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An Archaeology of Forced Migration

Crisis-induced mobility and the Collapse
of the 13th c. BCE Eastern Mediterranean

Edited by Jan Driessen

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Cover image: Tent village in the shadows of the Temple of Theseus, Athens, where Greek refugees make their homes (1922).

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19. Push and Pull Factors of the Sea Peoples between Italy and the Levant

Reinhard Jung¹

Introduction

The task to unravel the origins of migrations or indeed the factors forcing or motivating people to leave their homes and seek a new future elsewhere, is an almost impossible one for a prehistorian, who has no written sources at her/his disposal. When it comes to the so-called Sea Peoples, who were supposedly destroying a number of smaller and larger kingdoms around the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 12th century BCE, things are no different. Several reasons are responsible for this situation.

First, the regions from which those seafaring migrants hypothetically originated, lie to the west of the Levantine and Egyptian coasts, *i.e.* far away from the societies producing written records that have a relatively diverse character and cover a wide range of topics. Second, Mycenaean Greece, the western-most Bronze Age society using script, did possess a record-keeping administration, but does not provide us with letters, royal annals or the like. Third, confining research to the Greek archaeological record would be inadequate for uncovering the origins of the Sea Peoples phenomenon, because the Egyptian written and iconographic record as well as the clay tablets from Ugarit yield plenty of indications, which point to geographical regions of origin that are situated even further west than Greece. Regarding the chronological framework, it is insufficient to start investigations in the later 13th century BCE, as the earliest appearance of a Sea Peoples *ethnikon* even dates back to mid-14th century BCE (for the Širdanu or Šardana at Gubla/Byblos according to the Amarna letters EA 81 and 122 see Helck 1979: 133; Moran 1992: 150-151, 201-202). Hence, this paper tries to explore the archaeological record of the central and eastern Mediterranean with a broader geographical and chronological perspective, in order to approach the problem of push and pull factors that might have been of relevance for the movements of those sailing warriors and their lineages.

Specialists of modern history distinguish different types of forced migration. These are deportation (forced spatial mobilisation, often of forced labourers), evacuation (short-term compulsory measure caused by an emergency, often difficult to distinguish from flight), flight (evasion of a life-threatening exigency), relocation (compulsory measure for targeted displacement of groups of people) and eviction (spatial mobilisation by force without measures for resettlement) (Oltmer 2017: 35, tab. 4). Contemporary as well as historical cases show that flight rarely is a linear process, it rather evolves in stages. A precipitous evasion towards a neighbouring settlement or another place perceived as secure is followed by further migration to relatives or friends living in a neighbouring region or state. Patterns of return and new flight also occur quite frequently (Oltmer 2017: 232-233).

Forced migration may subsequently lead to settlement migration (migration aiming at the acquisition of farm land, see Oltmer 2017: 31, tab. 3), when displaced groups of people seek refuge and an alternative home to settle down again. Late Antique sources referring to the migration period provide ample examples for such a sequence of events and the switch of roles between becoming refugees and attackers or even conquerors. The tribal groups evading the threat of the Huns and crossing the Roman frontiers in 376 CE as well as between 405 and 408 CE belong to the most well-known cases, though these were certainly exceptional events regarding the huge numbers of migrating warriors with their families (Heather 2009: 153-173, 178-188). Moreover, Peter Heather describes the organised migration of three coherent groups of Goths in 376 CE rather as an ordered evacuation than as a case of flight (Heather 2009: 164), while further motifs such as economic gains inside the Roman Empire are plausible (Heather 2009: 169-170). Although the Late Roman Empire and pharaonic Egypt were of course quite

¹ Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology (OREA), Austrian Academy of Sciences, Hollandstraße 11–13, 1020 Vienna.

different political entities, their conflicts with migrants coming from neighbouring, pre-state societies do show certain phenomenological similarities (Jansen-Winkel 2002: 130-131), which may help to formulate hypotheses that can be tested against the archaeological evidence.

The Egyptian iconographic record and the equipment of the Sea Peoples

With regard to the possible regions from which the various Sea Peoples groups may have originated, some key elements of material culture depicted on the Egyptian reliefs at Abu Simbel, Abydos and at Thebes (Heinz 2001: 274, 278, 281-283, 286-288)² as well as later at Medinet Habu (Heinz 2001: 301-309, 312-313, 316-317)³ prove that **armour and weaponry of the depicted Sea Peoples groups were largely new** on the battlefields between the Nile, the Orontes and the Gulf of Corinth. The time line of these military innovations is given by the battle of Qadeš, as the earliest Sea Peoples depiction, that of the Šerden or Šardana, appears on Ramesses' II accounts of this battle, which was fought in his 5th regnal year (for the identification of the depicted non-Egyptian warriors as Šerden see Emanuel 2013: 16-18, figs. 1-2). In accordance with the shortened chronology of the 18th dynasty, the Qadeš battle should be dated to 1285 BCE. The historical value of the Sea Peoples depiction lies in the fact that their specific equipment does not have any antecedents among the typified foreigner images in the pharaonic iconographic corpus⁴.

Round shields of variable size, equipped with a central handgrip on the inside and bosses on the outside, constitute the characteristic protective armour of these northern warriors on all the mentioned reliefs. By contrast, during the preceding 14th century BCE, such shields neither figure among the weapons of the pharaonic armies and their enemies nor among those of Aegean warriors. The earliest round shields in the Aegean are found on Mycenaean vessels and frescoes dating to the later part of LH IIIB, *i.e.* to the second half of the 13th century (Jung & Mehofer 2009: 127-130; Kardamaki 2013: 51, 285-286, pl. 11: 147). The earliest depictions of round shields in the Levant occur on two ivory plaques decorated in a local style and belonging to an ivory assemblage found in an annex to the palace of Megiddo, stratum VIIA (Decamps de Mertzfeld 1954: 88-89 cat. n° 342 & 344, pl. 24: 342b; 35: 342a; 36: 344). The intentionally deposited assemblage (Feldman 2009: 188-192) includes a writing palette with the cartouches of Ramesses III (Decamps de Mertzfeld 1954: 84, cat. n° 307, pl. 36 bis: 307). In northern and central Europe, round shields with central handgrip underneath a protruding shield boss were in regular use as protective armour from at least the central European Middle Bronze Age or the early Urnfield period (Bronze D) onwards – *i.e.* since the 14th or the 13th century BCE at the latest. Bronze specimens continued an even earlier tradition of organic shields made of wood or leather (Uckelmann 2012: 159-165). This argues in favour of a **(central) European origin of the later Mediterranean round shields**. For the time being, the lack of intermediate finds from the Apennine peninsula or from the central Balkans impedes us to reconstruct the route through which these shields reached eastern Mediterranean armies. The southernmost bronze shields come from the Carpathian Basin and Croatia on the western Balkans, but they do not antedate the phase Hallstatt A1, *i.e.* the 12th century BCE (Uckelmann 2012: 14-21, pls 1-6; 156).

The main weapon of the Sea Peoples on the Egyptian reliefs (and the contemporary texts) is the sword, although spears sometimes appear in addition. Due to the characteristic outline of the swords and the fact that they are better visible in the archaeological record than shields are, sword representations are especially useful for tracing back the Sea People warriors to a specific weapon-producing region. In the reliefs carved on behalf of Ramesses II, a single sword shape is depicted: it has a mushroom-shaped pommel, conically tapering shoulders and cutting edges that are continuously converging towards the tip. When evaluated against the size of a single warrior, the length of the sword varies from that of a dagger to that of a proper long sword (**Fig. 19.1**). None of the eastern Mediterranean sword types fits these morphological traits, but the southern Italian and Sicilian sword and dagger/dirk family called *Thapsos-Pertosa* offers a perfect prototype for the Egyptian relief depictions (Jung 2009a: 130-

2 The reliefs in question belong to temples erected during the reign of Ramesses II, 1290-1224 BCE (Schneider 2010: 402).

3 At the mortuary temple of Ramesses III, 1195-1164 BCE (Schneider 2010: 402). For a glazed tile with a Sea People warrior, see L.M. Berman in: Aruz *et al.* 2008: 267-269, cat. n° 168c.

4 Ben-Dor Evian 2016: 159-161, figs 5-6, notes similarities between Hittite 'thr' troops on the Qadeš reliefs at Abydos and Sea Peoples 'thr' troops in the land battle scene at Medinet Habu. However, this similarity does not extend to those two types of weapons and armour that are characteristic for the Sea Peoples, *i.e.* the helmets and the round shields.

135, fig. 1-2; here **Fig. 19.2,1-4**). One should note that the later sculptors working for Ramesses III gave up the uniformity of the swords carried by the Šardana in favour of a much wider variability of types, used by the new Sea Peoples groups as the Palaštu, Wešeš and Tjekker. The 12th century BCE depictions show these latter warriors with swords reproducing a Near Eastern type (type Ugarit), perhaps a Mycenaean type dating mainly to the palace period (either Sandars' type C or – less probably – type G, *cf.* Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993: 41-53, pl. 76) and possibly also the traditional South Italian/Sicilian *Thapsos-Pertosa* forms of the 13th century (Mehofer & Jung 2017: 389-390, fig. 1). We will return to this variability of material culture that seems to be especially characteristic of the later Sea Peoples.



FIG. 19.1 ŠARDANA WARRIOR ON THE WALL OF RAMESSES'S TEMPLE AT ABYDOS, WITHOUT SCALE (PHOTO R. JUNG)

Finally, it has been shown that the ships of the attackers on the Medinet Habu reliefs do not conform to Aegean ship iconography. Instead, they resemble stylised central Mediterranean depictions of ships. This is due to their symmetrical bird protomes crowning stem and stern post of each ship. In Italy, the relevant three- and two-dimensional ship depictions are more frequently attested for the Recent Bronze Age (13th through first half of 12th centuries BCE), but they go back in time to the phase Middle Bronze Age (MBA) 3 (14th century BCE) and – in the area of the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea – even to the phase Early Bronze Age 2 (first half of the 2nd millennium BCE, see Jung 2017a: 31-33, fig. 4). Unfortunately, we have no Egyptian iconographic evidence for the ships of the Šardana, when they are recorded as attackers of the Egyptian coasts in the early 13th century BCE (see below).

Textual evidence regarding the origin of the Sea People groups

The Egyptian pharaonic texts provide the information that the Sea Peoples come from 'the midst of the sea', 'from the ocean' or from 'islands in the midst of the sea' – hence their traditional name in Egyptological research (Helck 1979: 132). This is a very generic localisation belonging to the mythological sphere, while the Egyptian language did have distinct terms for Aegean regions and political entities such as Tanayu/Tanaya and Kaftu (Helck 1979: 26-37). The fact that 'Aqayawaša and Lukka mentioned in the texts of Merneptah are the only Sea Peoples *ethnika* with possible direct connections to a Bronze Age name for regions in the Aegean (because of

the possible link with Ahhiyawa and Lukka respectively, both known from Hittite texts, see Stadelmann 1968: 157-160; Helck 1979: 133-135; Hawkins 1998: 1; Bryce 2005: 336, 338; Singer 2006: 252; Gander 2010) already suggests that, in this alliance of attackers the composition of which changed from one pharaoh to the next, the other groups should originate from regions outside the Aegean. In this context, it is telling that, in a letter to the governor of Ugarit, the Hittite Great King ordered a former captive of the Šikalāyū to be interrogated, so that the king would learn more about the warriors, who apparently had attacked the vassal kingdom of Ugarit and who were only known to be ‘living on ships’ (Dietrich & Loretz 1978; Lehmann 1979). If they were originally coming from western Asia Minor and/or from the Aegean – as is often supposed for the Sea Peoples (e.g. Yasur-Landau 2010: 192) –, the Great King would probably know more about them than that this single ‘anthropological’ detail, as he was generally closely following political affairs at the western fringe of his empire (cf. Hawkins 1998; Heinhold-Krahmer 2007). For the historical course of events it is furthermore important to know that the mentioned letter of the Hittite Great King can be dated to the early regnal years of Ugarit’s last king ʿAmmurapi (Singer 1999: 722; Lackenbacher & Malbran-Labat 2005: 227-288), which in turn suggests that it was probably written during the reign of pharaoh Merneptah (Singer 1999: 732–733, Tab.), *i.e.* between 1224 and 1214 BCE (Schneider 2010: 402).

This brief overview provides us with evidence suggesting that a search for push and pull factors, which were important for triggering the earliest Sea Peoples movements in the late 14th and early 13th centuries BCE, should concentrate on the central Mediterranean regions lying to the west of the world immediately known to the great powers of the LBA.

Italy

The western region geographically closest to Mycenaean Greece was Apulia. In this south-eastern part of Italy, a specific settlement pattern developed over the course of the Italian Middle Bronze Age during the first half of the second millennium BCE. It was dominated by fortified settlements comprising some 35 sites with a major density on the Salento peninsula in the south (Scarano 2017: 965-966, fig. 1). The relations between these settlements were characterised by a marked competitiveness resulting in frequent site destructions. Researchers concur in the ascription of the causes for such regional tensions to the claim and the defence of natural resources (Recchia 2010: 98), most importantly fresh water sources (Scarano 2017: 968). Due to the lack of extensive excavations, many of the Middle Bronze Age settlement destructions in Apulia cannot be dated with precision, but the available evidence from intensely investigated sites proves that some destructions happened during a developed MBA phase (MBA 2: Coppa Nevigata), while others occurred at the end of the period (in MBA 3: Rocca Vecchia). At both Coppa Nevigata and Rocca Vecchia, the conflagration resulted from enemy attack, at the latter site probably preceded by a siege (Recchia 2010: 106-108, fig. 4; Scarano 2012: 387-388; Jung 2013: 244; Scarano 2015). What is important from a regional point of view is the fact that, at many sites, the MBA 2–3 destruction was followed by a total abandonment or at least by a reduction in size of the settlement (Scarano 2017: 967).

