian warship from the naval battle relief, MH; (f) Sea Peoples vessel from the naval battle relief, MH; (g) *aḥaw* determinative, Tanis II rhetorical stele, Ramesses II (illustrations by the author).

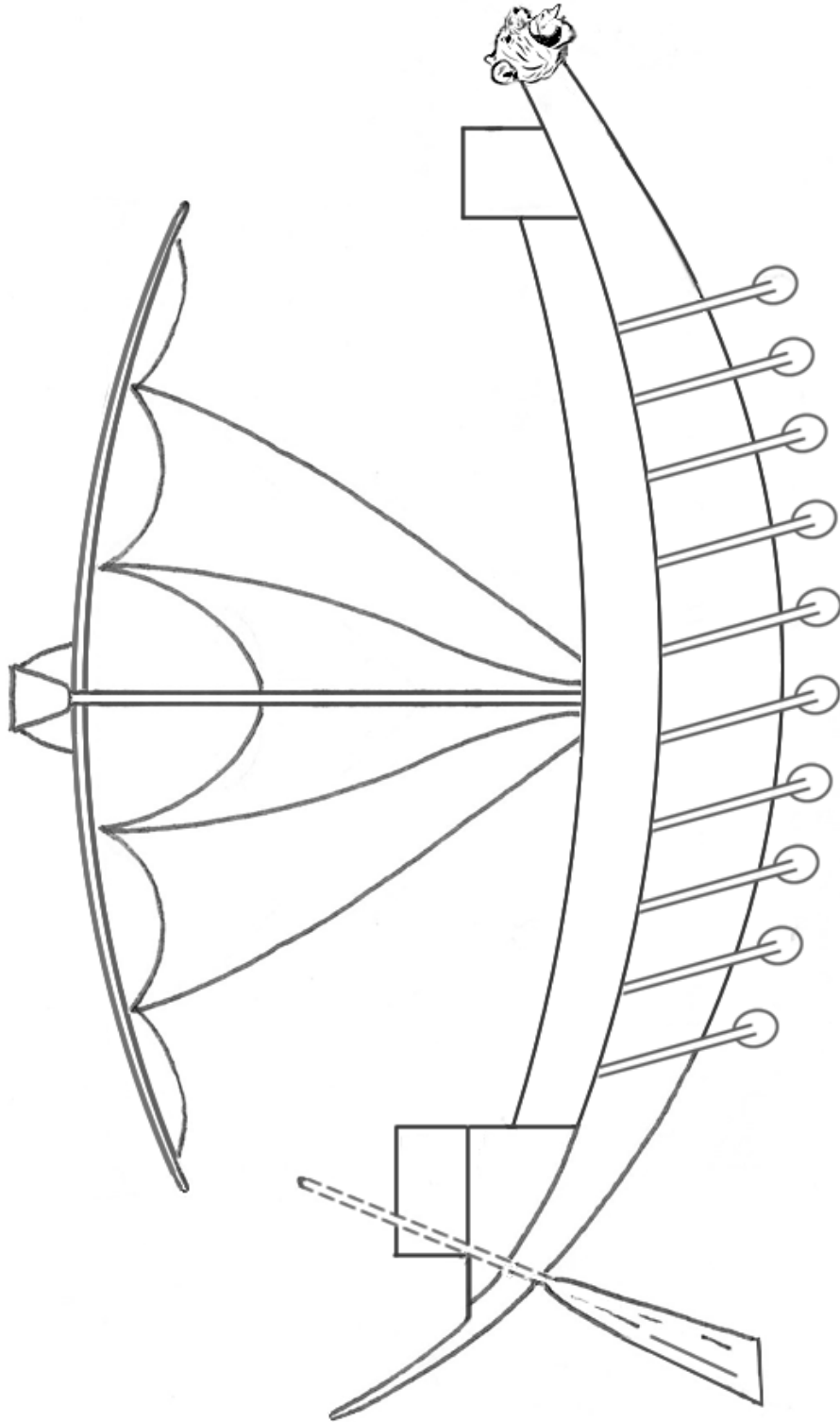


Figure 46. Hybrid Egyptian warship from the Medinet Habu naval battle (illustration by the author).

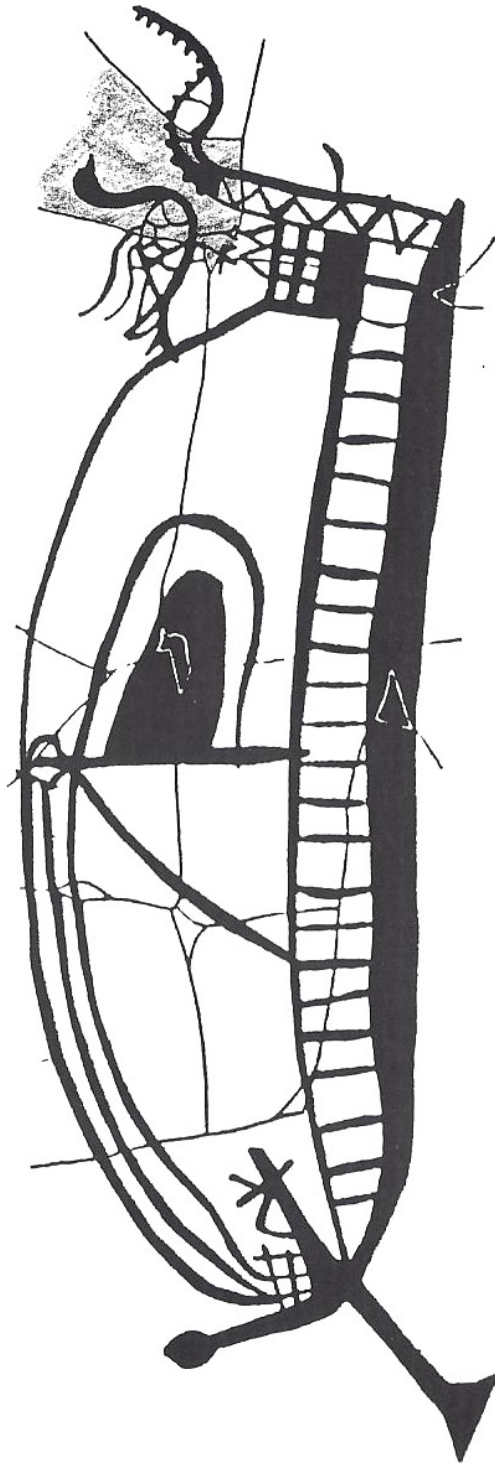


Figure 47. LH IIIC pyxis featuring a ship with 24 vertical stanchions dividing the rowers gallery to two groups of 25, Tholos Tomb 1 at Tragana (Wedde, 2000, no. 643).

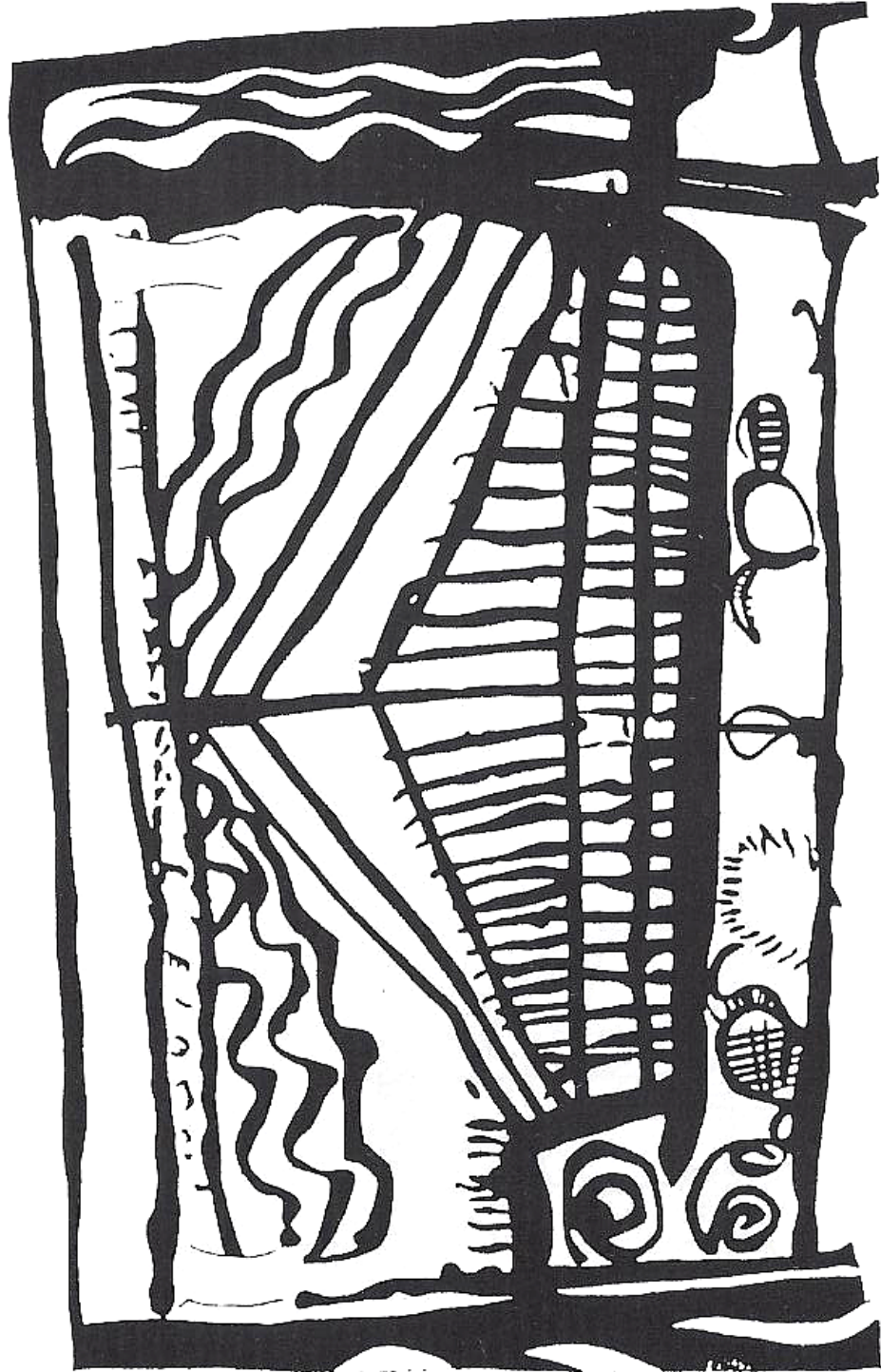


Figure 48. LH IIIIB larnax featuring a ship with 27 vertical lines in the area of the rowers gallery, Gazi (Wedde, 2000, no. 648).

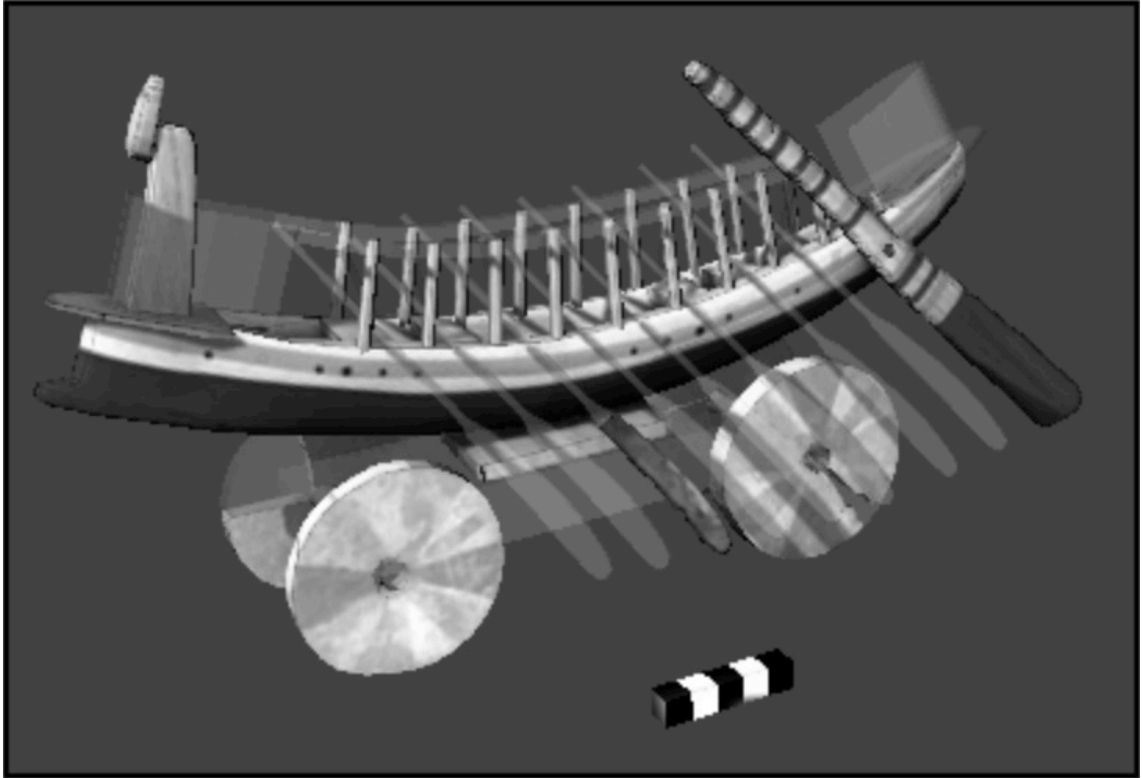


Figure 49. Virtual reconstruction of the Gurob ship-cart model (© Institute for the Visualization of History, Inc.).





Figure 50. Dedicatory stele of "Padjeseff...Sherden soldier of the great fortress,"  
Temple of Heryshef at Herakleopolis (Petrie, 1905, pl. 27.2).

