

DACIA

REVUE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE
ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

NOUVELLE SÉRIE

LXII-LXIII
2018-2019

ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE
INSTITUT D'ARCHÉOLOGIE « VASILE PÂRVAN »

D A C I A

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DACIA LXII-LXIII, 2018-2019

REVUE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE
JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANCIENT HISTORY
ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ARCHÄOLOGIE UND GESCHICHTE DES ALTERTUMS

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ON THE SEA PEOPLES AND THEIR ATTACKS ON EGYPT

FRED C. WOUDHUIZEN*

Keywords: Sea Peoples, Merenptah, western delta, fields of Perire, Ramesses III, eastern delta, Migdol, origins of the individual peoples, western Anatolia, Aegean, central Mediterranean

Abstract: In the various attacks by the Sea Peoples on Egypt at the end of the Bronze Age there can be distinguished two phases. The first phase concerns the attack during year 5 of the reign of Merenptah, when the Sea Peoples as mercenaries or allies of the Libyans penetrated Egypt from the west. This attack culminated in a land battle near the fields of Perire. The second phase concerns the attack during the years 5 and 8 of the reign of Ramesses III. During this phase the Sea Peoples approached Egypt from the east, and the hostilities were decided in a combined land and naval battle near Migdol. In this paper these two phases will be treated more in detail with the help of the latest literature on the topic. In doing so, also the vexed question of the identification of the various ethnonyms will be addressed.

Cuvinte-cheie: Popoarele Mării, Merenptah, delta vestică, câmpurile de la Perire, Ramses al III-lea, delta estică, Migdol, originea fiecărui popor, Anatolia vestică, Marea Egee, central-mediteraneean

Rezumat: Două etape pot fi distinse în diferitele atacuri ale Popoarelor Mării împotriva Egiptului, la sfârșitul epocii bronzului. Prima etapă se referă la atacul din anul 5 al domniei faraonului Merenptah, când Popoarele Mării au intrat în Egipt dinspre vest, ca mercenari sau aliați ai libienilor. Atacul a culminat cu o bătălie terestră lângă câmpurile de la Perire. Cea de-a doua etapă se referă la atacurile din anii 5 și 8 ai domniei lui Ramses al III-lea. În această etapă, Popoarele Mării au atacat Egiptul dinspre est, iar ostilitățile s-au sfârșit cu o bătălie combinată, terestră și navală, lângă Migdol. Cele două etape ale atacurilor sunt detaliat discutate în acest studiu, cu ajutorul celei mai recente literaturi de specialitate. De asemenea, demersul vizează și problema complicată a identificării diferitelor etnonime.

I. INTRODUCTION

The end of the Bronze Age in the eastern Mediterranean is marked by the upheavals of the Sea Peoples. With respect to this phenomenon, there can be distinguished two phases, one dated to the 5th year of Merenptah (1213-1203 BC), *i.e.* 1208 BC, and the other during the 5th and 8th year of Ramesses III (1184-1153 BC), *i.e.* 1179 BC and 1176 BC¹.

In the first phase, the Sea Peoples were allied with the Libyan king Meryey, son of Ded, and likely were hired by the latter as mercenaries to support his attack on Egypt. In the great Karnak inscription of Merenptah, in which this pharaoh celebrated his victory over the invading coalition, the groups of Sea Peoples involved are specified as, in their traditional English transcription, *Sherden*, *Shekelesh*, *Ekwesh*, *Lukka*, and *Teresh*². As we will see below, this phase in the upheavals of the Sea Peoples entails an attack on Egypt from the west.

In contrast to this earlier phase, in the second phase the Sea Peoples were not allied to a king of a neighbouring country of Egypt, but acted on their own in a coalition of forces. According to the testimony of Ramesses III's Medinet Habu monument, the coalition of the Sea Peoples was formed at that time by, according to their traditional English transcription again, the *Peleset*, *Tjeker*, *Shekelesh*, *Denye(n)*, and *Weshesh*³. From the depiction of prisoners of war, though, it can be deduced that the *Sherden* and the *Teresh*, just like the

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¹ Cf. Sandars 1978; Cifola 1994; Woudhuizen 2006; Cline 2014.

² Woudhuizen 2006, p. 36, fig. 3, p. 43.

³ Woudhuizen 2006, p. 36, fig. 3, p. 51-53, fig. 5-6.

Shekelesh, were involved also in this particular phase⁴. As will be elaborated below, in this second phase the attack on Egypt is not from the west, but from the east, culminating in battles in the southern Levant and/or along the Pelusiac branch of the Nile delta.

These two phases in the upheavals of the Sea Peoples are preceded by what might be conceived as preludes. In the Amarna correspondence of about the middle 14th century BC (end of the reign of Amenhotep III [1390-1352 BC] up to the beginning of the reign of Tutankhamun [1332-1323 BC]) there is question of a *Sherden*, presumably a body guard, involved in a murder plot against the king of Byblos, Rib-addi (EA 81, 14-24⁵), as well as complaints from the king of Alasiya (= Cyprus) about piratical raids by the *Lukka* against the shores of his island (EA 38, 7-12). Furthermore, the *Sherden* subsequently appear as seaborne raiders of the Egyptian coast in the Tanis II stele (KRI II, 289-291) dating from the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II (1279-1213 BC). Those defeated and captivated were thereupon enlisted as mercenaries to serve in Ramesses II's army at the battle of Kadesh of year 5, *i.e.* 1274 BC. In the latter battle, finally, the *Lukka* appear as allies on the side of the Hittites (KRI II, 17, § 45, ll. 12-15; 50, § 150, ll. 12-15). It is interesting to note in this context that *Sherden* are also attested before the period of the upheavals Sea Peoples in a military context in Ugarit (syllabic *šerdanū*, alphabetic *trtnm*), presumably, like in Egypt and Byblos, serving as mercenaries here⁶.

In order to be complete, it might be added that the ethnonym *Lukka* already occurs in an Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription from Byblos, dating from the reign of Abishemu II during the late 18th century BC⁷. Much later, in the Ramesside period, reference is made to *p3 rw-k3* "the Lycian" in the Turin papyrus (4, 14)⁸. In a similar way, indirect reference is made to a *Teresh* living in Egypt by the second part of the name *īwn-n-t-w-r-š-3* as attested for the inscription on a sarcophagus from Gurob dating from the reign of Ramesses II⁹. Finally, the reference to the mention of the *Teresh* in the inscription on a stela from Beth-Shan from the reign of Seti I (1290-1279 BC) in Massimo Pallottino¹⁰ as referred to by Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni¹¹ is probably mistaken, at any rate I failed to locate it in either of the two stelae from Beth-Shan dating from the reign of Seti I as presented in KRI I (11-12 [year 1] and 15-16 [date lost]).

The relevant mentions of the Sea Peoples in the various Egyptian sources may be summarized as follows (see table 1):

	el-Amarna	Ramesses II	Merenptah	Ramesses III
Lukka	x	x	x	
Sherden	x	x	x	x
Shekelesh			x	x
Teresh			x	x
Ekwesh			x	
Denye(n)				x
Tjeker				x
Peleset				x
Weshesh				x

Table 1. Overview of the mentions of Sea Peoples in the various Egyptian sources from the Late Bronze Age (Woudhuizen 2006, p. 56, table I).

Excursus: The Names of the Sea Peoples and the general term itself

Before tackling our main topic, some remarks on the individual names of the Sea Peoples and the validity of the general term itself, which has been disqualified as a misnomer by Maspero, are of relevance. If these peoples, namely, are not maritime invaders as maintained here there can be no question of overseas attacks either from the west or the east.

⁴ Nibbi 1975, pl. I; Woudhuizen 2006, p. 53, fig. 7.

⁵ For the translation of the Amarna texts, see Moran 1992.

⁶ Loretz 1995.

⁷ Montet 1962, p. 96, fig. 5; Woudhuizen 2014.

⁸ See Helck 1971, p. 227; transliteration of Egyptian hieroglyphic signs according to Gardiner 1994.

⁹ Bagnasco Gianni 2012, p. 54, fig. 2.4, n. 1; *cf.* Sternberg-el Hotabi 2012, p. 50, Abb. 53.

¹⁰ Pallottino 1947, p. 52.

¹¹ Bagnasco Gianni 2012, p. 54.

The English renderings of the names of the Sea Peoples are convenient for common use, but simplifications of the reality. For examples of their exact writing in Egyptian hieroglyphic, taken from the great Karnak inscription of Merenptah (KRI IV, 4, 14 with asterisk) and the one at Medinet Habu of Ramesses III (KRI V, 40, 18), and their transliteration, see Figure 1 below. The Egyptian semi-vowels *ʃ*, *i*, and *w* in effect function as the vowels *a* or *e*, *i*, and *o* or *u*, respectively. Note that the given forms are exemplary only and that the actual writing of the ethnonyms varies considerably, as shown in Table II below¹². The transliterations in the text editions of Karnak¹³ and Medinet Habu¹⁴ are of little help to reconstruct the exact writing as these are simplified by leaving out the semi-vowels. My only simplification is leaving out the two diagonal strokes Z 4 (Gardiner 1994) rendering the value *y*, which in my opinion in the present context is superfluous when associated with D 21 “mouth” (Gardiner 1994) rendering the value *r* (note that Z 4 also renders non-phonetic services, e.g. as a determinative of duality).

I no.	II hieroglyphics	transliteration (Borghouts)	vocalization as employed in the present study
1*		<i>š3rdn</i>	Sherden
2*		<i>š3krš3</i>	Shekelesh
3*		<i>ik3w3š3</i>	Ekweh
4*		<i>rkw</i>	Lukka
5*		<i>twrš3</i>	Teresh
1		<i>prwst</i>	Peleset
2		<i>t3k3r</i>	Tjekker
3		<i>š3krš3</i>	Shekelesh
4		<i>d3iniw</i>	Denyen
5		<i>w3š3š3</i>	Weshesh

Fig. 1. The ethnonyms of the Sea Peoples in Egyptian writing, transliteration, and standardized transcription (Woudhuizen 2006, p. 36, fig. 3; design Wim van Binsbergen).

1. Sherden	<i>š-r-d-n-y</i>	Tanis II	KRI II, 290, 14
	<i>š-r-d-n-3</i>	Kadesh	KRI II, 11, ll. 6-10
	<i>š-3-r-d-n</i>	Karnak	Manassa 2003, §§ 1, 14
	<i>š-3-r-d-n</i>	Medinet Habu	KRI V, 28, 39
	<i>š-3-r-d-n-3</i>	Athribis	KRI IV, 22, 15
	<i>š-3-r-d-3-n-3</i>	Medinet Habu	KRI V, 104, 5
	<i>š-3-r-d-3-n-3</i>	Papyrus Harris	Erichsen 1933, I 75, 1; 76, 5; 76, 7; 78, 10
2. Shekelesh	<i>š-k-rw-š-3</i>	Karnak	Manassa 2003, § 14
	<i>š-3-k-rw-š</i>	Cairo	KRI IV, 23, 1
	<i>š-3-k-3-rw-š</i>	Athribis	KRI IV, 22, 14
	<i>š-3-k-3-rw-š-3</i>	Heliopolis	KRI IV, 38, 1
	<i>š-3-k-3-rw-š-3</i>	Karnak	Manassa 2003, §§ 52, 56
	<i>š-3-k-3-rw-š-3</i>	Medinet Habu	KRI V, 36, 15; 40, 18; 73, 7-8

¹² For an overview of the attestations, see Adams, Cohen 2013.

¹³ Davies 1997, p. 151-172; Manassa 2003.

¹⁴ Peden 1994, p. 7-22 (year 5) and p. 23-36 (year 8).

