

THE PHILISTINES AND
OTHER “SEA PEOPLES” IN
TEXT AND ARCHAEOLOGY

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The Philistines and Other “Sea Peoples”
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edited by

Ann E. Killebrew and Gunnar Lehmann

Society of Biblical Literature
Atlanta, Georgia

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WHEN THE PAST WAS NEW: MOSHE DOTHAN (1919–1999), AN APPRECIATION

*Neil Asher Silberman**

Moshe Dothan was my most important teacher, though he never gave me a written examination and I never attended any course he taught. From 1972 to 1976, I worked as his assistant at the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums in Jerusalem's Rockefeller Museum, working on the publication of his Ashdod excavations and participating in the beginnings of his ambitious Tel Akko dig. It was a time that now seems so distant. Archaeology in Israel was still living in the warm afterglow of its Yadin-esque heyday; extensive excavations around the Temple Mount and the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem were still underway. Yet it was also a time of archaeological transition from an era of romantic national celebration to a more complex engagement with the material remains of the past. The study of the Sea Peoples—and of the Philistines in particular—was part of this dramatic transformation. Old-style antiquarianism and the quest for biblical illustration was giving way to a recognition that archaeology could also shed important new light on the nature of ancient ethnic dislocation, cultural interaction, and social change.

As a member of the pioneering generation of Israeli archaeologists, Moshe Dothan was born in Poland and immigrated to Palestine in the late 1930s, exchanging his former surname, Hammer, for a new identity and a new life in the soon-to-be-established Jewish state. After service in a Palestinian unit of the British army during World War II among the ruined modern cities and ancient monuments of Italy (whose impression on him would never be forgotten) and after further service in the 1948 Israel War of Independence, he began his studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem under the guidance of Israeli archaeology's founding fathers, E. L. Sukenik, Michael Avi-Yonah, and Benjamin Mazar. His

* Center for Heritage and Society, The University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

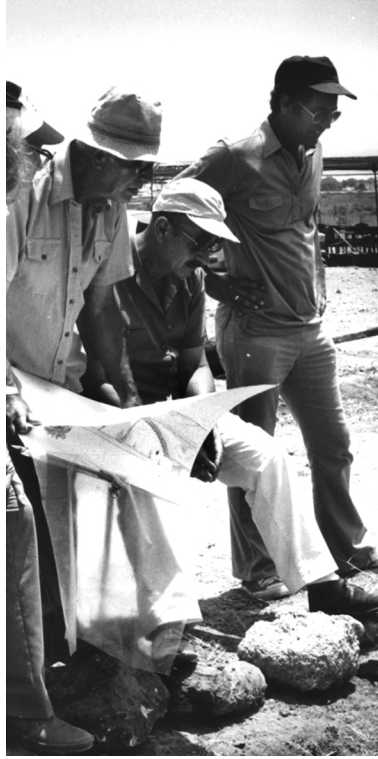


Fig. 1: Moshe Dothan (left) discussing stratigraphy at Tel Akko with Yigael Yadin (center) and Steve Rosen (right; photographer: Michal Artzy).

classical gymnasium education in Krakow served him well as he embarked on an archaeological career; it provided him with a solid background in Greek and Latin and a familiarity with a wide range of historical subjects and philosophies. In 1950, he joined the staff of the newly created Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, gaining valuable field experience and a deep appreciation for rigorous archaeological method during his work with the legendary British archaeologist, P. L. O. Guy. His PhD dissertation on the ancient settlement patterns of the lower Rubin Valley was not only one of the first wide-ranging modern archaeological surveys undertaken in Israel; it also marked the beginning of his continuing interest in coastal archaeology.

In the annals of Sea Peoples scholarship, Moshe Dothan will of course be remembered first and foremost for his excavations at Ashdod. Following his earlier discoveries of Philistine remains at Azor (1958) and at Tel Mor (1959–1960), he embarked on nine seasons of digging at Tel Ashdod between 1962 and 1972,

uncovering unprecedented evidence for the character and evolution of Philistine settlement. It is not an exaggeration to say that with this project, the modern understanding of Philistine culture entered a new era, refining and expanding the archaeological framework established by his wife and colleague, Trude, in linking the origins and interactions of Philistine culture with the wider Mediterranean world.

In earlier eras of exploration, the Philistines had been seen as archetypal biblical villains, ethnically linked to the Aegean and historically implicated in a struggle for *Lebensraum* with the emerging Israelite nation. The Aegean-style decorative motifs on Philistine pottery had long been seen as static ethnic markers; the fearsome biblical image of the looming Philistine giant, Goliath, shaped popular perceptions of Philistine culture—far more pervasively than the archaeological evidence. Yet, the Ashdod excavations played an important role in overturning that simplistic perception, shifting the archaeological focus from a stark vision of ethnic invasion to a recognition of the complex economic, cultural, and social changes experienced by the Philistines during their initial settlement and subsequent development on the Canaanite coast.

Indeed, Ashdod's most spectacular finds have become distinctive icons of the modern archaeological understanding of Philistine material culture. The astonishingly abstract cultic figurine nicknamed "Ashdoda"—half offering table, half Aegean-style goddess—clearly showed the creatively composite character of Philistine culture, in its amalgamation of Mycenaean and Bronze Age Near Eastern styles. The inscribed seals from Iron I strata were the first evidence of Philistine literacy. Yet even though their characters *resembled* Cypro-Minoan script, they could not be pinned down to a particular place of origin, further suggesting the hybrid nature of Philistine society. In the higher levels, the famous "Musicians' Stand", the red-burnished "Ashdod Ware", and the city's impressive six-chambered gate (so close in plan and dimensions to the supposed "Solomonic" monuments) demonstrated the gradually strengthening links of the city to the contemporary Levantine cultures of Iron Age II. The Ashdod excavations thus revealed the slow evolution of a complex society, tracing its beginnings as an urban coastal center in the Bronze Age, through its period of distinctive Philistine culture, to its eventual destruction as a petty vassal kingdom under the Assyrian Empire.

Particularly crucial for the modern understanding of the Sea Peoples' initial settlement throughout the entire eastern Mediterranean was the discovery at Ashdod of an initial post-Late Bronze Age stratum containing locally made monochrome Mycenaean IIIC-style pottery types. These distinctively decorated vessels were clearly not offloaded immigrant housewares, but the product of a creative transformation, in which a vague and generalized memory of Mycenaean styles was gradually articulated into distinctive regional variants. Ashdod's Myce-

naean IIIC proved to be just one of many versions that were produced in the widely dispersed archipelago of sites across Cyprus and along the coasts of Cilicia and the Levant established by new settlers in the wake of the Late Bronze collapse. In the case of Ashdod, it is now clear that Philistine history and cultural evolution involved far more than just a sudden, violent displacement from a specific Aegean homeland; Dothan's excavations showed it to be a process of complex social adaptation in the cultural cauldron of the Iron Age Levant.

Ashdod was also a new kind of excavation in a very practical sense. Conceived as a joint Israeli-American expedition, sponsored by the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, and Pittsburgh's Carnegie Museum, it brought together archaeologists trained in separate national traditions and field methods to forge a common excavation style. It was also a site where nearly an entire generation of post-Hazor-era Israeli archaeologists received their first extensive field experience. Anticipating the later appeals of Yigael Yadin for passionate amateurs to come join the excavations at Masada, the Ashdod expedition was the first of its kind in Israel to solicit and welcome the participation of enthusiastic volunteers from abroad. No less important were the multi-disciplinary and international scholarly connections; the excavations at Ashdod were the first in Israel to utilize extensive Neutron Activation Analysis for ceramic provenience (specifically of its Mycenaean IIIC wares), and the first to engage in continuous and close dialogue with scholars working on Cyprus on a similar Sea Peoples' phenomenon.