These Apulian developments seem to be chronologically unrelated to the much discussed crisis of the settlement system, the so-called *terramare* settlements, in the southern Po plain of northern Italy. The final abandonment of the *terramare* happened at the end of the RBA 2 phase. The end of various settlements before the closing of RBA 2 argues for a prolonged crisis, but abandonment events around the transition from RBA 1 to RBA 2 would still post-date the latest conflagrations of the MBA fortified settlements in Apulia (Cardarelli 2009: 485). Moreover, the presence of *terramare* elements among the material culture of RBA Apulian coastal sites might also be due to their role in “long-distance trade” (Cardarelli 2009: 507). Regarding the theoretical possibility that population groups from northern Italy might have been active in the context of Sea Peoples attacks in the eastern Mediterranean, Cardarelli expressed the view that emigration from the *terramare* area during the RBA was primarily directed towards other Italian regions and less so towards the Aegean or eastern Mediterranean (Cardarelli 2009: 485). If so, the developments in the north of the Apennine peninsula might only have had an indirect impact on the Mediterranean historical processes during an already developed phase of the Sea Peoples activities.

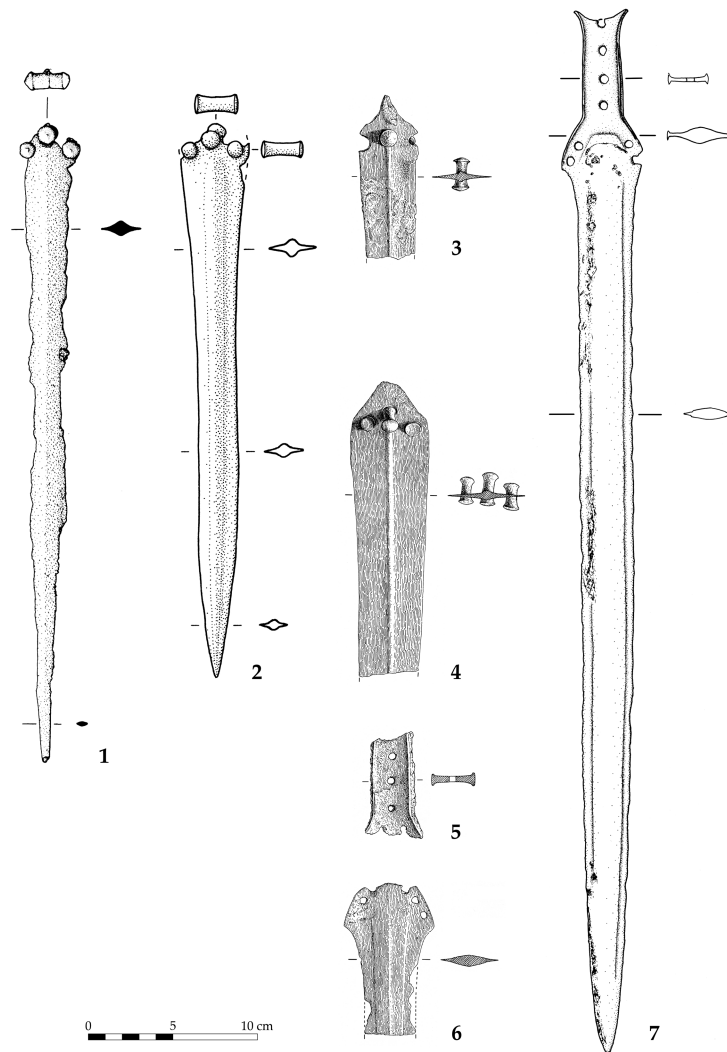


FIG. 19.2 (1) SWORD OF THAPSOS/PERTOSA FAMILY FROM THE ULUBURUN WRECK (PULAK 1988: 21, FIG. 22); (2) SWORD OF THAPSOS/PERTOSA FAMILY FROM PORTELLA, HUT V (AFTER BETTELLI & CARDARELLI 2010: 168, FIG. 85,1); (3-4) SWORDS OF THAPSOS/PERTOSA FAMILY FROM LIPARI, ACROPOLIS, HOARD FIND (AFTER BERNABÒ-BREA & CAVALIER 1980, PL. 292,98. 101); (5-6) SWORDS OF THE NAUE II FAMILY FROM LIPARI, ACROPOLIS, HOARD FIND (AFTER BERNABÒ-BREA & CAVALIER 1980, PL. 291,81. 82); (7) SWORD OF TYPE CETONA FROM VIBO VALENTIA (DRAWING R. JUNG, INKING P. FTÁRAS)

In south-western Italy, there is further archaeological evidence that may be relevant to the issue of Bronze Age forced migration. Larger scale excavations on the Aeolian Islands north of Sicily by Luigi Bernabò-Brea and Madelaine Cavalier in the 1950s as well as in recent years by Maria Clara Martinelli and Sara Levi produced stratigraphic data for several settlements on different islands of the Archipelago and allows the reconstruction of the settlement dynamics in a well-defined geographic region of southern Italy. The pottery record suggests that all settlements of the local MBA 3 facies called ‘Milazzese’ were destroyed at about the same time, namely when imported LH IIIA1 and (to a much lesser extend) early LH IIIA2 ceramics were in use – that is well before the end of the Italian MBA 3 (Jung 2006: 70-76, 81-87). In each Aeolian settlement the destruction happened by fire⁵, and

⁵ In the case of Punta Milazzese clear signs of fire are missing, but complete house inventories indicate a sudden abandonment (Bernabò-Brea & Cavalier 1968: 56).

with one exception all settlements were abandoned after this violent event. The acropolis of Lipari was the only one to be resettled in the following Recent Bronze Age (RBA) (Fig. 19.3). By then, however, the local material culture had profoundly changed in the new-founded RBA settlement of Lipari. To a large extent, regional Aeolian- and Sicilian-type ceramics and bronze objects had given way to products of continental Italian tradition. The new RBA cultural group is known under the name ‘Ausonian I’. The early excavators used this evidence to suggest an enemy attack as the cause of destruction and an immigration of people from the Italian mainland as the reason of the resettlement of the Lipari acropolis (Bernabò-Brea & Cavalier 1980: 705-709). Most scholars have followed this historical reconstruction (e.g. Pacciarelli 2001: 82-83; Martinelli 2010: 256-257).

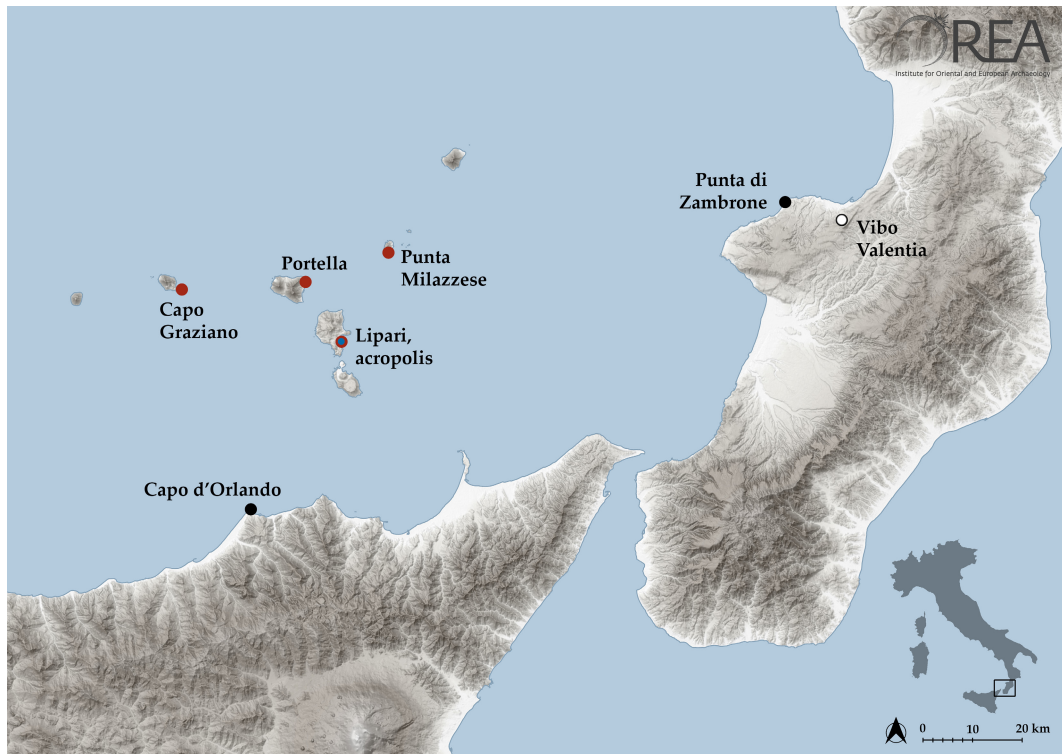


FIG. 19.3 SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS IN THE LOWER TYRRHENIAN SEA: RED = SETTLEMENT, DESTROYED IN MBA 3; BLUE ON RED = SETTLEMENT, DESTROYED IN MBA 3, RE-SETTLED IN THE RBA; BLACK = SETTLEMENT OF THE RBA; WHITE = POSSIBLE TOMB OF THE RBA (MAPPING R. JUNG, GRAPHICS M. BÖRNER)

It is important to note that this picture of marked discontinuity in the material culture between MBA 3 and RBA is not confined to the Aeolian Islands, but also extends to southern Calabria directly east of the Aeolian archipelago. Surveys and excavations in the region of the Tropea Peninsula and also in the settlement of Taureana further south provided evidence for an analogous succession of cultural facies. The major fortified site of Briatico Vecchio ceased to exist after MBA 3, but stratigraphic evidence for a MBA 3 destruction is missing so far from southern Calabria (Pacciarelli 2001: 82-83; Agostino *et al.* 2012). This may be due to a much more limited number of settlement excavations on the mainland opposite the Aeolian Islands. Marco Pacciarelli identified another important aspect of the changes in material culture between MBA 3 and RBA. He points out that the Romagna region in north-eastern Italy and the Adriatic regions of central Italy provide the best typological parallels for the new RBA pottery shapes characteristic for the *Ausonian I* culture group of Lipari and southern Calabria. Only those north-eastern Italian regions and not neighbouring Campania or Latium on the Tyrrhenian side of Italy provide MBA 3 and RBA 1 forerunners of the *Ausonian I* shapes that are characteristic for the Lower Tyrrhenian area (Pacciarelli in Jung *et al.* 2015a: 56-57). Recent settlement studies provide evidence for a population increase in the Romagna and northern Marche regions occurring during the time span from MBA 3 to RBA (Damiani 2010: 423), which could hint at a ‘push factor’ triggering an emigration towards south-eastern Italy. This picture fits

well with the theory of an immigration starting in a northern region and reaching the Lower Tyrrhenian coasts and islands towards the end of the Italian Middle Bronze Age.

One may further note that the changes in the bronze repertoire brought about the introduction of long cutting and thrusting swords of the *Cetona* type which in Greece is called the Naue II type A. This form substituted the earlier sword *Thapsos-Pertosa* shape, which had been a typical thrusting weapon. The *Thapsos-Pertosa* sword from Hut V in the MBA 3 settlement of Portella is an example of the earlier shape (Bettelli & Cardarelli 2010: 165-168, fig. 85,1) and the *Cetona* sword from Vibo Valentia (Bianco Peroni 1974: 3-4, 14-15, pl. 2:145Ab) of the later (RBA) typological group (Fig. 19.2,2.7). A huge bronze hoard find from the Lipari acropolis contains both of these types (Fig. 19.2,3-6) (Bernabò-Brea & Cavalier 1980: 746-747, 771, 773-774, pls 291:81-84; 292-293). One may therefore conclude that the northern immigrants also introduced a new fighting technique in the Lower Tyrrhenian. Apparently, large parts of Sicily remained rather unaffected by these changes, as the bronze workshops on this island in the southern part of the central Mediterranean continued the production of swords in the *Thapsos-Pertosa* tradition throughout the Recent Bronze Age (A. Vanzetti in Albanese Procelli *et al.* 2004: 323-325, figs 7:34; 8:51).

To sum up, the populations in Apulia in the southeast as well as on the Aeolian Islands in the southwest, experienced the total destruction of many settlements during MBA 3. On the Aeolian Islands, in many cases a conflagration accompanied the destruction, while at Roca Vecchia in Apulia there are clear traces of an enemy attack. Many of the destroyed settlements were abandoned and remained deserted during the following RBA. It is therefore plausible to assume that such violent events forced part of the population to emigrate to close-by regions or even farther away. In the case of the Aeolian Islands, the artefact spectrum provides evidence suggesting that immigrants from north-eastern Italy actively took part in the re-settlement of some previously abandoned sites. One cannot prove that there was a causal connection of this influx of settlers with the previous destructive events – *i.e.* in terms of flight or even eviction –, but the possibility exists.