3. Ekwesh	<i>i-k-3-w3-3-š-3</i>	Karnak	Manassa 2003, §§ 1, 14
	<i>i-k-3-y-w3-3-š-3</i>	Karnak	Manassa 2003, §§ 52, 54
	<i>i-k-w3-3-y-š-3</i>	Athribis	KRI IV, 22, 13
4. Lukka	<i>rw-k-k</i>	Byblos	Montet 1962, 96, fig. 5
	<i>rw-k3</i>	Kadesh	KRI II, 17 § 45 ll. 11-14; 50 § 150, ll. 12-14; 111 § 45, ll. 13-14; 143 § 64, l. 15; 927, l. 13
	<i>rw-k-3</i>	Kadesh	KRI II, 17 § 45 l. 15; 32 § 86, l. 5; 50 § 150, l. 15
	<i>rw-k-w</i>	Karnak	Manassa 2003, §§ 1, 14
5. Teresh	<i>t-w-rw-š-3</i>	Karnak	Manassa 2003, §§ 1, 56
	<i>t-w-rw-š-3</i>	Athribis	KRI V, 22, 14
	<i>t-w-r-š-3</i>	Karnak	Manassa 2003, § 14
	<i>t-w-r-š-3</i>	Deir el Medineh	KRI V, 91, 8
	<i>tⁱ-w-r-š-3</i>	Medinet Habu	KRI V, 104, 7
6. Peleset	<i>p-w-r-s-t</i>	Medinet Habu	KRI V, 28, 21-22; 36, 14; 40, 18
	<i>p-w-r-s-t</i>	Papyrus Harris	Erichsen 1933, I 76, 7
	<i>p-w-r-s-ti-i</i>	Medinet Habu	KRI V, 25, 51; 37, 24; 73, 7; 102, l. 8
	<i>p-w-r-s-ti-i</i>	Deir el Medineh	KRI V, 91, 8
7. Tjeker	<i>t3-k-r</i>	Papyrus Harris	Erichsen 1933, I 76, 7
	<i>t3-k-3-r</i>	Medinet Habu	KRI V, 40, 18
	<i>t3-k-k-3-r</i>	Medinet Habu	KRI V, 25, 51; 34, 19; 37, 51
	<i>t3-k-3-r-y</i>	Medinet Habu	KRI V, 104, 4
8. Denye(n)	<i>d-3-i-n-i-w</i>	Medinet Habu	KRI V, 40, 18
	<i>d-3-i-n-w-n-3</i>	Medinet Habu	KRI V, 37, 23
	<i>d-3-i-n-i-w-n-3</i>	Medinet Habu	KRI V, 36, 14-15; 73, 7
	<i>d-3-i-n-i-w-n-3</i>	Papyrus Harris	Erichsen 1933, I 76, 7
9. Weshesh	<i>w3-3-š-3-š-3</i>	Medinet Habu	KRI V, 40, 18; 73, 7
	<i>w3-3-š-š</i>	Papyrus Harris	Erichsen 1933, I 76, 7

Table 2. Overview of the various writing variants of the ethnonyms of the Sea Peoples.

To these attestations should be added the mention of the Sherden in form of *š-3-r-d-n* and of the Peleset in form of *p-w-r-s-ti-i* in Papyrus Louvre N 3136 from the reign of Ramesses III¹⁵ as well as the mention of the Peleset presumably in form of *p-w-r-s-ti-i*, again, in hieratic on stele MAA 1939.552 from Amara west probably to be assigned to year 3 of the reign of Ramesses III¹⁶. If the dating of the latter document applies, we in fact have here the earliest mention of the Peleset¹⁷. For the Papyrus Harris, see most recently Grandet¹⁸. I leave out the mentions of Sea Peoples in documents dated *post eventum*, like the Onomasticon of Amenemope and the Wenamon story both dating from the 11th century BC.

It is commonly assumed in the literature that the name Sea Peoples is a modern one, coined by Gaston Maspero in the late 19th century. In fact, however, this name adheres to the descriptions in the ancient texts, both Egyptian hieroglyphic and Ugaritic. Thus in texts from the reign of Ramesses II, the Sherden (in writing variant *š-r-d-n-y*) are associated with [*m 'h 'w*] *'h3.w m hr-ib p3 ym* “ships of war from the midst of the

¹⁵ Spalinger 2002, p. 359-364.

¹⁶ Popko 2016.

¹⁷ Popko 2016, p. 218.

¹⁸ Grandet 1994, p. 240-243.

sea” (Tanis stele II, KRI II, 290, 14-15) and addressed as *h'w w3d-wr* “the warriors of the sea” (Aswan stele, year 2, KRI II, 345, 8). Similarly, in texts from the reign of Merenptah the Ekwesh (in variant writings *i-k-3-y-w3-3-š-3* and *i-k-w3-3-y-š-3*) are specified as *n3 h3s.wt n p3 ym* “from the foreign lands of the sea” (Karnak inscription, Manassa 2003, § 52, and Athribis stela, KRI IV, 22, 13). Furthermore, in texts from the reign of Ramesses III the Sherden and Teresh (in variant writing *š-3-r-d-3-n-3* and *tī-w-r-š-3*) are likewise specified by the expression *n p3 ym* “of the sea” (Medinet Habu, year 8, northern captives, KRI V, 104, 5; 7) and the Peleset (in variant writing *p-w-r-s-tī-ī*) and once more Teresh are grouped together by the expression *m hr-ib p3 ym* “from the midst of the sea” (stela from Deir el Medineh, KRI V, 91, 8). Finally, in the Papyrus Harris of later date, the Denyen (in writing variant *d-3-ī-n-ī-w-n-3*) are associated with the expression *m n3y.sn.w iw.w* “in their isles” and the Sherden (in writing variant *š-3-r-d-3-n-3*, again) once more as well as the Weshesh (in writing variant *w3-3-š-š*) are specified by the by now familiar *n p3 ym* “of the sea” (Papyrus Harris, Erichsen 1933, I 76, 7). It comes as no surprise, therefore, that in the Medinet Habu inscription we find expressions like *ist n.f h3s.w.t mh.t(.y).w.t nty(.w) m n3y.sn iw.w* “Now the northern countries, which were in their isles” (year 5, KRI V, 32, 8-9), (...) *n3 h3s.w.t i.īy m t3.sn m iw.w hr-ib w3d-wr* “As for the countries who came from their land in the isles in the midst of the sea” (Sea battle, KRI V, 33, 2-3), and *h3s.w.t ir.y.w šd.t m n3y.sn iw.w* “As for the foreign countries, they made a conspiracy in their isles.” (year 8, KRI V, 39, 16) as references to the region from which the Sea Peoples originate¹⁹.

These expressions clearly refer to the Mediterranean to the north of Egypt and not to the Egyptian delta or the coast here as some would maintain²⁰. This inference can be further underlined by the fact that the expression *iw.w hryw-ib nw W3d-wr* “the isles in the midst of the sea” in the text from the tomb of Rekhmare (reign of Tuthmosis III [1479-1425 BC]²¹), is directly associated with *Keftiu (kftiw)* “Crete”. Furthermore, it is also directly associated with *H3w-nbwt (h3w-nbt)*, an indication of the Aegean, in the text of stele of Gebel Barkal also from the reign of Tuthmosis III²². Definite proof that the Egyptian expression *w3d-wr* indeed refers to the islands in the Mediterranean more in general and to Crete more in particular, is provided by Cretan glyptic where we come across Egyptianizing or Egyptoid inscriptions on scarabs dating from the Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan I transitional period with this legend and that of *h3w-nbt* as references to the homeland of the owner of the seal²³.

To this comes that, as we have already noted, the Lukka in the Akkadian Amarna texts from about the middle of the 14th century BC were notorious for their piratical raids on Alasiya or Cyprus. Likewise, in an Akkadian letter from Ugarit (RS 34.129), the Shikala, the corresponding form of Egyptian Shekelesh, are addressed a people *i[š]-bu-tu-šu-ú-ni ša i-na UGU-hi giš^{is}MA₂ME[Š]* “who live on ships”²⁴.

Obviously, therefore, the Sea Peoples were exactly what this designation implies, namely peoples arriving in Egypt from overseas and hence originating from the north where many islands are situated in the Aegean, along the coasts of southwest Asia Minor and Greece, perhaps up to and including those of the central Mediterranean like Sicily and Sardinia (see further below). However, before tackling the tricky and sensitive issue of the precise origins of the various Sea Peoples, first our main topic, the two distinct phases in the upheavals caused by them, will be treated in more detail.

II. PHASE I: THE LIBYAN WAR OF YEAR 5 OF MERENPTAH

Of relevance for the reconstruction of the events during the Libyan war of year 5 of Merenptah are the following Egyptian hieroglyphic texts:

1. the great Karnak inscription;
2. the Athribis stela;
3. the Cairo column;
4. the base of a column from Heliopolis.

¹⁹ Cf. van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 325; transliteration of the Egyptian phrases by the late J.F. Borghouts.

²⁰ Nibbi 1975; Duhoux 2003.

²¹ Vercoutter 1956, p. 57, no. 9b, or p. 133, no. 35.

²² Vercoutter 1956, p. 132, no. 33.

²³ van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 328-329; Woudhuizen 2016, p. 379-385.

²⁴ Woudhuizen 2006, p. 47; van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 227; transliteration by Frans Wiggermann.

The most important text, of course, is the great Karnak inscription, recently edited and thoroughly discussed by Colleen Manassa²⁵. Still valuable, though, are the translations in James Breasted²⁶, the text edition by Kenneth Kitchen (KRI IV, 2-15) and transliteration and translation by Benedict Davies²⁷. The text of the Athribis stela is translated by Breasted²⁸ and edited by Kitchen (KRI IV, 19-22). That of the Cairo column is translated by Breasted²⁹ and edited by Kitchen (KRI IV, 23), whereas the text of the column base from Heliopolis, while included in Kitchen's edition of Ramesside texts (KRI IV, 38-39), is treated most extensively by Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi³⁰.

As we have noted above, in the great Karnak inscription among the allies of the Libyan Meryey are listed the *Sherden*, *Shekelesh*, *Ekwesh*, *Lukka*, and *Teresh* (KRI IV, 14, 4). After the Egyptian victory, the spoils of war are enumerated and the victims counted. The list is damaged, but we find here of the *Shekelesh* 222 victims, of the *Teresh* 742 victims, whereas the numbers of the victims of the *Sherden* and *Ekwesh* are lost. The *Lukka* are not mentioned in this context, but may safely be assumed to have featured in a lacuna. Of the *Ekwesh*, finally, it is repeatedly stressed that they "had no foreskins" and therefore were circumcised (KRI IV, 8, 52-54). Because of this, the hands of the victims were collected instead of their penises. But note that the relevance of this observation is somewhat downgraded by the fact that of the other Sea Peoples, not explicitly stated to be circumcised, also the hands were collected, in this text as well as that of the Athribis stele.

An enumeration of the victims can also be found in the text of the Athribis stele. Here the *Ekwesh* are most prominent with 1213 victims. Of the *Shekelesh* there are listed 200 victims, and of the *Teresh* 722 victims. The number of victims of the *Sherden* is lost in a lacuna, and the *Lukka* are again absent in this context but likely to be emended in a lacuna (KRI IV, 22, 13-15). The texts of the Cairo column and the base of a column from Heliopolis both mention of the various Sea Peoples only the *Shekelesh*³¹.

