



‘ŠRDN FROM THE SEA’: THE ARRIVAL, INTEGRATION, AND ACCULTURATION OF A ‘SEA PEOPLE’

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ABSTRACT

Despite a broad temporal presence in Egyptian records, the association of the Sherden with another ‘Sea Peoples’ group – the better known and archaeologically-attested Philistines – has led to several assumptions about this people, their culture, and the role they played in the various societies of which they may have been a part. This article separates the Sherden from the Aegean migration and greater ‘Sea Peoples’ phenomenon of the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age transition and focuses on the aspect of this people for which we have the best evidence: their role in Egyptian society. Once those layers have been peeled away, a close reading of the extant literary and pictorial evidence from the New Kingdom and beyond reveals the evolving role of the Sherden in Egypt, from adversarial origin, through a phase of combined military cooperation and social exclusion, to a final, multigenerational period marked by rapid and enduring acculturation and assimilation.

While countless studies over the course of the last century and more have dealt with the heterogeneous and shifting coalition known to modern scholars as the ‘Sea Peoples,’ the lion’s share of these have dealt primarily with a single group: the *Peleset*. The outsized attention this group has received is due in part to its identification with the biblical Philistines, the chief antagonist of the early Israelites and one of the chief villains of the Hebrew Bible, and in part to the bright light that archaeology has been able to shine on Philistine culture. The latter has resulted in the reconstruction of a material culture “package,” or “template,”¹ which has allowed scholars to trace the arrival, acculturation, and assimilation of this ‘Sea Peoples’ group into Iron Age Canaan.²

Unfortunately, like the rest of the non-Philistine ‘Sea Peoples,’ scholars currently lack an identifiable material culture template for the Sherden, in no small part because no firm association has yet been made between any particular geographic area and a significant enough number of this people to appear in the archaeological record. As a result, any study of this group is largely reliant on Egyptian records, both literary and pictorial. Because these records serve as the clearest and most secure evidence for the presence and role of Sherden in society,³ they – rather than speculative associations with Sardinia,⁴ Akko,⁵ and elsewhere – will serve as the focus of this paper. The 13th century texts that note the presence of an uncertain number of Sherden (*trtnm* and *srdnmm*) at Ugarit are likewise outside our scope of consideration, save for two noteworthy points: some of those

Sherden mentioned in the Ugaritic texts bear West Semitic names (e.g. “Mutba⁶ al the Sherden” in RS 17.112),⁶ and some appear to have maintained multigenerational residency on intergenerationally tenured landholdings (RS 15.167+163).⁷ These combine with similar evidence from Ramesside Egypt to support a picture of the Sherden as being capable of a significant level of acculturation and integration into their adoptive societies.

PRE-RAMESSIDE: THE MYSTERIOUS ŠIRDANU

The possible pre-Ramesside references to Sherden consist of passing mentions of “širdanu-people” (Akkadian *še-er-ta-an-nu*) in three letters from the 14th century BCE archive at el-Amarna (ancient Akhetaten). The letters in question, EA 81, 122, and 123,⁸ were written by Rib-Hadda, the embattled *ḫazannu* of Gubla (classical Byblos), to the 18th Dynasty Pharaohs Amenhotep III and Akhenaten (Amenhotep/Amenophis IV).⁹ Though the context is difficult and largely devoid of detail about those whom Rib-Hadda calls “širdanu-people,”¹⁰ scholars have overwhelmingly taken this term’s phonetic similarity to the Ramesside *Šrdn* as evidence that it refers to members of the same group.¹¹ This has frequently resulted in the attribution of elements of the Sherden as they appear in later Ramesside records (including service as “mercenaries”¹² and being “seafaring warriors”¹³) to these far more cryptically referenced 14th century individuals.¹⁴

SAILING INTO EGYPTIAN HISTORY

Whatever the relationship of the *širdanu* at Gubla to the *Šrdn* of Ramesside fame, the latter conclusively sailed into Egyptian history early in Ramesses II’s reign, and thus it is at this point that their story can truly start. The Tanis II rhetorical stela tells of the “Sherden of rebellious mind, whom none could ever fight against, who came bold–[hearted...] in warships from the midst of the Sea, those whom none could withstand,” and claims the pharaoh “plundered [them] by the victories of his valiant arm” and “carried [them] off to Egypt” as prisoners – the first of many Ramesside claims to have taken members of this group captive.

Another noteworthy element of the Tanis II inscription is the fact, first observed by Yoyotte¹⁶ and followed by Kitchen,¹⁷ that the encounter it describes was unique enough that it apparently forced the Egyptians to invent a new term for “warship” in order to commemorate it. The result was the somewhat clumsy *m ḥꜣw ḥꜣ m-ḥry-ib pꜣ ym* ‘ships-of-warriors-on-the-sea,’ which Kitchen shortens to “ships of fighting.” As seagoing ships had been used previously in the Egyptian military (for example, the *imw n tꜣ ḥt* of Seti I¹⁸ and Thutmosis III,¹⁹ which have been glossed ‘warship’ or ‘battleship’ in modern scholarship),²⁰ the fabrication of a new term suggests a certain lack of prior experience with the type of vessel sailed by the Sherden, or with the capabilities of those vessels. Thus, though not limited to only two options, the term employed on Tanis II may have been intended to describe Sherden vessels as maritime fighting platforms, or it may have been a reference to a method of coastal marauding that made use of specialized ships or sailing techniques to conduct lightning-fast raids and then disappear back into the sea and over the horizon before military forces could be mobilized against them.

Tanis II associates the Sherden with seafaring, but it neither specifically mentions nor describes a naval battle.²¹ Though it has generally been assumed that Ramesses II triumphed in a naval battle against this enemy and their “ships-of-warriors-on-the-sea,”²² it seems more likely that the Sherden mentioned in Tanis II were defeated and captured while conducting a coastal raid (although it is also possible that the Egyptians simply associated the Sherden with seagoing ships, which they were known to have used for transport, piracy, and even habitation, as seems to have been the case with Ugarit and the piratical *Šikala*).²³ Seaborne threats to coastal polities, even from small numbers of ships,²⁴ were a significant threat in the Late Bronze Age,²⁵ and evidence from the mid-14th c. BCE onward shows that Egypt was not immune to maritime marauding. Examples include an inscription of Amenhotep son of Hapu (an official of Amenhotep III), which refers to the securing of the “river-mouths,”²⁶ and a letter written by the King of Alashiya to Amenhotep III or his son Akhenaten (EA 38) in which the former responds to an accusation of Alashiyan involvement in an action against Egypt by recounting annual raids carried out by “men of Lukki” against his own villages.²⁷ Further evidence for such threats during the

early years of Ramesses II can be found in the formulaic Aswan stela of Ramesses II’s second year, in which the pharaoh claims (among other conquests) to have “destroyed the warriors of the Great Green (Sea),”²⁸ so that Lower Egypt can “spend the night sleeping peacefully.”²⁹

While the Sherden are not named in any of these additional texts,³⁰ their description as those “whom none could ever fight against” in the Tanis II inscription suggests they, like the Lukki, had been engaging in such operations for some time prior to this account. If Liverani’s date of 1300 BCE for several Ugaritic texts referring to Sherden individuals is correct,³¹ and if these *lṛnm* and *srnm* are in fact to be identified with the Ramesside *Šrdn*, then Tanis II supports the presence of members of this culture around the eastern Mediterranean during this period. As trade *emporía* dotted the region in the Late Bronze Age, with shipping lanes and anchorages alike doubtless serving as tempting targets for skilled privateers and opportunities for similarly skilled swords-for-hire to defend their potential targets,³² we should not be surprised to find warship-sailing “Sherden of the Sea” at various locations around the eastern Mediterranean – particularly if their maritime exploits were based on piratical activity, as Ramesses II’s inscriptions have traditionally been read as reporting.

FRIEND AND FOE: ŠRDN IN THE 19TH DYNASTY

The Tanis victory appears to have gained the Egyptian army a new cadre of skilled fighters, as “Sherden of His Majesty’s capturing” are listed among the pharaoh’s troops in an account of the Battle of Qidš against the Hittite army of Muwatallis II.³³ This epithet is one of three that would continue to be associated with the Sherden at into the reign of Ramesses III a century later and beyond, with the other two being “Sherden of the great strongholds” (or the “great fortress”)³⁴ and “Sherden of the Sea.” The latter appears to have been used in the 19th and 20th Dynasties to refer specifically to Sherden fighting against Egypt,³⁵ despite the fact that Tanis II marks both their first and last explicit association with naval combat (see below for more on this topic).

In the period following Qidš, Sherden warriors grew into a standard component of Egypt’s terrestrial expeditionary forces. Papyrus Anastasi I, a 19th–20th Dynasty text which discusses proper preparation and provisioning for a military expedition into Canaan, lists 520 Sherden among a mixed force of 5,000 soldiers.³⁶ Whether this five hundred and more had been captured by the pharaoh, or had migrated to Egypt in some numbers of their own accord, Ramesses II’s 66-year term as pharaoh was certainly long enough to allow both for designed demographic changes within the ranks of Egypt’s warrior class, and for intermarriage and settling by those soldiers – a situation for which the Harris and Wilbour papyri provide evidence at a slightly later date.

Sherden appear once again among Egypt’s enemies in the fifth regnal year of Ramesses II’s son and successor Merenptah,

this time in a battle that took place entirely on land. According to the two major accounts of this encounter, the Great Karnak Inscription and the Athribis Stela, the invading coalition was made up of Libyan Kehek and a number of Lukka, Sherden, Teresh, Shekelesh, and Ekwesh (a reference in P. Anastasi II to “Sherden [Merenptah] didst carry off through thy strong arm”³⁷ may refer to captives from this battle). The Karnak inscription labels the latter four as being “of the foreign countries of the sea,”³⁸ while Athribis only refers to the Ekwesh in those terms.³⁹ Two other accounts of the battle, the Cairo Column⁴⁰ and the Heliopolis Victory Column,⁴¹ may attest to the minor role played by the Sherden in this coalition, as they name only the Shekelesh among the Libyans’ ‘Sea Peoples’ allies.

SHERDEN IN PICTURES

Backtracking a bit, it is in Ramesses II’s commemorations of his Qidš “victory” at Abu-Simbel,⁴² Luxor,⁴³ Karnak,⁴⁴ and Abydos⁴⁵ that the first pictorial representations of warriors we identify as Sherden appear. They are generally differentiated from their native counterparts in Egyptian art by three key features: horned helmets which (with two possible exceptions; Figure 1)⁴⁶ feature a disc mounted on the crest; circular shields; and the use of swords or dirks either instead of, or as a supplement to, the spears carried by their Egyptian counterparts.⁴⁷

However, though the identification of Sherden has been considered “one of the few sartorial certainties in the complicated history of Egypt’s friends and attackers,”⁴⁸ it is important to note that our visual identification of this people is dependent on a single captioned image, from the front pavilion wall of Ramesses III’s mortuary temple at Medinet Habu, which shows a series of captive foreign princes or chieftains with accompanying hieroglyphic descriptors (Figure 2).⁴⁹ This is compounded by the problematic nature of the representation: while the figure labeled *Šrdn of the Sea* wears the distinctive helmet associated with the Sherden, his aquiline nose and earring are distinctive among the numerous warriors who are pictured in Egyptian reliefs wearing the standard horned headgear. His long beard is also unique, though the remaining decoration on another Sherden at Medinet Habu shows that beards were depicted in paint on at least some of these individuals (Figure 3), and short beards may appear in relief on two other Sherden (one from Medinet Habu [Figure 4A], and the other from Ramesses II’s Qidš reliefs at Luxor).⁵⁰

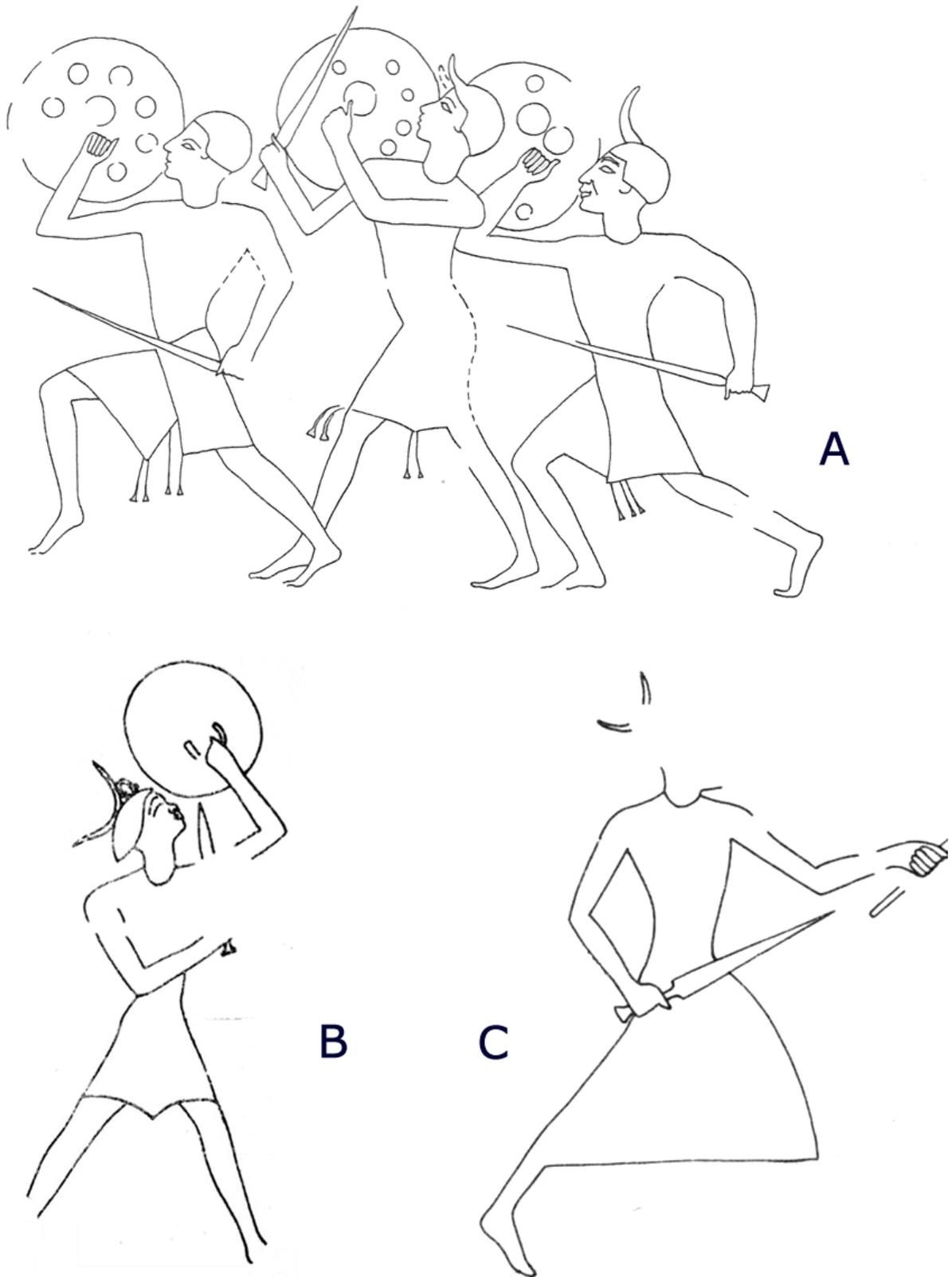
RAMESSES III AND THE ‘SEA PEOPLES’

Because Ramesses III’s conflicts with the ‘Sea Peoples’ have been the subject of so much prior analysis and discussion, their coverage in this paper will be restricted to a few key points. Though almost always ascribed to Ramesses III’s eighth year, these migratory land and sea invasions are mentioned in no less than five inscriptions at the pharaoh’s mortuary temple: the Great Inscriptions of Years 5⁵¹ and 8,⁵² the text accompanying

the naval battle relief,⁵³ the South Rhetorical Stela of Year 12,⁵⁴ and the “celebration of victory over the ‘Sea Peoples.’”⁵⁵ Further, though they are often thought to have been members of this invading coalition, it is noteworthy that the Sherden are not mentioned among Egypt’s enemies in any of these inscriptions. While Sherden do appear in several scenes at Medinet Habu, including the Libyan wars of years 5 and 11 (Figure 4B),⁵⁶ the land battle against the ‘Sea Peoples’ of year 8 (Figures 4C and 4D),⁵⁷ the Syrian and Hittite campaigns (Figure 4E),⁵⁸ a royal procession (Figure 3),⁵⁹ and the lion hunt scene that divides the ‘Sea Peoples’ battle reliefs,⁶⁰ they are clearly represented in every case as allies of the Egyptians, with the possible exception of the naval battle.