When evaluating these developments in southern continental Italy and on Sicily in a wider Mediterranean context, it is important to note that on the western, Tyrrhenian side, we observe a severe decline in Mycenaean imports from the 14th to the 13th century BCE. While LH IIIA1/IIIA2 Early pottery had reached several MBA 3 settlements and even prestigious goods such as carnelian beads of eastern Mediterranean manufacture belonged to the imported goods at the time (Matarese *et al.* 2015: 140-144), LH IIIA Late and LH IIIB Early-Middle ceramics are conspicuously absent from the wider region (Jung 2017b: 53). South-eastern Sicily is the only region in the south-western part of Italy that seems to have received LH IIIA2 Late pottery in quantity, and even here imports of the succeeding 13th century BCE are a rarity. This points to a developing economic crisis situation of the local communities, a crisis which led to a progressive decline of their participation in a trans-Mediterranean exchange of goods, a crisis that started in the Lower Tyrrhenian and subsequently extended to south-eastern Sicily as well (Jung 2017b: 54).

Seen against this regional background, it may be no coincidence that one member of the crew on the Uluburun ship (contemporary with the Amarna period and LH IIIA2 Late) seems to have been a warrior, who used a sword of the Sicilian and South-Italian *Thapsos-Pertosa* family (L. Vagnetti in Vagnetti & Lo Schiavo 1989: 222-224, fig. 28.2; Pulak 2001: 46-47; here Fig. 19.2,1). As we have seen, such swords were the main weapons of the Šardana in the Qadeš battle in 1285 BCE, contemporary to an early stage of LH IIIB. This iconographic evidence may even hint at a similar historical link between the earliest appearance of the Širdanu/Šardana in the written sources and the *Thapsos-Pertosa* sword on board of the Uluburun ship. The direct literary context of the Širdanu/Šardana in two Amarna letters written by Rib-Hadda, king of Byblos, has already been interpreted in terms of a military role of those Širdanu/Šardana in the Levantine kingdom of Byblos (Dietrich & Loretz 1972; Helck 1979: 133; Loretz 1995: 127-128). Thus, the development of the economic crisis in the Lower Tyrrhenian and subsequently in south-eastern Sicily ran parallel to an increasing presence of warriors fighting with South-Italian/Sicilian swords in the eastern Mediterranean⁶.

According to inscriptions ordered by Ramesses II, the Šardana came “in warships from the midst of the Sea”

6 The presence of an imported Sicilian vessel of the Thapsos cultural group in a LBA II context at Beirut together with Mycenaean LH IIIA2, Minoan LM IIIA and Cypriot LC II imports (Jung 2009a: 134-136; Boileau *et al.* 2010: 1684-1686, tab. 4) cannot be taken as evidence of goods exchange (*pace* Bettelli 2017: 375), for it is (1) a unique case in the eastern Mediterranean, which (2) does not find counterparts on Sicily in terms of imported Levantine products.

(Kitchen 1996: 120 [Rhetorical Stela, Tanis II]). This very generic designation leaves several theoretical points or regions of departure open to historical research. They must have had safe harbours and strongholds to retreat as well as lookouts to monitor the sea (*cf.* Roman pirates, Schulz 2000; see also Hitchcock & Maier 2014: 627-628). Those harbours might have been on the coasts of Crete to the north of the Cyrenaica (Hitchcock & Maier 2014: 629, fig. 3), though none could so far be identified based on artefacts of southern Italian type in a LM IIIB context at a suitable site (for potential sites see the contributions by K. Nowicki and S. Michalopoulou & L. Vokotopoulos in the present volume⁷). In any case, direct travel from Sicily or continental Italy is not very probable – as even by the 16th century CE captains would tend to avoid crossing the Mediterranean and rather sail along its coasts (Braudel 2001 [1979]: 145-152, 156-157, figs 8-9) –, although the prevailing currents and winds could theoretically have supported a direct voyage from Sicily to the Cyrenaica and further to the Nile delta (*cf.* Höckmann 1987: 60-63, figs 9a-9b).

Why does the marked decline of eastern Mediterranean imports in the Lower Tyrrhenian regions and subsequently in south-eastern Sicily chronologically coincide with the appearance of warriors originating from southern Italy and/or Sicily in the eastern Mediterranean and especially along the Egyptian coast? In order to advance a plausible historical hypothesis, one needs to clarify the role played by Aegean imports – pottery, jewellery and other rare products such as unguents or perfumes or wine contained in imported closed vessels – in the local societies. The social character of the contexts in which they appear, as well as their quantities by context reveal their uneven distribution among different social groups and their socio-economic value as precious exotica. Evidence for this can be found on the Aeolian Islands as well as in south-eastern Sicily since the Italian MBA (Jung & Pacciarelli 2017: 186-188, 190-192). Importantly, the distribution of eastern Mediterranean imports remained uneven in geographical and chronological terms throughout the Mycenaean palace period. A glance at some catalogues of imported and locally produced Mycenaean pottery (Bettelli & Levi 2014; Jones *et al.* 2014: 409-413) reveals that the supply of these products was instable and very variable from micro-region to micro-region.

As soon as the social and political position of big men or chiefs in the societies in the central Mediterranean became dependent to some important degree from distributing such exotica to their followers (*cf.* Peroni 1996: 30-35), a discontinuity in their supply or even a total breakdown of the precarious exchange relationships with the Aegean would have had severe consequences for the stability of these small-scale societies. One strategy for coping with such problems may have been resorting to seaborne incursions and piracy, either against Aegean coastal settlements or Aegean ships. Once such a strategy had proven to be successful, the raids could be expanded to reach even farther locations that were rich in the desired exotic goods such as the Libyan coasts of Egypt (with coastal fortresses such as Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham with imported goods of various provenance, Snape & Wilson 2007: 58-60, 64-65, figs 3.21-3.22; 67, fig. 3.24) and first and foremost the densely settled Nile delta with its huge harbour towns and cities (Bietak 2017). A precondition would have been the occupation of suitable harbour sites closer to these targets (see above). Seafarers from the central Mediterranean could have obtained knowledge of these farther regions in the Aegean, the inhabitants of which had been maintaining exchange relationships with Egypt since centuries (see among others Cline 1994; Podzuweit 1994; Phillips 2008; Jung 2015; Papadimitriou 2015).

Greece

The growing influence in southern Italy of northern-central Italian material culture, apparent since the start of the RBA, *i.e.* the time around 1300 BCE, and at least partially connected to the southward movement of population groups (see above), did not stop in the central Mediterranean. The new weapon types, first and foremost the cutting and thrusting sword of type *Cetona* or Naue II, Type A, quickly reached the Peloponnese, the Dodecanese and other regions (see a probable specimen from the Gelidonya wreck: Bass 2013: 65, fig. 6) already by the late Palatial

⁷ At first sight one might think of the fortified hilltop settlement of Kastrokephála on the northern coast of Crete because of the presence of Italian-type pottery and bronzes (Kanta & Kontopodi 2011: 124, 140, fig. 6a and 7a; 141, fig. 8g), but the accompanying Minoan pottery represents the phase LM IIIC Early (Kanta & Kontopodi 2011: 130, 132) and therefore post-dates the reign of Ramesses II. Moreover, both ceramics and bronzes are related to the central Mediterranean, but to the RBA *Subapennine* cultural group of continental Italy (*cf.* D'Agata *et al.* 2012: 310) and not to the MBA or RBA cultural groups of Sicily.

Period in the second half of the 13th century. As chemical analyses in connection with mass spectrometry of those weapons have proven, these weapons were indeed introduced to the Aegean via Italy (Jung & Mehofer 2013). During the reign of Seti II (1214-1208 BCE, Schneider 2010: 402), the new swords must have reached the coasts of Egypt, as the famous sword influenced by the Cetona type and inscribed with the cartouches of this pharaoh clearly proves, for the specific choice of hieroglyphs reveals the hand of a writer from Lower Egypt (Bietak & Jung 2007-2008). This introduction of continental Italian weapon types in Mycenaean Greece and slightly later in Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean coastal regions precedes the iconographic changes in the equipment of Sea People warriors visible on the Medinet Habu reliefs dating to the early reign of Ramesses III. This is no contradiction, as we have no Sea Peoples depictions at our disposal that would date to the later reign of Ramesses II or to the time of his immediate successors. The relationship between texts, iconography and artefacts are complex, which is at least partly due to the fragmentary character of all these different records. The seafaring Šardana are followed by other Sea Peoples groups under Merneptah, but the even later groups recorded by Ramesses III are not depicted as fighting with identifiable continental Italian weapons. Yet, their ships seem to belong to central Mediterranean types, and the pharaonic weapon workshops were producing swords inspired by the Naue II family already some 20 years earlier.

The often-quoted mould for producing a RBA winged axe type from the destruction horizon of the House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae (Stubblings 1954) demonstrates that Aegean weapon workshops close to the palaces had started the manufacture of Italian-type weapons at least by LH IIIB Middle (for a second mould most probably used for producing axes of the same or a closely related type, but found in a later, LM IIIC context at Phaestos in southern Crete, see Borgna 2011: 289-291, 297, pl. 2,2). This technology transfer must have included some movement of craftsmen from continental Italy to Mycenaean regions. One may further assume that some warriors from Italy were needed for training Mycenaean armies in new western fighting techniques. Although we do not possess direct written evidence for the presence of such central Mediterranean men among the Mycenaean troops (for Pylian and Knossian Linear B texts possibly referring to foreign warriors of different origin, see J. Driessen in: Driessen & Macdonald 1984: 49-56; *cf.* also Deger-Jalkotzy 1978: 35-36, 43-45), the basic structural similarities between the pharaonic and the Mycenaean kingdom suggest that the Great King of Ahhiyawa may well have integrated such fighters in his army following their submission in battle – just as Ramesses did with the Šardana. This would have been a specific case of forced migration, *i.e.* the permanent deportation and resettlement of captives. The Egyptian 19th and 20th dynasty texts describe such measures, which were culminating in forcibly changing the native language of foreign soldiers towards Egyptian (Gnirs 1996: 60-61).

The citadel of Mycenae provides archaeological evidence that gives some indirect information on the warriors using such Italian weapons during the late palace period. The presence of an imported Naue II sword in the Northwest Quarter (**Fig. 19.4,1**, found as part of a bronze hoard most probably deposited during LH IIIB Final (see Jung & Mehofer 2013: 176, fig. 3B), and of an imported grip-tongue dagger of the RBA Pertosa type (**Fig. 19.4,2**, *cf.* an Italian find from the Po plain **Fig. 19.4,3**) in the Artisans' Quarter, the east wing of the royal palace in its LH IIIB Final destruction level (Mylonas 1966: 423, 426; Papadopoulos 1998: 29, cat. no. 138, pl. 22, 138; Jung 2009a, 136-138, fig. 4,20), suggests that the (physical) position of those warriors was rather close to the *wanax* himself. Two ivory hilt plates found in a LH IIIB Middle context inside the Cult Centre had been dismantled from a Naue II sword (Krzyszowska 2007: 29-31, pl. 6,c,d). The use of the precious material ivory is unique for the Naue II class, both in the eastern and in the central Mediterranean, and thus gives another hint at a rather high social position earned by the warriors trained in the new fighting techniques.

Moreover, at several points inside the Mycenae citadel violin-bow fibulae were found (Kilian 1985). One was discovered in a sealed LH IIIB Final destruction context (Pliatsika 2015: 605, fig. 7; here **Fig. 19.4,4**). It belongs to Kilian's type VIA or VIB and has good parallels mainly in continental Italy during RBA 2 (*e.g.* in cremation burial 12 at Cavallo Morto in Latium: Angle *et al.* 2004: 129, 131-132, fig. 3,T.12,3; here **Fig. 19.4,5**), but also on Sicily (Savella 2016). As violin bow fibulae were not a Mycenaean creation (Jung 2006: 53 with bibliography), but common in Italy and present in Mycenaean Greece with varieties identical to the Italian ones (Kilian 1985; Jung 2006; Lo Schiavo 2010; Savella 2015), they may well be connected with warriors using Italian-type weapons. One may think of a similar interpretation in the case of the new handmade pottery class (traditionally called 'Handmade and Burnished Ware' or HBW) present since the later LH IIIB phases in the citadel of Mycenae. So far, the HBW from Mycenae is incompletely published and the few illustrated specimens from LH IIIB contexts

do not show typological traits that exclusively belong to the Italian *impasto* pottery of the RBA (cf. Romanos 2011 vol. 2: 130-132, figs 4.20a-b). However, vessels from early Postpalatial levels and several unstratified specimens do represent RBA *impasto* types (cf. Romanos 2011 vol. 2: 119, fig. 4.15a, GMBW'68/154HBW1; 120, 4.15b, GMBW'68/101HBW1. 64-456. 64-455). In other settlements such as Tiryns, Midea and Khaniá, Italian-type *impasto* pottery is attested without doubt since the LH IIIB and LM IIIB periods respectively (Demakopoulou *et al.* 2003: 10-11, fig. 9; 14-15, fig. 22; Kilian 2007; Rahmstorf 2011: 315-319, 328, figs 2-3; D'Agata *et al.* 2012: 299-307). While the Naue II thrusting and slashing swords may have been adopted because of military necessity to confront attacking warriors equipped with innovative weapons, fibulae, handmade pottery and probably also daggers were objects for different kinds of personal use. Personal objects of central Mediterranean tradition were absent from the preceding phases of the Palace Period, which suggests that their first appearance in Greece during the second half of the 13th century BCE is related to a historical phenomenon involving the immigration of people coming from the Apennine peninsula (for such an interpretation of the HBW, see among others Carancini & Peroni 1997: 600-601; Bettelli 2002: 130-137; Kilian 2007: 77-80; Jung 2009a: 144-149, figs 9-10; D'Agata *et al.* 2012: 307-310, 319-320; Rutter 2012: 82-85).