What primarily concerns us here is the route taken by the Libyans and their Sea Peoples' allies. As observed by Konstantinos Kopanias in an interesting paper on the topic, the allied forces from overseas landed in Libya and, in order to circumvent the 300 km long heavily fortified coastline of the Egyptians³², went, together with the Libyan forces, overland first south and then east through the desert. Such a trip is facilitated by the oases in the desert west of Egypt. Manassa³³ argues that the Libyan army first went to the Siwa oasis, referred to by the generic term *wh3.t* "oasis", the Bahariya oasis being commonly addressed as *wh3.t mh.ty* or *wh3.t dsds*. From there it "reached the mountains of the oasis and *shadu* of the district of Farafra", an oasis to the southeast of that of Siwa³⁴. Next, the army went via the Fayum to the region of Memphis, referred to as the *'Inb-iti* of *T3-tmn*, and *'Iwnw* "Heliopolis" at the apex of the delta³⁵, where the "fields of Perire (*Pr-irr*)", explicitly stated to be on the *western border of Egypt* and to be the scene of the battle, must be located³⁶. This location of the battle field near Memphis is further underlined by a phrase from another text from the reign of Merenptah, the Amada stele, in which it is stated that *spy hr-tp-ht hr rsy Mn-nfr* "The remainder [of the defeated Libyans] were impaled south of Memphis"³⁷.

Other locations mentioned in the text, like *Pr-b3rst* "Perbarset", where tents were set up, and the *Shakana* Canal and the artificial lake of the Ati Canal, are situated by Manassa³⁸ in the eastern delta, near Bubastis along the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. This leads her to a complicated scenario, according to which a part of the Libyan army went from the Farafra oasis not northeast to the Fayum but east to Oxyrhynchus along the Nile, in order to cross the Nile and travel all the way along the eastern Nile valley up to Bubastis, where a

²⁵ Manassa 2003.

²⁶ Breasted 1906a, p. 240-252, §§ 569-595.

²⁷ Davies 1997, p. 151-172.

²⁸ Breasted 1906a, p. 253-256, §§ 596-600.

²⁹ Breasted 1906a, p. 252-253, §§ 593-595.

³⁰ Sternberg-el Hotabi 2005.

³¹ For an overview of the various lists of the spoils of the war, see Sternberg-el Hotabi 2012, p. 21, Tabelle 1.

³² Kopanias 2017, p. 128.

³³ Manassa 2003, p. 31-32.

³⁴ Manassa 2003, p. 27.

³⁵ Manassa 2003, p. 12-13.

³⁶ Manassa 2003, p. 25-26.

³⁷ Manassa 2003, p. 100; cf. KRI IV, 34, 13-14; Youssef 1964, p. 276.

³⁸ Manassa 2003, p. 13-14.

camp was pitched. Also, she maintains that a third part of the army went by ship along the Mediterranean coast to harass the coastal region of the delta³⁹. I think this scenario, especially the part of the crossing of the Nile at Oxyrhynchos without ships and then travelling all the way to the north unimpeded, into a well-defended region like Bubastis, is hardly likely.

If we skip the hypothetical three-pronged attack and stick to the hard evidence pointing to a single route leading to the battlefield at Perire, northwest of Memphis, the following lies conclusion at hand. Namely, that the first phase in the period of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples, the Libyan war of year 5 of Merenptah, entailed an attack from the west that culminated in a battle somewhere in the region of Dashur at the western side of the Nile near the apex of the delta.

A curious remark in the great Karnak inscription which deserves our attention in this connection is that, according to the translation by Breasted⁴⁰ the Libyan enemy or some part of it was responsible for *s'j rq Pdwti-šw i.di=i iṯ3y=tw it.w m mk-w r s'nh t3 pn n Ḫt3* “bringing to an end the Pedetishew (*Pd.ty-šw*), whom I caused to take grain ships, to keep alive the land of Kheta”⁴¹. Breasted⁴² infers from this passage that Merenptah considered the Hittite empire responsible for the Libyan attack and mocked about it being ungrateful for all his help and support. That this inference is a little bit rash and needs to be nuanced can be shown by the evidence from other texts on this particular topic. The texts in question are the Israel stele⁴³ and the Amada stele⁴⁴ already referred to in the above. In the Amada text from year 4 of the reign of Merenptah it is stated (KRI IV, 2, 12-13) that pharaoh *dī.f iṯw n(3) t3w n Ḫt hr pd iry mi šm tsmw* “caused those who came from the lands of the Hittites to kneel as dogs walk”⁴⁵. A. Youssef infers from this remark that Hittite-Egyptian relationships, long time dominated by the peace treaty of 1259 BC, had “deteriorated long before year 4” of Merenptah and that this pharaoh had fought a battle against the Hittites, presumably in the Levant⁴⁶. This inference at first sight seems to be underscored by the fact that Ḫatti is included among the “Nine Bows” or the traditional enemies of Egypt in the text of the Israel stela⁴⁷. A closer look at the latter text, however, informs us that what is stated is that *Ḫt htp*, which Wilhelm Spiegelberg translates somewhat tendentious as “Cheta [ist] zur Ruhe gebracht”⁴⁸, but which may just as well mean that “Ḫatti (is) tranquil”, in other words: that the relations with Ḫatti are peaceful⁴⁹. This is the way Davies interprets it by inferring from it that “the entente between Egypt and the Hittites remained intact”⁵⁰.

The solution to the problem may be provided by the fact that among the allies of the Libyans feature the *Lukka*, who, as is certain, originate from Lycia in southwest Anatolia and who belonged to the sphere of influence of the Hittites – as we have seen above, they fought as allies of the Hittites in the battle at Kadesh, 1274 BC, and they were conquered by the Hittite great king Tudḫaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC) as evidenced by the Luwian hieroglyphic Yalburt text⁵¹. Evidently, Merenptah was annoyed by the fact that subjects of the Hittites were among the allies of the Libyans who attacked him in year 5⁵². With the formulation “those who came from the lands of the Hittites” the Amada text clearly is not addressing Hittites themselves, but people coming from their realm, like, as I assume, the *Lukka*. As this text stems from year 4 of Merenptah, the *Lukka*, well known, as we have seen, for their piratical raids since the times of Amarna, may have been involved in raids at Egypt before the time of the Libyan war of year 5. If so, a certain amount of telescoping in the texts seems plausible. The piratical raids of the *Lukka*, then, rather ironically had affected the *Pd.ty-šw*, *i.e.* the ones according to Merenptah responsible for the grain shipments in support of Khatti. However, in

³⁹ Manassa 2003, p. 97.

⁴⁰ Breasted 1906a, p. 244.

⁴¹ Transliteration according to Manassa 2003, p. 34.

⁴² Breasted 1906a, p. 244, note h.

⁴³ Spiegelberg 1896; KRI IV, 12-19.

⁴⁴ Youssef 1964; KRI IV, 1-2.

⁴⁵ Youssef 1964, p. 276-277; transliteration according to Davies 1997, p. 192-193.

⁴⁶ Youssef 1964, p. 278-279.

⁴⁷ Kopanias 2017, p. 125.

⁴⁸ Spiegelberg 1896, p. 14.

⁴⁹ Cf. Davies 1997, p. 184-185 *Ḫt <m> htp* “whilst Hatti is peaceful”.

⁵⁰ Davies 2014, p. 9.

⁵¹ Poetto 1993.

⁵² Cf. Kopanias 2017, p. 125-126.

order to maintain the peace treaty, it may reasonably be assumed that Merenptah expected some action by the Hittites against the *Lukka*, to keep them in check, and it therefore comes to no surprise that the last Hittite great king, Suppiluliumas II (1205-1190 BC), in an advanced stage of his reign campaigned against the *Lukka* as commemorated in the Luwian hieroglyphic Südburg text⁵³. What is even more, the urgency of the matter is enhanced by the fact that, as recently established by Natalia Bolatti *et alii*⁵⁴, *Wiyawanda* (the military headquarters for a campaign into the Xanthos valley) and *Lukka* are already mentioned in the Nişantaş text from the beginning of Suppiluliumas II's reign, although it is unfortunately unclear whether these mentions are within the context of his father's, Tudḫaliyas IV, Lycian campaign or one such campaign of Suppiluliumas II himself anterior to the one of the Südburg text⁵⁵.

Another group among the Sea Peoples of which the origin can be traced with a reasonable amount of certainty are the *Ekwesh*. These are likely to be identified as *Akhaians*, one of the Homeric forms of address of the Mycenaean Greeks. Now, as we have seen, these are explicitly characterized as being circumcised. In his paper on the Libyan war of year 5 of Merenptah, Kopanias⁵⁶ notes in this connection that the rite of circumcision was not practised in the Aegean, and that therefore the equation *Ekwesh* = *Akhaians* is jeopardized. As a matter of fact, however, according to Marina Moss⁵⁷ models of *phalloi* have been found at the peak sanctuary at Atsipadhes Korakias in Crete, dating to the Middle Minoan II-III period, which bear the testimony of the rite of circumcision. Moreover, according to Spyridon Marinatos the boy with a catch of fish in the fresco from Thera happens to be circumcised⁵⁸. Note, however, that the Philistines, who originate from *Kaphtor* or Crete, are documented to have not abided to the rite of circumcision⁵⁹. It is well known that the Mycenaean Greeks conquered Minoan Crete (including the island of Thera) ca. 1450 BC, and may therefore from that time onwards have become familiar with or even adopted the rite of circumcision⁶⁰. No need, therefore, to put the equation *Ekwesh* = *Akhaians* in doubt.

III. PHASE II: THE WAR AGAINST THE SEA PEOPLES OF YEARS 5 AND 8 OF RAMESSES III

The relevant Egyptian hieroglyphic texts for the reconstruction of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples during the years 5 and 8 of the reign of Ramesses III are the following:

1. Medinet Habu, inscriptions of year 5, 8, and 12;
2. stele from Deir el Medineh;
3. Papyrus Harris.

The Medinet Habu text is edited by Kitchen (KRI V, 8-192). Transliteration and translation are presented by Alexander Peden⁶¹. The text of the stela from Deir el Medineh is also edited by Kitchen (KRI V, 90-91), and transliterated and translated by Peden⁶². Finally, the Papyrus Harris is edited by W. Erichsen (1933) and translated by Breasted⁶³.

The Sea Peoples involved in this particular phase of the upheavals are, for year 5, the *Peleset* and *Tjeker* (KRI V, 25, 51), or, as far as the captives from the Sea battle are concerned, *Peleset* and *Denye(n)* (KRI V, 37, 23-24), for year 8, the *Peleset*, *Tjeker*, *Shekelesh*, *Denye(n)*, and *Weshesh* (KRI V, 40, 18), which latter sequence coincides with the evidence from year 12 (KRI V, 73, 7-8). From the depiction of prisoners of war, though, it can be deduced that the *Sherden* and the *Teresh* were also involved in this particular phase (KRI V, 104, 5; 7). The involvement of the *Teresh* is further stressed by the text of the stela from Deir el

⁵³ Hawkins 1995.

⁵⁴ Bolatti *et alii* 2017, p. 31-40.

⁵⁵ My thanks are due to Craig H. Melchert for this reference.

⁵⁶ Kopanias 2017, p. 127.

⁵⁷ Moss 2005, p. 98.

⁵⁸ Schachermeyr 1976, p. 72, note 2.

⁵⁹ See Woudhuizen 2006, p. 95.

⁶⁰ Cf. van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 326.

⁶¹ Peden 1994, p. 7-22 (year 5), p. 23-36 (year 8).

⁶² Paden 1994, p. 63-68.

⁶³ Breasted 1906b, p. 87-206, §§ 151-412, esp. p. 201, § 403; for the most recent treatment, see Grandet 1994, p. 240-243.

