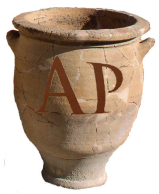
Journal of Greek Archaeology

Free Sampler

2017

VOLUME 2



ARCHAEOPRESS

Subscriptions to the Journal of Greek Archaeology should be sent to
Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, Gordon House, 276 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7ED, UK.
Tel +44-(0)1865-311914 Fax +44(0)1865-512231
e-mail info@archaeopress.com
http://www.archaeopress.com

Opinions expressed in papers published in the *Journal* are those of the authors and are not necessarily shared by the Editorial Board.

ISSN: 2059-4674 (print)
2059-4682 (online)

JOURNAL OF GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY

Volume 2 2017

Contents

Hellenistic

Roman to Late Roman

Post-Medieval to Modern

Multiperiod

Book Reviews

Prehistory and Proto-History

Archaic to Classical

Hellenistic

Roman to Late Antiquity

Medieval

Multiperiod

Editorial: Volume 2

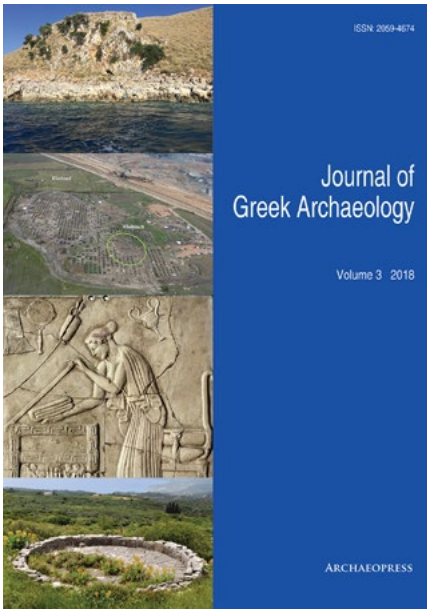
This issue maintains our mission to publish across the whole time range of Greek Archaeology, with articles from the Palaeolithic to the Early Modern era, as well as reaching out from the Aegean to the wider Greek world. Lithics and Ceramics are accompanied by innovative Art History and Industrial Archaeology. Our book reviews are equally wide-ranging. Our authors are international, and include young researchers as well as long-established senior scholars. I am sure you readers will find a feast of stimulating studies and thoughtful reviews.

John Bintliff
General Editor

Journal of Greek Archaeology

ISSN: 2059-4674 (Print) | ISSN: 2059-4682 (Online)

Published annually in Autumn by Archaeopress



An international peer-reviewed English-language journal specializing in synthetic articles and in long reviews, the *Journal of Greek Archaeology* appears annually each Autumn. The scope of the journal is Greek archaeology both in the Aegean and throughout the wider Greek-inhabited world, from earliest Prehistory to the Modern Era. Thus we include contributions not just from traditional periods such as Greek Prehistory and the Classical Greek to Hellenistic eras, but also from Roman through Byzantine, Crusader and Ottoman Greece and into the Early Modern period. Outside of the Aegean contributions are welcome covering the Archaeology of the Greeks overseas, likewise from Prehistory into the Modern World. Greek Archaeology for the purposes of the JGA thus includes the Archaeology of the Hellenistic World, Roman Greece, Byzantine Archaeology, Frankish and Ottoman Archaeology, and the Postmedieval Archaeology of Greece and of the Greek Diaspora.

Individual Subscriptions

Print + free online access: £65
Online access only: £25

Institutional Subscriptions (tier 3)

Print + online access: £96
Online access only: £90
Print only: £80

To subscribe, scan the QR code below or visit:
http://archaeopresspublishing.com/ojs/index.php/JGA/about/subscriptions
or email enquiries to info@archaeopress.com

Sample Paper

Mercenaries or refugees? The evidence from the inscriptions of Merenptah on the 'Sea Peoples'

Konstantinos Kopanias

(Journal of Greek Archaeology 2 (2017): 119–134)

Journal of Greek Archaeology 2 (2017): 115–130

Mercenaries or refugees? the evidence from the inscriptions of Merenptah on the 'Sea Peoples'

Konstantinos Kopanias

University of Athens
kkopanias@arch.uoa.gr

During the fifth regnal year of Merenptah (either 1208 BC[1] or 1219 BC[2]), king Merey of the Rebu/Lebu[3] attacked Egypt, together with his archers and many northern warriors. These northerners were not affiliated with any of the existing minor or major kingdoms of the eastern Mediterranean, since they are only identified by obscure ethnonyms. Five inscriptions of Merenptah refer to these particular events, but they offer scarce historical information;[4] a sixth one, inscribed on a wall of the Amun temple in Karnak, is the most elaborate one.[5] Although the Karnak inscription has often been cited, most scholars usually focus on the parts referring to the 'Sea Peoples', which are often examined in isolation and out of their context. The aim of this paper is to re-examine the available evidence.

> In the preamble of the Karnak inscription we find a useful summary of the events:
>
> [1] [... Merey son of De]dy, **Akawasha**, **Terusha**, **Lukka**, **Sherden**, **Shekelesh**, the northerners who came from all lands.
> [2–5] *Praise for the Egyptian king.*
> [6] [...] in order to protect Heliopolis, the city of Atum, in order to guard Ineb-iti for Tatenen, in order to keep them safe from evil. [7] [...] tents before Perbarset which reached the Shakana Canal at the artificial lake of the Ati Canal. [8] [... Egypt was as(?)] that which was not defended. It being abandoned as pasture for cattle because of the Nine Bows.
> [9–12] *Praise for the Egyptian king.*
> [13] [... One came in order to say to his Majesty in year 5, second month of] Shomu to the effect that: 'The wretched chief of the enemies of Rebu, Merey, son of Dedy, has descended upon the foreign land of Tjehenu together with his bowmen. [14] [...Sh]erden, Shekelesh, Akawasha, Lukka, and Tursha, consisting of the seizure of the best of every fighter and every runner of his foreign land; he bringing his wife, his children... [15] ... the great [chiefs?] of the tent. It is at the fields of Perire that he reached the western borders.[6]

In the first five paragraphs (§1–5) the actors of the drama are presented: summarily the enemies of Egypt (§1) and more elaborately the Egyptian king (§2–5). It is implied that the ultimate target of

[1] Manassa 2003, 2. According to Breasted (1906, 239) and Cline (2009, 192) in 1207 BC.
[2] Baines and Málek 1980, 36–7: reign 1224–1214 BC.
[3] The Libyans are called Tjehenu/Tjehemu in the Egyptian sources and are divided into various subgroups: Meshwesh and Rebu/Lebu lived in Cyrenaica, and the Tjehenu lived in Marmarica, i.e. between Cyrenaica and Egypt: O'Connor 1987, 35.
[4] **1)** Stela from Kom el Ahmar (=Athribis): Breasted 1906, 253–6; Lefebvre 1927; Kitchen 1982, 20–2,
2) inscribed column in the Cairo Museum: (Breasted 1906, 252–3; Kitchen 1982, 23), **3)** inscribed column from Heliopolis: Bakry 1973; Kitchen 1982, 38, **4)** the so-called 'Israel Stela' (known also as 'Victory Stela'), originally from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III and with an inscription relating to him on one of its sides: Breasted 1906, 256–64; Kitchen 1982, 13–18, **5)** Stela from Amada: Youssef 1964; Kitchen 1982, 33. For parallel texts, see also nos. Kitchen 1982, 34–7.
[5] Breasted 1906, 241–52; Kitchen 1982, 2–15; Manassa 2003.
[6] Manassa 2003, 155.

the invasion was Memphis (§6–8).[7] In the fifth regnal year of Merenptah, Merey, together with his bowmen, as well as people defined as Sherden, Shekelesh, Akawasha, Lukka and Tursha, arrived at the western border of Egypt in the as yet unidentified location called '*the fields of Perire*' (§13–15). The actual battle against the invaders took place there, but it is also mentioned that some invaders pitched their tents in Perbarset, probably before the battle took place (§7).

It still remains disputed whether Perbarset was in the western Delta, by the cities of Bubastis and Bilbeis, or in the eastern Delta.[8] If it was located in the western Delta, like Perire, then we can assume that the invasion forces came out of the Delta in these two particular locations. If, on the other hand, Perbarset was located in the eastern Delta, then it must be explained how the invaders got there. Bietak proposed that the forces in Perbarset were actually the 'Sea Peoples', who came from Canaan and attacked Egypt at the same time as the Libyans moved into Perire.[9] Nevertheless, as Schulman had already argued, the Karnak inscription explicitly mentions that the northern warriors accompanied Merey and fought on his side at Perire.[10] This is also repeated in three more sources: the Cairo, Heliopolis and Athribis inscriptions.[11] There is no reason to question such an unequivocal reference, which is corroborated in so many texts, especially given that the location of Perbarset is still disputed. Moreover, even if we take for granted that Perbarset was located in the eastern side of the Delta, a satisfactory reconstruction of the events is still possible. Manassa proposed that, when Merey reached Perire in the western Delta, he split his forces in two groups: '*one traveled from Bahariya and the northern Fayum, entering Egypt around the areas of the pyramid fields, while the other split off at Bahariya, crossed the Nile in Middle Egypt, and camped in the eastern Delta*'.[12] The aim of such a pincer move was the disruption of Egyptian communications and the confusion of the Egyptian army.

Recently, Iskander and Cline took up Bietak's proposal and supplemented it with further arguments. They both start from the observation that the Israel Stela[13] makes no reference to the northern warriors, and so they conclude that the 'Sea Peoples' did not attack Egypt together with the Libyans. Rather Merenptah, having fought them first at Perbarset, went on to arbitrarily combine these separate engagements, in order to make his victory seem even more glorious.[14] The scholars then follow different paths in their arguments.

Iskander finds additional support for his approach in the fact that though the plunder list of the Karnak inscription refers to the 'Sea Peoples', it yet seems to mention only the weapons of the Libyans: after the battle the Egyptians collected a total of 9111 '*copper swords of Meshwesh*'.[15] The Heliopolis inscription mentions a similar number, i.e. 9268 swords, but without any further designation, while the Athribis text makes no reference to swords whatsoever. The Heliopolis inscription mentions that the total number of Rebu casualties (both dead and taken captive) were 9376,[16] a number which almost coincides with the 9111 '*copper swords of Meshwesh*' and the 9268 swords of the Heliopolis inscription. This assumption leads to a rather awkward conclusion; in Iskander's words: '*The absence of their weapons* [i.e. of the 'Sea Peoples'] *indicates that they were unarmed or lightly armed squatters overtaken by Merenptah in the earlier campaign in the Delta*.'[17]

[7] 'Ineb-iti for Tatenen' was a shrine of the god Tatenen in Memphis: Manassa 2003, 12–13.
[8] For references, see Schulman 1987, 31 n. 52; Manassa 2003, 14.
[9] Bietak 1985.
[10] Schulman 1987, 31 n. 52.
[11] See n. 4.
[12] Manassa 2003, 99.
[13] See above n. 4 no. 4.
[14] Cline 2009; Iskander 2010, 190–3.
[15] Manassa 2003, 56 § 57.
[16] Kitchen 1982, 38.4.
[17] Iskander 2010, 193.