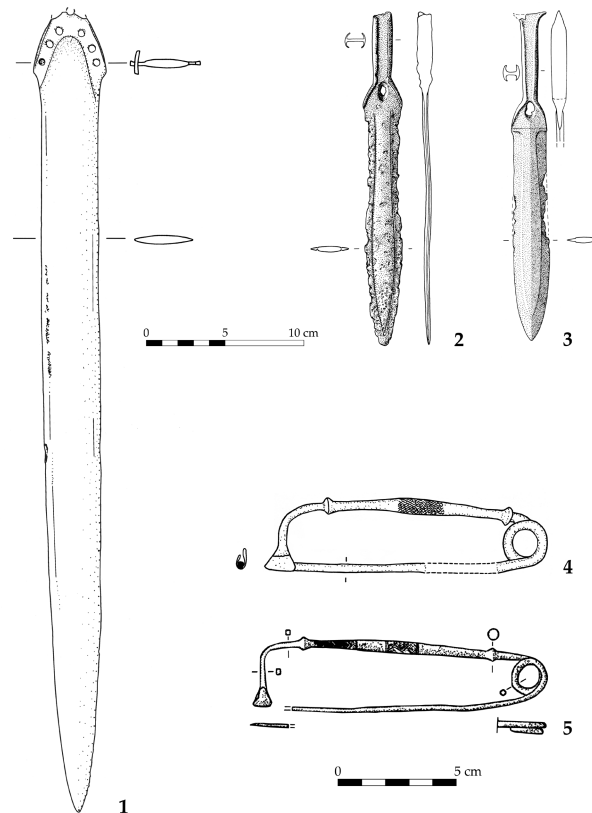


FIG. 19.4 (1) NAUE II SWORD FROM MYCENAE, NORTHWEST QUARTER, HOARD FIND (DRAWING R. JUNG, DIGITALIZATION M. FRAUENGLAS); (2) DAGGER OF PERTOSA TYPE FROM MYCENAE, ROYAL PALACE, ARTISANS' QUARTER (AFTER PAPADOPOULOS 1998, PL. 22,138); (3) DAGGER OF PERTOSA TYPE FROM CASTELLARO LAGUSELLO (AFTER BIANCO PERONI 1994: PL. 83,1498); (4) VIOLIN-BOW FIBULA FROM MYCENAE, HOUSE M QUARTER, ROOM Y-1 (AFTER PLIATSIKA 2015: 605, FIG. 7); (5) VIOLIN-BOW FIBULA FROM CAVALLO MORTO, TOMB 12 (AFTER ANGLE *ET AL.* 2004: 131, FIG. 3,T.12,3)

An analogy for interpreting the Mycenae evidence suggesting a apparently close relationship of warriors equipped with Italian-type weapons to the king may be Ramesses's II Šardana guard. At Abu Simbel, these are depicted right below his throne in the camp scene of the Qadeš battle (Heinz 2001: 138, 281). However, it is of course possible that the typified Egyptian reliefs that clearly differentiate between troops with fully Egyptian clothing and Egyptian weapons, on the one hand, and Šardana units with their specific weaponry and clothing, on the other, describe a reality somewhat different from the Mycenaean one. At the end of LH IIIB, individual warriors bearing Italian weapons may have been serving in units equipped with mixed armaments. Apart from the imported Naue II sword, the bronze hoard from the Northwest Quarter at Mycenae contained five Mycenaean-type thrusting swords: a long one and a short one of type G and three short ones of type F (Spyropoulos 1972: 12-16, figs 10-15, pls 4-6, 7γ, 8α.β). As there is no evidence for households with predominantly central Mediterranean material culture inside the Palace Period settlements, the Mycenaean king may have organised foreign soldiers in a different way than pharaoh did.

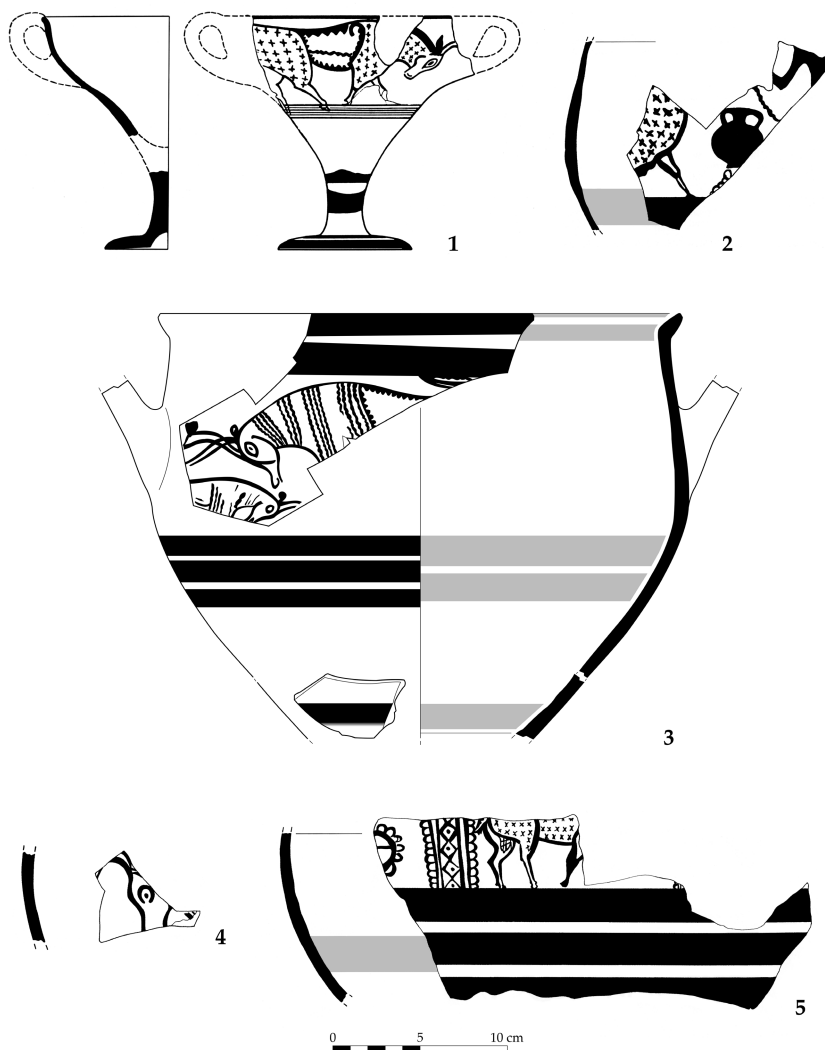


FIG. 19.5 POTS PAINTED BY THE 'PROTOME PAINTER A': (1) KYLIX FROM KITION, TOMB 9, LOWER BURIAL (AFTER KARAGEORGHIS 1974: PL. 146,66); (2) BOWL SHERD FROM TERMITITO (AFTER VAGNETTI 2001: 109, FIG. 3); (3) KRATER FROM ENKOMI, INV. NO. 4540/1+4545/, WELL (DRAWING R. JUNG, DIGITALIZATION R. YASSINE); (4) BODY SHERD FROM TERMITITO (AFTER VAGNETTI 2001: 110, FIG. 4,5); (5) KRATER SHERD FROM TERMITITO (AFTER VAGNETTI 2001: 109, FIG. 2)

There is some evidence to suggest that certain emigrants from Italy returned to the southern Italian coasts after having spent some time in Mycenaean Greece. The Italo-Mycenaean pots excavated at Termitito close to the Ionian coast of Basilicata show a characteristic blend of shapes inspired by local handmade *impasto* vessels with painted decoration depending on the Mycenaean style that was in use in the northern Argolid during LH IIIB Middle to Developed. The abstract motifs and – more importantly – the pictorial ones are exact copies of those used by specific vase painting schools in that region. NAA results prove that Mycenaean-type vessels decorated in the style of the so-called Protome Painter A were produced in the region of Mycenae (unpublished data by H. Mommsen on a krater from Enkomi; see **Fig. 19.5,1. 3**). By contrast, the Italo-Mycenaean vessels painted in the same style (**Fig. 19.5,2. 4. 5**) seem to be local products of Basilicata workshops according to AAS results that are published for one of them (Jones & Levi 2014: 164-165, sample T39; Bettelli & Levi 2014: 320, fig. 4.61, T39). This means that, whereas the palatial potters' workshops of Mycenae produced pictorial vessels for Levantine consumers, populations in Italy had to obtain their Italo-Mycenaean shapes by means of local production, but – at least at Termitito – with some important direct know-how input from Mycenae. Leaving aside the difficult hypothesis of a successful pirate incursion that would have had to penetrate deeply into the northern Argolid (*cf.* the contribution by B. Lis in the present volume), the easiest explanation for the Termitito evidence is the education at Mycenae of some emigrants from southern Italy. These would subsequently have returned to the Ionian coast of Basilicata and worked there for local consumers (Jung 2005: 59-60, fig. 6; 2017b: 54-55). It may well be that this case of (re-)migration to Italy was connected to the decline of the export-oriented production at Mycenae in the second half of LH IIIB (*cf.* Jung 2015: 249-251), as Lucia Vagnetti has suggested in her discussion of the Termitito pottery (Vagnetti 2001: 115).

Here it is important to stress that, in the case of other southern Italian regions, one cannot reconstruct direct connections with the Argolid in a similar way. The settlement of Punta di Zambrone located on the Tyrrhenian coast of southern Calabria, for instance, shows a totally different pattern of contacts. For Punta di Zambrone, NAA results reveal that the Mycenaean pottery from the last phases of LH IIIB and the very beginning of LH IIIC Early predominantly consists of western Greek pots produced in Achaea and Elis as well as in Aetolia-Acarnania. Not even a single piece among the analysed vessels comes from the Argolid (Jung *et al.* 2015b). Metal objects and faience beads found at Zambrone belong to the classes of East Mediterranean products more rarely found in southern Italy, while one specific object is an absolutely unique find outside the southern Aegean world (**Fig. 19.6**). It is a small ivory statuette (preserved height 4.9 cm) of a Minoan divinity with characteristic traits of Cretan Neopalatial style (Jung & Pacciarelli 2016). Given the fact that such religious paraphernalia were never regularly exported by the populations of Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece, the most plausible explanation for its presence at Punta di Zambrone in the same stratigraphic context as the above-mentioned late Palatial and early Postpalatial pottery is as the result of some act of plundering *e.g.* of a sanctuary or of piracy following the boarding of an Aegean ship (Jung & Pacciarelli 2017: 192). The presence of (mainly western) Cretan products among the Aegean vessels from Punta di Zambrone (Jung *et al.* 2015b) could suggest a raid on the Cretan coasts. However, the recent find of a larger ivory statuette of Minoan Neopalatial style at the Laconian palace site of Áyios Vassílios (Vasilogamvrou 2017: 19-20, fig. 8) leaves open the possibility that the Zambrone statuette may alternatively have been taken from a Greek mainland site.

The above examples show the site-specific or – in other words – fragmented character of the Italo-Aegean contacts during the late Palatial Period. It once more strengthens the conclusion that no continuous and large scale products export towards Italy happened in Mycenaean Greece during this period. The Mycenaean palatial economy did not organise anything for the pre-state societies in the west that would have been even remotely similar to the bulk shipping of specifically designed pottery towards eastern destinations. Seen against this background, the presence of Italian weapons and of – according to petrography – locally produced handmade *impasto* pottery at several Mycenaean and Late Minoan sites from LH/LM IIIB onwards is most probably not the result of regular and peaceful exchange relationships (*pace* Iacono 2013).

The fall of the Mycenaean palatial system marked a profound change of the geopolitical situation in the Mediterranean. From LH IIIB Final to LH IIIC Early 1, in the decades around 1200 BCE (see below), one by one the Mycenaean palaces on the Greek mainland fell victim to conflagrations. The character of these destructions makes it likely that the immediate causes of the fatal events were internal social conflicts culminating in a political revolution that brought about the end of a specific Mycenaean form of the Asiatic Mode of Production (for new

evidence arguing against hypothetical earthquake destructions of Tiryns and Midea during LH IIIB Final see Hinzen *et al.* 2018). The new society was founded on private possession of the agricultural means of production, and it was organised in small territorial units (Jung 2016; Jung 2017c). The aggravating crisis of the palaces as well as the developments following the overthrow of the king were almost certainly accompanied by an at least temporary dissolution of the Mycenaean armies and armed conflict between war-lords (*e.g.* Maran 2009: 255-256; Jung 2016: 567-568). In addition, battles between Aegean and non-Aegean armies may have occurred. The Linear B tablets from the LH IIIC Early 1 destruction level of the palace of Pylos provide us with some well-known hints at imminent sea-born attacks against the region of Messenia in the south-western Peloponnese. According to the tablets, the palace prepared its defence against such a threat, which may relate to pirate incursions from the central Mediterranean (Deger-Jalkotzy 1978: 29-0; *cf.* also Hitchcock & Maier 2014: 634).

