OBJECTS OF PRESTIGE? CHARIOTS IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EAST

By Marian H. Feldman and Caroline Sauvage

Introduction

The light, two-wheeled chariot, which makes its appearance in the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean during the second millennium BC, is often seen as a hallmark of the great states and internationalism characteristic of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1600–1150 BC). Chariots are credited with revolutionizing warfare, hunting, and transportation, as well as providing a new emblem of royal and elite status. Numerous studies have documented the physical and mechanical apparatus of these chariots and have discussed them on a broad level within the spheres of military and diplomatic engagement and on a more specific level in terms of the regionalized construction.[1] However, their ideological, sociological and representational significance in Late Bronze Age interactions has typically been glossed over or taken as monolithic across all regions. This study takes a close look at the surviving evidence from archaeology, texts and images to probe more deeply the symbolic role of the chariot during this "international" age. The pan-Near Eastern and Eastern Mediterranean interest in chariots during this period comes to the fore, but with clear regional patterns in each culture's rhetorical deployment of the vehicle.

Typically, studies of the Late Bronze Age either focus on a specific region like Cyprus or Mitanni, emphasizing its regional and local peculiarities, or they examine all the regions as participants in a singular sphere of international interaction, producing a fairly homogenized international map of the entire Near East and Eastern Mediterranean. Even if the regions occupy different levels of power and influence within the sphere, the assumption is one of a common "cultural" language of engagement. Both of these approaches are valid, yet they tend to compartmentalize and divorce the aspects of the local and the international, which in reality were constantly in dialogue and tension with one another. Our study of chariots, which sees them as both international and regional, opens up a new avenue for understanding this dynamic.

We approach the question from the principal disciplinary vantage points of texts and archaeology (Sauvage) and art history (Feldman), each developing our own set of inferences that are subsequently brought together in the concluding section. The study is arranged in three parts: the first addresses chariot-related artifacts and texts, the second focuses on Mycenaean kraters depicting chariots, and the third examines chariot representations on other media. Each part covers the geographical expanse from the Aegean, Anatolia (including Hatti), Cyprus, the Levant, and Egypt, eastward to Mesopotamia (Mitanni, Assyria, and Babylonia) and Elam. However, for each one we chose to proceed geographically in a manner that was deemed most coherent for that particular type of evidence, rather than imposing a single geographic sequence on all three. Because the logic for arranging the evidence differs substantially for the artifacts, chariot kraters, and visual representations, each part follows a different regional sequence. While this has led to inconsistent ordering across the three sections, it makes apparent the disparities and diverse patterns of the evidence in general and speaks especially to regional distinctions in the use and symbolism of chariots. The reviews of data, while not claiming exhaustive comprehensiveness, do strive to include as many known examples as possible to avoid generalizations and assumptions that have become accepted in the scholarly literature and that have colored interpretations about both the international and the local spheres. The resulting distribution patterns, correlated with types of contexts, are presented in the form of several maps that provide a spatial view of the local, regional, and cross-cultural

[1] Amadasi 1965; Crouwel 1981; 1987; 2005; 2006b; Decker 1993 [1987]; Hyland 2003; Littauer & Crouwel 1979; Moorey 1986; Nagel 1966; Partridge 2002; Schon 2007.

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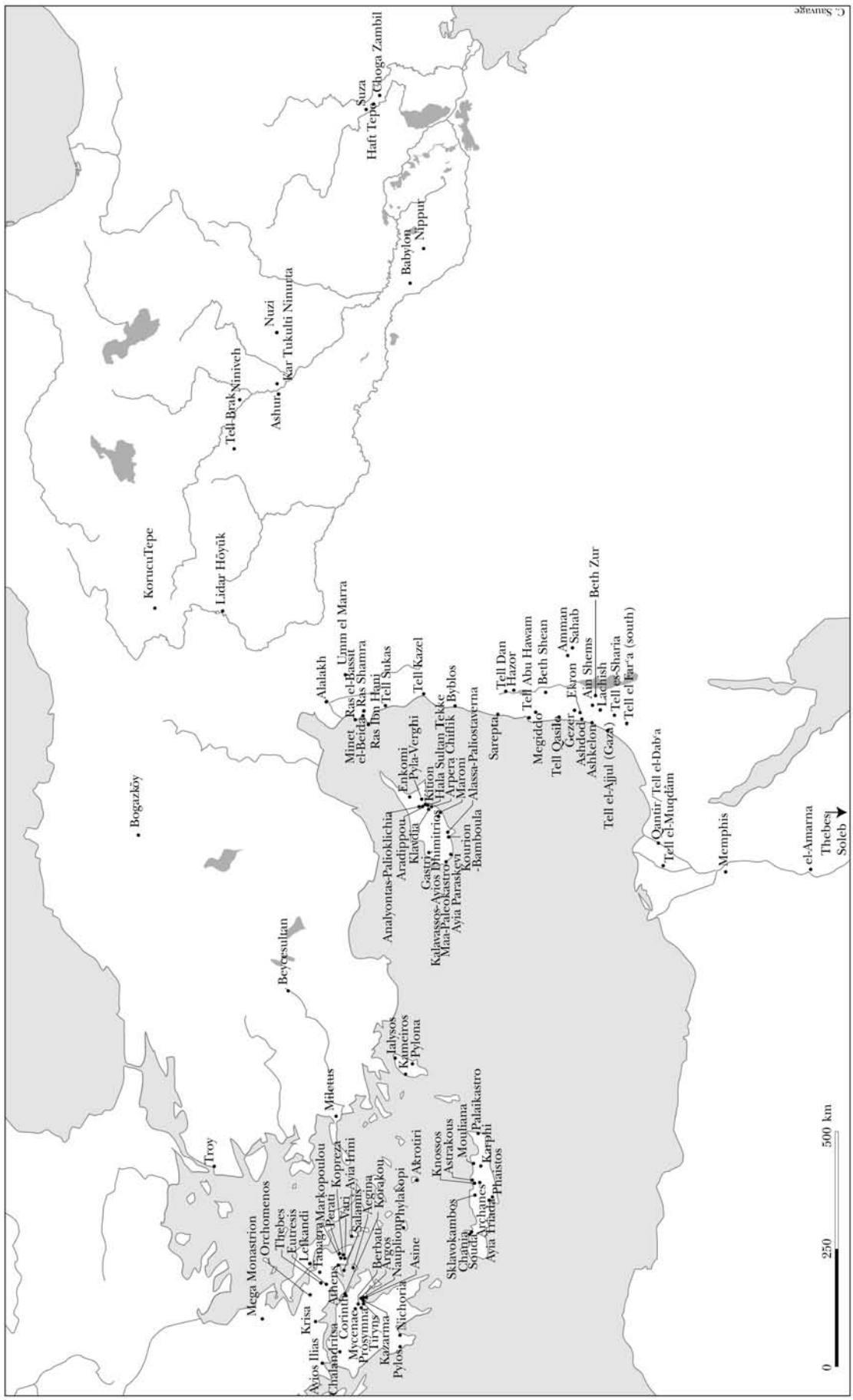


Fig. 1 Map of sites mentioned in text (© C. Sauvage)

interactions. A summary map (Fig. 62), discussed in the conclusion, presents our understanding of the regional interactions occurring diachronically during the Late Bronze Age as evidenced through the full range of chariot related materials.

To understand the symbolic value of chariots within Late Bronze Age society, one must analyze both textual and archaeological attestations of chariots. Thus, Caroline Sauvage begins the study with archaeological evidence of chariot remains and textual attestations of chariots and chariot warriors. The review of the archaeological contexts of chariot fittings, horse bits, and texts aims to define, region by region, specifics of the use of these objects. Indeed, the particular contexts of the finds allow a glimpse into the social consumption of chariots. Here, she mostly discusses those objects that can be definitively associated with chariot owners. These form the basis of the analysis, but even if they are widespread in the Near East from Ugarit to Haft Tepe, there are overall not so many attestations. A careful study of their presence, number and context enables us to better characterize their uses. Before detailing the texts and archaeological contexts of the chariot related finds, Sauvage briefly describes the archaeological material analyzed: chariots and harnessing, including finials and yoke saddle bosses. The survey starts with Ugarit because the recently excavated material from the house of Urtenu provides a particularly compelling association of artifacts belonging to chariots, texts mentioning horses, and objects depicting chariots. From there, she expands the data to the town and kingdom of Ugarit, before focusing on the surrounding powers of the time. If the texts show, in general, a particularly royal interest for horses and chariots, the picture emerging from the local consumption of the objects nuances this view. Indeed, royal concerns could be easily explained by the so-called international community of great powers and by the sharing of values concerning domination expressed by this community. The chariot was the most effective weapon of the time, which every kingdom sought to possess to assure its safety and maintain its status. However, the local consumption of associated objects and their prestige value reveals particular and regional tastes and preferences, which point to different elite concerns and thus define and distinguish coherent cultural areas, as well as intermediary intercultural interaction zones at a level below the international sphere.

The following two sections take up the question of the representation of chariots during this period. In the first of these, Part 2, Sauvage provides a survey of the distribution and archaeological contexts of one relatively frequent type of representational object: Myceanean chariot kraters. In considering the co-occurrence of chariot-related artifacts and texts with chariot kraters, she shows the element of choice underlying the copious quantities of this type of ceramic at Ugarit, which is also suggestive of the selective aspect of their popularity throughout the northern Levant and Cyprus. Across the geographic regions, the distribution of chariot kraters marks distinct patterns of consumption that require individual analysis and explanation.

In Part 3, Marian Feldman considers the representational status of the chariot across all other visual media during this period. Generally assumed to be a symbol of internationalism by scholars, a review of how and where chariots are depicted reveals a more nuanced incorporation of the chariot as symbol among the different cultures of the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean. Feldman explores in particular the rhetorical weight that images of chariots carried (or, in some cases, did not carry) in the different political and cultural regions. This rhetorical weight is determined by an evaluation of the frequency, manner, and context of chariot representations, derived from a survey of the artistic corpus from each region. The evidence indicates that while the chariot held international associations for varying levels of elite spheres, each region's local concerns and traditions also conditioned the depictions of chariots in regionally specific ways. While the chariot certainly conferred prestige in many situations, it did not do so in all. Thus, one has to consider both the capacity for an image to carry symbolic meaning as well as the receptivity of any given culture for this meaning. Ultimately, the uneven usage of chariot representations across the different regions appears to be an acknowledgment of local concerns even in the face of strongly unifying and internationalizing pressures and trends. Indeed, one can see the balancing of and tension between these two elements.

In the final, co-authored conclusions section, the authors bring together the patterns discerned from the evidence of the archaeology, texts, and representations. These conclusions both affirm and amplify the results of the individual sections.

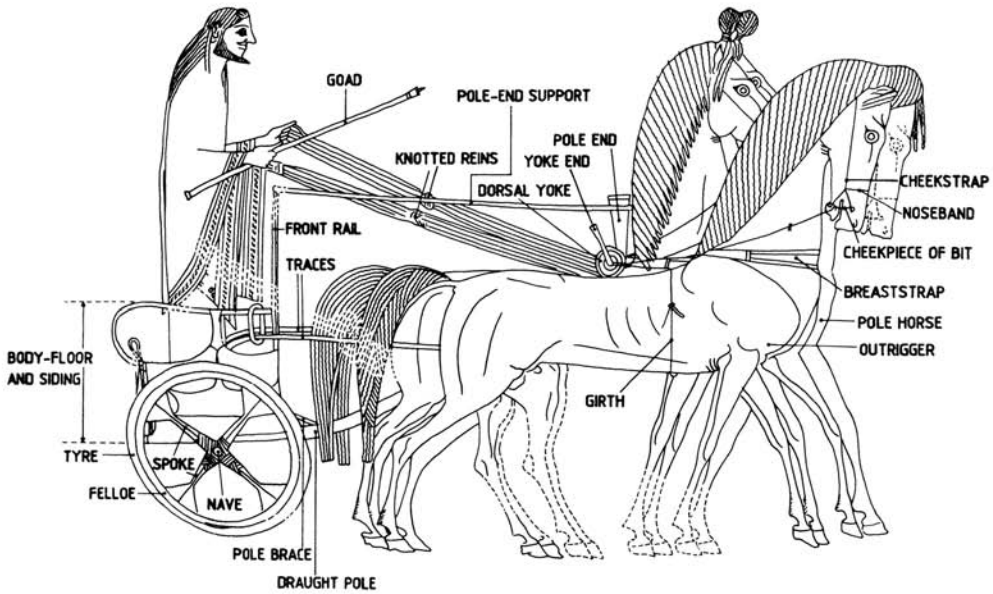


Fig. 2 Diagram of terminology of a harnessed chariot (after CROUWEL 1992: fig. 1; courtsey of Joost Crouwel)

PART 1. CHARIOT RELATED ARTIFACTS AND TEXTS

By Caroline Sauvage

This study opens up with a presentation and description of preserved archaeological material types and contexts to better characterize uses and consumption of chariots within any given society of the Late Bronze Age ancient Near East. After a short presentation of the type of material, this section details and compares archaeological and textual attestations in diverse geographical areas, arranged by relevance, beginning with material from Ugarit and especially from Urtenu's house. These comparisons of chariot uses form the basis of our interpretation, which allows us to define coherent cultural areas and intercultural interaction zones.

PRESENTATION OF CHARIOTS AND HARNESSING

The Late Bronze Age Egyptian and Asiatic chariots known through representations and archaeological remains closely resembled each other (Figs. 2, 4). The plan of their cab had the shape of a D, and boxes were shallow from back to front (ca. 0.50 m) and wide enough (ca. 1 m) for two men to stand abreast.[2] The Hittite and northern Syrian chariots were probably larger than the Egyptian ones because they were designed to carry three persons: a driver, a warrior, and someone protecting the warrior.[3] The floor was made of a mesh of rawhide tongs laced through the floor frame and rear floor bar.[4] The superstructure of the chariot – designed to reach hip height at maximum – was formed by a framework of bent rails, supported in front by a centered vertical post, curving down to reach the rear at the back, where it was anchored in the rear floor bar.[5] On some Egyptian chariots, the top railing was entirely horizontal and was morticed into an upright post at each rear corner,[6] resulting in a rectangular box when seen in profile.[7] The sides of this type were either open, filled or fenestrated, and the filling

[2] LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: 76. In Egypt, the crew consisted of a driver and a soldier, who was armed with bow, arrows, javelins, a shield, and probably a sword (FAULKNER 1953: 43).

[3] Documents mention pairs of horses in Ugarit, Alalakh, and elsewhere, but describe a crew of 3 persons as in the Hittite Empire (ARNAUD 1999: 299; VITA 1995: 74).

[4] LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: 76.

[5] LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: 77.

[6] LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: 77.

[7] In the representations of the Battle of Kadesh, chariots of the Hittites have both rounded and rectangular profiles.

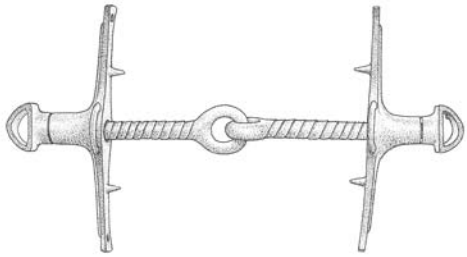


Fig. 3 Bronze bit from el-Amarna (after LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: fig. 49; courtsey of Joost Crouwel)

material was sometimes highly decorated.[8] Chariots were mostly made out of wood,[9] and leather was used to attach the different pieces and also used for the floor. Ivory, alabaster, gold, and other precious materials were sometimes used for decoration, inlays or particular pieces such as bosses.

The axle – about 2 m wide and from 0.04 to 0.052 m diameter – provided the bases for the four or six-spoked wheels,[10] that were fixed near the axle ends by linchpins of metal, wood or boiled leather (Fig. 6).[11] The axel was located in a rear or near rear position.[12] In the Aegean, Crouwel differentiated several types of chariots, but all of them had a D-shaped plan and were wide enough for two persons to stand abreast, as exemplified in terracotta models.[13] The simplest one is the "box chariot", which appears rectangular when seen in profile and whose framework would have been closed by a combination of leather and thin sheet wood.[14] The "dual chariot",[15] which developed out of the box chariot, had curved side extensions or "wings" added to the rear[16] and a triangular spur[17] extending under the wings.[18] The "quadrant chariot" has a round pro-

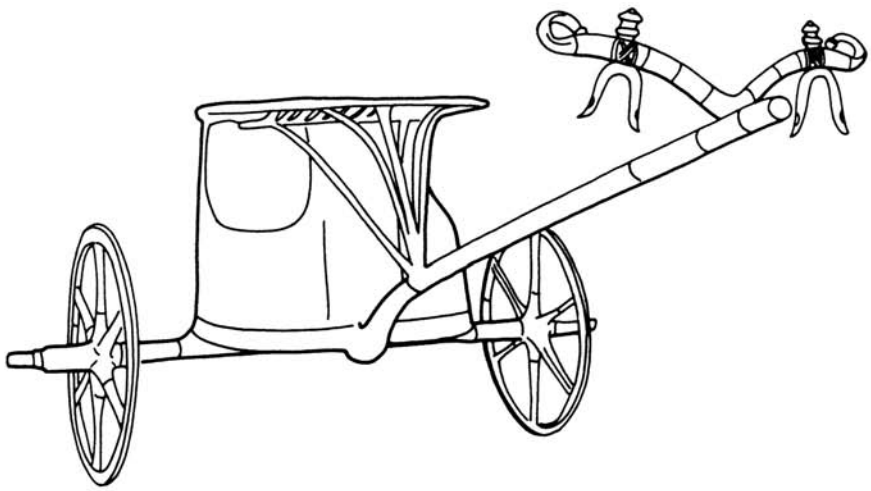


Fig. 4 Reconstruction of a chariot from the tomb of Tutankhamun (after CAUBET & YON 2001: 77, fig. 2, drawing C. Florimont; courtesy of Annie Caubet & Marguerite Yon)

[8] LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: 77; and see for instance the chariots of Tutankhamun, below.

[9] Wood type was carefully chosen for each chariot part. In some regions such as Alalakh, Nuzi or Mycenae, texts list different wood types, maybe attesting to the value of this product, whereas we have no such references in Ugarit, despite all the textual sources, see VITA 2008: 60.

[10] Four-spoked wheels were probably more frequent in the Aegean, while the six-spoked wheels were more common in Egypt and the Near East, see CROUWEL 1981: 81; LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: 78–79.

[11] LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: 78.

[12] See LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: 78 for the different positions per period.

[13] CROUWEL 1981: 64.

[14] CROUWEL 1981: 60.

[15] See CROUWEL 1981: 63–70. This type is a pure Aegean creation, showing a high degree of standardization.