Iskander's argumentation is not convincing. Although the Israel Stela makes no mention of the 'Sea Peoples', four inscriptions (Karnak, Cairo, Heliopolis and Athribis) clearly connect them with Merey's campaign against Egypt. Moreover, there is no textual evidence for an attack against Egypt from the east (at Perbarset or anywhere else), while a suicidal invasion of unarmed or lightly-armed people from various parts of the eastern Mediterranean against Egypt is highly unlikely.

A closer look at the Karnak inscription shows that the weapons of the northern warriors are indeed mentioned in the plunder lists of Merenptah (Table 1):

Karnak[1]	**Heliopolis**[2]	**Athribis**[3]
copper swords of the Meshwesh: 9111	swords: 9268	
[... arrows of the Rebu(?)]: 120.214	quivers and arrows: 128.660	
bows: < .....>	bows: 6860	bows: 2000
spans which carried the enemy of Rebu and the chiefs of Rebu: 12	horses: 44	
mixed cattle: 1307	oxen, asses, goats and rams: 11594	
goats: < .....>		
various [...]: 64		
silver drinking vessels: [.....]	gold and silver (worked) in the form of *hnw*-vessels and jewellery: 531	gold:< .....>
ṯ3pr-vessels, *rhd*-vessels, swords, *kṯ*-vessels, weapons(?), razors, and various vessels: 3174	bronze in the shape of vessels: 3174	
apart from [....]		
	[pieces (?) of] royal linen: 4	

[1] Manassa 2003, 3, 81 §59.
[2] Bakry 1973, 9.
[3] Breasted 1906, 255.

In the Karnak inscription we read of a total of 120,214 arrows (§59), while in the Heliopolis inscription the arrows together with the retrieved quivers were 128,660. The number of bows is not preserved in the Karnak inscription and there is a discrepancy between the numbers mentioned in the Athribis (2000) and the Heliopolis (6860) inscriptions. The correct number of bows must have been the one on the Heliopolis text, because it is precise and also because the number in the Athribis text seems to be too low. The number of the arrows seems at first exaggerated, but, if we divide it by the number of the bows, then we have a total of 60 (Athribis) or 17.5 (Heliopolis) arrows per archer. Both numbers are quite reasonable, although the second one appears to be closer to reality.

Furthermore, the Karnak inscription mentions that Merey '*descended upon the foreign land of Tjehenu together* ***with his bowmen'*** (§13), while the northern warriors are described as *fighters* and *runners* (§14), terms which Manassa interprets as a reference to heavily-armed infantry.[18] If we thus conclude that (at least) 2000 out of the 9376 Libyans were bowmen[19], then we can also assume that (at least) 2000 out of the 3123 northern warriors from the Athribis text were equipped with swords.[20] The actual number of the northern warriors must have been higher, since the size of the

[18] Manassa 2003, 80.
[19] Spalinger 2005, 237: '*It has also been observed that the Tjemhu Libyans are rarely shown with both swords and bows.*'
[20] The Karnak inscription mentions 222 Shekelesh, 742 Tursha, an unknown number of Akawasha, Lukka and Sherden (Manassa 2003, 56). The Athribis Stela mentions 2201 Akawasha, 722 Tursha (Teresh) and 200 Shekelesh (Breasted 1906, 253–6).

Lukka and Sherden contingents is unknown, and we can safely assume that not all of the weapons were retrieved from the battlefield.

Then again, why does the Karnak inscription refer only to '*copper swords of the Meshwesh*'? This phrase led O'Connor to conclude that the 'Sea Peoples' arrived in Libya without weapons, to be equipped there by Merey.[21] This is quite improbable, because each weapon type required different fighting techniques and skills, which the warriors acquired through long and arduous training. Again, the answer to this question lies within the Karnak inscription. As Manassa mentioned: '*The object denoted by sf.t can range from a sword (i.e. a long, double-edged weapon) to a butcher's knife (i.e. single-edged tool).*'[22] This particular term was apparently not well-defined; the scribe had to clarify it, and so he mentioned that the *sf.t* are like those of the Meshwesh.[23] Further, if the scribe really had meant to say that these swords belonged only to the soldiers of Merey, then he would have designated them as swords of the Rebu, not of the Meshwesh![24]

Cline arrived at a similar conclusion as Iskander, albeit from a different direction.[25] He observed that the Israel Stela and the rest of the inscriptions of this group are all dated to Merenptah's fifth regnal year, so he assumed that the events in Canaan (which are indirectly mentioned in the Israel Stela) must have been contemporary with the Libyan invasion.[26] Referring to the Medinet Habu inscription of Ramesses III (which is dated 20–30 years later), he concluded that, as in the case of the later Pharaoh, the 'Sea Peoples' had been responsible for the destructions in Canaan, acting in coordination with the Libyans.[27]

Nevertheless, as already mentioned, neither the Israel Stela nor any other text from the reign of Merenptah connects these northern warriors in any way with Canaan. Furthermore, we should also consider the fact that the Israel Stela is a very different kind of text, compared to the other ones in this group. It is poetical praise of Merenptah, who is constantly compared with Merey, thus constructing an antithesis: on the one hand the righteous king of Egypt and on the other hand the vicious king of the Libyans. The only reference to the actual battle in this text is extremely brief and so generic that it could apply to any victory of any Pharaoh.[28] The concluding stanza is the most famous part of the stela:

> The kings are overthrown, saying: 'Salam!' Not one holds his head among the Nine Bows. Wasted is Tehenu, Kheta (=Hatti) is pacified, plundered is Canaan with every evil, carried off is Ashkelon, seized upon is Gezer, Yanoam is made as a thing not existing. Israel is desolated, his seed is not; Palestine has become a widow for Egypt. All lands are united, they are pacified; everyone that is turbulent is bound by King Merenptah, given life like Re, every day.[29]

[21] O'Connor 1990, 56–7.
[22] Manassa 2003, 59.
[23] If they were similar to the swords of the Lebu in the Medinet Habu reliefs, then they must have been long ones: Manassa 2003, 60 n. 327.
[24] In Libya there are no ore deposits, so all metals for the production of tools and weapons needed to be imported. The main source appears to have been Cyprus, as shown by the finds on Bates island (White 2002, 47–53, 168–74). The Libyans exchanged them for ivory, ostrich eggs and other products, which they imported from the south. Also the Ramessid fortress in Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham was apparently a place of trade activity (Snape 2010). The objects plundered from the Libyans (weapons, armour, chariots) do not conform with the image of poor nomads, but show that they must have been incorporated in the international trade network of the time (García 2014, 10).
[25] Cline 2009.
[26] See n. 4.
[27] Cline 2009, 196: '*The Sea Peoples, in connection with their alliance with the Libyans and their invasion of the Eastern Mediterranean regions, destroyed much of Canaan and numerous Canaanite cities (with Merneptah perhaps adding in additional blows against the region and specific cities before this date). However, the Israelites, whether fairly recent arrivals or inhabitants of longer standing – but still very much semi-nomads in the hill country – were able to survive, even if they had been temporarily 'desolated' by the Sea Peoples (or Merneptah) as the Israel Stele' claims.*'
[28] Breasted 1906, 260: '*Their advanced columns they left behind them, their feet made no stand, but fled. Their archers threw down their bows, and the heart of their fleet ones was weary with marching. They loosed their water skins and threw them to the ground, their [___] were taken and thrown out.*'
[29] Breasted 1906, 256–64.

Clearly, this stanza does not only refer to the Libyans, but also to all the unruly enemies of the Egyptian king, who eventually were made subject to him: '*everyone that is turbulent is bound by King Merenptah*'. The reference to Canaan, Ashkelon, Gezer, Yanoam, Israel[30] and Palestine probably alludes to an earlier campaign of Merenptah, which took place either in the second, third or the fifth year of his reign.[31] No text explicitly mentions an Egyptian campaign in Canaan, but there are two indications that this was indeed the case: a reference in the diary of an Egyptian official in Canaan, which hints at the presence of the Egyptian king there,[32] as well as Merenptah's title '*conqueror of Gezer*'.[33] It is also possible that the reliefs depicting Asiatic prisoners on the western wall of the Cour de la Cachette in Karnak belonged to Merenptah, not to Ramesses II.[34] There is another indication that Merenptah was involved in a fight before the battle of Perire: in the Karnak inscription we read the following phrase about his army before the battle of Perire: '*...Having returned bearing plunder, his army proceeded...*'[35] This could refer to a battle or skirmishes in Perbarset or further east, in Canaan.

If Merenptah really did conduct a military campaign in Canaan, he would have presented his successes in a separate stela.[36] We would have expected the same with his successful suppression of the Nubian attack (or revolt) in Wawat,[37] which took place only two days before the battle in Perire.[38] Nevertheless, this was not the case. His victories in Nubia were not even summarily mentioned in the Israel Stela. Thus, it is more likely that his military interventions in Canaan and Nubia were no more than minor punitive actions, overshadowed by his success against the Libyans.[39] The fact that the Israel Stela is dated to the fifth regnal year of Merenptah does not necessarily mean that his military actions in Canaan took place during that particular year. Yurco showed convincingly that its concluding stanza was in fact a summary of the most significant events from the first five years of his reign.[40] Even if we accept Cline's assumption that the destructions in Canaan should not be attributed to Merenptah, there is still no indication whatsoever that the 'Sea Peoples' should be blamed for them either. As already mentioned, none of the existing texts connects the 'Sea Peoples' with an attack either in Perbarset or Canaan during Merenptah's reign. In addition, even in the Medinet Habu inscription, concerning events that took place 20–30 years later, we find no explicit reference that the 'Sea Peoples' were responsible for any destruction in Canaan. The fact that the northern warriors attacked Egypt together with Merey from the west is explicitly mentioned in four sources (Karnak, Cairo, Athribis, Heliopolis), and there is no hard evidence that forces us to question the validity of their information. Instead of constructing complicated and hypothetical arguments, all based on the precarious assumption that Perbarset was located in the eastern side of the Delta, it is much simpler to just accept at face value the unambiguous evidence of the texts: the northern warriors attacked Egypt from the west, together with the Libyan army.