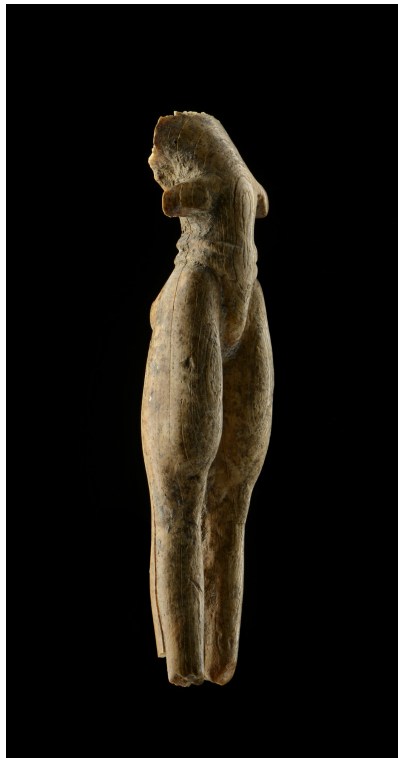


FIG. 19.6 IVORY STATUETTE FROM PUNTA DI ZAMBRONE, WITHOUT SCALE (PHOTO J. LIPTÁK)

It is important to note in this context that, according to Egyptian inscriptions, the coalition of Libyan tribes and Sea Peoples attacking Egypt from the West in year 5 of pharaoh Merneptah (1224-1214 BCE) included a group named 'Aqayawaša (Kitchen 2003: 2, 4, 7, 19). This is the only Sea Peoples *ethnikon* that can reasonably be linked with Greece during the Palace Period – via the Hittite term for the Mycenaean Great Kingdom of Ahhiyawa (Stadelmann 1968: 157-160; Lehmann 1985: 50-55; Bryce 2005: 336; 338; Singer 2006: 252). According to current absolute chronology, Merneptah's regnal year 5 is 1219 BCE, which must fall into the Mycenaean phase LH IIIB Final (see below). A further interesting fact is the participation of a group of Lukka from south-western Asia Minor (Hawkins 1998: 1; Gander 2010) in the same, Libyan-led coalition (Kitchen 2003: 2, 4).

If we consider both the archaeological as well as the written evidence, the fall of the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa not only brought about political instability in the wider Aegean region, but seems to have also led to the formation of warrior groups that eventually proceeded to overseas operations including piratic raids (*cf.* Hitchcock & Maier 2016: 248-249). The Egyptian sources suggest that these warriors started forming multi-tribal (or 'multi-ethnic') coalitions in order to be able to confront the well-organised state armies of the remaining Great Kingdoms and their vassals in Egypt and the Near East. Out of military necessity, later kinship-based societies often felt forced to adopt such a strategy for preparing a potentially successful attack on the empire of their time – regardless of

their specific historical motifs or exigencies (Heather 2009: 205-206)⁸. This military argument is valid despite the scepticism expressed *e.g.* by Barbara Cifola against the possibility of an enemy coalition formed in order to attack Egypt (Cifola 1988: 303).

The breakdown of centralised power in the Aegean may not only have caused emigration from the Mycenaean heartland. In a dialectical way, it may also have attracted immigrants from populations that had been maintaining relationships with Greece before and that were now able to develop these relationships on more equal footing (*cf.* Jung & Pacciarelli 2017: 195). Renewed immigration from continental Italy following earlier migration patterns would explain the increase of Italian-type *impasto* pottery in the course of LH IIIC Early, an increase that is visible in those settlements where excavations yielded larger quantities of this class, such as Dimini in the Gulf of Volos in LH IIIC Early 1 (Adrimi-Sismani 2006: 90-91), Tiryns in the Argolid Gulf in LH IIIC Early 2 (Kilian 2007: 46, fig. 1) and most probably also the Menelaion close to Sparta (Catling 2009: 380). The recent excavations at Tiryns, in the north-western quarter of the Lower Town, brought to light a series of *impasto* vessels and Italian-type metal objects in two consecutive LH IIIC Early settlement phases as well as in a subsequent LH IIIC Developed level (Maran 2016: 211-212, fig. 12.12; Maran & Papadimitriou 2016: 29-31, fig. 20; 34-35, fig. 31; 50-52, fig. 70; 56, fig. 84; 63, fig. 99).

The central and northern Levant

By the end of the Levantine LBA II phase, Italian-type pottery was also used in at least two settlements in the central Levant – earlier than on Cyprus (for an up-dated distribution map see Jung 2017a: 27-29, fig. 2). At approximately the same time, the new cutting and thrusting swords of Cetona or Naue II, type A, made their first appearance in the northern Levant (at Ugarit) and on Cyprus (at Enkomi in LC IIC). According to available stratigraphic evidence, this seems to have happened a few decades after these pottery and weapon classes had been introduced in the Aegean (Jung 2009b: 75-77; Jung & Mehofer 2009). The most striking case is the Akkar Plain, today divided between Syria and the Lebanon. In the southern part, at Tell °Arqa, we find a combination of Italian-type *impasto* vessels consisting of hole-mouthed jars and small carinated cups (Charaf 2011: 203-204, 212, fig. 2,1-5; see here **Fig. 19.7,3** and a parallel from RBA 2 Punta di Zambrone **Fig. 19.7,1**) with (probably locally made) Mycenaean pottery (Charaf 2011: 206, 213, fig. 3,12-13) as well as local-type pottery characteristic for the end of LBA II and the beginning of IA I (Charaf 2011: 205-207). The relevant settlement contexts belong to a late stage of Tell °Arqa Level 11 (Charaf 2011: 203). NAA analyses have shown that the handmade Italian-type vessels from Tell °Arqa most probably were produced in the region itself (Mommensen 2011). A violin-bow fibula and a leaf-shaped fibula secondarily joined together may have belonged to the same settlement phase (**Fig. 19.7,2**) and would then add some dress accessories of Italian type to the picture of the Akkar Plain around 1200 BCE (Gernez 2006: 206, pl. 145,19: ‘Niveau 12/11’).

Italian-type handmade *impasto* pottery was also produced in the northern part of the plain, at Tell Kazel, as the combined results of NAA and petrography indicate. Moreover, the petrographic study by Marie-Claude Boileau revealed that the potters working for the Tell Kazel consumers made the specific choice to use grog temper only when producing this handmade *impasto* pottery. This is telling as potters in Italy often used grog in the production of the same *impasto* vessel types that we find in the Akkar Plain (Badre *et al.* 2005; Boileau *et al.* 2010). At Tell Kazel, the Italian-type *impasto* pots were present in small quantities in several houses of the settlement (for one house assemblage with *ca.* 1% handmade *impasto* pottery see Badre & Capet 2014: 161, tab. 1: ‘Barbarian Ware’).

The stratigraphy of Tell Kazel allows a precise regional and inter-regional dating of the earliest appearance of the Italian-type handmade *impasto* pottery in the Akkar Plain. It happened in the last LBA phase of the settlement – also called transitional LBA II/IA I phase or Akkar phase K1 (Level 6 upper in excavation Area II; Level 5 upper in excavation Area IV; for the Akkar phases see Badre 2007-2008). The Italian-type *impasto* pottery is found in context with (1) local pottery comprising characteristic types of the late LBA II and the early IA I and (2) Mycenaean-type ceramics, which according to NAA and petrographic results are also local products (**Fig. 19.11, 5-12**) – apart from a few deep bowls of either northern Syrian or Cypriot origin (Badre *et al.* 2005). Based on

⁸ During the 13th century BCE even in central Europe quite large armies could appear, as the battlefield(s) in the Tollense valley (northeastern Germany) demonstrate, for which the excavators calculate 2000 to 6000 combatants (Jantzen *et al.* 2014: 245-246).

rim counts, the number of the locally made Mycenaean pottery amounts to much less than 10%, while only one exceptional context yielded 20% of local Mycenaean rims. Typologically and stylistically, these local Mycenaean vessels can be dated to LH IIIC Early 1, *i.e.* the phase during which the palace of Pylos was destroyed (while the palaces in the Argolid and in Boeotia were destroyed earlier, in LH IIIB Final).

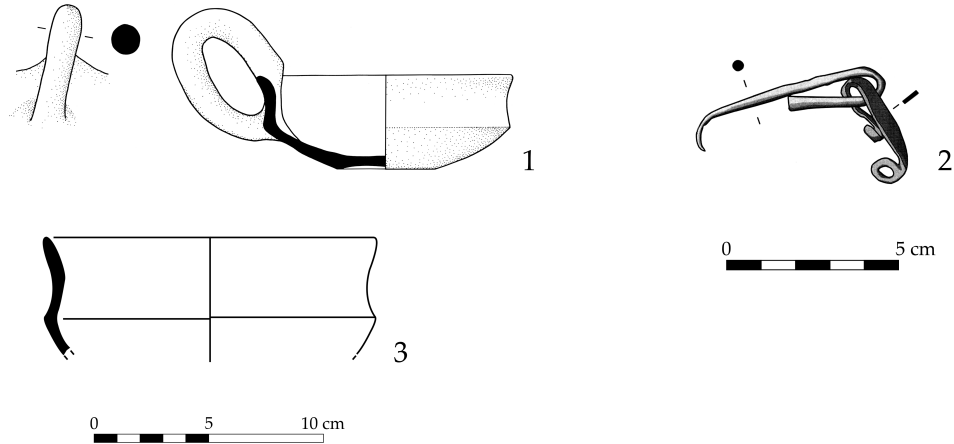


FIG. 19.7 ITALIAN-TYPE ARTEFACTS FROM THE AKKAR PLAIN AND PARALLELS: (1) CARINATED HANDMADE *IMPASTO* CUP FROM PUNTA DI ZAMBRONE, RBA 2 (AFTER PACCIARELI IN JUNG *ET AL.* 2015A: 62, FIG. 6,1); (2) VIOLIN-BOW FIBULAE FROM TELL ⁶ARQA (AFTER GERNEZ 2006: PL. 145,19); (3) CARINATED HANDMADE *IMPASTO* CUP FROM TELL ⁶ARQA, LEVEL 11 (AFTER CHARAF 2011: 212, FIG. 2,2)

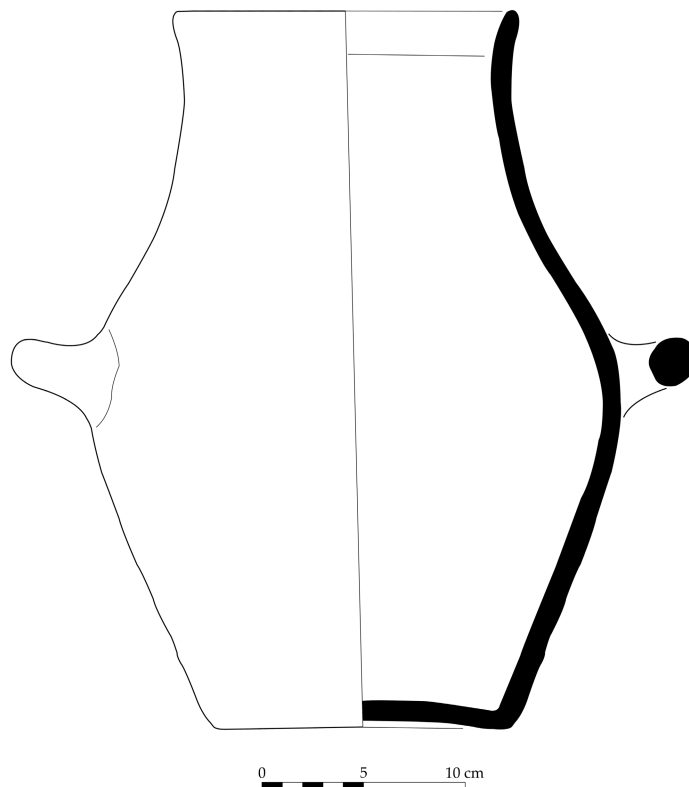


FIG. 19.8 HANDMADE BELLY-HANDLED AMPHORA OF *IMPASTO* POTTERY FROM TELL KAZEL, LEVEL 3 (AFTER BADRE 2003: 90, FIG. 6,8)

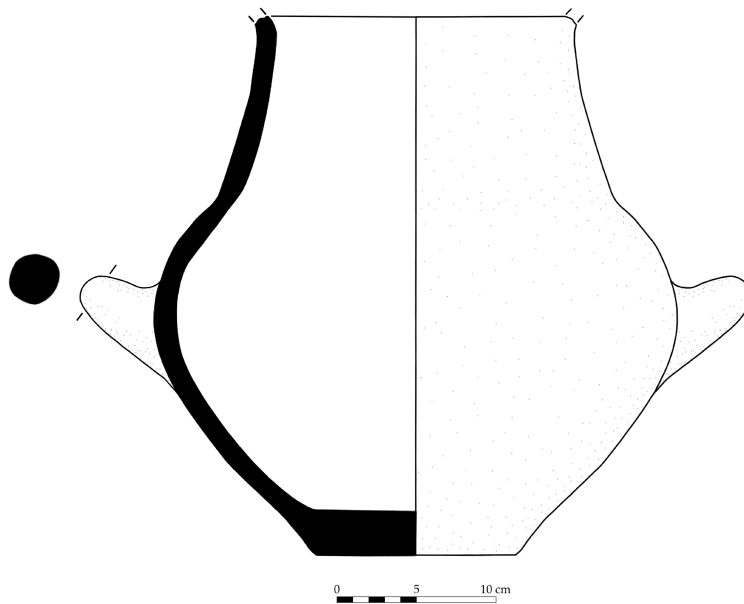


FIG. 19.9 HANDMADE BELLY-HANDLED AMPHORA OF *IMPASTO* POTTERY FROM LIPARI, ACROPOLIS, *AUSONIAN I*, RBA 2 (AFTER CAPRIGLIONE 2016: PL. 34, LIP117)

Among the Italian-type *impasto* pottery of Tell Kazel, jars of different sizes decorated with horizontal plastic bands (either plain or with finger impressions) make up the majority of the vessel repertoire (Badre 2006: 86, fig. 16,2.4-6; 88, fig. 17,1-5; 91, fig. 19,1-3.6). In addition, there are a large carinated cup (for a new reconstruction see Jung 2017: 29, fig. 3,1), a belly-handled amphora and a tray (Badre 2006: 86, fig. 16,3.8; here **Figs 19.8 and 19.10,1**). The percentages of open versus closed shapes markedly differ from those of Italian RBA settlement assemblages, where the share of open shapes is much larger. However, in its composition, the *impasto* ceramics from Tell Kazel resemble the analogous vessel repertoires of LH IIIC Early Aegean settlements such as Tiryns in the Argolid (Kilian 2007: 49-50; Stockhammer 2008 vol. 1: 150-151, 203), the Menelaion in Laconia (Catling 2009: 381-382) and Dhimini in coastal Thessaly (Adrimi-Sismani 2006).

Apart from the different jar types, which are very widely distributed in the Apennine peninsula, the Italian parallels for some of the *impasto* vessels from Tell Kazel are restricted to more circumscribed regions of continental Italy. The large belly-handled amphora (**Fig. 19.8**) represents a vessel shape common in southern Tyrrhenian Italy, in the *Ausonian I* phase of the settlement on the acropolis of Lipari (**Fig. 19.9**), in north-eastern Sicily at Capo d'Orlando and possibly also at Punta di Zambrone in the early RBA 2 settlement phase (Capriglione 2016: 101, 169, 317, pls 34,LIP117. LIP217; 150,LIP117 – also quoting Lentini *et al.* 2004: 74, cat. n° 5)⁹. The very shallow tray (**Fig. 19.10,1**) can be traced back to the same geographical region (**Fig. 19.10,2**), perhaps also including northern Calabria (Capriglione 2016: 105, 127, 226, 309, pls 1,LIP68. PZ141; 66,PZ141; 165,LIP68).

However, other shapes such as barrel-shaped jars with sharply in-turning rims and plastic decoration point to an Adriatic connection (**Fig. 19.11**).

Summing up, the specific shape selection as well as the technological choices of the local potters producing handmade *impasto* as well as painted and unpainted Mycenaean pottery strengthens the hypothesis that the necessary knowledge for producing these ceramic categories reached the Akkar plain with immigrants coming from or via the Aegean. Some of these must have continued ceramic production traditions deriving from southern continental Italy¹⁰.

⁹ A geographically more distant parallel can be found further north in Tyrrhenian Italy, at Cavallo Morto in Latium, see Angle *et al.* 2004: 135-136, fig. 6,T.35,1. The wide and conical neck proportions of the Kazel vessel set it apart from handmade and burnished vessels found in Postpalatial Mycenaean Greece where the large closed vessels have a more globular body and a narrower neck, widening towards the mouth. These characteristics betray the influence of Mycenaean vessel shapes (Kilian 2007: 21, 23, 97-98, pl. 16,186; 17,198).

¹⁰ It remains doubtful that there were any direct connections between the central Levant and north-eastern Italy (Caput Adriae).

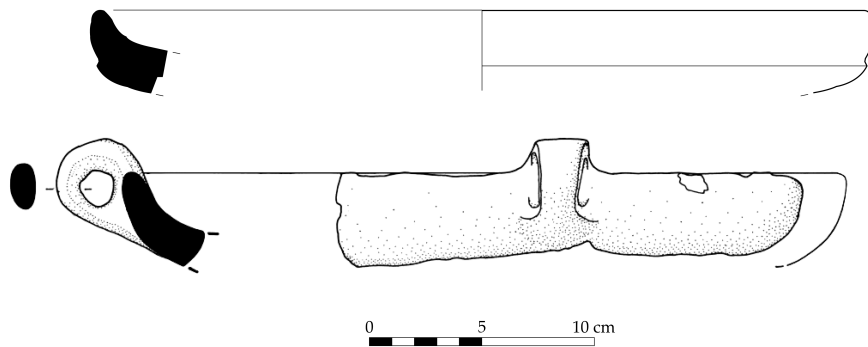


FIG. 19.10 HANDMADE *IMPASTO* TRAYS: (1) TELL KAZEL, LBA II/IA I DESTRUCTION LEVEL, PHASE AKKAR K1; (2) LIPARI, ACROPOLIS (AFTER CAPRIGLIONE 2016: PL. 165, LIP68)

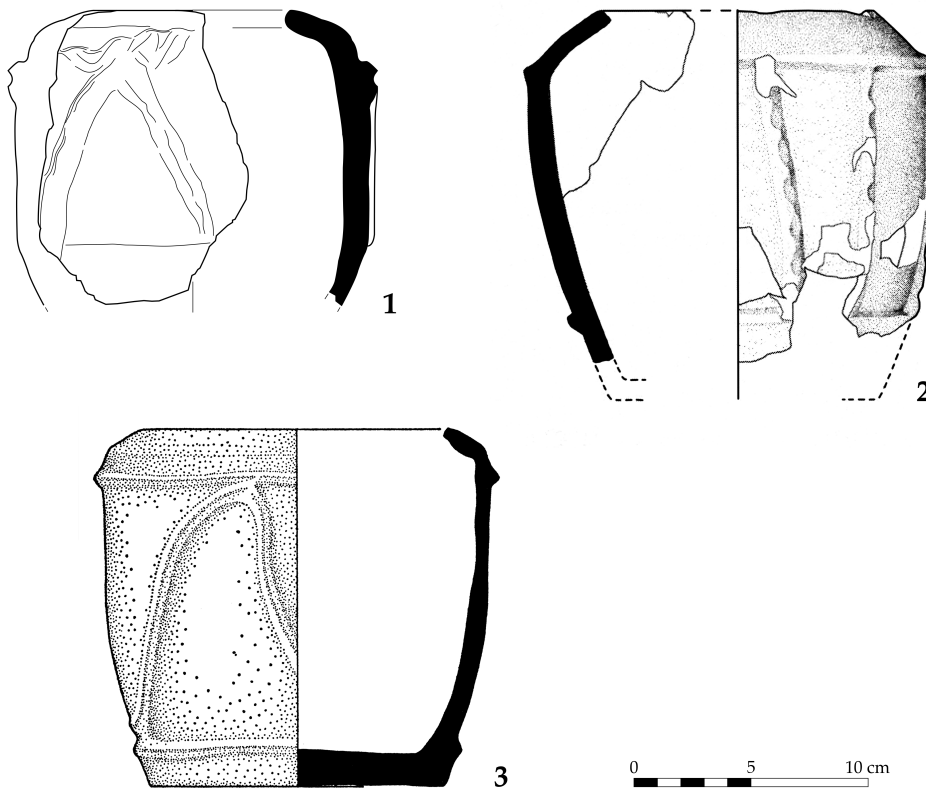


FIG. 19.11 HANDMADE *IMPASTO* JARS WITH IN-TURNING RIMS AND PLASTIC DECORATION: (1) TELL KAZEL, LBA II/IA I DESTRUCTION LEVEL, PHASE AKKAR K1 (AFTER BADRE & CAPET 2018: 137, PL. 39, 460); (2) ROCA VECCHIA, FBA 1 (AFTER PAGLIARA *ET AL.* 2007: 338, FIG. 13, IV.32); (3) KORÁKOU, LH III C EARLY (AFTER RUTTER 1975: 18, ILL. 1)

So far, a few fragments of locally made Mycenaeanizing bichrome pottery (painted in red and black) from Pondo Paviani (named in favour of such a hypothesis by Bettelli *et al.* 2015) do not find sufficiently specific parallels along the Levantine coasts, *i.e.* parallels that would show the same combinations of technique and motifs. Moreover, the fragments are too small to allow the determination of an exact vessel type.

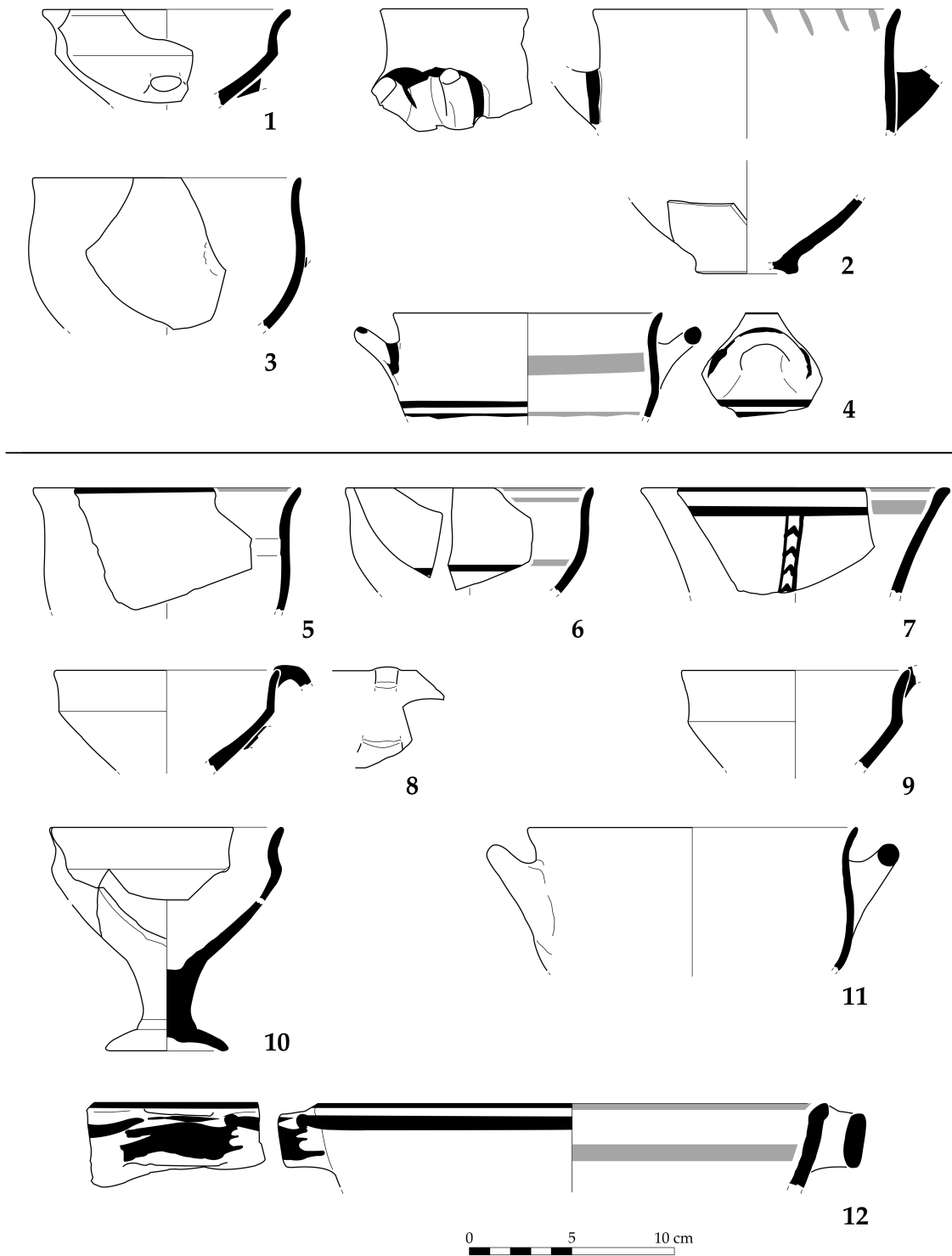


FIG. 19.12 LOCALLY PRODUCED MYCENAEAN POTTERY FROM TELL KAZEL: (1-4) PAINTED AND UNPAINTED MYCENAEAN-TYPE POTTERY FROM THE IRON AGE I DESTRUCTION LEVEL; (5-12). PAINTED AND UNPAINTED MYCENAEAN-TYPE POTTERY FROM THE LBA II/IA I DESTRUCTION LEVEL, PHASE AKKAR K1 (DRAWINGS R. JUNG & R. YASSINE, DIGITALIZATION R. YASSINE)

The buildings of Level 6 upper in excavation Area II and Level 5 upper in excavation Area IV of Tell Kazel, *i.e.* of the Akkar phase K1, fell victim to a violent conflagration (Badre 2006: 69, tab. 1; 82–93). The use of local Mycenaean pottery and Italian-type *impasto* pottery continued during the subsequent Early Iron Age I phase (Fig 19.8 and 19.12,1-4), which again ended in a destruction by fire (Level 5 in excavation Area II; Levels 4-3 in excavation Area IV of Tell Kazel). If the earlier destruction was the result of an external attack, the stratigraphic position of the locally made vessels of Aegean and Italian type inside the debris of this destruction would mean that the potters, who had introduced these vessels to the Akkar plain, were not the attackers burning down the settlement. The short, but drastic reference to the destruction of the Amurru kingdom in the famous year 8 inscription on the Second Pylon of Ramesses's III temple at Medinet Habu – with the words “devastating his people and his land as though they had never existed” (Edel 1985: 225; Redford 2018: 36 – with the note that ‘his’ should refer to the ‘chief of the country’, *i.e.* the king of Amurru) – argues in favour of ascribing this first destruction of Tell Kazel in Akkar phase K1 to the Sea Peoples (Badre 2003: 91-92; 2006: 93; Jung 2008: 203-208).