[16] CROUWEL 1981: 63. In the Mycenaean chariot ceramics, the wings are often filled with dots or other purely decorative motives, see for instance V 129, V 137, or V 138 (CROUWEL 1981: 66). The wings' function is not certain, but they were probably used as mudguards (LITTAUER 1972: 156) and not as racks or protection against fired weapons (CROUWEL 1981: 67).

[17] Cf. below.

[18] This feature is visible on a number of pictorial vase paintings and also on mural paintings and linear B ideograms from Knossos, cf. CROUWEL 1981: 65.

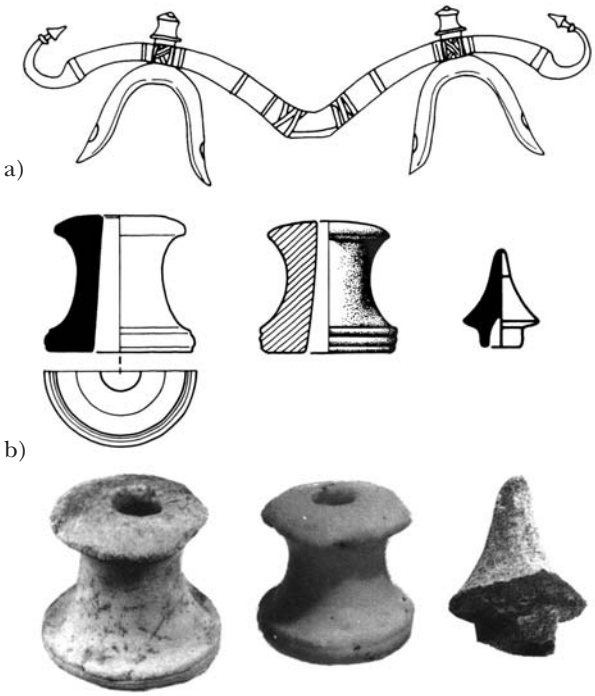


Fig. 5 Yoke and Fittings a) Yoke and fittings, reconstruction from Tutankhamun (after CAUBET & YON 2001: 77, fig. 3, drawing C. Florimont; courtesy of Annie Caubet & Marguerite Yon); b) bosses and finials RS 79.272, RS 81.615 and RS 83.5226 from Ugarit (after CAUBET 1991: 266; courtesy of Annie Caubet and of the Mission of Ras Shamra)

file and can be compared to the Egyptian and Near Eastern ones. The last type of chariot identified by Crouwel is the "rail chariot" [19] that appeared at the end of the period (13th–12th BC), in the later developments of pictorial vase paintings. This chariot is completely open-walled, with a rail, and does not possess wings at the rear.

The draft pole ran under the center of the floor but was only in contact with it at its extremities,[20] except in the Aegean, where chariots had to be adapted to local geographical conditions through the addition of a "reinforcing triangle" visible on terracotta models of dual chariots.[21] This triangle was designed to consolidate a weak point of the vehicle: the place where the pole leaves the chariot's underside.[22] Because of the difference in rigidity, when rolling, the continuous up and down movement of the box could have snapped the pole. The Egyptians added a thong of leather to stiffen the connection between the chariot box and the pole,[23] but the Aegean chariot makers added an L-shaped element ("brace") connecting the pole and the horizontal stay-piece (connecting the chariot front and the yoke).

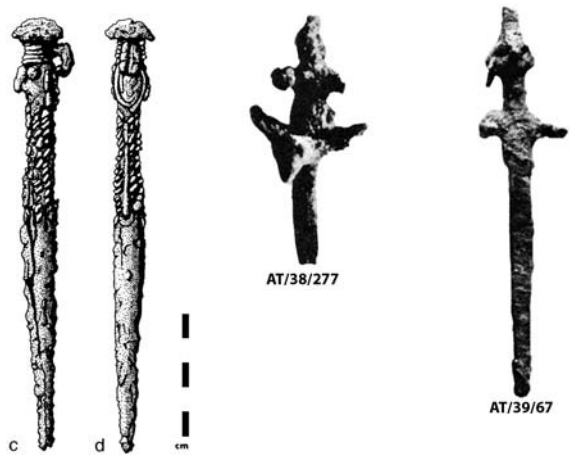


Fig. 6 Linchpins from Ashkelon and Alalakh (after STAGER 2006, fig. 2, courtesy of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon and WOOLLEY 1955, 276, pl. LXX, courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of London)

The pair of horses was attached to the chariot by a pole through a yoke. The yoke was set near the end of the pole and was anchored either with lashings or by a vertical yoke peg.[24] The yoke itself had a depressed center and recurved extremities[25] ending in conic finials made out of stone or ivory. The saddle yoke had the form of an inverted Y to fit the horse's back. The "legs" lay along the horse's shoulders, while the "stems" were lashed at the front of each yoke arm and terminated in a reel-shaped finial (or boss) also made of stone or ivory (Fig. 5).[26] In archaeological contexts, the identification of the bosses and finials of chariots is based on parallels with actual pieces found on the Tutankhamun chariots[27] and on New Kingdom Egyptian reliefs at el-Amarna and Thebes.[28] Although this identification is highly probable, the use of these

[19] See CROUWEL 1981: 70–74; CROUWEL 2006b.
[20] LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: 76 and 80.
[21] When compared to Near Eastern examples.
[22] ÅKERSTRÖM 1987: 123.
[23] ÅKERSTRÖM 1987: 123.
[24] LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: 85.
[25] LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: 84.
[26] LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: 85.
[27] See for instance, JAMES 1974: 32–33; JAMES & MCGOVERN 1993: vol. 1, 186; CAUBET & YON 2001.
[28] Especially the tomb of Pentu at el-Amarna, JAMES 1974: 38; JAMES & MCGOVERN 1993: vol. 1, 186; see also below in part 3.

knobs and finials on daggers, scepters, or as handles cannot be completely excluded.[29]

Horses were controlled by a bridle composed of reins, a headstall, and a bit and its cheeckpieces. Archaeological examples of bits are made of bronze (Fig. 3), but we assume that organic mouthpieces existed at least in Anatolia where antler or bone cheeckpieces were found.[30] In the Mycenaean vases, reins are well represented and are sometimes "decorated" by arches or pennons, attached to their undersides. Åkerström interprets them as arched structural pieces used to reinforce the triangle.[31]

1. Ugarit

The review of the archaeological finds begins with the northern Syrian kingdom of Ugarit. This region is well associated with horses and thus chariotry as exemplified by the numerous archives and archaeological material found across the tell. The city of Ugarit is exceptional and shows particularly convincing evidence of accumulation of horse related material in some houses, especially the recently excavated Urtenu house in the southern part of the city (Fig. 7). Its finds are reviewed in detail before analyzing the rest of the city and the kingdom in general.

Urtenu's House

The Urtenu house revealed an exceptional assemblage of texts dealing with chariots and the upkeep of horses. These texts are echoed by the presence of archaeological finds, namely two equid teeth fragments and six yoke saddle finials, one of them located near a stone water trough.[32] This attests that horses and chariots were present and taken care of in the house.

Urtenu's house played a fundamental role in the economy of the kingdom and was probably an administrative center in charge of many aspects of the economy, as is evidenced in the large number of letters addressed to the king, which were discovered along with several international commercial texts found within it. Amongst the duties or responsibilities of this house was the management of donkeys and horses, whether at a local level through the distribution of grain rations,[33] or at an international level through an active interregional and international horse trade.[34] A batch of texts discusses grain distribution[35] for the king's horses, the queen's horses,[36] the king's donkey, and the gods' horses;[37] and according to the attribution of the food rations, it appears that the king owned sixteen or twelve times more horses than the queen.[38] The gods' horses received grain rations and thus must have been living horses, and were probably used to pull the god's chariot during processions[39] or ceremonies, but no textual evidence exists to suggest their use for transportation,[40] hunting or war.[41]

Horses were thus owned by the king, the queen and temples, and were cared for by the palace administration. In the meantime, they were under the care of individuals who received grain rations and most likely stabled the horses. No titles are given for the men named in these

[29] See for instance James 1978: 106; Huot 1996; Matoïan 2008. And in archaeological contexts such knobs were mostly found in odd numbers, which suggests more a use as a handle rather than as chariot fittings; see for instance below, the section on Ugarit, where in most cases one piece per house was found, except in Urtenu's house.

[30] Littauer & Crouwel 1979: 86–90.

[31] The "arcades" are visible on the chariot tablets from Knossos (n°883, 880 and 881), but also on the megaron fresco at Mycenae, cf. Åkerström 1978: 36–37; Akerström 1987: 124.

[32] Caubet & Yon 2001: 70.

[33] Malbran-Labat & Roche 2008.

[34] Cf, for instance, RS 34.140, RS. 34.153, RS 34.161, etc.

[35] Malbran-Labat & Roche 2008: 217.

[36] In the formulae, horses, when associated with an owner, are the king's horses or the queen's horses.

[37] We also have to note here that RS 86.12235 mentions the horses of Rashap and the horses of Milku-ʿAtjtarti (Bordreuil & Pardee 2001: 354–356, n°39) and this can be paralleled by Egyptian representations of the same Levantines deities – Reshep and Astarte – riding horses, cf. notes 162, 314.

[38] Malbran-Labat & Roche 2008: 227.

[39] Malbran-Labat & Roche 2008: 228. Moreover, a text from Mari shows that horses and chariots took part in the religious procession of the Akitum festival in Assyria (Sasson 1969: 32; Dalley 1984: 161–162).

[40] The association of horses with chariots can be seen in texts such as the Amarna letters in which horses are sent along with chariots.

[41] Though hunting and war are attested by iconography, see for instance the gold dish RS 5.031. Its description and a discussion are addressed below by M. Feldman in part 3.