[30] The determinative for the term Israel is 'foreign people', not 'foreign land', as in the other cases (Killebrew 2005, 155). For further discussion and references, see Faust 2008; Hawkins 2013; Rata 2013.
[31] Breasted 1906, 258–9; Singer 1988; Vandersleyen 1995, 561; Yurco 1997b; Hasel 1998, 199–201; Manassa 2003, 22; Kahn 2012, 259.
[32] Papyrus Anastasi III. Dated to the third regnal year of Merenptah: Higginbotham 2000, 48–50; Manassa 2003, 22 n. 114.
[33] Amada Stela: Youssef 1964, 275 §2; Kitchen 1982, 33.9. This was noted already by Breasted 1906, 258–9.
[34] Yurco 1997a; Stager 1985, 56–64; Singer 1988, 3; Manassa 2003, 22 n. 116; Brand 2011, 53–72; Janzen 2013, 193–4. *contra* Redford 1986.
[35] Manassa 2003, 22.
[36] Cline 2009, 195.
[37] Grandet 1994, 215–8.
[38] Amada Stela: Kitchen 1982, 34.5–7: '*One came to say to his Majesty: 'The enemies of Wawat are mobilizing in the South', which happened in year 5, 3rd month of Shomu, day 1, when the valiant army of his majesty came and the wretched chief of the Rebu was overthrown.*' According to Kitchen (1990, 19–20), Vandersleyen (1995, 559) and Manassa (2003, 96 and n. 120) the Nubian attack was possibly coordinated with the Libyan invasion
[39] Redford 1986, 199; Higginbotham 2000, 47.
[40] Yurco 1997b, 497–503.

The Reason for the Libyan attack

At first glance, the reason that led the Libyans to invade Egypt seems obvious: being desert nomads, they tried to capture pasture lands, which they lacked. This is explicitly mentioned in the Karnak inscription:

> [21]...as crawling things, without giving more than their bellies. As for those who love death and hate life, their hearts are different from those of the people (of Egypt) [22] ...their chief. To fill their bellies daily do they spend the day wandering and fighting. To seek the necessities of their mouths do they come to the land of Egypt. Their hearts... [23] my... It is as fish upon their bellies that they were brought, their chief being in the manner of a dog, a wretched man, without his heart. He did not occupy it until(?)... [24] put an end to the Pedjuti-shu. It is in order to vivify this Hittite land that I have caused grain to be sent in ships. Behold, I am the one [to whom] the gods gave all nourishment.[41]

Apparently, a contest was already taking place also inside Egypt's realm between the pastoralists and the farmers.[42] This situation became dramatic, especially in the later part of the reign of Ramesses II, when the enormous capital Pi-Ramesses was founded in the Nile Delta, with an estimated size of 18 km^2 and a huge number of inhabitants, which increased competition for the available resources.[43] The threat posed by the pastoralists is also implied in the following part of the text:

> [8] [... Egypt was as(?)] that which was not defended. It being abandoned as pasture for cattle because of the Nine Bows.

If the Libyans really were just poor and hungry desert nomads, how did they manage to convince the northern warriors to join them in their attack against Egypt, one of the most formidable military forces of the time? Were these northern warriors even more desperate than the Libyans, so that they joined them in an attempt to cross the desert to simply seek food? If one digs a little deeper in the text, past the typical pharaonic propaganda, a different picture emerges.

First of all, let us examine the assumption that the Libyans and the northern warriors were forced to leave their lands, either because of famine or because they have been forced to do so by other enemies, and they thought that they had no other alternative than to migrate *en masse* first to Libya and then to Egypt, bringing along with them their wives and children. The texts of Merenptah never made such a claim. It is stated that only king Merey brought with him his wives and children (§14). In the plunder list of the same inscription those twelve women are mentioned as the wives of the king of the Rebu.[44] In the fragmentary Cairo text there is a general allusion to Libyan men and women with no further details.[45] But in the plunder list of Athribis we read again only about the twelve wives of the king, while no other Libyan women or children are mentioned.[46] In addition, no inscription mentions women or children in connection with the northern warriors.[47] The Egyptian scribes carefully noted the number of the prisoners, their weapons and all the items they captured. They even painstakingly counted the collected arrowheads. Thus, the fact that no

[41] Manassa 2003, 34. An alternative translation of the phrase '*it is in order to vivify this Hittite land*' is '*Hatti is at peace*' (Higginbotham 2000, 47). Nevertheless, in both cases the meaning is the same.
[42] García 2014, 10.
[43] García 2014, 11.
[44] Manassa 2003, 56: 57. '*Women of the fallen chief of Libya, whom he brought with him, being alive 12 Libyan women*.'
[45] Breasted 1906, 252–3: '*Year 5, second month of the third season (tenth month). One came to say to his majesty: 'The wretched [chief] of Libya has invaded [with]..., being men and women, Shekelesh...*' Also the Heliopolis text mentions women: '*The vile chief of the Libyans and the flat-land of Libya together with males and females and (also) the Sheklesh and every foreign land which is with him are penetrating to transgress the boundaries of Egypt*.' (Bakry 1973, 7).
[46] Breasted 1906, 256.
[47] Manassa 2003, 25 n. 127.

women or children are mentioned in any of the inscriptions and plunder lists surely means that only the wives and children of Merey were brought along on the campaign.

The Libyans also brought along with them 11594 oxen, goats and rams, of which 1307 were mixed cattle (Table 1). This high number of cattle shows that the Libyan attackers were not on the verge of starvation. They also cannot have been a group of migrating pastoralists, because then the cattle/people ratio would have been too low.[48] It seems more probable that these animals were brought along to feed the marching army with their dairy products and meat. These logistic preparations, as well as the numerous silver and other metal vessels (Table 1: 531 gold/silver and 3174 bronze vessels), which eventually fell into the hands of the Egyptians, shows that Merey did not lead a band of hungry refugees, but an organized invasion force. This is evident also in the fact that during the 13th and 12th centuries the Lebu and the Meshwesh had an organized central government and a relatively wealthy upper class.[49] Their aim was to acquire land and thus enhance their political and social status. In order to achieve that they have somehow managed to secure the help of a significant number of northern warriors.

The involvement of the northern warriors

The reasons for the participation of the northern warriors in Merey's campaign are not obvious. The Karnak inscription offers the same motive for both the Libyans and the northern warriors (esp. §21–2). The text puts an emphasis on their warlike character, since they are described as people who '*spend the day wandering and fighting*', not just as hungry migrants, who wanted to just obtain the '*necessities of their mouths*'. It is implied that they were professional soldiers, who earned their living '*wandering and fighting*'. As Manassa noted, they must have been mercenaries.[50] An indication in favor of this interpretation comes from another part of the Karnak inscription, namely the list of Merey's plundered belongings:[51]

> '[34] ...of the desert land. Meanwhile, when they were engaged in fighting, the wretched chief of Rebu was terrified, his heart weak, finding himself stretched out... [35] [...He left] sandals, his bow, his quiver in haste behind [him]....together with him, through his limbs' desire to flee, great terror having encompassed his limbs. [36] Meanwhile, ...killing... **consisting of his possessions, his tribute, his silver, his gold, his vessels of bronze, his wife's jewelry, his thrones, his bows, his weapons, and all the supplies which he brought from his land with oxen, goats, donkeys**... to the palace in order to present them together with the captives.'

We can imagine that he brought along his thrones, his bronze vessels, the jewels of his wives in order to denote his status even during the campaign. But why did he need to bring along with him gold and silver? He hoped to loot the Egyptian territories, so why did he bring along riches of his own, risking their loss, as indeed was the case in the end? The obvious answer is that the gold and silver was intended as payment for the northern warriors, who served him as mercenaries and needed to be paid regularly during the campaign.[52] Ramesses II also accused the Hittite king of paying silver to the mercenaries who fought on his side during the battle of Qadesh.[53] Then the text continues with a remark, which at first seems out of context:

---

[48] In a pastoralist community the cattle/human ratio can vary from 2–14:1, while the small livestock/cattle ratio varies from 3–6:1 (Bollig *et al.* 2013, 304–5).
[49] O'Connor 1987, 37.
[50] Manassa 2003, 3.
[51] Manassa 2003, 43.
[52] Manassa 2003, 61: '*The vast quantities of metal vessels, many made of precious materials, mentioned in the Karnak Inscription provide evidence for the wealth of the Libyan state and their ability to pay for mercenary troops... Essentially, the plunder list suggests that the Libyans were a wealthy culture that used their wealth to pay mercenaries in their attempt to take over more fertile agricultural land - the Egyptian Delta.*'
[53] Manassa 2003, 81 n. 21.

> [24] It is in order to vivify this Hittite land that I have caused grain to be sent in ships. Behold, I am the one [to whom] the gods gave all nourishment.

It is mentioned that ships with grain have been sent to Hatti, in order to 'vivify' the land.[54] Interestingly, Hatti is included in the 'Nine Bows' (i.e. the enemies of Egypt) in the Israel Stela[55] and in the Amada Stela we read that Merenptah '*caused those who came from the lands of the Hittites to kneel as the dogs walk*.'[56] Breasted and Youssef assumed that the Hittites had hostile relations with Egypt by then,[57] but there are no other sources to corroborate such a claim. The hostile attitute towards the Hittites was caused by the inability of the Hittite king to control his territory, thus allowing the northern warriors to invade Egypt. The shipments of grain were designed to reinforce his rule, so that no further invaders would threaten Egypt.[58]

The origin of the northern warriors

The Karnak inscription offers no information about the origin of the foreign warriors who took part in Merey's campaign. They are generally mentioned as '*northerners who came from all lands*' (§1) and the Akawasha in particular from the '*foreign lands of the sea*' (§52).[59] Despite the many attempts to connect these ethnonyms with people or lands known to us from other sources, this remains a highly disputed subject. The only exception are the Lukka, who are connected to the Land of Lukka in the Hittite sources and Lycia in the later Greek ones. We know that the Sherden and the Shekelesh were active as raiders in the eastern Mediterranean,[60] but, as in the case also of the Tursha, we know nothing of their place of origin. The term Akawasha (also transcribed as Eqwesh) probably refers to the Hittite term Ahhiyawa and the Greek term Ἀχαιοί.[61]

The casualties of Merey's force are mentioned in the Karnak, Athribis and Heliopolis inscriptions. In total, the Libyans lost 9376 men, of which 3265 were the captives.[62] In the Karnak inscription we also read of 222 Shekelesh (*Athribis*: 200), 742 Tursha (*Athribis*: 722) and an unknown number of Lukka and Sherden;[63] the total number of the Akawasha is not preserved in the Karnak inscription, but the Athribis Stela states that they lost 2201 men.[64] Accordingly, the total number of the casualties of the northerners are 3123 men, excluding the Lukka and the Sherden, for whom the numbers are not preserved. The figures mentioned in the Athribis plunder list correspond with those of the Karnak plunder list, albeit slightly rounded up. There is no poetical phraseology in the plunder lists and the figures of the casualties and the captured items seem precise.[65] As Spalinger noted, the plunder lists '*provide unrounded integers, owing to which we may argue that these numbers are accurate*'.[66] After the battle, each Egyptian soldier submitted to the king's scribes the severed hands of the enemies he killed in battle and received an appropriate reward. The biography of Ahmose, son of Abana, shows that the Egyptian soldiers themselves collected the enemy hands during battle:

---

[54] Texts from Hattusha and Ugarit seem to indicate the existence of a famine in Anatolia, but they are inconclusive (Singer 1999, 707, 717–9; Bryce 2010, 47–8; Cline 2014), despite the fact that recent archaeometric analyses seem to support them (Kaniewski *et al.* 2015). For a critical overview, see Knapp and Manning 2016, 102–12.

[55] See above p. 5.

[56] Youssef 1964, 276–7.

[57] Breasted 1906, 244 n. d; Youssef 1964, 278–9.

[58] Higginbotham 2000, 47; Manassa 2003, 101.

[59] Breasted 1906, 249 n. a: '*It is noticeable that this designation, both here and in the Athribis Stela (l. 13), is inserted only after the Ekwesh. In the Athribis Stela Ekwesh is cut off by a numeral from the preceding, showing that the designation there belongs only to them.*'

[60] Kopanias (forthcoming); against the identification of the Shekelesh with Sicily, see Redford 2006

[61] e.g. Jung 2009, 79; Adams and Cohen 2013, 652; Cline 2014, 8.

[62] Manassa 2003, 58–9.

[63] Manassa 2003, 56.

[64] Breasted 1906, 253–6.

[65] An example of such poetical phraseology can be found e.g. in the Amada Stela: '*None survived of the people of the Libyans... all in their land ... in hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands; the rest were crucified* [lit. placed] *on the tops of trees at the south of the city of Memphis persecuted*.' (Youssef 1964, 276)

[66] Spalinger 2005, 237.

> Then they fought again in this place; I again made a seizure there and **carried off a hand**. Then I was given the **gold of valor** once again... Now when his Majesty had slain the nomads of Asia, he sailed south of Khent-hen-nefer, to destroy the Nubian Bowmen. His Majesty made a great slaughter among them, and I brought spoil from there: two living men and **three hands**. Then I was r**ewarded with gold** once again, and two female slaves were given to me.67

After the battle, the scribes needed to record the precise figures of the enemy casualties, and probably kept the hands as a kind of receipt for the dispensed awards.[68]

The Karnak and Athribis inscriptions also attest the mutilation of the phalli of the Libyans. The Karnak inscription explicitly mentions that this was not done to the Akawasha because they did not have foreskins.[69] It is probable that circumcision was not practised in the Late Bronze Age Aegean;[70] therefore, either the Akawasha did not have an Aegean origin or the inscription contains an intentional or unintentional error. It is evident from Merenptah's inscriptions that only the dead Libyans suffered such a fate, which means that all the northern warriors were treated as if they were circumcised:

> [... donkeys] before them loaded with uncircumcised phalli of the foreign land of Rebu together with the severed hands of [all] the foreign lands which were with them in containers and baskets.[71]

The casual reference in the inscriptions that only the phalli of the uncircumcised enemies were cut, implies that this was an established practice in Egypt, but actually this was not the case. There is no textual or visual attestation of such a practice in Egypt from the Old Kingdom onwards, with the sole exception of the reigns of Merenptah and Ramesses III.[72] Interestingly, both Egyptian kings subjected only the dead Libyans to this postmortem treatment. The cutting of the phalli did not serve any practical purpose. If the awards of the Egyptian soldiers were not only calculated according to the number of the enemy right hands, then they could have collected two awards: one for the phallus of a Libyan opponent and one for his right hand, if they claimed that it belonged to a northern warrior. The cutting of the phalli must have served as a postmortem punishment and it probably took place after the battle was over. Matić suggests that this was done to the Libyans because they were extremely feminized within the framework of Egyptian propaganda.[73] An alternative explanation is that the Egyptians considered the Libyans to be responsible for the invasions, so they deemed this treatment as apt punishment for their transgressions. No matter what their true motives were, the Egyptians used the practice of circumcision by the northern warriors as an excuse to single out the Libyans.

The voyage to Libya

Despite his defeat, Merey survived and managed to return to Libya;[74] some of the Libyans and the northern warriors must have escaped along with him. This means that their initial number

---

[67] Lichtheim 2006, 12–3.

[68] The counting of the hands after the battle was depicted e.g. in one of the reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh in the Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos: Spalinger 2005, 219 fig. 13.2. Fourteen cut off right hands have recently been unearthed in Avaris. As Bietak *et al* (2012–3, 31–2) stated '*one may think of a 'gold of valour' ceremony for successful soldiers in front of the palace.*'

[69] Manassa 2003, 56: '*[...Aka]washa who did not have foreskins who were slain and their hands carried off, because they did not have [foreskins].*'

[70] Salimbeti and D'Amato 2015, 23. According to Faust (2015, 273): '*...the Philistines started to circumcise in Iron II, the time when they ceased to manufacture their Aegean-inspired decorated pottery, adopted the local script, changed their foodways, and so on.*'

[71] Manassa 2003, 161 §46.

[72] Matić (*forthcoming A*). Matić found an exception only in the case of Narmer's palette from the Predynastic Period. I would like to thank Uroš Matić for discussing with me his two forthcoming papers.

[73] Matić (*forthcoming B*).

[74] Manassa 2003, 48.

was higher, but it is not possible to determine it.[75] Since it is impossible to reconstruct the initial number of warriors, we'll use for our calculations the recorded number of 3100 men, namely the recorded number. The northern warriors, who came from '*foreign lands of the sea*' obviously arrived in Libya by ship. Surprisingly, this aspect has escaped the attention of most scholars. Is it maybe possible to calculate the number of their ships?

The largest warship during the Late Bronze Age was probably the penteconter, with a crew of 50 marines, who served as warriors and rowers.[76] There existed also smaller ships (triaconters), with a crew of 30 men or less. This means that the 3100 northern warriors needed a total of **62** penteconters or **103** triaconters. This is quite a significant number of ships during that period. The sudden appearance of 20 enemy ships (of unknown size) was considered reason enough for the Great Commissioner of Alashia to urgently send a letter and warn the king of Ugarit.[77] Even seven enemy ships were enough to cause the king of Ugarit a lot of anxiety.[78] For a comparison, in the Pylos tablets the recruiting of 600 rowers is mentioned, enough to man a fleet of 20 triaconters or 12 penteconters;[79] but the texts do not reveal if this was the entire fleet of Pylos. There are also several references to fleets in texts from Ugarit:[80] a fleet of 30 ships[81] and a catalogue of ships of Carchemish which needed repairs[82]. There is a possible reference to 100 ships, which belonged to a Hittite vassal and carried wheat[83], but it is more probable that this tablet refers only to a single ship.[84] In the well known letter RS 18.148 a Hittite military official ordered the king of Ugarit to prepare a fleet of 150 ships[85]. Considering its population size, it is very improbable that Ugarit had such a big war fleet; many (if not most) of these vessels must have been merchant ships, used for the transport of troops and war material.[86] This particular reference to the 150 ships was interpreted as an indication of an Ugaritic 'Thalassocracy',[87] but Lambrou-Phillipson has argued convincingly against it.[88]

It is obvious that a fleet of 62–103 ships full of warriors would have been a very significant force at the time, and it would have been something worth mentioning in the Egyptian texts. Nevertheless, in Merenptah's inscriptions there is no reference to ships or a sea battle, contrary to the case of the texts of Ramesses III. Thus we can safely assume that the northern warriors did not arrive in Egypt by ship. This should mean that they came by ship to Libya and then joined the Libyans in their invasion on land. The reason for such an unexpected decision was probably the fact that since the middle of the 13th century a series of Egyptian fortresses had been built along the coast, from the Nile Delta up to Zawiyet Umm el Rakham, a site which is located 300 km west of Alexandria;[89] these fortresses controlled the coastal marine route, so an invasion force would face significant difficulties. Thanks to them, any Egyptian king was warned very early on about an invasion, and so would have more time to gather his forces and to better organize his defences. This is why the

[75] According to Spalinger (2005, 237), the total number of the enemy was probably over 16000.
[76] Wachsmann 1998, 157; Barako 2001, 134; Yasur-Landau 2003, 64; 2010, 106.
[77] RS 20.18. Nougayrol *et al.* 1968, 83–5 no. 22; Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1998, 343; Lehmann 1996, 27; Halayqa 2010, 321.
[78] RS 20.238. Nougayrol *et al.* 1968, 85–9 no. 24; Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1998, 344; Huehnergard 1999, 376–7; Gander 2010, 47; Halayqa 2010, 321–2. Piracy was apparently a serious problem in the Eastern Mediterranean thoughout the 14th and 13th c. BC: Kopanias (forthcoming).
[79] PY An 1, An 610, An 724. Wachsmann 1998, 123; Yasur-Landau 2010, 46. The tablet PY An 1 mentions a group of 30 rowers (e-re-ta), which means that at least some of the ships must have been triaconters (Palaima 1991, 285). About the size of the ship crews in general, see Barako 2001, 135–9.
[80] Linder 1970, 99; Barako 2001, 139–42; Routledge and McGeough 2009, 25.
[81] RS 20.14 1B = Ug 5, 108, no. 34.
[82] RS 34.147, RSO 7, no. 5.
[83] KBo 2810: Klengel 1974, 171–4.
[84] Singer 1999, 718, n. 385.
[85] RS 18.148 (= KTU 2.47 = PRU 5, 88–89 no. 62): Astour 1965, 256; Singer 1999, 718–9; Halayqa 2010, 303.
[86] Vita 1999, 497.
[87] Sasson 1966, 127–8; Linder 1970, 125 ff.; 1981, 31 ff.
[88] Lambrou-Phillipson 1993.
[89] O'Connor 1987, 36. The fortress Zawiyet Umm el Rakham was probably deserted by the end of the 13th century (Snape 2003; Snape and Wilson 2007; Kahn 2012, 261), but it is uncertain whether this happened during the reign of Merenptah or during the subsequent turbulent period.

Libyan king chose to conduct a surprise attack, following a southern route through a trail of oases and finally reaching central Egypt at Perire;[90] he hoped to catch the Egyptians off guard, leaving them little time to react. In this way the Egyptian king would only have his standing army at his disposal.

This was a pleasing plan and, apparently, the northern warriors were convinced to follow the Libyan king over land and attack Egypt. But what did they do with their ships? Did they just leave them in Libya waiting for their return? Or were these warriors ferried across the sea using merchant and transport ships? No matter what the answer to this question may be, Crete is the nearest departure point for a sea voyage to Libya from the north. From later sources we know that it was possible to travel by ship from Crete to Egypt in only four days, thanks to a favourable NW-SE wind,[91] so the trip to Libya must have been shorter. An alternative departure point could have been Cyprus, but then the mariners would have to stay longer in the open sea, while the wind would drive them towards Egypt, not Libya.[92] The best available option was to depart from Crete and maybe this is why the majority of these northern warriors (2201 according to the Athribis Stela) were Akawasha, i.e. of Aegean origin.[93]

This operation reminds us of a similar campaign of the 6th century described by Herodotus. The oracle of Delphi advised the Therans to establish a colony in Libya. They refused to obey the oracle, but, after seven years of drought, they were forced to comply. The Therans sought information about Libya in Crete and a local merchant escorted them to the island Platea, which was located near the Libyan coast.[94] They settled there for a while, but eventually they moved their settlement to the land opposite the island.[95] Six years later the Libyans convinced them to move their settlement to the west, to a place called *Fountain of Apollo*, where they established Cyrene.[96] In the following decades, the number of Greek settlers increased significantly and, subsequently, they seized land from the Libyans. The Libyan king asked for the assistance of the Egyptian king Apries.[97] The Egyptians conducted a campaign in Libya but, according to Herodotus, they suffered a crushing defeat:

> '[5] *Apries mustered a great force of Egyptians and sent it against Cyrene; the Cyrenaeans marched out to Irasa and the Thestes spring, and there fought with the Egyptians and beat them;* [6] *for the Egyptians had as yet had no experience of Greeks, and despised their enemy; as a result of which, they were so utterly destroyed that few of them returned to Egypt. Because of this misfortune, and because they blamed him for it, the Egyptians revolted from Apries.*'[98]

It is tempting to think that this historical account contained a distorted memory of much earlier events, but there is no archaeological or textual evidence to support such a claim. Nevertheless, Herodotus' account of events in the 6th century offers a useful historical parallel for those that occurred during the reign of Merenptah.

As always in the official Egyptian texts, the outcome of the battle is described as an Egyptian triumph, attributed personally to the king. The fact that the Egyptians captured Merey's wives and his valuables indeed shows that Merey suffered a humiliating defeat. Nevertheless, the Libyan king,

[90] For a map, see Manassa 2003, pl. 1.
[91] Hom., *Od.* 14.257; Strabo 10.4.5; Barako 2003, 167; Emanuel 2012, 5 n. 16.
[92] The finds on Bates island confirm trade contacts with Cyprus: White 2002, 47–53, 168–174.
[93] The Egyptian term Akawasha refers to an 'ethnically' defined group, not a homogeneous 'national' group in the modern sense. The Akawasha were people from various parts of the Aegean, but not necessarily Mycenaeans. For a general discussion, see Killebrew and Lehmann 2013, 6; Killebrew 2014.
[94] Hdt. 4.151.
[95] Hdt. 4.157.
[96] Hdt. 4.158.
[97] Apries, Wahibre Haaibre, 589–570 BC: Bard 2007, 270–1.
[98] Hdt. 4.159.5–6. Translation: Godley 1920. The end of Apries, as described by Herodotus, is not confirmed by the available Near Eastern sources: Redford 2001, 98–9.

and probably many of his followers, managed to escape back to Libya. So it was not a devastating defeat. In the long run, the Egyptians were not able to keep the Libyans away from the Nile Delta: the Papyrus Harris I states that some groups of the Rebu and Meshwesh remained in various parts of Egypt for a long time, driving out the Egyptians.[99] It is possible that this process had started already during the later part of Merenptah's reign, and surely the situation worsened during the following turbulent period.[100] Ramesses III fought against the Libyans, but in the long run they managed to control parts of the Nile Delta: the kings of the 22nd Dynasty openly admitted that they were descendants of the Meshwesh, who initially came to live in the eastern part of the Delta as prisoners of war of the Egyptians.[101]

References

Adams, M.J. and M.E. Cohen 2013. The 'Sea Peoples' in Primary Sources, in A.E. Killebrew and G. Lehmann (eds) *The Philistines and other 'sea peoples' in text and archaeology* (Archaeology and biblical studies 15.): 645–664. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Astour, M.C. 1965. New Evidence on the Last Days of Ugarit. *AJA* 69(3): 253–258.

Baines, J. and J. Málek 1980. *Atlas of Ancient Egypt.* New York: Facts On File.

Bakry, H.S.K. 1973. The Discovery of a Temple of Merenptaḥ at Ōn: A. Merenptaḥ commemorates his victory over the Libyans. *Aegyptus* 53(1/4): 3–21.

Barako, T.J. 2001. The Seaborne Migration of the Philistines. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University.

2003. The Changing Perception of the Sea Peoples Phenomenon: Invasion, Migration or Cultural Diffusion? in N.C. Stampolides (ed.) *Sea routes. From Sidon to Huelva interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th – 6th c. BC*: 163–71. Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art.

Bard, K.A. 2007. *Introduction to the archaeology of ancient Egypt.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

Beckman, G.M., T.R. Bryce and E.H. Cline. 2011. *The Ahhiyawa Texts.* Writings from the ancient world. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.

Bietak, M. 1985. Response to T. Dothan, in J. Amitai (ed.) *Biblical Archaeology Today*: 217. Jerusalem. Israel Exploration Society.

Bietak, M., N. Math, and V. Müller. 2012–3. Report on the Excavations of a Hyksos Palace at Tell el-Dabca/Avaris (23rd of August – 15th of November 2011), *Egypt and the Levant* 22–3: 18–52.

Bollig, M., M. Schnegg and H.-P. Wotzka. 2013. *Pastoralism in Africa. Past, present, and future.* New York: Berghahn.

Brand, P.J. 2011. The Date of Battle Reliefs on the South Wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall and the West Wall of the Cour de la Cachette at Karnak and the History of the Later Nineteenth Dynasty, in M. Collier, S.R. Snape, G. Criscenzo-Laycock, C. Price and K.A. Kitchen (eds) *Ramesside studies in honour of K.A. Kitchen*: 51–84. Bolton: Oxbow.

Breasted, J.H. 1906. *Ancient Records of Egypt, Volume III, Historical Documents from the earliest times to the Persian conquest.* Chicago: The University of Illinois Press.

Bryce, T.R. 2010. The Hittite Deal with the Hiyawa-Men, in Y. Cohen, A. Gilan and J.L. Miller (eds) *Pax Hethitica: Studies on the Hittites and Their Neighbours in Honour of Itamar Singer*: 47–53. StBoT 51. Wiesbaden. Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.

Cline, E.H. 2009. The Sea Peoples' Possible Role in the Israelite Conquest of Canaan, in D. Danielidou (ed.) *DORON. Studies in honour of Professor Spyros Iakovidis*: 191–198. Athens. Athens Academy.

— 2014. *1177 B.C. the year civilization collapsed.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Drews, R. 2000. Medinet Habu: Oxcarts, Ships, and Migration Theories, *JNES* 59(3): 161–190.

Emanuel, J. 2012. Cretan Lie and Historical Truth: Examining Odysseus' Raid on Egypt in its Late Bronze Age Context, in V. Bers, D. Elmer, D. Frame and L. Muellner (eds) *Donum Natalicium Digitaliter Confectum Gregorio Nagy Septuagenario a Discipulis Collegis Familiaribus Oblatum*: 1–41. Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies.

Faust, A. 2008. *Israel's ethnogenesis: settlement, interaction, expansion and resistance.* Approaches to anthropological archaeology. London and Oakville, CT: Equinox Pub.

— 2015. The Bible, Archaeology, and the Practice of Circumcision in Israelite and Philistine Societies, *JBL* 134(2): 273–290.

[99] Breasted 1906, 4:92ff.; Manassa 2003, 27. Papyrus Harris I 76.11–77.1: '*The Rebu and the Meshwesh were inhabiting Egypt. They seized the towns of the western bank, from Memphis to Qerben.*'

[100] Kahn 2012, 262–5.

[101] O'Connor 1987, 37.

Gander, M. 2010. *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder.* Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

García, J.C.M. 2014. Invaders or just herders? Libyans in Egypt in the third and second millennia BCE. *World Archaeology*: 1–14.

Godley, A.D. 1920. *Herodotus, with an English translation.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Grandet, P. 1994. *Le Papyrus Harris I, BM 9999.* Bibliothèque d'ètude 2. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.

Halayqa, I.K.H. 2010. The Demise of Ugarit in the Light of its Connections with Ḫatti. *UF* 42: 297–332.

Hasel, M.G. 1998. *Domination and Resistance, Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, ca. 1300–1185 B.C.* Boston: Brill Academic.

Hawkins, K. 2013. *How Israel Became a People.* Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Higginbotham, C.R. 2000. *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine. Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery.* Culture and history of the ancient Near East 2. Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill.

Hoftijzer, J. and W.H. van Soldt. 1998. Texts from Ugarit Pertaining to Seafaring, in S. Wachsmann (ed.) *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*: 333–344. Texas: A & M University Press.

Huehnergard, J. 1999. The Akkadian Letters, in W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt (eds) *Handbook of Ugaritic studies*: 375–389. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Boston: Brill.

Iskander, S. 2010. Merenptah's Confrontations in the Western Desert and the Delta, in S. D'Auria and J.A. Josephson (eds) *Offerings to the discerning eye. An Egyptological medley in honor of Jack A. Josephson*: 187–194. Culture and history of the ancient Near East 38. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

Janzen, M. 2013. The Iconography of Humiliation: The Depiction and Treatment of Bound Foreigners in New Kingdom Egypt. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Memphis.

Jung, R. 2009. Pirates of the Aegean: Italy - the East Aegean - Cyprus at the end of the Second Millenium BC, in V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka (eds) *Cyprus and the East Aegean: intercultural contacts from 3000 to 500 BC: an international archaeological symposium held at Pythagoreion, Samos, October 17th - 18th 2008*: 72–93. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation.

Kahn, D. 2012. A Geo-Political and Historical Perspective of Merneptah's Policy in Canaan, in G. Galil, A. Leṿinzon-Gilbo'a, A.M. Maeir and D. Kahn (eds) *The ancient Near East in the 12th-10th centuries BCE. Culture and history : proceedings of the international conference, held at the University of Haifa, 2–5 May, 2010*: 255–268. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 392. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Kaniewski, D., J. Guiot and E. van Campo 2015. Drought and societal collapse 3200 years ago in the Eastern Mediterranean. A review. *WIREs Climate Change* 6(4): 369–382.

Killebrew, A.E. 2005. *Biblical peoples and ethnicity: an archaeological study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and early Israel, 1300–1100 B.C.E.* Archaeology and biblical studies 9. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

— 2014. Hybridity, Hapiru, and the Archaeology of Ethnicity in Second Millennium BCE Western Asia, in J. McInerney (ed.), *A companion to ethnicity in the ancient Mediterranean*: 142–157. Chichester, West Sussex. Wiley Blackwell.

Killebrew, A.E., and G. Lehmann. 2013. Introduction: The World of the Philistines and Other 'Sea Peoples', in A.E. Killebrew and G. Lehmann (eds), *The Philistines and other 'sea peoples' in text and archaeology*: 1–17. Archaeology and biblical studies 15. Atlanta. Society of Biblical Literature.

Kitchen, K.A. 1982. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Vol. 4.* Oxford: Blackwell.

— 1990. The Arrival of the Libyans in Late New Kingdom Egypt, in A. Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt: c1300–750 BC*: 15–27. Society for Libyan Studies. London: SOAS Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies and the Society for Libyan Studies.

Klengel, H. 1974. Hungerjahre in Ḫatti, *AoF* 1: 165–74.

Knapp, A.B. and S.W. Manning 2016. Crisis in Context. The End of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean. *AJA 120(1): 99–149.*

Kopanias, K. Forthcoming. Πειρατές, Hapiru και Μισθοφόροι στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο κατά την Ύστερη Εποχή του Χαλκού, in Π. Σγουρίτσα and Όλ. Παλαγγιά (eds) *Πρακτικά ημερίδας στη μνήμη του Ακαδημαϊκού Καθηγητή Σπ. Ιακωβίδη, 6 Μαΐου 2015, Αθήνα*. Athens.

