Standing the Test of Time: Impact of the Sea Peoples on Phoenician Cultural Development.

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The mysterious Sea Peoples are groups thought to have entered the Orient towards the end of the Late Bronze Age time period. Their impact on the region was seemingly influential and one of the contributing factors leading to the decline of the societal *status quo* in the region leading up to 1200 BCE. Their origins, cultural identity and long term impact on the area are all factors which have been difficult and complex to research. The challenges with regard to these peoples and any research concentrated upon them include a definitive lack of physical evidence of their material culture, specifically in the northern regions thought to have been inhabited by them. Further south the situation differs slightly as the Philistines (thought to be a Sea Peoples group) did settle into a sophisticated society with material remains to prove it. In the north however, Sea Peoples are known to have settled but their impact is less clear but not necessarily non-existent in all regards.

The Phoenicians as an Iron Age civilisation date back to the transitional period of 1200 BCE (Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age) and have often been regarded as simply the cultural descendants of the Late Bronze Age Canaanites. This is true in many ways but in certain instances the Phoenicians achieved feats and undertook cultural practices that may diverge from this idea of complete continuity. In terms of maritime activity, the Phoenicians were able to accomplish feats never before seen in the region. The time period in which these maritime activities started to take place on such an expansive level corresponds with the settlement of northern Sea Peoples in Phoenicia and just outside its southern borders. Although the physical evidence regarding these Sea Peoples is by no means available in abundance, perhaps one can find their impact in the cultural makeup and actions of the Phoenicians. It may be plausible that groups of people that had such a significant influence on an area through their migrations, as the Sea Peoples did, could have had more long term influences on the occupants of the area than has been credited to them before. One possible manifestation of this influence may be the unique maritime character of the Phoenicians which can be compared with the Sea Peoples, who have not been given their name coincidentally. Their affinity to the sea is well known through textual and pictographic records and can in some instances be favourably paralleled with the Phoenicians. Ship design alterations going into the Phoenician age is possibly, at least in part, due to Sea Peoples influence. Furthermore the actual undertaking of Phoenician expansion across the sea and following early forms of maritime expansion which was, to a degree, unknown in the area before seems to have started in a time period contemporaneous with Sea Peoples settling in Canaan. Apart from the settlement in itself, these peoples did so after migrating en masse across the Mediterranean and this must surely be worthy of additional attention. The Sea Peoples' constant affiliation with all things ship and sea orientated must add some impetus

to this argument. Any other similarities between the Sea Peoples and Phoenicians can also be used as an indicator of cultural mergence. Cultural and societal divergences uncovered between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age inhabitants also may illuminate ideas of decisive outside influences after 1200 BCE.

The primary thread of this research is dedicated to dealing with the possibilities mentioned and perhaps presenting alternative theories to those currently accepted.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to provide an outline of the predominant themes present in this work as well as to introduce the reader to the methodologies that will be utilised. This will be done in order to address the proposed research topic as adequately as possible. It will further create a framework illustrating what each of the chapters entail and how they are interconnected with one another.

When dealing with Ancient Near Eastern studies, the transitional period that signifies the conclusion of the Late Bronze Age (approximately 1200 BCE) and the inception of the Early Iron Age is one of many complexities and unanswered questions which are in need of vast academic attention, especially in the region which is today Lebanon and northern Israel. The primary and overall objective of this particular undertaking will be to address the possible impact of migrating Sea Peoples groups into northern Canaan (Lebanon) and what impact this movement may have had on inhabitants already in occupation of the area for a prolonged period of time. Was there indeed any impact at all? In an attempt to tackle this complex problem, various topics and sub-topics need to be covered.

It is important to have a working knowledge of the political and social backdrop in the region during the time period in question as this orientates this research in terms of time and space. The reasons for the late second millennium BCE collapse of societal order in the Ancient Near East can perhaps largely be attributed to the decline of the two central authorities of the region at the time, namely the Egyptians in North Africa and the Hittites in Asia Minor. A chapter will be dedicated to these two formerly formidable nations and the various scholars that have researched them extensively in order to provide background information on how they functioned prior to 1200 BCE. The historical records of these civilisations will be used comprehensively as both make numerous references to the Sea Peoples. Works by scholars such as Kuhrt (1995), Brewer and Teeter (1999), Macqueen (1986), Tubb (1990) and Drews (2000) will be utilised in order to provide integral background information on these two great ancient civilisations. It is of importance to understand the situation as it was before societal decline in order to understand how much the situation did in fact change leading up to and following 1200 BCE. Both the aforementioned civilisations have long and comprehensive histories but their records dating back to the Late Bronze Age period are of particular importance as this era is the one that served as a prelude to the 1200 BCE transitional

period and was also the period when the Sea Peoples are first encountered in the Ancient Near East.

Once broad regional historical background has been presented in the form of the chapter discussed above, more specific attention and insight will be granted to the peoples under the proverbial microscope, namely the Sea Peoples, Canaanites and Phoenicians will be undertaken. Popular academic thought thus far has predominantly leaned towards the notion that the Iron Age Phoenician civilisation that was established in the region formerly inhabited by the Canaanites (Late Bronze Age Canaan) was simply a wholesale progression from one civilisation to the next (Canaanite to Phoenician).This idea is supported by many scholars who are strongly of the belief that societal norms endured in the region from the Canaanite Age into that of the Phoenicians with little adaptation or diversification taking place. Mullen (1986:2) clearly states this cultural endurance through religion by emphasising that Canaanite mythology underwent minimal change between the years 1400 and 700 BCE. Often the terms Phoenician and Canaanite have been used interchangeably, illustrating somewhat of a consensus on the issue of cultural perseverance. This kind of stubborn endurance stands out in a place and time of great turmoil and change in the Ancient Near East and the Aegean. There are undeniably numerous characteristics of the two groups that are very close to identical (this is not under dispute) but what has not been addressed sufficiently are the possible variations, even if they are not extreme in many instances. The settlement of Sea Peoples groups in the general area from 1200 BCE onward is evident, but the impact these groups may have had on Phoenician development is until now unclear.

The three groups already mentioned will be compared and contrasted in order to find possible aspects that may illuminate new interpretations. Initially, systematic studies will be compiled on the Canaanites and Phoenicians individually in dedicated chapters. These analyses will encompass brief histories as well as the societal and cultural norms of both civilisations in their respective time periods. After the completion of these descriptions, sections concentrated on uncovering consistencies (numerous and easily identified) and inconsistencies (more challenging) will be presented. The section on consistencies will serve the purpose of presenting obvious spheres of continuity between the Canaanites and Phoenicians. This can be thought of as a process of elimination as societal traits that clearly did persevere from the Late Bronze Age Canaanites to the Early Iron Age Phoenicians will not be studied further as this would be a redundant path for this particular research.

The section based on inconsistencies and divergences between the Canaanites and Phoenicians will serve as a pivotal and fundamental aspect of this work and will therefore be given much attention. These inconsistencies may not be easily uncovered in abundance but

even if a small number can be brought to light, this may show that Phoenician traits which differ from their Canaanite predecessors could have resulted from outside influence. Furthermore, if some of these inconsistencies parallel Sea Peoples characteristics this may show some validity to the overall theory proposed.

In the comparisons mentioned, the material, textual and cultural intricacies of the Canaanites and Phoenicians will be described as well as their relations with other groups in the region. Their cities, trade patterns, religion and other social norms will provide connections but also possible deviations between the two groups. As already mentioned, any divergent characteristics will be given greater attention as these may be the ones where outside influence is the most probable.

The third group of people to be dealt with, namely the Sea Peoples will then be investigated in a dedicated and detailed fashion. Physical evidence of the settlement of the Sea Peoples groups in the northern Canaan region is perhaps not abundant but definitely present. Before this is dealt with thoroughly, theories on their origins and entry into the Ancient Near East will be addressed as well as how this may have affected local populations in various locales. Theories as to where they originated may aid in providing more information on their material culture and possible remnants of these material cultures in the region.

The physical characteristics of different Sea Peoples will be dealt with thoroughly and variations amongst groups will be brought to light. Their weapons, wardrobe and any other characteristics will be scrutinised. Physical commonalties or differences may tell a story of shared ancestry amongst some groups but perhaps not others. It may also provide other insight into how some groups may have been used as mercenaries in the region before 1200 BCE while others seem to only appear on the scene at a later stage. Whether or not any of the physical characteristics of the Sea Peoples can be compared to the Phoenicians is also a factor worthy of attention. If the physical appearance or cultural attributes of any of the Sea Peoples group/groups have parallels with that of the Phoenicians, this will be investigated further as it may be a decisive point of argument.

A study of the locations thought to be where Sea Peoples groups settled on a more permanent basis will be undertaken. The site of Tel Dor in northern Israel has been connected to a specific Sea Peoples group, namely the Sikila. This site has been worked on extensively by researchers such as Gilboa, Sharon and Boaretto (in Gilboa's 2005 publication). These scholars' academic publications will be utilised extensively to illustrate the impact material remains or settlement patterns may have on drawing possible connections between the Sea Peoples and Phoenicians. Raban's (1987) contribution to known information on the Sikila will also be used in the form of his field reports from what is

thought to be a harbour location attributed to this particular Sea Peoples group at Dor. A further site that will be scrutinised will be a site north of Dor, namely Akko, thought to be the dwelling of the Shardana (another Sea Peoples group) people. Artzy's (1987) work on the site of Akko will be used extensively with specific reference to ship depictions at this site.

Brief information on the Philistine settlements in southern Canaan will also be included. This will be done due to the fact that, based on current evidence, the Philistines were the most prominent of the Sea Peoples groups and left behind large amounts of useful information. Whether or not the marauding Sea Peoples groups of the time had as marked an influence in northern Canaan (Phoenicia) as they did in southern Canaan has not been comprehensively addressed largely due to a scarcity of evidence. Scholars such as Fugitt (2000) and Dothan (1982) have clearly illustrated the role of Sea Peoples in southern Canaan with work on the Philistines. Additional researchers such as Barako (2000) have also dealt with the mercantile/maritime traits of the Philistines or lack thereof. Barako's work serves the purpose of perhaps illustrating how not all the Sea Peoples groups settling in Canaan had the same characteristics. Furthermore, the Philistines can be regarded as a model Sea Peoples group with material remains as evidence illustrating that these groups possessed the ability to establish sophisticated societies rather than just undertake piratical activities.

Research addressing specifically Sea Peoples groups in northern Canaan is a more complicated undertaking due to a definite scarcity of sources. This makes for a challenging endeavour but if new information and perspectives can be brought to light through means of this research, a worthwhile one.

A specific aspect of all three societies that must be introduced as it will be referred to and investigated throughout this research is maritime characteristics and their implications. A comprehensive investigation into the maritime characteristics of the Canaanites, the Phoenicians and Sea Peoples will also be done in order to provide the basis of a comparative analysis. The initial study of ship design and other seaward qualities will be done in each one of the chapters set aside for the three groups. Once this has been done, a section dedicated to comparisons of the maritime spheres of the groups will be completed. The majority of the sites under question were undoubtedly maritime centres before the Sea Peoples groups arrived in the region. It is not the purpose of this study to try and disprove that. The impact of the migration of these groups is the theme under scrutiny here in an attempt to establish whether these sites may have been in any way influenced, particularly in Phoenicia, by these Sea Peoples groups and whether the development of the Phoenician civilisation was hampered or enhanced by their involvement. If inconsistencies in this

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particular regard are found between the Canaanites and Phoenicians, these will be shown in the section already mentioned based on inconsistencies/divergences.

Apart from maritime comparisons, the material remains of the Canaanites, Phoenicians and the Sea Peoples (where possible) will also be compared in order to see what connections can be drawn. Analyses of architecture, societal norms/practices and any other remnants will be used in order to try and establish patterns of similarity, variation or development. These analyses, along with the maritime characteristics will be challenging tasks as much information that we have at our disposal on the Phoenicians come from later time periods. Data on the Early Phoenicians (Early Iron Age) is difficult to come by. Nevertheless, the information that is available will be used along with later sources as they may still provide integral insight into Phoenician development. Once again, consistencies and inconsistencies between the material remains of the Canaanites and Phoenicians will be identified and, if relevant, elaborated upon. Parallels drawn between the material culture of the Sea Peoples and Phoenicians will also be investigated and illustrated upon in later sections, forming part of the findings and arguments of this dissertation.

The "How" of this research undertaking must be made clear from the outset and therefore an explanation of the methodologies in use will now be briefly provided. The methodologies to be utilised in an attempt to shed additional light onto this subject are numerous and multidisciplinary. Textual evidence from ancient sources throughout the region as well as the interpretations of the researchers that have dedicated their time to this chapter of human history will be drawn upon in order to gain as objective outcomes as possible. Material remains are of great archaeological value and will be used in collaboration with these textual sources, contradictions between the two will be noted. The contradictions between the physical and textual are not necessarily a negative aspect of the study and may open up opportunities for wider interpretation. Due to the fact that there is definitely a lack of evidence with regard to the Sea Peoples, deductive reasoning will be implemented. This being said, unsubstantiated conclusions will be avoided in all instances. Drawing upon known cultural norms of these three civilisations will also form part of the methods used here. Once again, discrepancies will receive concentrated attention. Thus, a cultural-anthropological approach is to be implemented in this instance. An exceedingly important aspect of the methods in place here revolves around the interpretation and discussion of maritime depictions. This is central to the theme of this dissertation and perhaps the most likely feature where possible variation and new interpretation may become evident. In this particular sphere, ship design will be used as a fundamental basis of comparison.

A large number of visual representations and depictions will be made use of within the contents of various chapters along with interpretations. These depictions will also be used to describe specific groups but also as comparative material, especially with regard to ship design. For this reason, some depictions may appear more than once deliberately but with different labels as they are used for different purposes in different contexts. It will be easier for the reader to refer to and see comparisons if depictions appear close to one another.

No societal development takes place in complete isolation and outside influences are commonplace whether one is dealing with an ancient or contemporary context. If Sea Peoples groups did indeed establish permanent settlements in northern Canaan as they did in the south, then it is a distinct possibility that they had an influence on the Phoenicians on some level. Their close proximity makes this an even more likely scenario. Furthermore, the Phoenicians did achieve feats that the Canaanites were never able to and perhaps this could possibly be (even if only in part) due to outside/new influences. It must be conceded that Late Bronze Age Canaan was under the rule of the Egyptians for most of this period and perhaps was not in a position to develop into an independently powerful entity in itself. Even so, the Iron Age Phoenicians were not without pressure from powerful civilisations in the region (particularly the Assyrians) and were still able to expand through maritime means.

CHAPTER 2

EGYPT AND THE HITTITES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

As addressed in the introductory chapter, the Egyptian and Hittite empires were the two most powerful entities in the region under investigation prior to 1200 BCE. The purpose of the following chapter is to provide background information on these two ancient civilisations. There is historical evidence available at present illustrating that both of these empires were indeed in contact with the Sea Peoples in various ways, sometimes destructive but in some instances on a mutually beneficial basis. As these civilisations were prominent leading up to 1200 BCE and had contact with the Sea Peoples, both are of definite relevance to this work. It is however important to state from the outset of this chapter that it will only serve the purpose of providing brief historical background and not new insights into the Egyptians and Hittites. This will be done in order to orientate the reader around the societal backdrop in the time and space under investigation.

The map directly following on the next page provides a visual representation of the extent of the influence that both the Egyptians and Hittites had over the eastern Mediterranean coastline (region of Canaan) during the Late Bronze Age period. It clearly illustrates how the two empires bordered one another and would have struggled with each other to gain access to the region due to its strategic importance in terms of trade and resources.

Figure 2.1 Map of the Ancient Near East before1200 BCE

Map from:

https://courses.cit.cornell.edu/nes263/student2007/jml248/AncientNearEastSecMil.jpg
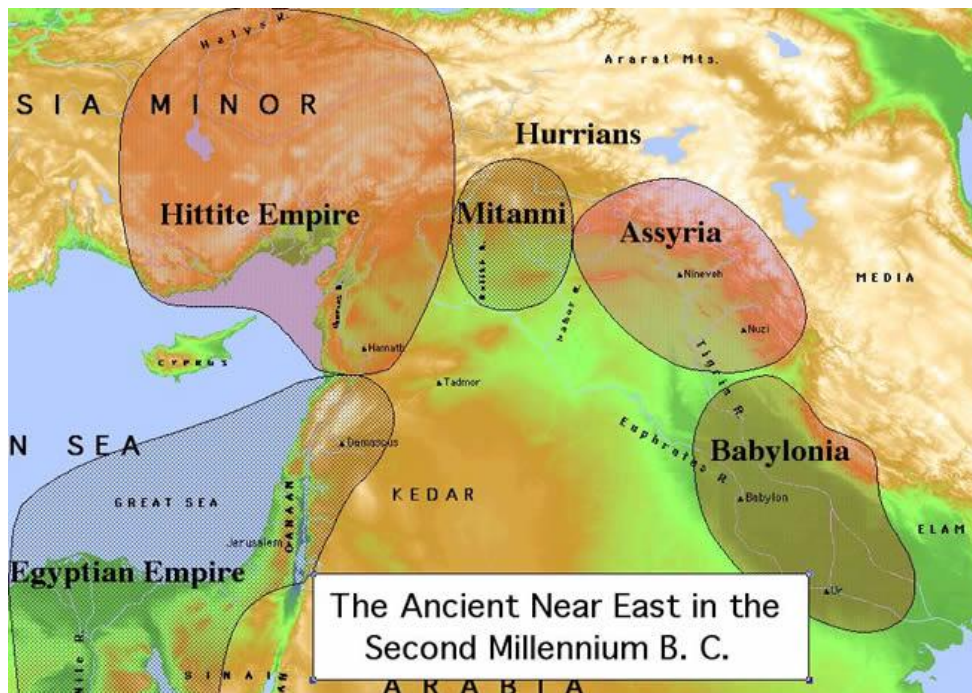
2.2 THE EGYPTIANS

The Egyptian civilisation has been studied comprehensively by a vast array of scholars. As already mentioned, it is not the purpose of this section to introduce new information or perspectives on this great ancient civilisation but rather to familiarise the reader with what is already known about it and how this assists in the overall research framework of this particular project. The majority of historical recordings known today concerning the Sea Peoples are indeed Egyptian in origin and this makes this ancient civilisation of particular importance.

The study of ancient Egypt has been so popular and fruitful over the years that it has been recognised as its own independent discipline, namely Egyptology. The methods of investigation and interpretation on the subject of the Egyptian civilisation have taken many paths and development over the years. David (2000) addresses the different stages of Egyptology in great detail in her book entitled *The Experience of Ancient Egypt*. She states that studies of the Ancient Egyptians have become more scientific and interdisciplinary in recent times with a combination of excavation and textual sources being the most helpful

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when used in collaboration with one another. The painstaking and tireless efforts of researchers that have dedicated their lives to understanding this magnificent civilisation through the use of these methods have been very fruitful. This being said, some of the most significant finds have been through a "right place at the right time" scenario and only studied in a scholarly fashion after initial discovery (David, 2000:XIX-XXI).

An extremely important scholarly figure when it comes to understanding ancient Egypt hails from the early 1800s and was French by nationality. Jean Francois Chompollion was responsible for first deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics and making them accessible to scholars for study and understanding. The foundation laid by him has been built on with great success to this day and age (David, 2000:4). I mention his contributions at this early stage because without them, Egyptology may have not developed the way it did.

Egypt was able to become such a successful ancient civilisation due to a number of factors. The Nile River can be described as this great empire's most important lifeline and therefore its most integral developmental factor. This river runs for a distance of nearly six thousand four hundred kilometres. During the time period when Ancient Egyptian culture and political power flourished, this river would routinely flood its banks on a seasonal basis, leaving behind an incredibly fertile layer of silt. This layer was perfectly suited for agriculture and this made Egypt able to sustain a large population and develop accordingly (Perry, 2005:11-12). Agricultural success was of utmost importance in the Ancient Egyptian civilisation, as with any civilisation.

2.2.1 Start of a Structured Society

In terms of the definition of a modern day united or sovereign state under centralised rule, Egypt was perhaps the only example that resembled this in the Ancient Near East from its date of unification in approximately 3100 BCE under the leadership of Menes (David, 2000:3). From this date onwards the two regions of Egypt (Upper and Lower) united into one state under the autocratic leadership of the Pharaoh (Merrillees, 1986:43). By the reign of Naqada III, locally concentrated traditions and beliefs had begun to amalgamate into one Egyptian national identity with various centres of political power throughout (Brewer & Teeter, 1999:31). Until Egypt's decline as a supreme authority in the region around 1200 BCE (the period under investigation), this situation remained predominantly unchanged with the exception of a few time periods where internal and/or external upheaval threatened Egyptian society and in some instances dominated it (Merrillees, 1986:43-44).

Egypt did recover after the decline of 1200 BCE and re-established itself once again following the Third Intermediate Period where Egypt was characterised by decentralised rulers in various regions (Brewer & Teeter, 1999:49-50). The section of Egyptian History following its 1200 BCE decline does not fall within the scope of this investigation and therefore will not be scrutinised any further.

2.2.2 Historical Sources on Egypt

When dealing with Egyptian history it is important to take into consideration that the vast majority of historical sources come from the reigns of various rulers and are subject to differing amounts of political bias (Brewer & Teeter, 1999:27). Definite or absolute chronologies for Egyptian history are very difficult to formulate with certainty as king lists do not necessarily correlate with one another. In some cases, kings ruled over Egypt simultaneously and for reasons such as this we cannot simply put the chronologies of such lists together to form an absolute history of Egypt (Brewer & Teeter, 1999:27). Nevertheless, these lists are undeniably an extremely useful and valuable tool and when utilised in collaboration with other evidence can provide scholars with great insight.

A vital source of historical knowledge comes from an Egyptian clergyman by the name of Manetho who lived under the rule of Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II, from approximately 305 to 285 BCE. His most significant work is named *Aegyptiaca* and includes a comprehensive registry of the Pharaohs of Egypt, categorised into Dynasties, from unification in 3100 BCE all the way through to about 343 BCE. Not only does it provide the names of these leaders but also bears witness to well known narratives from many of their reigns (some more accurate than others). The primary reason why Manetho had this wealth of knowledge at his disposal was due to the fact that he was a priest and therefore had open access to the vast numbers of Egyptian records present at the time. Furthermore, he was also literate in both Greek and hieroglyphics. Unfortunately no copy of his entire work has been found to date and only sections are available that have most likely been altered over time. Josephus, a Jewish historian who lived around 70 CE made excerpts of Manetho records available but with adaptations. Due to alterations such as this and the lack of a complete document, timelines and reigns of Pharaohs available today do not agree with each other. The archaeological record does however serve as a helpful reference point in many instances (David, 2000:3-4).

Apart from the sources mentioned above, countless other textual sources provide us with a massive abundance of data on Egyptian society. These textual sources date as far back as the Old Kingdom period, some three thousand years ago. They include narratives, historical accounts, religious literature, poetry, medical records, legal and administrative documentation as well as many others (David, 2000:43). This pool of useful information has helped generations of scholars study this civilisation and continues to do so today.

The sources of information (textual and archaeological) mentioned here, along with numerous others, have provided us with a fairly thorough portrayal of the nature of Egyptian society and researchers are still uncovering new information all the time. A brief summary of a few aspects of Egyptian culture will now be provided to help gain insight.

The Egyptians undoubtedly believed in the idea of life after death and many of their religious and burial practices were orientated around this. Numerous tombs have been found possessing goods that the dead thought would be of some use to them in the afterlife, including simple daily items. Religious traditions and ceremonies were primarily undertaken by Egyptians in an attempt to sway the will of the gods in order to gain from it. This could have been done in many contexts, from winning a war to yielding good harvests. The centre of Egyptian religion revolved around temples, as a meeting place with the gods. The temple was not only significant to Egyptians on a spiritual level but also on a more practical basis. Temples provided employment opportunities to many people; they were academic institutions as well as places where the sickly could be healed. Textual as well as archaeological evidence has been used to great effect to explain the ins and outs of temples in ancient Egypt (David, 2000:21-23). Much information is also known to us with regard to Egyptian mythology but as the purpose of this section is purely for background, this extensive section field of study will not be elaborated upon here. Furthermore, it is often textual remains from Egyptian religious buildings/records that provide us with much information not only on the Egyptians themselves but also on the peoples that they came into contact with.

Daily routines of the average and elite ancient Egyptians are well known through pictorial representations on tomb walls as well as many other sources. These sources depict vast amounts of activities from working under conscription for the royal house, to medical care, legal procedures, administrative processes, individuals and the community, agricultural practices, the skill of craftsmen and many more. David (2000:31-42) provides a detailed analysis of these daily activities making use of a number of specific examples accompanied with substantiating physical remains. These descriptions, though fascinating, did not fit the framework of this research and therefore will not be explained further.

2.2.3 The New Kingdom

The history of ancient Egypt (and those who have studied it) is vast and complex as has already been made apparent but the time period of Egyptian history that is of particular significance to this work (connections with the Sea Peoples) is the so-called New Kingdom (1570-1069 BCE). This era of Egyptian history saw its beginnings with the removal of foreign Hyksos authority and the establishment of local dynasties. The New Kingdom can be characterised by aggressive military expansion by the Egyptians and the acquirement of large territories forming an expansive empire stretching in an easterly direction all the way to the Euphrates River. Egyptian pharaohs used these acquired territories as a source of slave labour as well as a source of tribute which in turn increased the wealth and status of this great empire. Apart from military and territorial advancements (including the establishment of specialised and professional armies), the New Kingdom also sparked other societal developments in part due to contact with foreign peoples. Egyptian urban centres became more cosmopolitan as illustrated by the clear foreign influence in Egyptian art of the period. Furthermore, centralised and efficient administration of the empire became more prominent than ever before aided by the emergence of an extremely powerful priestly class (Perry, 2005: 15 -16).

In terms of the orientation of this specific work, the section of New Kingdom history of vital importance is the time of the Ramessides (Dynasties 19 and 20). Warfare during this era is extremely well documented and although politically biased, it introduces us to the Sea Peoples groups that had relocated into the region (Brewer & Teeter, 1999:47 - 48). Some of Egypt's most successful and renowned rulers came from this time period, including Ramesses II, who undertook various construction projects during his long reign. His involvement in the Battle of Kadesh is of particular relevance as sources state Sea Peoples groups were utilised as mercenaries during this battle. This event will be dealt with in greater detail later in this chapter (section on Relations between the two civilisations). Other leaders of the New Kingdom included Merenptah and Ramesses III, who also left behind comprehensive amounts of useful data (Kuhrt, 1995:204).

2.2.4 The Egyptians and Sea Peoples

The Sea Peoples and Egyptians were undoubtedly already in contact before 1200 BCE on both a positive and negative basis. As already stated, Sea Peoples were used as military for hire during the Battle of Kadesh on the side of the Egyptians. On other occasions however they found themselves on opposing sides of conflict. Regardless of the terms of their interactions, the fact that the Egyptians have left records of such contact could prove to be of great worth.

There is definitive evidence available suggesting that certain sections of the Sea Peoples population were used as mercenaries in the Egyptian army during the New Kingdom time period. The accounts of these soldiers give us a further description of the Sea Peoples as well as the weapons they used (Brewer & Teeter, 1999:75). These differing depictions, negative (Egyptian enemy) and more positive (Egyptian mercenary) may allow for a more accurate portrayal of these people as objectivity is often somewhere between the two types of accounts. This type of historical resource epitomises the importance of utilising the comprehensive record keeping character of the ancient Egyptians and is why this civilisation is so integral to this investigation.

Evidence depicting the Sea Peoples as an enemy of the Egyptians comes during the reign of Merenptah as well as Ramesses III. Sea Peoples groups attacking from the Mediterranean Sea are documented as a serious threat to Egyptian national security. Ramesses III dedicated a great portion of his reign fending off attacks from the different Sea Peoples groups that were threatening Egypt by land and sea. Ramesses III provides a detailed description of these events on the northern section of his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu (Brewer & Teeter, 1999:48). Two reliefs in particular are thought to be dedicated solely to describing how Ramesses III was able to fend off numerous different Sea Peoples groups simultaneously attacking from land and sea. Egyptian archers firing at sea going vessels entering the Nile Delta are depicted in one of the reliefs, whereas Egyptian ground forces are seen overpowering Sea Peoples forces in another (Drews, 2000:6).

These reliefs visually depict the physical characteristics of certain Sea Peoples groups as well as their sea going vessels. This is an extremely helpful tool in perhaps constructing an identity for these peoples and how they may have influenced other parts of the Ancient Near East. The names and characteristics of the different Sea Peoples groups will be supplied in a later chapter in detail. Their characteristics as well as those of their equipment and ships will be used as one the possible reasons why they may well have had an integral influence on the progression of later Phoenician civilisation.

2.3 THE HITTITES

The other major Ancient Near Eastern power to decline during the transitional period surrounding 1200 BCE is that of the Hittites. The only other civilisation that could perhaps have rivalled the Egyptians and Hittites during the Late Bronze Age in the region was the Hurrians but as they have no known Sea Peoples connections and were not a feature for as long a period as the other two, they will not be investigated. Again, it is not the intention of this section to provide new insight into the Hittites but rather to use the Hittites as a background base and source of information on the Sea Peoples groups. In order to orientate the reader, a brief analysis of this powerful civilisation will now be provided without attempting to formulate new perspectives on the Hittites of Asia Minor.

2.3.1 Brief History

The Hittite empire was formed in the Asia Minor region (central Anatolia) and at its height in the fourteenth century BCE had control of Babylon, the northern regions of modern day Syria and was in direct competition with Egypt for authority over Palestine and the southern parts of Syria (Canaan) (Perry, 2005:16). It can be thought of as the other cog (opposing Egypt) in the balance of power in the region preceding 1200 BCE.

The Hittites have been referred to as a tribe in occupation of parts of Canaan (Palestine) at the time when the Israelites migrated into region during the Old Testament time period. They are also mentioned in numerous Egyptian sources, normally playing the role of an adversary. During the reign of Ramesses II, an account by the Egyptian poet Pentaur describes the epic Battle of Kadesh between the two great powers. This textual evidence provides much detail in terms of military activity. During the reign of the same Pharaoh at the temple at Karnak, there are depictions of a treaty between Egypt and the Hittites (Gurney, 1975:1-2).

From local sources, the oldest known text written in the Hittite language comes from the reign of Anittas (17th century BCE) and is thought to be a royal inscription (political in nature) of events during his reign and can be described as a governmental record. It was during the reign of Hattusilis I that cuneiform as a written language became evident within the Hittite realm (Gurney, 1975:20 & 170).

A factor which makes it difficult to ascertain how the Hittite civilisation came into existence is that there are as of yet no textual remains from the time period when the area transformed from an Assyrian trading settlement into its own independent and influential civilisation. What is known is that from approximately 1650 BCE until 1200 BCE, the area of central Anatolia

was under Hittite rulers from its capital city of Hattusa (Kuhrt, 1995:225). There are however so-called "blank periods" (Kuhrt, 1995:229) in the historical records of the Hittite civilisation where, in some cases, the only information we have is the names of kings and nothing further for a number of years or the evidence is contradictory (Kuhrt, 1995:229). To add to these obstacles, there are no preserved Hittite king lists to help with chronologies like we have in Egypt. Much of the data we have on Hittite monarchies is from foreign historical sources and depictions as illustrated already (Kuhrt, 1995:229).

The manner in which the Hittite civilisation was established and controlled was in definite contrast to that of the Egyptians but nonetheless, it became an extremely influential force from the Anatolian region. In terms of the population dynamics, some sources state that the Hittite rulers are thought to have been invaders that took charge of local groupings. Due to this, the ethnicities and languages making up this empire were extremely diverse (Merrillees, 1986:44). Macqueen (1986:35) states that an effective way to identify the Hittite civilisation is through the language they spoke, but further states that it was not only Hittite spoken but other similar languages too. Kuhrt (1995:266) however states that the diversity of the languages shows that the unification of the Hittite empire was one where local inhabitants from different parts of the empire maintained a large amount of regional governance and culture but still formed part of the empire. These conflicting accounts undoubtedly substantiate the idea that Hittite history is extremely complex and in some cases contradictory.

Kuhrt (1995:266) further states that although the Hittites were made up of diverse peoples and cultures, this does not mean they were not united into one empire under a degree of centralised control from approximately 1400 BCE or perhaps even before this. A form of control was present but the intricacies of this administration are very difficult to provide definitive explanations for (Kuhrt, 1995:226).

2.3.2 Hittite Monarchy, Military and Culture

The Hittite kings of the early kingdom did not enjoy much stability, loyalty and peace of mind. Many instances of kings being deposed by family members and revolt seem to be present in the early years of the kingdom; therefore there was a definite lack of stability amongst leadership. Hittite kings, once established as outright rulers after the turmoil of early times, were not seen in a divine light during their lifetime but were thought to become divine spirits after death. Initially, Hittite kings did not really serve any purpose in terms of religion and

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were basically supreme military commanders. It was only later (after the old kingdom period) that this changed and the king became responsible for ceremonial purposes of state religion (Gurney, 1975:63-65 & 215).

The Hittites, although already expanding before, became a real force to reckon with under the militarily astute leadership of Suppiliumas (ascended to the throne in around 1380 BCE). During his reign, the Hittite armies won many integral victories over their neighbours and began to really challenge Egyptian dominance in the Ancient Near East. As was the same in other ancient empires, the power base of the Hittite could be found in their military prowess. An integral weapon to them was a light-weight chariot that, through its mobility, could be used to great effect. The Hittite empire was landlocked and had no navy to speak of (Gurney, 1975:26 &104-106). This is the predominant reason why the Hittites needed to have an influence over Canaan in order to have access to the Mediterranean world.

The amount of textual evidence available on the Hittites is scarce in comparison to Egypt and literary accomplishments are not on the same level. Most of the information on politics, administration, military activity, legal and justice systems and art we have on the Hittites comes primarily from the royal archives at Hattusa. Although not all these sources (Hittite cuneiform and hieroglyphics) have been deciphered and understood, they are still a valuable and insightful avenue to understanding this influential civilisation (Gurney, 1975:195 & 215).

2.3.3 Hittites and the Sea Peoples

The connection between the Sea Peoples groups under enquiry and the Hittites is dominated by the idea that these Sea Peoples groups were largely responsible for the downfall of the Hittite civilisation around 1200 BCE (Kuhrt, 1995:386). Macqueen (1986:50-52) states that outside invaders (referring to the Sea Peoples) were very likely responsible for the "beginning of the end" scenario of the Hittite civilisation. After these devastating attacks, the Hittite empire was weakened and powerless to ward off other attacks from their other traditional enemies. Due to attacks from the Gasga people (not a Sea Peoples group) and other attacks from the north and east, the Hittite empire fell into the annals of history and its capital city of Hattusa was mostly burnt to the ground.

The relations between Sea Peoples groups and the Hittite civilisation may not have only been negative in nature. Initially, Hittite infantrymen made use of a shield that took a figure of eight shape but later switched to the use of a round shield, possibly due to the fact that certain Sea Peoples groups introduced it whilst fighting in the Hittite military as mercenaries

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(Macqueen, 1986:64). This is an observable indication that Hittite and Sea Peoples relations were significant and actually had an influence over the Hittite military sphere. Perhaps this may have been an improvement of military equipment.

Another theory that is undoubtedly worth mentioning is the idea that the so-called Sea Peoples groups moving into Egyptian occupied territories may in fact not be Sea Peoples and may rather have been part of a Hittite Diaspora after this civilisation's decline in the thirteenth century BCE (Tubb, 1990:143). This idea will not be dealt with in great detail within this research project as it has not gained much support and does not really have substantiating evidence.

2.4 RELATIONS BETWEEN THESE GREAT CIVILISATIONS

Control over the majority of the Levant in the centuries prior to 1200 BCE can be described as a constant power struggle between the Egyptians and the Hittites. Authority over various city-states falling north east of Egypt and south west of Hittite land was in a constant state of flux with allies continuously changing as the two struggled for control. This meant that for an extended period of time the threat of conflict was ever present (Brewer & Teeter, 1999:47). Although there was much tension between these two powers, it must be remembered that because of them there was a definite balance of power in the region which did provide stability and consistency (Sandars, 1985:29).

2.4.1 Battle of Kadesh

The tense relationship between these two superpowers can be clearly illustrated by the Battle of Kadesh during the reigns of Ramesses II (Egypt) and Muwatallis (Hittites). It occurred as a result of the competition over land in the region of Canaan between these two nations. The area had for a long period of time been under Egyptian authority and some scholars have stated that during the reign of Akhenaton, who undertook massive religious reforms in Egypt, lordship over its provinces may have dwindled. Although this particular conflict took place shortly after the end of his reign, his reign may have set these events in motion due to his provincial neglect and obsession with religious alterations. It was Ramesses II who took it upon himself to restore Egypt's former position in the region (McNeill & Sedlar, 1968:15).

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The battle may have taken place in approximately 1286 BCE along the River Orontes (Macqueen, 1986:48-49). The precise date is however a contentious issue, with some sources indicating that the battle took place in 1300 BCE and others stating that it occurred in 1275/74 BCE (Santosuosso, 1996:429). This particular battle is however extremely well documented in comparison to the majority of other ancient battles and accounts are very detailed with regard to how events unfolded (Brewer & Teeter, 1999:47).