The year 8 inscription mentions the destruction of Amurru following the destructions of other kingdoms that are all located further to the north and to the west of Amurru (Jung 2009c: 30-36, fig. 3; Ben-Dor Evian 2017: 275-278). One of these is Karkamiš, which extended over parts of western and northern Syria as well as northern Kurdistan (Klengel 1992: 120-128). The king of Karkamiš was the overlord of the king of Ugarit, which leads to the common assumption that the reported destruction of Karkamiš by sea-born attackers – if reflecting historical reality – entailed the destruction of cities and settlements situated close to the coast such as Ugarit and its harbours (Schaeffer 1939: 45-46; Klengel 1992: 183; Yon 1992). This seems probable for certain tablets found at Ugarit refer to enemies coming by ships via Cyprus and burning down Ugaritic cities (Yon 1992: 116-117; Lackenbacher 2002: 192-194). Another tablet refers to the hostile Šikalāyū ‘living on ships’ (see above). Tell Tweini, identified as the southernmost Ugaritic harbour town named Gibala in the texts of Ugarit (Bretschneider *et al.* 2004: 217-220; Bretschneider & Van Lerberghe 2008: 31-32), was destroyed at the end of LBA II by fire – just as Tell Kazel further south. Moreover, at both Tell Tweini and Tell Kazel certain weapon finds may suggest that the outbreak of the fire resulted from fighting (Yon 1992: 117-118, fig. 14.5a; Bretschneider & Van Lerberghe 2008: 32; 2010: 32-33, 41, fig. 36; Jung 2009c: 41-42). In terms of material culture it is therefore relevant that the LBA II destruction level of Tell Tweini contained a small quantity of locally produced Mycenaean pottery of LH IIIC Early 1 style (Fig. 19.13,4). As at Tell Kazel, local production of Mycenaean pottery was continuing after this destructive event (Fig. 19.13,1-3)¹¹. However, the style of this local Mycenaean pottery shows distinct site-specific characteristics at the two settlements (Figs 19.12 and 19.13). In both cases, these ceramics cannot be interpreted as import substitutions. First, they introduced a completely new repertoire of shapes and did not reproduce types that had been imported during the preceding decades. Second, the locally produced Mycenaean shapes do not find parallels among the very few vessels that were still being imported from the Aegean and from Cyprus (for more details see Jung 2008: 187-190, 203). A third important aspect is the fact that, at Tell Kazel, about one third of the locally produced Mycenaean pottery consists of unpainted vessels, mainly table ware with the carinated kylix and the deep bowl being the most common shapes (Fig. 19.12,1. 3. 8–11). The latter is present also at Tell Tweini. As unpainted Mycenaean ceramics are almost completely absent from the imported Mycenaean vessel sets in the Levant and on Cyprus, but make up the largest class of Mycenaean pottery in Greece itself, this first of all suggests that this kind of pottery was not attractive to the Levantine and Cypriot populations throughout LBA II. Furthermore, the unpainted vessels give us some hints regarding the social composition of the producers and users of Mycenaean pottery in Amurru. In Greece, unpainted table wares were mass-produced by the palatial pottery workshops. Apparently the palatial administration distributed this lower quality vessels to the masses of the people on the occasion of large

¹¹ The sequences of Tell Kazel and Tell Tweini show a continuous development that can be synchronised quite well (*pace* Nuñez 2017: 270, fig. 2). At Tell Kazel, the excavator formulated the hypothesis of an ‘abandonment’ after Akkar phase K2, *i.e.* following Levels 6 lower (Area II) and 5 lower (Area IV). The reason was the scarcity of pottery on the floors of this phase (Badre 2006: 69, tab. 1; 80, 82; Badre & Capet 2014: 157). As the floors were cleared – either by the population at the end of this phase (Akkar K2) or by the inhabitants of the following one (Akkar K1) –, we cannot say how much time passed between the two consecutive phases. However, the fact that people moved into the same buildings and continued using a number of Mycenaean vessels that had been produced decades ago, is in favour of basic continuity (Badre 2006: 93: “reoccupied ... in part by the same population reusing the existing temple”). Likewise, at Tell Tweini the destruction layer of Level 7A is directly followed by the earliest Iron Age settlement level 6GH (Bretschneider 2011 *et al.*: 80, 85: “without an actual hiatus”).

consumption events or feasts (Bendall 2004: 122-124). After the breakdown of palace rule, the use of unpainted pottery continued, but decreased steadily throughout LH IIIC (Podzuweit 2007: 197, Beil. 38). Thus, in Amurru its producers should have belonged to the lower classes of Mycenaean society or have some direct connections to these classes and their descendants, who were accustomed to unpainted Mycenaean table wares (Jung 2011: 128-129). Finally, it is important to stress that the local Mycenaean pottery of Tell Kazel is unrelated to Mycenaean pottery produced on Cyprus during LC IIC and IIIA – both in terms of its repertoire (including much unpainted table wares, which were rarely produced on Cyprus) and because of differences in painted decoration (Jung 2008: 200-203; 2011). Although a few imports from Cyprus have been identified through typological and chemical analyses (Badre *et al.* 2005: 32-33), most of these imports are painted closed shapes. Thus, the local Mycenaean pottery cannot have been modelled on those few imports. From all these facts it follows that in the case of the Akkar Plain we can discard the theory according to which Cyprus was “a central focus and major stimulus for the phenomenon [of the production and consumption of Aegean-type pottery in the Levant]” (Sherratt 2013: 642)¹².

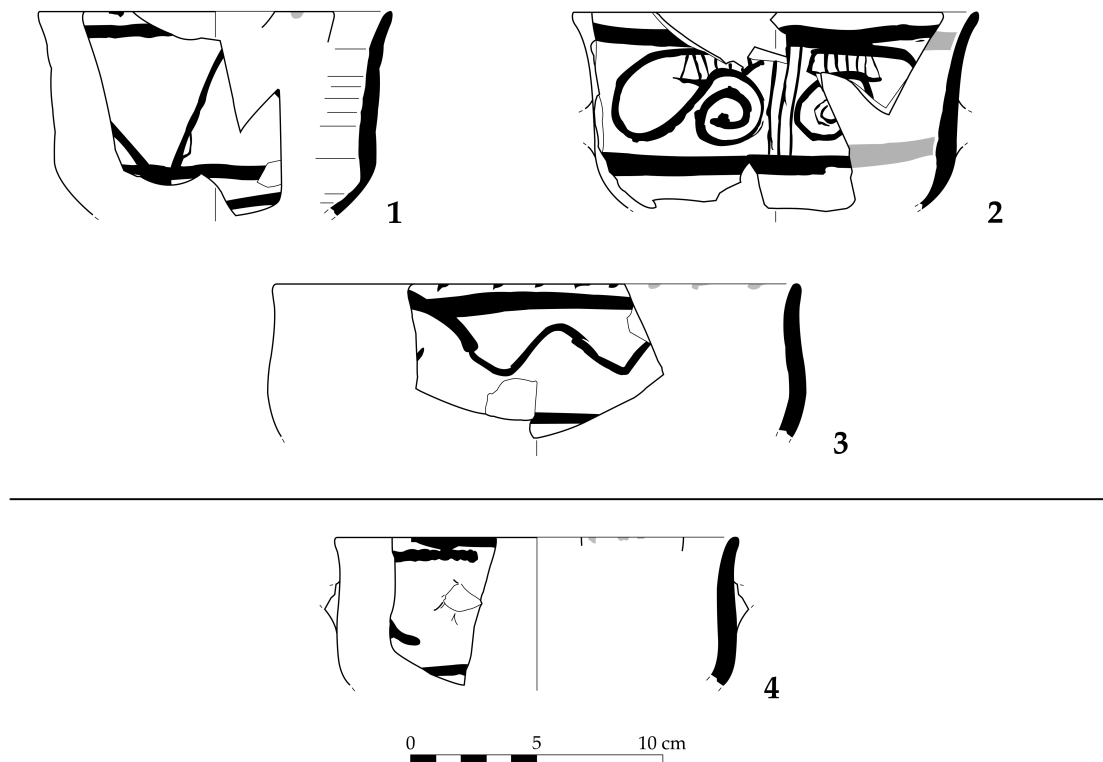


FIG. 19.13 LOCALLY PRODUCED MYCENAEAN POTTERY FROM TELL TWEINI: (1-3) VESSELS FROM SETTLEMENT LEVEL 6GH (EARLIEST IA I LEVEL); (4) VESSEL FROM DESTRUCTION LEVEL 7A (LBA II DESTRUCTION LEVEL) (DRAWINGS R. JUNG, DIGITALIZATION R. YASSINE)

The evidence of the destruction levels at Tell Tweini and Tell Kazel and their positions inside the two stratigraphic sequences as well as in the related pottery repertoires allow to synchronise the Mycenaean phase of LH IIIC Early 1 with the first regnal years of Ramesses III (*cf.* Jung 2010: 172, tab. 13.1; 177-178; **Tab. 19.1**). However, certain differences in the pottery repertoire of the two sites are not less important than the mentioned similarities. While

¹² Something similar is valid also in the case of Tell Tweini, because the local Mycenaean shapes show some very characteristic traits that are unparalleled among the local Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus. Tell Kazel and Tell Tweini are missing from Sherratt’s discussion (*cf.* Sherratt 2013: 623, fig. 1). The mentioned differences also have a chronological aspect. The earliest local Mycenaean pottery of LH IIIC Early 1 date at Tell Kazel and at Tell Tweini precedes the main production increase in local Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus during LC IIIA.

the excavations at Tell Kazel yielded the largest amount of Italian-type *impasto* pottery found at a single site in the eastern Mediterranean outside Greece, at Tell Tweini not even a single sherd of this class could be identified, although we have carefully searched for such material during the last excavation and study campaign in 2010. Regarding this artefact class, Tell Kazel – or the Akkar Plain, if we include Tell ʿArqa with its spatially more restricted Levels of this phase (see above) – is exceptional even in the wider eastern Mediterranean area. No Italian-type handmade and burnished pottery is known from LBA II or IA I contexts in the rest of the Levant. On Cyprus, the evidence from the many excavated LC IIC and IIIA settlements shows that Italian-type ceramics are very rare, almost exceptional finds (Jung 2017a: 28-29, fig. 2,25.36¹³).

To sum up, the evidence from the Syrian coastal regions points to direct contacts by ship to the Aegean and – either directly or indirectly – to continental Italy prior to the destructions of the settlements of Tell Tweini and Tell Kazel at the end of LBA II. The same applies to Tell ʿArqa (apart from the destruction event, see below). Nothing among the Aegean- and Italian-type material suggests that its producers had settled in Cyprus prior to their arrival in the Levant.

Historical	Amurru: Tell Kazel	Ugarit: Tell Tweini	Palestine: Ashkelon (Grid 38)	Palestine: Ashdod (Area G)	Cyprus
1195: throne accession Ramesses III	II: 6 upper / IV: 5 upper <i>LH IIIB Final – LH IIIC Early 1</i>	Level 7A <i>LH IIIB – LH IIIC Early 1</i>	Phase 21 Abandonment	Level XIV <i>LH IIIB</i> Partial conflagration	Enkomi IIB <i>LH IIIB Developed – LH IIIC Early 1</i>
1190: year 5	Conflagration	Conflagration	Phase 20b ?	?	Conflagration
1187: year 8			<i>LH IIIC Early 1-2</i>		
	II: 5 / IV: 4 <i>LH IIIC Early – LH IIIC Middle</i>	Level 6GH <i>LH IIIC Early</i>	Phase 20a <i>LH IIIC Early 2 – LH IIIC Middle</i>	Level XIIIb (L 4106) <i>LH IIIC Early 2</i>	Enkomi IIIA <i>LH IIIC Early 2 – LH IIIC Developed</i>
				Levels XIIIa, XII <i>LH IIIC Early 2 – LH IIIC Middle</i>	Enkomi IIIB Early <i>LH IIIC Developed – LH IIIC Advanced</i>

Italics = date of Aegean-type pottery (both imported and locally made) present in the different contexts. – Aegean pottery dates for Ashdod and Ashkelon according to Mountjoy 2015, 2017 and 2018; dates for Enkomi according to Mountjoy 2005; 2007; Jung 2011.

TAB. 19.1 COMPARATIVE STRATIGRAPHY, ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY AND AEGEAN SYNCHRONISMS

For our historical understanding it is important to comment upon one difference between the stratigraphies of Tell Kazel and Tell ʿArqa. While Hanan Charaf’s careful comparative analyses of the pottery evidence from both sites established that the end of Level 11 at Tell ʿArqa can be synchronised with Level 6 upper in excavation Area II and Level 5 upper in excavation Area IV of Tell Kazel, none of the sub-levels of Tell ʿArqa Level 11 shows any evidence for conflagration. As the excavator aptly concludes, “in the case of Arqa, the site wasn’t directly affected by any of the military and political changes in the region, certainly because Arqa was merely a small village by that time” (Charaf 2007-2008: 88). By contrast, Tell Kazel, the only urban settlement

13 Note that the well-known hole-mouthed jar of Italian Recent Bronze Age type from Maa-Palaeóastro, Floor I (= settlement phase 2, post-dating the LBA II destruction levels of Tell Kazel and Tell Tweini) is an import from the Aegean or Italy according to recent petrographic analyses (Pilides & Boileau 2011: 118), while the Italian-type jars from Sínda (Pilides & Boileau 2011: 118) and Tell Kazel are local products (see above). At Enkomi Level IIB, destroyed during LC IIC or LH IIIC Early 1, there is no Italian-type handmade pottery. The only indication for either direct or indirect contacts to Italy comes from tomb 18 of the Swedish excavations. A Naue II sword of type A or Cetona, a spearhead with Italian parallels and a pair of graves without Mycenaean antecedents show that the warriors of the town had adopted innovative western weapon technology by LC IIC (Jung 2009b: 75-77).

in the plain with monumental buildings since the middle of the 2nd millennium BCE (Thalman 2000: 1618, 1621-1628, 1634-1635, figs 3 & 4c), can be identified with the city of Sumur, probably the seat of the king of Amurru (Klengel 1992: 164-165; Singer 1999: 645, n. 126). Obviously, the attackers had to eliminate the main military force of the kingdom and in some way to ‘neutralize’ the ruler himself in order to be able to use the Akkar plain for their encampment, as the year 8 inscription informs us. Apparently, such precautionary aggressive actions were not regarded necessary in the villages surrounding the plain such as Tell ‘Arqa.