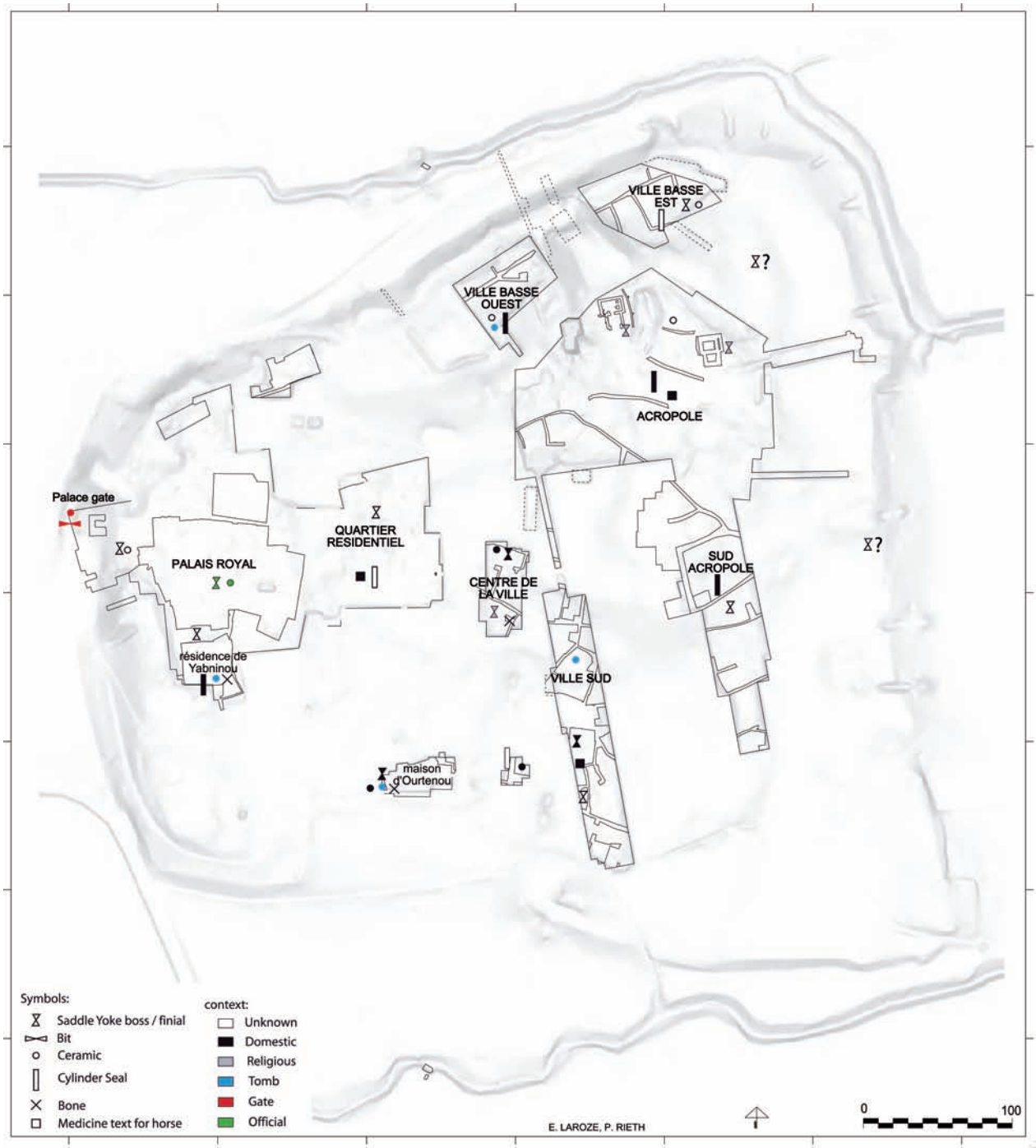


Fig. 7 Distribution of chariot related artifacts on the tell of Ras Shamra-Ugarit
(plan of the tell E. Laroze and P. Rieth; courtesy of Marguerite Yon and of the Mission de Ras Shamra)

lists; as is often the case in Ugarit; however, by cross-referencing the names with profession lists, it can be deduced that most of them were *mariyannu*.[42] This well documented social class in Ugarit and northern Syria was "characteristic" of Mitannian Kingdoms.[43] *Mariyannu* were closely

[42] Malbran-Labat & Roche 2008: 236.

[43] According to Beal, the term appears only in Mitannian, Mittannian tributary states, or former Mittannian tributary states (Beal 1992: 182). However, this designation is also attested in Lachish and Ashkelon for instance; Reviv (1972: 218). Helck also recorded Egyptian attestations of this title ("ma-ra-ya-na") in Levantine cities such as Kadesh, Megiddo, Joppe, etc. (for the detailed

tied to the kingship[44] and had the privilege of stabling horses and chariots. According to Beal, they were a chartered class, just below the nobility in prestige,[45] and in Alalakh, if they did not include royalty, they were next to it in status.[46] In Ugarit, this hereditary class[47] appears first in lists of professions, and in one tablet[48] this group is the most numerous one and received the largest amount of silver.[49] *Mariyannu* did not always take care of chariots and did not necessarily serve in the chariotry.[50] In addition, this group was not the only one performing chariotry-duty within northern Syrian society.[51] They did not own the horses and the chariots they used; texts from Ugarit describing horses and chariot equipment kept in royal stores[52] show that the latest were supplied by the palace,[53] while texts from Alalakh IV clearly show that horses, chariots, and weapons were distributed by the administration.[54]

Other textual evidence

It may be considered that horses held a special significance for the Ugaritians because they appear in two myths or legends: in the *Kirta legend*, they are listed with chariots among the precious objects,[55] while in the myth of *Hôranu and the snake*, a stallion's mother is looking for a snake bite remedy for her foal.[56] As seen in the Urtenu house, horses were valuable and their maintenance was a privilege. This impression is reinforced by four texts dealing exclusively with equid medicine.[57] These different versions of the same treatise were found in different parts of the town: one in Rashapabu's house, two in the south-west area of the Library of the High Priest and one in the "ilôt X"[58] (Fig. 7). The texts were fragmentary but show a concern for the health of the horses, indicating their value. These treaties present the classic structure "if + *description of the horse symptoms*, then + *description of the remedy*." They probably present an overview of the most frequent symptoms of the horses, and most of the prescriptions had to be administrated through the horse's nose.

The horse trade flourished in Ugarit and probably extended as far as Mari[59] and the Euphrates,[60] while other texts attest to trade with Karkemish[61]

list, see Helck 1962: 523–524). *Mariyannu* typically appear high on lists of captured enemies. In the Anastasi papyrus I, 18, 4, the word is closely associated with and maybe even equal to *mahir* (Hoch 1994: 136). Hoch translates *mariyannu* as "knight" and *mahir* as "military officier" (see Hoch 1994: n°175 and 190). But we can wonder whether this title, when used in the southern Levant and Egypt, designated a real social class or was used to characterize high ranking military persons to which chariot warriors belonged. Some charioteers were also designated by the term *kartappu*, which appears in Hatti, Emar and in the Amarna Letters (Beal 1992: 152–162; Vita 1995: 124; Vita 2002: 126).
For a good overview of *mariyannu* and their mentions in texts, see Beal 1992: 178–184; and for the Alalakh tablets see Dassow 2008.

44 We even have a text, RS 16.239, quoting the title *mariyannu sharri* "royal mariyannu". In Ugarit, the king could grant someone the rank of *mariyannu* (see Reviv 1972: n. 42 and 41 for references). In Alalakh IV, entry into the *mariyannu* class was subject to regulation by the king himself (Dassow 2008: 282).

45 Beal 1992: 182.

46 Dassow 2008: 282.

47 Schloen 2001: 214–215. Indeed, the designation as *mariyannu* refers more to a social group, a status or class than to a type of warrior or soldier (see Reviv 1972; Vita 1995: 93–109; Watson & Wyatt 1999: 464–465).

48 KTU 4.69.

49 Schloen 2001: 215.

50 Dassow 2008: 302. Dassow refutes Reviv's hypothesis that *mariyannu* in charge of chariots were of lower status than the others. After a certain time, *mariyannu* could have outgrown their link with chariotry (Reviv 1972: 222; see also Lackenbacher 2002: 235–236, n. 802; Dassow 2008: 300–304).

51 Watson & Wyatt 1999: 465; see also Dassow 2008: 268–314.

52 See for instance KTU 4.169.

53 Heltzer 1982: 114; they were dependant upon the royal stores and workshop, and the palace also provided them with spears, chariots, and horses. For horses' food rations given by the palace and general administration see Malbran-Labat & Roche 2008.

54 Dassow 2008: 300–314; and see for instance texts AIT 329, 330, 426, 428, 429.

55 The text mentions "three horses and a chariot in the courtyard" as part of a list of precious objects appearing several times in the text (Pardee 2000: 230; RS 2.[003] + (CTA14) ii 55–56, iii 28–29, 140–141, v 252–254, vi 271–273, 285–286).

56 Malbran-Labat & Roche forthc.

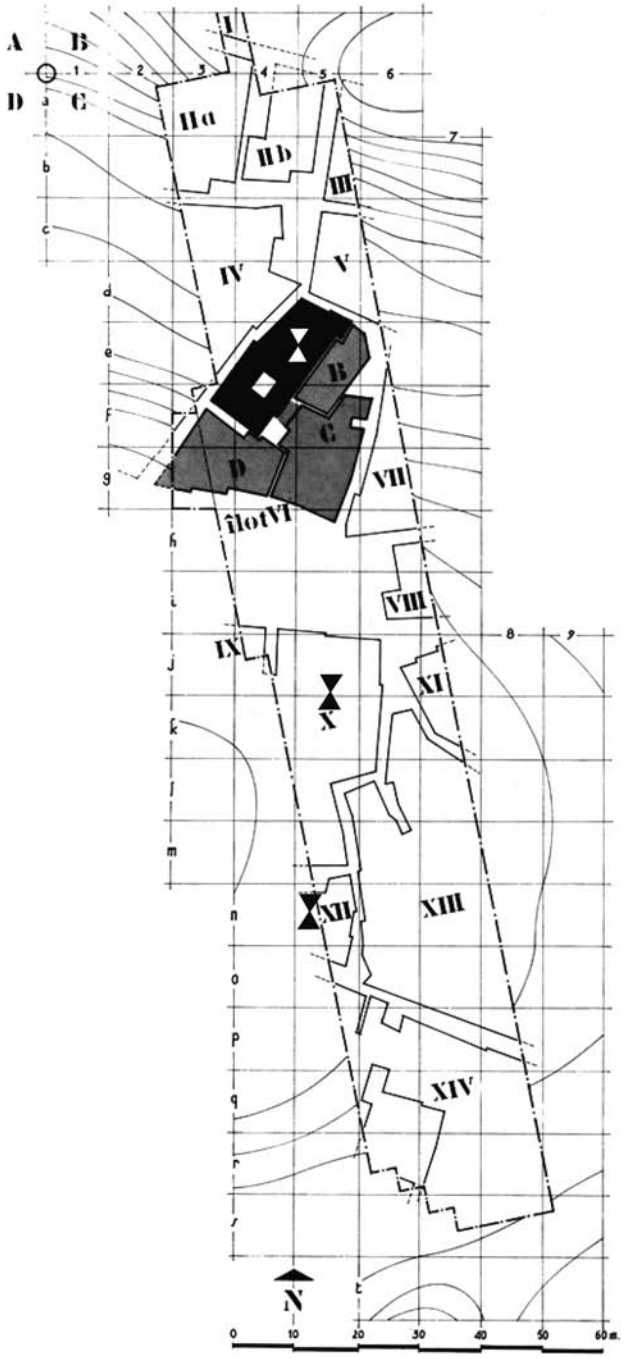
57 RS 17.120, RS 5.300, RS 5.285 + 5.301, RS 23.484; see Pardee 1985. One text is entitled "document for the wellness of horses" (Pardee 2002: 226).

58 Pardee 1985: 21–35.

59 RS 34.142 (Lackenbacher 1991: 101–104: n° 47).

60 For more details, see Malbran-Labat & Roche forthc.

61 RS 16.180 (Nougayrol 1955: 41); RS 17.144; RS 17.148. This trade is regular as one prince of Karkemish states: "envoie-moi les charges de mission de mon frère […]; qu'ils continuent à venir me voir afin que je livre régulièrement de bons chevaux à mon frère." (Malbran-Labat & Roche forthc.).



and Hatti[62] as well as with Alashiya/Cyprus.[63] The price of horses likely depended upon the horse's breed, age, size, etc.,[64] which explains the variation from 70 to 200 shekels of silver.[65] Horse sales were often high-quality deals that were delivered to the king or high officials of the kingdom. The price of the chariot itself is unknown in Ugarit, but Pardee estimates that it might have cost more than a horse,[66] but we can also think that it was "priceless" if it could only be provided by the palace.[67]

Horses and chariots are mentioned only once in a legal document[68] – a will – from 'Abdu *mariyannu* of the King, who gives to one of his sons, Kalbu, his stables. While taking care of his stables, Kalbu will still have to refer to the authority of the overseer of the chariots. It is thus probable that these stables were royal ones, but it is also possible that in the meantime 'Abdu had the privilege of breeding horses for his own benefit;[69] "Il se peut donc qu'un éleveur de chevaux ait été tenu de répondre aux demandes du responsable des chars du royaume; à moins qu'il ne faille voir dans cette activité une fonction relevant du pouvoir royal".[70]

Other archaeological evidence

Several examples of chariot-fitting objects have been excavated in Ugarit. A total of 35 chariot fittings (yoke saddle bosses and/or finials) were found in the city. In the palace, two finials and three yoke saddle bosses were discovered by Schaeffer.[71] The first finial is made of agate and was found in 1952 but lacks a precise findspot,[72] the second one in alabaster has an unusual rounded top and was found south of locus 68.[73]

Fig. 8 Detail of the Tranchée Ville Sud, Ras Shamra-Ugarit, showing location of saddle yoke bosses/finials (plan after CALLOT 1983: 3; courtesy of Olivier Callot and of the Mission de Ras Shamra)

[62] RS 34.140 and RS 34.155 (MALBRAN-LABAT 1991: 36–37: n°11, 53–54: n°21).

[63] RS 34.153 (ARNAUD 1991: 75: n° 35). In this letter, Urtenu is taking care of the horses' delivery.

[64] As in modern times, see PARDEE 2002: 224.

[65] HELTZER 1978: 21–22; in RS 16.180, a horse coming from Karkemish costs 200 shekels.

[66] PARDEE 2002: 225. This estimation is based on 1 King 10:29 where a chariot was four times more expensive than a horse.

[67] Cf. KTU 4.169 where chariots are kept in royal stores.

[68] RS 16.239 (NOUGAYROL 1955: 79–80; LACKENBACHER 2002: 303–304).

[69] NOUGAYROL 1955: 80: n°1; MALBRAN-LABAT & ROCHE forthc.

[70] MALBRAN-LABAT & ROCHE forthc.

[71] Another yoke saddle boss discovered by Kuschke in courtyard III is mentioned by CAUBET & YON (2001), but Matoïan thinks it is a vase stand (MATOÏAN 2008: 201 n. 56).

[72] RS 16.34, "point topographique" 227 at a depth of 1.90 meter; this point does not appear on the *Ugaritica* V plan (NOUGAYROL *et al.* 1968; see MATOÏAN 2008: 201).

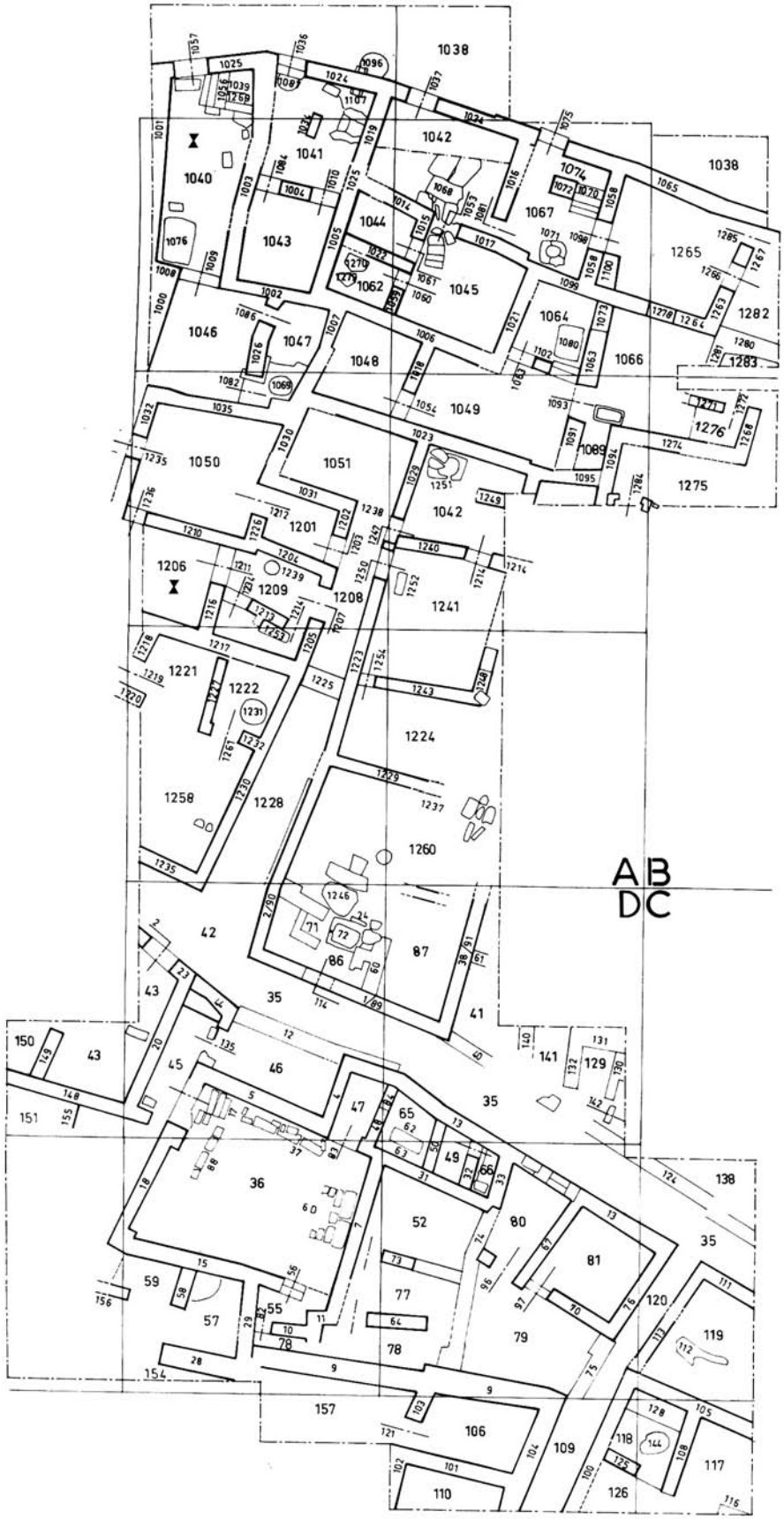


Fig. 9 Detail of the Centre de la Ville, Ras Shamra-Ugarit, showing location of saddle yoke bosses/finials (after Yon 1987; courtesy of Marguerite Yon, and of the Mission de Ras Shamra)