Egyptian sources portray this battle as a massive Egyptian victory but in reality it was not a success or failure. Egyptian and Hittite borders did not alter significantly at the conclusion of this battle (Kuhrt, 1995:207). The Hittites were in fact able to surprise Ramesses and his forces early on in proceedings and nearly destroyed them completely at the outset of the battle. Ramesses however, did display individual courage and flexibility in avoiding complete defeat and not losing any territory for his nation (McNeill & Sedlar, 1968:15).

Egyptian sources are clearly subject to political bias in an effort to glorify their own leadership. For the Egyptians, this battle was an attempt to reclaim Syrian territory that had formerly been under their control. In achieving this objective, it was indeed not a success as Egypt did not gain any additional territory (Sandars, 1985:30-31). It was not however a complete failure, as the Hittites were not able to gain any additional territory themselves. It was significant however, as it would be the last military conflict between these two great nations (Sandars, 1985:31).

The reason this battle has received its own subsection is due to the fact that historical accounts of this event state that Sea Peoples groups were involved in this conflict as mercenaries on the side of the Egyptians. A specific group, to be addressed comprehensively in a later chapter are the so-called Sherden/Shardana people and are described as being the personal guard of Ramesses II at Kadesh (Santosuosso, 1996:428). A group acting as a Pharaoh's bodyguard must have had a fairly great impact on the Egyptian empire in order to be granted this extremely important assignment. This demonstrates the impact of these migrating people into the Ancient Near East. If their influence on Egypt was so substantial, it may have also been significant on the later development of the unique Phoenician civilisation.

2.5 CONCLUSION

To reiterate, it was the primary function of this chapter only to provide a brief background to the Egyptians and Hittites in order to orientate the reader around the socio-political

atmosphere in the region in question leading up to 1200 BCE. The historical records left behind by these two great empires (particularly the Egyptians) are integral to any study of the Sea Peoples groups and will be analysed intricately. Perilously little information has until now been uncovered that has been left behind by the Sea Peoples themselves and this is why a strong reliance on foreign sources is unavoidable. These two powerful civilisations and the records they have provided us with will be relied upon heavily throughout the course of this research. The different groups of Sea Peoples have deliberately not been mentioned as they will be mentioned in a dedicated chapter. If these Sea Peoples groups did indeed have an impact on these extremely powerful civilisations, it cannot be outside the realm of thought that they too had an influence of other peoples in the region in similar time periods.

CHAPTER 3

THE CANAANITES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide brief but insightful information into the history, culture and societal norms of the Late Bronze Age Canaanites. Additionally, the manner in which the Canaanites related to the peoples around them will also be analysed. Particular aspects of this society will be looked at with some emphasis and serve as the basis of later comparisons in order to surmise how much, if at all, the character of these people changed from the Late Bronze Age into the Iron Age. The aspects covered will include history, accompanied by brief notes on religion, cultural and political practices as well as chronologies. Very importantly, maritime traits will be granted the most detailed analysis. In terms of maritime traits, textual and iconographic evidence will be used widely in order to describe ship designs as well as the appearance and practices of crew members.

The regional terms Canaan and Palestine will be used interchangeably within this section. Parts of northern Syria formed part of Canaanite culture during the Bronze Age and the two regions are often coupled as Syro-Canaanite. Here the two will be strictly termed Canaanite if they are thought to fall within this cultural domain. Although the terms Canaan and Canaanite are used in various sources after 1200 BCE, for the purpose of this work any reference made after 1200 BCE will be referred to as the Phoenician period. This is because 1200 BCE is the accepted transitional period from Late Bronze Age Canaanite to Iron Age Phoenician in this research. The year 1200 BCE will be given a short sub-section of its own in the chapter dedicated to the Phoenicians as this is the accepted year of their establishment as an Iron Age society.

A large number of scholarly works will be utilised within the contents of this chapter and will be acknowledged as such in the appropriate sections. The works of these scholars will be used, compared and contrasted. The interpretations of this author will be brought forward and clearly illustrated in such a way that they should clearly fit the framework introduced in this research.

3.2 UNDERSTANDING THE CANAANITES

In order to follow a logical and chronological order, the Canaanites will be looked at first, followed by a chapter based on the Phoenicians. The Late Bronze Age period will act as a focal point in this section. Brief discussions on Canaanite geography and types of settlement will be undertaken to orientate discussions and present insights. These summarised discussions will be accompanied with chronologies. An important factor to take note of is that the area regarded as Canaan in the Late Bronze Age was reduced significantly going into the Phoenician period with various populations migrating into the region. Brief descriptions of Canaanite religious practices and pantheon will be presented primarily from evidence found at Ugarit (Ras Shamra). Any other applicable societal norms will also be discussed in brief.

Maritime characteristics such as ship design and cargo will also be investigated as well as how central the sea was to the lives of Late Bronze Age Canaanites. Examples of a maritime nature such as various wreck sites, textual recordings and pictographic representations will be utilised in this endeavour. In a later chapter focused on comparing and contrasting the groups central to this overall topic there will be a section specifically based on the religious practices of Canaanite and Phoenician sailors. In this chapter however, only general religious commentary will be made available in the section on the Canaanites. As the predecessors of the Phoenicians, the Canaanites form an essential facet of this study.

3.2.1 Location and Geography of Ancient Canaan

Due to the fact that writers contemporary to the Ancient Canaanite time period did not correspond with one another with regard to the exact borders of Canaan, the territory cannot be given precise boundaries in the modern political sense. Rather, its borders can be surmised by its known contacts with surrounding peoples as well as the common cultural traits that made Canaan a unique cultural landscape (the physical remains and writings of the Ancient Canaanites). In modern geographic terms, Canaan is thought to have fallen into a number of countries including; Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel, Egypt as well as the West Bank and Gaza Strip regions (Noll, 2001:18).

Aside from its favourable position along the Eastern Mediterranean coastline, ancient Canaan also fell between the territories controlled by longstanding ancient superpowers of the Near East namely Egypt, Anatolia (Hittites) and Mesopotamia. Different ancient

civilisations at different periods originated in these three areas. The central positioning and fertile land meant that ancient Canaan was a highly valuable area to any ambitious power and was therefore often a conflict area, routinely under some form of early colonialism (Noll, 2001:19). The fertility of this land was an important factor that contributed to the appeal of this particular region and it is in fact known as part of the so-called Fertile Crescent. As the name demonstrates, this stretch of land is made up of portions of extremely fertile soil. Although it is not the purpose of this section to provide a detailed geographic analysis of the Fertile Crescent, brief notes will now be provided due to the fact that this is what made the region so inhabitable and sought after. South of Hebron, large areas of land were perfectly suited for use as grazing lands as well as for the planting of certain cereal crop varieties. The presence of various water supplies and alluvial soil in the valley areas of Beth Shean and Jezreel also attracted many ancient settlers. The Succoth Valley and many other locations along the Rift Valley passing through this region were not only of strategic importance but also excellent landscapes in terms of agriculture and settlement. The westerly portions of Palestine, closest to the coast, are generally characterised by adequate rainfall and comfortable climatic conditions. As one moves southward however, the rainfall declines and conditions become harsher with less suitable soil types (Mazar, 1990:2-9). No more detail on this particular topic will be provided as the only goal of this short sub-topic is to show that fertility of soil and favourable conditions were available to ancient people entering this region, making it attractive and in many instances worth starting conflict over.

As far as strategic importance, this so-called Fertile Crescent also served as an inter-connection of many international trade routes in the Eastern Mediterranean region. Ancient Canaan served as a link between Mesopotamia (and Syria), in the north and Egypt in the south as already mentioned. Through the history of Canaan it also had unavoidable contact with various other regional civilisations due to its positioning, including the Hittites in the Late Bronze Age. Its positioning along the Mediterranean coastline as well as between many powerful nations over time meant that Canaan was always hosting (voluntarily or not) international trading groups, envoys and moving military forces (Mazar, 1990: 3-9).

The parts of Canaan that became part of Phoenicia in the Iron Age I period will be given specific attention as they are directly relevant to this overall study. The borders that constituted Phoenicia were considerably smaller than those of Canaan before 1200 BCE. As already mentioned, this was largely due to the fact that migrating populations laid claim to much of this land and reduced Canaanite control. Therefore, regions focused upon will not be randomly selected but will be locations that have definitive cultural/societal significance (Ugarit) or continuous habitation from the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age periods.

3.2.2 Who Were the Ancient Canaanites

This subsection will provide a description of who the Late Bronze Age Canaanites were, in order to be able to compare and contrast them with other groups at a later stage. The objective here is to provide a historical and general description of the Canaanites in terms of their common origins, culture, way of life, political structure, involvement in maritime activities and relations with foreign peoples.

Were the Canaanites one, autonomous group in the years leading up to 1200 BCE? The answer to this question is not a simple one. Ancient scholars named the inhabitants of this region Canaanites but these people were not necessarily all the same in terms of their views and ways of life. Clear differentiating characteristics of the people in this region are also not readily available in the archaeological record (Noll, 2001:15). So one could actually say the answer to the question posed is perhaps yes and no. Yes in terms of the fact that there are certain features of these people that can be seen throughout the region. On the other hand, due to the fact that there was perhaps diversity amongst these people, the answer could be in the negative. If this is indeed the case, it is perhaps difficult to describe the Canaanites as the definite ancestors of all Phoenician culture as they were not a completely united and autonomous culture to begin with. What is known definitively is that Canaan of the Late Bronze Age was not inhabited exclusively by one ethnic group, internationalism was rife and many foreign groups had moved into the area during this period (Golden, 2004:7).

Aside from what has already been introduced with regard to the diversity amongst the Bronze Age Canaanites, it is perhaps significant to provide a working definition of the Canaanite group for the purpose of this undertaking: The Canaanites are the Bronze Age regional predecessors of the Iron Age Phoenicians. Aubet (2001:12) effectively divides the Phoenician and Canaanite time periods with the year 1200 BCE, a date that sees the advent of the Iron Age as well as the beginning of a Dark Age in the Ancient Near East. This definition and timeline will be used here and corresponds with the one provided by the chronology presented by Noll (2001:26). As the Late Bronze Age period is particularly relevant in this study, the Canaanites of this period will be explored, as stated, in more detail than earlier Canaanite periods. That being said, it is important to understand the chronology of a civilisation to understand when and how events/developments took place.

3.2.3 A Brief Chronology of Ancient Canaan

A summarised chronology of the land of Canaan is to follow here so as to better orientate one around the different periods that Canaan went through before the Phoenician age and what each one can be characterised by. This section will be brief and provide background for greater understanding of how this group of people developed over time. As stated, the Late Bronze Age period has been shown to have specific relevance to this research and thus will be concentrated upon in much greater detail than earlier periods and granted its own individual subsection later in the chapter.

Noll (2001:26) provides a chronology for ancient Canaan that fits adequately into the timelines used throughout this work. As with any ancient chronologies, nothing is a certainty but through combining the work of many scholars, Noll's has provided as accurate a chronology as any produced thus far. It states that the Middle Bronze Age was between the years 2000 and 1550 BCE and was characterised by Canaanite city-states. The Middle Bronze Age time period in ancient Canaan saw significant shifts in settlement patterns with large amounts of the populace migrating into urban locales leading to the establishment of these strong city-states (aforementioned) on the eastern Mediterranean coastline. The Middle Bronze Age also shows the rise of more advanced Canaanite craftsmen capable of utilising a combination of bronze and tin in the construction of advanced weaponry and religious representations along with numerous other applications. This period and its new advancements in technology as well as societal structures saw the rise of larger and more complex international trade in the eastern Mediterranean. Along with the establishment of international trade came the influence of outside cultures (Golden, 2004: 5-6). This is a clear signification that even during the Middle Bronze Age period the Canaanites did not function in isolation and were already subject to outside influence. The Middle Bronze Age has only been given very brief attention here in terms of illustrating the success of Canaan during this period but will not be given any more attention for the purpose of this research.

The Late Bronze Age period spanned from 1550 to 1200 BCE and was a time when Canaan was predominantly under Egyptian rule and influence. The end of the Late Bronze Age period (1200 BCE) and the timeline leading into the Iron Age I period will be elaborated on later when dealing with the Phoenicians. The Bronze and Iron Age periods are divided up (by archaeologists) according to the use of materials as well as improvements in technology and skill of the populace. The location, brief descriptions and specific chronological periods of ancient Canaan have been provided at this early stage in order to familiarise the reader

with these fundamental factors of this ancient civilisation before the inhabitants are inspected in greater detail.

3.2.4 Canaanite Urban Centres leading up to the Late Bronze Age

Early urbanisation in Canaan will be used as an introduction to a more detailed examination of the Late Bronze Canaanites and their origins. Furthermore, the known urban centres here will be looked at again during the Phoenician Age to uncover definitive continuity into the Iron Age. The occurrence of urbanisation in Canaan must not be looked at in isolation but rather as a pattern that took shape throughout the Ancient Near East (Amiran, 1970:83). It is well known that a number of the Late Bronze Age urban centres did endure into the Phoenician age.

Byblos and Tyre are thought to have been important Canaanite centres dating back all the way to the Early Bronze Age. The famous ancient Greek historian, Herodotus, dated Tyre to approximately 2750 BCE and this approximate date is complemented by the known archaeological record. Byblos during this early period was a more influential urban centre and was already active in trade networks on an international scale. It was a major cedar wood supplier to Egyptian pharaohs who used this wood type to undertake large building projects. The inhabitants of Byblos were also already very capable ship builders at this juncture. There are Egyptian sources dating back to approximately 2600 BCE attesting to this. Egyptian influence in Byblos during the Early Bronze Age is definitely present to a large extent already and this is evident in a number of societal spheres including art. Even from this early period it seems that relations between Egypt and Byblos were not on an equitable basis and Egypt already seems to have been in a dominant position. There are indications that towards the end of the Early Bronze period there was some destructive activity at sites such as Byblos, not necessarily at the hand of the Egyptians but rather by other invading forces, including outside peoples such as a group known as the Amorites. The advent of the Middle Bronze Age after this instability at some locales saw an increase of Egyptian control and influence over most cities in Canaan, as shown archaeologically by features such as the Egyptian type obelisks at Byblos from this period. Further, during the Middle Bronze Age Byblos is seemingly still commercially active and it is at this point where Ugarit also becomes a trading city with evidence showing trade links between these locations and places such as Mari, Crete as well as other destinations (Aubet, 2001:18-21). Both Ugarit and Byblos continued as prominent urban centres into the Late Bronze Age, with Byblos remaining a very active port for Egyptian trading activities. Other Late Bronze Age sites that archaeology

has shown to have been important ports of call on the eastern Mediterranean mainland include Ashkelon, Dor and what became the Phoenician city of Abu Hawam where international material remains such as pottery have been uncovered clearly illustrating involvement in widespread trading activities (Ahlström, 1993:218-221). If Dor was an important Canaanite port city in the Late Bronze Age already and a Sea Peoples group (Sikila) took charge of it and settled there after the upheavals of 1200 BCE then this itself shows a decisive influence.

Of the urban centres mentioned above, Tyre becomes the most prominent during the Iron Age (first colonial type activity) with Byblos also remaining very active. Ugarit however undergoes great destruction leading up to 1200 BCE and is not an influential feature during the Phoenician period. This will be elaborated upon in the next section.

3.2.5 Late Bronze Age Canaan

The Late Bronze Age Canaanites will be under investigation here and descriptions of the people, government, foreign domination and maritime activity will all form part of discussions here. Information provided here on the Late Bronze Age period in Canaan will be utilised at numerous intervals in this research as a whole. The Late Bronze Age Canaanites were the last so-called native Canaanite culture (foreign influence already present to a degree) in the region before 1200 BCE when the Phoenician civilisation ascended into what may have no longer been a strictly Canaanite society but rather more of a combination of Canaanite and outside influences to a larger extent than ever before.

3.2.5.1 Canaan under Subjugation: Historical Sources and Settlement Patterns

The Late Bronze Age period in Canaan can be aptly described in two words, Egyptian domination. The powerful Egyptians exercised authority over this area in some form or another throughout the majority of this period. With the establishment of the New Kingdom in Egypt after the removal of the foreign Hyksos rulers (concluding the Middle Bronze Age), pharaohs began to expand their interests and exercise influence over other parts of the Ancient Near East. In the second half of the fifteenth century BCE, an Egyptian pharaoh by the name of Thutmose III was responsible for a number of successful military incursions into Canaan. This pharaoh was the leader responsible for a siege on the Canaanite city of Megiddo in approximately 1482 BCE. A noteworthy comment here with regard to Thutmose

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III is that he was seemingly very heavily influenced by Hatshepsut during his reign and was perhaps not really in power in the fashion one would expect an autocratic pharaoh would be. This is attested to by the fact that it was only after her death that Thutmose III undertook extensive aggressive expansion into Canaan and this could be because she had not allowed it at an earlier time (Ahlström, 1993:219 & 226).

These military activities led to the subjugation of various Canaanite city states with varying degrees of control. In southern Canaan, Egyptian dominance was the most apparent (Golden, 2004:7) largely to its obvious proximity to Egypt. An interesting perspective worthy of mention is that the earlier Hyksos rulers of Egypt are thought to perhaps be of Canaanite origin by many scholars (Kuhrt, 1995:181). This could show that the ancient Canaanites perhaps didn't always fit the role of the oppressed but, in some instances, the oppressor. This is a fascinating possibility but will not be looked at further here. Although the Egyptians were the dominant power in Canaan during this time, other powers did challenge them for control of Canaan and its inhabitants.

The dawning of the Late Bronze Age era in Canaan had a great impact on its people. The Hittites, Hurrians and Egyptians all became powerful kingdoms during this period and vied for power over Canaan. As shown earlier, these powers struggled over this land due to its natural resources (cedar wood, copper, fertile soil and oil) as well as its strategic positioning right in the centre of all the states competing for authority of the Ancient Near East. The people of Canaan were affected by this on a social, political and economic level. They were used as slaves, forcefully drafted into militaries and taxed by these foreign occupiers. It must be further emphasised that Egypt seems to have been more of an authority over Canaan than any other power for the majority of this period (Noll, 2001:109). This is why Egyptian sources are so influential when studying Canaan at this time. The Canaanite culture went through much turmoil and hardship during this era and may have already been more susceptible to outside influence as it had already been forced upon them for centuries. A society so subject to so many influences will undoubtedly take on foreign characteristics.

The Late Bronze Age in Canaan has presented scholars with an abundance of valuable information in the form of archaeological evidence as well as textual remains. Although much evidence is indeed available on this time period in Canaan (especially from Ugarit, to be dealt with later), it tends to often cause obstacles to accurate interpretation. Perspectives are often in definite contrast with one another in terms of how the Canaanites experienced the Late Bronze Age because of the fact that the archaeological record sometimes portrays a vastly different situation to that of the written record. Egyptian accounts such as the lists found in the el-Amarna letters (location south of Cairo) give the impression that Canaan,

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during the time period in question, consisted of numerous thriving urban locations with active economic/commercial sectors. At certain sites, the archaeology paints a different picture based on physical remains. These remains show that this time period in the region can be characterised by destruction and hardship with many locations being deserted (Gonen, 1984:61).

The strictly archaeological perspective taken by Gonen (1984) in her research is an attempt to completely eliminate possible bias of textual remains and consequently focuses only on the physical. The method utilised in this instance comprises a number of approaches. These include settlement analyses done in order to establish which Canaanite settlements were occupied during strictly the Middle Bronze Age and which ones date back to the Late Bronze Age era, how big these settlements/cities were as well as the urban nature and makeup of the sites. With regard to urban characteristics, the question of whether a city is fortified or not may indicate its significance in terms of strategic location (Gonen, 1984:62).

Based on this archaeological research of settlements in Canaan, only seventeen of the seventy-seven Canaanite settlements endured from the Middle Bronze Age into the Late Bronze Age (Gonen, 1984:69). Brody (2002:73) has similar notions based on physical evidence depicting a definite decrease in population and urban settlement with a trend towards smaller settlements along the eastern Mediterranean coastal regions during the Late Bronze. This is a view also followed by Ahlström (1993) who states that many inland areas of the region were characterised by definite abandonment during the Late Bronze Age but were definitely inhabited during the Middle Bronze Age period. Not all of these processes are however thought to be due to the Egyptians exclusively but other factors may have played a role. An early archaeological survey undertaken in the inland and mountainous territory of Ephraim shows a greater decrease in numbers of settlements in the region than presented above, the number dropping from fifty-five to five but this also takes into account smaller inland settlements. Other parts of Canaan during this period show slightly differing settlement transformations to this but the general pattern is definitely a case where settlement and population numbers in the Late Bronze Age did show a decrease going from the Middle to Late Bronze Ages respectively (Ahlström, 1993:219).

Taking into consideration that not all destructive processes in Canaan during this time were due to Egyptian expansion, one can state that in some cases the diminishment in size may depict a negative or more destructive image of Egyptian occupation of Canaan as it may be that the Egyptians only maintained the Canaanite settlements that were of economic value to them and sacked many others during their occupation of the region.

Even with the clearly conflicting evidence shown above, we can still surmise that Late Bronze Age Canaan can be identified with a number of independent city-states. These states were controlled from sizeable metropolitan areas that were heavily fortified against attack. Their strategic positioning in terms of sea trade specifically was what made them perennial targets of the formidable powers of the era (Egyptians and Hittites) as much international contact between peoples of the ancient Mediterranean was done using the sea as a highway (Merrillees, 1986:44).

As elaborated upon already, the powerful Egyptians did indeed have supreme control and influence over the majority of Canaanite territories for the greater part of the Late Bronze Age period, from approximately the sixteenth to twelfth centuries BCE (Kuhrt, 1995:317). Ramesses VI reigned from 1142 to 1134 BCE and it is at the end of this Pharaoh's reign that Egypt is thought to have lost authority over its Canaanite interests (Kuhrt, 1995:209). Archaeological evidence states that the Egyptians were in control of fifteen to twenty large urban centres in Canaan during this era (Noll, 2001:117). This foreign involvement in the land of Canaan did have an impact (negative in nature) on the culture of the Canaanites, as supported by Mazar (1990:232). There was undoubtedly a huge amount of Egyptian impact over this region throughout this time period but one must also state that this control was not always uncontested. Military campaigns over a long period of time had to be continuously carried out by the Egyptians either to put down Canaanite rebellions or to stop the advancement of rival powers in the region. Ahlström (1993:230-236) gives an in-depth analysis of these activities with one example from the fourteenth century BCE when the Egyptians seemingly lost control over the extremely valuable city-state of Ugarit at the hands of the Hittites.

There are a substantial number of Egyptian sources available regarding the era mentioned including military accounts, temple inscriptions as well as pictographic evidence found on Egyptian tomb walls. The temple inscriptions include those found at Karnak, where military accounts are (as is common) from a royal point of view and pictographic evidence often depicts Canaanite cities under massive military assault at the hands of the Egyptian forces (Kuhrt, 1995:317). The el-Amarna letters (briefly mentioned earlier) are extremely helpful to one studying the relationship between Egypt and Canaan during this period. They are primarily made up of written communications between Egyptian Pharaohs and the rulers tasked with governing the various Canaanite cities under imperial control (Kuhrt, 1995:317-318). This particular collection of written communication, written in Akkadian, includes some 360 clay tablets (Mazar, 1990:233). Ahlström (1993:239) has a slightly different interpretation of the makeup of this correspondence and states that the collection is made up of about 400 tablets (uncovered in 1870 with more finds since) including not only pure

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Akkadian but also some Hurrian and regionalised Canaanite language patterns. The Pharaohs in power during this time period included Amenophis III and the controversial Akhenaten whose drastic religious reforms were not popular amongst many sectors of the populace. Correspondence included letters to cities such as Byblos, Ashkelon, Akko, Hazor, Shechem, Megiddo, Jerusalem, Gezer and Damascus. Many of these letters are unclear as far as the names of rulers and/or cities are concerned but thanks to prolonged research in fields such as archaeology, a number of these uncertainties have been resolved (Finkelstein *et al,* 2002:196). Use of these letters, inscribed on various types of tablets using diverse methods, can be very helpful not only with regard to textual analyses but also in providing scholars with the chemical and mineral composition of the materials used as tablets. This can give a researcher an indication of where tablets originated (Finkelstein *et al,* 2002:203). The lack of unity between the Canaanite city-states is shown by the tablets as they refer to violent conflict between them and how the city-states called on the Egyptians for military assistance in these cases (Ahlström, 1993:240-241).

A definite drawback of this particular set of textual remains is the fact that the timeline over which they were compiled was not very long at all and only covers a time span of between twenty and thirty years (they were compiled during the latter part of the eighteenth dynasty). Therefore, they do not provide an indication of events and/or conditions prior or post compilation (Kuhrt, 1995:318). A thorough chronology of Egyptian influence is provided by Singer (1988) who gives a very definitive account of the different phases of the Egyptian colonisation of Canaan from the campaigns of Merenptah to Egyptian influence during the Ramesside period. Singer (1988:1) states that through utilising a combination of archaeological evidence from Canaan and textual evidence from Egypt, this time period can indeed be dealt with comprehensively.

3.2.5.2 Administrative Makeup of Late Bronze Age Canaanite City-States

During Egyptian occupation of Canaan, primarily in the latter part of the Bronze Age, cities were governed by crowned princes (principalities) and were largely independent of each other. These cities were fortified from military aggression and located along the coastline of what is primarily Lebanon today (Kuhrt, 1995:319). A number of these cities persevered in one form or another into the Phoenician Age. The fact that these city states were largely independent of one another could lead one to believe uniformity of societal norms may not have necessarily always been a feature of Canaan at this time.

The rulers of the different Canaanite city-states were primarily handpicked and educated by the pharaoh. The sons of these rulers were also sent to Egypt to be educated as future rulers. The reasons for this were probably twofold: firstly to ensure an Egyptian indoctrinated future to these cities but secondly to ensure loyalty from current rulers as the Pharaoh had possession of their son/s. These rulers paid homage to their Egyptian overlord in differing ways including receiving Egyptian officials cordially, paying taxes in many forms and military support if called upon (Noll, 2001:119-120). Additionally, these Canaanite rulers had to swear allegiance to the Egyptian pharaoh in power during their reigns (Ahlström, 1993:218). Although the Canaanite rulers did swear an oath and pay tribute to the Egyptian pharaoh, it seems as though they were never fully placed within the economic control of the Egyptians and were able to function independently so long as they paid their tribute when expected to do so (Ahlström, 1993: 248).

The fact that these city-states were largely independent of one another could have further assisted Egyptian dominance as if these locations saw one another as competition, they would be less likely to unite and rise up against their Egyptian overlords (Mazar, 1990:237). It would be much easier to suppress small regionalised uprisings than resistance by an entire culture. The lack of unification mentioned is clearly illustrated by the following example. In the early fourteenth century BCE, whilst Canaan was very much under Egyptian domination, the Canaanite coastal city of Byblos was under the rule of a king by the name of Rib-Adda, who was an Egyptian subject ruler. This particular king was in contact with the Egyptians on a continuous basis as is definitively stipulated in the Amarna finds (letters 59-63), where letters from him are evident specifically during the reign of the Egyptian pharaohs Amenophis III and Amenophis IV. A fascinating element of Egyptian rule over this territory is provided by Rib-Abba. He makes a plea for Egyptian support stating that another Canaanite kingdom, Amurru (each of the Canaanite regions at this stage had subjugated kings), was placing pressure on him to abandon his loyalty to Egypt. The kings/princes of these regional Canaanite states were thought of as kings by local populace but they had to pay annual tribute to their Egyptian superiors as stated. These different kings were however rivals to one another and always looking for Egyptian support to gain territorial or any other type of advantage over one another. The indirect form of rule of the Egyptians is shown by the fact that there is no indication of them becoming involved in this localised conflict, allowing these Canaanite rivals to undertake their own competitive activities (Liverani, 2004:97). This example clearly shows that the Canaanites of the Late Bronze Age period were clearly not one, united entity but rather several rival groups. This could perhaps mean that they may have been more susceptible to outside influence. Culturally, it also leads one to believe that there were many variations amongst the Canaanite city-states. This being said, one could

also argue that cultural continuity was also more possible due to the fact that the Egyptians did not necessarily force cultural practices onto these people due to their largely indirect method of rule.

The effective functioning of the system of influence (indirect, not always successful as there are examples of uprisings during the Late Bronze Age) followed by the Egyptians in Canaan is evident by the reign of Amenhotep III during the mid-fourteenth century BCE. This is evident due to the fact that there was very little military presence on the part of the Egyptians in Canaan at this time and the princes of the Canaanites cities are governing without much interference and paying tribute to the Egyptians routinely (Ahlström, 1993:237). This lack of military presence can lead one to make the easy assumption that the Egyptians did not feel the need to station a large number of military personnel in the area as all interests were running smoothly.

This effective indirect rule did however become more direct at times. During the Nineteenth Dynasty, Egyptian rule became more visible and hands-on in Canaan due to the fact that the Hittites became more powerful during this time and the Egyptians felt their position of authority was under threat. Therefore more military forces were placed in the land of Canaan, taxes increased and the Canaanites were more brutally oppressed (Noll, 2001:121).

As is so often the case with textual remains the majority of information we have on Late Bronze Age Canaan is from an elitist perspective. This means that it was predominantly the wealthy and educated who were in a position to leave behind this type of evidence and they only made up a small portion of the population. The lower classes however, who made up the largest section of the population are often silent or mentioned only in brief in textual evidence. We gain more of our insight into them through the archaeological record. What is thought to be known about the Canaanites is that they too were separated into different groups or societal hierarchies. The first and largest was the peasantry, they were farmers who did not own land and worked under feudalistic conditions for wealthy landowners. The other section of the commoner population was the more skilled artisans who were responsible for the manufacture and crafting of numerous products including pottery and textiles. Other smaller groups of the Late Bronze Age population of Canaan included semi-nomadic pastoralists known as the Shashu (Noll, 2001:121). To generalise, ancient Canaan was made up of a populace with Western Semitic characteristics. During the Late Bronze Age, other peoples aside from the Shashu also entered the region. These peoples included the Hurrians (mentioned earlier) from northern Syria, whose unique names were present in

the region at this time illustrating their presence. There are various other groups thought to have entered the region of Canaan during the Late Bronze Age period including Sea Peoples groups. There is a strong school of thought stating that all this movement did indeed create instability leading up to 1200 BCE. This in turn could have undoubtedly had a marked influence on Canaanite culture, an already subjugated culture.

The most commercial activity undertaken by Late Bronze Age Canaanite city-states, as shown by the Amarna letters and others, took place during the fourteenth century BCE where the cities of Byblos, Tyre and Ugarit were heavily involved in large regional trading routes throughout the eastern Mediterranean on behalf of the Egyptians primarily. It is from these and a number of other textual sources from the cities in the Late Bronze Age that it becomes apparent that the upheavals of 1200 BCE were not necessarily sudden and unexpected but that there was indeed signs of instability leading up to it (Aubet, 2001:22-23). A few of the regional centres mentioned here and in earlier descriptions undoubtedly showed continuity and economic activity throughout the majority of the Bronze Age period and even leading into the Iron Age. This can assist any arguments of cultural perseverance and the activities that took place at these locations in the Late Bronze Age leading into the Early Iron Age can be used to test this perseverance.

3.2.6 Ugarit

Any study of Late Bronze Canaanite history should include a substantial section dedicated to Ugarit. Furthermore, it can be used as a case study of a Late Bronze Age Canaanite city-state as it is thought to be very similar in makeup to others in the region. This is attested by Kuhrt (1995:303), who states that Ugarit has an abundance of textual evidence but is not necessarily a unique example as this region had many cities very similar to Ugarit during this time.

Ugarit was the capital city of the Canaanite state of the same name. It is located approximately one kilometre inland from the Mediterranean coastline of modern day Syria and reached its zenith in the second millennium BCE (Late Bronze Age) before its decline around 1200 BCE. The location is today known as Ras Shamra and has been archaeologically scrutinised for nearly eight decades (Yon, 2000:7). It was first unearthed in 1929 by world-renowned archaeologist Claude Schaffer. His finds, along with the finds of other researchers since then have been shared amongst a few different locations since discovery. The Louvre Museum in France as well as museums in Aleppo and Damascus in

Syria have played home to numerous artefacts from the site but since the conclusion of the Second World War in 1945, the vast majority of finds have been kept locally and with the opening of a museum in the town of Latakia which falls within the direct vicinity of the site, this has become even more prevalent. Due to the multi-national location of artefacts, scholars from these different countries have worked together in numerous studies on the site and its historic treasures (Caubet, 2000:216).

Ancient Ugarit has been described as a truly cosmopolitan centre; this title is clearly justified by the various races of people thought to have inhabited the city and the fact that numerous languages were evidently spoken there. These languages included Egyptian, Hurrian, Hittite, Canaanite, Akkadian and perhaps more. No strictly Aegean language remains have, as of yet, been uncovered at this location. The evidence of this diversity of languages is provided in the form of clay tablets found at Ras Shamra (Sandars, 1985:38).

Other sources from Ugarit include documents found in tablet form compiled in various languages and dialects. These include legal and administrative/political documents in Akkadian which was at the time the language of international correspondence. Commercial and private letters and records in regional dialect have also been uncovered as well as tablets in Hurrian and a possible Cypro-Mycenaean linguistic type but this is not uncontested. Very significant are the large quantity of religious texts unearthed at the site (Drower, 1968:3). These religious texts form the basis of our understanding of Canaanite religion.

Ugarit is given its own sub-section due to the fact that there has been an abundance of textual and archaeological data uncovered at this site as already mentioned (more than any other in Canaan). Kuhrt (1995:300) states that texts found at Ugarit provide useful insight into the societal norms of a Canaanite city between the years 1400 and 1200 BCE (the dawn of the Dark Age). This evidence provides researchers with some of the tools needed in order to try and understand Canaanite civilisation prior to the advent of the Iron Age. Although it is a helpful source, it must be conceded that Ugarit does not necessarily have identical characteristics to the other Canaanite states and differentiation between states is likely. Nevertheless it is the most informative location with regard to the Canaanite way of life to be uncovered to date.

3.2.6.1 Geography and Climate

Geographically, Ugarit covered an area of approximately two thousand square kilometres with its borders thought to have been Mount Saphon in the North, the river of Nah res-Sinn in the South, the Alawi mountain range to the east and the Mediterranean in the West (Yon, 2006:9). Climatically, the region is undoubtedly well suited to human habitation (even a fairly large population can be sustained). Mountains on the eastern side protect the site from the desert winds of Syria. This, along with its vicinity to the sea makes the location favourable to agricultural activity. Average rainfall is approximately eight hundred millilitres and moderate temperatures further aid human activity (Yon, 2006:12).

The site of its capital city, Ugarit, is enclosed by large amounts of fertile land and is thought to have been a location of continuous human occupation for the better part of six thousand years dating back to the eighth millennium BCE. The port of Mahadu or Minet el-Beida, translated to "White Harbour" (Drower, 1968:4), situated on the Mediterranean coastline west of the capital served as the maritime heartbeat of the state with the vast majority of seaward activity passing through this harbour (Yon, 2006:9). This particular site was able to hold vessels of a large size at port and although the Ugaritic coastline may have had at least four ports, this one was unquestionably the most prominent (Drower, 1968:4). Clearly, the people of Ugarit were active in terms of maritime trade in the Late Bronze Age period. The question however, is whether or not the people of Ugarit and Canaan as a whole became more active or undertook maritime activity of a different nature due to outside influences at the end of the Late Bronze Age period.

3.2.6.2 Trade at Ugarit

The fact that so many differing languages and people from varying locales had any type of stake in Ugarit in itself indicates a large amount of foreign engagement. This type of connectivity would immediately lead someone to believe trade must have played a central role at this ancient hub without even looking at the specifics. This being said, for the sake of thoroughness, a brief explanation of trading activities at Ugarit follows.

The island of Cyprus is positioned not a long distance west of Ugarit and due to this relations between the two locations were definitely common and prosperous. Commercial documentation found at Ugarit validates this and some of these texts refer to the importation of supplies such as wheat, oil and copper from Cyprus. The evidence of trade between the

two sites is predominantly from a Late Bronze Age context (Yon, 2006:192). It seems many goods from Ugarit passed through Cyprus (160 Km's away), Cyprus acted as somewhat of a midway point of exchange for Ugaritic goods. This being said, Ugaritic seagoing vessels are thought to have been able to sail to locations throughout the region including Sidon, Byblos, Akko, Tyre, Egyptian ports and possibly the Aegean. Evidence of these maritime activities come in the form of textual correspondence such as, in the case of Crete, a tax benefit from Amishtamru (prince of Ugarit) to Sinaranu for a successful return home from Caphtor (Crete) (Sandars, 1985:39).

In the sections to follow information gained at Ugarit from a Late Bronze Age context will be utilised once again in terms of shipping, trade as well as religious norms. The section immediately following this one presents a general description of Canaanite religion before 1200 BCE and will use Ugarit as a foundation due to the fact that it is at this location that so much data of a religious nature has been collected dating back to the time period in question.

3.2.7 Canaanite Mythology and Religious Norms

Canaanite religion, although somewhat regionally differentiated did indeed have numerous common elements throughout its history leading into the Late Bronze Age period and definitely did show continuity into the Iron Age. Brief insight into how religion was practiced as well as the functioning of the pantheon of ancient Canaan leading up to 1200 BCE will now be presented. Ugarit provides an abundance of information on religion in Canaan in the Late Bronze Age period and will be used as a basis here as mentioned above. The goal here is not to provide new insights into Canaanite religion or religious practices but rather just to form a greater knowledge of what is already known for comparative purposes.

It was only when the Ras Shamra texts (written in cuneiform) were uncovered that we gained noteworthy insight into the religion of the Canaanites prior to 1200 BCE. Before then the majority of information came from much later time periods with questionable reliability. The textual remains uncovered at Ras Shamra not only provide new information but can also be used to substantiate or disprove later sources on the Canaanites and Phoenicians. In the accounts of Philo of Byblos, Mochus of Sidon and Lucian of Samosata, the Ras Shamra texts have been helpful in verifying their legitimacy and validity, at least to a degree. Although some of these sources are in actuality based more on the later Phoenicians they do still shed much light and corroboration when dealing with the Canaanites of the Late

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Bronze Age period. Further information on the religion of the Canaanites comes from Old Testament sources but this is generally orientated around portraying these people in a negative manner and this must be observed when using this source. Archaeological evidence of early Canaanite religion includes the remains of altars and other artefacts associated with cultic practices (Drower, 1968:19-20).

The Ras Shamra texts of Ugarit include accounts on the relationship between kings and the divine, the tribulation of the Canaanite principle deity Ba'al as well as various other religious entries. This information is found on six primary tablets (Clifford, 1990:55). Here only the religious aspects of this source from Ugarit are discussed.

3.2.7.1 Cultic Architecture

The architecture of religious buildings helps us understand much about the religion of a particular group and can also show how things may change over time. A Late Bronze Age Canaanite temple was characterised by "an anteroom, a larger pillared room or open courtyard, and a sanctuary beyond, usually on a higher level reached by a short flight of steps: in this sanctuary was the altar" (Drower, 1968:20). Two temples following this design but on a larger scale (with seemingly imposing tower structures) have been uncovered at Ugarit (Drower, 1968:20). The two temples dominated the landscape of Ugarit and could be spotted by sailors far out at sea and were dedicated to two important Canaanite deities, namely Ba'al and Dagan. Places of worship were not only uncovered on such a grand scale at Ugarit but also in other parts of the city on a smaller and more personal level (Noll, 2001:243-244).

3.2.7.2 Pantheon, Belief System and Role of the Priestly Class

Canaanite priests, as shown by Ugaritic examples played an integral part in society and were of a very high status. The remains of the residence of what is thought to be a senior priest at Ugarit possesses a library and is one of the most affluent, in size as well as form, of any uncovered at Ugarit. This particular residence appears to have the characteristics of a location used for the training of scribes and other religious officials (Drower, 1968:21-22).

Polytheism was very much a feature on Ugaritic/Canaanite religion during the Late Bronze Age as was the case with other many other religions of the time. Although these people

worshipped various gods, there is a definite ranking (four levels) system present with some deities undoubtedly being regarded as more powerful and significant than others. This ranking held two deities above all others namely El and Asherah. El was seen as the creator of the earth and Asherah was seen as a maternal figure of the gods. Below these two in the hierarchy of Ugaritic/Canaanite divinities were the gods seen to have been forces of nature. Ba'al (as has already been mentioned) was the most significant of these gods and was a storm (sky) divinity, often depicted at war with his brothers, Mot and Yam. Mot was related to the earth and death whereas Yam was related with the sea and chaos. Aside from the deities already mentioned, others also performed important functions including Anat, who was the wife of Ba'al and affiliated with war (Noll, 2001:244-245). Ba'al was undoubtedly worshipped on a very large scale in Canaan in an abundance of locations in the region. In literary accounts from Ugarit, Ba'al is seen as a warrior visible to the Canaanites as rain, thunder and lightning. Although he was extremely prominent in the Canaanite pantheon, it was El not Ba'al who was the highest ranking deity as a creator divinity and paternal figure (often shown as fully bearded with white coloured hair). There is some speculation and theory available when it comes to the relationship between Ba'al and El, some of which states that there may have been some type of conflict between the two with Ba'al coming out the victor (Drower, 1968:24-25). This may give an explanation as to why Ba'al is depicted in so many more contexts in ancient Canaan when compared with El.

These deities as well as numerous others can be given much attention but that is not the purpose of this study and therefore only a brief description is provided. These deities did unquestionably form a central part in the lives of the Canaanites and are depicted in various locations in various ways but only if such examples are uncovered in such a way that there is clear differentiation with known Phoenician examples will it be studied further. What is easily evident however is that Canaanite religion was heavily influenced by the religions of surrounding ancient Near Eastern societies including the Egyptians and Mesopotamians. In the Late Bronze Age, it is unsurprising that Egyptian influence will be more evident due to Canaan's subjugation under the Egyptians at this time.

3.3 CANAANITE MARITIME ACTIVITY

The Canaanites were an active seagoing nation from early on in their history. Their maritime activity and ship design form an integral aspect of arguments presented in this study and therefore much weight will be placed on these aspects of Canaanite society and development. Although it is thought to only have became a truly specialist undertaking

around the fourteenth century BCE, maritime activity in the Eastern Mediterranean region can be traced back as far as the fourth millennium BCE (Merrillees, 1986:45). The later Phoenicians seem to have developed their maritime activities to an enormous extent with expansive purpose but the earlier Canaanites were definitely active in this regard, particularly commercially (Wachsmann, 2009:39). The reasons why the Phoenicians may have possibly become more developed and active in this sphere will be the topic of later discussion.

Arguments presented by some scholars have not agreed with the ideas that Canaanite seagoing activity was really of significance and these arguments state that it was only in the Iron Age that the inhabitants of this region really became influential maritime leaders. These perspectives must also be taken into account. The research of numerous scholars including Monroe (2007) and Wachsmann (2009) along with ancient textual remains, pictorial evidence and wreck sites shall all be consulted and interpreted. The use of these various resources and methodologies will hopefully assist in providing as accurate descriptions as possible. The maritime capabilities of the Canaanites will later be weighed up against the Phoenicians and Sea Peoples.

3.3.1 Phases of Canaanite Maritime Activity

In terms of Canaanite Maritime activity prior to the second millennium BCE, it is not very well accounted for archaeologically. On the island of Cyprus, in strata thought to date back to the early beginnings of the Bronze Age there have been objects of probable Canaanite origin uncovered. This perhaps illustrates some type of maritime trade but practical knowledge concerning vessels utilised as well as offshore trading systems is scarce for a long enough period of time to make it difficult to establish definitive maritime trading patterns (Sasson, 1966:126). Sasson (1966:127) states that it is only in the second Millennium BCE that Canaanite influence over the Mediterranean Sea becomes more clearly evident. Interestingly, this corresponds with the point in time where Sea Peoples groups are thought to have entered the region (from at least the fourteenth century BCE). The earliest evidence of possible Canaanite ship building however dates back to around 3000 BCE, most likely from Byblos. From these textual remains, cedar wood laden vessels on route to Egypt numbering around forty are described. An unfortunate drawback of this particular source is that it does not specify what type/place of origin these ships had so we cannot conclusively say they were Canaanite built (Smith, 2012:59). The grouping of Canaanite ships known as Byblos ships is a subject of some contention. Scholars like Wachsmann (in Smith, 2012)

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state that this terminology had been used to describe any large merchant type ships from the time and therefore cannot be used to pick up on specific design characteristics or intricacies.

From a Middle Bronze Age context, two examples of ships have been unearthed from the coastal city and urban centre of Byblos. The first representative reproduction of one of these ships is one that is not unfamiliar to an example found on the island of Cyprus and can be described as possessing a robustly built sail-driven vessel. The other representation is characterised by a rectangular cabin present on deck and through using this cabin as a reference point, the dimensions of the vessel would have been as follows: up to ten metres in length by approximately five metres in width with a flattened hull (Sasson, 1966:127).

3.3.2 Late Bronze Age Canaanite Ships and Maritime Activity

Scholars such as Muhly and Save-Soderburgh have argued that ships manufactured in Late Bronze Age Canaan were not of sea going quality but there are arguments that counteract this with evidence to substantiate predominantly from Egypt and Ugarit (Sasson, 1966:127-129).

Egyptian tomb paintings portray much in terms of Canaanite ships of the Late Bronze Age. Comparisons drawn between Egyptian and Canaanite ships of the Late Bronze Age have stated that Canaanite ships did not possess a thick wooden beam from bow to stern as protection from waves like the Egyptian vessels did, perhaps because they did not need this preventative measure. Vertically placed rectangular wooden pieces were used on the outside of the deck of these Canaanite ships in order to prevent large amounts of water from coming on deck. The pieces used on the bow and the stern were particularly high in order to stop water coming on deck from wave impact. The wooden mast of Egyptian and Cretan vessels of the Late Bronze Age were characterised by supportive cables to lessen the possibility of the mast collapsing. Canaanite ships of the time again differed in this way and no supporting cables are visible from Egyptian depictions, only a very broad and sturdy wooden mast is seen (no hogging trusses). Egyptian ships were more elongated than their Canaanite counterparts and the fact that Canaanite vessels had a larger width made them sturdy in the water. The sails of Canaanite ships are also seen to be much larger than Egyptian counterparts and this could possibly be the decisive factor as to why Canaanite ship depictions from the Late Bronze Age often do not possess oars. This comparison falls into the reign of Hatshepsut which is quite an early time period in terms of this study, but is still helpful (Sasson, 1966:129).

Other sources of information regarding maritime activity of the Late Bronze Canaanites have come from Ugarit specifically. Sandars (1985:39) states that Ugarit was a commercial nation relying heavily on seaward trade and because of this the navy played a particularly important role in this city-state, possessing a fleet of an estimated 150 ships. As stated in the section on Ugarit, the shipping lanes of Ugarit went to locations throughout the Levant and even possibly into the Aegean. As far as entry into the Aegean is concerned, although there is some textual evidence, it is scarce and not conclusive. Wachsmann (2009:39) is of the opinion that due to the abundance of textual evidence of a maritime nature found at both Ugarit and in Egypt, it is clear that Canaanite city-states were undoubtedly very active in terms of seaward travel/trade. The fact that sources concerned with Canaanite ships or maritime activities is scarce when it comes to entry as far afield as the Aegean could perhaps mean that it was not undertaken to a large extent, if at all. This is in contrast to abundant evidence of other activities of the Canaanites during the Late Bronze Age period.

As Late Bronze Age Canaan was very much under Egyptian dominance, their maritime activity was very much orientated around what the Egyptians of the time envisaged. Therefore, the Canaanites were involved in much maritime trade but this trade did not necessarily enrich them to a great extent and was rather for the benefit of their Egyptian overlords (Wachsmann, 2009:39). Different Canaanite city-states were for the most part involved in Egyptian dominated maritime activity and although Ugarit has been given much attention due to the abundant number of sources found at this location, the Canaanite cities of Tyre and Byblos are thought to have had very similar economic activities to Ugarit leading one to therefore believe that they probably had the same type of maritime traits (Sandars, 1985:38). To reiterate, Ugarit has been granted more detail in this chapter as it can be regarded as the epitome of Late Bronze Age Canaanite maritime activity and also provides much evidence from this era. Therefore it is used as a model Canaanite city-state of the time period.

The next subsection will entail descriptions of Canaanite wreck sites uncovered thus far through marine archaeological practices and methodologies. The artefacts found at these wreck sites as well as the positions they were found in will hopefully shed light not only on Late Bronze Age Canaanite trade but also on ship design specifications.

3.3.3 Bronze Age Shipwrecks

Within the contents of this discussion on shipwrecks, various Canaanite shipwrecks from a Bronze Age context will be explained individually. More general explanations of ship traits, design styles, specifications, types of cargoes and possible shipping destinations will also be offered where possible. Two of the shipwrecks to be dealt with here were found off the coast of Turkey and are of great value as they have shed light not only on Late Bronze Age ship design but also insight into ancient mariners and cargoes. These shipwrecks have been named the Cape Gelidonya and Uluburun.

3.3.3.1 Uluburun

In the Uluburun example (dating back to approximately 1400 BCE and thought to be Canaanite in origin), the abundance of mercantile remains evident from various locations in the Mediterranean and in varying phases of manufacture (raw and finished) provide a definite indication of complex and far-reaching maritime trade in a Late Bronze Age context. Remains originating from regions such as North Africa, the Near East and the Aegean were all uncovered in the context of this wreck site (Brody, 2002:74). The fact that goods from the Aegean have been found in the context of this wreck could counter earlier statements regarding Canaanite ships going into the Aegean but exceptional examples do not necessarily indicate a pattern and it is possible that this ship possessed these goods from trade along their own home coastline.

The keel-plank (central plank of wood forming part of the hull which is generally more prominent than other surrounding planks) of this ship is designed sturdily with garboards (planking nearest to the keel) present on both sides of the keel-plank and it was strong enough to connect the mast to. The sophistication of the design elements of the Uluburun lead one to believe that much in the way of ship design development had taken place leading up to its construction (Smith, 2012:24). Also in this example, there is no sign of ropes connecting the extremities of the ship known as hogging trusses which is a definitive sign that the ship construction was of a sturdy enough nature not to need this additional support (Smith, 2012:30). The Uluburun is thought to have been approximately a 20 ton ship in terms of its carrying capacity (Monroe, 2007:7).

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Figure 3.1: Reconstructed Uluburun Depiction

Image from: http://mollus.oxfordjournals.org/content/74/1/79/F3.expansion
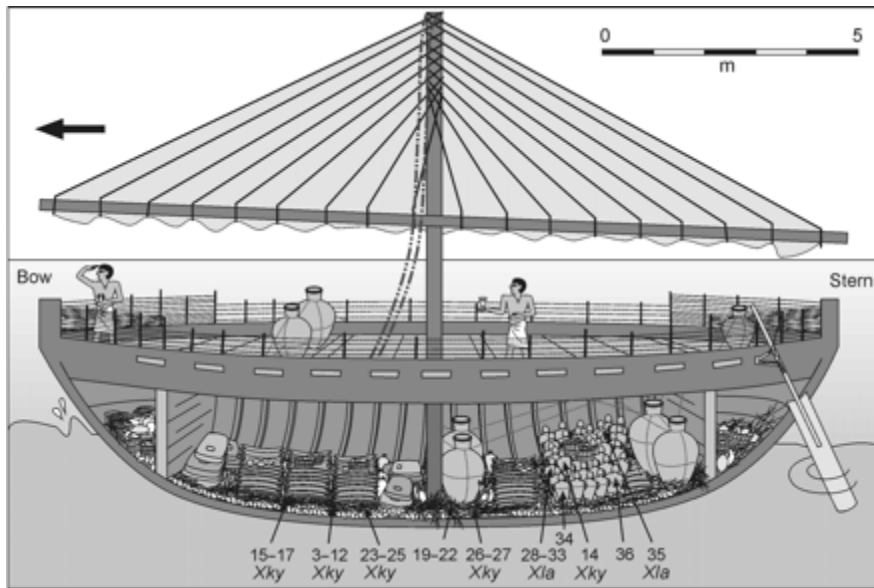
Above is a reconstruction of what the Uluburun wreck is thought to have looked like during its time as an active seagoing vessel. Although this depiction is very much a simplified estimation of what the ship really looked like, there are a number of design features shown that are worthy of commentary. Firstly, the bow and stern posts are both vertical and do not curve inwards or outwards. The sail system has a rigid boom present at the bottom end of the sail as is common from this time period on board Canaanite ships. No hogging trusses are evident as there are no rope attaching the bow or the stern to the mast as will be elaborated upon later. The mast appears to be positioned in such a way that it passes through the deck and is attached to the hull, perhaps for the purpose of additional stability. The ship seemingly only has two levels, the first being on top of the conventional deck and the second being below the level. This design does lend itself to a trading vessel as the level below deck is spacious in order to transport the maximum amount of goods. There is also a large steering oar visible off the stern end. No indication of this vessel being capable of or designed to cater for oarsmen is evident and one can assume that, as was the case with many Canaanite ships, the vessel relied solely on its sail power to propel itself through the water.

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3.3.3.2 Cape Gelidonya

The Cape Gelidonya shipwreck was found in an ocean area (off Turkey) often associated with strong and unpredictable current patterns as well as shallow rock formations. This makes the site a challenging excavation site and also an understandable wreck site (Bass, 1961:267). It would not be surprising to see more wreck sites uncovered in this region with advances in maritime archaeology and taking the difficult conditions into consideration. It is thought to date back to approximately 1200 BCE (transitional date between Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age) and to be of Canaanite origin due to a number of reasons. These reasons have become somewhat of a contentious issue with various differing viewpoints forming part of the argument.

Much of the cargo found in association with this shipwreck is inconclusive in terms of uncovering the identity of the vessel. This is due to the fact that the cargo included items traded widely in the Mediterranean such as bronze, copper and tin ingots. Other possible trade items included beads of various colours as well as a bracelet. Empty jars were also evident; they were possibly filled with substances that did not stand the test of time (organic substances, deterioration). These items could have easily been found on a Late Bronze Age ship originating from a number of differing locations such as Egypt, Cyprus and the Aegean. These commonly traded materials in this time period in the Eastern Mediterranean could have been found on trading vessels from many regions (Bass *et al*, 1967:163-164).

It is not the items of cargo mentioned above that have led to some scholars believing the shipwreck is of Canaanite origin. It is rather the personal possessions of the sailors that have endured through the centuries under the Mediterranean that have formed such opinions. Bass (1967) refers to a number of different researchers in his explanation of why he believes the shipwreck is of Canaanite origin. A lamp found within the context of this wreck site is thought to have been used to provide light to certain sections of the deck and can undoubtedly be correlated with lamp designs from other depictions of Canaanite lamps. A cylinder seal found at the wreck site predates the ship itself and Buchholz states that because only a single example was found, it was not used for trade purposes but was rather the property of an individual trader on board who would have probably used it in official trade correspondence. Design attributes of this seal lead one to believe it also had Canaanite origins. Scarabs also found in association with the wreck, as accounted for by Schulman, are believed to be Canaanite manufactured and were probably used in religious rituals. Protective rituals were of paramount importance to ancient sailors (Bass *et al*, 1967:163-165).

Dating of the site was also undertaken by various individuals including Ralph, who utilised radiocarbon dating and it was this dating method that led to 1200 BCE being the probable date, with a fifty year margin either side. Pottery remains also indicate, but not without contestation, 1200 BCE as approximately the correct time period. There are arguments present that do not agree with the dating and origin ideas presented here. Some have argued that all the material remains mentioned above could have simply formed part of trade practice (Bass *et al*, 1967:163-165). Arguments regarding metal objects (specifically metal ingots) and how they may aid in substantiating the 1200 BCE chronology mentioned are contentious. Some argue that smelting techniques are not a conclusive indicator of this time period specifically and may have also been present in the Middle Bronze Age (Maddin *et al,* 1977:353-354). This is the reason why these metal remains will not be used in the dating section here.

The year 1200 BCE is for the purpose of the study regarded as time of transition (as addressed earlier) between the conclusion of the Bronze Age and the advent of the Iron Age. Bass (1967) refers to the Cape Gelidonya as Phoenician in origin but for the purpose of this study Phoenician ships emerge after this time and may be found to have, even if to a small degree, differentiations from the Canaanite vessels. The Cape Gelidonya vessel may not provide much information with regard to ship design but the materials on board may aid in establishing whether or not trade and/or the personal objects changed over time or had endured through 1200 BCE.

3.3.4 General Canaanite Ship Design Features

Wachsmann (2009:51) provides a comprehensive description of general aspects of Canaanite ship design. The features presented by Wachsmann and other authors as well as those identified through my own interpretation of depictions will hopefully provide an in-depth and easily understandable breakdown of general Canaanite ship design features. General design features will be used along with interpretations of individual examples of Canaanite ships. As ships take many differing forms and functions there are always differentiating factors in ships even sharing common origins and manufacturers. This being said, there are some common design attributes that could be classified as culture specific and evident in all forms of ships created by a specific group regardless of function. These common features will be used as later comparative material and dealt with now.

Before dealing with specific examples, a general description of common attributes of Late Bronze Age Canaanite ship design will be provided here. Although varying depictions of Canaanite ships do not always correspond with one another, there is enough evidence available to us to draw some commonalities from examples that have been uncovered thus far by archaeology and academia. One aspect of Canaanite ships from a Late Bronze Age context that must be taken note of is that there is not much present in the way of decoration on both the stern and bow ends. These wooden bow and stern ends have a definite absence of later bird-headed motifs that will be discussed in greater detail at a later stage. The wooden posts on either end of Canaanite ships do however form a vertical position on either side. The hulls of a number of Canaanite ship depictions form a crescent shape and there are enough examples of this particular shape specification to use this characteristic as a commonly accepted ship trait. Lookout points above the height of the deck, otherwise known as crow's nests, appear on various Canaanite ship depictions and seem to be an innovation that was pioneered by these people and then adopted by other peoples including the Sea Peoples (Wachsmann, 2009:51). The sail system of Canaanite ships initially possessed rigid elements on top and underneath (yard and boom) (Smith, 2012:35). The reconstruction given of the Uluburun earlier in this chapter does not depict a rigid yard above the sail but this is possibly an oversight made with this depiction.

The known Canaanite sail system (rigid boom) seems to have changed due to outside influence, with the Sea Peoples being responsible for this change in design.

3.3.4.1 Textual and Pictorial/Iconographic Sources

A large measure of textual and pictorial evidence based on Late Bronze Age Canaanite seagoing vessels has clarified much on this topic. This is especially the case when one is dealing with the physical specifications of these Canaanite ships. Using numerous visual representations and written sources from more contemporary time periods, one can gain much understanding of how the ships of the ancient Canaanites looked and functioned. Some explanation on Late Bronze Age Canaanite vessels has already been presented in the section entitled Phases of Canaanite Maritime Activity. These explanations will be expanded upon further here and include more examples of iconography from Egypt such as the tomb of Kenamun, from Ugarit as well as a number of other descriptions from varying locations. Through addressing a number of varying sources, consistent design features can be uncovered and design generalisations can be made. The general characteristics can be compared to other ships from the era and from later time periods.

Based on textual resources, some conclusions can be drawn on what Canaanite ships were comprised of during the Late Bronze Age period. Linear B textual evidence regarding the so-called ship of Abdichor as well as one providing an inventory catalogue of a Canaanite ship depict a Ugaritic style ship that was in need of at least 18 oarsmen, therefore provided space for eighteen functional oars. The oarsman would be divided into nine on port side and nine on starboard side. These texts can be corroborated further by textual evidence unearthed at Ugarit stipulating that a Hittite king wanted grain weighing the equivalent of some 450 tons from a ship belonging to or under the control of the king of Ugarit. Taking these characteristics as well as other structural factors, Wachsmann (2009:40-41) has indicated that these ships must have been approximately 16 metres in length. The magnitude of these ships is further shown in the archaeological record through finds including large anchor weights and by the fact that there are others sources from locations such as Egypt that attest to such sizeable vessels in a Late Bronze context. To counter this however, if there were indeed ships this size at the time, it is unclear whether harbours of the time could have accommodated them due to issues such as depth and size of harbours uncovered from this era. The textual evidence mentioned here is accompanied by, what are in some instances complimentary iconographic depictions which will be dealt with in the following descriptions. The size of Late Bronze ships in the region is a subject of some contention and will form part of discussions on Iconographic and Textual sources on Bronze Age Canaanite ships.

The first example is from a chronologically early Canaanite time period and will be elaborated upon underneath the visual representation.

Figure 3.2: Ship Depiction from El Dabca
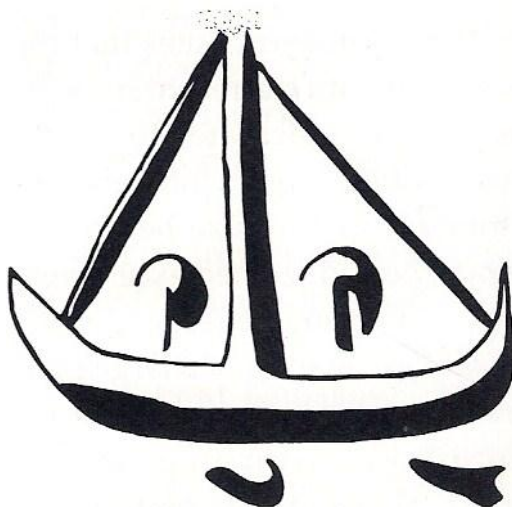
(Wachsmann, 2009:42)

At Tel El Dabca in Egypt (image shown above), a very rudimentary depiction of what appears to be a Canaanite type ship on a cylinder seal from the Middle Bronze Age dating to the eighteenth century BCE has been uncovered. Although rudimentary and not providing much detail, it can provide limited data on ship design background and therefore will be dealt with but only in brief. The bow and stern of this particular depiction are both curved upward with the bow side possessing a more gentle curve and the stern a more extreme one into the vertical. The positioning of the mast in the centre of the length of the deck is a definite similarity with later Canaanite ship examples. A differentiation between this depiction and later Canaanite ships is the presence of what appear to be hogging trusses which are ropes connecting the mast to the bow and stern posts for additional stability. Later Canaanite ships with better hull design and the ability to connect the mast to the keel-plank no longer needed the additional measure for stability. Two very unclear features present on this depiction appear on either side of the mast and probably represent oars (Wachsmann, 2009:42). Inside the boat, two figures are present that appear to only be identifiable by what is seemingly their heads (Parada, 1984:485).

The size of the depictions of these two figures thought to be crew make it seem as though the vessel is fairly small in size but this could just be as a result of the inaccuracy of proportions of the artist. The shape of the hull is the one characteristic present in this particular portrayal that may prove useful at a later stage and may form part of comparative analyses. This is due to the fact that it is complementary to the hull shapes of later Canaanite vessels and could be a sign of continuity. Once again, due to the fact that this example dates back to the eighteenth century BCE, it will only be used as additional substantiation and background rather than form the basis for any arguments individually.

Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age has already been shown to be extremely active in terms of maritime trade and there are depictions available from Ugarit that correspond with other depictions of Canaanite ship design features but also differ from some textual descriptions of Ugaritic ships. From a seal found at Ugarit, two ship depictions are present. From a side/profile view, these ships have five visible oars with vertical wooden posts at both bow and stern ends. The ships in the Ugarit example possess lifts which are ropes that bear the mass of the horizontal boom on the bottom end of the sails and lack visible rudders at the stern end (Wachsmann, 2009:49). These depictions are difficult to interpret visually as they are unclear but are still helpful in some regards.

A 13th century BCE piece of textual evidence from Ugarit has been translated and is believed to state that seagoing vessels from this location could transport weights of 450 tons as already alluded to earlier. This idea has been refuted by Monroe (2007:3) who states that

more contemporary archaeological and textual data points towards much smaller vessels most likely being the norm in the Late Bronze Age in the region. Using new translations and knowledge, this letter sent by a Hittite king to the ruler of Ugarit requesting 450 tons of grain can now be understood to rather be approximately 330 tons of grain. These weights have been supplied in this ancient text in the form of the ancient unit of weight, the kurru, which is thought to correspond to approximately 300 litres but this has been interpreted differently by various scholars in varying contexts. The argument of anchor sizes being able to indicate ship sizes can also be contested by the Uluburun as anchors (22 of them) of varying sizes and weights were found in association with this wreck (Monroe, 2007:3). The Uluburun could have been transporting this large amount of anchors for exchange purposes. If wrecks from this period can be uncovered with only a small number of anchors, this could perhaps give more of an indication of function on board rather than exchange. Some connection could perhaps then be made between size of ship and weight of anchor. The fact that anchors of a large size like those on the Uluburun were even constructed at the time whether for use on that ship or not must lead to the idea that there were ships that necessitated that size/weight of anchor present at the time otherwise there would be no need to construct such large anchors.

Ships from the Late Bronze Age period are well known in some regards but the opposite is in fact true in other regards such as is the case when it comes to making definite statements on their size, an issue that has already been brought to light in the above section. Some scholars have deduced that due to the very active trading networks of the Eastern Mediterranean region during the Late Bronze Age period that there were most likely large vessels present that could carry great quantities. This is based mostly on textual accounts that have been interpreted in varying ways (Monroe, 2007:2).

Canaanite ship depictions at the tomb of Kenamun also give comprehensive iconographic portrayals of Late Bronze Age Canaanite ships. The depictions in the tomb of this prominent Egyptian, who held a position of power at Thebes during the reign of Amenhotep III, provide extremely intricate portrayals of these ships and crews unloading cargo at an Egyptian port (Wachsmann, 2009:42). This type of event would not have been uncommon during this time period as the vast majority of Canaanite maritime trade was at the beck and call of the Egyptians. This link with the Egyptians is further shown by Davies and Faulkner (1947:41) as they state some design similarities between Egyptian ships and these Canaanite ships including a "canoe-shaped hull" and the heightened bow and sterns posts. Although the vertical bow and stern posts are present in these Canaanite ships as well as in Egyptian ship portrayals, the curvature of the hull and top sections above the deck level differ.

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A depiction from the tomb of Kenamun will now be provided with accompanying interpretations:

Figure 3.3: Canaanite Ships from Tomb of Kenamun

Image from:

http://sara.theellisschool.org/shipwreck/images/crossdateimages/canaaniteship.jpg
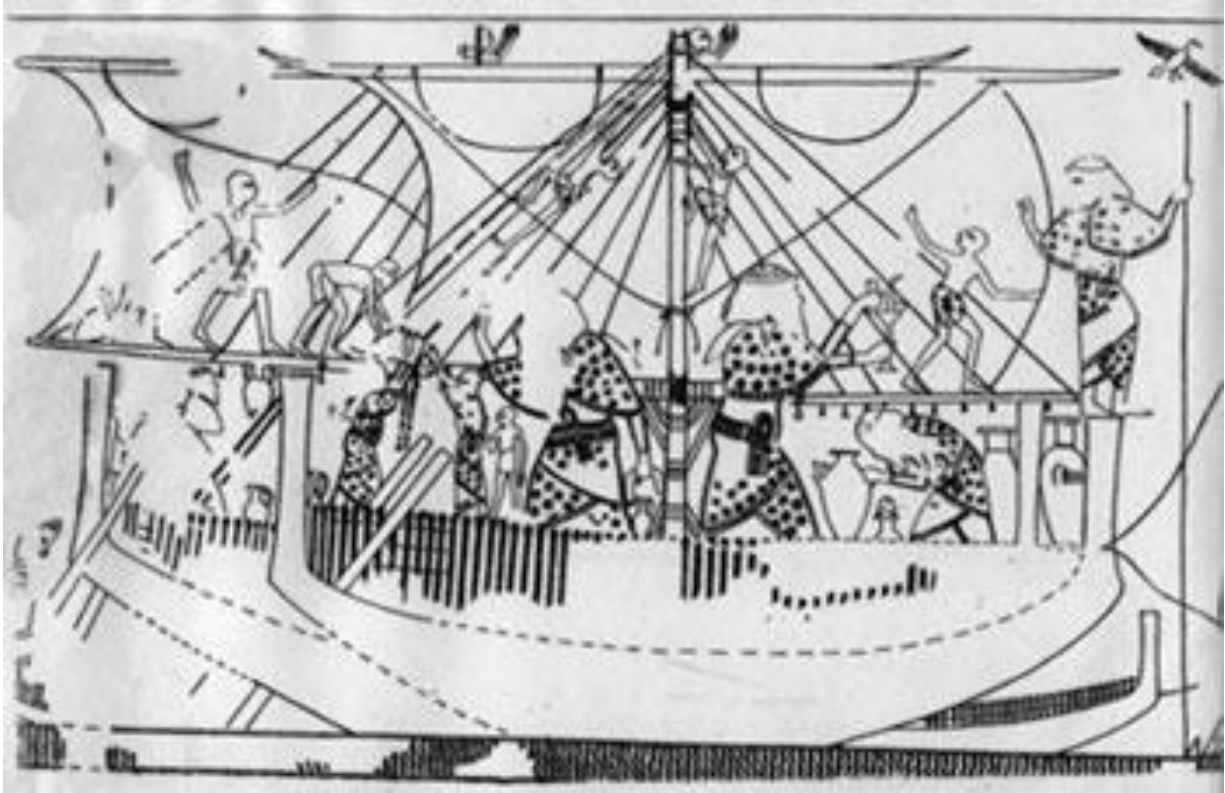
Figure 3.3 depicts Canaanite ships as they are seen in the tomb of Kenamun in Egypt with one in particular evident in the foreground. Vertical wooden posts appear on both the bow and stern ends of the ship in the forefront of this depiction. Neither the vertical bow nor stern ends appear to have any decorative or symbolic representations above them as in examples of Sea Peoples and later Phoenician biremes. The hull of the ship in the foreground is curved and is depicted with a dotted and solid line at the very bottom of the depiction. There is another dotted horizontal line above it that appears to depict the level of the deck. This is shown by how high the human figures appear above it. Taking into account these Canaanite characters into account, it appears as though their feet would be at the level of this second line leading one to believe that this would be a solid deck level. There is one more horizontal line above the deck that is probably depicting the level of the caprail or the outer rail of the

ship above the knee level of the crew standing on board. There are vertical lines present above the deck and upper bulwark which form the caprail. These could serve the purpose of restricting the amount of spray getting onto the deck as well as protecting crew members from falling overboard. There are no hogging trusses evident that support the mast which corroborates how sturdy the shipbuilding of the Canaanites was during this era.

In terms of the sail system, this representation depicts a scenario where the yard and boom are both rigid in nature, above and below the sail, in contrast to later Phoenician examples. The yard does not curve downward in any way and appears to be completely rigid in its horizontal positioning. There is also a large amount of roping attaching the top of the mast to the boom, most likely to support sails. There are a number of issues present in this depiction with regard to the positioning and functioning of the ropes as well as other practical functioning implications when it comes to the Kenamun.

Although Wachsmann (2009:44-47) as well as Davies and Faulkner (1947) do stipulate some of the above mentioned problematic aspects of the Kenamun depictions, they are still helpful in analysing and describing some more general aspects of Canaanite ship design. The problematic aspects brought up by Wachsmann include a lack of continuity in some of the more specific design characteristics in differing examples present in these tomb depictions and a lack of realism. In terms of realism, some of the design features portrayed do not seem functional in terms of the positioning of certain ship features which would not assist sailing. This is especially the case when one has a closer look at the rigging of the sails. Furthermore, to be able to attempt to discern the scale or size of these ships is difficult as the artists seem to have altered size of ships to fit the space available rather than to depict the ships to a consistent scale. The artists also seem to have paid more attention to the vertical than the horizontal, perhaps again due to space available, with the ships being higher than they should be in relation to their horizontal length (Davies & Faulkner, 1947:40-42).

3.3.4.2 Physical Appearance of Canaanite Sailors

An aspect of the physical appearance of the crew in the Kenamun depiction above worthy of attention is the fact that there appears to be a possible hierarchy on board that can be seen by looking at wardrobe. The ordinary seamen are wearing basic clothing such as what appear to be loin-cloths (kilts?) whereas the more senior crew member, the officers in command one could say, are wearing more elaborate wardrobe (Davies & Faulkner,

1947:44). It is however possible that due to the fact that this is a scene depicting the unloading of cargo in Egypt, Egyptian workers may have been utilised in this process and are thus depicted as the less ornately dressed workers.

A noteworthy comment on this particular depiction with regard to the physical appearance of the crew, assuming all on board are indeed Canaanite, can be seen if one observes the individual standing on the boom (rigid horizontal post supporting the bottom of the sail) on the left hand side of the depiction. He is wearing what appears to be a circular medallion around his neck. Although not a large amount of detail can be clearly seen, this feature is definitely visible. The figure climbing up the right hand side of the mast post also appears to have something similar around his neck but this is quite unclear. The larger, ornately dressed individual standing in the foreground to the right of the mast does seem to have a Semitic style beard, perhaps as what would be expected from a Canaanite of the Late Bronze Age.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The Canaanites were definitely an advanced cultural group during the Bronze Age that were responsible for the creation of commercially strong urban centres, a complex religious system and the construction of sophisticated seagoing vessels. They were also however a group under subjugation for long periods which, in some instances, led to physically and culturally destructive activities. As a disunited cultural group that often vigorously competed internally, the Canaanites were undoubtedly in contact with and influenced by the peoples around them.

The broad descriptions that have been presented here have had the goal of granting additional insight into these people, particularly in a Late Bronze Age context. The aspects of this society brought to light here must not be viewed in isolation and form part of the larger framework at work in this dissertation at large. Cultural changes and continuities will be scrutinised further in later sections making use of much of the knowledge presented here as a foundation.

CHAPTER 4

THE PHOENICIANS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The contents of the following chapter will be focused upon the Phoenicians from 1200 BCE onwards. It will include brief discussions on their possible origins, practices and other societal features. Specific attention will be given to Phoenician maritime characteristics and how other societal spheres may also show a link to the sea. As stated numerous times in this study, the Iron Age Phoenician civilisation has popularly been thought of as the cultural descendant of the Late Bronze Age Canaanites in the area that is modern day Lebanon and northern Israel. Characteristics that are found to be comparable to the Sea Peoples groups who settled just south of and perhaps in Phoenicia proper will be focused on in a later chapter. Any divergences between the Canaanites and Phoenicians will also be drawn upon as stated in the preceding chapter on the Canaanites.

The year 1200 BCE has already been granted much mention but is so integral to the primary objectives of this research that it will once again be elaborated upon here. 1200 BCE is commonly thought of as the year of transition to the Iron Age and also the time where the Phoenicians rose to prominence. The events in Canaan at this time will therefore be important in understanding the background to the emergence of the Phoenicians.

4.2 1200 BCE: TRANSITION FROM CANAANITE TO PHOENICIAN

A variety of decisive events occurred in Canaan around the 1200 BCE mark. Firstly, the size of the geographic area still in occupation by predominantly native Canaanites shrank drastically due to a number of outside invaders becoming permanent settlers in the area. Between 1200 and 1100 BCE, groups such as the Philistines (Sea Peoples group), Israelites and Aramaeans moved into the area. The Israelites invaded from the mountainous regions of southern Canaan, the Philistines from the southern coastal regions and the Aramaeans from the northern regions (Aubet, 2001:13). Other groups also settled in the area, these included the Sikila who are categorised as one of the Sea Peoples groups and will be awarded detailed analysis at a later stage. They are thought to have settled at Dor (already

an economically active location during the Late Bronze Age) in modern day Israel. This was the beginning of the Iron Age I period, a time when Egypt's influence over Canaan dwindled drastically and became in essence non-existent (Noll, 2001:136). The new (from 1200 BCE) and smaller Canaanite homeland is what became known as Phoenicia and will be named as such from now on. Although we do have a fair representation of events in and directly following 1200 BCE, there is actually a shortage of ancient sources clearly depicting this period. This could be largely attributed to the fact that many populations were in a state of flux, instability and even migration. They were perhaps not as concerned about recording events as they may have been in other times. Also, with the dwindling influence of the major powers in the area writing forms that had been used on an international scale were perhaps not in use to a large extent. Centres of knowledge recording and transmission had in many instances been laid to waste (Ahlström, 1993:289). The sources that are available are often subject to bias and at times historically dubious.

Due to the factors earlier and taking into account issues with regard to sources from the time, it is known that land under Canaanite/Phoenician habitation became vastly smaller than pre 1200 BCE, with the space left over being roughly the same as the contemporary borders of Lebanon, the coastal region falling between Mount Carmel and Arvad (Aradus) (Aubet, 2001:6). The Iron Age Phoenicians called this land home and over a number of centuries proceeded to colonise vast territories in the Mediterranean using their unprecedented naval power, something the Canaanites were never able to achieve or even attempt. The fact that the Late Bronze Age Canaanites were under a form of Egyptian colonisation themselves did perhaps make it difficult for them to expand their maritime influence to the same extent. It must also be stated that a lack of regional authority in the Ancient Near East definitely aided early Phoenician development as a Mediterranean maritime superpower. These factors taken into account, the influence of peoples (specifically Sea Peoples) coming into the area with a distinct connection with the sea and a willingness to travel vast distances by water in order to find suitable settlements does bare some startling similarities with the Phoenician civilisation.

The region that became Phoenicia in the Early Iron Age did not necessarily just become gradually smaller to accommodate outsiders. In some instances it was apparently sudden with populations being forced to move without much prior warning. There are indications of destruction or desertion in the area that comprised Phoenicia during the transitional period between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. Tell Keisan has only been subject to limited archaeological investigation but seems to have undergone the same type of destruction at the conclusion of the Late Bronze Age as many other sites in the eastern Mediterranean. Humbert in 1981 and 1988 undertook work on the stratigraphy of this site (particularly the

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stratum numbered 13) showing the points discussed above but also later destructive processes. The destruction and/or desertion of administrative centres such as a temple at the site Tell Abu Hawam indicate such occurrences. The exact amount of time it took for these destructive occurrences to unfold however is as of yet unclear in the archaeological record (Gilboa, 2005:50). Moscati (1968:9) agrees with the notion of fairly widespread destruction during this transition and uses the ancient source of Justin as substantiation. This ancient source states that both Arvad and Sidon were destroyed during this period. He further defines the time period directly after 1200 BCE as an "age of independence" (Moscati, 1968). This is due to the fact that the traditional superpowers of the region were largely inactive during this period and therefore it was possible for locations to develop without regional authorities placing pressure on them.

4.3 OBSTACLES FACING COMPREHENSIVE PHOENICIAN STUDIES

It is important to note that there are indeed a number of challenges and difficulties which arise when one undertakes research based solely on the early Iron Age Phoenician civilisation. The work of Maria Aubet (2001) attests to this notion and her work will be addressed extensively here as it provides an excellent basis from where the nature of Phoenician society can be studied and to an extent, understood. She states that any study of the Phoenicians will be faced with definite obstacles. One of these obstacles is the fact that the archaeological record often contradicts textual records in terms of aspects such as chronology. Calvo (2008:19) substantiates this issue surrounding chronology by adding that there is no archaeological consensus in the area and that the complete shortage of workable stratigraphy from excavations in Lebanon is largely responsible. This lack of information on chronology and archaeology as a whole can be attributed to a number of possible factors including a lack of accessible archaeological data from initial digging sites which has been complicated drastically by more than two decades of political instability and violence in Lebanon. Another factor is the fact that many of the sites of Phoenicia proper (by the term Phoenicia proper, the strip of land in what was formerly northern Canaan is being referred to and not its expanded territory) are now modern metropolitans which makes it difficult to reach levels required as they have been built on for centuries (Calvo, 2008:19). An interesting perspective raised by the same scholar is that some Phoenician sites are not in Lebanon and fall into the region of Palestine. This leads to archaeologists treating them as biblical sites and utilising methodologies that are suited to this particular field of archaeological study (Calvo, 2008:19). If this is indeed the case then a relook at some of

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these locations may be worthwhile using methodologies more suited to this specific archaeological branch.

Furthermore, different definitions on who the Phoenicians actually were and what to call them along with a lack of accessible, structured scholarly work on the subject makes a research study on them a complicated task (Aubet, 2001:1-3). The Early Iron Age period in Phoenicia, immediately after 1200 BCE, is not well accounted for in the textual record and as already mentioned the accounts available are not always helpful. The biblical writers concerned with the rise of the Israelites were not well informed with regard to the settlement dynamics and political systems in place in the former Canaan and even less so in the smaller region making up Phoenicia (Ahlström, 1993:335). Ahlström (1993:335) also does not agree with the notion that 1200 BCE can in fact be used as a definitive date for the emergence of the Iron Age in the Ancient Near East. He states how the use of iron in tool manufacture in the region was minimal at this early date and perhaps not viable as a sign of a new era. This interpretation is contentious as even if the use of metal was not abundant, it was still present and this signifies the beginning of a new era. Further, the cultural landscape and emergence of a new cultural and physical atmosphere in the region also attests to a transition and entry into a new chapter of human history.

Another challenge that any researcher faces when undertaking a Phoenician study is the complete lack of evidence left behind by the Phoenicians themselves. Foreign sources dominate the known information of this great maritime power and are therefore always subject to an amount of bias.

Apart from the fact that these sources are not native to Phoenicia, they are also not necessarily from a corresponding time period. Many of the classical (Greek and Roman) sources that provide us with integral data on the Phoenicians were compiled hundreds of years after events actually took place. Assyrian sources that do originate from the relevant time period do not address the Phoenician locations in enough detail to establish definite conclusions (Aubet, 2001:2). As already mentioned, foreign sources available with regard to the Phoenicians are also not necessarily cordial or contemporary in nature and in many instances it was the enemies of the Phoenicians that have left these records behind (Harden, 1963:19). This could also lead to further historical distortion as these sources would obviously not always paint the Phoenicians in a positive light. This ambiguity is further shown by the following quote of Plutarch (Greek, first century CE) provided by Harden (1963:19):

"They are a people full of bitterness and surly, submissive to rulers, tyrannical to those they rule, abject in fear, fierce when provoked, unshakable in resolve, and so strict as to dislike all humour and kindness."

Although the factors mentioned above present a primarily negative image of research on the Phoenicians, the last few years have been subject to some positive and encouraging progress. An amount of information has now made its way into publications concerning past digs and excavations at sites such as Tel-el Buraq, Saidah, Tyre el-bass and sections of Beirut have provided some new insights. The situation in the country is however unpredictable with a somewhat "yo-yo" pattern with conditions improving and deteriorating (Calvo, 2008:20-21). Hopefully, in the near future, prolonged and systematic excavation will take place on an uninterrupted basis at these sites as they are of great historical value.

4.4 PERSPECTIVES ON PHOENICIAN CHRONOLOGY

As discussed earlier, the formulation of definitive chronology in Phoenicia proper is not an easy task due to a fairly comprehensive list of reasons hampering this undertaking. This being said, through an interdisciplinary approach, this is perhaps not an impossible task. As with any research undertaking if one is able to draw upon as many differing sources of information as possible, the objectivity and accuracy of the work will undoubtedly increase.

In terms of the Phoenicians, Calvo (2008) attempts to formulate workable chronologies of the Phoenician homelands. This is done through the utilisation of three different approaches namely historical, material (particularly ceramic) and absolute dating. The advantages of this type of approach are numerous. Historical sources are always subject to some degree of bias and therefore if these sources are used in collaboration with material remains, bias can be minimised. Absolute dating, specifically radiocarbon dating is also able to provide the best results in relation to other forms of evidence. These approaches working together can undoubtedly shed much light on the subject. Scholarship is always benefitted by such interdisciplinary approaches and with such an approach there will undoubtedly be the production of more accurate chronologies.

For the purposes of a working chronology here however the same source will be utilised as in the Canaanite section. Noll (2001:26) states that from 1200 to 900 BCE, the Iron Age I (early Phoenician) period was made up of smaller settlements. The last period to be mentioned in Noll's chronology is the Iron Age II which is dated between the years 900 and 586 BCE where the region was separated into independent kingdoms. Aubet (2001:19)

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follows very much the same chronology for the region stating that the advent of the Early Iron Age period was indeed 1200 BCE, followed by the Middle Iron Age period in approximately 900 BCE all the way through to 550 BCE. Phoenician chronology then continues into the Late Iron Age and lastly the Hellenistic period in approximately 330 BCE (Aubet, 2001:19).

4.5 PHOENICIAN IDENTITY AND ORIGINS

When one thinks of the Phoenicians, often the first aspect that comes to mind is Carthage and Hannibal as a mighty rival of the Romans. The development of Phoenician colonies in the western Mediterranean was indeed an impressive achievement that had not been seen before by natives of the Phoenician homeland in the east. This advancement in the west is quite well documented but the early development of the Phoenicians is not very well accounted for in the known archaeological record. How they were able to achieve such maritime greatness is also not something that is known with much certainty. The early Phoenician time period will be drawn upon exhaustively here but later sources will also be utilised as the later Phoenicians did find the basis of their culture and identity in the eastern Mediterranean.

As shown, the unrest and tension in the Ancient Near East around 1200 BCE is well known and documented in various ancient records from various locations including Egypt, Hattusa and Canaan. This time of uncertainty and instability changed the cultural landscape of the region permanently. New groups (Sea Peoples and other) migrated into areas formerly inhabited by other groups of people and settled. This era is also commonly thought of as the conclusion of the Bronze Age and the advent of the Iron Age. It was also the era in which the Phoenician civilisation was born.

In Canaan, new groups had relocated into the area; these groups included the already mentioned Philistines in the south, the Sikila at Dor and possibly the Shardana at Akko. A non Sea Peoples group that settled in the region and must be mentioned are the "Sons of Israel" (Stieglitz, 1990:9). This is referring to the Israelites. Due to all of these migrations, only a small strip of land along the coast of what is primarily Lebanon today was still inhabited by indigenous Canaanites. This became Phoenicia and covered an area of approximately 200km (north to south) by approximately 30km (east to west) at the beginning of the Early Iron Age. It was at this location, that a great maritime power was able to emerge out of the devastation of 1200 BCE. Although the Phoenician civilisation was composed of

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largely independent city-states, each was able to expand their seafaring interests far beyond the expanses that had ever before been achieved by native populations. Stieglitz has aptly named this meteoric rise as a "Phoenician renaissance" (Stieglitz, 1990:9). These states did not present a unified whole but undoubtedly had cultural commonalities and are known to have spoken Semitic in the same way as their Canaanite predecessors (Moscati, 1968:5).

Although the size of Phoenicia was limited, the geography of the land was extremely favourable for human occupation. The Lebanese mountains made up the eastern border of Phoenician territory, these mountains were the location of large forests of cedar trees which were to become an extremely important Phoenician export. These mountains and forests shielded the region from foreign landward invasion and also provided it with incredibly valuable natural resources. Iron mines in the mountainous terrain of Phoenicia proper must have also been integral in its development. Further, the climate in the region was moderate and the soil fertile, greatly enhancing its suitability for human habitation. The most significant urban cities of Phoenicia were largely inherited by the Canaanites in terms of their locations and were situated along the eastern Mediterranean coastline. These cities were inexplicably linked to the sea and also used it as a source of natural resources. Apart from the obvious use as a source of fish, the collection of the mollusc species named the murex was an integral element in the collection of a purple dye which the Phoenicians were so famous for and received their name from. Political unification of the Phoenician city-states was not something that really unfolded as these cities continued to regard one another as competition as was the case in earlier time periods. The fact that the Phoenicians were forced into seaward expansion to survive as their homeland was so small in size is definitely a creditworthy one that cannot easily be denied (Aubet, 2001:16-17). This being said, there are other factors that may have aided in the way in which Phoenician Iron Age development took place including outside populations settling in the region.

The fact that the Phoenicians did not refer to themselves as such and rather referred to themselves in terms of their home city, further exemplifies the lack of unification of these people (Smith, 2012:15). This lack of unity could also mean that some of the Phoenician cities were more prone to outside influence, especially when located on the northern or southern fringes of the Phoenician homeland where they bordered other cultural groups.

4.6 PHOENICIAN SETTLEMENT AND EXPANSION IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

The establishment and settlement in the Eastern Mediterranean of the Iron Age Phoenicians will be granted brief discussions here. Some specific locations and their activities will be elaborated upon. The most prominent Phoenician city-states did not come into being during this time period but were already in existence during the Bronze Age. In some cases however, there were definite destructive processes that took place around the 1200 BCE mark as attested to by the archaeological record. The settlements of the Late Bronze Age Canaanites have not been granted in depth attention in the section on the Canaanites as this is not a necessary branch of research for this particular undertaking. It is well known that the Late Bronze Age settlements of the Canaanite will show cultural and physical continuity and will not be investigated further here. The Phoenician cities of the early Iron Age will however be granted at least some attention to uncover whether there are signs of outside influence and or activity that may have influenced them. The expansive practices of these cities will be looked at specifically as well as possible reasons for this expansion.

4.6.1 Early Expansion Theories and Reasons behind Phoenician Expansion

When it comes to Phoenician colonial practices, one once again immediately thinks of Carthage as a colony of Tyre but there is evidence available leaning towards the notion of early Phoenician colonial activity dating back to the twelfth century BCE. This early colonial activity seems to be evident in more than one Mediterranean location.

There are theories stating that Phoenician expansion westward could have already started as early as the late second millennium BCE. Locations such as Lixus, Cadiz and Utica have been put forward as possible early Phoenician colonies (Aubet, 2001:70). Negbi (1992:599) states that in the aftermath of the upheavals of this time period in the Eastern Mediterranean that permanent Phoenician occupation followed at locations such as Sardinia and Cyprus, possibly to consolidate trading interests. In the case of Cyprus, it is thought that Phoenician occupation on this island did indeed predate western expansive processes. In the case of Cyprus, there was commercial contact between the Eastern Mediterranean mainland and this island dating back to the Middle Bronze Age but reaching its Zenith at the end of the Late Bronze Age period. Mainland influences from around 1200 BCE are epitomised by the site of Enkomi on Cyprus where a religious structure honouring an ingot deity has strong parallels with the Levant and seems to have been constructed after destructive processes. Other sites on the island such as Kition have similar parallels with the Ancient Near East.

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Influences of Canaanite, Sea Peoples and Mycenaean culture are seemingly evident on Cyprus in conjunction with local populations within the context of the advent of the twelfth century BCE. Historical and archaeological evidence attests to this but also shows an intensification of Levantine attributes going into the Early Iron Age through spheres such as architecture and religious representations (figurines etc). The prevalence of Phoenician material culture does increase in occurrence gradually through the eleventh century BCE including several storage vessel types as well as what appears to be Phoenician type burial practices (Negbi, 1992:604-605).

There are counter arguments to this idea of early permanent Phoenician colonies in the Eastern Mediterranean stating that the first real Phoenician colony was at Kition on Cyprus in the ninth century BCE. This view is followed by scholars such as Moscati who states that any earlier movement of the Phoenicians was on a trial basis and not permanent therefore there are not a large amount of material remains (Negbi, 1992:599-603). Aubet (2001:70-73) further contests the possibility of such early expansion due to the fact that sources stating this are contradictory and do not have enough complimentary evidence to hold true. This includes an inadequate amount of archaeological confirmation. She further states that a more credible scenario is that the Tyrians were forced into westward expansion due to outside pressure placed upon them by the Assyrians some three centuries later. The description given of this movement makes it seem as though this was an example of fleeing in order to retain economic strength. There are a large number of alternate theories that address this issue but Aubet (2001:71) states that the most likely reason for this expansion was a combination of factors rather than one easily definable one.

Aubet (2001:71) very effectively places all the factors influencing Phoenician expansion west into the following flow diagram:

Figure 4.1: Flow Diagram of Phoenician Expansion
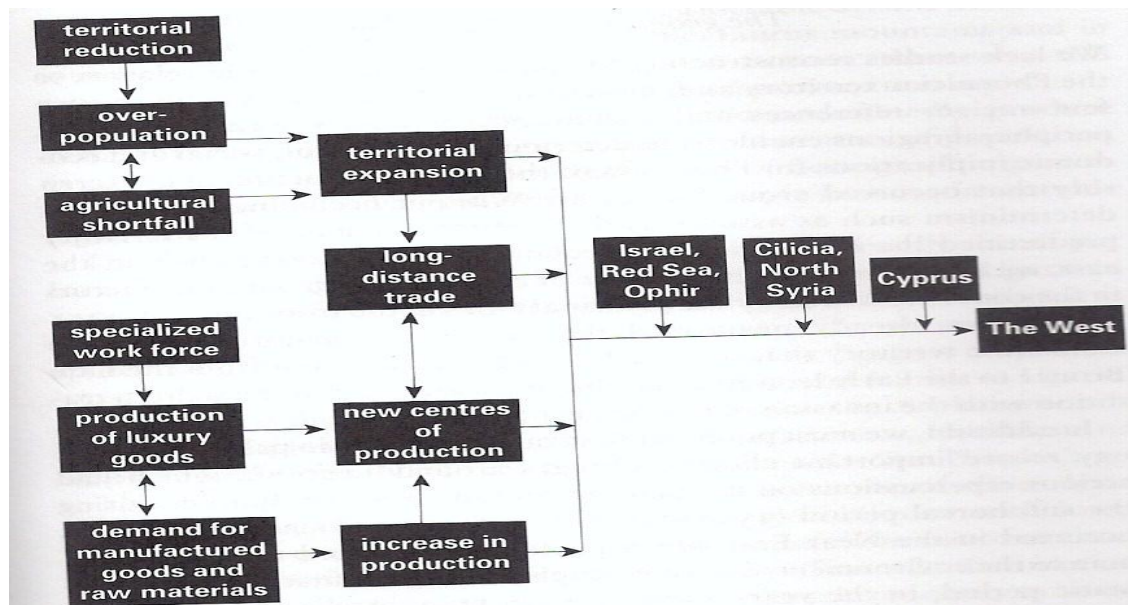
(Aubet, 2001:71)

Even if one follows the notion that permanent Phoenician colonies were only established at a later stage, there is archaeological evidence stating that the Phoenicians had an influence west of their homeland from the twelfth century BCE that was more involved than just along the lines of trading. This shows expansion even if it is only on a small scale and also shows differentiation in expansive practices when compared to the Late Bronze Age.

4.6.2 Phoenician Urban Centres

Arvad, Byblos, Sidon and Tyre are thought to have been the dominant Phoenician maritime trade focal points during the Early Iron Age period (1200 BCE – 900 BCE). There are textual remains to illustrate this but they are definitely not readily available (Stieglitz, 1990:9). This lack of evidence is much the same as the case with the Sea Peoples. Although these four locations were central to the Phoenician civilisations, only limited amounts of archaeological excavations have taken place at any of them.

4.6.2.1 Byblos

The port of Byblos had been an important Bronze Age site for the Egyptians with much of this powerful civilisation's trading passing through this city-state (Stieglitz, 1990:9). The so-

called Wenamun report provides a description of Byblos. It is depicted as an economically active port city with large seagoing fleets and numerous trading agreements with other locales. Assyrian sources from the eleventh century BCE mention Byblos as it is described in an Iron Age context (Gilboa, 2005:50). This city came into great prominence at the advent of the Early Iron Age (Stieglitz, 1990:9) and is thought to have been the location where very advanced ship builders plied their trade. Byblos and Tyre are only mentioned briefly here as the two most longstanding Phoenician urban locales but are also mentioned and dealt with comprehensively in other contexts throughout this work including ships thought to have been designed and manufactured in these ancient centres.

4.6.2.2 Tyre

Tyre, a city-state that has already been discussed in a Bronze Age context was indeed very economically active in the Early Iron Age and is believed to have been the most influential of all the Phoenician city-states. It has only been excavated on a fairly limited basis and, of the four cities mentioned above, has provided at least an amount of information on Phoenician material culture (Stern, 1990:27). An interesting theory surrounding the establishment of Tyre is provided to us by an ancient source. This source, by Justin (Epitoma XVIII, 3, 5), states that the Sidonians were the people responsible for the construction of the great Phoenician city of Tyre. They did this as a nation fleeing from a group called the Ascalonians in the source approximately one year prior to the sacking of Troy. Some academics have interpreted this story as a depiction of the Philistines/Sea Peoples undertaking aggressive movements against the Phoenician homeland (Gilboa, 2005:50). This school of thought states that the Sidonians were in fact fleeing Sea Peoples groups and were able to restore themselves at Tyre after Sidon was possibly sacked. This source is however questionable due to the fact that Tyre had been established much earlier but it is perhaps enlightening with regard to the impact of the Sea Peoples (Moscati, 1968:10). This is of significance because if it can be shown that Sea Peoples groups did in fact invade parts of the Phoenician homelands during the time period under examination, their impact may well have been more decisive than what has been believed until now.

It appears that Sidon did remain a very influential urban centre after this destructive time period until approximately the tenth century BCE when Tyre surpassed it and took supremacy amongst the Phoenician city-states (Moscati, 1968:10).

4.7 PHOENICIAN MYTHOLOGY

As already mentioned, it seems there were definite signs of considerable continuity in religion from the Late Bronze into the early Iron Age. This is one of the societal spheres where the Phoenicians have much in common with their Canaanite ancestors.

Academia possesses less knowledge on the religion of the Phoenicians than the majority of other ancient peoples due to the fact that there is such a shortage of evidence in this regard left by the Phoenicians themselves (Harden, 1963:84). Foreign sources are still very much relied upon and there will always be issues with this being the case as foreign sources are very much subject in nature to the relationship between those writing the source and those written about. Another problem incurred with the study of Phoenician religion is the fact that there are continuous assumptions made that Phoenician religion is the same as Canaanite religion and it can therefore be taken for granted that all practices and beliefs remained the same over time. It cannot be contested that there is undoubtedly much continuity from Canaanite into Phoenician religion but this does not mean all characteristics can be taken for granted and differentiations, if they are found to be creditworthy, should also be investigated.

4.7.1 Pantheon

There are some aspects of religion that may have altered or developed going into the Phoenician period. For the most part, divinities were seen in much the same light as in the Late Bronze but perhaps the ranking systems may have changed slightly when compared to the examples found at Ugarit. Primary gods seemed to have their position on a city by city basis in the Iron Age I period rather than a more general Canaanite hierarchy. Ba'al seems to have still remained very significant in many examples within an Iron Age context but sometimes in a form where he took on attributes of other deities (Noll, 2001:246-247). There were certain aspects of the worship of deities in Phoenician cities that were evident through eastern Phoenician locales but as one moves further west the situation changed slightly over time with more alterations and transformation occurring (Moscati, 1968:137).

Phoenician religion does start to show signs of Greek influence in an Iron Age context during the first millennium BCE with many aspects of Phoenician religion manifesting this impact including forms and functions of deities. To add to this, from the time that the Phoenicians undertook expansive processes, outside religious influence becomes more apparent from various locations aside from purely Canaanite characteristics. From Carthage at a later date,

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there are also signs of the amalgamation of Phoenician deities with localised ones in terms of function (Harden, 1963:85 & 87). There are many parallels to be drawn between Phoenician deities and others contemporaneous in the region but it is not the purpose here to undertake such a branch of research. The purpose here is only to give a broad overview of Phoenician religion after 1200 BCE in the Phoenician homeland as well as its later colonies.

Tyre as has already been addressed was the most prominent of the Phoenician city-states in the Eastern Mediterranean and is also regarded as the city-state responsible for the establishment of the very influential Phoenician colony at Carthage. Due to Tyre's significance, religious practices at this location during the Early Iron Age had a widespread impact on Phoenician religion at large. The primary god of Tyre at this time was Melqart (early temple at Tyre in his honour dated to the late second millennium BCE) and this in turn led to this deity becoming prominent throughout Phoenician cultic practice and belief. Initially Melqart was a deity associated with the sun, but as Phoenician involvement in all things maritime increased this deity began to manifest marine characteristics. Depictions and other sources of evidence with regard to this deity are present at various Phoenician locales as well as in other cultural contexts often under differing names but with the same characteristic traits. Sidon also had a significant deity that would later rise to great prominence in Carthage (Harden, 1963:85-86). This was a deity by the name of Eshmun and was specifically connected to "health and healing" (Harden, 1963:86). Many other deities including Reseph (lightning and thunder), Dagon (also prominent in Late Bronze Ugarit) as well as the chief god Ba'al showed continuity and are present in the Phoenician era. Throughout Phoenician territory the one feminine and maternal deity that is continuously present is Astarte who in the western Phoenician regions was called Tanit with the same traits (Harden, 1963:86-87). This will not be scrutinised further here as this does not form part of the overall function of this section.

A final note on Phoenician deities is that there is much less clarity on the function of individual deities. Phoenician deities are mentioned in abundance but not often with any particular activity or characteristic. This is different to earlier examples from Ugarit where Canaanite deities are associated with specific roles or functions (Moscati, 1968:136).

4.7.2 Religious Architecture

In terms of architecture, there is a very definite absence of this evidence type when one is dealing with the constructions and physical appearance of Phoenician religious buildings. Late Bronze Age Canaan leaves us with a large amount of data when it comes to this aspect of religion but the same cannot be said of the Phoenicians. Some information is left to us by the Phoenicians in this regard at places such as the remains of a cultic building on the Plain of Sharon. The archaeology of this location provides an indication of wall construction from around 1000 BCE. The biblical Temple of Solomon has also been thought to be the work of Phoenician craftsmen and builders. The construction techniques and appearance of these two examples can be favourably compared with the numerous examples present in Late Bronze Age Canaanite sites (Harden, 1963:90-94).

4.7.3 Sacrificial Practices

The appearance of ritual human sacrifice is one which is accompanied by a decisive amount of physical and textual evidence (Mocati, 1968:141). From later western sources on Phoenician religion, specifically in Carthage, the practice of human sacrifice is well attested to as a sacred or cultic activity. Harden (1963:94-94) states with a number of substantiating accounts and locations that this practice did take place in both the Bronze Age Canaanite and Iron Age Phoenicia periods and therefore does not really create a divergence between the two.

Infant sacrifice and the practice of prostitution along cultic lines are two religious activities well known to have been undertaken by the Phoenicians. The practices are also said to have endured into the Carthiginian era in North Africa. The Ras Shamra texts from Ugarit do not however clearly define these practices amongst the Bronze Age Canaanites and one should not automatically grasp at this conclusion based on other similarities (Drower, 1968:21). This will be scrutinised further in a later chapter.

4.7.4 Additional Considerations

When dealing with Phoenician mythological practices/beliefs and comparing them to the Canaanites, it is important to consider the types of information sources left behind and how they may influence the perspectives given on religion. There is a much greater abundance of

sources on Canaanite religion preceding the advent of the Iron Age (1200 BCE) than that of the Phoenicians. In addition, the format of religious material we have from these two groups is very different. In the Phoenician case, the religious practices of different sections of the societal hierarchy of the city-states is present and normally from the upper classes and royalty. In the Canaanite case, descriptions are of a more general and developed religion (Clifford, 1990:55).

4.8 PHOENICIAN MARITIME ACTIVITY, SHIPPING AND SHIP DESIGN

The Phoenician civilisation is well known for its maritime achievements and it undoubtedly dominated the Mediterranean shipping lanes for an extended period of time. Due to this, the Phoenicians were eventually able to establish colonies throughout the region all based on their maritime prowess. The modern day alphabet can be attributed largely to the people as they were the one responsible for transporting through the ancient world. The design of Phoenician ships, types of cargo, possible destinations and any other relevant maritime characteristics of this great seaward power will be the primary investigation in this section. General discussions will be undertaken along with more specific descriptions of wrecks found to this point.

Basch (1969, 139) states the following: "if there is a nation whose general history tends to merge with its maritime history, that nation is the Phoenician." This astute statement clearly exemplifies how, throughout its history (1200 BCE onward), maritime activity was indeed an integral part of the Phoenician way of life. An argument can be made that although the Bronze Age Canaanites were active seagoing peoples as well as shipbuilders, they never rivalled later Phoenician maritime exploits. The Phoenicians were able to throughout the process of their development create a seaward empire the likes of which had never been seen before. They were able to navigate the entirety of the Mediterranean Sea and many are of the belief that they may very well have gone even further, to locations such as the west coast of Africa.

4.8.1 Phoenician Ship Design and Wreckages

The designs of typical Iron Age Phoenician seagoing vessels will be described here and later used as a comparative base. As with the majority of information we have regarding the Phoenicians, insight into Phoenician ship design comes primarily from foreign sources.

There are also challenges in making general statements with regard to the physical appearance of Phoenician ships as they came in many different forms with many different functions over a long time period. This being said and taking into account the scarcity of sources on the subject, one can perhaps formulate some generalisations. The works of a number of different scholars will be utilised in this endeavour including Artzy (1987), Ballard *et al* (2002) and a comprehensive MA dissertation by Smith (2012). The work of these scholars as well as the interpretation of this author will be presented through the use of visual depictions as well as textual records. There is definitely no consensus amongst scholars with regard to the origins of Phoenician ship building technique and practice, making definitive conclusions on the subject an extremely complex task (Smith, 2012:16). Smith (2012) does not differentiate between the Canaanites and Phoenicians and refers to Phoenician ships dating back to 3000 BCE. This does not fit into this framework and therefore only ships dating after 1200 BCE will be described as Phoenician with anything earlier being Canaanite.

Phoenician ship design developed in such a way that the sail systems used on their ships were altered from the systems used by their regional predecessors (Canaanites). The Phoenicians followed a sail system where the rigid boom underneath the sail was no longer present but roping was used to connect the sails to the deck (Smith, 2012:35). This absence of a solid boom could have possibly been introduced to the region by the Sea Peoples and will therefore be scrutinised further in later sections.

Assyrian depictions from the royal citadels of Kuyunjik and Khorsabad portray broad vertical posts at the stern and bow ends of these Phoenician vessels (Artzy, 1987:80). Khorsabad does however have more than one ship type and design present which will be addressed later. Many of the wrecks and ship depictions used here do come from later time periods than immediately after 1200 BCE. The reason why they are still thought to be relevant is because the basis and fundamental elements of these ships and their designs may well be found in the eastern Mediterranean in the early Iron Age as this is the original Phoenician homeland. Although alterations and improvements were undeniably made over the centuries, some consistency may be present and must be dealt with.

4.8.1.1 Iron Age Wrecks off Ashkelon:

Two Iron Age wrecks thought to be of Phoenician origin have been uncovered off the coast of Israel and an archaeological analysis has since followed. These two wrecks have been

named the Tanit and the Elissa. A significant amount of state of the art marine archaeological equipment and methodologies were used to gather data on these two particular wreck sites. Ballard *et al* (2002) undertook this very informative fieldwork with the goal of discerning a number of things including the reasons why these ships sank, the nature of cargo on the ships, where the ships and crews hailed from as well as the size and date of the ships. Although these wrecks are located within an Iron Age II context they could still very possibly shed light on the nature of Phoenician shipping and ship characteristics which could provide insight to the way in which the Phoenicians developed in this sphere. Ballard *et al* (2002) will be used as the primary source throughout the section on these two shipwrecks specifically. The archaeological processes followed by this group were very thorough and done in such a way so as to ensure that there were sample artefacts retrieved but with the minimal amount of disturbance done to the wreck sites. Detailed discussions of this fieldwork will not however be presented here but what will be addressed is what information was uncovered by their work.

Amphoras, types of ancient jugs, found at both the sites date them back to approximately the 8th century BCE based on style and material analyses. This corresponds with the period when the Phoenicians started early colonial processes in a westerly direction. As these are ancient wrecks, the actual wooden hull itself has been lost over the centuries of lying on the seabed. Therefore, other criteria are used to make educated estimates of the dimensions of these ships. The Tanit was found to be smaller in terms of its size than the Elissa. These estimates of size were done by looking at the shape of the cargo, still positioned in such a way that it corresponds with what the shape of the ship would have been. Through the use of this methodology, Ballard *et al* (2002) were able to surmise that the Elissa was approximately 14.5m in length with a width of approximately 7m. In the case of the Tanit, using the same logic, it measured 14m in length and 6.5m in width. Once again, these are approximations.

The locations at which these two shipwrecks were uncovered, the way the wrecks are positioned and the cargo on board can provide insight into not only where they come from along with their crew but also into trade networks and systems at this time (8th century BCE). The wrecks were both found in such a way that one can deduce they were travelling from east to west or possibly vice versa. This would be a valid possibility as the dating of the wrecks corresponds with the time period when the Phoenicians are thought to have been in the process of establishing Carthage in North Africa, west of their homeland. The artefacts found on both shipwrecks bore definite similarities as one would expect but the Elissa possessed a greater variety of artefacts. The amphoras (already mentioned), formerly used for the shipping of wine, found at both wreck sites have been excavated widely in Lebanon

and Israel, enforcing the notion of this region being the native port of these ships. To add to this, this particular style of amphora has been found on land in only very few locations including Megiddo and Hazor, with only fragmentary remains at Sarepta and Tyre. This further emphasises the very much regionalised place of origin along a section of the eastern Mediterranean coastline. Other artefacts found in the context of these two wrecks include bowls, pots and others. These artefacts will not be given detailed description at this point and will only be referred to later if they prove to be an effective basis of comparison. One aspect of the finds that must be mentioned is the identification of visible anchors at both wrecks. Ballard *et al* (2002) state that the anchors are very common examples of ancient anchors used continually over the centuries, the location of the anchor finds is however of interest. In the case of the Elissa, four anchors were seen all positioned centrally with two on either side. In the Tanit example, the only difference is that one of the anchors was not centrally located and was seen to be closer to the bow of the ship (Ballard *et al,* 2002: 155-167).

Only limited data with regard to Phoenician ships can be drawn from the information provided here but it could still prove to be useful in later comparative studies. The positioning of the two wreckages as an indication of these ships travelling east to west or vice versa is plausible but it may also be possible that their positioning may have been altered through the process of their sinking or due to sea currents.

4.8.1.2 Wrecks as Possible Ships of Tarshish

Ships of Tarshish are thought to have been constructed by the Phoenicians in an Iron Age setting as formidable merchant vessels capable of covering expansive distances bearing heavy metal cargoes. One can draw speculative conclusions as to what the these vessels looked like but as there are no known images of these ships, this is a difficult endeavour. They would have most likely been larger than other Phoenician ships with higher protective barriers (bulwarks) as they frequented more open water and therefore larger swells. Longer voyages would have necessitated that the crew would need more formalised shelter on board (Smith, 2012:66). The wreck sites addressed above could have perhaps been ships of Tarshish as they come from the correct time period and may well have been destined for Carthage which is some distance from the Eastern Mediterranean basin.

4.8.2 Phoenician Warships

Phoenician warships will be investigated in more detail than their other vessel types as this sphere of ship design will be directly compared to the most detailed ship depictions of the Sea Peoples from Medinet Habu. The Medinet Habu ships are depicted in a war scene and therefore it can be surmised that this was most likely their primary purpose and the most likely parallels may be drawn here. The Phoenician warships that are to be addressed here are generally a number of centuries later than the end of the Late Bronze Age but although this is the case some of the design attribute foundations definitely do come from the Late Bronze Age period with obvious alterations and improvements. Specific warship attributes along with more general discussions on Phoenician ship specifications will now be pursued.

A complication that arises with regard to Early Iron Age Phoenician warships is that before approximately the tenth century BCE there is a definite shortage of pictorial and any other type of information available to us to date (Smith, 2012:79).

