



Exploratory Workshop Scheme

Scientific Review Group for the Humanities

ESF Exploratory Workshop on

The Sea Peoples Up-To-Date. New Research on the Migration of Peoples in the 12th Century BCE

Vienna (Austria), 03–04 November 2014

Convened by:
Peter M. Fischer

Austrian Academy of Sciences



SCIENTIFIC REPORT

Co-sponsored by
 **OREA** Institute for Oriental
and European
Archaeology



1. Executive summary

General information

The workshop was held in Vienna, Austria, over four days, including the days of departure and arrival. The two conference days were Monday, 3, and Tuesday, 4, November 2014. The conference took place in the “Johannessaal” of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, a famous building from 1756 which provided a superb environment. All participants were accommodated in Hotel Post in downtown Vienna, 5 minutes from the Austrian Academy. This hotel has a special agreement with the Austrian Academy of Sciences resulting in reduced fees.

Participation numbered 26 people from 11 countries (ESF-representative included): Austria, Cyprus, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Israel, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and one from the United States. According to the approved application, the participants from Israel were essential for the workshop because, geographically, the topic of the workshop was centred in and on the area of their country. David Kaniewski, Université Paul Sabatier-Toulouse 3, France, had to cancel his participation just a week before the workshop due to his presenting a major EU-project and was replaced by Dr. Malcolm Wiener, Institute for Aegean Prehistory, Philadelphia, USA, who personally paid his travel costs and accommodation. The convenor (Peter Fischer) was very pleased to welcome a number of young scientists in addition to established scholars.

In advance of the workshop short abstracts (100–300 words), which were collected during the summer, were distributed to all participants. The workshop was organized in eight sessions with two to four lectures. Each session covered a particular field within the broader field of the workshop, e.g. evidence of the “cultural collapse” at the end of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus and the Aegean (Session 2) or Sea Peoples Phenomena in Cilicia and the Northern Levant (Session 3).

Each day started with a keynote lecture as introduction into the various topics (see below). All lectures followed a time frame of 20 minutes with 10 minutes discussion afterwards. However, informal discussions went on during coffee and lunch breaks, as well as on the speaker’s dinner at the end of the conference. The general atmosphere was very friendly, productive and constructive. The nestor of the workshop, Dr. Malcolm Wiener (INSTAP), highlighted at the end of the meeting that “...this conference was the best of some 50s which I have visited during my career...”.

Scientific objectives and agenda

In the 12th century BCE the s.c. Sea Peoples, starting their migration in south-eastern Europe, transformed the political landscape in the Eastern Mediterranean and affected the high cultures of Mycenae, Hatti, Cyprus, Levant and Egypt. The Hittite empire collapsed, Mycenae and Egypt weakened in the wake of their migration towards the Southern Levant (Palestine). The workshop's benefits were:

1. Highly-specialised ESF-teams and young scientists discussed most recent research/new hypotheses on the Sea Peoples who had a serious cultural, economic and political impact on this area which lead to far-reaching consequences.
2. Gathering of scientists carrying out research in a political sensitive area, viz. Eastern Mediterranean/Israel/Jordan /Palestine.

2. Scientific content of the event

After a welcome and introduction by the convenor Peter Fischer, the presentation of the ESF by Peter Funke was followed by a general information by Barbara Horejs, the director of The Institute of Oriental and European Archaeology (OREA) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the host of the conference. The conference started with a keynote lecture given by **Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy** (Vienna, Austria). The topic of her paper was research history about the Sea Peoples, focusing mainly on the ups and downs of the research on the Sea Peoples from the 19th century until today. While a connection between the Sea Peoples known from Egyptian sources and the collapse of Mycenaean civilization was largely neglected from the 1960ies to the 1990ies, today it is widely accepted – as argued much earlier by the author of the paper – that groups originating from outside the Aegean were at least partly responsible for the collapse. The next presentation, held by **Aren Maeir** (Ramat-Gan, Israel), examined how and under what influences the culture of the Philistines appeared, the relationships with the Canaanite populations in Philistia, how and when the Philistine culture was influenced by and influenced on other Levantine cultures, and what were the reasons for the ongoing changes of the Philistine culture during the Iron Age (after 1200 BCE), on the basis of the excavations at Tel es-Safi/Gath, directed by him.

