Mercenaries in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age

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Abstract

The thesis investigates the presence of mercenaries in the Eastern Mediterranean, specifically in Egypt and the Levant, from the Late Bronze Age to the end of the sixth century B.C.E. The time frame predates the ubiquitous mercenaries of the Classical period onwards, and traces the origins of the profession and how it manifested in the archaeological record.

The examination begins with the earliest evidence for non-local contingents hired in armies during the Bronze Age, based on the sources and archaeological remains, in order to address how to define mercenaries in antiquity. From these instances, the thesis posits a new definition for mercenaries in antiquity that encompasses the activities and characteristics of such foreign groups. The investgation then turns to the Iron Age, when the contemporary sources are scarce, but the archaeology is telling of numerous calamitous, historical events that precipitate the need for mercenaries.

Past scholarship argued that specific sites in the Iron Age Levant and in Egypt exemplify evidence of mercenary activity, based primarily on different ceramic repertoires. An evaluation of the case studies reassesses whether this is indeed the case; how do the archaeological remains function as indicators of mercenaries? What factors are revealing of non-local contingents situated in a different context? The material remains, and whether they indicate non-local cultural practices and activities, are investigated. By considering the available remains, in addition to the

ceramics, including architecture, burial rites, ritual practices, weapons, and the contexts in which the finds are discovered, it is then possible to assess where and when mercenaries are traceable. The discoveries and interpretations from the thesis shed light on archaeological indicators for mercenary activity, and which sites suggest such evidence, and which do not.

Contents

List of Figures

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Aims and Scope of the Study

"The most dangerous people in the world are not the minority instigating evil acts, but those who do the acts for them."[1] Mercenaries have historically been known to commit a variety of controversial and violent acts, in return for pay. They have contributed to numerous historical and political events, from large scale warfare to carrying out small deeds on behalf of others, from antiquity until modern times. There is much insight to gain from tracing the foundations of this profession in antiquity and its impacts on societies.

The thesis investigates the archaeological presence of mercenaries stationed in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Late Bronze Age until the end of the Iron Age, from approximately the thirteenth to the sixth centuries B.C.E.[2] There are additional noteworthy sources from the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom in Egypt that are indeed earlier in date (ca. 2686-1710), as well as from Classical Greece in the fifth century. These sources provide particularly relevant information, and therefore are part of the discussion.

[1] Kassem 2011.

[2] All the dates in the thesis will be Before Common Era, unless otherwise stated.

The geographical regions that are most informative of mercenary activity in antiquity are Egypt and the Levant, as well as some evidence from the Greek world and Anatolia. Various sites and fortresses in Nubia and the Levant are included as part of the Egyptian hegemony, since the regions were intermittently under Egyptian sovereignty during the Bronze Age. In addition, the term southern Levant describes the coastal plain between Egypt and Phoenicia in order to avoid modern, political connotations about the region, as well as the constantly shifting boundaries of these polities in antiquity.[3] The area to the north of Phoenicia and south of southern Anatolia is referred to as northern Syria.

The examined texts encompass historical, papyrological, and epigraphical sources, that originate from these regions and are suggestive of mercenaries. Alongside the sources, the archaeological remains from specific sites that arguably indicate mercenary activity are explored; the evidence includes local and imported ceramics, weapons, burial rites, ritual practices, and architecture.

The historical setting in the Eastern Mediterranean is characterized by ubiquitous military campaigns and power struggles. Concomitantly, significant economic and political crises in these regions resulted in transient shifts of power. Such crises were triggered by the collapse of the Hittite Empire in Anatolia and the Aegean Bronze Age palatial systems, the culmination of the New Kingdom in Egypt, and the withdrawal of Egyptian sovereignty in the Levant. Employment of external contingents was necessary and advantageous for Near Eastern armies to compete against each other during the subsequent Iron Age.

In Egypt, mercenary service manifested in a variety of ways. In the Bronze Age, it is reflected in iconography, from epigraphical sources, and from remains from the Egyptian fortresses located on the peripheries of the empire. During the Iron Age, sites in the Nile Delta are interpreted as garrisons with Greek mercenaries, based on

[3]Stiebing 2009.

Date	Mesopotamia & Iran	The Levant	Egypt	Anatolia & the Aegean
1400	Kurigalzu I Burnaburiash II	Hittites conquer northern Syria.	Akhenaton (c.1350-1334)	Hittite Empire at its height.
1300			Ramesses II (c.1279-1212)	
1200		Sea Peoples Invade.	Sea Peoples Battles.	Hittite Empire destroyed; Mycenaean palaces destroyed.
1100	Chaldeans move into Babylonia.	Aramaean states created; Israel created (c. 1150-1025).		Neo-Hittite kingdoms flourish.
1000		Solomon (c.960-931). Divided monarchy in southern Levant.	Libyan rule (Dynasties 22-23, ca. 945-747).	
900	Neo-Assyrian Empire Ashurnasirpal II (883-859).			Extensive Greek (Euboean) trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.
800	Sargon II (721-705)	Phoenicians establish colonies around Mediterranean.	Nubian rule (Dynasty 25, ca. 747-656).	Alphabet introduced to Greece; Lydian kingdom flourishes in western Anatolia (c.685-547).
700	Assyrian Empire at its height; Ashurbanipal (668-627).		Saite Period (Dynasty 26, ca. 664-525).	
600	Neo-Babylonian Empire (625-539); Cyrus II creates Persian Empire (550)	Jerusalem destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar (586).	Nebuchadnezzar (604-562); Persian Conquest (525).	Persians conquer Lydia & Ionian cities (547).

Figure 1.1: Ancient Near Eastern Chronology, ca. 1400-500. Stiebing 2009.

the plethora of imports, epigraphical sources, and evidence for non-local practices, such as burial and religious rites. Likewise, it is also suggested that sites in the Iron Age Levant have mercenary activity. This is based predominantly on the proliferation of Greek ceramic imports in the region, especially in fortress contexts. The interpretations in the Levant are indeed debatable and a reassessment of the available evidence will determine the extent in which mercenary activity is traceable in the archaeological record.

The thesis conducts a comprehensive study of when and where mercenaries are located and how they are identified in the archaeological record. The following essential questions are addressed in this thesis:

1. How do we define a mercenary in the Bronze and Iron Age?

2. Based on this definition, can we reconstruct the logistics of hiring mercenaries;

how were they recruited for mercenary service? What remuneration do they receive?

3. What are the origins of the mercenaries?

4. How can we use the textual and archaeological evidence to identify mercenaries? Which archaeological criteria are useful as evidence to distinguish mercenaries in the material record?

1.2 Previous Scholarship

Discussions about mercenaries in antiquity have indeed circulated in past scholarship. Beginning in the Bronze Age, scholars frequently refer to external, hostile and nomadic communities on the borders of organized society as mercenaries.[4] Whenever such groups appear, such as the Habiru and the Suteans, they are assumed to be mercenaries, and rarely are the contexts examined to determine if these identifications are feasible. Recently, scholars such as Vidal have explored the instances when the Suteans appeared in the Amarna Letters to clarify when they should be considered mercenaries.[5]

In Bronze Age Egypt especially, generalizations about mercenaries are ubiquitous in current research. From the Old Kingdom onward, Nubians are perceived frequently as mercenaries, despite the contexts in which they appear.[6] This assumption does not take into consideration the versatile and constantly changing relationship between the Egyptians and the Nubians that manifested over centuries of Egyptian imperialism. These dynamic interactions alone indicate that we cannot assume Nubians were independent, hired fighters receiving remuneration. Smith investigated the nu-

[4]Rainey Z"L 2015, these generalizations are presented in the most recent anthologies of the Habiru and Suteans. Van De Mieroop 2010.

[5]Vidal 2010, He concluded that none of the examples evince mercenary evidence, which is discussed further in Section 3.1.2.

[6]Garcia 2010, p. 26; Kadish 1966; Fischer 1961.

anced relationship between the Nubians and Egyptians, revealing the complexities of interactions and how this is reflected in the material culture.[7] Likewise, similar generalizations about mercenary activity occur with many outsider groups that interacted with the Egyptians in the Bronze Age, including the Medjay,[8] the Libyans[9], and the Shardana of the Sea Peoples. Furthermore, it has also been suggested by Oren and Dothan that the anthropoid clay coffin burials in the Levant reveal evidence for mercenaries employed and then buried in Egyptian fortresses.[10] A re-examination of the available evidence will clarify the assumptions and conclusions in previous research.

During the Iron Age, the Greek ceramics discovered in the Levant have led scholars to declare that Greek mercenaries were undoubtedly situated at various forts. Scholars such as Niemeier, Fantalkin, Magness, Waldbaum, Wenning, and Bettali have argued for Greek vases to signify mercenaries, especially at the Iron Age garrisons of Tel Kabri and Mesad Hashavyahu.[11] Similar discussions of contemporary Greek imported ceramics in Egypt led to suggestions of Greek mercenaries, for instance at Naukratis, Daphne, and Tel Qedwa.[12] Recent interpretations and excavations of the sites in Egypt suggest new possibilities of how mercenaries may have played a role.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into three main sections. The first part considers how mercenaries are identified and defined in Classical literature and texts, and in modern scholarship. Different terminologies used to describe a mercenary from the Greek and Near Eastern sources are discussed; in light of this, the analysis begins with the earliest appearance of potential mercenary activity. The Bronze Age texts and

[7]Smith 2003.
[8]Weigall 1907; Giuliani 1998.
[9]O'Connor 1990, pp. 88-9.
[10]Oren 1973; T. Dothan 1982.
[11]Na'aman 1991a; Na'aman 1991b; Wenning 1991; Bettalli 1995; Waldbaum 1997; Haider 1996; W.-D. Niemeier 1994; W.-D. Niemeier 2001; Fantalkin 2001; Fantalkin 2006; Fantalkin 2011.
[12]Petrie 1886, pp. 52-4; Leclère and J. Spencer 2014; Oren 1984.

iconography are revealing of early examples; there are numerous references to groups employed in the Egyptian army, as well as the ethnic groups of the Sea Peoples and their interactions with the Egyptians. Further investigations of the material evidence from Egyptian fortresses in the Levant are also revealing of non-Egyptian practices. In addition, the thesis discusses informative texts from the Hittites and from Linear B tablets in Greece. From this, cultural indicators and characteristics of mercenaries, and how to define them, are established.

Secondly, the study turns to Iron Age Egypt and the Levant, where the texts are scarce, but the archaeological evidence is useful. A detailed analysis of specific sites that arguably indicate mercenary activity is carried out. Using the established methodologies and parameters, the epigraphical remains, architecture, ceramics, weapons, ritual evidence, and burial rites are evaluated. The aim is to determine if particular remains indicate different, non-local practices, and if so, whether these practices indicate mercenaries. The reassessment of the available evidence verifies which sites in Egypt suggest the presence of mercenaries and which do not.

The third section compares the finds from Egypt to the contemporary Iron Age evidence from the Levant. Similar to the case studies in Egypt, current scholarship argues for the presence of mercenaries at specific sites in the Levant, based on the ceramic imports. The discussion evaluates the extent of trade interactions between Greece and the Levant, as well as whether these imports suggest local or non-local use. The imports are then examined within the broader context, alongside their provenance and other indicative finds. Furthermore, it is important to consider the logistics behind the employment of mercenaries in the regions; in particular, the thesis will address who were the employers and what is the historical framework that creates the need for the mercenaries.

Chapter 2

Methodological Considerations

The modern and ancient perceptions of mercenaries and their roles in warfare are based primarily on information from the Classical texts. Looking at the evidence from the sources and the modern interpretations of these Classical examples is useful to construct the methodology to analyze mercenaries. To juxtapose these sources, when looking at the archaeological record for traces of mercenaries, scholarship relies predominantly on ceramic imports as indicators for these groups. The ceramic imports, however, cause many assumptions about pottery equating to people, and especially mercenaries. Rarely are these ceramic imports contextualized in a wider setting and alongside other finds. The methodology seeks to rectify these assumptions and to produce parameters to contextualize the archaeological evidence.

2.1 Mercenaries: Past and Present

2.1.1 The Modern and Ancient Perceptions of Mercenaries

Defining a mercenary is problematic, as the modern and ancient conceptual definitions of a mercenary are conflicting. The modern understanding of a mercenary typically encompasses a negative connotation; mercenaries are typically perceived as

soldiers fighting in a conflict outside their homeland, where they have no connections or stakes in the outcome of the conflict, and they work primarily for financial motivation. Nationality and financial motivation remain the two fundamental factors when distinguishing a mercenary from a regular soldier.[1] These two characteristics are evident in the basic, current dictionary definition of a mercenary: a mercenary is "a soldier who will fight for any country or group that offers payment."[2] This emphasis on payment is further evinced in the linguistic origins of the modern term. A mercenary, originating by the Medieval period from the Latin word *merces*, has the following meanings: price, hire, wages, salary, fee, and reward.[3]

A modern historical and political evaluation of what defines a mercenary is expounded on in Article 47 of the 1977 Geneva Protocol.[4] This clarified a mercenary as the following:[5]

- A mercenary shall not have the right to be a combatant or prisoner of war.
- A mercenary is any person who:
    1. Is specially recruited locally or abroad in order to fight in an armed conflict;
    2. Does, in fact, take a direct part in the hostilities;
    3. Is motivated to take part in the hostilities essentially by the desire for private gain and, in fact, is promised, by or on behalf of a Party to the conflict, material compensation substantially in excess of that promised or paid to combatants of similar ranks and functions in the armed forces of that Party;

[1]Fabre 2010, p. 540.
[2]Oxford English Dictionary. 2nd ed. 20 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
[3]Online Latin Dictionary. www.perseus.tufts.edu.
[4]Database of the International Committee of the Red Cross, https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/ihl/WebART/470-750057.
[5]A. Roberts and Guelff 1982, p. 387.

4. Is neither a national of a Party to the conflict nor a resident of territory controlled by a Party to the conflict;
5. Is not a member of the armed forces of a Party to the conflict; and
6. Has not been sent by a State which is not a Party to the conflict on official duty as a member of its armed forces.

This definition is the main source for historians and archaeologists in discussions about mercenaries in antiquity. Nevertheless, these characteristics of a modern mercenary should be applied cautiously to those in antiquity, as many factors are not consistent. For instance, the concept of the nation-state that we envision currently was solidified between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries C.E., and the Geneva Protocol was written with this ideology in mind. A contemporary perspective of mercenaries is indeed skewed by the current political organization of modern society. Following the nineteenth century C.E., the progressing nation-states adjusted the military system and the use of mercenaries became obsolete and outlawed, and the practice of citizen-only armies became customary.[6] The need for mercenaries thus abated, and subsequently a negative connotation evolved, as the use of mercenaries clashed with the new military system. In more recent historical events, the archaic profession transitioned to the use of "Corporate Mercenaries," where contingents are hired by private military companies and contractors in order to carry out various, controversial actions.[7]

The mercenary in antiquity indeed differs. There is clearly evidence for fighters hired in armies well before the development of the nation-state. Firstly, these fighters needed to belong to an external community, other than the one they were fighting for. We do not use the term "foreign" to identify these groups, as the perception of what is considered foreign and different to an ancient community is subjective and

[6]Avant 2000, p. 41.
[7]Mathieu and Dearden 2007, p. 744.

vague in most cases. What is evident is material culture and references in sources that show non-local groups and their practices. Therefore, these groups are referred to as external, outsider, or non-local soldiers. Boundaries and peripheries of major empires were dynamic and constantly changing, and on most occasions, it is nearly impossible to determine whether these outside groups came from territory within the sovereign community, or from elsewhere. The concept of payment is, therefore, an essential prerogative for the development of this profession. This, alongside a non-local identity, is truly what defines a mercenary in antiquity, among other components. The methods of remuneration clearly varied in the Bronze and Iron Age. Coins were not used as payment yet, as they were in the later Classical period. Coinage was developed in the sixth century in Lydia, according to Herodotus, and perhaps this was created to pay the supplies of mercenaries in the region.[8] The thesis elaborates on the available evidence to determine what types of remuneration these external groups received.

What is telling overall of these general historical changes is that the modern image of the mercenary is not equivalent to that of the ancient mercenary. They should not have analogous definitions and it is necessary in the thesis to establish how we define a mercenary in antiquity, based on the material culture and identifiable traits.

2.1.2 Mercenaries in Classical Scholarship and Literature

The abundant later sources from the Classical period, approximately the fifth and fourth centuries, led historians and archaeologists to develop generalizations about mercenaries. Although the Classical period is later than the scope of this research, it is significant since many interpretations of mercenaries relied greatly on these sources. In addition, we ascertain characteristics of mercenaries from these sources and compare them to the earlier archaeological and textual evidence. A synopsis of the various

[8]Hdt. 1.94. Kroll 2012, p. 37.

definitions and interpretations is useful.

A variety of factors typify mercenary activity from the sources. One interpretation suggests that mercenaries were closely linked with the development of the Greek polis; mercenaries and soldiers were both professional fighters that specialized in warfare, however the motivations diverged.[9] The citizen soldier was motivated to fight for the polis, while the mercenary was impelled by other means, such as personal gain, wages, and the spoils that come with victory.[10] The Classical mercenary is also considered a creation and consequence of the emergence of the city-states.[11] During the restructuring of Greek communities and the establishment of the city-state, groups of displaced men were inevitably left out of this development and relocated outside their original homeland. This arguably resulted in the mercenary phenomenon.[12]

Another suggestion for the development of mercenaries is the economic role they fulfilled. There was a high demand for mercenaries as a commodity in the ancient world; for example, in sixth century Syracuse in Sicily, the tyrants and cities relied heavily on mercenary units to maintain power.[13] The supply and demand for mercenaries increased substantially after major calamities, such as the Peloponnesian War in the fifth century: the economic factors that drove men to military service included lack of employment and hardships, which would have escalated during post-war times.[14] These factors triggered the ubiquity of mercenaries in these centuries.

When we look at the Greek sources between the Archaic to Classical periods, it is clear that there is not a single term that wholly describes the profession. There are various Greek terminologies, dating between the seventh and fourth centuries, that arguably indicate mercenaries. The ancient authors clearly used these terms

[9]Kaplan 2002, p. 230.
[10]A. Santosuosso 1997, p. 89.
[11]Kaplan 2002, p. 230.
[12]Snodgrass discussed the establishment of the city-state and effect on socio economic factors and on warfare. Snodgrass 1980, pp. 85-122; Wees 2004, pp. 78-8; Kagan and Viggiano 2013, pp. 1-45.
[13]Hutchinson 2000, p. 231.
[14]Yalichev 1997, p. 81.

interchangeably with other meanings, consequentially causing ambiguity.[15]

The earliest appearance of a mercenary in the Greek sources was as an *epikouros*, which has the literal translation of a "fighter-alongside."[16] The contexts in which the term appears are associated with mercenary activity. The seventh century poet, Archilochus from Paros, described himself as an "*epikouros* like a Carian;" this equates him to the contemporary Carian mercenaries employed in Egypt.[17] This is significant since, according to Herodotus and earlier seventh century Egyptian epigraphical sources, Carians and Ionians were employed in Egypt during the seventh and sixth centuries (see Chapter 4.2.3 for more discussion). Another example comes from the sixth century poet Alcaeus, who described his brother Antimenidas as an *epikouros* that served the Babylonians and was handsomely rewarded (see Chapter 4.2.2).[18] Both of these references indicate that an *epikouros* in these situations indeed represented mercenaries.

Epikouroi are associated with other connotations in the sources as well. The early *epikouroi* of the *Iliad* were tantamount to external groups who fought as allies in battles.[19] Herodotus in the fifth century used this phrase on several occasions to refer to auxiliaries and external allies that assisted local military.[20] For example, the tyrant Polykrates of Samos hired a mass of *epikouroi*, alongside local archers, to secure his position as tyrant.[21] In addition, Thucydides described the fifth century paid mercenaries from the Peloponnesian War as *epikouroi*.[22] In contrast, Xenophon used the term twice in the *Anabasis* with other meanings; on one occasion, *epikouros*

[15]Parke 1933, pp. 20-1.

[16]Trundle 2004, p. 13; Wees 2004, pp. 72-3.

[17]Kammerzell 1993, p. 109; West 1993, p. 12; Haider 1988, p. 174; W.-D. Niemeier 2001, p. 17; Kaplan argued that the archaic poets like Archilochus were not mercenaries, but were fighting for their polis. Kaplan 2002, p. 234.

[18]Brouwers 2013, p. 75.

[19]Iliad 4.438, 10.420, 17.222-6.

[20]Hdt. 1.64.2, 154.4; 2.152.14, 163.2-3. Trundle 2004, p. 13; Wees 2004, p. 73.

[21]Hdt. 3.45, 54, 145-6.

[22]Thuc. 1.115.4; 2.33.1; 70.3; 79.3; 3.18.1; 34.2; 73.1; 85.3; 109.2; 6.46.2; 129.3; 130.0; 131.3; 7.43.1; 57.3; 9, 11, 58.3; 8.25.2, 28.4, 38.3. Trundle 2004, p. 30.

was used as a noun meaning protection, and in the second instance, it was used to describe someone as a helper.[23]

By the second half of the fifth century, another equivocal term was used. The word *xenos* defined a non-local in any context, a friend or ally (usually bound by the ties of reciprocity), or a Greek from another Greek community.[24] Thucydides used *xenos* to identify Greek allies, while Xenophon specifically described the mercenaries serving the Persian king Cyrus as *xenoi*.[25] *Xenos* was also used in the later fourth century works of Aeneas Tacitus, as well as in Arrian's histories in the first century C.E., in similar ways.[26]

When regular wage payments and coinage became the basic income for mercenaries from the mid fifth century onward, the ancient authors began to identify mercenaries in a different light as *misthophoroi*, "wage earners."[27] A wage earner and a soldier became synonymous in the sources, although a *misthophoros* continued to be used to describe everyday remuneration for other professions, in addition to mercenaries. This ambiguity continued and ancient authors constructed their own patterns to identify mercenaries. For instance, Xenophon described his fellow mercenaries as *xenoi*, *stratiotes* (soldiers) or *oplites* (hoplites), and he reserved the term *misthophoroi* to describe the mercenaries who fought against him.[28]

Epikouros, xenos and *misthophoros* reveal that there are numerous ways to refer to mercenaries in the Classical Greek world. There is no single word to pinpoint a mercenary in these later sources. During the late fifth century, these three terms are used simultaneously within the same texts. Nonetheless, contextualizing the sources helps to distinguish whether these instances do refer to mercenaries, as is evident

[23]Xen. An. 4.5.13; 5.8.21.
[24]Trundle 2004, pp. 14-15.
[25]Thuc. 1.68.1-2; 7.13.2. Xen.Hell.4.5.11-18.
[26]Trundle 2004, p. 15.
[27]Thucydides 1.60 and Herodotus 1.61.3 referred to paid mercenaries as *misthophoroi*. Trundle 2004, p. 16.
[28]Xen. An. 1.2.11-12; 4.3.4; 4.18; 7.8.15.

with Archilochus' *epikouroi*, and Xenophon's use of *xenoi* and *misthophoroi*.

2.1.3 Comparisons Between the Definition of Modern and Ancient Mercenaries

In addition to the Classical perception of the mercenary, there are also some characteristics of later mercenaries, between the Classical period and the modern era, that are worth mentioning. These examples reveal a few patterns that characterize mercenaries and provide interesting comparisons for our subsequent discussion of mercenary activity in the Bronze and Iron Age.

2.1.3.1 The Wave Phenomenon

Throughout ancient and modern history, the influx of mercenaries was driven by historical events that created the supply and demand for additional numbers in armies. As termed by Chapleau and Misser, the supply of mercenaries increased in a wave phenomenon, where at the end of a major war, political strife, or another momentous event, the market for mercenaries expanded.[29] This was due to the lack of livelihood and to disillusionment of displaced soldiers directly affected by events during the aftermath of a particular event. A viable option would then be to continue as a professional fighter.

In the fifth century, this phenomenon was evident, due to the result of the Peloponnesian War. There were numerous soldiers, originating from regions in the Peloponnese, who fought in the war; when the mass demand for soldiers that was triggered by the war ended, there was a surplus of unemployed men.[30] This historical setting precipitates the employment of mercenaries. The texts support this, where Cyrus the Younger easily hired his band of warriors, including Xenophon and the 10,000 Greek

[29]Chapleau and Misser 1998, p. 85; Prinz 2012, p. 6.

[30]They possibly lost property and ownership of their land as a result of the war. Hutchinson 2000, p. 23.

mercenaries. Their abilities and origins as hoplites were known, and Cyrus had directed his garrison commanders in Ionia to recruit as many fighters of Peloponnesian origin as possible, including Arcadians and Achaeans specifically.[31] The Arcadians in particular were believed to become mercenaries in the fifth century due to economic pressures, such as civil strife and poverty in their homeland.[32] Herodotus recounted Arcadian deserters from the Peloponnesian War who lacked the means to live and were looking for employment from Xerxes.[33]

The explosion of mercenary service after major political and military events continued during the Hellenistic period as well. The supply and demand for mercenaries after the conquests of Alexander the Great was substantial. The kingdoms that materialized from these conquests required extensive manpower to control borders and the local populations. To fulfill this need, the numerous wars throughout the fourth century generated the supply of mercenaries.[34] The wars indeed created mass amounts of exiles and fugitives seeking employment.

In summary, the supply and demand for mercenaries oscillates, with considerable increases after wars and conflicts. Secondly, the individual becomes part of the phenomenon, as he is left out of the post-conflict environment, whether it is due to disillusionment or unemployment. The ancient authors corroborated this phenomenon, including Xenophon, Herodotus, Thucydides, and the Hellenistic sources, like Polybios and Diodoros.[35] Earlier traces of the wave phenomenon in the Early Iron Age and Archaic period are vague; texts by the poet Archilochus in the seventh century mentioned a battle between Paros and Naxos.[36] Later sources like Thucydides narrated the events of the early Lelantine War between Chalcis and Eretria during the

[31]Roy 2004, pp. 270-1.
[32]Hunt 2007, p. 143.
[33]Hdt. 8.26.
[34]See pp. 5-17 for a summary of the political history of the Hellenic world and the frequency of wars. Chaniotis 2005, p. 80.
[35]Chaniotis 2005, p. 13.
[36]Hale 2013, pp. 177-8.

eighth to seventh centuries. The repercussions of these conflicts and if this instigated similar patterns of employment remain unknown, though one envisages these types of events were commonplace.

2.1.3.2 Group Cohesion

A second significant characteristic of the mercenary, as evinced in the Classical and later sources, is the formation of the cohesive group. The factions of mercenaries exhibited a tendency to stick together with other like-minded individuals, who have experienced similar situations. After they were employed and fought alongside one another, this seems to establish a new group identity. The loyalty that cultivated between each individual and to the group becomes an extremely strong tie.[37] Carron defined this connection as a "dynamic process that is reflected in the tendency for a group to stick together and remain united in the pursuit of its goals and objectives."[38]

Cohesion appeared to be essential to the formation of mercenary groups that sought employment outside of their homeland. Each cohort developed a "distinct identity rooted in the shared experiences of its men and its commander."[39] Xenophon's *Anabasis* suggests a quintessential example of the formation of group identity; he was hired among the ten thousand mercenaries by Cyrus the Younger to lead a coup against the Persian King, Artaxerxes II. When his employer was killed in battle in the Persian hinterland, the mercenaries banded together with Xenophon as their new commander to lead them back to Greece. It was clear from the texts that the mercenaries serving Cyrus also belonged previously to various contingents, each with their own general.[40]

For example, one of Cyrus' generals, Xenias the Parrhasian, was an Arcadian,

[37]Prinz 2012, p. 8; Siebold established four categories of cohesion and structural relationships. Siebold 2007, p. 287.

[38]Carron, Widmeyer, and Brawley 1985; Cota et al. 1995, p. 572.

[39]An example from Xenophon is Menon and his men from Thessaly; when part of the contingent was killed, the mercenaries took revenge on Tarsus. An. 1.2.25-6. Lee 2007, p. 48.

[40]An. 1.2.2-4. Lee 2007, p. 45.

as was most of his mercenary contingent.[41] The cohesive group identity had clearly formed from earlier employment together. In addition, one could argue that the formation of group cohesion was transient: for instance, a transformation took place when Cyrus was killed and the mercenary contingents chose to coalesce, with Xenophon as the new commander. In this environment, the new situation showed the change in the identity of the cohesive group, where now it did not incorporate just the various, autonomous contingents under the Persian king, but a newly established cohort under Xenophon's jurisdiction.

Identifying the cohesive nature of a mercenary group in the material record is indeed difficult. Nevertheless, the inscriptions from Saite Egypt shed some light on this. Evidence for a mercenary group came from the graffiti on the walls of the Temple of Abu Simbel, where the Greek, Carian and Phoenician factions inscribed their names and origins on the temple (see Chapter 4.2.4).[42] In total, 32 Greek, 8 Carian, and 11 Semitic inscriptions were recorded, with two references of Greeks employed by Psammetichus specifically. These mercenary contingents most likely were stationed together in Upper Egypt during the Egyptian campaigns against the Nubian leaders in the seventh and sixth centuries. More Carian inscriptions are found at the South Temple of Buhen, indicating their employment in the area as well.[43]

These mercenaries were likely isolated from the rest of the army and kept within their own factions rather than integrated. What suggests this is the dearth of hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti alongside the Greek, Carian, and Semitic inscriptions. Although the majority of the local army was Egyptian, they evidently did not leave marks of their presence on temples.[44] This indicates that this group of non-locals campaigned on its own. The commanders of these cohorts were non-Egyptian as

[41]Lee 2007, p. 45.

[42]Bernard and Aly 1959, three inscriptions referred to the possible origins of the mercenaries. See translations DG, JG, I.; DG, JD,V; DG,JG,III.; Masson 1979, pp. 35-49; Brouwers 2013, p. 72.

[43]Caminos 1974, see the South Temple at Buhen in Caminos 1974: Buhen I, 3, 5 n. 4, 55 and n. 1, 59 n. 3, 71. Masson 1978, vii-viii, 50-4, pls. 27-29.

[44]Peden 2001, p. 288.

well. For example, later texts by Polyainos mentioned a Carian advisor at Memphis named Pigres, who likely was in charge of the Carian coterie.[45] A sixth century grave stele from Memphis also had the same Carian name, Pigres, supporting the presence of Carians in Egypt in a military capacity.[46]

These epigraphical sources suggest these mercenaries worked in cohesive groups in antiquity. The sources demonstrate that cohorts were stationed together throughout the region and that they left a purposeful mark of their presence, unlike the Egyptian troops. The commanders were on occasion Greek or Carian as well and perhaps retained a connection to the group from previous employments, just like Xenias' band of Arcadians in the *Anabasis*. We will take these characteristics of mercenaries as documented in the later sources and compare them to what the texts show us from earlier time periods.

2.1.3.3 Mercenaries and Non-State Armed Groups

There are some similarities between the characteristics of mercenaries, as conveyed by the Classical texts, and today's definition of the non-state armed group. The non-state armed group is a title in current society associated with armed rebel cohorts in various countries. Although the motivations may differ, many facets of these groups are useful to compare to ancient mercenaries. A non-state armed group is defined as the following:

> "(i) willing and capable to use violence for pursuing their objectives and (ii) not integrated into formalized state institutions such as regular armies, presidential guards, police or special forces. They, therefore, (iii) possess a certain degree of autonomy with regard to politics, military operations, resources ..."[47]

[45] Polyainos. Strat. VII.3.
[46] W.-D. Niemeier 2001, p. 17.
[47] Prinz 2012, p. 6.

One similar factor is the degree of autonomy that ancient mercenaries and these non-state armed groups maintain. The extent of sovereignty mercenaries have is recorded historically; for example, the mercenaries employed by the city of Carthage during the Punic Wars (264-146) demonstrate this self-rule. In 241, after the first Punic War, the Carthaginians were unable to fully pay their 20,000 mercenaries and, in return, the contingents including Spaniards, Gauls, Ligurians, and Libyans revolted and seized Tunis.[48] Unable to quell the revolt, Carthage ultimately lost their territories to the Roman expansion.

Herodotus documented another event that demonstrated the mercenaries' autonomy, brutality, as well as a consequence of breaking the bond within a military contingent. During the Persian attempts to invade Egypt at the end of the sixth century, the Carian officer Phanes defected to the Persians. He provided the Persian king Cambyses with firsthand accounts about the Egyptian forces and access routes.[49] The Greek and Carian contingents, angry at his betrayal, in return murdered his sons on the battle lines and supposedly forced every mercenary to drink their blood. This story, whether true or not, attests to the reputation of brutality and autonomy mercenaries had, at least in the Classical period when Herodotus was writing. It also reflects the level of allegiance the mercenaries had to their cohort, even if this were not a war where they were particularly invested.

The epigraphical texts from Egypt in the seventh and sixth centuries further support these autonomous actions. An example is a dedication to the Cataract gods by the Egyptian commander of the non-local contingents at Elephantine; the inscription described a rebellion, caused by the mercenaries, stating, "as though deliver me from the situation caused by the troops of Asiatics, Greeks, Syrians, and others. . . "[50] Evidently, the different contingents rebelled against their commanders and this was

[48]Hoyos 2015, p. 73.
[49]Hdt. 3.11.
[50]Redford 1992, pp. 443-4; W.-D. Niemeier 2001, p. 18.

serious enough to warrant a religious dedication to mitigate the situation. In addition, the Pharaoh Amasis (reigned 570-526) also had to take precautions with his mercenaries; after much animosity between the Egyptian troops and the non-local contingents, Amasis relocated the Ionian and Carian mercenaries from Sais and the Nile Delta to the Palace of Apries at Memphis to avoid revolts.[51]

Finally, it is clear that the autonomous mercenary was not fully integrated into the local army. When hired, they were kept as separate contingents with their own commanders. As stated above, in Saite Egypt, the pharaohs divided the Ionian and Carian groups from the Egyptian troops to mitigate conflict. Comparably, the Persians as well kept their mercenaries and auxiliaries separated from the Persian forces.[52] The Persian period fort at Elephantine isolated the Jewish contingents from the Egyptians.[53] This is also recorded by Xenophon and the Greek mercenaries, who were a detached, standing army from the Persian forces during marches and battles.[54]

2.2 Archaeology and the Identification of Non-local People and Practices

An essential component of the thesis is to engage with the complexities of identifying the archaeological presence of non-local people and cultural practices. Much of the evidence for mercenaries undoubtedly exposes such problems in identification, especially when attributing material culture as archaeological indicators for non-local fighters. The notions of ethnicity and identity, and how they manifest in archaeology, have frequently circulated theoretical framework in past decades of scholarship.

As a fundamental foundation for addressing problems of ethnicity in archaeology,

[51]Hdt. 2.154. For further discussion on the Saite epigraphical texts, see 4.2.4.
[52]Briant 2002, p. 55.
[53]Lee 2007, pp. 43-80.
[54]Lee 2007, pp. 43-80.

Jones defined ethnicity and ethnic identity in the following ways:

> "Ethnicity: social and psychological phenomena that are associated with a culturally constructed group identity. The concept of ethnicity focuses on ways in which social and cultural processes intersect with one another in the identification of, and interaction between, ethnic groups."[55]

> "Ethnic identity: an aspect of a person's self-conceptualization which results from identification with a broader group in opposition to others on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent."[56]

Ethnicity inherently relies on a group's socially-constructed perception of its own identity, and such perceptions manifest through social and cultural processes and practices. Jones highlighted the shortcomings and assumptions that arise in archaeology when the material remains are directly attributed to a specific group. In particular, she disagreed with the assumption that material culture is an objective reflection of static cultural traits belonging to particular peoples, without taking into consideration the transient nature of group identity and perception.[57] She advocated that there are constant variations and cultural transformations that take place and ultimately hinder the ability for archaeologists to directly relate representations of ethnicity to objects.[58] Therefore, in order to discuss what non-local objects signify about the people using them, there needs to be a contextual approach, where the users are not the primary focus of analysis; rather, the focus is predominantly on the variable relationship between the archaeological remains, historical contexts, and the social interactions between groups in these contexts.[59] This theoretical approach ultimately presents the significance of contextualizing the objects and clarifying what they signify about relationships between non-local groups.

[55]Jones 1997, p. xiii.
[56]Jones 1997, p. xiii.
[57]Jones 1997, p. 106.
[58]Jones 1997, p. 128.
[59]Jones 1997, p. 129.

As presented in the thesis, a contextual approach is used when discussing the evidence for mercenaries. The analyses delineate social and cultural practices, alongside the contexts, that suggest non-local activities took place. In addition, the terms ethnicity and ethnic group are generally not used in the thesis to describe the foreign mercenaries and their ambiguous origins. This is primarily due to the fact that socially-constructed and self-perceived ethnic designations are not typically identifiable. For the most part, it is uncertain how the groups examined in the thesis defined themselves and their perceived cultural identities, especially without clear delineations from the available texts. Therefore, the term ethnicity is not used in order to avoid assumptions and generalizations. Moreover, as will be discussed, the available texts show that organized societies that did have writing and keep records used nuanced means to separate themselves from surrounding cultures. They portrayed biased perceptions of such outsider communities. The internal perceptions of group identity and ethnicity within the external groups are therefore unknown.

In addition to Jones' approach to non-local objects and perceptions of ethnicity, other arguments further the image of the dynamic, constantly changing social construction of an ethnic group. Hall argued that the most effective way to determine the existence and identification of an ethnic group in antiquity is through collective foundation myths and from non-archaeological expressions, such as language and ritual.[60] This approach, however, is not attainable in much of archaeological research, especially when there is a dearth of epigraphical and written texts.[61]

There have also been arguments to extract "behavioral patterns" that distinguish an ethnic group in the archaeological record.[62] Kamp and Yoffee opposed using a "trait-list" approach to identify an ethnic group, i.e., if specific characteristics of objects are represented in the material record, then they must signify a certain group's

[60]Hall 1995, pp. 10-14; Killebrew 2005, notably Killebrew used these approaches when studying ethnicity in Biblical lands.

[61]Antonaccio 2009.

[62]Kamp and Yoffee 1980.

practices. They delineated three behavioral factors to attempt to avoid such assumptions: firstly, one needs to define the practices that symbolize a particular ethnic identity; to clarify the learned behaviors and values of the group; and to determine the economic-political strategies used, based on "ethnic membership."[63] They argued that these factors permit archaeologists to look critically at particular behaviors of groups, without having to rely solely on the distribution and similarities of artifacts. Although ideally this approach may help to confront the issues of identifying non-local people, the theory remains vague as to how exactly one identifies behaviors of a group, how to characterize their values, and how to trace the transformation of such behaviors over time.

In addition to past scholarship and theoretical discussions about identifying non-local people in archaeology, scholars have further elaborated on what objects alone indicate. There is a particular focus on the degrees of hybridization of ceramics, including the stylistic and technical variations. Ceramic assemblages reveal the extent of co-existence and assimilation between two cultures after they are exposed to each other for extended periods of time. It becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish whether these vases represent local activities or evidence for new groups. Hybridization, in this case, refers to objects that reveal multiple cultural traits and influences that contributed to their manufacture.[64] These many traits and influences manifest in stylistic or functional changes. Using hybridized pottery to explain these cultural interactions is common in scholarship. Bunomovitz and Yasur-Landau, for example, formulated a useful model to trace the manifestation of different ethnic groups in the material record. The process begins with a completely unchanged ceramic assemblage, where the pottery is distinctly different from that of the new environment.[65] Over time, the ceramic repertoire evolves and there are typological and and stylistic

[63]Kamp and Yoffee 1980, p. 96.

[64]Some scholars reject the term hybridization due to its use in post-colonialism as a political metaphor Stockhammer 2012, p. 89.

[65]Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996, pp. 89-90.

changes in pottery production. Finally, the migrant group eventually acculturates to the surrounding community; the hybridized pottery, and other materials, represent this process. Recognizing this process in pottery repertoires is useful to explain the archaeological presence of different groups of people.

Another way to examine objects as an indication for non-local people is to identify the socio-cultural context of an object. This can be fundamental for distinguishing its purpose and function, which in turn, can be informative of the multiple groups that were using the object. An object can retain a "social life" from the time it is produced until the moment it is traded and used in a new context.[66] The social context of an object is redefined through exchanges, when its value and function are altered when placed in a new environment. Once an object leaves its origin of production, and possibly consumption, it gains a different use and meaning in another context that may differ from its primary purpose. This suggests that consumers are using the vase in different ways. Cline clarified further the social life of a vase; when an imported object attains a different meaning, significance, and status than it did in its origin, it becomes a "multivalent" object, that is, an object with multiple values and meanings.[67] The object is likely reused in a way that differs from its original function. Furthermore, the status and value of the object vary, depending on whether the location receiving the import has experience with such an object and has an assigned use for it.[68] If not, they would need to create a context and function for the object, which in turn assigns it a different value and status.

Recent scholarship remains engrossed in the discussions of the social life and functional changes of objects in new contexts. Stockhammer recently labeled such multivalent objects as "entangled" objects. He used paradigms of Bronze Age Mycenaean objects found in the Levant, at Lachish and Hazor.[69] In these examples, the Myce-

[66]Appadurai 1986, pp. 13-16.
[67]E. Cline 2005, p. 47.
[68]E. Cline 2005, p. 49.
[69]The life of an object experiences "relational entanglement," where new social practices and

naean *kylix*, originally a drinking vessel in Greece, was reused in a Levantine context as an incense burner. The change in function indicates that the local Levantines reused this Mycenaean object. If similar shifts in ceramic functions are identifiable for imports, then it is possible to identify the users of these vases. Overall, defining the functions and uses of non-local objects may indeed shed light on whether the users are accustomed to such objects and functions, suggesting they have previous experience with the objects, or if the object is assigned a new function.

Alongside the question of how the function of an object changes, it is also important to address when an object is considered a commodity and when it is not. When discussing mercenaries in past scholarship, scholars such as Waldbaum and Magness argued that the Greek ceramics brought to the Levant during the Iron Age were in fact commodities and objects of trade, rather than personal belongings of Greek mercenaries situated in the region.[70] To begin, for an object to be deemed a commodity, it needs to be a socially desirable object with a use-value.[71] Determining whether the recipients of imports considered an object as a commodity with a use-value is inherently difficult to distinguish; however, there are some contextual indications that can be revealing. Bachhuber used the Uluburun shipwreck as a case study for identifying commodities and the purpose of the objects on board the ship. To determine whether these objects are commodities or not, he primarily differentiates between gift reciprocity and commodities, and compares the ship's inventory to gift-exchange deliveries known from the Amarna Letters.[72] After differentiating between gifts, commodities, and what objects from the shipwreck could be considered gifts, two other characteristics become apparent: some of the objects on board were not previously identified outside of the Aegean before, and secondly, that some of the unique objects were found in pairs. This suggests that it is possible these objects were in fact the

meanings are given to an object in a novel context. Stockhammer 2012, pp. 89-103.

[70]Waldbaum 1997; Waldbaum 2011.

[71]Bachhuber 2006, p. 349.

[72]Bachhuber 2006, pp. 350-1.

personal belongings used or owned by the people in the voyage, rather than commodities.[73] This type of deduction is relevant when looking at the imported ceramics and other objects that have been identified as indicators for mercenaries, as there may be other characteristics of such objects that suggest if they are commodities or not in these particular contexts.

The three main theories and themes discussed here are important to keep in mind as the evidence for mercenaries in the thesis is examined, i.e. the concept of ethnicity, identity, and socially-constructed identifications; the multivalent nature of objects with multiple functions in different contexts; and when an object becomes a commodity and when it is a personal effect.

Alongside the theories and past discussions of how to equate objects to people, it is important to state that much of the evidence incorporated in the thesis relies heavily on pottery. Indeed pottery does not directly represent people in every circumstance, however, there are notable instances when it does. An example of when imported pottery suggests non-local people comes from seventh and sixth century contexts in Egypt. Sporadic Judean wine-decanters were discovered at several sites in the Nile Delta and are interpreted as archaeological markers for Jewish diaspora and residents.[74] The decanters reveal a particular use in Jewish ritual practices. In addition, many of them had personal names inscribed. Since they are not found widespread across the northern Levant or in Egypt in large numbers, it is suggested that they were not typically traded commodities with a use-value. Instead, they were discovered where Jewish diaspora were present, such as at the Elephantine fort in Egypt.[75] The Jewish residents either brought them to Egypt, or they were traded to locations where the diaspora resided. The decanters effectively act as indicators of a Jewish presence in Egypt.

[73]Bachhuber 2006, p. 353.

[74]Holladay 2004, p. 405.

[75]Many Hebrew ostraka at Elephantine attest to the predominant Jewish residents at the fort. Holladay 2004, p. 416.

Another contemporary example comes from the Greek sanctuaries at Naukratis in Egypt; the types of imports and shapes clearly show a demand for Greek ritual wares. The function and style of the vases, including decorated plates, votive *pinakes*, and the painted cups with *dipinti* stating they are for goddess Hera, all imitate Greek ritual wares from other sanctuaries, such as the Samian Heraion.[76] There is evidently a demand for these products in this context, and trade routes with Greek imports are targeting specific consumers. The purpose of the imports as ritual items in the Greek world maintain their primary function, indicating that undoubtedly Greeks are using the imports.

The examples reveal that there are indeed occasions when pottery indicates people. However, there are instances when this is not the case and the significance of the ceramic imports is not always clear. It is, therefore, necessary to look at other factors. To trace a mercenary presence, it is important to construct culturally sensitive indicators from the archaeology, such as specific materials or practices, that reveal the behavioral traits of a group of people.[77] The indicators should be evaluated in addition to the imported ceramics; this includes burial rites, weapons, ritual practices, epigraphical sources, and the historical setting. Materials and practices suggest the types of activities that were occurring at the site, and shed light on the inhabitants. Moreover, the context is also fundamental alongside the material indicators. By contextualizing the ceramic imports, other materials, and different cultural practices, it is then possible to identify if there is a mercenary presence.

[76]Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006, p. 6.

[77]In this case, behavior refers to the way in which people chose to conduct their daily activities and cultural practices as manifested in the archaeological record.

Chapter 3

The Bronze Age Texts and Material Evidence

Perpetual military campaigns and power struggles between the major Near Eastern Empires dominated historical activity in the Bronze Age. Various conflicts, including war between the Egyptians and the Hittites, combating invading outsider groups, and the constant exertion of military power in the Levant and Nubia by the Egyptian pharaohs, revealed that manpower was undoubtedly a necessity. It is vital to begin the analysis of mercenary presence in the Bronze Age from the earliest documentation of possible mercenaries in the 20th century, until the culmination of the Bronze Age at the end of the 13th century. The literary sources are especially abundant and informative about potential mercenaries in Bronze Age contexts, in comparison to the more scarce documentation in the subsequent eleventh to sixth centuries, as will be discussed later. It is apparent from the literary evidence that there is no clear term that directly defines a mercenary. This is problematic because current scholarship assigns the term loosely to an array of ethnic groups described in the ancient sources, regardless of what their actions and contexts indicate. The discussion will include texts that referred to pastoralist, tribal, and/or nomadic contingents, that on occa-

sion allegedly acted as hired militia for organized armies. The focus will then move to the possibility of mercenaries recorded in the Mari Archives and in the Amarna Letters. In addition, we will discuss the Aegean sources, including the ambiguous and controversial terminology from the Mycenaean Linear B tablets that could show non-local employment in the palatial armies. By evaluating these specific instances, we can determine the roles of external groups in these contexts and what characteristics ultimately attest to mercenary activity.

In addition to the texts, the limited archaeological presence of mercenaries is discussed, when possible. Material remains from burials in association with Egyptian fortresses, as well as Aegean weapons and ceramics found in military contexts, have instigated much discussion about identifying non-local activity. Past scholarship has argued for these specific instances to represent mercenaries. We will, therefore, analyze the available evidence from sites in Egypt and the Levant that arguably indicate mercenaries in order to determine whether these identifications are viable; these are the Egyptian fortresses at Hierakonpolis, Beth Shean in the Levant, the Tell es-Sa'idiyeh fortress and cemetery in Jordan, and Aegean weapons at Tell el-Borg. These particular sites were chosen to discuss alongside the texts because past scholarship had argued for these specific archaeological remains from fortresses to belong to mercenaries.

After discussing the above evidence, the following questions will be addressed:

- What specific role did external groups have within the structure of the Near Eastern armies?
- At what point does an external group become distinguishable mercenaries, and when can they be considered a regular faction of the army?
- What provisions did outsider contingents receive from their employers?
- How should we define a mercenary in the Bronze Age?

- Do these specific instances of evidence from fortresses in the Bronze Age indicate mercenaries?

Answering these questions will hopefully provide the definition and methodology needed to detect the presence of mercenaries in the archaeological record from the 13th to 7th centuries B.C.E., a time when textual sources were scarce.

3.1 Identifying Mercenaries in Textual References to the Habiru and Suteans

Past scholarship argued for the first appearance of hired mercenaries at the end of the third millennium B.C.E. Nevertheless, various logistics regarding the nature of these interactions, including the processes of hiring and providing provisions for non-local troops, and the precise origins of these ethnic groups, remain vague in the sources and the archaeological record. This is due to the fact that the majority of these military groups originated from pastoral or nomadic tribes located on the outskirts and boundaries of major kingdoms and empires in Egypt, the Levant, and inland further east. Due to their isolation from complex cultures, these groups were frequently perceived by organized society as aggressors, exiles, or bandits. Since these groups are numerous and they vary in identity and geographical context, sources from antiquity, as well as modern scholars, are forced to categorize these people jointly under the terms "nomads" or "pastoralists," even if this is not necessarily an accurate depiction of their socio-economic organization.[1] In general, such peoples will here be referred to as members of external groups, that is, groups originating from outside the organized communities and thus have almost no written and archaeological remains.

A discussion of these groups and their ambiguous identities is necessary since many ancient societies have utilized these groups in the military and documented their

[1]Van De Mieroop 2010, p. 54.

Figure 3.1: Map of the Near East in the Bronze Age. Created by Purdue University, web.ics.purdue.edu.

presence. Interestingly, archaeologists interpreted such references as those of early mercenaries since, on occasion, these groups played key roles within the militaries of the Eastern Mediterranean. Our comprehensive discourse below will demonstrate the process in which these groups were hired, the roles they maintained in society, and whether they displayed characteristics of hired mercenaries.

3.1.1 Habiru

The Habiru were one of the earliest documented groups from the Eastern Mediterranean, and records of them stemmed from the 18th until the 12th centuries B.C.E. They were found ubiquitously in texts from the Levant, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Egypt throughout this time period.[2] Etymologically, the term Habiru translates to raider or bandit, or, depending on the context, this ethnic designation could represent

[2]Current scholarship translates Habiru also as Hapiru or Apiru. Van De Mieroop 2010, p. 48.

a mercenary.[3] It is also suggested that the term was related closely with the phrase, “one who left house,” or refugee, exile, or emigrant.[4] This term is thus notable for its ambiguity.

Since the textual references about this group were abundant and conveyed a diverse presence, this section will focus succinctly on excerpts from the Mari Letters, the Amarna Letters, and from references of Habiru in the Levantine region. The Akkadian archives from Mari in Syria (documented between approximately the 19th to 18th centuries B.C.E.) recorded the Habiru as "mercenaries," according to the modern translation of the archives.[5] This translation and applied definition stated that the term Habiru signified people whom were "no longer attached to a single group or town."[6] The Habiru appeared at least eight times in the letters; however, at no point do the letters define them as paid external soldiers in an army.

Only one fragment of the letters suggests that the Habiru acted as a military group that initially served one commander or “employer,” and then changed loyalties to another leader, an act which is an indication of mercenary-like characteristics. A group of Habiru that served a man named Asqur-Addu left his service to work for another individual of a different district.[7] The tablet did not elaborate on more information; however, this could indicate a group changing military loyalties from one leader to another. In contrast, the remaining texts did not indicate specific mercenary activity. Two instances discussed hostile Habiru contingents in cities, where in one case a Habiru maintained “control of this city,” before selling it.[8] In another letter, it is evident that someone could “act as a Habiru,” where a man situated himself in a new city as a Habiru and he led outlaws and kidnappings in the surrounding

[3]Rainey Z”L 2015, p. 1282.
[4]Van De Mieroop 2010, p. 48.
[5]Sasson 2015.
[6]Sasson 2015, p. 194.
[7]3.3.b.i.3. Sasson 2015, p. 195.
[8]3.3.b.i.4 and 3.3.b.i.5. Sasson 2015, p. 195.

territories.[9] From the Mari letters, the the Habiru were clearly perceived as militant groups in different situations and they could certainly be defined by the designated term as raider or bandit.

In addition, the Amarna Letters from Egypt, dating to approximately 1350-1330 BCE, exemplified extensive interregional correspondence between Egypt and other Eastern Mediterranean powers.[10] Among these letters, the Habiru were mentioned many times. The letters portrayed the Habiru in a different light than those of the Mari Archives. Primarily, they represented non-local factions within the Egyptian army, as was evident in the letter from the King Biryawaza of Damascus to the Egyptian pharaoh: "I am indeed, together with my troops and chariots, together with my brothers, my 'Apiru and my Suteans, at the disposition of the archers, wheresoever the king, my lord, shall order (me to go)."[11]

The kings of Syria identified the Habiru factions within the Syrian army as separate entities, alongside their regular troops and chariots. They emphasized the differentiation between the Habiru and the Suteans, which implies that these groups were not perceived as military personnel within the Syrian army, but as distinctly of different ethnicity. The military positions of the Habiru perhaps were as infantrymen, who traveled on foot, carrying swords and spears, as they were listed separately alongside the regular troops, chariots, and archers. Thus, infantrymen would be another necessary addition to an army.[12] In another correspondence between the Syrians and the Egyptians, the Egyptian pharaoh wrote to his subjects in Damascus and Shazena to ask for Habiru to send to his garrisons in Nubia: "Send me Habiru... about whom I have written with these words: I will give them to the cities in the land Kush, so I can settle them in the place of those I have deported."[13]

[9] 3.3.b.i.2. Sasson 2015, p. 194.
[10] Moran 1992; E. Cline and D. Cline 2015, pp. 17-44.
[11] EA 195, lines 24-32. Moran 1992, p. 273.
[12] Van De Mieroop 2010, p. 50.
[13] Van De Mieroop 2010, p. 50; Edzard 1970, pp. 55-62.

By the time of these letters in the 14th century, markedly centuries after the Mari Letters, the Habiru had developed a reputation for warfare and were in demand by the Egyptians and Syrians. In this case, the pharaoh wanted to station these groups in Upper Egypt, as a replacement for troops that he probably sent abroad on campaigns. Notably, the Habiru were not employed solely in the pharaoh's organized armies; another letter from Rib-Hadda in Syria to an official complains that an individual has claimed the city of Sumur as his own, and that he is only powerful due to his force of Habiru soldiers.[14] Rid-Hadda urged the official to send help, before the reproachable individual is able to gather more Habiru forces for his cause. This indicates that the Habiru were available for hiring as a personal force, and that again, their reputation as strong forces preceded them.

The Habiru encompass the obscurity of these early outsider groups. On the one hand, they are depicted as hostile, reckless outsiders who act on their own accord, conquering cities and taking booty for themselves when possible, and causing general mayhem for the major kingdoms. On the other hand, they are listed sporadically within organized military troops and have a reputation for warfare, where they are sought out for employment. It seems that these two descriptions of the Habiru are both accurate. The only contexts in which these acts could indicate mercenary activity, however, is when they are hired to fight for a person to attain power, such as in Amarna Letter EA 71, or when they are listed as key parts of the Egyptian army. Even in these circumstances, it is not entirely clear that these are functioning mercenaries due to the lack of information regarding payment, though one assumes that these hostile groups would only work under a foreign leader if they received benefits in return.

[14]EA 71, lines 16-22. Moran 1992, p. 140.

3.1.2 Suteans

Another group originating from the fringes of organized society included the Suteans, who inhabited areas in the Levant and northern Babylonia.[15] They were mentioned sporadically in the Mari Letters and in eight of the Amarna Letters, though their presence pre-dated these archives in the third millennium B.C.E. Due to their long-standing activities, the terminology for this group identification is inevitably dubious. For instance, the Amarna Letters referred to the Suteans located in Syria, whereas the contemporaneous Hittite texts used the term Sutean to refer to the Kaska tribes from northern Anatolia.[16] Thus, the term Sutean could represent both an ethnicity, as in Syria, and a nomadic way of life, as in the Hittite region. Regardless, like the Habiru, the Suteans themselves left no textual or archaeological traces; what remains of their presence comes likewise from the Mari and the Amarna Letters.

For instance, one letter from El-Amarna demonstrates that the King of Megiddo, Biridiya, told the pharaoh that another king has hired Habiru and Sutean soldiers:

> "...And now the two son[s] of Lab 'ayu are gi[ving] their silver to the 'apiru men and to the men of the land of the S[utu, t]o mak[e war ag]ainst m[e. So may the ki]ng [be apprised] concerning [his land]."[17]

This demonstrates that the Suteans, as well as the Habiru, could be hired for pay to participate in conflicts in which they had no stake. They were also not considered a regular appearance in an army, especially since King Biridiya wrote a letter to acknowledge the occasion and its repercussions. The only other text that places the Suteans in an organized army was discussed earlier in EA 195, where they were stationed alongside the Habiru, and Egyptian archers and chariots, ready for battle. The remaining texts from Mari and from El-Amarna characterized the Suteans as a

[15]The Suteans were known in North Babylonia since at least the 19th century. Heltzer 1981, p. 62.
[16]Vidal 2010, p. 95.
[17]EA 246, lines 1-11. Rainey Z"L 2015, p. 1009.

tribe participating in trade and general negotiations.[18] Moreover, the Suteans were used in general for raiding, fulfilling various jobs for a leader, and kidnapping. The latter is clear from one tablet where Suteans were sent from Egypt to capture men in Byblos and to bring them back to Egypt, and in the process, a Shardanu man was killed.[19] In light of these acts, it has been proposed that their main role was to provide "support in action" to various leaders, rather than providing a fundamental skillset in warfare.[20]

From these references, it is clear that during the two events discussed above, the Suteans perhaps encompassed the role of a mercenary on occasion, as was evident from them receiving silver as payment in return for conducting acts of warfare or policing for foreign entities. The majority of the textual evidence, however, does not necessarily reveal that they are mercenaries. Rather, they should be considered as autonomous hostile groups whose identification transformed over time.

3.2 Egyptian Evidence

3.2.1 Nubians

3.2.1.1 Texts

The hiring of external military contingents was well documented from the third to second millennia B.C.E. in Egypt. Political and economic stability was heavily reliant on non-Egyptian hires to help consolidate the country and to conquer enemies in Upper Egypt, which was under constant threat from independent rulers.[21] Egyptologists and historians have argued that Nubians were a substantial addition in Egyptian warfare tactics by the end of the Old Kingdom period (2686-2134) that continued

[18]Vidal 2010, p. 96.
[19]EA 122 and 123. Rainey Z"L 2015, pp. 642-4.
[20]Vidal proposed that they were used for open warfare in the field, since they would be knowledgeable of the difficult terrain, and not hand-to-hand combat. Vidal 2010, p. 99.
[21]Bard 2007, pp. 161-3.

until the end of the 13th century.[22] Scholarship has identified these Nubian troops as mercenaries, although the chronological scope in which they were employed in the Egyptian army and the entangled nature of contact between the two cultures suggest a different interpretation.[23] Although this is earlier than the main focus for this thesis, a brief discussion of the available text and material evidence for Nubians as hired soldiers is significant for establishing the early existence of this profession and how it was manifested.

The relations between Egypt and Lower Nubia are evinced mainly by inscriptions on tombs, and one particularly early tomb from the Sixth Dynasty (the end of the third millennium), is noteworthy as it may be one of the earliest records of mercenaries. The tomb of Harkhuf, an Egyptian merchant and expedition leader, located in the rock cut tombs of Qubbet el-Hawa in Aswan, recounted a journey to Nubia, where the purpose of the expedition was to expand trade connections and to seek those willing to hire themselves out to the Egyptians for military or administrative purposes.[24] The inscriptions further mentioned Harkhuf's officials who accompanied him to Nubia, specifically including the forenames Sabi, Teti-'ankh, and Iri, along with the alleged title, the Overseer of "Mercenaries."[25] Past scholarship has interpreted the title to signify mercenaries; thus the inscription would fit well within the image of the omnipresent Nubian mercenaries.[26] The interpretation of this title, nonetheless, is debatable as archaeologists have recently suggested that this title could translate to the "overseer of the foreign countries" instead.[27] Many officials were described on their tombs to have brought "foreign countries" to their leader, and it was considered

[22]Garcia 2010, p. 26.

[23]Vidal 2010, pp. 106-9; Much as been written on Nubian-Egyptian relations and this chapter will focus on Nubians in fortress contexts. See Smith 2003 for an extensive bibliography on this topic. Smith 2003, pp. 56-96.

[24]Vischak 2015, p. 97; Kirwan 1963, p. 266.

[25]*Urk.* I. 128, 4; 127, 10-11. Kadish 1966, p. 24.

[26]Kadish 1966, p. 24; Goedicke 1960, pp. 60-4.

[27]See Footnote 106. Török 2009, p. 71.

that "the most desired Nubian "gifts" were mercenaries."[28] On one such occasion, the Egyptian author Weni referred to his army of "Irtjet-Nubians, Medjay-Nubians, Yam-Nubians," etc., that he brought to campaign against the "Asiatic sand-dwellers."[29] This speaks to the many tribes within Nubia that the Egyptians recruited.

Throughout the second millennium, Egyptian and Nubian relations were characterized by Egyptian imperialism, where by the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2040-1720), a series of fortresses were constructed along the second cataract to ensure sovereignty over Lower Nubia.[30] Following the collapse of the Middle Kingdom around 1720, by the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period (ca. 1720-1540), the environment became tumultuous and Egyptian sovereignty in Nubia fleetingly deteriorated within a century, for reasons that archaeologists still postulate. The exact instigation of this are still unclear; there is archaeological evidence for mass migration of Canaanites, a shift in ritual activities that incorporate mixed Egyptian and Asiatic practices, and localized rule prevailed.[31] This change in power and in trade led to development of a prosperous Nubian state, the Kingdom of Kush. The Middle Kingdom Egyptian fortresses were no longer run by the Egyptian pharaohs, and they became independent and permanent communities, mixed with Egyptians and Nubians. In this environment, we find Egyptians appearing in the service of the Nubian kinglet. The stela of Ha'ankhef from Edfu, dating between 1650-1550 B.C.E., provides evidence for an Egyptian who fought for the Nubian king for payment before returning to Egypt with his family:

> "I was a valiant warrior, an 'Enterer' of Edfu. I transported wife and children and my property from the south of Kush in thirteen days. I brought back gold, 26 (deben) and the handmaid... I bought two cubits

[28]Török 2009, p. 71.
[29]Török 2009, p. 72; Lichtheim 1973, p. 19.
[30]Smith 2003, p. 56.
[31]Stiebing 2009, p. 164.

> of land... I was rewarded for six years (of service in Nubia, whence came the gold with which, presumably, the land was bought)."[32]

This suggests that fighting for the Nubian kings was a lucrative opportunity, where an Egyptian could receive payment in land and gold for his service, especially during a volatile period where one assumes employment is transient. Egyptians independently fought for the Kushite Kingdom in pursuit of profit.

By approximately 1550, during the beginning of the 18th Egyptian Dynasty, Egypt had defeated the impending threats from the Hyksos and reunified Egypt.[33] Egyptian power was expanded into Nubia in the south, as well as the Levant. In this time frame, Nubians notably appeared as soldiers four times in the Amarna Letters (the mid 14th century). In each of these letters, EA 127, 131, 133, and 187, a sovereign local leader in the Levant sent a request to Egypt, asking to send specific contingents of soldiers to assist with various military and political situations; these contingents typically included a specified quantity of Egyptian soldiers, Nubian soldiers, and charioteers.[34] For instance, Letter 131 from Rib-Adda of Byblos to the Pharaoh Akhenaten (also known as Amenophis IV, ca. 1353/1-1336/4) asked for new troops, specifically 300 Egyptians, 100 Nubians, and 30 charioteers, to stop an insurrection by the sons of Abdi-Asirta.[35] Although the Amarna Letters reveal that the Nubians were frequent additions to the Egyptian army and that there was clearly a demand for them based on the Amarna Letters, the texts did not provide other revealing information, such as whether the Nubians received some sort of remuneration, or whether they were obligated to fight for the Egyptians.

On one occasion it was postulated that barley was sent as possible payment for the Nubian soldiers, based on records in the autobiography of Ankhtifi in the early

[32]Gunn 1929, p. 5; Säve-Söderbergh 1949, pp. 56-8.
[33]Stiebing 2009, p. 173.
[34]Moran 1992, EA 127, 131, 133, and 287.
[35]Moran 1992, EA 131. Vidal 2010, p. 112.

First Intermediate Period.[36] This could also signify sending provisions to Nubia, and whether this was actual payment for soldiers remains ambiguous. There is also no evidence that Nubians fought against Egyptians for other leaders. This is particularly interesting because evidence suggests that other mercenary groups, such as the Suteans and the Habiru, did fight for and against the Egyptians.

It is clear that Nubian soldiers worked in the Egyptian armies, and whether they can be considered mercenaries is unclear. Scholarship attributes a large portion of the military connections between Nubia and Egypt to mercenary activity based on the texts when there is not always substantial evidence to support this. It is also important to clarify that the notion of being a mercenary is not a static identity; it is possible that Nubians could have begun as mercenaries recruited in the Early Bronze Age, and by the end of the Bronze Age, were regular hires within the Egyptian army, or even assimilated groups. Evidence for this practice is found at the well-known cemetery at Gebelein, near Luxor. After the Nubian fighters were hired initially as soldiers, they were settled in Egyptian territory. There are stelae that depict Nubians standing with Egyptian wives and participating in distinctly Egyptian burial rituals.[37] Therefore, if they were to be considered mercenaries, it would be within the time frame in which they were initially recruited by the Egyptian overlords until they received their remuneration for service. When they subsequently transitioned to part of Egyptian society, it becomes ambiguous as to whether they should be identified as mercenaries.

3.2.1.2 Burials: Hierakonpolis

The material evidence for the extent of Egyptian and Nubian relations is exhaustive, as the result of centuries of Egyptian imperialism and cultural interactions in the

[36]Ankhtifi's barley "went upstream until it reached Lower Nubia." Török 2009, p. 77; Säve-Söderbergh 1949, p. 50.

[37]Török 2009, p. 77; Fischer 1961, pp. 44-80.

Figure 3.2: Nubian feathered bows still preserved from the cemetery at Hierakonpolis. www.interactive.archaeology.org/hierakonpolis/Nubians.html.

region. Nubian burial evidence and cemeteries are a constant source of discussion, and for brevity, this section focuses on one site specifically that yielded clear Nubian military finds, while its location suggests the Nubians were employed by the Egyptians. As discussed earlier, one of the main results of the Egyptian hegemony in the Bronze Age is the addition of Nubian archers to the Egyptian military. In many tombs and temple reliefs, Nubian archers were quintessential figures fighting for the Egyptians; thus, they were depicted frequently.[38] It should be reiterated that in visual representations, Nubians were identified by their dark skin color and their bow and arrow in order to separate them from representations of the Egyptians. Egyptians generally denoted all those from south of Egyptian land as Nubian, without taking into consideration the various tribal groups within Nubia.[39]

The cemetery at Hierakonpolis, an Egyptian stronghold along the Nile in Upper

[38]Heagren 2010, pp. 18, 25-6.
[39]Smith 2014, p. 194.

Egypt, revealed a large cemetery (identified as HK27c), dating between the 11th and 12th dynasties (1650-1550 B.C.E.), where over 100 Nubians were buried.[40] They were buried with conventional Nubian rites; this included placing the bodies inside rectangular-shaped pits with a rounded end, with the bodies contracted on their right sides and the heads facing north, the use of stone tumuli, and rectangular graves with wooden coffins.[41]

The excavators documented that at least one locally produced, hand-made Nubian pot, a black-topped bowl, was found as an offering in every Nubian burial, alongside Egyptian vessels.[42] What makes these graves significant is that many of the deceased were buried with their arrows and bows, and remnants of the feathers from the bows were still preserved (see Figure 3.2).[43] This discovery is especially significant because Hierkaonpolis has been an important Egyptian site ever since the predynastic period and this is the furthest north in Egypt a Nubian cemetery has been discovered thus far. The fact that Nubians maintained their burial practices and ceramic technologies while under Egyptian hegemony makes it imperative to address what the Nubians were doing at Hierkonpolis.[44]

They clearly were not slaves to the Egyptians or poor individuals and the weapons certainly suggest that at least some of them were soldiers. Perhaps, therefore, the cemeteries encompassed the well-known hired Nubian archers employed in the Egyptian armies. An additional possibility is that Nubian archers were hired by private

[40]www.interactive.archaeology.org/hierakonpolis/Nubians.html. The cemetery at HK27c is located on an elevated mound behind the Enclosure of Khasekhemwy and near the rock cut tombs on the site. The excavators referred to this group as the "C-Group Nubians," to differentiate from earlier Nubian evidence.

[41]A few of the graves clearly showed Egyptians buried based on the burial rites and finds: Egyptians typically buried their dead in an extended position on their backs or sides and not in stone tumuli. Friedman 2007, p. 59; Török 2009, pp. 103-17.

[42]www.interactive.archaeology.org/hierakonpolis/Nubians.html. The excavators observed that the Nubian black-topped bowls must have had significant importance in Nubian burial customs, due to their ubiquity in burial contexts.

[43]Friedman 2001, pp. 29-38.

[44]www.interactive.archaeology.org/hierakonpolis/Nubians.html. Other comparable cemeteries include Aswan and Kubbaniya.

Figure 3.3: Nubian archers with their dogs from the tomb of Ny-ankh-Pepy at Hierakonpolis. Friedman 2007, p. 62, Fig. 4.

armies within Nubian localities; for instance, a scene on a rock-cut tomb of Ny-ankh-Pepy, the governor of Hierakonpolis in the early 12th Dynasty illustrated the governor with his bowmen (see Figure 3.3).[45] Frequently Nubian archers were hired in service to the elites as soldiers, hunters, as well as in other positions.

Nubian burials evidently reveal the extent in which cultural assimilation and amalgamation took place between Egypt and Nubia, and how this affected evidence for tracing the ethnicity of such people in the archaeological record. In this case at Hierakonpolis, it is indeed possible for these burials to represent the Nubian archers in the Egyptian army. The continuation of their own burial practices at a fortress clearly in Egypt suggests this group had some autonomy and that they were not assimilated into Egyptian society.

3.2.2 Medjay

One of the most frequently mentioned ethnic groups in the Egyptian sources was a faction from the Nubian region known as the Medjay. Textual evidence for the land

[45]Friedman 2007, p. 62.

of the Medjay and its inhabitants exists from the sixth Dynasty until the end of the New Kingdom, approximately from the end of the third millennium until the 11th century B.C.E.[46] This group is particularly significant because they are mentioned in numerous accounts as military personnel; thus, past scholarship designated them as mercenaries.[47] In addition, there have been many attempts to connect this group from the texts to the material record. Past excavations originally connected the Medjay to the "Pan-Grave" tombs from the El Kab fortress, based on the atypical, non-Egyptian ceramic pans found in the burials in a fortress context.[48] It was argued that these burial pans belonged to the Medjay, since Egyptian texts referred to this group in the military and scholars assumed they were mercenaries.[49] Recent scholarship proved the connection of the burial pans to the Medjay is incorrect and that there still remains no archaeological presence of the Medjay in fortresses.[50] Because of this dearth of material culture indicators of the Medjay, there is a heavy reliance on the texts, as is typical with nomadic groups in antiquity, like the Nubians, Habiru, and Suteans.

From the extent of texts, it is clear that the nature of the Medjay altered drastically over the centuries. Texts from the Old Kingdom until the Second Intermediate Period refer to the Medjay as nomads from the Eastern Desert.[51] They circulated within the Eastern Desert region, causing occasional problems for Egyptian miners and transporters. They were sometimes associated with military commanders and were stationed at fortress, as is depicted in the listed officers of the pharaoh Neferkare III (2081-2055 BC) on the Leiden Stele V 43 from the Tjaru fortress in Nubia.[52] Amongst the enumerated titles, including the commander and overseer of the fortress,

[46]Liszka 2015, 42. See 42-51 for discussion on the separation of the Medjay in textual sources and the archaeological presence of the "Pan-Grave Culture."

[47]Stillman and Tallis 1984, p. 6; Giuliani 1998, pp. 41-54; Van De Mieroop 2010, p. 61.

[48]Liszka 2015, pp. 42-51.

[49]Giuliani 1998, p. 42; Weigall 1907.

[50]Liszka 2015, Liska 2015 and Michaux-Colombot 2014 discussed the fundamental problems of the connection between the Medjay and the "Pan-Grave" culture. Michaux-Colombot 2014; Gardiner 1947, pp. 73-89.

[51]Van De Mieroop 2010, p. 61.

[52]*Urk.* IV, 1634, lines 13-14, 17; 1630, lines 7-11.

one individual had the title, "the great one of the Medjay." To be listed alongside the main officials of the pharaoh demonstrated the importance of this office and the elevated status of the Medjay.

By the New Kingdom (1570-1070 B.C.E.), the role of the Medjay had changed entirely. They became an essential part of the Egyptian army, as was evident from records in which it is clear that the Medjay gained a prominent status in Egyptian society as a specialized police force, used to patrol borders and to maintain order within the country.[53] For instance, a Theban tomb of Nebamun, the captain of the Medjay police, depicts a detailed scene with his men paying respects to him.[54] In addition, texts such as the Semna Dispatches from the Semna fortress in Nubia, as well as the Papyrus Anastasi V, 19:2-20, attested to the Medjay as routine scouts that patrolled the land and borders surrounding the fortresses.[55]

Notably by the end of the 13th century B.C.E., during the Twentieth Dynasty, the Medjay had become to a stabilized profession within the Egyptian army. The *Onomasticon of Amenemope* attested to this; nine manuscripts have survived, transferred from earlier Twentieth Dynasty texts.[56]The Golenischeff transcript, found within a vase at El-Hibeh together with other texts such as the *Report of Wenamun* and the *Tale of Woe*, mentioned the Medjay. The *Onomasticon of Amenemope* indicated that the name Medjay became an occupational title for policemen or desert rangers, rather than that of a designated ethnic group as it was in earlier texts. This categorization revealed that by this point, the Medjay had become a conventional military profession that worked regularly for the pharaoh. This image established from the brief discussion of the textual sources does not suggest that the Medjay functioned explicitly as mercenaries and this notion should be rejected. Rather, they were a known tribe

[53]Van De Mieroop 2010, p. 61; W. Hayes 1973, p. 371; Gardiner discussed the use of Medjay as translating to police chief or leader of desert rangers. Gardiner 1947, pp. 73-85.

[54]Davies 1923, Pl. 27; Van De Mieroop 2010, 62, Fig. 3.2.

[55]Smither 1945, pp. 1-10.

[56]These included the Golenischeff transcript dating to the Twenty-first Dynasty and the papyrus fragments from the Rammesseum. Liszka 2010, p. 316.

that had capitalized on the Egyptian expansion south, where over time they gained a lucrative military position in the standing army of the pharaoh. If there was a period in which they were considered intermittent foreign hires in the Egyptian military, it is not found in the preserved records.

3.2.3 Sherden

The origins and documentation of the elusive 'Sea Peoples' is a persistent topic of controversy and defining them based on the archaeological record is complex. Their emergence corresponded with the collapse of Bronze Age systems, including that of the Mycenaean palaces, the culmination of the Hittite empire in Anatolia, and the destruction of the main cities in the Levant such as Ugarit, Tell Sukas, and Megiddo, among numerous others.[57] Scholars believe the Sea Peoples engendered these calamities.[58]

The initial manifestation of the Sea Peoples comes from the Egyptian sources. Among the Egyptian references, two main inscriptions documented these equivocal ethnic groups and their attempted invasions of Egypt. The first inscription was recorded for the Pharaoh Merneptah in 1220 and found in the temple at Karnak, where five groups of the Sea Peoples were mentioned: the Sherden (possibly from Sardinia), Teresh and Lukka (possibly referring to Western Anatolia), Shekelesh (Sicily), and Ekwesh (argued to represent the Achaeans).[59] These groups collectively were identified as the "northerners coming from all lands," in the inscription.[60] A second confrontation with the Sea Peoples in 1177 resulted in the iconographic representations of the cohorts in the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu in Egypt.[61] During the second invasion, the inscription incorporated additional ethnic groups among the

[57]Nur and Cline listed the sites that were destroyed in the Eastern Mediterranean. Nur and E. Cline 2000, p. 44.
[58]E. Cline and O'Connor 2003, pp. 108-138; Oren 2000; G. R. Roberts 2008, pp. 15-19.
[59]Barnett 1969, pp. 10-15; Drews 1993, pp. 48-9; E. Cline 2009, pp. 191-2.
[60]Barnett 1969, pp. 10-15.
[61]Nibbi 1975, p. 63.

raiders, and again, the Egyptians claimed to overcome the invasion:

> "As the foreign countries, they made a (conspiracy) in their isles... No land could stand before their arms from Hatti, Kode, Carchemish, Yereth, and Yeres on... They desolated its people and its land was like that which has never come into being. They were coming, while the flame was prepared before them, forward toward Egypt. Their confederation was the Peleset, Theker, Denye(n), and the Weshesh, lands united."[62]

These sources testify to the perceived, hostile nature of the Sea Peoples. In addition, when considering the sources, it is important to take into account that the scribes for the Egyptians, as well as for other Near Eastern powers, recorded all the extant inscriptions that retained any information of the Sea Peoples and thus these are not recorded by the Sea Peoples themselves. The record available to us, therefore, has inevitable biases by the propaganda of Egyptian pharaohs to portray their military prowess and victories, which taints our ability to determine the true origins and purpose of the Sea Peoples' attack on Egypt. It also generates the question of whether this was an invasion by a large, organized cohort, or whether the Egyptians combined multiple historical events to suit their propaganda.[63]

In light of these ambiguous and complex identities, we must ask the following questions: can we identify mercenary employment from the Sea Peoples groups? What specific traits pinpoint mercenary activity? How helpful are the literary and iconographic sources? In addition to the two texts mentioned above, the primary sources for the Sea Peoples interactions in the Eastern Mediterranean stemmed predominantly from Egyptian, Hittite, and Ugaritic texts and have been categorically compiled by Adams and Cohen.[64]From the surviving documentation, we can establish a recon-

[62]Nibbi 1975, p. 65; J. Wilson 1969, p. 262.

[63]G. R. Roberts 2008.

[64]The inscriptions of the Sea Peoples by Near Eastern entities were abundant, so we will focus on only a few texts that are revealing of mercenary characteristics. Adams and Cohen 2013, pp. 645-664.

struction of the mercenary-like characteristics that these groups displayed, based on a selection of the inscriptions. This reconstruction will therefore help to identify behaviors and activities that could denote mercenaries in the archaeological record.

Firstly, the initial image depicted by the texts is that of venturing, independent cohorts that established their presence as hostile enemies against Egypt. The autonomy of these cohorts is manifested in the renowned inscription of the Battle of Qadesh against the Hittites, during the reign of Ramesses II. The events of this battle were recorded in a variety of contemporaneous temples at Abu Simbel, Luxor, Karnak, Abydos, and the Ramesseum.[65] In particular, the Lukka were recorded in this battle as constituents of a larger body of ethnic contingents that allied against the Egyptians:

> "The Chief of Khatti [has] come together with the many foreign countries who are with him, whom he has brought with him as allies... the land of Karkisha and Lukka, the land of Carchemish... they are furnished with their infantry and their chariotry carrying their weapons of warfare..."[66]

The pharaoh was even critical of the manner in which the Hittite king, Muwatalli, gave all the riches and silver he had to recruit fighters, such as the Lukka, from foreign lands.[67] This then led to a subsequent inscription that included the Lukka in the list of prisoners taken by the pharaoh and brought back to Egypt:[68] "Enumeration of the chiefs of the land of Khatti whom His Majesty brought as living prisoners to the house of his father Amun: Dardany; Pidasa; Karkisha; Masah; Lukka."[69] The pharaohs were clearly accustomed to these hostile military groups and made a point

[65]G. R. Roberts 2008, pp. 50-1.
[66]Gardiner 1960, 29, B40-B50.
[67]Part of the Ramesses inscription stated: "he did not overlook any silver in his land; he released it from all of his possessions and gave it to all foreign lands in order to bring them to fight with him." K*RI* II, 20, lines 1-10. G. R. Roberts 2008, p. 51.
[68]Adams and Cohen 2013, p. 646; K. A. Kitchen 1979, p. 17.15.
[69]Gardiner 1960, 44, R63-77.

to record Egyptian victories over them, while identifying them specifically by their origins. Likewise, other Sea Peoples cohorts committed similar acts of military alliance against the Egyptians, including the Sherden, Shekelesh, and Teresh. The Great Karnak inscription commissioned by Merneptah began with a list of hostile enemies, including the "...Akawasha, Terusha, Lukka, Sherden, Shekelesh, the northerners who came from all lands."[70] Notably, three courses of masonry above the inscription were missing and Egyptologists postulated that between twenty and twenty-four group identifications were lost.[71] This suggests that perhaps numerous other listed enemies were also recorded in addition to these groups, and the cohorts of the Sea Peoples that we know of consisted of a smaller faction overall.

In light of the autonomous nature of these groups, a second notable characteristic in Egyptian texts was their role as sea-raiders conducting acts of piracy. Piracy played a substantial part in the origins and activities of mercenaries in the Eastern Mediterranean in general;[72] however, it is relevant to discuss the sea-raiding evidence of the Sea Peoples' cohorts in particular. As early as the 14th century, the archive tablets from Tell el-Amarna, written during the reign of Akhenaten, recorded raids from the sea on the Egyptian coastline by Lukkan pirates, who were known to raid ports and major cities in the Levant. These seaborne attacks were by no means a new phenomenon. In his letter to the King of Alasiya (Cyprus), Akhenaten accused the King of supporting the Lukka, to which the King of Alasiya responded by stating that the Lukka invaded his own towns as well.[73] Additionally later Tanis II inscriptions from the reign of Ramesses II suggest these raids occurred so frequently that the Egyptians devised a novel title for the word "warship" to describe these events,[74]

[70]K. A. Kitchen 1982, p. 2.13. Manassa 2003, 5, line 1.
[71]Manassa 2003, p. 5.
[72]Babbi et al. 2015.
[73]*EA* 38, lines 7-12: The Pharaoh Akhenaten complained to the King of Alasiya, "indeed each year the Lukka people seize towns in my own land!"
[74]Emanuel 2013, p. 15; Yoyotte 1949, p. 67; K. A. Kitchen 1999, p. 174.

which roughly translated to "ships-of-warriors-on-the-sea."[75] The newly-created term suggests the lack of previous experience with these particular war ships and that this phenomenon over time was momentous enough for a renewed description in the Egyptian records.

From the 14th century until the end of the Bronze Age, the seaborne attacks incorporated the Sherden as well.[76] The ubiquity of this group in comparison to other Sea Peoples contingents in the sources is particularly revealing of military interactions with Egypt. The references in the Tanis Stele of Ramesses II to the Sherden's pirate activities attested to these attacks, almost with admiration:

> "The unruly Sherden whom no one had ever known how to combat, they came boldly sailing in their warships from the midst of the sea, none being able to withstand them..."[77]

This inscription elucidated the triumphs this cohort had in previous seaborne endeavors and their distinguished reputation as invaders. The Sherden appeared on multiple occasions in the sources as a disruptive and adverse sea power. They were notably depicted as sea invaders in the Egyptian war reliefs from the Battle of Qadesh, where scholars have identified them by their weapons and ships. The fragmented Tanis Stele further illuminated the connection between Sherden warships against Egypt: "The rebellious-hearted Sherden... mighty...ships of war are in the midst of the sea... before them."[78] In this instance, the Tanis Stela then referred to Ramesses' capture of the Sherden. One could argue that it probably served the success and status of the pharaohs to state their defeat against the Sherden in temple reliefs, such as at the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. The fact that the pharaohs made a point of mentioning the defeat and capture of the Sherden indicates that this

[75]Emanuel 2013, p. 15.
[76]Bietak and Jung 2007, p. 220.
[77]K. A. Kitchen 1982, pp. 40-1; Yasur-Landau 2010, p. 179.
[78]Bates 1914, p. 214.

was a substantial victory for Egypt and it was an event the pharaohs wanted to be remembered by. Compared to Egyptian documentation, 13th century Ugaritic records about the Sherden were extensive, including lists of this ethnic group situated within palaces and fortresses.[79] Interestingly, an Ugaritic document reiterated the raids by the Sherden and included that the number of ships they used approximated to twenty, which D'Amato speculated could hold between 400-1000 men.[80] This gives us a good estimate of how many men would be included in the raids against foreign lands.

In response to these attacks, there are recorded instances when the Egyptians captured the Sherden and transported them to Egypt. The textual sources then demonstrated that some of these prisoners transitioned from captured enemies to paid warriors in the Egyptian army and were stationed in fortresses. The Sherden in particular exemplified this transformation. In the 'Poem of Pentaur' inscription of Ramesses II about his victory in the Battle of Qadesh, inscribed in at least five of his temples, they were documented in the following manner:

> "Now, his person equipped his army and his chariotry, and the Sherden of his person's capturing whom he had carried off through the victories of his strong arm, and who had been supplied with all their weapons and given instructions for battle."[81]

The pharaoh wanted it to be known that Egypt had captured this group explicitly, and that he was able to integrate them into his army, which suggests that the Sherden maintained a reputation as renowned warriors. In another text, this group initially was listed as captives in the Athribis Stele during Merneptah's reign at the end of the 13th century (1210-1203 BC), where they were included among the ethnic

[79]Dietrich et al. 1976, 4.163, line 9; 4.137, line 3; 4.173, line 4; 4.174, line 8; 4.179, line 5.

[80]Ugaritic texts RS 20.238 and RS 20.18. Wallance and Orphanides 1994, p. 27; D'Amato and Salimbeti 2015, p. 30.

[81]Hassan 1929, Pls. 10-12. The 5 temples of Ramesses II where this inscription is found is at Abydos, Luxor, Karnak, Abu Simbel, and the Ramesseum. Kuentz 1928, pp. 220-1.

groups captured during the Libyan campaign.[82] The pharaoh Merneptah subsequently incorporated the "Sherden of the sea" into his army as well.[83] It was additionally documented that the later pharaoh, Ramesses III (1186-1155), continued this tradition and brought the Sherden to Egypt as captives and stationed them in his fortresses as part of his army (see Figure 3.4), according to the Papyrus Harris.[84]

Other texts emphasized further assimilation into the pharaoh's army; the Stele of Setemhebu recorded a "fortress of the Sherden," where the pharaoh equipped this group, as well as the Nubian mercenaries, with Egyptian weapons.[85] The Tanis II inscription reiterated this point: "Sherden of the Great Green that are captives of his majesty, they are equipped with all their weapons in the court, service to the crown."[86] The clear divisions within the Egyptian military included the factions of foreigners, as was evident in the inscription accompanying the Medinet Habu reliefs. Alongside the warriors in horned helmets serving Ramesses III, the men were divided as follows; "the infantry, the chariotry, the troops, the Sherden, and the Nubians."[87] These troops continued to appear in various sources for more than 100 years as an integral part of the army, fighting for the Egyptians on military campaigns.[88]

During this transition from captive to employed soldier, what explicitly established the Sherden as mercenaries rather than auxiliary soldiers, such as those who were forced to fight for an external institution, was that they received forms of payment for their employment. The captured groups received remuneration in the form of land grants from the Egyptians, and this act defined them as a reliable, paid military force fighting for an external cause. The Papyrus Wilbour, which has been dated to the reign of Ramesses V (1149-1145 B.C.E.), referred to 59 land plots assigned to

[82]Adams and Cohen 2013, 649, no. 2.1.5.
[83]Gardiner 1947, 15.1-2, the Papyrus Anastasi II..
[84]Adams and Cohen 2013, p. 649. 2.1.9. Erichsen 1933, p. 92.1.
[85]Adams and Cohen 2013, p. 649.
[86]Grandet 1994, Glossary 256, Papyrus Harris I, lines 76.5-7, 75.1, 78.10 include the Sherden. Erichsen 1933, p. 92.
[87]Edgerton and J.A. Wilson 1936, Pl. 29.
[88]Bietak and Jung 2007, p. 220.

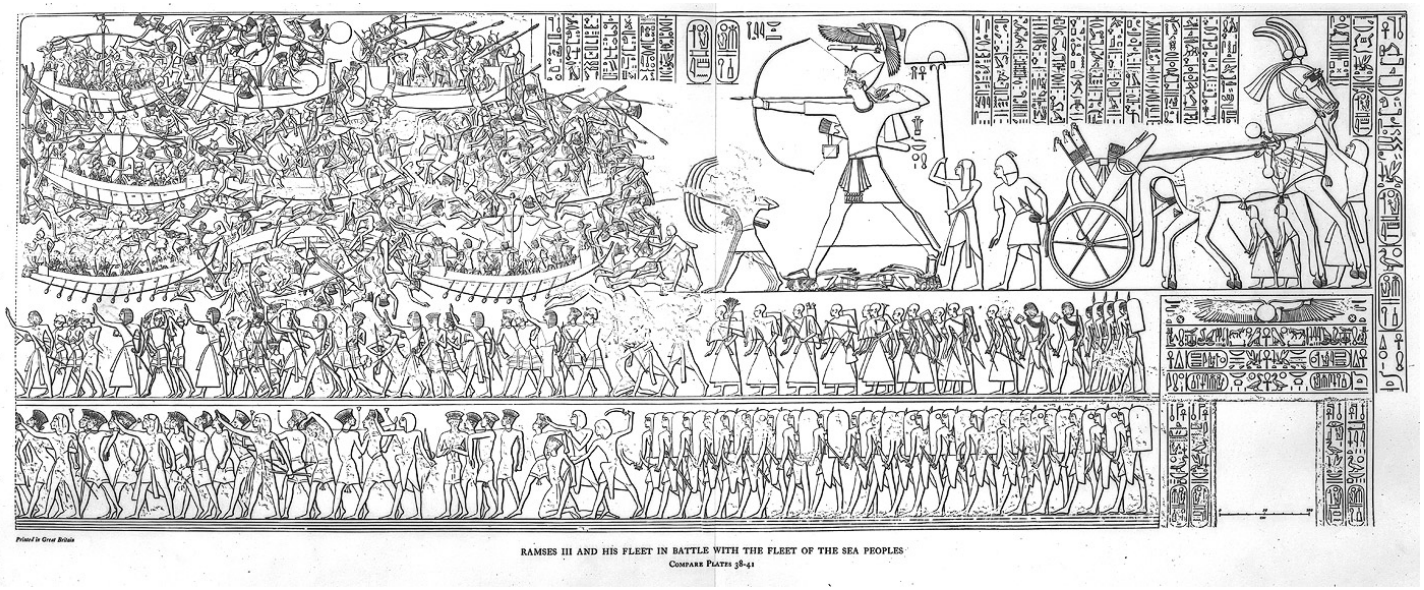

Figure 3.4: Sea battle between the Sea Peoples and Ramesses II, from Medinet Habu. Nelson 2009, Pl. 37.

Figure 3.5: Example of a Sherden warrior as depicted on the Medinet Habu wall reliefs of Ramesses III. Nelson 2009, Pl. 37.

Figure 3.6: Example of how an Egyptian soldier is depicted on the Medinet Habu wall reliefs. Nelson 2009, Pl. 37.

Sherden landowners who were mentioned individually by name.[89] In addition, the size of the land plots was informative of the Sherden's social status; 42 of these were 5 *arouras* in size, similar to other members of higher rank, whereas the standard soldier in the Egyptian army would typically receive 3 *arouras*.[90] Over time the Sherden became an assimilated group in the country with their own towns. The Papyrus Harris I illuminated the Sherden as settlers and soldiers, when Ramesses III declared "those under his command were able to put their weapons aside, enjoy the company of their families, and sleep soundly in their towns."[91] Later texts also refer to the Sherden in the Egyptian domain as landowners. As late as the 9th century B.C.E., the Stele of Donation from Helwan included a donation of lands labelled the "Sherden fields," which demonstrated the extent to which these once captured prisoners of war were now assimilated into Egyptian society during later centuries.[92] A similar transformation from enemy to employed mercenary paid with land grants to settlers was manifested in the seventh and sixth centuries with the Ionian and Carian mercenaries. According to Herodotus, these 'Men of Bronze' landed on the shores of Egypt, most likely for raiding purposes, and the Pharaoh Psammetichus proceeded just as his predecessors did; he hired the foreigners as mercenaries in his fortresses and paid them in *stratopeda*, or land grants.

The final part of our discussion of the Sea Peoples is the acquired social status and position in Egyptian society that the Sherden had attained as hired soldiers. In addition to the texts elucidating their assimilation into the army and subsequent land ownership, their unique social status was also defined in narrative representations from the Battle of Qadesh. In these reliefs, they were depicted with their conventional armour, including round shields, long swords and horned helmets, as special guards

[89]D'Amato and Salimbeti 2015, p. 30.
[90]Emanuel 2013, p. 19; Gardiner 1948.
[91]Emanuel 2013, p. 18; Breasted 1906, 402. P.Harris I. 78:9-10.
[92]D'Amato and Salimbeti 2015, p. 30.

stationed outside the tent of Ramesses II.[93] Notably these guards were adorned with Egyptian kilts and held their foreign weapons, while no other external contingents besides the Sherden were depicted in the local garb. Their manner of placement as deliberately guarding the pharaoh suggests the established elite role the Sherden maintained. The creator of these battles scenes portrayed them in the centre of the composition as a leading unit for the pharaoh, which further communicates their importance in the eyes of the Egyptians. In addition to this iconographic depiction, the Papyrus Harris likewise testified to their elevated social status. Ramesses III addressed the "officials and the leaders of the land, the infantry, the chariotry, the Sherden, the many bowmen, and all the souls of Egypt."[94] It is interesting that here they were recorded alongside military occupations, like infantry, chariotry and bowmen. This suggests that the Sherden role became standardized in the Egyptian army and the term Sherden came to represent a military role rather than the ethnic group.[95]

Based on the array of Near Eastern texts about the Sea Peoples, with a focus on the Sherden explicitly, a clear narrative of mercenary behavior emerges. Initially, the ethnic groups of the Sea Peoples ventured abroad as independent cohorts, conducting sea-raids and piratic activities, and they were considered hostile enemies to the Egyptians and other chief powers. After their eventual capture by the Egyptians, certain factions were settled into military strongholds within the country. In this context, the transition to becoming a hired force is clearly demonstrated by the Sherden. The sources did not reveal a similar pattern of military employment for the other captured ethnic groups. As payment for this employment, the Sherden received land grants. The final phase was the development of their social status, when they became the personal elite guards for Ramesses II. After over a century of their employment and

[93]Bietak and Jung 2007, p. 220; Healy 1993, p. 43.
[94]P.Harris I, 75: 1-2.
[95]This is similar to what happened with the Medjay, discussed earlier. Emanuel 2013, p. 18.

receiving land settlements, it is probable that the Sherden most likely assimilated into Egyptian society, becoming indistinguishable in the archaeological and literary record. One example of clear assimilation into society includes a donation stela from the 22nd Dynasty, where the 'Sherden Padjesef' was depicted on the stela as dedicating an offering to the Egyptian gods, Khnum and Hathor.[96] A few centuries after the initial interactions of the Egyptians and the Sherden, the Sherden were participating in local practices and using Egyptian materials.

3.2.4 Libyans

Another ethnic group that appeared extensively within the corpus of Egyptian Bronze Age texts is the Libyans. In the texts, they are referred to as the Tjemhu; this term classifies any inhabitant from Cyrenaica and the coastal region westwards to the Nile Delta.[97] During the New Kingdom (1550-1070), the terms Meshwesh and Libu were also utilized to indicate non-Egyptian cohorts from the west. For brevity, these groups from the west are categorized under the modern term Libyan, while noting that this is a generalized term. Since evidence for the Libyans originates almost exclusively from the texts and visual representations on wall reliefs, with scant archaeological remains to accompany, past scholarship frequently struggled to seek the precise identification of these groups. The reliance on visual representations led to many problematic generalizations regarding the concept of race and population in ancient Egypt, which have been discussed in-depth elsewhere.[98] These generalizations also included the assumption that the Libyans were frequently hired foreign mercenaries in the Egyptian armies.

To assess the validity of this possibility, it is important to review the nature of interactions between the Libyans and the Egyptians. The nature of these interactions

[96]G. R. Roberts 2008, p. 62; Petrie 1905, p. 22.
[97]Morkot 2016, p. 30.
[98]Morkot summarized the problems in past scholarship with identifying the Tjemhu. Morkot 2016, pp. 29-30; Snape 2003, pp. 93-98; O'Connor 1990, pp. 29-45.

between the 15th to 11th centuries B.C.E. varied tremendously. The Libyans are initially viewed as hostile migrants, attempting forceful migration into Egypt. This conflict is represented visually in the records of Merneptah (1213-1203) at the Temple of Amun at Karnak, as well as on the 'Israel Stela,' where Libyan soldiers invaded Egypt alongside their families. Similar invasions were accounted on the reliefs at the Medinet Habu mortuary temple during years 5 and 11 of Ramesses III's reign (1186-1155).[99] The reason for the mass Libyan migration was most likely due to an extreme desiccation of their homeland, precipitating the move towards the Nile Valley in the 13th century.[100] Prior to these conflicts, during the reign of Ramesses II (1279-1213), a line of fortresses was constructed along the edge of the Nile Delta, arguably to maintain clear borders from the West.[101]

The act of defeating these western populations was clearly a substantial part of the pharaohs' duties and prowess as a ruler, and it was displayed prominently in many wall reliefs.[102] As a consequence of these invasions, it has been argued that the Libyan contingents appeared as mercenaries in armies of the pharaoh, such as Ramesses II and III, and Merneptah, and they subsequently settled in Egyptian territory.[103] This process appears similar to the use and cultural assimilation of the Sherden in the Egyptian armies; however, the texts prove that the Libyans did not follow the same pattern. It was recorded at Deir el-Medina, for example, that Ramesses III conquered the territory of the Tjemhu, Libu, and Meshwesh, and later forced deportation of these groups into Egypt:

> "He has captured the land of the [Temehu], Libu and Meshwesh, he made them cross the Nile, carried off into Egypt; they are settled into strongholds of the Victorious King; they hear the language of the (Egyp-

[99]Snape 2003, p. 98.
[100]Morkot 2016, p. 33.
[101]Snape 2003, p. 100.
[102]K. Kitchen 1990, pp. 16-17.
[103]O'Connor 1990, pp. 88-9.

> tian) people, serving the King, he makes their language disappear, he changes their tongues, they go on a way they have not descended before."[104]

This record shows that the pharaoh gained control of the outer western lands that belonged to the Libyan groups, and the pharaoh forced them to resettle in Egypt and to assimilate to the Egyptian language, after conquering the region. In this case, the Libyan groups should be seen as conquered population and territory that is now under the full jurisdiction of the pharaoh, which is the first fundamental difference between them and the Sherden. Secondly, the Libyans were forced into manual labor once captured; in 1235, Ramesses II captured Tjemhu from an oasis and these captives were forcibly put to work on the temple construction at Wadi el-Sebua in Nubia.[105] Concomitantly, Ramesses II situated them in the Egyptian army as well.[106] The references to the Tjemhu within the pharaoh's military texts are what led to the assumption that the Libyan groups should be seen as mercenaries; however, in these cases, it is feasible to argue that these instead should be considered auxiliaries, forced labor, or prisoners of war who do not receive remuneration for their work. The texts leave this aspect vague, though it seems that the captured groups from these conquered territories did not have a choice in this situation.[107]

The extent in which the Libyans were integrated into society is evident from their rise in social status within the Egyptian hierarchy over time. By the Third Intermediate Period (1070-664), the cities in which the Libyans were settled in the Nile Delta, such as Bubastis and Tanis, became focal points of political power in the Delta.[108] This led to the emergence of the Libyan chiefdom that dominated Egypt

[104]KRI V, 91.5. K. Kitchen 1990, p. 21.
[105]Morkot 2016, p. 31.
[106]K. Kitchen 1990, p. 89.
[107]The translations of the term Libyen, Libyer here state that they are unable to differentiate whether these are recruited mercenaries or prisoners of war. Helck, Otto, and Westendorf 1980, 1031, no. 116.
[108]Snape 2003, p. 99.

Figure 3.7: The Libyan enemy, depicted on the wall relief of Ramesses III in battle against the Libyans. Nelson 2009, Pl. 20.

until the Pharaoh Psammetichus II reunified the region in the seventh century B.C.E.

3.2.5 Shasu

The Shasu were another nomadic, outsider group that was frequently working for the Egyptians in military and trade activities within this vast time frame, between the end of the third millennium to the end of the second millennium. The Egyptian texts conveyed the reliance on the outsider communities to fulfill various jobs, such as guides and scouts for the armies in unfamiliar territory. They also recorded that the Shasu were known to be raiders, enemies, and prisoners.[109]

Similar to typical Egyptian iconographic representations of non-Egyptian groups, such as Nubians, Libyans, and Sherden, the Shasu were depicted in an unusual kit to distinguish them from the Egyptians on tomb-reliefs; this is evident at several tombs at Amarna and from the temple reliefs in Karnak from Seti I.[110] They were depicted with distinct head bands, long hair, pointed beards, and a tasseled kilt.[111] On the Battle of Qadesh wall reliefs (1274), this same group was portrayed, where two Shasu were meeting with the Pharaoh to change sides and to leave the Hittite service in order to join the Egyptians.[112] Scholars have thus concluded this scene represented the earliest point in which the Shasu could be considered mercenaries.[113]

What makes the Shasu especially notable is an archaeological discovery that could indicate material presence of this group. At Tell El-Borg, a Late Bronze Age Egyptian fortress in the North Sinai, a group of reed huts was discovered directly adjacent to the military site. The pottery dated the huts between the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom, between approximately the 17th and the 11th centuries.[114]

[109]Steen reviewed the many circumstances in which they appeared in the sources. Steen 2004, pp. 19-21.
[110]Giveon 1971, p. 51.
[111]Steen 2004, pp. 20-1.
[112]Steen 2004, p. 21.
[113]Giveon 1971, p. 65.
[114]Hoffmeier, Davis, and Hummel 2016, pp. 285, 303.

This is the first find of non-local architecture in Bronze Age Egypt and is a rare case of material evidence for outsider communities that were stationed at fortresses. The material remains included carbonized reeds, fish bones, and fire pits, with a cluster of huts surrounding the fire pits. The small ceramic assemblage consisted of domestic coarse-ware, Levantine ware, Cypriot fragments, and Mycenaean stirrup jars.[115] The pottery repertoire is almost identical to that from inside the fortress, suggesting that the group residing here had access to the same materials. The excavators attributed this find to possible Shasu that were working for the Egyptians. The Shasu in particular were likely to be in this location because the other nomadic groups, such as the Habiru and Suteans, were not typically located in the North Sinai.[116]

3.2.6 Egyptian Fortresses

In addition to the sources from Egypt, the material remains from contemporary Egyptian fortresses also reveal evidence for non-Egyptians. The fortresses in particular, Beth Shean in the southern Levant and Tell es Sa'idiyeh in Jordan, are examples of the expanding Egyptian hegemony outside of Egypt in the Late Bronze Age. Both of these fortresses reveal non-Egyptian practices juxtaposing Egyptian remains, and the excavators have argued for these instances to represent mercenaries. It is therefore relevant to discuss them here and whether they are indeed suggestive of mercenaries.

3.2.6.1 Anthropoid Clay Coffins from Fortresses in the Levant and Egypt

The most prolific evidence for a non-local population came from burials that are associated with fortresses in the Late Bronze Age, such as were cemeteries that were found adjacent to main Egyptian outposts in the Levant. The burials for discussion came from the Egyptian strongholds during the 19th and 20th Dynasties (1292-1077)

[115]Hoffmeier, Davis, and Hummel 2016, p. 302.

[116]Stela of Psammetichus described the Shasu of the South have settlements near Egyptian strongholds. Redford 1992, p. 444.

in the Levant, which were constructed strategically along the main route to Syria as part of the Egyptian imperialist agenda at the time. Each of these sites provides evidence for a clear link between this region and the Egyptian military, and one could argue that the burial practices at these fortresses indicate non-Egyptian soldiers. In particular, the anthropoid clay coffins discovered in these Levantine fortresses initiated the discussion of mercenary evidence. Anthropoid coffins made of fired clay were a common tradition in mortuary contexts between the 15th and 12th centuries B.C.E. in Egypt and Nubia specifically.[117] By the 13th and 12th centuries, these burial rites were practiced at these Egyptian fortresses, which led to the question of whether these were Egyptians, local Canaanites, or others buried in such a practice.

The coffin burials from Beth Shean, Deir el-Balah, Tell el-Far'ah South, and Lachish demonstrated the diffusion of this burial rite at Egyptian outposts in Canaan (see Figure 3.8).[118] One could argue that such burials were indicative of Egyptians continuing their burial practices while stationed abroad. Various morphological and stylistic differences on the coffin lids, however, do not clarify a straightforward identity of the deceased. Two styles of coffin lids have been found: the naturalistic, which includes a realistic, life-size face with mold applied to create facial features, and the grotesque, which includes a clay face shaped by tools (see Figure 3.9).[119]

In Canaan, the grotesque subgroup incorporated five lids from Beth Shean, and two coffin bodies (Tomb numbers 552 and 562) at Tell El-Far'ah South.[120] The difference in production methods was one of the primary reasons that led scholars to conclude this grotesque type must represent a crudely attempted reconstruction by

[117]Sabbahy 2009, Sabbahy included a complete, comprehensive study of clay coffins to date found in Egypt and Nubia.

[118]Mazar 1993, pp. 201-229; Oren 1973, pp. 129-50; T. Dothan 1973; Braunstein 1998; Petrie 1930, pp. 6-8; To date, 130 complete and fragmentary anthropoid coffins were found within the borders of Ancient Canaan. Arie 2016, p. 97; Barako gives an overview of Egyptian archaeological finds at the Egyptian fortresses from the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age in Canaan. Barako 2013, pp. 37-42; Yassine 1975, Anthropoid clay coffins were also found in Jordan.

[119]Galal and Aston 2001, p. 127.

[120]Braunstein 1998, p. 171.

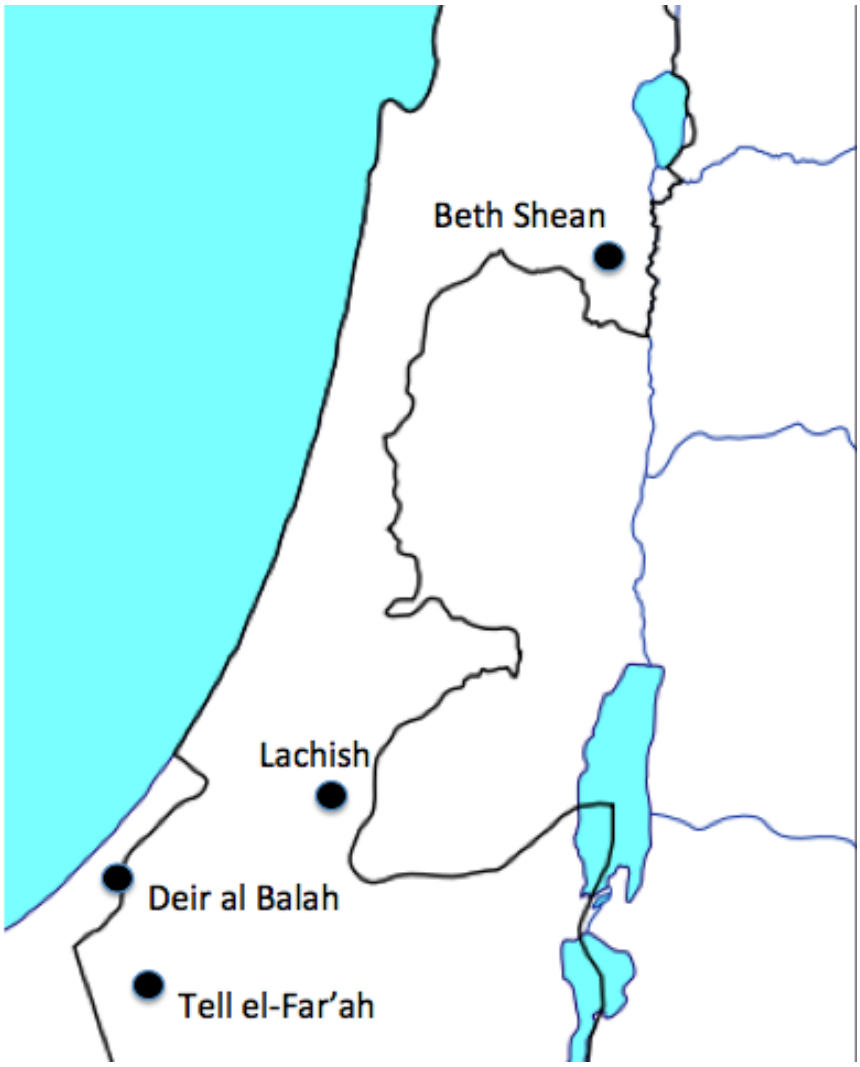

Figure 3.8: Late Bronze Age sites in Canaan with Egyptian outposts and anthropoid clay coffins.

Figure 3.9: Examples of "naturalistic type" (right side) and "grotesque" type (left side) of anthropoid coffins from Deir el-Balah. T. Dothan 2008, p. 23

non-Egyptians stationed at the fortress.[121] Trude Dothan has attributed the representations on these lids to the feathered headdresses of the Sea Peoples found on the Medinet Habu reliefs in Egypt; since these headdresses were considered atypical of Egyptian characteristics, Dothan argued that they represented the Philistines who the Egyptians settled in Canaan.[122] Other archaeologists have also suggested that these burials could represent the Sea Peoples groups that were supposedly settled as mercenaries in these fortresses.[123]

A few factors shed light on how these coffins and their lids should be interpreted based on their contexts. Firstly, evidence for whether the headdresses depicted on wall reliefs in Egypt and the headbands depicted on coffin lids are the same is inconclusive. Comparing visual representations to archaeological material reveals biases, and can be ambiguous when identifying the intended origins of the depicted figure. The portrayal of outsiders in Egyptian reliefs reflects the Egyptian conviction of the "ethnic other;" Ancient Egyptians established ethnic stereotypes to reinforce their

[121]Oren 1973; T. Dothan 1982.
[122]T. Dothan 1982, p. 288; T. Dothan 1973, p. 145.
[123]Yasur-Landau 2010, p. 208; T. Dothan and M. Dothan 1992, p. 59; T. Dothan 1982, p. 288; Oren 1973, pp. 135-8.

Figure 3.10: Anthropoid Coffins on display at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. T. Dothan 2008, p. 22

Figure 3.11: Anthropoid Coffin from Deir el-Balah with naturalistic type lid that does not seem to fit the body of the coffin it was found with. T. Dothan 2008, 100, Fig. 10.

own group identity and power structures over others that they considered inferior.[124] Reliefs that depict the feathered hats of the Sea Peoples at Medinet Habu are mediums to depict "otherness" in contrast to the attire of the Egyptian soldiers (see Figure 3.12). It is a feature selected to express the superiority of the Egyptians in the context of the pharaoh's mortuary temple, and to commemorate his victories. Differentiation was represented in order to illustrate other non-Egyptian ethnic groups, as is evident with depictions of the Libyans and the Sea Peoples. From this, it is therefore improbable that the feathered headdress explicitly denotes a specific ethnic group in visual representations.

In addition, it is important to establish that the main features depicted on the coffin lids were the Egyptian-style headbands, rather than the complete feathered headdress that is analogous to the Medinet Habu representations (See Figures 3.13 and 3.12). The connection of the lids to the Sea Peoples was made based on the dotted headband decoration that was attached to the feathered headdress. These stylized headbands were common on clay coffin lids throughout the Ramesside period,[125] examples of which are the clay lids from Kom Abu Rady and Sedment in the Fayoum.[126] Since these types of bands were evidently depicted on anthropomorphic lids in Egypt, they do not necessarily distinguish a non-Egyptian use.

The Egyptian garrisons in Canaan with both styles of anthropoid lids additionally yielded abundant ritual assemblages with imports as burial gifts.[127] These types of ritual assemblages have also been discovered in Egypt, for example, at Tell el-Yahudiyah in the Eastern Delta. This site provides an excellent parallel for the cemetery finds in Canaan. In the southern section of the cemetery and to the east of the fortress, eight tumuli constructed from basalt blocks and sand were uncovered.

[124]Smith 2014, pp. 194-5.
[125]Sabbahy 2009, pp. 9-19.
[126]Galal and Aston 2001, pp. 127-8, 164.
[127]Arie 2016, p. 98; Notably both types of lids were found together in burial contexts with similar ritual finds, thus no clear distribution pattern or social stratification for either type of lid can be determined. Galal and Aston 2001, pp. 161-171.

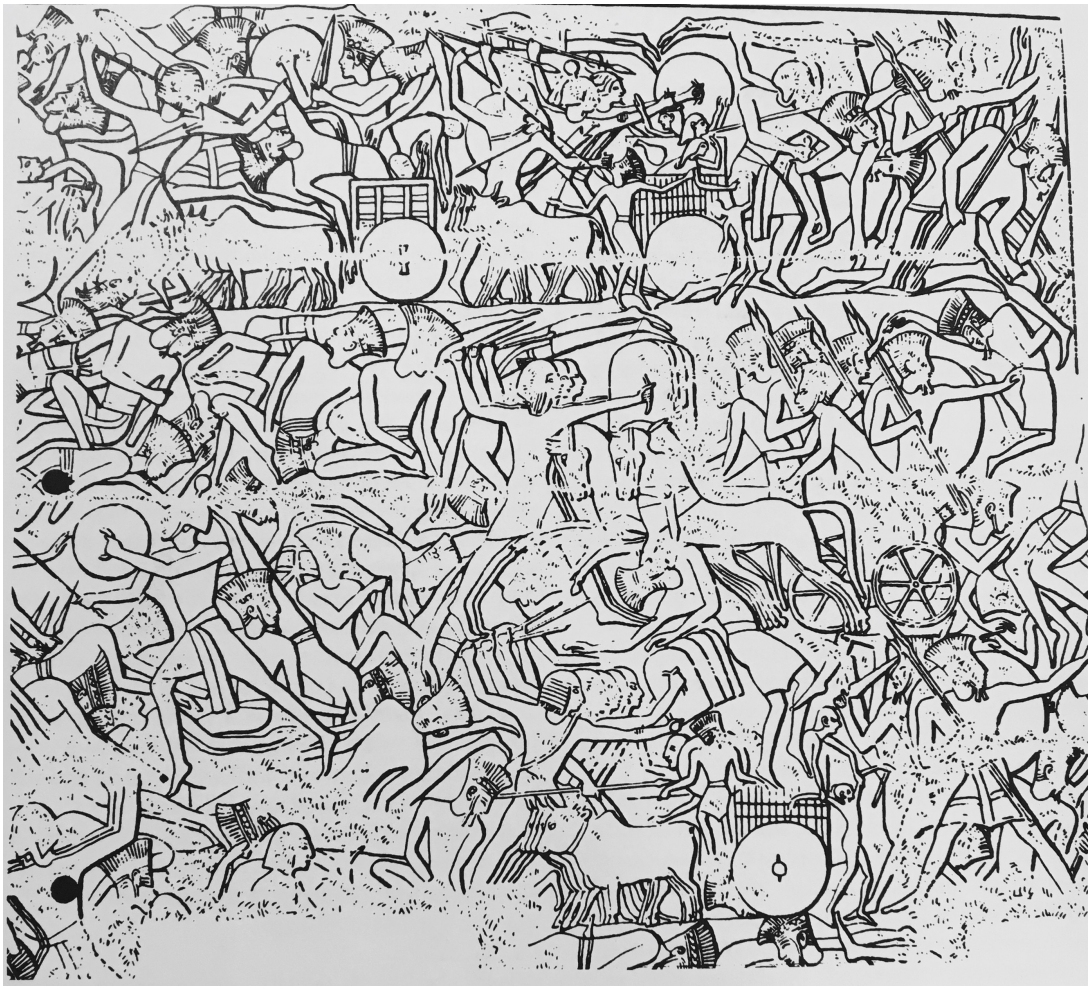

Figure 3.12: Medinet Habu wall reliefs; depiction of the land battle between Ramesses III and the Sea Peoples. *Medinet Habu*, pl. 32.

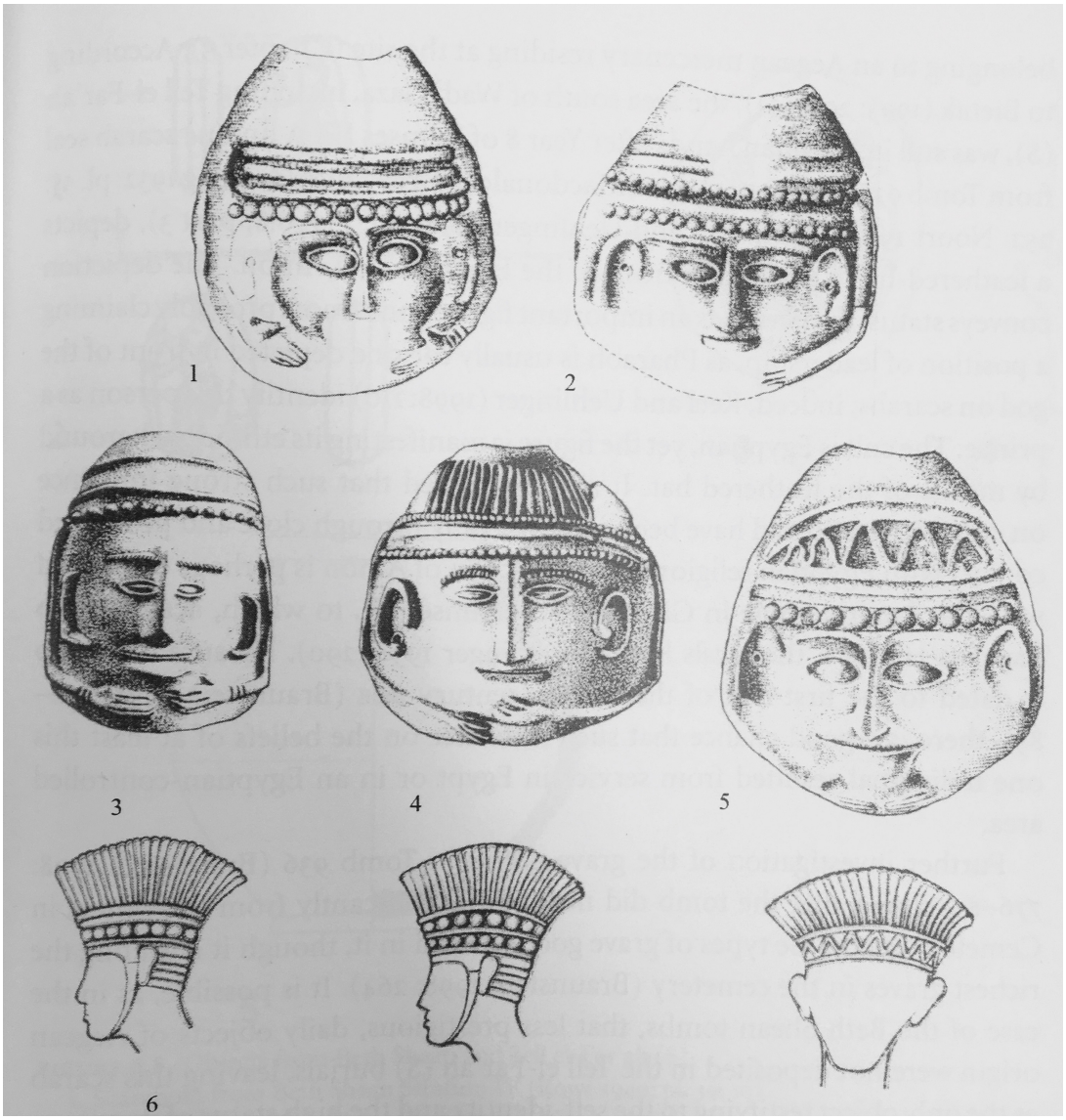

Figure 3.13: Drawings of the anthropoid coffin lids from Beth Shean and a comparison to the Medinet Habu feathered hats. Yasur-Landau 2010, 209, Fig. 6.7.

These tumuli held 64 anthropoid clay coffins with pottery that dated to between the 12th and 10th centuries.[128] The burial contents included scarabs with cartouches of the Pharaohs Ramesses III and IV, and typical Egyptian ware, such as storage jars, lentoid flasks, and stirrup jars. The imported assemblages were typical of contemporary cemeteries in Egypt, and included Canaanite ware, Cypriot, and Mycenaean imports. The ceramic repertoires from the clay coffin burials in Canaan evinced similar practices to those at Tell el-Yahudiyah; there was local Canaanite pottery with Cypriot, Mycenaean, and Egyptian imports, as well as many imitations of Egyptian pots.[129] Additional Egyptian burial finds at the fortresses included amulets and shabtis, which were indicative of New Kingdom mortuary practices.[130] Similarities in burial gifts suggest that Egyptian traditions influenced more than just the structure of the clay anthropoid coffins: they also influenced what type of goods were buried with the deceased in his or her tomb.

Lastly, it was argued that various construction techniques of the clay coffins in Canaan clearly differed from the typical Egyptian coffins in Egypt.[131] This argument is based on examples from the Egyptian site at Tell el-Yahudiyah, where excavators initially concluded that the deceased in the clay coffins were non-Egyptians because the coffins were similar in construction to those in the southern Levant.[132] These similarities include the location of the clay coffins in tumuli on the desert surface and the occasional placement of coffins on black basalt. It was therefore suggested that this was unclear as to whether the location of the clay coffins above ground is an Egyptian or non-Egyptian practice.[133] This suggestion, however, is not supported because the

[128]Wegner 2015, p. 301; Sabbahy 2009, p. 11; Naville and Griffith 1890, pp. 42-9.
[129]T. Dothan 1973, p. 135; Wegner 2015, p. 305; James and McGovern 1993, James and McGovern conducted Neutron Activation Anaylsis on the Beth Shean vessels to show that they were locally manufactured Egyptian types. Sherratt 2013, Sherratt and Mazar published the Mycenaean IIIC pottery from Beth Shean and determined the closest parallels of the sherds are found in Cyprus.
[130]Wegner 2015, p. 302; Ikram 2003, pp. 128-9.
[131]Wegner 2015, pp. 302-5.
[132]Naville and Griffith 1890.
[133]Wegner 2015, pp. 302-5.

act of burying the dead in chambers above ground in Egypt was not uncommon; this was attested at the contemporaneous Egyptian cemetery in Bubastis, for instance.[134]

Both burial goods and burial practices suggest that the Egyptians chose to continue their traditions while stationed on the peripheries of the empire. This is notably reminiscent of Egyptian practices in Nubia throughout 18th and 19th Dynasties (1550-1189).[135] Anthropoid clay coffins became ubiquitous during this period. For example, the Nubian fortresses and cemeteries from Aniba and from the island of Hesa were associated with numerous Egyptian clay coffins and burial content, illuminating the Egyptian influence and sovereignty.[136]

From the evidence described, it is not conclusive that non-Egyptians were buried in the clay coffins at the cemeteries in Canaan. The burial practices and the accompanying burial finds from the cemeteries in association with Egyptian military and administrative centers in Canaan were similar to those in Egypt, and thus should be perceived as Egyptian presence. The increasing Egyptian influence during the Late Bronze Age evinced that they preferred to maintain their customary practices while expanding their territory.

3.2.6.2 Tell es-Sa'idiyeh in the Jordan Valley

An example of a Late Bronze Age Egyptian fortress with burials is Tell es-Sa'idiyeh in the Jordan Valley. Numerous Egyptian fortresses were built during this time in the Jordan Valley, further attesting to the Egyptian sovereignty in the region; the excavators postulated that this geographical location would be economically strategic, as it was situated along the east-west trade routes and right next to a crossing area in the Valley.[137] This fortress in particular is significant due to the numerous cemeteries

[134]Sabbahy 2009, p. 11.
[135]Smith 2014.
[136]Smith 2014, p. 16.
[137]Tubb and Dorrell 1990, p. 109.

that yielded a range of burial rites, and thus merits discussion.[138] An Egyptian fortress dating to the 12th century was found on the upper tel, alongside public buildings such the 'Governor's Residence,' an elaborate water system, and a sanctuary, all of which indicated Egyptian practices based on the architecture and finds.[139] The lower tel had a large cemetery, with over 450 burials that combined Egyptian, local, and other non-local burial rites and grave goods.

In the cemetery, a cluster of 27 double-pithos burials was discovered. This type of burial practice included placing the body inside two joint pithoi, with grave goods either inside or surrounding it. The excavators suggested that this practice represented a contingent of the Sea Peoples, possibly the Sherden, who settled in Jordan, before the major battle against Ramesses III, circa 1177 B.C.E.[140] It was argued that they migrated to the region as mercenaries stationed in the Egyptian army, and then settled after the Egyptians withdrew. This hypothesis is based on the notion that this unique burial rite was not indigenous to either Egypt or the Levant, and that cohorts of the Sea Peoples allegedly originated from Anatolia.[141] The excavators further connected these burials to the anthropoid clay coffins at Beth Shean, which were also originally believed to be of the Sea Peoples groups.[142] Later archaeologists concluded that the deceased in the cemetery were local Canaanites who were actively practicing burial rites and imitating Egyptians in burial practices, rather than Sea Peoples hired as mercenaries. This argument is based on the presence of single sarcophagus burials and the poor attempts at mummification in other burials around the double-pithoi cluster.[143] The suggestion, however, is not supported because double-pithoi burials were not a Canaanite or an Egyptian practice. The attempted mummification could

[138]Steen 2004, Van der Steen discussed the surveys and excavations of the Late Bronze Age fortresses in the region.[45.
[139]Steen 2004, pp. 64-5.
[140]Tubb 1995, p. 143; Pritchard 1969, pp. 99-112.
[141]Gilmour 2002, p. 117.
[142]Steen 2004, p. 67.
[143]Negbi 1998, pp. 205-243.

also be representative of Egyptian soldiers stationed abroad who were trying to carry out their own traditional burials.

It seems more likely that these burials represent displaced refugees from Anatolia, rather than Sea Peoples groups hired by the Egyptians.[144] The following evidence supports this claim: double-pithoi, a common Anatolian burial rite, were used to serve the entire community, including children and families; the lack of weapons or military gifts in the graves; the lack of social stratification in the cemetery; and the similarity of the burial goods, such as Egyptian imports, local imitations, Canaanite ware, and Mycenaean and Cypriot imports, to known Egyptian tombs.[145] Such evidence indicates that this group was in the process of integrating with the sovereign Egyptian culture, which further strengthens the likelihood that these burials belonged to non-locals.

3.2.6.3 Tell El-Borg: Aegean weapons

Weapons in the archaeological record are useful indicators to identify outsiders in military contexts. The material remains of Aegean weapons found in contexts abroad in the Late Bronze Age are limited. To begin, the discussion will include the few weapons found in Egypt along the "Ways of Horus," the coastal road that led from Egypt to Canaan.[146] Numerous forts were built along these roads to control and regulate borders, the movements of people, and trade, from as early as the fifth Dynasty (2500-2350) until the end of the Bronze Age. The overall finds from the numerous fortresses along this route demonstrated the military and administrative networks established by the Egyptians until the end of the 20th Dynasty.[147]

In particular, the site of Tell El-Borg in the North Sinai is significant for its ma-

[144]Gilmour 2002, p. 117.
[145]Steen 2004, p. 146.
[146]Oren 2006; Oren 1987.
[147]Oren 2006, Exploration of the sites in the North Sinai revealed over 231 settlements with Late Bronze Age New Kingdom finds.

terial culture, and especially for its weaponry. The military area consisted of two New Kingdom forts, alongside a cemetery, a domestic area, and a public space.[148] For the most part, the finds from Tell El-Borg were archetypal of an Egyptian fortress complex; the cemetery, for instance, consisted of clay coffin burials with a "standard funeral kit" that included Egyptian ceramics for a funerary banquet, with additional customary imports such as Cypriot jugs and Mycenaean stirrup jars.[149] The Mycenaean pottery constituted 189 fragments, as well as numerous partially restored vessels and this equaled approximately 1.5 percent of the total diagnostic sherds.[150] The imported ceramic repertoire attested to the mercantile nature of these fortresses and to their strategic locations along trade routes.

In addition, the metal weapons at this site are significant and indicative of their users. The typical weapons used in Egyptian warfare in the Late Bronze Age included archery equipment, such as bronze arrows, charioteer equipment, and long-shafted blades.[151] Alongside these implements, weapons of Aegean origin have been uncovered from fields surrounding the fortress. Specifically, a double-edged, socketed spearhead from Field IV revealed the use of Aegean weapons in the fortress vicinity (TBO 0177). It was classified as belonging to a particular group of long spearheads, identified as Group H by Höckmann, and was of Cretan origin dating between the 15th to 14th centuries.[152] Contemporaneous examples of these spearheads were ubiquitous in the Peloponnese, Crete, the Aegean islands, and specifically from warrior graves in the Argolid and Knossos. Spearheads of these types were believed to be a clear Aegean innovation and were used by chariot warriors, along with other conventional Mycenaean armor, such as the Dendra armor, helmet, greaves and swords.[153] The

[148]Hoffmeier 2014, p. 364.
[149]Hoffmeier 2014, pp. 370-3.
[150]Hoffmeier 2014, p. 495.
[151]Stillman and Tallis 1984, pp. 98-9.
[152]Hoffmeier 2014, p. 510; Höckmann 1980, pp. 55-64.
[153]The spearhead parallels a specific spearhead from Crete and was dated based on this. Hoffmeier 2014, pp. 510-1.

presence of this weapon in the context of an Egyptian fortress is significant for a few reasons; firstly, chariot warfare in Egypt was conducted with accompanying archers on the chariot, rather than with the Aegean spear-carrier.[154] Thus, the use of the spear on a chariot in Egypt was an unusual occurrence, especially a foreign spear. Moreover, the provenance of this spearhead was in the field within the fortress complex vicinity, instead of within a warrior burial. Burials were the conventional location for the majority of weapons found in the Aegean at this time.[155] This evinces that this long spearhead was not only brought to Egypt from the Aegean, if not specifically from Crete, but it was also used in Egypt in its primary function as a weapon, rather than as a possible heirloom or prized gift in a burial context.

Another implement from Tell el-Borg that indicates a foreign provenance is the non-local arrowhead, discovered within the fortress. The copper alloy arrowhead is of clear Aegean origin, based on its typology and on comparisons to import parallels from Tell el-Dab'a in Egypt.[156] Additionally, an iron arrowhead was found, also of non-local manufacture based on the shape, though the precise origin was unclear to the excavators.[157] The use of iron suggests a foreign origin, since iron arrowheads were a rare find in New Kingdom Egypt and the majority of arrowheads were produced from copper alloy. Since the context of the arrowhead was evidently not contaminated from the other strata during excavations, it dated securely to the Late Bronze Age. The excavators speculated that this iron arrowhead therefore belonged to a Nubian mercenary, as there was a parallel arrowhead in a 12$^{\text{th}}$ Dynasty Nubian cemetery in Buhen.[158] The use of iron weapons, however, did not come into general practice in North Africa until the sixth century, when iron smelting became widespread at the Greek city of Naukratis.[159] One other case of an earlier date for iron weaponry in

[154]Hoffmeier 2014, p. 512.
[155]Mee 2012, p. 284.
[156]Hoffmeier 2014, 517, no. TBO 0849.
[157]Hoffmeier 2014, 516, no. TBO 0415.
[158]Randall-Maciver and Leonard Wooly 1911, Plate 88, Iron Spearhead from K 32.
[159]Partridge 2002, p. 26.

Nubia comes from the eighth century Tombos pyramid, where the pottery dated this burial to the Nubian 25th Dynasty (760-656).[160] Since there are only two instances of iron weapons in Nubia known thus far, it is not feasible to connect the Tell el-Borg iron arrowhead with Nubian soldiers explicitly. In comparison, iron arrowheads and weapons were prolific in the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age, although they were found mostly in warrior burials.[161] In total, the discovery of an iron arrowhead in an Egyptian fortress context suggested the influence of a foreign presence, due to the dearth of iron implements in the region at this time. Nevertheless, an in-depth typological analysis of the iron arrowhead is required in order to determine more specific origins, and whether indeed it exemplifies parallels from Aegean types.

Other notable Aegean-type weapons in Egypt that indicated a foreign use were specifically two Naue II type swords. These have been directly associated with the Sherden soldiers working for the Egyptians, as depicted on Egyptian wall reliefs. Moreover, scholars have classified the long and short swords carried specifically by the Sherden as part of the Naue II type of the cut-and-thrust swords.[162] This typology disseminated across the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age, with origins in Italy and Central Europe; therefore, the discovery of these swords cannot inherently point to a Sherden use, since they were associated with numerous regions and contexts abroad. Nevertheless, these two long Naue II type swords disclosed significant traits that are suggestive of a Sherden use. One sword found at Ras Shamra in Ugarit had the name of the Pharaoh Merneptah inscribed, and the other from Tel el-Far'aun in the Eastern Delta had the engraving of King Seti II (1200-1194 B.C.E.).[163] Popular in the Aegean, these types of swords were evidently brought to Egypt and engraved with the pharaohs' cartouches. This is a notable stamp

[160]Smith 2007, pp. 11-12.
[161]Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, pp. 151-180.
[162]Molloy 2010, pp. 409-10.
[163]Bietak and Jung 2007, p. 219.

of power and leadership, as the cartouches were used to equate the pharaohs to mythical god-kings and to identify them as the prime ruler.[164] These two swords are the only examples of their kind discovered in Egypt to date. In addition, the only contemporaneous depictions of these Naue II-type swords used in Egypt were in association with the Sherden holding these weapons in combat. Although we cannot concretely conclude that only the Sherden used these two swords, the weapons were clearly available to outsiders in Egypt who appreciated their superiority. The engraved cartouches additionally revealed that the carriers of these weapons were most likely of high status. Thus, one could speculate that the Sherden, the only group depicted as holding these weapons in Egyptian iconography and who were known to be the elite guard of the pharaohs, could perhaps be the users of such swords.

3.2.6.4 Other Aegean Military Finds in Egypt

In addition to burials and weapons, other finds further revealed an Aegean military connection with Egypt. Firstly, a well-known papyrus from the temple complex at Tell el-Amarna depicted a Mycenaean warrior adorned with a boar's tusk helmet, coming to the aid of an Egyptian soldier and fighting the enemy Libyans.[165] Notably, the Mycenaean was illustrated with the same skin color as the Egyptians, in order to emphasize which side they were fighting for.[166] This find, though exceptional, implies that Aegean warriors had experience fighting for (and perhaps against) the Egyptians. Yet, it is still indeterminable as to whether this papyrus implicitly shows mercenaries fighting, or if this represents allies sent to fight. This type of scene correlates with the extent of Aegean-Egyptian relations in this time frame, where during the reign of Akhenaten (1353-1336 B.C.E.), trade and communication between the two regions

[164]Rose 1985, pp. 9-13.
[165]Parkinson and Schofield 1997, Currently in the British Museum, EA 74100.
[166]Giannakoulas 2014, p. 62.

increased drastically. Tell el-Amarna, for instance, had the largest concentration of Mycenaean ceramic imports in Egypt at this time, including over 2,000 sherds found in numerous contexts throughout the site.[167] Seemingly, the established connections with Egypt could have also included military connections, in addition to trade.

Two other pieces of evidence attest to Mycenaean military connections during the reign of Ramesses II (1279-1213). Primarily, from Qantir-Piramesse, located in the Eastern Nile Delta approximately 100 km northeast of Cairo, a boar's tusk was found during excavations and the tusk had clear perforations, demonstrating that the tusk would have been attached to another element.[168] In addition to being a unique find in Egypt, its correlation to the Mycenaean's boar tusk helmets is intriguing. Concomitantly, a limited array of Mycenaean vessels was found at this site that differed from the usual imported shapes, such as flasks, stirrup jar, and closed shapes, that held imported goods and were used in burials. Instead these included open shapes, such as shallow cups, *kylixes*, and kraters.[169] Perhaps this represented a slight spread of Mycenaean drinking customs at Qantir-Piramesse, since these objects would not be used for importing goods, but as dining equipment. Markedly, fragments of these open shapes were found in the stables at the site, rather than in an elite, religious, or burial context.[170] This could show that the individuals working in the stables originated from the Myceanean periphery and chose to continue their drinking traditions.

3.3 The Aegean Sources: Linear B

In addition to the textual evidence of mercenaries in Egypt and the Levant, the documentation from the Mycenaean world evinces employment of various military

[167]Kelder 2010, p. 130; Pendlebury 1935.
[168]Kelder 2010.
[169]Mountjoy and Mommsen 2001, p. 124.
[170]Mountjoy and Mommsen 2001, p. 124.

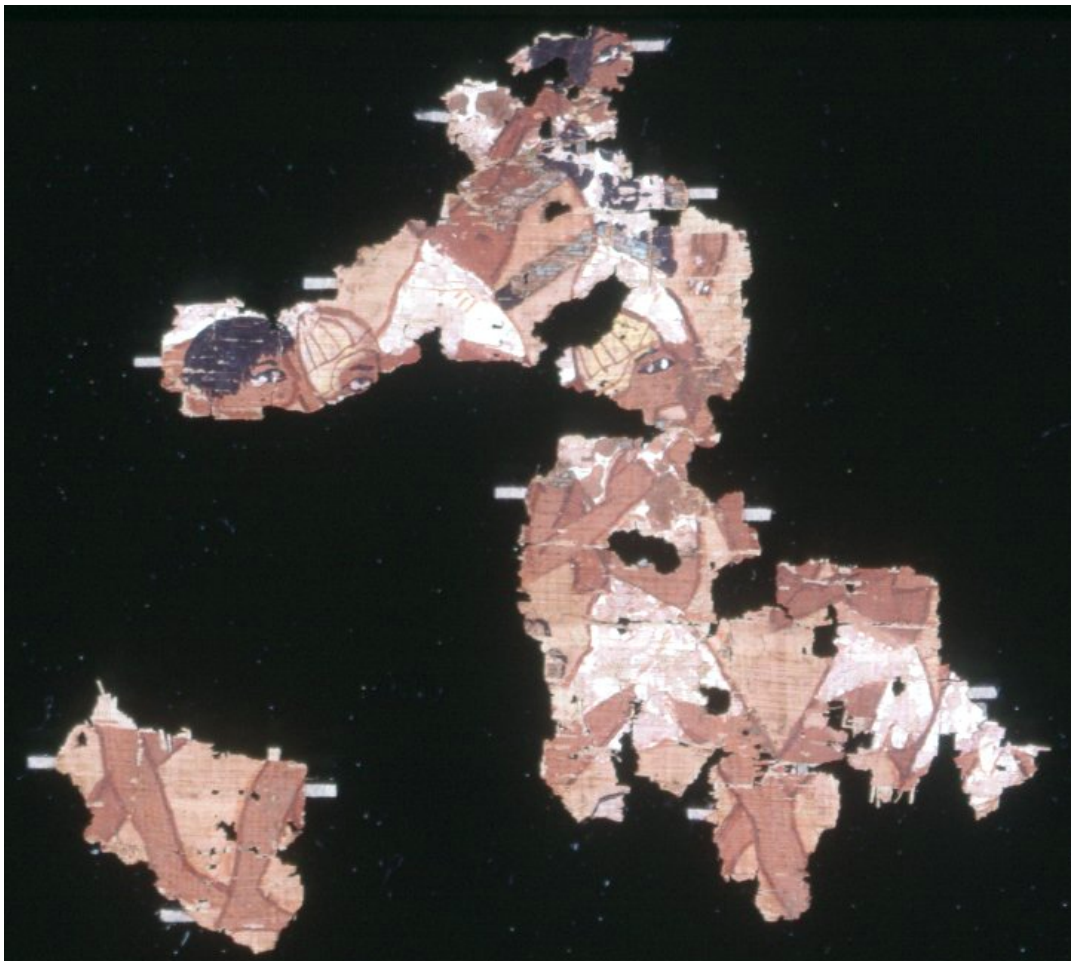

Figure 3.14: Painted papyri fragments from Tell el-Amarna depicts two battle scenes, without text. The first depicts a fallen Egyptian overcome by a Libyan, while other Libyan archers rush on. The second scene shows Egyptian infantrymen, some wearing helmets and ox-hide tunics. A Mycenaean is also depicted with a boars-tusk helmet. British Museum online catalogue, EA74100.

Figure 3.15: Painted papyri fragment from Tell el-Amarna showing a Mycenaean warrior. British Museum online catalogue, EA74100.

groups. The Linear B tablets from Pylos and Knossos reveal information about the organization of military and maritime activities at the palatial institutions, including the hiring of external groups to participate in such activities. Linear B tablets were first discovered at the Knossos palace and dated to as early as the fifteenth century; the collection of tablets has expanded since its initial discovery, and Linear B tablets have been recovered from Khania and Knossos on Crete, Pylos, Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea, and Thebes on the mainland.[171] They functioned primarily as archives that were accidentally fired during the destruction of the palaces. In particular, the Linear B tablets of the *o-ka* set in the *An* series discovered in the Mycenaean palace at Pylos document lists of military groups, identified by their origin.[172] The tablets recorded soldiers that were deployed to guard the coast, alongside a clear hierarchy of leaders that commanded each contingent (specifically in tablets PY An 519, 653, 656, 657, 661). They enumerated the quantity of men in each group, identified them by origin, and also included the name of the commander.

> "Under the command of the *Kurumeno* (are) *Periteu*, *Wonewa*, *Atijawa, Erutara* (and) fifty *Kekide* from *Metapa* at *0*34ta* (and) sixty *Kurewe* from *Upijakiro*; with them goes the *eqeta Arekuturuwo,* son of *Etewokerewo*..."[173]

Based on the listed origins of each group and the small quantity of contingents, where they varied between 10-110 men, the context of the tablets delineates organized external troops (i.e. non-Messenian) gathered from areas outside of Pylos.[174] Not every location and origin listed in the tablets are identified and it remains possible

[171]Evans 1909, p. 38; Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 28; Rougemont discussed the chronology of the Linear B tablets. Rougemont 2009, pp. 5-9; Palaima 2012, p. 4; Bartonek 2003, p. 30; Del Freo 2008, pp. 213-22; Brouwers 2013, p. 30.

[172]Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 172-194; Uchitel argued that the military nature of the *o-ka* tablets is incorrect based on comparison with Sumerian *erin* texts and that the tablets instead refer to agricultural activities. Uchitel 1984, pp. 162-3.

[173]Pylos tablet AN 654. Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 191.

[174]Shelmerdine 2008, p. 147.

that some of the locations are within the Mycenaean periphery. Other interpretations of location names from the *OKA* set, however, indicate external entities fought for the Pylians that would not be under the Pylian domain. For instance, the listed men from *Iwaso* have been connected to the city Iasos in Asia Minor.[175] The possibility that these men came from Iasos to take part in Mycenaean military activities is significant, as men from Caria were known in the Near East as mercenaries later in the seventh century B.C.E.[176] Iasos was a Bronze Age settlement on the Carian coast, near Miletus, with clear ceramic influences and trade networks with the Cycladic islands, Ionia, and Crete.[177] The proximity to Miletus, which was arguably a center point for a Mycenaean presence, additionally suggests that connections between Iasos and the Mycenaeans were certainly possible.[178]

Three other tablets, PY An 1, 610, and 724, refer to recruiting rowers, *e-ra-ta*, for the Mycenaean fleet.[179] Similar to the military tablets above, these tablets list small quantities of rowers that had notably different origins. Tablet An 724 listed missing or exempted rowers, as well as those who were landowners with a higher social status and thus obliged to row, which is discussed below.[180] The total recruitment capacity from the three tablets accumulated to 600 men from different locations. In light of these military documents at Pylos, it is clear that the palace had an organized military that encompassed contingents from the surrounding settlements in the Peloponnese and possibly from areas overseas. The geographical extent could be further than the mainland, as many of the Linear B location names have yet to be identified. The questions that still remain are whether these contingents represent mercenaries and

[175]Another example of a translation includes the location name *Uripijajo*, which has been connected with Olympia. Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 45, 90, 184; Driessen and MacDonald 1984, p. 50; Lindgren 1973, pp. 58, 149-50; It remains speculative whether the toponym *i-wa-so* and ethnonym *i-wa-si-jo-ta* indeed signify Iasos. Momigliano 2012, p. 2.

[176]Discussed in Chapter 4.2.3.

[177]Momigliano 2012, pp. 164-170.

[178]W.-D Niemeier 1997, pp. 347-353; Niemeier discussed evidence of Mycenaeans at Miletus. W.-D. Niemeier 2005, pp. 1-36.

[179]Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 186-7, 431; Yasur-Landau 2010, p. 45.

[180]Yasur-Landau 2010, p. 45.

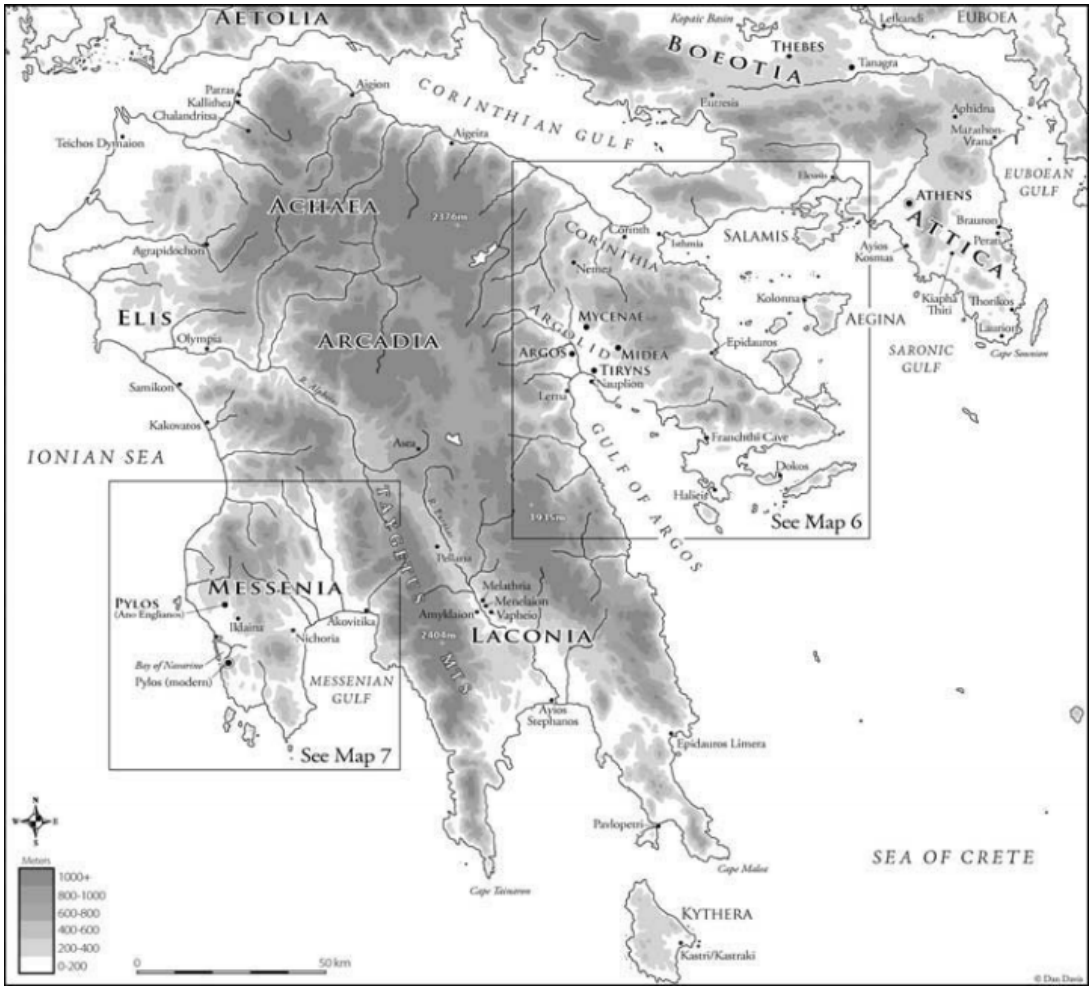

Figure 3.16: Map of the Mycenaean World in the Bronze Age. Map 5. Shelmerdine 2008, p. xxxiv

what elements provide insight into mercenary employment. To address this, certain aspects of the tablets, such as the etymology of specific military titles, the contexts in which these titles were used, and evidence of payment to men via land ownership, are significant.

For example, the title *e-qe-ta* in the tablets clarifies that there were hierarchical, leadership roles in the Pylian military. The term distinguished the head official who accompanied the military contingents that were sent to guard the Pylian coastline.[181] Pylos tablet An 654 exemplifies this: "... with them [the contingents] goes the *eqeta Arekuturuwo*, son of *Etewokerewo*..."[182] The different contexts of the *e-qe-ta* distinguish their relation to the military contingents and what their role was in the Pylian domain. As mentioned above, each contingent is accompanied by one or two *e-qe-ta* as a follower of the military detachment and as part of the hierarchy of leaders.[183] They are listed with a patronymic name that designates them as elite officials.[184] They clearly maintain a higher position than the soldiers, though they are not considered the "commander" of the men, as that is a separate title. For instance, in PY An 657, Ventris and Chadwick deciphered the following difference between the commander and the follower: "Command of *Maleus* at *O-wi-to-no*... fifty *su-we-ro-wi-jo* men of *O-wi-to-no* at *Oikhalia*.... and with them the Follower Kerkios."[185]

Another interpretation for the term *e-qe-ta* is as 'collectors,' based on the role as an overseer in charge of the payments in the palace system.[186] This notion stemmed from the following line on a tablet at Knossos, KN Am 821: *e-qe-ta-e e-ne-ka e-mi-to*, where the latter part can be connected to Ancient Greek as "because of the wage-

[181]The *e-qe-ta* accompanied military contingents in PY An 519, 654, 656, 657, 661. Montecchi 2015, p. 84; Rougemont 2009, p. 232.

[182]PY AN 654. Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 191; PY An 657 mentioned two other *e-qe-ta* by name accompanying the contingents. Killen 2007, pp. 263-4.

[183]*E-qe-ta* is deciphered as a follower, based on the Ancient Greek verb ἑπομαι, to follow. Rougemont 2009, p. 228; Montecchi 2015, p. 80; Killen 2007, p. 263.

[184]Brouwers 2013, p. 32.

[185]PY An 657. Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 188-9.

[186]Olivier 2001, pp. 139-59.

earners."[187] At the palace of Knossos, this elite role was associated with distributing payments, where men were receiving a wage while working for the palace.[188] If at Knossos the *e-qe-ta* were associated with wages, then perhaps this is comparable to their duties at Pylos. The tablets at Pylos do not explicitly state a connection between the *e-qe-ta* and payments; however, one can speculate that they had similar responsibilities at both palaces.[189]

The *e-qe-ta* further appear in association with other significant terminology. For instance, the contemporaneous Linear B tablets from Knossos have the title *e-qe-ta* alongside the term *e-pi-ko-wo*, both in the same contexts as the listed military groups. One example stated, *'o-u-ru-to, o-pi-a-ra, e-pi-ko-wo,'* which is deciphered as, "thus the watchers (also possibly overseers or allies) guard the coast."[190] The tablet lists the troops and mentions the *e-qe-ta* as in charge of them. The connection of the *e-pi-ko-wo* with the *e-qe-ta* and the soldiers is found in another tablet as well at Pylos, suggesting a similar function of the two titles in Knossos and Pylos.[191] The translation of *e-pi-ko-wo* is telling of who these watchers possibly were; the term is etymologically related to the Ancient Greek word, *epikouros*, used by later Greek sources, such as Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, to identify paid mercenaries.[192] Other interpretations about the significance of the *e-pi-ko-wo* include translations as watchers, guards, overseers, allies, or auxiliary troops.[193]

In addition to the leadership roles and elevated social statuses documented in the tablets, different types of payment methods are also visible in certain contexts. The use of the terms *kesenuwijo* and *kesenuwo* are revealing of possible payments;

[187]Montecchi 2015, p. 85; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, p. 85.
[188]KN Am (2) 821. Killen and Olivier 1989, p. 21.
[189]Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, Deger-Jalkotzy postulated that the e-qe-ta tablets at Knossos and those of the *o-ka* set at Pylos demonstrated a similar military purpose.
[190]An 657, line 1. Killen and Olivier 1989, p. 263.
[191]The tablets where an *e-pi-ko-wo* was assigned to an *e-qe-ta* included KN As 4493 and PY An 657. Montecchi 2015, p. 84.
[192]See Chapter 4.2.3.
[193]Montecchi 2015, p. 84.

scholars postulate a connection between these terms and the Ancient Greek word, *xenos*, meaning foreigner.[194] Other interpretations of *kesenuwijo* include, 'of foreign type,' 'for guests,' 'for export,' and 'for guest-gifts.'[195] One example of the *kesenuwijo* is on the Pylos tablet Fr 1231, where the term describes an amount of oil given, or paid to, a group of foreigners.[196] This is significant as other tablets mention oil as the main source of payment and trade for specific groups, such as in the case of the 'Men from Olympia' who were paid in olive oil.[197] What distinguishes this act is that the 'Men from Olympia' were additionally listed among the contingents on the military tablets of the Pylos *o-ka* set. Perhaps the contingents from Olympia were paid with oil in return for their work at the Pylian palace.[198] In other tablets, the title *kesenuwija* refers to textiles of foreigners, which some interpreted as special attire that the foreign troops wore, while other interpretations suggest that it is an indication of gift giving or trade.[199]

Methods of payment are also exemplified by connections between land grants and the military groups. On tablet PY An 610, 569 men are listed by origin and divided amongst five coastal towns to patrol.[200] Within the groups of men, two in particular are distinguished as *ki-ti-ta,* landholders, while other translations of the term include inhabitants or settlers.[201] Chadwick postulated that these landholders were settlers who received land grants from the palaces and to repay these grants, they had to do military service.[202] This concept of service obligations would indeed explain how the

[194]See Chapter 2.1.1.
[195]Driessen and MacDonald 1984, p. 55.
[196]Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 553.
[197]Tablet Fh 392 had "Urupija" (Olympians) preserved, alongside tablets from the same context, in the Room of the Column Bases in West Wing of the Knossos palace, suggesting it was part of the set of tablets referring to payments in olive oil. Driessen and MacDonald 1984, 52, Footnote 19. Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 217-8.
[198]See Montecchi for a discussion of payments in the Mycenaean period. Montecchi 2015, p. 92.
[199]Melena 1975, p. 48; Driessen and MacDonald 1984, p. 55.
[200]PY An 610. Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 186.
[201]*Ki-ti-ta* was translated as the 'one who holds land.' Chadwick 1987, p. 82; Aura-Jorro 1985, pp. 367-8.
[202]Chadwick 1987, pp. 78-82; Yasur-Landau 2010, p. 46.

economic and political relationship between the polities and the palatial institutions functioned.[203] If this were the case, however, then these groups are not considered mercenaries, but rather as part of a complex serfdom-like system where landowners, in return for land, had to perform a collective service for the Mycenaean institutions and send their workers to the military.[204] A few factors from the tablets, however, disprove this notion. Some tablets provide evidence of service obligations from the landholders to participate in industrial production, and they also make references to the landholders needing to work.[205] This suggests that land was used as payment for various jobs in addition to military work. Furthermore the juxtaposition of the landowners next to the military groups in the tablets suggest that the landowners were part of the listed militiamen from other areas within and outside of the Mycenaean periphery. Additionally since not all of the location names are deciphered, it remains inconclusive whether the men were part of the conscription military. Some of the discernible locations from the tablet include areas to the north of Pylos, such as Zakinthos [Za-ku-si-jo], where a group of Zakinthians are listed in PY An 610, line 12.[206] There is no evidence for political connections between Zakinthos and Pylos, and it is less likely that Mycenaean landowners were stationed at such a distance, thus perhaps the Zakinthians moved to Pylos for employment.

Other instances documented men receiving plots of land as rewards for their service, which indeed was a conventional act of payment during the later centuries in the Eastern Mediterranean. In one land record at Pylos, an individual receives a land plot, *"e-ne-ka a-no-qa-si-ja,"*, which was deciphered as, "on account of the manslaughter."[207] The man in this context had received land as a reward for performing his duties

[203]Killen argued that this represented a taxation record, similar to practices from Ugarit. Killen 1983, pp. 78-9; Arena discussed the problems with identifying Mycenaean peripheries. Arena 2015, pp. 2-8.

[204]This is possibly documented in the translation of Py An 29, line 3, which stated: "And those who are obliged to bring (men?), as follows..." Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 177.

[205]Shelmerdine 2008, pp. 79-82.

[206]Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 186; Yasur-Landau 2010, p. 47; Wachsmann 1998, p. 124.

[207]PY Ea 805. Montecchi 2015, p. 91.

in battle. Reward and compensation was what drove mercenaries to fight for other rulers and this notion could be exemplified at Pylos. Other Pylos tablets support connections between the military contingents and landholders; for instance, the same groups listed in the *o-ka* tablets about patrolling the coast are also enumerated on the *Na* tablets as landowners.[208]

From this insight into the military nature of the Linear B tablets from Pylos and Knossos, there is clearly a need for external groups in the military. Although whether these tablets indicate mercenaries remains speculative, a few components of the tablets prove useful for identifying non-local military activity. The clear hierarchical structure and leadership roles are evident in the listed contingents of warriors and coastal guards. The *o-ka* set from Pylos typically has a commander and overseer over each group, suggesting that social status and hierarchy maintain a substantial role. Methods of payment include connections between landowners and outsider military groups are also indicative of the process of employment, especially since these payment methods are similar in the Late Bronze Age to Iron Age for mercenaries.

3.4 Hittite Texts

3.4.1 The 'Men of Hiyawa'

In addition to the Egyptian Dynasties and the Linear B tablets, the texts from the Hittite Empire in the Bronze Age also yield limited, yet significant documentation about hiring mercenaries, and they provide comparable material to military employment in Egypt.[209] Documentation of the Battle of Qadesh in Syrian lands between the Egyptian Pharaoh Ramesses II and the Hittite King Muwatalli II in 1274 reveal

[208]Perna 2004, pp. 218-256; The landowner tablets stated specific amounts of flax needed from cultivated lands, perhaps suggesting that these military groups received land as payment for service. Chadwick 1979, p. 130.

[209]See Bachhuber for a discussion of the Bronze Age Anatolian plateau and the extent of the Hittite world. Bachhuber 2012, pp. 576-595.

that both sides hired mercenaries for the battle. As discussed earlier, Ramesses II documented in detail the successful results of the battle on the wall representations and inscriptions in his temple, while no Hittite documentation about the Battle of Qadesh was discovered.[210] In the Egyptian inscription, Ramesses criticized the manner in which the Hittites were pressured to hire forces in order to compete against the Egyptians:

> "He did not overlook any silver in his land; he released it from all of his possessions and gave it to all foreign lands in order to bring them with him to fight."[211]

Although the statement appears to be a direct claim for hiring mercenaries, one should be hesitant about this denunciation; since it comes from the Egyptian perspective, it may be an exaggeration to help glorify the Hittite defeat. Alongside the inscription, the wall reliefs depicted Hittites as hiring forces from Lukka, the southwestern coast of Anatolia, whom notably appear as part of the Sea Peoples contingents at the end of the Late Bronze Age. On the Egyptian side, the wall relief depicted the Sherden as fighting for the Egyptians. The Egyptians were likely not the only sovereignty to rely heavily on mercenaries during this period.

Another instance when the Hittite Empire had clearly hired mercenaries came from tablets at the 'House of Urtenu' in Ras Shamra, with two references to the 'men of *Hiyawa*' and a 'man of *Hiyawa*' dispatched to the land of the Lukka.[212] The first letter was written by the Hittite King, Suppiluliuma II (1207-1180?),[213] and the second letter was by an official in the Hittite court named Benti-Sarruma. Both of the letters were addressed to Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit. These letters translated the following:

[210]Antonio Santosuosso 1996, p. 423; Stiebing 2009, pp. 206-210.
[211]KRI II, 20, lines 1-20. G. R. Roberts 2008, p. 51; Gardiner 1975, p. 8; Bryce 2007, p. 15.
[212]Bryce 2010a, p. 47.
[213]Table 8.1 discussed the chronology of Hittite and Egyptian rulers. Stiebing 2009, p. 206.

1. Letter from Suppiluliuma: 'This time, didn't I send you Satalli? Now, I've been told (that) "the *Hiyawa*-man" is in the [land] of Lukka and there are no rations for him." Concerning this matter, don't tell me that there is nothing to do. Provide ships to Satalli and let them take the rations for the *Hiyawa*-men.'

2. Letter from Benti-Sarruma: 'This time you have prevented Satalli from taking rations to the *Hiyawa*-man in Lukka.'[214]

The letters indicate that the Hittite king sent food rations to the men from Ahhiyawa that he dispatched to the Lukka lands, most likely as mercenaries. In addition to the translation of "food rations," scholars have argued for the word to signify metal ingots instead.[215] If the rations were metal ingots, they may still be a method of payment, so the Ahhiyawans could manufacture their own materials.[216] Ahhiyawa was mentioned in approximately 26 Hittite texts, dating between the 15th to 13th centuries, and many argue that the term Ahhiyawa represents the Mycenaean kingdom. However, this particular text is the first time that the Ahhiyawans appear as a force of some kind sent overseas by the Hittites.[217] The significance of the term Ahhiyawa, however, varied in each context and could refer either to a specific Mycenaean king and kingdom, or to the entire Mycenaean world, including the peripheral islands and areas in the eastern Mediterranean under their domain.[218] Furthermore, what is significant about the connection between the Ahhiyawans and the Hittites is that during this time period, there is virtually no evidence for any direct commercial contact. The lack of Mycenaean finds in Hittite contexts, and vice versa, suggests that there

[214]Bryce 2010a, p. 47; Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2005; Singer 2006, p. 250; Hiyawa is an aphaereized form of the name Ahhiyawa, where there is a loss of a letter or syllable from beginning of word. Beckman, Bryce, and E. Cline 2011, pp. 261-2.

[215]Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2005; Singer argues for the translation as metal ingots. Singer 2006, pp. 255-8.

[216]Beckman, Bryce, and E. Cline 2011, p. 262.

[217]See Beckmann et al for an in-depth summary on the debate of the term Ahhiyawa. Beckman, Bryce, and E. Cline 2011, pp. 1-6; The earliest Hittite texts that mention the Ahhiyawans date between 1450-1400, by the Hittite King, Tudhaliyas. Güterbrock 1983, p. 138; Huxley 1960; Bryce 1989, pp. 1-21.

[218]Bryce 2010a, p. 48; W.-D. Niemeier 1998; Hawkins 1998; Bachhuber 2006, pp. 354-5.

was likely a Hittite-imposed embargo on Mycenaean trade activity for at least two centuries.[219] From the lack of communication, what could have led to a Mycenaean contingent working for Suppiluliumas by the end of the 13th century?

It is clear that leading towards the end of the Bronze Age and the impending culmination of the Hittite kingdom, there were major food shortages in the Hittite realm. This is evident from the pharaoh Merneptah's Great Karnak inscription, where gestures to the Hittites included sending grain and food 'to keep alive the land of Kheta.'[220] If food supplies were restricted, the military also likely experienced problems of rations and troops. If this were the case, then perhaps the Hittites became more reliant on hiring external troops. Likewise, the need for more troops explains the need for additional contingents at the Battle of Qadesh, where the Lukka and others were hired with all the silver the Hittite king possessed. The logistics, therefore, behind the two letters in particular are intriguing and exemplify a scenario where the Hittites urgently sent Ugaritic fleets to give rations to the Ahhiyawa men stationed in an autonomous land outside the Hittite empire. Evidently this was a necessary and risky endeavor for the Hittites.

In addition to these letters, a few archaeological discoveries shed light on the military connections between the Hittites and the Mycenaeans. For instance, a bronze Mycenaean sword was uncovered at Hattusas, the Hittite capital. It was dedicated by the king, Tudhaliya II, after his victory of the revolution at Assuwa in 1430, as stated by the Akkadian inscription on the sword: "As Duthaliya the Great King shattered the Assuwa country, he dedicated these swords to the storm-god, his lord."[221] It is debatable whether the sword is of Mycenaean manufacture, based on minute differences in comparison to other Aegean type sword; regardless, it does represent a

[219]E. Cline 1991; E. Cline 1994; E. Cline 1996, Cline argued that the Mycenaeans were present at the Assuwa rebellion against the Hittites in the 15th century, based on a Mycenaean sword at Hattusas. This perhaps led to an event like an embargo against the Mycenaeans in subsequent centuries.

[220]Wainwright 1960, p. 24.

[221]E. Cline 1996, pp. 137-8; Buchholz 1994, pp. 28-30.

clear Mycenaean influence in its construction.[222] A 15th-14th century Hittite ceramic bowl was also found at Hattusas with a decoration of a possible Mycenaean warrior adorned in the typical armor and helmet as Aegean warriors in other depictions.[223] Though limited in quantity, both the sword and the bowl demonstrate that Mycenaean warriors were in contact with the Hittites to a limited extent, despite the lack of evidence. Mycenaeans hired in the Hittite army was clearly not customary, however it is indeed possible that some Mycenaeans were employed in the Hittite armies on occasion.

3.4.2 The Kaska

Throughout the existence of the Hittite Empire, between the 17th to 12th centuries, the Kaska are referred to as enemies in most historical Hittite texts. The Kaska consisted of tribal groups situated in the Pontic region in northern Anatolia and they frequently plundered towns and settled in Hittite-controlled areas, causing numerous confrontations with the imposing kingdom.[224] Similar to the other groups located on the fringes of empires, there are no textual and very few archaeological remains of the Kaska, though archaeologists have sought to define frontier zones and levels of interaction between them and the Hittites.[225] The nature of interactions varied over the centuries, taking the form of military, diplomatic, and demographic contact.[226]

There is one specific 13th century text where the Hittite King Hattusili III actively recruited members of the Kaska tribe to fight in his army.[227] Hattusili formulated a contract with the Kaska people; however, it is unclear whether this contract was

[222]E. Cline 1996.

[223]E. Cline 1996, p. 147; Figs. 1-3. Bittel 1976, pp. 9-14.

[224]For example, they occupied the major holy Hittite city of Nerik for two centuries. Bryce 2010b, p. 70.

[225]Surveys in northern Anatolia attempted to link handmade pots previously identified as Early Bronze Age to the Kaska, and it is suggested that the change in subsistence at various sites could reflect another population. Glatz and Matthews 2005, pp. 49, 57.

[226]Table 1 in Glatz and Matthews presents an overview of Hittite interactions with the Kaska. Glatz and Matthews 2005, pp. 52, 53.

[227]Bryce 2010b, p. 76; Verse I,§2.6-2.10. Von Schuler 1965, pp. 145-148.

forcibly imposed.[228] The recruited men were strictly supervised and Hattusili III enforced limitations on their movements; for example, they were not permitted to enter certain cities within the territory that they were stationed.[229] The close supervision of the Kaska infers that they were not usual hires for the Hittite army, and that they were known to be unreliable. Unlike the other outsider groups, such as the Medjay and Habiru, the Kaska did not become an assimilated part of the military after this incidence. This could be because a substantial portion of the Hittite army comprised of conscripts from surrounding conquered lands, and rebellions and escapees were frequent occurrences.[230]

In addition to the text about hiring the Kaska, two other features are notable: it was clear from the texts that certain Kaskan soldiers were deployed in the Hittite army against other Kaska.[231] This suggests that the Kaska tribe was not a single, unified group, and it consisted of multiple factions. Secondly, they were able to hold an authoritative position; for instance, one Kaska man named Kassu had high ranks within the Hittite army, as documented in the texts.[232] Though there is only one example, some Kaska were able to achieve an elevated status within the Hittite army.

3.5 Analysis of the Bronze Age Evidence

From this diachronic overview that traces external contingents in military contexts, based on the Bronze Age sources and material remains, it is clear that these groups were indeed present in established militaries. There is no direct term to identify a mercenary explicitly within the Eastern Mediterranean during the second millennium; distinguishing mercenary activity is based solely on the content of the surviving texts

[228]Verse I, §2.9-2.10, "...den Leuten von Hatti und den Leuten von Kaska, einen Vertrag folgendermaßen auferlegt." Von Schuler 1965, p. 146.
[229]Verse II, §6.6-6.13. Von Schuler 1965, p. 146.
[230]Bryce 2010b, p. 75.
[231]Glatz and Matthews 2005, p. 54.
[232]Glatz and Matthews 2005, p. 54.

that originate from societies with written sources, such as the Egyptians, Hittites, and Mycenaeans. The sources reveal transient terminology to define outsider groups, which is not always reliable. It is, therefore, useful to consider the specific case studies with indicative material evidence from fortresses and burials in these regions that shed light on non-locals as potentially hired contingents. These interpretations extrapolate what characteristics are indeed significant and ultimately amount to how to define a mercenary in the Bronze Age, and whether these instances reflect mercenary activity.

The roles of the non-local contingents in Bronze Age Near Eastern armies clarify their place within the local military structure. It is likely that many of the groups functioned as infantrymen, or foot soldiers, within the army, and they were separated from the standard, local soldiers. For instance, the Habiru and the Suteans were listed in texts alongside positions in the permanent army, such as the charioteers and the archers. They were not identified by a specific job, like the charioteers and archers were; they likely contributed to a faction of the standing infantry army, carrying swords and spears as depicted in Egyptian iconography. The Sherden in the Egyptian army were similar; they were also listed alongside other specific roles, and they were not included as the archers or charioteers. In addition, the textual records for the Kaska in the Hittite army show strict limitations on their duties; for instance, the Kaska troops were not permitted to enter certain cities whilst on campaigns, further indicating the extent in which the foreign hires were separated.

This is a notable contrast to the Nubian archers, who were recorded and depicted specifically as an archery contingent; archaeological finds clearly support this role as well, with Nubians buried in cemeteries with their bows and arrows. Egyptian texts purposefully state when such groups had a particular specialized role in the army. In comparison to the infantry positions and the Nubian archers, the Medjay in Egypt appeared to have a different, more administrative, role in the military. They were utilized as guards and policemen on the outskirts and borders of the Egyptian

lands, rather than as infantrymen in battles and military campaigns. Likewise, the Linear B tablets reflected small contingents from outside the immediate region of the Mycenaean palatial system that were sent to take part in naval activities, primarily as guards of the coastal areas. In these instances, it seems that the non-local additions in the military were used to quantify the numbers within an army and to provide extra support in peripheral areas.

Another role outsiders had in the Near Eastern armies is to carry out general brigandry on behalf of larger empires, who exploited their intimate knowledge of the land. This is evident, for instance, in the number of Suteans sent on various missions, as referenced in the Mari Letters; two letters mentioned raids that transpired by only 30-50 men as supportive missions to larger military feats.[233] Similarly, in Amarna Letters EA 122 and 123, the Suteans were sent to fulfill a political act on behalf of the Egyptian officials; this included arresting certain men in Byblos and bringing them back to Egypt.[234] It seems that in these situations, the outsider groups were known for their aggressive acts and raiding, rather than actual skill sets in warfare. These abilities would, nonetheless, be advantageous to large armies.

Finally, in addition to these roles, when external contingents were not sent on military campaigns or were not acting as guards, they fulfilled multifaceted purposes, such as additions to labor forces that contributed to the general economy. From as early as the Old Kingdom, for instance, forts in Upper Egypt were built from Aswan to Semna and the primary use of these strongholds was both military and economic; as a necessary connection between Upper and Lower Egypt, the forts were an essential means for trade exchange and movement of raw materials, in addition to stationing soldiers.[235] The layout of these fortresses, such as the fortress at Askut, revealed elaborate granaries, storage facilities, and local production of pottery and

[233]Vidal 2010: 97.

[234]Moran 1992: 201-202, EA 122 and 123.

[235]This is evident from the two forts in Wadi Allaqi that controlled prime mining access. Bard 2007, pp. 192-4.

metal artifacts.[236] The logistics of a functional fortress would certainly require an extensive network of people and specializations.[237] At the Askut fortress, the finds and structural layout suggest that a few thousand people were stationed there for a variety of purposes, including warriors, scribes, merchants and overseers, and there would be overlapping duties the inhabitants fulfilled.

Another example of different tasks for external groups comes from a record of a military campaign recorded on the Wadi Hammamat Stela, dating to Ramesses IV (1166-1160). The stela records an expedition that was sent to the stone quarries to collect building material, and there was a list of the available forces: 5000 men, including 520 Sherden, 1600 Kehek, 100 Meshwesh, 880 Nubians and 1900 others.[238] As seen in this chapter, these listed groups had a primary military purpose, especially the Sherden and the Nubians, who had clear ranks within the Egyptian military. While they were not partaking in campaigns, they were used as manpower for other tasks, such as constructing forts and buildings. This is reminiscent of the later mercenaries that appeared as skilled masons during the Iron Age; men from Caria in southwestern Anatolia were traditionally employed as mercenaries during the Saite Dynasty in Egypt, yet they were also identified as mason workers. For example, 37 masons' marks from buildings, quarries and the Temple of Khnum at Elephantine supported the Carian presence.[239] Additionally, 17 identifiable Carian masons' marks from wall stones at Samaria and Megiddo in the Israeli kingdom in the ninth century B.C.E. also allude to the reliance on Carians as mason workers.[240]

Other examples of non-local labor forces at fortresses come from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh in the Jordan Valley. As discussed earlier, it was argued that cohorts of the Sea

[236]Smith 1994.
[237]Bard 2007, p. 194; An analysis of the Askut granaries by Kemp demonstrated a capacity of ca. 1,632 cubic meters, which would supply over 5,600 annual ration units. Kemp 1989, pp. 261-317; Heagren 2010, pp. 161-186.
[238]Stillman and Tallis 1984, p. 10.
[239]Gosline 1992, pp. 43-50; Avishur and Heltzer 2004, pp. 87-8.
[240]Franklin 2001, pp. 110-1.

Peoples were stationed at this Egyptian fortress in the Late Bronze Age, based on burial practices that diverged from Egyptian and Levantine rites.[241] In addition to this possibility, the excavators attributed the elaborate water system at the fortress to outsider groups, and specifically to people possibly originating from the Aegean who were stationed at the fortress. They claimed that no close parallels of the water system existed in Egypt or the Levant, while there were clear contemporaneous systems at Tiryns and Mycenae that were comparable to those found at the fortress.[242] If this conjecture is accurate, then the construction of the water systems could be attributed to non-local peoples situated at the fortress who contributed to labor and construction activities.

Metalworking is also attested at the Egyptian fortresses and can be connected to non-locals; an association between the Sherden and weapon manufacturing is evident from the Papyrus Turin text, dating to the time of Ramesses III (1186-1155), which stated that "a Sherden named Hori who once delivered spears to the sender."[243] In addition, a Late Bronze Age military workshop was identified at the large 13th century complex of Piramesse, the Egyptian capital during the reign of Ramesses II. The complex yielded evidence for extensive weapon manufacturing and remains of locally-produced Hittite-style shields, arrow tips, as well as a Mycenaean boar's tusk helmet, were found.[244] These weapons suggest the possibility of non-Egyptian metal workers hired to locally manufacture weapons within the garrison. In the case of Piramesse, perhaps Ramesses II wished to produce Hittite-type shields during the aftermath of the Battle of Qadesh, especially if Hittite soldiers were captured and brought to Egypt, as was frequently the Egyptian custom with enemies of war. The Mycenaean boars tusk helmet is also indicative of Aegean contacts and that the Mycenaeans were active in the Egyptian military to an extent, as is evident on the Tell el-Amarna

[241]See Chapter 3.2.6 of the thesis. Tubb 2000, pp. 182-6, 189.
[242]Tubb 2000.
[243]No. 2.1.15, the Papyrus Turin 2026. Adams and Cohen 2013, p. 650.
[244]A. B. Lloyd 2010, p. 332.

papyrus.

Lastly, from the Papyrus Amiens, there is a different nature of the Sherden. Here they were described as carrying out deliveries, landowner activities, and completing various tasks for the pharaohs. In one instance, they were recorded as "managing a domain" of Ramesses III, which implies a level of trust to the contingents and that they acted as overseers of property. Additionally, the same papyrus also stated that the Sherden were deliverers of grain, which coincides with their payment in land in exchange for military employment.[245] Perhaps the Pharaoh used this method of payment explicitly to have the Sherden as both employed soldiers and as landowning farmers for when they were not away on military campaigns. This level of acculturation, if identifiable in the material record, is indicative of an outsider group that has been exposed to influences from the local population for an extended period of time.

Concomitantly, outsider groups maintained multifaceted positions within the military and key characteristics shed light on their roles:

- It is probable that outsider contingents were included as part of the infantry in the standing army, participating in combat. They also maintained more integral positions, such as guards or policing borders. They were separated from the local army.

- Their contribution to the military included conducting raids and acts of bigandry, and their knowledge of the geographical terrain was useful for the organized military.

- They were utilized as labor when not participating in military activity, which had an overarching importance for the local economy and building projects.

In addition to the various roles foreigners had in the military, they cannot be considered mercenaries in every context they appear. From the examples of outsider

[245]2.1.10 Papyrus Amiens. Adams and Cohen 2013, p. 650; Gardiner 1948, p. 11.9.

groups in the military, the sources reveal extended periods of contact with a particular kingdom, such as Egypt. These interactions typically occurred over centuries, which led to complex levels of contact and acculturation, and thus it is important to address whether there is a traceable interval within such interactions that distinguishes mercenary activity.

The transitional phase between initial contact, followed by integration into the military and society, is best exemplified by the Sherden in the Egyptian army. After they were detained by the Egyptians, they were equipped with weapons and instructions for battle,[246] and what distinguishes them as possible mercenaries was their payment in land grants. This practice occurred over a century, from the time of Ramesses II until Ramesses III (approximately the 13$^{\text{th}}$ century until the mid 12$^{\text{th}}$ century). Subsequently, the Sherden most likely assimilated into society and became indistinguishable in the archaeological record, if not for a number of later stelae referring to Sherden landowners. In this case, the period in which the Sherden are considered mercenaries is the century in which they were active in military campaigns and were receiving payment and provisions for their employment, and before they were acclimated into local society.

The phases of contact between Egypt and other contingents are not as straightforward. For instance, interactions between the Medjay and the Egyptians occurred across two millennia and in most documented cases, the Medjay had roles within the Egyptian military and especially in southern fortresses. By the New Kingdom, the Medjay became an established, regular profession in the Egyptian military and administration, where they functioned as policemen and guards. In contrast, the Kaska, Habiru, and Suteans appeared to have not infiltrated into organized society as clearly over the centuries of interactions, and they also cannot be traced archaeologically; therefore, determining a specific time frame in which they could be considered mer-

[246]Hassan 1929, Pls. 10-12.

cenaries is difficult and it is necessary to depend on the context in which they were recorded. Overall, identifying the period when a group can be considered mercenaries is complex; there needs to be a phase after the initial point of contact between an external group and the employer, and before they become later established positions within the army or in society.

Another fundamental factor of mercenaries are the payments they received for their employment. The types of provisions the contingents received varied and payment methods for soldiers are rarely mentioned in the Bronze Age texts. One clear payment, as discussed in-depth earlier, was the provision of land grants to outsider groups in Egypt as payment for their employment in the army. This appeared to be one of Egypt's primary methods of payment for external troops, as this was documented in the Bronze Age texts and finds, and different groups were settled in Egypt, like the Sherden, the Nubians, and the Libyans. In comparison, one correspondence in the Amarna Letters from the King of Megiddo to the Egyptian pharaoh mentioned the payment of silver to the Habiru and the Sutean contingents that fought with the king.[247] Besides this occurrence, however, silver was not explicitly recorded as a method of payment.

Another provision as payment was food rations in exchange for military duties. An account from the Silsileh Stela during the reign of Sety I (1290-1279 B.C.E.) described the rations each soldier received per day when they were sent to collect sandstone for the pharaoh's building projects.[248] The Egyptian texts also show that the rations differed depending on the status of a soldier; an unskilled civilian, for example, would receive ten loaves of bread per day, plus a portion of beer, whereas higher status officers would receive more quantity and quality of food. It is possible that wages were paid in addition to receiving food rations, though it is likely that remuneration in food would be an appealing income to those who were in need of

[247]EA 246. Moran 1992, p. 300.
[248]Heagren 2010, p. 168.

such provisions. For instance, the Libyans, who fought to settle in Egypt because the western lands were suffering from serious droughts, would benefit from payments in food for military service.[249] In addition, this payment method recalls the letters from the Hittites regarding the "Hiyawa-Men," who did not receive their rations while sent to the Lukka lands.

A third type of provision for these outsider troops would be booty and rewards, depending on the success of the military venture. Deeds of bravery were allegedly reported to the pharaoh, where the troops were given a reward for the severed hands of enemies.[250] These documented rewards include gold or silver, slaves, or land grants.[251] The archaeological evidence in the Late Bronze Age does not necessarily corroborate this provision, as there is little evidence of booty collected by mercenaries. Some diachronic evidence, however, does support the prevalence of plunder amongst mercenaries and soldiers; firstly, the Mycenaean boars tusk helmet found at Piramesse in Egypt could indicate this, as well as suggest the possibility of Aegean activity in the Egyptian military. It is indeed possible that this helmet could be part of war booty found at an Egyptian fortress. Although much later in date, there are a few noteworthy Iron Age examples that will be discussed further in detail in Chapter 4.2.4. Two Iron Age examples include the trapezoidal bronze horse blinkers found at the Samian Heraion and at Eretria, and dating originally to the tenth century Levant, based on the inscription of King Hazael. Moreover, an archaeological find from the sixth century B.C.E. in western Turkey is insightful: the discovery of the well-known statue of Pedon, a mercenary of the Egyptian army, received a dedication block statue for his work, as well as a "city for his virtue and a golden diadem for his bravery."[252] Here, Pedon was gifted the fiscal revenues of a city, hence the plunder, for

[249]Heagren 2010, p. 168.
[250]Stillman and Tallis 1984, p. 10.
[251]Stillman and Tallis 1984, p. 10.
[252]The first publication for this statue is in Şahin 1987. Şahin 1987, pp. 1-2; Ampolo and Bresciani 1988, pp. 237-243; Masson and Yoyotte 1988, pp. 171-179; Haider 1996; The statue paralleled an Egyptian statue from Kamiros, dedicated by a Smerdon during the reign of Psammetichus I. Jeffrey

his work as a mercenary. Similar motivations of provision likely existed in the Bronze Age, where in addition to food and possibly land grants, raiding a city for plunder could also be an additional form of payment. Among the groups such as the Suteans and Habiru, who were known for raiding settlements, this would be a particularly appealing remuneration.

The concept of a mercenary in antiquity clearly differs from that of the modern perception. The material and textual evidence presented in this chapter reflects a dichotomy in definition and purpose of employment, where in modern history, mercenaries were perceived negatively, as hostile and illicit additions in warfare (see Chapter 2.1.1). In antiquity, this was not the case, and using non-locals in armies was a commonality that Near Eastern kingdoms relied heavily upon. From the Bronze Age finds, an idea of how external groups were viewed by organized societies, such as the Egyptians, Mycenaeans, and Hittites, is apparent, and what their role was in military contexts. These notions lead us to propose a new definition that more accurately explains the purpose of such groups. The activities and characteristics of the outsider contingents in Bronze Age armies are thus defined by the following traits:

- They are considered outsiders or non-locals by the society in which they are hired.

- There is a transitional phase of contact that identifies when a group can be considered mercenaries. This occurs between the time when the outsider contingent is employed by the army, and before they subsequently become instated and regulated forces within the military. By the time they become standard forces, as was the case with the Nubians, Medjay, Sherden, and Libyan troops in Egypt, they begin to acculturate into Egyptian society. This interim dictates when a mercenary status is applicable. Notably in many cases, groups were

1961, 356, no. 10.

hired ephemerally and were never integrated into society, such as the Kaska and the Shasu.

- Within the organized military stratification, the outsider groups were partitioned from the local army. Their military roles included infantry positions, or orchestrating raids and acts of brigandry.

- While employed, the cohorts could attain an elevated social status within the military, as is evident with the Sherden contingents.

- Provisions and payments are manifested in various ways; the groups are paid by land grants, food rations, and plunder from raided settlements. This essentially separates them from auxiliary soldiers, or those who are forced to fight by a sovereign empire as a means of survival, with no payment attached.

- While not on military campaigns, they can be hired out as part of the labor force, contributing to building projects and to the overall Egyptian economy.

Attributing this new interpretation to the term mercenary enables a discussion of mercenaries in antiquity without modern assumptions, and an image of the roles and activities of outsider contingents in local armies. Using this definition, we will determine which discussed groups should be considered mercenaries. Firstly, some of the groups originating from the outskirts of society effectively represented mercenary cohorts, based on specific contexts. The Habiru and the Suteans were consistently perceived as outsider groups, situated on the fringes of organized society, and they did not assimilate into the larger communities. They were used as manpower within large armies fleetingly, and were hired by various employers for different purposes, while separated from any standing army. This also exemplified that they were not obliged to work for any single empire. One event in the Amarna Letters directly reflected their method of payments, where both these groups were paid in silver to rebel against

a sovereign leader. The problematic side of the Habiru and the Suteans is that their presence cannot be detected archaeologically; however, the abundant texts recording their activities within militaries does suggest they acted as mercenaries.

Likewise, the Sherden also can be defined as mercenaries in Egypt. The textual evidence typifies them as an autonomous group hired by the Egyptian military, with payments in land grants based on stelae and papyri that stated the Sherden were landowners. They would be considered mercenaries within the period in which they fought for the pharaoh and before they later assimilated into Egyptian society. They also appeared to have gained an elevated social status, as was defined by the large size of land they received (see Section 3.2.3) and by their iconographic representations as the private body guards of Ramesses II on the Medinet Habu temple relief of the Battle of Qadesh.

In contrast, certain groups from the Egyptian sources do not exemplify mercenary activity. The Medjay, for instance, should not be considered mercenaries, despite the assumptions of their role in past scholarship. Initially hired as guards and patrolmen in the desert regions, the Medjay became consistent additions to the Egyptian administration and military outreach. They maintained a professional, regular role within the Egyptian military over centuries, which eventually led the title Medjay to signify an occupation, rather than an origin. Furthermore, there is no evidence of receiving remuneration, attaining a higher social status within the military system, or acting as an autonomous group that was hired by different employers. Similarly, the Libyan interactions with the Egyptians also do not suggest hired mercenary activity; rather, the Libyans were depicted in iconography and texts as hostile opponents, or subjects of forced deportations following war.

On the other hand, interpreting the Nubian presence is complex. The earliest interactions between the Egyptians and the Nubians during the Egyptian expansion in the south in the third to second millennia seem to evince the employment of Nubians

as mercenaries; employers ventured from Egypt to hire these groups in their military, and these texts do not show that they were hired by force, like auxiliaries. They were hired as archers and kept as a separate entity within the standing Egyptian army, where texts list Nubian archers alongside other occupations. The Nubians further maintained their own material culture, as was evident at Hierkonpolis and at various Egyptian fortresses in Nubia. This suggests that indeed the Nubians could be some of the earliest examples of mercenary activity in the Eastern Mediterranean. By the Late Bronze Age, however, they appeared to have assimilated into Egyptian culture to an extent, as a result of the centuries of intercultural interactions. As discussed earlier, the remains in the Gebelein fortress and cemetery reveal Nubian assimilation, where they are depicted with elaborate burial rites and as inter-marrying with Egyptian women. By this point, the Nubians are no longer mercenaries, but part of Egyptian society and a standard occupation in the military, similar to the Medjay.

Lastly, the examples of external groups listed in Linear B and hired in the Aegean are insufficient and too vague to determine whether this clearly elucidates mercenary activity. The possibility that these lists documented different groups, potentially receiving payment through land grants by the Mycenaean palatial system, is interesting and could be suggestive of payment methods. One could imagine that, since the Near Eastern armies were hiring foreigners for military purposes, it would not be unusual for the Mycenaeans to do the same. This is further supported by the Hittite letters discussed before that referred to the "Hiyawa men," which demonstrates that the Ahhiyawans from the Mycenaean periphery were in communication with the Near Eastern armies and were carrying out military duties of some kind.

Chapter 4

The Iron Age Texts

4.1 The Chronological Gap

Following the collapse of the Late Bronze Age palatial system in the Aegean, as well as the culmination of the Twentieth Dynasty in Egypt (ca. 1189-1077), there was clearly a drastic decline in informative texts.[1] The sources from Egypt ceased, which were fundamental for documenting historical activity and specifically, non-local military groups. The rapid decrease of texts is perceived as a consequence of the Libyan invasion of Egypt by the eleventh century.[2] Egypt lost territories in Nubia and in the Levant, causing Upper and Lower Egypt to separate into two dominions. By the end of the eleventh century, Libyan chiefdoms ruled both these regions. The political system transitioned from a single sovereign pharaoh to numerous independent, political entities; as a result, communication and trade between Egypt and other regions diminished, and they were not recorded as they were in previous centuries.[3]

Concomitantly, there is a notable interlude between approximately the eleventh century and the beginning of the eighth century, where there is a clear lack of texts

[1] Knapp and Manning 2016, pp. 99-149; E. Cline 2014; Jung 2012, pp. 171-180; E. Cline and O'Connor 2003.

[2] Jansen-Winkeln 2015, pp. 34-5; Stiebing 2009, pp. 238-240; Taylor 2000, pp. 324-345.

[3] Jansen-Winkeln 2015, p. 37.

and evidence that attest to mercenaries. This gap in information hinders a complete and comprehensive analysis of non-local groups in military contexts. Since Egypt was no longer an imperial sovereignty, there was no need for substantial numbers in the army to campaign abroad. In addition, the lack of evidence for organized warfare in Greece also instigated this gap. Linear B fell out of use following the collapse and there was no documentation of military activities that included mercenaries. Nevertheless, there was clearly extensive destruction of sites across the Greek mainland and in the Near East.[4]Greece was further characterized archaeologically by substantial migrations and movements of populations to new locations in Greece, the Aegean, and in the Levant; examples of areas with considerable migrations in Greece included Achaea, the Dodecanese, Crete, Cyprus, and Cilicia in the East, among others.[5] These population movements across the Aegean and the Near East did not evince explicit evidence for mercenary activity. This is not to say that such occurrences did not take place at all; one envisages hired groups as an essential need within this volatile interlude, though the details of who the leaders were are unknown. As the result of migrations, there were undoubtedly shifts of power and authority among local populations, although the finds to support this remain ultimately inconclusive.

This chapter focuses on the available, insightful texts and interactions that commenced during the eighth to sixth centuries between groups from the Aegean and the Near Eastern Empires. These interactions established the foundations for military employment. These centuries included continuous military campaigns and power struggles between the burgeoning Near Eastern empires, such as the Neo-Assyrians, between the eighth to seventh centuries. The Assyrian sources recorded proactive Greek seafarers and pirates venturing the Mediterranean and causing quandaries for the kings. This initial interaction initiated the ensuing employment of Greeks in the

[4]Arena 2015, pp. 1-46; E. Cline 2014, pp. 110-1.

[5]Moschos discussed the cemeteries in Achaea. Moschos 2002, pp. 15-40; E. Cline 2014; Desborough 1972, pp. 20-1; Knapp and Manning 2016, p. 100; Nowicki 2000; Yasur-Landau 2010; Sherratt 2013, pp. 349-392.

Near Eastern armies by the end of the Iron Age, where these pirates were eventually hired for warfare.

Later by the seventh century in Egypt, the Saite pharaohs came to power by defeating the Libyan rule. The pharaohs strove to mend the political factions within the region, as well as carry out military campaigns in the Levant to expand their periphery. By the end of the seventh century, the Neo-Babylonians invaded the Levant. It is during this historically tumultuous period that triggered empires to hire external contingents in order to compete against each other. Besides the contemporary Assyrian sources, the texts that documented these interactions and the hiring of non-local soldiers dated to later periods; for instance, the Greek historian Herodotus wrote in the fifth century about Greek mercenaries stationed in Egypt during the seventh and sixth centuries. Likewise, references to mercenaries in the Neo-Babylonian armies were found in papyri dated from the later first to sixth centuries C.E., as discussed below.

4.2 Texts with Mercenary Evidence

4.2.1 Neo-Assyrian Sources

Texts dating from the reigns of various Assyrian kings in the eighth and seventh centuries fortunately provide much evidence for interactions with the Greek world. In the Assyrian texts, Greeks were identified by the terms, *Yāwanāya* and *Yāwnāya*, translating to Ionian, while the term *Yāwan(a) / Yāwna* signified Ionia.[6] The nature in which these Ionians are mentioned illuminates the types of encounters between the Greeks and the Neo-Assyrians during the height of the Neo-Assyrian empire. On one occasion, a letter dating between 738-732 from an Assyrian officer to King Tiglath-Pileser III discussed the afflictions the Ionians were causing at sea:

[6]Rollinger 1997, pp. 162-172; Rollinger 2001.

> "The Ionians came (and) attacked the cities of Samsimuruna, Harisu... A cavalryman came to the city of Dana[bu]. I gathered up the available men and went (after them). (The Ionians) did not get anything. When they saw my troops, they got into their boats and [disappeared] into the middle of the sea."[7]

The main aim of the Ionians in this case was to attack Neo-Assyrian cities and to loot and plunder. Thus, as a collective group, people from the West gained a reputation as aggressive seafarers. Other texts reiterated this regular activity at sea, as seen in the following text:

> "In order to [conquer the Ionians, who live] in the midst of the sea, who since long [in the past] used to kill the inhabitants [of the city] of Tyre (and) [of the land] of Que and to interrupt commercial traffic, I attacked them at sea [with ships from the land of] Hatti and destroyed them all, big and small, with my weapon."[8]

Overcoming these frequent acts of piracy was an important event that the Neo-Assyrian kings made a point to record during their reigns. The records portray a degree of ambiguity regarding the specific origin of these Ionians. It seems likely that their origin is within the Greek world and that, for the Assyrians, the term Ionian generally represents Greek speakers from the West.[9] Increasing contact in circumstances other than piracy occurred as well. One Assyrian letter in particular, dating between 680-669, reveals a unique example that could involve mercenaries. The letter refers to fifteen captured individuals, described as fugitives, who were sent by the governor of

[7]No. LXIX, ND 2370, Plate XIII, lines 1-12. Saggs 1963, pp. 77-8; Luraghi pointed out various questionable translation points, see footnotes 36-40. This final translation above is from Luraghi's publication. Luraghi 2006, p. 30; The date of this letter is approximately 738-732 B.C.E. Lanfranchi 2000, p. 15; See Parker 2000 for other translations. Parker 2000, pp. 69-77.

[8]Luraghi 2006, p. 31; Fuchs 1994, Lines 117-119.

[9]Rollinger 2009, p. 33; Luraghi suggested origins from Western Cilicia, where early Greek settlements existed. Luraghi 2006, p. 32.

the city of Der to Assyrian officials. One of these fugitives bore the name Antikritos, who, based on the nomenclature, scholars argued originated from Cyprus.[10] Antikritos was captured within the Neo-Assyrian empire's sphere. This is one of the earliest occurrences where a non-local from outside the Near East was explicitly named. This suggests that the presence of non-locals from the Mediterranean was not restricted to the coastal fronts of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. These groups were indeed present within the Levant at major cities.[11]

The early interactions, as recorded in the Assyrian sources, are informative of the extent of Greek activity in the Eastern Mediterranean. This is especially noteworthy at a time when texts from the Greek world were scarce. The initial acts of piracy and raids place these groups on the outskirts of the Levant, where they were disrupting trade and terrorizing cities. By the seventh century, Greek speakers were evidently present in the region in a variety of forms; not only as pirates, but also as active participants in everyday life. Furthermore, the Ionian raiders are reminiscent of the activities of the Sherden in the Late Bronze Age; raiders can easily become mercenaries, as was the case in Egypt. The Sherden consisted of external groups that frequently fought against the Egyptian empire. They eventually transitioned to mercenaries, and Egypt provided opportunities for employment. The Ionian pirates and seafarers should also be considered in this light. Although the texts do not explicitly state that this transition happened, it is certainly possible.

4.2.2 Neo-Babylonian Sources

Seventh and sixth century texts from the Neo-Babylonian Empire did not suggest evidence for hiring non-locals in their armies. There is no recorded example in the documented military campaigns where a non-Babylonian was mentioned. Two papyri fragments, however, are more informative because they do mention possible merce-

[10]Rollinger and Korenjak 2001; Rollinger 2009, p. 36.
[11]Rollinger 2009, p. 36.

nary activities; these fragments are part of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, a collection of manuscripts that was found in Egypt and dated from the first to sixth centuries C.E. These manuscripts refer to a Greek mercenary in the Neo-Babylonian army, despite the fact that they date much later than the Neo-Babylonian activities, and that they were found in Egypt.

One fragment (fragment 350) referenced a poem by the Greek poet Alcaeus. Alcaeus was elite member of Mytilene (ca.620-570), and he wrote and dedicated the poem to his brother, Antimenidas.[12] Alcaeus testified to his brother's glorious return from war, fighting on behalf of the Neo-Babylonians:

> "You have come from the ends of the earth, your sword boasting a hilt of ivory bound with gold...while fighting as an (επικουρος) of the Babylonians you performed a great exploit: you rescued them from hardships by killing a warrior who came no more than a single palm's breadth short of five royal cubits..."[13]

This is the only source that indicates non-Babylonian soldiers hired in the army. This is not corroborated in the archaeological record or by the seventh and sixth century Neo-Babylonian texts; thus, this single text is indeed substantial. The term used in the papyri, επικουρος, a "fighter-alongside," was significant, as discussed in Section 2.1.1, where this was one of the typical terminologies used when referring to hired forces.

This was connected to another fragment from the papyri collection, fragment 48, which mentioned the cities of Ashkelon and Babylon within the same line.[14] This fragment was argued to provide textual evidence for the destruction of Ashkelon by Nebuchadnezzar in 605/4. If this association is reliable, then this event would

[12]Fragment 48, B 16. P. Oxy. 2506, fr. 98.7. Alcaeus' poems were also referenced in Strab. 13.2.3. and Aristot. Pol. 1285.36. Lobel and Page 1955, p. 124.
[13]A. Miller 1996, No. 19, Fr. 350.
[14]Fragment 48, B 16. Lobel and Page 1955, p. 124.

be contemporary with Alcaeus' poem about his brother, Antimenidas, fighting for the Neo-Babylonians.[15] This connection instigated the suggestion that Antimenidas was a mercenary fighting for the Neo-Babylonians at the destruction of Ashkelon. This connection is indeed far-reaching, as there is no direct suggestion for where Antimenidas was stationed whilst in the Neo-Babylonian army.[16] So, it cannot be proved that Greeks were present in the Neo-Babylonian army; however, as in the case of Antimenidas, it is possible some were sporadically fighting with Nebuchadnezzar's army.

4.2.3 Later Greek Sources

Herodotus is one of the main sources for informing us about mercenary activity in Saite Egypt. Although his texts date to the fifth century, he recorded what was known at the time about the historical setting of the seventh and sixth centuries. Despite the anachronistic time frame of his writing, Herodotus' historical account of Saite Egypt is unmatched by other contemporary sources in information. Therefore, scholars have relied heavily on him to reconstruct Egyptian society during this time. Textual evidence in Egypt during the seventh and sixth centuries is not completely absent, nonetheless. There is a lot of epigraphical evidence in Egypt in the tombs and temples of the Libyan rulers who maintained in regional control until the mid-seventh century. These, however, rarely referred to interactions with groups outside the region and did not record significant historical battles and victories. There was also a distinct lack of Egyptian texts that recorded the transition of power from the Libyan chiefdoms to the Egyptian pharaohs in the seventh century, starting with Psammetichus I. Herodotus' texts fill this interlude with information from the fifth century Greek perspective, with revealing suggestions about what role Greek mercenaries had.

[15]Quinn 1961, Quinn first suggested connecting the two fragments. Fantalkin 2011, pp. 89, 103-4; Waldbaum 2002; Finkelstein 2002, pp. 47-52.

[16]Fantalkin argued against associating Antimenidas as a mercenary for Nebuchadnezzar. Fantalkin and Lytle 2016, pp. 90-117.

In particular, Book 2 is especially noteworthy. Herodotus recorded the customs and activities in Egypt during Psammetichus' and Amasis' reigns: this included records of Egyptian practices and rituals; the political situation under Psammetichus and Amasis; and interactions between the Greeks and the Egyptians. He recounted the first appearance of mercenaries and how they joined Psammetichus' army to help re-establish unification of Upper and Lower Egypt, and to defend the unstable borders.

> "...a company of sea-raiders from Ionia and Caria were forced by bad weather to land on the Egyptian coast. They wore bronze armor, and an Egyptian, who had never seen such a thing before, hurried off to the marshes and told Psammetichus that bronze men had come from the sea and were plundering the country. Seeing in this the fulfillment of the oracle, Psammetichus made friends with the raiders, and by the promise of rich rewards persuaded them to enter his service, and by their help and the help of his supporters in Egypt defeated and deposed his eleven enemies."[17]

The identification of Ionians and Carians as sea-raiders in search of plunder corresponds to the records of Ionian seafarers in the Neo-Assyrian texts. These sources infer that Greek sea-raiders were a known occurrence in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially by groups originating from western and southwestern Asia Minor. This is the only clear textual example, however, when the sea-raiders are definitively hired into an army. In this particular case, the historical setting was fitting for hiring these men; Psammetichus capitalized on the opportunity to employ the Greeks at a time when Egypt was factionalized and the pharaoh was in dire need of a supporting army to gain back Egyptian territory. The local factions were not dependable during these

[17]Hdt. 2.152.

transient shifts of power: this was evident predominantly from the internal threats of the Libyan warrior class, the *machimoi*.[18]

After Psammetichus' success, Herodotus recorded that he granted these groups two pieces of land to settle in Egypt:

> "To the Ionians and Carians who helped him to gain the throne Psammetichus granted two pieces of land, opposite one another on each side of the Nile, which he named the Camps (*stratopeda*), and in addition to the grant of land kept all the other promises he had made them... Amasis subsequently turned them out and brought them to Memphis, to protect him from his own people. They were the first foreigners to live in Egypt, and after their original settlement there, the Greeks began regular intercourse with them, so that we have accurate knowledge of Egyptian history from the time of Psammetichus onward."[19]

It is interesting to note that one of the main rewards the mercenaries received was land. This is reminiscent of Egyptian payment methods centuries earlier in the Bronze Age. It indicates that land was always considered a desired outcome and was worth giving one's service to fight abroad. The passage additionally suggests that hiring mercenaries in the seventh century triggered cultural interactions between the Greeks and Egyptians. The cultural interactions resulted in subsequent Greek residents in the region from this point and this continued well into the coming centuries.

As informative as Herodotus' accounts are, they cannot be considered as unequivocally factual. The problem of anachronism is indeed substantial; he wrote in detail about the seventh century in Egypt, whilst his texts date from the mid to late fifth century. On occasion this results in chronology from the text that does not agree with the archaeological record. For example, Herodotus claimed that Amasis relocated the

[18]Bard 2007, p. 269.
[19]Hdt. 2.154.

Greeks to Naukratis, although Amasis' reign dates to the mid-sixth century, while Greek pottery found at Naukratis points to a seventh century foundation date.

In addition, digressions, exaggerations, and biases often obscured the text.[20] Herodotus elaborates on customs and practices that differed to the Greek world, and digresses on topics that were perceived by his audience, i.e. Greeks, as unusual. He embellished exaggerations of events as a form of entertainment.[21] For example, in a battle between the Egyptians and Persians, the Greek mercenary Phanes deflected to the Persian side. As a result, Herodotus recorded that the other Greeks seized Phanes' sons and brutally murdered them in between the Egyptian and Persian battle lines for all to see.[22] This event, seemingly dramatized, emphasized the mercenaries' brutality, as well as bespoke the anti-Persian sentiments that were contemporary with the fifth century when Herodotus was writing.

Herodotus, nonetheless, does explicitly state how he received his sources, in attempts to not mislead the reader:

> "Up to this point, it is my own autopsy (ὄψις), judgment (γνώμη), and inquiry (ἱστορίη) that have spoken these things. Henceforth I will go on recording Egyptian stories as I have heard them; they will be supplemented by a certain amount of my autopsy."[23]

These statements about the three different ways he approaches information are helpful to determine the validity of his account. Texts with personal experiences and imposed judgment do provide a first-hand interpretation. For the references to Greek mercenaries in Egypt, however, ἱστορίη and ἀκοή (hearsay) remain the main sources.[24] He received his knowledge from informants who were either Egyptians or 'other men.' These other informants could indeed be Greeks that were residents in Egypt and

[20] A. Lloyd 2007, p. 230.
[21] Rood 2006, pp. 296-7.
[22] Hdt. 3.11.
[23] Hdt. 299. Translation by Luraghi. Luraghi 2006, p. 77; **torok___2014**.
[24] A. Lloyd 2007, p. 230.

were not perceived as Greeks because of this.[25] Herodotus' texts, at least in regards to events in Egypt, thus amount to a compilation of stories and rumors he heard.