The commonly utilised Phoenician warship, the Bireme seems to have been developed concurrently with its Greek counterpart which is present in the historical record. Phoenician Biremes can be characterised by the conical ram fitted on the bow end, used to damage enemy ships it was rammed into. Dating back to around the seventh century BCE, Phoenician Biremes possessed structures above the level of the deck used to transport military personnel such as archers which could be used at sea to great effect. This structure was also surrounded by shield barriers for protection of these soldiers. As Phoenician Biremes possessed this very much raised structure on the deck, this would have facilitated the need for this ship to be very sound and stable in the water as such a heightened construction on the deck would have undoubtedly increased the likelihood of the ship turning over and capsizing. This elevated decking section for military personnel seemingly runs the full length of the vessel from bow to stern but not the full width from port side to starboard side (Wood, 2012: 26-27). This ship type was also shorter in length than warships before it, measuring at approximately 20 metres. This was done for the sake of manoeuvrability in the water which would obviously be of paramount importance in wartime scenarios. A complex oar system allowed for rowers at differing levels to contribute to the propulsion of these vessels with some rowers placing their oars through gaps in the hull while others place oars in the water from over the sheer (Smith, 2012:79-81).

As already mentioned Wood (2012) provides us with a brief yet insightful summarised description of a number of ancient warships with accompanying illustrations. These descriptions include Phoenician warships from about 700 BCE, the same example as is

drawn on above. From this example, the ships portrayed can be definitively labelled as Phoenician Biremes. This particular depiction is from an Assyrian source, at the palace of Sennacherib in Khorsabad, and depicts Tyrian Biremes (during the reign of King Luli) leaving their city after being defeated by the Assyrians. Wood's (2012:26) descriptions of these vessels do correspond with the above descriptions given by Smith (2012) but he does present some other perspectives. Wood (2012:26) refers to the ram which has already been addressed earlier as also fulfilling the function of a cutwater. A cutwater is meant to assist a ship in smoothly and speedily moving through the water on the bow side. Whether the Phoenicians had this function in mind when constructing the ship or whether they were more preoccupied with military purpose is unclear. It is a distinct possibility that the skilful Phoenician shipwrights most likely thought of dual function when it came to this specification. This does definitely differentiate this warship from Late Bronze Age predecessors.

Held in position by wooden pegs or iron nails, mortise and tenon joints were utilised in the assembling of the hull. Bitumen of pitch was utilised by Phoenician shipwrights to coat the hull of the vessel, protecting and waterproofing it. This was especially helpful in the case of enclosing iron from the salt water since iron that is directly exposed to sea water erodes at an accelerated rate (Wood, 2012:26-27).

What follows on the next page is a depiction of a Phoenician Bireme:

Figure 4.2: Phoenician Bireme

A PHŒNICIAN GALLEY WITH TWO BANKS OF OARS.[1]

Image from:

http://www.gutenberg.org/files/28876/28876-h/files/17328/17328-h/images/017.jpg
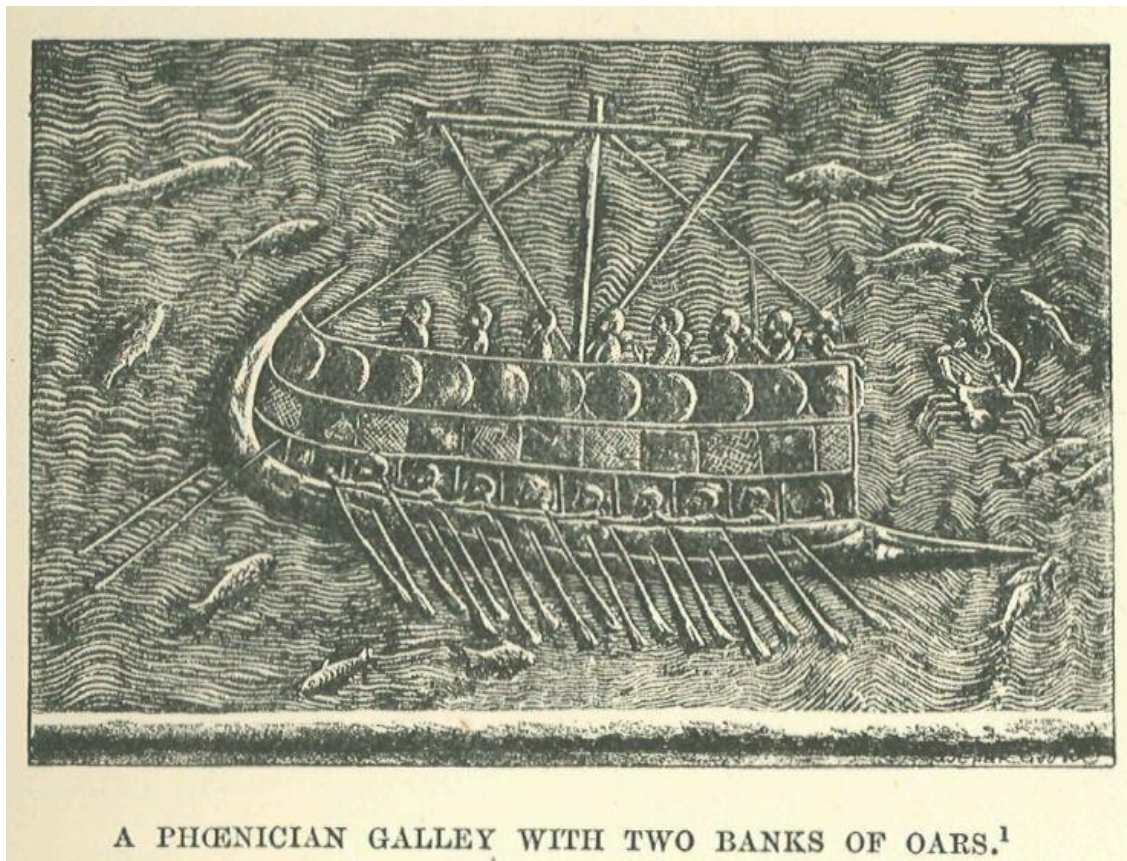
The above depiction can be regarded as a Phoenician Bireme due to its design specifications (two rows of oarsmen) from about 700 BCE during the reign of Sennacherib. There are a number of aspects of this ship that can be clearly seen from this particular depiction. It is a reconstruction of a ship depiction from Khorsabad already mentioned earlier. One very important observation one can make with regard to the sail system of this Phoenician ship is that it has no boom present at the bottom, only a yard across the vessel with so-called loose brailings. A backstay and forestay are clearly evident at the stern and bow respectively in order to support the positioning of the mast. As already stated, the Phoenician Bireme portrayals from Khorsabad clearly show the multi-levelled nature of these ships. The visible rowers appear to be seated on the conventional deck level with their oars placed over the side or caprail. As has already been addressed, a second row of oarsmen appears to be present on a lower level and their oars are clearly protruding through function specific holes in the hull. The uppermost level is occupied by what is thought to be military personnel bearing Semitic type helmets. Their weapons are not really visible apart from the figure second from the right that may be a lancer due to the fact that the figure seems to be

holding a longer weapon type. A feature that can be clearly seen on this portrayal is round shields surrounding the uppermost deck level, thought to be for the protection of the soldiers. On the bow end of the ship the ram or cutwater is clearly depicted and is shaped in such a way so as to be capable of inflicting as much damage on an enemy ship as possible. The stern end is characterised by a curved vertical post that curves inward toward the deck quite substantially. Two steering oars are also seen protruding from the stern. What is interesting about this depiction is that the crew or soldiers on the upper deck seem to be facing the stern of the ship. The oarsmen must logically face this direction for propulsion purposes but the fact that the others are doing the same may give credence to the idea that they are fleeing from battle like Sennacherib wanted it to appear. This illustrates an Assyrian victory over Tyre and must obviously be dealt with acknowledging bias. The mast of this ship is comprised of one fairly thick wooden beam and although it is unclear, it does appear to run through the upper deck to the lower levels probably for additional stability.

Figure 4.3: Phoenician Merchant Ship

FIG. 8.—Phœnician merchant galley. From Layard.

Image from: http://phoenicians.info/ship-merch.jpg
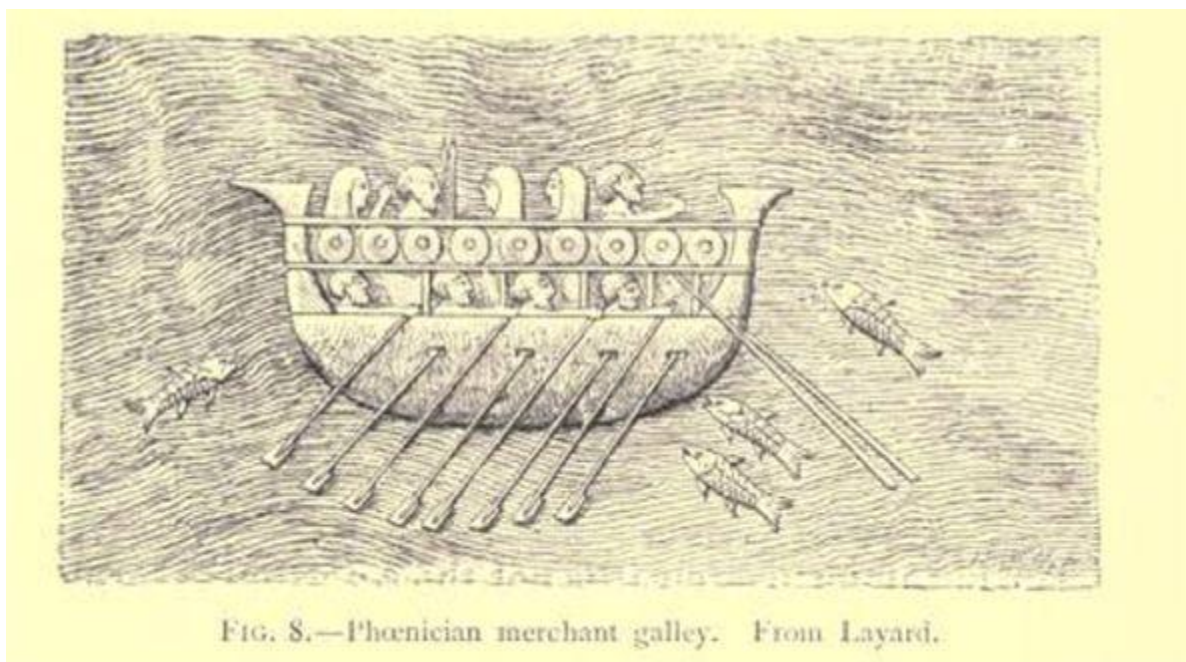
There is more than one ship type depicted in the scene referred to above from the Sennacherib's palace relief. The above ship is characterised by the absence of a mast, therefore not designed for long journeys and seems to be propelled solely by two rows of oarsman in the same fashion as the Phoenician Bireme. It has no ram and the people on board are not military personnel. There are round shields visible on the upper section of the

deck. The bow and stern posts are vertical and flattened on top with protruding sections that point outward into the sea. There is not enough detail present to discern whether the bow and stern posts may have bird-headed motifs.

The next innovation in the development of Phoenician warships after the ascension of the Bireme was the Trireme. In the case of Phoenician Triremes, two rows of oarsman working simultaneously were replaced with three rows, all of which were located in the confines of the ship without any extensions, which undoubtedly would have increased the maximum speed of these ships (top speed of 9 knots). Nearly two hundred oarsmen could be accommodated in these ships. The Phoenician version of the Trireme is thought to date back to approximately 670 BCE in Sidon (Smith, 2012:83). This particular ship type will not be elaborated on more here as it does not form part of the scope of this research as its design is a number of levels of development later than the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age examples to be utilised on a comparative basis.

4.8.3 More on Merchant Ships

Figure 4.4: Later Phoenician Merchantman

Image from:
http://wwwdelivery.superstock.com/WI/223/1899/PreviewComp/SuperStock_1899-42691.jpg

This is a depiction of a later Phoenician merchant vessel. The shortened mast is still evident like with the Canaanite ships of the Bronze Age. There is a horizontal yard visible but with a downward curvature showing greater flexibility and mobility of the sails. No rigid boom post

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is evident underneath the sail and no hogging trusses are present. There is a steering oar visible at the stern end. The stern end also comes out of the water vertically with unclear decorative elements on top of the sternpost that curve inwards. A new design element present is the small sail at the front end of the ship which is a design element not seen in earlier depicitons. The bow end also comes out of the water at a gentler angle and is not vertical in nature like earlier Canaanite ships shown.

4.8.4 Biblical Account

The Biblical Book Ezekiel is often used as a source of information with regard to the Phoenicians and their seagoing characteristics. It addresses the city of Tyre specifically and although it is definitely not positive or favourable in its description of these people it is undeniably a valuable resource. This Book in terms of its mentioning of the Phoenicians (Tyrians) will be addressed here so as to substantiate arguments of the extent of Phoenician maritime activity. Ezekiel 26 through to 28 is orientated around the city of Tyre and refers to the city's seagoing affinity on numerous occasions. Ezekiel 26:5 states the following of Tyre:

"Out in the sea she will become a place to spread fishing nets, for I have spoken, declares the Sovereign Lord. She will become plunder for the nations, and her settlements on the mainland will be ravaged by the sword."

This passage refers to the location of Tyre as it describes how Tyre was an island off the coast of the mainland with settlements on the mainland itself. The fact that the passage states how fishing lines will be spread over the area that was Tyre stipulates that it is an island. Ezekiel 26:15 also speaks of Tyre's coastal location and further describes how the princes of these coastal locations will lose their power. This is implying what we already know about the administration of Phoenician principalities that were independent of one another and not ever really united under one ruler.

Ezekiel 27:3 states the following:

"Say to Tyre, situated at the gateway to the sea, merchant of peoples on many coasts,...."

This excerpt once again points as to the location of Tyre in relation to the sea but also indicates one of the most significant professions. This being merchants for hire to people all over the coastline. Ezekiel 27:4 further illustrates how Tyre is very much a city reliant on the sea and refers to the sea as a Tyrian "domain" and how Tyrian builders were extremely skilful in their shipbuilding endeavours. Ezekiel 27:5-9 continues on the theme of the

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Phoenicians on the sea and presents additional information with regard to the materials used by these shipwrights. Lebanese cedar wood was used for the mast of Phoenician ships, oak from Bashan in oar construction with decking wood from Cyprus intertwined with ivory inlays. According to these verses, the sails were comprised of quality cloth/linens of Egyptian origin and further refer to the traditional purple dye on the banner. Verse 8 states how Tyrian ships utilised crew from Arvad and Sidon. It emphasises how competent and skilful these crewmen were especially with regard to those fulfilling the role of oarsmen. Gebal was the location where the vessels of Tyre's builders hailed from and lastly Verse 9 refers to their occupation as active merchants.

An interesting factor that is worth noting from the description presented above is that the crew of ships from Tyre was not strictly Tyrian but also from some of the other powerful Phoenician city-states. This can perhaps illustrate that although these states were not united and were often rivals of one another, they did have close ties with each other and shared maritime activities sometimes even on the same vessels.

Ezekiel 27:10-23 includes exhaustive accounts of all Tyre's trading partners as well as the types of merchandise they traded with each. Ezekiel 28:1-19 are comprised of prophetical statements of the fall of the king of Tyre but also present information alluding towards the massive wealth of Tyre and how Tyre has made many others very wealthy through trading networks. Ezekiel 28:20-25 is also prophetic in nature and addresses the demise of another Phoenician city, namely Sidon but does not really identify maritime traits or influences.

4.9 NOTES ON CARTHAGE

Although Carthage will not be granted in depth attention in this research, it is significant to at least familiarise the reader with this location as it is a product of Phoenician development and long distance expansion. It can be termed as an early form of colonisation.

Thought to have been founded in approximately 814 BCE, Carthage developed its own shipbuilding institutions. As the people of Carthage are thought to have been directly related to the Tyrians, their early ships were very much in the same vein but as time passed more unique Carthaginian ship design specifications became evident (Smith, 2012:71-72). The most in depth analyses of Carthiginian ships and peoples come from later Punic time periods and will only be mentioned here.

4.10 CONCLUSION

The Phoenicians of the Early Iron Age are clearly still a mystery in many instances with much of the information we have on them being in the form of later and foreign sources. This being said, there is still sufficient information available to scholarship to pick up on and highlight some aspects of this great ancient seagoing nation. The research of many scholars in this regard, both ancient and contemporary have been made use of here to be as thorough as possible in this analysis and description of these people. Their affinity to the sea and expansion of power in this regard is unquestionable with them often being referred to as the sailors *par excellence* of the ancient Mediterranean. This chapter has served the purpose of introducing the reader to the Phoenicians in terms of their societal norms and maritime traits. These features will be utilised at a later stage as the basis of comparisons and possible emergence of new and unconsidered possibilities.

CHAPTER 5

THE SEA PEOPLES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will be solely dedicated to the Sea Peoples and their impact on the Ancient Near East going from the Late Bronze into the Early Iron Age periods. Initially their entry into the Orient, possible reasons and origins of this migration as well as its impact on local inhabitants will be concentrated upon. This will be done by analysing the impact of thirteenth century tensions, migrations and instability in large parts of the ancient world (specifically the Ancient Near East) and whether the Sea Peoples were key role-players in the advent of this so-called Dark Age. Once the most likely scenarios regarding the process of this migration into the region and effects thereof have been established, details of specific locations where certain groups settled will be provided to signify whether or not the Sea Peoples had any ambition or will to live a more settled lifestyle. This will be done after a comprehensive study of their physical appearance, material culture (if any remains), maritime characteristics as well as relations with indigenous groups in the area. Their ship designs and features will be looked at closely and form an integral aspect of later discussions. The logic behind this focus on maritime characteristics is that the Phoenicians are well known as a maritime power and therefore it is in this sphere that perhaps suitable comparisons can be drawn in later sections. The Sea Peoples' connection with the sea is not only given by their name but also other intrinsic qualities.

Numerous literary sources will be utilised in this section and the works of various extremely capable scholars will provide extremely helpful information regarding background, nature and locations of Sea Peoples settlements. The scholarly works of authors such as Wachsmann (2009), Gilboa (2005), Artzy (1987) and Sandars (1985) will be widely drawn upon as primary sources. These authors have dealt with differing aspects of the Sea Peoples comprehensively and in such a way that the information presented by them is directly relevant here.

From the outset, it is important to state that the Sea Peoples cannot be considered to be one autonomous group but were rather made up of a number of various groups with differing cultures. Furthermore, they did not all occupy the same region but different locations throughout the eastern Mediterranean all the way from Greece in the north to Egypt in the

south. Fortunately due to the historical treasures left behind by the Egyptian civilisation, the broad time period in which the Sea Peoples entered the Orient is fairly definite (Sandars, 1985:9). Egyptian sources are of paramount significance as they provide the most detail with regard to the Sea Peoples and their seemingly influential role in the Ancient Near East. As already touched upon in an earlier chapter, depictions from the reigns of Ramesses II, Merenptah and Ramesses III have provided much insight into the Sea Peoples. These depictions will be used throughout this chapter as they depict the Sea Peoples groups under investigation. It was the Egyptians that dubbed these migrating groups Peoples of the Sea, and if not for this we may have never been able to identify them (Sandars, 1985:9). Apart from the sources of information of Egyptian origin, depictions and textual remains from other locations in the Ancient Near East including Hittite sites, Canaanite sites and Assyrian texts will also be employed in order to reach as definitive results as possible.

Referring back to the lack of autonomy shared by these groups, it can also be argued that there are certain characteristics common to various Sea Peoples groups especially with regard to physical appearance. Wainwright (1961) illustrates these groupings in a satisfactory manner which will be dealt with later in this chapter in a section entitled Sea Peoples Groups. These commonalities add impetus to the arguments that at least some of these various groups do definitely share a regional ancestry and perhaps also cultural affinities.

5.2 ENTRY INTO THE ORIENT: A PRELUDE TO DECLINE

The entry of migrating Sea Peoples groups into the Orient has, by numerous scholars, been thought of as one of the predominant reasons for the advent of an Ancient Near Eastern Dark Age in approximately 1200 BCE. Events such as the demise of Aegean civilisations, the advent of the Philistine civilisation, the decline of the Hittites (destruction of Hattusas), the epic battles of the Pharaohs Merenptah and Ramesses III, the fall of Ugarit and an era of unrest in the region have all in some form or another been attributed to the Sea Peoples with differing amounts of substantiation and accuracy. It must be said that this has been done in some cases with not much physical evidence or with evidence that is at best, contradictory or inconclusive. There is undoubtedly physical evidence of destruction dating back to this time period shown by the remains of ruined cities, but the causes of the destruction are not always so clear cut (Sandars, 1985:11). Although there was comprehensive and in some instances complete destruction that took place in the Ancient Near East around 1200 BCE, the first Sea Peoples to enter the region are thought to have done so some two centuries

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before this as a variety of marauding groupings. Only in the mid-thirteenth century BCE does it seem that this marauding characteristic was altered to one where the Sea Peoples undertook larger scale mass movement into the region, often aggressive in nature. These larger incursions have often been credited with the destruction of a number of established civilisations including the Hittites, Mycenaeans, Ugarit and other Canaanites (Wachsmann, 2009:163).

5.3 SEA PEOPLES: ONLY ONE PIECE OF THE PUZZLE

There are numerous counter arguments against the idea that the Sea Peoples can be completely to blame for this era of unrest as mentioned above. These arguments state that the decline of 1200 BCE in the Ancient Near East was also due to internal factors and cannot therefore be attributed to the migrating Sea Peoples alone. These counter arguments revolve around the issue of origins and identification of the Sea Peoples groups. The fact that there are so many differing and contrasting views regarding where they may have come from makes the task of formulating viable migration patterns difficult with the clearest sources of information coming from one perspective, the undertakings of Egyptian pharaohs and accompanying bias (Kuhrt, 1995:386). Kuhrt (1995:393), further states that the involvement of the Sea Peoples in the Ancient Near East and the Aegean circa 1200 BCE is only one factor amongst many other political, cultural and social problems that had become evident in both of the regional superpowers of the time (Egyptians and Hittites). The details of the supreme powers of the area prior to 1200 BCE have already been sufficiently dealt with in a dedicated chapter.

Other possibilities for the decline of a region may be more environmentally based, more specifically an earthquake of epic proportion or climatic changes leading to crop failure and food scarcity. Other invasion theories have also been dealt with, including invasions from the Danube, the desert or the Asian steppe (Sandars, 1985:11). The theory that changes in weather patterns throughout the Ancient Near East states that between 1200 and 900 BCE rainfall patterns changed and transformed the area into a considerably drier environment (Noll, 2001:136-137). This idea has gained momentum amongst more recent research. The fact is that there is no easy explanation, but what is known is that these mysterious Sea Peoples did have an influence worthy of the historical record whether they were the reason for the decline or just an element of the whole. The validity of theories and reasons for decline in the region, including the Sea Peoples marauder theory, will be dealt with in detail within this chapter with certain regions being focused on.

5.4 POSSIBLE IMPACT OF SEA PEOPLES MIGRATION AND ALTERNATIVE THEORIES

There are numerous theories that present differing possibilities as to what the origins of the Sea Peoples groups are and why they undertook mass migration. Some of the theories presented here definitely do have more effective substantiation than others. The origin of these people is of significance in this research and will be dealt with accordingly but what is of even greater importance is their activities once in the Ancient Near East.

5.4.1 Migration and Origins Theories

As far as their migration into the area, it is unlikely that all these people travelled together as a unified whole. It is perhaps a more likely scenario that they moved in more than one travelling group, what most probably occurred is that some arrived by sea and some of the others possibly migrated overland independently of one another (Sandars, 1985:140-141). A fact that is not under dispute is the fact that in the thirteenth century BCE, groups of people from outside the Ancient Near East and Aegean did migrate into the area with, in some cases, possible destructive consequences (Sandars, 1985:58). The movement of populations and responses thereto leading up to 1200 BCE will be addressed on a location by location basis.

Although the maritime aspects of the Sea Peoples will be granted a detailed section individually, a short discussion will be made here. The reason for this is that their maritime features may be able to illuminate ideas on their origins. The design of these Sea Peoples ships to bear definite similarities to those of the Aegean which can lead to an argument as to this being their place of origin. This is not however conclusive as it is possible that they may have just acquired these ships from that region or adapted them through contact with people in the region. The bird-headed motifs used on known Sea Peoples ships may also assist in origin theories. The bird-headed motif made its way into the eastern Mediterranean in the second millennium BCE and the way in which it was portrayed on Sea Peoples ships could perhaps link these people to central and southern European Late Bronze/Early Iron Age traditions. A burial site found in northern Syria dating to the relevant time period has many relics and artefacts, such as specific sword types, connecting them to communities in central Europe. This site has a Sea Peoples ship depiction within it and therefore it poses an argument for a connection with these people and as a possible origin (Wachsmann,

2009:177-182). These are all speculative theories, some of which have quite convincing arguments. There is to date no consensus on this topic.

It is not the purpose of this section to describe in detail all the cultures under threat during the thirteenth century BCE but to rather describe whether they were aware of and/or prepared for any threats at the time and if so how they reacted to these threats. Were the people responsible for these threats in any way similar to the Phoenician in appearance or practice?

Some of the locations impacted most by the 1200 BCE tensions will be discussed here. What is of interest here is if these locations knew of some impending threat or was it sudden and unexpected, like marauders surprising these communities from the north.

5.4.2 Crete

The renowned trading and cultural centre of Knossos on the Mediterranean island of Crete underwent destruction earlier than the time period in question (1200 BCE). Possibilities and theories as to who was responsible for the demise of Knossos include the following:

- Mainland Greeks who put together a military force in order to combat Cretan mercantile dominance.
- Natural disaster, specifically an earthquake, may have displaced populations in the Aegean forcing them to look for new settlement opportunities.
- Raids undertaken by the Lukka people from parts of Anatolia attempting to become an influential force in the region. They have been described as a possible Sea Peoples group. The Lukka are thought to have been in the Ancient Near East as far back as the fourteenth century BCE and are thought to have undertaken piratical raids from this early on.

Arguments supporting the first point referring to mainland Greeks occupying Crete in the early fourteenth century BCE are perhaps the most convincing. This argument is substantiated by the fact that from this date onwards mainland Greek (Mycenaean) pottery in the region, formerly flooded by Cretan ceramics, now dominated the markets. Furthermore, the Egyptian tomb of Rekhmire from the fifteenth century has a depiction of a Cretan man painted over by someone wearing a mainland Greek kilt (Sandars, 1985:56-58). This provides regional background to occurrences leading up to the Dark Age of 1200 BCE and

therefore is worthy of attention. The Mycenaeans will now be given attention as there is a possibility that they may have come into direct contact with Sea Peoples groups.

5.4.3 The Mycenaeans

As addressed above, the Mycenaeans (mainland Greeks) enjoyed a period of expansion prior to the thirteenth century BCE. What is of direct relevance to this study is their response (or lack thereof), as well as the response of other nations, to the impending threat that presented itself in thirteenth century BCE.

The time consuming construction of additional fortification structures at certain Mycenaean sites would have been in response to some sort of threat. At the sites of Mycenae and Tiryns such fortifications were constructed. Sandars (1985: 59-62) further states that other Mycenaean sites such as Pylos did not undertake these types of construction in the thirteenth century BCE. This depicts a civilisation not under a direct and imminent threat from foreign attack but rather subject to localised unrest (Sandars, 1985:62).

A theory that presents another view on the awareness of a threat is the colossal wall built near the location of Isthmia. The date of the building of the wall is not clear and there is not accompanying evidence stating the purpose of the wall. This being said, it could possibly have served a defensive function, the wall would have protected the region (Peloponnese) from the northern expanses. The wall is described as Cyclopean meaning that it was constructed out of large, irregular size rocks. Another factor showing that the regional authorities felt that perhaps extra defence was necessary during this time period comes from Pylos. The coastal guard of this city may have always been a priority but during the thirteenth century, evidence shows that ten individuals were put in charge of coordinating the seaward security. The fact that these people were hand-picked from the highest echelons of society clearly illustrates that this was taken very seriously at the time (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008:389).

Interestingly, depictions painted on walls at various Greek mainland sites including Mycenae and Tiryns dating back to the thirteenth century BCE do not describe a time of unrest. Although both these sites were fortified at this time, these depictions represent actions such as hunting and religiously orientated activities. In the vast minority are images of war (Sandars, 1985:68). This does not at all represent a nation under direct threat or even concerned with much unrest from formidable adversaries. Therefore, the response of this civilisation to the possibility of attack was not really evident. This may lead someone to

surmise that they were a nation taken by surprise. The idea that they were not expecting an impending catastrophe if further strengthened by the fact that Linear B textual evidence that was preserved (by processes caused by fire) through the centuries from Thebes in the correlating time period shows that all normal administrative and daily routines continued right until destruction took place, showing that the people had not prepared for any occurrences out of the ordinary (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008: 390).

5.4.3.1 Mycenaean Devastation

The reason for the sudden collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation in the thirteenth century BCE is a subject of great contention amongst researchers and no definite consensus has been achieved to this day. In order to place this destruction into the context of this study, possible theories surrounding the causes will be addressed including the validity of Sea Peoples involvement.

The evidence that is definitive is that there were massive destructive occurrences during the time period in question with many significant royal citadels being destroyed in Mycenaean urban centres. Along with this, there was a complete breakdown of the administrative and economic system centred on the royal citadels. It was a time of tension and uncertainty. Many theories regarding the possible causes of these events have been established over the years including the advent of massive earthquakes or other natural disasters, invasion form outsiders, deteriorating system of authority and possible economic factors (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008:387 & 391).

5.4.3.2 Earthquake Theory and Other Possible Natural Disasters

The idea that a cluster of heavy earthquakes hit localised regions around 1200 BCE has not been subscribed to by seismologists as there is a lack of evidence pointing to this (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008:391).

The idea that other natural occurrences may have contributed to the thirteenth century devastation is one which is worthy of mention. A drought or flooding in the region may have led to unfavourable harvests and degradation of the natural environment. Evidence of a climatic change in the area at the time, possibly leading to such disasters is as of yet deficient which lessens the credibility of this argument at present (Deger-Jalkotzy,

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2008:391). Although a disaster such as a flood could have been a very sudden occurrence, a drought is something that obviously worsens conditions over time. If a drought had been the problem, perhaps there would have been more evidence of movement of populations or depictions thereof as it would not have been a complete surprise to the people.

5.4.3.3 Outside Incursion in Mycenae Theory

This theory will receive special attention as it involves the possible involvement of Sea Peoples groups. The idea of foreigners attacking as part of migrating or marauding groupings from the north has been present for a long period of time in scholarly publications. The Sea Peoples, as referred to by sources from Egypt and other parts of the Ancient Near East, have been thought of as possible candidates for responsibility for Mycenaean devastation. Deger-Jalkotzy (2008:391) states that this theory has "lost attractiveness" due to a number of reasons. One of these reasons is the lack of evidence pointing to them in the Mycenaean archaeological record, sources on these groups are only found at other locations (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008:391).

One possible explanation for a lack of archaeological evidence forms part of the marauding theory. Marauding groups, in general, are responsible for looting the regions they pass through and not for leaving traces of their material culture behind. If these people were marauders, in the nomadic sense, it is perhaps a possibility that they may have passed through but left little behind in the form of physical evidence. Apart from sheer destruction that is. Furthermore, because of the complete collapse of central authority and structure in the area, it is also perhaps feasible that people present in the aftermath were not concerned with recording what had happened but were rather in the basic survival mode of thought.

Metal artefacts including weapons and wardrobe attire are thought to have entered the Mycenaean world around the same period as this decline (thirteenth century BCE). The origins of these objects fashioned from metal are obscure with a few possibilities. These options are comprised of a few differing locations: central Europe, Italy and the north western expanse of the Balkans in Eastern Europe. Two of the metal artefacts uncovered at Mycenae were an "Italic winged axe" and a "flange-hilted sword" (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008:389). Thirdly, a wardrobe accessory not known in the Mycenaean world has also been uncovered in the form of a dress fastener (fibula). It is "violin-bow-shaped" (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008:389) or, in other words, similar to a figure eight. The flange hilted sword mentioned above corresponds directly with the sword type mentioned earlier corresponding with the northern

Syrian burial site. This again brings to light more information on possible central European origins of the Sea Peoples.

Pottery types, possibly dating back to before the metal artefacts already mentioned, foreign to the region have been uncovered at Mycenae and Tiryns (in a LH III B2 context). The fact that this pottery is foreign and earlier in date may mean that the Mycenaeans were in contact with foreigners outside the Aegean and Orient at an earlier stage than during their decline. This may mean trade (no evidence of this) and possibly the employment of skilled workers from outside the area (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008:389). Interestingly, Deger-Jalkotzy (2008:389) also mentions that perhaps these foreigners may have also been paid mercenaries in the ranks of the Mycenaean military at this early stage. This may be positively compared with the mercenary groups depicted by the Egyptians and Hittites (Sea Peoples groups, the Shardana etc). Perhaps this warlike nature of certain Sea Peoples groups should be granted more attention but this can obviously not be undertaken easily due to a lack of sources. Hopefully more physical evidence can be uncovered in the not too distant future.

Referring back to ship design, there are definite indications that the specifications of Sea Peoples ships bear similarities to known Aegean ships and perhaps there was early contact between the groups as mentioned.

5.4.3.4 Possible Localised Causes

The weakening of these Mycenaean nations may not have been based on outside invasion. It may rather have been more a case of internal occurrences. These may have included an unsustainable population explosion, a reliance of foreign imports of goods necessary to continue the economy, the complete control that the royal house had over all economic activities and a possible unwillingness or inability to adapt (Sandars, 1985:79). Central control to this extent can undoubtedly have a negative effect during times when regional adaptability is necessary.

Economically, Mycenaean craftsmen were highly skilled but in very specific industries (pottery) and this meant that they were forced to trade in order to survive. On a local basis, it's possible that they were in actual fact not self-sufficient. Politically and administratively, average Mycenaeans relied completely on the royal house. All functions of Mycenaean cities (trade, supplies etc) went through the hands of the palace (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008:389). The destruction of palaces and resultant dwindling of trade activity in the thirteenth century BCE

Mycenaean sites meant that the inhabitants of these areas were all of a sudden forced to fend for themselves after generations of close palatial control.

Other localised theories are also based on the structure of the society itself. Perhaps, the palatial system was in itself not sustainable. It limits growth of the economy in the sense that the economy can only grow as much as palace limits allow. In a more decentralised economy, the weight is spread and therefore greater expansion can take place. Furthermore, it was not socially to the advantage of the average Mycenaeans as all their work and supplies were strictly controlled by the palace. This type of system could lead to resentment over a long period of time and in turn a lack of productivity. Although a rebellion was perhaps not impossible, there is no evidence of this. Deger-Jalkotzy (2008:391) calls it a system of "social contradiction" which is a very accurate description.

Regardless of the cause/s of this destructive trend in Mycenaean territories the effect on the inhabitants occurred in all spheres of life. As there was no longer a complex centre of political, economic and administrative control production of material culture all but ceased. Religious centres disappeared; therefore the central role of spiritual guidance (fundamental in most ancient civilisations) also failed to be present. The impact was real and longstanding with many of the citadels not being inhabited again after the thirteenth century BCE. The reaction of indigenous Greeks differed to this catastrophe with some migrating to other regions seeking better living conditions while others persisted and attempted to recover in the same locations (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008:405). This division amongst the people clearly depicts the complete decline of a nation, had these people still had an inkling of unity, perhaps they would have tried to recover as a nation.

Some fraction of Mycenaean way of life endured until the mid-eleventh century BCE (1070 BCE) (Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008:392). It was at this time that the region truly fell into a Dark Age where a lack of structure prevailed accompanied with a lack of cultural development. This, it must be said, is not a unique occurrence as throughout human history populations have continually been subject to periods of development followed by periods of decline.

5.4.4 The Hittites

The Hittites have been granted attention in an earlier chapter but still warrant further mention in terms of their direct reactions to impending collapse (expected or not) and contact with Sea Peoples groups.

Although not all Greek sites were fortified during the thirteenth century BCE, barring Mycenae and Tiryns, one non-Mycenaean site of great significance underwent immense fortification during this century. This site was the capital of the Hittites in Anatolia, formidable prior to 1200 BCE, Hattusas. Hattusas, like many ancient urban centres was located on top of a hill for obvious strategic reasons. The outer defences were made up of sizeable boulders, put together in the cyclopean masonry fashion much like sites in Mycenae. The inner defences were dubbed Buyukkale and were made up of an impressive gate, boasting a large lion statue as the protector of the city. Sandars (1985:62) stated that the inner defensive systems "are perhaps the most impressive of any in the ancient world;" The most notable difference between these fortification constructions and those of the Mycenaeans is the fact that they were built for very different reasons. In the Hittite example, it seems that they were built out of fear of external and not internal attack (Sandars, 1985:62-65). This could be connected with the migration of marauding Sea Peoples groups into the region as some sources have pointed towards. Ramesses III depicts this threat at Medinet Habu, stating how these Sea Peoples laid waste to Hattusas. Perhaps the Hittites did know an attack was imminent and were preparing for it. Whether they specifically forecasted an attack by the Sea Peoples is difficult to know without contestation. Another possibility is that the Hittites not only saw the Sea Peoples as a possible threat but also their more traditional arch rivals in the region, the Egyptians. Not only this but also other more settled groups of people in the region at the time may have also posed a threat.