Soon after the completion of the Ashdod excavations, Dothan began his ambitious excavations at Tel Akko (1973–1989), the last major archaeological undertaking of his life. These excavations provided intriguing new data on the nature of the Sea Peoples' process of settlement farther up the coast. Amidst the extensive finds of Hellenistic houses and fortifications, Crusader ruins, Phoenician public buildings, and an imposing Middle Bronze Age rampart, the Akko excavations revealed evidence of the Sea Peoples' presence—in this case, presumably the Shardana, localized in this area by the Onomasticon of Amenope. The discovery of an area of pottery and metal workshops, containing implements for copper smelting, metal working, unbaked vessels, and scattered fragments of yet another variant of Mycenaean IIIC pottery. These finds suggested that the short-lived settlement of Sea People at Akko functioned as a center for craft production at the end of the thirteenth and early-twelfth centuries B.C.E. In subsequent years, Dothan became fascinated by the possible connections of the Shardana with Sardinia—and the hypothesis of post-Late Bronze cultural and possibly economic contact between the Levant and the western Mediterranean suggested by such a link. In 1992, he summed up his insights about the Sea Peoples in a popular book he coauthored with Trude: *People of the Sea: The Search for the Philistines*,

presenting the most important discoveries and the general conclusions they had both formulated about the archaeology and history of the Philistines and the other Sea Peoples they had investigated in the course of their careers.

For Moshe Dothan, the past was not a static reality but a dynamic and ever-changing field of research in which new ideas and new theories were not disturbing exceptions but important motivations for serious archaeological work. Over an active career of more than four decades, his contributions extended far beyond the geographical and chronological boundaries of Sea Peoples studies. In his years of surveys and excavations on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, he had also uncovered the important Chalcolithic site of Horvat Batar, near Beersheva (1952–1954); the seaside Canaanite temple at Nahariya with its silver sea goddess and seven-spouted lamps (1954–1955); the Iron Age desert citadel at Tell el-Qudeirat, identified with Kadesh Barnea (1956); and the late Roman-to-Early Islamic era synagogue at Hammath Tiberias with its spectacular zodiac (1961–1963). The finds from each of these excavations have enriched many subfields of the discipline with rich material for continuing discussion and questions for further research.

In 1972, Dothan was appointed professor of archaeology at the University of Haifa. He served as chairman of the Department of Maritime Studies from 1976 to 1979 and was instrumental in the establishment of the Department of Archaeology where he also served as its departmental head. Yet Moshe was never entirely comfortable in the classroom, presenting lessons from a well-polished syllabus. He was far more at home in the field and at his excavation sites, huddling with his surveyor over sections and top plans or studying assemblages of newly dug pottery. Whether it was the nature of Chalcolithic culture, of Canaanite religion, the expansion of the Iron Age Israelite kingdoms, or the use of pagan imagery by Jews in the Late Roman period, Moshe Dothan contributed abundant evidence for understanding the evolution of human culture in the Land of Israel over the millennia.

As an unforgettable personality and independent thinker, he rarely gained the main spotlight of archaeological celebrity. Yet Moshe Dothan's contribution to the archaeology of Israel in general and of the Sea Peoples and the Philistines in particular was profound. He worked with energy and impatience, under conditions and with resources that few of today's archaeologists would ever attempt. He possessed more creativity, historical scope, and courage to challenge conventional wisdom and to break disciplinary boundaries than many other of his contemporaries who fancied themselves more famous, more erudite, or more rigidly systematic than he. In his life and work, Moshe Dothan embodied the belief that the past is always new, forever awaiting the next discovery or insight that might

shatter our preconceptions and change our understanding of human history in surprising and unexpected ways.

That is what he taught me. That is the greatest lesson an archaeologist can ever teach. May this volume on the archaeological search for the Philistines and other Sea Peoples be a tribute to him.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Philistines and Other “Sea Peoples” is the result of the contributions and editorial assistance of numerous individuals. First and foremost, we would like to express our gratitude to all the authors of this mega-volume for their essays, which reflect their expertise and first-hand knowledge of the material culture and texts associated with the Philistines and other Sea Peoples. We thank them for their contributions, and especially for their patience throughout the process of preparing the manuscripts for publication. Special thanks are due to the volume’s copy editors, Heather D. Heidrich and Dr. Gabriele Faßbeck. Their meticulous and very professional work was invaluable! This tome is due in no small part to their assistance and input. We would also like to express our sincere appreciation to Dr. Billie Jean Collins, acquisitions editor at the Society of Biblical Literature, for her expert work on the final editing and layout of this especially complex and massive volume. We are also indebted to Professor Tammi J. Schneider, editor of the Archaeology and Biblical Studies series, for her enthusiastic encouragement during the preparation of this book. Lastly, many thanks are due to Dr. Bob Buller, editorial director at the Society of Biblical Literature, for his guidance and advice throughout the process of preparing the manuscripts for publication. This book would not have been possible without the participation, assistance, and contributions of all of you. Thank you!

Ann E. Killebrew and Gunnar Lehmann

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992.
ADAJ	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>
AEL	<i>Ancient Egyptian Literature</i> . M. Lichtheim. 3 vols. Berkeley, 1973–1980.
AEO	<i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> . A. H. Gardiner. 3 vols. London, 1947.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJBA	<i>Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology</i>
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Edited by J. B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. Princeton, 1969.
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
ARAB	<i>Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia</i> . Daniel David Luckenbill. 2 vols. Chicago, 1926–1927.
ARE	<i>Ancient Records of Egypt</i> . Edited by J. H. Breasted. 5 vols. Chicago, 1905–1907. Reprint, New York, 1962.
ASAE	<i>Annales du service des antiquités de l’Égypte</i>
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
Atiqot	‘Atiqot
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BANEA	British Association for Near Eastern Archaeology
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BIES	<i>Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society</i>
BK	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament. Edited by M. Noth and H. W. Wolff.
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
CANE	<i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> . Edited by J. M.

- Sasson. 4 vols. New York, 1995.
- CRAI *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
- CTH *Catalogue des texts hittites*. Edited by E. Laroche. Paris, 1971.
- EA El-Amarna tablets. According to the edition of J. A. Knudtzon. *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln*. Leipzig, 1908–1915. Reprint, Aalen, 1964. Continued in A. F. Rainey, *El-Amarna Tablets, 359–379*. 2nd revised ed. Kevelaar, 1978.
- ErIsr* *Eretz-Israel*
- FM Furumark Motif
- FS Furumark Shape
- HO Handbuch der Orientalistik
- IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*
- IstMitt *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JEOL *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap (Genootschap) Ex oriente lux*
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- JSOT *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
- JSOTSup *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series*
- KAI *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. H. Donner and W. Röllig. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966–1969.
- KBo *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. WVDOG 30, 36, 68–70, 72–73, 77–80, 82–86, 89–90. Leipzig, 1916–
- KTU *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*. Edited by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. AOAT 24. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976. 2nd enlarged ed. of *KTU: The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places*. Edited by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. Münster, 1995 (= *CTU*).
- KUB *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*
- MDAIK *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*
- MDOG *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
- MVAG *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*. Vols. 1–44. 1896–1939.
- NABU *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires*
- NEA *Near Eastern Archaeology*
- NEAEHL *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Edited by E. Stern. 4 vols. Jerusalem, 1993.

OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OJA	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
OLP	<i>Orientalia lovaniensia periodica</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia</i> (NS)
PEFQS	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PRU	<i>Le palais royal d'Ugarit</i>
Qad	<i>Qadmoniot</i>
QDAP	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i>
RAr	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RDAC	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus</i>
RGG	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> . Edited by K. Galling. 7 vols. 3rd ed. Tübingen, 1957–1965.
RS	Ras Shamra
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SBL	Society for Biblical Literature
SCIEM	The Synchronisation of Civilisations of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.
SHCANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SMEA	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i>
TA	Tel Aviv
TGI	<i>Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels</i> . Edited by K. Galling. 2nd ed. Tübingen, 1968.
TUAT	<i>Texte aus der Umwelt des alten Testaments</i> . Edited by O. Kaiser. Gütersloh, 1984–.
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
YCS	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

APPENDIX

THE “SEA PEOPLES” IN PRIMARY SOURCES

*Matthew J. Adams and Margaret E. Cohen**

This appendix collects the textual references to the “Sea Peoples” that occur in Egyptian, Ugaritic, Hittite, and other Late Bronze to early Iron Age sources. The “Sea Peoples” included here are those peoples listed in Ramesses II’s Kadesh Inscriptions (Kitchen 1979, 2–147), Merenptah’s Great Karnak Inscription (Kitchen 1982a, 2–12), and, perhaps most famously, those named in the “confederation of peoples” (Kitchen 1983, 40.3–4) at Ramesses III’s mortuary temple, Medinet Habu (Redford 1992, 243, n. 14). Every effort has been made to produce a comprehensive listing of the mentions of these particular peoples. We have not, however, attempted to provide a complete bibliography for the various texts, and therefore the references that we provide are intended to point the researcher to, in most cases, easily available translations, transcriptions, and/or transliterations. When a citation is given for a text of transcribed hieroglyphs, the first Arabic numeral refers to the page and the second to the line number of that page.

We have tried to limit the scope of primary materials to the Late Bronze Age/early Iron Age horizon. We have done this primarily to minimize the amount of interpretation required to evaluate whether a text should be included or excluded as reliable, primary data. Thus we have not dealt here with later first-millennium B.C.E. materials, including, for example, the biblical material on the Philistines or references to alleged Sea Peoples in classical Greek sources.

* Matthew J. Adams, Bucknell University; e-mail: mja198@gmail.com. Margaret E. Cohen, The Pennsylvania State University; e-mail: mec243@psu.edu.

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The compilation is arranged in a numerical hierarchy according to the following pattern:

- Name of Sea People
- Type of Source (i.e., Egyptian, Ugaritic,¹ Hittite, Other)
- Name of Specific Source (e.g., Papyrus Harris)
- Brief description of specific mention within the text followed by select bibliographic information

1. LUKKA²

1.1 Egyptian

1.1.1 Ramesses II: Kadesh Inscription(s)

- a) Ramesses II claims a victory in the Lukka land (Kitchen 1979, 4.1–4; Davies 1997, 56.4; Gardiner 1960).
- b) The countries allied with Khatti against the Egyptians are Naharin, Arzawa, Dardany, Keshkesh, Masa, Pidasa, Arwen, Karkiša, **Lukka**, Kizzuwadna, Carchemish, Ugarit, Qode, Nuhasse, Mushanet, and Qadesh (Kitchen 1979, 17.15; Davies 1997, 60.45; *ARE*, III:§309; Gardiner 1960).
- c) The countries allied with Khatti against the Egyptians are Arzawa, Masa, Pidasa, Keshkesh, Arwen, Kizzuwadna, Aleppo, Aketeri, Kadesh, and **Lukka** (Kitchen 1979, 32.5; *ARE*, III:§312; Gardiner 1960).
- d) The chiefs of the lands assembled with Khatti against Ramesses II are Arzawa, Masa, Arwen, **Lukka**, Dardany, Carchemish, Karkiša, and Aleppo (Kitchen 1979, 50.12–15; Davies 1997, 68.150; Gardiner 1960).
- e) The countries allied with Khatti against the Egyptians are Dardany, Naharin, Keshkesh, Masa, Pidasa, Karkiša, **Lukka**, Carchemish, Arzawa, Ugarit, Arwen, Inesa, Mushanet, Qadesh, Aleppo, and Qode (Kitchen 1979, 111.13–14; Davies 1997, 88.45; Gardiner 1960).
- f) Lukka are counted in a list of prisoners taken by Ramesses II (Kitchen 1979, 143.15; Gardiner 1960).
- g) Lukka is one of the countries in league with Khatti against the Egyptians (Kitchen 1979, 927.13).

1. The “Ugaritic” source category includes texts from Ugarit written in Akkadian.

2. General references: del Monte and Tischler 1978, 249–50; del Monte 1992, 96; Bryce 1979 and 1992. The Lukka are associated with the “Sea Peoples” primarily because of the reference to them in Merenptah’s Great Karnak Inscription (see 1.1.2 below). They, unlike most of the others in this catalog, are much better known thanks to Hittite texts. For this reason, we have included all of the Lukka mentioned outside of Khatti, but only the more historically important attestations from Khatti itself. For the minor references that are missing, see del Monte and Tischler 1978 and del Monte 1992.

1.1.2 Merenptah: Great Karnak Inscription

- a) The northerners allied with the Libyans are Eqwesh, Teresh, **Lukka**, Sherden, and Shekelesh (lacuna distorts exact context) (Kitchen 1982a, 2.13; Davies 1997, 152.1; *ARE*, III:§574).
- b) List of allies of the Libyans: Sherden, Shekelesh, Eqwesh, **Lukka**, and Teresh (others in lacuna?) (Kitchen 1982a, 4.2; Davies 1997, 154.14; *ARE*, III:§579).

1.1.3 Onomasticon of Amenope

- a) The **Lukka** appear in the sequence: ... Libu, Qeheq, Keshkesh, Denyen, Khatti, [...], **Lukka**, Pidasu, Arzawa, Carchemish... (*AEO*, I:#247; for commentary, see *AEO*, I:127–28).

1.2 Ugaritic

1.2.1 RS 20.238

- a) In a letter from the king of Ugarit to the king of Alashiya, the king of Ugarit is left defenseless against the “enemy” because “all of [his] ships are in the land of **Lukka**”³ (Nougayrol et al. 1968, 24.23; Beckman 1996, 27).

1.3 Hittite

1.3.1 The Annals of Tudhaliya I/II (*CTH* 142)

- a) [L]ukka is a member of a west Anatolian rebellion (Assuwan Confederacy) against Hatti (*KUB* XXIII:11 and 13; Garstang and Gurney 1959, 121–23; Bryce 1979, 3; see del Monte and Tischler 1978, 6:40 for alternative restoration).

1.3.2 The Plague Prayer of Mursili II to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (*CTH* 376)

- a) **Lukka** is listed as a land which once gave tribute to Hatti but now revolts (*KUB* XXIV:3; *ANET*, 396; Singer 2002, 49–54; Bryce 1979, 5).

1.3.3 Treaty of Muwattalli II and Alaksandu (*CTH* 76)

- a) In the offensive agreement of this treaty, Muwattali enlists Alaksandu’s aid should the former campaign against the city of **Lukka** (Beckman 1999, #13, §11; Garstang and Gurney 1959, 111–14).

3. This letter has traditionally been interpreted as a response to R.S.L. 1 (Nougayrol et al. 1968, 23), which indicates the name of its sender only as king (*šarri-ma*, line 1). It has been argued convincingly, however, that the king in question must be the king of Carchemish (Singer 1999, 720 n. 394). Thus, this text should not necessarily be read in context of R.S.L. 1 as traditionally done.

1.3.4 The Tawagalawa Letter (*CTH* 181)

- a) “The men of Lukka” turn for help to both Ahhiyawa and to the Hittite king, after being attacked by Piyamaradu⁴ (*KUB* XIV:3; Garstang and Gurney 1959; Sommer 1932).

1.3.5 Annals of Hattusili (*CTH* 82)

- a) Lukka is included in what appears to be a list of rebel groups (*KUB* XXI:6 + 6a; Gurney 1997, 128–29; for commentary, see Bryce 1979, 8).
- b) The Lukka are mentioned three additional times, but the context is unclear in each case (*KUB* XXI:6 + 6a; Gurney 1997, 130–31).

1.3.6 Südburg Inscription

- a) In this inscription Šuppiluliuma II’s conquest and annexation of the Lukka and their neighbors is described (Neve 1989; Hawkins 1990; 1995c; for a different interpretation, see Singer 2000b, 27–28).

1.3.7 Yalburt (Ilgin) Inscription

- a) Tudhaliya conducts military operations against the Lukka lands. (Hawkins 1995b, Appendix I; Özgüç 1988, 172–74 and pls. 85–95).

1.3.8 Instruction of Tudhaliya IV to His Stewards (*CTH* 255.1)

- a) Lukka is an enemy of Tudhaliya IV (*KUB* XXVI:12; see also Bryce 1998, 337, n. 44).

1.4 Other

1.4.1 EA 38

- a) In this letter to Akhenaten, the king of Alashiya complains that the Lukka are seizing his villages (Knudtzon 1964, 292–95, line 10; Moran 1992, 111).

2. SHERDEN⁵

2.1 Egyptian

2.1.1 Ramesses II: Kadesh Inscription(s)

- a) Ramesses II prepares his troops for battle; included are the Sherden “who he had brought back by victory of his strong arm,” (i.e., captured troops from another campaign that are pressed into military service) (Kitchen 1979, 11.6–10; Davies 1997, 58.25; *ARE*, III:§307; Gardiner 1960).

2.1.2 Ramesses II: Tanis Stele

- a) Ramesses II repels a Sherden attack on Egypt (Kitchen 1979, 290.14; *ARE*, III:§491; Kitchen 1982b, 40–41).

4. Although the text does not explicitly say by whom the men of Lukka are attacked, we follow Itamar Singer’s view that Piyamaradu is the culprit. (I. Singer, personal communication; Singer 1983b).

5. General references: Loretz 1995; Kahl 1995; Dietrich and Loretz 1972; *AEO*, 1:#194–99.

2.1.3 Ramesses II: Papyrus Anastasi I

- a) Ramesses II sends a raiding party into Canaan comprising **Sherden**, Kehkek, Meshwesh, and Nubian troops (Gardiner 1964, 19* and 29.4; Fischer-Elfert 1986, 264; Wente 1990, 106).

2.1.4 Merenptah: Great Karnak Inscription

- a) The northerners allied with the Libyans are Eqwesh, Teresh, Lukka, **Sherden**, and Shekelesh (lacuna distorts exact context) (Kitchen 1982a, 2.13–14; Davies 1997, 152.1; *ARE*, III:§574).
- b) A list of allies of the Libyans are **Sherden**, Shekelesh, Eqwesh, Lukka, and Teresh (others in lacuna?) (Kitchen 1982a, 4.1; Davies 1997, 154.14; *ARE*, III:§579).
- c) Numbers of Sherden captives and slain are enumerated (Kitchen 1982a, 8.8 and 8.11; Davies 1997, 162.52–53; *ARE*, III:§588).

2.1.5 Merenptah: Athribis Stele

- a) Libyans, Eqwesh of the sea, Shekelesh, Teresh, and **Sherden** are included in the list of captured peoples from the Libyan campaign (Kitchen 1982a, 22.10; *ARE*, III:§601).

2.1.6 Merenptah: Papyrus Anastasi II

- a) Sherden are included in pharaoh's army (Gardiner 1937, 15.1–2; Caminos 1954, 45).
- b) Pharaoh equips the conquered "Sherden of the sea" for use in his army (Gardiner 1937, 20.2; Caminos 1954, 64).

2.1.7 Stele of Setemhebu

- a) A fortress of the Sherden is mentioned in Setemhebu's titulary (Petrie 1904, 22 and pl. XXVII:1; see also Loretz 1995, 138 and Kahl 1995).

2.1.8 Ramesses III: Medinet Habu

- a) Ramesses III distributes weapons to the Sherden and Nubians (Kitchen 1983a, 28.15–16; *The Epigraphic Survey* 1930, pl. 29, lines 39–40; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 36).
- b) Ramesses III captures the chief of the "Sherden of the sea" (Kitchen 1983a, 104.13; *The Epigraphic Survey* 1970, pl. 600B, line 5; *ARE*, IV:§129).

2.1.9 Ramesses III: Papyrus Harris

- a) Sherden troops serve in Ramesses III's army (Erichsen 1933, 91.2; Peden 1994, 213; *ARE*, IV:§397).
- b) Sherden troops serve in Ramesses' army (Erichsen 1933, 92.15; Peden 1994, 215; *ARE*, IV:§402).
- c) Ramesses III defeats the Sherden and Weshesh, brings them as captives into Egypt, and settles them in his "strongholds" (Erichsen 1933, 93.1; Peden 1994, 215; *ARE*, IV:§403).

- d) Sherden serve in Ramesses III’s army (Erichsen 1933, 96.2; Peden 1994, 219; *ARE*, IV:§410).
- 2.1.10 Papyrus Amiens
- a) Sherden manage a domain of Ramesses III (Gardiner 1948, 7.13).
 - b) Sherden deliver grain (Gardiner 1948, 11.9).
- 2.1.11 Papyrus Wilbour
- a) Forty-two Sherden landowners/settlers are mentioned by name. Additionally, the titles *šmsw n3 šrdn ʿnd t3y sryt šrdn* are also present. (Gardiner 1941–1948; Faulkner 1952, 52–54).
- 2.1.12 The Adoption Papyrus (P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.96)
- a) In this will, which was drafted in Middle Egypt, the witnesses include: “Pkamen, the Sherden” and “Satameniu, the Sherden, and his wife ‘Adjed’o” (Gardiner 1940, 23–24; Cruz-Urbe 1988).
- 2.1.13 Papyrus Moscow 169 (Onomasticon Golénischeff)
- a) Sherden are listed as a type of people (Papyrus Moscow 169, 4.5; *AEO*, I:25, 28; Kahl 1995, 140).
- 2.1.14 Papyrus BM 10326
- a) The sender of this letter claims to have requested a policeman to be sent to him “through the Sherden Hori” (Černý 1939, 19.12; Wenté 1967, 37–42 [#9]; Wenté 1990, 192).
- 2.1.15 Papyrus Turin 2026
- a) This letter mentions a Sherden named Hori who once delivered spears to the sender (Černý 1939, 72.14; Wenté 1967, 83–85 [#50]; Wenté 1990, 190).
- 2.1.16 Papyrus BM 10375
- a) A Sherden named Hori hand-delivered a letter to Butehamon, the scribe (Černý 1939, 45.2; Wenté 1967, 59–65 [#28]; Wenté 1990, 194).
- 2.1.17 Onomasticon of Amenope
- a) The Sherden appear in the sequence: ... Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gaza, Assyria, Shubaru, [...], **Sherden**, Tjekker, Peleset, Khurma, [...], ... (*AEO*, I:#268; for commentary, *AEO*, I:194–99)
- 2.1.18 Osorkon II: Donation Stele
- a) A prophet named Hora is in possession of a piece of Sherden land (Daressy 1915, 141–42).
- 2.1.19 Stele of Padjesef (Nineteenth–Twenty-Second Dynasty)
- a) Padjesef is described as a Sherden of the fortress, Usermaatre (Petrie 1904, 22 and pl. XXVII, 2; cf. Loretz 1995, 138 and Kahl 1995).

2.2 Ugaritic⁶

2.2.1 RS 17.112

- a) This text is a lawsuit between two citizens of Ugarit: Iluwa and Amar-^dU, the son of Mut-^dU, the *šerdanu* (*PRU*, IV:234.6).

2.2.2 RS 19.011

- a) This text contains a possible use of Sherden as personal name (*Drdn*). (*KTU*, 2.61; *PRU*, V:114; see suggestion by Singer 1999, 726 n. 416).

2.2.3 RS 15.167+163

- a) In this contract, the unnamed son of a Sherden has sold an estate to one Kurwanu (*PRU*, III:124.13).

2.2.4 RS 15.118

- a) In this document one Ibshalu received the property of a man named ^M*še-er-ta-an-ni* as a royal gift from Ammistamru II (*PRU*, III:131.5).

2.2.5 RS 8.145

- a) Context unknown (see *PRU*, III:257.27).

2.2.6 RS 15.073

- a) Four Sherden are counted in a record of persons (guards?) in the palace along with *tnnm*, *hsnm*, *mrnm*, *mrynm*, *mkrm*, *hbṭnm*, and *mḏrḡlm* (*KTU*, 4.163, line 9).

2.2.7 RS 15.015 + RS 15.025

- a) Five Sherden are counted in a record of persons (guards?) in the palace along with *tnnm*, *hsnm*, *mrynm*, *mkrm*, *hbṭnm*, *mrnm*, and *mḏrḡlm* (*KTU*, 4.137, line 3).

2.2.8 RS 15.094

- a) Five Sherden are counted in a record of personnel along with *tnnm*, *hsnm*, *mrynm*, *mkrm*, *mrnm*, *mḏrḡlm*, *hbṭnm* (*KTU*, 4.173, line 4).

2.2.9 RS 15.095

- a) Five Sherden are counted in a record of personnel along with *tnnm*, *hsnm*, *mrnm*, *mkrm*, *mrynm*, *hbṭnm*, and *mḏrḡlm* (*KTU*, 4.174, line 8).

2.2.10 RS 15.103

- a) Five Sherden are counted in a record of personnel along with *tnnm*, *hsnm*, *mrynm*, *mrnm*, *mkrm*, *hbṭnm*, and *mḏrḡlm* (*KTU*, 4.179, line 5).

2.2.11 RS 16.165

- a) Sherden occur as recipients in this list of wine rations along with *hršm*, *mštt[]*, *mḏrḡlm*, *mlm*, *hṣrm*, *mrynm*, *ḥty*, and *ʿttr* (*KTU*, 4.216, line 7).