Medineh, which mentions this group together with the *Peleset* (KRI V, 91, 8). In similar way, the involvement of the *Sherden* coincides with the evidence from the text of the Papyrus Harris, where these latter appear together with the *Peleset*, *Tjeker*, *Denye(n)*, and *Weshesh* (Erichsen 1933, I 76, 7). Of the groups active in the Libyan war of year 5 of Merenptah (= phase I), the *Sherden*, *Shekelesh*, and *Teresh* are also present at the time of the upheavals during the reign of Ramesses III (= phase II), whereas the *Lukka* and *Ekwesh* are absent in this second phase. The *Peleset*, *Tjeker*, *Denye(n)*, and *Weshesh* solely occur in the Sea Peoples attack during the reign of Ramesses III (see Table I).

With respect to year 5 it is explicitly stated of the Sea Peoples involved, the *Peleset* and *Tjeker*, that *sn n3 'k m r:w h3.t* “they that entered the Nile mouths” (KRI V, 25, 53). This statement is repeated in the context of the text associated with the Sea battle, where we read: *'k 'k.sn w3.w.t r:w h3.t* “They penetrated the channels of the Nile mouths” (KRI V, 32, 10) and *'k m r:w h3.t* “They that entered into the Nile mouths” (KRI V, 33, 5; transliteration of the given phrases by J.F. Borghouts). Among the captives from this Sea battle are staged, as we have just noted, the *Peleset* and *Denye(n)* (KRI V, 37, 23-24). This maritime phase in the war appears to be followed by a battle on land during year 8, in which Ramesses III claims the following: *t3š.ī hr Dhi* “I established my boundary in Djahi” (KRI V, 40, 19; transliteration and translation by Peden⁶⁴). Now, Djahi is generally located in southern *Retenu* or the southern Levant, running from Askalon in the south to the confines of Lebanon in the north and the drainage basin of the Jordan river in the northeast (according to Ramesses II’s text on the battle of Kadesh, Djahi includes the latter site [KRI II, 102, 3: “His Majesty was in Syria (Djahy) (...) on the ridge south of Qadesh”⁶⁵]). At any rate, from the statement in Papyrus Anastasi IV 6.2 that Pi-Ramesses is located *r iwd t3 mri r D3hy* “between Egypt and Djahi” James Hoffmeier⁶⁶ inferred that Djahi includes the northern Sinai. With a view to this latter observation, it may be of relevance to note, as Hoffmeier does⁶⁷, that the remark about the border in Djahi is followed by the phrase “I caused the Nile mouth(s) (*r-h3t*) to be prepared, like a strong rampart with warships, (large) vessels and boats”⁶⁸. Accordingly, the frontier in Djahi may well be located near the Nile mouths in question.

In contrast to the Libyan war of year 5 of Merenptah, during which the attack was launched from the *west* and over land via the oases, the upheavals of the Sea Peoples during years 5 and 8 of the reign of Ramesses III entailed an attack overseas directly oriented at the coastal region of the Nile delta, presumably primarily focused on the eastern or Pelusiac branch, and, if the order of the text is correctly reconstructed, a subsequent battle on land in the region of Askalon in the southern Levant. As opposed to this, according to Donald Redford⁶⁹ there was rather question of a combined attack overseas and on land, which took place in the region of the “migdol (*m'g3dr*) of Ramesses, ruler of Heliopolis” situated close to the mouth of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. From a strategic point, a combined attack overseas and on land would be preferable to two separate attacks, one over land in Canaan and the other overseas into the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. This is also the view of Hoffmeier, who locates the migdol where Ramesses III celebrated his victory over the Sea Peoples at the site of a fortress designated as T211. The latter fortress was situated along the route to Canaan along the confines of a former lagoon called *š hr* “Shihor” or “Lake of Horus” into which the Pelusiac branch of the Nile emptied and protected the border of Egypt from incursions over land from Canaan. Further evidence that the combined land and sea battle indeed took place in this area is provided by evidence of destruction dating from the reign of Ramesses III in the gate area of Tell el-Bor or the “Dwelling of the Lion/Ramesses” some four km west of T211⁷⁰. However, this may be, the general direction from which the attack is launched in the period is in both scenarios (separate or combined land and sea battle) the *east*.

This eastern direction of the attacks during years 5 and 8 of the reign of Ramesses III can be further underlined by the reconstruction of the events more in general. Troubles appear to start in the western Peloponnesos, where the palace of Pylos is destroyed in a violent conflagration ca. 1190 BC. Then the conflict

⁶⁴ Peden 1994, p. 30-31.

⁶⁵ Kitchen 1996, p. 14.

⁶⁶ Hoffmeier 2018, p. 10.

⁶⁷ Hoffmeier 2018, p. 10.

⁶⁸ Kitchen 2008, p. 34.

⁶⁹ Redford 2018, p. 130-131.

⁷⁰ Hoffmeier 2018, p. 12-20.

shifts to the waters of Lycia in southwest Anatolia, where the Hittite fleet is decisively defeated. Without protection of the fleet, the town of Ugarit in the northern Levant is an easy prey and, just like the palace of Pylos, is destroyed in a violent conflagration presumably in 1192 BC⁷¹. After this, the allied forces of the Sea Peoples pitch camp in *'Imr* “Amurru”, south of Ugarit, in order to prepare themselves for their ultimate goal, an attack overseas and on land against Egypt somewhat more than a decade later⁷².

This reconstruction of the events in the early 12th century BC can be further elaborated by the relevant textual evidence as provided by the Ugaritic, Cyprian, and western Anatolian sources.

Of the Ugaritic sources we have already mentioned the *Šikala*-letter (RS 34.129) in which the Hittite great king, presumably Suppiluliumas II, requests information about the Shikala *i[s]-bu-tu-šu-ú-ni ša i-na UGU-ḫi* ^{giš}MA₂.MEŠ[Š] “who live on ships”. From this intelligence-request it may safely be deduced that the Shikala or, as we know them from the Egyptian sources, Shekelesh do not originate from Anatolia, otherwise the Hittite great king would have been familiar with them. The involvement of the Shekelesh in maritime trade in the waters of Cyprus anterior to the period of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples during the early 12th century BC can be deduced from their mention in a Cypro-Minoan Linear C text, on a cylinder seal from Enkomi, in which economic transactions are registered: *te-lu sa-ne-me-ti si-ke-ri-si-ka-a-si* “delivery to Sanemas, representative of the Shekelesh”⁷³. Another group of the Sea Peoples involved in this maritime trade prior to the upheavals is the *Lukka*. A representative of this group named Pihhas features in the same Linear C text as the right-hand man of the main deliverer and scribe: *pi-ka (...) li-ki-ke -mu ta-mi-ka* “Piḫas (...) I, trader from Lycia”⁷⁴. Also to the period of maritime trade prior to the upheavals belongs the mention of the Akhaians (= Ekwesh) or Mycenaean Greeks in the form of ^{lu}ḫi-ia-a-ú or ^{lu}ḫi-ia-ú-wi-i in the singular and ^{lu.meš}ḫi-a-ú-wi-i in the plural in two Ugaritic letters (RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2523) from which it can be deduced that a consignment is ordered by the Hittite great king to be shipped from Ugarit to a port in Lycia where the Akhaians were stationed⁷⁵.

Subsequently, the Ugaritic letters RS L 1, RS 20.238, and RS 20.18, which entail correspondence between the king and the latter’s great intendant Eshuwara of Alasiya (= Cyprus) on the one hand and the last king of Ugarit, Ammurapi II, on the other hand inform us about seaborne attacks by an unspecified enemy in the waters of Cyprus, directed against the territory of Ugarit in the northern Levant. In RS 20.238, ll. 19-24 Ammurapi complains that *a-bu-ia ú-ul i-[d]e ki-i gab-bu* ^{ERIN₂.MEŠ} E[N] *a-bi-ia i-na* ^{kuw}ḫa-at-ti *aš-bu ú gab-bu* ^{giš}MA₂.MEŠ-[i]a *i-na* ^{ku[r]}lu-uk-ka-a “My father is not aware of the fact that all the troops of my father’s overlord are stationed in Ḫatti and that all my ships are stationed in Lukka”⁷⁶. From the latter part of the statement it may be deduced that the Hittite great king Suppiluliumas II had directed his fleet to the waters of Lycia in order to organize his defence against the maritime enemy. The destruction layer of Ugarit leaves us no doubt that this maritime line of defence was crushed by the enemy.

The identity of the enemy, or at least one of the enemies, is revealed in a Cypro-Minoan document conducted in Linear D, tablet Enkomi 1687. In this text, Isures, the great headman of Milyas, eastern Lycia, informs us that, while anticipating the arrival of the Hittite fleet, he advanced to Kameiros on Rhodes and subsequently even took position at Samos. Here, however, he was defeated by Akamas of Ilion (l. 15: *a-ka-mu e-le-ki nu-ka-ru-ra tu-pa-ta -mu* “Akamas of Ilion, the great enemy, smote me.”), who forced him to retreat to Limyra in Milyas⁷⁷. Now, this great enemy, Akamas of Ilion, just like the representatives of the Shekelesh and Lukka, also features in maritime trade in the waters of Cyprus anterior to the upheavals during the beginning of the 12th century BC as he is mentioned in ll. 1-2 of the Linear C text on tablet RS 20.25 from Ugarit as representative of Malos in the Troad and Ephesos, the capital of Arzawa⁷⁸. In like manner as the representatives of the Shekelesh and Lukka mentioned in the text on the Enkomi cylinder seal 19.10, from

⁷¹ Dietrich, Loretz 2002.

⁷² KRI V, 40, 17; Peden 1994, p. 28-29.

⁷³ Enkomi Inv. no. 19.10, ll. 25-27, see Woudhuizen 2017, p. 29-57.

⁷⁴ Enkomi Inv. no. 19.10, ll. 8-9, see Woudhuizen 2017, p. 29-57.

⁷⁵ Singer 2006; note that *Ḫiyawa* is the typical Luwian reflex of Hittite *Aḫḫiyawa*, characterized by aphaeresis.

⁷⁶ Woudhuizen 2006, p. 48-50; transliteration and translation by Frans Wiggermann.

⁷⁷ Woudhuizen 2017, p. 123-161.

⁷⁸ Woudhuizen 2017, p. 89-119.

his maritime trade activities the Trojan Akamas was familiar with the sea lanes in the eastern Mediterranean and the coastal site of Ugarit before he turned from trader into raider. The involvement of the Trojans in the upheavals of the Sea Peoples can be ascertained by the fact that the Tjeker, mentioned in the Egyptian texts for the first time for years 5 and 8 of the reign of Ramesses III, are identifiable with the *Teukroi* of Greek literary tradition, *i.e.* one of the Greek indications of the Trojan people⁷⁹. Their maritime peregrinations to Cyprus and the Levant, especially to the region of Dor, where they are situated in the time of Wenamon's Levantine mission to obtain wood for the august barque of Amon-Re in the beginning of the 11th century BC⁸⁰, are traceable owing to the distribution of Trojan grey ware in these regions⁸¹.