The ‘camp’ reportedly set up by the Sea Peoples coalition in Amurru was a temporary one, as the specific word used in the year 8 inscription conveys (Redford 2018: 106; cf. Jung 2008: 204, n. 239). Donald Redford concludes that it was not the intention of the Sea Peoples coalition to stay (Redford 2018: 106). This hypothesis fits well with the archaeological record at Tell Kazel, where the settlement phase immediately following the destruction of Akkar phase K1 shows a largely traditional, local material culture; Aegean- and Italian-type ceramics remain minority classes. The same is true for the different sub-levels of Level 11 at Tell ‘Arqa. Therefore the two excavated sites in the Akkar Plain give no indication for any radical population change or an integration of large groups of immigrants.

Shirly Ben-Dor Evian makes a good case for arguing that the famous land battle depicted on the northern outer wall of the Medinet Habu temple actually took place in Amurru and not in the Nile Delta as the sea battle did¹⁴. She refers to a toponym list with Syrian place names in the presentation scene at the end of the Sea Peoples campaign and she found further evidence in the iconography of the land battle (Ben-Dor Evian 2017: 275-276; cf. Heinz 2001: 308, n° I.20). One can only agree with her that a northern location of the battle field, *i.e.* a location in the central Levant, correlates well with the stress the text of the year 8 inscription puts on the destruction of Amurru (Ben-Dor Evian 2017: 276; this volume).

An expected attack from the sea in the last phase of the LBA kingdom of Amurru may be reflected by a letter written by a certain Paršu of Amurru to the king of Ugarit, in which he asks the king to pass information on an unknown enemy to Amurru. He further informs the king that Amurru would put ships at his disposal (Klengel 1992: 174; Singer 1999: 721). One can suspect a link with the hostile Šikalāyū appearing in the mentioned letter sent to the governor of Ugarit by the Hittite Great King (cf. Klengel 1992: 150, 174). Barbara Cifola proposed to view the great attack by the Sea Peoples as a series of smaller military conflicts rather than as a large coordinated military campaign (Cifola 1988: 303). This could be a way to interpret the fact that a destruction of the Amurru kingdom appears with two or even three different dates in Ramesses’s III inscriptions (see now also Ben-Dor Evian 2017: 277). At Medinet Habu, we have a record for year 5 (in the same inscription mentioning the vanquishing of Palaštu and Tjekker, but without an explicit connection between these two events) and one in the year 8 inscription on the Second Pylon (Redford 2018: 11, 15, 36). A further conflict may have happened even earlier, as Lutz Popko proposed based on an inscription on a stela from Amara West. This inscription is dated to year 3 of an unknown pharaoh (possibly Ramesses III), and mentions ships and the sea, the [Pa]laštu and a land battle against enemies of Egypt (Popko 2016).

Distinct sea-born attacks would not only be in accordance with the hints given by the letters from Ugarit, but also with the archaeological record of Tell Tweini and Tell Kazel. At both sites, the stratigraphic evidence suggests that small groups of western origin were already present among the inhabitants of these settlements prior to the Sea Peoples destructions. The strong possibility that in the kingdom of Amurru these immigrants were not only of Aegean but partially also of continental Italian descent, may suggest two things. First, both groups could have settled in the Akkar Plain for the same reason – perhaps again as former captives of war (see above for the Mycenaean evidence) – and, second, their co-presence could be due to their previous cooperation.

A coalition of different groups of seafaring warriors or pirates is not only suggested by the inscriptions of Merneptah and Ramesses III, but also by two letters from the Urtēnu archive of Ugarit, in which a presence of (Ah)hiyawans (*i.e.* people from the area of the Mycenaean Great Kingdom) at Lukka (*i.e.* in Lycia) is attested for the end of the reign of Ugarit’s last king ‘Ammurapi (Lackenbacher & Malbran-Labat 2005; Lackenbacher & Malbran-Labat 2016: 24-31 with previous bibliography). This recalls the coalition of Lukka and Ahhiyawa warriors joining the Libyans in their attack against Egypt during Merneptah’s year 5 (see above). In both

¹⁴ For archaeological evidence related to the site of the sea battle close to Tell el-Borg in the north-eastern Delta, see Hoffmeier *et al.* 2014: 325-329.

letters written by the Hittite Great King and one of his officials respectively, it is said that ‘Ammurapi shall supply the man of (Ah)hiyawa or the (Ah)hiyawans with food rations¹⁵. As the destruction of Ugarit falls into the early Postpalatial Period of Mycenaean Greece (LH IIIC Early 1, see above), this correspondence may either post-date the destructions of the Mycenaean palaces or even be contemporaneous with the historical events in Greece. It is therefore very probable that the (Ah)hiyawans in Lycia were displaced persons from the former Great Kingdom in the Aegean¹⁶. Merneptah’s Libyan war must have preceded the above Hittite-Ugaritic correspondence, because Merneptah was pharaoh during the early reign of ‘Ammurapi (Singer 1999: 708-709, 713; 732-733, tab.). The conflicts leading to the fall of the Mycenaean kingdom extended over some years (Jung 2016: 554-561, tab. 1). Therefore, the appearance of Ahhiyawans as (‘Aqayawaša) warriors in a coalition with Lukka warriors and as receivers of rations in the Lukka lands can all relate to the disintegration of their Aegean kingdom (affecting of course also the territories it used to control in western Asia Minor; cf. already Stadelmann 1968: 160). Moreover, Lukka was neither under stable control of the Hittite Great Kingdom nor of that of Ahhiyawa. By contrast, it was a not even a Hittite vassal kingdom (Klengel 1999: 264; Bryce 2005: 54). A coalition between emigrated and/or marauding Mycenaean warriors and warriors from a local tribal society seems to be quite plausible in this specific historical context.

By the late reign of ‘Ammurapi, eastern Mediterranean powers must have been informed about the military might of such coalitions with the recent example of Merneptah’s war against the incursion from Libya. An interpretation of the rations to be sent by the Ugaritic king needs to take into consideration this historical situation. Trevor Bryce (2010) has already proposed that the Hittite King intended to hire the (Ah)hiyawans as mercenaries. However, this is not explicitly stated in the two letters from the Urtēnu archive, and in analogy to Roman practice (Jansen-Winkel 2002: 134), one may rather think that the Hittite Great King ordered deliveries of food (or other desired goods) in order to avoid an imminent attack by those well-known warriors or pirates.

There are more indications that the south-eastern Aegean was frequented by warriors with a foreign background at the time. Several Italian-type weapons are known from the region (Jung 2009b: 73-75). The most important case is the closed LH IIIB Final context of tomb 21 at Langádha on Kos including a Cetona type sword and a short decorated spearhead with cast socket (Jung 2009b: 73-74, 89, fig. 1; Vitale 2016: 261, 267, pl. 2a-b). Finally, the presence of Italian-type ships with symmetrical bird protomes on the sea battle relief at Medinet Habu together with the non-Aegean and non-Levantine equipment of the warriors adds yet another piece to the picture showing activities of seafaring warriors from Italy (at least) until the early reign of Ramesses III. The western immigrants who most probably were present when Tell Kazel burnt down, may have had at least an indirect connection to the sea-born attackers mentioned by Ramesses III. It is possible that these warriors had some knowledge of the Akkar Plain because small groups of Aegean and Italian origin had settled earlier in the area and had maintained some kind of contact to populations in the Aegean and in the central Mediterranean. Such patterns of contact between pioneer migrants and people staying behind are well-known from many historical and contemporary migrations (Burmeister 1996; Yasur-Landau 2007; Oltmer 2017).

This is not the place to make extensive comments on the subsequent Iron Age I assemblages from the northern and southern Levant. Suffice it to say that the local Mycenaean and Mycenaeanising pottery classes in neither of the two regions can be seen as a direct continuation of the western elements in the material culture of the Akkar plain. Published pottery statistics are still not entirely satisfactory. However, it seems that at Ras Ibn Hani in the former kingdom of Ugarit as well as in the settlements of the coastal zone in southern Palestine (‘Philistia’) the quantities of locally made Aegean-type and Aegeanising ceramics in relation to the classes of local tradition are much higher than is the case in the Akkar plain. At Ras Ibn Hani, the local Mycenaean and Mycenaeanising pottery classes reach 50 to 60 % of the whole pottery assemblage in the two earliest IA I levels

15 Even if one were to follow Itamar Singer’s alternative reading according to which ‘Ammurapi should send metal ingots to the (Ah)hiyawa in Lukka (Singer 2006: 252-258), this would not imply an interpretation in terms of Mycenaean-Hittite metal trade (*pace* Singer 2006: 257-258), see below.

16 In the past, several scholars have hypothesised that part of the Mycenaean population emigrated either to neighbouring regions or outside the Aegean right after the breakdown of the palace system (for an overview based on the development of settlement patterns see Eder 1998: 53-55, 112, 144-145, 199-200). Some hold that a larger (overseas) emigration occurred only after some decades (Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, with philological and archaeological arguments).

(du Piéd 2008: 181, n. 17)¹⁷. At Ashdod Level XIII in Area H, a rim count gives 18 % for the local Mycenaean and Mycenaeanising vessels, the so-called monochrome Philistine pottery (Ben-Shlomo 2005: 70, fig. 3.4).

Moreover, there is a second fundamental difference between the Akkar plain in the centre of the Levantine coast, on the one hand, and Ras Ibn Hani in the north as well as Philistia in the south of the Levant, on the other hand. While the Akkar pottery workshops had been producing Aegean-type and Italian-type wares before the burnt destructions at the end of LBA II (Akkar phase K1). At Ras Ibn Hani and in the Palestinian coastal zone whole sets of locally made Mycenaean-type table wares only came into use in the newly established IA I settlements¹⁸. Yet, even these vessel sets – although roughly comparable with those of the Akkar plain – differ much in their composition from their counterparts in the central Levantine region. To begin with, the shape repertoire is different. The unpainted fine wares seem to be much less popular than in the north (and there are *e.g.* no unpainted carinated kylikes). Mycenaean cooking pots are frequent in the south but rare in the centre and the north (Jung 2017a: 25-27, fig. 1). Several shapes and decorative motifs of ‘monochrome Philistine pottery’ show some influence of the local Mycenaean pottery production on Cyprus during LC IIIA (most recently Mountjoy 2017; 2018), which stands in marked contrast with the strongly Aegean-related production of the Akkar potters (see above). It seems that the bulk of ‘monochrome Philistine pottery’ postdates the earliest appearance of local Mycenaean vessels at Tell Kazel and Tell Tweini (**Tab. 19.1**). Penelope Mountjoy dates the pottery from one of the earliest stratigraphical contexts, that of Ashdod XIIIb, to LH IIIC Early 2 (Mountjoy 2015: 538, 542; 2018: 1157, 1160-1162, 1223-1224). Ashdod XII would then date to LH IIIC Early 2 and LH IIIC Middle (Mountjoy 2017: 368, 372). According to her, only sub-level 20b at Ashkelon provides clear evidence with stratigraphic contexts yielding pottery of a ‘IIIC Early 1 linear phase’ but this material is ‘minimal’ (Mountjoy 2017: 368; 2018: 1189-1190, fig. 635), but this sub-level continued into LH IIIC Early 2 (Mountjoy 2018: 1096, tab. 66, 1185)

Finally, one must note that there is no Italian-type handmade pottery in the towns of the so-called Philistine pentapolis. Given the detailed publications of the relevant excavations, this must reflect Early Iron Age reality and cannot be due to a research gap. We therefore have to differentiate between several historical phenomena, when analysing the archaeological evidence along the Levantine coast. Each region follows a distinct historical development.

In his careful analysis, Igor Kreimerman has shown that those LBA II settlements in the coastal zone of southern Palestine did not fall victim to complete warlike destructions by conflagration like Tell Kazel or Ugarit (destruction type 1), but were either only partially burnt or not burnt at all (his destruction types 2 and 4). He proposed to interpret this in terms of a purposeful choice by the destroyers, who intended to re-settle those sites (Kreimerman 2017: 193). We have to wait for the final publication of the evidence from Ras Ibn Hani before we can evaluate if there are similarities with the historical trajectories reconstructed for the southern Levant. In any case, the diversity shown by the archaeological record in the different regions along the Levantine coasts strongly speaks against the old historical reconstruction, according to which a long track of migrants originating from Greece, western Asia Minor and even the central Balkans traversed Asia Minor, Syria, and Lebanon, in order to finally settle in the southern coastal plain of the Levant. Punctual attacks by sea-born warriors of western (Aegean and Italian) origin following earlier routes of contact and sometimes of migration as well as a series of battles against the local powers and the larger empires fit the archaeological and the epigraphical record much better.

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¹⁷ At Ras Ibn Hani, the vessel repertoire and the style of painted decoration of the Mycenaean and Mycenaeanising pots not only differ from that in the Akkar Plain, but to a certain extent also from that at Tell Tweini (du Piéd 2008; 2011).

¹⁸ In LBA II settlements, both along the Syrian coasts and in Palestine, certain locally produced Mycenaeanising vessels were in use. However, these pots combine Mycenaean traits of decoration (sometimes by using bichrome paint) and shape with local (‘Canaanite’) traits and cannot be seen as the typological, stylistic or technological forerunners of the IA I vessel sets (Jung 2008: 208, n. 268; 2015: 250; Yasur-Landau 2010: 199-201, fig. 6.4).

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