2.2.12 RS 16.251

- a) The ethnic Sherden occurs in the name of a man: ^l*al-la-an-še-ri-da-ni* (*PRU*, III:109–110.5).

6. For the equation of Ugaritic *trtnm* with *šerdanū*, see Loretz 1995.

2.3 Hittite

(no attestations found)

2.4 Other

2.4.1 EA 81

- a) A Sherden man defects from Rib-Hadda of Byblos to ‘Abdi-Aširta (Knudtzon 1964, 392–97, line 16; Moran 1992, 150).

2.4.2 EA 122

- a) The text mentions Sherden people living under the suzerainty of Rib-Hadda of Byblos (Knudtzon 1964, 526–29, line 35; Moran 1992, 201).

2.4.3 EA 123

- a) The text mentions Sherden people living under the suzerainty of Rib-Hadda of Byblos (Knudtzon 1964, 528–33, line 15; Moran 1992, 202).

3. EQWESH⁷

3.1 Egyptian

3.1.1 Merenptah: Great Karnak Inscription

- a) The northerners allied with the Libyans are **Eqwesh**, Teresh, Lukka, Sherden, and Shekelesh (lacuna distorts exact context) (Kitchen 1982a, 2.13; Davies 1997, 152.1; *ARE*, III:§574).
- b) List of allies of the Libyans are Sherden, Shekelesh, **Eqwesh**, Lukka, and Teresh (others in lacuna?) (Kitchen 1982a, 4.1; Davies 1997, 154.14; *ARE*, III:§579).
- c) Eqwesh captives and slain are enumerated and noted as having no foreskins (Kitchen 1982a, 8.9 and 8.12; Davies 1997, 162.52–54; *ARE*, III:§588).

3.1.2 Merenptah: Athribis Stele

- a) The Libyans, **Eqwesh of the sea**, Shekelesh, Teresh, and Sherden are included in the list of captured peoples from the Libyan campaign (Kitchen 1982a, 22.8; *ARE*, III:§601).

3.2 Ugaritic

(no attestations found)

3.3 Hittite

3.3.1 The Indictment of Madduwatta (*CTH* 147)

- a) In this letter from Arnuwanda I to Madduwatta, the Hittite king recalls that Attarissiya, the “ruler of Ahhiya,” had chased Madduwatta out of his own land and that it was Arnuwanda’s father, Tudhaliya I/II, who

7. General references: del Monte and Tischler 1978, 1–2; del Monte 1992, 1; see del Monte and Tischler 1978, 1–2 for miscellaneous fragmentary attestations not given here.

rescued him by getting rid of Attarissiya (*KUB* XIV:1 + *KBo* XIX:38; Goetze 1928; Beckman 1999, #27, §§1–4).

- b) At the end of this letter, Arnuwanda accuses Madduwatta of joining up with Attarissiya and the ruler of Piggaya in raiding the Hittite vassal, Alashiya (*KUB* XIV:1 + *KBo* XIX:38; Goetze 1928; Beckman 1999, #27, §30).

3.3.2 An Oracle Text (*CTH* 571.2)

- a) This text is one question in a series put to an oracle, which mentions a deity of Ahhiyawa and a deity of Lazpa (Lesbos) who were to be brought to an ailing Mursilis (*KUB* V:6; *KBo* XVI:97; Güterbock 1983, 134; Sommer 1932, 282–83).

3.3.3 The Offences of the Šeha River Land (*CTH* 211)

- a) Broken context. Güterbock suggests a translation that indicates that someone made war on someone else “and relied on the king of Ahhiyawa” (*KUB* XXIII:13; Güterbock 1983, 137; 1992; Sommer 1932, 314–19; see also Singer 1983b, 207 for interpretation).

3.3.4 Annals of Mursili (*CTH* 61)

- a) In the beginning of the third year, Uhhazitis of Arzawa and the city of Millawanda joined the king of the Ahhiyawa (*KBo* III:4 + *KUB* XXIII:125 + *KBo* III:3; Güterbock 1983, 134–35; Goetze 1933; for other interpretations of the text, see references in Güterbock 1983).
- b) The context is broken. For year four the text mentions “the sons of Uhhazitis,” “the sea,” “king of the Ahhiyawa,” and a sending by ship (Goetze 1933, 66–67; for a summary of and references to various restorations and interpretations, see Güterbock 1983, 135).

3.3.5 The Tawagalawa Letter of Hattusili III (*CTH* 181)

- a) In this letter from a Hittite king to the king of Ahhiyawa, who is addressed as “my brother,” arrangements are discussed for the return of Piyamaradu to the Hittite king. Piyamaradu, who had caused some trouble for the Hittite king, fled by boat from Millawanda to the king of Ahhiyawa, and was apparently residing there when this letter was composed. Also mentioned in the text is the brother of the king of Ahhiyawa, Tawagalawas (*KUB* XIV:3; Garstang and Gurney 1959; Sommer 1932, 2–19; see Güterbock 1983, 136 for interpretation of the text adopted here; see also Singer 1983b, 210–13; Bryce 2003, 199–212; Hawkins 1998, 17 n. 73).

3.3.6 Treaty of Tudhaliya IV and Shaushgamuwa (*CTH* 105)

- a) In the alliance clause of this treaty, the kings of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and Ahhiyawa are noted as equals to the king of Khatti. However, “Ahhiyawa” has been crossed out (*KUB* XXIII:1; Beckman 1999,

#17, §11; Kühne and Otten 1971; Sommer 1932, 320–21; for summary of views and references to interpretations of this passage, see Güterbock 1983, 136).

- b) Also in the alliance clause, a blockade is established against Ahhiyawan ships bound for Assyria(?) (*KUB XXIII:1*; Beckman 1999, #17, §13; Kühne and Otten 1971; Sommer 1932, 320–21).

3.3.7 Letter of a Hittite King to a King of Ahhiyawa (*CTH 183*)

- a) (*KUB XXVI:91*; Sommer 1932, 268–74)

3.3.8 Miscellaneous Fragments (*CTH 214*)

- a) Miscellaneous fragments (*KUB XXXI:29*; *KUB XXVI:76*; *KBo XVI:22*; *KUB XXI:34*).
- b) Broken context (*KUB XIV:2*; Güterbock 1983, 134; Sommer 1932, 298–306).

3.3.9 Hittite Letter Fragments (*CTH 209*)

- a) Hittite letter fragments (*KBo II:11*; *KUB XXIII:98*; *KUB XIII:95*).

3.3.10 Lot Oracle Text (*CTH 572*)

- a) A lot oracle text mentions Ahhiyawa (*KUB XVIII:58*).

3.3.11 Liver Oracle Texts (*CTH 570*)

- a) A liver oracle text mentions Ahhiyawa (*KUB XXII:56*; *KUB V:6*; Sommer 1932, 282–90).

3.4 Others

(no attestations found)

4. TERESH

4.1 Egyptian

4.1.1 Merenptah: Great Karnak Inscription

- a) The northerners allied with the Libyans are Eqwesh, **Teresh**, Lukka, Sherden, and Shekelesh (lacuna distorts exact context) (Kitchen 1982a, 2.13; Davies 1997, 152.1; *ARE*, III:§574).
- b) List of allies of the Libyans are Sherden, Shekelesh, Eqwesh, Lukka, and **Teresh** (others in lacuna?) (Kitchen 1982a, 4.2; Davies 1997, 154.14; *ARE*, III:§579).
- c) Numbers of Teresh captives and slain are enumerated (Kitchen 1982a, 8.11; Davies 1997, 162.52–54; *ARE*, III:§588).

4.1.2 Merenptah: Athribis Stele

- a) Libyans, Eqwesh of the sea, Shekelesh, **Teresh**, and Sherden are included in the list of captured peoples from the Libyan campaign (Kitchen 1982a, 22.9; *ARE*, III:§601).

4.1.3 Ramesses III: Medinet Habu Inscription

- a) A chief of the “Teresh of the sea” captured by Ramesses III (Kitchen

1983a, 104.14; The Epigraphic Survey 1970, pl. 600B, line 7; *ARE*, IV:§129).

4.1.4 Ramesses III: Rhetorical Stele (Chapel C at Deir el-Medina)

- a) The Peleset and Teresh have sailed(?) “in the midst of the sea” (Kitchen 1983a, 91.11–12; Peden 1994, 64.8).

4.2 Ugaritic

(no attestations found)

4.3 Hittite

(no attestations found)

4.4 Other

(no attestations found)

5. SHEKELESH⁸

5.1 Egyptian

5.1.1 Merenptah: Great Karnak Inscription

- a) The northerners allied with the Libyans are Eqwesh, Teresh, Lukka, Sherden, and **Shekelesh** (lacuna distorts exact context) (Kitchen 1982a, 2.13; Davies 1997, 152.1; *ARE*, III:§574).
- b) List of allies of the Libyans are Sherden, **Shekelesh**, Eqwesh, Lukka, and Teresh (others in lacuna?) (Kitchen 1982a, 4.2–3; Davies 1997, 154.14; *ARE*, III:§579).
- c) The Shekelesh are included in a list of captives and slain (Kitchen 1982a, 8.8–16; Davies 1997, 162.52–4; *ARE*, III:§588).

5.1.2 Merenptah: Cairo Column

- a) The Shekelesh are mentioned together with invading Libyans (lacunae distort context) (Kitchen 1982a, 23.6; *ARE*, III:§595).

5.1.3 Merenptah: Athribis Stele

- a) Libyans, Eqwesh of the sea, **Shekelesh**, Teresh, and Sherden are included in the list of captured peoples from the Libyan campaign (Kitchen 1982a, 22.5–16; *ARE*, III: §601).

5.1.4 Ramesses III: Medinet Habu

- a) Peleset, Denyen, and **Shekelesh** are overthrown by Ramesses III (Kitchen 1983a, 36.7–8; The Epigraphic Survey 1930, pl. 44, lines 14–15; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 47; *ARE*, IV:§81).
- b) Peleset, Tjekker, **Shekelesh**, Denyen, and Weshesh are in a confederation against Egypt (Kitchen 1983a, 40.3–4; The Epigraphic Survey 1930,

8. Wente 1963; Wainwright 1939.

pl. 46, line 18; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 53; Peden 1994, 28.18; Edel 1985, 225; *ARE*, IV:§64).

- c) Tjekker, the land of the Peleset, Denyen, Weshesh, and **Shekelesh** overthrown by Ramesses (Kitchen 1983a, 73.9–10; The Epigraphic Survey 1932, pl. 107, lines 7–8; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 130–31).

5.2 Ugaritic

5.2.1 RS 34.129

- a) A Hittite king requests from Ugarit the extradition of a man who was once a prisoner of the Shekelesh (or Tjekker depending on who exactly the ^{URU}*šikalaiu* are, see Singer 1999, 722), whom, he notes, live on boats (Bordreuil 1991, no. 12; Dietrich and Loretz 1978).⁹

5.3 Hittite

(no attestations found)

5.4 Other

5.4.1 Tiglath-pileser III (Annals text 13)

- a) In a northern and western campaign, Tiglath-pileser plunders a fortress, whose commandant is a man named Shiqila (^m*š̄i-qi-la-a*). This reference is uncertain as it is a personal name. However, reference 5.2.1 above, which is localized in the same general area, may offer support here (*ARAB*, I:§771; Tadmor 1994, 66–67).¹⁰

6. KARKIŠA

6.1 Egyptian

6.1.1 Ramesses II: Kadesh Inscription(s)

- a) Ramesses II claims a victory in the land of Karkiša (Kitchen 1979, 4.6–11; Davies 1997, 56.4; Gardiner 1960; *ARE*, III:§306).
- b) The countries allied with Khatti against the Egyptians are Naharin, Arzawa, Dardany, Keshkesh, Masa, Pidasa, Arwen, **Karkiša**, Lukka, Kiz-zuwadna, Carchemish, Ugarit, Qode, Nuhasse, Mushanet, and Qadesh (Kitchen 1979, 17.15–18.5; Davies 1997, 60.45; Gardiner 1960; *ARE*, III:§309).
- c) The chiefs of the lands assembled with Khatti against Ramesses II are Arzawa, Masa, Arwen, Lukka, Dardany, Carchemish, **Karkiša**, and Aleppo (Kitchen 1979, 51.1–6; Davies 1997, 68.150; Gardiner 1960).
- d) The countries allied with Khatti against the Egyptians are Dardany, Naharin, Keshkesh, Masa, Pidasa, **Karkiša**, Lukka, Carchemish, Arzawa,

9. See also 9.2.1 below.

10. See also 9.4.1 below.

Ugarit, Arwen, Inesa, Mushanet, Qadesh, Aleppo, and Qode (Kitchen 1979, 111.13–14; Davies 1997, 88.45; Gardiner 1960).

- e) Ramesses II presents chiefs of Khatti to Amun, one of whom is a Karkiša (*ARE*, III:§349).

6.2 Ugaritic

(no attestations found)

6.3 Hittite

6.3.1 The Annals of Tudhaliya I/II (*CTH* 142)

- a) The Karkiša are listed as a member of the west Anatolian rebellion (Assuwan Confederacy) against Hatti (*KUB* XXIII:11 and 13; Garstang and Gurney 1959, 121–23).

6.3.2 The Annals of Mursili II (*CTH* 61)

- a) Mursili II allows a refugee, Manapa-Tarhunta, to hide from his brothers in the land of Karkiša (*KBo* III:4 + *KUB* XXIII:125 + *KBo* III:3; Güterbock 1983, 134–35; Goetze 1933).

6.3.3 Treaty of Mursili II and Manapa-Tarhunta of the land of the Seha River (*CTH* 69)

- a) Mursili II reminds Manapa-Tarhunta that he is responsible for Manapa-Tarhunta's survival in the land of Karkiša (Beckman 1999, 82–86, #12; Friedrich 1930, 1–41).

6.3.4 Treaty of Muwattalli II and Alaksandu (*CTH* 76)

- a) In the offensive agreement of this treaty, Alaksandu must aid Muwattalli II if he campaigns against Karkiša (Beckman 1999, 90, #13; Garstang and Gurney 1959; Friedrich 1930, 42–102).

6.4 Other

6.4.1 An02 [292] from Pylos

- a) This tablet mentions *Ko-ro-ki-ja* women. Ventris and Chadwick suspect this term to be an ethnonym. Though a dubious reference, we include this possibility here to encourage the consideration of the Linear B onomasticon in studies of Late Bronze Age interrelations (Ventris and Chadwick 1974, 166).

7. WESHESH

7.1 Egyptian

7.1.1 Ramesses III: Medinet Habu

- a) Peleset, Tjekker, Shekelesh, Denyen, and **Weshesh** are named in a confederation against Egypt (Kitchen 1983a, 40.3–4; The Epigraphic Survey 1930, pl. 46, line 18; Peden 1994, 28.18; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 53; Edel 1985, 225; *ARE*, IV:§64).

- b) Tjekker, the land of the Peleset, Denyen, **Weshesh**, and Shekelesh are overthrown by Ramesses (Kitchen 1983a, 73.9–10; The Epigraphic Survey 1932, pl. 107, lines 7–8; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 130–31).

7.1.2 Ramesses III: Papyrus Harris

- a) Ramesses III defeats the Sherden and Weshesh, brings them as captives into Egypt, and settles them in his “strongholds” (Erichsen 1933, 93.1; Grandet 1994; Peden 1994, 215; *ARE*, IV:§403; *ANET*, 260–62).

7.2 Ugaritic

(no attestations found)

7.3 Hittite

(no attestations found)

7.4 Other

(no attestations found)

8. DENYEN¹¹

8.1 Egyptian

8.1.1 Ramesses III: Medinet Habu

- a) Peleset, **Denyen**, and Shekelesh are overthrown by Ramesses III (Kitchen 1983a, 36.7–8; The Epigraphic Survey 1930, pl. 44, lines 14–15; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 47; *ARE*, IV:§81).
- b) Denyen beg for mercy from Rameses III (Kitchen 1983a, 37.1–2; The Epigraphic Survey 1930, pl. 44, line 23; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 48; *ARE*, IV:§82).
- c) Peleset, Tjekker, Shekelesh, **Denyen**, and Weshesh are named in a confederation against Egypt (Kitchen 1983a, 40.3–4; The Epigraphic Survey 1930, pl. 46, line 18; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 53; Peden 1994, 28.18; Edel 1985, 225; *ARE*, IV:§64).

11. The normalization of the Egyptian group writing: *d3-in-īw-n3* (*dnin*) is variously rendered as Danuna and Denyen. We have chosen the latter here. Further, although it can only be speculation given the state of the evidence, some scholars have equated the Denyen with Δavaoi. This equation would open up a large number of references to Danaoi to this catalog; however we have chosen to compile this list with as little interpretation as possible. It is worth noting here the occurrence of (*tī-n3-y-w*) *Tnj* in the Aegean place name list on the Amenhotep III statue bases from Kom el-Hetan. W. Helck (1971) and others (see Cline 1987, 3 n. 13) have equated *Tnj* with the Danaoi. The group writing on the statue bases, though separated from the Medinet Habu spelling by some two hundred years, is significantly different from that of the Denyen at Medinet Habu. While not impossible, this evidence may suggest that Denyen and *Tnj* do not refer to the same entity.

- d) Tjekker, the land of the Peleset, **Denyen**, Weshesh, and Shekelesh are overthrown by Ramesses III (Kitchen 1983a, 73.9–10; The Epigraphic Survey 1932, pl. 107, lines 7–8; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 130–31).
- 8.1.2 Ramesses III: Papyrus Harris
- a) The Denyen, “in their isles,” are defeated by Ramesses III (Erichsen 1933, 92.17–18; Grandet 1994; Peden 1994, 215; *ARE*, IV:§403; *ANET*, 260–62).
- 8.1.3 Onomasticon of Amenope
- a) The Denyen occur in the sequence: ... Libu, Qeheq, Keshkesh, **Denyen**, Khatti, [...], Lukka, Pidasa, Arzawa, Carchemish ... (*AEO*, I:#244; for commentary, see *AEO*, I:124–27).
- 8.2 Ugaritic
(no attestations found)
- 8.3 Hittite
- 8.3.1 Letter from Ramesses II to Hattusili III
- a) Broken context (Edel 1994, I:#31 and II:139; *KBo* XXVIII:25).
- 8.3.2 Karatepe Inscription¹²
- a) This is a semi-autobiographical building inscription of Azitawadda of Adana, king of Danunites, found in West Anatolia. This text exists in Phoenician and Hittite versions and dates to the early-first millennium B.C.E. (*KAI*, 26; *ANET*, 653–64; see also references of discussions of the text in *ANET*, 653).
- 8.3.3 Çineköy Inscription¹³
- a) This eighth-century hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician bilingual inscription of one Wariyka of Adana in the Cilician plain in Anatolia is sometimes cited as attesting the Denyen. In this Inscription, Wariyka indicates that his people became a vassal of Assyria saying: “...all the house of Ashur became for me like a father [and like] a mother, and Danunians (*dnnym*) and Assyrians became like one house (Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000; Lipiński 2004, 127–28).

12. Both the Karatepe Inscription here and the Çineköy Inscription below are sometimes cited in reference to the Denyen. This equation is problematic because both inscriptions date to around the eighth century, significantly later than the Ramesside inscriptions and other sources mentioned here. In both inscriptions, the ethnicon *dnnym* appears to be derived from the name of the city: *dnnym* are those who are from Adana. Additionally, the city of Adana is already mentioned in Hittite texts of the Late Bronze Age. Therefore, any attempt to connect Adana and the *dnnym* with the Denyen of the Medinet Habu inscription is also an attempt to imply that the “Sea People’s” Denyen originated in Cilicia. In our opinion, this goes beyond the current state of the evidence.

13. See previous note.

8.4 Other

8.4.1 EA 151

- a) In a letter to pharaoh, Abi-Milku, king of Tyre, indicates that the king of Danuna has died. The Danuna here may or may not refer to the same Denyen of the other Sea Peoples sources. A possible inference to be gained with this letter is that Danuna is located in Canaan (Redford 1992, 252, n. 55) (Knudtzon 1964, 622–27, line 52; Moran 1992, 238).¹⁴

9. TJEKKER/SIKILA(?)¹⁵

9.1 Egyptian

9.1.1 Ramesses III: Medinet Habu

- a) The Peleset and Tjekker “quiver in their bodies” (Kitchen 1983a, 25.5; The Epigraphic Survey 1930, pls. 27–28, lines 51–52; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 30; Peden 1994, 16.51; *ARE*, IV:§44).
- b) Defeated Tjekker chiefs speak to Ramesses III (Kitchen 1983a, 34.11–12; The Epigraphic Survey 1930, pl. 43, line 18–20; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 45; *ARE*, IV:§77).
- c) The Peleset, **Tjekker**, Shekelesh, Denyen, and Weshesh are named in a confederation against Egypt (Kitchen 1983a, 40.3–4; The Epigraphic Survey 1930, pl. 46, line 18; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 53; Edel 1985, 225; Peden 1994, 28.18; *ARE*, IV:§64).
- d) Defeated Tjekker prisoners praise Ramesses III (The Epigraphic Survey 1932, pl. 99; *ARE*, IV:§§78–79).
- e) **Tjekker**, the land of the Peleset, Denyen, Weshesh, and Shekelesh are overthrown by Ramesses III (Kitchen 1983a, 73.9–10; The Epigraphic Survey 1932, pl. 107, lines 7–8; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 130–31).

14. Though the reference has come to our attention too late to incorporate here, the reader is directed to Tammuz 2001.

15. The traditional reading of “Tjekker” for the group writing *t3-k3-rw* (*tkr*) has been challenged by Rainey 1982 and Edel 1984. They suggest a reading of “skl”–*Sikil (ultimately complementing their connection with Sicily). While their arguments have some convincing elements, we are still hesitant to adopt this equation. The ethnic *Sikil in this form is not attested in Near Eastern texts (excluding the possibility of the Egyptian texts here if Tjekker is to be equated). Despite their insistence (see especially Edel 1984, 8), an equation of *Sikil (Tjekker) with ^{URU}šikalaiu seems out of the range of possibilities as the Egyptians would be more likely to represent /š/ with their own /š/ (group writing, §3); there are no examples of Egyptian scribes representing Semitic /š/ with their own /t/ (see Hoch 1994, 422 and 432). Thus the ^{URU}šikalaiu are more likely to be equated with the Shekelesh of Egyptian inscriptions. If the Tjekker of the Egyptian texts are Semitic speakers, there are many more possibilities (see Hoch 1994, 436 for the different correlations between Egyptian *t* and Semitic phonemes).

- f) A chief of the Tjekker is captured by Ramesses III (Kitchen 1983a, 104.12; The Epigraphic Survey 1970, pl. 600B, line 4; *ARE*, IV:§129).
- 9.1.2 Ramesses III: Papyrus Harris
- a) Tjekker are defeated by Ramesses III and “reduced to ashes” (Erichsen 1933, 92.18; Grandet 1994; Peden 1994, 215; *ARE*, IV:§403; *ANET*, 260–62).
- 9.1.3 Onomasticon of Amenope
- a) The Tjekker occur in the sequence: ... Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gaza, Asher, Shubaru, [...], Sherden, **Tjekker**, Peleset, Khurma, [...], ... (*AEO*, I:#269, for commentary, see *AEO*, I:199–200).
- 9.1.4 The Report of Wenamun¹⁶
- a) Dor is described as a city of the Tjekker (Gardiner 1932, 61.11; Goedicke 1975; *ANET*, 25–29; *ABEL*, II:224–230; *ARE*, IV:§565).
- b) A [Tjekker] is the thief who stole Wenamun’s goods (*ARE*, IV:§568).
- c) Eleven Tjekker ships arrive at Byblos to arrest Wenamun (Gardiner 1932, 73.11; Goedicke 1975; *ANET*, 25–29; *ABEL*, II:224–30; *ARE*, IV:§588).
- d) Zekker-Ba’al interviews the Tjekker who seek Wenamun (Gardiner 1932, 74.10; Goedicke 1975; *ANET*, 25–29; *ABEL*, II:224–30; *ARE*, IV:§590).
- 9.2 Ugaritic
- 9.2.1 RS 34.129
- a) A Hittite king requests from Ugarit the extradition of a man who was once a prisoner of the Tjekker (or Shekelesh depending on who exactly the ^{URU}*šikalaiu* are, see Singer 1999, 722), who, he notes, live on boats (Bordreuil 1991, no. 12; Dietrich and Loretz 1978; Singer 1999, 722).¹⁷
- 9.3 Hittite
(no attestations found)

16. While some scholars continue to use The Report of Wenamun as an historical document (e.g., Stern 2006, 386), it is becoming increasingly more common to view the piece as a work of literature (e.g., Baines 1999). In our opinion, the tale has much more in common with Homer’s *Odyssey* than with an official report and should be used cautiously in “Sea Peoples” studies. In any case, note the chronological problems with dating the text, the events therein, and the historical geography as presented, e.g., by Egberts (1991; 1998) and Sass (2002).

17. We mention this here because of a certain degree of doubt on the identification of the ^{URU}*šikalaiu*, however, see also 5.2.1 above, which we believe is a much more convincing equation.

9.4 Other

9.4.1 Tiglath-pileser III (Annals text 13)

- a) In a northern and western campaign, Tiglath-pileser plunders a fortress, whose commandant is a man named Shiqila (𐎲𐎱𐎠𐎵-*qi-la-a*). This reference is uncertain as it is a personal name (ARAB, I:\$771; Tadmor 1994, 66–67).¹⁸

10. PELESET¹⁹

10.1 Egyptian

10.1.1 Ramesses III: Medinet Habu

- a) The Peleset and Tjekker “quiver in their bodies” (Kitchen 1983a, 25.5; The Epigraphic Survey 1930, pls. 27–28, lines 51–52; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 30; Peden 1994, 16.51; ARE, IV:\$44).

18. We mention this here because of a certain degree of doubt on the identification of the URUŠikalaiu, however, see also 5.4.1 above, which we believe is a much more convincing equation.

19. The newly discovered inscription of King Taita of Padasatini at Aleppo has now entered the discussion of the “Sea Peoples” and the Philistines. Hawkins’ recent and tentative proposal that the name of the kingdom should be amended to Palistin and connected to the better-known Philistines (2009, 171–72) has been adopted zealously by several scholars (Kohlmeyer 2009; T. Harrison 2009; Sass 2010). The similarity of this name to that of the Philistines has even sparked commentary on remote topics such as the kingdom of Solomon (!; Sass 2010, 173). The inscriptional evidence is as follows: On two stelae of Taita and his wife (the Meharde Stele and the Sheizar Stele; Hawkins 2000, 415–19), the ethnocon Walistin is used in reference to Taita. The new Aleppo temple inscription of Taita (Aleppo 6; Hawkins 2009, 169) has the variant Palistin. A fourth inscription, from Tell Ta’yinat, mentions one Halparuntiyas of Walistin (Tell Ta’yinat Inscription 1; Hawkins 2000, 365–67).

A few comments should be made here in order to explain why we do not include these inscriptions in our list of “Sea Peoples,” if not to assuage the enthusiasm for the discovery of a Philistine “empire” (Sass 2010) in Syria. While we have no basis to doubt the emendation of the Taita ethnocon to Palistin on the basis of a revised understanding of the Luwian sign TA₄ (Hawkins 2009, 171), two elements of the word remain unresolved. First, the *-in* ending is not present in the transcription in the Medinet Habu reliefs, Assyrian inscriptions, or even in the biblical texts (the *-ine* ending that we use today in English derives from the Greek toponymic suffix). Hawkins suggests that the Taita *-in* may have been incorporated by adoption of the masc. pl. Aramaic ending analogous to the biblical Hebrew pluralization, *plštyim* < *plšty* (Hawkins 2009, 171). One wonders however, if Aramaic is the appropriate comparison (especially given the early date assigned to the inscription); in Phoenician or Ugaritic, a mem would be expected in the construction of the plural (note that the bilingual Karatepe inscription and the Çinekoy statue inscription are Luwian/Phoenician). Second, the Meharde and Sheizer inscriptions of Taita and the Halparuntiyas inscription preserve the ethnocon Walistin—i.e., the variant Palistin is a hapax). There is no clear explanation for the Wa- and Pa- alternation. Hawkins offers that there may have been some hesitancy over how to represent the initial consonant in

- b) Peleset are hiding in their towns in fear of Ramesses III (Kitchen 1983a, 28.4; The Epigraphic Survey 1930, pl. 29, lines 20–22; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 35; *ARE*, IV:§71).
- c) **Peleset**, Denyen, and Shekelesh are overthrown by Ramesses III (Kitchen 1983a, 36.7–8; The Epigraphic Survey 1930, pl. 44, lines 14–15; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 47; *ARE*, IV:§81).
- d) Peleset beg for mercy from Ramesses III (Kitchen 1983a, 37.2–3; The Epigraphic Survey 1930, pl. 44, line 24; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 48; *ARE*, IV:§82).
- e) **Peleset**, Tjekker, Shekelesh, Denyen, and Weshesh are named in a confederation against Egypt (Kitchen 1983a, 40.3–4; The Epigraphic Survey 1930, pl. 46, line 18; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 53; Peden 1994, 28.18; Edel 1985, 225; *ARE*, IV:§64).
- f) Tjekker, the land of the **Peleset**, Denyen, Weshesh, and Shekelesh are overthrown by Ramesses III (Kitchen 1983a, 73.9–10; The Epigraphic Survey 1932, pl. 107, line 7f.; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 130–31).
- g) Countries of the Peleset are “slain” by Ramesses III (Kitchen 1983a, 102.8; The Epigraphic Survey 1932, pl. 118c; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 146).
- h) A chief of Peleset is captured by Ramesses III (*ARE*, IV:§129).²⁰
- i) A captured chief of the P[eleset] depicted (Kitchen 1983a, 104.14; The Epigraphic Survey 1970, pl. 600B, line 8).

Hieroglyphic Luwian (Hawkins 2009, 171). What vocalization would warrant hesitancy between Pa- and Wa- in Luwian and still be rendered with a /p/ in Egyptian and later Hebrew (and also Assyrian, Patinayya, if Yamada is correct in equating this term with Walistin; Yamada 2000, 96; Hawkins 2009, 171 and references)? Alternatively, it may be worth observing that the Luwian Hieroglyphic signs L.334 (pa) and L.439 (wa) have a similar overall shape that might explain the single example of the variant writing of Palistin in the Aleppo temple inscription as an error. Third, the phenomenon of locally made Mycenaean IIIC pottery present in great quantities at sites in the ‘Amuq (T. Harrison 2009, 181–83; given as evidence in Hawkins 2009, 171–72), does not necessarily support the identification of Taita and his kingdom as “Philistine”—this ceramic tradition with local variation is a feature of most coastal regions of the Levant and Cyprus in the early Iron Age where it is variously identified with whatever “Sea People” group is geographically preferred by any given author.

In short, while Taita may have been descended from immigrants who arrived in the ‘Amuq as a consequence of the period of mass migration at the end of the Bronze Age, the identification of his ethnic group with that which settled the coastal plain of the southern Levant is premature. Until the phonetic and historical difficulties are resolved and more evidence comes to light, we reserve judgment on Taita’s ethnic origins.

20. We had difficulty reconciling this reference with the Epigraphic Survey’s Medinet Habu volumes.

10.1.2 Ramesses III: Papyrus Harris

- a) Peleset are defeated by Ramesses III and “reduced to ashes” (Erichsen 1933, 92.18; Grandet 1994; Peden 1994, 215; *ARE*, IV:§403; *ANET*, 260–62).

10.1.3 Ramesses III Rhetorical Stele (Chapel C at Deir el-Medina)

- a) The Peleset and Teresh have sailed(?) “in the midst of the sea” (Kitchen 1983a, 91.11–12; Peden 1994, 64.8).

10.1.4 The Onomasticon of Amenope

- a) The Peleset occur in the sequence: ... Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gaza, Assyria, Shubaru, [...], Sherden, Tjekker, **Peleset**, Khurma, [...], ... (*AEO*, I:#270, for commentary, see *AEO*, I:200–205).

10.1.5 Pedeset Inscription

- a) This Third Intermediate Period²¹ inscription on a Middle Kingdom statue bears the name: *P3-di-3st s3 'py* whose title is *wpwty n p3-Kn'n n Pršt* (“Envoy to the Canaan of Philistines”) (Steindorff 1939; Singer 1994, 330).

10.2 Ugaritic

(no attestations found)

10.3 Hittite

(no attestations found)

10.4 Other

(no attestations found)

21. *P3-di-3st* is attested from the Third Intermediate period through the Ptolemaic period (Ranke 1935, 121.18).