The partaking of Trojans in the upheavals of the Sea Peoples during the early 12th century BC is confirmed by the recently rediscovered Luwian hieroglyphic text from Beyköy, baptized Beyköy 2⁸². In this text, set up by great king Kupantakuruntas III of Mira or Arzawa, it is related that Muksas or Muksus, great prince of Wilusa and seated in Apassawa or Apaisos in the Troad, together with three Luwian great princes commanded a successful maritime expedition against *Askalon* and *Gaza* along the border with Egypt (§§ 26-28). Ramesses III is even stated to have acknowledged this conquest (§ 43). Now, the memory to this long-range naval attack by Muksas or Muskus was kept alive in Greek myth in the legendary tales about Mopsos, which situates him in Askalon⁸³. For Ramesses III, however, being confronted with Muksas or Muksus, this assault may have been ascribed to the Sea Peoples and in particular to the Tjeker or Teukroi among them. These latter's infiltration of the eastern branch of the Nile delta is furthermore reflected in Greek tradition in form of the memory that Cilicia, where Mopsos founded a way station, once extended to Pelusium in Egypt⁸⁴. To this comes that Muksas or Muksas is definitely not a Luwian, but Phrygian name, an ethnic group which is commonly assumed to have invaded Anatolia via the Troad at the end of the Bronze Age. Even if this is a simplification of reality – the Phrygians are already situated by Homeros, *Iliad*, III, 181-190 along the banks of the Sangarios at the time that Priamos was still able to fight himself, *i.e.* a generation before the Trojan War of ca. 1280 BC –, what primarily concerns us here is the fact that the Medinet Habu monument features for year 5 a captured chief of the Sea Peoples who is specified by the ethnic *m- 'š3-3-k-n*⁸⁵, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ma-sà-ka-na* "Phrygian" (Kızıldağ 4, § 2). This particular chief, then, may have been of the same ethnic affiliation as Muksas or Muksus.

It is true that in the Medinet Habu inscription of year 8 it is stated by Ramesses III that, just like Ḫatti, Arzawa had succumbed to the attacks by the Sea Peoples (KRI V, 39, 16-17). This belief may have been based on the fact that he was confronted with an army commander from the Troad, the homeland of the Tjeker, and that this commander had a Phrygian name and, as we have just noted, was aided by officers of Phrygian descent as well. It should be noted in this context, however, that among the fallen countries also features Karkamis, of which everyone in the field agrees that it was continuously ruled by the same royal house from Talmitešup I (ca. 1235-1210 BC), via his son and successor Kuzitešup (ca. 1210-1175 BC) up to Aritešup, the great king in the Luwian hieroglyphic inscription from Karahöyük-Elbistan (dated to the years around 1150 BC) and Initešup II, the contemporary of Tiglathpileser I (1114-1076 BC). Evidence for discontinuity in this period is only forthcoming for the coastal region of the former Karkamisian realm, which was settled by a branch of the Philistines (= Peleset) after the smokescreen was lifted at the end of the 11th century BC thanks to the Luwian hieroglyphic text Aleppo 6⁸⁶. If there is continuity in Karkamis in the period of the Sea Peoples, so might there be in Arzawa too. All this implies that in this respect the contents of the Sea Peoples' inscriptions from Medinet Habu should be taken with a grain of salt⁸⁷.

Apart from evidence for troubles overseas in the waters of Lycia and Cyprus surveyed in the above,

⁷⁹ Woudhuizen 2006, p. 107-110.

⁸⁰ Woudhuizen 2006, p. 54.

⁸¹ Woudhuizen 2006, p. 110, fig. 21.

⁸² Zangger, Woudhuizen 2018; Woudhuizen, Zangger 2018.

⁸³ Houwink ten Cate 1961, p. 44-50, esp. p. 45, note 2 (Xanthus frg. 11 = Athenaeus VIII, 37).

⁸⁴ Houwink ten Cate 1961, p. 50, note 2 (Solinus, *De Mirabilis Mundi*, XXXVII [2]).

⁸⁵ KRI V, 24, 47; *cf.* Redford 2007, p. 300.

⁸⁶ Hawkins 2011.

⁸⁷ Zangger, Woudhuizen 2018; Woudhuizen, Zangger 2018.

there is also evidence for fighting on land. This is provided by Ugaritic letters dating from the final days of this town, *i.e.* just before 1192 BC. These letters, to which also the Alasiya correspondence about the troubles at sea belong, are treated in extenso by Jacques Freu⁸⁸. Three letters, RS 18.040, RS 16.402, and RS 16.379, are of particular importance in this connection. The first is a letter by a high Ugaritic functionary, *Špt-b'l* “Siptiba‘al”, who elsewhere features as ^{GAL}*kâri* “chef du quai”⁸⁹ and even is mentioned in shorthand variant *i-si-pa-ti* “Sipat” in line 6 of the aforementioned Linear C tablet from Ugarit, RS 20.25⁹⁰. He informs his king Ammurapi II about the situation in *lwsnd* “Lawazantiya”, *i.e.* in the province of Kizzuwatna. It so happens that the Hittite king just left from here in haste to mount *syr* “Sēyêra” somewhere near mount Amanos along the northern border of Ugarit in order to sacrifice, presumably as a preparation for battle⁹¹. In the second letter, a functionary called Iririsarruma writes to the queen, presumably Sarelli, about an unspecified enemy in *mgšh* “Mukish”, the province of Alalaḥ to the northeast of Ugarit,⁹² whereas in a broken context there is question of an enemy in the region of *âmn* “mount Amanos”. Iririsarruma further declares to have been put in charge of a force of *âlpm ššwm* “2000 horses”, but nonetheless to have been put in distress by the enemy⁹³. Finally, in a message of the Ugaritic king, Ammurapi II, to his mother, Sarelli, there is question whether *hm ht* “the Hittite(s)” will “ascend” or not, which probably entails military action in the region of mount Amanos⁹⁴.

From the foregoing information, it may be deduced that an unspecified enemy had mustered forces in the region of mount Amanos and the province of Alalaḥ, and that the Hittite king, counting (no doubt amongst others) on its Ugaritic vassal for military support, was preparing to meet this threat. In like manner as the battle at sea in the waters near Lycia, the Hittite king evidently lost this battle on land as well, and this meant the end of the Hittite empire. At sea, as we have seen, the enemies were groups of the Sea Peoples, especially those from the Troad in northwest Anatolia, headed by Akamas and Muksas or Muksus. But who were the enemies on land? Also, troops of the Sea Peoples, who had landed at the bay of Iskenderun? Or groups of Kaska and Muski (= Phrygians), who, at the end of the 12th century BC, the Assyrian great king Tiglathpileser defeated in the region of Malatya to the northwest of his realm, and who already appeared in the Assyrian annals as early as ca. 1165 BC⁹⁵? Or local Amorite bedouins called Aḥlamu? We simply do not know. What we do know, however, is that the Sea Peoples after the destruction of Ugarit pitch camp in *Imr* “Amurru”, south of Ugarit, and from there moved to the south partly over land as witnessed by the ox drawn carts with women and children depicted in the Medinet Habu scene of the land battle⁹⁶.

The downfall of the Hittite empire, which is correctly described as such in the inscription of year 8 at Medinet Habu, did not mean the end of the realm of Ḫatti. A rump state called Ḫatti survived, consisting of the former province of Karkamis. This is described in the Luwian hieroglyphic Beyköy text in § 24, according to which, apart from Karkamis, it consisted of Tarsos, Adana, and Lawazantiya in the former province of Kizzuwadna as well as mount Amanos, Mukish, Aleppo, Ugarit, Hamath, and Byblos in North Syria and Lebanon. The mention of Ugarit after its destruction in the year 1192 BC coincides with the reoccupation of its harbour site Ras Ibn Hani as indicated by Mycenaean IIC1 ware, probably indicative of the settlement of a group of Sea Peoples⁹⁷, later addressed, as we have seen, as Philistines. Later on, during the reign of Initesup II, as we have seen a contemporary of the Assyrian great king Tiglathpileser I, this rump state of Ḫatti consisting of the realm of Karkamis together with the region of Malatya even reached the status of great

⁸⁸ Freu 2006, p. 234-242.

⁸⁹ Freu 2006, p. 153.

⁹⁰ van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 329; Woudhuizen 2017, p. 89-119.

⁹¹ For the English translation, see Bordreuil, Pardee 2009, p. 239-240, text 27.

⁹² In RS 34.143 there is also question of troops in Mukish, or more in specific the king of Ugarit thinking that his troops are stationed here. The king of Karkamis informs the Ugaritic king, however, that his troops are in Apsuna at the northern border of Ugarit and complains further that, with the exception of the ones under Milku-damiq, these are of sub-standard quality, see Bordreuil 1991, p. 27-29 and *cf.* Singer 2011, p. 662.

⁹³ Pardee 1984, p. 215-219.

⁹⁴ Pardee 1984, p. 225; Bordreuil, Pardee 2009, p. 237-238, text 25.

⁹⁵ Woudhuizen 2006, p. 62.

⁹⁶ Sternberg-el Hotabi 2012, p. 30, 31, Abb. 33.

⁹⁷ Freu 2006, p. 246-247.

kingdom⁹⁸. The kingdom that took advantage of the fall of the Hittite empire is that of Mira or Arzawa. Its great king Kupantakuruntas III immediately extended his realm into the region of Parsuhanda, Naḥita, and Ḥupisna, the former Hittite province of the Lower Land (Beyköy 2, § 20). Moreover, thanks to the maritime expedition by great prince Muksas or Muksus and three of his Luwian colleagues all the way to Askalon and Gaza in the southern Levant at the border of Egypt the coastal sites of Parḥa, Ura, and Lamiya came into his hands (Beyköy 2, § 25), no doubt as strongholds to ensure the route to maintain contacts with the outposts at Askalon and Gaza. In this sense, then, the period of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples is a clash between the great kingdoms of Arzawa and Egypt.

As a side remark it deserves our attention that reference to the southern Levant is already made in Beyköy 2 by the names *Pulasati* “Philistia” and *Sakarasa* “Shekelia” (Beyköy 2, § 25) after the groups of the Peleset and Shekelesh among the Sea Peoples who settled there. Note especially that *Pulasati* for Philistia is closer to the original Egyptian writing, *p-w-r-s-ti-i*, than the later Luwian hieroglyphic form of address of the branch of Philistines which settled in the coastal region of North Syria, whose abode is variously written as *pa-ti-sà-ti-nà-* (Aleppo 6, § 1), *wa-ta₄-sà-ti-nà-* (Sheizar § 1), *wa-ti-sà-ti-nà-* (Meharde § 2), and *wa-la-sà-ti-nà-zā-* (fragmentarily preserved inscription from Tell Tayinat)⁹⁹.

IV. ORIGINS OF THE VARIOUS GROUPS OF THE SEA PEOPLES

As we have just seen, the kingdom that profited most from the downfall of the Hittite empire during the period of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples in the beginning of the 12th century BC is that of Mira or Arzawa. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that population groups from western Anatolia play an important role in these upheavals. In the first place, we have noted that the *Lukka*, who feature only in the Libyan war of year 5 of the reign Merenptah, certainly originate from Lycia in southwest Asia Minor. Furthermore, the origin of the *Tjeker*, who are absent in phase I during the reign of Merenptah but prominently present in phase II during that of Ramesses III, can definitely be traced back to the Troad in northwest Anatolia on the basis of their identification with the *Teukroi* from Greek tradition, and their peregrinations to the Levant are reflected, as noted in the above, in the distribution of Trojan grey ware all the way to the region of Dor where some of them settled. To this comes that the *Teresh*, who are attested for both episodes, on account of the similarity of their name (esp. in variant writing *t-w-r-š-3*) to the *Tursenoi* or *Turrhenoi* of Greek literary tradition, are also likely to be situated in the coastal regions of the eastern Aegean¹⁰⁰.