In the latter relief, two of the four enemy ships are manned by warriors wearing horned headgear similar to that associated with the Sherden, but without discs mounted between the helmets’ horns (Figure 5). As we currently lack any secure representations of Sherden fighting against Egypt, and as this is the only portrait of combat that depicts horn-helmeted warriors taking part in such an action, it may be that the beholder was intended to see in this scene an example of enemy Sherden, with the absent protrusion serving to differentiate them from those in the Pharaonic army.⁶¹ However, unlike Ramesses III’s seaborne invaders, the helmet worn by our lone captioned comparandum features both horns and disc. Because this captive Sherden stands as the only captioned representation of a horn-helmeted warrior of *any* ethnicity or association from this period, there is currently insufficient evidence to suggest an alternative identification for those pictured in the naval battle. However, the aforementioned dependence on a single captioned figure, in combination with the lack of named enemies in the inscription accompanying the naval battle relief, and the Sherden’s absence from the various lists of invading ‘Sea Peoples’ at Medinet Habu, should preclude any assumptions about the identification of these helmeted fighters.⁶²

The only textual source that associates Sherden with the ‘Sea Peoples’ invasions of Ramesses III’s reign is the Great Harris Papyrus, an *ex post facto* account of Ramesses’ deeds and accomplishments which names the Sherden in a paragraph dedicated to these battles, and in which the pharaoh claims to have had “Sherden of the Sea” both “without number” and “as numerous as hundred-thousands,” whom he “brought in captivity to Egypt” and settled “in strongholds.”⁶³ If accurate, this text preserves the only extant account of Sherden aggression against Ramesses III’s Egypt. However, the status of Egyptian “historical” texts as elaborate propaganda⁶⁴ should warn us against taking this passage of P. Harris I at face value. While it is possible that the “Sherden of the Sea” did take part the maritime component of the ‘Sea Peoples’ invasion, it is also possible that this passage of P. Harris I was intended as a formulaic and obligatory emulation of Ramesses’ predecessors’ claims to have captured Sherden in great numbers and pressed them into military service.⁶⁵



Figures 1A–1C: Possible Sherden warriors participating in Ramesses II's assault on Dapur (A. Abdel Hamid Youssef, Ch. Leblanc, and M. Maher-Taha, *Le Ramesseum IV: Les Batailles de Tounip et Dapur* [Cairo: Centre de Documentation et d'Études sur l'Ancienne Egypte, 1977], pls. VII, XII, XXXI).

While the visual identification of the horn-helmed warriors in the naval battle relief is uncertain for the reasons noted above, there is reason to associate the Sherden with the vessel type used by the ‘Sea Peoples.’ As has been shown elsewhere, the Sea Peoples ships pictured at Medinet Habu were patterned closely after Helladic oared galley prototypes.⁶⁶ A recently-published model of a Helladic galley from a tomb in Gurob near the Fayum – an area associated with Sherden landholders in the monumental Wilbour Papyrus (see below) – may support their inclusion in the coalition of seaborne invaders by demonstrating Sherden association with this vessel type,⁶⁷ while also shedding some light on the identity maintenance aspect of one such individual’s acculturative experience.⁶⁸ The polychromatic ship-cart model features stanchions, which on a real ship would have supported the superstructure and partial decking seen on the Medinet Habu ships, and stempost decorated with what may be an upturned bird’s head.⁶⁹ Also present is the bow projection at the junction of stempost and keel, shown on some Helladic vessels and on one of the ‘Sea Peoples’ ships,⁷⁰ which would become a standard feature of oared galleys in the Iron Age. The rows of black dots that flank the hull, interpreted by Wachsmann as oarports, make it probable that the vessel represented was a fifty-oared *pentekonter*. That the ship model, which was originally wheeled, was a cult vessel is suggested by the hole for a *pavois*, to which bars were attached for priestly porters to shoulder as they carried a cultic ship over land.

While the seafaring nature of the Sherden is clear, an effort seems to have been made to downplay the nautical affinities of those who had entered Egyptian service and society. As noted above, Sherden in the Egyptian military and society are never referred to as being “of the Sea,” an epithet that appears to be reserved for those fighting against Egypt.⁷¹ Thus, the ship-cart from Gurob, if properly attributed to a Sherden (or to one’s descendant), can be seen as evidence not only for this group’s association with the type of ship represented at Medinet Habu, but also for at least one Sherden’s attempt to maintain his foreign identity during a period of forcibly accelerated acculturation into Egyptian society.⁷²

DOMESTICATION, ACCULTURATION, AND INTEGRATION

Papyrus Harris I provides the first evidence for this people in an Egyptian domestic setting, as a formulaic claim by Ramesses III to have achieved complete peace and security for Egypt includes the declaration that those under his command were able to put their weapons aside, enjoy the company of their families, and sleep soundly “in their towns.”⁷³ This reference serves as a turning point of sorts in our textual evidence for the Sherden, as almost the entire remainder is in this vein, if less poetically written. A rare exception to this can be found in three letters from Deir el-Medina,⁷⁴ which date from late in Ramesses XI’s reign.⁷⁵ In these letters, a Sherden bearing the Egyptian name “Hori” is described as a messenger serving in the exchange of

letters regarding a weapons purchase between Dhutmose in Nubia and Butehamon in Thebes.



Figure 2: *Šrdn of the Sea*, from the front pavilion wall at Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VIII*, pl. 600b).

Though uncertain, it is possible that P. Harris I marks a change in the use of the term Sherden, from *ethnikon* to something more closely resembling a military title or occupation. Of particular note is Ramesses III’s address to “the officials and leaders of the land, the infantry, the chariotry, the Sherden, the many bowmen, and all the souls of Egypt.”⁷⁶ If the term “Sherden” refers to a people or ethnicity, it is the only such reference in this line – a fact which may mean that, in the century following their initial defeat at the hands of Ramesses II, Sherden had joined the Egyptian army in such great numbers and to such great (and distinctive) effect that they had earned a title commensurate with infantry, chariotry, and bowman. While this possibility would preserve the term as an *ethnikon* while also allowing for its use as a martial specialty, it is also possible that “Sherden” may have been (or become) a military title or a term for a martial specialty other than the aforementioned three, with an ethnic or tribal group originally associate with this term having given their name to a military role which had become a distinct combat specialty within the Egyptian army. However, the references later in P. Harris I to “the Sherden and the Weshesh of the Sea” and “the Sherden and Kehek...in their towns” support the continued use of the term as an *ethnikon* or other associative marker.