Lambrou-Phillipson, C. 1993. Ugarit: A Late Bronze Age thalassocracy? The evidence of the textual sources. *Orientalia, NOVA SERIES* 62(3): 163–170.

Lefebvre, G. 1927. Stèle de l'an V de Méneptah, *ASAE* 27: 19–30.

Lehmann, G.A. 1996. *Untersuchungen zur späten Eisenzeit in Syrien und Libanon.* Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Lichtheim, M. 2006. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. 2, *The New Kingdom.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Linder, E. 1970. The Maritime Texts of Ugarit: A Study in Late Bronze Age Shipping, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Brandeis University.

— 1981. Ugarit: A Canaanite thalassocracy, in G.D. Young (ed.) *Ugarit in Retrospect*: 31–42. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Manassa, C. 2003. *The Great Karnak inscription of Merneptah: grand strategy in the 13th century BC.* (Yale Egyptological studies). New Haven, Conn: Yale Egyptological Seminar, Dept. of Near Estern Languages and Civilizations, The Graduate School, Yale Univ.

Matić, U. Forthcoming A. Archaeology of genital mutilation: Phalli-cutting, military violence and gender in ancient Egypt, in Hierarchy and Equality Representations of Sex/Gender in the Ancient World. International Conference, September 11–13, 2016, Athens, organized by the Norwegian Institute at Athens and the Centre for Gender Research, University of Oslo.

— Forthcoming. Traditionally Unharmed? Women and Children in NK Battle Scenes, in A. Kahlbacher and E. Priglinger (eds), *Proceedings of the 5th International Congress for Young Egyptologists, Vienna, 15–19 September 2015*. Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Scienses.

Nougayrol, J., E. Laroche, C. Virolleaud and C. Schaeffer 1968. *Ugaritica 5. Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ugaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit. Commentaires des textes historiques (première partie).* Mission de Ras Shamra. Paris: Geuthner.

O'Connor, D. 1987. Egyptians and Libyans in the New Kingdom. An Interpretation. *Expedition* 39(3): 35–37.

O'Connor, D. 1990. The nature of Tjemhu(Libyan) society in late New Kingdom Egypt, in A. Leahy (ed.) *Libya and Egypt: c. 1300–750 BC*: 29–114. Society for Libyan Studies. London: SOAS Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies and the Society for Libyan Studies.

Palaima, T.G. 1991. Maritime Matters in the Linear B Tablets, in R. Laffineur and L. Basch (eds) *Thalassa: L'Égée préhistorique et la mer. Actes de la troisième rencontre égéenne internationale de l'université de Liège, Station de recherches sousmarines et océanographiques (StaReSO), Calvi, Corse (23–25 avril 1990)*: 273–310. Aegaeum 7. Liège: Université de Liège, Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique.

Rata, C.G. 2013. The Emergence of Israel in Canaan: An Update and Criticism, *TTJ* 16(2): 89–117.

Redford, D.B. 1986. The Ashkelon Relief at Karnak and the Israel Stela. *IEJ* 36: 188–200.

— 1992. *Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

— Ed. 2001. *The Oxford encyclopedia of ancient Egypt, Vol. 1*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

— 2006. The Tjeker. *Scripta Mediterranea* 27–28: 9–14.

Routledge, B. and K. McGeough. 2009. Just What Collapsed? A Network Perspective on 'Palatial' and 'Private' Trade at Ugarit, in C. Bachhuber and R.G. Roberts (eds) *Forces of transformation. The end of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean : proceedings of an international symposium held at St. John's College, University of Oxford 25–6th March, 2006* (Themes from the ancient Near East BANEA publication series 1): 22–9. Oxford and Oakville, CT: Oxbow.

Salimbeti, A. and R. D'Amato. 2015. *Sea Peoples of the Bronze Age Mediterranean c.1400 BC-1000 BC.* Oxford: Osprey Publishing.

Sasson, J.M. 1966. Canaanite Maritime Involvement in the Second Millennium BC. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 86(2): 126.

Schulman, A.R. 1987. The Great Historical Inscription of Merneptaḥ at Karnak: A Partial Reappraisal, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 24: 21–34.

Singer, I. 1988. Merneptah's Campaign to Canaan and the Egyptian Occupation of the Southern Coastal Plain of Palestine in the Ramesside Period. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 269: 1–10.

— 1999. A Political History of Ugarit, in W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt (eds) *Handbook of Ugaritic studies*: 603–733. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Boston: Brill.

Snape, S.R. 2003. Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham and Egyptian foreign trade in the 13th century BC, in N.C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds) *Ploes. Sea Routes...: Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th-6th c. BC*: 63–70. Athens: University of Crete, Leventis Foundation.

— 2010. Vor der Kaserne: External Supply and Self-Sufficiency at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, in M. Bietak, E. Czerny and I. Forstner-Müller (eds) *Cities and Urbanism in Ancient Egypt*: 271–288. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Snape, S.R. and P. Wilson. 2007. *Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham.* Bolton: Rutherford Press.

Spalinger, A.J. 2005. *War in ancient Egypt. The New Kingdom*, Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Stager, L.E. 1985. Merneptah, Israel and Sea Peoples: New light on an Old Relief. *Eretz-Israel* 18: 56–64.

Tykot, R. 1994. Sea Peoples in Etruria? Italian Contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age. *Etruscan Studies* 1(5): 59–83.

van der Veen, P., C. Theis and M. Görg 2010. Israel in Canaan (Long) Before Pharaoh Merenptah? A Fresh Look at Berlin Statue Pedestal Relief 21687. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 2(4): 15–25.

van Dijk, J. 2000. The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom, in I. Shaw (ed.) *The Oxford history of ancient Egypt*: 265–307. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vandersleyen, C. 1995. *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil Vol. 2*: De la fin de l'ancient empire à la fin du nouvel empire. Paris: Nouvelle Clio.

Vita, J.-P. 1999. The Society of Ugarit, in W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt (eds) *Handbook of Ugaritic studies*: 455–498. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Boston: Brill.

Wachsmann, S. Ed. 1998. *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant.* Texas: A & M University Press.

White, D. 2002. *Marsa Matruh. The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Antrhopology's excavations on Bate's Island, Marsa Matruh, Egypt 1985–1989.* (Prehistory monographs 2). Philadelphia: Institute for Aegean Prehistory Academic Press.

Yasur-Landau, A. 2003. One If by Sea ... Two If by Land: How Did the Philistines Get to Canaan? Two: By Land—the Trek through Anatolia Followed a Well-Trod Route. *Biblical Archaeology Review* 29(2): 34–39, 66–67.

— 2010. *The Philistines and Aegean migration at the end of the Late Bronze Age.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Youssef, A. 1964. Merenptah's Fourth Year Text at Amada. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 58: 273–280.

Yurco, F.J. 1997a. Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign and Israel's Origins, in E.S. Frerichs and L.H. Lesko (eds) *Exodus: The Egyptian Evidence*: 28–53. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

— 1997b. Merneptah's Wars, the 'Sea Peoples' and Israel's Origins, in J. Phillips, L. Bell, B.B. Williams, J. Hoch and R.J. Leprohon (eds) *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Near East: Studies in Honour of Martha Rhoads Bell*: 497–506. San Antonio, TX: Van Siclen Books.

Sample Review

Ruth M. Léger. *Artemis and her cult*.

Martin Eckert. *Die Aphrodite der Seefahrer und ihre Heiligtümer am Mittelmeer. Archäologische Untersuchungen zu interkulturellen Kontaktzonen am Mittelmeer in der späten Bronzezeit und frühen Eisenzeit*.

Lieve Donnellan

(Journal of Greek Archaeology 2 (2017): 457–461)

Multiperiod

Situating Artemis and Aphrodite between ancient practices and modern scholarship

Ruth M. Léger. *Artemis and her cult.* pp vi +178, thirteen colour plates. Oxford: Archaeopress 2017. ISBN 978-1-78491-550-6 paperback £30.

Martin Eckert. *Die Aphrodite der Seefahrer und ihre Heiligtümer am Mittelmeer. Archäologische Untersuchungen zu interkulturellen Kontaktzonen am Mittelmeer in der späten Bronzezeit und frühen Eisenzeit.* pp 600 + colour figs throughout. Berlin: LIT Verlag 2016. ISBN 978-364313-510-0 paperback €79.90.

Artemis and Aphrodite occupied an important place in ancient Greek society and despite a very long tradition of scholarship into Greek beliefs, the divine world of the Greeks has lost nothing of its attraction for contemporary scholars, as testify two recently published books, both the result of the respective author's PhD research.

The first book is dedicated to Artemis and her cult, and focusses on the sanctuaries of Sparta, Ephesus, Tegea and to a lesser extent, Brauron. The cult in Tegea was in reality dedicated to Athena, but the close relationship to Artemis justifies, according to the author, the inclusion in a study on this goddess. The second book takes a different approach and aims at discussing Aphrodite in her aspect of a goddess of sailors in the Mediterranean. Both books provide an opportunity to take a closer look at different scholarly approaches to ancient beliefs, as well as to the ancient practices that mediated the veneration of certain divine figures themselves.

In the introduction to her book, Ruth Léger explains that looking at how and when the cult of Artemis took shape materially and socially help her to define the cult of Artemis better in general terms. She seeks to understand the relationship between cult and community and the ways in which rituals differ in the Artemis cults she studies. The underlying hypothesis is that the cults are an expression of local identity that manifests itself in architecture and archaeology.

The author combines written sources with a study of architecture, material remains of cult practices, iconography and epigraphic and numismatic sources. The availability of the sources for the study differ between the case studies, which is partly a consequence of research history, but partly due to idiosyncracies in the local practices related to the cult.

After the first introductory chapter in which Léger specifies the general premises of her study and the availability of various sources at the sites, follow five more chapters, which outline the status quaestionis regarding the study of Artemis, the attestations of the cult at the various sites, common material features shared between the case studies, and shared cult practices. She concludes with general observations on how her case studies contribute to an improved understanding of Artemis in Greek culture. The book ends with 24 appendices that include maps, figures, plans, tables of finds and two short additional texts on the origin of the Spartan masks and the legend of Telephos.

In the second chapter, Léger explores the various names and aspects that are usually associated with Artemis. Artemis is attributed the roles of mother of the gods, especially in Mycenaean times and in Phrygia. Most frequently, however, she was seen as goddess of the wilderness, animals and hunting. The goddess is frequently depicted as Potnia Theron, Mistress of Animals and she sometimes co-occurs with Gorgons. Artemis is also a goddess of birth, infants, children and sometimes young animals and was especially important in rites of passage into adulthood and marriage. Dances seem to have been particularly important in her cult and she possessed a bloodthirsty aspect as the sacrifices of Iphigeneia and the daughter of Bellerophon demonstrate.