The yoke saddle bosses were also discovered in different loci: RS 15.294 in locus 52, RS 16.124 in locus 64 and RS 20.243 in locus 153 (the pool in ex-courtyard V).[74] These five objects can be correlated with two bronze bits and a fragmentary blinker from the postern area. Four yoke saddle bosses/finials were recently uncovered in the "Centre de la ville" (Fig. 9). One is from a pit[75] and could originate from looting of the area, while finial RS 83.5226 was found in D1a/3 UF 586, east of the "Temple aux rhytons", but it does not present the typical perforation through its bottom.[76] The two others came from different houses, "maison A" and "maison E". The "maison A" yoke saddle boss was found in room 1040, an entryway with a staircase where domestic activities took place. This room was suddenly abandoned and looted, as broken objects show.[77] In "maison E", the yoke saddle boss came from courtyard 1206, where storage ceramics and domestic activities are documented. In the "Tranchée Ville Sud", three bosses/finials were found (Fig. 8). The first one, finial RS 23.597, was found in House A of the ilôt VI.[78] The second one, yoke saddle boss RS 23.606, was excavated in a small building south of ilôt X, at the corner of streets X/XIII and X/XII. This place could have been an independent room used to store chariots.[79] The third one, finial RS 23.622, was found in locus 14, a service room surrounding the courtyard, of "maison B" located in the ilôt X.[80] Schaeffer's excavations also revealed several yoke saddle boss and finials whose contexts are unclear; however, two yoke finials came from the "Quartier Résidentiel", six chariot fittings from the "Sud Acropole",[81] and three from the "Ville Sud". Two came from the Acropolis: one from the Dagan temple, and the other from the acropolis or the eastern slope of the tell.[82] One was discovered in the "Ville Basse Est" and one in the north-western area of the tell, on a "butte".[83] The locations of these chariot fittings do not indicate any privileged area,[84] because they are widely distributed across the tell. When context is known, it is domestic. Thus, it has been suggested that the *mariyannu* stored their chariots in their houses. Due to the narrowness of most city streets[85] we suppose that these vehicles were disassembled shortly after entering Ugarit and were thus stored in pieces.[86]

Only a few horse bones have been found in the excavations. Sheep and cattle bones, derived from food waste were more numerous, whereas horses were not eaten[87] nor sacrificed and their bones are therefore less common. Equid bones represent 3.68%[88] of the fauna remains. They were fragmented, but most belonged to donkeys, and out of the 164 equid bones, only 20 can be, for sure, attributed to horses. These bones were found in Yabninu's house-Palais sud (13 specimens), in Chantier A and nord (5 specimens), Chantier KM (1 specimen), and chantier CD (1 specimen).

Summary

In Ugarit, the context of chariot fittings includes domestic, religious, and royal. The chariot fittings are, for three of them, possibly associated with temples or a religious context: RS 14.78 and RS 22.322 were found on the acropolis, apparently close to the Dagan temple and on the slope near the Baal temple where most of the material

[73] RS 17,296, "point topographique" 1236 (Matoïan 2008: 202).

[74] See Matoïan 2008: 203.

[75] "Fosse 1237"; RS 81.3172 (Caubet 1991).

[76] Matoïan 2008: 202.

[77] Yon, Lombard & Renisio 1987: 39.

[78] Callot 1983.

[79] Perhaps a kind of parking area; Callot 1994: 105.

[80] Callot 1994: 105.

[81] According to Matoïan, RS 26.222 is not a finial (Matoïan 2008: 202, fig. 7).

[82] Where the Baal soil filling was thrown during the Turkish excavations in the beginning of the 20th century (see Yon 1997: 118).

[83] See catalogue of chariot parts for more attestations.

[84] Caubet 1991.

[85] The street's average width is 1 to 2 meters, while the larger streets such as the "rue du palais" or "grand-rue" can reach 4 meters, but are rather uncommon. See Matoïan & Sauvage 2007: 47.

[86] Callot 1994: 104–105; Del Olmo 1984: 198; Vita 2008: 61. Moreover, texts also attest to storage in pieces. For instance, RS.15.034 records the arrival of eight chariots in the palace and registers all together according to their different parts: wheels, boxes, etc. (for more details, see Vita 2008: 61; Del Olmo & Sanmartin 2003: 90).

[87] No butchery cut marks were found (Yon 2004: 75).

[88] 164 out of 4727 coming from recent excavations (private communication E. Villa).

from the Baal temple was thrown out in the beginning of the 20th c. during the Turkish excavations;[89] RS 83.5226 was found near the Rhyta temple. According to texts,[90] it is not surprising to find chariot fittings in temples; they were surely used for processions and stored with cultural material but were apparently not votive offerings.[91]

Fittings were widely distributed across Ugarit, showing the homogenous repartition and mixing of social classes within the town. Sadly, the domestic context of these finds is too imprecise to say in which room or type of room chariot pieces were kept. Were they in storage in the back of the house, or in a courtyard, like RS 23.622 in the "Tranchée Ville Sud" and RS 81.616 in "Centre de la Ville"? Were they displayed as a status marker in the public part of the house, near the main entrance, like RS 79.272?

The texts suggest strong connections with the palace and the management-administration of the kingdom. Horses were probably one of the prime materials of the wealth of the kingdom[92] and thus subject to care and concern from the central authorities. The king was deeply involved in horses' trade and the distribution of feeding rations; the mention of the stable of the royal *mariyannu* ties horse breeding with royal activities.

2. Mitanni

Mitanni was a region of horse breeding and charioteers:[93] *mariyannu*.[94] For example, a treatise in the Hittite archives on horse training by Kikkuli the Mitannian indicated that the region was renowned for its horse science and expertise in horse training.[95] Although archaeological and textual evidence from the area is less numerous than one might expect,[96] we still find evidence of the *mariyannu* social class, horse rations, and related horse material.

Diplomatic letters show that the Mitannian kingdom had an efficient chariotry, capable of defeating the Hittite one. The Mitannians exported both their horse knowledge[97] and horses to Egypt,[98] Hatti and other places as well, while horsebreeders were supplying local Mitannian palaces.[99] Texts found within the Mitannian lands augment the Kikkuli text by detailing the Mitannian science of horse breeding and horse medicine. The Nuzi tablets name several breeds perhaps corresponding to horse colors, such as the Akanu, bred locally.[100] Nuzi texts from the palace and large private houses dealing with horses as well as warriors' weapons and equipment demonstrate that war was a royal and elite concern.[101] Indeed, a tablet mentions as many as 170 horses from Hanigalbat and other texts quote barley rations delivered for Mitannian chariots.[102] The Nuzi palace delivered chariots to persons from Hanigalbat to sustain Mitannian military forces.[103] The chariot warriors (*râkib narkabti*)[104] were mentioned in text lists, and this function could be transmitted from a father to his son(s).[105] The Mitannians clearly differentiated wild animals or animals not yet broken for riding from trained animals. Young animals (yearlings) were delivered for *mariyannu* duties[106] (= train-

[89] Yon 1997: 118.

[90] Cf. RS 86.12235 (Bordreuil & Pardee 2001: 354–356: n°39; see also Vita 1995: 39–40).

[91] One might expect more examples of the same kind (as for the stone anchors) before talking about votive offering, especially when texts mention the chariots and horses of the god.

[92] A large number of horses should have been available: in RS 16.142+, the king asks for 2000 horses for a breeder, showing that at least this many horses were available (Malbran-Labat & Roche forthc.).

[93] For instance, Alalakh tablet 183 records 80 charioteers amongst a group of 1436 warriors and 76 charioteers out of another group of 1006 warriors.

[94] The Egyptian associated *mariyannu* with the Mitannians, and Amenhotep II mentions capturing six of them with their chariots (Beal 1992: 180).

[95] This text will be discussed along with the Anatolian finds below.

[96] In part because we don't have the capital of Washukanni.

[97] See for instance, the Kikkuli tablets (Kammenhuber 1961: 43–147).

[98] EA 16, EA 22 for the wedding of the Pharaoh with Taduhepa.

[99] Twenty horses were supplied to the palace of Nuzi by a horsebreeder (Kendall 1975: 288).

[100] Hyland 2003: 72.

[101] Lion 2008.

[102] Lion 2008: 72.

[103] Lion 2008: 72.

[104] See Dosch 1993.

[105] Lion 2008: 74.

[106] Wiseman 1953: 94–95: n°329; Hyland 2003: 63.

ing?), and vermifuge[107] is recorded amongst the horse ration tablets. A direct link existed between the king and the *mariyannu*, who were nominated by the king and to whom the administration furnished chariots and horses[108] as the horse distribution or "repartition" tablets also demonstrate.[109] There were other charioteers in Alalakh who were not *mariyannu*[110] but who were directly overseen by the king. In Alalakh and Ugarit, craftsmen building chariots were dependant on the central administration of their kingdom, but did not work exclusively on chariots.[111]

The archaeological evidence is scattered, and one type of material per site is the rule except at Alalakh and Nuzi. Two fragmentary bronze pegs[112] that I identify as linchpins were discovered by Woolley in the neighborhood of the town gate (Fig. 6). The extremity of these pins – comparable to one found at Ashkelon[113] – bear the representations of the fore body of Levantine-type gods. One, nearly complete at 12 cm high, AT/39/67, is the figure of a god with a high pointed crown and one copper wire earring. The divinity's left arm is extended while his right arm bends forward across his body. The second linchpin is badly preserved – only the top 7 cm remains – and depicts a god with his arms extended and wearing a high pointed cap, while standing on the back of a flying bird. Woolley also discovered bosses coming from MB I to LB II contexts.[114] AT/39/18 came from the leveling of the terrace of the Yarim-Lim palace in level VI-V; AT/39/27 came from outside the town wall;[115] while AT 39/14 and AT 39/264 came from domestic contexts in levels III and II.[116] At Tell Brak,[117] three white frit chariot finials were found in the Mitannian levels (14th c. BC), two of them in the northwestern room of the shrine, indicating possible storage, and one in the adjacent palace. In Nuzi, Starr discovered several[118] bosses and finials in LB IB private houses.[119] The two large bronze plaques discovered by Starr in the house of Prince Shilwa-Teshshup probably correspond to a protection for war chariot horses.[120]

Summary

In this region of horse breeding and chariot-warriors, texts show an association between the royal power and the distribution of horses. Chariot elements came from contexts already seen in Ugarit: the town's gate and houses in Alalakh and a possible temple storage room and the palace in Tell Brak or private houses in Nuzi. This confirms once again that chariots belonged to and were used by temples for processions, while of course actual chariots were circulating in and around the towns.

3. Hatti

The Hittites were well renowned for their army and especially for their chariotry forces as textual and iconographic evidence from Egypt testifies. However, only a few chariot attestations and even fewer texts related to horses come from this area.

According to Egyptian representations of the Battle of Kadesh, Hittite chariots differ little from the Egyptian ones, but while Egyptian chariots carried two men – driver and fighter – the Hittites had crews of three composed of one driver, one fighter, and one man devoted to the defense of the crew.[121] This special adaptation surely led to a

[107] Black cumin was probably used as vermifuge (Hyland 2003: 62). For Alalakh tablets 256 and 260, see Wiseman 1953: 84–85.

[108] Horses probably belonged to the royalty as exemplified by the texts: "Horses belonging to the king's palace and city quarters" (Wiseman 1953: 94–95: n°329; Hyland 2003: 63).

[109] Dassow 2008: 305–310.

[110] AT 189, 11–13 (see Reviv 1972: 222, esp. ns 32–38).

[111] Dassow 2008: 308–310; Vita 2008: 59.

[112] AT/39/76 and AT/38/277 (see Woolley 1955: 276, pl. LXX).

[113] Stager 2006: fig. 2.

[114] Woolley 1955: 296, pl. 82.27–29; James & McGovern 1993: 186.

[115] Woolley 1955: 296, pl. 82.28 = AT/39/27, alabaster, level III in Sq. G7.

[116] Woolley 1955: 296, pl. 82.29 = AT 39/14, alabaster, level III, above the level IV stratum in Sq N10. A similar piece AT 39/264 was found in Sq. K14 below level II stratum (in house 39/c), cf. Woolley 1955: 198–191.

[117] Oates 1987: 190, pl. XXXIX; Oates *et al.* 1997: 244–245, figs. 128, 222; Caubet & Yon 2001: 72.

[118] They "were found in relative abundance" (Starr 1939: 468).

[119] Starr 1939: 468; Starr 1937: pl. 121.K, Q, V and W.

[120] Starr 1937: pl. 126.L; Lion 2008: 75.

[121] This crew of three people would have been an advantage in close fighting (Gurney 1990 [1952]: 87).

certain superiority in chariot-warfare against their enemies.[122] According to Goetze,[123] the introduction of chariotry to battle created a new professional class, likely belonging to the society and military elite,[124] fighting around the king and supported by the state.[125]

To be ready for battle, both men and horses had to endure a constant[126] rigorous training program, as exemplified by four tablets and a small fragment of a fifth one found in the Boghazköy archives and known as the Kikkuli text.[127] This text is the most complete one, but at least three other training texts existed and are listed and studied by Kammenhuber.[128] The Kikkuli manual – close to a 184 day training schedule – provides instruction on how to train and acclimatize chariot horses, and it also includes advice on diet.[129] Because of the Mitannian origin of the author, Gurney thinks that Hittites were not familiar with the science of horse training,[130] unless they aimed to improve the training techniques by using the experience of the Mitannians.[131] However, the 18th c. BC Anitta Text might indicate that horse-training manuals existed before Kikkuli.[132] It is also possible that the horse-text genre was well-known in the Late Bronze Age and widely distributed amongst the Near Eastern powers, as it is echoed in Middle Assyrian texts.[133] The presence of this text could correspond to the will of the Hittite rulers to increase their efficiency in horse care and training, and certainly demonstrates their concern for the health of the horses.

Indeed, the importation, breeding, and training of horses was a costly and time-consuming exercise;[134] and, as indicated by international letters, horses were a royal concern and renewing the "local stock" was a constant preoccupation: Hattusili III requests a 'horse gift' from the Babylonian king Kadashman-Enlil.[135] Horses were also probably imported from Mitanni and Egypt,[136] while military booty was a reliable way to acquire horses[137] and chariots.[138] They could have been locally bred in Anatolia[139] and especially in Cilicia[140] and Cappadoccia.[141] Horses were possibly pastured or stabled in various parts of the kingdom to be mustered when needed.[142] And Hittite allies were also supposed to provide horses and

[122] Macqueen 1986: 58.

[123] Goetze 1964: 29.

[124] Beal 1992: 158–162, 173–178, even if all the chariot fighters did not belong to the "elite"; Hyland 2003: 77.

[125] Goetze 1964: 30.

[126] See for instance a letter mentioning the horse fitness maintenance "Let the horses be thoroughly exercised" (Beal 1992: 137).

[127] This text is written in Hittite. For translations and comments see for instance Kammenhuber 1961: 53–147; Güterbock 1964; Starke 1995; Masson 1998; and Raulwing 2005. For detailed discussions about the terms used for walk, trot and gallop in this text, see Güterbock 1964: 270 (with former references) and Nyland 1992; and for the distances the horses might have run during their training, see Güterbock 1964: 271 and Melchert 1980. For the date of the text, see Neu 1986.

[128] Kammenhuber 1961: 148–229 and for a short summary of these texts, see Güterbock 1964: 268.

[129] Bryce 2002: 112.

[130] Gurney 1990 [1952]: 87.

[131] Güterbock 1964: 269.

[132] We do not know anything of horse training before this text, but it doesn't mean that nothing existed (Raulwing 2005).

[133] The texts, dating from the time of Adad Nirari I (1307–1275), Shalmaneser I (1274–1245) and Tukulti-Ninurta (1244–1208), are not copies of the Kikkuli text and some differences in the horse training are evident (Ebeling 1951: 6, 55).

[134] Bryce 2002: 112.

[135] CTH 172 (see Beckman 1996: 132–137).

[136] As it is later attested in 2 Chronicles I.16–17: Solomon imported horses from Egypt and sold them to the kings of the Hittites (probably referring to Neo-Hittite rulers at this date) and to the kings of the Arameans (Arnold 1905; Houlihan 1996: 36–37; 1 *Kings* 10: 28–29).

[137] Horses for war were also sometimes commandeered (Beal 1992: 134–137).

[138] A campaign against Assuwa provided 600 teams (Beal 1992: 146).

[139] In the *Iliad* (V: 268 sq), Anchises secretly bred horses. The epithet *hippodamoi* appears 24 times in the *Iliad* but could have a heroic value rather than being a reference to horse domestication and breeding (Pascale Brillet, personal communication).

[140] In time of war, the king of Kizzuwatna was required to supply military forces to Hatti and to provide 100 chariot teams (Beal 1992: 146). Cilicia also provides horses to Solomon (I *Kings* 10.26) and to the Persians (Herodotus, *Histories*, 3.91).

[141] Togarmah in Tabal exported horses to Tyre (*Ezekiel* 26.14).

[142] Beal 1992: 137.

chariots in war time.[143] Chariots or (models of chariots) were sometimes given as symbolic gifts to a god after a battle.[144]

Through their military uses, horses are well attested in the Hatti. They were also highly prized animals as is evident in their multiple mentions in the Law Code. For instance, stealing a horse cost the thief restitution of fifteen horses of several age categories.[145] Horses were available for hiring[146] or borrowing, and the Code also states the price of horses: 14 shekels for a horse, and 20 (or 30?) for a horse "for harnessing".[147] The prices of stallions, harnessing mares, male donkeys, and female donkeys for harnessing are equivalent but unstated.[148]

In Anatolia, there is an absence of archaeological remains of chariots, harnesses, or horses. The only stable uncovered by this research was recognized at Beycesultan (Level II)[149] and was characterized by built-up mangers, tethering-posts, groom's quarters, thick levels of preserved decayed straw on some floors, and even hoof-marks on the floor.[150] This building lay on the palace hill and was located across the street from a small public building "J" or "Little Palace" and was in the exact center of the settlement.[151]

Remains of chariots come from two sites: Korucutepe, where a yoke saddle boss was found in an abandonment wash;[152] and Lidar Höyük,[153] where a wheel was found along with ibex-horns on the floor of a burnt Late Bronze Age official/religious (?) building.