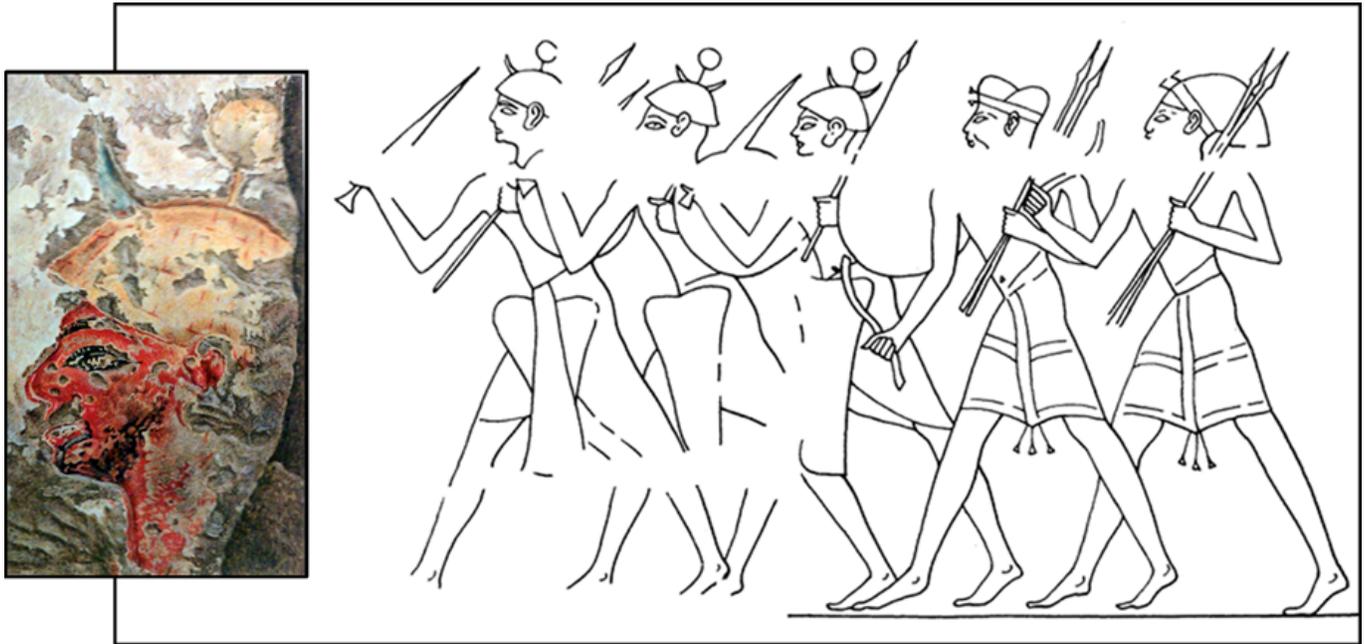


Figure 3: At left, the lead Sherden in the victory procession of Ramesses III, with remnants of painted beard; at right, Sherden in the victory procession of Ramesses III (Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu II: Later Historical Records of Ramses III* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932] plates 65c, 62).

The land apportionments chronicled in the aforementioned Wilbour Papyrus, a registry from the reign of Ramesses V⁷⁷ covering portions of the Fayum region of Middle Egypt, appear to be made by position or occupation, including “soldier,” “stablemaster,” “bee-keeper,” and others. This document lists 109 Sherden, “standard-bearers of the Sherden,” and “retainers of the Sherden” as land owners and occupiers. While the Gurob ship-cart provides evidence for individual identity maintenance, the fact that all Sherden listed in P. Wilbour bear “good Egyptian names”⁷⁸ supports significant acculturation by this time (or, less likely, the aforementioned possibility that the martial role of “Sherden” had become filled, at least in part, by native Egyptians). Of similar chronological provenience is Papyrus Amiens,⁷⁹ which mentions estates established for the Sherden in the Wadkhet region of Upper Egypt’s tenth nome.⁸⁰ This document, a ledger of transport ships and revenue in the form of grain collected from the domains of various temples,⁸¹ includes mention of two “houses...founded for the people of the Sherden,” one by Ramesses II⁸² another by Ramesses III,⁸³ as well as a “House of the Sherden” whose founder is unknown.⁸⁴

The inclusion of Sherden in P. Wilbour’s register of landowners has been seen as evidence that those fighting in the service of Egypt by this time were mercenaries rather than prisoners of war, due to the assumption that captive enemy soldiers would not have been given land of their own⁸⁵ (although P. Amiens mentions a “domain” established for “the people who were brought on account of their crimes,” or convicted criminals,⁸⁶ alongside that of the Sherden). This situation notwithstanding, it seems likely that the landholding status of these Sherden was tied to their military service, and that it should

be viewed either as a conditional grant exchanged for ongoing service to the pharaoh, or as an award presented after retirement for services rendered.⁸⁷ It is also worth noting that, of the 59 plots assigned to Sherden in P. Wilbour, 42 are 5 arouras in size. While this is the most common allocation in the text, it is more commensurate with priests, stable masters, standard bearers, and others of higher rank than standard soldiers, who generally received 3 arouras.⁸⁸

P. Wilbour’s references to Sherden land being handed down across multiple generations – or, at least, to land belonging to deceased individuals being “cultivated by the hand of [their] children”⁸⁹ – not only show multigenerational residency, but demonstrate that at least some Sherden settling in Middle Egypt came into possession of territory through hereditary tenure. Needless to say, this would be an unlikely situation if continuous military service were required in exchange for the right to occupy land. Menu has further suggested that some of these landholders came to own their territory through purchase rather than through military service.⁹⁰ Additionally, P. Wilbour makes a clear distinction between land ownership and indentured servitude, as the references to individuals – including Sherden⁹¹ – living on and cultivating land belonging to others are clearly distinguished from references to the landowners themselves. The mentions of Sherden being assigned to work others’ lands are significant because they provide evidence for different social statuses, and perhaps different levels of integration, enjoyed by Sherden individuals within Egyptian society, as some were either forced or allowed to work land belonging to non-Sherden owners, while others among them not only owned land, but were evidently able to pass it along to their children.