In a recent article, Shirly Ben-Dor Evian¹⁰¹ argues for a new Philistine paradigm, according to which the Sea Peoples “were essentially north Levantine (including western Anatolian) populations known as former allies of the Hittites”. This is an attempt of the so-called “immobilist” party strongly represented among archaeologists to minimize the role of migration in Antiquity. As I know of no group of the Sea Peoples suggested in the literature as originating from the northern Levant – the closest possible candidate is the *Denye(n)* if identical with the *Danuna* or Adaneans of the Amarna correspondence, but the town of Adana is still located in the Anatolian province of Kizzuwadna –, Ben-Dor Evian’s attempt at minimalizing the role of migration actually boils down to the possibility that the Sea Peoples all came from western Anatolia. Now, a new paradigm is introduced if more data can be accounted for by it than by the older paradigm. However, the homelands of the various Sea Peoples cannot possibly be fitted in an Anatolian straightjacket.

In section II above, we have already noted that the *Ekwesh* (only present in phase I) are certainly to be identified with the Akhaians or Mycenaean Greeks. Such an identification is not solely based on a

⁹⁸ Woudhuizen 2015a, p. 305, note 4.

⁹⁹ Cf. van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 330; Weeden 2015.

¹⁰⁰ Woudhuizen 2006, p. 79-87, 100-101, esp. note 436. The east-Aegean or west-Anatolian origin of the Teresh can be underlined by the observation that in the composite *iwn-n-t-w-r-š-3* from the Gurob inscription *t-w-r-š-3* “Teresh” is associated with *iwn-n* “Ionia” (van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 327) as attested for the Kom el-Hetan inscriptions in form of *i-i-w-n-y* ‘-3 “great Ionia” (Sourouzian, Stadelmann 2005) and that *t-w-r-š-3* is a derivative in *-sa* of the place-name *Dura* (= classical *Tyrrha*) along the southern bank of the river later called Kaystros (Woudhuizen 2012, p. 7).

¹⁰¹ Ben-Dor Evian 2017, p. 278.

“disputable parallel” between the two names¹⁰², but the partaking of Mycenaean Greeks in the upheavals of the Sea Peoples is also indicated by archaeological evidence, in particular pottery styles as the hallmark of Sea Peoples’ settlement in the Levant is formed by Mycenaean III C1b ware. This argument also applies to the identification of the *Peleset* (only present in phase II) or Philistines – who, prior to their settlement in the so-called pentapolis (Asdod, Askalon, Gath, Ekron, and Gaza), according to the Bible originate from *Kaphthor* or Crete – with the *Pelasgians*, one of the population groups of Crete according to Homeros. The Pelasgians, whose language on the basis of toponymic evidence and the testimony of three Linear A inscriptions was of Old Indo-European type¹⁰³, are a non-Greek population group, but stemming from the orbit of the Mycenaeanised Aegean. No wonder, therefore, that certain aspects of Philistine material culture are typically of the Mycenaeanised culture of Crete, like the “bird looking backward” and “antithetic horns” motifs¹⁰⁴. It is debatable on the other hand whether the *Denye(n)* – an offshoot of which settled as the tribe of *Dan* in the region between Asdod in the south and Dor in the north and later moved to Laish in the northeast – are to be identified with the Homeric *Danaoi* rather than with the *Danuna* or Adaneans of the Amarna letters¹⁰⁵. In both instances the identification mainly rests on the similarity between the names. However, as the *Denye(n)* are, like the *Peleset*, *Tjekker*, and *Shekelesh*, depicted with the so-called “feathered” headdress¹⁰⁶, an Aegean location of their homeland seems preferable to one in Kizzuwadna because this headdress is depicted in various scenes on Aegean vases, amongst which most prominently the warrior vase from Mycenae.

We have also noted in the above that the *Šikala* or *Shekelesh* (present in both phases) are certainly not at home in Anatolia, otherwise great king Suppiluliumas II would have known about them. In fact, the Anatolian hypothesis in this case hinges entirely on the similarity in form of *Sagalassos*. The only viable option which is left in this case is the name of the island *Sicily* or its inhabitants the *Siculi* in the central Mediterranean. This identification, however, does not stand alone but fits in with a series of three, as the *Sherden* (present in both phases) – an offshoot of which settled near Akko –, in the Anatolian hypothesis connected with *Sardis*, can come into consideration as *Sardinians* and the *Weshesh* (present only in phase II), in the Anatolian hypothesis connected with Carian *Wassos*, as *Osci* or *Ausones*. What is more, this series of three contributors from the central Mediterranean can be backed up by a significant amount of archaeological data, like the form of the boats as depicted in Medinet Habu with bird-headed bow and stern of Urnfield type, and the introduction of other Urnfield features in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean during the final decades of the Bronze Age, like Naue type II swords, cremation burials (in urnfields at Hamath), and Italic Handmade Burnished Ware (= HBW). Furthermore, the horned helmet of the *Sherden* is paralleled for statue menhirs of the Nuraghic culture discovered in Corsica and the prototypes of the “feathered” helmet typically of, amongst others (see above), the *Shekelesh* in the form of *tutuli* have been traced back by Reinhard Jung to the Veneto in northeast Italy and Apulia in southeast Italy – regions which according to literary tradition were once inhabited by *Siculi*¹⁰⁷. Finally, the validity of the threefold central Mediterranean identifications may further be underlined by the fact that, according to Jung¹⁰⁸, again, with respect to the HBW in the wider Aegean, Sardinian, Sicilian, and mainland Italian variants can now be distinguished.

Definite proof, however, of Italic speakers among the groups of the Sea Peoples invading the Aegean at the end of the Bronze Age is provided by the decipherment of an Eteo-Cretan inscription from Praisos by Luuk de Ligt¹⁰⁹ according to which this document is conducted in the Osco-Umbrian language.

As far as language is concerned, the Sea Peoples formed a diverse ensemble, indeed, the *Lukka* and *Teresh* speaking Luwian, the *Tjekker* Thracian-Phrygian, the *Ekwesh* and *Denye(n)* Mycenaean Greek, the *Weshesh* Osco-Umbrian, and the *Peleset* Old Indo-European, and *Sherden* and *Shekelesh* Ligurian

¹⁰² The second, by the way, not being confined to classical sources as Ben-Dor Evian (2017, p. 278) claims but already attested for the Bronze Age in Linear B (*a-ka-wi-ja*) and Hittite texts (*Ahhiyawa*).

¹⁰³ Woudhuizen 2016, p. 303-332.

¹⁰⁴ Woudhuizen 2006, p. 95-106, esp. p. 98, fig. 20.

¹⁰⁵ Moran 1992, EA 151, 49-58.

¹⁰⁶ Woudhuizen 2015b, p. 216, note 4; see further below.

¹⁰⁷ Jung 2009; cf. Woudhuizen 2015b, p. 216, 219.

¹⁰⁸ Jung 2017.

¹⁰⁹ de Ligt 2008-2009.

which is also of Old Indo-European nature. Common ground being that all these tongues belong to the Indo-European language family.

V. CONCLUSIONS

In the present study, the attacks by the Sea Peoples on Egypt in year 5 of Merenptah and years 5 and 8 of Ramesses III were examined closely. As a prerequisite to this undertaking, it was necessary to have a closer look at the individual names of the Sea Peoples in the Egyptian texts and the validity of the general term itself, which has been disqualified by some as a misnomer by Maspero. If these peoples, namely, were not maritime invaders but merely inhabitants of the Egyptian delta as sometimes claimed there can be no question of overseas attacks either from the northwest or the northeast. On the basis of the Egyptian texts, then, it could be determined that the term Sea Peoples is an adequate term, indeed, and that these peoples entered the branches of the Nile from the sea, that is the Mediterranean north of Egypt.

In the first phase of their attacks, during year 5 of Merenptah, the Sea Peoples either served as mercenaries for or were allied with the Libyans. Accordingly, the attack was launched from Libya in the west and, after crossing the desert by means of the oases, a decisive battle was fought in the fields of Perire along the western fringe of the Nile near the apex of the delta.

In the second phase of their attacks, during years 5 and 8 of Ramesses III, the Sea Peoples approached Egypt from the east. On the basis of the various sources discussed their route can be reconstructed as running from the region of Cyprus, Ugarit, and Amurru in the northern Levant to Askalon in the south and probably even up to the site of Migdol along the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. At the latter site a naval battle took place, and presumably the ships of the Sea Peoples were supported by their land troops in a coordinated attack.

In both cases, during the first phase in the fields of Perire and during the second phase at Migdol, the Sea Peoples were soundly defeated.

Finally, we have seen that, on the basis of the analysis of their names, the Sea Peoples can be argued to originate from as varied a number of regions in the northern Mediterranean as western Anatolia, the Aegean, Greece, Crete, and the central Mediterranean. This northern Mediterranean origin tallies with the Egyptian data as discussed in the excursus.

All in all, then, this leads us to the reconstruction of the routes taken by the Sea Peoples in phase I and phase II as rendered in fig. 2 and 3.

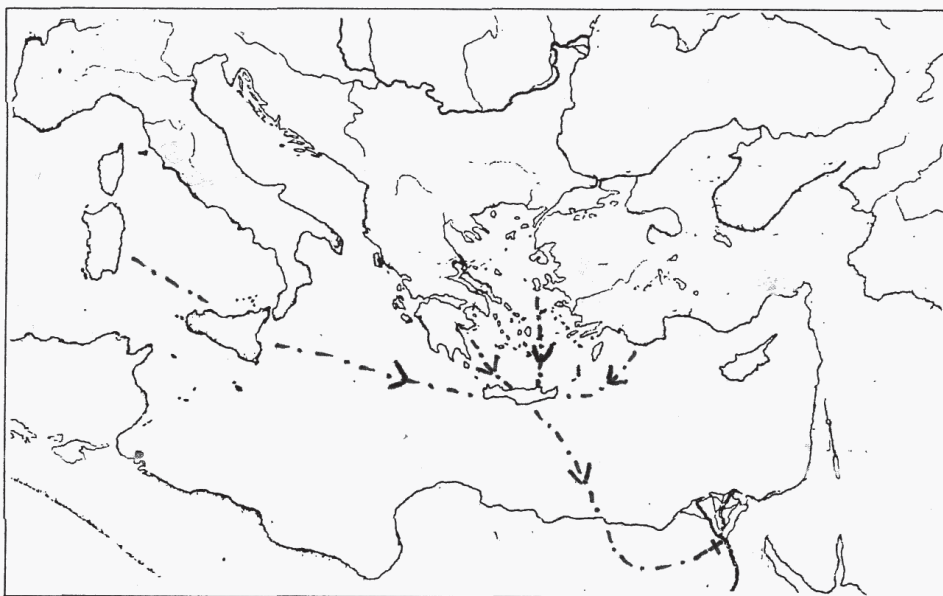


Fig. 2. Phase I: Route of the Sea Peoples in their attack during year 5 of Merenptah (drawing by the author).
The "X" sign marks the site of the battle (Perire).

