

THE VOGELBARKE OF MEDINET HABU

A Thesis

by

KRISTIN ROMEY

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

December 2003

Major Subject: Anthropology

THE VOGELBARKE OF MEDINET HABU

A Thesis

by

KRISTIN ROMEY

Submitted to Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Approved as to style and content by:

Shelley Wachsmann
(Chair of Committee)

Luis Vieira-De-Castro
(Member)

Christoph Konrad
(Member)

David Carlson
(Head of Department)

December 2003

Major Subject: Anthropology

ABSTRACT

The Vogelbarke of Medinet Habu. (December 2003)

Kristin Romey, A.B., Vassar College

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Shelley Wachsmann

The Sea Peoples are generally assumed to be a loose confederation of clans that first appeared in the historical record in the 14th century B.C.E. Over a century of scholarship has puzzled over whether they were responsible for the collapse of several Late Bronze Age civilizations or simply one of several catalysts that put that collapse in motion. Many attempts have also been made to determine the origins of the various groups of Sea Peoples using textual and iconographic evidence, as well as the material culture of the Sea Peoples identified in Cyprus and the Levant. This material culture is characterized foremost by locally made Mycenaean-style pottery; as such, a considerable Aegean or Mycenaean presence has been argued in the multi-ethnic Sea Peoples coalition.

The most important visual record that survives of the Sea People documents a land and sea battle against the forces of Ramesses III in the early 12th century B.C.E. and is recorded on the walls of the pharaoh's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu. In 1964 a

connection was first proposed between the distinctive ships of the Sea Peoples in the Medinet Habu naval battle relief, with their high, angular stem- and stern- posts topped with outward-facing water-bird heads, and the *vogelbarke*, or bird-boat, of Late Bronze Age Central European religious iconography. Too little is still understood of both the *vogelbarke* tradition and the maritime abilities of Bronze Age Central European populations to conclusively state at this time that a *vogelbarke*-like vessel could have plied the waters of the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. However, additional archaeological evidence suggests a Central European mercenary presence in Mycenaean Greece during the period of Sea Peoples activity, as well as Central European participation in the multi-ethnic coalition reflected particularly in the material culture of the Sea Peoples identified in Cyprus. This evidence strengthens the possibility that the *vogelbarke*-like vessel some scholars claim to see at Medinet Habu is indeed not a “duck out of water.”

For my parents

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		Page
I	INTRODUCTION.....	1
	The Sea Peoples.....	4
	The Sea Peoples at Medinet Habu.....	6
	The Naval Battle at Medinet Habu.....	7
	The Problem of the Sea Peoples Ship Depiction.....	10
II	CENTRAL EUROPEAN-GREEK BRONZE AGE EXCHANGE AND THE ORIGINS OF THE VOGELBARKE.....	13
	Chronology.....	16
	Central Europe and Mycenaean Greece at the End of the Late Bronze Age.....	19
	Religious Belief and Symbolism.....	22
	Iconography.....	24
	Other Symbols.....	29
	Peripheral Regions.....	30
	“Bird Boats” in Late Helladic Greece.....	31
	The Tiryns Vogelbarke.....	32
	Late Helladic Ship Depictions with Bird Protomes.....	33
	Conclusion.....	38
III	THE EUROPEAN PRESENCE IN LATE HELLADIC GREECE.....	43
	Weaponry.....	43
	Swords in Context.....	47
	The Uluburun Shipwreck.....	49
	Handmade Burnished Ware (“Barbarian Ware”).....	52
	Burial Practices.....	54
	Conclusion.....	55
IV	NORTHERN ELEMENTS IN THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE SEA PEOPLES.....	58
	Cyprus.....	58
	Weapons.....	59
	Ceramic Evidence.....	59
	Iconographic Evidence.....	60

CHAPTER	Page
The Levant.....	61
Hama.....	62
Philistine Settlements.....	63
Evidence from the Bible.....	64
Weapons.....	64
Ceramic Evidence.....	65
Iconographic Evidence.....	66
Miscellaneous Objects.....	68
Burial Practices.....	69
Forensic Analysis.....	70
Conclusion.....	71
V CONCLUSION.....	73
WORKS CITED.....	78
VITA.....	88

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		Page
1	The naval battle scene from Medinet Habu.....	2
2	Comparison of Sea Peoples ship from Medinet Habu and Urnfield vogelbarke.....	4
3	Diagram of naval battle scene at Medinet Habu.....	9
4	Reconstruction of Sea Peoples galley from Medinet Habu.....	10
5	Map of Central Europe and northern Greece.....	14
6a	Hearth plaque from Transylvania.....	16
6b	Hearth plaque from Pylos.....	16
7	Type IIa sword from Hungary.....	21
8	Middle- and Late- Bronze bird amulets.....	23
9	Late Bronze Age wheel-boat amulet.....	23
10	The Dupljaja Chariot.....	24
11	Stamped vogelsonnenbarke motifs.....	25
12	Early Bz D horned bird vessel.....	26
13a	Late Bronze Age Bronze vogelbarke from Satu Mare, Rumania.....	27
13b	Late Bronze Age Bronze vogelbarke from Velem St. Vid, Hungary.....	27
14	Schematic drawings of wheel amulets.....	30
15	Trundholm Sun Chariot, ca. 1400 B.C.E.....	31
16a	The Tiryns vogelbarke.....	33

FIGURE	Page
16b Whorl-shell ornaments.....	33
17a Kynos ship A.....	34
17b Kynos ship B.....	35
18 Urnfield-style bird from Pylos.....	35
19 Detail of feathered headgear.....	35
20 Rowers with Sea People-style headgear from Cos.....	36
21 The LH IIIC Tragana ship.....	37
22 The Skyros ship.....	38
23 Distribution of IIA swords in the Late Helladic Aegean.....	45
24 Sea People from the Battle of Kadesh.....	47
25 Bronze vessel from Tiryns.....	48
26 LH IIIC knife from Perati, left, with comparative examples from Late Bronze Age Central Europe.....	49
27 Scepter-axe from the Uluburun shipwreck.....	50
27 Spearhead from Drajna de Jos hoard, Rumania; spearhead from Cos; IIA sword from Cos; IIA sword from Hungary.....	51
29 Bronze scepter-axe from Drajna de Jos hoard.....	51
30 Distribution of Handmade Burnished Ware in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Helladic Period.....	53
31a Locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery from Cyprus.....	60
31b Handmade Burnished Ware from Cyprus.....	60
32 12 th Century B.C.E. ivory carving from Enkomi.....	61
33 The Hama ship.....	63

FIGURE	Page
34	Examples of birds from Philistine pottery..... 66
35	Ship post ending in bird's head device from Ashkelon..... 67
36	Rock carving of ship from Tell Nami..... 67
37	Philistine bichrome sherds from Ashkelon..... 68
38	Anthropoid coffin lid..... 69

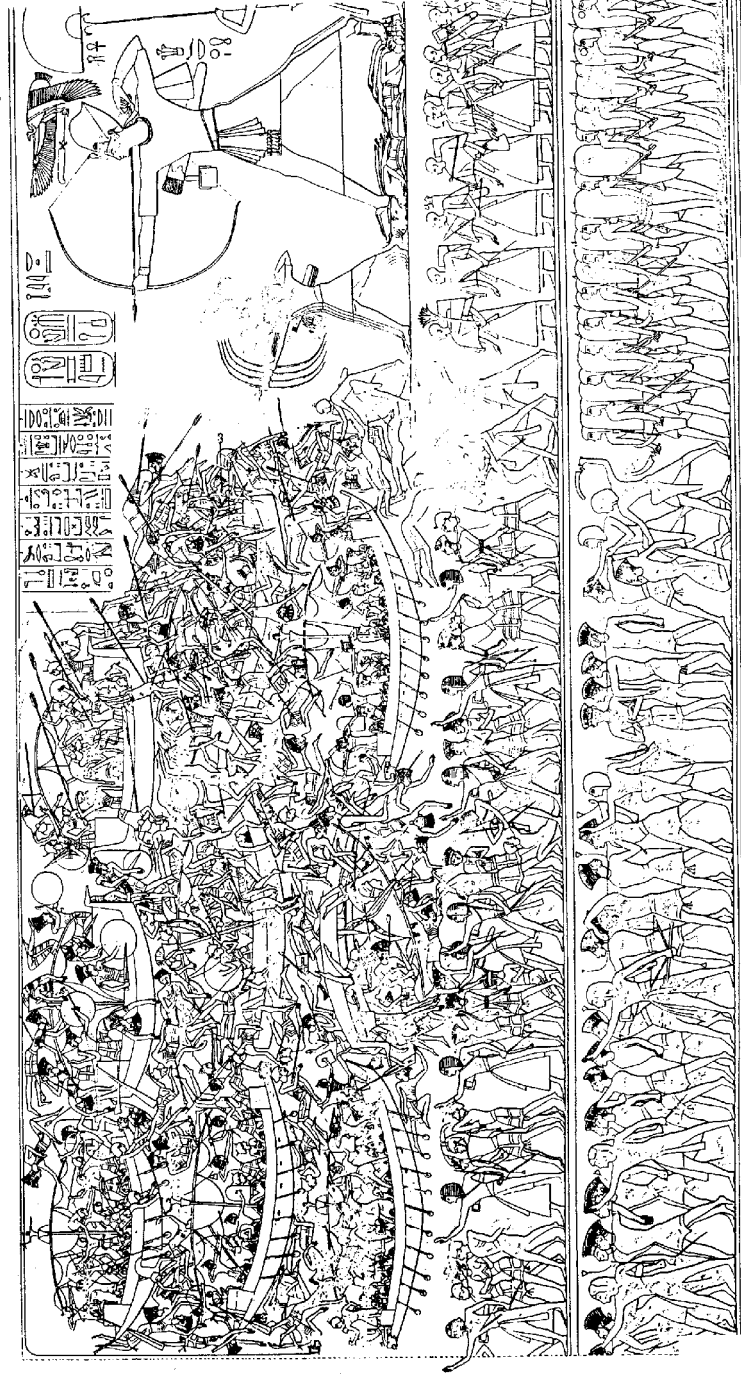
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the mortuary temple of Ramesses III (r. 1184–1153 B.C.E.)¹ at Medinet Habu near Luxor, the pharaoh chose to commemorate for eternity a battle from the eighth year of his reign. Carved into the rock walls that rise high above the viewers head is a chaotic scene of boats and warriors entwined in battle in the Nile Delta (fig. 1). For the viewer familiar with Egyptian narrative art, one is instantly stuck by the almost alien presence of the enemy: beardless, skirted men bearing fearsome expressions and long swords or javelins, with horned helmets or high, feathered crests. These men arrived to wreak havoc on equally unusual vessels never seen before in the Mediterranean: long, sleek ships finishing on either end in a stern, vertical projection of an outward-facing bird head.

This thesis follows the format of the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

¹ Egyptian regnal dates are taken from Kitchen 1987.



*Fig. 1. The naval battle scene from Medinet Habu. From Nelson et al. 1930, plate 37.
©1930 by the University of Chicago, all rights reserved. Published June, 1930.*

Who were these odd invaders? Inscriptions accompanying the relief make reference to their origins in “islands in the midst of the sea.”² Today they are known to history as the Sea Peoples, and remain one of the biggest puzzles of Late Bronze Age Mediterranean scholarship.

The Sea Peoples are generally assumed to be a loose confederation of clans that first appeared in the historical record in the 14th century B.C.E.,³ and over a century of research has puzzled over whether they were responsible for the collapse of the Hittite civilization, the Mycenaean palaces, and many of the Syro-Canaanite states at the end of the Late Bronze Age, or simply one of several catalysts that put that collapse in motion.

In 1964, Wolfgang Kimming first proposed a comparison between the distinctive ships of the Sea Peoples in the Medinet Habu naval battle relief, with their high, angular stem- and stern-posts topped with outward-facing water-bird heads, and the *vogelbarke*, or bird-boat, of the Central European religious canon of the Late Bronze Age Urnfield cultures (fig. 2).⁴

² Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 42, pl. 42.

³ See Wachsmann 2000, 103.

⁴ Kimming 1964, 224. Kossack (1954, 28 n. 5), in his discussion of Near Eastern influences on Urnfield iconography, appears to be the first to have *indirectly* proposed a connection between the *vogelbarke* and the Sea People’s ship depicted at Medinet Habu. Herbig (1940, 63) was the first scholar to propose a northern association for the Sea Peoples ships at Medinet Habu, but based this assertion upon the resemblance to the Viking ships of 2000 years later. See also Hencken 1968: 568-70, 625-28; Bouzek 1985, 178; Wachsmann 1997; 1998, 178-97; 2000.

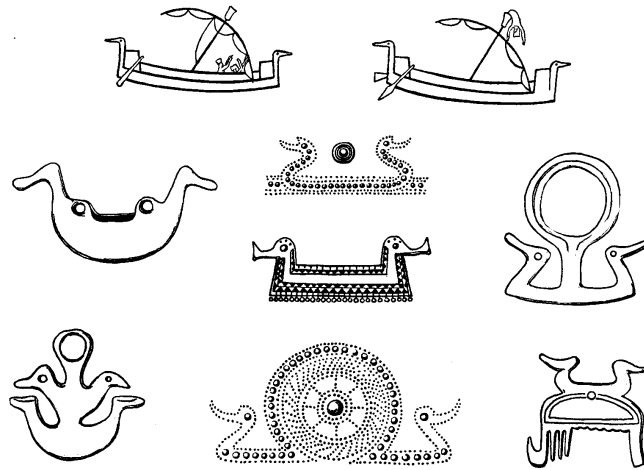


Fig. 2. Comparison of Sea Peoples ship from Medinet Habu (top row) and Urnfield vogelbarke. After Kimming 1964, 224.

From a nautical perspective, this proposition at first review seems highly unlikely. What sort of role could a culture with no known seafaring tradition have in the tumultuous naval battle that played out in the Nile Delta ca. 1176 B.C.E, and subsequently on the walls of Ramesses' temple at Medinet Habu? Compounding the problem is the fact that, although ships appear to have played a central role in the culture of the Sea Peoples, not a single Sea Peoples wreck has been located to date.

The Sea Peoples

It must be stressed that the Sea Peoples were not a monolithic, homogenous entity, but rather a loose confederacy of different groups or clans who most likely hailed from various locations around the Mediterranean. The hallmark of the Sea Peoples

coalition may have been its absorption of polyglot elements.⁵

Among the groups labeled as “Sea Peoples”—known by name from Egyptian, Hittite, and Ugaritic texts—are the Sherden, whom Ramesses II (r. 1200–1194 B.C.E) fought against and later hired to fight for him. Under the reign of Merneptah (r. 1213–1203), there were those who traveled “in the midst of the sea”: the Sherden, Shekelesh, and Ekwesh. For Ramesses III, they were those who made a “conspiracy in their isles”—the Peleset, Sikala, Denyen, and Weshesh—and laid waste to Hatti, Kode (Cilicia), Carchemish, Arzawa, and Alashiya.⁶

Many attempts have been made to determine the origins of the various groups of Sea Peoples, based primarily on textual and iconographic evidence, as well as the material culture of the Sea Peoples in Cyprus and the southern Levant, which is characterized foremost by locally-manufactured Mycenaean III C:1b pottery. This has often been used to argue for a considerable Aegean or Mycenaean presence in the multi-ethnic Sea Peoples coalition.

Of all the Sea Peoples, the group most visible in the archaeological record is the Peleset, generally acknowledged to have become the Philistines, who settled in southern Canaan in the first half of the twelfth century B.C.E. They reappear in the Egyptian historical records around 1100 B.C.E., described as living in the southern Levant along

⁵ Wachsmann 1997, 354, citing RS 20.18. See also Bouzek 1989, 69: “One of the new phenomena introduced by the Sea Peoples was the joining of warriors not only along blood relations, but according to the principles of the leader-and-his-men (*Gefolgschaft*) system.”

⁶ Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 53. See Redford 1992, 241-56 for a summary of the textual sources pertaining to the Sea Peoples.

with the Sherden and the Sikala.⁷

The Sea Peoples at Medinet Habu

The seminal importance of the Medinet Habu relief lies in the fact that it is the primary source material for much of the research into determining the origins of the Sea People. The last regnal year mentioned in the inscriptions at the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu is Year 12, indicating that it was likely completed by 1172 B.C.E., four years after the Sea Peoples raid occurred.

Wrapping along the northern and western walls of the temple is a band of reliefs, approximately five meters high, featuring 16 scenes of the pharaoh achieving victory over Nubian and Libyan forces, and ultimately over the Sea Peoples, who engage Egypt both by sea and on land.⁸

Based on the existing evidence, the naval battle scene at Medinet Habu (Panel XIV, fig. 1) was the first time that Egyptian artists depicted their pharaoh taking action against ship-borne enemies, and R. Drews speculates that Ramesses and his artists took their greatest pride in this scene.⁹ At 15 meters wide, Panel XIV is twice as long as any other single panel along the north wall of the temple. The adjacent panel shows captive Sea Peoples being presented to the pharaoh.

Indeed, the corpus of Medinet Habu reliefs was recognized by H. Nelson as unique among Egyptian art for their degree of expression and variation of physical and

⁷ *Onomasticon of Amenope*. See Gardiner 1947, 194-205, nos. 268-70.

⁸ For a recent discussion of the land battle, see Drews 2000, 184-90.

⁹ Drews 2000, 171.

psychological characteristics. “[T]here is an unmistakable effort to make the features express fear, anguish or distress....[T]he ancient artist at Medinet Habu has understood the horror suggested by the despairing gesture of a drowning enemy engulfed by the sea and invisible except for his upthrown arm.”¹⁰

The Sea People and their efforts obviously made quite an impression.

The Naval Battle at Medinet Habu

The text that accompanies the naval battle relief describes an ambush that took place, most likely at the mouth of the Nile Delta:¹¹

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

Two types of Sea Peoples are represented in the naval battle relief: those who wear feathered or reed headdresses, and those who don distinctive horned helmets. Both wield long swords or javelins, round shields, and wear corslets and kilts. Three groups of Sea Peoples generally associated in the Medinet Habu texts with the sea battle are the

¹⁰ Nelson et al. 1930, 22.

¹¹ Breasted 1988, §77. Other limited *textual* evidence for the Sea People’s invasion of the Nile Delta from the reigns of Merneptah and Ramesses III—in the form of prose records, stelaes, generic references, and fragmentary reliefs—exist and are citations are provided by Redford (2000, 8); however, he notes that the Medinet Habu records “far out-weight” [sic] the others in “size and importance.”

Peleset, the Sikala, and the Denyen,¹² but no single group is specifically associated with the depictions in Panel XIV.

The naval battle shows nine vessels: four Egyptian ships and five Sea Peoples ships. In the midst of the carnage of battle, the artists have made a point of visually differentiating the vessels: the Egyptian ships feature lion protomes on their stems; in the mouth of each lion is a small human head. These protomes represent the pharaonic power of Rameses III.¹³ The Sea Peoples ships have angular stem- and sternposts terminating with the heads of water-birds.

This depiction, involving only nine ships, has been recently dismissed as “surely not a realistic rendition” of a momentous naval battle,¹⁴ but it has been clearly demonstrated by Nelson that the scene depicts four *specific moments* in the battle (fig. 3):¹⁵ a) the beginning of the battle, in which an Egyptian ship (E.1) skirmishes with a Sea Peoples ship (N.1), and b) an Egyptian sailor tosses a four-armed grappling hook into the rigging of the Sea People’s ship; c) the Sea People’s ship begins to list (N.2), while the Egyptians are already taking manacled prisoners on board (E.2); and d) the final stage of the battle, in which the grappled Sea People’s ship (N.3) has been capsized.

¹² Drews 2000, 177-8.

¹³ O’Connor 2000, 95, 99.

¹⁴ O’Connor 2000, 97.

¹⁵ Nelson 1943. See also Wachsmann 1998, 168; 2000, 105.

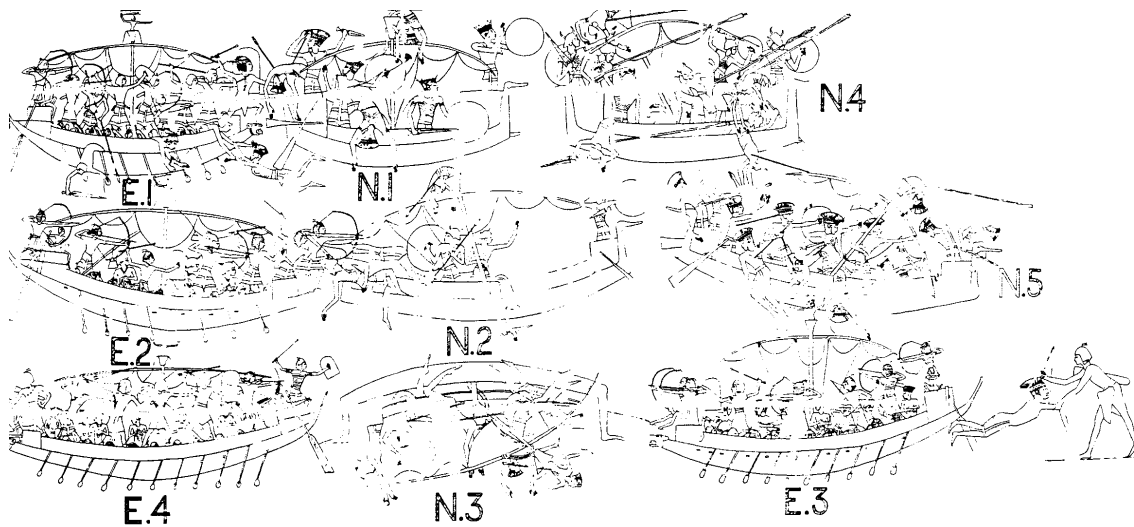


Fig. 3. Diagram of naval battle scene at Medinet Habu. From Nelson 1943, fig. 4. ©1943 by the University of Chicago, all rights reserved.

Furthermore, Wachsmann has convincingly argued that the Sea People’s ships at Medinet Habu are virtually identical, indicating that the artists at Medinet Habu utilized a single prototype ship for their foreign invaders, repeating it over and over again in the naval battle scene.¹⁶

Scholars are confident that the creators of the naval battle scene did indeed witness much of the events recorded on Panel XIV of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III.¹⁷ Wachsmann cites the detail of the capsizing of a Sea People’s ship through the use

¹⁶ Wachsmann 1981, 191.

¹⁷ Redford 2000, 12; Wachsmann 1987, 5-6 cites the examples of undersea life during Hatshepsut’s Punt expedition and foreign plants and animals in Thutmose III’s “Botanical Garden” at Karnak as additional examples of Egyptian artists accompanying expeditions.

of a grapnel during the battle as a “strong argument” for artists accompanying the Egyptian army on their campaign.¹⁸

In terms of ship construction, the Sea People’s ship at Medinet Habu appears to be a partially decked oared warship with an open rowers gallery; as such, it has its closest parallels in the tradition of late Mycenaean galleys (fig. 4).¹⁹

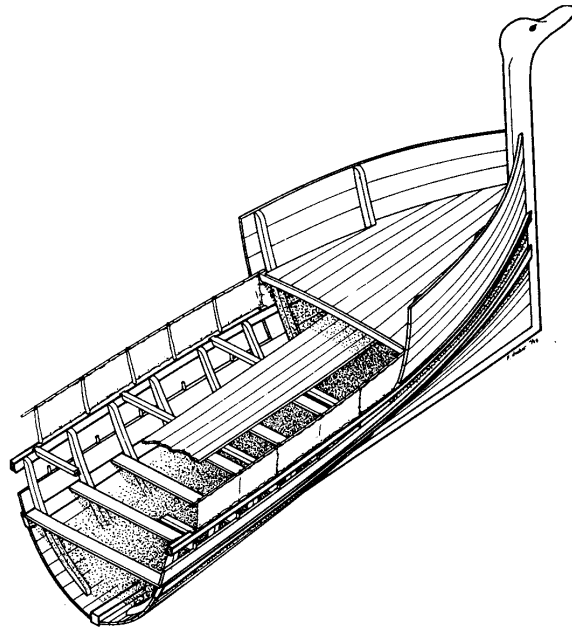


Fig. 4. Reconstruction of Sea Peoples galley from Medinet Habu. From Wachsmann 1998, 173, fig. 8.18.

¹⁸ Wachsmann 2000, 108.

¹⁹ Wachsmann 1997, 348; 1998, 171-6; 2000, 108-21; see also Artzy 1988, 185.

The Problem of the Sea Peoples Ship Depiction

How, then, to explain at Medinet Habu a Mycenaean galley that looks like a bronze Urnfield vogelbarke sprung to life?

It is widely acknowledged that cultures often adopt foreign ships for their own uses.²⁰ Wachsmann suggests that in this case, the artists at Medinet Habu chose for their prototype ship a vessel manned by a crew “that held religious beliefs consistent with those of the Urnfield culture.” He emphasizes that the appearance of this ship in the naval battle relief does not indicate that all—or even a number of—ships of the Sea Peoples coalition were of similar crew composition or appearance. The artists of the Medinet Habu naval battle relief may have chosen to depict this particular Sea Peoples vessel precisely because it was so unique.²¹

This thesis will examine what possibility—if any—existed for a Central European presence in the Late Bronze Age Sea Peoples coalition. It will attempt to synthesize a vast and often highly disparate corpus of scholarship dealing with issues of Bronze Age contact between Europe and the Aegean, the destruction of Mycenaean Greece, and the ethnic composition of the Sea Peoples.

In order to evaluate the argument for Central European participation in the Sea Peoples coalition, it is necessary to first put in context the Bronze Age relationship between Central Europe and that of its closest neighbor, Mycenaean Greece—a culture whose population is generally considered to have played a role in the Sea Peoples

²⁰ See Casson 1995, 141-2 for an example of Rome’s adaptation of the liburnian.

²¹ Wachsmann 2000, 122-3.

coalition.

Next, this paper will take a closer look at the origins and significance of the vogelbarke. There is a question of whether Bronze Age Central European bird-head motifs influenced Aegean Bronze Age bird-head representations, or vice-versa. This issue must be addressed if we are to examine that possibility that the Medinet Habu Sea Peoples vessel may have an ultimately “European” origin.

Included among the myriad theories regarding the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces in the LH IIIB/C period are variations on the “northern invasion” theme, which posits that large groups of well-armed barbarians swept down from the Balkans and laid waste to mainland Greece, then perhaps continuing on to Cyprus, the Levant, and, ultimately, a conflict with Ramesses III. Chapter Three will attempt to establish the degree and nature of the Central European presence in LH IIIB/C Greece through non-iconographical evidence, including ceramics, weapons, and shipboard finds from the Late Bronze Age wreck at Uluburun. Then this paper will trace that presence in the material culture of the Sea Peoples assemblages of Cyprus and the Levant, keeping in mind the whole time that “...notions of race, ethnicity and language have inevitably been grafted in a largely historically-minded vision of prehistory in which wars and battles, invasions, colonial enterprises and political coups leap up directly from buried tombs and potsherds which are themselves imagined as in some sense speaking distinct languages and carrying their own racial genes.”²²

²² Sherratt 1992, 317.

CHAPTER II

CENTRAL EUROPEAN-GREEK BRONZE AGE EXCHANGE AND THE ORIGINS
OF THE VOGELBARKE

Central Europe—a term which for the purposes of this thesis will be used to describe the general area encompassing the Balkans, the Danubian Basin, and the eastern Alps (fig. 5)—was in antiquity a metal-rich region whose resources made it a focus of economic activity and trade with western and northern Europe as well as with the Near East and the Aegean worlds. The area of what is today Hungary, Slovakia, and parts of Romania (Transylvania), Serbia, Bulgaria and Albania were mined for their copper, gold, and electrum ores. The eastern Alpine region also contained copper, while to the north, in the Erzgebirge (Ore Mountains) on what is today the Czech-German border, tin—the other essential component in bronze-making—could be found.



Fig. 5. Map of Central Europe and northern Greece

Although an in-depth discussion on the nature and extent of early contacts between Central Europe and Mycenaean Greece will be beyond the scope of this thesis, a brief review of the current archaeological evidence must be provided in order to place the relationship between Central Europe and Mycenaean Greece during the LH IIIB/C period in its proper context.

Contact between Central Europe and Greece dates back to the Early Bronze Age and possibly even earlier.²³ The earliest Central European-Mycenaean contact is characterized by the trade of archaeologically detectable materials such as amber,

²³For general summaries, see Sprockhoff 1954; Coles and Harding 1979; Müller-Karpe 1980; Champion 1981; Hänsel 1982; Harding 1984; Schauer 1985; and Bouzek 1985, 19-83.

faïence beads and gold; crude copies of early Mycenaean artifacts and art motifs have been identified in Central Europe.²⁴

Trade and contact between Greece and Central Europe became particularly prolific in the Middle Helladic period, reflected in the correspondence of forms of jewelry and pottery decoration, and tools.²⁵ The Mycenaean may have been obtaining copper and gold in the shaft-grave era as far north as Transylvania, while Mycenaeanizing weapons and weapon molds from the same period have been found in eastern Central Europe and the northern Balkans.²⁶ Authentic Aegean items in Bronze Age Central Europe, however, are very rare. In return, the Mycenaean appear to have received raw materials besides metals and amber including salt, hides and fur—all difficult to identify in the archaeological record.

A particularly interesting example of Mycenaean-European exchange during this period can be seen in spiral decorated hearth plaques from Transylvania and Pylos (figs. 6a and 6b.). In the Mycenaean megaron, the hearth-room was the central gathering place where power was wielded and decisions were made. It is possible that this function was imitated in the chilly peaks of the Carpathians.²⁷

²⁴ A particularly fascinating, albeit non-Mycenaean, example is a Cycladic-style spearhead (ca. 2000 B.C.E) manufactured from Central European copper. It was found in Kyhna in Saxony, Germany in the 1980s in an early Bronze Age ritual deposit. I am grateful to David Keys, archaeology correspondent for the *Independent* and contributing editor of *ARCHAEOLOGY* magazine, for providing this information.

²⁵ Schauer 1985: 129; Bouzek 1985: 30-91.

²⁶ Davis 1983, 32-38; Bouzek 1994, 222.

²⁷ Hänsel 1982, 24.

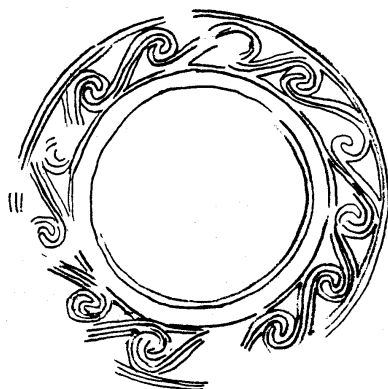


Fig. 6a. Hearth plaque from Transylvania. After Hänsel 1982, 26, fig. 15.1.



Fig. 6b. Hearth plaque from Pylos. After Hänsel 1982, 26, fig. 15.2.

At the Bavarian site of Bernstorf, imitation Mycenaean gold jewelry and amber pieces inscribed with “imitation” Linear B were safely buried away when this Bronze Age town was burned down some time around 1400 B.C.E.²⁸

These are only a few of many interesting examples that demonstrate ongoing contact between what was until recently considered “barbarians” and “civilization.”

Chronology

While the relative chronology of Bronze Age Central Europe is generally well understood, its absolute chronology was traditionally based upon Egyptian and Mesopotamian chronology—to which Aegean chronology in turn was related. Thus, Central European and Aegean Bronze Age chronologies were associated with each other through the cross-dating method. With the advent of dendrochronology and radiocarbon dating, it is now possible to establish a general absolute chronology for the European Bronze Age and its association with the Aegean world.²⁹

Table 1 shows the absolute and relative chronologies for Bronze Age Central Europe (using the Reinecke chronological scheme, which is most commonly employed for Central Europe) and the Greek mainland.

²⁸ Gebhard and Rieder (2001, 12 April) summarize the finds at the Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege website at <http://www.blfd.bayern.de/Aktuelles/Pressemitteilung/pr.29.htm>.

²⁹ See Harding 2000, 9-18 for a discussion of the various relative dating systems for the European Bronze Age (Reinecke, Montelius) and issues surrounding absolute dating of the European Bronze Age.

Table 1. Absolute and relative chronologies for Bronze Age Central Europe (Reinecke) and the Greek mainland (source: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum).

ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY	CENTRAL EUROPE	GREEK MAINLAND
2400/2300-2000 B.C.E.	Bronzezeit A1/Bz A1	Early Helladic II/EH II
		Early Helladic III/EH III
2000-1700 B.C.E.	Bronzezeit A2/ Bz A2	Middle Helladic I/MH I
		Middle Helladic II/MH II
		Middle Helladic IIIA/ MH IIIA
1700-1500 B.C.E.	Bronzezeit B/Bz B	Middle Helladic IIIB/ MH IIIB
		Late Helladic I/LH I
		Late Helladic IIA/LH IIA
1500-1400 B.C.E.	Bronzezeit C1/Bz C1	Late Helladic IIB/LH IIB
		Late Helladic IIIA:1/ LH IIIA:1
1400-1300 B.C.E.	Bronzezeit C2/Bz C2	Late Helladic IIIA:2/ LH IIIA:2
1300-1200 B.C.E.	Bronzezeit D/Bz D	Late Helladic IIIB:1/ LH IIIB:1
		Late Helladic IIIB:2/ LH IIIB:2
1200-1100 B.C.E.	Hallstatt A1/Ha A1	Late Helladic IIIC early
		Late Helladic IIIC late
1100-1050/1020 B.C.E.	Hallstatt A2/Ha A2	Submycenaean

Central Europe and Mycenaean Greece at the End of the Late Bronze Age

Central Europe and Mycenaean Greece both experienced great change in the 13th century B.C.E. For mainland Greece, the LH IIIB period brought a climactic change that plunged the Mediterranean region into a serious drought situation which only increased the social and economic difficulties—including overpopulation and decreasing crop yields—of the Mycenaean palatial centers.³⁰

For Central Europe, Bronzezeit D dawned with the Urnfield period. This rather grim moniker refers to the vast cemeteries—some containing upwards of 1,000 burials—that first appear in the Eastern Alps, characterized by cremation burials in urns interred in small pits that replaced the earlier practice of inhumation. The Urnfield cultures eventually influenced peripheral regions including France, Italy (where it became the Protovillanovan culture), Poland (the Lusatian culture) and further north into the Nordic Bronze Age Cultures of Denmark and southern Scandinavia.

It is incorrect, however, to refer to the peoples living in the Balkan–Danubian Basin–Eastern-Alpine region in this period as a single Urnfield *culture*. There are numerous regional divisions within this space, each with their own ceramic traditions and cultural differences. However, the common practices of ritual and burial are so consistent that it is more difficult to dissociate these groups from each other.³¹

Apart from burial practices, the most critical change in Br D Central Europe was a significant expansion of commercial activity, characterized by a massive weapon

³⁰ For a summary of the crises facing Late Helladic Mycenaean Greece, see Drews 1993, 22-90.

³¹ See Coles and Harding 1979, 339-40 for summary.

industry centered primarily in Transylvania and Hungary. New tool and weapon types, including saws, anvils, helmets and body armor, were developed.³² For the first time, metal technology was applied to food production on a large scale, which freed up labor to be directed towards increased metallurgical production.³³

Undoubtedly, the most important innovation was the sword. Central European weaponmakers had been casting copies of Mycenaean rapiers and dirks since the Middle Bronze Age.³⁴ The first European sword was developed in the same period, and may have been independent from its development in the Levant, where it is traditionally thought to have originated.³⁵ By the 13th century B.C.E., the weaponmakers had refined their craft and created the lethally effective Sprockhoff IIa cut-and-slash sword, a long (70cm) weapon whose hilt and blade were cast as a single piece (fig. 7). The IIa remained the sword of choice in Europe from the Balkans to Britain until the 7th century B.C.E.³⁶ Over 130 of these swords are known from the former Yugoslavia alone.³⁷ This industry intensified contacts with Mycenaean Greece, and Central Europe also became the primary distribution route for prized amber entering the eastern Mediterranean at this time.³⁸ Along with Mycenaeanizing weapons, Mycenaean-style gold jewelry and

³² Wells 1992, 35.

³³ Wells 1989, 175-6.

³⁴ Bouzek 1985, 213. See also Hiller 1991, 207-16. Gordon 1953, 69-71 provides a useful breakdown of the terminology. *Knives* and *daggers* are stabbing weapons less than 35 cm. in length. Sword blades that taper continuously from hilt to tip are designed for thrusting: thrusting weapons between 35 and 50 cm. in length are *dirks*, between 50 and 70 cm they are called *short swords*. A proper sword blade is one that runs parallel from hilt to tip and is at least 3 cm. wide (to keep from bending upon impact) This is designed for both cutting (slashing) and thrusting.

³⁵ Harding 2000, 277.

³⁶ Drews 1993, 194.

³⁷ Harding 1984, 163.

³⁸ For summaries and recent literature, see Bouzek 1994, 218-224; see also Vulpe 1982, Wells 1992.

tableware appear in Central Europe to sate the tastes of the new elite.³⁹

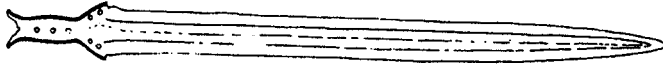


Fig. 7. Type IIa sword from Hungary. After Sandars 1983, 50, fig. 8e.

Nonetheless, communities in Late Bronze Age Central Europe still consisted of relatively small settlements, usually housing no more than 100 people.⁴⁰ There were no large commercial centers to speak of, despite the limited geographical nature of the metal deposits, particularly in the Balkans, that fueled the economic upturn. Hilltop fortifications and forts appear; these are most likely a reflection of the change in economic conditions. Particularly in later periods, settlements appear to be concentrated along natural transportation lines, attesting the importance of exchange and trade.⁴¹

European prehistorian Albrecht Jöckenhovel has pointed out—whether with wonder or exasperation it is difficult to say—that, unlike the great Mycenaean palatial centers to the south, there has yet been no clearly identifiable residential space inhabited by the “undoubtedly existent upper class” in Central European Bronze Age building structures. He suggests the possibility that elite status within the culture was not hereditary and could not, or did not, need to be expressed in permanent architecture, but

³⁹ Bouzek 1994, 224.

⁴⁰ Wells 1992, 33.

⁴¹ Coles and Harding 1979, 341.

rather needed to be constantly reaffirmed.⁴²

What we do know about the elite population of Central Europe in the Late Bronze Age comes from their cremation burials. These burials in Europe began to become more stratified socially in the Bz D period and included objects inaccessible to the majority of the population; some of which, like ivory objects, indicate contact with the Aegean world.⁴³

Religious Belief and Symbolism

Little is understood regarding the basic Urnfield belief system; however, it continued earlier Bronze Age traditions of amulets, bird imagery, and bird cult devices (fig. 8).⁴⁴ The solar iconography of sun discs and wheels common in the earlier Neolithic and Tumulus cultures of Europe also achieved new prominence (fig. 9).⁴⁵ The location of worship appears to be relatively decentralized as well. There are a few sites in Central Europe that appear to be buildings with deposits of votive objects,⁴⁶ but no Urnfield “temples” have been identified to date.

⁴² Jöckenhovel 1999, 56.

⁴³ Wells 1992, 37.

⁴⁴ Kossack 1954, 15.

⁴⁵ Pollex 1999, 548; Bouzek 1985, 177; 1997, 129.

⁴⁶ See Harding 2000, 309-12 for review.

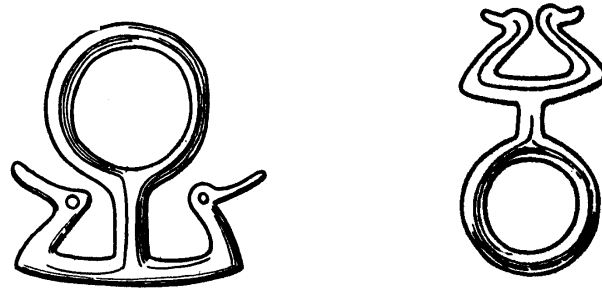


Fig. 8. Middle- and Late- Bronze bird amulets. After Kossack 1954, plate 11; 11, 14.

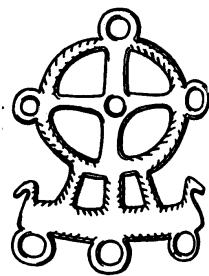


Fig. 9. Late Bronze Age wheel-boat amulet. After Kossack, 1954, plate 16, 10.

The worship of the sun appears to be the central tenet of Urnfield belief, and anthropomorphic figurines that appeared in earlier periods, such as the well-known Dupljaja charioteer, a clay male idol in a wagon drawn by birds and dated tentatively to the Bz B (LH IIIA) period (fig. 10),⁴⁷ disappear by Bz D. In the Urnfield period, the water-bird has become the messenger of the sun.

⁴⁷ Pare 1989, 84.

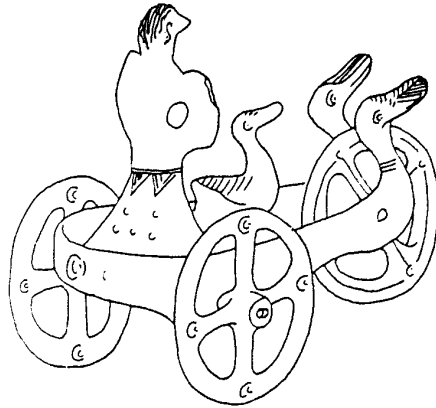


Fig. 10. The Dupljaja Chariot. After Pare 1989, 85, fig. 4.

Iconography

While the water-bird existed in the earlier Bronze Age religious canon, it became the central element of Urnfield symbology.⁴⁸ Unlike most creatures, the water-bird, be it a swan, a duck, or a goose, covers all terrain. It can move beneath the water, across land, and through the air. It returns every year with the spring, and disappears every fall with the frost. For a primarily agricultural society, it represented the harvest cycles of the land.

The form in which this water-bird most often took shape during the Urnfield period was the vogelbarke, the “central symbol of salvation.”⁴⁹ The vogelbarke was

⁴⁸ For the earlier Bronze Age see Kossack 1954, 2-5.

⁴⁹ Sprockhoff 1955, 257.

often closely connected with solar iconography: the image of a sun in a boat drawn by birds (the *vogelsonnenbarke*, or bird-sun-boat) is among the most frequently occurring and important symbolic motif of the Urnfield cultures (fig. 11).⁵⁰

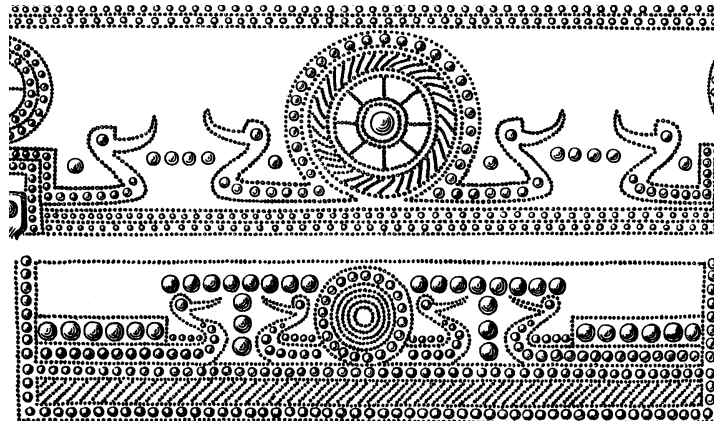


Fig. 11. Stamped *vogelsonnenbarke* motifs. After Kossack 1954, plate 8, 15-16.

Clay birds first appear the Bz A2-B period, while bronze bird protomae, as well as bronze *vogelbarke*, first appear in early Br D in Hungary.⁵¹ Horned birds are also a popular motif (fig. 12). As Bouzek points out, since such stylization is more intelligible as a development of woodcarving rather than bronze casting, simple, earlier wooden examples which have not survived through the ages may be reasonably supposed as prototypes.⁵²

⁵⁰Bouzek 1997: 35.

⁵¹Kossack 1954, 9, 28-9

⁵²Bouzek 1985, 178; see also Kossack 1954, 2.

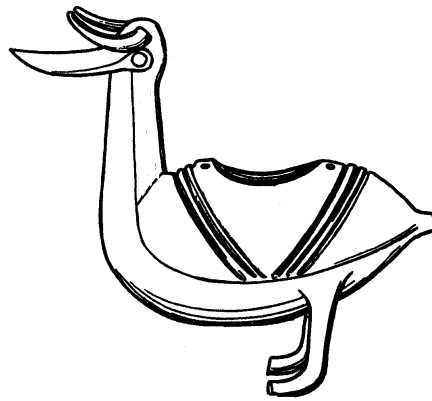


Fig. 12. Early Bz D horned bird vessel. After Kossack 1954, plate 5, 11.

Although many examples found in clay and bronze, the phenomenon is little understood and the origins of the vogelbarke are unknown. Bouzek suggests a tentative origin in early Helladic bird askoi.⁵³ In his seminal work on Urnfield symbolism, Kossack makes an association with Near Eastern winged solar symbols and other “mixed beings”; however, he points out that there is a continuity of religious thought regarding the bird motif with the wagon, particularly the Dupljaja wagon (fig. 10).⁵⁴ Pare, also noting the continuity of idea with the Dupljaja wagon, traces its origin to the Aegean world through parallels between the Dupljaja idol and Mycenaean “Phi” idols of the period.⁵⁵ Interestingly, in either instance, the spiritual vehicle has been transformed into a watercraft (figs. 13a and 13b).

⁵³ Bouzek 1985, 178-9.

⁵⁴ Kossack 1954, 28-9.

⁵⁵ Pare 1989, 84-5.

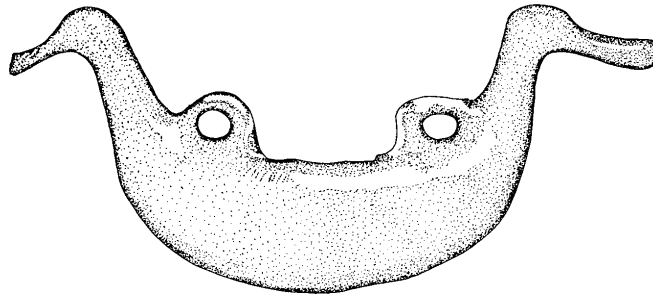


Fig. 13a. Late Bronze Age (Bz D) Bronze vogelbarke from Satu Mare, Rumania. From Wachsmann 1998, 174, fig. 8.26.

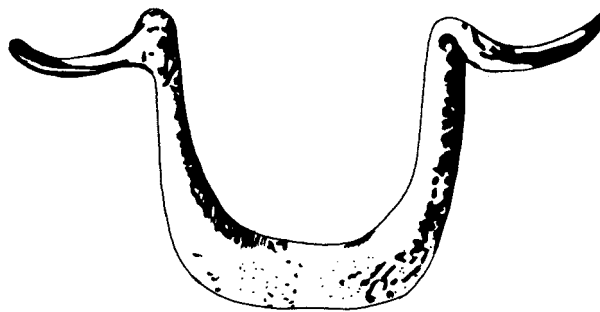


Fig. 13b. Late Bronze Age (Bz D) Bronze vogelbarke from Velem St. Vid, Hungary. From Wachsmann 1998, 174, fig. 8.27.

In his study of religious boat iconography in the South Scandinavian Bronze Age, F. Kaul notes that “[t]he evidence of the ships on bronzes supports the notion of the ship as a symbol being intimately linked with the Bronze Age as such and implying the ship’s significance in the control of bronze, which during the whole period was so

closely attached to the sphere of prestige and the performance of rituals.”⁵⁶

A similar case may be made for Late Bronze Age Central Europe. Bronze *vogelbarke* first appear in early Bz D—the period of massive expansion of the bronze industry in the region. This may be the same reason for the new prominence of the solar motif in Urnfield religion: the sun is associated with fire, which is essential for the central industry of metallurgy.

But when scholars like Sprockhoff speak of the “cult of the *vogelsonnenbarke*,”⁵⁷ is this meant to be taken literally, or figuratively?

Europe, and Central Europe in particular, enjoys a finely-meshed network of navigable waterways that make transport relatively manageable. The most common boat in Bronze Age Europe for navigating rivers and smaller waterways was the dugout canoe, and the remains of a few of these have been found in the region.⁵⁸

Unfortunately, there appears to be no tradition of narrative art in Central Europe during the Late Bronze Age that would shed light on non-ritual activity. We have no depictions of domestic scenes, metalsmithing, transportation activity, or anything that would help us to better understand the means of production and transportation of goods during the Late Bronze Age.

In addition, evidence for European and even Mycenaean seafaring in the Black Sea is scanty at best.⁵⁹ An oxhide copper ingot was found near Sozopol, but it is

⁵⁶ Kaul 1995, 64.

⁵⁷ Sprockhoff 1954, 23-25.

⁵⁸ Harding 2000, 177-83 with bibliography.

⁵⁹ Hiller 1991.

impossible to say whether it arrived there by land or by sea;⁶⁰ there are also thirteen reported “keftiubarren” ingots reported from the central Carpathian Basin that date from the Ha A1 period.⁶¹ Arguing against a Mycenaean maritime presence in the region is the lack of Mycenaean ceramics north of the Rhodope range, in contrast to Mycenaeanizing objects at inland sites.⁶² If there was maritime activity in the Black Sea in this period, however, the Danube certainly served as the primary highway between the sea and the Carpathian metallurgical cultures as well as further on into the heart of Europe.

Sea-based contact between Central Europe and the Aegean may have also occurred in the Adriatic, most likely along the Dalmatian coast. While there is no direct evidence for a European seafaring tradition during the Bronze Age, in the early Iron Age the Adriatic was the center for the Illyrian ‘thalassocracy.’⁶³

Other Symbols

The spoked wheel served as a pictorial simile of the sun in Urnfield culture and appears frequently in the archaeological record of Bronze Age Central Europe in the form of an amulet (fig. 14). Its origins are unclear but it appears in East-Alpine cultures already in the early Bronze Age.⁶⁴ Parallels may be identified in the material culture of the Sea Peoples in the Levant and are discussed in Chapter III.

⁶⁰ Dimitrov, 1979, 70-3.

⁶¹ Ilon 1992

⁶² Hiller 1991, 208-9.

⁶³ Dell 1967

⁶⁴ Kossack 1954, 20.

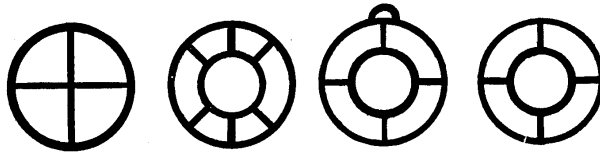


Fig. 14. Schematic drawings of wheel amulets. After Kossack 1954, plate 16, 3-6.

Peripheral Regions

From the beginning, Central Europe was the core of the Urnfield religious movement, with peripheral regions to the west and the north adopting and rejecting various elements at later dates. In the case of Bronze Age Scandinavia, the horse played a central symbolic role, as evidenced in the Trundholm sun chariot (ca. 1400 B.C.E) (fig. 15). When compared to the Dupljaja Chariot, a corresponding idea behind the two objects may certainly be seen, but they are expressed using two different symbolic vocabularies.⁶⁵ Bronze vessels, armor, weapons, and other items featuring the vogelbarke motif have been found in far northern Europe and Scandinavia in the earlier Bronze Age; by the later Bronze Age it competes with the horse motif in frequency of appearance on bronze razors.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Kossack 1954, 12.

⁶⁶ Kossack 1954, 38; Kaul 2002; 143. While Kaul 1998 is a useful and comprehensive study of Southern Scandinavian Late Bronze Age iconography, the focus of the study is on material from 1100-500 B.C.E. e.g. too late for the purposes of this paper.

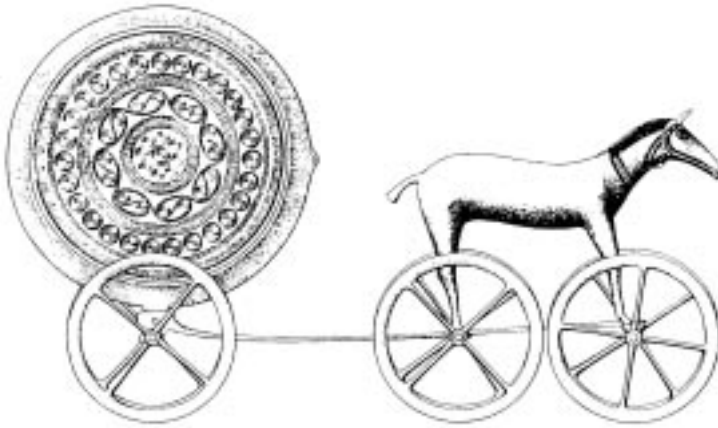


Fig. 15. Trundholm sun chariot, ca. 1400 B.C.E. From Bouzek 1994, 225, fig. 5.

By the end of the second millennium B.C.E. an “urnfield koine” encompassed parts of Italy, France, Germany, and Poland, perhaps even influencing practices on the British Isles. Only Scandinavia appears to have mostly resisted significant urnfield influence, incorporating some iconic forms into its already rich pantheon of symbol and ritual.⁶⁷

“Bird Boats” in Late Helladic Greece

A bird protome first appears in Greece on some Middle Helladic sherds from Aegina, but does not become common until LH IIIB, when many ship prows depict the entire bird, with the beak of the bird upturned.⁶⁸ It is difficult to ascertain whether the

⁶⁷ Kimming 1964, 268.

⁶⁸ Wachsmann 2000, 121.

bird protome itself becomes popular during the Late Helladic period, or whether this is the result of the fact that pictorial vase painting first becomes a significant category of Mycenaean representational art in the LH IIIA:1 period.⁶⁹

From our limited understanding of Bronze Age Greek religion, it appears that birds represented the epiphany of deities.⁷⁰ From a practical perspective, birds most likely served as a land-finding method for seafarers in the Mediterranean.⁷¹ For these reasons, bird-head devices on Bronze Age Greek ships may have served as symbolic and prophylactic devices.⁷²

The Tiryns Vogelbarke

There is only one example known from the Mycenaean world of a depiction resembling the Urnfield vogelbarke: an LH IIIC krater sherd from Tiryns (fig. 16a). It depicts a double-headed, outward-facing bird-boat, with three radiating solar motifs in its center. Matthäus, however rejects the vogelbarke comparison outright. He argues that the missing bottom element of the composition makes it impossible to determine whether the artist intended to depict a boat or simply a decorative band around the neck of the krater. The bird-head devices are also—very tenuously—suggested to be alternatively whorl-shell ornaments (fig. 16b).⁷³

⁶⁹ Rutter 1992, 62.

⁷⁰ Bouzek 1985, 177.

⁷¹ For sources and discussion, see Wachsmann 1998, 300. See also Hornell 1946.

⁷² Wachsmann 1998, 177.

⁷³ Matthäus 1980, 319-20.

Bouzek believes that the artist was representing a real vogelbarke, but that he was “not quite aware of what he was depicting.”⁷⁴ He gives no reasoning for this speculation, however.



Fig. 16a. The Tiryns vogelbarke. From Wachsmann 1998, 181, fig. 8.32.



Fig. 16b. Whorl-shell ornaments After Matthäus 1980, 320, fig. 2.3.

Late Helladic Ship Depictions with Bird Protomes

Wachsmann has extensively cataloged depictions of LH IIIB/C ship depictions featuring bird-head devices and it is not necessary to repeat all examples here.⁷⁵ However, representative samples will be presented to demonstrate the variety of depictions and their relevance to the Medinet Habu naval battle relief and the vogelbarke tradition.

The ships depicted on the sherds of LH IIIC kraters from Kynos are Aegean galleys (figs. 17a and 17b). The vertical stempost with bird-head device is reminiscent both of the Sea Peoples ship on the Medinet Habu naval battle relief (figs. 1 and 2) as

⁷⁴ Bouzek 1985, 178.

⁷⁵ Wachsmann 1998, 137-97.

well as an Urnfield-style bird from a gold diadem from the citadel at Pylos (fig. 18).⁷⁶

The figures on the ships have headgear reminiscent of the Sea People at Medinet Habu (fig. 19), as do the rowers depicted on LH IIIC sherds from Cos (fig. 20).⁷⁷



Fig. 17a. Kynos ship A. From Wachsmann 1998, 131, fig. 7.8a.

⁷⁶Blegen et al, 1973, 16, pl. 108d; Schauer 1986, 74.

⁷⁷Wachsmann 1998, 177.

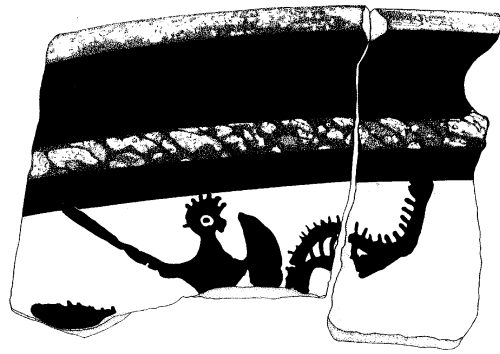


Fig. 17b. Kynos ship B. From Wachsmann 1998, 134, fig. 7.15.

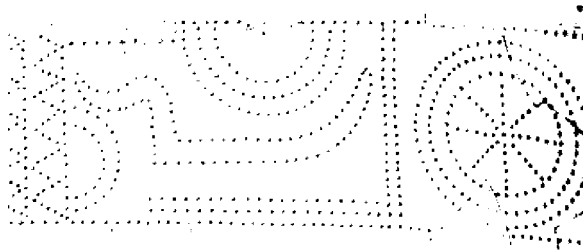


Fig. 18. Urnfield-style bird from Pylos. After Blegen et al. 1973, fig. 108d.



Fig. 19. Detail of feathered headgear. From Wachsmann 1998, 169, fig. 8.10.



Fig. 20. Rowers with Sea People-style headgear from Cos. From Wachsmann 1998, 176, fig 8.22.

Like the Kynos ship, the LH IIIC ship from Tragana features a vertical stempost with bird-head device (facing left) (fig. 21).

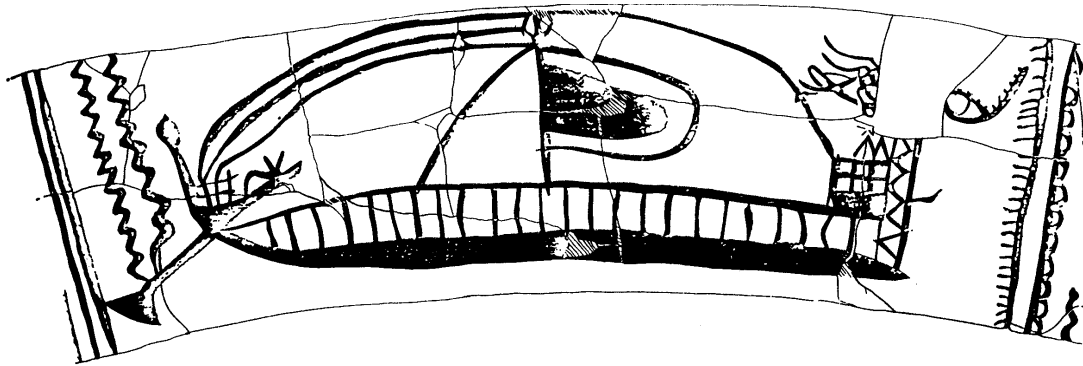


Fig. 21. The LH IIIc Tragana ship. From Wachsmann 1998, 136, fig. 7.17.

The ship painted on a LH IIIc stirrup jar from Skyros (fig. 22) is of particular interest as it features a “horned” bird head device. Horned bird head devices also appear on LH IIIc sherds from the site of Phylakopi on Melos. There is no Aegean iconographical tradition of horned birds, but they are a popular motif in Urnfield religious symbology (see fig.12).

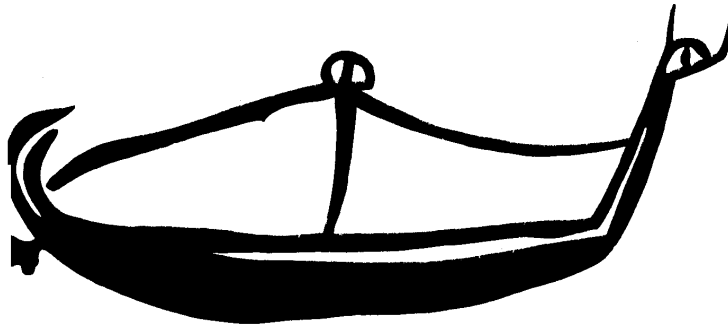


Fig. 22. The Skyros ship. From Wachsmann 1998, 139, fig 7.21.

Unlike the Urnfield vogelbarke, however, *complete* Mycenaean ship depictions feature a bird/bird-head only at the bow of the ship. This may be indicative of the role that water-birds play in navigation. In most cases, the bird protomes face outward, but there are also examples of inward-facing bird devices in the Late Helladic Period.

Conclusion

These examples demonstrate that there was indeed a tradition of “bird-headed” sailing ships in Mycenaean Greece. But with the exception of the Tiryns krater sherd, there is no tradition of the specific double-headed, outward-facing boat that resembles the vogelbarke representations of Late Bronze Age Central Europe.⁷⁸ Furthermore, unlike the vogelbarke representations on Urnfield-period bronzes and ceramics, there is no evidence that the Late Helladic representations of ships with bird devices have any

⁷⁸ This is also the case for Aegean Bronze Age seals. See Ruuskanen 1992.

particular symbolic value outside of the social sphere.⁷⁹ They do not appear (again, with the exception of the Tiryns krater sherd) with additional iconographic devices that can be construed as religious symbolism, e.g. solar symbolism. As the Skyros and Phylakopi horned bird examples attest, however, there was some sort of transmission of Central European symbology onto boats viewed and ultimately depicted by Greek vase painters.

Sprockhoff saw a shared source for both the Bronze Age Central European and Greek bird boat traditions reflected in the Dupljaja chariot and later Greek legends of the Hyperborean Apollo, who returns on a sacred swan from the frozen expanses of the north every spring.⁸⁰ This idea of the water-bird as transport of gods may have ultimately had its origins in the Aegean world, and was carried north into Europe by the same people who influenced the Mycenaeanizing weapons and jewelry found in Middle Bronze Age contexts there.⁸¹ Once in Central Europe, it was modified to suit regional tastes, evolving into what became in the Bz D the central symbol of Urnfield religious symbology: the *vogelbarke*. There is also, of course, the possibility that the Aegean world adopted the static bird iconography that developed in the north and breathed a new, dynamic life into it.⁸²

Unfortunately, after more than a half century of scholarship, there are no substantive answers regarding the origins of the bird-motif and the development of bird-

⁷⁹ Kaul 2002, 146; Matthäus 1980, 322.

⁸⁰ Sprockhoff 1954, 71. See also Bouzek 1985, 178.

⁸¹ *supra* n. 55. See also Matthäus 1980; 1981.

⁸² See Kossack 1954, 63.

related religious iconography and bird-boat iconography in the Bronze Age Aegean–Central European sphere. Ships with bird protomes in the Late Helladic world may not necessarily reflect a Central European influence on Mycenaean culture; alternatively, the dual bird-protomes of the vogelbarke motif may not necessarily suggest an active Helladic influence on Urnfield religious practice.

The bird-boat motif's popularity in the Urnfield world, however, completely eclipses whatever role it plays in Late Helladic Greece. It is here that the economic situation of Bz D Central Europe plays an interesting role. In a period of increased trade, and the attendant wealth and status that such trade garners, the means of transport will have not only economic value but also high prestige, social, and religious value.⁸³ Whether the Late Bronze Age cultures of Central Europe, flush with the economic successes of their booming bronze industry, were moving their product through the Black Sea or along the central artery of the Danube, this transport was critical—and the scale of the infrastructure was also likely quite new. The importance of water transport was thus reflected in the Bz D period ubiquity of the vogelbarke motif.

In Late Helladic Greece, on the other hand, maritime trade had already been a constant for centuries, if not millennia, serving as a force linking together the kingdoms of the Near East and Egypt with the palace-states of the Greek islands. This is reflected in the profane, more everyday depictions of sailed vessels that feature bird-head devices.

⁸³ Pydyn 1999, 16.

In an attempt to “explain away” the presence of what appears to a Late Bronze Age vogelbarke in the naval battle scene at Medinet Habu, one nautical archaeologist has suggested that the artists of Ramesses III took a measure of artistic liberty with their depictions, and in their attempt to incorporate the ships of the Sea People into the composition, merged Late Helladic Aegean galleys that feature bird-head devices on their stems, presenting them in a single ship with dual bird protomae.⁸⁴

As has been previously discussed, the artists of the naval battle scene at Medinet Habu did indeed witness much of the events they recorded, and most likely accompanied the Egyptian army on its campaign.⁸⁵ This makes it likely that they depicted the vessels they saw on scene, particularly if an unusual or striking ship caught their attention. Furthermore, Nelson has demonstrated that the “naval battle scene” actually depicts four specific moments in battle between two ships.⁸⁶ There is, therefore, no motivation for the creators of the relief to “merge” multiple Sea Peoples ships into a single ship representation.

Wachsmann has also clearly demonstrated that the construction of the Sea People’s ship at Medinet Habu has its closest parallels in the tradition of Mycenaean galleys.⁸⁷ The synthesis of Aegean form and Central European symbolism in the Medinet Habu Sea Peoples ship may indicate that the *seafaring* aspect of a mixed Mycenaean/Central European Sea Peoples coalition was more closely associated with

⁸⁴ Artzy 1994, 2.

⁸⁵ supra ns. 17, 18.

⁸⁶ supra n. 15.

⁸⁷ supra n. 19.

the Greeks than the Central Europeans.⁸⁸ However, we are still faced with a novel proposition where the ship itself is the visual embodiment of a central cultural or religious symbol—here, the Central European vogelbarke—and it can be relatively safe to assume that at least some members of its crew had ties to the region.

If this is indeed the case, a Central European presence in LH IIIB/C Greece must be established, as well as in the material culture of Sea Peoples. This presence will be investigated in the second half of this thesis.

⁸⁸ Drews 2000, 182.

CHAPTER III

THE EUROPEAN PRESENCE IN LATE HELLADIC GREECE

The archaeological evidence certainly points to a Central European presence in Late Helladic Greece, but to what degree, and what was its nature? Previous arguments, most recently by Schachermeyr⁸⁹ and Bouzek⁹⁰ have argued for an invasion of Mycenaean Greece by Central European populations, resulting in the palatial destructions that occurred in the LH IIIB/C period. Other scholars, most notably Sandars⁹¹ and Drews,⁹² have seen in the archaeological record evidence for a Central European mercenary population present in Mycenaean Greece during the period that the first Sea Peoples raids were being launched in the 14th century B.C.E.

Archaeological evidence for the presence of a Central European population in Late Helladic Greece is found most frequently in the form of weapons and ceramics.

Weaponry

The most significant Central European import into the Aegean during the Bronze Age was the flange-hilted, ‘cut-and-thrust’ sword (generally referred to as the

⁸⁹ Schachermeyr 1980.

⁹⁰ Bouzek 1985, 202-5.

⁹¹ Sandars 1978.

⁹² Drews 1993.

Sprockhoff IIa or simply the IIa sword).⁹³ It first appears, in a burial along with Mycenaean pottery and a Central European socketed spearhead, on the island of Cos in the Late Helladic IIIB:2 period.⁹⁴ The cut-and-thrust sword was not simply a new addition to the array of weapons that the Mycenaean Greeks already had at their disposal—spears, daggers, dirks, and narrow rapiers—it introduced a new and more deadly form of warfare. Its long reach and slashing blow proved more effective than an opponent’s stabbing rapier. By the 11th century the IIa sword was “virtually the only sword in use in the Aegean,” and it became the standard sword of the early Iron Age cultures of the Near East.⁹⁵ Thirty-eight IIa swords have been found in Late Helladic contexts.⁹⁶ Figure 23 shows their distribution.

⁹³ Snodgrass 1967, 29; 1974, 211; Sandars 1983; Drews 1993, 192-208.

⁹⁴ Sandars 1983, 53; Muhly 1984.

⁹⁵ Drews 1993, 194.

⁹⁶ Drews 1993, 203

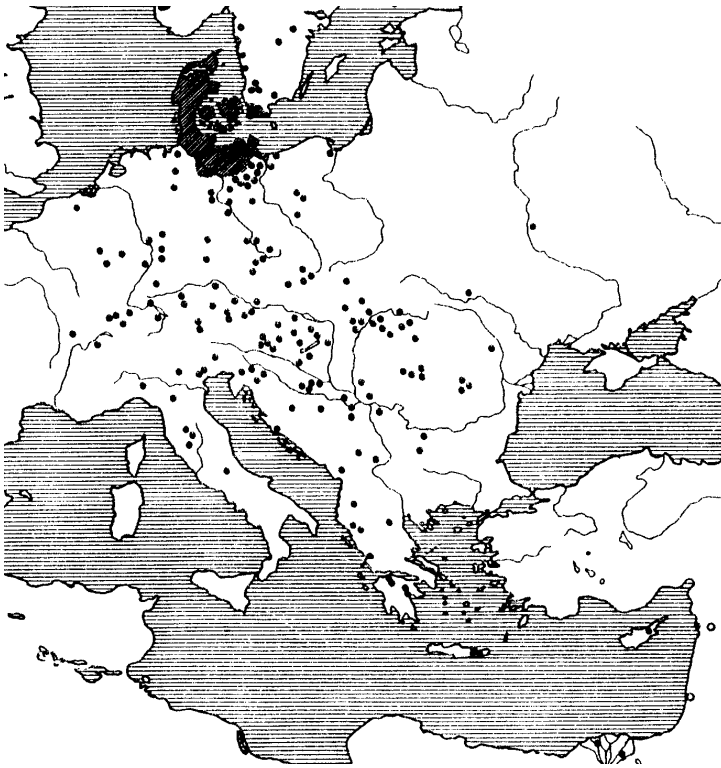


Fig. 23. Distribution of IIA swords in the Late Helladic Aegean. After Bouzek 1985, 121, fig. 57.

Interestingly, although versions of the cut-and-thrust sword first appear in Central Europe in the mid-fifteenth century (Bz C1),⁹⁷ they are not found in the Aegean until suddenly in the midst of the crisis of the LH IIIB/C period.

In addition, the European style spearhead appears in the Aegean in this period. Cast rather than forged, its continuous form proved superior to the Greek version and

⁹⁷ See Drews 1993, 194-5 for discussion and bibliography.

was, like the IIA sword, quickly adopted.⁹⁸

Since Mycenaean metalsmiths were forgers, not casters, there is reason to believe that the importers of the IIA swords brought their craftsmen with them, either from the northern Italian reaches of the Urnfield periphery,⁹⁹ or from the Balkans.¹⁰⁰ There is evidence that Mycenaean craftsmen attempted to forge, rather than cast, the IIA sword in the period around 1200 B.C.E. The results tended to be “most unwieldy and eccentric,” and the enterprise was quickly given up.¹⁰¹

The round shields carried by the Sea People in the Medinet Habu naval battle relief, and earlier 13th century Battle of Kadesh (fig. 24),¹⁰² appeared in the Aegean only around 1200 B.C.E. Evidence points to its introduction from Central Europe.¹⁰³ Unlike the larger shields favored by Mycenaean warriors employing longer-range weapons such as javelins and spears (seen carried by the crew of the Kynos A ship, fig. 17a), the round shield provided the mobility and agility necessary for the close-quarters combat required by the IIA sword.

⁹⁸ Harding 1984, 162-73; Bouzek 1985, 119-42. It appears that in the case of European fibulae and pins, like weapons, their design was so effective that they were quickly adopted throughout the Aegean. Therefore, actual “European” imports of such objects are very rare. See Kilian 1985.

⁹⁹ Harding 1984, 165.

¹⁰⁰ Sandars 1978, 91-92. Sandars, the preeminent specialist on Late Bronze Age European weapons, does not see an Italian influence on the first-generation IIA swords in the Aegean.

¹⁰¹ Sandars 1983, 39.

¹⁰² See Sandars 1983, 44-5 for discussion.

¹⁰³ Harding 1984, 177; Schachermeyr 1980, 154-7.



Fig. 24. Sea People from the Battle of Kadesh. After Sandars 1983, 44, fig. 1.

Swords in Context

The IIA swords found in Greece are almost always found in burials with Mycenaean pottery. Catling believes this serves as further evidence that these belonged to mercenaries that served Late Helladic kingdoms.¹⁰⁴

In particular cases, however, IIA swords have been found along with other objects with intriguing Urnfield or Sea Peoples associations.

Two IIA swords were found together with two gold “wheels” with amber beads on the spokes and a bronze vessel in a pre-destruction layer at Tiryns.¹⁰⁵ The wheels evoke the wheel amulets common in Urnfield symbology,¹⁰⁶ while the vessel, dated to LH IIIB/ IIIC appears to have a prototypically Urnfield-style bird perched upon its rim (fig. 25). V.G. Childe was the first to notice the connection: “The cup itself is a good Mycenaean shape....[B]ut perched on its rim is a ... bird treated just in the same manner

¹⁰⁴ Catling 1961, 121.

¹⁰⁵ Childe 1948, 185-6.

¹⁰⁶ supra ns. 45, 64.

as...in Tyrolese and Bavarian urnfields of phase D....I will not suggest that the bird had flown to the Peloponnese...but the cup is good evidence for the peculiar stylization as early as the 12th century at least.”¹⁰⁷

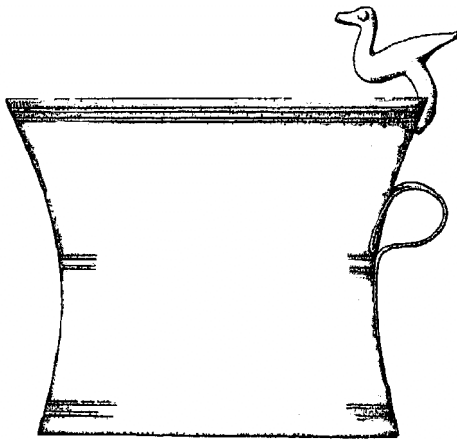


Fig. 25. Bronze vessel from Tiryns. After Matthäus 1981, 285, fig. 7.

An LH IIIC bronze knife with a bird-head grip from the east-Attic necropolis of Perati (fig. 26, with comparative examples from Late Bronze Age Central Europe) has been seen as evidence by some of Urnfield influence on the Greek bronze industry.¹⁰⁸ Other burials in the Perati necropolis have revealed Type IIa swords, and European-style fibula and knives.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Childe 1948, 185-6. The vessel is incorrectly described by Childe as made of gold. Matthäus 1981, 291 disputes the Urnfield association.

¹⁰⁸ Harding 1975, 199; Bouzek 1969, 29.

¹⁰⁹ Müller-Karpe 1963, 11. Again, Matthäus 1981, 281-6 disputes the Urnfield association. Bouzek (1985, 178) calls his argument “weak.”

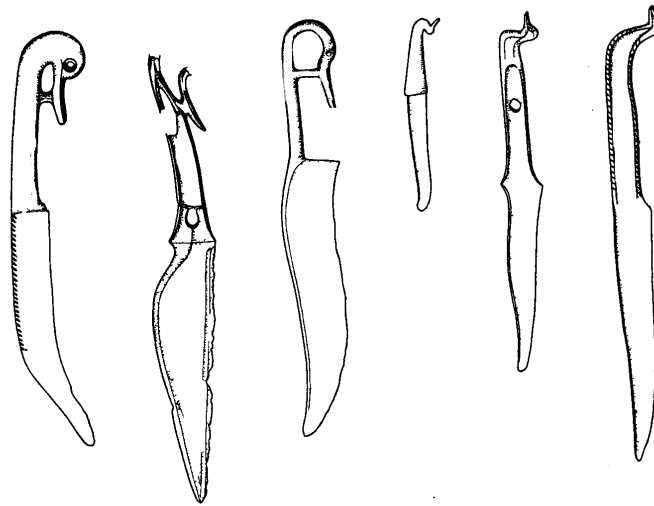


Fig. 26. LH IIIc knife from Perati, left, with comparative examples from Late Bronze Age Central Europe. After Müller-Karpe 1963, 10, pl. 1.

The Uluburun Shipwreck

Finds from the Uluburun shipwreck, dated to ca. 1320 B.C.E.,¹¹⁰ may indicate a northern mercenary presence in the employ of high-ranking Mycenaeans. C. Pulak has attributed a Thapsos-type sword, a fluted spearhead, and a stone scepter-axe (fig. 27), with its closest parallels in Romania and Bulgaria, to this presence.¹¹¹ Such axes were non-utilitarian; rather, they may have represented the power of a tribal chief or a priest.¹¹² This fact has led Pulak to cast some doubt upon the mercenary theory; however, it has been demonstrated that the Mycenaeans on board were also of unusually

¹¹⁰ Cemal Pulak, personal communication, October 1, 2003.

¹¹¹ Pulak 1997: 253-6; personal communication, October 1, 2003.

¹¹² Buchholz 1999.

high status,¹¹³ and the cargo of extraordinary value.

Interestingly, the spearhead and possibly the IIA sword from the LH IIIB:2 find from Cos has been traced by Sandars back to the Draşna de Jos bronze hoard from Muntenia north of Bucharest (fig. 28).¹¹⁴ A bronze scepter-axe from this same hoard is the “best parallel” to the Uluburun axe (fig. 29).¹¹⁵

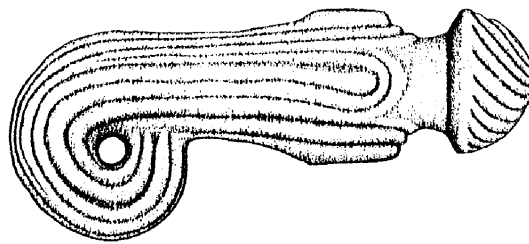


Fig. 27. Scepter-axe from the Uluburun shipwreck. Courtesy Institute of Nautical Archaeology

¹¹³ Pulak 1997, 253.

¹¹⁴ Sandars 1983, 52-3.

¹¹⁵ Pulak 1997, 253-4.

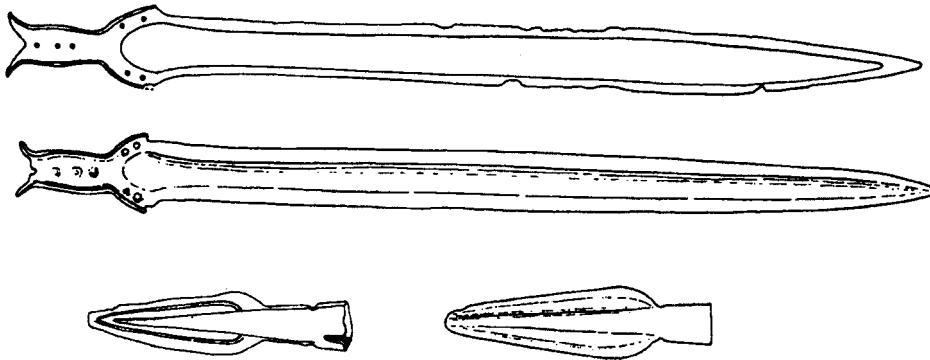


Fig. 28. Spearhead from Drajna de Jos hoard (left), Rumania; spearhead from Cos (right); IIa sword from Cos(top); IIa sword from Hungary(bottom). After Sandars 1983, 54, fig. 10.

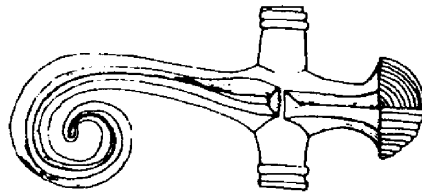


Fig. 29. Bronze scepter-axe from Drajna de Jos hoard. After Sandars 1983, 57, fig. 12c.

Handmade Burnished Ware (“Barbarian Ware”)

From the end of the LH IIIB period on, a form of dark-surfaced, burnished handmade pottery originating from the Balkans began to appear at sites on mainland Greece and some of the islands (fig. 30). It is variously called “Barbarian Ware” or “Handmade Burnished Ware,” and often characterized as crude in appearance. It has been identified as a kitchen ware for those whose tastes “differed from the Mycenaean tradition,”¹¹⁶ and is generally believed to represent an intrusive Central European population element in the Late Helladic Aegean that played a secondary rather than dominant role in the climactic events of that age.

¹¹⁶Bouzek 1985: 184.

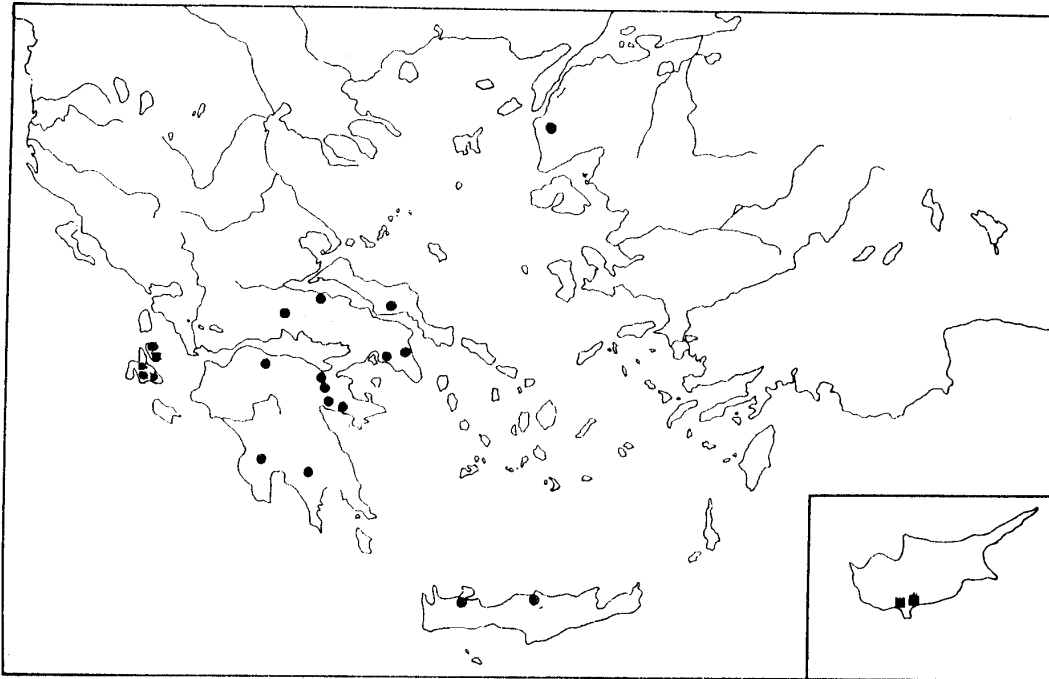


Fig. 30. Distribution of Handmade Burnished Ware in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Helladic Period. After Bouzek 1985, 185, fig. 92.

Although it is only found in small quantities, Handmade Burnished Ware is not spatially segregated at the sites in which it is found.¹¹⁷ This has led some scholars to suggest that it was manufactured by a northern slave population working for Mycenaean masters.¹¹⁸ This fails to take into consideration the appearance in the same period of the Type IIa sword and the European socketed spearhead. The pottery spawns Mycenaean imitations almost immediately at some sites at which it appears, in the form of wheelmade and carinated cups.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Genz 1997, 109.

¹¹⁸ Bankoff et al. 1996.

¹¹⁹ Rutter 1992, 66.

At Mycenae and Tiryns, it appears in LH IIIB:2—before the destruction of the palaces and during a time when the fortification systems at these sites were being extended. Handmade Burnished Ware also disappears abruptly from many sites in the Greek mainland in LH IIIC and appears alongside locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery following the Aegean migrations to Cyprus (see Chapter IV).¹²⁰

Burial Practices

Cremation in Late Helladic Greece is known only from the LH IIIC necropolis at Perati, where there are 18 cremations (against 600 inhumations). These cremations are considered to be of Anatolian origin.¹²¹

There may be a connection between Central European Urnfield practices and cremation later on in early Iron Age Greece.¹²² One problem in establishing such a connection may be that the vast Urnfield burial grounds were not systematically studied at the time when the Submycenaean and Protogeometric cremation burials of the Kerameikos were being excavated.¹²³ Bouzek, however, points out that in most of the areas of Greece where cremation occurs, it is accompanied by a particular incised pottery and bell-shaped dolls that have their closest parallels in the frontier area between Rumania, Serbia, and Bulgaria.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Rutter 1992, 66.

¹²¹ Melas 1984. See also Seeher 1993.

¹²² For discussion, see Lorimer 1933; 1950, 103-10; Hägg 1987; Melas 1984.

¹²³ Kimming 1964, 246.

¹²⁴ Bouzek 1985: 207; 1994, 230-1.

Conclusion

While it has been suggested by some that the introduction of the IIA should be seen as evidence for an invasion of Greece from the north,¹²⁵ the scattered distribution of the original European IIA sword in mainland Greece, combined with its “startling impact” on Mycenaean workshops, supports the argument of northern mercenaries in mainland Greece during the Late Helladic III B/C period.¹²⁶ This argument is further bolstered from the evidence from the Uluburun shipwreck.

It would appear at first that the presence of Handmade Burnished Ware in association with European-style weaponry (IIA swords and European socketed spearheads) supports the invasion theory. What the ‘invasion’ theory fails to account for, however, is that Handmade Burnished Ware does not supersede the Mycenaean IIIB/IIIC pottery; rather, Handmade Burnished Ware appears *alongside* it.

From the archaeological evidence we have, in which IIA swords appear in interments, it does not appear that the Central European population present in Late Helladic Greece continued their practice of cremation.¹²⁷

Outside of Greece, there is nothing in the archaeological record of Late Bronze Age Central Europe to support the invasion theory or any general large-scale southern migration.¹²⁸ There is no disruption in the cultural continuity of the Central European Urnfield cultures and the peripheral regions they influenced, including Germany, Poland,

¹²⁵supra ns. 89, 90. See also Kimming 1964; Desborough 1964; Hencken 1968, 620.

¹²⁶Sandars 1978, 94; Bouzek 1985, 222; 1997, 26.

¹²⁷supra n. 104.

¹²⁸Drews 1993, 64-5.

and northern Italy. No large caches of Mycenaean goods in Central Europe have been found that can be interpreted as “war booty.” The Transylvanian bronze industry continued to flourish; and there appears to have been no disruption in trade routes surrounding primary ore sources in the eastern Balkans.¹²⁹

Although the use of mercenaries was common in Egypt and many Near Eastern states during the Bronze Age, and many Mycenaean themselves may have worked as mercenaries outside of Greece, there is no literary record for the use of mercenaries inside mainland Greece.¹³⁰ The fortifications and destructions of settlements that occur in Mycenaean Greece beginning in the LH IIIB period have often been associated with the threat of outside invasion; others believe that there is evidence for prolonged inter-Mycenaean strife during the 13th century.¹³¹ The presence of mercenaries from the north may be the result, rather than the cause, of the instability and destruction in Late Bronze Age Mycenaean Greece.

If indeed, as Jöckenhovel points out, elite status in Central European Late Bronze Age culture was significantly less structured and more transitory than it was in Mycenaean Greece,¹³² and if a man was constantly expected to reaffirm (read: fight for) his status within his tribe or clan, such a system may have lent itself well to mercenary production.

¹²⁹ Sandars 1978, 83.

¹³⁰ For Mycenaean mercenaries abroad see Cline 1998, 270-3.

¹³¹ Sandars 1978, 180. The feuds between Mycenaean city-states are a popular theme of later Greek myth. See Vermuele 1964, 269. Drews associates the destructions of the early twelfth century with populations from northern Greece; see Drews 1993, 117; 216-217.

¹³² *supra* n. 42.

“So if the Mycenaean ruling class were on the lookout for support in their feudings,” Sandars observes, “it would have been natural to scan the north for manpower and metals, where both abounded.”¹³³

¹³³ Sandars 1978, 94.

CHAPTER IV

NORTHERN ELEMENTS IN THE MATERIAL CULTURES OF THE SEA PEOPLES

The rapid adaptation of Central European weaponry and armor types in the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean makes it difficult to identify a distinct 'European' cultural presence in the regions where these items are found. The distribution of these items, however, is closely associated with the Aegean/ Central European migrations of the Sea Peoples. The presence of Central European weapon types in combination with finds of Handmade Burnished Ware and/or items that are influenced by the belief system of the Urnfield culture can be used to reasonably infer a European cultural presence in the migrations of the Sea Peoples. Evidence for a Central European cultural presence beginning in the Late Helladic IIIC period has been found in Cyprus and the Levant.

Cyprus

The 'central location' of Cyprus made it ideal for use as a base from which the Sea Peoples launched attacks against Ugarit and many other cities on the eastern Mediterranean littoral.¹³⁴

¹³⁴Karageorghis 1984, 16; Mazar 1991, 103. An Aegean-made IIA sword was reported to have been found at Ugarit. See Bouzek 1985, 123 for bibliography.

Weapons

The Type IIa sword appeared in Cyprus shortly after its first appearance in Greece in the LH IIIB period.¹³⁵ There is abundant evidence for European types of weaponry and fibulae and several genuine (first-generation) European swords have been found there, mainly in LH IIIB/C contexts at Enkomi.¹³⁶

Ceramic Evidence

In the early 12th century a series of devastations in Cyprus ravaged coastal cities such as Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke and Kition. The new cities built over the ruins contained large amounts of locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery, which is generally considered to herald the arrival of the Sea Peoples. Locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery almost completely replaces traditional Cypriot ceramics, such as Base-ring and White slip wares. Pictorial motifs on such ceramics are very rare; when they do occur, birds are represented. These representations are associated with non-native Mycenaean or Levantine populations.¹³⁷

Along with locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery, Cypriot Handmade Burnished Ware appears during the Late Helladic IIIC period and has parallels with the Handmade Burnished Ware found in Mycenaean Greece (figs. 31a and 31b).¹³⁸ As in the case of mainland Greece, its use indicates “that a special group of people amongst

¹³⁵ Catling 1964, 115.

¹³⁶ Catling 1964, 113-25; Karageorghis 1992, 81.

¹³⁷ Benson 1975, 129-30; Yon 1992, 398.

¹³⁸ Reber 1991.

the Mycenaeans for some reason favoured the use of this handmade pottery.”¹³⁹ It remained in use in Cyprus through the end of the Bronze Age in small quantities.

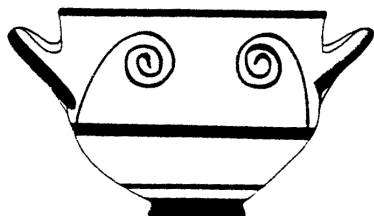


Fig. 31a. Locally made Mycenaean III C:1b pottery from Cyprus. After Karageorghis 2000, 256.

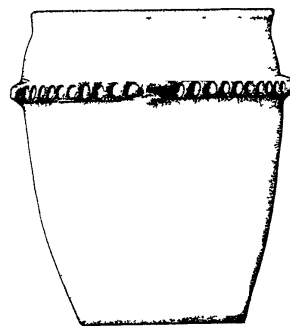


Figure 31b. Handmade Burnished Ware From Cyprus. After Karageorghis 2000, 257.

Interestingly, Handmade Burnished Ware of a type specifically found in Bulgaria and Romania has also been found in connection with Troy VIIb 2.¹⁴⁰ What this evidence seems to suggest, however, is the presence of a Central European “squatters” settlement in the ruins of Troy.¹⁴¹

Iconographic Evidence

An early 12th-century B.C.E. ivory carving from Enkomi, depicts a figure in a

¹³⁹ Pilides 1992, 182.

¹⁴⁰ Kimming 1964, 250; Muhly 1984, 43; Sandars 1978, 193. A sherd of this Handmade Burnished Ware, known as “Anatolian ‘Grey Burnished Ware,’” was found at Tell Miqne-Ekron in 1994. See Allen 1994, 39-51.

¹⁴¹ Sams 1992, 58.

skirt and headdress very similar to that of one type of Sea Peoples in the Medinet Habu naval battle relief (fig. 32), while a similar depiction comes from a stone seal from the same period. However, both figures are bearded, a feature not generally associated with the Sea Peoples.



Fig. 32. 12th Century B.C.E. ivory carving from Enkomi. After Dothan and Dothan 1992, 95.

The Levant

Compared to the Aegean, evidence that can be associated with a Central European presence in the Levant is scarce. Considering the passage of time and geography, however, this is to be expected. European mercenaries would have already moved through at least two cultural filters (Mycenaean Greece and Cyprus), and perhaps

through a generation of men.

Hama

Sixty years ago, the Danish excavators of Hama in northern Syria associated an unusual cremation cemetery containing nearly 1100 urn burials and dating to approximately 1200-1075 B.C.E, with the migrations that took place at the end of the Late Bronze Age.¹⁴² A large number of European swords and fibulae were also associated with this Period 1 (Hama F) cemetery.¹⁴³ Only one European-style flange-hilted iron sword, however, was found in the Period 1 layer, and none of the iron swords at Hama are earlier than 1100 B.C.E.¹⁴⁴

Hama F was established at the very latest in the 13th century, putting it right at the time that the tradition itself is being established in Central Europe.¹⁴⁵ Urn cremation cemeteries existed in Anatolia from the first third of the 2nd millennium BCE onwards, most notably at Osmankayası, and are associated with Hittite practices.¹⁴⁶

Positing an association between Urnfield culture and Hama, Wachsmann sees a Sea People's ship as "inspiration" for a ship depiction found on a cremation urn in the Period I cemetery (fig. 33).¹⁴⁷ The stem of the ship is capped by a bird-head device with a upturned beak, reminiscent certainly of the Aegean ship tradition, but not necessarily

¹⁴² Hencken 1968, 627.

¹⁴³ Riis 1948, 200.

¹⁴⁴ Kimming 1964, 239; Drews 1993, 201 n. 104.

¹⁴⁵ Kimming 1964, 245.

¹⁴⁶ See Seeher 1993, especially 224-6.

¹⁴⁷ Wachsmann 1998, 175; Riis 1948, 48 fig. 25, 97 fig. 130B: 112, 105-6, Pl. 12C (no. G8, 551 [5B902])

of any Urnfield symbolism. The urn does feature what appears to be a waterfowl and another unidentified bird, but it also features distinctly non-Urnfield symbolism, including a bull and a palm tree. There does, however, appear to be a close connection between the bird motifs of the pottery at Hama F and that of LH IIIC Cyprus.¹⁴⁸

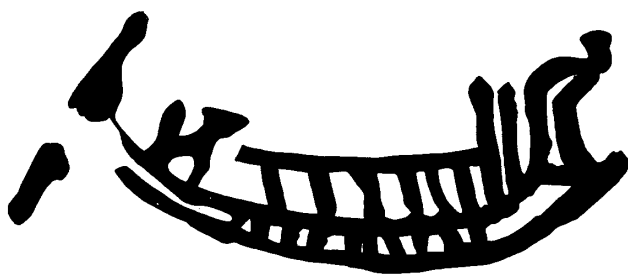


Fig. 33. The Hama ship. From Wachsmann 1998, 174, fig. 8.19b.

Philistine Settlements

Of the various groups of Sea Peoples that settled in the Levant following the first half of the twelfth century B.C.E.,¹⁴⁹ the material culture of the Philistine settlements contain many elements that can be attributed to an Aegean origin; they may also contain some elements attributable to a Central European origin. There will, of course, be differences between the migratory population that fought against—and sometimes for—the pharaohs of the 19th and 20th Dynasties, and the population that eventually settled down in southern Canaan in the first half of the twelfth century B.C.E.

¹⁴⁸Benson 1975, 132.

¹⁴⁹For the Sikala at Dor, see Wachsmann 1998, 320-5.

Evidence from the Bible

The Philistines, a principal enemy of the Israelite tribes, are the only group of Sea Peoples that receive any significant recognition in the Bible.¹⁵⁰ The Old Testament ascribes the origins of the Philistines to Kaphtor (Crete),¹⁵¹ and emphasizes their ‘western’ origins.¹⁵² Unlike the Israelites, the Philistines had a preference for pork in their diet¹⁵³ and, like the Mycenaeans, they mixed their wine with water.¹⁵⁴

Weapons

Very tenuous associations have been made between Late Bronze Age Central European body armor—most importantly the appearance of greaves—and that worn by the Philistine Goliath.¹⁵⁵ Interestingly, much of the body armor excavated from Central European burials appears to be manufactured primarily as status symbol. Experiments conducted with replicas of Late Bronze Age body armor reveal that it offers little practical protection against weapons of the period.¹⁵⁶

A stronger argument for a Central European presence in southern Canaan can be made with two IIA swords that have been found in early 12th century contexts at

¹⁵⁰ See Yadin 1991.

¹⁵¹ Amos 9, 7; Jeremiah 47, 4.

¹⁵² 1 Samuel 17, 26; 31, 4.

¹⁵³ Stager 1991, 9.

¹⁵⁴ Stager 1995, 344. See also Margalith 1994.

¹⁵⁵ Bouzek 1985, 113; Sandars 1978, 166; Kimming 1964, 228.

¹⁵⁶ For the experiment and results see Coles 1977.

Megiddo and Tell Qasile.¹⁵⁷

Ceramic Evidence

Large quantities of locally made Mycenaean IIC:1b pottery are the hallmark of the first stage of Philistine settlement in southern Canaan in the first half of the twelfth century B.C.E.¹⁵⁸ In areas north of the three extensively excavated Philistine Pentapolis sites (Ashdod, Ashkelon, Tel Miqne-Ekron), where other groups of Sea Peoples such as the Sikala settled, Mycenaean IIC:1b pottery is rare.¹⁵⁹ Cypriot Handmade Burnished Ware has also been found at Tell Qasile.¹⁶⁰

Birds are also the most popular motif found on Philistine pottery; this motif is considered a “sensitive indicator” of the origin of the Philistines in the Aegean (fig 34).¹⁶¹ A single bird was most often represented; occasionally additional birds or a fish were depicted.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷Catling 1964, 190-223; Mazar 1991, 101. The Ila sword found at Megiddo closely parallels those found at Enkomi.

¹⁵⁸Stager 1995, 334, 341; Mazar 1991.

¹⁵⁹Mazar 1991, 96.

¹⁶⁰Pilides 1994

¹⁶¹Dothan 1982, 203.

¹⁶²Dothan 1982: 198-203.



Fig. 34. Examples of birds from Philistine pottery. After Dothan 1982, 201, figs. 61.1-4.

Iconographic Evidence

A sherd discovered in fill at Ashkelon and identified as locally made LH IIIC:1b features a ship post ending in a bird's head device (Fig. 35).¹⁶³ The representation is too incomplete to determine whether this device is located on the stem- or sternpost, or whether it faces inward or outward. Wachsmann is confident, however, that this find “indicates that the ships employed in the water-borne invasion of Egypt continued in use by the Sea Peoples after their settlement along the southeastern Mediterranean coast,” i.e. that Aegean-style galleys are still in use in the southern Levant in the Late Bronze Age.¹⁶⁴

A rock carving of a boat with an outward-looking bird protome on the stem from Tell Nami (fig. 36), dating from the 13th-12th centuries B.C.E., suggests a similar presence.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Wachsmann 2000, 130.

¹⁶⁴ Wachsmann 2000, 135.

¹⁶⁵ Artzy 1994, 1.



Fig. 35. Ship post ending in bird's head device from Ashkelon. From Wachsmann 2000, 134, fig. 6.29.

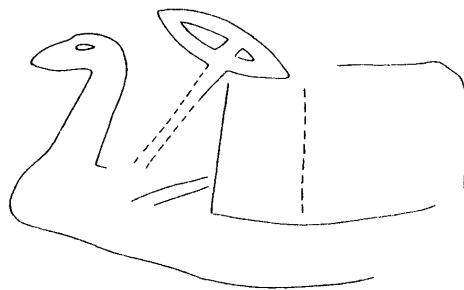


Fig. 36. Rock carving of ship from Tell Nami. After Artzy 1998, 445, fig. 4.

Recently discovered sherds of Philistine bichrome ware from Ashkelon appear to depict the feathered headgear worn by the Sea Peoples in the Medinet Habu naval battle scene (fig. 37).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Stager 1998, 164.



Fig. 37. Philistine bichrome sherds from Ashkelon. After Stager 1998, 164, ill. A.

Miscellaneous Objects

Miniature lead and bronze wheels, alien to local Canaanite culture, have been found in 12th century contexts at Tell Qasile and Tell Mique-Ekron. While they are generally associated with or Cypriot cult stands, which appear to have a strong Near Eastern influence,¹⁶⁷ with the absence of any remaining wagon or stand element at Tell Qasile¹⁶⁸ there is always the outside possibility that there may be some connection with the Late Bronze Age wheel amulets that are so ubiquitous in Central Europe (figs. 9, 14).

Three miniature bronze wheels were found at Tell Mique-Ekron; however, these were found in context with a fragment of a stand with a loop for the insertion of an axle and make the amulet association less likely.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Catling 1964, 190-223, especially 221-3.

¹⁶⁸ Mazar 1986, 14.

¹⁶⁹ Dothan and Dothan 1992, 248.

Burial Practices

It has been argued that the anthropoid coffins found in the southern Levant are Philistine burials; further attempts have been made to draw parallels between the coffins and the depictions of the Philistines on the Medinet Habu reliefs (fig. 38).¹⁷⁰ These ideas have been convincingly refuted by Stager, who points out that the coffins were already in use at least one or two centuries before the mass arrival of Philistines in Canaan, and are instead “important artifacts in determining cultural and political boundaries between Philistia and Canaanite territory under Egyptian hegemony.”¹⁷¹



Fig. 38. Anthropoid coffin lid. After Dothan and Dothan 1992, 94.

One incidence of cremation has been recorded at a Philistine site, that of an adult

¹⁷⁰Dothan 1973, 129-46.

¹⁷¹Stager 1995, 341-2; see also Dothan and Dothan 1992, 204-7.

and child at Azor dated to the mid-11th century.¹⁷² Dothan associates this burial with the practice of cremation in Late Bronze Age Asia Minor; interestingly, there is a Hittite-style burial—a skeleton interred inside two jars fitted together—at the same site.¹⁷³

Forensic Analysis

An anthropological analysis of five skulls from the 12th century B.C.E. Philistine settlement at Azor revealed a unusual diversity of characteristics.¹⁷⁴ Excavators, assuming that the Philistine's ultimate homeland was somewhere in the Aegean based on the ubiquity of Mycenaean III C:1b pottery styles, dietary habits, and architecture, expected the results to reflect those of J. Lawrence Angel, an anthropologist who had analyzed a sample of 67 skulls from various late Mycenaean sites in mainland Greece in the late 1930s.¹⁷⁵ Angel's results revealed a predominant "Mediterranean" subtype characterized by dolichocephaly—that is, a relatively narrow skull.

What the admittedly very small sample from Azor revealed, however, was a complete absence of dolichocephaly. Rather, two of the five samples showed characteristics of the brachycephalic ("short-headed") Dinaric or Armenoid classes, most likely of Asia Minor or Balkan origin; another sample demonstrated brachycephalic characteristics of an indeterminate subgroup; the fourth sample contained mixed dolichocephalic ("Mediterranean") and brachycephalic characteristics; and the fifth

¹⁷²Dothan 1961, 175.

¹⁷³Dothan and Dothan 1992, 114-5.

¹⁷⁴Dothan and Dothan 1992, 112-3.

¹⁷⁵See Angel 1944.

sample was a brachycephalic Alpine type of Central Europe.

Conclusion

The appearance of IIA swords in Cyprus soon after their appearance in LH IIIB Greece supports the idea of a scattered mercenary presence in the Aegean during the LH III B/C “crisis period.” Furthermore, the presence of Handmade Burnished Ware in what is generally acknowledged to be the Sea Peoples material culture assemblage on Cyprus, characterized primarily by locally made Mycenaean LH IIIC:1b pottery, parallels the situation in LH IIIC mainland Greece discussed in the previous chapter. There is iconographic evidence for ships with bird devices, but no expressly identifiable “European” iconography present, and while there are representations of men that resemble the warriors with feathered helmets of the Medinet Habu naval battle reliefs, they are distinctly bearded.

The evidence becomes even scarcer further east. Urnfield influences at Hama are very questionable in light of similar urn cremation cemeteries in Anatolia occurring within a few centuries of Hama. Aegean bird-headed galleys still appear to troll the waters of the southern Levant, but there is no evidence of a ship that resembles the *vogelbarke*-like ship that went up against the forces of Ramesses III—although it is impossible to determine the appearance of complete vessels from partial depictions on ceramic sherds. Some Sea People do appear to have retained their distinctive headgear, however, as evidenced by the bichrome sherds from Ashkelon.

The finds of Handmade Burnished Ware at Tell Qasile are very interesting; it would be even more interesting to discover whether such pottery will turn up at other sites. Perhaps for a location so far removed in space and time from Central Europe—apart from some yet-discovered Urnfield-style object—it may be one of the better “northern” markers. The forensic analysis from Azor is also interesting, but too small of a sample to serve any useful purpose.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

When Kimming first put forward the idea of European Sea Peoples some four decades ago, he conditioned his arguments by pointing out that large areas of northern Greece and the Balkans had barely been touched archaeologically.¹⁷⁶ Unfortunately, this still is the case.¹⁷⁷ There is still so much to be learned about how people lived, worshiped, traded, and—of particular importance for students of nautical archaeology—transported their wares, especially the vast amounts of metal that characterized the Bz D period, in Late Bronze Age Central Europe.

It is not only a matter of fieldwork. Much of the trouble in approaching not only the question of the participation of Central European peoples in the Sea Peoples coalition, but of Bronze Age Central European-Aegean relations in general stems from a lack of balance: we still lack an up-to-date, comprehensive and holistic treatise on the Urnfield cultures. As a result, so many connections with the richly studied and published Bronze- and Iron-age cultures of the Aegean are too often overlooked.

As this thesis has demonstrated, the iconographic evidence to support a Central European presence in the Sea Peoples coalition is scant. Although it is reasonable to assume that the artists at Medinet Habu did indeed faithfully recreate what very closely

¹⁷⁶ Kimming 1964, 231

¹⁷⁷ Hänsel, 1982, 34; Wells 1992, 33.

resembles a Late Bronze Age vogelbarke-shaped vessel on the walls of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III, there is no known similar *crewed* vessel depicted anywhere in the Late Helladic world. Our lack of knowledge regarding Bronze Age Greek and Central European religious symbology makes it ultimately impossible at this point to determine the origins, significance, and transmission of the bird-headed boat motif. However, the presence of Helladic ship depictions bearing unusual horned bird-head devices, another common motif of the Urnfield religious pantheon, does suggest that there may have been some sort of transmission of Central European symbology onto boats viewed and ultimately depicted by Greek vase painters.

Iconographic evidence related to the naval battle relief at Medinet Habu is stronger in the case of the crews of vessels depicted on LH IIIB/C galleys, who appear to have feathered headgear similar to that worn by the Sea People. Such representations appear not only on sherds from Kynos and Cos, but also from Cyprus and the Philistine settlement of Ashkelon, suggesting a continuity of tradition. Unfortunately, there is nothing in the Late Bronze Age Central European material culture which to associate this headgear.

Due to a lack of understanding of Late Bronze Age Central European culture, the iconographical question of the vogelbarke at Medinet Habu appears to eventually end in frustrating silence. However, when taken as a springboard for further archaeological investigation, it leads in interesting directions; demonstrating what odd connections

history can have between symbolic sun-boats of the Central Europeans and the efficient warships of marauders at the end of the Bronze Age Aegean.

It cannot be said with any certainty that a contingent of armed Central European mercenaries embarked on a life-sized model of a cult ship, or were in a position to have Mycenaean shipwrights make their “central symbol of salvation” take sail across the waters of the Mediterranean. The archaeological evidence does seem to bear witness, however, to an armed Central European mercenary force present in Late Helladic Greece during the period before the battle recorded at Medinet Habu.

The Central European cut-and-slash (IIa) sword had a profound impact on Mycenaean Greece, as well as Cyprus. The weapon and the men who wielded it appear to have been quickly adopted during the crisis period of LH IIIB/C. In many cases, they themselves appear to have adopted the material culture of their masters; this is reflected in the finds of IIa swords in inhumation burials with Mycenaean pottery. In other examples, such as at Tiryns, IIa swords have been found with objects of Central European association. It is interesting to note that the only Helladic representation of a *vogelbarke* was also found at Tiryns.

Also of interest is that representations of rowers with distinctive Sea People-style headgear were found at Cos, where the IIa sword makes its first Aegean appearance. The fact that there appears to be a connection between the European weapons at Cos and the scepter-axe at Uluburun is also unusual, but because the common source is ultimately a hoard, too much cannot be made of this connection.

The sudden appearance of the Central European weaponry together with Handmade Burnished Ware in Late Helladic IIIB/C Greece, the abrupt disappearance of Handmade Burnished Ware from many sites in LH IIIC mainland Greece, and the subsequent appearance of Cypriot Handmade Burnished Ware alongside locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery in Cyprus are perhaps the strongest evidence we have at this point for a Central European component in the Aegean coalition of the Sea Peoples.

The evidence for a Central European presence in the Sea Peoples coalition becomes significantly weaker in the Levant, but it must be kept in mind that what is being analyzed are settled populations at least a couple of generations removed from the Sea Peoples depicted on the Medinet Habu naval battle reliefs.

Lest the initial intrigue of the Sea Peoples vogelbarke at Medinet Habu be reduced to a handful of handmade Balkan pottery, we should be reminded of Bruce Trigger's theory that "evidence of newly arrived populations may include nothing more than signs of war, cultural decline and fairly rapid cultural change."¹⁷⁸ In addition, the Vandals provide an historical antecedent for a non-maritime culture quickly adapting to a piratical lifestyle. A Germanic tribe that established a foothold in North Africa in 429 C.E. after the fracturing of the Roman Empire, "practically without breaking stride, they took to the sea, captured Corsica and Sardinia and other strategic islands, and in 455 even succeeded in sacking Rome."¹⁷⁹ Hencken speculates that their North African subjects may have taught them seamanship, adding, "[I]f the Vandals could take to the

¹⁷⁸ Quoted in Winter 1977, 65.

¹⁷⁹ Casson 1991, 213.

sea so quickly and so effectively, there is little doubt that the Urnfielders [sic] could have done the same.”¹⁸⁰

Ultimately what all of these unanswered questions underscore is what unbelievable importance the discovery of a Sea Peoples shipwreck would be to Late Bronze Age Mediterranean scholarship. Over 30 years ago, noting the close connections between Bronze Age Greece and Europe, the acclaimed Aegean archaeologist S. Marinatos suggested that “...a European prehistorian would be invaluable in the excavation of a Mycenaean site....”¹⁸¹ Perhaps this suggestion should be taken a step further: A European prehistorian may be invaluable in the excavation of a Sea Peoples’ shipwreck.

¹⁸⁰ Hencken 1968, 627-8. See also Wachsmann 2000, 130; Sandars 1983, 64-66.

¹⁸¹ Marinatos 1962: 175.

WORKS CITED

- Allen, S.H. 1994. "Trojan Grey Ware at Tel Mique Ekron." *Bulletin of the Schools of Oriental Research* 293: 39-51.
- Angel, J.L. 1944. "A Racial Analysis of the Ancient Greeks: An Essay on the Use of Morphological Types." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 2:329-376.
- Artzy, M. 1988. "Development of War/ Fighting Boats of the IIInd Millennium B.C. in the Eastern Mediterranean." *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 1988: 181-186.
1994. "On Boats, on Rocks and on 'Nomads of the Sea.'" *Center for Maritime Studies News* (Haifa) 21: 1-2.
1998. "Routes, Trade, Boats and 'Nomads of the Sea.'" In *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries B.C.E.*, edited by S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E. Stern, 439-448. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Bankoff, H.A., N. Meyer and M. Stefanovich. 1996. "Handmade Burnished Ware and the Late Bronze Age of the Balkans." *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 9: 193-209.
- Benson, J.L. 1975. "Birds on Cypro-Geometric Pottery." In *The Archaeology of Cyprus: Recent Developments*, edited by N. Robertson, 129-150. Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Press.
- Blegen, C.W., M. Rawson, L.W. Taylor and W.P. Donovan. 1973. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia III: Acropolis and Lower Town Tholoi, Grave Circle, and Chamber Tombs Discoveries outside the Citadel*. Princeton, New Jersey: University Press.
- Bouzek, J., 1969. *Homerisches Griechenland*. Prague: Universita Karlova.
1985. *The Aegean, Anatolia and Europe: Cultural Interrelations in the Second Millennium B.C.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XXIX. Göteborg: P. Åströms.
1989. "Cyprus and Europe: Bronze and Early Iron Ages." In *The Civilizations of the Aegean and Their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean*, edited by V. Karageorghis, 66-72. Larnaca: Pierides Foundation.
1994. "Late Bronze Age Greece and the Balkans: A Review of the Present

- Picture.” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 89: 217-234.
1997. *Greece, Anatolia and Europe: Cultural Interrelations During the Early Iron Age*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CXXII. Jonsered: P. Åströms.
- Breasted, J.H. ed. 1988. Reprint. *Ancient Records of Egypt IV*. London: Histories & Mysteries of Man, Ltd. Original edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906-7.
- Bucholz, H.G. 1983. “Doppeläxte und die Frage der Balkanbeziehungen des ägäischen Kulturkreises.” In *Ancient Bulgaria: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Ancient History and Archaeology of Bulgaria, University of Nottingham, 1981*, edited by A. Poulter, 43-134. Nottingham: University of Nottingham.
- Casson, L. 1991. *The Ancient Mariners*. Princeton, New Jersey: University Press.
1995. Reprint. *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1971. Original edition, Princeton, New Jersey: University Press.
- Catling, H. 1961. “A New Bronze Sword from Cyprus.” *Antiquity* 35: 115-22.
1964. *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Champion, T. 1981. *Prehistoric Europe*. London: Academic Press.
- Childe, V.G. 1948. “The Final Bronze Age in the Near East and Temperate Europe.” *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 14: 177-195.
- Cline, E. 1998. “Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Sailor: Minoans and Mycenaeans Abroad.” *Aegaeum* 12: 265-287.
- Coles, J. 1977. “Parade and Display: Experiments in Bronze Age Europe.” In *Ancient Europe and the Mediterranean*, edited by V. Markotic, 51-58. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
- Coles, J.M. and A. Harding. 1979. *The Bronze Age in Europe*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.
- Davis, E.M. 1983. “The Gold of the Shaft Graves: The Transylvanian Connection.” *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 8: 32-8.
- Deger-Jalkotsky, S. 1991. “Diskontinuität und Kontinuität: Aspekte politischer und

sozialer Organisation in mykenischer Zeit und in der Welt der homerischen Epen." In *La Transizione dal Miceneo all'Alto Arcaismo: Dal palazzao alla città*, edited by Domenico Musti, 53-66. Rome: Atti del Convegno Roma.

- Dell, H. 1967. "The Origin and Nature of Illyrian Piracy." *Historia* 16: 344-58.
- Desborough, V.R. 1964. *The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dimitrov, B. 1979. "Underwater Research along the south Bulgarian Black Sea Coast in 1976 and 1977." *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 8: 70-9.
- Dothan, M. 1961. "Excavations at Azor, 1960." *Israel Exploration Journal* 11: 171-175.
- Dothan, T. 1973. "Anthropoid Clay Coffins from a Late Bronze Age Cemetery near Deir el-Balah." *Israel Exploration Journal* 23: 129-46.
1982. *The Philistines and Their Material Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
1992. "Social Dislocation and Cultural Change in the 12th Century B.C.E." In *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C.*, edited by W. Ward and M.S. Joukowsky, 93-98. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt.
- Dothan, T. and M. Dothan. 1992. *Peoples of the Sea: The Search for the Philistines*. New York: Macmillan.
- Drews, R. 1993. *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* Princeton, New Jersey: University Press.
2000. "Medinet Habu: Oxcarts, Ships, and Migration Theories." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 59.3: 161-190.
- Edgerton, W. and J. Wilson. 1936. *Historical Records of Ramses III: The Texts in Medinet Habu*. 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gardiner A.H. 1947. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gebhard, R. and K.H. Rieder. 2001, 12 April. *Bronzezeitliche Bernsteine mit Schriftzeichen ergraben*.
<http://blfd.bayern.de/Aktuelles/Pressemitteilung/pr29.htm>.
- Genz, H. "Northern Slaves and the Origin of Handmade Burnished Ware: A Comment on Bankoff *et al.*" *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 9: 193-209.

- Gordon, D.H. 1953. "Swords, Rapiers, and Horse-Riders." *Antiquity* 27: 67-78
- Göttlicher, A. 1992. *Kultschiffe und Schiffskulte im Altertum*. Berlin: Gebrüder Mann.
- Hägg, R. 1987. "Submycenaean Cremation Burials in the Argolid?" In *Thanatos: Les Coutumes Funeraires En A L'Age du Bronze*, edited by R. Laffineur, 207-212. Liège: Université de l'Etat.
- Hänsel, B. 1982. "Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 V. Chr." In *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 V. Chr.*, edited by B. Hänsel, 1-38. Berlin: Moreland Editions.
1998. *Mensch und Umwelt in der Bronzezeit Europas*. Kiel: Oetker-Voges Verlag.
- Harding, A.F. 1975. "Mycenaean Greece and Europe: The Evidence of Bronze Tools and Implements." *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 41: 183-202.
1984. *The Mycenaeans and Europe*. London: Academic Press.
2000. *European Societies in the Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hencken, H. 1968. *Tarquinia, Villanovans and Early Etruscans*. American School of Prehistoric Research, Bulletin 23. 3 vols. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum.
- Herbig, R. 1940. "Philister und Dorier." *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 55: 61-74.
- Hiller, S. 1991. "The Mycenaeans and the Black Sea." In *Thalassa: L'Égée préhistorique et la mer: Actes de la troisième Rencontre égéenne internationale de l'Université de Liège, Station de recherches sous-marines et océanographiques [StaReSo], Clavi, Corse, 23-25 avril 1990*, edited by R. Laffineur and L. Basch, 208-222. Liège: Université de Liège.
- Hornell, J. 1946. "The Role of Birds in Early Navigation." *Antiquity* 20: 142-49.
- Ilon, G. 1992. "Keftiubarren Ingot from an Urn-Grave Culture Settlement at Górkápolnadomb (C. Vas)." *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 44: 239-259.
- Jockenhövel, A. 1999. "The Image of Bronze Age Man." In *Gods and Heroes of the*

European Bronze Age, edited by K. Demakopoulou, 54-59. London: Thames and Hudson.

Karageorghis, V., 1984. "Exploring Philistine Origins on the Island of Cyprus." *Biblical Archaeology Review* 10.2: 16-28.

1992. "The Crisis Years: Cyprus." In *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C.*, edited by W. Ward and M.S. Joukowsky, 79-86. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt.

2000. "Cultural Innovations in Cyprus Relating to the Sea Peoples." In *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment*, edited by E.D. Oren, 255-279. Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

Kaul, F., 1995. "Ships on Bronzes." In *The Ship as Symbol in Prehistoric and Medieval Scandinavia*, edited by O. Crumlin-Pedersen and B. M. Thye, 59-70. Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet.

1998. *Ships on Bronzes. A Study in Bronze Age Religion and Iconography*. Publications from the National Museum Studies in Archaeology and History 3. 2 vols. Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark.

2002. "The Horse, the Ship, the Sun and the Wheel in the Nordic Bronze Age: Reality and Abstraction, Symbols and Metaphors—Conceiving Figures of Sacred Images." In *Figuration et Abstraction dans l'Art de l'Europe Ancienne (VII^{ème} - I^{er} S. av. J.-C.). Actes du Colloque International du Prague, Musée National, 13-16 Juillet 2000*, Edited by Z. Karasová and M. Licka. Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae, Series A Historia, LVI 1-4. Prague: Narodni Muzeum.

Kilian, K. 1985. "Violinbogen- und Blattbogenfibeln des griechischen Festlands aus mykenischer Zeit." *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 60: 145-203.

Kimming, W. 1964. "Seevölkerbewegung und Urnenfelderkultur." In *Studien aus Alteuropa I*, edited by R. v. Uslar and K. Narr, 220-283. Köln: Böhlau.

Kitchen, K. 1987. "The Basics of Egyptian Chronology in Relation to the Bronze Age." In *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg 20th-22nd August 1987*, edited by P. Åström, Part 1, 37-55. Gothenburg: Paul Astroms Forlag.

Kossack, G. 1954. *Studien zum Symbolgut der Urnenfelder- und Hallstattzeit Mitteleuropas*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.

Lorimer, H.L. 1933. "Pulvis et Umbra." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 53: 161-180.

1950. *Homer and the Monuments*. London: Macmillan.
- Margalith, O. 1994. *The Sea Peoples in the Bible*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Marinatos, S.P. 1962. "The Minoan and Mycenaean Civilization and Its Influence on the Mediterranean and on Europe." In *Atti Del VI Congresso Internazionale Delle Scienze Preistoriche e Protostoriche*, edited by G.C. Sansoni, 161-178. Firenze: G.C. Sansoni.
- Matthäus, H. 1980. "Mykenische Vogelbarken: Antithetische Tierprotomen in der Kunst des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes." *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 10: 319-330.
1981. "Spätmykenische und Urnenfelderzeitliche Vogelplastik." In *Studien zur Bronzezeit: Festschrift für Wilhelm Albert v. Brunn*, edited by H. Lorenz, 277-297. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Mazar, A. 1986. "Excavations at Tell Qasile, 1982-1984, Preliminary Report." *Israel Exploration Journal* 36: 1-15.
1991. "Comments on the Nature and Relations between Cyprus and Palestine during the 12th- 11th Centuries B.C." In *The Civilizations of the Aegean and Their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, 2000-600 B.C.*, edited by V. Karageorghis, 94-104. Larnaca: Pierides Foundation.
- Melas, E. 1984. "The Origin of Aegean Cremation." *Anthropologica* 5: 21-36.
- Muhly, J.D. 1984. "The Role of the Sea Peoples in Cyprus During the LC III Period." In *Cyprus at the Close of the Late Bronze Age*, edited by V. Karageorghis and J.D. Muhly, 39-55. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation.
- Müller-Karpe, H. 1959. *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Urnenfelderzeit nördlich und südlich der Alpen*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
1963. "Vogelkopfmesser." *Germania* 41: 9-13.
1980. *Handbuch der Vorgeschichte IV: Bronzezeit*. Munich: Beck.
- Nelson, H.H. 1943. "The Naval Battle Pictured at Medinet Habu." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 2: 40-5.
- Nelson, H.H, U. Hölscher, and J.A. Wilson. 1930. *Medinet Habu I: Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- O'Connor, D. 2000. "The Sea Peoples and the Egyptian Sources." In *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment*, edited by E.D. Oren, 85-102. Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Pare, C. 1989. "From Dupljaja to Delphi: The Ceremonial Use of the Wagon in Later Prehistory." *Antiquity* 63: 80-100.
- Pilides, D. 1992. "Handmade Burnished Ware in Cyprus: An Attempt at Its Interpretation." In *Studies in Honor of Vassos Karageorghis*, 179-189. Nicosia: Society for Cypriot Studies.
1994. *Handmade Burnished Wares of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 105). Jonsered: Paul Åstroms Förlag.
- Pollex, A. 1999. "Interpretation of the So-Called Cattle Burials of Neolithic Central Europe," *Antiquity* 73: 542-550.
- Pulak, C. 1997. "The Uluburun Shipwreck." In *Res Maritimae: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory to Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Second International Symposium "Cities on the Sea," Nicosia, Cyprus, October 18-22, 1994*, edited by S. Swiny, R. Hohlfelder and H.W. Swiny, 233-262. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Pydyn, A. 1999. *Exchange and Cultural Interactions: A Study of Long-Distance Trade and Cross-Cultural Contacts in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in Central and Eastern Europe*. BAR International Series 813. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Reber, K. 1991. *Untersuchungen zur handgemachten Keramik Griechenlands in der submykenischen, protogeometrischen und der geometrischen Zeit*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Pocket Book 105. Jonsered: P. Åström.
- Redford, D.B. 1992. *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*. Princeton, New Jersey: University Press.
2000. "Egypt and Western Asia in the Late New Kingdom: An Overview." In *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment*, edited by E.D. Oren, 1-20. Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Riis, P.J. 1948. *Hama: Les Cimetières à Crémation*. Copenhagen: Nordisk Forlag.
- Rutter, J. 1992. "Cultural Novelties in the Post-Palatial Aegean World: Indices of Vitality or Decline?" In *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C.*, edited by W. Ward and M.S. Joukowsky, 61-78. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt.

- Ruuskanen, J-P. 1992. *Birds on Aegean Bronze Age Seals*. Rovaniemi: Pohjois-Suomen Histoiallinen Yhdistys.
- Sams, G.K. 1992. "Observations on Western Anatolia." In *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C.*, edited by W. Ward and M.S. Joukowsky, 56-60. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt.
- Sandars, N.K. 1978. *The Sea Peoples*. London: Thames and Hudson.
1983. "North and South at the End of the Mycenaean Age: Aspects of an Old Problem." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 2.1: 43-68.
- Schachermeyr, F. 1980. *Die ägäische Frühzeit IV: Griechenland im Zeitalter der Wanderungen vom Ende der mykenischen Ära bis auf die Dorier*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Schauer, P. 1985. "Spuren orientalischen und ägäischen Einflusses im bronzezeitlichen Nordischen Kreis." *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* 32: 123-95.
1986. *Goldkegel der Bronzezeit*. Mainz: Germanisches Nationalmuseum.
- Seeher, J. 1993. "Körperbestattung und Kremation—ein Gegensatz?" *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43: 219-226.
- Sherratt, E.S. 1992. "Immigration and Archaeology: Some Indirect Reflections." In *Acta Cypria: Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology held in Goteborg on 22-24 August 1991*, edited by P. Åström, 316-347. Jonsered: P. Åström.
- Snodgrass, A.M. 1967. *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
1974. "Metal-work as evidence for immigration in the Late Bronze Age." In *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean*, edited by R.A. Crossland and A. Birchall, 209-13. Princeton, New Jersey: University Press.
- Sprockhoff, E. 1954. "Nordische Bronzezeit und frühes Griechentum." *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseums* 1: 37-71.
1955. "Central European Urnfield Culture and Celtic La Tene. An Outline." *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 21: 257-281.

- Stager, L. 1991. *Ashkelon Discovered*. Washington D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society.
1995. "The Impact of the Sea Peoples in Canaan (1185-1050 B.C.E.)." In *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, edited by T.E. Levy, 332-48. London: Facts on File.
1998. "Forging an Identity: The Emergence of Ancient Israel." In *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, edited by M.D. Coogan, 123-75. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Strobel, A. 1976. *Der spätbronzezeitliche Seevölkersturm*. New York: de Gruyter.
- Vermeule, E. 1964. *Greece in the Bronze Age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Vulpe, A. 1982. "Beitrag zu den bronzezeitlichen Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Rumänien und Griechenland." In *Südosteuropa zwischen 1600 und 1000 V. Chr.*, edited by B. Hänsel, 321-328. Berlin: Moreland Editions.
- Wachsmann, S. 1981. "The Ships of the Sea Peoples." *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 10: 187-220.
1997. "Were the Sea Peoples Mycenaeans? The Evidence of Ship Iconography." In *Res Maritimae: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory to Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Second International Symposium "Cities on the Sea," Nicosia, Cyprus, October 18-22, 1994*, edited by S. Swiny, R. Hohlfelder and H.W. Swiny, 339-356. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
1998. *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
2000. "To the Sea of the Philistines." In *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment*, edited by E.D. Oren, 103-143. Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Wells, P. 1989. "Intensification, Entrepreneurship, and Cognitive Change in the Bronze-Iron Age Transition." In *The Bronze Age-Iron Age Transition in Europe*. Edited by M.L. Stig Sørensen and R. Thomas. Bar International Series 483 (i). Oxford, England.
1992. "Crisis Years? The 12th Century B.C. in Central and Southeastern Europe." In *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C.*, edited by W. Ward and M.S. Joukowsky, 31-39. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt.
- Winter, F. 1977. "An Historically Derived Model for the Dorian Invasion." In

Symposium on the Dark Ages of Greece, Hunter College, City University of New York, 60-76. New York: Hunter College.

Yadin, Y. 1991. "And Dan, Why Did He Remain in Ships?" In *Essential Papers on Israel and the Ancient Near East*, edited by F.E. Greenspahn, 294-310. New York: New York University Press.

Yon, M. 1992. "Ducks' Travels." In *Acta Cypria: Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology held in Goteborg on 22-24 August 199*, edited by P. Åström, 394-403. Jonsered: P. Åström.

VITA

Kristin Romey

Permanent Address:
31-54 38th Street #3F
Astoria, NY 11103

Date of Birth:
February 27, 1973

Education:

M.A, Anthropology
Nautical Archaeology Program
Texas A&M University
Degree awarded: December 2003

A.B., Greek
Department of Classics
Vassar College
Degree awarded with honors, May 1995

Academic Awards

1998-1999 Texas A&M Women's Faculty Network Graduate Student Scholarship
1996-1997 Regents' Graduate Fellowship, Texas A&M University
1991-1995 Thomas J. Watson Memorial Scholar, IBM Corporation

Professional Experience

2001-Present Managing Editor, *Archaeology Magazine*
1999-2001 Editor, *Archaeology Magazine*
2001, 2003 Review panel, World Monuments Watch List

Fieldwork Experience

2000, 1997 INA/UARTC Crimean Coastal Survey, Crimea, Ukraine
1999 INA/PARK Georgian Coastal Survey, Republic of Georgia
1998 INA Byzantine Shipwreck Excavation, Bozburun, Turkey
1995, 1996 Combined Caesarea Excavations, Caesarea, Israel

Selected Publications

2003. "Lifeline to Byzantium." *Archaeology* 56.1: 24-31.
2002. "Legacies of a Slavic Pompeii." *Archaeology* 55.6: 18-25.
2002. "The Race to Save Afghan Culture." *Archaeology* 55.3: 18-25.
2001. "Land of the Golden Fleece." *Archaeology* 54.2: 28-35.
1997. Gidden, G, T. Pevny and K. Romey. "On the Shores of Scythia: The 1997 Crimean Coastal Survey." *INA Quarterly* 24:4, 19-23.