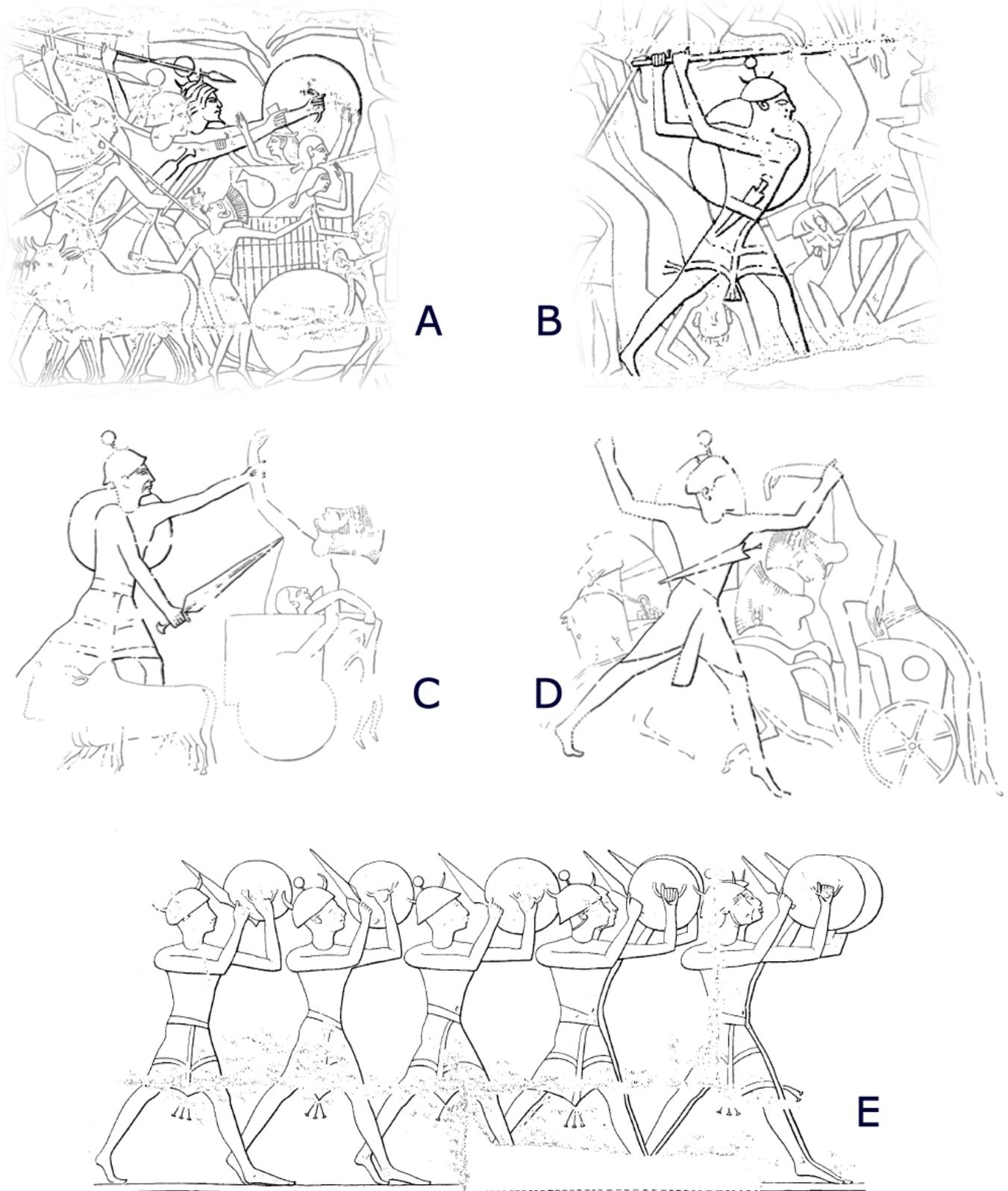


Figure 4: A) Two Sherden, one of whom may be depicted with a short beard, fighting in the land battle against the 'Sea Peoples'; B) A Sherden fighting for Egypt in the Libyan war of Ramesses III's fifth year; C & D) Sherden fighting in the land battle against the 'Sea Peoples'; E) Sherden storming a fortress in Syria (after Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu I: Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930], plates 34, 18, 34, 94, 39 respectively).

LATER EVIDENCE

If the term “Sherden” did in fact remain an *ethnikon*, our dwindling evidence for this people in the years following Ramesses V suggests a state of accelerating integration and assimilation into Egyptian society. In the “Adoption Papyrus,”⁹² a document from Spermeru in Middle Egypt that dates to the reign of Ramesses XI, an Egyptian woman named Nenūfer recounts her adoption as her stablemaster husband’s legal child and heir.⁹³

Seven witnesses to the procedure are listed, of whom two, Pkamen and Satamenu, are Sherden, with a third identified as Satamenu’s wife. Though this legal action is local and essentially private in nature, the presence of Sherden among the witnesses demonstrates their legal and social ability to act in that capacity, while the inclusion of Satamenu’s wife reinforces the theme of Sherden marrying and settling in Egypt, though the ethnicity (or ethnicities) of their spouses is never explicitly stated.



Figure 5: ‘Sea Peoples’ ship ‘N4’ in the Medinet Habu naval battle (Epigraphic Survey, *Historical Records of Ramses III: The Texts in Medinet Habu Volumes I* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936], pl. 39).

The final references, including perhaps the most intriguing of all, come in the form of three dedicatory stelae. The last of these, dating to the reign of Osorkon II in the 22nd Dynasty, mentions “the fields of the Sherden, under the control of the prophet Hor.”⁹⁴ While this use provides evidence of the term’s endurance, its context does not allow for any conclusions to be drawn regarding its meaning by this time. The other stelae, which come from the Temple of Heryshef at Herakleopolis and have been dated anywhere from the 19th to the 22nd Dynasties,⁹⁵ mention “the three fortresses of the Sherden” and “Padjesef... Sherden soldier of the great fortress,” respectively.⁹⁶ While both of these inscriptions reinforce the Ramesside theme of Sherden being associated with strongholds or fortresses, the latter is noteworthy for the image above its text, which shows Padjesef himself bringing offerings to Heryshef and Hathor (Figure 6).

The unique importance of this stela stems from its status as the only known self-identification and self-representation of a Sherden individual, and from the fact that the scene it presents is entirely Egyptian, including the portrayal of Padjesef himself. Though Roberts has argued that the lack of a distinctive horned helmet in this image should be seen as evidence of settlement and integration,⁹⁷ it is unsurprising that such a detail would be omitted here both because of the dedicatory nature of the scene, and because we have no evidence that Sherden ever identified themselves by such an accoutrement. Thus, the level to which Padjesef, and perhaps other Sherden, had been integrated into Egyptian society by this time is not demonstrated so much by what is not there – the distinctive Sherden helmet – so much as by what is there: a self-portrait in which the dedicator depicts himself, in both dress and action, as entirely Egyptian.



Figure 6: Padjesef stela from the Temple of Heryshef at Herakleopolis (W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Ebnaysia*, 1904 [London, 1905], pl. 27:2).

CONCLUSION

Based on linguistic consistency, the Sherden are generally accepted as being known in the Levant from the middle of the 14th century BCE into the first millennium. While earlier Egyptian records present them almost exclusively in a martial context, beginning with their defeat and employment or impressment by Ramesses II (and possibly earlier, depending on the role of the ambiguously-referenced “širdanu–people” of the Amarna Letters), later references to Sherden, beginning with Papyrus Harris I, are nonmilitary in context, and include

NOTES

* This article developed from papers delivered to two conferences in 2012. I would like to thank the participants in the “Contacts and Exchange in the Eastern Mediterranean” session of the Archaeological Institute of

domestic settings in which mentions of wives and children are made. Despite an association with the ‘Sea Peoples’ stemming from their role in the Libyan invasion of Merenptah’s fifth year and their possible participation in the naval battle chronicled by Ramesses III, there is no evidence in any of the written records or reliefs that the Sherden made up a significant component of a large-scale migration at the end of the Late Bronze Age, nor that they were participants in the overland movement consisting of warriors and dependents alike that brought the Philistines and others to the coastal plain of Canaan in ships and ox carts shortly after the turn of the 12th century BCE. This lack of evidence for movement in family units, combined with the domestic references in the later Ramesside papyri, suggest that once in Egypt, Sherden individuals engaged in intermarriage with members of the local population.

Though several Ramesside texts show elements of the ongoing integration of Sherden individuals into Egyptian society, the use of the term itself as an ethnic or other associative descriptor continued to the end of the New Kingdom, as can be seen from the Late Ramesside Letters, the Adoption Papyrus, and the Padjesef stela. How this identification was made and maintained, though, is not clear. If Sherden and their offspring continued the practice of intermarrying with Egyptians, thereby becoming increasingly Egyptian through the generations, then the continuation of the term would appear to demonstrate the affixing of permanent labels to families and individuals based on ancestral ethnicity. If, on the other hand, Sherden remained in relatively uniform enclaves for a significant period of time, as Papyrus Amiens may suggest,⁹⁸ within which they maintained as much cultural continuity and ethnic purity as possible, then reason behind the term’s use and continuation as a distinctive ethnic marker is clear.

Whichever the case may be, the continuation of the term “Sherden” as an identifier for individuals (including Padjesef) into at least the 11th century BCE shows that complete *assimilation* into Egyptian society had not yet been achieved by this time – as does the cultic ship–cart model from Gurob, if in fact it did come, as Wachsmann has suggested, from the tomb of a Sherden individual or one of his descendants.⁹⁹ Many of the people to whom the title “Sherden” applied, though, appear to have become “Egyptianized” to such a degree that, by the late Ramesside period, they could not only serve as witnesses in legal proceedings, but at least one among their number chose to represent himself not as a foreigner, but as a fully settled and integrated member of Egyptian society.