5.5 EGYPT'S RELATIONS WITH THE SEA PEOPLES

The only one of the Ancient Near Eastern powers that seems to have been able to withstand the Sea Peoples onslaught, if that is what indeed it was, was the Egyptians. This has been attributed to the location of Egypt being further south and therefore further from the direction of the incursions and secondly because of its "peculiar geography" (Wachsmann, 2009:163). Another possibility here is that the Egyptians, being a supreme power in the region would have had more military resources at their disposal in order to fend of these attacks. A detailed description of the Sea Peoples' incursion into Egyptian territory is given by the Pharaoh Ramesses III, who experienced a large scale Sea Peoples invasion by land and sea in his own lifetime. A brief summary of his record and accompanying Egyptian prejudice is an extremely helpful tool in a study of the Sea Peoples. Ramesses III describes the Sea Peoples as people coming from the north and only arriving on Egypt's borders after laying waste to many other groups in the Ancient Near East including the already mentioned

Hittites, the people of Ugarit, the city of Arvad on the Canaanite coast, the city of Carchemish on the Euphrates and what is thought to be the island of Cyprus. The way in which he describes his defensive actions along with the pictorial depictions left behind show that the attack was undertaken by land and by sea. Ramesses describes this event as a decisive victory for the Egyptians over the invaders, stating how these people were placed within the territory of Egypt and paid homage to him as ruler (McNeill & Sedlar, 1968:25-27). Boastful of his victory, Ramesses further stipulates that they not only paid homage but that the Egyptians relocated these Sea Peoples groups to the borders of Egyptian territories in order to make use of them militarily when the need arose. In reality, it is more probable that the Egyptians did not have the strength to force these people out of the region entirely and therefore some of these Sea Peoples groups settled in territory they had already laid waste to without very much Egyptian influence (Wachsmann:2009:163). The Sea Peoples therefore set up more permanent settlements in the region and could perhaps have exerted much influence over the devastated peoples around them who were not really in a position to resist outside influence at the time.

Although it is Ramesses III that provides us with the most information on the Sea Peoples and their movement into the region with his account of the Sea Peoples attack on the Egyptians from Medinet Habu just outside Luxor, there are accounts of the Egyptians in earlier contact with the Sea Peoples as already mentioned in the chapter on the Egyptians and Hittites. The battle of Kadesh is one such example as well as the Libyan conflict, both of which come before the events depicted at Medinet Habu.

Almost seven decades after Kadesh, Merenptah came into contact with certain Sea Peoples groups as depicted at Karnak. The Libyans undertook an attempted incursion into Egyptian territory with Sea Peoples groups amongst their ranks in 1220 BCE. Merenptah in his victory accounts, with the accompanying bias, speaks of his complete defeat of the Libyans and identifies the Lukka, Meshwesh, Shardana, Sikila, Ekwesh and Teresh as the Sea Peoples assisting the Libyans. Ramesses II was already familiar with the Shardana and had used them as mercenaries at Kadesh with even earlier knowledge of this group coming from Byblos as far back as the fourteenth century BCE (Sandars, 1985: 105-107). Dating the Shardana as far back as the fourteenth century in Byblos is very intriguing. Although Sandars (1985) does concede that there are challenges and obscurities in this dating, even if there is a small possibility of Sea Peoples presence as far north as Byblos so early it shows their presence in what would become a Phoenician stronghold from an early date.

5.6 SEA PEOPLES GROUPS

Various Sea Peoples groups have been referred to in the historical record. Records from Egypt are the most helpful as they provide names of different groups as well as in some cases information on their appearance.

Sea Peoples groups revealed from ancient sources include the Peleset (Philistines, will have a sub-section set aside for them), the Tjekker, the Denyen (possibly biblical Dan), the Teresh, the Shekelesh (Sikila), the Ekwesh, the Meshwesh, the Lukka and the Sherden (Shardana) (Wainwright, 1961:71). Depending on the source and/or translation one uses, these names are subject to different spelling and pronunciation. Some of the groups are closely connected and in some instances differing names may in actual fact be referring to the same groups.

Although some sources state that the Sea Peoples cannot be regarded as one uniform group, Wainwright (1961:73-74) does state that to an extent and with the exception of a few groups, the Sea Peoples' wardrobe can be generalised. This general appearance includes a round shield, a kilt that forms a point in the front adorned with clustered tassels in groups of three as well as throwing spears (Wainwright, 1961:85). Excellent depictions of Sea Peoples groups come from the aforementioned mortuary temple at Medinet Habu and these depictions will be utilised as a basis here as well as in later comparative studies.

Although there are these similarities, the groups can be further divided into sub-groups including:

5.6.1 Philistines (Peleset), Tjekker and Denyen

This grouping is most easily identified by the style of their headdresses which were so alike they are not easily differentiated. The back of the typical Philistine headdress covered the back of the head so as to be a protective shield. Feathers stood straight out of a decorative band around the head and then tied under the chin with a strap (Wainwright, 1961:74). Depictions at Medinet Habu depict the head regalia of the Tjekker and Denyen as identical to that of the Philistines described above (Wainwright, 1961:74). There are depictions showing more differentiation between these three groups but the similarities of some portrayals are so convincing that in some cases, it is only the labelling offered at Medinet Habu that makes it possible to identify these groups from one another. A very interesting fact about the Philistines and Tjekker groups is that they are not the Sea Peoples groups often

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mentioned in the historical record in conjunction with the sea unlike the Denyen who have been associated with the statement 'in their isles' (Wainwright, 1961:74-75).

A further illustration of how closely linked these three groups of Sea Peoples appear to be is provided by Kurht (1995:389). She also states that when dealing with these three groups at Medinet Habu they are in essence impossible to tell apart. All three carry round shields (a common Sea Peoples characteristic), short stabbing swords and a headdress that can be likened to a "stiffened hairdo". These three groups are also depicted as possible mercenaries in the armies of Ramesses III in his conflict with the Libyans in approximately the fifth year of his reign as divine political leader of the Egyptians. It is made clear by these depictions that these three groups were probably ancestrally and regionally connected and may have called Cilicia home but were willing soldiers for hire in the time period under scrutiny (Kuhrt, 1995:389).

5.6.2 Shekelesh (Sikila) and Teresh

The Sikila's will be concentrated on in terms of possible settlement in the region at a later stage but as far as the appearance of the Sikila and Teresh groups, there is definitely a discussion to be had. Wainwright (1961:83) states that in his opinion one of the depictions of a prisoner in a row of prisoners taken by the forces of Ramesses III can only be a representation of a Sikila (Shekelesh) man even though the text labelling him is damaged (only the first two hieroglyphs are still visible). There is not a definite consensus on the identity of this man with some scholars believing he may have formed part of an indigenous Bedouin group (the Shashu) but Wainwright has the support of many other scholars in saying the man's physical appearance is a decisive factor regardless of how the figure is labelled. The medallion around his neck, the shape of his beard, his head cloth along with supportive strap placed in a very specific manner as well as his typical Sea Peoples kilt with accompanying tassels undoubtedly point to a very convincing portrayal of a Sikila man (Wainwright, 1961:83). The engraving does indeed start with the same symbols as one would start the word Shekelesh (Sikila).

In the very next row of prisoners taken by Ramesses III, a man is depicted and clearly labelled as a member of the Teresh people who also has a distinct beard and wears a cloth over his head very similar to that of the earlier Sikila man. This wearing of a beard is unlike the other Sea Peoples groups who are portrayed as clean shaven. The main differentiating factor between the two men is the absence of a medallion around the neck of the Teresh

man. The style and manner in which these two groups of Sea Peoples wear their headdress along with their identical beards sets them apart from the other Sea Peoples, Merenptah even made note of these differing characteristics. He points these two groups out together specifically when speaking of the enemies of Egypt attacking with the Libyan armies (Wainwright, 1961:84). There are contradicting views on the connection between these two groups that state that there is not enough definitive information available on them to make any conclusive statements (Kuhrt, 1995:389).

5.6.3 Shardana/Sherden

This group can be identified separately from the others in terms of their military attire. The military helmet worn by soldiers of this group were characterised by a knob on the top as well as pronounced horns on either side of it as portrayed by Ramesses III on the outer walls of Medinet Habu (Wainwright, 1961:71). Sandars' (1985) description of the Shardana complements this with regard to a horned helmet and adds to it by stating that this helmet was also seen with cheek protection probably made of leather and a disc in between the helmet horns on top of the helmet. Earlier depictions of the Shardana show a spike instead of the disc. These people have been connected with Sardinia but not convincingly and their origins are still not known with any certainty (Sandars, 1985:106-107). This group may have settled in the region after 1200 BCE and their traits will definitely be looked at on an individual basis as they seem to have been one of the more prominent Sea Peoples groups. Perhaps parallels can be drawn between them and the Phoenicians of the Early Iron Age.

5.6.4 Lukka

The Lukka are not depicted as one of the Sea Peoples groups that attacked Egypt during the reign of Ramesses III but were involved in military action during the time of Merenptah. They are also thought to have formed part of the Hittite army under Muwattallis at Kadesh in 1285 BCE against the armies of Ramesses II who connects them with the Kerekesh. Connections between the Lukka and the Lycians have also been drawn and Homer states that this group originated along the Aisepos River but Hittite records of these people contradict this (Wainwright, 1961: 71-72). There are indications that this specific group may have undertaken forms of piracy in the Orient since as early as 1375 BCE (Wainwright, 1961:71).

5.6.5 Ekwesh

This specific branch of Sea Peoples has not been portrayed pictorially but is mentioned as one of the groups involved in attacking the forces of Merenptah. Wainwright (1961:73) states that it can be accepted that this group can be correlated with the Greek Achaeans. This is due to the fact that not only does Odysseus speak of a failed attack on the Egyptians by this group but also through Hittite sources from Miletus, though to be an Achaean colony or urban centre. Merenptah further refers to their countries as "countries of the sea" (Wainwright, 1961:73).

5.6.6 Commentary

When studying the physical appearance of any one of the Sea Peoples groups, their association with other indigenous groups must be taken into account. On numerous occasions, Sea Peoples at Medinet Habu and other locations include weapons and/or wardrobe characteristics of groups of people in the region. This is a situation that is unavoidable with any migrating and in some cases assimilating groups of people even over a short period of time when necessity dictates. This will especially be the case if a group is fighting in the military of the indigenous people they come into contact with. This being said, it can also mean that Sea Peoples groups had an influence over local groups such as the Hittites who supposedly began to use round shields after coming into contact with the Sea Peoples.

The detailed descriptions of these physical appearances have not been done in a trivial manner as they will again be utilised in a later section in order to see whether any of these characteristics can be favourably compared to the known appearance of the Phoenician people. The depictions that follow here will provide a more visual element of the textual descriptions above.

5.7 SEA PEOPLES PICTORIAL DEPICTIONS

The primary source for pictorial representations of the Sea Peoples comes from the Mortuary temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu, that has already been given attention.

Certain depictions from this temple as well as others will be provided here with explanations in order to provide a visual representation of the Sea Peoples groups. The characteristics used to identify the varying Sea Peoples groups will be in line with those already provided in the Sea Peoples chapter by scholars such as Wainwright (1961), Kuhrt (1995) and Sandars (1985). These depictions will later be compared with depictions of Canaanites and Phoenicians.

5.7.1 Sea Peoples Depictions and Explanations

Figure 5.1: Sea Peoples at Medinet Habu

Image from: http://www.salimbeti.com/micenei/sea.htm

In Figure 5.1 above from Medinet Habu, what is clearly shown is a row of prisoners after the defeat of the Sea Peoples by the Egyptians two decades before 1200 BCE. Some of these

characters can be easily identified as Sea Peoples. There are hieroglyphic labels accompanying these depictions with varying clarity which have proved to be an integral factor in scholars being able to identify these groups. Based on these labels and known physical characteristics, the character second from the left can without much doubt be identified as Sikila/Shekelesh due to the fact that this character is sporting a beard of a specific shape, is wearing a medallion and has a headdress which has been shown to be worn by this specific Sea Peoples group. The figure on the far right is wearing a headdress thought to be that of those worn by the Philistines/Peleset with an upright style off the head. This could however also be regarded as Denyen or Tjekker based on physical characteristics and not taking labels into account.

Figure 5.2: Shardana at Medinet Habu

Image from: http://www.salimbeti.com/micenei/sea.htm

Figure 5.3: Individual with Sea Peoples and Semitic Characteristics from Medinet Habu

Image from: http://www.salimbeti.com/micenei/sea.htm

Figure 5.2 from Medinet Habu is very possibly a representation of two Shardana warriors. Apart from their round shields, a common Sea Peoples trait, both are wearing helmets with pronounced horns on either side. This is known to be a wardrobe trait of Shardana warriors from Egyptian sources as well as specific labels at Medinet Habu. The Shardana are significant as they are one of the groupings thought to have settled in the Ancient Near East after 1200 BCE, possibly at Akko.

Figure 5.3 is also from Medinet Habu and portrays an individual with definite Shardana characteristics. The helmet is horned with a disc in the middle, always depicted as part of Shardana military characteristics. This image is however showing a beard that is very much Semitic in the way the Egyptians have portrayed it and may help some arguments of assimilation of Sea Peoples even at this early time period. The Shardana are known to have been active in the Ancient Near East from earlier than the majority of other Sea Peoples groups, therefore the idea of assimilation is not unfathomable. The Shardana had somewhat of an ambiguous relationship with the Egyptians even in the Medinet Habu depictions where they seem to fall into both sides of the conflict, both friend and foe of the pharaoh.

Figure 5.4: Philistine depiction at Medinet Habu

Image from: http://www.salimbeti.com/micenei/sea.htm

The Philistines/Peleset (Figure 5.4), one of the most significant Sea Peoples groups that are known to have settled permanently in the southern Canaan region after 1200 BCE, forming a powerful nation. This figure from Medinet Habu fits the physical features of a Philistine (also Denyen and Tjekker), with the band around the head adorning upright feathers forming a complete headdress as already shown in earlier depictions is provided here.

Figure 5.5: 1200 BCE Battle of the Nile Depiction from Medinet Habu

Image from: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/11/Seev%C3%B6lker.jpg
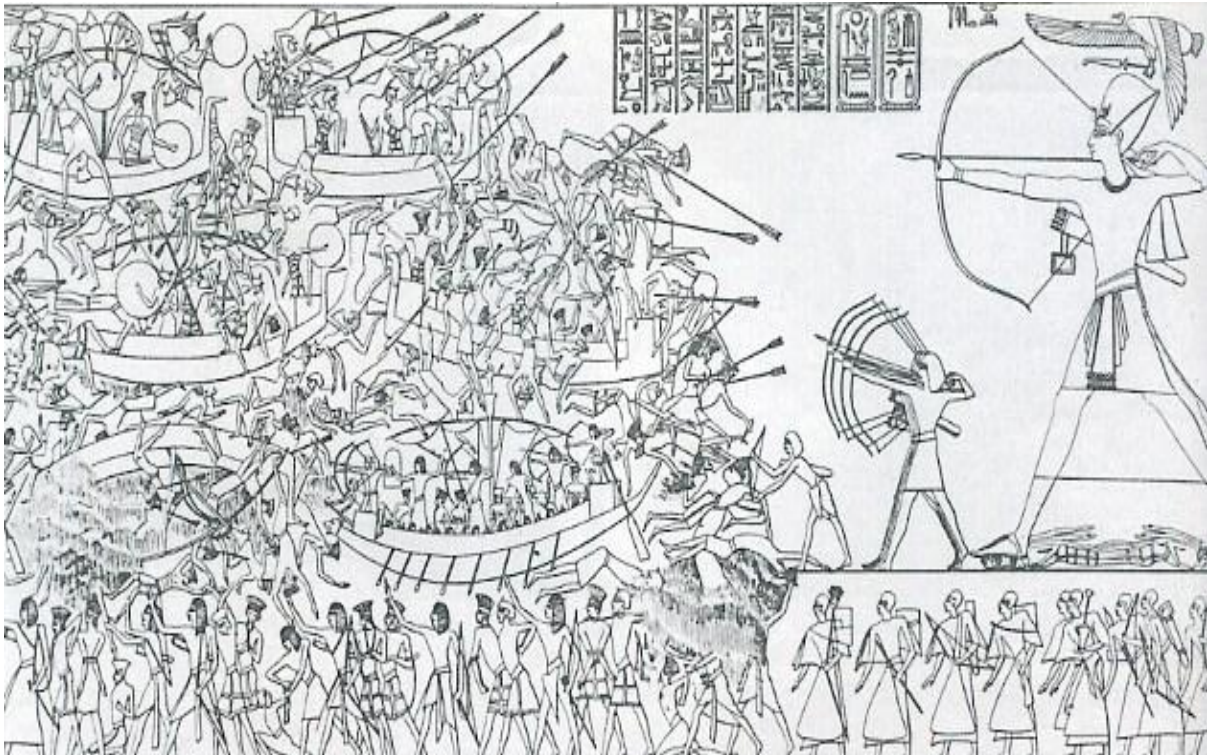
This depiction (Figure 5.5) represents the seaward battle between the Sea Peoples and Egyptians as shown at Medinet Habu during the reign of Ramesses III. Not all the Sea Peoples that were involved in conflict with the Egyptians are shown here as some seem to have only been involved in skirmishes on land and not at sea. The Sea Peoples ships shown here are scrutinised in a section based on ships and maritime traits specifically. Here only the physical characteristics of the Sea Peoples on board these ships will be under investigation and description. What is easily discernable in the top left of this relief is that the Sea Peoples shown are utilising the characteristic round shields. What can also be seen is the headdress of the Philistines/ Peleset, Denyen or Tjekker. The Philistines were definitely involved in this maritime conflict and the Denyen have indeed been shown in association with the sea. Once again, in the top left, the headdress of upright feathers signifies the

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groups just mentioned. One of the ships in the top row of the relief on the right hand side shows a character falling out that appears to be wearing a helmet with horns on either side. Along with other figures, this is illustrating the Shardana fighting against the Egyptians. These interpretations of this relief are those of this author but do correspond with numerous others and Egyptian labels at Medinet Habu.

5.8 SEA PEOPLES MARITME AFFINITY AND SHIPS

The maritime nature of the Sea Peoples will be discussed here thoroughly as one of the primary arguments of this entire thesis is based on this characteristic. Scholars such as Wachsmann (2009) and Artzy (1987) will be drawn upon extensively in this endeavour. The ship designs and any other maritime features of the Sea Peoples will later be used to draw possible similarities and differences with the other civilisations forming part of this research in its entirety. The primary depictions of Sea Peoples ships used here come in the form of iconography from Medinet Habu and Akko. Graffiti and terracotta reproductions of Sea Peoples vessels will also be taken into consideration. Aside from pictorial/visual representations of the Sea Peoples ships, there is also some limited evidence available in the textual record that may prove to be of some significance in this task.

5.8.1 Textual Evidence Referring To the Sea Peoples and Their Maritime Activity

The record of Wenamun speaks specifically of the harbour city of Dor and refers to it as a city under the control of the Sikila. Aubet (2001:29) dates the record of the Egyptian, Wenamun, to approximately 1070 BCE. This record depicts Dor as somewhat of a secure location and the fact that he is willing to voluntarily travel to this location shows that the Sea Peoples, particularly the Sikila had in fact become more organised traders rather than the pirates of old (Wachsmann, 2009:163). This shows that the Sea Peoples may have had the will and capability of indeed establishing settled communities. Wenamun further states that an Egyptian-made vessel transported him to Byblos where the new king, Tjekkerbaal, wanted to send him away (Wachsmann, 2009: 39).

A very interesting factor regarding to this king's name is found in the first half of the name itself, Tjekker. This is the same name as one of the Sea Peoples groups thought to have moved into the Ancient Near East leading up to 1200 BCE. If this name is in fact a connection to the Sea Peoples, it clearly shows that the Sea Peoples may not have only

been present in Canaan during its time of transition into Iron Age Phoenicia, but that they may have had a decisive influence. If there is indeed a connection and this particular king did have some relation to the Sea Peoples, then it is not at all farfetched to deduce that Sea Peoples could have had cultural and perhaps maritime influence on the indigenous Canaanite population. The second half of the name is easy to explain in Canaanite terms, with Ba'al being one of the most prominent Canaanite/Phoenician deities. The Tjekker have also been thought to have been the same group or affiliated to the Sikila.

More textual evidence regarding the Sea Peoples comes from the Late Bronze Age commercial centre of Ugarit from the time period just before its ultimate devastation around 1200 BCE. One such record from Ugarit comes in the form of correspondence between the King of Ugarit and the King of Alashia. The king of Ugarit speaks of the seriousness of the Sea Peoples threat and states how territory under Ugaritic control had already be ravaged by these invaders making use of approximately seven ships. Another textual remnant refers to the Hittite king and his interaction with an individual from Ugarit by the name of Ibnadusu. In this text the Hittite king wants information from the Ibnadusu about the Sikila and refers to them as a group who "live on ships" (Wachsmann, 2009:163-164). This is an obvious indication of their connection and/or affinity with the sea.

5.8.2 Sea Peoples Ships

Once again, when it comes to attempting to describe the ships used by the Sea Peoples groups it must be conceded that there is a definite shortage of evidence available at present. Very few ship designs have been predominantly associated with the Sea Peoples due to a lack of alternate sources but what is known from a number of different channels of information is that many of these groups did indeed rely heavily on seaward transportation. At the mortuary temple of Ramesses III (Medinet Habu), the ships represented to be carrying Sea Peoples groups cannot be told apart from one another and therefore only one ship design can be related to the Sea Peoples from this particular historical source (Artzy, 1987:75).

The fact that the Egyptians portray the Sea Peoples as using only one ship design is by no means conclusive evidence that this was indeed the case as their representations are taken from one specific perspective. It would not have been the primary intention of the Egyptian scribes to address the differing ship designs of the Sea Peoples groups attacking them but what would have been more significant to them was the fact that Ramesses III had won a

crushing victory over them. It is a more probable scenario that the Sea Peoples groups utilised various ships of different size, design and origin. This being said, Medinet Habu is still an invaluable source of data for interpretation, probably the most enlightening to date and will be dealt with now.

5.8.3 Medinet Habu

The Medinet Habu depiction from the reign of Ramesses III depicts a great battle between an alliance of Sea Peoples groups and the Egyptians. This battle is said to have occurred in approximately 1176 BCE. Wachsmann (2009) follows this date but other sources have dated this battle to the 1180s BCE such as Sandars (1985). As with any ancient dates there are always margins of acceptability. Its pictorial scenes are in many cases complemented by hieroglyphic explanations of differing clarity and usefulness. The way in which the representation is presented provides the onlooker with an account of events on that day and does so with the assistance of hieroglyphic labelling. It depicts Sea Peoples ships that do not have oars in the water or sails out conducive to quick movement and are floating in a motionless position. From this it appears that the crew of these ships were not relying on their ships for victory but rather the military prowess of the crew members. The Egyptian text depicts a scenario where the Sea Peoples ships are lured into an ambush situation and crushed accordingly. The depiction of this particular naval conflict is situated on the outer walls of the temple complex (Wachsmann, 2009:166-169).

Wachsmann (2009:171-75) gives very detailed descriptions of the Sea Peoples ships at Medinet Habu with accompanying depictions. These descriptions are extremely comprehensive and in this author's view, accurate. They will be used as the primary source here and combined with some of my own interpretations and other depictions from different sources.

Before the ships are described, it is important to take note that the artists involved in compiling this work would not have all had the same skill levels and mistakes or misrepresentations are unavoidable. The artists' perspectives must always be taken into account along with any bias that accompanies these perspectives. As a representation of Egyptian victory, the war scene itself will obviously portray the Egyptians as all out victors and the Sea Peoples as being completely and utterly overwhelmed by the Egyptian onslaught. The reality is probably less clear cut. The fact that Sea Peoples groups still had the number and will to establish settlements after this conflict is perhaps testament to this.

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As with any historical source, one must always try to find as many common examples as possible in order to find the most accurate possibilities. Within Medinet Habu, various Sea Peoples ships must be addressed in order to find definitive patterns. These Medinet Habu examples must also be compared with other representations of Sea Peoples ships in order to try and draw as accurate conclusions as possible.

5.8.3.1 Design Specifications

At Medinet Habu, the Sea Peoples ships are portrayed with a number of very specific characteristics that help one to identify them as uniquely Sea Peoples vessels and allows one to differentiate them from the Egyptian vessels in the battle scene. Firstly they possess so-called bird-heads at both the bow and stern ends. These bird-heads appear on top of elongated wooden vertical posts facing outwards, towards the sea one could say. The bottom of the hull does show a curvature, but not an extreme one between the two bird-head constructions. From the positioning of characters, specifically soldiers, the Sea Peoples ships do not seemingly have decking above the hull at all points and therefore the soldiers are not all standing at the same level within the ships. What is apparent is that there is a narrow deck present above the hull of the ship from bow to stern, but this deck does not cover the entire ship from starboard to port ends. What this means is that the length of the ship is decked but not the entire breadth.

A design pattern that can be identified is illustrated by Wachsmann (2009) where he stipulates that the side view of the ship has three definitive horizontal lines in a number of examples in this context with there being one example of a ship turned upside down with four of these lines present. This does not necessarily mean that there were design differences between these ships but rather that it has to do with the durability and survival of the artwork. Some of the Medinet Habu depictions are engravings whereas some were painted. These techniques were used together in some instances on the same depictions but in others not. Therefore, some of the depictions that were only painted have lost much if not all of their detail. Others leave very much just a blueprint of the initial work, only showing vague outlines. What these horizontal lines do give us however are the different levels of the Sea Peoples Ships including the bottom of the hull, the level of the raised deck as well as the height of the wooden bulwark. Wachsmann (2009) defines a bulwark as; "...topsides above the deck: may consist of a planked continuation of the side.....". An interesting design element that the Sea Peoples ships show is that there is a partial gap of open space amongst the horizontal lines from a side view of these vessels. This gap is thought to allow

for rowers to place their oars through whilst sitting at a level lower than the deck. This type of deck design and gap for oars can be favourably compared to Aegean ships. Whether this means that the Sea Peoples originated in the Aegean or just acquired ships and design traits from this region are not easy to say with certainty.

The mast of the Sea Peoples ships are not portrayed in the same way in all Medinet Habu representations but a depiction that is present most often and makes the most sense in terms of the functionality of the ship shows how from a side view the mast is visible only until the top horizontal line and not to the second one from the top. This has to be correct as it is not viable for the mast of the ship to function outside the border of the ship. The depiction labelled Figure 5.7 in this section depicts the mast correctly on the ship although it is tilted as if breaking. This again is just due to the varying skill levels of artists and cannot be logically attributed to an unusual design trait.

This type of detail is very complex for an artist simply making use of narratives and therefore it can be speculated that the Egyptians had artists there at the time. They were known to take artists out on military operations as well as trading/commercial undertakings perhaps to enhance the realism of their art when portraying events on behalf of the pharaoh (Wachsmann, 2009:169). To follow, visual representation of the Medinet Habu Sea Peoples Ships will be provided with explanations.

Figure 5.6: Reconstruction of a Sea Peoples Ship

Image from: http://www.salimbeti.com/micenei/images/seapeoples75.jpg
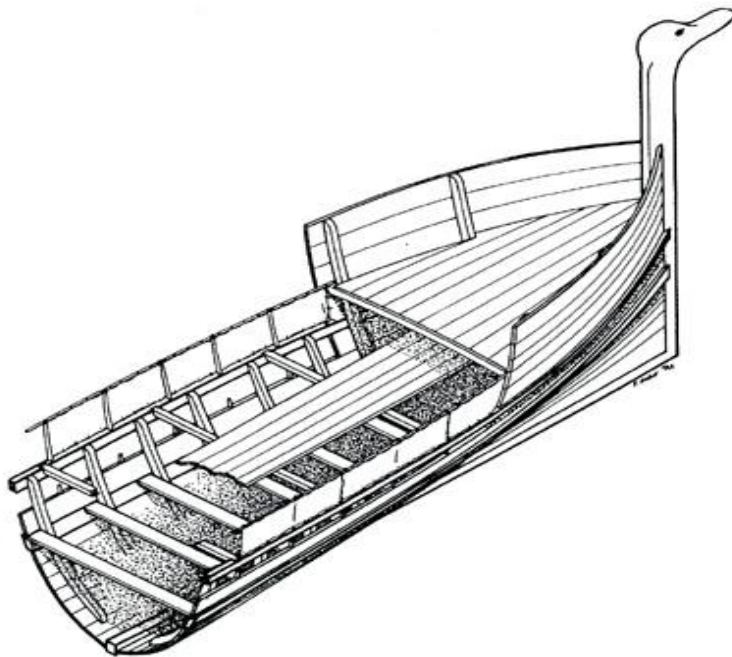
The depiction titled Figure 5.6 is the same example used by Wachsmann (2009) but from a different source. It gives an idea using deductive skills of how the Sea Peoples ships at Medinet Habu would look from a different angle. Although we cannot know for sure if this is completely accurate, it has been put together using the considerable amount of information given to us at this site in terms of how the characters are shown in relation to the ship dimensions. One can clearly see the bird-head motif on top of the vertical post as well as how the deck is laid out. The bench planks running across the lower section of the hull are lower than the deck level and this may illustrate how oarsman sat with their oars out of the side of the vessel. Also it shows how the deck does not cover the entire breadth of the vessel, starboard to port sides. The curvature of the hull is depicted as well as how high the bulwark is.

Figure 5.7: Sea Peoples Vessel in Battle of the Nile

Image from: http://riversfromeden.files.wordpress.com/2011/08/seapeoples17.jpg

The above ship figure shows what appear to be Shardana (wardrobe) warriors in a Sea Peoples vessel. The horizontal lines are clearly seen across the length of the vessel. The different levels of the ship are clearly shown by the positioning of some of the warriors. Warrior 1 on the right hand side of this image is higher up than many of the other figures. This illustrates how, at what is probably the bow of the ship, there is a higher deck level present. Then warrior 2 is depicted closer to amidships and is much lower, probably below deck level and at the same level as the bench planks shown in Figure 5.6 where the oarsmen would have been situated. Warrior 3 on the left of the depiction seems to also be on the deck that runs the length of the ship and is standing where the side barrier of the ship

is just below waist height. This positioning of the warriors corresponds with the ship design in Figure 5.6 with there being three levels at which crew could be situated. On the bow and stern ends of the vessel, the vertical post is also present with the bird-heads on top. These bird-heads are slightly unclear in this particular depiction but one can identify them.

Figure 5.8: 1200 BCE Battle of the Nile Depiction from Medinet Habu

Image from: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/11/Seev%C3%B6lker.jpg
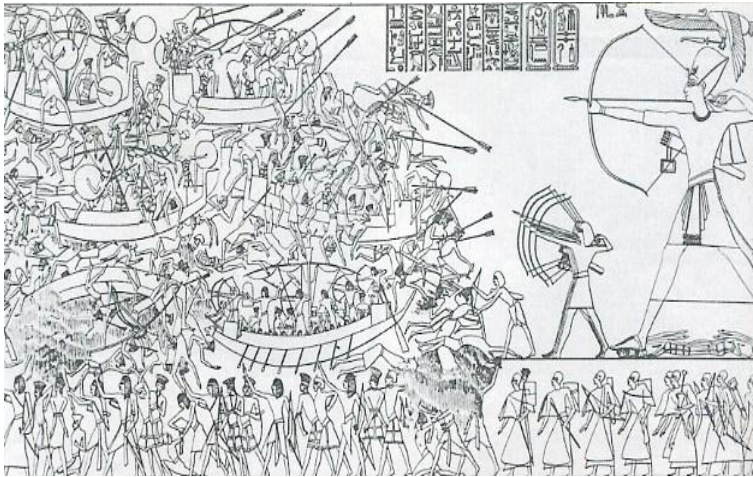
The above depiction has been addressed already in this chapter but is utilised again here in a smaller form for reference purposes and in a different context. Earlier the physical characteristics were dealt with using this naval conflict scene but here the ships will be looked at using the already established criteria. This depiction is effective as it gives one a view of the whole and allows for easy comparison of ships and positions of warriors in relation to the ships. The Egyptian ship seen as the most bottom right ship in this relief section can be told apart from the Sea Peoples ship by the fact that it can be easily seen that the bow and stern of this ship does not possess the same vertical posts with a bird-head on top like those on the Sea Peoples ships. The three horizontal lines are easily evident in the Sea Peoples ship second from the top on the left hand side.

5.8.4 Ships at Akko

At Akko in the north of modern day Israel, engravings found on an altar provide slight differentiation in design when compared to the design of the Sea Peoples ships portrayed at Medinet Habu. These ship depictions are also dated to around 1200 BCE. Other smaller rock fragments found in the context of the altar also possessed representations of a maritime

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nature including ships and dolphins. On the basis of ceramic remains also excavated from the altar site, it has been dated to approximately 1200 BCE (Artzy, 1987:75). This timeframe fits perfectly into the framework of this research. As clearly illustrated by the depictions that are maritime in nature, whoever created these had a definite affiliation with the sea. The unusual shape or design of the altar may also lead one to believe it was intended as a moveable altar used by a seagoing group (Artzy, 1987:76).

There are a total of four ships depicted on the altar at Akko of differing sizes due to what seems to be space limitations the artist/s faced. Methods of engraving present on the Akko altar include drilling, grooving and plain. The use of different methods clearly shows that this was no haphazard effort but that the creator/s of this altar saw significance in this particular engraving endeavour. It may also be that a few artists using varying skills were involved. Of the four ships depicted, one is markedly larger than the others and therefore more detail is seen on this example. The forms of engraving used on this ship are drilling for the hull and incision for the majority of the other features. Further features that can be seen on this larger engraving are oars, a rudder, a widened mast, a sail hauling lines and a tiller. These characteristics are particularly helpful as they provide the investigator with specific ship design elements and thus a base for comparison. The enlarged oars used for steering the vessel as well as the tiller are clearly seen and this in turn makes it an easy task to identify this side as the back of the boat. This is not always an easy task with ancient representations as they often lack clarity and are more concerned with conveying a message than providing practical information (Artzy, 1987:76-77).

The specific design differences between the depictions at Medinet Habu and Akko are clearly shown on the front end of the ships. In the Medinet Habu case the bow is shown as in with an outward curvature. In the Akko examples, the bow is shown to possess an inward facing curvature forming a "fan shape" (Artzy, 1987:77). Ships with the latter shape have not only been depicted at Akko, but depictions on the exterior walls of a temple on the island of Cyprus (at Kition) boast similar inward fan curvatures. Due to the fact that there are not many other depictions like Akko and Kition, there are not many others to compare them to. For practical reasons, the fan shape illustrated at Akko could not have been a true to life representation of the seagoing vessels as it is overly accentuated. Had the vessels been manufactured from a heavy timber type, the front end would have been too bulky in weight to function. On the other hand, had these ships been constructed from a lighter timber, the front end would have been too fragile to boast such an elaborate fan curve (it would have undoubtedly broken up at sea). This leads one to believe it was not a blueprint of these ships that the artist/s were trying to achieve but rather a definite attempt to ensure they could be identified by their unique ship design in a more ritualistic manner (Artzy, 1987:77-79). Artzy

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(1987:78) points toward this elaborate depiction as possibly having a sacred or supernatural meaning to the creators. This does not necessarily mean a divergence in specific design traits of Sea Peoples ships as it is probable different types of ships would have been used by the same groups, including localised designs.

Ships found illustrated on the walls of a temple at Abydos (Egypt), constructed during the reign of Ramesses II thought to be the work of Sea Peoples compare favourably in terms of shape (rounded shape) with the Akko altar ships. The two ship designs are not however identical with the Akko and Kition ships both possessing vertically raised bows and sterns which are definitely broadened. On the other hand, in the depiction from Abydos, only the one side of the vessel possesses a vertical and broad post, the stern side of the ship is much narrower. In addition, a depiction dating back to between 1500 and 1000 BCE, at the tomb of Kenamon in Thebes (Egypt), portrays a rounded trading ship type thought to be of Syrian (Canaanite) origin can also be compared with the ships at Akko in terms of their shape (Artzy, 1987:80).

Copies of seagoing vessels from Cyprus fashioned out of terracotta share the fan shape timber on the bow and stern ends of the ship. One of these copies is on exhibit in Nicosia at the Archaeological Museum, thought to originate from between 700 and 600 BCE. One noticeable difference between this example and the Akko altar (and Kition) example is that the bow of the Cyprus copy is vertical but this is not the case with the other two cases. In Haifa, another Cyprus copy is on display at the Maritime Museum and possesses raised bow and stern ends and has been dated to approximately 1050 BCE. This example however does not have the fan shape present and therefore does not compare favourably (Artzy, 1987:80-81).

The evidence from Cyprus illustrates the possible continuation of the tradition that may have been introduced into the region by migrating and settling Sea Peoples. As far as finding suitable comparative subjects to the ships of Akko and Kition, this is not an easy undertaking. There are similarities with other vessels of the time but looking throughout the Aegean and the Ancient Near East, there have not been definite correlations in design. It is obvious from the depictions at Kition and Akko that there is a firm link between the two locations (Artzy, 1987:81)

An interesting aspect of depictions at the temple at Kition that may be in need of investigation is the fact that the rounder ships already described are accompanied by another form of ship design. This narrower, longer ship has been compared to a war galley but looking at the galley type vessels of the Sea Peoples at Medinet Habu, the Kition illustrations cannot be favourably compared as they are too different. Although it is not clear,

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the Kition galley may also boast the fan already discussed in detail. The fan shape was undoubtedly used as an identifying symbol by whoever created these depictions and the fact that it is present at two different locations may point toward the settlement of a group in the region (Artzy, 1987:81).

Artzy (1987:82) points to two possibilities as to which group could have created these images of their ships. The Shardana, as already described, are thought to have possibly settled in the area around Akko either by choice or under Egyptian instruction and it may have been this group responsible for the depictions. There are two Egyptian sources that refer to this Sea Peoples group. Firstly they are referred with regard to the Battle of Kadesh during the reign of Ramesses II where they were thought to have been mercenaries under his employment against the Hittite armies. Secondly the Tanis Stela, worked on by Petrie (1888), may indicate that they were in the Ancient Near East at an even earlier time. Here they are initially depicted as enemies of the Egyptians entering the area on ships built for warfare. This idea is held up by the fact that they settled on the coastline as they obviously have an affinity with the sea and were adept sailors. This group was then possibly more significant than just a foreign mercenary group in the Egyptian military ranks.

Another possible group that could perhaps be credited with the depictions discussed are the Sikila. As addressed, this group are thought to have settled at Dor and constructed their own harbour at this location. This group has been discussed in detail already. Their geographic location put them within range to have been able to create the portrayals (Artzy, 1987:82).

5.8.4.1 Commentary

The depictions shown by Artzy depict ships that have perhaps already shown adaptation after a prolonged stay in the region. The Shardana are known to have had relations with the Egyptians for a prolonged period of time before 1200 BCE and it is not impossible that Shardana ships had been gradually influenced over time by localised design norms. There are examples present above where Sea Peoples traits such as the vertical bow and stern posts did endure along with the characteristic design for accommodating oarsmen. The Shardana have been described as having very strong affiliations with the sea. If it is possible that they were in direct contact with the Phoenicians, then perhaps they did have an impact on the massive maritime expansion the Phoenicians enjoyed during the Early Iron Age. The ship designs of this chapter will later be compared with known Phoenician designs to see if there are any parallels to be drawn.

Artzy has provided an in-depth description of these particular seagoing vessels of the Sea Peoples. The fact that similar models have been uncovered in Cyprus from a contemporary time period as well as four centuries later may indicate the impact made by these people on the region. If they were able to have had an impact on ship construction in Cyprus and settled so close to Phoenicia, perhaps their impact may by evident there too.

The above descriptions of the ships at Akko are indeed helpful but there is not necessarily consensus and some scholars do not necessarily share all the same views. Wachsmann (2009) does not agree with some of the arguments presented by Artzy (1987) with regard to comparisons drawn and states that the large Sea Peoples ship portrayed at Akko cannot be convincingly compared with the fan shape on Hatshepsut's vessel in Egypt. He also does not see the idea behind describing the Akko ships as "round ships" as Artzy does. Although Wachsmann does not agree with referring to these ships as rounded, it must be said that the ships portrayed at Akko do have a more extreme hull curvature than some other Sea Peoples ship depictions. This is however in essence, graffiti and therefore perhaps a less realistic depiction not necessarily produced by skilled artists. Therefore it is helpful but perhaps not to the same extent as some other representations. That being said, the fact that Sea Peoples are thought to have produced this themselves does indeed add value to it.

The largest of the four ships presented at Akko does have an elongated hull and small width, a mast in the middle section of the deck and a square rigged sail which Wachsmann (2009) does agree with. The Kition reference does however hold sway and is viable and convincing.

5.8.5 Sea Peoples Ship Depiction in Syria

Wachsmann (2009:175-177) uses the archaeological fieldwork of Scandinavian archaeologists and describes what is thought to be a Sea Peoples ship depiction from upper Syria at Hama. This ship depiction bears similarities with the Sea Peoples ships at Medinet Habu and possesses a bird-headed figure on the bow on top of a vertical post. It also has a gentle curvature of the hull and seemingly has the same three horizontal lines when looked at from the side. What differs here is that the Hama example also has vertical lines at intervals from bow to stern. Wachsmann (2009) argues that the bottom set of lines could portray that support structure with gaps in it to allow for oarsman to place their oars through from below deck level. This would mean that the upper lines would depict the wooden support of the bulwark and possibly come up to just below waist height of any crew member.

This ship portrayal was uncovered in association with a burial and dates back to the time period between 1200 BCE and 1075 BCE, corresponding with the mass population movements into the Ancient Near East. The way in which this burial seems to have been undertaken as well as artefacts found in context make a strong connection with central Europe and strengthen arguments that people from central Europe may have indeed migrated into the region during this time period. The idea that this ship depiction was undertaken by foreigners to the region will further help substantiate the idea that it was indeed Sea Peoples responsible for it.

5.8.6 Enkomi

A very rudimentary depiction of what could be a Sea Peoples ship has been presented by Schaeffer (1952:71) and states that there are parallels between this depiction and other Sea Peoples ship depiction. This may be so but the representation provides very little in terms of specific ship design and will not be discussed further for the purpose of this research.

5.9 SEA PEOPLES SETTLEMENTS

The post-migration locations of what is thought to be the dwelling of Sea Peoples groups along the Mediterranean coast of Canaan of a more permanent nature can be effectively divided into categories. Firstly, the Philistines settled in the southerly expanses of the territory and were to develop into an advanced civilisation with a rich material culture. Secondly, in the north at Akko, the Shardana (ship depictions from this site are of significance) are thought to have made their home and lastly the Sikila at Dor (construction of a Harbour and urban site) which lies just south of Akko (Gilboa, 2005:47). These sites provide remnants of these Sea Peoples's and will therefore be addressed within the discussions of this section.

5.9.1 Influence in Southern Canaan

5.9.1.1 Philistines

Although this group forms part of the migrating Sea Peoples groups, as mentioned earlier there is not much specific record of them in terms of a strong connection to the sea. Nevertheless, this group was probably the most successful and influential Sea Peoples group and was able to establish their own unique civilisation in the southern Canaan region. They are therefore afforded their own brief section. The Philistines civilisation has been described as a barbarous, violent and uncivilised group but when looking at the evidence, this idea is undoubtedly clearly thwarted by their accomplishments in many different spheres.

From the middle of the twelfth century BCE to the conclusion of the eleventh century BCE, the Philistine civilisation enjoyed its most successful time period and posed a significant threat to the independent city-states of northern Canaan/early Phoenician (Dothan, 1982:1). Studies on the origins of this group have been an academically contentious issue (as is the case with all the Sea Peoples groups) with researchers from a number of different disciplines having reached extremely differing views. Theories on this vary geographically from Asia Minor to the island of Crete (Dothan, 1982:21). Sources of a historical, archaeological and literary nature are available when it comes to researching the Philistines.

Literary and historical records of this group come from numerous sources including biblical texts, Egyptian sources as well as sources originating from Assyrian compilations. In the Bible, the Philistines take up a prominent role in the Old Testament and are consistently role players in the time period dating from the Judges to the Monarchy.

Assyrian records on the Philistines are not of great significance to the time period around 1200 BCE as they date back to the ninth century BCE and do not provide any insight into the early Philistines. It was only after the translations of various Egyptian sources in the nineteenth century that the biblical accounts of the Philistines could be related and compared to other sources. The first scholar to be able to translate the Egyptian script of the word Philistine was J.F Champollion, which made it possible to cross reference this with all other instances where the Philistines were mentioned by Egyptian records. This made very detailed studies of this group possible and coupled with archaeological data present, provided intricate information on this ancient culture (Dothan, 1982:23-24).

One of the obstacles facing this group is that there is a complete lack of textual evidence that was left behind by the Philistines themselves. This may lead one to argue that this civilisation was not sophisticated enough to be concerned with recording their existence but if one looks at other remains left by them such as pottery, this is definitely not the situation (Fugitt, 2000:3). The Phoenicians, who we know to be an advanced society, also have not left much in terms of their own textual evidence. Perhaps it had just not been uncovered as of yet.

Archaeological evidence that reveals much information on this group comes primarily in the form of remains such as pottery and anthropoid figurines, to name a few. (Fugitt, 2000: 1). Fugitt (2000:1) states that they appear in the archaeological record in Palestine around 1100 BCE, the Early Iron Age period. For the purpose of this study, the boundary between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age is 1200 BCE. Therefore, the earliest presence of this group in Palestine would fall into a Late Bronze Age context. Aubet (2001:12) uses the year 1200 BCE to separate the two time periods mentioned as well as the year that the Canaanite civilisation developed into the Phoenicians. Fugitt (2000:1) further states that they are present in this region all the way into the sixth century BCE (Neo-Babylonian period), which I am in agreement with as there is substantiating evidence available to corroborate this.

The relationship between Philistine pottery and that of the Mycenaean civilisation from mainland Greece was first realised by researchers such as Welch, Thiersch and Mackenzie in an Early Iron Age context. At the site of Beth-Shemesh, Mackenzie uncovered strata abundant with archaeological materials left by the Philistine people. Excavations at this site along with sites such as Tell Jemmeh, Tell el-Far'ah, Tell Beit Mirsim, Ashdod and Tell Qasile by numerous accomplished archaeologists have brought to light the extent of Philistine occupation (modern day Palestine), how expansion took place as well as more detailed Aegean connections (Dothan, 1982:24).

The idea that the Philistines moved into the southern Canaanite coastal plain from the Aegean has, due to recent studies, been counter-argued convincingly. The basis of arguments supporting their origins in the Aegean was always largely based on the excavation of large amounts of Mycenaean style pottery uncovered at the correct strata to correlate with the Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age transitional period. The presence of this pottery at this site during the period in question has now been recognized as forming part a trading explosion. A group of merchants centred on the island of Cyprus are thought to have been responsible for spreading large amounts of this pottery type in this region (Barako, 2000:513). As already discussed earlier in this chapter, there is a definite argument for strong contact between the Sea Peoples and the Aegean.

The influence of this culture spreads over a large region but the majority of archaeologically significant locations with regard to the Philistines can be found on the southerly coastal plain of Palestine (Dothan, 1982:25). One of the most significant Philistine centres is definitely Ashkelon. This Philistine city is referred to as an "urban centre" with an absence of "mercantile" traits which is an interesting view as one would consider such a location to be a centre for trade (Barako, 2000:515). Although the Philistines are visible in the sea battle portrayed at Medinet Habu, other references of their seaward activities or trade are not really present. The type of pottery associated with them has been found in numerous locations which may pose an argument that they were involved in commercial activity widely but perhaps it has not been comprehensively recorded.

The Philistines are a significant ancient civilisation that are known to have migrated as a Sea Peoples groups and, as already stated, are known to have been involved in the battle depicted at Medinet Habu. They undoubtedly had an enormous impact in what was southern Canaan and became a formidable power in their own right. If the influence of Sea Peoples was so great in the south, why not further north?

5.9.2 Presence Further North

The involvement of Sea Peoples groups in the northern expanses of Canaan was different to that in the south in that no Sea Peoples group is known to have become a prominent independent civilisation in the area to the same extent as the Philistines in the south. Although they were not powerful in their own right, their influence and assimilation into indigenous groups may be more significant than they have been accredited with in past studies. There has however, until recently, been a complete lack of material remains uncovered in the north (Gilboa, 2005:49). This does not necessarily mean that there is no archaeological record; it just means that due to factors such as political instability in the region, there have not been many archaeological excavations in some locations.

What can be stated with some certainty is that the town of Dor was active in the Late Bronze Age but grew decisively in size during the Early Iron Age (Sikila Age) and was also protected by the construction of fortifications. Based on archaeological finds at the site, it seems that the growth did not take place exactly at the time transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages but rather slightly later. This archaeological evidence takes the form of bichrome Philistine pottery found in the same context as the growth of the town (Gilboa, 2005:50).

The site of Dor in northern Israel today is an incredibly important site with regard to establishing whether any customs and or material remains from the Sea Peoples may have had any bearing on Phoenician development. This particular site is the only harbour credited to a Sea Peoples group in the historical record. This is the only site that the Egyptians refer to with reference to a particular Sea Peoples group apart from sites of Philistine occupation (Gilboa, 2005:49). It is located on the Israeli coastline south of Mount Carmel (Raban, 1987:118).

Before elaborating on the specifics of archaeological excavations carried out at Dor, it is important to discuss the history of Dor and also to provide some background information on the Sikila (Sea Peoples group). Raban (1987:120) refers to the group as the Sikuli but as with all the Sea Peoples groups, spelling and translations of their names are relative to the source utilised. For the purpose of this study, the name Sikila will suffice.

Revealed from a temple in El-Amra, in a record naming various Canaanite cities falling along the Mediterranean coastline compiled during the reign of the Egyptian pharaoh Ramesses II, Dor is included. The Bible also refers to Dor on numerous occasions including three times in the book of Joshua alone. Within this book, Dor is described as having favourable relations (ally) with Hazor (specifically King Jabin). Also in the book of Joshua, Dor forms part of a compilation of thirty one kings that were overcome by Joshua and lastly the populace of Dor is mentioned in chapter 17 verse 11 of the same book. Within the book of Judges Dor is mentioned in the context of a conquered region stating that Manasseh did not force the people of Dor to leave their city. Lastly in the book of Kings it is stated that Dor was not conquered by the Israelites until the reign of David in approximately the early part of the tenth century BCE after which Solomon took charge of the city (Raban, 1987:121).

Ancient Egyptian records also specify Dor as the location of the Sikila people. This is done in a papyrus record dating back to approximately 1100 BCE, coinciding with biblical accounts of Dor. This particular papyrus speaks of the Egyptian Wenamun (already addressed earlier) who was sent by the powers that be to the northern Canaanite city of Byblos on a mission to purchase cedar wood as it was lucrative in that area and was the timber chosen to construct a barge in the name of the Egyptian dominant deity, Amon. This particular record states that Dor is the "town of the Sikilaia" (Raban, 1987:120-121). The Wenamun records have been utilised in various sections in this chapter including descriptions of the maritime characteristics of the Sea Peoples. Another source of data compiled by the extremely helpful ancient Egyptians is a further papyrus that encompasses Ramesses III's undertakings north of Egypt and is thought to have been composed shortly after his lifetime. It states how this

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Egyptian pharaoh defeated the Sikila as well as other Sea Peoples groups and settled them in Egyptian controlled locations to the north as shown at Medinet Habu (Raban, 1987:121).

At the Canaanite city of Ugarit, dealt with in detail in the earlier chapter on the Canaanites, a text thought to date back to between 1300 BCE and 1200 BCE refers to the Sikila as pirates who reside in their seagoing vessels (Raban, 1987: 121). The fact that this text forms a connection between the Sikila and seagoing activity may prove to substantiate how they may have had this influence over groups they may have become part of (assimilation).

5.9.2.1 Archaeological Fieldwork at Dor

The British School of Archaeology undertook the first archaeological excavations at this particular site in 1923 and 1925 under the supervision of John Garstang. These initial excavations were not fruitless and uncovered Philistine type pottery. Although it is not a surprise to find Philistine pottery here as it is geographically close by, it may also lead one to believe there were cordial relations between the Sea Peoples groups settled in the region. The site was again excavated in 1980 by a collaborative research team from various institutions worldwide under the supervision and guidance of Ephraim Stern from the Archaeological Institute of Hebrew University. These excavation activities included a study of the maritime archaeological record through the use of specialised techniques. These included underwater surveys as well as a detailed survey of the coastline. These surveys were done in an attempt to uncover how much of the natural maritime landscape had been altered through human activities and to surmise the extent of maritime activity during the period in question. Human impact on the site was found to date back to the Middle Bronze Age and persevered until the Byzantine era also known as the Eastern Roman Empire (Raban, 1987:119).

5.9.2.2 The Harbour at Dor

Many man-made features were uncovered in the early maritime excavations that could possibly provide us with much insight into the maritime characteristics of the Sikila people. These finds are clearly summarised in the following quote "..Included such harbour features as quays, landing stages, shipyards, fish tanks and piscinas, purple-dyeing facilities, wave catchers, and washing channels.." (Raban, 1987:120). Purple dye was a major industry in Iron Age Phoenicia and was perhaps also practiced by northern Sea Peoples.

These maritime activities thought to have been largely undertaken by the Sikila clearly illustrate their affiliation with the sea. The Phoenician civilisation shares this characteristic and although the northern Canaanite cities of the Late Bronze Age were undoubtedly active participants in seaward trading systems, they never achieved or even attempted the same maritime feats of their Iron Age counterparts, the Phoenicians.

Certain scholarly views state that another location of Sikila settlement may have on the Sharon plain, more specifically Tel Zeror but Gilboa (2005:49) clearly indicates that references to this location have little to do with actual material/archaeological remains and are based purely on its location. Although archaeological fieldwork has been undertaken at Tel Zeror, not much academically viable or yet published literature is available. This makes any study based on what is presently available difficult and possibly inaccurate.

5.9.2.3 Sikila Culture

Approximately twenty years of archaeological fieldwork and studies have, to a large extent, failed to uncover conclusive evidence of the Sikila culture's relations with their neighbouring states (Gilboa, 2005:49). This lack of associative evidence may tell a story in itself. It may illustrate a highly adaptive culture (whether through necessity or nature) that although it had its own independent coastal region, may have undertaken much assimilation. It may have utilised the material culture of the region and showed its uniqueness in maritime activity and ship design.

Sandars (1985) refers to the Tjekker at Dor in the context of the Wenamun accounts. This group can be regarded and has been termed as the same group as the Sikila but do also share physical characteristics with the Philistines. This portrayal shows them as independent at Dor with formidable maritime characteristics and a definite absence of their former piratical practices.

5.9.3 Akko as a Possible Sea Peoples Settlement

This site has been seen as the southern border of the Phoenician homeland (Aubet, 2001:16) during the Early Iron Age. Sharing a border with Phoenician populations, it is not unlikely that these two locations did have some sort of relationship with one another. Akko lies north of Dor and has possible but unclear ties with the Shardana people.

Perhaps the most relevant aspect of this site in terms of this study is that engravings of ships attributed to the Sea Peoples have been uncovered there. The previous section based on Sea Peoples ships has already dedicated much content to these engravings.

5.9.4 In Search of Settlement

The biblical tribe known as the Danites has been affiliated with the Sea Peoples group, the Denyen, largely because of its maritime characteristics. It is also seen as somewhat different to the other tribes of Israel. In terms of settlement, this group has been linked with Tel Qasile (near Jaffa) where Philistine type pottery was uncovered. The city of Laish is thought to have been inhabited by the Dan after taking it from the Sidonians. This is the furthest north that this type of pottery has been found. Medinet Habu also depicts this group and many of the dates of the above mentioned Dan settlement activity correspond with the transitional period.

Judges (5:17) states: 'and Dan, why did he abide with the ships?' This illustrates how amongst the tribes of Israel the Danites had this somewhat peculiar dimension to them. There are other Biblical references that make it seem as though the Danites differed from the other tribes like in the Book of Judges they are mentioned again as having altered their religion and did not mind foreign elements within it (Sandars, 1985:163-164).

If they indeed did settle so far north and were able to defeat the Sidonians (Phoenician city-state), their influence on this culture may well be worth looking at.

5.10 CONCLUSION

The Sea Peoples are by no means a so-called "open book" of the ancient world and there is still a large amount of mystery surrounding who they were, where they came from and what the extent of their impact was in the Ancient Near East. It must be conceded that there is a definite scarcity of sources on them and the ones available are primarily not produced by them. What is known is that they did undertake a migration into the region leading up to the transitional period of 1200 BCE and that ancient records do refer to them as pirates and marauders. This being said, later accounts refer to them as settled communities. Numerous pictorial and textual remains do associate them with the sea, allowing one to deduce that it seemingly formed an integral part of their existence. The purpose of this chapter was to introduce the reader to these people as well as their possible impact on the regions they

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came into contact with. Their physical characteristics have been dealt with comprehensively along with all their maritime influences. Depictions of their ships and discussions of their ship designs will hopefully be of assistance in comparing them to the Phoenicians to see whether or not there is any indication whether they did in fact influence the development of this civilisation.

CHAPTER 6

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND ALTERNATIVE THEORIES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Using all the information already presented in earlier chapters and combining it with new descriptions that will be brought to light here, the chief purpose of this chapter is to compare and contrast the characteristics of the three groups of ancient peoples that have been the focus of this research. Societal consistencies and inconsistencies with regard to the transition from Late Bronze Age Canaanite society to the Early Iron Age Phoenician society will be investigated with divergences being granted specific attention. The maritime spheres (ship design, commercial orientation etc) of the three groups will be looked at with specific emphasis to pick up on any similarities, differences and possible influences on one another. This will be used to explain possible reasoning as to why the Phoenicians became so outstandingly successful and adept in all aspects of a maritime nature.

This chapter will contain large amounts of my own interpretations on the subject as well as other information brought forward by other scholars. It will address many of the different sources of information and authors utilised throughout this research. The majority of these authors have already been acknowledged thoroughly within earlier chapters and will only be acknowledged here where this author is directly agreeing, disagreeing or responding to their works. When new works and interpretations are used that have not appeared in the contents of earlier discussions they will be acknowledged accordingly. Many general statements and arguments on the subject matter will be made based on my interpretations of all the research done and in these instances specific sources will not continuously be referred to.

6.2 CHALLENGES TO COMPARATIVE ANALYSES

There have been a number of challenges and obstacles that have been encountered through this research process, some of which have been overcome but others which remain difficult to surmount due to a number of factors.

Due to a definite scarcity of substantial material culture (in the form of pottery, architecture etc) left behind by the Sea Peoples, any links or comparisons using this as a central basis is

an extremely difficult task. If future finds do perhaps uncover more evidence in this regard, it should be looked at more closely. Even though the link with the Sea Peoples with regard to material culture is not at the moment an easily achievable task, differentiation between the Canaanites and Phoenicians in this regard can still signify an increase in outside influence going from the Late Bronze to Early Iron Ages. This being said the Canaanites and Phoenicians do have an abundance of cultural and religious similarities that are easily evident and must be stated. These similarities or signs of continuity will be explained here but it is not the primary purpose of this chapter to show continuity, it is rather to elaborate on alterations or transformations of culture and societal activities.

As already stated within this study, the Phoenicians have long been thought of as the descendants of the northern Canaanites. It has been commonly accepted that this progression took place with seemingly little cultural and geographical change through the turbulence of 1200 BCE. This is a feat of some significance due to the fact that practically all other civilisations in the region at the time were going through drastic changes often of a physically and culturally destructive nature. This in itself should raise scholarly curiosity as it does not fall within the general pattern of this region at this time. Unfortunately, as with the Sea Peoples, Phoenicia in the early Iron Age is characterised by a definite lack of conclusive archaeological and literary evidence (Gilboa, 2005:49). A further signification of the lack of material evidence is shown by the fact that bichrome ware from Cypriot origins in the Late Bronze Age has not been found in the location that comprised Phoenicia. Ahlström presents a possible reason for this lack of evidence being that the prominent Phoenician cities on the Mediterranean coast are to date not well recorded archaeologically (Ahlström, 1993:223). This pottery type is one that was widely distributed in the region during this time period so a lack of it in an area shows a complete lack in general.

As shipping and all factors that are of a maritime nature are a vital component to arguments made here, they will be dealt with first and with the most detail in the section to follow.

6.3 SHIP COMPARISONS AND MARITIME ACTIVITIES

As stated, this section forms a decisive aspect of the overall objectives of this research. There are signs that can be substantiated using textual and especially pictographic evidence that link features of Phoenician ships with those constructed by the Sea Peoples. These specific design feature similarities will be scrutinised here along with more general discussions of maritime commercial activity and prowess. Late Bronze Age Canaanite

vessels will also be looked at in order to establish how many of their shipbuilding traditions endured into the Iron Age Phoenician era and how many were altered.

It must be taken into account that when one compares the design features of ancient ships to uncover possible design similarities and influences, it is not as simple as just comparing individual examples of one ship type to another. General design features must be utilised from various depictions as this is where one picks up on common design features from a particular people. In the case of the Sea Peoples and Early Iron Age Phoenicians this is difficult as there is a shortage of depictions but one can still uncover some commonalities from the depictions we do have available to us, particularly from Egypt (Medinet Habu) in the case of the Sea Peoples at least. Also, all these peoples used a variety of ship types including merchant ships, war vessels and simple transport vessels that will have differing design specifications but even taking this into account certain general design features will most likely be present across the board when it comes to the ships manufactured by one particular group using their ship construction traditions.

In the sphere of maritime activity and ship design, comparisons showing possible links between the Sea Peoples and Phoenicians will be concentrated upon as has already been stated. Some conclusions drawn may be somewhat speculative but are undoubtedly worthy of further attention and consideration. The time gap between some of the depictions used is also quite large in some instances but this does not necessarily mean that favourable comparisons cannot be presented. Ship design development in the ancient world was very much a gradual process, taking place over centuries. Therefore patterns and design attributes can be picked up over long periods of time. Due to the fact that all three groups were unquestionably involved in maritime orientated practices, there are historical sources available to us in this regard. Although some of the Phoenician ship design traditions come from a later time period, their foundations are based in the Early Iron Age in the eastern Mediterranean where Sea Peoples influence would have most likely been at its prime.

Canaanite/Early Phoenician and Sea Peoples ships may have together controlled trade by sea between the Canaanite coast and Egypt in the 11th century BCE. At this stage Egypt had lost much of it former authority in the region due to population migration, incursion and conflict (Wachsmann, 2009:39). This is an indication of how the Early Iron Age Phoenicians and the Sea Peoples did indeed share some connection during the time period which can be described as post Egyptian domination. Whether one opts to follow the idea that the two cultures functioned independently from one another during this time or collaborated with each other, the fact that the ships of both were very active in the same time and space must provide credence to the idea that they would most likely have had an impact on each other in

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this sphere. Furthermore, as this sphere was such an integral part of both of these peoples' fundamental characteristics it can also lead one to believe that influence in this regard would have probably had an impact on both societies as a whole.

6.3.1 Pictorial Comparisons

The section to follow here will be comprised of depictions of Sea Peoples, Canaanite and Phoenician seagoing vessels. Many of these depictions have already been explained in earlier chapters but will now be directly compared and contrasted. The ships depicted here were not all constructed with the same purpose in mind but should still possess certain design features that are present throughout ship construction traits of the particular group responsible for their manufacture. General design specifications for each of the peoples have already been brought to light and these generalisations will be used as the basis of comparisons here.

Please take note of the ship depictions provided directly following as well as the accompanying discussions.

Figure 6.1: Canaanite Ship from the Tomb of Kenamun
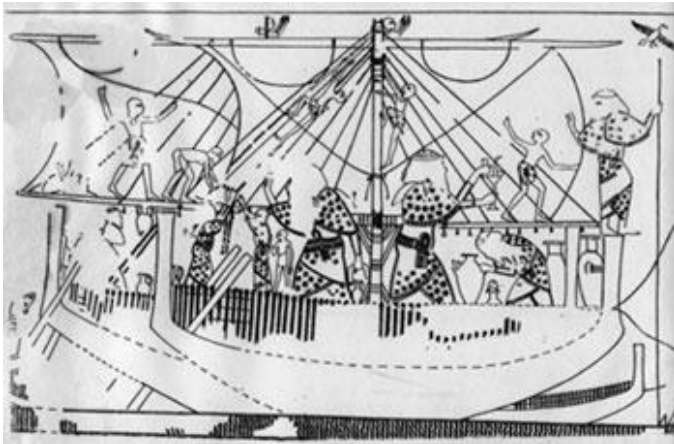
Image from:
http://sara.theellisschool.org/shipwreck/images/crossdateimages/canaaniteship.jpg
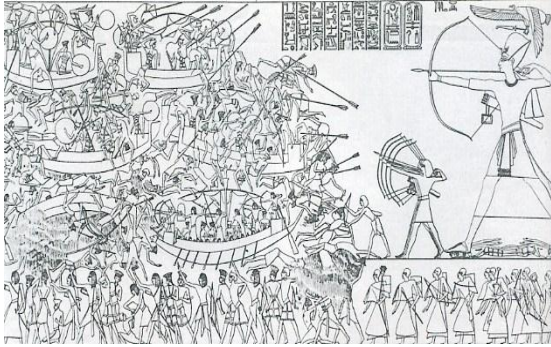
Figure 6.2: 1200 BCE Battle of the Nile as Depicted at Medinet Habu

Image from: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/11/Seev%C3%B6lker.jpg

Figure 6.3: Phoenician Bireme Depiction

A PHŒNICIAN GALLEY WITH TWO BANKS OF OARS.[1]

Image from:

http://www.gutenberg.org/files/28876/28876-h/files/17328/17328-h/images/017.jpg
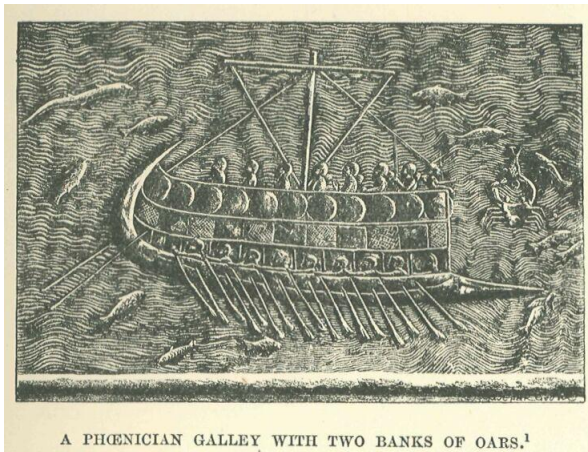
6.3.2 Interpretations

After critically analysing and evaluating the depictions given here, some very interesting interpretations became evident.

An extremely interesting characteristic element of Sea Peoples ship design shown in the Medinet Habu portrayal given as Figure 6.2 that possibly links design features with those of the Phoenicians is the absence of a wooden boom supporting the bottom part the sail. It appears that the Sea Peoples may well have introduced this design element to the region and it was seemingly adopted by the local inhabitants. This allowed for more space on deck for the crew to function within when the sails were not in use and also allowed for more sail

flexibility and versatility as the sail was not bound rigidly at its bottom end. This allowed for wind to propel the vessel from an angle rather than just directly from the stern end as attested by Smith (2012).

The depiction of Canaanite seagoing vessels (Figure 6.1) from the tomb of Kenamun (fourteenth century BCE) depicting Canaanite ships at port in Egypt plainly shows that this design attribute was not yet adopted in the fourteenth century BCE by the Canaanites as the horizontal rigid boom underneath the sail is still very much evident. The later depiction of a Phoenician vessel as shown in Figure 6.3, like the Sea Peoples example does not have the boom either, as has been explained. It can be assumed that this particular design attribute would have been implemented in vessels constructed for all purposes as this feature would have assisted ships to function more effectively in any context whether in warfare or in commercial activities.

Nordic elements in Sea Peoples ship design, specifically with regard to sails and how they functioned seem to be evident. The absence of a rigid boom and the use of brailings over the yard were characteristic of Nordic vessels of the Bronze Age. The bird-headed motifs on the bow and stern posts of Nordic vessels from the era can also be clearly identified on the Sea Peoples ships at Medinet Habu (Smith, 2012:55-56). This could be used as a substantiation of origins arguments when referring to the Sea Peoples and where they may have migrated from. It will also be used as substantiation for similarities with the Phoenicians that are cultural more than practical.

6.3.2.1 Note on New Sail System

Smith (2012:38) states that the method of using loose brailings by the Egyptian as shown at Medinet Habu can be attested to the fact that the Canaanites may have shared this knowledge with them. As clearly shown at Kenamun, the Canaanites had not developed this innovation before the entrance of the Sea Peoples into the region. It is possible that the Canaanites perhaps learnt this new technique from the Sea Peoples and passed it on to the Egyptians but what is just as likely is that the Egyptians gained it directly from the Sea Peoples before 1200 BCE as they had been in contact in some form or another before this for at least a century. They would have most likely shared this with the Egyptians in their capacity as mercenaries as in this role it was within their best interests to promote a strong Egyptian navy.

6.3.2.2 Bird-Headed Motif

As already shown, the above Sea Peoples ship depiction shows the absence of a boom. What is also discernable from this depiction is the bird-headed motif, if one looks at the Sea Peoples ship depicted in the top left hand corner of relief it is clearly visible. On both the bow and stern posts of this ship there is what appears to be bird-headed motifs pointing outward towards the sea on top of vertical wooden posts.

Figure 6.4: Phoenician Ship possessing a Bird-Headed Motif
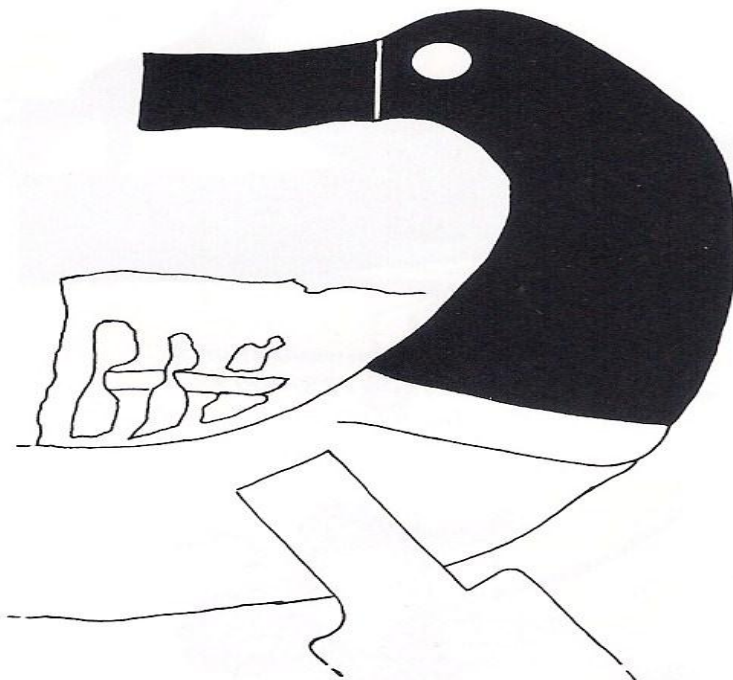
Image from: Wachsmann (2009:190)

This depiction from the end of the eighth century BCE from Karatepe in Turkey has been identified as a Phoenician warship with a bird-headed motif (Wachsmann, 2009:174 & 190). It appears to be at the stern of this vessel as there is a steering oar or rudder underneath it. It is different to the Sea Peoples bird-headed motifs as it faces inwards onto the deck rather than outwards toward the sea like those examples shown earlier with regard to the Sea Peoples that face outward towards the sea. The most important aspect of this depiction however, is that it depicts a tradition and not just a practical technique that was used by the Phoenicians after coming into contact with the Sea Peoples. This is of great significance as it shows a connection that goes beyond the sharing of functional ideas with regard to ships, it shows a cultural connection. If they did not have any of the same beliefs or cultural affinities

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as the Sea Peoples, then such culturally charged manifestations would not have occurred. It also clearly shows the movement away from solely Canaanite traditions as this sort of bird-headed motif is not present in known depictions of Late Bronze Age Canaanite ships.

After an exhaustive search of sources, not many clear depictions of ships known to be definitively of Phoenician origin with bird-heads were uncovered by this author with the very significant exception shown above. Perhaps future finds will add credence to this idea if more examples are uncovered. There are however more numerous other signs that this design feature was brought into the Ancient Near East in the second millennium BCE and it is very probable that the Sea Peoples brought it with them into the region. A number of examples after their entrance into the Orient are depicted in a number of settings including Greek contexts as shown below:

Figure 6.5: Greek Vessel with Bird-Headed Motifs

Image from: http://www.salimbeti.com/micenei/images/ship71.jpg

This depiction, also presented by Wachsmann (2009) is dated to the Late Helladic period.

"The Sea Peoples, it appears, brought with them to the eastern Mediterranean the concept of the oared warship with an open rowers' galley supported by vertical stanchions." (Wachsmann, 2009:174)

With regard to the Phoenician Bireme depicted earlier and the quote above it is very likely that the Sea Peoples ships depicted at Medinet Habu were the first to possess rows of oarsman and an open galley with posts supporting the above weight (stanchions) allowing for rowers to sit at differing heights. This innovation, brought into the area by the Sea Peoples was used and improved upon for centuries to come. Late Bronze Age Canaanite ships are often depicted with no oarsmen at all and not in the same fashion and therefore it

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can be surmised that they were in fact not responsible for this design specification. This shows a definitive connection between the Sea Peoples and Phoenicians.

6.3.2.3 Additional Commentary

Smith (2012:57) states that the most likely scenario when it comes to ship construction is that the Canaanites/Phoenicians utilised methods and techniques of their own in collaboration with techniques learnt from other peoples. The end result of this collaborative effort was the Iron Age Phoenician ships which were capable of covering large distances with great success. This is a more than credible conclusion and one that is definitely given additional weight by pictorial representations from the time periods contemporary to the development of Iron Age Phoenician ships. This additionally aids the idea that the Sea Peoples were an influential role player in this process in more than one way. There are design features present in Phoenician ships such as the sturdiness and shape of the hull structure that unquestionably lends itself to the Canaanites and their construction traditions before the Iron Age. Another sign of continuity between the ships of the Canaanites and Phoenicians is the fact that the mast is shortened and slots into the keel-plank at the level of the hull at the bottom of the ship. This is evident in Canaanite and Phoenician examples.

There are also however, definitive features that have been mentioned above such as the absence of a boom that also clearly connect Phoenician ships to the Sea Peoples. This in turn agrees with the idea of a combination of techniques and traditions being present in Phoenician ship design.

6.4 MARITIME ACTIVITY ON A COMMERCIAL BASIS

In terms of maritime activity on a commercial basis which will also be addressed from a different perspective a little later in this chapter, there are some observations that are worthy of mention. Vidal (2006) has undertaken research based on the commercial links between Ugarit and locations further south as well as the establishment of foreign trade stations during the Late Bronze Age. Vidal refers to the work of Aubet (2000) and states how Ugaritic trade was to a large extent controlled from a royal centre. The king of Ugarit would in fact have under his control specific merchants with the mandate of exchanging products or raw material of his choosing. Further, the Late Bronze Age was a time where merchants from the Canaanite coast had set up permanent trading or commercial settlements outside of their

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homeland. An example is a harbour community found on the island of Crete at Kommos. This harbour site shows indications of a permanent Canaanite community serving as a middleman for trade activities throughout the region. This did not however include any type of political power over foreign regions at this time (Vidal, 2006:275). This shows commercial expansion undertaken by Canaanites during the Late Bronze when they formed part of the Egyptian sphere of influence. This stipulates that Canaanite expansion could have taken place under Egyptian subjugation and to an extent it did, but it still did not come anything near the expansion and achievements of the later Phoenicians. Also, the Phoenician trade colonies of the Iron Age did include political control over regions they colonised.

6.4.1 Notes on Cargo

In terms of a comparison of cargo types as a possible sign of foreign influence on the Iron Age Phoenician civilisation, it is extremely difficult to argue this with any certainty. After various studies from a number of sources, some of which have been mentioned in this paper, no evidence worth mention has really been uncovered. Cargo of ships would have very much followed a supply and demand scenario so even if the Sea Peoples were heavily involved in trade as perhaps part of Phoenician trading fleets their cargo would have been dictated by the resources available in the region as well as what market demands at the time were. Therefore, trading cargo does not necessarily give one a clear indication of cultural impact or interconnectedness. It is due to this fact that cargo has not been given a great amount of attention even in the chapters preceding this one.

6.5 IMPACT OF SEA PEOPLES ON THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST AT LARGE

It is important to take note that Sea Peoples ship characteristics seemingly had an impact on the entire Ancient Near East and in many instances may have altered the techniques and specifications used by ship builders native to the region apart from only the Phoenicians.

Wachsmann (2009:174), as already quoted refers to how the Sea Peoples introduced war galleys with open rowers' galleries to the Ancient Near East. These design features would be passed on, developed further and improved by later ship builders in the region including the Greeks and Phoenicians. By introducing this to the region, the Sea Peoples in fact plotted a new path in effective functioning of warships in the eastern Mediterranean region.

As substantiation to earlier comments on bird-headed motifs, Wachsmann (2009) further states that the Sea Peoples were most likely responsible for the introduction of bird-headed motifs on the bow and stern of ships throughout the eastern Mediterranean. This is most likely the reason behind why this particular decorative element became commonplace on Phoenician ships as well as other ships in the region in an Iron Age context. This decorative/cultural attribute is seen in other contexts after the incursions of the Sea Peoples and can even be seen on much later Roman ships. This shows not only a regionally vast impact but also an impact that maintained itself over long time spans. The examples from Greece and many other locales in the region show that the bird-headed theme on ships became widespread after its introduction in the region by the influential Sea Peoples.

6.5.1 Impact on the New Kingdom Egyptians

The Medinet Habu depictions are also of the earliest depictions illustrating the earlier mentioned loose brailings whereby the rigging of ships no longer required a rigid boom at the bottom of the sail (Wachsmann, 2009:175). As this has not been presented on earlier representations of Egyptian ships, one can make the assumption that there is the distinct possibility that the Egyptians learnt this innovation due to their contact with the Sea Peoples. If the Sea Peoples influenced ship design in this great and established civilisation then it is surely possible that they could have influenced the new Phoenician civilisation as it most likely have been more susceptible to such influence as a young civilisation rising from the ashes of 1200 BCE.

The Shardana are thought to have been one of the first Sea Peoples groups to have entered the Ancient Near East and remained on a long term basis after 1200 BCE with a settlement at Akko. Their impact on the Egyptians is shown early on at the Battle of Kadesh. They are thought to have been not only mercenaries acting as warriors during this battle but actually filling the role of the personal bodyguards to the pharaoh. This can clearly illustrate two things, they were very capable warriors but also that their impact was far greater than just hired hands and they were prominent enough to be within close quarters with the pharaoh himself.

6.6 SETTLEMENT CONSIDERATIONS

A number of scholars have stated the Phoenician cities did indeed go through the same type of destruction as many other sites of the Late Bronze Age period in the ancient Near East but were able to recover much more rapidly than other sites of the same period. An explanation to this rapid recovery has been the idea that the assimilation of Sea Peoples groups into the Phoenician civilisation was evident rather than a prolonged time period of conflict and instability. This means that instead of the Phoenicians warring with the Sea Peoples in northern Canaan they may well have become part of the same cultural grouping, at least to an extent. This may also be a reason for a lack of mention of the Sea Peoples in Biblical accounts as they only address the Phoenicians who the Sea Peoples may have become part of (Gilboa, 2005:51). If this was indeed the case and these Sea Peoples did have the power to sack cities as they had during this period (Ugarit, Hattusa, Sidon etc), then it must be possible that their influence on Phoenician society and culture after assimilation may well be a viable option. Assimilation can in fact take place along with adaptation of the culture one is being assimilated into. The role of acculturation is an aspect that is directly linked to this and diverges slightly from the idea of simple assimilation. This will be investigated further later in this chapter.

Tyre is the southernmost of the strictly Phoenician city-states and was for a long period, during the Iron Age, the most productive and active of the Phoenician city-states when it came to maritime tendencies. Tyre is also situated the closest to the known Sea Peoples settlements of Dor and possibly Akko. It was therefore the most likely Phoenician location to have been impacted by the Sea Peoples. Perhaps it is not purely incidental that Tyre became the most powerful maritime power of the Phoenician cities at that stage and also the first to undertake colonial practices in the west. Tyre was active in the Late Bronze Age but not to the same extent.

To add to this idea of contact between Sea Peoples and Phoenician settlements, Smith (2012:76) refers to the work of Gore (2004) and states how the Phoenician city-states may have actually come to agreements and alliances with Sea Peoples groups that settled in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1200 BCE. Whether or not the assimilation theory or the alliance theory is more plausible than the other is debatable but both signify a strong connection between the two groups that goes beyond conflict.

In earlier sections, it has been clearly illustrated that certain Sea Peoples groups did establish settlements in the Ancient Near East including the Shardana (Akko) and Sikila/Tjekker (Dor) groups. If the theories regarding early Phoenician colonies in the region hold true this would mean that these activities would have taken place simultaneously. This type of semi-permanent to permanent colonial practice had not been undertaken in this

fashion during the Late Bronze Age before the entry of the Sea Peoples into the region. The fact that the Sea Peoples were migrating into the areas and attempting to set up what one could call colonies can undoubtedly be favourably compared with Phoenician activity of the time. This idea will also be dealt with from a different perspective later in this chapter in a subsection based on acculturation.

The above mentioned factors do not only illustrate a possible linkage between the Sea Peoples and Phoenicians but it further shows a divergence from the Canaanites in the Late Bronze Age. Even if one is of the opinion that the Phoenicians undertook westward expansion due to Assyrian pressure around 900 BCE, this still shows differentiation from the Late Bronze Age Canaanites. During the Late Bronze period, the Canaanites were under large amounts of pressure from the Egyptian New Kingdom pharaohs and are thought to have had the naval technology to undertake long distance sea travel still did not do so. The Phoenicians were placed under Assyrian pressure as early as the late twelfth century BCE when the Assyrians undertook expansion into the region under the rule of Tiglatpileser I (Moscati, 1968:10). The Phoenician city-states are shown to have paid tribute to the Assyrians at this time much in the same way that the Canaanites did during the Late Bronze Age

Both the Canaanites and Phoenicians were placed under pressure from outside authority that was more powerful than they were but did not react in the same fashion. Taking into consideration the large time gap between these processes, it is still perhaps a valid theory to propose that it was at least partially due to influences that were not as active during the Late Bronze Age that gave the Phoenician society the confidence to undertake the seaward expansion it did. It must be however conceded that the Late Bronze Age Egyptian yoke over Canaan may have hampered the above mentioned processes as Egyptian authority during this era was at some stages of a more direct nature than pressures present in the Early Iron Age.

An alternative theory is that it may have actually been economically beneficial for the Egyptians to have allowed this type of expansion by the Canaanites as it would have in turn meant the expansion and preservation of trade for the Egyptians if the Canaanites actually wished to do so, but this desire is not evident in the same way as the Early Iron Age Phoenicians. What this means is that the Egyptians may not have actually wanted to prevent such expansive activities on the part of the Canaanites as it may have had the potential to enrich them. Ahlström (1993:249), as discussed in an earlier chapter, states that Canaanite city-states of the Late Bronze Age never became fully part of the economic system of Egypt and rather had to only make sure that the Egyptians received the tribute and goods they

expected. Further than this it seems that these city-states were economically independent and could undertake trade as they wished. Therefore, it is unlikely that the Egyptians would have actually stepped in and stopped Canaanite maritime expansions especially if they were commercially orientated. The historical record does not show any data to date that portrays a scenario where the Canaanites actually wanted to undertake such expansion.

6.6.1 Tyre

Tyre is commonly accepted to have been the most powerful and influential Phoenician city-state and is also the southernmost of the Phoenician city-states. Perhaps the fact that it had such close proximity to the known Sea Peoples sites of Akko and Dor had a role to play in this. Tyre was the city-state that undertook maritime expansion and colonial activities not attempted by the cities-states north of it. This willingness to undertake practices high in risk is perhaps at least in part due to the fact that it was perhaps more influenced by its southern neighbours than any of the other Phoenician urban centres.

Lack of unification amongst city-states is also a cultural trait that displayed itself vigorously in both Canaan and Phoenicia respectively with the relationship between city-states through both periods often taking the form of fierce rivalries.

6.7 SHARING OF CULTURAL ATTRIBUTES

As had been shown there are some possible connections between the Phoenicians and Sea Peopless that are present in the historical record, they are by no means clear-cut. When attempting to draw possible connections between ancient peoples during time periods where tangible elements are not always easily available, other methodologies must be taken into account and implemented if applicable. In this instance, ideas from the field of Social Anthropology will be proposed to possibly create connections between cultures that are not always clearly evident in the material record. Stone (1995) makes use of the term "acculturation" as a means of understanding cultural change in such a way that external influences eventually become part of a culture to the extent that they are no longer regarded as foreign to the people who adopt them. This however does not necessarily mean the culture adopting new practices or ideas loses their own cultural identity but rather adds to it. He further differentiates between acculturation and assimilation and states that the latter occurs when one dominant culture takes over another and converts it into their own culture.

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Acculturation however takes place when there is more a sharing and adding of cultural traits with neither being completely lost. Trade connections do not constitute acculturation as trade items do not signify cultural changes in isolation but rather just interconnectedness (Stone, 1995:7-10). Stone (1995) applies this methodology to the Philistines but here it will be applied to the northern Sea Peoples and Phoenician relationship.

When it comes to the Phoenician culture, it is easy to show continuity between it and the Canaanite before but there are also possible examples of acculturation whereby the Phoenician could have taken on Sea Peoples traits and patterns of behaviour. The ability and willingness of an ancient culture to travel long distances over the sea is a possible example of acculturation. The Bronze Age Canaanites were definitely active when it came to maritime trade and travel, this is not under dispute, but they never undertook these practices to the extent of the Phoenicians. The Sea Peoples were groups that undertook migration over what is thought to be long distances (possibly as far afield as central Europe) across the sea and earned their name due to their affinity with the sea. This is definitely something the Phoenicians and Sea Peoples share and could be thought of as an example of acculturation taking their close geographical proximity into account. Another aspect of the seaward nature of these cultures that may be an example of this is the idea that both groups were in some instances willing to act as mercenaries at sea or to undertake activity on behalf of the highest bidder so to speak. The Sea Peoples have been referred in this capacity on a number of occasions with the same characteristics being given to the Phoenicians in Greek and Roman sources.

The fact that there are similarities between Phoenician ships and earlier Sea Peoples ships in terms of their construction and appearance could also be described as an example of acculturation. As stated earlier, the most likely scenario when it came to the manufacturing of the seagoing vessels of these people was mostly a combination of local techniques and outside or learnt ones. Once again, the Phoenicians in this regard did not adopt an outside technique from another culture at the expense of their own but rather added to their techniques and specifications. One must remember that ships were not purely wooden vessels but had a large amount of cultural and even religious significance. To change appearance and design of ships had cultural implications beyond just the practicality of effective vessel function.

A more speculative example of acculturation between the two groups dealt with here has to do with the fact that the Sea Peoples migrated and settled into completely new territory at the end of the Late Bronze Age. The Phoenicians undertook similar types of movement with their Iron Age form of colonialism whereby they set up new and permanent colonies west of

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their homeland. The time period between these two examples is however fairly large and one must also concede to the fact that due to the obscurity of the origins of the Sea Peoples it cannot be said with certainty that they chose to migrate. It is a distinct possibility that they were forced to do so based on a number of theories.

6.7.1 Notes on Religion

Religious continuity is undoubtedly an area where the Phoenicians owe much to their Canaanite ancestry. This is probably the one aspect of society that endured into the Iron Age with greatest amount of consistency and a minimal amount of transformation. This consistency is given much validation by the following statement:

"...yet the religion remained basically Canaanite in spirit." (Harden, 1963:85).

This statement clearly indicates how although there were slight transformations in cultic practices and activities between the Canaanites and Phoenicians, the fundamental basis of this particular religion did remain intact through the transitional period. Even at later dates when Carthage became an independently powerful kingdom, the religious foundations still bore great similarities to its roots in Canaan.

The continuity of this religion is an easy topic to argue convincingly and will only be addressed in brief as it is a branch of study that can be done exhaustively but that does not fit within this framework. The divergences, even though they are not necessarily clearly evident in all cases and did not change the face of the religion as a whole, will be looked at. These divergences may show the impact of outside influence on the development of the Phoenician civilisation even if they are only subtle in nature.

6.7.2 Sacrificial Activities

Although the practice of human and animal sacrifice is attested to by numerous sources as being an activity definitely undertaken by both the Canaanites and Phoenicians as has been discussed in earlier sections, there is one aspect that is noteworthy in relation to this. Harden (1963:105) states that cremation was used by the Phoenicians in sacrificial practices as well as burials but was introduced to the eastern Mediterranean area only with the incursions of 1200 BCE. This practice is also seen as a fundamental part of later Carthiginian ritual in connection with child sacrifice (Moscati, 1968:151).

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There is no direct evidence to speak of connecting the Sea Peoples to this particular activity but it does show the introduction of a new religious practice to the Phoenicians during a contemporaneous period. Even if the Sea Peoples cannot be linked to this it is an indication of susceptibility to new and external influences during the time period of transition.

As already brought to light in the chapters, there is a possibility that these people were connected to central Europe and perhaps even Nordic regions based on ship traits as well as other archaeological finds including the example presented from burial site in northern Syria. If one allows this to be considered a plausible possibility taking heed of the fact that there have been arguments made to counter this as a realistic option, then this cremation argument may gain momentum. It seems as though the practice of cremation may have been in existence in Europe during this time period and may have possibly travelled with the Sea Peoples from that region into the Ancient Near East. This practice was also fairly new in central and northern Europe and was practiced alongside other burial rituals where certain artefacts were found in association with bodies such as weapons like daggers. This is the case in the earlier mentioned burial site in northern Syria that has already been elaborated upon in the chapter dedicated to the Sea Peoples and presents an argument for possible central/northern European origins. This is a speculative argument but still one worthy of greater investigation and attention especially if future finds perhaps shed more light on this.

Moscati (1968:143) does bring to light an aspect of the significance behind sacrifice, whether human or animal, that shows continued existence from the Canaanites to the Phoenicians that must be briefly mentioned. The idea of blood as a medium of strengthening a particular deity (the deity which the sacrifice honours) is a theme seen in textual evidence from Ugarit and in Carthiginian examples.

6.7.3 Seagoing Religion

An aspect of religion that has not as of yet been granted any attention within the contents of this dissertation is the religious beliefs and practices of sailors in Canaan and Phoenicia. The work of Brody (1998) comprehensively covers this particular topic with great success and this will be the primary source utilised. He makes use of a variety of sources (ancient and modern) and methodologies to address this theme. A particularly well chosen research method used by Brody has to do with categorisation of themes pertaining to different aspects of seagoing religion. He creates a framework that examples can be applied to by using five categories including rituals around death, ceremonies for safe voyages, identification of

specific deities with affinities to the sea, the religious structures or locations used by these sailors along the coast as well as the ship as a religiously active vessel in its own right (Brody, 1998:4). Obviously due to the fact that maritime attributes are common thread of study here, this must be scrutinised, once again to illustrate similarities and differences.

Brody (1998) is of the strong opinion that Canaanite and Phoenician sailors followed very much the same religious practices to the extent that his work basically refers to them as one and the same. The continuity must be stated for the sake of a thorough study but if any contrasting elements are uncovered they will be concentrated upon.

Numerous deities possessing an affinity with the sea and/or the protection of sailors are present in Ugaritic and in later Phoenician contexts, showing much continuity. The deities that possessed characteristics that would have the potential to influence seafaring either positively or negatively were those that sailors would have moulded their cultic worship around. Therefore deities that were affiliated with forces of nature like winds and storms were particularly significant. Wind was the natural force that carried these sailors where they needed to be and storms would have the ability to end voyages along with the lives of crew members if they struck while ships were at sea (Brody, 1998:9).

6.7.3.1 Maritime Deities

A number of deities directly connected to have power over storms, therefore storm deities, are mentioned by Brody (1998) in both Canaanite and Phoenician examples. From ancient Ugaritic texts as well as Phoenician documents including a seventh century BCE treaty with the Assyrians, storm deities often of the same name and function are present in both eras. Deities such as Ba'al Haddu, Ba'al Samen and Ba'al Sapon are all examples of these storm affiliated divine beings. Temples such as the one uncovered at Ugarit in honour of Ba'al Sapon has stone anchors associated with it signifying a connection to the sea and forms evidence substantiated by the archaeological record (Brody, 1998:10-22). The fact that they even formed part of commercially orientated treaties like the one mentioned shows how these deities had an impact over societal activities in all sectors.

The feminine deity, Asherah, was the most senior of goddesses in Canaanite mythology and has also been linked to maritime activity and the sea. According to texts from Ugarit, she is called "Asherah of the sea" (Brody, 1998:26). She is also connected with the moon and often depicted in association with lunar discs and hemispherical shapes on the ships of the Phoenicians. This was of significance to ancient sailors as the moon in differing phases

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meant different things to these sailors. The moon in a certain phase could have meant rain on the voyage or a number of different things. Further the moon would have been the predominant light steering these sailors at night and would therefore have had navigational importance. Tinnit was the goddess that appears to have possessed exactly the same attributes as Asherah in later Phoenician and Punic portrayals. Although there is discontinuity in terms of the name change, all other characteristics allude to these deities in actual fact being one and the same. (Brody, 1998:26-33).

An interesting example of a Phoenician deity that is not seemingly present in the Bronze Age Canaanite realm is Poseidon, in this context he is connected with the ocean and even the natural disaster of an earthquake. The reason why he is given this name is due to the fact that the ancient Greek sources that speak of this Phoenician deity, label it as such and unfortunately there is no name at present from local Phoenician sources. The sources based on this deity are somewhat later than some of the others mentioned before and date back to the middle of the first millennium BCE. The sources available do present the idea of this deity forming an important part of worship for sailors, often orientated around thanking and offering sacrifices in his honour for safe voyages (Brody, 1998:23-25). The fact that Poseidon or his Phoenician equivalent played an influential role in the cultic practices of the Phoenicians can be taken as an outside influence on these people as this deity is not clearly present in Bronze Age contexts. This is a natural progression as the Phoenicians came into contact with more and more peoples and hence cultural/religious diffusion would have to have taken place at least to some extent. Milqart is another deity that rises into prominence amongst Phoenician sailors and not in earlier time periods. From various locations of Phoenician influence, this deity is depicted as a bearded man with a cone shaped headdress holding an axe. He is depicted on various mediums (bows of ships, stela etc) in this way in the Phoenician homeland (Tyre specifically) as well as in Carthaginian examples (Brody, 1998:33-36).

Although there are some varying maritime deities between Canaanite and Phoenician sailors, it seems that this was a normal and gradual progression from expansion and not necessarily connected to the impact of contact with one particular culture.

6.7.3.2 Cultic Structures of a Maritime Nature

Canaanite and Phoenician seafarers worshipped and glorified deities affiliated with the sea, weather and protection on voyages at numerous locations from large temples in urban centres to minute, isolate coastal locations. Brody (1998:39-61) covers these locales thoroughly using examples from various locations that have produced archaeological discoveries. These places served as a linkage between these sailors and the deities. In terms of differentiation in look or function over time at the locales or in their construction of these structures, apart from sometimes varying deities being honoured, there in not much to speak of. Small variations might be present but none to warrant further attention.

6.7.3.3 Sacred Nature of the Ship

Specific portions of the ship were also seen as sacred to the sailors of both eras. The sailors endowed their vessels with divine power and in many instances particular parts of the ship (often bow and stern) were particularly significant. Depictions of deities on the bow for instance would have to do with ensuring the ship was travelling in the correct direction and not toward danger. Eyes on either side of the front of the ship humanised the vessel and warded off danger. One aspect of this theme that appears to be exclusively Phoenician and not Canaanite is the appearance of the horse-head motif shown on ships appearing on Phoenician coins. This once again is connected to the protection and safe guidance of the ship as it is connected to a *hippokamp*, which is a mythical creature thought to have been a representation of a nameless deity (Brody, 1998:63-72).

As with other aspects of religion, it seems that there is a large amount of continuity in the religion of sailors in the two eras mentioned. There are slight differentiations but there does not seem to be an indication of one particular group influencing this but rather a process of contact with many cultures.

6.7.3.4 Other Religious Considerations

Although the pantheon of Canaanite/Phoenician religion remained largely unchanged after 1200 BCE there are certain aspects that do show some differentiation. Religion and prominent deities became more regionalised during the Iron Age period than they had been during the Late Bronze Age. Therefore certain deities and the hierarchies accompanying them were very different in the various Phoenician city-states as opposed to the more generalised pantheon of the Canaanites as shown by remains at Ugarit predominantly. This

may be an indication that city-states during this period were even less unified than they had been during earlier time periods.

6.8 A NOTE ON WEAPONRY

The use of Sea Peoples as mercenaries in the armed forces of the Egyptians and Hittites leading up to 1200 BCE has been introduced in the Chapter based on these two civilisations. In the service of the Hittites, it appears that Sea Peoples groups (perhaps the Shardana) brought with them a new type of shield into the region that was circular in shape and that this was actually then adopted by the Hittites. In ship depictions of Phoenician war vessels, often the top deck of the ship was populated by soldiers who are thought to have placed their shields along the sides of this upper deck for additional protection. These shields were also round in shape and could possibly have taken this form due to contact and influence from the Sea Peoples. An example of these round shields on Phoenician ships of war can be seen on diagram 6.3 (Phoenician Bireme Depiction) earlier in this chapter.

6.9 NEW INTERPRETATIONS AND ALTERNATIVE THEORIES

To add to the new perspectives already proposed in this chapter, this section entails a number of new interpretations from various societal spheres with examples to substantiate these perspectives.

The following depiction will be described further within this context directly below the representation:

Figure 6.5: Character with Sea Peoples and Semitic Characteristics

Image from: http://www.salimbeti.com/micenei/sea.htm

The above image (Figure 6.5) has already been briefly discussed in the chapter dedicated to the Sea Peoples but is quite unique and must be further addressed here. It is a portrayal from Medinet Habu, from the same battle between the Sea Peoples and the armies of Ramesses III that have been investigated exhaustively. What is so unique about this particular depiction is that the individual presented possesses definitive Sea Peoples and Semitic characteristics. The helmet he is wearing clearly associates him with the Shardana, one of the Sea Peoples groups thought to have arrived in the Orient earlier than many of the others. This is shown by the disc present on top of the helmet. His beard however appears very Semitic/Canaanite in form and is very unusual when compared to all other known Sea Peoples depictions. Generally the Sea Peoples are depicted as clean shaven with the rare exception of the Shekelesh in some instances.

The reasons for this individual being portrayed in this particular fashion could be one of the following. It could perhaps be a case of inaccurate work on the part of the artist but this is in my opinion unlikely as all of the other depictions from this particular location do display a large amount of consistency with regard to the physical characteristics of the groups present. It could be that Canaanites and Sea Peoples groups fought as allies against Ramesses III to the extent that they may have shared military equipment. In other words, it could be a Canaanite wearing the helmet of the Shardana or vice versa. If it is indeed a member of the Shardana culture wearing a Semitic style beard, it could be an indication of cross-cultural impact and influence from this early stage that may have continued to develop further into the Iron Age.

Further than the above and earlier shown physical appearance considerations very little in the way of likening the Sea Peoples to the Phoenicians is clearly evident. Physical attire and wardrobe of the Phoenicians seem to remain very Semitic in nature.

6.9.1 Wenamun

The ancient Egyptian source of Wenamun has been discussed earlier in this research but must be mentioned here as it brings to light the opportunity for a new interpretation on the relationship between the Sea Peoples and Phoenicians during the Early Iron Age in the Phoenician homeland. It is with regard to the name of the king/prince of Byblos at the time when Wenamun came into contact with him. Moscati (1968:10) translates his name as Zekarbaal and refers to him as a prince. Wachsmann (2009:11) refers to him as a king and translates his name to Tjekkerbaal. If one follows the latter interpretation then the name itself can be regarded as a direct link with the Sea Peoples group called the Tjekker also known as the Sikila. This group settled at Dor and if the king of Byblos has such a strong affinity to this Sea Peoples group that his name is interlinked to the name of this group's, it is perhaps credible to speculate that this group had a marked influence as far north as Byblos during this time period.

6.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter has addressed the possibility of the impact of the Sea Peoples on the Ancient Near East being greater and more significant than ever before thought. This influence has been highlighted upon with regard to the Phoenicians specifically in terms of how their impact on this civilisation may have changed the face of a culture at large. Although some of the theories and ideas proposed here are perhaps speculative at times, there is definitely enough substantiated argument here to consider this branch of research a credible one. All arguments are based on historic and factual evidence and unfounded conclusions or statements have been avoided so as to ensure that the comparisons drawn above are worthy of additional consideration by academia at large. There are still large gaps of information when it comes to the space and time under investigation here but hopefully with the rapid advancements in fields like archaeology, many of the gaps will be filled in the not too distant future. One of the most intriguing aspects of this line of research must be that so much is still a mystery and there is still an abundance of knowledge out there that will one day improve our understandings and insights of these peoples.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The Ancient Near East is a region that has been studied by various very capable scholars throughout modern history. It is a region that in many instances has supplied us with extremely informative and enlightening ancient sources of information in varying forms including textual, archaeological and pictorial evidence. This has helped us to gain understanding and insight into the ancient yet very sophisticated societies that called the region home. It is also however a region that during certain ancient periods and at some locations is still very much a mystery. Some of the ancient peoples that inhabited the Ancient Near East are very well accounted for (eg. the Egyptians) but this is not always the case. This does not necessarily mean that those peoples which are well accounted for should be given more attention than others purely based on the fact that it is convenient and easier for scholars to do so. Even if easily discernable connections between ancient cultures and how they developed is not readily available, this does not automatically mean that it did not take place. In many instances scholarship needs to "think out of the box" and be willing to pick up on more subtle signs of interconnectivity. Sometimes the characteristics of a culture, its undertakings, pattern of development and practices can be as informative as tangible evidence or material culture. In this context, we know that the Phoenicians surpassed all in terms of maritime expansion but have not questioned why and how this happened adequately. This being said, one should always avoid unsubstantiated conclusions and use the historical record to its utmost but not be fearful of creating new interpretations.

7.2 METHODOLOGIES CARRIED OUT AND LITERATURE UTILISED

In an attempt to display connections between the Sea Peoples and Phoenicians as well show any divergences between the Phoenicians and their regional predecessors, various methodologies and the works of many scholars have been utilised in a multidisciplinary manner. Archaeological and textual remains have been scrutinised along with a heavy reliance on ancient pictorial depictions with accompanying interpretations. Deductive reasoning and anthropological approaches have also been used in unison to try and uncover

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cultural developments and patterns. These cultural developments have been used as the basis of arguments portraying new cultural affinities as well as to illuminate any divergence from past cultural norms. Aside from purely ancient textual sources, the interpretations and perspectives of numerous academics have been drawn upon. The works of Wachsmann in the sphere of ship description and interpretation must be given special mention as his thoroughness and methodical approach to this cultural sphere is truly commendable and has proven invaluable. The works of Sandars, Artzy and Gilboa have been of paramount importance in terms of understanding the northern Sea Peoples groups and their impact. Harden, Moscati and Aubet are authors that have dealt with the Phoenicians and their development in such a way that one can use their works as a basis of knowledge on these people and their development in the eastern and western Mediterranean. The interpretations of these authors have not been agreed with in all instances but their work has made it possible to branch off into new interpretation possibilities.

7.3 RESEARCH PROCESS FOLLOWED

7.3.1 Regional Background

Before addressing the time period and peoples under the proverbial microscope over the majority of this study, it was important to create an understanding of the *status quo* in the region leading up to 1200 BCE (date of transition). The reason for this was not only to provide background insight into the time and space in question but also because many of the most important ancient sources of information utilised were created by the most powerful nations in the region before this date, the Hittites and Egyptians. This therefore necessitated at least a working knowledge of these two civilisations before and leading into their respective declines.

7.3.2 1200 BCE

The year 1200 BCE formed a fundamental part of this study and the events and transformations that took place around this date changed the cultural and societal landscape of the entire region. New populations migrated into the area, old authorities lost influence and cultures were undeniably altered, possibly in part due to the newcomer in the area. This era of instability and new beginnings needed to be addressed and understood thoroughly in

order to make sense of the series of events that followed. As many different accounts and interpretations of this time as possible were consulted in order to fully comprehend the complexities of the time. For these reasons, this time period has been granted sections in a number of locations throughout this work.

7.3.3 Sea Peoples

One of the most mysterious peoples to have entered the Ancient Near East is undoubtedly the Sea Peoples, especially those thought to have settled further north than the Philistines. The different Sea Peoples groups have been exhaustively addressed in a chapter dedicated to them within this work as well as in comparative analyses. A detailed background with regard to what is known about these people was presented in order to familiarise the reader with the varying theories regarding the origins, appearance as well as the impact of their arrival into the region. Their impact is not always readily available from the archaeological record barring a few notable exceptions but one can still uncover their longstanding influence on local inhabitants through utilising alternative methodologies. Pictorial ship depictions have proved useful in creating connections between these people and the later Phoenicians in terms of design features and appearance. Sea Peoples ship depictions at Medinet Habu have proven particularly helpful in uncovering design elements of these peoples and in providing comparable data.

The more immediate impact of Sea Peoples entrance into the Orient is also significant as this clearly illustrates that these peoples were influential enough to destabilise prominent and established locales. This is attested by textual remains from locations such as Egypt, Ugarit and Hattusa. If their more immediate impact on the region was decisive, then it is not an unfounded idea that they continued to influence the local inhabitants in the longer term. These factors have been clearly defined and described in this undertaking, with the notion that not only specific regional examples should be addressed but more generalised aspects of Sea Peoples influence were addressed. Both the general and specific have been scrutinised and used for comparative activities.

7.3.4 Canaanites and Phoenicians

In depth descriptions of the Late Bronze Age Canaanites and the later Phoenicians also formed an integral part of this research as it was important that before one attempts to

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compare the peoples in question, there needs to be working knowledge of who they were in terms of societal characteristics. In this endeavour factors such as the administration, religion, maritime nature and numerous other traits were investigated. Only once detailed knowledge and descriptions of these people has been gained, can they be adequately compared and contrasted. In instances not of a maritime culture, a lack of definitive evidence made it difficult to factor in the northern Sea Peoples. Even where this has been the case, divergences between the Canaanites and Phoenicians have been brought to light as possible significations of outside influence on the transition between these peoples. Similarities between the two are clearly evident and this has not been disputed at any stage but certain variations and signs of new cultural developments have been concentrated upon where these were found to be evident. This was done in an attempt to show that outside or foreign influences had already been observable before 1200 BCE and occurred to possibly an even greater extent after 1200 BCE.

Sections on ship design attributes of both these peoples relying once again heavily on pictorial representations and interpretations were dealt with in some detail. The Late Bronze Age Canaanites were very much active in this regard and we have pictorial scenes as well as textual evidence to prove it. The depictions of Canaanite ship vessels have been found to have common traits to those of the Phoenicians in terms of sturdy hull construction and design but there have also been decisive differences uncovered some of which seem to be directly attributable to the Sea Peoples.

7.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS AND NEW POSSIBILITIES

An aspect of the comparisons undertaken in the chapter orientated around this theme that must be reiterated is that some of the depictions chosen from the three groups investigated are fairly far apart in terms of time periods but this does not necessarily make connections null and void. Looking at the development of ship design in the Mediterranean, it was very much a gradual process that occurred over centuries and if one does pick a time period where a large amount of design development did take place it will be the time contemporaneous with the Sea Peoples introducing their design features, particularly the bird-head motifs and the removal of the rigid boom underneath the sails. The depictions chosen here with regard to similarities between general design features (from varying ship types) clearly indicate that the Sea Peoples did very possibly have a marked influence on the Phoenicians. The absence of some of these features on Late Bronze Age Canaanite ships further represents differentiation and outside influence.

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No examples of this branch of research and comparative study have been uncovered by this author but there are definitive factors that have been uncovered here that are worthy of greater attention. Obstacles have definitely been encountered in this study, some of which are at this point not easily resolved. The lack of physical evidence on both the Sea Peoples and Early Iron Age Phoenicians in the eastern Mediterranean is definitely one of the main obstacles faced in this endeavour but there are enough signs available to still, in my opinion, make it worthwhile and credible research. In the sphere of ship design, prominent similarities between the Sea Peoples and Phoenician seagoing vessels are undoubtedly worthy of consideration. Aside from the strictly maritime arguments presented, more general observations also led to ideas pertaining to the Sea Peoples. Groups that are thought to have had as decisive an influence; even if it was one of many influences, as the Sea Peoples did around 1200 BCE in the Orient would perhaps not likely have disappeared into insignificance and assimilation directly after being capable of sacking and altering the course of great cities and civilisations. This has been shown by a number of ancient sources consulted here which have stipulated that Sea Peoples groups like the Sikila did establish a settlement, were commercially active and did indeed come into contact with the Phoenicians (perhaps in conflict, but also in commercial activity) on a significant level. Ancient textual sources like that of Kenamun among others attest to this.

If one speculates that the various Sea Peoples groups have similar origins, then there is a particular group that illustrates how these people were capable of forming or forming part of sophisticated societies in a role that goes beyond wholesale assimilation. The Philistines are a group of people thought to be associated with the Sea Peoples (one of the migrating groups around 1200 BCE) that definitely did create a sophisticated society in southern Canaan after 1200 BCE as attested to by the archaeological record. If this particular group was capable of this, it is then surely plausible that Sea Peoples groups slightly north of them could have also had decisive influences in those regions even if not in exactly the same manner.

The Sea Peoples' affinity with the sea has been exhaustively presented with accompanying evidence and is unquestionable. The Phoenicians did definitely develop this aspect of their civilisation to a degree that their predecessors never did. The time and space of this development cannot just be coincidental and it must be plausible that this process could have been influenced by more than just limited land and population dynamics. The northern Sea Peoples who displayed a great impact on the region around 1200 BCE could well have influenced the above mentioned developments as attested to by their credible impact on ship design. Stating that the Phoenicians are nothing more than a wholesale continuation of Canaanite culture after the conclusion of the Bronze Age must be an oversimplification of the

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situation. The Canaanites were even undergoing influence from outside cultures (Egyptian and other) before 1200 BCE as shown at cosmopolitan locations like Ugarit and if anything the lack of regional authority after this date must have meant that cultural diffusion would have become even easier.

Even if some of the deductions, examples and methodologies that have been utilised in the contents of this research are disputed it must be stated that there has been enough viable evidence uncovered here to necessitate new considerations and perhaps additional attention when it comes to the northern Sea Peoples and their possible influence on the creation of the Iron Age Phoenician culture. Hopefully the archaeological record uncovers new sources and remnants in the near future within this context that is able to shed additional light onto the current knowledge base. Cultures in any context continually influence one another in many ways and culture by definition is dynamic and ever changing. To subscribe to any culture enduring largely unchanged and uninfluenced into a new era is always questionable and the case of the establishment of the Phoenicians is no different. The fact there are indications that this group was specifically influenced in the maritime sphere by the Sea Peoples and that there were other transformations that took place in this cultural context is a testament, with substantiating arguments, to the continual dynamism of ancient and contemporary culture both tangible as well as intangible.

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 http://mollus.oxfordjournals.org/content/74/1/79/F3.expansion

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 http://sara.theellisschool.org/shipwreck/images/crossdateimages/canaaniteship.jpg

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 http://wwwdelivery.superstock.com/WI/223/1899/PreviewComp/SuperStock_1899-42691.jpg

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 http://www.salimbeti.com/micenei/sea.htm

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