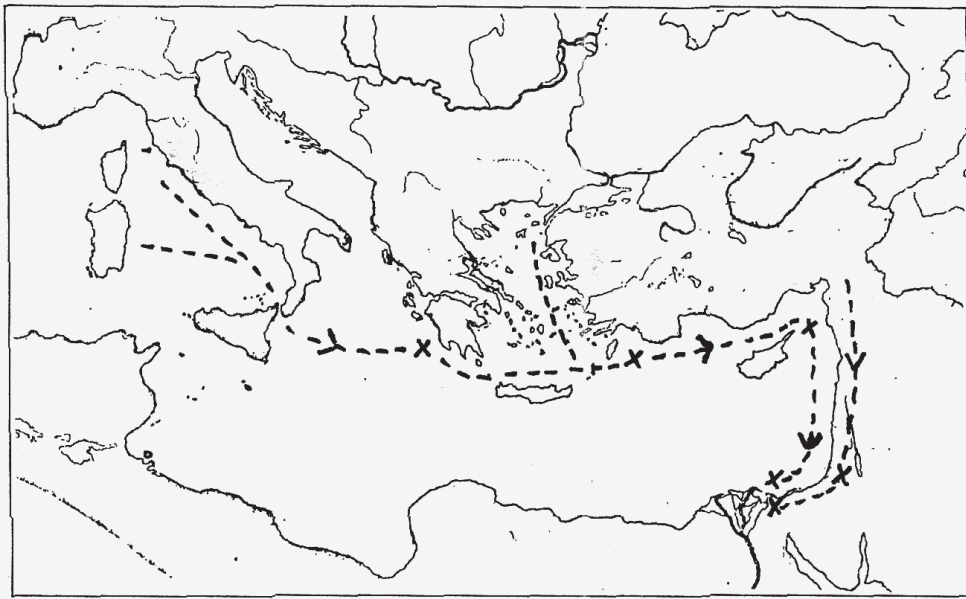


Fig. 3. Phase II: Route of the Sea Peoples in their attack during years 5 and 8 of Ramesses III (drawing by the author). The “X” signs mark the sites of the battles (the waters near Pylos, in Greece; the waters along the Lycian coast, in southwest Anatolia; Askalon, in the Levant, and Migdol, in Egypt).

POSTSCRIPT

Dan’el Kahn, to whose work my attention was drawn by Michael Bányai, deduces from the fact that the Peleset in the text of the South stele, year 12, are associated with N 16 *t3* “land” (Gardiner 1994) that Ramesses III fought a land battle in North Syria, where, as we have noted, a branch of the Peleset had settled¹¹⁰. However, even though Kitchen¹¹¹ translates “the land of the Philistines”, in KRI V, 73, 7 the distinctive grains of sand – N 33 (Gardiner 1994) are missing and we therefore might well be dealing with N 18 *iw* “island” (Gardiner 1994), which would be a reference to the homeland of the Peleset, the island of Crete, rather than to the land of their ultimate destination, Philistia in Canaan. At any rate, a campaign of Ramesses III to North Syria is out of the question. Only the possibility that the land battle was fought in Canaan rather than simultaneously with the sea battle at the Egyptian border near Migdol remains (see below).

In his contribution, Kahn¹¹² discusses the topographical list of Ramesses III from the Southern Gate of the mortuary temple of Medinet Habu. This list certainly contains place-names from the southern (72. Beth-Dagon, 80. Aphek, 82. Migdol, 121. Tyre) and northern (1. Mari?, 6. Aleppo, 24. Emar [or Amurru?], 27. Ebla, 29. Karkamis) Levant¹¹³. More interestingly, Kahn¹¹⁴ revives an old suggestion by Heinrich Brugsch¹¹⁵ that the place-names 7.-12. in actual fact confront us with Cyprian toponyms, namely: 7. *s-r-ms-s-k* “Salamis”, 8. *k-3-t-y-n* “Kition”, 9. *i-y-m-r* “Marion”, 10. *s-r-y* “Soloï”, 11. *i-ti-i-r* “Idalion”, and 12. *d-n-3-s* “Tamassos”. This suggestion was also followed by G.A. Wainwright¹¹⁶, Richard D. Barnett¹¹⁷, and John Strange¹¹⁸. The interest in this part of the list lays particularly in the fact that the mention of Cyprian place-names is unique and therefore cannot have been copied from earlier lists. To suggest a Cyprian campaign by Ramesses III,

¹¹⁰ Kahn 2011.

¹¹¹ Kitchen 2008, p. 57.

¹¹² Kahn 2016.

¹¹³ Simons 1937, p. 164-164 (list XXVII); KRI V, 94-96; Kitchen 2008, p. 73-74.

¹¹⁴ Kahn 2016, p. 164

¹¹⁵ Brugsch 1877, p. 603; Brugsch 1891, p. 332.

¹¹⁶ Wainwright 1961, p. 76, where the additional element *-k* in *s-r-ms-s-k* is explained as the Akkadian determinative *KI* for countries.

¹¹⁷ Barnett 1975, p. 375-376.

¹¹⁸ Strange 1980, p. 161-162.

as Kahn does, seems farfetched, rather this part of the list indicates contacts with Cyprus which are easily explained by the fact that at least one group of the Sea Peoples, the Tjeker, were based at Cyprus at the time of the upheavals.

As to the exact location of the land-battle commemorated at Medinet Habu, Ben-Dor Evian rightly remarks¹¹⁹ that early scholarship, represented by William F. Albright¹²⁰ and D.A. Alt¹²¹, who considered the Philistine settlement in Canaan as organized by the Egyptians, situates this in Amurru at the border of the Egyptian realm in the northern Levant. As opposed to this, more recent studies prefer its proximity to the Egyptian border in *sensu stricto* at the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. Rainer Stadelmann¹²² is most outspoken, in observing that the Egyptian territories in the Levant had already been overrun and destroyed by the Sea Peoples at the time of the war. He further states¹²³: “Daß Ramses III. keinen Feldzug nach Syrien mehr unternommen hat, geht auch aus dem historischen Abschnitt des großen Papyrus *Harris* hervor, worin außer den Kriegen gegen die Libyer und die Seevölker nur ein Zug gegen die Schasubeduinen Erwähnung findet”, which latter event concerns no more than a razzia. Manfred Bietak¹²⁴ adds to this the negative observation that “None of the toponyms which would be expected as stations along the campaign route, such as Gaza, Ashkelon, etc., are mentioned.” Furthermore, the latter author observes¹²⁵ that there is “only one departure scene prior to the land-battle and one victory celebration scene following the sea-battle. There is no separate victory celebration for the land-battle. This would suggest that both encounters occurred in close proximity, one after the other, most probably near the mouth of the easternmost branch of the Nile.” In regard to the Egyptian territories in the Levant, on the other hand, Bietak¹²⁶ paints a more nuanced picture according to which some nuclei in Palestine were taken over by the Sea Peoples, like Asdod, Askalon, and Ekron in the so-called Pentapolis and the regions of Akko and Dor to the north, whereas regions surrounding these nuclei remained under Egyptian control. Finally, Redford¹²⁷ also situates the land-battle in the neighborhood of the fort Migdol, as Hoffmeier¹²⁸ does.

Note in this connection that Stadelmann’s view also needs to be nuanced with respect to his claim that the place-names in the aforesaid topographical list are all copied from earlier lists, as indicated by the Cyprian place-names of this list, which are unique for the genre in its entirety¹²⁹.

Most recently, Michal Feldman *et alii*¹³⁰ published the results of their DNA analysis of 10 skeletons from Askalon¹³¹. The outcome of their study, provisional in view of the restricted nature of the sample, is that these 10 individuals originated from Crete, Sardinia, and Iberia. This not only confirms the traditional (like Biblical) evidence in favour of a Cretan homeland of the Philistines, but also vindicates the view of central Mediterranean involvement in the upheavals of the Sea Peoples as embodied by the Sherden from Sardinia and the Shekelesh from Sicily. Note that the Iberian element may receive meaningful explanation in this view by the fact that according to Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 6.2.2 the Sikanoi¹³² had once been driven by the Ligurians from their original home in Júcar region in central eastern Iberia to western Sicily¹³³.

¹¹⁹ Ben-Dor Evian 2017, p. 163.

¹²⁰ Albright 1932, p. 57-58 (implicitly).

¹²¹ Alt 1944-1945, p. 17-20 (Syria).

¹²² Stadelmann 1968, p. 166.

¹²³ Stadelmann 1968, p. 166.

¹²⁴ Bietak 1993, p. 293.

¹²⁵ Bietak 1993, p. 293.

¹²⁶ Bietak 1993, p. 295, fig. 4.

¹²⁷ Redford 2000, p. 13.

¹²⁸ Hoffmeier 2018.

¹²⁹ For the archaeological evidence on the Sea Peoples in Cilicia and North Syria, see Birney 2007.

¹³⁰ Feldman *et alii* 2019.

¹³¹ My thanks are due to Maarten de Weerd for drawing my attention to this study.

¹³² An ethnonym based on the same Proto-Indo-European root **seik*^w- to seep” as Sikeloi or Shekelesh, see Woudhuizen 2020, p. 55-56.

¹³³ For push and pull factors of the Sea Peoples between Italy and the Levant focusing on those groups of the Sea Peoples which originate from the central Mediterranean, see now Jung 2018.

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ABRÉVIATIONS

- AA – Archäologischer Anzeiger. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin
AAR – *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia*. Institut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów
ACSS – *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, Leiden
ActaAntHung – *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest
ActaArch – *Acta Archaeologica*, København
ActaArchCarp – *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica*. Polish Academy of Sciences – Cracow Branch, Kraków
ActaArchHung – *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest
Acta Hargitensia – *Acta Hargitensia*, Anuarul Muzeelor din județul Harghita, Miercurea Ciuc
ActaMN – *Acta Musei Napocensis*. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
ActaMT – *Acta Musei Tutovensia*. *Istorie Veche și Arheologie*. Muzeul „Vasile Pârvan”, Bârlad
Aegyptus – *Aegyptus*. *Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia*. Scuola di Papirologia dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano
AfO – *Archiv für Orientforschung*. Institut für Orientalistik, Wien
AJA – *American Journal of Archaeology*. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America, Boston
AJAH – *American Journal of Ancient History*. Harvard University
Aluta – *Aluta*. Revista Muzeului Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe
AM – *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*. Athenische Abteilung, Athen
AMI(T) – *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (und Turan)*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien Abteilung, Außenstelle Teheran, Berlin.
Analele Brăilei – *Analele Brăilei*. Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I”, Brăila
Anthropozoologica – *Anthropozoologica*. Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, Paris
Antiquity – *Antiquity*. A Review of World Archaeology, Durham University, Durham
Apulum – *Acta Musei Apulensis*. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
ArhMold – *Arheologia Moldovei*. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie, Iași
ArhVestnik – *Arheološki vestnik*. Inštitut za arheologijo ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana
Arheologija SSSR – *Arheologija SSSR: Svod arheoloških istočnikov*. Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut arheologii, Moskva
Archaeometry – *Archaeometry*. University of Oxford
ArchBulg – *Archaeologia Bulgarica*, Sofia
ArchÉrt – *Archeológiai Értesítő*. A Magyar Régészeti és Művészettörténeti Társulat Tudományos Folyóirata, Budapest
ArchJug – *Archaeologia Iugoslavica*. Arheološko društvo Jugoslavije, Beograd
ArchKorr – *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz
Argesis – *Argesis*. Muzeul Județean Argeș, Pitești
Arta – *Arta: Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology*
AS – *Anatolian Studies*. Journal of the British Institute at Ankara, Cambridge University Press
ASAE – *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, Le Caire
AȘUI – *Analele Științifice ale Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași*
AW – *Antike Welt*. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte, Darmstadt
Banatica – *Banatica*. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
BARBrSer – *British Archaeological Reports, British Series*, Oxford
BARIntSer – *British Archaeological Reports, International Series*, Oxford
BARSupSer – *British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series*, Oxford
BASOR – *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, The University of Chicago Press
BCMI – *Buletinul Comisiunii/Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice*, București
BerRGK – *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Frankfurt am Main
BiblIstrPont-SA – *Biblioteca Istro-Pontică*. Seria *Arheologie*. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Gavrilă Simion”, Tulcea