Nevertheless, historians and archaeologists continue to corroborate Herodotus' texts with the archaeological record when possible. In regards to identifying mercenaries in Saite Egypt, this writing is exceptional and provides insight into how early mercenaries were perceived in the Greek world, at least by the Classical period. Moreover, there are occasions that support Herodotus' claims of Ionian and Carian mercenaries, especially from the contemporary seventh and sixth epigraphical sources in Egypt, as examined below.

4.2.4 The Saite Dynasty: The Epigraphical Evidence

The epigraphical evidence from the Saite Dynasty in Egypt (664-525) presents a dynamic picture of mercenaries that substantiates Herodotus' later accounts. In particular, two insightful pieces of evidence illuminate mercenary activity: the dedicator of an Egyptian block statue that was found in Pamukkale (ancient Hieropolis) in western Turkey, dating between 575 and 600, undoubtedly reveals a mercenary (see Figure 4.1). The Greek inscription on the block statue states that it was a dedication from Pedon, the son of Amphinees, and addresses the following:[26]

> "Pedon, son of Amphinees, brought me from Egypt and gave me as a votive. Psammetichus, the king of Egypt, gifted him a city for his virtue and a golden diadem for his bravery."

This find indicates that the pharaoh indeed employed mercenaries and that these mercenaries received rewards for their service. They also brought these rewards back

[25] A. Lloyd 2007, p. 230.

[26] The first publication for this statue is in Şahin 1987. Şahin 1987, pp. 1-2; Ampolo and Bresciani 1988, pp. 237-243; Masson and Yoyotte 1988, pp. 171-179; Haider 1996; The statue paralleled an Egyptian statue from Kamiros, dedicated by a Smerdon during the reign of Psammetichus I. Jeffrey 1961, 356, no. 10.

to their homeland as dedications in sanctuaries to commemorate their deeds abroad. The statue also clarifies the types of payments mercenaries received in an era pre-coinage; Pedon's gift of a city implies that he was given the fiscal revenues of a city, i.e. plunder, and that plunder was clearly a desired outcome for mercenaries. Finally, we infer a marked social status of these external soldiers. Egyptian generals and leaders in the military were typically given block statues at this time. A non-Egyptian recipient therefore indicates that Pedon was a privileged leader of the mercenaries, with direct connections to the Pharaoh Psammetichus.

A second example of external contingents in Egypt comes from graffiti on the walls of the Abu Simbel temple in Nubia, dating to the sixth century (see Figure 4.2). The graffiti consists of 32 Greek inscriptions, alongside 8 Carian and 11 Semitic inscriptions.[27] The graffiti attests to military contingents campaigning in Nubia. One inscription on the colossal leg of Ramesses is particularly intriguing:

> "When King Psametik came to Elephantine, this was written by those who, with Psammetichus son of Theocles, sailed and came above Circis, as far as the river permitted; Potasimto commanded the non-native speakers, and Amasis the Egyptians; Archon son of Amoebichus write us (these words) and Pelecus son of Oudamus."[28]

The inscription identified Archon, the inscriber, and clarified that he was employed by Psammetichus and stationed at the Elephantine fortress. It is also clear that the non-Egyptian groups were separated from the Egyptians, with a different commander. Some of these mercenaries were even named after the pharaoh, such as Psammetichus, the son of Theocles. The Egyptian pharaohs likely employed generations of Greeks in Egypt. The various origins of the names also indicate which ethnic groups were hired in addition to Greeks. The Carians were recorded as mercenaries by Herodotus;

[27]Bernard and Aly 1959, Nos. DG, JG, XVIII and D8, JG, VI. refer to Greeks employed by Psammetichus.

[28]Masson 1979, pp. 35-49; Brouwers 2013, p. 72.

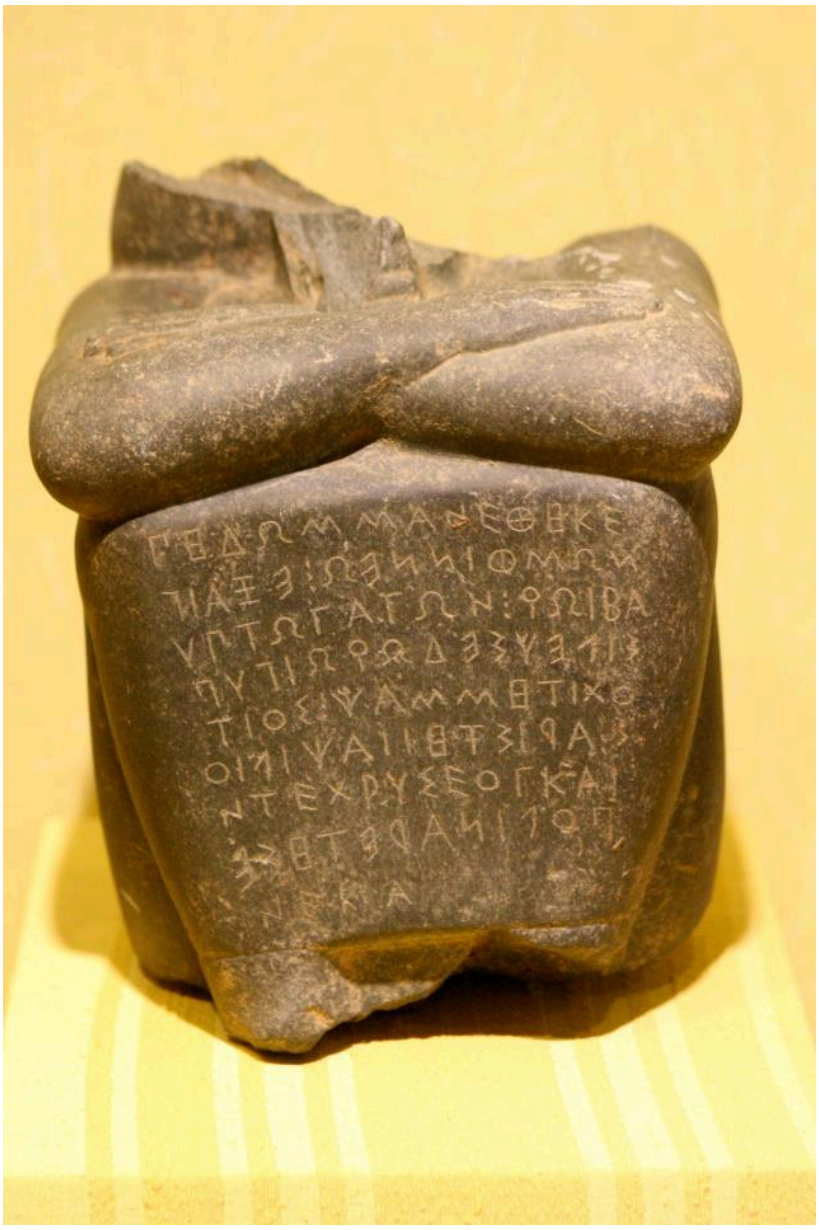

Figure 4.1: Statue of Pedon, Son of Amphimeos, Hieropolis Museum, Pamukkale. Photo provided by Dr. John Camp.

however, there is little archaeological evidence to verify this. The presence of eleven Carian names is therefore enlightening. The Semitic names further clarify that other non-Egyptian contingents were present. Lastly, the final line of the inscription conveys Archon's well-known Homeric pun: "Pelecus son of Oudamus," translating to "the axe, son of no one."[29] This is the earliest evidence for a Homeric pun and reflects the extent of literacy, even among the mercenary population.

These instances concretely support the presence of mercenaries, even if on a small scale, and suggest that they were a regular occurrence in the region. They further reveal other substantial facets, such as the elevated social status the mercenaries could attain, as well as methods of payment by plunder and land grants.

[29]Dillon 1997.

Figure 4.2: Graffiti by Greek and Carian mercenaries on the statue legs of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, 593 B.C.E. Villing, Bergeron, et al. 2013, Fig. 3.

Chapter 5

The Iron Age Material Evidence from Egypt

As the texts reveal, there is a gap between the end of the Late Bronze Age and the late Iron Age, where there is scanty evidence to clearly indicate mercenary activity (discussed above in Section 4.1). Although the known sources by the eighth century begin to refer to external groups, the archaeological record does not reflect any military activities in the Eastern Mediterranean until the seventh and sixth centuries. Three sites in Egypt during the Saite Dynasty, including Tel Qedwa, Tel Defenneh, and Naukratis, are argued to be locations where mercenaries were stationed. This is based on the considerable discovery of imports that attest to a Greek presence and activities that could be related to Greeks.

To assess this evidence, the discussion examines the specific remains that infer new cultural practices by non-Egyptians. This includes the types of imports and their function, examples of new burial rites, and novel ritual activities. Such imports and practices reveal examples of contexts that indicate mercenaries. The examples further equate the archaeological record to the texts, such as epigraphical and papyrological remains, and are useful to establish a more comprehensive perception of mercenary

activity.

5.1 Tel Qedwa

5.1.1 History of Excavation

Located on the coastal edge of the Sinai Peninsula, the Egyptian fortress of Tel Qedwa was an important node between Egypt and the Levant. It is located on the ancient Egyptian road, the Way of Horus, where military expeditions and trade flourished from the New Kingdom on.[1] This defense system continued to be exploited by the Saite pharaohs and their military contingents to defend Egypt from Near Eastern powers, such as the Assyrians, Neo-Babylonians, and the Persians.

The geographical location was ideal due to the close proximity to the network of water routes, as the fortress lies between the Eastern Canal and the Suez Canal.[2] This elaborate defense system along the roadway and the water routes continued to be exploited by the Saite Kings and their military contingents to defend Egypt from Near Eastern powers, such as the Assyrians, the Neo-Babylonians, and the Persians.

Prior to 1972, the coast of the Sinai Peninsula remained unexplored archaeologically. The North Sinai Expedition from the Ben-Gurion University conducted a series of surveys in 1972 and 1974-1976, where they uncovered historically significant Saite forts such as Pelusium (Tel Farama) and Magdolo (Tel el-Her), among others.[3] From the surveys and excavations, the Israeli archaeologists found the immense fortified garrison of Tel Qedwa (200 m. long on each side), also referred to as site T.21, on the boundary of the East Delta plain.[4] Although it exhibits the typical architectural

[1]The strip between the Suez Canal and the Gaza strip is also referred to in biblical texts as the "Way of the land of the Philistines," as well as the "via maris" in the Classical period. Oren 1984, p. 7.

[2]Smoláriková 2002, p. 98.

[3]Oren 1984, p. 8; Oren 1977; Oren 1979.

[4]Redford 1998, pp. 45-6.

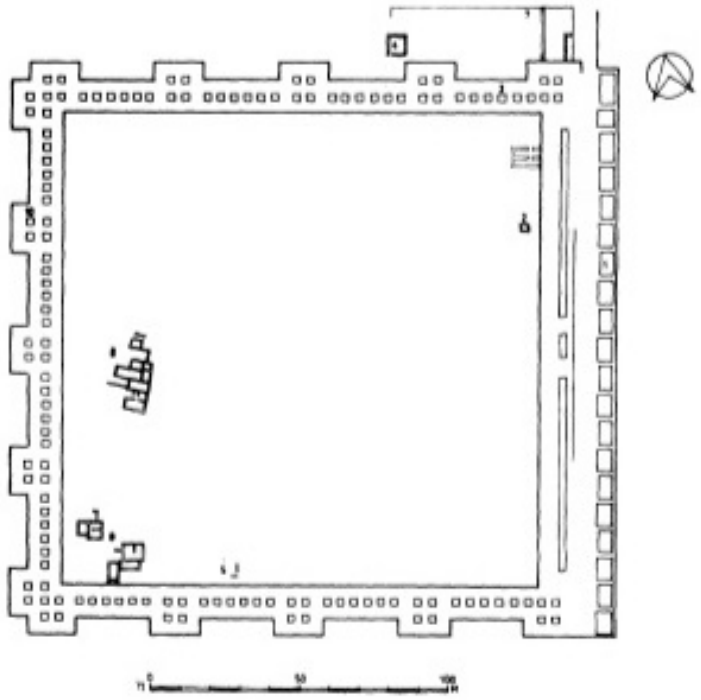

Figure 5.1: Map of Tel Qedwa, Site T.21. Oren 1984, p. 10

style of Saite fortresses, the sheer size of the site is exceptional and comparable to the massive fortress at Dorginarti in Nubia.[5] The limited excavations conducted by Oren revealed a square mudbrick enclosure with buildings constructed alongside the enclosure wall, as well as structures located inside the open court of the fortress.[6]

Additional excavations took place in 1993 and 1997 by the University of Toronto and the Egyptian Antiquities Organization.[7] The focus of the two seasons was on the settlement inside the fortress, the buildings adjoining the outside fortress walls, and on a section of the fortification wall (see Figure 5.1).[8] From the finds and stratigraphy, it is clear that the initial construction dates between 640-630, and the final destruction took place in the second half of the sixth century.[9] The lack of later finds indicates that the fortress was not re-occupied afterwards. Although the excavations of Tel Qedwa

[5]Smoláriková 2008, pp. 52, 85.
[6]Oren 1984, p. 10.
[7]Redford 1998, p. 45.
[8]Redford 1998, pp. 45-7.
[9]Smoláriková 2008, p. 52.

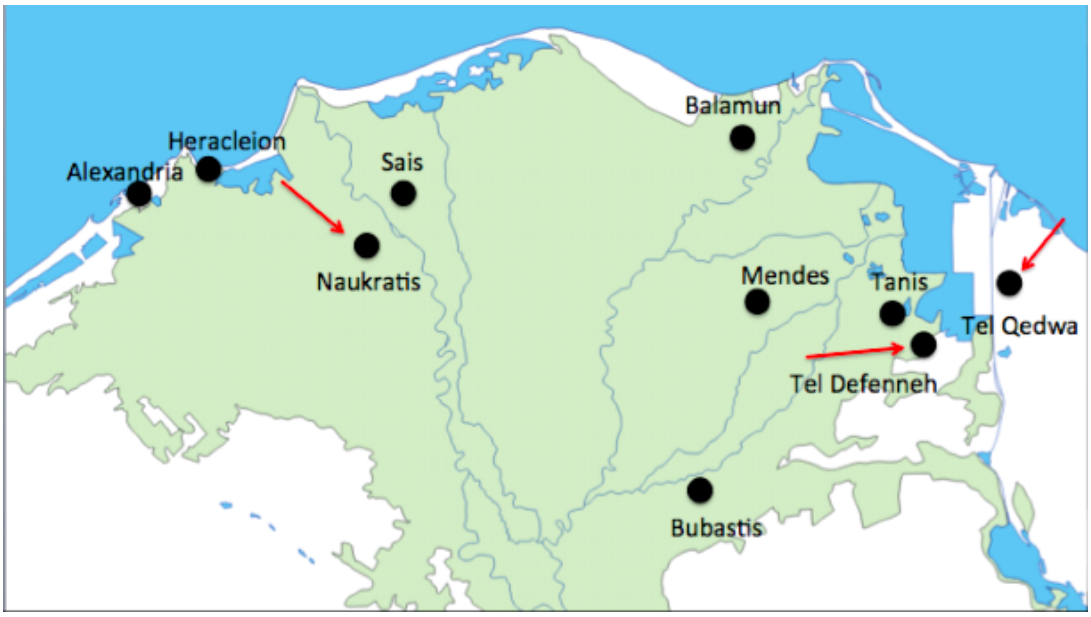

Figure 5.2: Map of the Egyptian Delta Region with Case Studies.

are rather limited and only a selection of finds have been published, a reassessment of the literary sources, the architecture, and the remains shed new light on the nature of mercenary presence in Saite Egypt.

5.1.2 The Textual and Epigraphical Evidence

The site is associated with two significant literary texts. Initial excavations identified the Tel Qedwa fortress as the ancient site of Migdol (a Semitic term for tower or fortress), where, according to the Biblical prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Jewish refugees and mercenaries were relocated during the Neo-Babylonian invasion of the Levant.[10] This suggestion was based on Ezekiel's description of the site, which stated that Migdol was situated on the edge of the eastern Delta and would be the first station that one would encounter when traveling across the Sinai.[11]

Herodotus mentioned the fortress of Migdol while describing Necho II's military campaigns against the Neo-Babylonians:

[10]Jer 44:1; Ezek 29:10. Oren 1984, p. 31.
[11]Ezek 29:10; 30:6. Oren 1984, p. 32.

"... and he [Necho II] also engaged the Syrians on land, won a battle at Magdolus, and then took the important Syrian city Cadytis..."[12]

The excavators attributed this description to Necho's final Syrian campaign in 609, when he defeated Nebuchadnezzar twice at Migdol and at Gaza (ancient Cadytis).[13] Subsequently, historians have argued that Herodotus' statement referred to the site where the infamous Battle of Megiddo took place in 609.[14] The dating of this event is based on Herodotus' account and remains tenuous. It has been suggested that Herodotus actually described a second battle in 601, when the Egyptians faced the Neo-Babylonians at their borders and successfully defeated them.[15] Although both the Biblical texts and Herodotus date later than the occupation of the fortresses, they do reveal that there was a known garrison located near Tel Qedwa. It is equally clearly connected to the influx of Jewish refugees in the beginning of the sixth century and to the major battles between the Egyptians and Neo-Babylonians took place at this site.

By the time Herodotus visited Egypt in the fifth century, it is likely that the site of Classical Migdol (Herodotus referred to as Magdolus) was, in fact, the Persian fort of Tell el-Her and not the Archaic fort that was excavated by Oren.[16] This is also supported by Stephanus of Byzantium in the sixth century C.E., who described his visit to Magdolus, and he clearly indicated the Persian fort at Tell el-Herr in his descriptions.[17] This suggests that the fort at Tel Qedwa was relocated after its destruction in the mid fifth century, and a new fort was rebuilt by the Persians approximately 2.5 kilometers away. The finds also support this hypothesis, as Tel Qedwa did not yield Persian remains,[18] while Tell el-Herr was not constructed prior

[12]Hdt. 2.159.
[13]Oren 1984, p. 33.
[14]Oren 1984, p. 33; **naaman_kingdom_????**.
[15]Redford 1992, pp. 458-9.
[16]Smoláriková 2002, p. 101.
[17]Gardiner 1920, pp. 107-9.
[18]Redford 1998, p. 55.

to the Persian period.[19] Reconstructing a Persian fortresses nearby also fits with the strategic geographical location, where after the final destruction of Tel Qedwa, the Persian rulers chose to build another comparable fortress nearby.

The fifth century fortress at Elephantine in Egypt is informative of the existence of the Classical Magdolus fortress. There are three archives of fifth century Aramaic papyri that testify to a community of Jewish soldiers stationed in Egypt during the first Persian occupation (525-404).[20] A particular letter, written by a soldier who stated that he was stationed at Magdolus, was discovered at Elephantine; he addressed the letter to his son, and he wrote that his salary as a paid soldier was not sufficient.[21] Since the letter dates to the fifth century, the fortress it refers to is certainly the Classical Magdolus, also known as the site of Tell el-Herr. The later fortress indeed documents a military context with Jewish mercenaries during the Persian period; however, no evidence of an earlier seventh or sixth century date for the fortress has been discovered.

5.1.3 Architecture

The layout of the fortress included a large square structure, with mudbrick walls enclosing all sides (approximately 200 m. long, and 15-20 m. wide).[22] The entrance to the fort has not been discovered, despite two seasons of excavations.[23] The enclosure walls were characteristic of Saite edifices; there were small hollow compartments and corridors along the wall, which were built as an engineering method to relieve pressure from the weight of the wall (see Figure 5.1).[24]

[19]Defernez examined a selection of the Tell el-Herr pottery. Defernez 2001, p. 57.

[20]Besides one text dating to the first or second quarter of the fifth century, all the letters date to 430-400. Porten 1968, pp. 74-276.

[21]Porten 1968, p. 42; Oren 1984, p. 33.

[22]Oren 1984, p. 10.

[23]Oren suggested that the entrance could be located on the northeast corner facing the canal, since Egyptian public buildings were typically situated in that manner. Oren 1984, p. 10.

[24]Smoláriková 2002, p. 99; This was characteristic of Saite wall enclosures from other sites, such as Tel Defenneh and Tel el-Maskhuta. Futhermore, the fill within the compartments consisted of

The 1993 and 1997 excavations at Tel Qedwa found that there were five construction phases between the mid seventh century and the mid sixth century. Throughout the century, the extramural and intramural settlement buildings constructed along the enclosure walls were destroyed and rebuilt twice, corresponding with two destruction phases of the fort.[25] The buildings inside the fortress consisted of square and oval rooms and yielded a variety of finds that can be associated with metal and ceramic workshops, and storage.[26] Based on their location within and around the garrison, the buildings were possibly barracks for the soldiers stationed at the fort (See Figure 5.1).

In addition to the importance of the surrounding settlements and the architectural similarities to other Saite enclosures, two unique features at Tel Qedwa were also apparent. First is the lack of a ramp entrance to the fort. Other comparable seventh century enclosures, such as Tel el-Maskhuta and Tel Defenneh, had clear approach ramps as entrances. On the basis of this, archaeologists concluded that these ramps pointed to Egyptian temples rather than military garrisons.[27] As no trace of a ramp entrance was uncovered at Tel Qedwa, the military function is the most likely. Secondly, the colossal size of the Tel Qedwa enclosure was exceptional in the seventh century. The fort was comparable in size to the Nubian fortress, Dorginarti, and to the earlier New Kingdom fortresses in Lower Nubia, although their architectural styles differed.[28]

5.1.4 Burial Practices

One of the most exceptional finds from the fortress area was the discovery at site T.73; this was an encampment located 500 m. east of Tel Qedwa. The site revealed a

bricks, pottery sherds, and stones. Smoláriková 2008, pp. 50-1.

[25]Redford 1998, pp. 55-7.

[26]Smoláriková 2002, p. 99.

[27]Smoláriková 2008, p. 92; J. Spencer 1979, pp. 132-7; A. Spencer 2011, pp. 31-49.

[28]Smoláriková 2008, p. 54; Heidorn 1991, pp. 205-11.

Figure 5.3: Remaining Southern Enclosure Wall at Tel Qedwa. Hussein and Sayed 2013, p. 5

looted cemetery with cremated remains deposited in large Egyptian jars and covered with lids and accompanied by Greek amphorae as burial gifts.[29] These cremation burials are the only known cases so far in Egypt during the Saite period and it is not a coincidence that the cemetery was close to Tel Qedwa. Burial rites during the Saite Dynasty typically consisted of sarcophagi inhumations in single burial chambers, as, for example, at the mastaba of Ptahsphepses at Abusir.[30] Since the Bronze Age, cremation practices in Egypt were reserved primarily for criminals and for those who would not be awarded an afterlife as punishment.[31] Egyptians, therefore, most likely did not practice this burial rite at the encampment. Cremation was also not a preferred practice in known Levantine cemeteries, where the typical burial rite was inhumation.[32] Cremations were clearly not ubiquitous in the Near East during this

[29]The original excavation of this cemetery was unpublished and thus the material remains are not quantifiable. Oren 1984, p. 30.

[30]Strouhal and Bares 1993, pp. 9-10.

[31]Spell 127 from the Book of the Dead referred to death by cremation: "The fire of his ba-soul shall consume the corpses of the damned who wander as face-struck foe to uncover them for destruction." Quirke 2013, p. 280; Wright 1987, pp. 146-155; Leahy 1984, p. 199.

[32]As an example, the Archaic cemeteries of Akhziv revealed shaft tombs within single burial chambers, with rock-cut roofs. Dayagi-Mendels 2002, p. 3.

Figure 5.4: Nearby cemetery at T.74 that yielded cremation burials. Two East Greek wine amphorae with Egyptian jars and burnt bones. Oren 1984, p. 33

time period; however, it is interesting that it was practiced elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean and especially in the Aegean. Contemporary examples include: cemeteries at Colophon and Teos in Ionia, Vroulia on Rhodes, and Samos.[33] The association of cremations with the Greek world, in contrast to Egyptian and Levantine practices, supports the possibility that contingents from the Mediterranean were stationed at Tel Qedwa and were buried there, practicing similar burial rites as those at their places of origin.

5.1.5 Ceramics

The pottery found by the surveys and excavations at Tel Qedwa has been interpreted as evidence of a mercenary presence, based predominantly on the array of imports. The ceramics from the fortress included local Egyptian vases, Levantine imports, East Greek imports, and locally produced copies of Greek pottery. These vases provide a

[33]Mariaud 2011, pp. 768-8; Viglaki-Sophianou 2004, p. 189; Boardman and Kurtz 1971, pp. 73-4.

useful example of the types of pottery that is found at a Saite fortress and they reveal what materials the soldiers had access to.

Reports on the local wares have been overlooked in past excavations, and, unfortunately, only limited examples are published.[34] From what is available, the pottery appeared to consist of locally produced, unpainted coarse wares for daily cooking and storage. The most common shapes included red-burnished globular and drop-shaped pots, ledge-rimmed bowls, juglets, storage jars, drinking flasks, cooking pots, and open fine wares.[35] The best parallels for the local vessels were found at Naukratis and at Tel Defenneh; these coarse wares, however, were evidently ubiquitous throughout Egypt and were found in many different contexts, including settlements and necropoleis.[36] In addition, Egyptian local coarse wares were not exported in any significant amount to the Levant and the Aegean during the Iron Age. The limited discoveries of Egyptian vases in the southern Levant include eleven fragments from Ashkelon, two jars and a lid from Mesad Hashavyahu, and a few fragments in seventh century deposits at Tel Jemmeh and Tel esh-Shari'a.[37] This suggests that these wares were not considered prime objects for trade.[38] The few Egyptian wares found are associated archaeologically with the narrow time frame between the demise of the Neo-Assyrian Empire in the third quarter of the seventh century, and the 605/4 invasion of Nebuchadnezzar in the Levant, when the Saite Dynasty attempted to instate

[34]Absolute numbers or percentages of the pottery from the excavations were not provided in the main publication from 1984. From personal communication with Prof. Eliezer Oren in 2016, the pottery and finds were subsequently returned to Egypt in 1984 before such an analysis could be carried out.

[35]These were made from conventional Nile clay; however, there is no discussion on the extent of petrographic analysis. Oren 1984, pp. 13-14; Hamza 1997, p. 81.

[36]Oren based these parallels on his personal examination of the published and unpublished material from Tel Defenneh and Naukratis. Oren 1984, pp. 13-17; Villing and R.I. Thomas 2013; Petrie 1886, Pls. 16-17. Petrie and Griffith 1888, Pls. 33-35. For an overview of local Saite ware, see Wodzinska. Wodzinska 2010, pp. 193-222.

[37]Egyptian parallels for these objects were found at Tel Qedwa, Mendes, Tel el-Maskhuta, and Elephantine. Walton 2011, pp. 123-5; Oren 1984, p. 14.

[38]The most important trade items that Egypt exported included wheat, papyri, and linen. Smoláriková 2002, p. 69.

their sovereignty.[39]

Furthermore, a considerable amount of East Greek imports was found. East Greek wine and oil transport amphorae were uncovered from both inside the fortress, as well as from the settlement outside the enclosure.[40] These vases came overwhelmingly from Chios, Lesbos, and Samos, with very few Corinthian and Athenian vase fragments, suggesting that there was clearly some demand for Greek wine and olive oil at the fortress in particular. The discovery of local Egyptian copies of Greek drinking cups, found together with the amphorae, sheds light on the use of these vases.[41] These hybridized cups point to possible continuation of Greek drinking habits abroad. Besides Tel Qedwa, there has yet to be any other evidence for Greek-Egyptian hybridized drinking cups in an exclusively Egyptian fortress or settlement context. Other contemporary sites where copies of Greek vases were found are the Greek sanctuaries at Naukratis, the complex at Tel Defenneh, which has a debatable Greek character, and at Greek-influenced necropoleis in Abusir and Qurna.[42] It therefore seems likely that these vases that copied Greek prototypes were made principally for Greeks and at the sites in which Greek practices would trigger a demand for such ceramics.

Additional evidence for specific local consumption patterns in fortress contexts came from a nearby encampment,located within proximity of Tel Qedwa. In the 1992-1993 seasons of the North Sinai Archaeological Salvage Project, a settlement approximately 700 m. west of the fortress was discovered. Although the architectural remains and the finds for the most part are unpublished, the structures found and their enclosed rooms that had a very similar ceramic repertoire to Tel Qedwa.[43] The pottery included a variety of Egyptian coarse vases, East Greek *amphorae*, and Levantine imports such as torpedo-shaped transport jars.[44] It is likely that this encampment,

[39]Kuhrt 1995, pp. 643-4.
[40]Oren 1984, p. 24; Smoláriková 2002, p. 25.
[41]Fig. 23:2. Oren 1984, p. 27.
[42]Oren 1984, p. 27; Smoláriková 2002, p. 67.
[43]Hamza 1997, pp. 81-5.
[44]Hamza 1997, p. 83.

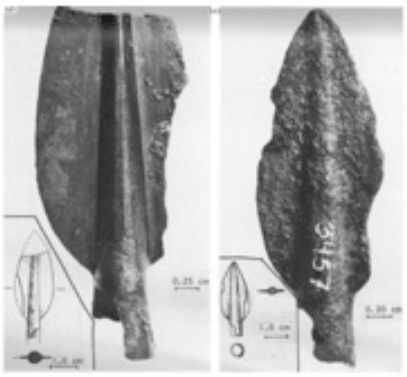

Figure 5.5: Arrowheads from Tel Qedwa. Pelleg, Baram, and Oren 1983: 85.

similar to the external block of household buildings alongside Tel Qedwa,[45] housed the soldiers stationed at the garrison, as they clearly had access to the same goods.

5.1.6 Weapons

At Tel Qedwa, hundreds of Egyptian arrowheads, spearheads, and armor scales were found during Oren's survey, which is clearly indicative of the types of finds one would expect from a fortress context.[46] What are revealing about the weapons are their similarities to the finds from Naukratis in the Nile Delta (discussed in-depth in Section 5.3.5). Excavations at Naukratis yielded approximately 100 iron and bronze arrowheads, and recent research suggested that some of the arrowheads have parallels to those discovered at Tel Qedwa.[47] The comparable arrowheads at Naukratis were locally produced from copper alloy with an angular or leaf shape and a trefoil socket, thus identifying them as trilobite type arrows.

[45]Redford 1998, pp. 45-57.

[46]Oren 1984, p. 28.

[47]Villing, Bergeron, et al. 2013, 'Weapons' on the British Museum online catalogue. Specific examples from the British Museum include nos. B.1951.3383b and AN 1886.535A..

5.2 Tel Defenneh

5.2.1 History of Excavation

First investigated by Petrie in 1886, the excavations of Tel Defenneh focused on the *kasr*, a mound with two mud-brick structures buried underneath.[48] The finds associated with these two structures included significant amounts of Greek imported ceramics, local ware, weapons, and raw materials.[49] Under the corners of the mud-brick buildings were foundation deposits that included cartouches of the Pharaoh Psammetichus I. This dated the overall construction between 664-610, and led the excavators to initially identify the site as a military camp where Greeks were stationed. This was based on the assumption that the finds are associated chronologically with Herodotus' references about Greek mercenaries that were hired by the pharaohs.[50] The royal cartouches led Petrie to suggest that this precinct was a palace-fort, where the Saite ruler resided.[51]

Excavations were not resumed until 2009 and 2010, when the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Egypt conducted two excavation seasons. They retraced the enclosure wall of the mud-brick structures and defined the interior architectural features.[52] From this recent investigation, it was concluded that the massive mud-brick structures were in fact part of a large Egyptian temple structure, with courts and storerooms flanking the sides of the edifice.[53] A brief discussion of the textual sources, the architectural features, and the finds will substantiate these conclusions, and will investigate whether the site indeed had a military character.

[48]Petrie 1886, pp. 52-4.
[49]Leclère summarized the main areas of Petrie's excavation. Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, pp. 6-8.
[50]Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 8.
[51]Psammetichus' embalming house was located within close proximity to Tel Defenneh, and this was mentioned by Herodotus as well. Smoláriková 2008, p. 77; Pap. Berlin 13588 stated that Psammetichus I died and was embalmed in the area; this supported the possibility that the pharaoh would be present. Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 11.
[52]El-Maksoud et al. 2014, p. 130.
[53]El-Maksoud et al. 2014, p. 131.

Figure 5.6: Location of Tel Defenneh/Daphnae. Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 159

5.2.2 The Textual, Epigraphical, and Papyrological Evidence

Herodotus referred to Daphne twice in Book 2. The area was first mentioned as an Egyptian guard post: "The Egyptians had guard-posts in various parts of the country: one at Elephantine against the Ethiopians, another in Daphne at Pelusium against the Arabians and Assyrians..."[54] Later in the same text, Herodotus further stated that the Persians maintained garrisons at Daphne. In the second reference, the location of Daphne was described as one of the first areas that one would encounter when traveling from the Levant and further East to Egypt, emphasizing the significance of the position of the site.[55]

Associating Tel Defenneh with Herodotus' description of Daphne led to controversial opinions. Firstly, the site did not yield evidence for a Persian occupation, though Herodotus claimed that the site of Daphne was used later by the Persians.[56] It is possible that the Persian site known as Daphne differed from the site's location during the Saite Dynasty, as was the case with Tel Qedwa and Classical Magdolus,

[54]Hdt. 2.30.
[55]Hdt. 2.107.
[56]Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 10.

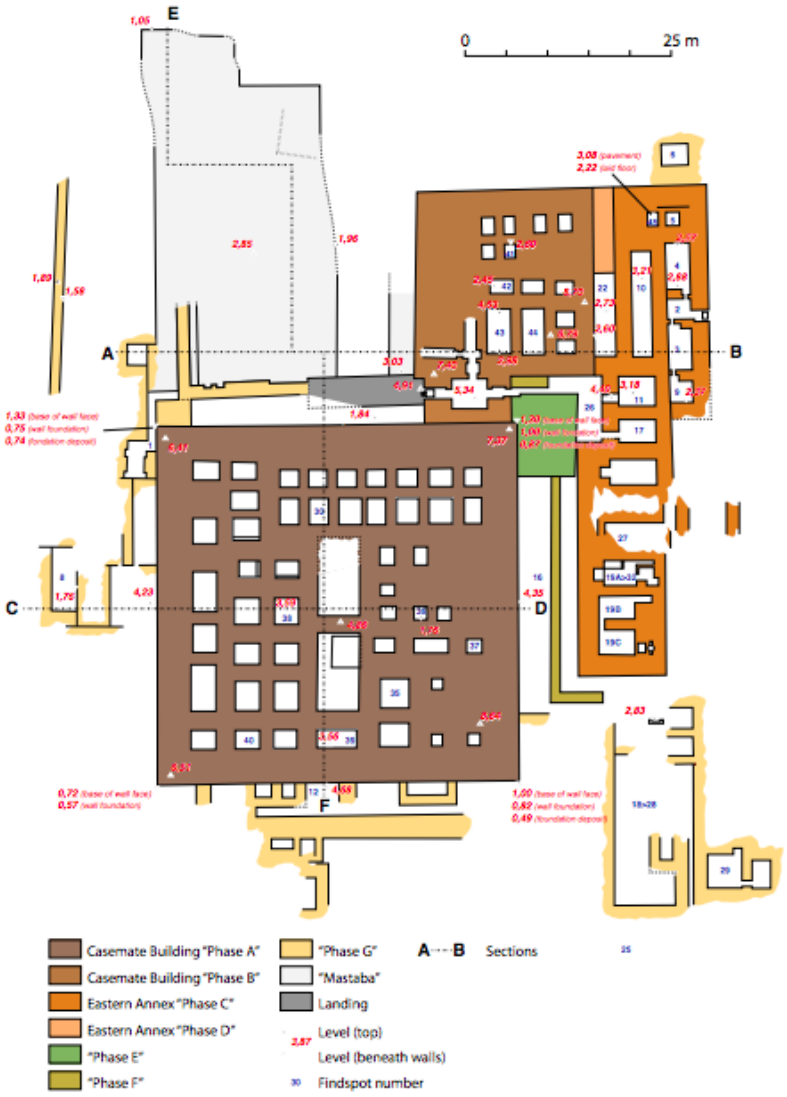

Figure 5.7: Archaeological plan of Tel Defenneh, including the casemate buildings and the surrounding structures. Pl. 5. Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 163; Petrie and Griffith 1888, Pl. XLIV.

where the later site was situated a few kilometers away.[57] If this were true at Tel Defenneh, then this Persian site remains unidentified. Herodotus' texts, nevertheless, substantiated that the Saite Daphne and the Persian fort would have been in close proximity to the fort at Pelusium, the Egyptian garrison built by Psammetichus I.

Tel Defenneh was also mentioned in the Biblical sources. There were references to a site with Jewish refugees called Tahpanhes and scholars have connected this toponym to Tel Defenneh.[58] The author of this text, Jeremiah, linked Tahpanhes with Memphis, Migdol, and Thebes as locations where Jews had settled.[59] Archaeological evidence for a Jewish presence at Tel Defenneh included the discovery of at least 19 Judean decanters, which have been argued to be the result of Jews bringing these vases with them to Egypt, as these objects were used as drinking vessels in Jewish ritual contexts in the southern Levant.[60] They were not typically found outside of the southern Levant, thus their discovery at Tel Defenneh in this quantity is exceptional.

Epigraphical and papyrological sources also provided evidence for military activity at Tel Defenneh and for non-Egyptians residents. A graffito by Timarchos, who was a Greek mercenary stationed at Abydos between the late sixth to early fifth century, has also been found at the *Memnonion* of Abydos.[61] In addition, a papyrus fragment related the story of a prisoner at Daphne and his account of daily rations.[62] Lastly, an epigraphical reference to Daphne came from a contemporary ostrakon from Karnak that recorded a military expedition led by Psammetichus I from Tel Defenneh (written as Tahpanhes) to Syria.[63] From these three sources, it is clear that the site was important for military activity and that there is evidence for at least one Greek soldier stationed at the site.

[57]Smoláriková 2002, p. 101.
[58]Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 10.
[59]Jer 2.16, 44.1, 46.14.
[60]Holladay 2004, p. 407.
[61]Fischer-Bovet 2014, p. 33; Austin 1970, p. 20.
[62]Pap. London BM EA 10508. Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 11.
[63]Pap. Berlin 13588. Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 11.

Figure 5.8: Remnants of the Enclosure Wall at Tel Defenneh. Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 15

5.2.3 Architecture

The feature that led Petrie to interpret Tel Defenneh as a military camp was the massive enclosure wall that surrounded the interior casemate buildings. Later excavations investigated the full extent of the enclosure and found that it measured 640 x 385 meters (see Figure 5.8).[64] The 2009 excavations further uncovered a large mud-brick temple within the enclosure. The identification of the temple was clear from its three courts surrounding a central axis, which was comparable to the temple layout at Mendes and Tell el-Balamun (see Figure 5.9).[65]

The temple precinct existed within the enclosure during the Saite period, as one can see from the architectural evidence in Figure 5.9. Other architectural features of the complex, however, indicate that the site did not solely serve a religious purpose. There were many structural similarities with the Saite fortress at Tel Qedwa; both had massive enclosure walls with towers on the outer edges, mud-brick structures on the interior, as well as similar ceramic and weapon finds (discussed below).[66] Two large

[64]El-Maksoud et al. 2014, p. 130.

[65]El-Maksoud et al. 2014, p. 131; K. Wilson 1982, Pl. I.; Leclère argued for the site to resemble a large religious complex, stating that the enclosure wall appeared different to other Saite fortress walls. Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 11.

[66]Remains of towers were found at the southeast and southwest corners of the enclosure at Tel Defenneh. El-Maksoud et al. 2014, p. 130.

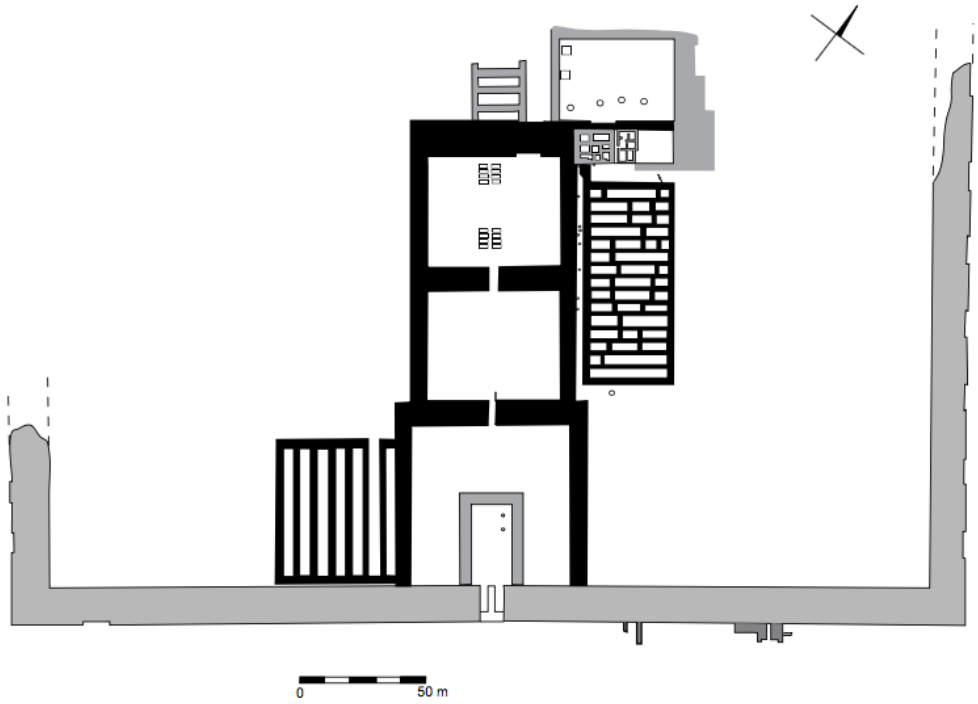

Figure 5.9: Mud-brick temple found within the enclosure. El-Maksoud et al. 2014, p. 131

mud-brick structures, identified as Buildings A and B (see Figure 5.7), were found to the east of the enclosure.[67] These were identified as casemate buildings, meaning that they were small rooms located along the walls of the enclosure and used as storage facilities for weapons and other finds. The layout of these two casemate buildings is particularly similar to that found at Naukratis, with rectangular and square isolated chambers, accessible by a platform.[68] The discovery of the temple in the enclosure has recently led the casemate buildings to be re-interpreted as storage areas for cult practices. However, given no religious finds were discovered in the casemate buildings, it is hard to support this suggestion.[69]

Other annexes and structures were found within the enclosure, as we see in 5.7,

[67]The foundation deposit of Psammetichus I was found under casemate Building A. Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 12.

[68]Leclère speculatively reconstructed the walls and the platform as a monumental staircase (see figure 17). Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, pp. 15-17.

[69]Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 22.

but the exact function of these structures remains unknown. However, two of the rooms in the mud-brick buildings shed some light on the purpose of these structures. As depicted on the map of the site, Phase G consists of various rooms connected to the casemate buildings (see Figure 5.10). Jar sealings date this phase to the reigns of Psammetichus II and Amasis (664-525). Two rooms in this phase, Rooms 18 and 29, located southeast of the casemates, yielded the largest quantity found at the site of East Greek pottery and locally produced Greek copies (approximately 90 percent of the whole assemblage).[70]. The quantity of imports from these two rooms was so great that it is comparable to those found at Naukratis. The southeast quarter also yielded hundreds of iron and bronze arrowheads, tools, and metal scraps in concentrated amounts.

5.2.4 Ceramics

The ceramics from Tel Defenneh reflected the extensive trade network and cultural connections between Egypt and Greece from the end of the seventh to the sixth century. This was demonstrated by the array of Greek imports and local imitations of Greek vases, dating predominantly between 570-530, in addition to the ubiquitous local ware found throughout the site. The local Saite ware had parallels with many other contemporaneous sites in Egypt, such as Tel el-Herr and Tel Qedwa.[71] The ceramics included predominantly domestic cooking, drinking, and storage wares, such as serving plates, basins, mortaria, bowls, jars, cups and amphorae (see Figures 5.11 and 5.12).

The amount of Greek imports, 344 fragments in total, found alongside the local ware is substantial. As mentioned above, approximately 90 percent of all the Greek imports were concentrated within two rooms, 18 and 29, in the southeastern annex

[70]Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 20.
[71]J. Spencer 2014a, p. 92.

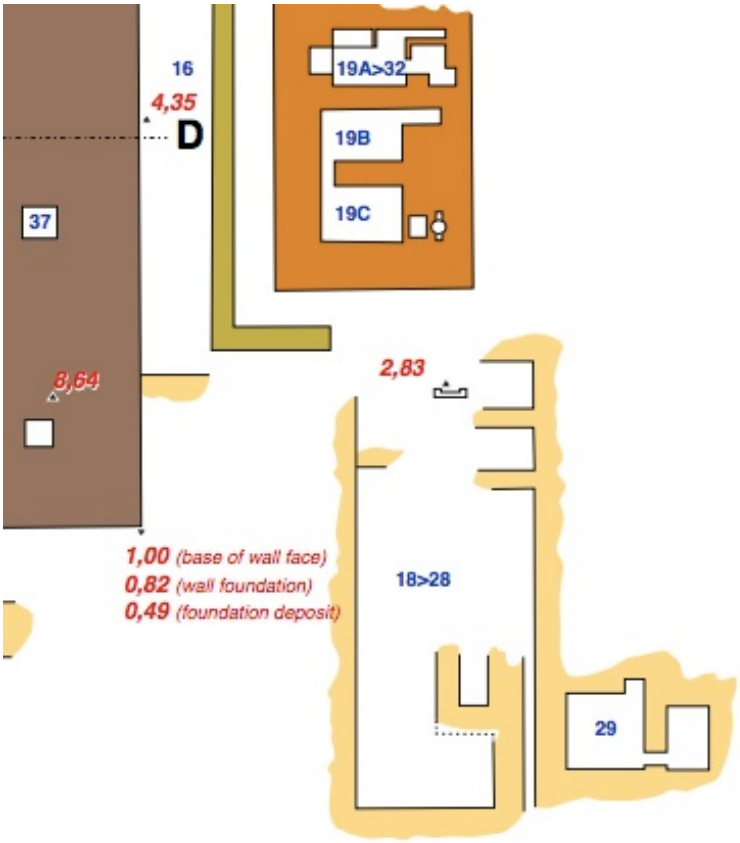

Figure 5.10: Rooms 18 and 29 in Phase G of Tel Defenneh.

Figure 5.11: Local Egyptian Silt Cooking Pot from Tel Defenneh. Pl. 58. no. 23657. Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 216

Figure 5.12: Local Egyptian Silt Jars. Pl. 59. nos. 22287, 22335, 22339. Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 217

adjacent to the casemate buildings (see Figure 5.10 of this thesis.).[72] The origins of the 344 Greek fragments ranged from sites in Eastern Greece, Athens, as well as two pottery sherds from Corinth.[73] Other sites in Egypt that have yielded similar quantities of Greek imports are Naukratis, where over 2000 Greek pottery fragments are recorded so far, and the necropoleis at Memphis.[74]

The repertoire included a variety of types and shapes: Attic Black-Figure fragments were part of amphorae and pouring vessels and they dated stylistically between 550-500;[75] the East Greek vases included examples of the Fikellura ware from Miletus, dating between 560-530, and Clazomenian Black-Figure fragments.[76] Finally, the so-called ceramic *situlae* were especially distinctive of Tel Defenneh, as they were initially identified as copies of Egyptian bronze *situlae* used for ritual libations (see Figure 5.13). They are now recognized as storage vessels by their features. In particular, the handle placement, the small-ring foot, and the wide mouth and neck.

[72]Smoláriková 2002, p. 27; Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, 163, pl. 5.
[73]Weber 2014, p. 118.
[74]Weber 2007, p. 300.
[75]The disappearance of the Black-Figure fragments coincided with the Persian invasion. Weber 2014, p. 118.
[76]The chronology of Fikellura has been a topic of debate and the production year may have been earlier than 560. Weber identified the painters of Fikellura from the Tel Defenneh sherds. Weber 2014, p. 119.

Figure 5.13: East Dorian Typhon *Situla* from Tel Defenneh, 575-550, depicted winged male figure, possibly Typhon, and another figure, arguably Apollo. Found in East Annex C, Chamber 17. British Museum, GR 1888,0208.1. Weber 2014, p. 122

These show a different function to the Egyptian *situlae*, however, it is likely that an Egyptian shape influenced their design.[77] 41 total *situlae* were found and their precise origins are unclear; Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) of three fragments of the *situlae* showed that the origin of these three vases was from Tel Defenneh.[78]

Local copies of Greek vases are found as well at Tel Defenneh. One example in particular, Figure 5.14, has an exceptionally similar decoration to East Greek amphorae. NAA of the amphora revealed that the vase was in fact produced from Egyptian Nile silt clay, and the shape and decoration are clearly Eastern Greek. The

[77]See footnotes 45 and 46. The *situlae* constituted 12.4 percent of the total Greek vases at the site. Weber 2014, p. 121.

[78]Mommsen et al. 2012, p. 441; Results of NAA analysis from another situla fragment from Tel Defenneh pointed to a Rhodian origin, though this is highly debated. Weber 2014, p. 121.

Figure 5.14: Greek style *amphora* made from Egyptian Nile Silt Clay, from Tel Defenneh. British Museum, GR 1888, 0208.57. Weber 2014, p. 123

amphora style is similar to local copies from Naukratis and probably originates from the same workshop, run by Greek potters. In comparison, another local copy of a Samian amphora of a less stylistic quality indicated that this was not produced at a Greek potters workshop, and was likely from a local workshop close to Tel Defenneh.[79]

The shapes of the Greek imports are exceptional in Egypt and are markedly different from other contemporary sites. The imports were almost exclusively closed-shape storage vessels: this included 211 *amphorae* (see Figures 5.16 and 5.17), 9 *hydriai*, 41 *situlae* (see Figure 5.13), 9 *stamnoi*, and 27 unknown fragments (see Figure 5.15).[80] This repertoire contrasts to imports from other sites. Naukratis yielded predomi-

[79]Weber 2014, p. 122; Villing 2013, 82, Fig. 7.

[80]Very few open vessel fragments were found, including kraters, jugs, cups, a *skyphos*, plates, and a *kantharos*. Weber 2014, p. 122.

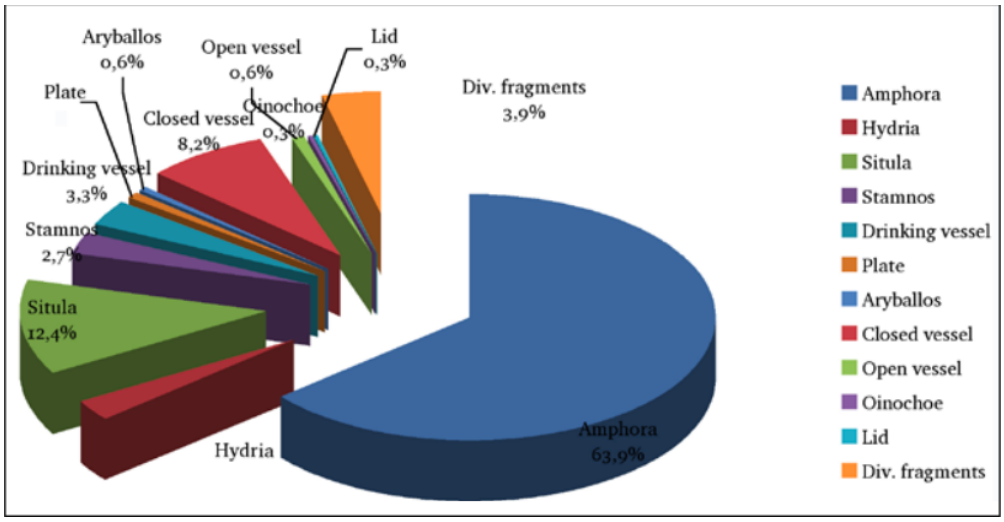

Figure 5.15: Distribution of Greek import shapes at Tel Defenneh. Weber 2014, 123, Fig. 16.

nantly drinking and dining wares that were undoubtedly used in Greek ritual practices. This stark difference indeed suggests that Greek imports had another use at Tel Defenneh than at Naukratis. In addition, other contemporary provenances of Greek imports in Egypt included Egyptian funerary contexts, such as at Abusir, Saqqara, and Thebes-West; in these examples, the Greek vases were used for embalming and as offerings.[81] The imports were clearly reused for Egyptian purposes in such funerary contexts.[82]

The discovery of the Greek closed-shape imports, like the *amphorae*, *hydriai*, *situlae*, and *stamnoi*, in Rooms 18 and 29 suggest that they were used as storage containers by the local population, and the casemate buildings clearly functioned as a storage facility. Two specific examples clarify that locals were using Greek vases to some extent. Firstly, a Greek transport *amphora* had an emblem of the Egyptian goddess Neith, demonstrating that the import was reused for an Egyptian ritual. This

[81] Weber 2014, p. 124.

[82] There are two rare instances, at Sais and Elephantine, when a few Greek imports were found in association with an Egyptian ritual context; in particular, some fragments of East Greek *amphorae* were discovered in a store room deposit in the Egyptian Temple of Khnum at Elephantine. These contexts are the only examples of possible Greek vases in Egyptian rituals, and are not sufficient to conclude this was typical. Weber 2014, p. 124.

Figure 5.16: North Ionian Black Figure Amphora, Petrie Painter, British Museum, GR 1888,0208.71a. Weber 2014, p. 120

Figure 5.17: North Ionian Black Figure Amphora, Tübingen Painter, British Museum, GR 1888,0208.66. Weber 2014, p. 120

corroborates the existence of an Egyptian temple within the enclosure.[83] Secondly, two Greek *amphorae* were stamped with Amasis' cartouche. This indicates that the Egyptians organized at least the distribution of the imports to the enclosure, if not the trade activities.[84] The reuse of Greek pottery is connected to later Greek sources as well; Herodotus mentioned that the Egyptians reused Greek trade *amphorae* for carrying water to the Eastern Delta.[85]

The connections between Tel Defenneh and Naukratis are also significant. Scholars argued that the arrival of these vases at Tel Defenneh, between 570-530, indicate a trade connection with Naukratis.[86] Greeks and Egyptians were present at Naukratis from at least the seventh century. Some of the imports at Tel Defenneh, including the few Attic and Ionian wares, as well as at least one imported amphora from Naukratis, are similar in origin to those at Naukratis. However, the shapes of these imports at both the sites drastically differ, as discussed above. The divergence in shapes suggests it is unlikely that the majority of the Tel Defenneh imports came from Naukratis. There was a different demand and purpose for imports at both sites. It is likely that Tel Defenneh maintained its own established trade contacts with the Eastern Greek trade routes, especially as it is close to the Nile branches on the Eastern Delta. In any case, the somewhat abrupt end of imports at Tel Defenneh by 530 further corresponds to the Persian occupation of Egypt starting in 525, which would have affected the trade routes. Naukratis, on the other hand, continued to prosper as a main port in Egypt until the establishment of Alexandria in the fourth century.

From the ceramics, the atypical repertoire from the Tel Defenneh casemate building indicates that Egyptians used these vases as part of their storage facilities. It is not clear if these imports were part of Egyptian ritual activities, though it seems unlikely as they were not discovered within the temple area. Moreover the imports

[83]Weber 2007, p. 309.
[84]Weber 2007, p. 310.
[85]Hdt. 3.5-7.
[86]Weber 2014, p. 124.

were likely part of trade routes that did not directly include Naukratis, and perhaps the area received their vases from routes that arrived directly from Ionia. Even with the Egyptian temple located within the enclosure, this does not exclude a Greek presence entirely. The location of Tell Defenneh by the Eastern border of Egypt was a significant location for military activity, and the ample weapons discussed below attest to this geographical importance.

5.2.5 Weapons

A large amount of weapons, tools, and raw materials were uncovered from two specific areas at Tel Defenneh. The first area was the chambers of the eastern annexes, which were connected to the casemate complexes, and secondly from two spots in the south-eastern quarter of the main enclosure (see Figure 5.7, the weapon findspots included chamber nos. 3, 11, 17, 18, 19 A and C).[87] The initial discovery of the weapons and raw metals, such as iron and slag, led the excavators to conclude that these were clearly indicative of Greek mercenaries and craftsmen residing in the complex.[88] Recent excavations disagreed with this conclusion, and attributed these finds to local manufacturing and to evidence of dedicatory practices in an Egyptian temple.[89]

The types of weapons found included bronze and iron arrowheads, spearheads, daggers, and fragments of armor scales. Recent scholarship argued that the concentrations of weapons cannot be dated clearly and therefore cannot be securely equated to the Saite period; according to Leclère and Spencer, the bronze arrows could be dated between 664-332 (the Late Period), whilst the iron arrowheads do not predate the first century B.C.E.[90] If this were accurate, then it would be questionable if Tel Defenneh revealed any military activity in the Saite period. There has yet to be a

[87]Petrie identified the two areas in the southeastern quarter as Findspot 52 and 53. Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 46.
[88]Petrie 1886, p. 48.
[89]Leclère and J. Spencer 2014.
[90]Leclère and J. Spencer 2014, p. 46.

comprehensive study of the Tel Defenneh arrowheads to give credence to this suggestion, or of Egyptian arrowhead typologies in general, which would greatly help to date the arrow types. In addition, the architecture and ceramics found alongside the hundreds of arrowheads do indicate Saite period contexts. The Egyptian excavations in 2009 revealed parts of the enclosure wall and the temple in the southern area of the enclosure, both of which can securely be dated to the sixth century, based on similarities to temple plans at Mendes and Tell el-Balamun.[91] The corresponding stratigraphic levels southeast of this temple and within the enclosure would place the weapons to a similar date and the pottery found within the same area as the arrowheads indicates local Saite coarse ware.[92] Lastly, excavators have attributed some of the bronze and iron arrowheads to similarities to those found at Tel Qedwa and Naukratis.[93]

It is possible to say that the enclosure at Tel Defenneh had a military, as well as a local religious character during the Saite period. The abundant weapons can be dated at least to the sixth century, based on provenance and context. The sheer quantity of weapons assumes an important demand for them at the site. Since weapons in Saite Egypt were typically found in forts, as foundation deposits, or in burials, the impressive assemblage and production at Tel Defenneh reflect the multiple functions of this enclosure and it should not be identified as only a religious precinct. It is possible that military campaigns to the peripheries of Egypt and beyond included landmarks such as Tel Defenneh, where there would be a local temple as well as imported products. This is reminiscent of soldiers passing through the Temple of

[91]El-Maksoud et al. 2014, pp. 130-2.

[92]Some intrusive Ptolemaic and Persian period pottery was noted. They were buried in pits cut into earlier levels, thus it is possible to differentiate between Ptolemaic and Saite contexts. J. Spencer 2014b, pp. 97, 214.

[93]Oren 1984, 25, 28, Fig. 26.7. Villing, Bergeron, et al. 2013, examples included nos. B.1951.3383b and AN 1886.535A. Villing et al. 2014: '2.15. Weapons and Armour.' The majority of the 100 known arrowheads at Naukratis dated to the 26th Dynasty, while only a few are from the Macedonian, Ptolemaic and Roman periods. For Naukratis iron arrowheads, see Section 5.3.5 of this thesis. As discussed in Section 5.1.6, Tel Qedwa yielded hundreds of arrows, spearheads, and armor scale fragments, akin to what as found in the two areas at Tel Defenneh.

Abu Simbel, as discussed in Chapter 4.2.4., where it was a common act for troops to stop at religious and administrative precincts along their campaign.

5.3 Naukratis

5.3.1 History of Excavation

The site of Naukratis was strategically located along the Canopic branch of the Nile River in the Egyptian Delta. It functioned as one of the main ports for trade and cross-cultural exchanges in Egypt from the seventh century B.C.E. until the seventh century C.E. It is the earliest known settlement in Egypt with Greeks residing alongside Egyptians.[94] Initial excavations by W.M.F. Petrie in 1884/5 uncovered the Archaic Greek sanctuaries of Apollo, Hera, and Dioskouroi, as well as a multitude of contemporary Greek pottery at these sanctuaries (see Figure 5.18).[95] Petrie additionally excavated the so-called Great Temenos to the south of the sanctuaries; this consisted of a massive enclosure with two casemate structures located within the interior. This enclosure was interpreted as a military fort for Greek mercenaries, based on the array of Greek pottery and the massive enclosure walls. Recently, the Great Temenos was identified as an Egyptian temple complex, as discussed below.[96] Two subsequent excavations in 1899 and 1903 by David Hogarth noted that the site was flooded and he was unable to excavate the Greek sanctuaries or the Great Temenos.[97] The Hellenion building, however, was successfully discovered to the North of the site.

Later excavations between 1977 and 1983 by Albert Leonard and William Coulson were also unable to excavate the Greek sanctuaries due to flooding; they instead excavated a mound in the southern part of the site, which they believed superimposed

[94]Villing and R.I. Thomas 2013, p. 82.
[95]Petrie 1886, pp. 11-16, 23-4; Gardner 1888.
[96]Villing and R.I. Thomas 2013, p. 82; Smoláriková 2002; Smoláriková 2008; A. Spencer 2011.
[97]Hogarth, Lorimer, and Edgar 1905, pp. 105-36.

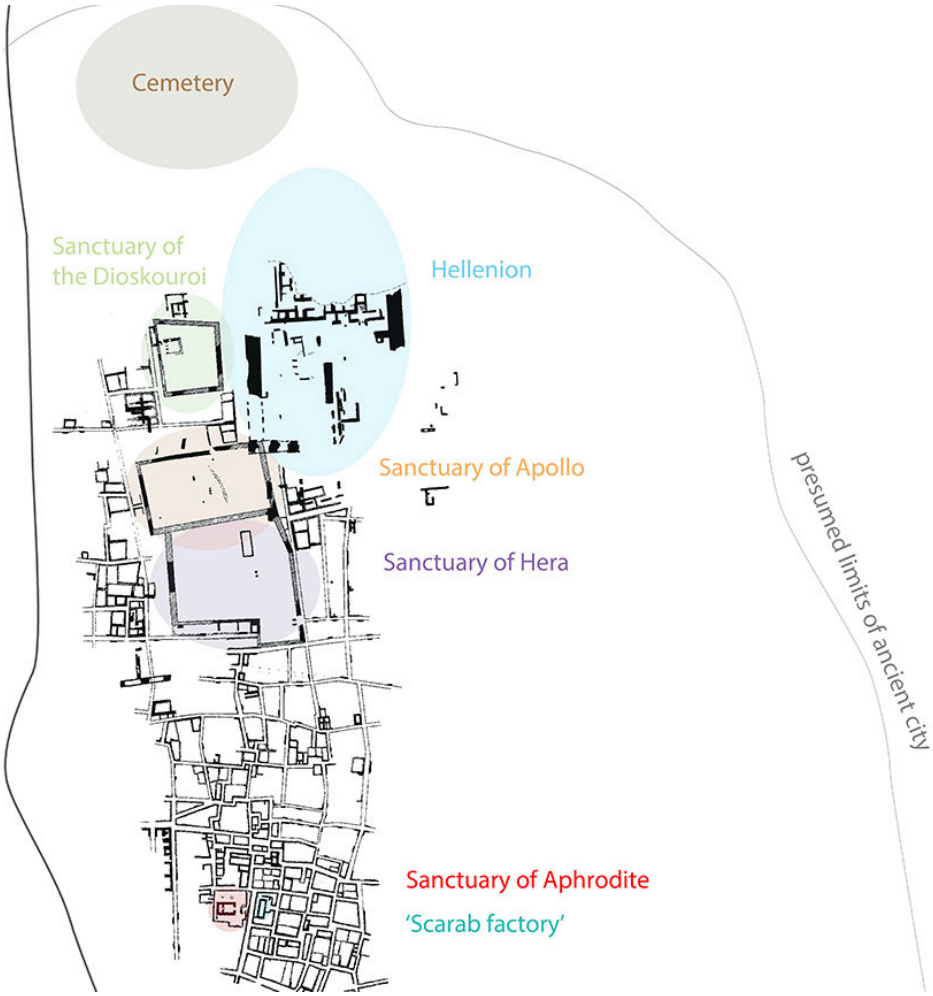

Figure 5.18: Map of sixth century Naukratis. Villing, Bergeron, et al. 2013

the two casemate buildings of the Great Temenos, and they discovered mud-brick walls and pottery dating to the Ptolemaic era.[98] They concluded that the Egyptian character of the site did not predate the Ptolemaic period; this was proved incorrect later by the re-identification of seventh century Saite vases.[99] Recently, Jeffrey Spencer reviewed Petrie's journal entries and sketches and verified that Coulson and Leonard's investigations had indeed focused on the incorrect mound, and this mound did not superimpose the casemate building.[100] The mistaken identification and dating of the casemate structure to the Ptolemaic period continued in scholarship until recent excavations and surveys within the last decade.[101]

The most recent fieldwork in 2012 was carried out by the British Museum's Naukratis Project, which investigated the full extent of the settlement, as well as the location of the Great Temenos and the Hellenion.[102] New satellite imagery documented precisely where the Archaic buildings stood and the extent of the enclosure wall in the Great Temenos (see Figures 5.18 and 5.21).[103] A re-assessment of the Archaic pottery further revealed that the site was occupied by both Egyptians and Greeks since the seventh century.

5.3.2 The Sources and Epigraphical Evidence

Herodotus wrote a detailed account on the establishment of Naukratis and the Greek sanctuaries. He recorded that the twelve cities of the western Asia Minor founded the settlement and sanctuaries at Naukratis and that the Pharaoh Amasis instructed the Greeks in Egypt to relocate to the port.[104] This is an example of chronological inconsistencies with Herodotus' texts in comparison to the archaeological evidence;

[98]Coulson, Leonard, and Wilke 1982, pp. 73-109.
[99]Berlin 1997, pp. 150-1.
[100]Spencer discussed the errors in previous excavations. A. Spencer 2011, pp. 33-5.
[101]Villing and R.I. Thomas 2013, pp. 97-8.
[102]Villing and R.I. Thomas 2013, p. 84.
[103]Villing and R.I. Thomas 2013, 111, Fig. 8.
[104]Hdt. 2.178-9.

Figure 5.19: Chian Kantharos, Sanctuary of Aphrodite, 575-500 B.C.E. Inscription by Pedon. British Museum, no.1965, 0930.26.

the Greek pottery from Naukratis points to a Greek presence that began in the mid seventh century, in addition to the Egyptian seventh century settlement that was already established. Amasis, on the other hand, did not rise to power until 570. The time frame in the mid seventh century when Naukratis began to have a Greek presence is therefore connected with the Pharaoh Psammetichus I (664-610). This inconsistency is further exacerbated by the fact that Herodotus associated the Pharaoh Psammetichus with the employment of Ionian and Carian mercenaries and he apparently settled them in *stratopeda* on the Nile Delta, during the time frame in which Naukratis was established.[105]

The epigraphical evidence from Naukratis is also revealing of its inhabitants. The Greek sanctuaries yielded hundreds of inscribed dedications, and a few of the inscribed names are worth mentioning, as they had parallels in military contexts.[106] For instance, the name Pedon was found on the rim of a Chian chalice. This same name was given to a mercenary Pedon, who fought for Psammetichus I and was awarded an Egyptian block statue for his bravery (see Chapter 4.2.4 and Figure 4.1).[107] Since the block statue dedication and the chalice inscription were contemporary, dating to

[105]Hdt. 2.154.

[106]Naukratis yielded at least 2,800 ceramic fragments with inscriptions. Johnston 2014, p. 5.

[107]No. 1965, 0930.26, fig. 59. Johnston 2014, p. 49; Fischer-Bovet 2014, p. 28; Agut-Labordère 2013, p. 294.

Figure 5.20: Dinos fragment, Sanctuary of Apollo, 600-550 B.C.E. Inscription by Phanes, son of Glaukos. British Museum, no. 1886, 0401.677.

approximately 600, perhaps these two inscriptions were by the same individual. It is possible that Pedon made a dedication at Naukratis, before leaving Egypt for his homeland in Ionia.

Another name found on a fragment of an Attic black-glazed *dinos* at the Naukratis sanctuaries is Phanes. This name is contemporary with the mercenary Phanes who was mentioned in the manuscripts from the Elephantine fortress.[108] This can further be associated with Herodotus' story of Phanes of Halicarnassus, who was a mercenary that defected to the Persians before the Battle of Pelusium in 525.[109] The presence of the name Phanes in three different sources, in which the latter two securely refer to mercenaries fighting in Egypt, substantiate Greek mercenaries in the region. As the case with Pedon, it is possible to envisage this individual as a Greek mercenary, offering dedications at Naukratis.

Lastly, there was also a Greek vase from the Naukratis workshop with an inscribed Carian name, Μιϰ(ϰ)ύλος, inscribed on it.[110] This is revealing of a possible Carian

[108]The Elephantine fortress and its Jewish community was founded in the mid seventh century and continued to be occupied throughout the Persian rule, until the end of the fifth century. Johnston 2014, p. 49.
[109]Hdt. 3.11.
[110]Masson and Yoyotte 1956, pp. 12-13; Schlotzhauer 2006, p. 311; Weber 2007, p. 309.

presence at the site and is especially informative since Carian vases were not frequently imported to Egypt. As discussed in the Iron Age literary sources, Herodotus recorded that Greeks and Carians supposedly fought together as mercenaries in Saite Egypt, and a Carian inscription on a Greek vase supports this connection.

5.3.3 Architecture: The Great Temenos

As mentioned above, the first excavations of Naukratis in the nineteenth century uncovered five Greek sanctuaries. From the ample East Greek pottery and inscriptions, archaeologists concluded that the sanctuaries were established by Eastern Greeks.[111]

The most relevant architectural feature for the discussion about mercenaries is the Great Temenos, the massive mud-brick enclosure wall that was situated in the southern area of the site, as it was originally argued to be a fort (see Figure 5.21).[112] In addition, the interpretation of the two casemate buildings inside the enclosure is significant. The first building was situated to the left of the enclosure entrance and was barely preserved, with only some foundations of corridors and a possible threshold.[113] The second building, identified as the Great Mound, was a large square mud-brick structure, measuring 55 x 54 meters long, with a predicted height of 15-21 meters (See Figure 5.21).[114] This building was similar in layout to the chambers found at the Tel Qedwa fortress and Tel Defenneh, where it had numerous rectangular and square chambers located on either side of central corridor.[115]

Based on these similarities, Petrie initially described the Great Temenos as a fort and the enclosure as a camp for Greek mercenaries who were hired by the Pharaoh

[111]The sanctuaries included the Sanctuaries of Apollo, Hera, the Dioskouroi, the Hellenion, and Aphrodite. Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006, pp. 3-4; Fig. 11. Smoláriková 2008, p. 73.

[112]Petrie 1886, pp. 23-6,32-4; The colossal dimensions of the inside of the enclosure: north side: 265 m., south side: 259 m., east side: 227 m., and west side: 226 m. Smoláriková 2008, p. 71.

[113]Petrie and Griffith 1888, p. 24.

[114]Petrie and Griffith 1888, pp. 24-5; Only 10 meters of the wall remained during Petrie's excavation. Smoláriková 2008, p. 72.

[115]Petrie and Griffith 1888, pp. 52-5.

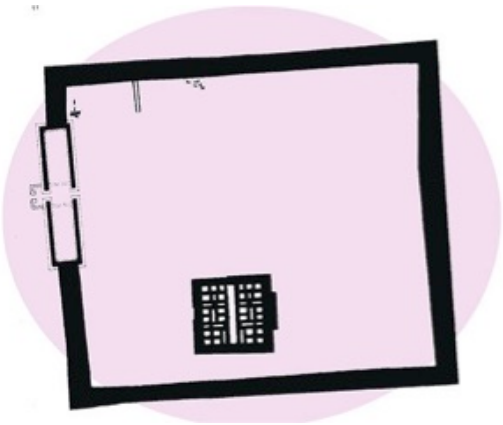

Figure 5.21: Plan of the Great Temenos, with the destroyed corridors of the first building and the second casemate building. Villing, Bergeron, et al. 2013

Psammetichus.[116] Later attempts to investigate the military nature of the casemate building, however, were unsuccessful; and, despite subsequent excavations, the excavators were unable to locate the remaining enclosure wall.[117] It was thus concluded that the enclosure wall did not exist and that the casemate building was an Egyptian garrison placed deliberately to monitor the thriving Greek community.[118]

From the results of past excavations, two questions should be addressed; did the Great Temenos enclosure wall indeed exist, and, if so, what was its purpose. Recent investigations into the Great Temenos produced new suggestions about the existence of the enclosure. Firstly, the reports from Leonard and Coulson's excavations stated that the ceramics were mostly Ptolemaic. This is not the case, however, as there were a few Egyptian sherds that dated between the seventh and fifth centuries, but they were not published in the initial reports.[119] These finds revealed that the Ptolemaic buildings and remains found in the mounds were built over an earlier Saite structure.

[116]Hogarth, Edgar, and Gutch 1898, p. 43; Petrie and Griffith 1888, pp. 23-5; Petrie subsequently identified the enclosure as part of Herodotus' Hellenion, which was proved incorrect by later excavations. A. Spencer 2011, p. 33; Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006, p. 3; Villing and R.I. Thomas 2013, pp. 97-103.

[117]Hogarth, Edgar, and Gutch 1898, p. 27; The enclosure wall most likely disappeared as soon as the second season of excavation. Gardner 1888, pp. 9-14.

[118]Hogarth, Edgar, and Gutch 1898, p. 43; Möller 2000, p. 110.

[119]Villing and R.I. Thomas 2013, p. 100; A. Spencer 2011, p. 33; See trenches 1,2,482, and 492, where the pottery revealed Saite Dynasty dating. Berlin 1997, pp. 150-1.

A new interpretation was thus proposed that the Ptolemaic remains were constructed over the casemate building, and the part of the wall currently exposed on the northern side of the South Mound dates to this earlier phase.[120] It is, therefore, likely that Petrie's Great Temenos did exist during the Saite Dynasty, despite the lack of preservation.

Recent interpretations state that the enclosure wall and the casemate building were part of a massive Egyptian temple complex, dating from the Saite until the Ptolemaic period.[121] Nevertheless, some scholars maintained that the enclosure acted as a defensive fort, with camps where mercenaries were stationed.[122] An evaluation of these two suggestions is useful in order to determine if the Great Temenos should be considered an Egyptian temple precinct, or a military complex, and whether mercenaries were stationed there.

One problem with classifying the Great Temenos as a temple complex is the lack of Egyptian temple architecture and ritual characteristics. The large dimensions of the casemate building within the enclosure were not comparable to mud-brick foundations from Saite temples. For instance, the well-known temple precincts unearthed at Tanis and Karnak are much smaller in size in comparison to that at Naukratis.[123] This size is more comparable to other fortified precincts, such as Tell el-Balamun and Tel Defenneh. In addition, typical Saite temple precincts had a relatively small mud-brick ramp that led to the front entrance and into a central portico. The central portico would then connect to corridors and chambers, with possibly a shrine in the back of the temple (see Figure 5.9 in Section 5.2.3 on Tel Defenneh for an example

[120]Magnetometry results from the 2012 excavations additionally exposed linear walls in alignment with Petrie's enclosure wall in his plan. Villing and R.I. Thomas 2013, p. 100.

[121]Leclère and J. Spencer 2014.

[122]Villing and R.I. Thomas 2013, p. 35; Muhs 1994, p. 31; Edgar 1922, pp. 1-6; Smoláriková 2002; Smoláriková 2008, pp. 90-3.

[123]The temples at Tanis measured 50 x 30 m. At Karnak, the temples were approximately 45.5 x 55.5 m. Smoláriková 2008, pp. 103, 110-5; See Fougerouse for temple descriptions and dimensions at Tanis. Fougerousse 1933, pp. 76-88.

of this layout).[124] The Naukratis enclosure and casemate building lacked these features: the approach ramp has yet to be identified, although Petrie speculated that a ramp possibly led to the centre of the northern wall.[125] Based on the structural similarities with the mud-brick building at Tell el-Balamun, Smolarikova suggested that the Naukratis ramp could also be located near the back corner of the building, as a defensive element.[126] No central portico existed in the preserved structure and the chambers and corridors did not reveal any connections to a single central room of the building that could indicate a portico.[127]

In addition, the later Ptolemaic finds overshadowed the function of the earlier Saite construction. The Ptolemaic use of the enclosure clearly showed that this was a later temple precinct, as was evident from the foundation deposits in the complex that dated to Ptolemy II Philadelphos, found alongside the religious figures of Amon-Re of Batet.[128] Early excavations that focused on the Ptolemaic remains of the enclosure influenced recent conclusions that this must have also functioned as a temple area in earlier Saite times as well, although no Saite ritual material were actually found in the enclosure or casemate buildings.[129] The historical context of the region additionally indicates that Naukratis in the seventh century would most likely not have a Saite temple. As a profitable and renowned Greek trading center by the end of the sixth century, it was in the interest of the Egyptians to maintain close control over the Greeks situated in the region. This was reflected in Amasis' attempts to maintain an active trade and military connection with the Greek population.[130] Additionally, according to Herodotus, there were also hostile sentiments from the locals towards

[124]Traunecker 1987, pp. 147-162.
[125]Petrie 1886.
[126]Smoláriková 2006, pp. 92-4; J. Spencer 1999, p. 298.
[127]The lack of connection between the chambers and corridors was also evinced in Tel Qedwa. Oren 1984.
[128]Yoyotte 1983, p. 34; Stone blocks were uncovered, but no traces of the actual temple were revealed. Edgar 1922, pp. 1-6; Petrie 1886, pp. 28-30; Smoláriková 2008, pp. 90-1.
[129]A. Spencer 2011, p. 35; Villing and R.I. Thomas 2013, p. 100; Petrie 1886.
[130]Hdt. 2.154. Amasis used Greek mercenaries and bodyguards against the Egyptian warriors. Smoláriková 2008, p. 37.

the Greeks in the region, which led to the Egyptian-Libyan *machimoi* warrior class rising against Amasis for favoring the Greeks.[131]

This information is further supported by the epigraphical evidence on the Elephantine Stela, dating to Amasis' reign in 570, where an inscription mentioned the civil war between Apries and Amasis.[132] This stela confirmed the dating for the civil war and the close relations between the pharaohs and their external mercenaries.[133] Apries had hoped to reinstate himself as pharaoh with the help of the Greeks, and following the war, the new Pharaoh Amasis moved the Greeks to a single location, away from the hostile *machimoi*.[134] Thus, one could envision the pharaoh's decision to control the Greeks in an isolated area, where the region could still benefit from their mercantile practices, as well as from their mercenaries, and they would be separated from the local population.[135] An Egyptian temple, then, in such a location within a community of Greeks would not be justified.

From the lack of religious architectural features and from the historical context at the time, it is clear that the Great Temenos was most likely not an Egyptian temple in the Saite period. If this is accepted, then what is the function of the precinct? There are a few aspects that shed light on another possibility. One could argue that the Great Temenos functioned as an Egyptian administrative precinct. This purpose would explain the location of an Egyptian complex in close proximity to the seventh and sixth century Greek sanctuaries and port, where they would patrol the commercial activities of the Greek community and oversee imports and taxes.[136]

[131]Hdt. 2.154.
[132]The stela is in the British Museum, BM 952. Leahy 1988, p. 189.
[133]Leahy 1988, p. 189.
[134]Smoláriková 2008, p. 40; Breasted 1906, pp. 509-512.
[135]As discussed below under the ceramics section, local Egyptian pottery from the seventh century was discovered throughout the site; it is likely that there were some Egyptian inhabitants as well or perhaps an earlier Egyptian town in the area prior to the Greeks establishing their sanctuaries, though such a settlement has not been discovered yet.
[136]This discussed the relationship between Naukratis and Thonis-Herakleion, where trade goods were taxed. Egyptian officials were known as the 'Overseer of the gate of the Foreign Lands of the Great Green.' Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006, p. 5.

This would also explain the defensive nature, evident from the Saite enclosure walls, and the casemate building's storage chambers and corridors, which were also found in other fortresses and civic buildings.[137] The positioning of such a precinct near an essential trading point and a site with a non-Egyptian population would clearly be advantageous for the Egyptians. It would be especially convenient for hiring Greek soldiers, as they would have arrived in Egypt from the port of Thonis-Heralceion in the Canopic branch, and Naukratis would be the first location they encounter. The diverse environment at Naukratis would indeed be an effective place for hiring new recruits, alongside other activities.

5.3.4 Ceramics

The Greek vases found at Naukratis are indicative of the ritual activities taking place. The copious imports from Ionia, Laconia, and Attica, as well as the local Greek copies, illuminate the active trade routes and importance of Naukratis as a focal point for Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean.[138] The Greek traders were evidently traveling to Naukratis and giving votive offerings to the sanctuaries; the lack of settlement contexts alongside the sanctuaries demonstrates this. The ceramic imports had a particular purpose in ritual activities explicitly. Although the majority of the Archaic pottery originated from the Greek sanctuaries, an amount of the Greek vases were found in the Great Temenos; approximately one percent of the finds from the site came from the enclosure.[139] Petrie recorded that he uncovered Greek wares in the burnt stratum inside the enclosure that dated to the Archaic period;[140] later excavations by Hogarth, however, stated that they uncovered only Egyptian material in the burnt layers.[141] The early excavations did not thoroughly record the types of vases found

[137]As discussed earlier, Villing and Thomas 2013 concluded that the Saite wall existed, contrary to past conclusions by Hogarth, Coulson, and Leonard. Oren 1984.
[138]Smoláriková 2002, pp. 28-31.
[139]Villing, Bergeron, et al. 2013, Chart 2 from British Museum online database.
[140]Petrie 1886, pp. 20-3.
[141]Hogarth, Edgar, and Gutch 1898, p. 43.

Figure 5.22: Example of Samian Ionian Cup from the Sanctuary of Apollo at Naukratis, 580-540 B.C.E. Identified typology as Schlotzhauer Ionian Cup Type 9.A. No. 86.638, P.4820, British Museun online catalogue.[145]

within these layers, so it is difficult to know what pottery is specifically associated with the Great Temenos.[142] Since Archaic living quarters at Naukratis have not been found, we do not know the types of pottery shapes that would have been discovered in settlement contexts there.[143] Indeed, most of these vases from the ritual contexts were attributed to Greek traders passing through and offering them as dedications, and the import types reveal that these dedicators included Eastern Greeks and Ionians, such as Samians, Chians, Milesians, Northern Ionians, and Aeolians. The Eastern Greek and Ionian influence is evident from the vases that were similar to those dedicated in ritual contexts in the Greek world, such as the Samian Heraion, the Artemision at Ephesos, and the Sanctuary of Athena at Emborio at Chios, just to name a few.[144]

The pottery shapes at Naukratis were typical of dedications and ritual dining practices, including cups, bowls, plates, and a variety of drinking vessels (see Figure 5.22). A body of imports at Naukratis included the 33 fragments of Laconian vases that find parallels at sanctuaries in Cyrene and Samos. Some were even produced by the same Laconian painters (see Figure 5.23).[146] This exemplified the intensity

[142]Möller 2000, p. 5.
[143]Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006, p. 5.
[144]Morgan 1993, pp. 32-3; Jantzen 1972; Boardman 1967; Baumbach 2004; Villing, Bergeron, et al. 2013; For instance, the Black Sea colonies, Istros and Berezan, reflected identical East Greek drinking profile at Naukratis. Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006, pp. 5-6.
[146]Pipili 1998, p. 87; Venit 1985, p. 394.

Figure 5.23: Laconian Black-Figure *Kylix* with gorgoneion decoration, found in Naukratis, made by the Boreads Painter, 575-565. British Museum Online Catalogue no. 1888, 0601.523. Pipili 1987: 112, no. 30.

of the trade routes and the demand for these vases as dedications by traders. In addition to imports, there were local copies of Greek vases as well. Extensive local production of various shapes and styles associated with ritual practices dating between the seventh and sixth centuries were found, and this evinced that Greek potters were likely working at Naukratis. Besides the use of local clay to produce these vases, there were virtually no other Egyptian elements influencing the shapes and functions, which suggest they were made for the dedications to the sanctuaries by Greeks.[147]

Evidence of the local repertoire found alongside these vases would have been a useful addition to help define how Greeks, and possibly Egyptians, consumed the different ceramics. Only a selection of Egyptian ware was kept from the early excavations, without a clear documented provenance, and none of the fragments were initially published.[148] Nevertheless, recent excavations have confirmed that Egyptian pottery was indeed ubiquitous from the time periods of occupation, starting from the seventh century B.C.E., and that it appeared at the site contemporaneously alongside

[147]Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006, p. 6.
[148]Berlin 1997, pp. 150-1; A. Spencer 2011, pp. 38-9.

the Greek imports.[149] Ten fragments from earlier excavations, though without specific provenance documented, were re-analyzed and identified as local coarse-ware bowls and jars that dated to the seventh and sixth centuries.[150] In addition, a few Egyptian fragments from the original excavations were recently analyzed and the shapes included platters, dishes, shallow and deep bowls, cups, jars, and flasks.[151] Although this is a small sample size, it shows that local Egyptian vases for consumption were used alongside the Greek imports. This suggests, firstly, that it is plausible that the Greeks in Naukratis used Egyptian daily ware and reserved their imported vases for dedication them to the sanctuaries. Despite the lack of specific provenance, we can assume that the Egyptian ware would have been found in the excavated areas around the Greek sanctuaries and from the Great Temenos, as this was the main focus in Petrie and Hogarth's early excavations[152]. Moreover, it cannot be entirely ruled out that Greeks and Egyptians perhaps resided at Naukratis together; however, there is no evidence for an Egyptian settlement or Saite temple complex at the site, as discussed earlier, so this would be difficult to prove.[153] Finally, the local Egyptian vases, if found within the Great Temenos, could be further indicative of the Great Temenos as a center for Egyptian administration and military activity in the area, where Egyptians would be stationed and had access to their local vases.

Lastly, in addition to the Greek imports and the local production, two fragments of Carian pots were recently discovered at Naukratis (see Figures 5.24 and 5.25).[154] This is the first instance where such vases were found outside of Caria. Carians were identified as mercenaries in Egypt by Herodotus[155] and at Abu Simbel by the rock

[149]J. Spencer 2014a, pp. 1-10.
[150]Berlin 1997, pp. 150-1; Parallels for these fragments came from Egyptian buildings at Tell el-Maskhuta, Mendes, and Tell el-Balamun. A. Spencer 2011, p. 39.
[151]J. Spencer 2014a, pp. 1-10.
[152]A few fragments published in Spencer 2014 have a recorded find spot in the Sanctuary of Apollo.
[153]Spencer 2011 argued for an earlier Egyptian settlement prior to the arrival of the Greeks.
[154]Williams and Villing 2006, The two fragments were part of a krater and an amphora.
[155]Hdt. 2.154

Figure 5.24: Painted Carian amphora fragment from Naukratis, 650-550 B.C.E. British Museum online catalogue no. 1924, 1201.37. Villing, Bergeron, et al. 2013; Fig. 2, no. 6. Williams and Villing 2006, p. 47

inscriptions, alongside the Greeks, and from grave stelai at Saqqara.[156] An inscribed Carian name on an East Greek cup found at Naukratis further pointed to a Carian presence.[157]

5.3.5 Weapons as Dedications

The largest group of weapons found during the Saite period included at least 88 arrowheads.[158] The arrowheads that dated to the 26th Dynasty (664-525 B.C.E.) were produced locally in Egypt. The excavators noted that the arrowhead was the main type of weapon discovered during periods of occupation at Naukratis, in addition to some sporadic other weapons that are discussed below. This suggests that there was

[156]Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006, p. 6.
[157]Fig. 36: N104, B66. The precise findspot of this cup is unknown. Johnston 2014, p. 46.
[158]R. Thomas 2013, pp. 4-8.

Figure 5.25: Painted Carian Skyphos from Naukratis, 600 B.C.E. NAA indicates definite production in Caria. British Museum online catalogue no. 1888,0601.653. Villing, Bergeron, et al. 2013

a specific use and demand for this particular weapon at the site in the Saite period. Their context sheds light on this; a number of arrowheads was uncovered within the Sanctuary of Apollo, so we assume that these were dedications to the god. The remaining arrowheads were recorded without provenance, however since they were found in the first excavations by Petrie in 1884-5, it is likely that they came from either the Sanctuary of Apollo or the Great Temenos.[159]

This is interesting because it was common for Greek soldiers to dedicate their weaponry, armor, or plunder acquired abroad in battles to sanctuaries after completing their duties, especially during the later Classical and Hellenistic periods.[160] Examples of these dedications in the Aegean during the Archaic period include those at the contemporary Samian Heraion, where weapons and war booty were found,[161] as well as bronze and iron weapons at the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos, the Artemision at Sparta, the sanctuary to Apollo at Bassae,[162] and at Emporio in Chios.[163]

In contrast, it is known that Egyptians did not dedicate their weaponry to temples. Depictions of warfare in Egyptian temples included reliefs of warriors or war scenes,

[159]R. Thomas 2013, p. 8.

[160]Chaniotis 2005, pp. 235-7; Snodgrass 1967, pp. 48-9.

[161]The Heraion yields war booty, such as the North Syrian horse blinker, and other bronze dedications besides arrowheads. Jantzen 1972, p. VII; Kyrieleis 1993, p. 127.

[162]Classical Olympia and Delphi are later examples of this phenomenon. The armor and weapons of multiple periods are usually found together in deposits, thus it is difficult to date them. Snodgrass 1967, p. 48; The Artemis Orthia sanctuary had many ivory and bone plaque dedications with warrior depictions. Brouwers 2013, p. 86.

[163]Nos. 399-406; 229, nos. 443-482. Boardman 1967, pp. 226-7.

Figure 5.26: Stele showing a Greek soldier. 525-500 B.C.E. Limestone. Naukratis. British Museum 1900,0214.21. F. Goddio and Masson-Berghoff 2016a, 38, Fig. 19.

while weapons were found mainly in forts, foundation deposits underneath buildings, or as accompanying burial goods.[164] Egyptian temples did not yield similar ritual offerings during the Iron Age, thus we can confidently say that the context of these Egyptian arrowheads in the Naukratis temples indicates Greek religious practices and thus presence.

Another important feature about the Naukratis arrowheads is their typologies. One type in particular, the leaf-shaped socketed arrowhead, originated in Anatolia and Ionia and was used widely in the Greek world during the second half of the seventh century until the early fifth century (see Figures 5.27 and 5.28).[165] Parallels were found mainly in Egypt, such as Tell Defenneh and Tel Qedwa, and in Greece, including arrowheads from the Battle of Marathon and from Olympia.[166] These Ionian types were found alongside local Egyptian arrowheads and could suggest that these were brought to Naukratis from Asia Minor. The iron and bronze arrow heads from Naukratis may evince that they were votive offerings after their use in battle. In

[164]McDermott 2004, p. 189.
[165]R. Thomas 2013, p. 5.
[166]R. Thomas 2013, p. 5.

Figure 5.27: Leaf-shaped socketed copper alloy arrowhead, c. seventh-sixth centuries B.C.E. British Museum, no. 1888,0601.6.b. R. Thomas 2013, 5, Fig. 7.

Figure 5.28: Leaf-shaped socketed and barbed copper alloy arrowhead, c. seventh=sixth centuries. British Museum, no. 1886,0401.1737.

addition, some of the types of arrowheads from Egypt were later used by the Persians in Greeks from the fifth centuries onwards, such as the shaft-less short socket diamond-headed types and socketed 'Scythian' variants.[167] The later dissemination of these types in the Greek world represents their prominent use in warfare since the seventh century in Egypt, and indicates that Greeks were using them and perhaps brought them back to Greece.

In addition to the ritual contexts of the arrowheads, a single Corinthian bronze hel-

[167]R. Thomas 2013.

Figure 5.29: Greek Corinthian bronze helmet from Naukratis, c. 510 B.C.E. Royal Museum of Art and History, Brussels.[170]

met was discovered allegedly from Naukratis, though the precise provenance from the site is unknown (see Figure 5.29).[168] The helmet is stylized with palmettes, lotus decorations, and hammered eyebrows. Close parallels come from dedications in Olympia between 600-550, as well as the bronze helmet discovered in Thonis-Heracleion (discussed below).[169] Although the context is unknown, we can postulate that if the helmet was found in a sanctuary, it could be a votive offering by a Greek soldier. Likewise, if it were found in the Great Temenos during Petrie's first excavations, then it could belong to a soldier or a mercenary.

5.3.6 Connection with Thonis-Heracleion

The site of Thonis-Heracleion is located on the tip of the Canopic branch of the Nile, which led directly to Naukratis. Topographical surveys in the modern day Bay of Aboukir led to the initial discovery of the site followed by ten years of excavations, from 1996-2006.[171] The site consists of several islands with channels that connected

[168]The helmet was recovered from the collection of the Royal Museum of Art and History at Brussels. R. Thomas 2013, p. 3.
[169]R. Thomas 2013, p. 3.
[171]F. Goddio 2007.

the various harbors to the Western Lake and to the Nile and a large monumental Egyptian sanctuary was located on the central island.[172]

Based on proximity to each other, the ceramics from the site revealed almost identical repertoires to those from Naukratis. One area of underwater excavation directly along the port (Area A) in particular yielded the majority of the earliest vases, dating from the end of the seventh to the beginning of the sixth century.[173] This particular area produced mostly Greek imports, including Archaic amphorae from Samos, Lesbos, Klazomenae, Chios, and Miletus.[174] Ionian cups and Wild Goat oinochoe were also ubiquitous in the area.[175] The local pottery in this port area was limited to storage vessels, and the quantity was significantly less than that of the Greek imports.[176] In contrast, the only other area excavated, so far, with contemporary pottery came from an area located on the northern canal (see Figure 5.30). This area produced a drastically different repertoire, where the majority of the vases were local wares produced from local clay, with very few Greek imports.[177]

In addition, there is an interesting find from Thonis-Heracleion that is worth mentioning. From the excavations of the shipwrecks near the port, a Greek helmet, dating to the fifth century B.C.E., was discovered (see Figure 5.31).[178] In addition to the sixth century helmet from Naukratis, this is the only other known discovery so far of a Greek helmet from the shores of North Africa. A contemporary parallel for this fifth century helmet comes from another shipwreck off the port of Haifa in the Levant.[179] The discovery of these Greek helmets in shipwrecks is significant as

[172]See Map 14. Robinson and Frank Goddio 2015, p. 29.
[173]Robinson and Frank Goddio 2015, p. 151; F. Goddio 2007, p. 118.
[174]Grataloup 2010, p. 152.
[175]These were dated specifically between 610-525 B.C.E. Robinson and Frank Goddio 2015, pp. 138, 152.
[176]Robinson and Frank Goddio 2015, p. 153.
[177]The other areas excavated yielded ceramics from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period onwards. Robinson and Frank Goddio 2015, p. 153.
[178]Robinson and Frank Goddio 2015, p. 6; From the Maritime Museum in Alexandria, no. SCA 1026. Masson-Berghoff and Villing 2016, p. 38.
[179]Bronze Corinthian helmet with snakes, palmette, and lion decorations that were more common in Archaic period than Classical. Photograph in publication came from the Museum of Haifa. Kagan

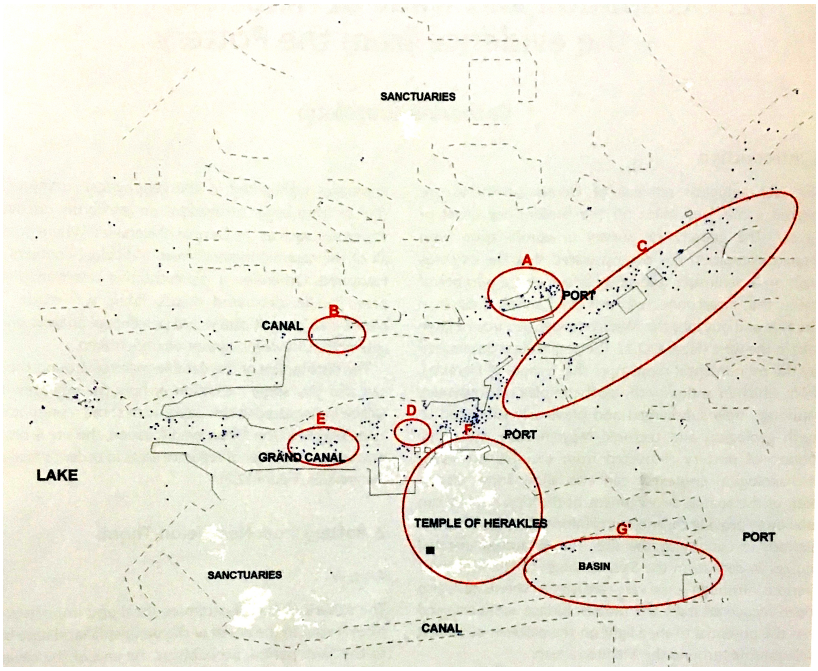

Figure 5.30: Map of Thonis-Heracleion with the specific locations of ceramic analysis. Fig. 12.2. Grataloup 2010, p. 152

it reiterates the arrival of Greek soldiers to the Near East, as well as suggests that by the end of the sixth century, Greek soldiers would be carrying their own hoplite armor with them abroad.

5.4 Analysis of Evidence from Iron Age Egypt

The sites provide some evidence of archaeological remains that reveal a Greek presence and mercenary activity. Linking the finds with the corresponding sources, epigraphical texts, and contexts sheds light on contextualizing mercenary activity in Egypt, and whether interpretations in past scholarship are correct. In this chapter, three case studies are discussed that had various similarities and differences in regards to their contexts and to their finds; past scholarship argued that all three sites have mercenary evidence.

and Viggiano 2013, p. i.

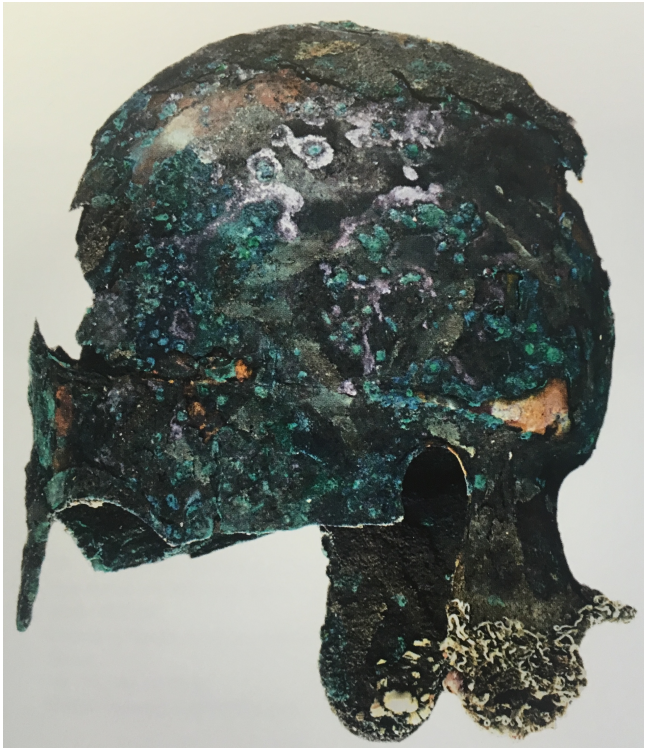

Figure 5.31: Greek Helmet dating from the fifth to fourth Centuries B.C.E. from Thonis-Heracleion. Bronze, Maritime Museum, Alexandra SCA 1026. Fig. 20. F. Goddio and Masson-Berghoff 2016b, p. 38

The fortress at Tel Qedwa has an explicit military character, with a unique glimpse into a century of Egyptian activity, as the site has no earlier or later remains that affect the seventh and sixth century contexts. The non-Egyptian cremation burial rites reveal evidence for Greek activity. The Greek imports further show daily consumption practices within the fortress, as well as in nearby encampments, where the soldiers were stationed. In this case, there is a strong probability that Greek mercenaries were stationed at the fortress. Tel Qedwa is thus a reliable source for comparison to other sites and their material remains.

Archaeological indicators of mercenaries at Tel Defenneh are not as conclusive as those at Tel Qedwa. Although currently argued to be an Egyptian religious precinct, the abundant weapons manufactured at the site strongly support military activity alongside the religious practices. The epigraphical finds additionally corroborate this; a Greek soldier inscribed that he was stationed at Tel Defenneh, a prisoner recorded his imprisonment at the site, and Psammetichus passed through here on military campaigns. The ceramics, however, do not indicate that Greeks were specifically using the imports. The unique storage repertoire and lack of typical Greek consumption wares suggest that this was a rare case where perhaps Egyptians preferred to use Greek vases for storage. As a central area for armies to frequent, it is likely that mercenaries within these armies were intermittently present at Tel Defenneh; however, there is not enough evidence of non-local practices to point to consistent Greek activity.

The third site, Naukratis, reveals a very different character in comparison to the other two. The finds reflect the avid trade character, the importance of the Greek sanctuaries, and how this site acted as a focal point for Greek ritual activity on the North African coast. Weapons were used as votive offerings in the Sanctuary of Apollo, which suggests that Greeks were dedicating their weapons and not Egyptians, as Egyptians in this period did not offer such votives. The abundant arrowheads and the exceptional Greek helmet were the only types of weapons found at the site in ritual

contexts. In addition, there is a new interpretation for the Great Temenos. Recent suggestions argue for the enclosure to be an Egyptian temple precinct; however, the finds dating to the Saite period do not support a predominant religious function for the complex. The function of this building as an Egyptian administrative precinct corresponds with the Greek activities in the area, where Egyptians would oversee and maintain control.

These three cases present a comprehensive picture of how mercenary activity manifested in the later Iron Age, and they demonstrate that there is no one-way to identify mercenaries in the archaeological record. The sites reveal the depth of interactions between Egypt and the Greek world, where alongside the trade routes, merchants, and seafarers, mercenaries also emerged and were active in the Egyptian military.

Chapter 6

The Iron Age Material Evidence from the Levant

The variety of imports from sites in the Levant attest to the substantial interactions and exchanges between the Greek world and the Eastern Mediterranean. This was evident initially from Early Iron Age Greek imports found at sites in northern Syria, as well as at sites in Phoenicia, such as Tyre. The Greek imports from these areas infiltrated the Levantine coast by the tenth century and were continued into the following centuries; the implications of the imports have long been a topic of scholarly debate. The amount of Greek pottery at Al Mina, for example, instigated different interpretations regarding the nature of the site. Various suggestions included a mercenary encampment, a Greek settlement, as well as a port of trade for interregional exchanges. Evaluating the trade connections from their earliest appearance, and what these indicate about the inhabitants, is useful to construct the nature of the interactions. The discussion, therefore, begins by briefly evaluating the evidence from the three sites in North Syria, including Al Mina, Tell Sukas, and Ras el-Bassit. The imports from these particular sites were interpreted as evidence of a Greek presence.

The key aim of the chapter is to contextualize the remains that were attributed

Figure 6.1: Drawing and photograph of the Iron Age Greek bowl fragment from Tell es-Safi/Gath in Palestine. Fig. 3. Maeir, Fantalkin, and Zukerman 2009, p. 62

to Greek mercenaries in the southern Levant, and to determine if past interpretations of mercenary activity are plausible. In comparison to northern Syria, the earliest Greek import found in the south came from Tell es-Safi/Gath and dated to the ninth century (the Late Iron Age IIA period in Levantine chronology); the vase originated from the Argolid (see Figure 6.1).[1] However, the majority of Greek import evidence in the southern Levant did not arrive until the seventh and sixth centuries, markedly after the initial trade influx that occurred in northern Syria. In attempts to connect mercenary activity with the archaeology and imports, scholars such as Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, Alexander Fantalkin, Jodi Magness, Jane C. Waldbaum, Robert Wenning, Marco Bettalli, among others, suggested when and where mercenary activity took place.[2] The interpretations were based on the imported pottery, and, when possible, the epigraphical and papyrological texts, weapons, and other potentially indicative finds.

The specific sites for discussion from the southern Levant include the fortresses at Mesad Hashavyahu and Tel Kabri, and the port settlements at Tel Dor and at Ashkelon. These sites were selected for analysis because they all yield various Greek imports within an important interlude, from 630 until the terminus post quem of 605/4, when the Neo-Babylonian King, Nebuchadnezzar, invaded the region. The time span was characterized by the rapid appearance of Eastern Greek imports in the

[1] Maeir, Fantalkin, and Zukerman 2009, pp. 61-3.

[2] **naaman_forced_????**; **naaman_kingdom_????**; Wenning 1991; Bettalli 1995; Waldbaum 1994; Waldbaum 1997; Haider 1996; W.-D. Niemeier 1994; W.-D. Niemeier 2001; W.-D. Niemeier and B. Niemeier 2002; Fantalkin 2001; Fantalkin 2011.

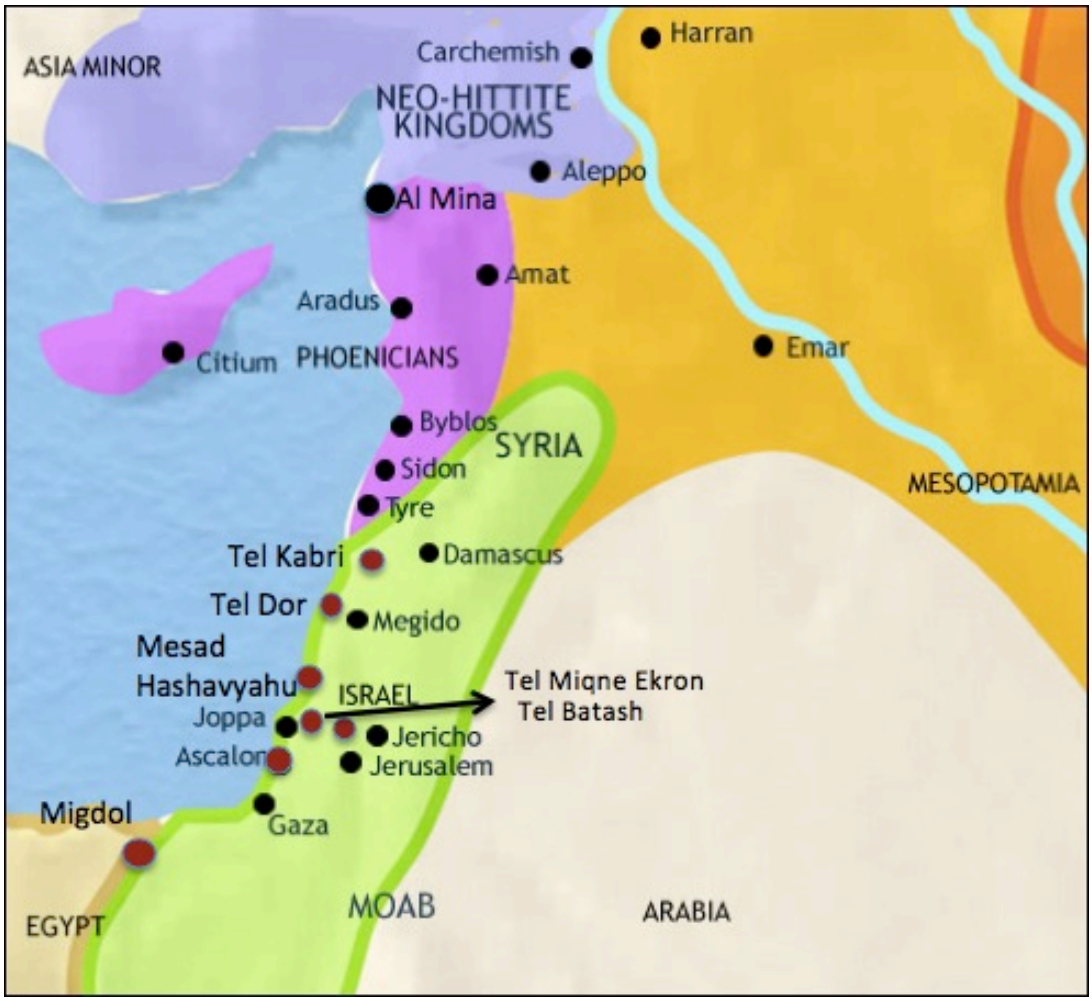

Figure 6.2: Map of sixth century case studies in the southern Levant with Greek material evidence.

southern Levant, followed by the abrupt disappearance of such vases. The remains from the sites should be considered in a case by case scenario, as the context, finds, and historical setting at each site vary.

6.1 Greek Trade and Migration on the North Syrian Coast

6.1.1 Al Mina

The intricacies of early contacts between Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean, and how these interactions manifested, are certainly evident at the site of Al Mina in North Syria, located on the Amuq Plain at the edge of the River Orontes. The essential period for trade evidence at the harbor town dated between the ninth and seventh centuries (see Figure 6.3). The ample repertoire of Greek vases led to interpretations that the site functioned as a Greek settlement, also termed as an *apoikia* by some scholars, although this is no longer widely accepted, as discussed below.[3]

The origins and shapes of the Greek imports reflect the patterns of trade over the centuries: the first vases to arrive at Al Mina came from the Cyclades, which is interesting given that nearby at Tyre, and throughout Phoenicia, Euboean pottery had been traded since the tenth century.[4] From the second half of the eighth century until 675/70, Euboean imports became extremely prevalent at Al Mina and were emblematic of the period when the site functioned as a trading post; the substantial trade routes between the East and West exemplified this, with cross-cultural trade between the Euboeans, Phoenicians, Cypriots, and northern Syrians.

The abrupt shift from Euboean trade to Eastern Greek wares by the second quarter of the seventh century marks a severe change in the pottery assemblage discovered at the site.[5] The Eastern Greek wares then predominated at Al Mina throughout the seventh and sixth centuries, and continued until the later fourth century.[6] The volume

[3]Luke 2003, pp. 1-2.

[4]Vacek 2012, p. 310; The earliest Euboean materials in the East consisted of two amphorae fragments in Level II of Tyre, which have parallels at Xeropolis in Lefkandi. Lemos 2005, pp. 53-4.

[5]The earliest Eastern Greek pot is a southern Ionian bird *oinochoae* fragment from Level IX. Vacek 2012, p. 311.

[6]Vacek 2012, p. 316.

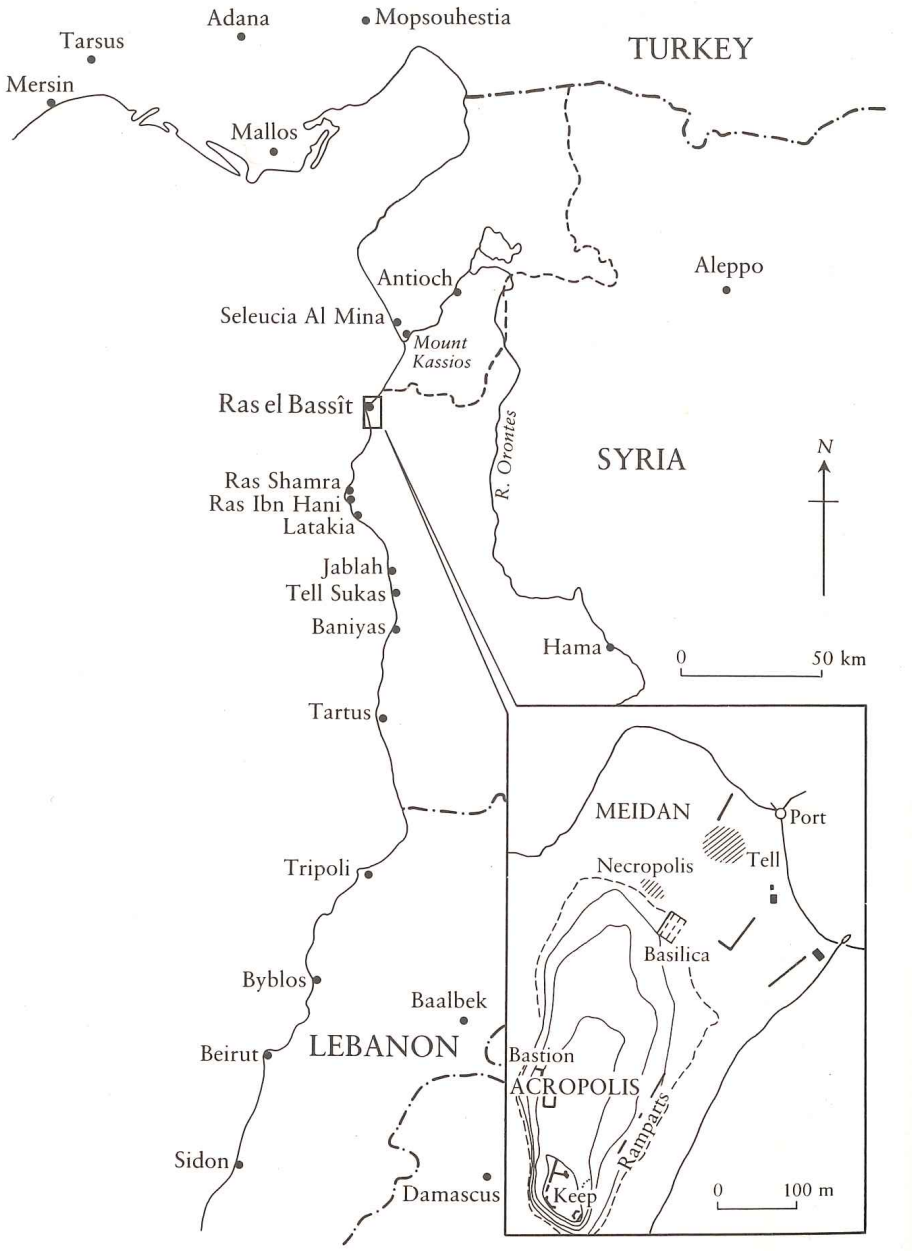

Figure 6.3: Map of Syrian coast and the site plan of Ras el Bassit. Fig. 1. Courbin 1990, p. 504

of imports at the site suggests that Greek pottery was undoubtedly a commodity that targeted the local population at Al Mina, as well as other sites in northern Syria.[7]

The influx of imports was argued to represent a Greek mercenary encampment, based mainly on two factors.[8] Firstly, the Eastern Greek ceramic imports were similar in shape and origin to those found at the fortresses at Tel Kabri and Mesad Hashavyahu in the southern Levant. In addition, it was suggested that, since Greek imports were found in the initial occupation layers of the site, Al Mina was originally founded by Greek mercenaries alongside the local population. To conclude that Al Mina had a mercenary presence, however, more evidence is needed to corroborate the argument. Thus far, there has been no architectural features or weapons that would indicate a fortified area or a military character. Other components that are indicative of non-local residents or activities remain undiscovered.

The current interpretation of the site is as a port of trade, which is defined as a neutral institution that supports reliable trading between different groups.[9] This identification is supported by a few factors: the strategic location of Al Mina; the port's autonomy prior to the Neo-Assyrian rule by 738; the diversity of imports; and the consistency with local North Syrian architectural traditions.

6.1.2 Tell Sukas

Tell Sukas is a port settlement with numerous Greek imports found in settlement, sanctuary, and burial contexts, by the seventh century.[10] The Greek pottery from the settlement strata were distributed throughout the buildings, and were not concentrated in a particular area. Its discovery in households, alongside local vases, indicates that the imports were typically used at the site as everyday wares, rather

[7]Vacek concluded the vases did not target small elite groups, and were widely affordable and available for middle and lower socio-economic levels. The class that should be connected with consuming these vases is the merchants transporting them. Vacek 2012, p. 300.

[8]Kearsley 1999, p. 116.

[9]Luke 2003, p. 3.

[10]It is located in the Gubla plain, south of Latakia. See Figure 6.3. Riis 1970, 7.9, Fig. 2.

than as storage vessels or as trade products moving further inland.[11] In the sanctuary context, there was an exceptional amount of open-shaped Greek imports that attested to consumption of food and drink during ritual activities. Such finds precipitated the suggestion that this was a Greek sanctuary; likewise, the sanctuary revealed some Greek architectural features, such as the porch and column bases.[12] The main Greek characteristic of the sanctuary was the discovery of terracotta roof tiles, which was common in Ionian sanctuaries.[13] Lastly, nine burials, including cremations and inhumations, yielded Greek vases, alongside a variety of local burial offerings. Whether these burials indicate Greeks exclusively is debatable, as there is an amalgamation of local practices as well in the rites and offerings.[14]

The ubiquity of Greek vases in numerous contexts from Tell Sukas demonstrate the extent of Greek influences. Whether the vases point to a predominate Greek population is ultimately unclear, especially since they were discovered alongside local practices, and requires further investigation. However, this site in particular is telling of the complex exchanges and cultural impacts the East Greek merchants instigated in the region.

6.1.3 Ras el-Bassit

The port settlement at Ras el-Bassit exhibits the transition from local recipients of Greek trade products to actual Greek residents, by the end of the Iron Age. The coastal site was continuously inhabited from the sixteenth century B.C.E. until the seventh century C.E., with well-defined late Iron Age strata. Although there were limited tenth to ninth century Greek fragments, including an atypical Cycladic vase with pendant semi-circles and a possible Protogeometric *oinochoe* fragment,[15] Greek

[11]Vacek 2012, p. 209.
[12]Boardman 1972, p. 216.
[13]Boardman 1972, p. 216; Winter 1993.
[14]Vacek 2012, p. 211.
[15]The origin of the *oinochoe* sherd is not stated and it is debatable whether it is truly Protogeometric in date. Courbin 1990, pp. 505-6.

imports do not become regular and numerous until at least the mid to late eighth century. The eighth century imports, all discovered in settlement contexts, included an Early Protocorinthian *skyphos* that had the earliest Greek graffito at the site, Late Geometric *skyphoi* from Euboea, and Rhodian drinking vessels. These vases were not perceived as indicators for a Greek populace, as they were common commodities in the region.[16] In addition, a contemporary eighth to seventh century cemetery showed a continuation of local, Syro-Phoenician burial rites, where Greek imports were used as burial offerings.

What witnesses a change in imports, as well as a transformation in population, is during the mid seventh century to the end of the sixth century, when considerable amounts of East Greek imports arrived at Ras el-Bassit. The imports included wares like Ionian cups, Wild Goat style *oinochoai*, and Samian kraters, all of which are part of a typical Greek drinking repertoire.[17] The plethora of vases appeared in addition to epigraphical evidence of Ionian names; the Ionians inscribed their names on the imports, as well as on local vases, such as Levantine torpedo jugs, further indicating their presence.[18] The evidence for a novel Greek character at the site also becomes apparent from the first cremation burial found at the tell in Tomb 25; this burial yielded explicitly Greek material, with the exception of one Etruscan *kantharos*, which is the earliest found in the Near East.[19] From this point, the East Greek finds and imports continued in the following centuries, clarifying that at least a small group of Ionians was established at Ras el-Bassit and lived among the greater local population.

What is significant from this synopsis is the following; it is clear that, despite earlier trade routes in the ninth and eighth centuries, Euboean, Protocorinthian, and Rhodian vases are not associated with other archaeological evidence that would support migrations to Ras el-Bassit. Rather, the imports reflect the established trade

[16]Courbin 1990, p. 506.
[17]Courbin 1990, p. 508.
[18]Courbin 1990, Pl. 48.2. Courbin 1978, p. 58.
[19]Courbin 1990, 508, Footnote 28.

connections. On the other hand, the later evidence for new practices in the seventh century do indicate that new migrants now resided at Ras el-Bassit. The new practices included the evidence for Greek burial rites and inscriptions, as well as the change in the pottery import shapes. The East Greek trade routes seemed, to an extent, to open borders for Ionian merchants and travelers to the North Syrian coast. This process should be kept in mind when discussing the trade patterns that appeared in other areas of the Levant.

6.2 The Southern Levant: Mesad Hashavyahu

6.2.1 The Site

The fortress of Mesad Hashavyahu is located near the coast, by the port of Yavneh-Yam, where it received its imports (see Figure 6.2). The site bordered the regional polities of Judea and Philistia, and by the seventh century, the area was under the jurisdiction of King Josiah of Judah. The strategic advantage of the site's location remains vague since no major ancient road leading past the fortress was discovered, such as the fortresses along the Ways of Horus in Egypt. Likewise, no wells or cisterns delineate a clear water supply; water access for the fort likely came from Yavneh Yam.[20] Regardless, the large fortifications, the isolated location near a port, and the conspicuous military character of the site suggest that it did have an important role during its period of habitation. The transient period of occupation was exceptional; it was occupied for a single phase, from the third quarter of the seventh century until its abandonment following the Persian occupation in 525.[21] It remained subsequently unused during the Persian conquest.

[20]Fantalkin 2001, p. 10.

[21]This single phase is clear through the lack of architectural changes and the ceramic chronology. There were various opinions regarding the chronology of the site: some scholars had incorrectly dated Mesad Hashavyahu to the Persian period. Fantalkin 2001, pp. 47, 128-136; **naveh_excavations_????**.

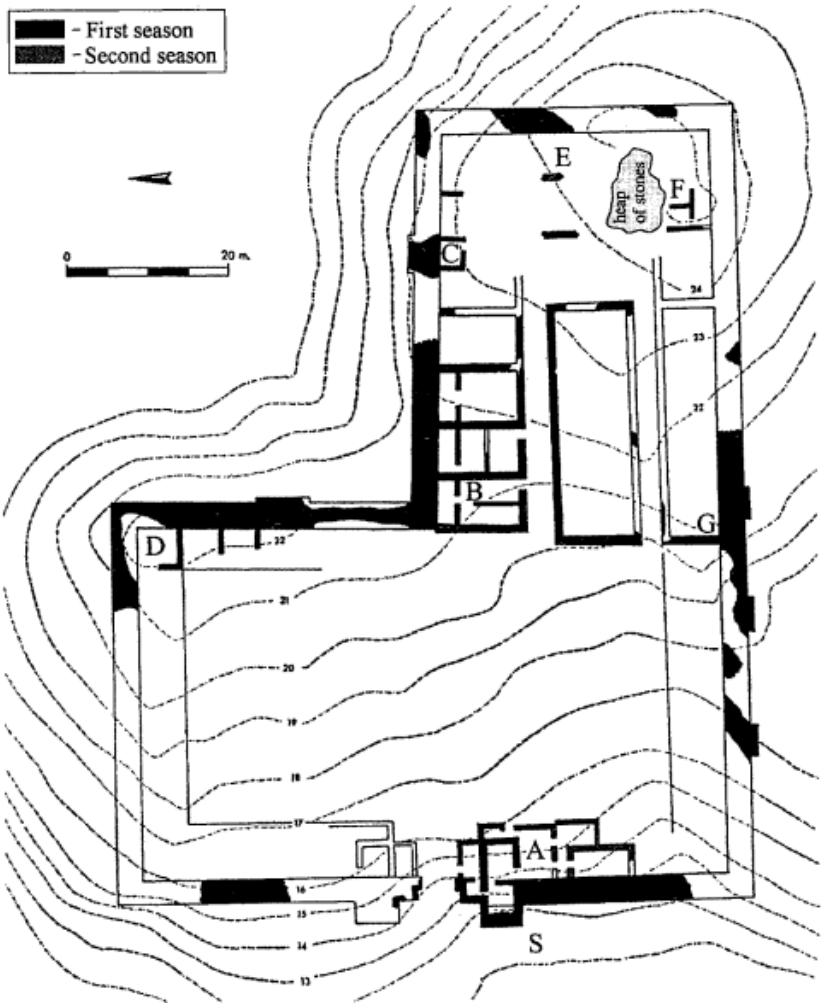

Figure 6.4: Plan of the fortress at Mesad Hashavyahu. Fantalkin 2001, 9, Fig. 5.

Three excavation seasons, between 1960 and 1980, revealed a massive late Iron Age garrison. It was constructed in the typical Levantine architectural tradition, including casemate walls, an entry gate, and a tower complex (see Figure 6.4).[22] The fortress exhibited unique components as well, such as the L-shape, which was unparalleled architecturally in the Near East at this time. The limited excavations investigated particular areas of the fortress quarters. Two seasons of excavations explored eight areas in the fortress, with Area A by the central entrance as the main focus (see Figure 6.4).[23] Later excavations uncovered a virtually complete residential unit in Area E, with similar finds to Area A. These discoveries were then condensed into a publication that documented the finds, stratigraphy, and investigated areas.[24] The main finds that triggered much discussion regarding the nature of the site were the Hebrew ostraka, which attested to the every day activities of the Jewish occupants and soldiers, as well as the substantial amount of East Greek pottery. The quantity of Greek imports was the second largest in the region, comparable to the amount from the southern port of Ashkelon (see Chapter 6.5).

6.2.2 Ceramics

The plethora of imports led scholars to suggest that Greek mercenaries were stationed at the fort.[25] The ceramics were also interpreted as indicators for a Greek trading colony, based on the sheer amount and similarities to vases found in North Syria. A third interpretation is that the imports only show trade activity, and that no Greek residents were stationed at the fortress or in the southern Levant.[26] The types and origins of the pottery repertoire are informative of the fortress residents, including the local Levantine ware, the Egyptian imports, and East Greek imports.

[22] W.-D. Niemeier 2001, p. 15; Fantalkin 2001, p. 3; **naveh_excavations_????**; **naveh_more_????**; Reich 1989.
[23] Fantalkin 2001, p. 10.
[24] Fantalkin 2001.
[25] Fantalkin 2001.
[26] **naveh_excavations_????**; Waldbaum 1994, p. 60.

The methodology of documentation for the pottery is notable; with the local pottery, the excavators retained all rim and diagnostic ware for quantitative results, whilst the body sherds were disposed of. The imported vessel fragments were all kept for analysis.[27] This procedure signifies that the percentages of vases are representative of what was found at the site, which is unique since early excavations in the region, as well as in Egypt, did not necessarily document Greek imports in such detail.[28]

The local ware consisted of household pottery that was typical of the majority of seventh century Levantine sites, and attested to the local consumption patterns within the living quarters of the fortress. The repertoire generally included a variety of open vessel shapes, such as flat, shallow and heavy bowls, kraters, and cooking pots, as well as storage vessels, 'holemouth' jars, decanters and lamps in substantial quantities.[29]

In comparison, the large amount of Greek import fragments and complete vases is also telling of the consumption activities at the fortress. The quantity of Greek wares was approximately equal to that of the local wares; East Greek and related pottery comprised of 46 percent, while the local pottery was 53 percent of the total finds (with one percent attributed to the Egyptian imports).[30] In particular, eighteen fragments of cooking pots were discovered in the living quarters in Mesad Hashavyahu; these have been interpreted as evidence for residents and for a continuation of non-local cuisine preparation.[31] The concentration of cooking pots in living quarters is indeed unique, and there has not been a similar context with a comparable amount discovered. Although the cooking pot was quintessential of similar vases found at the other three southern Levantine sites for discussion in this chapter, besides these

[27]Fantalkin 2001, p. 96.

[28]An example of this is at Naukratis, where early excavations focused predominantly on the Greek imports and not documenting the actual amount of local vases alongside these imports. See Chapter 5.3.4.

[29]Fantalkin 2001, See 50-72 for an overview of the types and quantities of local vases.

[30]Fantalkin 2001, 103, Fig. 35.

[31]**naveh_excavations_????**; Waldbaum 1997, 31-2, Figs. 8-9.

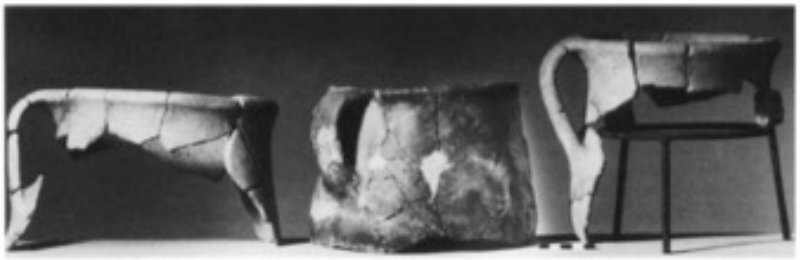

Figure 6.5: Photographs of Greek cooking pots from Mesad Hashavyahu. Waldbaum 1997, 32, Figs. 8 and 9.

specific instances, sporadic fragments were found only at Tel Michal, Shiqmona and Mikhmoret, where they dated to the later Persian period.[32] Greek cooking pots should not be considered prevalent commodities, at least during the seventh century; their limited discovery in the southern Levant shows that they should be considered a rare shape in these contexts.

Outside of the Levant, the cooking pots had innumerable parallels throughout the Greek world and at Greek settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean, Asia Minor and North Africa. Examples include mainland Greece, such as the Athenian Agora, Kerameikos and Corinth, as well as Ephesus in Asia Minor, Samos and Chios in the Aegean, and the Greek settlement at Tocra in North Africa, in addition to many more.[33]

Furthermore, Greek Ionian cups were unearthed in large quantities, with at least 47 cups found in total.[34] These cups in particular were widely exported throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea region from the seventh century until the third quarter of the sixth century. The basic shape included a two-handled cup with an everted lip, and reserved horizontal bands on the body of the handle-zone. They were found in various contexts, including settlement areas such as Megara Hyblaea, the

[32]Waldbaum 1997, 8, Fig. 6. Herzog, Rapp, and Negbi 1989, 120-1, Fig. 9.2.5. Wenning 1991, p. 212.

[33]Waldbaum 1997, p. 31; Fantalkin 2001, pp. 82-97; Boardman 1967, 145-6, nos. 597-604, Fig. 94. Kerschner 1997, p. 115; J. Hayes 1966, 135-7, nos. 1412-1413, fig. 66. Kalaitzoglou 2008, 279-80, pl. 154, nos. 688-709.

[34]**naveh_excavations_????**; Fantalkin 2001, 100, Table 16.

Greek settlement in Sicily, Tarsus in Cilicia, Tocra in Libya, Miletus and Ephesos.[35] A second common context for these Ionian cups was in Greek rituals; they were prevalent imports in sanctuaries at Naukratis, the Artemision at Ephesos, and at the Samian Heraion, where they were used by worshipers for drinking activities in ritual spaces. These latter instances undoubtedly represent a Greek preference for these cups in sanctuaries.

Pouring vessels, such as Wild Goat Style *oinochoai* and plain *oinochai*, were also found in significant amounts. A considerable amount of Wild Goat ware was distributed widely throughout Ionia and Near Eastern settlements, including the three sites in North Syria, Merin in Cilicia, and Naukratis, among other sites.[36] At Mesad Hashavyahu, at least 16 complete decorated Wild Goat *oinochoai* vessels were preserved, as well as an additional 28 plain *oinochoai* without the characteristic Wild Goat decoration.[37] In addition to the complete vessels, the total number of *oinochoai* fragments at Mesad Hashavyahu amounted to over 1509 pieces, the highest proportion found at any site in the southern Levant.[38] Other Greek imports included at least 37 East Greek *amphorae* originating from Samos, Miletus and Lesbos, which are certainly emblematic of trade contacts with the Aegean and the demand for Greek products at the fortress.[39]

Finally, there was a unique assemblage of Eastern Greek lamps that came from Smyrna in Ionia.[40] Parallels for these lamps have not been found from any of the

[35]Cook and Dupont 1998, p. 129; Boardman 1980, p. 49; Megara Hyblaea: Villard and Vallet 1955, pp. 18-33; Tarsus: Hanfmann 1956, pp. 167-173; Tocra: J. Hayes 1966, pp. 111-6, 120-5; Miletus: Dupont 1983, pp. 19-43; The imported Milesian pottery was produced at Kalabaktepe, based on petrographic analysis. Senf 2000, pp. 29-37; W.-D. Niemeier and B. Niemeier 2002, p. 225; Kerschner 1997, Kerschner 1997 has a complete catalogue of pottery from the Artemision at Ephesos.

[36]Cook and Dupont 1998, p. 118.

[37]**naveh_excavations_????**; Fantalkin 2001, pp. 86-7.

[38]Waldbaum 2002, 61, Table II.; Stylistically, the majority of these fragments date to the Middle Wild Goat II type (625-600) and most likely come from Miletus. Waldbaum 1997, pp. 29-30.

[39]Fantalkin 2001, 101, Table 16. The parallels for the *amphorae* are discussed in the thesis. Tel Batash: Magness 2001, 142, no. F6368/1, Photo 91. W.-D. Niemeier and B. Niemeier 2002, pp. 235-8; Waldbaum 2011, p. 307.

[40]Fantalkin 2001, 95-6, Fig. 34: 6-8. **naveh_excavations_????**; There are parallels at the Athenian Agora: Howland 1958, 20-22, nos. 60-62.

sites in the southern Levant during the seventh and sixth centuries, except for the sixth century Greek ritual deposit found at Tel Dor.[41] The discovery of the lamps in a military context is unique and further stimulates the question of what the imports imply about the population.

In contrast to the Greek imports, the Egyptian vases were scanty in number, though still significant. The assemblage included coarse ware jar fragments and a lid found in Area A.[42] The only other evidence for similar Egyptian ware in the southern Levant came from a few fragments at Ashkelon (see Chapter 6.5). The rarity of Egyptian coarse wares outside Egypt suggests that such storage wares were indeed not considered a commodity, at least in the Levant, and that they could not be considered as trade evidence. This is likely indicative of Egyptian practices, or even a few residents, at the fortress, which would add an interesting perspective to the discussion.

The material culture of Mesad Hashavyahu clearly evinces both conventional and atypical finds. The local ware is standard; however, the Greek cooking pots and lamps are unique, as well as the Egyptian coarse ware. The discovery of these finds together in the fortress certainly provokes questions about soldiers stationed here. An additional revealing connection between these assemblages is that a large portion of them was found together in a specific area of the fortress. The largest amount of Greek imports (86 vases), alongside 85 local vases and the few Egyptian coarse wares, were concentrated in the southern part of the site at Area A (see Figure 6.4). Area A consisted of a few rooms that connected to the fortress enclosure wall, adjacent to the main gateway.[43] The location of the rooms near the entryway suggests that this was an ideal location within the complex to station soldiers. The Egyptian fort at Tel Qedwa revealed a similar layout, with Greek imports, local ware and weapons found

[41]Stern 1989, pp. 114-5.
[42]**naveh_excavations_????**.
[43]Fantalkin 2001, 100, Table 16.

in larger quantities along the interior living quarters.[44] Similarly, Area A yielded raw metals and weapons alongside the vases, inferring that metal production also occurred. The amalgamation of vase types, as well as weapons and metals, in Area A indicates that, if soldiers were located in these quarters, they then had particular access to all types of vases. This was not replicated in other areas of the fortress.

6.2.3 Weapons

As this site is undeniably a fortress, based on the architecture, the lack of substantial weaponry is perplexing. There were four documented arrowheads and one spearhead unearthed in Areas A and G of the fortress.[45] Additionally, one bronze armor scale was found alongside metal pieces, and one iron sickle blade. Metal scraps, raw materials and other partially worked material were discovered as well in the vicinity of a furnace, indicating that there was metalworking and weapon production at the site.[46]

6.2.4 Fortress Employment

There are two possibilities for which major power controlled the fortress during the seventh and sixth centuries. Scholarship has been divided on whether it was under Egyptian influence or under the local Jewish control from Judah. Both of these arguments generate historical implications,[47] such as how far Judean rule spanned geographically across the Levant, and what was the extent of the Egyptian role in the Levant prior to the Neo-Babylonian invasion.

The atypical architecture of the fortress has been perceived as an indicator of Egyptian construction, and thus Egyptian sovereignty. There are suggestions that the Egyptians constructed the fortress, since there are no parallels of the L-shape

[44]Oren 1984, 10. See Chapter 5.1 of this thesis.
[45]Fantalkin 2001, pp. 105-110.
[46]Fantalkin 2001, p. 127.
[47]Fantalkin 2001, p. 8.

in the Levant.[48] The shape was paralleled at the fort at Semna el-Gharb in Egypt; however, this comparison has a chronological difference of 1300 years, as the Egyptian fortress dates much earlier.[49] In addition, other structural components of the fort are clearly of contemporary Levantine tradition, such as the mud-brick construction, the gate complex, and the tower. Moreover, one would also expect more influence in the material culture if Egyptians built the garrison, since this would suggest an extended period of Egyptian residence. The ceramic evidence does not strongly corroborate an Egyptian presence, especially since only five Egyptian vases have been found in comparison to other imports.[50] The argument for an Egyptian construction, therefore, is not supported by the evidence.

Despite the lack of remains, the sources do evince Egyptian campaigns in the Levant. The Babylonian Chronicle of 616 reported that the Egyptian army pursued the Neo-Babylonian King, Nebopolassar, until the middle Euphrates.[51] Therefore, from 616 until the Neo-Babylonian invasion in 605/4, the Egyptian army was allegedly campaigning in North Syrian territory. Egypt's role in the Levant is also recorded in Biblical references; Jeremiah alluded to Israel's subservient role to both Egypt and Assyria at this time. Likewise, the Kings chapter discussed Nebuchadnezzar's dominance over the entire kingdom that belonged to Egypt, which included Israel: "...and the king of Egypt did not come again out of his land, for the king of Babylon had taken all that belonged to the king of Egypt from the Brook of Egypt to the river Euphrates."[52]

The archaeological evidence and the sources appear to give conflicting information,

[48]**naaman_kingdom_????**; **naaman_forced_????**.

[49]Fantalkin 2001, p. 49.

[50]It was previously argued that the East Greek ceramics belong to one phase and a second phase is Judean. Eshel 1986, p. 236; Haider 1996, p. 76; However, excavations of six test trenches determined that there is only one occupational phase for the fortress. Other scholars have accepted this conclusion: Naveh 1977, pp. 862-863; Fantalkin 2001, pp. 10-11; Fantalkin 2011, 97-8. Figs. 34:10, 34:11, 34:12, 43:5, 43:7.

[51]J. Miller and J.H. Hayes 1986, p. 388; Text XII. Grayson 1975, p. 91.

[52]Jer. 2:16-18 (NRSV). 2 Kings 24:7 (NRSV).

especially since there is a lack of material evidence. One suggestion to explain this historical setting is that the local hegemony in the Levant essentially maintained control over the organization of the fortress, while they had Egyptian overlords overseeing them.[53] This would support the presence of the limited Egyptian finds. The vague and fleeting Egyptian presence, from at least 616-605, would not be enough influence to impact the finds and the imports. On the other hand, if Greeks were stationed at the fortress, based on the discovery of Greek ceramics between 630-605/4, then their presence was perhaps enough to impact the change in imports. The Greek soldiers were stationed at the fortress following the collapse of the Neo-Assyrian Empire; the Greek material culture dating to 630 suggests that they were likely hired by the local Levantines, who attempted to gain control after the Neo-Assyrian hegemony. Subsequently, perhaps some were also hired by the Egyptians, when they campaigned in the Levant during the following decade. There likely were different groups of Greeks, hired both by the locals and by the Egyptians, that were then concentrated in the fort.

6.3 Tel Kabri

6.3.1 The Site

The fortress of Tel Kabri is located on the western Galilee coastal plain, approximately five kilometers from the ancient coastal port of Achziv. The site is known for its Bronze Age Canaanite Palace and the comprehensive finds from this context;[54] however, the particular interest for this discussion is Area E, where there were significant strata of Iron Age material (see Figure 6.6). The fortress was built in the ninth century and was destroyed in the sixth century. The structural remains exhibit

[53]Spalinger concluded that Egypt's primary intent in the Levant at this time was commercial and laissez-faire in nature. Spalinger 1977, p. 222.

[54]Yasur-Landau et al. 2015; E. Cline and Yasur-Landau 2014.

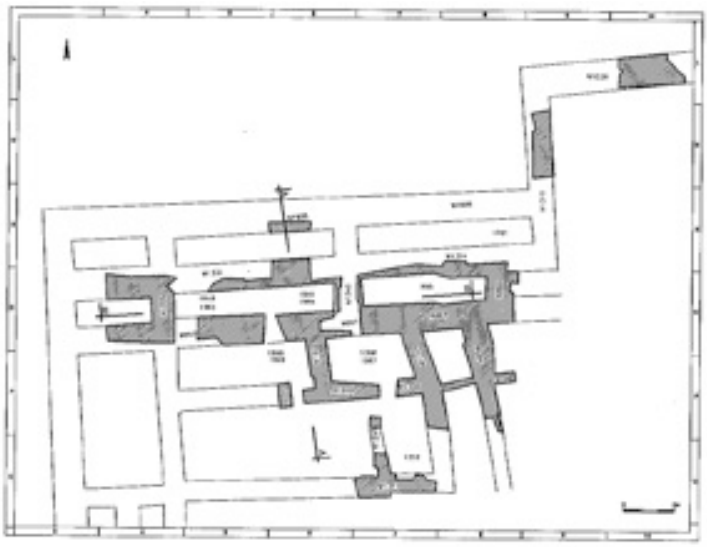

Figure 6.6: Part of the excavated Iron Age fortress at Tel Kabri, Stratum E2. Lehmann 2002, p. 79

a typical Levantine fortress, with massive casemate walls.[55]

During the Iron Age, Tel Kabri was evidently a focal point for military activity as the gateway between the southern Levant and Phoenicia. No other contemporary fortress in Upper Galilee revealed such an extent of fortifications.[56] The fortress was destroyed between 604 and 585, concomitantly when the Neo-Babylonians laid siege to the Phoenician city of Tyre, to the north of Tel Kabri, for thirteen years.[57] The strategic need for the fortress seemed to disappear following this destruction, and it was not rebuilt.

6.3.2 Ceramics

The types of ceramics discovered in the fortress complex of Area E greatly influenced the interpretations of the site. Firstly, the predominant Phoenician vases clarified when the establishment of the fortress took place and the extent of Phoenician hege-

[55]Lehmann 2002, pp. 74-84, 87. Rocca 2010, 22-4 discussed conventional Levantine fortifications.
[56]Lehmann 2002, p. 86.
[57]Lehmann 2002, p. 87; Stiebing 2009, pp. 294-5.

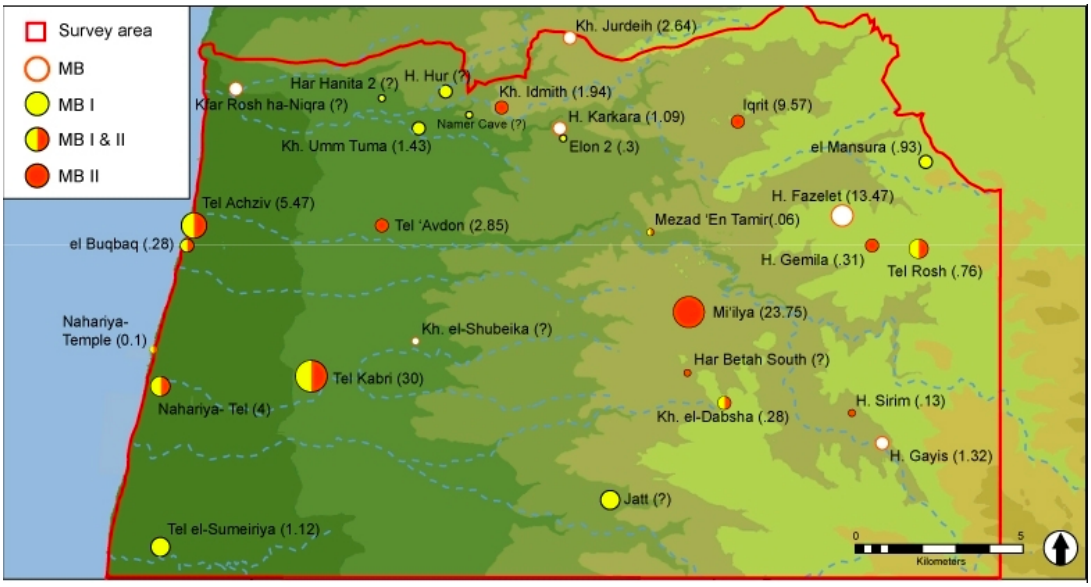

Figure 6.7: Map of surveyed sites surrounding Tel Kabri in the Bronze Age. Image from the Tel Kabri Website, digkabri.wordpress.com/excavations.

mony at Tel Kabri. The first Phoenician vases dated to the ninth century and the influx continued until the fortress' demise in 604.[58] The assemblages included utilitarian ware, such as bowls, jugs, kraters, *amphorae*, *pithoi*, and cooking pots, among other types (see Figure 6.8), all of which point to Phoenician sovereignty, as well as habitation.

In addition, the limited imported Greek pottery, which amounted to less than one percent of the total assemblage in the Iron Age, was substantial especially due to their dating and shapes. The imports all dated between the first half of the seventh century and the first half of the sixth century, and their shapes included the four types that were found at the other sites in the southern Levant as well; Wild Goat Style *oinochoai*, transport *amphorae*, Ionian cups and cooking pots. Four fragments of the Wild Goat Style *oinochoai*, the common pouring vase from the Eastern Greek islands, were discovered, as well as ten East Greek transport *amphorae*.[59] Alongside these storage and pouring vases were thirteen Ionian drinking cups, which encompassed

[58]Lehmann 2002, p. 181.
[59]W.-D. Niemeier 1994, 31, Fig. 19:2. W.-D. Niemeier and B. Niemeier 2002, pp. 233-38.

TABLE 5.2: NUMBER OF VESSELS RECORDED BY TYPE AND STRATUM

Form Class	*E2*	*E3*	*E4*	*Debris under Stratum E4*	*Total*
Bowls	174	34	19	2	229
Deep bowls	29		1		30
Bowls with incurved rim	52	2	2		56
Kraters	24	7	2		33
Juglets	9	1	1		11
Jugs	98	8	7		113
Jars	6				6
Pithoi	2				2
Amphoras	511	13	4	2	530
Lamps	26		1		27
Cooking-pots	157	34	11	2	204
Special forms	12	1			13
Mortaria	24				24
Greek imports	25	2			27
Cypriote fine ware imports	13	9	1		23
Cypriote basket-handle amphoras	57				57
Total	1219	111	49	6	1385

Figure 6.8: The shapes and quantities of vases from the fortress, Area E, ninth to seventh centuries. Lehmann 2002, 216, Table 5.2.

the largest category of Greek imports at the site.[60] Lastly, the nine Greek cooking pot fragments in the fort were further regarded as the primary indicator for non-local cooking practices.[61] Although petrographic analysis has not been conducted on the Tel Kabri fragments, analyses of the cooking pots from the other three southern Levantine sites in this chapter proved that they all originated from the same workshop in Miletus.[62] It is thus likely that these too arrived from Milesian workshops. The only other import types in addition to these East Greek vases were numerous Cypriot basket-handled *amphorae* and some fine ware (see Figure 6.8).

There are a few factors from the ceramics that are indicative of the population at Tel Kabri. The Phoenician hegemony over the fortress is distinctly evident; any phase of the fortress' span of habitation between the ninth and seventh centuries should indeed be attributed to the Phoenicians. The utilitarian wares, with clear parallels

[60]W.-D. Niemeier and B. Niemeier 2002, 225-232, nos. 6-18.

[61]W.-D. Niemeier and B. Niemeier 2002, 238, Figs. 36-40. W.-D. Niemeier 1994, pp. 33-5; W.-D. Niemeier 1990, XXXVI, Fig. 22.4. Kempinski and W.-D. Niemeier 1993, p. 259; Lehmann 2002, 183, Fig. 5.70: 13-19.

[62]Waldbaum 2011, p. 136; Senf 1995, Excavations at Kalabaktepe near Miletus yielded quantities of micaceous cooking ware in stratified contexts from the seventh to sixth centuries B.C.E.; Senf 2007; Aydemir 2005, pp. 88-9.

in fort, settlement, and port contexts in Phoenicia, such as at Tyre, Tell Keisan, and Sarepta, reveal typical Phoenician consumption patterns.[63] The juxtaposition of the Phoenician vases with the limited and rare (at least in the southern Levant) East Greek utilitarian imports that had similar functions to the Phoenician vases, such as cooking and drinking, suggests a demand for the imports by a small, possibly non-local, contingent at the fortress. This is supported by the provenance of the Greek imports found only in the fortified area, rather than in other areas of the site where the Phoenician vases predominated. In addition to these, the only other imports that were numerous were the basket-handle *amphorae* from Cyprus, as well as very few fragments of Cypriot jugs, which dated specifically to Stratum E2, from 650-600 (see Figure 6.8). As is evident from Figure 6.8, what these imports do suggest is that East Greek vases and the Cypriot imports indeed arrived together to Tel Kabri, between 650-600, possibly in the same shipments, especially since almost no import fragments were documented in earlier strata and none came from later strata.

6.3.3 Political and Military Relations with Tyre

Past scholarship attributed the employment of Greek mercenaries at Tel Kabri to the influence of Tyre.[64] Various Assyrian texts documented Tyre as paying tribute to Assyrian rulers, such as Ashurnasipal II, Shalmaneser III, Adad-Nirari III, and Tiglath-Pileser III.[65] The city, nevertheless, maintained its mercantile and economic autonomy throughout this period. This sovereignty was demonstrated in the Tyrian King Baal's list of the "22 Kings of Hatti," where the king established a political confederation with the regions in which Tyre held regular exchanges.[66] Although the Assyrians appeared to not have inhibited the Phoenician mercantile and political activities, Tyre revolted against Assyrian rule in 701, which led to the Assyrian King

[63]Lehmann 2002, p. 181.
[64]W.-D. Niemeier 1994, *33-*34; Fantalkin 2011, p. 95; Wenning 1991, pp. 217-219.
[65]Bikai 1978, pp. 74-5; Pritchard 1969, pp. 276, 280-3.
[66]Katzenstein 1973, pp. 262-3; Pritchard 1969, 291a-b.

Sennacherib laying siege to the city.[67] Tyre was subsequently attacked by Esarhaddon in 676, and then suffered a third defeat during the Neo-Babylonian invasion by Nebuchadnezzar at the end of the seventh century.[68]

During the dissolution of the Assyrian Empire, from the death of Ashurbanipal in 627 and the Neo-Babylonian invasion of 605/4, Tyre most likely benefited from this situation in that its hegemony was revived and its trading power was ephemerally reestablished. Yet, scholars remain hesitant of how involved Tyre was in the military ventures. The Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings point to Egyptian activity in the Levant through campaigns against the growing Neo-Babylonian Empire from 616-610.[69] Tyre would certainly need a strong military to resist the Egyptian campaigns and the subsequent Neo-Babylonian invasion; however, there is little known about Tyre's direct participation in these specific campaigns. Only the trade connections between Egypt, Greece and the Phoenician cities are evident from the texts, in addition to the material culture.[70] Tyre's naval power was represented by the extensive trade endeavors abroad during the eighth and seventh centuries.[71] One particular text referred to the military character of the city; the Biblical description in Ezekiel 27 portrayed Tyre as a naval and military authority.[72] Specifically, verse ten of Ezekiel 27 referenced origins of military contingents that were hired by Tyre as mercenaries: "*Trs* (Thrace) and *Lwd* (Lydia) and *Pwt* were in your army, your men of war; buckler and helmet they hung up in you; they gave (you) your glory."[73] The interpretations of the origins listed suggest that Tyre employed mercenary troops from Thrace and Lydia in Asia Minor. *Pwt* has been considered "Persia" in the past, however it was also

[67]A pro-Assyrian ruler was then put in place. Stiebing 2009, p. 279.
[68]Bikai 1978, p. 75.
[69]Wiseman 1956, pp. 12, 44, 54-55.
[70]Katzenstein 1973, pp. 298-9.
[71]Hdt. 2.153 referred to the Phoenicians from Tyre in Memphis; 4.42. discussed the Pharaoh Necho using the Phoenicians to circumnavigate Northern Africa.
[72]Ezek 27: 10-11 (NRSV)
[73]Diakonoff 1992, p. 174.

Figure 6.9: Map of Phoenicia, including the cities of Tyre, Tel Kabri and Tel Dor. Gore 2004

argued to signify the Greeks from the Pontos region.[74] The validity of this passage is debatable: Tyre was not mentioned explicitly in other Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian texts, or in the Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings, as playing a significant role in military activities and the interpretation of Ezekiel 27 is not entirely conclusive.[75] The accepted consensus is that Ezekiel recorded the texts from the end of the seventh to sixth centuries, though there has been much discussion over the legitimacy of authorship.[76]

Overall, there is no direct literary or material evidence for Greek mercenaries that were hired by the city of Tyre specifically. Nevertheless, it is likely Tyre had a strong military that included mercenary forces; this would be necessary in order to ward off the infringing Egyptian military campaigns. The Chaldaean Chronicles documented the campaigns in the region: for instance, the Egyptians were recorded as being located in Tishri in 616, in Marcheshvan in 610, and in Tammuz-Elul 609.[77] The entry of Nabopolassar in 610 stated that the Egyptians retreated to Syria and were stationed there to attack again the next spring.[78] Furthermore, the Phoenician hegemony at the Tel Kabri stronghold, as evident from the predominant Phoenician ceramics, suggests that the Phoenicians did indeed expand their military sovereignty to encompass fortresses on the boundaries of their periphery.

[74]Diakonoff 1992, p. 181.

[75]Diakonoff 1992, 174, see footnotes 29, 30, 34.

[76]Ezekiel was taken captive by Nebuchadnezzar in 597 BCE. Pp.41-47 discuss the debate about authorship and issues with chronology. Cooper 1994, p. 31.

[77]Katzenstein 1973, p. 301; Wiseman 1956, pp. 44-5.

[78]Wiseman 1956, pp. 62-3.

6.4 Tel Dor

6.4.1 The Site

Tel Dor was a fortified settlement, harbor, and a provincial capital located on the Carmel Coast. During the Early Iron Age, the site was continuously inhabited and the material culture showed that it was part of the Phoenician cultural milieu, though by the ninth and eighth centuries, excavators considered it politically as part of the northern kingdom of Israel. The city was subsequently annexed by the Neo-Assyrians at the end of the eighth century, and again by the Neo-Babylonians in the seventh century.[79]

Through this time period, the fortifications and structural organization of the settlement resembled other Levantine-Phoenician sites, such as the mud-brick and ashlar block foundations and the large central gateway that enclosed the site.[80] By the last quarter of the sixth century, this area of the Levant came under control of the Persians.[81] In an epitaph by King Eshmunazar, the King of Sidon, it was recorded that Tel Dor was given to the Phoenicians by the Persians; this action is perceived by modern scholars as a pragmatic approach to establish positive relations with the Phoenicians so that the Persian hegemony could benefit from access to trade and raw materials. The Phoenician trade control over Tel Dor again in the sixth century precipitated the cross-cultural communication and relations overseas that in turn was reflected at the site. As a result of these historical exchanges, the influence of Greek material culture disseminated and led to a small Greek population residing at the settlement by the fifth century.