## Notes

---

<sup>1</sup> For a representative sample of views on the topic, see, *inter alia*, Dickinson, 1986; S. Morris, 1989; 2003, p. 8; Carter & S. Morris, 1995; Finkelberg, 2006; S. Morris & Laffineur, 2007.

<sup>2</sup> As Finley (1977) noted nearly forty years ago, “Homeric scholarship has become notorious for its unmanageable quantity” (p. 9). Clearly, all commentaries on Homer and his world cannot and will not be cited in the present study, though every effort has been made to provide representation of relevant viewpoints and seminal works in the field.

<sup>3</sup> Contra, *inter alia*, Finley (1977), Dickinson (1986; 2007), and Muhly (1992), the latter of whom declares that “the Homeric poems” not only “have nothing to do with Greece of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC” (p. 16), but that they “simply have nothing to do with the world of the Eastern Mediterranean in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC” (p. 19).

<sup>4</sup> “Could Odysseus’ ‘lies,’ rather than being the ad hoc invention of our poet, be a reflection, albeit a dim one, of a version of the Odyssey in which these stories were presented as the truth?” (Reece, 1994, p. 160). Additionally, see Haft (1984), Perlman (1992), and Levaniouk (2012) for commentary on the nature and detail of Homer’s references to Crete during the Late Bronze Age.

<sup>5</sup> The Egyptian term *š3rd3n3* (also *šrdn* or *š3rdyn3*) is commonly glossed ‘Sherden’, ‘Shardana’, or ‘Sherdanu’ (the former will be followed here). For more comprehensive biographical sketches of this group, see Cavilier (2005), Emanuel (2013), and Wachsmann (2013).

---

<sup>6</sup> I thank Naomi J. Norman, my professor of archaeology at the University of Georgia, for both providing and blessing a definition of archaeology that includes material remains, iconography, *and* written sources, lest evidence necessary to the development of a complete picture of ancient cultures be forcibly omitted from archaeological analyses (pers. comm., Jan. 2005; cf. also Vermeule, 1987, pp. 145–146).

<sup>7</sup> The East Aegean–West Anatolian Interface (henceforth “Interface”) “forms as an entity between the Mycenaean islands of the central Aegean and the Anatolian hinterland with Troy at its northern extremity and Rhodes at its southern one” (Mountjoy, 1998, pp. 33, 38 fig. 1, 52 fig. 9). The connections within the Interface can be seen in the ceramics of the “East Aegean *Koinē*,” which developed in the LH IIIA and continued into LH IIIC Early and Middle (Mountjoy, 1998, pp. 51–63; 2013). The IIIC iteration of this *koinē* appears to have excluded Rhodes, which shows close affinities with Minoan style during this period (Mountjoy, 1998, p. 63; 1999, pp. 985–986).

<sup>8</sup> Biblical archaeology is also of particular relevance to the present discussion because the study of the Sea Peoples has for so long fallen under this field, due to the prominence of the Philistines – known from Ramesses III’s records – in both the Hebrew Bible and the archaeology of the Levant (see further below).

<sup>9</sup> The Philistine pentapolis consisted of Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron (modern Tell Mique), Gath (modern Tell es–Safi), and Gaza (Josh. 13: 2–3). All have been subject to modern excavation except Gaza, which assumedly lies beneath the modern city.

---

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Stager (1995, pp. 334, 336–338, 345) and Barako (2001, p. 1) on the ceramic evidence for “beachheads” along a hypothetical Philistine/Sea Peoples route of seaborne migration, as well as Lehmann (2013, pp. 322–328) for the presence of locally–made Aegeanizing pottery and implements in Syria and Cilicia as “limited immigrations from the Mediterranean” rather than permanent migratory intrusions by Sea Peoples.

<sup>11</sup> Following Barth (1969), *ethnicity* here is defined by boundaries a group establishes vis-à-vis others, rather than by the name given to it by outsiders or the “culture” displayed by the group itself (Barth, 1969, p. 15). While the ascription of names to the Sea Peoples groups by our primary sources may give us reason to consider them as an ethnic groups, a name alone does not an ethnicity make – we can only truly define these groups as “ethnic” entities if we have some sense of how those people defined themselves with regard to other groups (cf. Barth, 1969, p. 11).

<sup>12</sup> All translations of *Odyssey* are from Murray (1919), unless otherwise indicated

<sup>13</sup> CTH 61, 105, 147, 181–83, 191, 209.12, 209.16–17, 211.4, 214.12A–F, 214.16, 243.6, 570.1–2, 571.2, 572.1–2, 581, 590; Ahḫiyawa Text (AhT) 27, 28 (Beckman, Bryce & Cline, 2012)

<sup>14</sup> For a further history and archaeological assessment of theories put forth to date regarding Ahḫiyawa’s placement, see Muhly (1974), Bryce (1998, pp. 59–63), Niemeier (1998, pp. 20–23) and Beckman, Bryce & Cline (2012, pp. 1–6), with references.

---

<sup>15</sup> Evidence for at least some Mycenaean exposure to foreigners plying the trade routes across the eastern Mediterranean, if not for Mycenaean traders themselves, comes from foreign loan-words and ethnics, which appear to have accompanied goods and traders either directly from the Levant to Mycenaean Greece, or, perhaps more likely, via Cypriot and other intermediaries (*inter alia*, Bass, 1991, p. 73; 1997, p. 169; Holloway, 1992, p. 41; Cline, 1994, p. 50; Shelmerdine, 1997, p. 562; 1998, p. 292). As might be logically expected, the number foreign ethonyms and toponyms employed by the writers of the Linear B archives appears to increase as the people and places those terms refer to grow geographically nearer, with references to Egypt, Cyprus, Phoenicia, and even the Ionian islands appearing to be largely nonexistent in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (Yasur-Landau, 2010a, p. 55, table 2.1, fig. 2.3).

<sup>16</sup> Perhaps the aforementioned Hittite *Aššurwa* (*a-aS-Su-wa*), and possibly Linear A *A-SU-JA* (Hagia Traida 11; S. Morris, 2001, p. 426).

<sup>17</sup> As many as 24 groups may have been lost from this portion of the inscription (Manassa, 2003, p. 5)

<sup>18</sup> A microcosm of the disagreement over the latter is Rainey's (1982, p. 134) argument for 'Sikil' on the basis of Assyrian dialectical features in RS 34.129, while Redford (2006) argues for 'Tjekker' on the grounds of Egyptian orthography.

<sup>19</sup> While a clear trend, it should be noted that this was not a universal phenomenon; rather, "many lowland and coastal areas of Crete remained inhabited after the destructions and abandonments of LM IIIB" (Haggis & Nowicki, 1993, p. 334)

---

<sup>20</sup> Furumark (1941, p. 448 n. 1) suggested a fragment of decoration at the extreme left of a broken LH IIIB sherd from Mycenae, characterized by Vermeule and Karageorghis (1982) as “the back rim of [a] spiked ‘hedgehog’ helmet” worn by a soldier leading a horse was “part of a helmet of ‘hedgehog’ type” (p. 132; also Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, pp. 90, 211, pl. IX.8). Such an identification is problematic due in no small part to the inherent chronological conflict: if this sherd does in fact portray a “hedgehog” helmet, it is the sole example of this motif to appear in the LH IIIB, and predates by as much as a century all other examples from Mycenae – *all* of which fall in the LH IIIC Middle (ca. 1130–1070 BC). However, this sherd may be safely down-dated on stylistic grounds at least to the Transitional LH IIIB2–IIIC Early or LH IIIC Early, based on comparison with the decoration on krater rim fragments from Tiryns (Vermeule & Karageorghis, 1982, pls. X.16, XI.16.1), thus potentially solving the chronological contradiction. The only other image of a “feather-hatted warrior” that may antedate the Transitional LH IIIB2–IIIC is Sign 2 on the Phaistos Disc, which has been dated to Middle Minoan (MM) III, nearly four centuries prior to the LH IIIC. Though Evans (1909, pp. 22–25) identified this sign with the feather-hatted Sea Peoples pictured at the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (see below), this artifact’s uniqueness and oft-discussed problems preclude it from having a clear place in the present discussion (cf. Dickinson, 1994, p. 197; Robinson, 2009, pp. 297–315). Additionally, Hall’s (1911, p. 120) suggestion that warriors depicted on the Siege Rhyton from Shaft Grave IV in Mycenae (16th c. BC) should be connected to the “feather-hatted” tradition has been largely discarded (Hooker, 1967, p. 270).

---

<sup>21</sup> Clay anthropoid coffins from Egypt, Canaan, and Nubia have traditionally been divided into two stylistic groupings: *naturalistic* and *grotesque* – terminology first used by C. S. Fisher, who assigned the naturalistic coffins at Beth Shan to women and their grotesque counterparts to men (Fisher, 1923, p. 234). The more common naturalistic-style lids feature faces carved in relief, “mimic[ing] the basic appearance of an Egyptian wood or cartonnage coffin,” sometimes with relief Osiris beard and painted decoration (T. Dothan, 1979, p. 100; Bloch–Smith, 1992, p. 164; Peck, 1999, p. 34; E. Morris, 2005, p. 520). Grotesque coffin lids, on the other hand, feature facial attributes – eyes, eyebrows, nose, mouth, ears, and beard – in appliqué, giving the representation “a bizarre, somewhat caricature–like effect” (T. Dothan, 1979, p. 100). The latter have been associated with Aegean artistry at least since Flinders Petrie (1930, p. 8; Wright, 1959; 1966; T. Dothan, 1979, p. 103; 1982, p. 288).

<sup>22</sup> Papadopoulos (2006, pp. 134–135, fig. 4) has suggested that one fragment from Kos which is not clearly nautical in nature may represent feather-hatted warriors climbing a siege ladder.

<sup>23</sup> For the precedent of human sacrifice at the tomb of a hero, Catling (1995, p. 127) also points to the sacrifice of twelve Trojans upon the pyre of Patroklos at *Iliad* XXIII 175–182.

<sup>24</sup> See also, *inter alia*, Vermeule, 1964, p. 176; Palaima, 1995b; Yamagata, 1997; Albers, 2001, pp. 132–135; Maran, 2001, pp. 16–17; Dickinson, 2006, p. 35; Shelmerdine, 2007

<sup>25</sup> Thus, for example, the identification by Shaw (2001, p. 39) and followed by Tartaron (2013, p. 57) of a vessel from Hall 64 at Pylos as being outfitted with

---

a brailed rig is inaccurate, due to the number of deadeyes shown in the extant portions of the mural, through which lifts would be run (not brails), and because of the presence of a boom (cf. Wedde, 2000, p. 84).

<sup>26</sup> *Contra* Kirk (1949), who wrote that “the ‘Peoples of the Sea,’ like the Achaean assailants of Troy, used merchant-ships rather than warships as their voyage was a long one and they had to carry large quantities of stores” (p. 126 n. 37).

<sup>27</sup> As Wachsmann (1982, p. 302) has noted, a slight downward curve can be seen in the upper yards of boom-footed riverine vessels in the Theban tombs of Rekhmire (TT 100), Menna (TT 69), Amenemhet (TT 82), and Sennefer (TT 96B) (Landström, 1970, figs. 316, 319, 399).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also a LCIII graffito from Enkomi showing what may be a loose-footed sail that has been brailed up (Wachsmann, 1981, pp. 206–209, figs. 22a–b)

<sup>29</sup> Redford (1971) suggests that the Aswan stele may have been written several years after the date its text claims:

Ramesses claims in this text to have defeated the Asiatics, the Libyans, the Sea Peoples, the Nubians, and in the wake of all this to have been visited by delegations from Babylon and the Hittites. If the date on the stele is interpreted as the date of writing, the victories claimed here (apart from the Nubian war) could only be dated to the last five months of the first year, which seems preposterous (pp. 118–119).

<sup>30</sup> A further note on the Gazi vessel: the lower of the two parallel horizontal lines atop the mast may represent a boom, as Wachsmann (1998, p. 139) believes; however, if the wavy lines beneath the “boom” are intended to represent a sail, then the parallel lines atop the mast are likely a thick representation of a yard or a yard and upper border of the artist’s image. The



---

latter would fit with the motif, in which borders appear to be present on the other three sides. If this is the case, then this vessel may carry a loose-footed, brailed rig that is “reefed,” or furled to better allow for oared propulsion.

<sup>31</sup> Compare to the stemposts on the ships in Figures 22 and 47; also cf. Wachsmann (2013, pp. 78–80) for further discussion, with additional references. The upturned finial is characteristic of Mycenaean galleys; however, despite the common reference to its form as a “bird’s head,” such an identification has been called into question of late (correctly, in the present author’s view). For recent criticisms of Aegean stempost decoration as bird head representations, see Wedde (2001), Petrakis (2004, pp. 2–3), and Yasur–Landau (2010b). For a note on the possible inaccuracy of the “double bird head” motif on the Sea Peoples vessels pictured at Medinet Habu, see Artzy (2001; 2003).

<sup>32</sup> *Iliad* I 141, 300, 329, 433, 485; II170, 358, 524, 534, 545, 556, 568, 630, 644, 652, 710, 737, 747, 759; V 550, 700; VIII 222, 528; IX 235, 654; X 74; XI 5, 824, 828; XII 126; XIII 267; XV 387, 423; XVI 304; XVII 383, 639; XIX 331; XXIV 780; *Odyssey* ii 430; iii 61, 360, 365, 423; iv 646, 731, 781; vi 268; viii 34, 51, 52, 445; ix 322; x 95, 169, 244, 272, 332, 502, 571; xi 3, 58; xii 186, 264, 276, 418; xiii 425; xiv 308; xv 218, 258, 269, 416, 503; xvi 325, 348, 359; xvii 249; xviii 84; xxi 39, 307; xxiii 320; xxiv 152.