The ways in which these various aspects combine in local cults is explored in the third chapter. The cult site at Orthia in Sparta seems to have been installed in the Geometric period. To this time dates the earliest pottery, which was associated with an ash altar. In the next centuries, the cult site was gradually developed with a sequence of altars and temples. A theatre was added in the 3rd century AD, but even before that, provisions for seating existed.

Apart from pottery, large numbers of figurines were dedicated by the worshippers. These varied greatly in type and the author rearranges existing classifications into a new order to make comparisons with the other case studies possible. Most frequently, a women or a female goddess was depicted, but other human figures also occurred, as well as animals. Particular to the Orthia cult is

the use of masks, for which Léger also proposes a new classification. Previous scholars have suggested that the masks were used for theatre performances, but Léger prefers to establish a connection with rites of passage. More than in any other sanctuary in Greece, the celebrants dedicated bone and ivory carvings. Small lead figurines of various types were also numerous.

Inscriptions reveal that the goddess venerated at the site was normally called Orthia, rather than Artemis. Only in Flavian inscriptions were Orthia and Artemis considered as one and the same figure. Léger, however, thinks that the association took place before that date. Based on artefacts, she suggests that this might have happened as early as the 6th century BCE. At that time, a number of changes occur in the sanctuary. But despite the construction of a new altar and temple, the importance of the sanctuary seems to have decreased. Fewer and less carefully made objects were now dedicated. The depiction of the goddess also changed from Potnia Theron in the earlier phases to Artemis with a deer in the later phases. An explanation might be that the Spartans increasingly focused on a military ideology and adapted the Artemis cult to this.

The cult site in Ephesus has evidence that dates back much further than Sparta. The earliest material dates to the 13nd century BCE. Partial publication of the excavations has resulted in unequal attention being paid to the archaic period, whereas other periods remain underexplored. At least from the Early Iron Age (11th - 8th century BCE) cult activity is confirmed. A shrine, and associated pottery and votives are known. The destruction of this site by a flood led to the construction of a new shrine-like naiskos in the Geometric period. Through the centuries, a sequence of altars, three platforms and co-existing shrines, later replaced by a single temple, existed. In the 6th century BCE, the 'Croesus' temple, which reputedly burnt down on the night of Alexander the Great's birth was built, and its Hellenistic successor was considered one of the Seven World Wonders.

The Ephesan cult practices included the deposition of pottery. In the earlier phases, most vessels were used for feasting, but later, miniature vessels were dedicated to the goddess. Important was the deposition of silver and gold objects, mostly jewellery and dress items. The appliqués found at Ephesus have no parallels elsewhere. Bronze items, mostly belts but also tripods, were popular, in addition to ivory and terracotta statuettes.

Inscriptions testify to the existence of a festival in which prizes were given to competing athletes and musicians. Decrees of citizenship were exhibited in the sanctuary. The inscriptions also testify to a link with the cult of Dionysos. Particular at Ephesus was the existence of a priest class, the Megabyzoi, who oversaw the cult activities. It is unclear, however, if the mysteries associated with the veneration of the Ephesan Artemis existed from the very beginning, or if they were introduced at a later date.

Not dedicated to Artemis but to Athena, was the cult site at Alea. The close association to Artemis of this goddess venerated at Tegea, is compelling enough for Léger, to include the site in her study. The cult site might have been in use as early as the 11th century BCE, although firm evidence dates only to the 10th century BCE, when a votive pit was in use. An altar, dating to this early phase, was not found, but a sequence of altars was used in later periods. At least three wattle-and-daub buildings were used in the 8th century BCE. After this date, they were replaced first by an Archaic and then a Hellenistic temple. The sculptor Skopas famously built the last one.

The 8th century BCE sanctuary was provided with a metal workshop, which might have been responsible for the numerous bronze votive gifts found in the site. Many of the bronzes represent Athena as Mistress of Animals and the site has yielded the largest number of geometric deer figurines, bird figurines and stamp pendants in the Greek world. Lead figures were also found, but were less numerous than at Sparta. They refer to the Potnia Theron and Kourotrophos and might have come from Sparta. Likewise, bone and ivory carvings might have come from Sparta.

Only very few inscriptions shed light on the cult, but from the archaeological evidence it seems that a local goddess, Alea, was initially venerated at the site. Alea had various aspects that partly relate to the Potnia Theron, partly to the warlike aspects of Athena, even though she lacked some of the other warlike characteristics known elsewhere. Alea became associated with Athena only in the 7th or 6th century BCE and the aggression of the Spartans might be responsible for the link with Athena rather than Artemis, who played an important role in Spartan society. In all but name, however, Alea resembled Artemis.

In the next chapter, Léger describes the common features in the cult practices shared among the case studies. Similarities exist in the placing and monumentalisation of the cult sites. The sites were located at the edge of town, and the cults definitely possessed a liminal aspect. As such, they were important in rites of passage. The cults at the sites belonged to a group of old pre-Classical cults

that became most often associated with Demeter, Artemis or Athena.

Goats, cattle, sheep, pigs, donkey, dogs, deer and birds were most commonly sacrificed in her honour. Jewellery and small valuables were the most common category of items dedicated by worshippers, followed by figurines. Small figurative representations most often depicted a female or goddess, often as Potnia Theron. Human figures were both male and female. Most scholars wrongly assume that female deities were worshipped mostly by women and thus received female figurines. This study clearly shows that men were frequently depicted, naked, on horseback or as warriors. Artemis thus played an important role in the life of young men and in the training they received to become a warrior. She played a key role in rites of passage of boys and girls into adulthood. In Brauron, boys did not participate, but they had their own sanctuary, at Halae Araphenides, nearby.

A conclusion summarises the results regarding the cult of Artemis, with the aim of situating it into a broader context of Greek society and religion. A crucial observation, stressed by the author, is that none of the cults were static, but changed through time. Local deities became increasingly associated with pan-Hellenic Artemis with whom they shared many aspects. As a result, the various cults of Artemis were highly idiosyncratic, as the local specificities continued to play a role in cult practices. The most striking surviving aspects are the Potnia Theron and association with fertility. But despite the similarities, Léger stresses that there is no simple or single answer to the question who Artemis really was.

Despite being rather thin and published by a primarily archaeological publisher (Archeopress), this booklet constitutes a solid piece of work through its summarising and comparing all available evidence and by the carefully formulated and nuanced conclusions. Because of its detailed treatment of the selected case studies, the book provides an important addition to existing extensive but often generalising books on Artemis and/or Greek beliefs. The necessity to situate a cult in its local context and dissect local practices for idiosyncrasies and transformations through time are highlighted, and all scholars with an interest in the sites discussed or in Greek cult practices in general will enjoy reading this book.

The approach in the book stands in sharp contrast to the one adopted in the next book. The second book reviewed here is dedicated to Aphrodite, specifically in her role of goddess of sailors throughout the Mediterranean.

As the author explains, Aphrodite cult places are found near harbours and in harbour cities throughout the Mediterranean. Several epithets associate Aphrodite with the sea, sailors and harbours. The very ancient and Mediterranean-wide distribution of Aphrodite and goddesses associated with Aphrodite seems to indicate that she had a special connection to sailors and was introduced by them into regions where she was previously unknown. As such, Aphrodite sanctuaries might be seen as contact sanctuaries, as places of international encounter and cultural exchange. This is the central hypothesis that the author wishes to explore.

The author approaches his study with a chapter dedicated to methods and problems encountered when conducting this type of analysis. He adds another chapter with background on seafaring and trade in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Then follows a lengthy catalogue, next a chapter on the context and iconography of seafaring gods in the Ancient World and finally a concluding chapter. The book is richly illustrated with high-quality colour images, a separate map showing the sites discussed in the catalogue, three tables on Mediterranean chronology, associated gods and a summary of the cult sites discussed in the catalogue. The book lacks an index.

On a methodological level, the author begins with an outline of the criteria used to compose the catalogue. The problem of identifying the 'real' Aphrodite is problematic, he underlines, especially on Cyprus. The island was an international centre of trade already in the Bronze Age, but only in the 8th - 7th century BCE do we find references to the name Aphrodite. Because of the importance of Aphrodite sanctuaries as an 'international' place of encounter, between Europe, Asia and Africa, the author finds a solution in collecting in the catalogue not only known Aphrodite sites (as elsewhere in the catalogue) but also in identifying all locations where a ship could potentially land. Sites where Aphrodite was introduced only at a later date, e.g. Thasos, are left out. The catalogue is composed according to a number of formal criteria to identify cult sites: key characteristics are: an organised space, the presence of cult-related objects or other iconographic characteristics.

The short methodological chapter is followed by a more substantial one that is divided in two parts: Bronze Age and Iron Age. The author discusses the geography of the Mediterranean, ship construction in the Bronze and Iron Age, and general characteristics of harbours in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, the chapter seeks to identify the objects that were traded, and seeks to establish the identity of the carriers of the objects

in the Bronze Age. Next, the author proceeds with discussing the same topics for the Iron Age. During the Iron Age, the Phoenicians come to the fore as active sailors and together with Greek colonists, they established the context for the Aphrodite cults that are studied by the author. A last section in the chapter is devoted to emporia and the role of harbour sanctuaries.

The fourth chapter comprises an extensive catalogue of sites in the Western and Central Mediterranean, the Greek mainland, the Aegean, Crete, Asia Minor (incl. the Black Sea) and Egypt and Cyprus. The author lists for the sites the available written sources, epigraphic evidence, date and a description of the architecture and location of the sanctuary.

After the catalogue, the author includes a substantial chapter on the context and iconography of seafaring gods. He discusses broader patterns of these seafaring gods, especially those that are related to love or are depicted naked (la déesse nue, or Ishtar). According to the author, a special link existed between Aphrodite, sailors and seafaring, because of the presence of prostitutes in Aphrodite sanctuaries. Gods and goddesses of Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Syria and Canaan, Cyprus, Crete and Greece are thus reviewed.

The last, concluding chapter seeks to compare and evaluate the rich evidence collected. Many of the sanctuaries appear to display some Cypriot characteristics and the author suggests that Aphrodite sanctuaries were situated at regular intervals along the major Mediterranean trade routes. Phoenicians, he concludes, therefore introduced the cult and its infrastructure to provide for sailors conducting their trade. Aphrodite, continues the author, is associated with many other gods as the result of overlapping functions, such as the warrior aspect, shared with Ishtar. The author identifies generally two types of sanctuaries, open court sanctuaries, and closed ones. Most sanctuaries had additional facilities for the worshippers, such as bothroi, hestiatoria, stoae etc. From the rich iconography, the authors identifies the sex aspect and the warrior aspect as most central, although many other depictions existed simultaneously.

A large part of the chapter is dedicated to the question whether the Aphrodite cult can be associated with institutionalised prostitution. Although prostitution was indeed associated with some Aphrodite cults, the author concludes, after reviewing his evidence, that it was unlikely to have been a regular practice. Rather, the goddess' dual character of goddess of violence versus goddess of free love tapped into primeval notions of tabu on incest, marriage and sexuality, as proposed by Lévi-Strauss. Aphrodite was carried overseas by sailors and traders and adapted to local requirements. Initial practices of prostitution that existed could not be maintained claims the author, but the cult remained as a connecting factor in the Mediterranean and facilitated intercultural contact.