[79] Stern 1994, p. 148.

[80] Areas B and C of Tel Dor exemplified these building constructions. Stern 1994, p. 111; Similar fortifications were constructed at Megiddo and Beer-Sheba. Rocca 2010, pp. 21-3.

[81] Nitschke, Martin, and Shalev 2011.

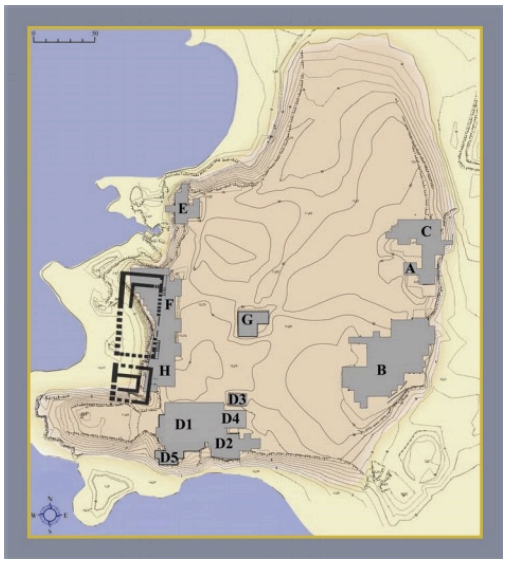

Figure 6.10: Map of the excavated areas at Tel Dor, from 1980 to 2010. Photo by Y. Shalev. Nitschke, Martin, and Shalev 2011, 133, Fig. 2.

6.4.2 Epigraphical Evidence

Indicative epigraphical evidence was very rare at Tel Dor; two local Phoenician vases were found with incised Archaic Greek letters, leading the excavators to conclude that Greek was spoken to an extent alongside the local Aramaic and Phoenician languages.[82] The Greek letters were inscribed on local Phoenician vases, further suggesting that the inscriptions were done at Tel Dor. Conclusive evidence for a Greek population, nevertheless, cannot be determined from only two examples of written Greek letters. In addition, a bone scapula with a Cypriot-Syllabic dedicatory inscription on one side was also discovered, illuminating the trade connection between the Phoenicians and Cyprus during the Iron Age.[83]

6.4.3 Ceramics

The ceramic repertoire at Tel Dor is notably similar to that at Tel Kabri, due to its strong ties with Phoenician material culture. The vases consisted of typical Phoeni-

[82]Stern 2010, pp. 189-190.
[83]Nitschke, Martin, and Shalev 2011, 135, Fig. 5.

cian wares, like those at Tel Kabri, as well as some Cypriot *amphorae* imports.

The types of imported vases, and the chronological scope in which they appeared, reflect who used the ceramics and shed light on the Tel Dor population. The Greek imports encompassed hundreds of fragments of East Greek vases, including bowls, cooking pots, and transport *amphorae*.[84] Nevertheless, the precise quantities, exact provenance, and origins of these imports were not provided by the earlier excavation reports, which are limiting when attempting to compare the available repertoire to those from other sites. For instance, the amount of Greek imports was referred to vaguely in the following manner: "several hundred vessels of these types have been unearthed so far... they constitute the largest, most complete, and varied assemblage of its kind from the Eastern Mediterranean coast."[85] If this amount is true, then the quantity would be comparable to the imports from the Mesad Hashavyahu fortress, and would indeed be an exceptional amount. Additionally, the shapes are analogous to the other contemporary sites with Greek pottery in the Levant.

Although the exact import quantities are unknown, the time frame in which the Greek vases appeared at Tel Dor is significant. The nearby fortresses, i.e. Tel Kabri to the north and Mesad Hashavyahu to the south, received imported Greek cooking pots, drinking cups, and *amphorae*, explicitly during the interlude between 630-600, as discussed above. After the fortresses were destroyed and abandoned following the 605/4 destruction, the influx of Greek imports at Tel Kabri and Mesad Hashavyahu ceased. At Tel Dor, however, this was not the case; in fact, the Greek imports increased in amount and were concentrated almost exclusively at the site for at least the first quarter of the sixth century.[86] Prior to this sudden concentration at Tel Dor, and following the demise of the other southern Levantine sites, there was a clear gap

[84]Greek imports appeared throughout the entire Persian period, primarily due to the Phoenician trade influence. Mook and Coulson 1995, pp. 93, 100-125.

[85]Stern 1994, p. 183.

[86]Nitschke et al. discussed the reemerging prominence of the site by the early Persian period. Nitschke, Martin, and Shalev 2011, p. 133.

in Greek pottery trade to Tel Dor between the second half of the seventh century until this point in the sixth century.[87] The surge in Greek imports at Tel Dor, during at a time when such imports to other sites nearby had ceased, suggests that there was an increased demand for the imports at Tel Dor specifically.

One suggestion to explain this change is that the concentration of material culture corresponds to the movement and displacement of groups in the southern Levant. Once the fortresses were destroyed, the demand for Greek consumption wares and products stopped, and trade routes focused on other sites where the demand began to flourish. If there were some Greeks situated at Tel Kabri and Mesad Hashavyahu, then perhaps the groups relocated to other areas, such as Tel Dor. The possibility that the trade patterns followed migration processes and general movements of people is an interesting component to keep in mind while discussing the material remains from these sites.

6.4.4 Weapons

The evidence for a few weapons found at Tel Dor is highly suggestive of the presence of Greek soldiers, and that they were somewhat of a common occurrence. Firstly, a representation of a Greek hoplite phalanx on a seal impression was found at the site and depicted Greek shields and armor.[88] In addition, ballista stones with inscribed Greek letters were found in sixth and fifth century contexts.[89] This is significant since these types of siege weapons were known to be introduced to the Eastern Mediterranean by Greeks; siege warfare disseminated across the Eastern Mediterranean in the later Hellenistic and Roman periods, thus the discovery of the ballista stones at Tel Dor in this time frame represents a predecessor to these practices.

An exceptional find from Tel Dor includes a Greek war helmet that was found on

[87]This is termed the "sixth-century gap" by the excavators. Nitschke, Martin, and Shalev 2011, p. 133.
[88]Stern 1992, 97, Fig. 129.
[89]Stern 1994, p. 445.

the coast from a shipwreck.[90] The bronze helmet was unique in that it had personalized cheek pieces and theatrical facial markings, conveying a clear status of wealth that is indicative of the prominence of Greek warriors in the Near East by the Classical period. The find parallels in chronology and grandeur the helmets that were found at Thonis-Heralceion in North Africa (see Sections 5.3.6, 5.3.5, and Figure 5.31) and the helmet discovered at the port of Haifa. These rare instances cast a glimpse into the types of Greek armor that would have been prevalent at this time, and that by the fifth century, it is not unusual for Greek soldiers to carry their own armor.

6.4.5 Religion

In addition to the influx of Greek imports and the precipitous increase of trade activity from the beginning of the sixth century, evidence of non-local ritual activity further sheds light on the Tel Dor population and on the significance of the material finds. A cluster of Greek-style male figurines was discovered in a deposit; the remains of the figurines consist of male heads, where one in particular is equipped with a helmet. The excavators interpreted this find as an Archaic representation of a hoplite.[91] Moreover, the other portion of the figure heads were horse-riders and possible male deities. The figurines paralleled innumerable Archaic male figurine votives from temples throughout the Greek world, such as Rhodes, Asia Minor, the Ionian islands and mainland Greece.[92] What distinguished this deposit in particular from others discovered in the Levant was that it was exclusively Greek in character, with Eastern Greek and Athenian vases deposited alongside the figurine dedications.[93] Other figurine and ceramic deposits in the Levant were predominantly Phoenician, with very few accompanying Greek finds.[94] The uniformity of the dedications supports the ex-

[90]Kingsley and Raveh 1996.
[91]Stern 2010, p. 14.
[92]Stern 2010, p. 14.
[93]Stern 2001, p. 500.
[94]Stern 2010, p. 15.

Figure 6.11: Terracotta mask depicting the face of a gorgon, typically found in Greek mythology and in Greek temples. Nitschke, Martin, and Shalev 2011, 135, Fig. 6b.

istence of a Greek cult practiced at Tel Dor from as early as the mid sixth century.[95] The provenance of the figurines in deposits is comparable to the practice of depositing extant dedications and ritual ceramics into pits at Greek sanctuaries in order to make space for new dedications. These types of deposits are typically identified as *favissae*, a ritual deposit where cultic objects were placed as part of the cleaning-up process of temple offerings.[96]

What additionally attested to the presence of a Greek cult was the discovery of three terracotta tiles in pits at the southern end of the site, which together represented a gorgon head, dating from the end of the sixth century to the fifth century (see Figure 6.11).[97] The *gorgoneion* was a popular motif in Greek art and similar gorgon roof tiles from Greek temples were common on the Eastern Greek islands and on the mainland from the seventh century onward. A parallel is the roof of the temple to Hera in Corcyra, built in 610 with gorgon head clay tiles.[98] Other sixth century parallels of

[95]Stern 2001, p. 503.
[96]Nitschke, Martin, and Shalev 2011, pp. 134, 137.
[97]Nitschke, Martin, and Shalev 2011, p. 134; Stern 2010, p. 27.
[98]Stern 2010, p. 27; Winter 1993, p. 13.

Greek gorgon architectural sculpture include the Temple of Artemis on Corcyra, the Temple of Athena at Syracuse, and the Ionic Temple of Apollo at Didyma.[99] Recently, scholars were doubtful of the presence of a Greek temple at Tel Dor and instead argued that these gorgon tiles in fact typified local Phoenician cult practices, where Greek apotropaic devices were part of the eastern cult rituals.[100] Although it is likely that Greek practices influenced certain aspects of Phoenician rituals, in this case, the deposition of the Gorgon roof tile fragments, alongside exclusively Greek vases and figurines, are highly suggestive of Greek activities. Likewise, similar parallels in Phoenician contexts for deposited gorgon roof tiles along such vases have yet to be found.

From the available evidence, it cannot be distinguished if these rituals were carried out by Greek mercenaries, a local population, or by a mixed Greek-Phoenician group. It is clear, however, that the warrior figurines, possibly associated with the Greek temple, could be a precursor to later dedications. The discussion suggests that the imports and Greek residents at Tel Dor in the sixth century may coincide with the presence of displaced soldiers. This observation is reiterated by the evidence for Greek imports and dedications at the site from the sixth century onward.

6.5 Ashkelon

6.5.1 The Site

The large port settlement of Ashkelon is located on the southern coast of the Levant. It is known for its Bronze Age Canaanite and Iron Age Philistine fortifications and structures, as well as for the cemetery that dated between the twelfth and seventh centuries (see Figure 6.2).[101] Ashkelon is recorded in Biblical texts as one of the five

[99]Osborne 1996, pp. 259-260.
[100]Nitschke, Martin, and Shalev 2011, pp. 134, 137.
[101]Stager 2008, pp. 5-10.

known cities of the Philistines.[102] The major areas of excavation that dated to the seventh century included the market place, the quarry, and a winery; the provenance for the remains comes from these contexts (see Figures6.12 and 6.13).[103] Interestingly, there is little known about the material remains from the seventh century settlement areas in Ashkelon, which would have been informative of the types of daily materials the inhabitants would have access to.

In addition to Ashkelon's main function as a trading port, it is also suggested that the site was a military garrison during the Late Iron Age. It is argued that the essential reason Ashkelon was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar II is because it was an Egyptian outpost that stationed Greek mercenaries.[104] There are certainly arguments to substantiate some extent of Egyptian presence, as discussed below; however, conclusive proof for the Egyptian garrison remains undiscovered. This argument is what primarily justifies discussing Ashkelon as a possible site for mercenary evidence and a synopsis of the site will clarify if there is Greek activity.

6.5.2 Epigraphical Evidence

Two pieces of epigraphical evidence from Ashkelon are informative of non-local occupants. The first example is an ostrakon, incised in Greek script on a Greek vase, that stated ατατος ειμι, I am Atatos.[105] This fragment suggests that a Greek was present at Ashkelon during this time, either for trade purposes or as a resident.

A second incised name on an ostrakon fragment provides an interesting parallel. It was discovered in post-604 destruction fill, and bore a Neo-Philistine inscription on a local storage vase that stated, "Belonging to Kanupi, the man-at-arms," (see Figure 6.14).[106] The name Kanupi is Egyptian in origin and there are numerous parallels

[102]Joshua 13:3; 1 Samuel 6:17.
[103]Stager 2008, pp. 13-52.
[104]Fantalkin 2011, pp. 88-9.
[105]Fragment 3.3. Cross concluded that this was certainly a Greek name. Cross 2008, p. 367.
[106]No. 1.14. Cross 2008, pp. 348-9.

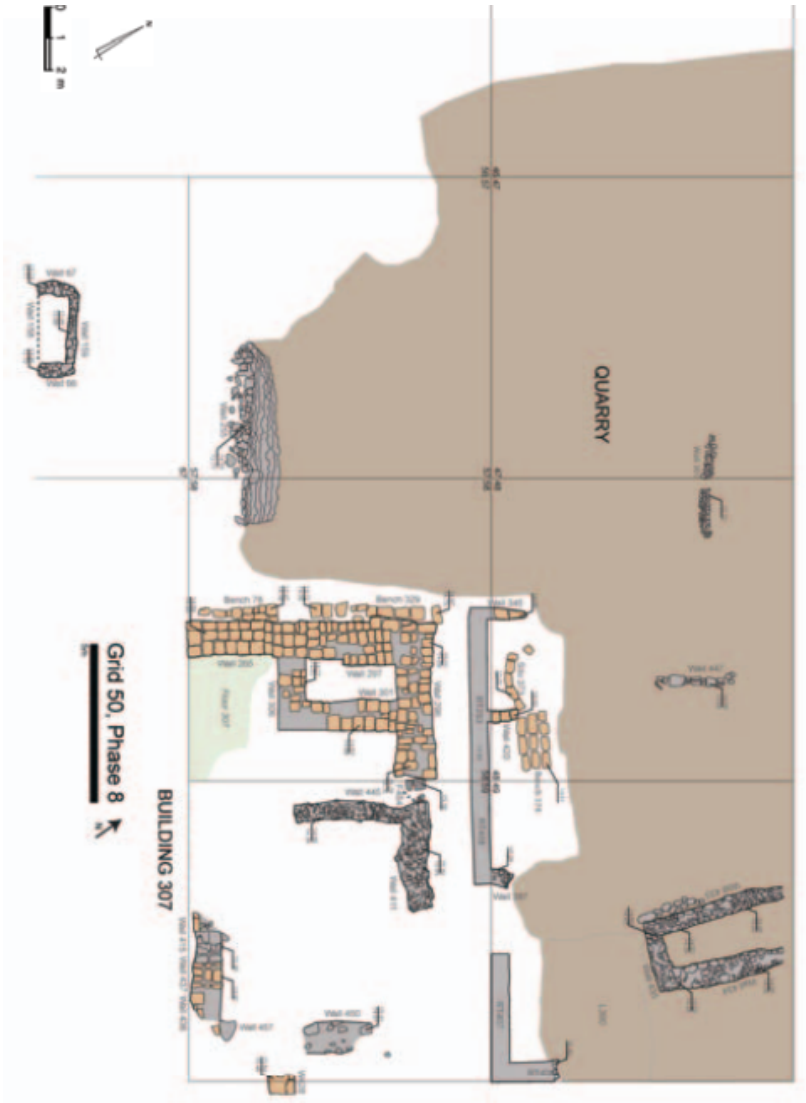

Figure 6.12: Quarry excavations at Ashkelon, Grid 50, Phase 8. Stager 2008, 32, Fig. 3.2.

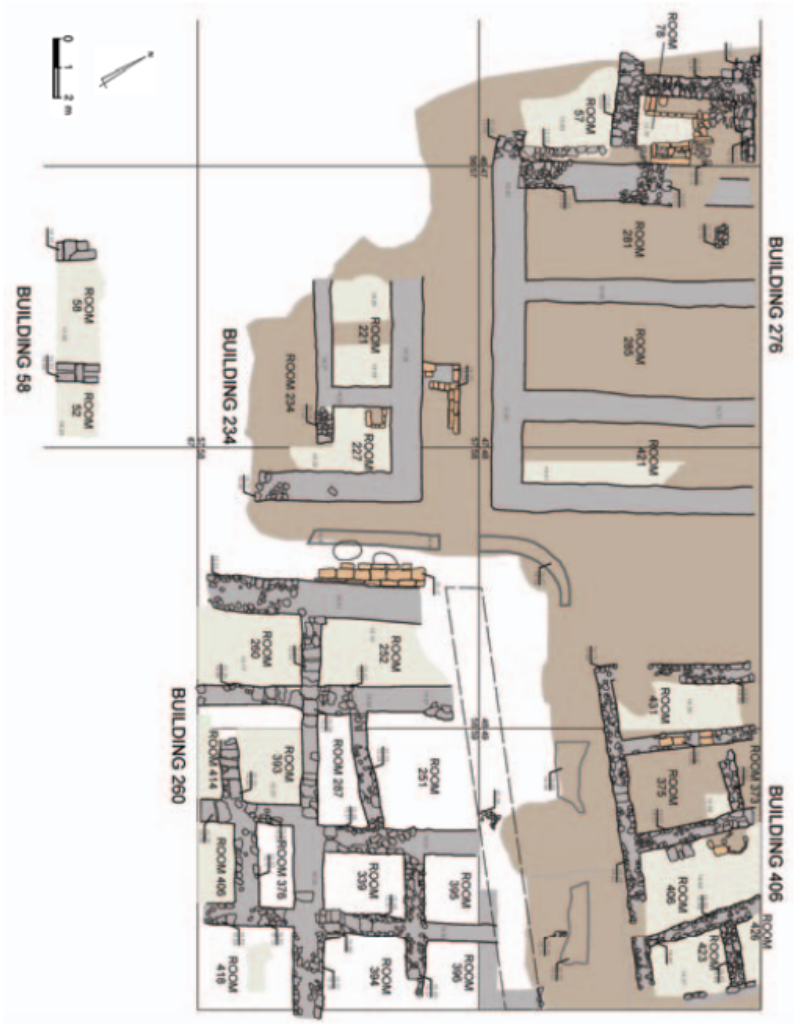

Figure 6.13: Marketplace excavations at Ashkelon, Grid 50, Phase 7. Stager 2008, 33, Fig. 3.3.

לכנפי 1.
[ה]חלֿ[ץ] 2.

1. Belonging to Kanūpî
2. the man-at-ar[ms]

Figure 6.14: Ashkelon Inscription of Kanupi, the Man-At-Arms. Fig. 17.15, Ashkelon inscription 1.14. Cross 2008, p. 348

for the name in the Elephantine papyri, as well as in later Classical sources.[107] Since the name Kanupi is clearly Egyptian, the use of a Neo-Philistine script indicates that this individual was assimilated into local Philistine-Canaanite culture to an extent, as this script was common in the Levant between the eighth and seventh centuries. The translation of the latter part, "the man-at-arms," further infers a military purpose, and that this Egyptian was a guard or soldier at Ashkelon.

6.5.3 Ceramics

The exceptional quantity of Greek imports (1553 fragments) came explicitly from the seventh century strata, between 620-605, and they were all discovered in the destruction layer at the site that assigned the terminus anti quem to 604. Although the quantity of imports was substantial for the southern Levant, the fragments amounted to only one percent of the total contemporary pottery; this is exemplary of the extent of trade that traveled through the port.[108] In comparison to the other three sites, the import shapes were more varied, and there were shapes at Ashkelon that were not discovered elsewhere, such as bird bowls, *kantharoi* and footed dishes.[109] Additionally, one unique Greek import fragment depicted a warrior with armor and a helmet, while similar pictorial representations were not documented from the other sites.[110]

Similarities to Mesad Hashavyahu, Tel Kabri, and Tel Dor, included mass amounts of Ionian cups, where 845 fragments were discovered at Ashkelon. They originated specifically from grid 38, the winery, and from grid 50, the market place.[111] The only other site with a similar high volume of Ionian cups was Mesad Hashavyahu, though comparably 45 cups were found in the fortress. In addition, there were numerous fragments of Greek cooking pots, likely originating from Miletus: 53 fragments came

[107]Kornfeld 1978, p. 82; Many classical sources refer to the name, Chonuphis, the Greek version of Kanupi. Fantalkin 2011, p. 100.
[108]Waldbaum 2011, pp. 151-307; Fantalkin 2011, p. 93.
[109]Waldbaum 2011, pp. 151-307.
[110]Waldbaum 2011, 284-5, no. 419.
[111]Waldbaum 2011, 134, Table 10.4.

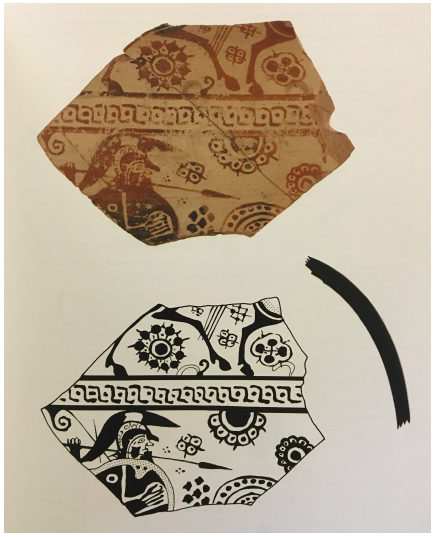

Figure 6.15: *Oinochoe* with human figure decoration of helmeted warrior and horse, from pre-604 quarry fill in Grid 50 at Ashkelon. Waldbaum 2011, 284, no. 419.

from the destruction debris, 131 from the seventh century quarry fill, and one fragment from a post-604 context.[112] Lastly, another prevalent Greek import was trade *amphorae* from Samos; 21 Samian *amphorae* were uncovered at the port, in comparison to the six from Mesad Hashavyahu and ten from Tel Kabri.[113] The *amphorae* reiterate the trade connections the Levantine coast maintained with Samos, as the *amphorae* from the other sites for discussion also originated from Samos.

The considerable demand for Greek imports at Ashkelon is significant. The exceptional amount of Milesian cooking pots, discovered in the port's destruction debris, instigates the question of whether these vases were considered commodities for the local population. The lack of evidence for these cooking pots further inland or elsewhere in the Levant, however, suggests that they were not commodities throughout the region. The few fragments of Greek imports found outside of these sites, including Tel Dan, Achziv, and Tel Keisan, yielded Ionian cups and no cooking pots.[114] The

[112]The fragments consisted of 41 rims, 14 handles, 2 bases, 130 body fragments. Waldbaum 2011, 292-3, 134-6, Table 10.4. **naveh_excavations_????**; Reich 1989, Fig. 4: 1-2. Waldbaum 1997, 31-2, Fig. 8-9.

[113]Waldbaum 2011, p. 307; **naveh_excavations_????**.

[114]In addition to the discussed sites that had some fragments of these vases, Tel Dan, the port of

lack of distribution in the Levantine hinterland suggests that the cooking pots and cups reached their main point of demand at Ashkelon.[115]

In addition to the Greek imports, a few fragments of Egyptian coarse ware were found in the marketplace, which is significant since such items were not typically traded. This included three bowls and five jars, which is a notably smaller repertoire than the Greek imports.[116] As discussed in Section 6.2.2, seventh century Egyptian coarse ware in the southern Levant was only discovered at the fortress at Mesad Hashavyahu, in addition to Ashkelon.

6.5.4 Weapons

The seventh century contexts produced hundreds of weapons and metal implements at the site.[117] The weapons included arrowheads, daggers, swords, maces and spears, produced from bronze, iron or lead. They were locally manufactured and typical of contexts in the southern Levant, with parallels at forts and settlements. The arrowheads were all local and there was no evidence for imported Greek weapons or Egyptian arrows.

6.5.5 Evidence for Military Activity at Ashkelon

In light of the finds, it is important to address the question of whether there is evidence for a military character at Ashkelon, and if this encompasses mercenaries. As stated

Achziv, and Tel Keisan all yielded a few fragments of Ionian cups, but no cooking pots. Pakman 1992, 236, fig. 5, no. 14. Culican 1982, p. 67; Briend and Humbert 1980, 126, pl. 22: 1, 4. The sites of Tel Michal, Shiqmona, and Mikhmoret yielded fragments of Greek cooking pots later in the Persian period. Waldbaum 1997, p. 8.

[115]Waldbaum 2007, Only two sites, located inland from Ashkelon, reflect possible trade connections with the port; Tel Miqne-Ekron yielded seven Ionian cup rims, one Wild Goad *oinochoe* fragment, and a local copy of a Corinthian *aryballos*. T. Dothan and Gitin 2005; Gitin 1995, pp. 61-79; Tel Batash-Timnah also had two Greek cooking pot fragments, a Samian *amphora*, a Corinthian *aryballos*, a Wild Goat *oinochoe* sherd, and two Ionian cups. Magness 2001, pp. 142-4; Waldbaum 1997, p. 28.

[116]Walton 2011, pp. 123-5.

[117]Aja 2008, pp. 503-546.

earlier, the destruction of Ashkelon in 604/5 by the Neo-Babylonians is argued to be due to the city's pro-Egyptian policies and to the close relations maintained with Egypt.[118] Fantalkin furthered this conviction by arguing that, at the time of the city's destruction, an Egyptian garrison was located in Ashkelon, despite the lack of structural evidence for such a garrison.[119] As evidence, Fantalkin accredited the appearance of Egyptian bronze statuettes in the last quarter of the seventh century to an Egyptian military, economic, and ritual presence.[120]

This deduction raises several issues. Firstly, the cache of 25 Egyptian bronze deity statuettes was not found in a ritual context at Ashkelon; they were discovered in the market place.[121]No room in Ashkelon is identified as an Egyptian cult room. In addition, other types of Egyptian ritual items, such as *situlae* decorated with deities, were ubiquitous in the Levant, Mesopotamia, and Cyprus. The discovery of these ritual finds in numerous contexts outside of Egypt suggests that Egyptian ritual items were items of trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.[122] Moreover, contemporary Saite Egyptian fortresses, such as Tel Qedwa, did not yield similar types of local ritual finds, or have specific rooms for cult practices. Thus, as a counter to Fantalkin's argument, the Egyptian bronze items do not concretely indicate an Egyptian military fortress at the site.

Although these bronzes cannot be linked to activities occurring in an Egyptian fortress, it is likely that there was some Egyptian presence at Ashkelon, which the discovery of the bronzes does support. The scarce Egyptian coarse wares at Ashkelon do not necessarily point to Egyptian sovereignty; however, since such items were

[118]Stager, Master, and Schloen 2008, p. 1584; Fantalkin 2011, p. 88.
[119]Fantalkin 2011.
[120]Fantalkin 2011, pp. 90, 94.
[121]See Bell 2008 for the catalogue of seventh century Egyptian bronzes. They were found in fill near the winery. Bell 2008, pp. 387-420; The specific hoard Fantalkin referred to was published in Iliffe 1935 and was originally dated to the fourth century. Iliffe 1935, pp. 61-8; Uehlinger argued to move the date of the bronzes to the seventh century. Uehlinger 1997, p. 129.
[122]Egyptian bronze *situlae* with deity representations have been unearthed at Carchemish, Zincirli, Ugarit, Byblos, Mispe Yammim, Tell el-Mazar, Kourion, and Amathus. Bell 2008, pp. 387-420.

not typically traded, it is interesting that they were found at Ashkelon. In addition, there is revealing evidence of Egyptian military activity from the inscription of Kanupi and the innumerable local arrowheads found at the site. The military finds coincide with Egyptian military campaigns in the northern Levant, as recorded in the Neo-Babylonian Chaldaean Chronicles.[123] One envisions Ashkelon as a strategic port along the route between Egypt and the northern Levant for troops to pass through. Due to the limited Egyptian remains alongside the abundant local material,[124] if Egyptians were present at Ashkelon, they were likely there for a short period of time and not long enough to greatly impact trade connections.

Instead, Ashkelon was ruled by the local Judean officials. Hebrew ostraka from the Judean fortress of Arad attested to the political power in the region at this point by the local leaders.[125] It is probable that, during the interlude between 630-604, the King of Judah maintained autonomy over the area, including fundamental sites such as Ashkelon.[126] With the Assyrian rule relinquished, the Judeans would infiltrate previously Assyrian-controlled settlements and ports, and gaining access to the port of Ashkelon would be especially prosperous and advantageous.

What ended the brief Judean autonomy in the southern Levant was the forced alliance that Necho II of Egypt imposed on the Judeans: Necho II's alliance with the remaining Assyrian troops supports this proposition.[127] The Judean King Josiah's refusal to join the alliance to confront the Neo-Babylonian army instigated Necho II to pursue an attack on Megiddo in 609, in order to gain the control of the region.[128] Forced participation in alliances during the Assyrian rule was commonplace; a king who refused participation would endanger the periphery to attacks by the other par-

[123]Wiseman 1956, pp. 44-5.
[124]Stager, Master, and Schloen 2008, pp. 71-96.
[125]Ostraka nos. 1 and 2. Aharoni 1981, p. 177.
[126]Wenning 1991, pp. 212-3.
[127]Stiebing 2009, pp. 292-3.
[128]**naaman_kingdom_????**; See 2 Chr. 35: 20-22 (NRSV) for a reference to discussion between Necho II and King Josiah, where Necho II was attempting to make an alliance against the Neo-Babylonians. Katzenstein 1973, p. 303.

ticipants.[129] The Egyptians would enforce such a rule to gain territory following the Assyrian demise.

Ashkelon should therefore be regarded in this light: after King Josiah's death at the Battle of Megiddo in 609, Ashkelon, along with the rest of the southern Levant, was forced to participate in the anti-Babylonian campaign alongside Egypt. Nevertheless, from the lack of Egyptian material evidence, it does not appear that the Egyptians established a permanent garrison at Ashkelon, or in other areas of the southern Levant. There are additionally no distinct signs of Greek mercenary evidence in this capacity. Although, with the constant military activity and the evidence from sites in the region, it is not impossible to envisage some Greek mercenaries arriving at the port, alongside tradesmen, in search of employment.

6.6 Analysis of Evidence from the Iron Age Levant

The material exchanges and interactions between Greece and the Levant from the Early Iron Age until the sixth century reveal considerable movements of goods and people. There is an important link between the traders and mercenaries in the Levant; the early interactions between the tenth and ninth centuries between the Euboeans and the local North Syrian populations evinced the initial infiltration of Greek imports. The trade patterns reveal concentrations of pottery imports in coastal ports, where the Euboean traders targeted the growing demand from local populations for the imports, such as at Al Mina. By the mid-eighth century, there is a direct connection between the standardized trade routes and the migrant communities that manifested in the archaeological record, such as at Ras el-Bassit. The transition to predominant Eastern Greek and Ionian seafarers and merchants by the seventh century further endures a change in trade partners; the East Greek vases seem to purposefully target particular sites in the southern Levant that had demands for East

[129] **naaman_kingdom_????**.

Greek products, including two fortresses and two ports. The transition from trade to Greek residents, to eventual East Greek imports targeting fortresses and military contexts in the southern Levant, suggests that the East Greek and Ionian merchants possibly became mercenaries by the end of the seventh century.

The time period of occupation of the sites in the southern Levant, as well as those in Egypt, is significant; they were contemporary, dating from the mid seventh century until the late sixth century. The habitation corresponds to the approximate 30-year interlude, from 630-605/4, in which the Greek imports appeared at specific locations in the southern Levant. The time period archaeologically reflects the historical setting, as well. Following the end of the Neo-Assyrian influence in the region, East Greek trade and activity increased in the Eastern Mediterranean, capitalizing on the change of hegemony. After the Neo-Babylonian invasion in 605/4, the fortresses at Tel Kabri and Mesad Hashavyahu were not reused or inhabited afterwards, while the fortified port and settlements, such as Ashkelon and Tel Dor, experienced notable changes in material culture. For example, settlements like Tel Dor flourished after the invasion with Greek imports, as well as with other evidence of non-local activities. Thus, the initial seventh century interactions with the Eastern Greek seafarers and traders possibly led to some later perennial Greek residents at Tel Dor, at least into the fifth century. Following the change of hegemony by the sixth century, trade networks and the demand for Greek imports relocated from the fortresses to Tel Dor.

The similar shapes and origins of the Greek imports, i.e. *amphorae*, drinking cups, pouring jugs, and cooking pots, at the four sites reflect the demand at these locations. The concentration of the East Greek wares in these provenances indicates that the imports were not traded further inland. Mesad Hashavyahu, Tel Kabri, and Tel Dor received the ceramic imports directly, suggesting that the sites were the main destinations for such imports. The trade patterns clarify that, overall, Greek imports were not pervasive throughout the southern Levant during the Iron Age. In addition,

the context of the East Greek imports indicates that the imports maintained their primary function as utilitarian Greek drinking items. They were not reused in a different way once exported to the southern Levant, nor were the imports used in particular local practices, such as rituals, burials, or settlements. Therefore, in these three cases, their presence is telling of the particular demand in such contexts and is suggestive of Greek activities abroad.

The context of each site is indeed essential to distinguish a Greek mercenary presence. The plethora of Greek imports discovered alongside local vases at Mesad Hashavyahu is exceptional; no other fortress context has a similar extent of Greek drinking and dining wares. The single occupation period of the site provides a unique glimpse into a typical military context between 650-525. Furthermore, the concentration of the imports within one area of the fortress, which are likely the barracks for the soldiers, suggests that a portion of the inhabitants preferred to use Greek vases. The juxtaposition of the Greek wares, Egyptian wares, and few weapons, all concentrated in the particular area (Area A), supports this.

The other fortress at Tel Kabri clearly differs in finds and contexts from Mesad Hashavyahu, since Tel Kabri is connected politically and economically with Phoenicia. The time frame in which the imports appeared and disappeared correlate precisely with the Phoenician hegemony at the site, and with the decade-long siege of the northern city, Tyre. What indicates a mercenary presence is not only the discovery of Greek cooking pots, Ionian cups, and *amphorae*, but also that there was a contemporary repertoire of Phoenician vases with equivalent functions to the Greek imports; this included Phoenician cooking pots and transport vessels. Therefore, it is not likely that there was a specific demand for Greek cooking and drinking ware by the Phoenician residents, as the Phoenicians clearly imported their own vases to use at the fort. This is an indication of a Greek population maintaining their consumption practices abroad.

The southern port at Ashkelon reveals that there was clearly a considerable demand for Greek imports. The imports were not widely dispersed in substantial amounts in the periphery, suggesting that the main demand for them was at Ashkelon. A limited military character at Ashkelon is evident from the few Egyptian remains and can be linked to the Egyptian campaigns in the Levant during the end of the seventh century. It is possible that Greek mercenaries passed through Ashkelon, as part of the military campaigns. However, there is ultimately not enough evidence to differentiate trade activity at the port from mercenary activity.

Lastly, the material culture at Tel Dor is insightful of how Greek influence continued into the Persian period. In addition to the ceramic imports, there are epigraphical and religious remains, like the Gorgon roof tiles, which strongly suggest that there were some Greek residents and ritual activity. Greek military finds are evident from the few sling bullets and the Greek bronze helmet; although the helmet is an anomalous find, it suggests that weapons were brought from the Greek world. It is certainly possible that external soldiers from East Greece and Ionia would travel through Tel Dor for hire, especially by the sixth and fifth centuries. As stated earlier, the time frame of occupation and increase of non-local cultural practices suggest that some of the Greeks relocated to the coastal settlement following 605/4, when the other sites were destroyed or abandoned. This movement perhaps incorporated the Greeks who were previously stationed in the region prior to the Neo-Babylonian conquest.

Contextualizing the material and textual remains from the four sites, as well as connecting the trade patterns of Greek imports from North Syria to the southern Levant, indeed distinguishes when mercenaries are traceable in the archaeological record in the Levant.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The prevalence and demand for mercenaries existed throughout antiquity. As long as warfare and conflicts persisted, there was a need for large numbers of soldiers in armies, and hiring external contingents fulfilled the demand. The mercenary profession is clearly not just a phenomenon of the Archaic and Classical periods and the contemporary texts; paid foreign soldiers manifested since the third millennium in the Near East, in various circumstances and historical settings. Tracing mercenary activity in archaeological remains adds greatly to today's perception of such avaricious, hired soldiers, and constructs a more complex image of mercenary roles in warfare in antiquity.

The thesis provides useful interpretations and discussions of mercenary activity that contribute to current and ancient perceptions. How mercenaries materialize in the archaeological and textual record is significant to delineate their presence. In particular, the research focuses on how mercenaries are defined, based on evidence from textual records, and examples of when this is then reflected in the material culture, and when it is not, diachronically over centuries.

7.1 Main Contributions to Literature

This research contributes new ideas, methods, and interpretations to current literature on mercenaries. The time period of the study provides a new scope that is evaluated comprehensively for mercenary evidence. Much scholarship on mercenaries focused on the Archaic and Classical periods, arguing that the mercenary phenomenon did not occur until this point,[1] as well as on the later Hellenistic and Roman periods. The later centuries provide copious written sources; more or less, they are straightforward in regards to clear evidence for the historical presence of mercenaries. Investigating the earlier time frame in this thesis, therefore, is significant. The starting point for the analysis is at the earliest appearance of mercenaries in the Eastern Mediterranean, during the Bronze Age. The texts, alongside some remains, convey the extent of continuity of mercenary employment, where mercenaries are critical additions to armies in the Near East.

The time frame also highlights a notable chronological interlude, when there is a gap in the available sources and materials that indicate mercenaries between the eleventh century and the beginning of the eighth century. The gap occurs primarily because of the transition of major powers in the Near East, following the collapse of the Bronze Age; as a result, key sources that were previously the main recorders of mercenaries in the military, such as the Egyptians, diminish. This does not, however, conclusively signify that the need for mercenaries abated. The employment of military contingents at this time would be essential for local rulers, especially during the constant shifts of power. Mercenary employment would certainly be ephemeral in these centuries; they were not permanent, consistent positions in larger armies, as they were in the Egyptian armies during the New Kingdom, and thus they were not recorded. Future research, excavations, and interpretations of finds and texts from the Eastern Mediterranean, that date from the eleventh to eighth centuries, will ideally

[1] Kagan and Viggiano 2013.

mend this gap of information.

Another key contribution of the thesis is addressing the overwhelming generalizations and assumptions in current scholarship about mercenary activity. Especially in research in Egyptology and in Classical Archaeology, there is a tendency to assume that any evidence for non-local peoples in a military capacity are mercenaries. Examples of such assumptions come from interpretations of Egyptian texts and iconography; when the Nubians or Medjay are depicted, it is assumed they are mercenaries each time they are represented alongside the Egyptian army. Later examples of similar assumptions include attempts to connect any evidence of Greek ceramics in Egypt with Herodotus' Ionian and Carian mercenaries in the seventh and sixth centuries. The thesis rectifies these assumptions and generalizations by establishing a definition of mercenaries in the Bronze Age, based on the sources, and by contextualizing the material and texts from the Iron Age to conclude examples when mercenaries are present.

The evaluation of remains from the Iron Age presents alternative interpretations of sites in Egypt and the Levant with Greek imports. Using the methodological approach of establishing archaeological indicators that indicate non-locals and mercenaries, the thesis interprets the sites that plausibly suggest evidence for mercenaries. The finds also indicate sites that do not suggest such activity.

The discourse casts new perspectives on Greeks situated in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Iron Age. The clear connections between seafarers, raiders, merchants, and mercenaries stemmed from these interactions. Seafarers and raiders are evident in the Bronze Age, with the Sherden, and in the Iron Age Neo-Assyrian texts, with the Ionians. The Egyptians supplemented their army with the raiders in the Bronze Age, and this pattern could certainly occur again with the Neo-Assyrians and the Ionian raiders. Likewise, the link between early Greek merchants and the dissemination of Greek residents in North Syria and the southern Levant is excep-

tional. Trade drove some of these interactions, with markets that targeted specific Greek populations in certain locations. It is indeed possible that some of the Greek traders became the residents and mercenaries in these regions.

7.2 Achieved Aims

The analyses and discussions in the thesis address the main aims and research questions, as outlined in the beginning of the thesis. This section presents the achieved aims and conclusions, in light of the archaeological evidence.

7.2.1 The Definition of a Mercenary

The definition of modern mercenaries, as well as mercenaries from Classical texts (See Chapter 2.1.1), do not equal those in the Bronze and Iron Age. To help characterize mercenaries from the sources, the earliest evidence for non-local contingents that were employed in an organized military provides useful insight. There is no clear terminology that identifies a mercenary in the Bronze Age texts; the context, therefore, is the main source of information. Revealing texts come from Egypt, as well as some Hittite and Mycenaean sources. It is clear that the Egyptians depended on non-Egyptians to supplement their army numbers; in the Egyptian texts, mercenaries were non non-Egyptian, or non-locals. The texts and iconography prove that there was a strong need for depictions of "otherness," i.e., characteristics that differentiated certain hired ethnic groups from the Egyptians. The discussion below reiterates the characteristics from the Bronze Age texts that define a mercenary.

Evidence of payment is essential; this was done typically in land, food rations, plunder, and gifts. Payments in land are well-documented with the Sherden in the Bronze Age, where the Sherden kept their land for centuries after working for the pharaohs. This is reflected in much later sources as well, where Herodotus referred

to the Ionian and Carian mercenaries that received land in the seventh century as remuneration for their employment, although there is not direct epigraphical or archaeological evidence to prove this land ownership explicitly. Evidently land was in demand and was highly valued, especially among populations that originated outside of organized society, such as the Sherden, Libyans, Nubians and Medjay. Egypt's ability to offer land as remuneration was likely advantageous for the outsider communities. It is interesting to note that the lure for land occurred especially at times of unrest; an example is the end of the Late Bronze Age, when mass migrations were taking place across the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean. In addition to land, payment in food rations was also probable; Egyptian texts described the types of rations each soldier received, depending on status. If external groups were in need of food for survival, they could join the military service for a reliable source of payment. The Hittite texts further referred to rations that were not supplied to the Ahhiyawans dispatched in Anatolia. Finally, plunder from war and gifts were also forms of payment.

Foreign military groups that receive payments should not be considered mercenaries in every context they appear. As discussed in Chapter 3.2.3, there is a phase of contact between the point in which military groups are hired and receive payment, and if and when they are later assimilated into society. The Sherden clearly reveal this process; they are hired by the Egyptians, as the texts record, and by the eleventh and tenth centuries, they are land owners and are part of Egyptian society. The ephemeral phase when they are hired explicitly for military purposes is when they are considered mercenaries. In comparison, the Nubians and Medjay are contingents from outsider communities that became established positions in the Egyptian military by the New Kingdom (see Chapter 3.2.1). Although they are mercenaries when they are first recruited, the Nubians and the Medjay should not be considered mercenaries by the time they are established additions in the Egyptian military.

Another factor that characterizes a mercenary is the evidence for when the external military groups attain a higher social status. In Egypt, this was a common feature of some external groups, like the Sherden, who became the personal body guards of the pharaoh.

The characteristics outlined above suggest that mercenaries in the Bronze Age are defined in the following ways: they are typically non-local military groups, likely originating from communities outside of organized society, that receive some sort of payment (notably in the form of land) for their employment. Finally, the hired contingents may gain an elevated social status and over time, become an established position in the military, as well as in local society.

The definition is not necessarily applicable to mercenaries in the Iron Age, as the main historical sources of information change and useful texts become scarce (see Chapter 4.1). The thesis turns to the available textual, epigraphical, and archaeological remains from contexts that reveal military activity. From the various remains in particular contexts, it is possible to indicate evidence for mercenaries, as discussed below; the archaeological indicators and their contexts are useful to define a mercenary in the Iron Age.

7.2.2 Textual and Archaeological Indicators for Mercenaries

The main objective of the thesis is to distinguish how to use the textual and archaeological sources to identify mercenary activity, especially during the Iron Age when useful texts are rare. The Iron Age texts from the Neo-Assyrian Empire do reveal evidence for interactions between the Near Eastern armies and other militant groups, including Ionian sea raiders. The Neo-Assyrian texts provide a glimpse into the historical setting of the eighth century, when there were seafarers from the Greek world that were raiding major cities and ports in the Eastern Mediterranean. Other texts that pertain explicitly to mercenary activity include the seventh and sixth century

epigraphical evidence from Abu Simbel that attest to Greek, Carian, and Aramaic mercenaries (see Chapter 4.2.4). The later Classical Greek sources, such as Herodotus, further record the presence of mercenaries. The texts testify to mercenary activity, at least by the seventh and sixth centuries.

Alongside the texts, the thesis examines the material culture and constructs archaeological criteria that attest to mercenary activity. The most prevalent material indicator is pottery. There are examples in past scholarship when pottery is used incorrectly to automatically indicate the presence of ethnic groups, and on many occasions, it is argued that pottery equals mercenaries (see Chapter 2.2). The thesis clarifies instances when imported ceramics are helpful to trace the presence of non-local people; however, it proves that the ceramic assemblages need to correlate with other indicative remains as well to conclusively suggest mercenary activity. The vases alone cannot explicitly show mercenaries.

Certain factors of the pottery are helpful, nonetheless. For instance, the provenance of the ceramic imports in fortresses are significant. The concentrations of ceramic imports in specific rooms located by the gateway of a fortress, in domestic quarters, and in external encampments, such as at Tel Qedwa, are suggestive of daily use by the soldiers stationed at the garrison. In addition, the function of the imported vases is noteworthy. There are only two occasions in Saite Egypt when Greek imports were clearly used by Egyptians, both in local funerary practices (see Chapter 5.2.4); besides this, Greek imports have not been discovered in other contemporary Egyptian contexts, such as in settlements or rituals. The rare, local funerary use for Greek imports in Egypt, therefore, suggests that Greek imports were not part of Egyptian daily consumption ware, and that they were reserved for ritual practices in some locations. With this factor in mind, it is significant that open-shaped Greek drinking and cooking vases were found in an Egyptian fortress, like Tel Qedwa, alongside other indicators of Greek activity. Similar open-shaped, contemporary imports were also

discovered in Greek ritual contexts, like at Naukratis. In these cases, the imported ceramics suggest a Greek use.

Likewise, similar provenances for the Greek vases at the fortresses of Mesad Hashavyahu and Tel Kabri are notable; Greek consumption wares were not common in local settlement or ritual contexts in the southern Levant, and the presence of the imports in the garrisons is substantial. Nevertheless, the pottery should link with other material indicators and contexts that support a mercenary presence.

Other conclusive material indicators that do clearly suggest mercenary activity in certain contexts include non-local burial rites. The cremation burial rite with Greek vases in an encampment located next to Tel Qedwa is a very strong indication of the presence of Greeks associated with the fortress, especially since Egyptians did not typically cremate their dead. Similar burials have yet to be found elsewhere in Egypt or in the southern Levant.

Non-local weapons are also strong indicators for foreign military activity. In the Bronze Age, this is evinced by Mycenaean weapons at Tel el-Borg in the Sinai and indeed suggests foreign warriors present at the fortress. In the Iron Age, instances of indicative non-local weaponry are the Greek bronze helmets, found at Naukratis, Thonis-Heracleion, Tel Dor, and from the port of Haifa. The numerous other weapons found at these sites are locally-produced, such as the numerous arrowheads.

Furthermore, the arrowheads can be representative of Greek ritual practices, in specific contexts. The dedication of arrowheads as votives at the Sanctuary of Apollo at Naukratis likely pinpoint warrior dedications abroad. Dedicating weapons was a frequent practice in the Greek world, and the Egyptians did not give similar, contemporary offerings to commemorate their battles. To a similar effect, dedications at a likely Greek temple at Tel Dor revealed male warrior and equestrian figurines, which may further connect to warrior dedications.

Evidence for payment for soldiers would also be indicative of mercenary activity,

though there is little evidence to reveal payment methods during the Iron Age. What is informative of payment is the exceptional sixth century Egyptian block statue from Ionia, that was given as a gift to the Greek mercenary Pedon by the Egyptian pharaoh, Psammetichus (see Chapter 4.2.4). Pedon subsequently dedicated the block statue upon his return to Ionia. The exceptional find demonstrates that Greek mercenaries did receive plunder and gifts as an outcome of war, despite the limited evidence.

When particular texts, material remains, and context, suggest different, non-local practices, this is then representative of foreign activity, and possibly mercenaries. Constructing archaeological indicators that pinpoint mercenaries is fundamental and should be applied to further discussions of mercenary activity in the Eastern Mediterranean.

7.3 Future Research

Following the results from the thesis, there is much more research that will broaden knowledge of mercenaries in the ancient world. The historical setting and cross-cultural relations during the Saite Dynasty in Egypt is a topic for research. More excavations, surveys, and examination of materials from past fieldwork will greatly contribute to knowledge of Greek, and other, soldiers in the region. Many fortresses were surveyed decades ago, with incomplete publications and records about the finds. Tel Qedwa proves to be one of the only clear fortress contexts that exist from this period. A thorough examination of more fortress contexts will shed more light on this time frame. It will also add more information about logistics of warfare during the Saite period, such as how large the armies were, the organization of the troops, and their provisions.

In addition, the types of weapons used in Saite Egypt and the Levant during the Iron Age need an in-depth examination. The predominant weapon is the arrowhead

and there is a lack of clear typology for the arrowheads, especially from the three sites in Egypt. The dearth of arrowhead typologies greatly hinders the analysis of the origins and users of the arrowheads. Constructing a useful typology is helpful to determine whether the arrowheads were locally produced, and how far the types extended in the Levant and Near East.

The cultural impact of mercenaries is also a significant topic for research. The Iron Age mercenaries from the Greek world triggered new cultural influences as a result of their employment abroad. The main influence of mercenaries upon their return home is ritual dedications and practices. This is apparent from the Pedon block statue, as well as at Tel Dor and Naukratis, where weapon dedications are abundant. Religious sites in Greece undoubtedly received dedications as well from soldiers, as well as seafarers, returning home; this is evident from sanctuaries such as the Samian Heraion, which yielded numerous lavish finds from the Near East, as well as non-Greek dedicators, such as the Pharaoh Amasis. An investigation into dedications in East Greece and Ionia during the Iron Age would be revealing of the impacts mercenaries had upon their return home.

Another area that should be examined is the material evidence of Carians from Asia Minor. Carians were certainly present in Saite Egypt, as evinced from the epigraphical remains, Carian burial stelae in Memphis, and two fragments of pottery from Naukratis. Carian activity corresponds to Herodotus' records of Carian mercenaries alongside Ionians. The dearth of research and excavations in Caria precipitates the difficulty of identifying this ethnic group in the archaeological record. Their ritual practices, burial rites, and coarse ware pottery types are, for the most part, unknown. More investigations into Carian remains would fulfill this lack of information.

More research on the connections between the Greek world and the Eastern Mediterranean during the chronological gap is necessary. There is little to no evidence between the eleventh and eighth centuries that indicates mercenary activity.

One can imagine that such evidence must have existed, especially since these were tumultuous times following the Bronze Age collapse.

These frameworks for further research illuminate the depths in which the future study of mercenaries should go. The ramifications of this profession in the ancient world are great and inevitably impacted many aspects of the archaeological record, including trade, migrations, cross-cultural interactions, and influences in material culture. This thesis divulges into the available evidence in the Bronze and Iron ages, concluding that this was not a phenomenon of just the Archaic and Classical periods in Greece; mercenaries were prevalent long before this and they were a necessity in ancient armies. Despite much past scholarly interest in mercenaries, there are new ways to identify them archaeologically that we should capitalize on going forward. As this thesis adds to the previous dearth of information about their presence, future finds will do the same, and the previously untraceable "Men of Bronze" will indeed emerge in the archaeological record.

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