<sup>33</sup> *Iliad* XV 693; *Odyssey* iii 299; ix 482, 539; x 127; xi 6; xii 100, 148, 354; xiv 311; xx 465.

<sup>34</sup> As shown above (Ch. 3), this is not the case.

## References

- Adams, M. J., & Cohen, M. E. (2013). The Sea Peoples in primary sources. In A. E. Killebrew & G. Lehmann (Eds.), *The Philistines and other Sea Peoples in text and archaeology* (pp. 645–664). Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature.
- Ahlberg–Cornell, G. (1971). *Fighting on land and sea in Greek Geometric art*. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Aja, A. (2009). Philistine domestic architecture in the Iron Age I. (Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database (UMI No. 3385567).
- Albers, G. (2001). Rethinking Mycenaean sanctuaries. In R. Laffineur & R. Hägg (Eds.), *POTNIA. Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age* (pp. 131–141). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Albright, W. F. (1932). An anthropoid clay coffin from Sahab in Transjordan. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 36(3), 295–306.
- Anderson, J. K. (1995). The Geometric catalog of ships. In J. B. Carter & S. P. Morris (Eds.), *The Ages of Homer: A tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule* (pp. 181–191). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Andreadaki–Vlasaki, M. (1991). The Khania area, ca. 1200–700 B.C. In D. Musti, et al. (Eds.), *La transizione dal miceneo all'alto archaism dal palazzo alla città* (pp. 403–423). Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- Artzy, M. (1988). War / fighting boats in the second millennium BC in the Eastern Mediterranean. *Reports of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1988*, 181–186.
- Artzy, M. (1997). Nomads of the sea. In S. Swiny, R. L. Hohlfelder & H. W. Swiny (Eds.), *Res maritimae: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from prehistory to late antiquity* (pp. 1–16). Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Artzy, M. (1998). Routes, trade, boats, and nomads of the sea. In S. Gitin, A. Mazar & E. Stern (Eds.), *Mediterranean peoples in transition, thirteenth to early tenth centuries BCE* (pp. 439–448). Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Artzy, M. (2003). Mariners and their boats at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age in the Eastern Mediterranean. *Tel Aviv*, 30, 232–246.

- Artzy, M. (2013). On the Other Sea Peoples. In A. E. Killebrew & G. Lehmann (Eds.), *The Philistines and other Sea Peoples in text and archaeology* (pp. 329–344). Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature.
- Assmann, J. (1992). *Das kulturelle gedächtnis: Schrift, erinnerung und politische identität in frühen hochkulturen*. Munich: C.H. Beck.
- Barako, T. J. (2000). The Philistine settlement as mercantile phenomenon? *American Journal of Archaeology*, 104(3), 513–530.
- Barako, T. (2001). *The seaborne migration of the Philistines*. (Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database (UMI No. 3011522).
- Barth, F. 1969. *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Baruffi, J. T. (1998). *Naval warfare operations in the Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean*. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database (UMI No. 9832110).
- Basch, L. (1985). Appendix A to the Thera ships as sailing vessels. *Mariner's Mirror*, 71, 413–415.
- Basch, L. (1987). *Le musée imaginaire de la marine antique*. Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Basch, L. (2009). Were the Hittites able to build a replica of an Egyptian ship according to their own drawings? In H. Nowacki & W. Lefèvre (Eds.), *Creating Shapes in Civil and Naval Architecture: A Cross-Disciplinary Comparison* (pp. 65–72). Leiden: Brill.
- Basedow, M. (2007). Troy Without Homer: The Bronze Age–Iron Age Transition in the Troad. In S. P. Morris & R. Laffineur (Eds.), *EPOS: Reconsidering Greek epic and Aegean Bronze Age archaeology* (pp. 49–58). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Bass, G. F. (1987). Oldest known shipwreck reveals Bronze Age splendors. *National Geographic*, 172, 693–733.
- Bass, G. F. (1991). Evidence of trade from Bronze Age shipwrecks. In N. H. Gale (Ed.), *Bronze Age trade in the Mediterranean* (pp. 69–82). Jonsered: P. Åströms Förlag.
- Bass, G. F. (1997). Beneath the wine–dark sea: Nautical archaeology and the Phoenicians of the Odyssey. In J. E. Coleman & C. A. Walz (Eds.), *Greeks and barbarians: Essays on the interactions of Greeks and non–Greeks in antiquity and the consequences for Eurocentrism* (pp. 71–101). Bethesda: CDL Press.

- Bass, G. F. (1998). Sailing between the Aegean and the Orient in the second millennium B.C. In E. H. Cline & D. Harris–Cline (Eds.), *The Aegean and the Orient in the second millennium* (pp. 183–191). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Baumbach, L. (1983). An examination of the evidence for a state of emergency at Pylos c. 1200 B.C. from the Linear B tablets. In A. Heubeck & G. Neumann (Eds.), *Res Mycenaeae: Akten des VII. internationalen Mykenologischen colloquiums* (pp. 28–40). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Beckman, G. M. (1994a). Akkadian documents from Ugarit. In P. W. Wallace and A. G. Orphanides (eds). *Sources for the History of Cyprus II: Near Eastern and Aegean Texts from the Third to the First Millennia B.C.* (Nicosia). 26–28.
- Beckman, G. M. (1994b). Hittite Documents from Ḫattuša. In P. W. Wallace and A. G. Orphanides (eds). *Sources for the History of Cyprus II: Near Eastern and Aegean Texts from the Third to the First Millennia B.C.* (Nicosia). 31–35
- Beckman, G. (1996). *Hittite diplomatic texts*. Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature.
- Ben–Shlomo, D. (2010). *Philistine iconography: A wealth of style and symbolism*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ben–Shlomo, D., Nodarou, E., & Rutter, J. B. (2011). Transport stirrup jars from the southern Levant: New light on commodity exchange in the Eastern Mediterranean. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 115(3), 329–353.
- Benzi, M. (2013). The southeast Aegean in the age of the Sea Peoples. In A. E. Killebrew & G. Lehmann (Eds.), *The Philistines and other Sea Peoples in text and archaeology* (pp. 509–542). Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature.
- Birney, K. J. (2007). *Sea Peoples or Syrian peddlers? The Late Bronze Age–Iron I Aegean presence in Syria and Cilicia*. (Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database (UMI No. 3265142).
- Bittel, K. (1976). Tonschale mit Ritzzeichnung von Boğazköy. *Revue Archéologique*, 1, 9–14.
- Bittel, K. (1983). Kuzi–Tešub and the ‘Great Kings’ of Karkemiš. *Anatolian Studies*, 38, 99–108.
- Blegen, C. (1962). *The Mycenaean Age: The Trojan War, the Dorian invasion, and other problems*. Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati Press.
- Blakolmer, F. (2007). The silver Battle Krater from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae: Evidence of fighting ‘heroes’ on Minoan palace walls at Knossos? In S. P. Morris & R. Laffineur (Eds.), *EPOS: Reconsidering Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology* (pp. 213–224). Liège: Université de Liège.

- Blakolmer, F. (2012). The missing 'barbarians': Some thoughts on ethnicity and identity in Aegean Bronze Age iconography. *Talanta*, 44, 53-77.
- Bloch-Smith, E. (1992). *Judahite burial practices and beliefs about the dead*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Braunstein, S. L. (1998). The dynamics of power in an age of transition: An analysis of the mortuary remains of Tell el-Far'ah (South) in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. (Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database (UMI No. 9820150).
- Breasted, J. H. (1906a). *Ancient records of Egypt*, vol. 2. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Breasted, J. H. (1906b). Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago, first preliminary report of the Egyptian expedition. *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 23, 1-64.
- Brug, J. F. (1985). *A literary and archaeological study of the Philistines*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Bryce, T. R. (1989). The nature of Mycenaean involvement in western Anatolia. *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 38, 1-21.
- Bryce, T. R. (1992). Lukka revisited. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 51, 121-130.
- Bryce, T. R. (1998). *The kingdom of the Hittites*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bryce, T. R. (2011). The Late Bronze Age in the west and the Aegean. In S. R. Steadman & G. McMahon (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of ancient Anatolia: 10,000-323 B.C.E.* (pp. 363-375). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bryce, T. R. (2012). *The world of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bunnens, G. (1986). I Filistei e le invasioni dei Popoli del Mare. In D. Musti (Ed.), *Le origini dei Greci: Dori e mondo Egeo* (pp. 227-256). Rome: Laterza.
- Burgess, J. S. (2001). *The tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Çambel, H., & Özyar, A. (2003). *Karatepe-Aslantaş: Azatiwataya: Die Bildwerke*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Caminos, R. A. (1954). *Late Egyptian miscellanies*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Cammarosano, M. (2010). Tanuḫepa: A Hittite queen in troubled times. *Mesopotamia*, 45, 47-64.

- Capart, J. (1931). *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art Égyptien II*. Paris: Les Éditions du Pégase.
- Carlier, P. (2007). Are the Homeric *basileis* 'big men'? In S. P. Morris & R. Laffineur (Eds.), *EPOS: Reconsidering Greek epic and Aegean Bronze Age archaeology* (pp. 121–128). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Carter, J. B. (1995). Ancestor cult and the occasion of Homeric performance. In J. B. Carter & S. P. Morris (Eds.), *The ages of Homer: A tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule* (pp. 285–312). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Carter, J. B., & Morris, S. P. (Eds.). (1995). *The ages of Homer: A tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Caskey, J. L. (1966). Excavations in Keos, 1964–1965. *Hesperia*, 35(4), 363–376.
- Caskey, J. L. (1981). Notes on Keos and Tzia. *Hesperia*, 50(4), 320–326.
- Casson, L. (1971). *Ships and seamanship in the ancient world*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Catling, H. W. (1995). Heroes returned? Subminoan burials from Crete. In J. B. Carter & S. P. Morris (Eds.), *The Ages of Homer: A tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule* (pp. 123–130). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Catling, H. W. (1996). The Subminoan phase in the North Cemetery. In J. N. Coldstream & H. W. Catling (Eds.), *Knossos North Cemetery: Early Greek tombs II: Discussion* (pp. 639–649). London: British School at Athens.
- Cavilier, G. (2005). *Gli Shardana nell'Egitto Ramesside*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Chadwick, J. (1968). The Group *sw* in Mycenaean. *Minos*, 9, 62–65.
- Chadwick, J. (1973). *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Chadwick, J. (1976). *The Mycenaean world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chadwick, J. (1988). The Women of Pylos. In T. G. Palaima & J.-P. Olivier (Eds.), *Texts, tablets and scribes: Studies in Mycenaean epigraphy offered to Emmett L. Bennett, Jr.* (pp. 43–95). Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca Servicio Editorial.
- Cifola, B. (1994). The role of the Sea Peoples at the end of the Late Bronze Age: A reassessment of the textual and archaeological evidence. *Oriens Antiqui Miscellanea*, 1, 1–57.
- Cline, E. H. (1994). *Sailing the wine dark sea: International trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean* (BAR International Series 591). Oxford: Archaeopress.

- Cline, E. H. (1996). Aššuwa and the Achaeans: The 'Mycenaean' sword at Hattušas and its possible implications. *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 91, 137-151.
- Cline, E. H. (2009). Rethinking Mycenaean international trade with Egypt and the Near East. In M. L. Galaty & W. A. Parkinson (Eds.), *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces II* (pp. 190–200). Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology.
- Cline, E. H., & O'Connor, D. (2003). The Mystery of the Sea Peoples. In D. O'Connor & S. Quirke (Eds.), *Mysterious Lands* (pp. 107–138). Portland: Cavendish.
- Cline, E. H., & O'Connor, D. (2012). The Sea Peoples. In E. H. Cline & D. O'Connor (Eds.), *Ramesses III: The Life and Times of Egypt's Last Great Hero* (pp. 180–208). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Cline, E. H., & Yasur-Landau, A. (2007). Poetry in motion: Canaanite rulership and Aegean narrative art at Tel Kabri. In S. P. Morris & R. Laffineur (Eds.), *EPOS: Reconsidering Greek epic and Aegean Bronze Age archaeology* (pp. 157–166). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Cosmopoulos, M. B. (2010). *Iklaina archaeological project: 2010 Internet report*. <http://iklaina.files.wordpress.com/2011/11/2010report.pdf>
- Coleman, J. E. (1965). Excavations in Ceos. *Classical Journal*, 61(1), 2-4.
- Crielaard, J. P. (1998). Surfing on the Mediterranean web: Cypriot long-distance communications during the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C. In V. Karageorghis, N. Stampolidēs & P. Krētēs (Eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th-6th cent. B.C. (187-206)*. Athens: University of Crete.
- Crielaard, J. P. (2011). The 'wanax to basileus model' reconsidered: Authority and ideology after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces. In A. Mazarakis Ainian (Ed.), *The 'Dark Ages' Revisited: Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D. E. Coulson* (pp. 83-111). Volos: University of Thessaly Press.
- Crouwel, J. H. (1991). *Mycenaean pictorial pottery*. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Crouwel, J. H. (2006). Late Mycenaean Pictorial pottery. In D. Evely (Ed.), *Lefkandi IV: The Bronze Age: The Late Helladic IIIC settlement at Xeropolis* (pp. 233-256). London: British School at Athens.
- Cruz-Uribe, E. (1988). A new look at the Adoption Papyrus. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 74, 220-223.
- Dakoronia, P. (1990). War-ships on sherds of LHIIIC kraters from Kynos. In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS II: 2<sup>nd</sup> international symposium on ship construction in antiquity, Delphi 1987* (pp. 117–122). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the

## Preservation of Nautical Tradition.

- Dakoronia, P. (1996). Kynos...fleet. In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS IV: 4<sup>th</sup> International symposium on ship construction in antiquity, Athens 1991* (pp. 159–172). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Dakoronia, P. (2002). Further finds from Kynos. In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS VII: 7<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Pylos 1999* (pp. 283–290). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Dakoronia, P. (2006). Mycenaean pictorial style at Kynos, East Locris. In E. Rystedt & B. Wells (Eds.), *Pictorial pursuits: Figurative painting on Mycenaean and Geometric pottery* (pp. 23–29). Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Dakoronia, P., & Mpougia, P. (1999). *Τον καιρο των Μυκηναίων στη Φθιώτιδα*. Lamia: Programma Melina.
- Davis, D. (2002). Maritime space and night-time sailing in the ancient Eastern Mediterranean. In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS VII: 7<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Pylos 1999* (pp. 291–309). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Davis, D. (2013). Ship colors in the Homeric poems. In S. Wachsmann, *The Gurob ship-cart model and its Mediterranean context* (pp. 219–224). College Station: Texas A&M Press.
- Day, P. M., Quinn, P. S., Rutter, J. B., & Kilikoglou, V. (2011). A world of goods: Transport stirrup jars and commodity exchange at the Late Bronze Age harbor of Kommos, Crete. *Hesperia*, 80(4), 511-558.
- de Rougé, E. (1877). *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique de M. le Vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé*. Paris: F. Vieweg.
- de Souza, P. (1999). *Piracy in the Greco-Roman world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Demand, N. H. (2011). *The Mediterranean context of early Greek history*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Deger-Jalkotzy, S. (1978). *E-QE-TA. Zur rolle des gefolgschaft wesens in der sozialstruktur Mykenischer reich*. Vienna: Osterreich Adademie des Wissenschafts.
- Desborough, V. R. d'A. (1973). Crete in the first half of the twelfth century BC: Some problems. *Πεπραγμένα του Η Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, 1*, 62–69.



- Dickinson, O. T. P. K. (1977). *The origins of Mycenaean civilisation*. Göteborg: Paul Astöroms Förlag.
- Dickinson, O. T. P. K. (1986). Homer: Poet of the Dark Age. *Greece & Rome*, 33, 20–37.
- Dickinson, O. T. P. K. (2006). *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age: Continuity and change between the twelfth and eighth centuries B.C.* London: Routledge.
- Dickinson, O. T. P. K. (2007). Aspects of Homeric geography. In S. P. Morris & R. Laffineur (Eds.), *EPOS: Reconsidering Greek epic and Aegean Bronze Age archaeology* (pp. 233–238). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Dietrich, M., & Loretz, O. (1972). Die Schardana in den texten von Ugarit. In R. Stiehl & G. A. Lehmann (Eds.), *Antike und universalgeschichte: Festschrift Hans Erich Stier zum 70* (pp. 39–42). Münster: Aschendorff.
- Donlan, W. (1985). The social groups of Dark Age Greece. *Classical Philology*, 80(4), 293–308.
- Dothan, M. (1986). Šardina at Akko? In M. Balmuth (Ed.), *Studies in Sardinian archaeology II: Sardinia and the Mediterranean* (pp. 105–115). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Dothan, M. (1989). Archaeological evidence for the movements of early Sea Peoples in Canaan. In S. Gitin & W. G. Dever (Eds.), *Recent excavations in Israel: Studies in Iron Age archaeology* (pp. 59–70). Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Dothan, T. (1982). *Philistine material culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dothan, T. (1998). Initial Philistine settlement: From migration to coexistence. In S. Gitin, A. Mazar & E. Stern (Eds.), *Mediterranean peoples in transition, thirteenth to early tenth centuries BCE* (pp. 148–161). Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Dothan, T., & Zukerman, A. (2004). A preliminary study of the Mycenaean III C:1 pottery assemblages from Tel Mique–Ekron and Ashdod. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 333, 1–54.
- Doumas, C. (1992). *The wall paintings of Thera*. Athens: Petros M. Nomikos and the Thera Foundation.
- Drews, R. (1993). *The end of the Bronze Age: Changes in warfare and the catastrophe ca. 1200 BC*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dué, C. (2012). Maneuvers in the dark of night: *Iliad* 10 in the twenty-first century. In F. Montanari, A. Rengakos & Ch. C. Tsagalis (Eds.), *Homeric*

- contexts: Neoanalysis and the interpretation of oral poetry (pp. 175–184). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Earle, J. W. (2008). *Trade and culture in the Cycladic Islands during the Late Bronze Age*. (Doctoral dissertation, New York University). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database (UMI No. 3320782).
- Easton, D. F. (1984). Hittite history and the Trojan War. In L. Foxhall & J. K. Davies (Eds.), *The Trojan War: Its historicity and context* (pp. 23–44). Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Edel, E. (1994) *Die Ägyptisch–Hethitische korrespondenz aus Boghazköi*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Eder, B. (2004). Patterns of Contact and Communication between the Regions South and North of the Corinthian Gulf in LH IIIC. In N. Kyparissi–Apostolika & M. Papakonstantinou (Eds.), *The Periphery of the Mycenaean World, 2<sup>nd</sup> International Interdisciplinary Colloquium* (pp. 37–54). Lamia: Ypourgeio Politismou.
- Eder, B. (2009). The Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition in western Greece: Submycenaean studies. In S. Deger–Jalkotzy & A. Bächle (Eds.), *LH IIIC Chronology and Synchronisms III: LH IIIC Late and the Transition to the Early Iron Age* (pp. 133–149). Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Edgerton, W. F., & Wilson, J. A. (1936). *Historical records of Ramesses III: texts in Medinet Habu I–II*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Efkleidou, K. (2002). The status of outsiders within Mycenaean Pylos: Issues of ethnic identity, incorporation and marginality. *Minos*, 37, 1–23.
- Emanuel, J. P. (2012a, Jan.). *Šrdn of the sea: A reassessment of the Sherden and their role in Egyptian society*. Paper presented at the Archaeological Institute of America annual meeting, Philadelphia, PA.
- Emanuel, J. P. (2012b, April). *Šrdn of the strongholds, Šrdn of the sea: The Sherden in Egyptian society, reassessed*. Paper presented at the American Research Center in Egypt annual meeting, Providence, RI.
- Emanuel, J. P. (2013). Šrdn from the sea: The arrival, integration, and acculturation of a Sea People. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*, 5(1), 14–28
- Emanuel, J. P. (2014). The Sea Peoples, Egypt, and the Aegean: Transference of maritime technology in the Late Bronze–Early Iron transition (LH IIIB–C). *Aegean Studies*, 1, 21–56.
- Emlyn–Jones, C. (1986). True and lying tales in the *Odyssey*. *Greece & Rome*, 33, 1–10.

- Epigraphic Survey. (1930). *Medinet Habu I: Earlier historical records of Ramses III* (Oriental Institute Publications 8). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Epigraphic Survey. (1932). *Medinet Habu II: Later historical records of Ramses III* (Oriental Institute Publications 9). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Epigraphic Survey. (1970). *Medinet Habu VIII: The eastern high gate with translations of texts* (Oriental Institute Publications 94). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ergin, G. (2007). Anatolian women in the Linear B texts: A general review of the evidence. In Alparslan, M. Doğan-Alparslan & H. Peker (Eds.), *Belkis Dinçol ve Ali Dinçola Armağan: VITA: Festschrift in honor of Belkis Dinçol and Ali Dinçol* (pp. 269–284). Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Evans, A. J. (1900). Mycenaean Cyprus as illustrated in the British Museum excavations. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 30, 199–220.
- Eyre, C. J. (1992). The Adoption Papyrus in social context. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 78, 207–221.
- Faulkner, R. O. (1941). Egyptian military standards. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 27, 12–18.
- Faulkner, R. O. (1953). Egyptian military organization. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 39, 32–47.
- Filos, C. 2012. Steadfast in multiform tradition: εμπειδος and ασφαλης in Homer and beyond. In V. Bers, et al. (Eds.), *Donum Natalicium Digitaler Confetium Gregorio Nagy Septuagenario a Discipulis Collegis Familiaribus Oblatum*. Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies.
- Finkelberg, M. (1988). From Ahhiyawa to Ἀχαιοί. *Glotta*, 66, 127–134.
- Finkelberg, M. (2005). *Greeks and Pre-Greeks: Aegean prehistory and Greek heroic tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Finley, M. (1957). Homer and Mycenae: Property and tenure, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 6(2), 133–159.
- Fisher, K. D. (2006-7). The ‘Aegeanization’ of Cyprus at the end of the Bronze Age: An architectural perspective. In T. P. Harrison (Ed.), *Cyprus, the Sea Peoples and the Eastern Mediterranean Regional Perspectives of Continuity and Change* (pp. 81–103). Toronto: Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies.
- Forrer, E. (1924). Vorhomerische Griechen in den keilschrift-texten von Bogazköi. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 63, 1–22.
- French, E. B. (1998). The ups and downs of Mycenae: 1250-1150 BCE. In S. Gitin,

- A. Mazar & E. Stern (Eds.), *Mediterranean peoples in transition, thirteenth to early tenth centuries BCE*. (pp. 1–5). Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Furumark, A. (1941). *The Mycenaean pottery: Analysis and classification*. Stockholm: Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets-Akademien.
- Gardiner, A. H. (1941a). Adoption extraordinary. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 26, 23–29.
- Gardiner, A. H. (1941b). Ramesside texts relating to the taxation and transport of corn. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 27, 19–73.
- Gardiner, A. H. (1948a). *The Wilbour Papyrus II, Commentary*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Gardiner, A. H. (1948b). *The Wilbour Papyrus III, Translation*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Gardiner, A. H. (1960). *The Kadesh inscriptions of Ramesses II*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Garstang, J. (1943). Hittite military roads in Asia Minor, a study in imperial strategy with a map. *American Journal of Archaeology* 47(1), 35-62.
- Genz, H. (2013). No land could stand before their arms, from...Hatti...on? New light on the end of the Hittite empire and the Early Iron Age in central Anatolia. In A. E. Killebrew & G. Lehmann (Eds.), *The Philistines and other Sea Peoples in text and archaeology* (pp. 469–478). Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature.
- Georganas, I. (2010). Weapons and warfare. In E. H. Cline (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean (ca. 3000-1000 BC)* (pp. 305-314). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Georgiou, H. S. (1991). Bronze Age ships and rigging. In R. Laffineur & L. Basch (Eds.), *Thalassa: l'Egée préhistorique et la mer* (pp. 61–71). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Georgiou, H. S. (2012). Bronze Age sailing and Homeric evidence. In G. S. Korres, N. Karadimas & G. Flouda (Eds.), *Archaeology and Heinrich Schliemann: A century after his death* (pp. 523–529). Athens: Aegeus Society for Aegean Prehistory.
- Gilan, A. (2013). Pirates of the Mediterranean – A view from the Bronze Age. In N. Jaspert & S. Kolditz (Eds.), *Seeraub im Mittelmeerraum: Piraterie, korsarentum und maritime gewalt von der antike bis zur neuzeit* (pp. 49-66). Paderborn: Verlag Wilhelm Fink.
- Gilboa, A. (2006–7). Fragmenting the Sea Peoples, with an Emphasis on Cyprus, Syria and Egypt: A Tel Dor Perspective. In T. P. Harrison (Ed.), *Cyprus, the*

- Sea Peoples and the Eastern Mediterranean Regional Perspectives of Continuity and Change* (pp. 209–244). Toronto: Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies.
- Gitin, S., Mazar, A., & Stern, E. (Eds.). (1998). *Mediterranean peoples in transition, thirteenth to early tenth centuries B.C.E.* Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Goedicke, H. (1975). *The Report of Wenamun*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Goody, J. (2000). *The power of written tradition*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian.
- Gordon, C. H. (1992). The Mediterranean synthesis. In W. A. Ward & M. S. Joukowsky (Eds.), *The crisis years: The 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. from beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (pp. 188–196). Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.
- Gray, D., 1968. Homer and the archaeologists. In M. Platnauer (Ed.), *Fifty years (and twelve), of classical scholarship* (pp. 24–31). New York: Barnes & Noble.
- Graziadio, G. (1988). The chronology of the graves of Grave Circle B at Mycenae: A new hypothesis. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 92(3), 343–372.
- Grossman, P. (1967). Zur unterburgmauer von Tiryns. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1967, 92-101.
- Gschintzer, F. (1965). BASILEUS: Ein terminologischer beitrag zur frugeschichte des königtums bei den Griechen. In O. Menghin, H. M. Ölberg & L. C. Franz (Eds.), *Festschrift L. C. Franz zum 70. Geburtstag* (pp. 99-112). Innsbruck: Auslieferung durch das Sprachwissenschaftliche Institut der Leopold-Franzens-Universität.
- Güterbock, H. G. (1967). The Hittite conquest of Cyprus reconsidered. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 26, 73–81.
- Güterbock, H. G. (1983). The Hittites and the Aegean world: Part 1. The Ahhiyawa problem reconsidered. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 87(2), 133–138.
- Güterbock, H. G. (1984). Hittites and Akhaeans: A new look. *Proceedings of the American Philological Society*, 128, 114–122.
- Güterbock, H. G. (1986). Troy in the Hittite texts? In M. J. Mellink (Ed.), *Troy and the Trojan War* (pp. 33–44). Bryn Mawr: Dept. of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology.
- Güterbock, H. G. (1992). Survival of the Hittite dynasty. In W. A. Ward & M. S. Joukowsky (Eds.), *The crisis years: The 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. from beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (pp. 53–55). Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.

- Habachi, L. (1980). The military posts of Ramesses II on the coastal road and the western part of the Delta. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 80, 13-30.
- Haider, P. (2012). The Aegean and Anatolia. In E. H. Cline & D. O'Connor (Eds.), *Ramesses III, the life and times of Egypt's last great hero* (pp. 151-159). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Hallo, W. W. (1992). From Bronze Age to Iron Age in western Asia, defining the problem. In W. A. Ward & M. S. Joukowsky (Eds.), *The crisis years: The 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. from beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (pp. 1-9). Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.
- Hafford, W. B. (2001). *Merchants in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean, Tools, Texts, and Trade*. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database (UMI No. 3015317).
- Haggis, D. C., & Nowicki, K. (1993). Khalasmeno and Katalimata: Two Early Iron Age settlements in Monastiraki, East Crete. *Hesperia*, 62, 303-337.
- Halbwachs, M. (1950). *La mémoire collective*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Hall, H. R. (1911). A note on the Phaistos Disk. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 31, 119-123.
- Halstead, P. (1992). The Mycenaean palatial economy: Making the most of the gaps in the evidence. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 38, 57-86.
- Halverson, J. (1986). The succession issue in the *Odyssey*. *Greece & Rome*, 33(2), 119-128.
- Hankey, V., & Warren, P. (1974). The absolute chronology of the Aegean Late Bronze Age. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 21, 142-152.
- Harrison, T. P. (Ed.). (2006-7). *Cyprus, the Sea Peoples and the Eastern Mediterranean Regional Perspectives of Continuity and Change*. Toronto: Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies.
- Harrison, T. P. 2009. Neo-Hittites in the 'Land of Palistin': Renewed investigations at Tell Ta'yinat on the Plain of Antioch. *Near Eastern Archaeology*, 72(4), 174-189.
- Hasel, M. G. (1996). *Domination and resistance: Egyptian military activity in the southern Levant during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age transition*. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Arizona). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database (UMI No. 9720600).

- Hawkins, J. D. (1988). Kuzi–Tešub and the ‘Great Kings’ of Karkamiš. *Anatolian Studies*, 38, 99–108.
- Hawkins, J. D. (1990). The new inscription from the Südburg of Boğazköy–Hattuša. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1990, 305–314.
- Hawkins, J. D. (1995). *The hieroglyphic inscription of the sacred pool complex at Hattuša (SÜDBURG)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hawkins, J. D. (2000). *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions I: Inscriptions of the Iron Age*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Hawkins, J. D. (2002). Anatolia: The end of the Hittite empire and after. In E. A. Braun–Holzinger & H. Hatthäus (Eds.), *Die Nahöstlichen und Griechenland an der wende vom 2. Zum 1. jahrtausend v. Chr. kontinuierität und wandel von strukturen und mechanismen kultureller interaktion* (pp. 144–151). Möhnese: Bibliopolis.
- Hawkins, J. D. (2003). The Storm–God seal of Muršili III. In G. M. Beckman, R. H. Beal & J. G. McMahon (Eds.), *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.* (pp. 169–175). Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Hawkins, J. D. 2009. Cilicia, the Amuq, and Aleppo: New light in a Dark Age. *Near Eastern Archaeology*, 72(4), 164–173.
- Hawkins, J. D. (2010). The usage of the Hieroglyphic Luwian sign ‘Crampon’ (L.386). *Kadmos*, 49, 1–10.
- Hawkins, J. D. (2011). The inscriptions of the Aleppo temple. *Anatolian Studies*, 61, 35–54.
- Helck, W. (1958). *Urkunden des Ägyptischen altertums IV: Urkunden der 18. dynastie XXI*. Leipzig: Akademie Verlag.
- Heck, W. (1959). Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten im Neuen Reich. *Analecta Biblica*, 12, 113–129.
- Heck, W. (1971). *De beziehungen Ägyptens zu vorderasiens im 3. Und 2. jahrtausend v. Chr.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Heck, W. (1979). *De beziehungen Ägyptens zu vorderasiens zur Ägäis: bis ins 7. jahrtausend v. Chr.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft
- Heltzer, M. (1976). *The rural community in Ancient Ugarit*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Heltzer, M. (1979). Some questions concerning the Sherdana in Ugarit. *Israel Oriental Studies*, 9, 9–16.
- Heltzer, M. (1994). *Trade between Egypt and Western Asia: New metrological*

- evidence. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 37, 318–321.
- Hiller, S. (1988). Dependent personnel in Mycenaean texts. In M. Heltzer & E. Lipinski (Eds.), *Society and economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1500–1000 B.C.)* (pp. 53–68). Leuven: Peeters.
- Hiller, S. (1990). The miniature frieze in the West House – Evidence for Minoan poetry? In D. A. Hardy, et al. (Eds.), *Thera and the Aegean World III* (pp. 229–236). London: Thera Foundation.
- Höckmann, O. (2001). The Kynos sea-fighters: Exception or rule? In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS VI: 6<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Lamia 1996* (pp. 223–234). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Hodges, H. (1970). *Technology in the Ancient World*. London: Allen Lane.
- Hoffmeier, J. K. (2001). Military. In D. B. Redford (Ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (pp. 400–412). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hoffner, H. A. (1992). The last days of Khattusha. In W. A. Ward & M. S. Joukowsky (Eds.), *The crisis years: The 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. from beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (pp. 46–52). Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.
- Hoffner, H. A. (2009). *Letters from the Hittite kingdom*. Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature.
- Hoftijzer, J., & Van Soldt, W. H. (1998). Texts from Ugarit pertaining to seafaring. In S. Wachsmann, *Seagoing ships and seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant* (pp. 333–344). College Station: Texas A&M Press.
- Holland, L. B. (1929). Mycenaean Plumes. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 33(2), 173–205.
- Holloway, R. R. (1992). Italy and the Central Mediterranean in the crisis years. In W. A. Ward & M. S. Joukowsky (Eds.), *The crisis years: The 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. from beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (pp. 40–45). Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.
- Hood, S. (1995). The Bronze Age context of Homer. In J. B. Carter & S. P. Morris (Eds.), *The Ages of Homer: A tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule* (pp. 25–32). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Hooker, J. T. (1967). The Mycenae siege rhyton and the question of Egyptian influence. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 71(3), 269–281.
- Hooker, J. T. (1982). The end of Pylos and the Linear B evidence. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, 23, 209–227.
- Hooker, J. T. (1987). Titles and functions in the Pylian state. In J. Killen, J. Melena



- & J. P. Oliver (Eds.), *Studies in Mycenaean and classical Greek: Presented to John Chadwick*. (pp. 257–268). Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca Servicio Editorial.
- Houwink ten Cate, P. H. J. (1994). Urhi-Tessub revisited. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 51, 233-259.
- Hrozný, B. (1929). Hethiter und Griechen. I, 323-343.
- Hurwit, J. (1985). *The art and culture of early Greece, 1100–480 B.C.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Iakovidis, S. (1983). *Late Helladic citadels on mainland Greece*. Leiden: Brill.
- Iakovidis, S. (1986). Destruction horizons at Late Bronze Age Mycenae. In G. E. Mylonas (Ed.), *Philia epē eis Geōrgion E. Mylōnan: Dia ta 60 etē tou Anaskaphikou tou Ergou* (pp. 233–260). Athens: Hē en Athēnais Archaialogikē Hetaireia.
- Jackson, A. (1993). War and raids for booty in the world of Odysseus. In J. Rich & G. Shipley (Eds.), *War and society in the Greek world* (pp. 64–76). London: Routledge.
- Janeway, B. (2006). The Nature and Extent of Aegean Contact at Tell Ta'yinat and Vicinity in the Early Iron Age: Evidence of the Sea Peoples? In T. P. Harrison (Ed.), *Cyprus, the Sea Peoples and the Eastern Mediterranean Regional Perspectives of Continuity and Change* (pp. 123–146). Toronto: Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies.
- Janeway, B. (2013). *Cultural Transition in the Northern Levant during the Early Iron Age as Reflected in the Aegean–Style Pottery at Tell Ta'yinat*. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto).
- Janssen, J. (2004). *Grain transport in the Ramesside period: Papyrus Baldwin (BM EA 10061) and Papyrus Amiens*. London: British Museum Press.
- Jasink, A. M., & Marino, M. (2005, Sept.). *The West Anatolian origins of the Que kingdom dynasty*. Paper presented at the 6th International Congress of Hittitology, Rome.
- Janko, R. (1982). *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic development in epic diction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Janko, R. (1992). *The Iliad: A Commentary IV*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Janko, R. (1998). The Homeric poems as oral dictated texts. *Classical Quarterly*, 48, 1–13.
- Jones, D. (1988). *A glossary of ancient Egyptian nautical titles and terms*. London:

- Routledge.
- Jones, D. (1995). *Boats*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Kamarinou, D. (2002). On the form of Mycenaean ships. In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS VII: 7<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Pylos 1999* (pp. 445–460). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Kanta, A. (1980). *The Late Minoan III period in Crete: A survey of sites, pottery, and their distribution*. Göteborg: Paul Aströms Förlag.
- Karageorghis, V. (1982). Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1981. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 106, 685–744.
- Karageorghis, V. (1983). Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1982. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 107, 905–953.
- Karageorghis, V. (1984). Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1983. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 108, 893–966.
- Karageorghis, V. (1985). Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1984. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 109, 897–967.
- Karageorghis, V. (1986). Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1985. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 110, 823–880.
- Karageorghis, V. (1992). The crisis years: Cyprus. In W. A. Ward & M. S. Joukowsky (Eds.), *The crisis years: The 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. from beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (pp. 79–86). Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.
- Karageorghis, V. (2001). Patterns of fortified settlements in the Aegean and Cyprus c. 1200 B.C. In V. Karageorghis & C. E. Morris (Eds.), *Defensive settlements of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean after c. 1200 B.C.* (pp. 1–12). Nicosia: Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation.
- Karageorghis, V., & Demas, M. (1988). *Excavations at Maa–Paleokastro 1976–1986*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- Katary, S. L. D. (1989). *Land tenure in the Ramesside period*. London: Routledge.
- Katary, S. L. D. (2001). Taxation. In D. B. Redford (Ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (pp. 351–356). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Keel, O. (1997). *Corpus der stempelsiegel–amulette aus Palästina/Israel*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Keel, O., & Uehlinger, C. (1998). *Gods, goddesses and images of God in ancient Israel*. Edinburgh: Clark.

- Kelder, J. M. (2010a). *The kingdom of Mycenae: A great kingdom in the Bronze Age Aegean*. Bethesda: CDL Press.
- Kelder, J. M. (2010b). The Egyptian interest in Mycenaean Greece. *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, 42, 125-140.
- Kelder, J. M. (2012). Ahhiyawa and the World of the Great Kings: A re-evaluation of Mycenaean political structures. *Talanta*, 45, 1-12.
- Killen, J. T. (1983). PY An 1. *Minos*, 18, 71–80.
- Killen, J. T. (1985). The Linear B tablets and the Mycenaean economy. In A. Morpurgo Davies & Y. Duhoux (Eds.), *Linear B: A 1984 survey* (pp. 241–305). Louvain: Cabay.
- Kirk, G. S. (1949). Ships on Geometric vases. *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 44, 93–153.
- Kirk, G. S. (1965). *Homer and the epic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kitchen, K. A. (1996). *Ramesside inscriptions translated and annotated: Translations II*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Kitchen, K. A. (1999). *Ramesside inscriptions translated and annotated: Notes and comments II: Ramesses II, royal inscriptions*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Kitchen, K. A. (2000). Regnal and genealogical data of ancient Egypt (absolute chronology I): The historical chronology of ancient Egypt, a current assessment. In M. Bietak (Ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilizations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium BC* (pp. 39–52). Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Kitchen, K. A. (2004). The victories of Merenptah, and the nature of their record. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, 28, 259–272.
- Knapp, A. B. (1992). Bronze Age Mediterranean island cultures and the Ancient Near East. *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 55(3), 112–128.
- Kohlmeyer, K. (2000). *Der tempel des Wettergottes von Aleppo*. Munster: Rhema-Verlag.
- Kohlmeyer, K. (2008). Zur datierung der skulpturen von 'Ain Dārā. In D. Bonatz, R. M. Czichon & F. J. Kreppner (Eds.), *Fundstellen: Gesammelte schriften zur archäologie und geschichte Altvorderasiens ad honorem Hartmut Kühne* (pp. 119–130). Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Kohlmeyer, K. (2009). The Temple of the Storm God in Aleppo during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. *Near Eastern Archaeology*, 72(4), 190–202.

- Kohlmeyer, K. (2011). Building activities and architectural decoration in the 11th century BC: The temples of Taita, king of Padasatini / Palistin in Aleppo and 'Ain Dārā. In K. Strobel (Ed.), *Empires after the Empire: Anatolia, Syria and Assyria after Suppiluliuma (ca.1200–800/700 B.C.)* (pp. 255–280). Florence: LoGisma.
- Korrés, G. S. (1989). Representation of a late Mycenaean ship on the pyxis from Tragana, Pylos. In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS I: 1<sup>st</sup> International symposium on ship construction in antiquity, Piraeus 1985* (pp. 177–202). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Koutsouflakis, G. B. (1999). Ship emblems and akrostolia in Aegean Bronze Age iconography: An analysis. In M. Egg & I. Kilian–Dirlmeier (Eds.), *Eliten in der Bronzezeit: Ergebnisse zweier kolloquien in Mainz und Athen* (pp. 133–149). Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums.
- Kuchman, L. (1977). Egyptian clay anthropoid coffins. *Serapis*, 4, 11–22.
- Kuentz, C. (1928–1934). *La Bataille de Qadech: Les textes ('Poème de Pentaour' et 'Bulletin de Qadech') et les bas-reliefs*. Cairo: Impr. de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Kullmann, W. (1984). Oral poetry theory and Neoanalysis in Homeric research. *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 25, 307–323.
- Kurt, C. (1979). *Seemännische fachaussprüche bei Homer: Unter berücksichtigung Hesiods und der lyriker bis Bakchylides*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Lackenbacher, S., & Malbran–Labat, F. (2005). Ugarit et les Hittites dans les archives de la 'Maison d'Urtenu'. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo–Anatolici*, 47, 227–240
- Lambrou–Phillipson, C. (1991). Seafaring in the Bronze Age Mediterranean: The parameters involved in maritime travel. In R. Laffineur & L. Basch (Eds.), *Thalassa: l'Egée préhistorique et la mer* (pp. 11–20). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Landström, B. (1970). *Ships of the Pharaohs: 4000 years of Egyptian shipbuilding*. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Laroche, E. (1971). *Catalogue des textes Hittites*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Lehmann, G. (1979). Die Sikilaju: Ein neues zeugnis zu den seevölker–heerfahrten im späten 13 Jh. v. Chr. (RS 34.129). *Ugarit–Forschungen*, 11, 481–494.
- Lehmann, G. (2013). Aegean-style pottery in Syria and Lebanon during Iron Age I. In A. E. Killebrew & G. Lehmann (Eds.), *The Philistines and other Sea*

- Peoples in text and archaeology* (pp. 265–328). Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature.
- Levaniouk, O. (2012). Οὐ χρώμεθα τοῖς ξενικοῖς ποιήμασιν: Questions about evolution and fluidity of the *Odyssey*. In F. Montanari, A. Rengakos & Ch. C. Tsagalis (Eds.), *Homeric contexts: Neoanalysis and the interpretation of oral poetry* (pp. 369–412). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Linder, E. (1973). Naval warfare in the el–Amarna age. In D. J. Blackman (Ed.), *Marine archaeology* (pp. 317–324). Hamden: Archon.
- Linder, E. (1981). Ugarit: A Canaanite thalassocracy. In G. D. Young (Ed.), *Ugarit in retrospect: Fifty years of Ugarit and Ugaritic* (pp. 31–42). Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Liverani, M. (1963). *Introduzione alla storia dell'asia anteriore antica*. Rome: Centro di Studi Semitici.
- Liverani, M. (1969). Il corpo di guardia del palazzo di Ugarit. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 44, 194–195.
- Liverani, M. (1977). Le chêne de Sherdanu. *Vetus Testamentum*, 27, 212–216.
- Liverani, M. (1988). *Antico oriente: Storia, società, economia*. Rome: Laterza.
- Lòpez-Ruiz, C. (2010). *Where the gods were born: Greek cosmogonies and the Near East*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Lord, A. B. (1953). Homer's originality: Oral dictated texts. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 84, 124–134.
- Lord, A. B. (1960). *The singer of tales: A study in the processes of composition of Yugoslav, Greek, and Germanic oral narrative poetry*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Lord, A. B. (1991). *Epic singers and oral tradition*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Loretz, O. (1995). Les Sardanu et la fin d'Ougarit: A propos des documents d'Égypte, de Byblos et d'Ougarit relatifs aux Shardana. In M. Yon, M. Sznycer & P. Bordreuil (Eds.), *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.–C.: Histoire et Archéologie* (pp. 125–136). Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Lorton, D. (1974). Terminology related to the laws of warfare in dyn. XVIII. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 11, 53–68.
- Louden, B. (2006). *The Iliad: Structure, myth, and meaning*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Maggidis, C. (2006, Apr). *Mycenae in depth: Recent excavations and systematic geoprospection survey in the citadel and lower city – preliminary results and prospects*. Paper present at the New York Aegean Bronze Age Colloquium, Institute of Fine Arts, New York, NY.
- Malamat, A. (1971). The Egyptian decline in Canaan and the Sea-Peoples. In B. Mazar (Ed.), *The world history of the Jewish people III: Judges* (pp. 23–38). New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Manassa, C. (2003). *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah: Grand strategy in the 13th century BC*. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar.
- Maran, J. (2001). Political and religious aspects of architectural change on the upper citadel of Tiryns: The case of Building T. In R. Laffineur & R. Hägg (Eds.), *POTNIA. Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age* (pp. 113-122). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Maran, J. (2010). Tiryns. In E. H. Cline (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean (ca. 3000-1000 BC)* (pp. 722-734). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mark, S. E. (2000). *Homeric seafaring*. (Doctoral dissertation, Texas A&M University). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database (UMI No. 9968965).
- Maspero, G. (1881). Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d'histoire. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 19, 116–131.
- Master, D. M. (2005). Iron I chronology at Ashkelon: Preliminary results of the Leon Levy Expedition. In T. Higham & T. E. Levy (Eds.), *The Bible and radiocarbon dating: Archaeology, text, and science* (pp. 337-348). London: Facts on File.
- Master, D. M., Stager, L. E., & Yasur-Landau, A. (2011). Chronological observations at the dawn of the Iron Age in Ashkelon. *Ägypten und Levante*, 21, 261-280.
- Mazar, A. (1990). *Archaeology of the land of the Bible 10,000–586 B.C.E*. New York: Doubleday.
- Mazar, A. (2005). The debate over the chronology of the Iron Age in the southern Levant: Its history, the current situation, and a suggested resolution. In T. Higham & T. E. Levy (Eds.), *The Bible and radiocarbon dating: Archaeology, text, and science* (pp. 12–30). London: Facts on File.
- McDonald, W. A., & Rapp, G. R. (1972). *The Minnesota Messenia expedition: Reconstructing a Bronze Age regional environment*. Minneapolis: .
- McFadden, G. H., & Sjöqvist, E. (1954). A Late Cypriote III tomb from Kourion Kaloriziki No. 40. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 58(2), 131-142.

- McGrail, S. (1996). Navigational techniques in Homer's *Odyssey*. In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS IV: 4<sup>th</sup> International symposium on ship construction in antiquity, Athens 1991* (pp. 311-320). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Mee, C. (1998). Anatolia and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age. In E. H. Cline & D. Harris-Cline (Eds.), *The Aegean and the Orient in the second millennium* (pp. 137-152). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Mellaart, J. (1982). The Political Geography of Western Anatolia During the Late Bronze Age: Who Lived Where. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 19: 372-377.
- Mellink, M. J. (1983). The Hittites and the Aegean World Part 2: Archaeological Comments on Ahhiyawa-Achaean in Western Anatolia. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 87(2), 138-141.
- Menu, B. (1970). *Le régime juridique des terres et du personnel attaché à la terre dans le Papyrus Wilbour*. Lille: Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines.
- Mertens, P. (1960). Les Peuples de la Mer. *Chronique d'Égypte*, 35, 65-88.
- Michailidou, A., & Voutsas, K. (2005). Humans as a commodity in Aegean and oriental societies. In R. Laffineur & E. Greco (Eds.), *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean* (pp. 17-28). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Millet, N. B. (1987). The first appearance of the loose-footed squaresail rig in the Mediterranean. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, 17, 89-91.
- Monro, D. B. (1886). *Homer's Odyssey*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Monroe, C. (1990). *The boatbuilding industry of New Kingdom Egypt*. (MA Thesis, Texas A&M University).
- Monroe, C. (2010). Sunk costs at Late Bronze Age Uluburun. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 357, 19-33.
- Moran, W. L. (1992). *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Morris, E. F. (2005). *The architecture of imperialism: Military bases and the evolution of foreign policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*. Leiden: Brill.
- Morris, I. (1986). The use and abuse of Homer. *Classical Antiquity*, 5, 81-138.
- Morris, S. P. (1989). A tale of two cities: The miniature frescoes from Thera and the origins of Greek poetry. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 93(4), 511-535.

- Morris, S. P. (2001). Potnia Aswiya: Anatolian contributions to Greek religion. In R. Laffineur & R. Hägg (Eds.), *POTNIA. Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age* (pp. 423–434). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Morris, S. P. (2003). Islands in the sea: Aegean polities as Levantine neighbors. In W. G. Dever & S. Gitin (Eds.), *Symbiosis, symbolism, and the power of the past: Canaan, ancient Israel, and their neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina* (pp. 3–16). Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Morris, S. P., & Laffineur, R. (Eds.) (2007). *EPOS: Reconsidering Greek epic and Aegean Bronze Age archaeology*. Liège: Université de Liège.
- Mountjoy, P. A. (1998). The East Aegean–West Anatolian Interface in the Late Bronze Age: Mycenaean and the kingdom of Ahhiyawa. *Anatolian Studies*, 48, 33–67.
- Mountjoy, P. A. (1999). *Regional Mycenaean decorated pottery*. Rahden: M. Leidorf.
- Mountjoy, P. A. (2001). *Mycenaean Pottery: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mountjoy, P. A. (2003). Greece and Anatolia in the Early Iron Age: The archaeological evidence and the literary tradition. In W. G. Dever & S. Gitin (Eds.), *Symbiosis, symbolism, and the power of the past: Canaan, ancient Israel, and their neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina* (pp. 23–36). Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Mountjoy, P. A. (2005). Mycenaean connections with the Near East in LH III C: Ships and Sea Peoples. In R. Laffineur & E. Greco (Eds.), *Emporia: Aegeans in the Eastern and Central Mediterranean* (pp. 423–431). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Mountjoy, P. A. (2007). A definition of LH III C Middle. In S. Deger–Jalkotzy & M. Zavadil (Eds.), *LH III C Chronology and Synchronisms II: LH III C Middle* (pp. 221–242). Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Mountjoy, P. A. (2011). A Bronze Age ship from Ashkelon with particular reference to the Bronze Age ship from Bademgediği Tepe. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 115(4), 483–488.
- Mountjoy, P. A. (2013). The Late LH III B and LH III C Early pottery of the East Aegean–West Anatolian Interface. In A. E. Killebrew & G. Lehmann (Eds.), *The Philistines and other Sea Peoples in text and archaeology* (pp. 563–584). Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature.
- Mountjoy, P. A., & Gowland, R. (2005). The end of the Bronze Age at Enkomi, Cyprus: The problem of Level III B. *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 100, 125–214.



- Muhly, J. D. (1974). Hittites and Achaeans: Ahhijawā redomitus. *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 23(2), 129-145.
- Muhly, J. D. (1984). The role of the Sea Peoples in Cyprus during the LC III period. In V. Karageorghis & J. D. Muhly (Eds.), *Cyprus at the close of the Late Bronze Age* (pp. 39–56). Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation.
- Muhly, J. D. (1992). The crisis years in the Mediterranean world: Transition or cultural disintegration? In W. A. Ward & M. S. Joukowsky (Eds.), *The crisis years: The 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. from beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (pp. 10–26). Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.
- Muhly, J. D. (2003). Greece and Anatolia in the Early Iron Age: The archaeological evidence and the literary tradition. In W. G. Dever & S. Gitin (Eds.), *Symbiosis, symbolism, and the power of the past: Canaan, ancient Israel, and their neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina* (pp. 23–36). Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Murray, A. S., Smith, A. H., & Walters, H.B. (1900). *Excavations in Cyprus: Bequest of Miss E. T. Turner to the British Museum*. London: British Museum.
- Nagy, G. (1990a). *Greek mythology and poetics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Nagy, G. (1990b). *Pindar's Homer: The lyric possession of an epic past*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Nagy, G. (1995). An evolutionary model for the making of Homeric poetry: Comparative perspectives. In J. B. Carter & S. P. Morris (Eds.), *The Ages of Homer: A tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule* (pp. 163–179). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Nagy, G. (1996). *Homeric Questions*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Nagy, G. (1999). *The best of the Achaeans* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Nagy, G. (2007). *Homer and Greek myth*. In R. D. Woodard (Ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Greek mythology* (pp. 52–82). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nagy, G. (2009). *Lyric and Greek myth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nagy, G. (2010). *Homer the preclassic*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Nagy, G. (2013). *The ancient Greek hero in 24 hours*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Nagy, J. F. (1990). Hierarchy, heroes, and heads: Indo-European structures in Greek myth. In L. Edmunds (Ed.), *Approaches to Greek myth* (pp. 141–198). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Nelson, H. H. (1929). *The Epigraphic Survey of the Great Temple of Medinet Habu (seasons 1924-25 to 1927-28)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nelson, H. H. (1943). The naval battle pictured at Medinet Habu. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 2, 40–55.
- Niemeier, W–D. (1998). The Mycenaeans in western Anatolia and the problem of the origins of the Sea Peoples. In S. Gitin, A. Mazar & E. Stern (Eds.), *Mediterranean peoples in transition, thirteenth to early tenth centuries BCE*. (pp. 17–65). Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Niemeier, W–D. (2011). Ahhiyawa. In M. Finkelberg (Ed.). *Homer Encyclopedia*, vol. 3 (pp. 18–19). Hoboken: Blackwell.
- Niemeier, W–D, & Niemeier, B. (1998). Minoan frescoes in the Eastern Mediterranean. In E. H. Cline & D. Harris–Cline (Eds.), *The Aegean and the Orient in the second millennium* (pp. 69–98). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Nikolaïdou, M., & Kokkinidou, D. (2007). Epos, history, metahistory in Aegean Bronze Age studies. In S. P. Morris & R. Laffineur (Eds.), *EPOS: Reconsidering Greek epic and Aegean Bronze Age archaeology* (pp. 35–48). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Noort, E. (1994). *Die Seevölker in Palästina*. Kampen: Kok Pharos.
- Nosch, M–L. B. (2003). Centre and periphery in the Linear B archives. In N. Kyparissi–Apostolika and M. Papakonstantinou (Eds.), *The periphery of the Mycenaean world* (pp. 63–70). Lamia: Ephoreias Proistorikōn kai Klassikōn Archaïotētōn.
- Nougayrol, J. (1955). *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit III*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Nowicki, K. (1987). Topography of refuge settlement in Crete. *Jahrbuch des Romisch–Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, 34, 213–234.
- Nowicki, K. (1994). A Dark Age refuge centre near Pefki, east Crete, *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 89, 235–268.
- Nowicki, K. (1996). Arvi Fortetsa and Loutraki Kandilioro: Two refuge settlements in Crete. *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 91, 253–285.
- Nowicki, K. (2000). *Defensible sites in Crete c. 1200–800 B.C. (LM IIIB/IIIC through Early Geometric)*. Liège: Université de Liège.
- Nowicki, K. (2001). Sea–raiders and refugees. In V. Karageorghis & C. E. Morris (Eds.), *Defensive settlements of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean after c. 1200* (pp. 23–39). Nicosia: Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation.
- Nowicki, K. (2002). From Late Minoan IIIC refuge settlements to Geometric acropoleis: Architecture and social organization of Dark Age villages and

- towns in Crete. In J–M. Luce (Ed.), *Habitat et urbanisme dans le monde Grec de la fin des palais Mycéniens à la prise de Milet*. (pp. 149–174). Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail.
- Nowicki, K. (2011). Settlement in crisis: The end of the LM/LH IIIB and Early IIC in Crete and other south Aegean islands. In A. Mazarakis Ainian (Ed.), *The Dark Age revisited* (pp. 435–450). Volos: University of Thessaly Press.
- O'Connor, D. (2000). The Sea Peoples and the Egyptian sources. In E. D. Oren (Ed.), *The Sea Peoples and their world: A reassessment* (pp. 85–102). Philadelphia: University Museum.
- Olsen, B. A. (2014). *Women in Mycenaean Greece: The Linear B tablets from Pylos and Knossos*. London: Routledge.
- Oren, E. D. (1973). *The northern cemetery of Beth Shan*. Leiden: Brill.
- Oren, E. D. (Ed.). (2000). *The Sea Peoples and their world: A reassessment*. Philadelphia: University Museum.
- Oreshko, R. (2013). The Achaean hides, caged in yonder beams: The value of Hieroglyphic Luwian sign \*429 reconsidered and a new light on the Cilician Aḫḫiyawa. *Kadmos*, 52(1), 19–33.
- Ormerod, H. A. (1924). *Piracy in the ancient world: An essay in Mediterranean history*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Otten, H. (1989). Die hieroglyphen–Luwische inschrift. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1989, 333–337.
- Öttinger, N. (2008). The seer Mopsos (Muksas) as a historical figure. In B. J. Collins, M. R. Bachvarova & I. Rutherford (Eds.), *Anatolian interfaces: Hittites, Greeks, and their neighbors* (pp. 64–67). Oxford: Oxbow.
- Page, D. L. (1976). *History and the Homeric Iliad*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Palaima, T. G. (1991). Maritime matters in the Linear B texts. In R. Laffineur & L. Basch (Eds.), *Thalassa: l'Égée préhistorique et la mer* (pp. 273–310). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Palaima, T. G. (1995a). The last days of the Pylos polity. In R. Laffineur & W.–D. Niemeier (Eds.), *Politeia: Society and state in the Aegean Bronze Age* (pp. 623–633). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Palaima, T. (1995b). The nature of the Mycenaean wanax: Non–Indo–European origins and priestly functions. In P. Rehak (Ed.), *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean* (p. 119–139). Liège: Université de Liège.

- Palaima, T. (2007). Mycenaean society and kingship: Cui bono? A counter-speculative view. In S. P. Morris & R. Laffineur (Eds.), *EPOS: Reconsidering Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology* (pp. 129–140). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Palmer, L. R. (1980). *Mycenaeans and Minoans: Aegean prehistory in the light of the Linear B tablets*. Westport: Greenwood.
- Papadopoulos, A. (2006). Cities under siege? A look at Bronze Age iconography. In J. Day, et al. (Eds.), *SOMA 2004 symposium on Mediterranean archaeology* (pp. 131–137). Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Papadopoulos, A. (2009). Warriors, hunters, and ships in the Late Helladic III C Aegean: Changes in the iconography of warfare? In C. Bachhuber & R. G. Roberts (Eds.), *Forces of transformation: The end of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean* (pp. 69–77). Oxford: Oxbow.
- Parkinson, R. B., & Schofield, L. (1995). Images of Mycenaeans: A Recently Acquired Painted Papyrus from El-Amarna. In W. V. Davies & L. Schofield (Eds.), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium B.C.* (pp. 125–126). London: British Museum Press.
- Peck, W. H. (1998). Mummies of ancient Egypt, In A. Cockburn, E. Cockburn & T. A. Reyman (Eds.), *Mummies, Disease, and Ancient Cultures* (pp. 15–37). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Peden, A. J. (1994). *Egyptian historical inscriptions of the twentieth dynasty*. Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Perlman, P. (1992). One hundred-citied Crete and the Cretan *politeia*. *Classical Philology*, 87(3), 193–205.
- Petrakis, V. P. (2004). Ship Representations on Late Helladic III C pictorial pottery: Some Notes. *Inferno Journal of Art History*, 9(3), 1–6.
- Petrie, W. M. F. (1905). *Ehnyasia, 1904*. London: .
- Petrie, W. M. F. (1933). Egyptian Shipping (Continued). *Ancient Egypt*, 3–4, 65–75.
- Pirenne, H. (1940). *Economic and social history of medieval Europe*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.
- Podany, A. H. (2010). *Brotherhood of kings: How international relations shaped the Ancient Near East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Poehlmann, E. (2012). Homer, Mycenae, and Troy: Problems and aspects. In G. S. Korres, N. Karadimas & G. Flouda (Eds.), *Archaeology and Heinrich Schliemann: A century after his death* (pp. 357–364). Athens: Aegeus Society for Aegean Prehistory.

- Pomey, P. (2009). On the use of design in ancient Mediterranean ship construction. In H. Nowacki & W. Lefèvre (Eds.), *Creating Shapes in Civil and Naval Architecture: A Cross-Disciplinary Comparison* (pp. 49–63). Leiden: Brill.
- Popham, M. (1994). The collapse of the Aegean civilization at the end of the Late Bronze Age. In W. Cunliffe (Ed.), *The Oxford illustrated history of Prehistoric Europe* (pp. 277–303). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Porozhanov, K. (1996). Ships in Homer's epic works. In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS IV: 4<sup>th</sup> International symposium on ship construction in antiquity, Athens 1991* (pp. 367–374). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Prior, C. A. (2013). Radiocarbon age analysis of the Gurob ship-cart model. In S. Wachsmann, *The Gurob ship-cart model and its Mediterranean context* (pp. 239–242). College Station: Texas A&M Press.
- Pritchard, J. B. (1943). *Palestinian figurines in relation to certain goddesses known through literature*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Pulak, C. M. (1988). The Bronze Age shipwreck at Ulu Burun, Turkey: 1985 campaign. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 92, 1–37.
- Raban, A. (1989). The Medinet Habu Ships: Another Interpretation. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 18(2), 163–171.
- Raban, A. (1995). The Sea Peoples and Thera ships. In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS III: 3<sup>rd</sup> International symposium on ship construction in antiquity* (pp. 353–366). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Raban, A., & Stieglitz, R. (1991). The Sea Peoples and their contributions to civilization. *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 17(6), 34–42.
- Rainey, A. F. (1982). Toponymic problems. *Tel Aviv*, 9, 130–136.
- Redford, D. B. (1992). *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in ancient times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Redford, D. B. (2006-7). The Tjeker. In T. P. Harrison (Ed.), *Cyprus, the Sea Peoples and the Eastern Mediterranean Regional Perspectives of Continuity and Change* (pp. 9–14). Toronto: Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies.
- Reece, S. (1994). The Cretan Odyssey: A lie truer than truth. *American Journal of Philology*, 115, 157–173.
- Reece, S. (2005). Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* from oral performance to written text. In M. C. Amodio (Ed.), *New directions in oral theory: Essays on ancient and*

- medieval literatures* (pp. 43–56). Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.
- Rehak, P., & Younger, J. G. (1988). Neopalatial, Final Palatial, and Postpalatial Crete. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 102(1), 91–173.
- Ritner, R. K. (2009). *The Libyan anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*. Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature.
- Roberts, O. T. P. (1991). The development of the sail into a viable sail control for Aegean boats of the Bronze Age. In R. Laffineur & L. Basch (Eds.), *Thalassa: l'Égée Préhistorique et la Mer* (pp. 55–64). Liège: Université de Liège
- Roberts, O. T. P. (1995). An explanation of ancient windward sailing – some other considerations. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 24, 307–315.
- Roberts, R. G. (2009). Identity, choice and the year 8 reliefs of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. In C. Bachhuber & R. G. Roberts (Eds.), *Forces of transformation: The end of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean* (pp. 60–68). Oxford: Oxbow.
- Rutter, J. (2001). Rethinking Mycenaean palaces: New interpretations of an old idea. [Review of book by M. L. Galaty & W. A. Parkinson (Eds.)]. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 105(2), 345.
- Sanders, N. K. (1985). *The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the ancient Mediterranean*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Sapir-Hen, L., Meiri, M., & Finkelstein, I. (2015). Iron Age pigs: New evidence on their origin and role in forming identity boundaries. *Radiocarbon*, 57(2), 307–315.
- Sasson, J. (1966). Canaanite maritime involvement in the second millennium B.C. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 86(1), 126–138.
- Säve-Söderbergh, T. (1946). *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*. Uppsala: Lundequistska Bokhandeln.
- Säve-Söderbergh, T. (1957). *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schilardi, D. U. (1984). The LH IIIc period at the Koukounaries acropolis, Paros. In J. A. MacGillivray & R. L. N. Barber (Eds.), *The prehistoric Cyclades: Contributions to a workshop on Cycladic chronology* (pp. 184–206). Edinburgh: Department of Classical Archaeology.
- Schilardi, D. U. (1992). Paros and the Cyclades after the fall of the Mycenaean palaces. In J. P. Olivier (Ed.), *Mykenaiika: Actes du IXe Colloque International sur les Textes Mycéniens et Égéens* (pp. 621–693). Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.

- Schilardi, D. U. (1999). The Mycenaean horseman (?) of Koukounaries. In P. Betancourt, et al. (Eds.), *Meletemata: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener* (pp. 751–756). Liège.
- Schmoll, E. A. (1990). The First Cretan Lie of Odysseus. *Classical Bulletin*, 66, 67–72.
- Schofield, L., & Parkinson, R. B. (1994). Of helmets and heretics: A possible Egyptian representation of Mycenaean warriors on a papyrus from el-Amarna. *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 89, 157–170.
- Schulman, A. R. (1962). *Military, title, and organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database (UMI No. 6204336).
- Schulman, A. R. (1968). A private triumph in Brooklyn, Hildesheim, and Berlin. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 7, 27–35.
- Scoufopoulos, N. C. (1971). *Mycenaean Citadels*. Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Sethe, K. 1909. *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums IV: Urkunden der 18. Dynastie IV*. Leipzig.
- Seymour, T. D. (1914). *Life in the Homeric Age*. New York: Biblo and Tannen.
- Shanks, H. (2010). From Vespa to Ashkelon: BAR interviews Lawrence Stager. *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 36(4), 50–58, 78.
- Shaw, J. W. (1981). Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1979. *Hesperia*, 50, 211–251.
- Shaw, J. W. (1984). Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1982–1983. *Hesperia*, 53, 251–287.
- Shaw, M. C. (2001). Symbols of naval power at the palace at Pylos: The evidence from the frescoes. In S. Böhm & K–V. von Eickstedt (Eds.), *Ithakē: Festschrift für Jörg Schäfer zum 75* (pp. 37–43). Würzburg: Ergon.
- Shelmerdine, C. W. (1997). Review of Aegean prehistory VI: The Palatial Bronze Age of the southern and central Greek mainland. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 101(4), 537–585.
- Shelmerdine, C. W. (1999). Pylian polemics: The latest evidence on military matters. In R. Laffineur (Ed.), *Polemos: Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du Bronze* (pp. 403–410). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Sherratt, E. S. (1990). Reading the texts: Archaeology and the Homeric question. *Antiquity*, 64, 807–824.

- Sherratt, E. S. (1998). Sea Peoples and the economic structure of the late second millennium in the Eastern Mediterranean. In S. Gitin, A. Mazar & E. Stern (Eds.), *Mediterranean peoples in transition, thirteenth to early tenth centuries B.C.E* (pp. 292–313). Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Siddall, R. (2013). Analysis of the pigments from the Gurob ship–cart model. In S. Wachsmann, *The Gurob ship–cart model and its Mediterranean context* (pp. 243–247). College Station: Texas A&M Press.
- Singer, I. (1983). Western Anatolia in the thirteenth century B.C. according to the Hittite sources. *Anatolian Studies*, 33, 205–217.
- Singer, I. (2000). New evidence on the end of the Hittite empire. In E. D. Oren (Ed.), *The Sea Peoples and their world: A reassessment* (pp. 21–34). Philadelphia: University Museum.
- Singer, I. (2006). Ships bound for Lukka: A new interpretation of the companion letters RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2523. *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 33, 242–262.
- Singer, I. (2012). The Philistines in the north and the kingdom of Taita. In G. Galil, A. Gilboa, A. M. Maeir & D. Kahn (Eds.), *The Ancient Near East in the 12th–10th centuries B.C.E.: Culture and history* (pp. 451–471). Münster: Ugarit–Verlag.
- Singer, I. (2013a). The Philistines in the Bible: A short rejoinder to a new perspective. In A. E. Killebrew & G. Lehmann (Eds.), *The Philistines and Other Sea Peoples in Text and Archaeology* (pp. 19–28). Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature.
- Singer, I. (2013b). Old country ethonyms in new countries of the Sea Peoples diaspora. In R. B. Koehl (Ed.), *AMILLA: The Quest for Excellence: Studies in Honor of Günter Kopcke* (pp. 321–334). Philadelphia: Institute for Aegean Prehistory.
- Snape, S. R. (1997). Ramesses II's forgotten frontier. *Egyptian Archaeology*, 11, 23–24.
- Snape, S. R. (1998). Review of S. T. Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.* *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 41(4), 503–505.
- Snape, S. R. (2000). Imported pottery at Zawiyet Umm el–Rakham: Preliminary report. *Bulletin de Liaison due Groupe International d'Étude de la Céramique Égyptienne*, 21, 17–21.
- Snape, S. R. (2010). Vor der kaserne: External supply and self–sufficiency at Zawiyet Umm el–Rakham. In M. Bietak, E. Czerny & I. Forstner–Müller (Eds.), *Cities and urbanism in ancient Egypt* (pp. 271–288). Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.