America’s annual meeting (Philadelphia, PA, Jan. 5-7) and in the “Historical Studies” session of the American Research Center in Egypt’s annual meeting (Providence, RI, April 27-29). I would also like to thank Dr. Lawrence

Stager for the thoughts and feedback he has provided in several conversations on the topic at hand, and Dr. Shelley Wachsmann both for his frequent assistance and for allowing access to his volume on the Gurob Ship-Cart prior to publication. Finally, I would like to thank the editorial staff of *JAEG* for their assistance throughout the publication process, and two anonymous reviewers for the journal for their many helpful comments. Any remaining errors and omissions are solely my own.

- ¹ The Philistine “package” includes Mycenaean III C:1 pottery; urban planning; religious architecture and implements, including hearths, bathtubs, and figurines; distinctive domestic architecture and implements, including cooking jugs, Aegean-style table wares, and rolled, unperforated loomweights; intramural infant burials; and foreign dietary practices, including the consumption of pork. See, *inter alia*, Trude Dothan, *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 41, 234–237; T. Dothan and Alexander Zukerman, “A Preliminary Study of the Mycenaean III C:1 Pottery Assemblages from Tel Miqne-Ekron and Ashdod,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 333 (2004), 1–54; Lawrence E. Stager, “The Impact of the Sea Peoples in Canaan (1185–1050 BCE),” in Thomas E. Levy (ed.), *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (London: Facts on File, 1995), 345–348.
- ² *Inter alia*, T. Dothan 1982; Moshe Dothan and Dothan, *People of the Sea: the Search for the Philistines* (New York: Macmillan, 1992); Stager 1995; Bryan Jack Stone, “The Philistines and Acculturation: Culture Change and Ethnic Continuity in the Iron Age,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 298 (1995), 7–32.
- ³ G. A. Wainwright (“Some Sea-Peoples and Others in the Hittite Archives,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 25 [1939]: 151) found it “strange” that the Sherden, “whose importance greatly outweighs that of any of the other” Sea Peoples, did not appear in Hittite records. M. Dothan (1986, 108), citing personal communication from Fritz Schachermeyr, noted a mention of the Sherden in an unpublished text from Boğazköy. Unfortunately, this alleged reference was evidently never published, made publicly available, nor referenced elsewhere.
- ⁴ *Inter alia*, James H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest* (New York: Scribner, 1905), 440, 465; M. Dothan, “Šardina at Akko?,” in Miriam S. Balmuth (ed.), *Studies in Sardinian Archaeology II: Sardinia and the Mediterranean* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1986); Robert Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 BCE* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 66, 152; Wainwright, “The Teresh, the Etruscans, and Asia Minor,” *Anatolian Studies* 9 (1959), 201.
- ⁵ The *Onomasticon of Amenope*, an unaccompanied list of peoples and places that names three ‘Sea Peoples’ groups and three cities of the Philistine Pentapolis (“262. *ʾIskrūn* [Ashkelon], 263. *ʾIsdd* [Ashdod], 264. *Gdt* [Gaza]...238. *Šrdn* [Sherden], 269. *Ikr* [Sikil], 270. *Prst* [Philistines]”;

Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947], 171*–209*), has been used in concert with the *Report of Wen-Amun*, which refers to Dor as the “Harbor of the Sikil” (Hans Goedicke, *The Report of Wenamun* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975]), to place the Philistines in the southern coastal plain of Canaan, the Sikils at Dor, and the Sherden at Akko in the years following the end of the New Kingdom; *inter alia*, M. Dothan 1986; Dothan and Dothan 1992, 209–215; Zeev Goldmann, “Acco,” in Ephraim Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land I* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 17–27; Stager 1995, 336–337; Stern, “The Settlement of the Sea Peoples in Northern Israel,” in Eliezer Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (Philadelphia, 2000), 197–212. However, this cryptic text does not offer a single, clearly directional reading. Though similarly unsupported by outside evidence, the *Onomasticon* could just as easily be assigning the Sherden to Ashkelon, the Sikils to Ashdod, and the Philistines to Gaza as anything else. In fact, given the absence of Akko and Dor from Amenope’s list of toponyms, such a reading may even be more likely than the traditional interpretation of this text.

- ⁶ Jean Nougayrol, *Le Palais Royal d’Ugarit IV* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1956), 234.
- ⁷ Nougayrol, *Le Palais Royal d’Ugarit III* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1955), 124.
- ⁸ Moran 1992, 150, 201–202.
- ⁹ Moran 1992, xxxv–xxxvii; James Weinstein, “Byblos,” in Donald B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 221.
- ¹⁰ EA 81:16 (“A *širdanu* [wh]om I know g[ot away t]o ‘Abdi-Aširta. At his order was this [de]ed done!”) is the only context provided in the three letters that refer to these people, and though it can be read as portraying the *širdanu*-people as treacherous freebooters or warriors-for-hire, this line alone is not sufficient evidence to retroactively bestow upon them the attributes of the Ramesside *Šrdn*; Moran 1992, 150.
- ¹¹ *Inter alia*, Giacomo Cavillier, *Gli Shardana nell’Egitto Ramesside* (Oxford: Archaeopress), 5, 34; Manfred Dietrich and Oswald Loretz, “Die Schardana in den Texten von Ugarit,” in Ruth Stiehl and Gustav A. Lehmann (eds.), *Antike und Universalgeschichte: Festschrift Hans Erich Stier* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1972), 39; Dothan and Dothan 1992, 209; Gardiner 1947, 194*; Colleen Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah: Grand Strategy in the 13th Century BC* (New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 2003), 78; Amihai Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible: 10,000–586 BCE* (New York: Doubleday, 1990) 302; Anson Rainey, *The Social Stratification of Ugarit* (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1962), 180; Adam Zertal, *El-Abwat, A Fortified Site from the Early Iron Age Near Nabal Iron, Israel: Excavations 1993–2000* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 433. Though rarely acknowledged, this

- identification is not without controversy; Moran (1992, 393), for example, thought the *širdanu* of the Amarna Letters “probably had nothing to do with the *Šrdn*, one of the Sea Peoples mentioned in Egy[ptian] documents,” while William F. Albright (“Some Oriental Glosses on the Homeric Problem,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 54 [1950], 167 n.18) likewise denied any relationship between the two, though Shelley Wachsmann (*The Gurob Ship-Cart Model and its Mediterranean Context* [College Station: Texas A&M Press, 2013], 185) does note that “the fact that Rib Addi assumed the pharaoh would know who or what a Sherden was indicates that they were a known ethnic group by this time and may indicate that the earliest textual evidence considerably postdates first contact”; cf. Rainey, “Some Amarna Collations,” *Eretz Israel* 27 (2003), 192*–202*.
- ¹² *Inter alia*, Eric H. Cline and David O’Connor, “The Mystery of the ‘Sea Peoples,’” in O’Connor and Stephen Quirke (eds.), *Mysterious Lands* (Portland: UCL Press, 2003), 112; M. Dothan 1986, 108; T. Dothan, “The ‘Sea Peoples’ and the Philistines of Ancient Palestine,” in Jack M. Sasson et al (eds.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East II* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1995), 1267; Anthony J. Spalinger, *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative: P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002), 361; Jean Yoyotte, “Les Stèles de Ramsès II a Tanis: Première Partie,” *Kémi* 10 (1949), 68.
- ¹³ T. Dothan 1995, 1267.
- ¹⁴ Additionally, the assertion that some Sherden were stationed at Egyptian garrisons in the Levant, such as Beth Shan and Lachish, during this period (e.g., Robert H. Tykot, “Sea Peoples in Etruria? Italian Contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age,” *Etruscan Studies* 1 [1994], 62; Baruffi 1998, 111–112) is similarly unsubstantiated by current evidence, which only places *širdanu* at Rib–Hadda’s Byblos.
- ¹⁵ Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations II* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), 120.
- ¹⁶ Yoyotte 1949, 67.
- ¹⁷ Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments II* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1999), 174.
- ¹⁸ Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I* (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Troubler, 1896), 82.5.
- ¹⁹ Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums IV: Urkunden der 18. Dynastie IV* (Liepzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909), 998.1.
- ²⁰ Dilwyn Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1988), 130.5, 131.13; cf. also, *inter alia*, Raymond O. Faulkner, “Egyptian Military Standards,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 27 (1941), 18; Spiegelberg 1896, 82.5.
- ²¹ Ellen F. Morris (*The Architecture of Imperialism: An Investigation into the Role of Fortresses and Administrative Headquarters in New Kingdom Foreign Policy* [PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2001], 457) has suggested the lack of detail may be “a clue that Ramesses himself did not participate” in the battle(s) against the Sherden.
- ²² *Inter alia*, Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest III* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906–7), 209; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 252; Baruffi 1998, 117, 147; Kitchen 1999, 174; Wachsmann, “The Ships of the Sea Peoples,” *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 10 (1981), 187–188.
- ²³ RS 34.129; J. Hoftijzer and Wilfred van Soldt, “Texts from Ugarit Pertaining to Seafaring,” in Wachsmann, *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant* (College Station: Texas A&M: 1998), 343. The possibility that the Sherden discussed in Tanis II were responsible for the transference to Egypt of some components of the maritime technology seen in the Medinet Habu naval battle was explored most recently in a paper by the author, at the 2012 conference of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Chicago, IL, Nov. 14–17), titled “Egypt, the ‘Sea Peoples,’ and the Brailed Sail: Technological Transference in the Early Ramesside Period?”
- ²⁴ Ugaritic texts RS 20.238 and RS 20.18 mention raiding parties of seven and twenty ships, respectively; Gary Beckman, “Akkadian Documents from Ugarit,” in Wallace and Orphanides (eds.), *Sources for the History of Cyprus II* (1994b), 27.
- ²⁵ *Inter alia*, Baruffi 1998, 10–13, 188; Gary Beckman, “Hittite Documents from Ḫattuša,” in Paul W. Wallace and Andreas G. Orphanides (eds.), *Sources for the History of Cyprus II: Near Eastern and Aegean Texts from the Third to the First Millennia BCE* (Nicosia: Cyprus College, 1994a), 31 no.33; Jeffrey Hurwit, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100–480 BCE* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 49; Itamar Singer, “Western Anatolia in the Thirteenth Century BCE According to the Hittite Sources,” *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983), 217; Wachsmann 1998, 320–321.
- ²⁶ Wolfgang Helck, *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums IV: Urkunden der 18. Dynastie XXI* (Liepzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1958), 1821.13f.
- ²⁷ William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 111. Cf. Trevor R. Bryce, “Lukka Revisited,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 51 (1992), 126–127; Wolf–Dietrich Niemeier, “The Mycenaean in Western Anatolia and the Problem of the Origins of the Sea Peoples,” in Gitin, Mazar, and Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition* (1998), 17–65.
- ²⁸ Kitchen 1996, 182.
- ²⁹ Emmanuel de Rougé, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques Copiées en Égypte Pendant la Mission Scientifique de M. le Vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1877), 253.8.
- ³⁰ *Contra* David Ben–Shlomo (*Philistine Iconography: A Wealth of Style and Symbolism* [Fribourg: Fribourg Academic Press, 2010], 16), who states that those aboard the “enemy ships at sea” in RS L.1 are Sherden; *contra*

- Cline and O'Connor (2003, 112, and "The Sea Peoples," in Cline and O'Connor [eds.], *Ramesses III: The Life and Times of Egypt's Last Great Hero* [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012], 186), who conflate the Aswan stela and Tanis II based on a mistaken reading of Nancy K. Sandars, (*The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean*, 2nd ed. [London: Thames & Hudson, 1985]), 50, 209 n.14. Also *contra* Manassa (2003, 78 n.7), who cites Helck (*De Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasiens zur Ägäis: bis ins 7. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* [Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1979], 133, 299–300 nn. 5–7) as identifying the Sherden in the inscription of Amenhotep son of Hapu. While Helck (1979, 133) does refer to this as the first Egyptian evidence of "pirate raids" (*seeräuberüberfälle*), he neither connects them directly to the Sherden, nor claims to have found them in the inscriptional text.
- ³¹ Mario Liverani, "Le Chêne de Sherdanu," *Vetus Testamentum* 27 (1977) 212–216.
- ³² William B. Hafford, *Merchants in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean: Tools, Texts, and Trade* (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2001), 70 n.27, 199–202; cf., e.g., the possible "mercenaries from the north" aboard the Uluburun ship; Cemal Pulak, "The Uluburun Shipwreck: an Overview," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 27 (1998), 219.
- ³³ "The Poem"; Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1960), 7:25–30. Also P. Anastasi II r. 5:2.
- ³⁴ P. Louvre N3136, and possibly the Herakleopolis stelae.
- ³⁵ Tanis II, Great Karnak Inscription, prisoner relief on the pavilion façade at Medinet Habu, P. Harris I §76, and P. Anastasi II v. Frag. 5. The latter is a possible exception; reading "Sherden of the Great Green that are captives of His Majesty, they are equipped with all their weapons in the court" (Ricardo A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* [London: Oxford University Press, 1954], 64), interpretation of this text is dependent on whether the fragment refers to Sherden who have been captured and are being presented to the pharaoh as prisoners of war "equipped with all their weapons," or whether their capturing should be seen as separate from their arming, which would then be taking place in the context of their service to the crown.
- ³⁶ John A. Wilson, "An Egyptian Letter," in James B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974a), 475–476.
- ³⁷ P. Anastasi II, r. 5:2; Caminos 1954, 45.
- ³⁸ Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations IV: Merenptah and Late Nineteenth Dynasty* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 2003), 7.
- ³⁹ Breasted 1906–7, §255; Kitchen 2003, 2–7, 19. The fact that the Lukka are the only non-Libyan group listed among the invaders not to be declared to be one of "the foreign countries of the sea" is interesting because of the typical association of these people with seafaring and piracy at least from the Amarna period (cf. EA 38 above).
- ⁴⁰ Kitchen 2003, 19.
- ⁴¹ Kitchen 2003, 29.
- ⁴² Charles Kuentz, *La Bataille de Qadech: Les Textes ('Poème de Pentaour' et 'Bulletin de Qadech') et les Bas-Reliefs* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1928), pl. 42; Breasted 1906, 3.
- ⁴³ Kuentz 1928, pls. 32, 35.
- ⁴⁴ Kuentz 1928, pl. 28.
- ⁴⁵ Kuentz 1928, pl. 22.
- ⁴⁶ These possible exceptions are the horned helmet-wearing warriors from Luxor, shown fighting alongside Ramesses II's forces in an assault on Dapur in Amurru (Figure 1A) and those fighting against Ramesses III in the naval battle (Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu I: Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), pls. 37–39, 41, 50c–d, 51g, 52a, 53d; see below). Also of interest are two possible Sherden featured elsewhere in the Dapur reliefs (Figures 1B and 1C), one of whom (Figure 1B) may represent a Sherden helmet shown either from a different angle than seen in other images, or in a style that was abandoned when the depiction of these warriors became standardized.
- ⁴⁷ Cf. James K. Hoffmeier, "Military," in Redford (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (2001), 400–412. Sherden in the lion hunt scene at Medinet Habu are depicted *sans* sword and shield, instead carrying only two spears each, likely because of the non-combat nature of the scene; Epigraphic Survey 1930, pl. 35.
- ⁴⁸ Sandars 1985, 106.
- ⁴⁹ Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VIII: The Eastern High Gate with Translations of Texts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pl. 600b; cf. Gardiner 1947, 196*.
- ⁵⁰ Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu II: Later Historical Records of Ramses III* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), pl. 65c; 1930, pl. 34 (upper right); Kuentz 1928, pl. 35 (lower right).
- ⁵¹ Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations V: Setnakht, Ramesses III, & Contemporaries* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 2008), 22 §25:5–13.
- ⁵² Wilson, "Egyptian Historical Texts," in Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (1974b), 262–263.
- ⁵³ Wilson 1974b, 263.
- ⁵⁴ William F. Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III: The Texts in Medinet Habu Volumes I & II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), pl. 107:7–9.
- ⁵⁵ Edgerton and Wilson 1936, pl. 42:1–13.
- ⁵⁶ Epigraphic Survey 1930, pl. 18; 1932, pl. 72.
- ⁵⁷ Epigraphic Survey 1930, pls. 31–34. Additionally, Sherden are named among Egypt's troops being armed for combat against the 'Sea Peoples' in an inscription on the exterior north wall; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, pl. 29:25–40.
- ⁵⁸ Epigraphic Survey 1932, pls. 88, 94. Sherden also appear in a Syrian campaign relief at Karnak; Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak II: Ramesses III's Temple Within the Great Enclosure of Amon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), pl. 114.
- ⁵⁹ Epigraphic Survey 1932, pls. 62, 65c.
- ⁶⁰ Epigraphic Survey 1930, pl. 35.