Overall, this book appears to fit into an established academic tradition, very much alive in certain continental European universities, in which compiling a catalogue, loosely organised around a central question, constitutes the main aim of a PhD thesis. Success of the research is then measured in terms of the size of the catalogue and the extent to which the argument can be stretched to include entries that may or may not be related to the research question.

Critical analysis in this type of study is almost always absent. Where the previous book discussed in this review questions unified notions of a pan-Hellenic Artemis and stressed how local idiosyncrasies caused differentiation, the present book does not question the identity of Aphrodite, and represents her as a single, static and bounded cult figure, an amalgam of gods and goddesses, shared by all cultures in the Ancient World.

A lack of critical analysis and the aim of compiling a large catalogue results in the inclusion of a number of irrelevant entries. Thus, we find several inland Aphrodite sanctuaries (e.g. Erice, several sites in Boeotia) that have nothing to do with harbours. Several of the cult sites cited are not Aphrodite sanctuaries, but just happen to be located at a harbour or related to a female goddess. What then the focus of this book is, remains unclear to the reviewer. Does this book addresses female goddesses associated with sailors and seafaring, or goddesses associated with love, or seafaring and associated cults in general or just all Aphrodite sanctuaries?

The seemingly 'sensational' treatment of Aphrodite as a goddess of sex, free love and prostitution appears to be directed at a broader, non-academic public, which might indeed find pleasure in the very broad discussion of ancient ships, seafaring and naked goddesses in the Ancient World, as well as the numerous high-quality images. The superficial treatment of the argument excludes a specialist readership on ancient cult or intercultural interactions.

Very unfortunate for recommending this book to any readership is the state of the catalogue. Several of the entries are not listed in numerical sequence

or occur twice, e.g. p. 72-73 lists 1.1 Cap des Creus, 1.2. Sagunt, 1.4 Pyrgi then 1.2 Sagunt (again), 1.3 Gravisca. This type of error is repeated throughout the catalogue. To add to the confusion, on several of the pages, the text does not follow on the next page as one would logically expect in any book, but is to be found on the back of the next page or even several pages further: e.g. p. 76 lists entry 1.5 Rom with a brief section from Marcus Servius' comment on the Aenead. The text does not continue on p. 77 but on p. 78! Page 77 describes the sanctuary of Pyrgi (again, after a brief entry on p. 72).

It is very disappointing for the author, who has no doubt dedicated a great deal of time to this study, that something has gone seriously wrong with the editing of the manuscript. Regretfully, the problem is a normal outcome of a tradition of academic publishing in which publishing houses cannot provide support to authors in the preparation of their manuscript.

LIEVE DONNELLAN
VU UNIVERSITY AMSTERDAM
l.d.donnellan@vu.nl

Oliver Henry, and Ute Kelp (eds) *Tumulus as Sema. Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millennium BC* (Topoi: Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 27). pp. xxxiv+1130. Berlin: De Gruyter. ISBN 978-3-11-026750-1 e-publication €239

Tumulus as Sema is a weighty contribution to scholarship. With 755 pages of text and 377 of plates arranged into two hardbound volumes, its publication was an ambitious undertaking just in terms of sheer scale. The intellectual ambition that this volume represents, however, is even more impressive.

The book, as well as the 2009 conference on which it is based, has a central aim which initially appears to be modest. This aim is to stimulate discussion of tumuli as both landscape features and socio-cultural phenomena in the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and neighbouring regions of Eurasia during the first millennium BC. Stimulating discussion between such a diverse group of scholars is no mean feat, however. The geographical range covered by these papers is broad; the chronological spread considerable; and the contributors work in fourteen different countries, eleven different languages, and a spectrum of different scholarly traditions. Generating any kind of coherence from such diversity is tough.

Yet, over the course of its forty-two chapters, the book manages to grasp this illusive coherence. A reader working through it systematically will be rewarded by a growing understanding not just of specific regions or individual examples, but also of tumuli as a broader cross-cultural phenomenon. As with any similar edited volume however, this book will also be a resource for those seeking to dip in and out of it on a paper-by-paper basis. This is helped by its structure. After an extremely brief foreword by the editors, there are two short introductory papers by Alcock and Naso. These are followed by forty research papers, organised into regional sections: Southern Mediterranean; Greece, Albania and Macedonia; Thrace; Asia Minor; Northern Black Sea; and Eurasia. This geographical arrangement makes the book easy to consult, and doubtless most of its readers will alight, magpie-like, on individual chapters or sections.

There is, of course, much to be gained by approaching the book in such a way. The individual contributions are, as ever with conference proceedings, variable in content, approach, and tone; but the overall standard of the papers is high. Almost all present important new material and/or analysis, and contain valuable new insights. For most of the regions covered, this book offers the reader an excellent way into the relevant literature as well as a sense of the cutting edge of research. Regions that are particularly well covered are Thrace (9 papers); and west-central Anatolia (11 papers).

It is also possible to cherry-pick your way through the papers according to their content and focus. Several papers present the results of new excavations and surveys (e.g. Amore; Chichikova; Tonkova; Rose and Körpe; Luke and Roosevelt; Ronchetta; Thierry; Daragan; van Hoof and Schlöffel). The raw data contained in these papers is extremely useful, as is the reflective discussion also offered by most of these authors. In a similar vein, other papers present regional or chronological surveys (Stoyanov and Stoyanov; Yıldırım; Hülden; Sivas and Sivas). Most papers, however, offer reassessments of previously-known archaeological material to shed light on a range of social dynamics. By far the largest group of papers focuses on territoriality and the politics of building tumuli (Carstens; Bejko; Martin-McAuliffe; Schmidt-Dounas; Stamatopoulou; Agre; Dichev; Scardozzi; Kelp). A somewhat smaller group of papers consider what might be learned from tumuli about cultural interaction (Delemen; Rabadjiev; Henry; Diler; Hürmüzlü; Doonan), gender roles (Georgieva), and social organisation (Liebhart, Darbyshire, Erder

JHP Journal of Hellenistic Pottery & Material Culture

The *Journal of Hellenistic Pottery and Material Culture* - JHP - was launched 2016 in Berlin, Germany, by Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom, Patricia Kögler and Wolf Rudolph - specialists working in the field of Hellenistic material culture. JHP is an independent learned journal dedicated to the research of ceramics and objects of daily use of the Hellenistic period in the Mediterranean region and beyond. It aims at bringing together archaeologists, historians, philologists, numismatists and scholars of related disciplines engaged in the research of the Hellenistic heritage. JHP wants to be a forum for discussion and circulation of information on the everyday culture of the Hellenistic period which to date is still a rather neglected field of study. To fill this academic void the editors strive for a speedy and non-bureaucratic publication and distribution of current research and recent discoveries combined with a high quality standard. The journal appears annually in print and as a free online downloadable PDF.

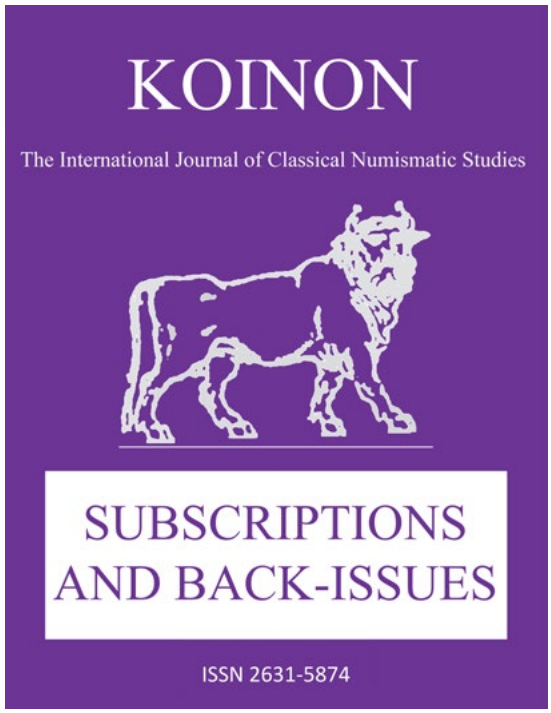
Paperback ISSN 2399-1844 | £30/£50 PDF/online ISSN 2399-1852 | FREE DOWNLOAD

SUBSCRIBE: Tinyurl.com/JHELLP

KOINON

The International Journal of Classical Numismatic Studies

As the name indicates, KOINON is a journal that encourages contributions to the study of classical numismatics from a wide variety of perspectives. The journal will include papers concerning iconography, die studies, provenance research, forgery analysis, translations of excerpts from antiquarian works, specialized bibliographies, corpora of rare varieties and types, ethical questions on laws and collecting, book reviews, and more. The editorial advisory board is made up of members from all over the world, with a broad range of expertise covering virtually all the major categories of classical numismatics from archaic Greek coinage to late Medieval coinage.



Paperback ISSN 2631-5874 | £35/£50
PDF/online ISSN 2631-5882 | £25/£70

SUBSCRIBE: tinyurl.com/KOINON2021

Archaeopress Digital

Institutional eBook Subscription Platform

Archaeopress Digital is the most cost-effective way for libraries and institutions to make our full range of eBook content available to their users.

Subscription price (eBooks only)

- Immediate access to 500+ PDF eBooks
- Integrated access to 180+ PDF Open Access eBooks
- 6-12 new eBooks each month (approx. 100-120 titles added per annum)
- No limits to concurrent users
- No limits to number of downloads
- Access via IP Authentication, or username/password
- View PDF eBooks online or download for offline access
- MARC records available or collection data available from ProQuest and Ebsco
- Legacy access after a subscription period of three or more years

Table Rates

Duration	Price	Payment type	Discount	Legacy access
12 months	£1,710.00	Paid in full within 30 days of subscription start date	N/A	No
36 months	£4,788.00	Paid in three annual installments: Year 1: £1368.00 Year 2: £1710.00 Year 3: £1710.00	20% discount in Year 1	Yes
36 months	£4,104.00	Paid in full within 30 days of subscription start date	20% discount over 3 years	Yes

Subscription price (eBooks + journals)

- All of the above plus online access to all Archaeopress Journals including *Journal of Greek Archaeology*, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, *Ash Sharq: Bulletin of the Ancient Near East*, and more!

Table Rates

Duration	Price	Payment type	Discount	Legacy access
12 months	£2,005.00	Paid in full within 30 days of subscription start date	N/A	eBooks = No Journals = Yes
36 months	£5,614.00	Paid in three annual installments: Year 1: £1604.00 Year 2: £2005.00 Year 3: £2005.00	20% discount in Year 1	eBooks = Yes Journals = Yes
36 months	£4,812.00	Paid in full within 30 days of subscription start date	20% discount over 3 years	eBooks = Yes Journals = Yes

For more information, to subscribe, or to request a no-cost 30 day trial, please contact info@archaeopress.com, or visit www.archaeopress.com