- Snodgrass, A. (1974). An historical Homeric society? *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 94, 114–125.
- Sølver, C. V. (1936). Egyptian shipping of about 1500 B.C. *Mariner's Mirror*, 22, 430–469.
- Spalinger, A. J. (2005). *War in ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Spiegelberg, W. (1896). *Rechnungen aus der zeit Setis I*. Strassburg: K.J. Trübner.
- Stadelmann, R. (1967). *Syrisch–Palästinensische gottheiten in Ägypten*. Leiden: Brill.
- Stager, L. E. (1991). *Ashkelon discovered: From Canaanites and Philistines to Romans and Moslems*. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society.
- Stager, L. E. (1995). The impact of the Sea Peoples in Canaan (1185–1050 B.C.E). In T. Levy (Ed.), *The archaeology of society in the Holy Land* (pp. 332–348). London: Facts on File.
- Stager, L. E., & Mountjoy, P. A. (2007). A pictorial krater from Philistine Ashkelon. In S. White Crawford, et al. (Eds.), *Up to the gates of Ekron: Essays on the archaeology and history of the Eastern Mediterranean in honor of Seymour Gitin* (pp. 50–61). Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Stager, L. E., Schloen, J. D., & Master, D. M. (2008). *Ashkelon 1: Introduction and overview*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Steadman, S. R., & McMahon, G. (2011). *The Oxford handbook of ancient Anatolia: 10,000–323 B.C.E*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Steffy, J. R. (1994). *Wooden ship building and the interpretation of shipwrecks*. College Station: Texas A&M Press.
- Stern, E. (1991). Phoenicians, Sikils, and Israelites in the light of recent excavations at Dor. In E. Lipiński (Ed.), *Phoenicia and the Bible* (pp. 85–94). Leuven: Peeters.
- Stone, B. J. (1995). The Philistines and acculturation: culture change and ethnic continuity in the Iron Age. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 298, 7–32.
- Sweeney, D., & Yasur–Landau, A. (1999). Following the path of the Sea Persons: The women in the Medinet Habu reliefs. *Tel Aviv*, 26(1), 116–145.
- Swiny, S., Hohlfelder, R. L., & Swiny, H. W. (1997). *Res maritimae: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from prehistory to late antiquity* (pp. 1–16). Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Switalski, B. J. (1965). *An Egyptian mortuary complex of the late New Kingdom: Medinet Habu*. (MA dissertation, University of Chicago). Available from

- ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database (UMI No. TM12364).
- Tartaron, T. F. (2013). *Maritime networks in the Mycenaean world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylour, L. W. (1983). *The Mycenaean*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Tekoğlu, R., & Lemaire, A. (2000). La bilingue royale Louvito–Phénicienne de Çineköy. *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 144(3), 961–1007.
- Thomas, S. (2003). Imports at Zawiyet Umm el–Rakham. In Z. Hawass & L. P. Brock (Eds.), *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century* (pp. 522–529). Cairo: American University in Cairo.
- Tilley, A. F. (1996). Rowing astern – an ancient technique revived. In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS III: 3<sup>rd</sup> International symposium on ship construction in antiquity* (pp. 481–487). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Tilley, A. F., & Johnstone, P. (1976). A Minoan naval triumph? *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 5(4), 285–292.
- Tomlinson, J. E., Rutter, J. B., & Hoffman, S. M. A. (2010). Mycenaean and Cypriot Late Bronze Age ceramic imports to Kommos: An investigation by neutron activation analysis. *Hesperia*, 79(2), 191–231.
- Tritsch, F. J. (1968). Tirynthia Semata. *Kadmos*, 7, 24–137.
- Tsountas, Ch. (1886). Graptē stēlē ek Mykēnōn. *Ephēmeris Archaiologikē*, 4, 1–22.
- Tubb, J. N. (2000). Sea Peoples in the Jordan Valley. In E. D. Oren (Ed.), *The Sea Peoples and their world: A reassessment* (pp. 181–196). Philadelphia: University Museum.
- Tzachili, I. (1999). Before sailing: The making of sails in the second millennium B.C. In P. Betancourt, et al. (Eds.), *Meletemata: Studies in Aegean archaeology presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as he enters his 65th year* (pp. 857–862). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Tzalas, H. (Ed.). (1989). *TROPIS I: 1st International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Piraeus 1985*. Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Tzalas, H. (Ed.). (1990). *TROPIS II: 2nd International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Delphi 1987*. Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.

- Tzalas, H. (Ed.). (1995). *TROPIS III: 3rd International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Athens 1989*. Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Tzalas, H. (Ed.). (1996). *TROPIS IV: 4th International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Athens 1991*. Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Tzalas, H. (Ed.). (1999). *TROPIS V: 5th International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Nauplia 1993*. Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Tzalas, H. (Ed.). (2001). *TROPIS VI: 6th International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Lamia 1996*. Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Tzalas, H. (Ed.). (2002). *TROPIS VII: 7th International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Pylos 1999*. Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Van de Mieroop, M. (2009). *The Eastern Mediterranean in the age of Ramesses II*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Van Duk, J. (1989). The Canaanite god Hauron and his cult in Egypt. *Göttinger Miszellen*, 107, 59–68.
- Van Soldt, W. (2010). Ugarit as a Hittite vassal state. *Altoriental Forschungen*, 37(2), 198–207.
- Vansina, J. (1965). *Oral tradition: A study in historical methodology*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Vercoutter, J. (1954). *Essai sur les relations entre Égyptiens et Préhellènes*. Paris: A. Maisonneuve.
- Vercoutter, J. (1956). *L'Égypte et le monde Égéen Préhellénique: Étude critique des sources égyptiennes, du début de la XVIIIe à la fin de la XIXe dynastie*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Vermeule, E. T. (1964). *Greece in the Bronze Age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Vermeule, E. T. (1983). Response to Hans Güterbock. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 87(2), 141–143.
- Vermeule, E. T. (1987). Baby Aigisthos and the Bronze Age. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 33, 122–152.

- Vermeule, E. T., & Karageorghis, V. (1982). *Mycenaean pictorial vase painting*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Vitale, S. (2006). The LH IIIB–LH IIIC transition on the Mycenaean mainland: Ceramic phases and terminology. *Hesperia*, 75(2), 177–204.
- Vlachopoulos, A. (2007). Mythos, logos and eikon: Motifs of early Greek poetry in the wall paintings of Xeste 3. In S. P. Morris & R. Laffineur (Eds.), *EPOS: Reconsidering Greek epic and Aegean Bronze Age archaeology* (pp. 107–118). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Wachsmann, S. (1981). The ships of the Sea Peoples. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 10(3), 187–220.
- Wachsmann, S. (1982). The ships of the Sea Peoples (*IJNA*, 10.3: 187–220): Additional notes. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 11(4), 297–304.
- Wachsmann, S. (1996). Bird head devices on Mediterranean ships. In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS IV: 4<sup>th</sup> International symposium on ship construction in antiquity, Athens 1991* (pp. 539–572). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Wachsmann, S. (1998). *Seagoing ships and seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*. College Station: Texas A&M Press.
- Wachsmann, S. (1999). The Pylos rower tablets reconsidered. In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS V: 5<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Nauplia 1993* (pp. 491–504). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Wachsmann, S. (2000). To the sea of the Philistines. In E. D. Oren (Ed.), *The Sea Peoples and their world: A reassessment* (pp. 103–143). Philadelphia: University Museum.
- Wachsmann, S. (2013). *The Gurob ship–cart model and its Mediterranean context*. College Station: Texas A&M Press.
- Wainright, G. A. (1939). Some Sea Peoples and others in the Hittite archives. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 25, 148–153.
- Wainright, G. A. (1961). Some Sea Peoples. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 47, 71–90.
- Warren, P. M. (1982–3). Knossos: Stratigraphical museum excavations, 1978–82, Part II. *Archaeological Reports*, 29, 63–87.
- Watrous, L. V. (1975). *An archaeological survey of the Lasithi Plain in Crete from the Neolithic to the Late Roman period*. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses

database (UMI No. 7514637).

- Watrous, L. V. (1992). *Kommos III: The Late Bronze Age Pottery*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Watrous, L. V. (2007). The fleet fresco, the Odyssey and Greek epic narrative. In S. P. Morris & R. Laffineur (Eds.), *EPOS: Reconsidering Greek epic and Aegean Bronze Age archaeology* (pp. 97–105). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Wedde, M. (1999a). War at sea: The Mycenaean and Early Iron Age oared galley. In R. Laffineur (Ed.), *Polemos: Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du Bronze* (pp. 465–476). Liège: Université de Liège.
- Wedde, M. (1999b). Decked Vessels in Early Greek Ship Architecture. In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS V: 5th International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Nauplia 1993* (pp. 505–526). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Wedde, M. (2002). Birdshead Revisited: The Bow Morphology of the Early Greek Galley. In H. Tzalas (Ed.), *TROPIS VII: 7th International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Pylos 1999* (pp. 837–856). Athens: Hellenic Institute for the Preservation of Nautical Tradition.
- Wedde, M. (2000). *Toward a hermeneutics of Aegean Bronze Age ship imagery*. Mannheim: Bibliopolis.
- Wedde, M. (2005). The Mycenaean galley in context: From fact to *idée fixe*. In R. Laffineur & E. Greco (Eds.), *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean* (pp. 29–38). Liège: Université de Liège.
- West, M. L. (1988). The rise of the Greek epic. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 108, 151–172.
- White, D. B. (1986). Excavations on Bates's Island, Marsa Matruh, 1985. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 23, 51–84.
- White, D. B. (1999a). Water, wood, dung and eggs: Reciprocity in trade along the LBA Marmarican Coast. In P. Betancourt, et al. (Eds.), *Meletemata: Studies in Aegean archaeology presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as he enters his 65th year* (pp. 931–935). Liège: Université de Liège.
- White, D. B. (1999b). Marsa Matruh. In K. A. Bard & S. B. Shubert (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (pp. 469–473). London: Routledge.
- White, D. B. (2002). *Marsa Matruh: The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology's excavations on Bates's Island, Marsa Matruh, Egypt, 1985–1989*. Philadelphia: University Museum.

- Wilson, J. A. (1974). Egyptian historical texts. In J. B. Pritchard (Ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern texts relating to the Old Testament* (pp. 227–263). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wood, M. (1998). *In search of the Trojan War*. London: Facts on File.
- Woodhouse, W. J. (1930). *The composition of Homer's Odyssey*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Wright, J. C. (1994). The Mycenaean entrance system at the west end of the akropolis of Athens. *Hesperia*, 63, 323–360.
- Yasur-Landau, A. (2010a). *The Philistines and the Aegean migration at the end of the Late Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yasur-Landau, A. (2010b). On birds and dragons: The Sea Peoples and Mycenaean ships. In Y. Cohen, A. Gilan & J. R. Miller (Eds.), *Pax Hethitica: Studies on the Hittites and their neighbours in honour of Itamar Singer*. (pp. 399–410). Weisbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Yasur-Landau, A. (2012a). The 'Feathered Helmets' of the Sea Peoples: Joining the Iconographic and Archaeological Evidence. *Talanta*, 44, 27–40.
- Yasur-Landau, A. (2012b). Chariots, spears and wagons: Anatolian and Aegean elements in the Medinet Habu land battle relief. In G. Galil, A. Maeir, A. Gilboa & D. Kahn (Eds.), *The Ancient Near East in the 12th–10th Centuries BCE: Culture and History* (27–40). Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Yon, M. (1992). The end of the kingdom of Ugarit. In W. A. Ward & M. S. Joukowsky (Eds.), *The crisis years: The 12th century B.C. from beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (pp. 111–122). Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.
- Youssef, A. A–H., Leblanc, C., & Maher, M. (1977). *Le Ramesseum IV: Les batailles de Tounip et de Dapour*. Cairo: Centre de Documentation et d'études sur l'Ancienne Égypte.
- Yoyotte, P. J. (1949). Les stèles de Ramsès II a Tanis: Première partie. *Kémi*, 10, 65–75.
- Yurco, F. J. (1999). Sea Peoples. In K. A. Bard & S. B. Shubert (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (pp. 876–879). London: Routledge.
- Zaccagnini, C. (1983). Patterns of mobility among Ancient Near Eastern craftsmen. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 42, 245–264.
- Zangger, E. (1995). Who were the Sea Peoples? *Saudi Aramco World*, 46, 21–31.

Zangger, E., Timpson, M. E., Yazvenko, S. B., Kuhnke, F., & Knauss, J. (1997). The Pylos regional archaeological project: Part II: Landscape evolution and site preservation. *Hesperia*, 66(4), 549–641.