The second session, on the “Crisis Years” in Mycenae and Cyprus, started with a lecture by **Helène Whittaker** (Gothenburg, Sweden). She discussed the chronology and the nature of the destructions at several Mycenaean palaces and the aftermath of the destructions. She suggested that the evidence for cultural and social continuity at the sites that were resettled soon after the collapse of palatial administration might be interpreted as supporting the Sea Peoples hypothesis. **Peter Fischer** (Vienna, Austria/Gothenburg, Sweden) presented material from the Swedish excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus, one of the largest Bronze Age cities in the area: it covers between 25 and 50 ha. He demonstrated two destruction layers around/shortly after 1200 BCE. The city was finally abandoned after the second destruction in the first half of the 12th century BCE, at the latest around 1150 BCE. The speaker discussed the possible reasons for the destruction of Hala Sultan Tekke, the abrupt abandonment of the city and the probable fate of its population, suggesting invasions followed by a south-eastward migration, viz. to the Levant. The population of Hala Sultan Tekke, counting most likely more than 10,000 people might then have become a group of the Sea Peoples. **Artemis Georgiou's** (Nicosia, Cyprus) paper was focused on the Paphos region in western Cyprus. In contrast to other regions on the island, Paphos witnessed an impressive economic and political ascendancy around 1200 BCE. She finally examined whether material remains allow the identification of migration phenomena.

The third session was focused on the evidence in Cilicia and the Central and Northern Levant. **Gunnar Lehmann** (Beer Sheva, Israel) presented finds from excavations in Kinet Höyük, Cilicia. This evidence demonstrates that the northern Levant played a key role in connection with migrations and local responses in the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age. **Diederik Meijer** (Leiden, Netherlands) examined a possible presence of Philistines in early Iron Age Aleppo according to Luwian inscriptions from the Aleppo temple. The last paper in the session was by **Francisco Núñez Calvo** (Barcelona, Spain). He argued that – similarly to the Southern Levant – several urban centres were destroyed or

abandoned in the Northern Levant around 1200 BCE, while there is (almost) no evidence of destructions in the Central Levant. He came to the conclusion that, however, the presence or influence of foreign peoples, i.e. Sea Peoples, is well attested by the material culture, namely by a change in the local ceramic repertoire from the Late Bronze to the early Iron Age in the 12th century BCE.

Wolfgang Zwickel (Mainz, Germany) presented mainly textual evidence about the area north of the Philistine “Pentapolis” (Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Gath and Gaza). Furthermore, he investigated the possible identification of this area with the Sea Peoples group of the Danaoi/Denyen/Danuna. The paper by **Ayelet Gilboa**, (co-authored by Richard Jones and Paula Waiman Barak, all associated with the university of Haifa, Israel) aimed to present a preliminary attempt to trace the long-term effects of the Sea Peoples phenomenon on Levantine trade activities in the early Iron Age and eventually on the rise of polities in southern Lebanon – particularly Tyre – as major commercial players in the Mediterranean arena from the late 9th BCE. They brought forward the argument that the rise and subsequent fall of the Carmel coast (the 'Sikila territory') as a major hub for east-Mediterranean trade is a crucial factor during this period. **Stefan Münger** (Bern, Switzerland) argued in his contribution on Tel Kinrot at the Sea of Galilee that contacts and interconnections are mainly along the Jordan Rift Valley, to the north (Syria) and to the south – mentioning several parallels to Tell Abu al-Kharaz. The last presentation on the first day followed up this topic: The evidence from early Iron Age Tell Abu al-Kharaz, presented by **Teresa Bürge** (Vienna, Austria) hints at major influences and contacts from the Mediterranean through the Jezreel Valley, as demonstrated by numerous parallels from sites in the Jezreel Valley and neighbouring regions.

The second day started with another keynote lecture: **Reinhard Jung** (Vienna, Austria) presented the progress of research on Sea Peoples during the past decades, which is due to excavation results and further evidence not only from the Philistine area, but also from the Central Mediterranean, Cyprus, Anatolia and the Central and Northern Levant. He stressed the impact of historical sources for achieving further information on the Sea Peoples – but also the limitations of this approach. The evidence and impact of the Sea Peoples in Egypt, especially in Canaanite territories was the topic of **Manfred Bietak's** (Vienna, Austria) paper. It also dealt with the question if communication with Egypt was upheld via the Sinai or by sea via the Gulf of Eilat. The last paper in this session was by **Kristian Kristiansen** (Gothenburg, Sweden). He provided a broader picture of the events that might have triggered the migration of peoples in the 12th century BCE, namely a crisis in the supply of metal, amber and other important trade goods, which was followed by a general collapse of the trade routes.

The next three papers, Session 6, focused on theoretical aspects: **Assaf Yasur-Landau** (Haifa, Israel) focused on aspects of continuity and Canaanite cultural resilience through the first two centuries of the Iron Age. He argued that with the final publication of early Iron Age strata and finds from Philistine sites it is now possible to reconstruct the social processes which made the 12th and 11th centuries BCE an era of not only of recovery and transformation, but also of considerable continuity of Bronze Age traditions. **Jesse Millek** (Tübingen, Germany) examined several destruction layers, which, according to previous research, have been attributed to the attack of Sea Peoples. He came to the conclusion that all of them – with one possible exception – were not necessarily destroyed by hostile attacks and therefore an attribution of these destructions to the Sea



Peoples is not clear. The aim of **Lorenz Rahmstorf's** (Copenhagen, Denmark) paper was to compare the written and archaeological evidence of the migration of Anglo-Saxons from the European mainland to Britain in the 5th and 6th centuries CE and the migration of the Sea Peoples in the 12th century BCE. In both cases he examined the fairly obscure written documentation on the (potential) homeland of the migrants, the question of the number of migrants, its implications, as well as specific evidence from habitation and burials pointing to potential homelands and similarities and divergences between those evidences.

The paper by **Penelope Mountjoy** (Athens, Greece) considered the shapes and motifs of the Philistine pottery from Ekron, Ashdod and Ashkelon in relation to the pottery from the Aegean and from other East Mediterranean areas in order to pinpoint possible origins for some of the groups of Sea Peoples. **Phillipp Stockhammer** (Heidelberg, Germany) showed that the use of Aegean-type pottery in the Southern Levant in the first half of the 12th century is not necessarily limited to the Sea Peoples/Philistines, but that different actors used shapes of Aegean-type pottery for different purposes. Moreover, it has become clear that the Aegean-type repertoire used by the Philistines cannot be understood as a mere imitation of feasting habits in the Aegean, but that it is the product of the transformative power of intercultural encounters. **Gert Jan van Wijngaarden** (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands) explored the role of exotics which circulated by trade in the Mediterranean during the 12th century BCE. He mainly focused on two regions, Cyprus and western Greece. By comparing the role of these exotics in the 12th century with the period before the Sea Peoples, he examined the effects of the migrating groups on the material culture of maritime interconnections.

The last session of the workshop was highly interdisciplinary, covering the fields of metallurgy, climatology and radiocarbon dating. The first paper, presented by **Mathias Mehofer** (Vienna, Austria) and **Reinhard Jung** (Vienna, Austria) examined the interactions between Italy and Greece from the late 14th to the 11th centuries BCE on the basis of EDXRF and lead isotope analyses of weapons, parts of armour, implements and dress accessories belonging to the "Urnfield bronzes". The results presented indicate that northern Italian copper ore sources and metal workshops played a crucial role within these interactions. **Malcolm Wiener** (Greenwich, Connecticut, USA) discussed the scientific evidence for drought between c. 1200–1000 BCE, the textual evidence for famine, the possibility of plague and the relationship between malnourishment and disease, warfare and migrations as causes or consequences of food shortages and exchange network disruption and complex system collapse as possible reasons for the Late Bronze Age "collapse" in the Eastern Mediterranean. The final paper of the workshop was presented by **Elisabetta Boaretto** (Rehovot, Israel). It focused on the possibilities of dating the Late Bronze / Iron Age transition in the Southern Levant. She presented a new approach based on the integration of microarchaeological tools in the field during the excavation to identify the "dating assemblages" containing short-lived materials from a sequence of strata. The dates obtained are then modelled taking into account the stratigraphic sequence, and in this way reducing the inherent poor precision of the calibration curve from this period.

The final discussion with Peter Fischer as the moderator lasted for an hour. The main topics were terminology, possible migration routes, consequences of migration, the battle between the Sea Peoples and Ramses III as depicted in his famous reliefs, the discussion on the terms "Sea Peoples" contra "Sea Peoples Phenomenon", the role of trade



contra the “Sea Peoples Phenomenon” etc. In general, a consensus exists even if it was not complete.

3. Assessment of the results, contribution to the future direction of the field, outcome

The convenor urged the participants to keep the deadline of the proceedings (1 July 2015). David Kaniewski (climatologist), who was not able to attend the conference, already agreed to publish his intended presentation in the conference proceedings. The proceeding will be published in the series “Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean” at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, a series which covers a much wider research field than the title would suggest. The editor of the proceedings is Peter Fischer who plans to have the volume in print around the end of 2015. However, it is necessary to raise external funding for the publication work since the remains of the ESF-grant does not cover the required printing expenses. This will be done by Peter Fischer and Manfred Bietak.

We learned very much about each other’s latest research results. In order to keep everybody up-to-date also in the future we agreed to have a follow-up workshop at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, within three years. A possible source for covering the workshop expenses is the Swedish Academy of Sciences (both Peter Fischer and Kristian Kristiansen are members). As a result of this fruitful workshop the convenor Peter Fischer together with Kristian Kristiansen intend to apply for an ERC Advanced grant with the Sea Peoples as the central theme and with several of the participants in the ESF-Workshop as research associated.



4. Final Programme

Monday 3 November 2014

- 09.00-09.10 **Welcome by Convenor**
Peter Fischer (Austrian Academy of Sciences / University of Gothenburg, Sweden)
- 09.10-09.20 **Presentation of the European Science Foundation (ESF)**
Peter Funke (Scientific Review Group for the Humanities)
- 09.20-09.30 **Presentation of OREA at the Austrian Academy of Sciences**
Barbara Horejs (Director of OREA)
- 09.30-10.00 **Prologue 1 (Chair Manfred Bietak)**
The Troubled Waters of Sea Peoples Research – A Retrospective Presentation
Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy (OREA, Vienna, Austria)
- 10.00-10.30 **Session 1**
- 10.00-10.30 **The Appearance, Formation and Transformation of Philistine Culture: New Perspectives and New Finds**
Aren Maeir (Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, Israel)
- 10.30-11.00 *Coffee / Tea Break*
- 11.00-12.30 **Session 2 (Chair Reinhard Jung)**
- 11.00-11.30 **The Sea Peoples and the Collapse of Mycenaean Palatial Rule**
Helène Whittaker (University of Gothenburg, Sweden)
- 11:30-12:00 **The Destruction of Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus, in the 12th Century BCE**
Peter Fischer (Austrian Academy of Sciences / University of Gothenburg, Sweden)
- 12.00-12.30 **Cyprus during the "Crisis Years": Examining the Case of the Paphos Region**
Artemis Georgiou (University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus)
- 12.30-14.00 *Lunch Break*
- 14.00-16.00 **Session 3 (Chair Barbara Horejs)**
- 14.00-14.30 **The Sea Peoples Phenomenon in Cilicia**
Gunnar Lehmann (Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva, Israel)
- 14.30-15.00 **The Archaeological Ramifications of Hawkins' Philistines in Aleppo**
Diederik Meijer (University of Leiden, Netherlands)



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- 15.00-15.30 **Sea Peoples in Central and Northern Levant**
Francisco Núñez (Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona, Spain)
- 15.30-16.00 *Coffee / Tea break*
- 16.00-18.00 **Session 4 (Chair Diedrik Meijer)**
- 16.00-16.30 **The Northern Philistine Area in the Iron Age I and IIA**
Wolfgang Zwickel (Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, Germany)
- 16.30-17.00 **On the Connection between the Phoenician Phenomenon and "Sea Peoples"**
Ayelet Gilboa, Richard Jones and Paula Waiman Barak (University of Haifa, Israel)
- 17:00-17:30 **Contrasts, Contacts, and Interconnections — Tel Kinrot as an Early Iron Age Key Site in the Northern Jordan Rift Valley at the Dawn of the 1st Millennium BCE**
Stefan Münzer (University of Bern, Switzerland)
- 17:30-18:00 **"Sea Peoples Phenomena" in Early Iron Age Tell Abu al-Kharaz, Jordan Valley?**
Teresa Bürge (OREA, Vienna, Austria)

Tuesday 4 November 2014

- 09.00-09.30 **Prologue 2 (Chair Sigrid Deger Jalkotzy)**
The Sea Peoples after Three Millennia – Possibilities and Limitations of Historical Reconstruction
Reinhard Jung (OREA, Vienna, Austria)
- 09.30-10.00 **Session 5**
- 09.30-10.00 **The Impact of the Sea Peoples on the Egyptian Administration of Canaan**
Manfred Bietak (OREA, Vienna, Austria)
- 10.00-10.30 **The European Background to the Sea-Peoples: The 13th Century Revisited**
Kristian Kristiansen (University of Gothenburg, Sweden)
- 10.30-11.00 *Coffee / Tea Break*
- 11.00-12.30 **Session 6 (Chair Kristian Kristiansen)**
- 11.00-11.30 **Rethinking Philistine Society: Aspects of Cultural Resilience**
Assaf Yasur-Landau (University of Haifa, Israel)



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- 11:30-12:00 **Sea Peoples, Philistines, and the Destruction of Cities: A Critical Examination of Destruction Layers 'Caused' by the 'Sea Peoples'**
Jesse Millek (University of Tübingen, Germany)
- 12:00-12:30 **Anglo-Saxons and Sea Peoples: Comparing Similar Approaches for Tracking Ancient Human Migration**
Lorenz Rahmstorf (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)
- 12.30-14.00 *Lunch Break*
- 14.00-15.30 **Session 7 (Chair Wolfgang Zwickel)**
- 14.00-14.30 **The Sea Peoples: a View from the Pottery**
Penelope Mountjoy (British School at Athens, Greece)
- 14.30-15.00 **How Aegean is the Philistine Pottery? Practices with Aegean-type Pottery**
Phillipp Stockhammer (University of Heidelberg, Germany)
- 15.00-15.30 **Exotics in the 12th Century BCE Mediterranean**
Gert Jan van Wijngaarden (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands)
- 15.30-16.00 *Coffee / Tea break*
- 16.00-17.30 Session 8 (Chair Peter Fischer)**
- 16.00-16.30 **Weapons and Metals – Archaeometallurgical Research on Late Bronze Age Exchange between Italy and Greece**
Mathias Mehofer (University of Vienna, Austria) & **Reinhard Jung** (OREA, Vienna, Austria)
- 16.30-17.00 **The Evidence for Climate Change, Famine, Plague, Carrying Capacity Fragility, Warfare, Migrations, Earthquake Effects and Disruption of Complex Society Exchange Networks at the End of the Bronze Age**
Malcolm Wiener (Institute for Aegean Prehistory)
- 17.00-17.30 **Determining the Arrival of the Sea People in the Southern Levant: Absolute Chronology and Cultural Changes based on a Micro-archaeological Approach**
Elisabetta Boaretto (Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot, Israel)
- 17.30-18.30 **General discussion/follow-up activities/publication**
- 19.30 *Speakers' Dinner*



5. Final list of participants

Convenor/Participant:

1. **Peter FISCHER**
Austrian Academy of Sciences / University of Gothenburg, Sweden

ESF Representative:

Peter FUNKE
Westfälische Wilhelms – Universität Münster, Germany

Other Participants:

2. **Manfred BIETAK**
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria
3. **Elisabetta BOARETTO**
Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot, Israel
4. **Teresa BÜRGE**
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria
5. **Artemis GEORGIU**
University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus
6. **Ayelet GILBOA**
University of Haifa, Haifa, Israel
7. **Barbara HOREJS**
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria
8. **Sigrid JALKOTZY-DEGER**
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria
9. **Reinhard JUNG**
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria
10. **Kristian KRISTIANSEN**
University of Gothenburg, Sweden
11. **Gunnar LEHMANN**
Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva, Israel
12. **Aren MAEIR**
Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, Israel
13. **Mathias MEHOFER**
University of Vienna, Austria
14. **Diederik MEIJER**
University of Leiden, Netherlands
15. **Jesse MILLEK**
Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany



16. **Penelope MOUNTJOY**
British School at Athens, Greece
17. **Stefan MÜNGER**
University of Bern, Switzerland
18. **Francisco NÚÑEZ CALVO**
Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona, Spain
19. **Lorenz RAHMSTORF**
University of Copenhagen, Denmark
20. **Philipp STOCKHAMMER**
University of Heidelberg, Germany
21. **Gert Jan VAN WIJNGAARDEN**
University of Amsterdam, Netherlands
22. **Helène WHITTAKER**
University of Gothenburg, Sweden
23. **Malcolm WIENER**
Institute for Aegean Prehistory, Greenwich, Connecticut, USA
24. **Assaf YASUR-LANDAU**
University of Haifa, Israel
25. **Wolfgang ZWICKEL**
Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany

6. Statistical information on participants

In total, 17 males and 8 females (68% / 32%) participated. The countries of origin (see also diagram below) were Austria (6 / 24%), Germany (3 / 12%), Sweden (3 / 12%), Netherlands (2 / 8%), Switzerland (1 / 4%), Denmark (1 / 4%), Cyprus (1 / 4%), Greece (1 / 4%), Spain, (1 / 4%), Israel (5 / 20%) and the United States (1 / 4%). Junior participants numbered 4 (16 %), midway participants 9 (36 %) and senior participants 12 (48 %).

Countries of origin and male/female repartition of all participants (ESF-representative excluded)