- ⁶¹ R. Gareth Roberts, “Identity, Choice, and the Year 8 Reliefs of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu,” in Christopher Bachhuber and Roberts (eds.), *Forces of Transformation: The End of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2009), 63.
- ⁶² Gardiner (1947, 196*) believed the seafarers in horned helmets to be Sherden, and wrote of their apparent appearance on both sides of Ramesses III’s battles, “it is perhaps on account of this ambiguous position that [Sherden] are never mentioned in the accompanying texts.” Sandars (1985, 109, 127) has correctly stressed that these warriors are “not necessarily Sherden,” while Wachsmann (1981, 191) previously characterized them as Shekelesh rather than Sherden, though that has since been amended in Wachsmann 2013, 206.
- ⁶³ P. Harris I 76:5–8; Wilson 1974b, 262.
- ⁶⁴ *Inter alia*, Alan R. Schulman, “The Great Historical Inscription of Merneptah at Karnak: A Partial Reappraisal,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 24 (1987), 21–22; Leonard H. Lesko, “Egypt in the 12th Century BCE,” in Ward and Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years* (1992), 152–154. Weinstein (“The Collapse of the Egyptian Empire in the Southern Levant,” in Ward and Joukowsky [eds.], *The Crisis Years* [1992], 148) calls Ramesses III “a plagiarizer and self-aggrandizer of the first order.”
- ⁶⁵ Tanis II; Poem 25; P. Anastasi II r. 5:2. Barbara Cifola (“The Terminology of Ramses III’s Historical Records with a Formal Analysis of the War Scenes,” *Orientalia* 60 [1991], 53 n. 95) opposes the historicity of this passage, writing that “The Egyptians’ limited knowledge of the composition of the enemy is also shown by mistakes and variants within the lists of the allies, especially in *Pap. Harris* I 76.8, where even the Sherden, represented in the reliefs as mercenary troops of the Egyptian army, are included.”
- ⁶⁶ *Inter alia*, Wachsmann, “The Ships of the Sea Peoples”; “To the Sea of the Philistines,” in Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World* (2000), 116–122.
- ⁶⁷ Wachsmann 2013.
- ⁶⁸ Wachsmann (2013, 206) suggests that the ship–cart model comes from the tomb of a Sherden individual or one of his descendants. Though this cannot be proven beyond reasonable doubt on present evidence, we find his argument compelling and largely agree with his conclusions.
- ⁶⁹ Compare to the Bademgediği Tepe krater, the Skyros stirrup jar, a LH IIIc pyxis from Tragana, Pylos, and Kynos ships B and C; Penelope Mountjoy, “Mycenaean Connections with the Near East,” in Robert Laffineur and Emanuele Greco (eds.), *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean* (Liège, 2005), pl. XCVIIa; George S. Korrés, “Representation of a Late Mycenaean Ship on the Pyxis from Tragana, Pylos,” in Harry Tzalas (ed.), *TROPIS I: 1st International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity* (Delphi, 1985), 200; Wachsmann 1998, 134–135. Cf. Wachsmann (2013, 78–80) for further discussion, with references.
- ⁷⁰ Two others have similar projections, but at the stern.
- ⁷¹ See note 35 above.
- ⁷² An opposite example may be the Padjeseft stela from Herakleopolis, which presents the image of a self-identified Sherden, dressed as an Egyptian, who is bringing offerings to Heryshef and Hathor; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Ebnaysia, 1904* (London, 1905), 22.
- ⁷³ P. Harris I 78:9–10; Breasted 1906–7 IV, §402.
- ⁷⁴ P. British Museum 10326 and 10375, and P. Turin 2026; Edward F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 37–39, 60–61, 83–84.
- ⁷⁵ Perhaps his 28th year; Wente 1967, 12.
- ⁷⁶ P. Harris I 75:1–2; Wilson 1974b, 260.
- ⁷⁷ Gardiner, “Ramesside Texts Relating to the Taxation and Transport of Corn,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 27 (1941a), 40; Faulkner, “Egyptian Military Organization,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 39 (1953), 44–45.
- ⁷⁸ Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus II: Commentary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948a), 80.
- ⁷⁹ This text dates to Ramesses V’s reign or later; Helck, “Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten im Neuen Reich,” *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959), 125; Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (London: Perry, Lund, Humphries & Co., 1940), 7; 1941a, 43; Jac Janssen, *Grain Transport in the Ramesside Period: Papyrus Baldwin (BM EA 10061) and Papyrus Amiens* (London: British Museum, 2004), 4–5.
- ⁸⁰ Gardiner 1948a, 80.
- ⁸¹ Sally L. D. Katary, “Taxation,” in Redford (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (2001), 351–356.
- ⁸² R. 4:9–10; Gardiner 1940, pl. 6; 1941a, 40.
- ⁸³ R. 5:4; Gardiner 1940, pl. 7; 1941a, 41.
- ⁸⁴ V. 2:x+10; Gardiner 1940, pl. 10; 1941a, 53.
- ⁸⁵ Faulkner 1953, 44–45.
- ⁸⁶ R. 5:3–4; Gardiner 1940, pl. 7; 1941a, 41; but see Katary (*Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period* [London: Kegan Paul International, 1989], 186), who suggests that this may refer to “convicted criminals serv[ing] their sentences as agricultural labourers.”
- ⁸⁷ Cf. Baruffi 1998, 163; Faulkner 1953, 44–45.
- ⁸⁸ Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus III: Translations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948b); Katary 1989, 49.
- ⁸⁹ E.g., §§59.27.19 and 150.59.9, 25; Gardiner 1948b, 28, 62.
- ⁹⁰ Bernadette Menu, *Le Régime Juridique des Terres et du Personnel Attaché à la Terre dans le Papyrus Wilbour* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1970), 127.
- ⁹¹ Contrast, e.g., §123:48.45–6 and 49.4–5; Gardiner 1948b, 51.
- ⁹² Papyrus Ashmolean Museum 1945.96
- ⁹³ Eugene Cruz-Urbe, “A New Look at the Adoption Papyrus,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74 (1988), 220–223; C. J. Eyre, “The Adoption Papyrus in Social Context,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 78 (1992), 207–221; Gardiner, “Adoption Extraordinary,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 26 (1941b) 23–29.
- ⁹⁴ “Donation Stela of Djedptahuefankh” (Cairo Journal d’Entrée 45327); Robert K. Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy:*

Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 346.

- ⁹⁵ Cifola 1994, 8; Gardiner 1948a, 80; Morris 2001, 593 n. 384; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Ebnaysia, 1904* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905), 22; Troy Sagrillo, “The Geographic Origins of the ‘Bubastite’ Dynasty and Possible Locations for the Residence and Burial Place of Shoshenq I,” in G. P. F. Broekman, Robert J. Demarée, and Olaf E. Kaper (eds.), *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 347 n. 46.

⁹⁶ Petrie 1905, 22, pl. 27. Schulman (*Military, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* [PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1962], 187) notes that the translation of the former is uncertain because of the “unusual orthography and poorness of the copy of the text.”

⁹⁷ Roberts 2009, 63.

⁹⁸ Cf. Gardiner 1941a, 24 n. C.

⁹⁹ Wachsmann 2013, 206.