- BiblMusAp – Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
 BMI – Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București
 BSNR – Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București
 BSS – Black Sea Studies, Aarhus
 București.MIM – București. Materiale de Istorie și Muzeografie. Muzeul Municipiului București
 CA – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
 CAH – Cambridge Ancient History, 14 volumes, Cambridge University Press, 1970-2005
 CAJ – Cambridge Archaeological Journal. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge
 Carpica – Carpica. Complexul Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu” Bacău
 CCA, campania – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România
 CCDJ – Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Muzeul Dunării de Jos, Călărași
 CEFR – Collection de l'École Française de Rome
 CercIst – Cercetări Istorice. Complexul Național Muzeal „Moldova”, Iași, Muzeul de Istorie a Moldovei, Iași
 Chiron – Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München
 CIGP – P. Kovács (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Pannonicarum (editio maior)*, Hungarian Polis Studies (HPS) 8, Debrecen, 2001
 CII I.1 – R. Schmitt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Part I: *Inscriptions of Ancient Iran*, vol. I: *The Old Persian Inscriptions, Texts I: The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great. Old Persian Text*, London, 1991
 CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 17 volumes, Berlin, 1853-
 Classical Review – The Classical Review. The Classical Association, Cambridge University Press
 CIQ – The Classical Quaterly, The Classical Association, Cambridge University Press
 CN – Cercetări Numismatice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
 CNA – Cronica Numismatică și Arheologică. Foaie de informații a Societății Numismatice Române, București
 Dacia N.S. – Dacia (Nouvelle Série). Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Académie Roumaine. Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan », București
 Danubius – Danubius, Revista Muzeului de Istorie Galați
 Drevnosti Bospora – Drevnosti Bospora. Institut Arheologii, Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Moskva
 Drobeta – Drobeta. Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier, Drobeta-Turnu Severin
 Electrum – Electrum. Journal of Ancient History. Department of Ancient History at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow
 ESA – Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua. Bulletin et mémoires consacrés à l'archéologie et l'ethnographie de l'Europe orientale et de l'Asie du Nord, Helsinki
 EO I – *Erdélyi Okmánytár I (1023-1301)*. Bevezető tanulmánnyal és jegyzetekkel regesztákban közzéteszi Zs. Jakó, Budapest, 1997
 FGtH – F. Jacoby (hg.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin (und Leiden) 1923-
 Gallia – Gallia. Archéologie de la France Antique. CNRS Éditions
 Germania – Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Frankfurt am Main
 GlasnikSarajevo – Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
 GM – Göttinger Miscellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion, Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen
 Godišnjak – Godišnjak. Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
 Hierasus – Hierasus. Muzeul Județean Botoșani
 Historia – Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart
 Historia Urbana – Historia Urbana. Comisia de Istorie a Orașelor din România, Academia Română, Sibiu
 Histria Antiqua – Histria Antiqua. Institute društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, Zagreb
 Hrvatska revija – Hrvatska revija. Matica hrvatska, Zagreb
 HS – Historische Sprachforschung. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlag, Göttingen
 HSCP – Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Harvard University Press
 IDR – *Inscripțiile Daciei romane*, Editura Academiei, București, 1975-

- IG – *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1903-
- IGLR – E. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România*, București, 1976
- ILD – C.C. Petolescu, *Inscripții Latine din Dacia*, București, I (2005), II (2016)
- ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, I (1892), II.1 (1902), II.2 (1906), III (1914/1916)
- Iran – Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies, London
- Istros – Istros, Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I”, Brăila
- IzvestijaHaskovo – Izvestija na Istoričeski Muzej Haskovo. Regionalen Istoričeski Muzej - Haskovo
- IzvestijaSofia – Izvestija na Nacionalnija arheologičeski Institut, Sofia
- JAMÉ – A Nyíregyházi Jós András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza
- JEA – European Journal of Archaeology (continues Journal of European Archaeology). European Association of Archaeologists, Cambridge University Press
- JIES – Journal of Indo-European Studies, Washington
- JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies. The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago
- JRGZM – Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz, Mainz
- JRS – Journal of Roman Studies, London
- Kêmi – Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes, Cambridge University Press
- Klio – Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Berlin
- KRI I – K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Volume I. *Ramesses I, Sethos I, and contemporaries*, Oxford, 1975
- KRI II – K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Volume II. *Ramesses II, royal inscriptions*, Oxford, 1979
- KRI IV – K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Volume IV. *Merenptah and the late 19th dynasty*, Oxford, 1982
- KRI V – K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Volume V. *Setnakht, Ramesses III, and contemporaries*, Oxford, 1983
- KSIAMoskva – Kratkie soobščeniija Instituta arheologii, Moskva
- KSIIMK – Kratkie soobščeniija o dokladah i polevyh issledovanijah Instituta istorii material'noj kul'tury, Moskva
- LRBC – *Late Roman Bronze Coinage A.D. 324-498*; part I. *The Bronze Coinage of the House of Constantine A.D. 324-346* (P.V. Hill, J.P.C. Kent) ; part II. *Bronze Roman Imperial Coinage of the Later Empire A.D. 346-498* (R.A.G. Carson, J.P.C. Kent), London, 1965
- MAA – Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica. Makedonsko Arheološko Naučno Društvo, Skopje
- MAInstUngAk – Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Budapest
- Marisia – Marisia. Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș
- Meander – Meander. Rocznik wydawany przez Komitet Nauk o Kulturze Antycznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego
- MCA – Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- MemAnt – Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis. Complexul Muzeal Național Neamț, Piatra-Neamț
- MIA – Materialy i issledovanija po arheologii SSSR, Moskva
- MIBE – W. Hahn, M.A. Metlich, *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire (Anastasius I – Iustinian I, 491-565)*, Vienna, 2000
- Mnemosyne – Mnemosyne, A Journal of Classical Studies, Brill, Leiden
- MonAnt – Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura delle Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Roma
- MonHungHist – *Monumenta Hungariae Historica* 2, Scriptorum 1-38, Pest-Budapest, 1857-1906.
- Mousaios – Mousaios. Buletin Științific al Muzeului Județean Buzău
- NABU – Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires. Société pour l'étude du Proche-Orient ancien
- Nature – Nature, scientific journal, London
- OJA – Oxford Journal of Archaeology. School of Archaeology, University of Oxford
- Opuscula archaeologica – Opuscula archaeologica. Arheološki zavod Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, Zagreb

- OREA – Oriental and European Archaeology. Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna
- PamArch – Památky Archeologické, Praha
- PAS – Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa. Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie Berlin
- PBF – Prähistorische Bronzefunde. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Seminar für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a. M., Abteilung für Ur- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie des Historischen Seminars der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
- Peuce – Peuce. Studii și note de istorie veche și arheologie. Muzeul Delta Dunării / Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale, Tulcea
- Peuce S.N. – Peuce, serie nouă. Studii și cercetări de istorie și arheologie. Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Gavrilă Simion”, Tulcea
- Philologus – Philologus. Zeitschrift für Antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption, Berlin
- Phoenix – Phoenix. Journal of the Classical Association of Canada, Toronto
- PIFK – Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury. Magnitogorsk
- PMMB – Publicațiile Muzeului Municipiului București
- Pontica – Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie, Constanța
- Praehistorica – Praehistorica. Univerzita Karlova, Praha
- PZ – Praehistorische Zeitschrift. Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Berlin
- Radiocarbon – Radiocarbon. An International Journal of Cosmogenic Isotope Research, Cambridge University Press
- RAnt – Res Antiquae, Bruxelles
- RBN(S) – Revue Belge de Numismatique (et de Sigillographie). Société Royale de Numismatique de Belgique, Bruxelles.
- RE – Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1893-
- REA – Revue des Études Anciennes. Maison de l'Archéologie, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, Pessac
- REG – Revue des Études Grecques. L'associations pour l'Encouragement des Études grecques en France, Paris
- RESEE – Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes. Academia Română, Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europeene, București
- Revista Arheologică – Revista Arheologică. Academia de Științe a Moldovei, Institutul Patrimoniului Cultural, Chișinău
- RevBistr – Revista Bistriței. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
- RevMuz – Revista Muzeelor, București
- RIC V.2 – P.H. Webb, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, V.2. Probus – Amandus*, London, 1933 (reprinted 1968)
- RIC VI – C.H.V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, VI. From Diocletian's reform (A.D. 294) to the death of Maximinus (A.D. 313)*, London, 1967
- RIC VII – P.M. Bruun, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, VII. Constantine and Licinius A.D. 313-337*, London, 1966
- RIC VIII – J.P.C. Kent, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, VIII. The Family of Constantine I A.D. 337-364*, London, 1981
- RIC X – J.P.C. Kent, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, X. The Divided Empire and the Fall of the Western Parts A.D. 395-491*, London, 1994
- RMI – Revista Monumentelor Istorice, București
- RMM-MIA – Revista muzeelor și monumentelor - Monumente istorice și de artă, București
- RossArh – Rossijskaja Arheologija. Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Institut arheologii, Moskva
- RPRP – Reports of Prehistoric Research Projects. Prehistory Foundation, Sofia
- SA – Sovetskaja Arheologija. Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut arheologii, Moskva
- SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica. Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Iași
- SAAC – Studies in Ancient Art and Civilisation. Jagiellonian University Institute of Archaeology, Kraków
- Saeculum – Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte. Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen
- SAI – Studii și Articole de Istorie. Societatea de Științe Istorice din România, București
- Sargetia – Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva

- SCIV(A) – Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie). Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- SCN – Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- Situla – Situla Journal: Dissertationes Musei Nationalis Sloveniae, Ljubljana
- SlovArch – Slovenská Archeológia. Archeologický ústav SAV, Nitra
- Sovetskaja Etnografija – Sovetskaja Etnografija. Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut etnografii, Moskva
- SSH – Social Science History. Social Science History Association, Cambridge University Press
- Starinar – Starinar. Naučni časopis Arheološkog instituta u Beogradu, Beograd
- StComSibiu – Studii și Comunicări, Sibiu
- Stratum plus – Stratum plus. Arheologija i kulturnaja antropologija, Vysšaja Antropologičeskaja Škola, St. Peterburg-Chișinău-Odessa-București
- Studia Hercynia – Studia Hercynia. Ústav pro klasickou archeologii, Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, Praha
- Suceava – Suceava. Anuarul Muzeului Național al Bucovinei, Suceava
- SympThrac – Symposia Thracologica
- SzO V – L. Szádeczky Kardoss (ed.), *Székely Oklevéltár V*, Kolozsvár, 1896
- Talanta – Talanta. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, Amsterdam
- Thraco-Dacica – Thraco-Dacica. Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București
- TIR – *Tabula Imperii Romani*
- TÜBA-AR – Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi, Ankara
- Tyragetia – Tyragetia. Anuarul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău
- Ub. II – F. Zimmermann, C. Werner, G. Müller (hrsg.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen II*, Hermannstadt, 1897
- Ub. IV – G. Gündisch, F. Zimmermann (hrsg.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen IV*, Hermannstadt, 1937
- Ub. V – G. Gündisch, F. Zimmermann (hrsg.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen V*, București, 1975
- UF – Ugarit Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas. Institut für Altorientalistik und die Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Münster
- UPA – Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
- VAHD – Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku. Arheološki muzej Split
- Valachica – Valachica. Studii și cercetări de istorie și istoria culturii. Complexul Național Muzeal Curtea Domnească, Târgoviște
- VAMZ – Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Zagreb
- VDI – Vestnik Drevnej Istorii. Otdelenie istoriko-filologičeskikh nauk Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Moskva
- VHAD – Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva, Zagreb
- Vizantijskij vremennik – Vizantijskij vremennik. Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Moskva
- WPZ – Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift. Wiener Prähistorische Gesellschaft, Wien
- ŽA – Živa Antika / Antiquité Vivante. Društvo za antički studii na SRM, Seminar na klasična filologija, Filozofski fakultet, Skopje
- Ziridava – Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica. Complexul Muzeal Arad
- ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn