

## PHARAOHS, SWORDS AND SEA PEOPLES <sup>1</sup>

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### European long swords in Egypt and the Levant

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A new study of some well-known bronze swords at the Egyptian Museum of Berlin gives us the opportunity to re-address the problem of weapon production under foreign influence in Egypt during the late 13<sup>th</sup>/early 12<sup>th</sup> century BC <sup>2</sup>. One of the weapons examined is the famous sword inscribed with the cartouches of king Seti II, allegedly found at Tell el-Farāūn <sup>3</sup> in the Nile Delta (fig. 1) <sup>4</sup>. It is only partially preserved and heavily corroded. Parts of the hilt and the tip are missing. Its preserved length is 45.3 cm. In the upper third of the blade, the cutting edges are almost completely gone.

The hilt is considerably wider than the blade, but the edge of the hilt is nowhere preserved; thus, the original width of the hilt cannot be determined <sup>5</sup>. In the hilt, five rivet holes are visible. These were placed towards the centre of the hilt, away from its edges. The blade is parallel-sided and has a lenticular section. The way in which the cutting edges are set off from the centre of the blade is important. They are bevelled and not stepped.

Two cartouches of Seti II crowned by Atef-feathers are placed in the upper part of the blade, though not perfectly centered. A sun-disc can most probably be restored between the Atef-feathers of the upper cartouche. Corrosive deposits partially overlie the cartouches and ostrich feathers. This was confirmed through x-ray examination by the Berlin Museum of Pre- and Protohistory <sup>6</sup>. In recent times, the incisions of the inscription were filled in with whitish/yellowish colour, but this colour does not fill all the signs. In some of the signs, corrosive deposits are still visible. The incisions did not originally contain any inlays <sup>7</sup>.

This sword has been repeatedly assigned to the typological group "Naue II" <sup>8</sup>, which has a central European, Italian, Balkan and Aegean distribution. Although the sword is heavily corroded, this classification cannot be sustained, due to the still preserved typological details <sup>9</sup>. The blade terminates directly above the upper cartouche, and above that, the hilt begins. However, the lowest two of five rivet holes are only found c. 4 cm higher up. Such an extended hilt with rivets limited to the upper third of its length is unknown for swords of Naue II shape from any region of their distribution area. Furthermore, the positioning of the rivet holes towards the centre of the hilt is without parallel amongst the published European specimens of the Naue II group. Additionally, the blade section would be unusual for such a sword. Therefore, that weapon has to be regarded as



1 The sword with the names of Seti II from Tell el-Farāūn/Nebeshe, scale 1:2 (Berlin Museum; photo R. Jung, digitalization M. Frauenglas).

a *unicum*. However, it is clearly related to true Naue II swords and is surely derived from them. What makes it comparable to Naue II swords is the rather broad (3.8 cm) blade with parallel edges. This allows us to classify the Seti sword as a clear cut-and-thrust-sword. It also exhibits the triangular positioning of the rivets in its hilt, typical for Naue II swords. <sup>213</sup>

Depending on its typological classification, this sword from the Nile delta has been interpreted in different ways. O. Montelius did not regard it as an Egyptian product, but thought that it came “from the European part of the eastern Mediterranean”, probably in the possession of one of Egypt’s enemies defeated by Merenptah <sup>10</sup>. Similarly, H. L. Lorimer ascribed it to “the Achaian contingent which took part in the Libyan invasion of the Delta and shared its defeat c. 1221”. She thought it might either “be a trophy of the battle prized by the Egyptian who acquired it, or alternatively, for aught we know, the weapon of an Achaian mercenary in the service of the Pharaoh” <sup>11</sup>. P. W. Haider interpreted it as an Aegean or northern Levantine weapon <sup>12</sup>. However, all these interpretations can be ruled out since the sword has no typological parallel in Italy, the Aegean or anywhere else in Europe. Therefore, it must be regarded a product of Egyptian manufacture, because of its typological characteristics and the hieroglyphic inscription.

At the time he first published it, M. Burchardt had already attributed the Seti sword to Egyptian production, and quite rightly interpreted it as a weapon made according to a northern or central European prototype. He furthermore noted that in the Egyptian pictorial record, long swords are mainly found among foreign mercenaries, who may then be held responsible for the introduction of that type of weapon into Egypt <sup>13</sup>. T. E. Peet followed this interpretation <sup>14</sup>, as did W. Wolf <sup>15</sup> and H. Bonnet <sup>16</sup>. Ch. E. Schulz, while admitting the Egyptian production of the Seti sword, rejected its interpretation as a foreign type. He believed that such swords were first attested in the eastern Mediterranean and subsequently spread to large parts of Europe <sup>17</sup> – a thesis that can easily be refuted on typochronological grounds (see above and below). W. Kimmig’s interpretation, according to which the sword inscribed with the cartouches of Seti II was a member of a Near Eastern type-series and therefore not related to the Naue II group <sup>18</sup>, can also be rejected.

In line with the initial proposal made by M. Burchardt, both G. L. Carancini and R. Peroni have stated that the sword in question must have been made by metal smiths in the service of the Egyptian army, especially for warriors coming from Italy <sup>19</sup>. M. Bettelli and M. Cupitò reached the same conclusion <sup>20</sup>.

The swords, which were, in all probability, prototypes for the weapon allegedly found at Tell el-Far‘aūn, belong to the typological group called Naue II. These flange-hilted cut-and-thrust swords form part of a package of new weapon types, implements, and dress accessories that first came into use in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC. They can be typologically linked to the regions of central Europe, Italy, and the Balkan peninsula. For this reason, the term ‘metallurgical koinè’ has been coined for the entire set of these bronze artefacts <sup>21</sup>. Other scholars have called

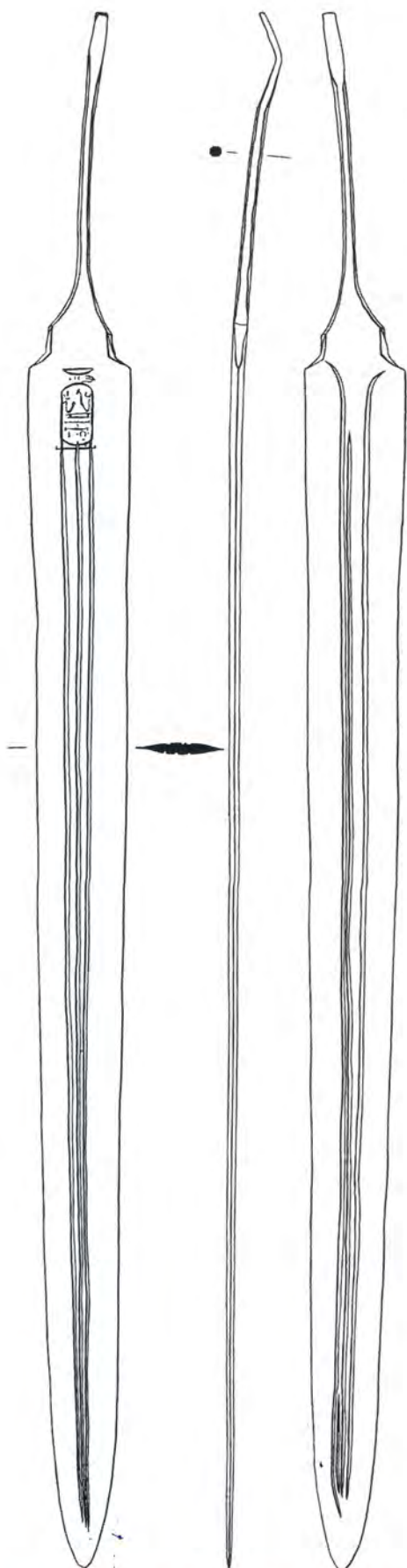
them 'Urnfield bronzes' in reference to the Central European Late Bronze Age or Urnfield tradition <sup>22</sup>. The dissemination of Naue II cut-and-thrust swords throughout the eastern Mediterranean <sup>23</sup> would probably have been accompanied by a change in combat technique, as the Aegean swords had, up to then, been long and slender thrusting weapons or broader short swords and dirks. 214

The earliest swords of the Naue II family belong to a type that is called 'Reutlingen' in central Europe, 'Cetona' in Italy, and 'type A of Naue II swords' in the Aegean <sup>24</sup>. These swords probably reached the Aegean from Italy by way of the Adriatic Sea. The oldest specimen found on the Apennine peninsula dates to the beginning of the Recent Bronze Age 1, contemporary with the beginning of LH IIIB on the Greek mainland <sup>25</sup>. Two ivory hilt plates from Mycenae are the earliest remains of a Naue II sword in the Aegean and should belong to a sword of type A, although they are not fully preserved. Their context in Room 32 of the so-called Cult Centre inside the citadel dates to LH IIIB Middle <sup>26</sup>, that is, the first half of the regnal period of Ramesses II <sup>27</sup>. Unequivocal attestations of Naue II, type A in good stratigraphical contexts in the eastern Mediterranean come from Langádha (tomb 21) on the island of Kos and from Enkomi in Cyprus ("Swedish tomb" 18 and well 212). These can roughly be dated to a brief period from LH IIIB Final to LH IIIC Early <sup>28</sup>. Another Naue II sword, which cannot be assigned to one specific type, was part of a hoard found at Ugarit, but unfortunately without any accompanying pottery <sup>29</sup>. Thus, it cannot be dated in relation to the destruction of the city (by the Sea Peoples) and its subsequent short reoccupation.

While all these specimens do not differ typologically from the prototypes which are known from Italy, central Europe and the Balkans, a Naue II sword of type A from the region of Bolu in northwestern Asia Minor shows some interesting local characteristics. The shape of its midrib is clearly related to the midrib of a spearhead that was found together with the sword. That spearhead belongs to a common Mycenaean type. Furthermore, the sword blade does not have parallel cutting edges like other type A swords, but the edges converge continuously towards the tip as in the case of Aegean Late Bronze Age rapiers <sup>30</sup>. Therefore, the Bolu sword attests to the local adoption of a foreign sword type, along with an integration of some traits of the local weapons tradition. In this sense, its case is somewhat analogous to the one of the Seti sword.

Of course, it is always possible that indigenous peoples in different Mediterranean regions adopted the new sword type when under military pressure from neighbours that already used that new weapon. However, this change in weapon technology occurred contemporaneously with the spread of other elements of material culture (dress implements and Handmade Burnished Ware of the Italian type), from the central Mediterranean towards the Aegean from LH IIIB Middle or at the latest LH IIIB Developed onwards. If seen against that background, the adoption of cut-and-thrust swords may be interpreted, at least partly, as a result of the integration of foreign warriors into the military and social structures of the Mycenaean and Levantine kingdoms during the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC <sup>31</sup>.

The second known long sword inscribed with a pharaonic cartouche was found at Ugarit (Ras Shamra) on the North Syrian coast. It bears the name



2 The sword with the name of Merneptah from Ugarit (after Schaeffer 1956, 172 fig. 124, 1 pl. 8).

of Merneptah (see M. Bietak below)<sup>32</sup>. This sword, though often referred to as an Italian type or perhaps dependent on an Italian prototype, cannot be convincingly related to any central Mediterranean influence<sup>33</sup>. Instead, it was plausibly interpreted<sup>215</sup> as an Ugaritan product forged with the intention of sending it to Egypt during the last phase of the kingdom of Ugarit when contacts with the Egyptian court intensified, especially during the reign of Merneptah, as exemplified by a letter from the Urtenu archive<sup>34</sup>. When talking about new long swords taken up during the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC by the Egyptian, Mycenaean and Levantine military, the depictions of the Sherden warriors from the time of Ramesses II naturally come to mind (figs. 11, 12). The long or short swords carried by the Sherden, as depicted in reliefs on the walls of the various temples of Ramesses II and Ramesses III (fig. 10), were sometimes compared to or identified with the swords of the Naue II typological family<sup>35</sup>. However, this is probably incorrect. As other colleagues have noted (some of them quite early), the Sherden swords show blades tapering towards the tip. Thus, the main characteristic of the Naue II group – the parallel-sided blade – is clearly missing<sup>36</sup>. It may be preferable to identify those swords with a Sicilian/southern Italian sword type of variable length with a tapering blade and a pronounced midrib. It is therefore quite similar to the weapons depicted in the Egyptian reliefs. One specimen of this sword type was found on the Uluburun shipwreck in a LH IIIA Late context. When taken together with non-Mycenaean spear types also found on the wreck, its presence there may be interpreted in terms of a group of warriors from southern Italy or Sicily guarding the ship on its journey. The Sherden guards in Byblos and Egypt can be mentioned as an analogous case (see M. Bietak below)<sup>37</sup>. Finally, in the reliefs of Ramesses III, some swords seem to show similarities to Mycenaean sword types, but any precise typological identification is exceedingly difficult.

### The swords with royal names

MANFRED BIETAK

Among the long swords found in the eastern Mediterranean are two with engraved royal names, both perhaps dating to only 10 years apart. One of them was found in a controlled archaeological context by C. F. A. Schaeffer's excavations at Ras Shamra, ancient Ugarit, in a house of *Niveau I* (latest stratum at

the end of the Late Bronze Age occupation)<sup>38</sup>. The sword and a series of other bronze objects, among them a dagger, were found buried just under the floor of the courtyard, probably shortly before the end of the occupation.

Just below the hilt of the sword was engraved the nomen of king Merneptah (c. 1213-1203 BC)<sup>39</sup> enclosed in a cartouche: *Mrj.n Pth, htp-hr-M3t*. The cartouche was crowned with an epithet *nb-hw* "Lord of the Diadems". The thin incised signs were made in cursive fashion by a professional with a steady hand. The forms of the anthropomorphic signs are rendered in linear fashion as outlines, such as the head of Ptah, the *en-face* head of the sign *hr*, or the feather of goddess Maat. The sign of *htp* is rendered in a line terminated at both sides with short vertical lines and a tiny cross indicates the offering bread.

Since the incised grooves ("Blutrinnen" in German with an English translation "blood channels" provided by H. W. Catling) of the blade fade out intentionally at the lower end of the cartouche, show no signs of erasing on the blade (fig. 2)<sup>40</sup> and take on the other side the full place till the hilt, it seems that the engraving of the royal name was made at the same time the sword was produced. This means that the long sword was made in Egypt or in a part of the Levant that was under Egyptian domination.

Another long sword is engraved with the royal name of king Seti II (c. 1200-1194 BC)<sup>41</sup> below the hilt (fig. 1). According to the acquisition records of the Egyptian Museum of Berlin from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the sword came from Tell el-Farāūn, a site in the eastern Delta also known as Tell Nebeshe, or ancient *Imet*. (This is the eastern Buto<sup>42</sup> and should not be confused with Tell el-Farā'in, which is the original carrier of the name of Buto<sup>43</sup> in the Western Delta). The site could certainly be the origin since other long swords from Egypt have been recovered by the antiquities dealers in the eastern Delta, though with doubtful provenience<sup>44</sup>.

The orientation and the position of this inscription is the same as in the slightly earlier sword from Ugarit. Judging from the few exposed grooves,

the inscription appears to have been engraved. The remainder of the inscription is covered by a yellowish paste that was applied by the Museum to make the inscription more visible to the public. While the inscriptions in Ugarit were incised professionally in a thin linear fashion (see above), the inscription of Seti II was produced differently. Both cartouches of the king, the prenomen and the nomen, were engraved in a column (fig. 3). Most probably, both cartouches were also crowned by a sun disk<sup>45</sup> between a pair of "Atef"-

3 Detail of the sword with the names of Seti II from Tell el-Farā'in/ Nebeshe, scale 1:1 (Berlin Museum, photo and drawing R. Jung, digitalization M. Frauenglas).

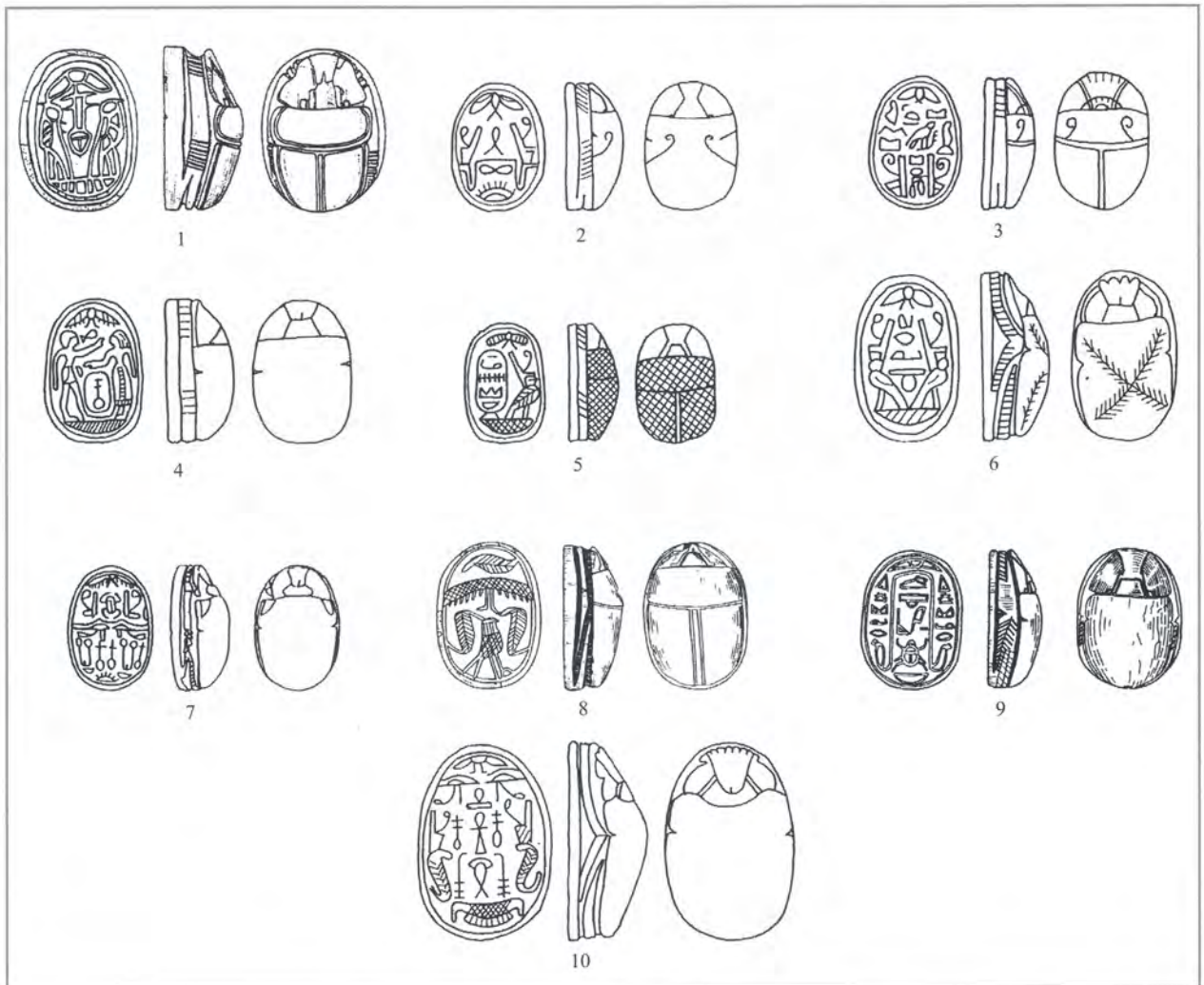


feathers, probably as a symbol of the sky god Horus <sup>46</sup> with whom the living king identifies.

The prenomen (throne name) reads *Wsr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup> mri-Imn*. This corresponds to throne name no. T5 in the list of J. von Beckerath <sup>47</sup>.

Contrary to the Ras Shamra sword, the signs are carved out according to the body or the natural curve of signs. Both cartouches are 21 mm long by 9 mm wide <sup>48</sup>. This writing is unusual for royal names, since the sign for *R<sup>c</sup>* is written with the winged sun disk. Even though this detail is visible in the original publication photography <sup>49</sup>, M. Burchardt only transcribed the sun disk <sup>50</sup>. Neither the list of H. Gauthier <sup>51</sup> nor the list of J. von Beckerath <sup>52</sup> include the winged disk as one of the ways one could write royal names during the Ramesside period. The use of the winged disk instead of the simple disk, however, occurs as a component of royal names or other writing quite frequently on scarabs in the Delta and in Canaan from the Second Intermediate Period <sup>53</sup> onwards (fig.4). This might

4 Scarabs with winged disks from the Hyksos Period (after Ch. Mlinar 2006. (1) Abb. 12, 37; (2) Abb. 16, 5; (3) Abb. 16, 9; (4) Abb. 16, 8; (5) Abb. 16, 12; (6) Abb. 16, 21; (7) Abb. 18, 49; (8) Abb. 18, 65; (9) Abb. 18, 63; (10) Abb. 18, 59).

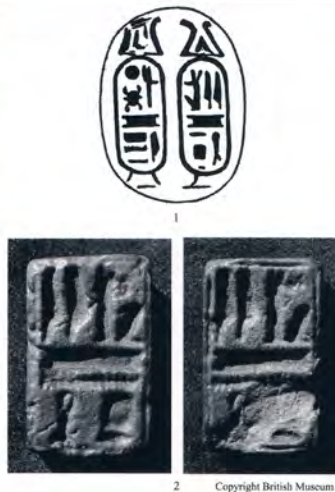


therefore be seen as a survivor into the succeeding 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and is particularly frequent during the Ramesside Period (fig. 5) <sup>54</sup>. Could it be that this seal icon, domesticated from a production idiom of the Hyksos, was a speciality of workshops in the Delta? This would make a great deal of sense since the other signs in the cartouche also remind us of the style of seal cutting (see below). Furthermore, the size of the cartouches is only slightly bigger than that of the larger scarabs. It, therefore, seems most like-



5 Scarabs with royal names showing winged disks, from the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. (1) E. Hornung & E. Staehelin 1976, 242, no.254; (2) 270, no. 392; (3) 284, no. 462; (4) 383, no. B 61; (5) 405, no. Va 6.

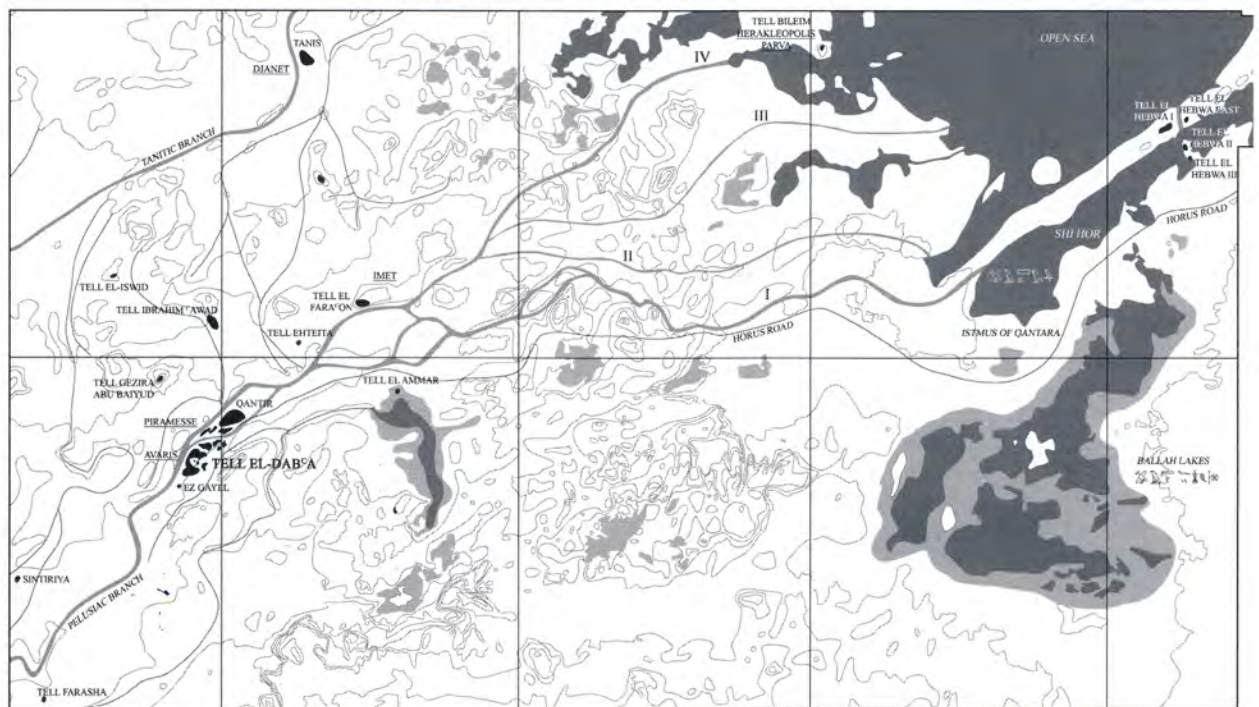
6 Plaques and scarabs of Seti II. (1) Newberry 1906, Pl. XXXVI, 4. (2)-(4) Copyright British Museum.



7 Map of the Eastern Delta showing the positions of Pi-Ramesse and Tell el-Far'aün.



3 Copyright British Museum 4



0 5 10km

— NILE BRANCH

— DRAIN

○ GEZIRA

● SITE, TELL

■ SEA and LAKES

■ SWAMPS

I-IV VARIATIONS OF THE PELUSIAC BRANCH

ly that the model for the inscription should be found among contemporary seals or plaques (fig. 6).

The *wsr* sign (Gardiner F12)<sup>55</sup> and its cartouche is not in line with the axis of the sword but oblique to it. Typical to both cartouches is the flowering reed (Gardiner M17) with slightly offset stems.

The nomen (birth name) reads *Stj-mrj-n-Pth* (Seti, beloved of Ptah), corresponding to J. von Beckerath's birth name n<sup>o</sup> E5<sup>56</sup>. Due to corrosion, the body of the anthropomorphic Seth animal is barely recognizable on the surface. X-rays, however, have revealed this detail beyond doubt. The base line of the sign is unusually extended backwards and together with the distortion looks like the sign *t*. Obviously, the chisel slipped during engraving. The name of Ptah is written as usual in the typical alphabetical spelling without an ideogram. The sign *p* (Gardiner Q3) looks like an egg (Gardiner H8) and the twisted rope (value *h*, Gardiner V28) does not have the usual three loops, but only one or two loops<sup>57</sup>.

All these inaccuracies can be satisfactorily explained if we assume that the names were modelled after a scarab or a plaque where it is extremely difficult to accurately cut the signs on such a small scale. The glazing of faience scarabs especially obscures the sharp angles of

deeply cut signs. In contrast to the engraver of the Merneptah sword from Ugarit, who had a command of hieroglyphs and maintained a steady hand during the engraving, we assume that the smith who produced the sword of Seti II copied the royal name from a contemporary seal. He could have been even a foreigner and tried to imitate the signs as best as he could with all the inaccuracies of his model. The Atef feathers could also have been cut after the model of glyptic signs <sup>58</sup>.

The two long swords with the inscribed names of pharaohs and dating to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC indicate that these weapons were produced in the workshops of Egyptian smithies. This would explain the divergence of the Seti sword from pure European types (see above). While the blade from Ugarit could have been produced in Egypt or in the Levant, the blade in the Berlin Museum with the names of Seti II, based on the iconography of its signs, seems to have originated near its presumed place of discovery at Tell el-Far<sup>c</sup>aūn (fig. 7).

Indeed, large Ramesside military workshops have been found at Piramesse at Qantīr only 25 km to the south <sup>59</sup>. This site has also produced foreign types of weapons such as arrow tips and Hittite shields <sup>60</sup>. It is perfectly possible that such military workshops also existed at Tell el-Far<sup>c</sup>aūn, the ancient *Imet*, where the cemeteries have produced evidence of Ramesside occupation <sup>61</sup>. Like Piramesse, this site was also situated on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and could have been another military base <sup>62</sup>.

### The carriers of the long swords

MANFRED BIETAK

The typological analysis of R. Jung above has shown that long swords in Egypt and the Levant, even when fabricated locally and deviating from their European prototypes, should be regarded as originating from the European Late Bronze Age/Urnfield tradition in the form of the Naue II sword. According to R. Jung, their dissemination in the Mediterranean should have in all likelihood proceeded from Italy eastwards (see above). Its earliest occurrence in the Aegean (as we have seen above) can be observed from the middle of the LH IIIB phase on the Greek mainland <sup>63</sup>. This should be roughly contemporary with the first half of the regnal period of Ramesses II (see above) and postdates the Amarna period (c. 1353-1335 BC) by several decades. In the latter period, we learn that the prince of Byblos had, as it seems, Sherden Sea Peoples in his service (EA 122, EA 123) <sup>64</sup>. It is highly probable that other princes as well, especially those from city-states along the coast, used such mercenaries. A Sicilian or southern Italian sword found in the shipwreck at Uluburun might be the sword of such a foreign mercenary of the Amarna period (see above). Warriors with Aegean boar tusk helmets and Egyptian kilts, fighting together with Egyptians against Libyans, are also depicted on a papyrus from Amarna <sup>65</sup>. This shows that at that time half-Egyptianised mercenaries of the Mycenaean world were most probably employed alongside many other foreigners in the Egyptian army.

The earliest possible appearance of the so-called Sea Peoples would be



from the reign of Amenhotep III (c. 1391-1353 BC) when they raided the Egyptian coastline as pirates <sup>66</sup>. This resulted in a fortifying of the river mouths, which we learn about from the famous high official and sage Amenhotep, son of Hapu, who served as a military official at that time <sup>67</sup>.

Early in the reign of Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213 BC), the Sherden, who were perhaps already responsible for the early raids in the time of Amenhotep III, repeatedly tried to raid again the mouths of the Nile <sup>68</sup>. They must have been formidable warriors who earned the respect of the Egyptians, since Ramesses II wrote about them admiringly in a royal inscription <sup>69</sup>: “...the unruly Sherden whom no one had ever known how to combat, they came boldly (sailing) in their warships from the midst of the sea, none being able to withstand them”. Ramesses II was apparently able to take such a group as prisoners and seems to have installed them as his personal elite unit <sup>70</sup>.

8 Sherden guarding the tent of Ramesses at the battle of Qadesh on the north wall of the main Hall in the Great Temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel (after Desroches-Noblecourt, Ch., S. Donadoni & E. Edel 1971, pl. XIII).

From this time onwards, the Sherden figured as a special unit among the Egyptian army. They are mentioned in various sources over a period of more than 100 years, as in Pap. Anastasi I.17,4, Pap. Anastasi II verso. 5,2, from the time of Ramses III (c. 1184-1153 BC), and Pap. Harris 75,1, 76.5-6, 76,8, 78,10 (still as part of the army but settled and as holders of land) <sup>71</sup>. They also figure in papyrus Wilbour from the time of Ramses V (c. 1145/44-1142/40 BC) <sup>72</sup>.

In the narrative representations of art displaying the valour of pharaoh we

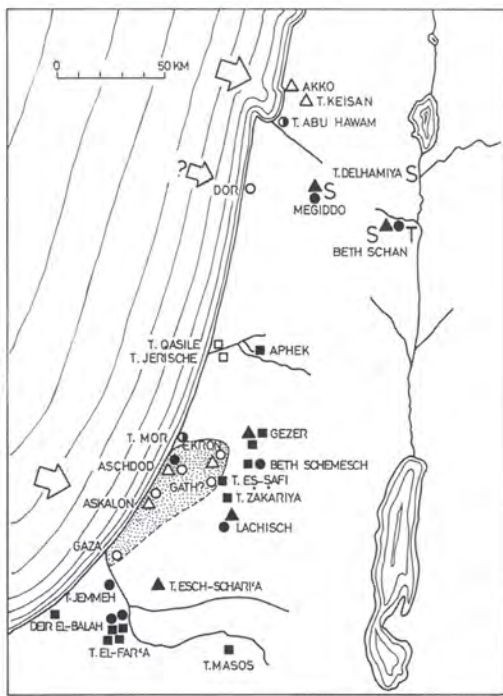


find that from the time of Ramesses II until Ramesses III, contingents of Sea Peoples, especially the Sherden, are in the service of the pharaohs fighting with Egyptian troops against Libyans and Asiatics alike, even against other Sea Peoples <sup>73</sup>.

In the reliefs of the battle of Qadesh, Sherden depicted with their round shields, long swords and horned helmets are serving as special guards at the tent of Ramesses II (fig. 8 and 11), which is a sign that they enjoyed a special level of trust from their lord <sup>74</sup>. These guards wore Egyptian kilts, which we do not normally find as part of the battle outfit of those merce-

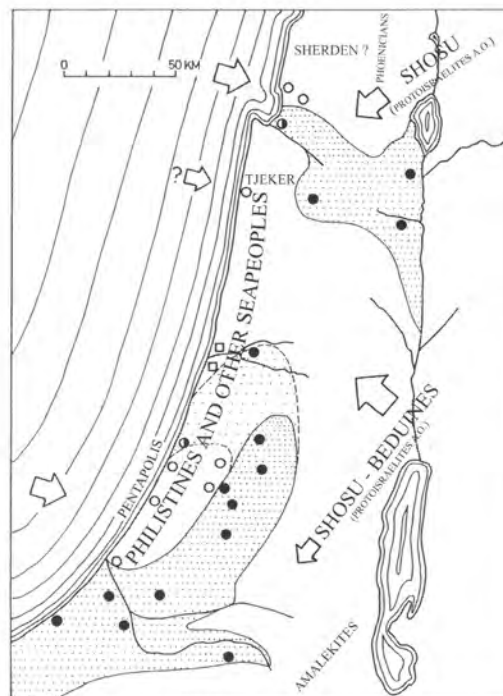
naries, except for Sherden officers <sup>75</sup>. In the battle of Qadesh, Sea Peoples were also recruited by the Hittites as warriors. One example is the Danuna <sup>76</sup>. Sherden appear alongside Egyptian troops in other battles as well <sup>77</sup>. As a general rule, their outfit consists of the Sea Peoples kilt, light body armour probably consisting of leather with metal fittings, small horned helmets with a globular top, a round shield, and long swords <sup>78</sup>. These swords are normally in lancet form, and except for their length, share little in common with the swords having parallel blades as discussed above. There are also representations of Sherden with swords having broader blades and pointed tips, but none with truly parallel blades <sup>79</sup>. One cannot help but wonder if the lancet-shaped thrust sword that still appears as a standard type of weapon of the Sea Peoples in the times of Ramesses III was not a frequently copied older type taken over from representations of an earlier wave of Sea Peoples <sup>80</sup>. We lack securely identifiable representations <sup>81</sup> of Sea Peoples from the first major incursion against Egypt during Merneptah's 5<sup>th</sup> regnal year (c. 1208 BC) <sup>82</sup>. At that time, another wave of Sherden, in addition to Shekelesh, Akawasha, Lukka, and Tursha, made common cause with the Libyans, and coming from the West by land, invaded large parts of the Delta. They were finally defeated in a major battle at Perirer near Memphis <sup>83</sup>. Most likely they had been in contact with the Libyans for a long time via a natural harbour at Marsa Matruh, which may have served as a trading place <sup>84</sup> with the Libyans and would have been suitable as a hideout for pirate activity in the Mediterranean. One must wonder if one of the most important trade objects that the Libyans desired from their Mediterranean con-

9 Sea Peoples bridgeheads in Canaan (after M. Bietak 1993, 294 and 295).



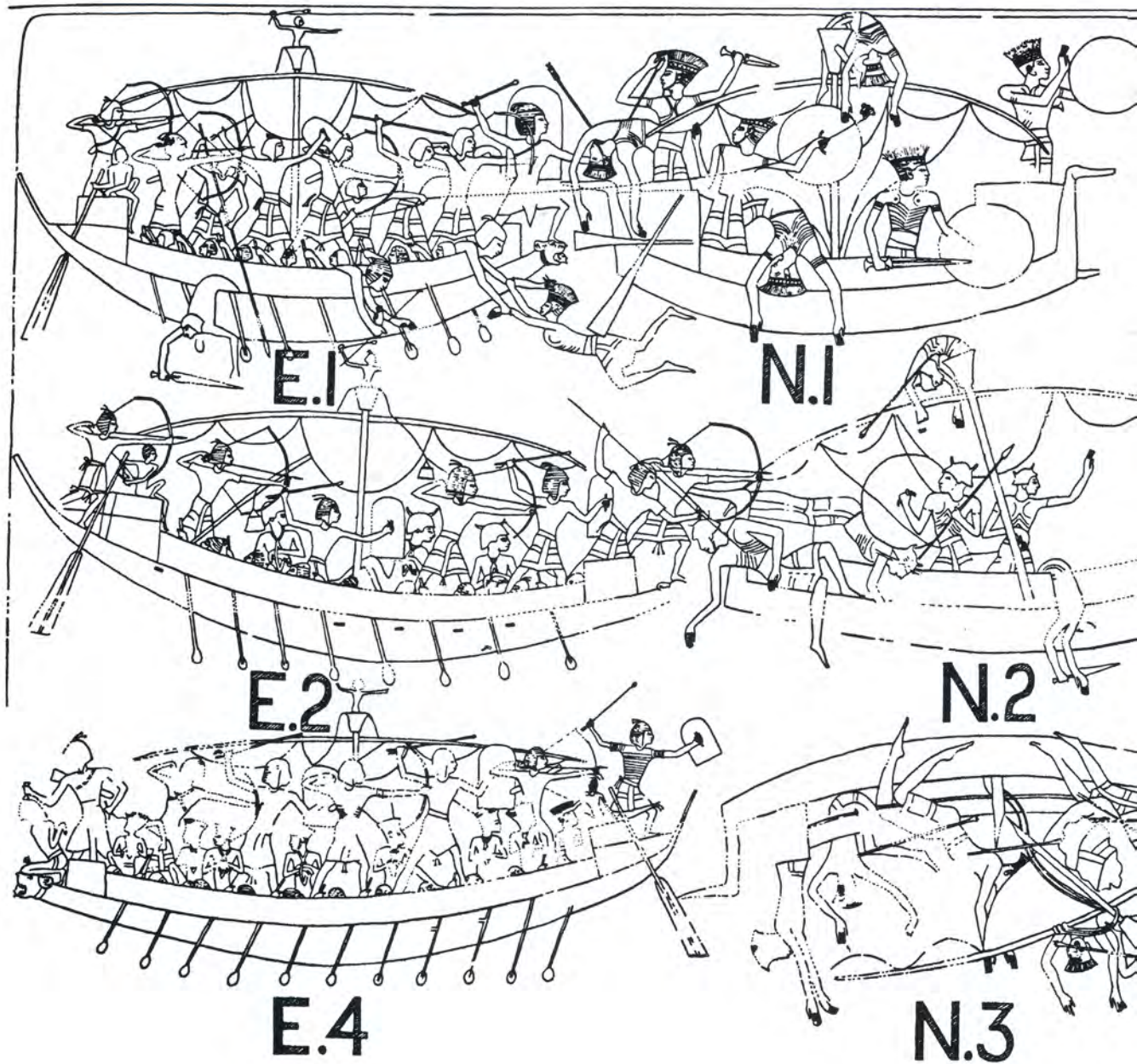
INSCRIBED FINDS OF THE 20<sup>th</sup> DYNASTY

- SCARAB RAMSES III
- ▲ MONUMENT RAMSES III
- SCARAB RAMSES IV.
- T EGYPTIAN TEMPLE
- S STATUE OR INSCRIBED BLOCK
- OTHER SITES OF THE EARLY 20<sup>th</sup> DYNASTY
- PHILISTINE TOWNS OF THE PENTAPOLIS AND DOR
- △ LATER PHILISTINE SITES OF IMPORTANCE MYC. III C 1<sup>st</sup> MONOCHROME POTTERY IN MAJOR QUANTITIES
- ⇨ EARLY BRIDGEHEADS OF SEAPEOPLES
- ▨ AREA OF THE PENTAPOLIS



REST OF THE EGYPTIAN PROVINCE CANA'AN AFTER THE INCURSION OF SEAPEOPLES UNDER THE REIGN OF RAMSES III

- DATED EGYPTIAN SITES OF THE 20<sup>th</sup> DYNASTY
- SITES OF THE 20<sup>th</sup> DYNASTY WITHOUT INSCRIPTIONS EARLY BRIDGEHEADS OF THE SEAPEOPLES
- TOWNS OF THE PENTAPOLIS AND DOR, AKKO, T.KEISAN
- ▨ IMPORTANT LATER TOWNS OF THE PHILISTINES
- ▨ REST OF THE EGYPTIAN PROVINCE CANA'AN



10 The representation of the sea battle at Medinet Habu showing Egyptian marines with kilts of Sea Peoples (after Nelson 1943, fig. 4).

tacts was not the long sword that shows up in large numbers (9111 pieces) in the list of booty after the battle of Perirer<sup>85</sup>. We also find the long sword in the hands of Libyans on battle representations from the time of Ramesses III. The handles are particularly long and thin, and one associates those forms with tanged swords<sup>86</sup>.

Such a sword trade was proposed long ago<sup>87</sup> and reminds us of the trade of the Sollinger sword blades, sold in the thousands for centuries after the Middle Ages all over the sub-Saharan Sudan<sup>88</sup>. There, the swords were imitated and received a local mounting. More recently, however, P. W. Haider, while acknowledging the European long sword as a possible initial source of the Libyan sword, has offered a very sceptical view about this trade due to the lack of original finds<sup>89</sup>.

The next major assault on Egypt happened about 30 years later in year 5 of Ramesses III (c. 1179 BC)<sup>90</sup>, when the Philistines and the Tjeker appeared at the horizon of Egypt and tried to raid the mouths of the Nile,



11 Sea Peoples with long swords on the north wall of the main Hall in the Great Temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel. Detail of fig. 8 (Photo R. Jung).

5 and 8 was indispensable to prepare for such an enterprise. This means nothing more or less than crossing the desert track in northern Sinai and conquering fortress after fortress in order to have access to the wells. The decisive battle must have happened at the doorstep of Egypt where they were defeated by the pharaoh in a land and a sea battle at the mouth of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile<sup>93</sup>. That the two battles were fought in close proximity to each other can be recognized by the fact that the victory celebrations for both battles were represented as one on the northern wall of the Medinet Habu Temple<sup>94</sup>.

It is interesting to note that already in the time of the first recorded contact with the Philistines and the Tjekker in year 5, when Ramesses III was engaged in a campaign against the Libyans, we find Sea Peoples at the side of Egyptian troops. They have typical feather helmets<sup>95</sup> of the Philistines, the Tjekker, and Danuna<sup>96</sup>. One of those Sea People units was composed of soldiers with various headgears such as the feather crown, others with the hair bound upwards, and a blend of an Egyptian battle helmet with the insignia of the Sherden such as horns and the round top mounted on the helmets<sup>97</sup>. This kind of helmet shows that the Sherden were fully integrated in the Egyptian army. The horns and the globular protomes served as a distinction of their unit. The Sherden and the carriers of the feather helmet wore swords. The others had in addition to the typical javelins, special bent sticks in their hands that may have been clubs or some kind of scimitar<sup>98</sup>. Common to all the Sea Peoples is the ornate kilt with borders, stripes, and often with tassels.

The question is whether those Sea Peoples of the Libyan campaign were anachronistic representations, since their kinfolk made their first encounter with the Egyptians at the same time. Or perhaps an earlier unrecorded wave of them had already offered their services as mercenaries to the Egyptians.

Three years later when the sea battle takes place on the borders of the Delta, one may recognise that on the Egyptian ships only the officers (?) wear Egyptian kilts (fig. 10). The remainder of the crew consisted of sailors of Sea Peoples origin with their typical ornate kilt, but being acculturated with their weaponry and Egyptian head-gear, a kind of helmet looking similar to a wig, but without the Sherden protomes. Their body armour is of Egyptian type too. They use Egyptian weaponry such as bow and arrow and clubs. Their shields are purely Egyptian, whereas the invading Sea Peoples (some in Sherden outlook<sup>99</sup> and others with the feather crown) wear Mycenaean body armour, round shields and the long sword, which looks in most cases like a triangular lancet shaped with a middle rib. Some swords have broader blades but do not have the precisely parallel cutting edges. On the Egyptian side of the sea battle, one can only find one doubtful case of a long sword<sup>100</sup>. Among the Egyptian mercenaries on land, however, the long sword is frequent<sup>101</sup>.

This shows that Sea Peoples of different kinds were integrated into the Egyptian army. The longest tradition was with the Sherden. As far as the evidence goes, the other tribes were engaged only from the time of Ramesses III onwards. Therefore, the swords with inscriptions of the names of Merneptah and Seti II can be associated most probably with the Sherden, who were the most frequent carriers of the long sword in the reliefs.

Finally, one wonders what might be the meaning of some long swords in the Levant having Egyptian royal names cut into the blade. The only two distinctions one can find are high ranking officers who may have gotten permission to carve the royal name into their main weapon, or members of the personal guard of pharaoh such as the Sherden had been.

The long swords were, as it seems, originally brought by the carriers of the weapons from Europe, who during their stay in the Levant as mercenaries, produced locally these weapons in military workshops.

12 Sea Peoples with shorter swords on the north wall of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (Photo R. Jung).



## NOTES

1 For the English editing, we are indebted to Robert Mullins and Hanan Charaf; for checking the bibliography and the citations, to Irene Kaplan, Institut für Ägyptologie, Vienna.

2 The full study will appear in R. Jung, M. Mehofer and M. Bietak, forthcoming. We wish to thank the director of the Egyptian Museum Berlin, Dietrich Wildung, and the vice-director of the Museum for Pre- and Early History Berlin, Alix Hänsel, for the opportunity to study and re-publish these objects.

3 Transcriptions of Arabic toponyms follow the maps and lists of *The Survey of Egypt*.

4 Egyptian Museum Berlin (inv. no. 20305). The sword is currently on loan in the exhibition of the Museum for Pre- and Early History, Berlin. The basic publications are M. Burchardt, 1912a, p. 61f. with fig. 2, pl. 5,1; M. Burchardt, 1912b, p. 233 with fig. 1; V. Miložičić's, 1952; J. Riederer, 1978, p. 27, no. 43; H. Born, 1985, p. 122 f. with pl. 6; S. Petschel, 2004, p. 136, cat. no. 137.

5 V. Miložičić's description of the hilt shape reflects only the preserved artefact, not the original outline (V. Miložičić's, 1952, p. 96).

6 Thanks are due to Hermann Born, chief restorer, and Alix Hänsel, vice-director of the Museum, for providing us with the x-ray photograph.

7 This was confirmed through microscopic examination by Hermann Born.

8 T. E. Peet, 1911-1912 (with reservations); H. W. Catling, 1956, p. 116, no. 20, p. 124; H. W. Catling, 1961, p. 118, n. 34; A. F. Harding, 1984, p. 68; R. Drews, 1993, p. 203 with no. 107; M. Bettelli, 2002, p. 134,135, fig. 58,4. – The original

definition is found in J. Naue, 1903, p. 12–20, pl. 6,3–9, p. 7–8, where several forms are subsumed under the heading "Typus II". Subsequently, the definitions became more refined, which led to a subdivision among several types in the different regions where the swords occur (see below). O. Montelius did not cite J. Naue's type definition, but he named the sword from Allerona as a parallel for the Seti sword (O. Montelius, 1912, p. 164 pl. 10,7). The Allerona sword is eponymous for one of the types of the Naue II group (V. Bianco Peroni, 1970, p. 66-71, pl. 21,153).

9 V. Miložičić's (1952, p. 96 f.) was the first to refute the identification as a Naue II sword, but in his argument, he also included morphological characteristics which should most probably be ascribed to its current state of preservation. In any case, those characteristics cannot be used as typological criteria.

10 O. Montelius, 1912, p. 164.

11 H. L. Lorimer, 1950, p. 265.

12 P. W. Haider, 1988, p. 70.

13 M. Burchardt, 1912a, p. 62 with n. 2; M. Burchardt, 1912b, p. 233.

14 T. E. Peet, 1911-1912, p. 283,285.

15 W. Wolf, 1926, p. 74.

16 H. Bonnet, 1926, p. 73,80.

17 Ch. E. Schulz, 2004, p. 117.

18 W. Kimmig, 1964, p. 232,237, n. 62.

19 G. L. Carancini and R. Peroni, 1997, p. 601.

20 M. Bettelli, 2002, p. 134-136; M. Cupitò 2000, p. 112.

21 A. M. Bietti Sestieri, 1973; J. Bouzek, 1985, p. 241 f.; G. L. Carancini and R. Peroni, 1997; R. Jung, forthcoming.

22 S. Sherratt, 2000.

23 Older notions of Aegean innovations which were important for the creation of that type (H. Müller-Karpe, 1962, p. 268 f.; P. Schauer, 1971, p. 149) have been convincingly refuted with detailed typochronological arguments (I. Killian-Dirlmeier, 1993, p. 102 f.; see also R. Jung, 2006, p. 55 f.).

24 V. Bianco Peroni, 1970, p. 62-65; P. Schauer, 1971, p. 132-144; I. Killian-Dirlmeier, 1993, p. 94-96. Distribution maps and a list of tomb contexts with datable examples of type Reutlingen/Cetona/A can be found in R. Jung, 2005, pl. 106, j; B. Eder and R. Jung, 2005, p. 494 f., pl. 107-108.

25 R. Jung, 2006, p. 56. That sword from tomb 41 of the necropolis at Olmo di Nogara (Veneto) has now received its final publication, see L. Salzani, 2005, p. 131 with fig. 274, p. 336, pl. 6, Tomb 41,A; R. De Marinis and L. Salzani, 2005, p. 405 f.,431,434 f.; for the dating see also M. Cupitò, 2006, p. 204 f.

26 R. Jung, 2006, p. 177, pl. 15,2, with bibliography.

27 The synchronization of LH IIIB Middle with the first half of the regnal period of Ramesses II is mainly supported by the context of tomb 605 at Gurob (M. R. Bell, 1985; P. Warren and V. Hanky, 1989, p. 155), because the Mycenaean stirrup jar from that tomb belongs to a type (FT 182) not attested for the preceding phase LH IIIB Early.

28 R. Jung, 2006, p. 177 f., pl. 15,4.5.

29 N. Saliby, 1979-1980, p. 109 f., no. 26, p. 122, fig. 28, p. 136, no. 28; R. Jung, and M. Mehofer, forthcoming (with a new drawing).

30 A. Müller-Karpe, 1994, p. 441-444 with fig. 5.

31 R. Jung, forthcoming.

32 C. F. A. Schaeffer, 1956, p. 169, p. 170, fig. 122,912, p. 171, fig. 123, right, p. 172, fig. 124,1 pl. 8; for the

location of the house it was found in ("*Maison de l'armurier*"). See also M. Yon, 1997, p. 75, fig. 36, p. 81, p. 178 f., no. 62.

33 R. Jung, forthcoming.

34 C. F. A. Schaeffer, 1956, p. 173; M. Yon, 1997, p. 81, 178, no. 62; I. Singer, 1999, p. 710 f. Concerning the hieroglyphic inscription, J.-C. Courtois remarked that there were Egyptian residents at Ugarit not far from the royal palace (J.-C. Courtois, 1975, p. 28).

35 N. K. Sandars, 1985, p. 106, 157 (but without explicit comparison between reliefs and swords as artefacts); P. W. Haider, 1988, p. 69 f.

36 Burchardt already noted that the swords on the reliefs are not the same type as the swords found in corpore in Egypt (M. Burchardt, 1912a, p. 62). A similar opinion is expressed by W. Wolf (1926, p. 74, n. 1). Other scholars have also rightly pointed out that the swords on the reliefs cannot be identified with the Naue II type: see H. L. Lorimer, 1950, p. 266 f.; H. W. Catling, 1956, p. 122; R. Drews, 1993, p. 199-201. Similarly, it is not possible to ascribe the Sherden swords to the type Terontola known from the western Alpine regions and northern and central Italy (*pace* M. Cupitò 2000, p. 113), because the Terontola type shows a leaf-shaped blade with a convex outline.

37 For a detailed interpretation of the Uluburun finds, see R. Jung, forthcoming.

38 See above footnote no. 32.

39 J. Von Beckerath, 1997, p. 190.

40 See the crisp clear photograph in C. F. A. Schaeffer, 1956, Pl. VIII.

41 See above footnote no. 4.

42 K. Martin, 1980, p. 140-141.

43 H. Altenmüller, 1975.

44 W. Helck, 1984a; cf. R. Jung, M. Mehofer and M.

Bietak, forthcoming.

45 The sun disk is clearly visible between the first pair of Atef-feathers. On top of the nomen the position can be fathomed, but a crack in the corrosion has split it and makes it hardly visible.

46 Abd El-Monem J. Abubakr, 1937, p. 40-43; H. Bonnet, 1952, p. 311; P. Kaplony, 1980, p. 611.

47 J. von Beckerath, 1999, p. 160-161.

48 With the addition of the Atef-feathers they measure 29 mm high.

49 M. Burchardt, 1912a, pl. V, 1.

50 M. Burchardt, 1912a, p. 61, fig. 2.

51 H. Gauthier, 1914, p. 134-139.

52 J. Von Beckerath, 1999, p. 160-161, Typ E5.

53 Ch. Mlinar, 2006, p. 32-43,

54 E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, 1976, nos. 254, 395 (Ramses I, very good parallel), 421 (R III), 462 (R IX), B61 (late NK), Va 6 (Amenhotep II), B53 (Seti I with the sun disk outside the cartouche); B. Jaeger, 1982, §§ 346, 458, 1221 and notes, 1374, 1379, 1406, 1407, 1412, 1419, nos. 906, 1420, 1427, 1430.

55 According to the sign list in A. H. Gardiner, 1957.

56 J. Von Beckerath, 1999, p. 160-1, E5.

57 cf. H. R. Hall, 1913, no. 2278.

58 B. Jaeger, 1982, Ills. 585, 586, 624, 628, 635, 961, 999; figs. 9b, fig. 64b, 74b, 75b, 113b, 255b, 275b, 281. Most of the examples date already to the Ramesside Period, see especially P. E. Newberry, 1906, pl. 36/3 and H. R. Hall, 1913, no. 2277.

59 E. B. Pusch, 1990; E. B. Pusch, 1996.

60 E. B. Pusch, 1990, p. 104, fig. 12; E. B. Pusch, 2004, p. 240-258.

61 B. Porter, and R. L. B. Moss, 1934, p. 56; M. Bietak,

1975, p. 103-104.

62 M. Bietak, 1975, p. 103-104.

63 See above footnote no. 26.

64 W. L. Moran, <sup>227</sup> 1992, p. 201f.

65 L. Schofield and R. Parkinson, 1994; R. Parkinson and L. Schofield, 1995.

66 W. Helck, 1979, p. 133, no. 5-7.

67 W. Helck, 1958, p. 1821 (text); W. Helck, 1984b, p. 272: 1821 (translation).

68 B. Porter, and R. L. B. Moss, 1934, p. 21(196); J. Yoyotte, 1949, p. 63, 67-69; K. Kitchen, 1979, p. 290; K. Kitchen, 1996, p. 120.

69 K. Kitchen, 1982b, p. 40f. In another variation of translation: K. Kitchen, 1996, p. 120.

70 W. Wreszinski, 1923-1935, II, pls. 68-70, p. 81, 176, 179; B. Porter, and R. L. B. Moss, 1939, p. 39-41 (75-88); B. Porter, and R. L. B. Moss, 1972, p. 305, 14; Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt *et al.*, 1971, pl. XVI; S. C. Heinz, 2001, p. 282, 283 (II.1), 287 (IV.2).

71 Survey in A. H. Gardiner, 1947, p. 194-199.

72 A. H. Gardiner, 1948, Commentary, 80, Index, 52-53.

73 Bibliography in R. Stadelmann, 1984, no. 48.

74 See above footnote no. 71.

75 Ramses III, Sea Peoples battle: H. H. Nelson *et al.*, 1930, pl. 32; B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, 1972, p. 518 f., (188-189); S. C. Heinz, 2001, p. 306 (I.16): 3<sup>rd</sup> register, above left door. Second Libyan campaign: H. H. Nelson *et al.*, 1932, pl. 62; B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, 1972, p. 493 (96); S. C. Heinz, 2001, p. 311 (I.28, second register).

76 See representations of Sea Peoples under the town of Qadesh on the pylon of the Luqsor Temple in B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, 1972, p. 304f. (13); S. C. Heinz, 2001, p. 288

- (IV.3). See also G. A. Wainwright, 1961, p. 87f., fig. 7.
- 77 B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, 1972, p. 333 (202-203), 305 (14), 438 (18); S. C. Heinz, 2001, p. 274(VIII.11), 278 (IX.1), 78 See previous footnote.
- 79 W. Wreszinski, 1923-1935, pl. 176.
- 80 R. Jung (forthcoming) compares the sword-representations of the Sea Peoples with swords from Sicily which are dated to the Italian Middle-Recent Bronze Age.
- 81 See from Karnak, F. J. Yurko, 1986, fig. 1b/8; S. C. Heinz, 2001, p. 295 (I.4) at the right, with some prisoners of war with Sea People's tasseled kilt among Shosu beduins. The attribution to Merneptah is, however not proven.
- 82 K. Kitchen, 1982a, p. 2-12, 19-22 (L. 1, 14, 52-57); K. Kitchen, 2003, p. 4,7,19,29; A. Schulman, 1987; C. Manassa, 2003, p. 23, 77-82, 262f.
- 83 A. Schulman, 1987, p. 31-33; K. Kitchen, 1990, p. 19-20; C. Manassa, 2003, p. 103-107.
- 84 D. White, 2002, p. 35-84; L. Hulin, 2002.
- 85 C. Manassa, 2003, p. 262f., l. 58.
- 86 G. A. Wainwright, 1962, p. 96; B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, 1972, p. 492 (63); S. C. Heinz, 2001, p. 312 (I.29).
- 87 O. Bates 1914, p. 121; U. Hölscher, 1937, p. 34f.; G. A. Wainwright, 1962, p. 93.
- 88 H. A. Winkler, 1936, p. 307-308, pl. 82/1-2.
- 89 P. W. Haider, 1988, p. 122-127.
- 90 H. H. Nelson *et al.*, 1930, pl. 28/51; texts: W. F. Edgerton and J. A. Wilson, 1936, p. 30; K. A. Kitchen, 1983, p. 25.
- 91 See previous footnote.
- 92 M. Bietak, 1991, p. 42-50, figs. 2-3; M. Bietak, 1993; L. E. Stager, 1995.
- 93 H. H. Nelson *et al.*, 1930, pls. 32-34, pls. 37-40; pl. 46/18; texts: W. F. Edgerton and J. A. Wilson, 1936, p. 38-39, 41-42, 53/18; K. Kitchen, 1983, p. 27-32,40/18. About the location of the battles at the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile see R. Stadelmann, 1968, p. 164-168; R. Stadelmann, 1984, p. 817, no. 43; W. Helck, 1979, p. 141; M. Bietak, 1991, p. 35; M. Bietak, 1993, p. 293.
- 94 S. C. Heinz, 2001, p. 306-308.
- 95 B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, 1972, p. 498-500 (93-95), 517-520 (187-189); S. C. Heinz, 2001, p. 302 (I.8), 303 (I.10), 304 (I.12).
- 96 G. A. Wainwright, 1961, p. 74-82.
- 97 G. A. Wainwright, 1961, 73, fig. 1; S. C. Heinz, 2001, p. 301, l.7.
- 98 G. A. Wainwright, 1961, 73, fig. 1; S. C. Heinz, 2001, p. 301, l.7.
- 99 According to R. Stadelmann, 1984, p. 813, these are not Sherden, but Shekelesh, as their helmets do not have the round knob on top of the helmet.
- 100 H. H. Nelson, 1943, fig. 4, ship E.1, a soldier bending overboard, but probably taking such a sword away from a half drowned Philistine.
- 101 S. C. Heinz, 2001, p. 304 (I.12), 306 (I.15,16),



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