In the Hittite heartland, remains of asses and stallions[154] measuring 1.5 meters to the withers[155] were found in graves dating from the 18th to 14th century BC in the cemetery of Osmankayasi, which lies outside of the city of Boghazköy along the road leading to Yazılıkaya.[156] These unusual burial practices might reflect the magical and ritual use of horses, symbolizing their high value in Hittite society.[157] It might also reflect offerings of livestock animals[158] made for the king's funeral and supposed to accompany him in his afterlife existence in the meadow,[159] or might instead reflect customs of nomadic-pastoralists, thought to have introduced Indo-European languages (and horses) to Anatolia.[160]

Summary

In Hatti, horses and chariots were highly prized. Their care and training were of military, and thus royal, concern. Only a few archaeological testimonies of their use and care have survived. The rarity of horse attestations or related funerary material is quite striking for an area known for horse breeding and chariotry warfare. Thus, it must be asked: were horses of purely military importance, or did they also carry personal and symbolic significance for the Hittite people?[161] In Anatolia, cultural differences may have existed between regions, and even if the archaeological material is rare, Lidar Höyük probably better resembles the Mitannian tradition.

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[143] Beal 1992: 146, 523: the treaty between Tudhaliya II and Shunashshura of Kitzzuwatna stipulated that Shunashshura send 100 teams of chariotry.

[144] Beal 1992: 147–148.

[145] Neufeld 1951: 19–20: no. 58: "If anyone steals a stallion – if it be a horse half a year old, it is not a stallion; if it be a horse one year old, it is not a stallion; (but) if it be a horse two years old, then it is a stallion —, hitherto they used to give thirty horses, (but) now he shall give fifteen horses: five horses two years old, five horses one year old and five horses half a year old he shall give, and his estate shall be reliable".

[146] Neufeld 1951: n°152, for one shekel per month; and see n°176 if the horse was to die while hired.

[147] Neufeld 1951: 50: n°180–181.

[148] Neufeld 1951: 49; n°178; Gurney 1990 [1952]: 69.

[149] Mid-14th to mid-13th c. BC (Mellaart 1970: 65–67). The site is not located in the Hittite heartland, but could have been included in the Hittite empire at this time after conquest. J. Mellaart thinks that the site was the capital of Arzawa. He suggests that the destruction of Level V (ca. 1750 BC) was due to the Hittite invasion of Arzawa (Lloyd & Mellaart 1956: 123, 125; see also Joukowsky 1996: 211).

[150] Lloyd & Mellaart 1956: 104, 105 fig. 2; Lloyd 1972: 15–17, pl. IX.b for the hoof-marks; Macqueen 1986: 87, fig. 64.

[151] Lloyd & Mellaart 1956: 102; Lloyd 1972: 17.

[152] Van Loon 1980: vol. 2, 28–29.

[153] Hauptmann 2002 [1991].

[154] Herre & Röhrs 1958: 63.

[155] Two skulls and a number of fragments (Melchert 1980: 55; Herre & Röhrs 1958: 64).

[156] Hancar 1955: 460; Herre & Röhrs 1958: 63–73; Macqueen 1986: 123.

[157] Herre & Röhrs 1958: 72–73.

[158] Cattle, sheep, horses, and asses (Bryce 2002: 177).

[159] Masson 1998: 35.

[160] Macqueen 1986: 123.

[161] See related discussion by Feldman in part 3.

4. Egypt

In Egypt, chariots were possibly introduced by the Hyksos[162] and were thus a relatively new technology for the early 18th Dynasty pharaohs. During this period, chariots and horses are frequently mentioned in diplomatic letters, in tribute records or in annals, and are also present among the archaeological material found in tombs. By the 19th Dynasty, chariots are still mentioned in texts (poems, annals, booty lists) but the only archaeological evidence is military in nature.

Thutmose III records a booty of 2,041 mares, 191 fillies, six stallions, some yearlings and a total of 924 chariots[163] in his Annals of the Battle of Megiddo. This important haul, along with tribute from Syria[164] during his reign, was probably the start of Egypt's long equine breeding tradition.[165] Amenhotep II also recorded on the Memphis and Karnak stelae important chariot and horse booty from his campaigns. For instance, he records 820 horses and 730 chariots in his 7th year campaign and 1,092 chariots in his 9th year campaign.[166] A stele found near the Sphinx at Giza describes the crowned prince Amenhotep II enjoying horse training[167] and can be paralleled to the unique representation and explanatory text of his arrow-shooting performance from the fourth pylon at the Karnak temple (Fig. 19).[168] To be efficient, while breaking in horses, the young prince has to "take care of them. Instill fear into them, make them gallop, and handle them if there be resistance to thee".[169] This first documented evidence of forced obedience[170] correlates with the keen interest created by horses and the introduction of chariotry into military forces.[171] It is important to note that in this text the royal stables were established in Memphis, the starting point of Asiatic military expeditions. The training of horses was also a constant preoccupation and an act of pride, as attested by its representation in the 18th Dynasty tomb of Ipuya at Saqqara.[172] Chariot warriors serving the military forces of the Pharaoh generally came from a higher social level.[173] They could have owned lands and were sometimes

[162] There is no real evidence to connect the introduction of the chariot with the Hyksos invasion (Partridge 2002: 60), but it is certain that horses and chariots were introduced from Canaan sometimes in the 17th c. BC (see for instance Meeks 2005: 51–52). The chariot fittings found at Beth Shean indicate an introduction through Canaan (James 1978: 103), as does the Canaanite origin of the Egyptian words for horse "*ssmt*" (Cornelius 1994: 80; Donner 1955; the first attestation of this word appears in the inscription of Ahmes, son of Abana, and dates from Thutmose I, Meeks 2005: 52), stallion "*ibr*" (Hoch 1994: 18–19: no. 3), and chariot "*mrkbt/wrrt*" (Hoch 1994: 145–147: no. 189), and also the Semitic origins for the names of chariots parts, equipment or drivers (Hoch 1994: nos. 9, 15, 109, 145, 168, 173, 175, 190, 197, 306, 354, 361, 371, 506, 538), and the strong association of Levantine gods with horses and chariots (see note 314). Moreover, two equine molars have been found at Tell el-Dabʿa, the capital of the Hyksos, along with a horse burial, suggesting that horses were present there at the beginning of the Hyksos Period around 1640 BC (Houlihan 1996: 33; Von den Driesch & Peters 2001: 310). In Egypt, the oldest skeleton of a stallion comes from the fortress of Buhen in upper Nubia, where it died in a fire and was dated by the excavators to the 13th Dynasty (1675 BC). Its dental remains could show evidence of bit wear (see Clutton-Brock 1974; Clutton-Brock 1992: 80–83. The evidence is not entirely convincing, see Raulwing & Clutton-Brock 2009). However, the remains cannot be dated (see Raulwing & Clutton-Brock 2009) and it has been suggested that it was intrusive (see Houlihan 1996: 33). A skeleton was discovered in the Delta at Tell al-Kibir and was dated to 1750 BC (Houlihan 1996: 33) and another one at Tell Heboua, in a big building, dating from the Hykos period-beginning of the New Kingdom (Chaix 2000). The first mention of a chariot is found on the stele of king Kamose, and it refers to Hyksos chariots.

[163] *Urk.* IV, 663, 5–15; Breasted 1906: vol. II, n° 435; Goedicke 2000: 151.

[164] For instance, 10 chariots are listed in year 40 of the Annals of Thutmose III (*Urk.* IV, 669, 6–7). See Helck 1963: 511 for the list of the tribute.

[165] Hyland 2003: 81; see also Meeks 2005: 53.

[166] Pritchard 1955: 246–247; *Urk.* IV, 1305.10, 1309.7.

[167] *Urk.* IV, 1282:15; "he loved his horses and rejoiced in them. It was a strengthening of the heart to work with them, to learn their natures, to be skilled in training them and so enter in their ways" (Houlihan 1996: 35). It is also important to mention that specific places, "training stables," were devoted to horses and horsemen training (see Faulkner 1953: 43, n. 11).

[168] See below, part 3, and Decker (1987) 1993: 39–40.

[169] Houlihan 1996: 34

[170] Hyland 2003: 49; see also Starke 1995: 15–20.

[171] See for instance, Faulkner 1953: 41–47. For the organization of the Egyptian chariotry, see Schulman 1963; Shaw 1991.

[172] Cairo, JE 11420; See Decker (1987) 1993: 50, fig. 24.

[173] Schulman 1963: 87. This is especially visible in p. Anastasi III, vs. 6, 3–4; Berlin Stele 14994; p. Leiden 371.

asked to provide their own chariot.[174] Moreover, the officers in charge of units of chariots were eventually promoted to high diplomatic posts.[175]

Horses were imported into Egypt through "commercial" gift-giving as confirmed in the Amarna letters. For instance, in EA 22,[176] Tushratta of Mitanni sent two horses and a chariot from the booty of the Land of Hatti, and the wedding gifts accompanying Taduhepa included four horses, a chariot covered with 320 shekels of gold, and two bronze chamfrons for horses.

In the 18th Dynasty tombs, remains from chariots and horses were found. Amongst the eleven known chariots[177] from Thebes, all, with the possible exception of the one now preserved in Florence, come from royal (Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, Tutankhamun) or para-royal (Yuaa and Tuaa) tombs located in the Valley of the Kings.

The tomb of Amenhotep II (KV 35) was discovered by Loret in 1898. He found there fragments of quivers and harnesses as well as a fragmentary chariot.[178] In 1904 Carter[179] found the decorated box of a chariot and several leather pieces in the tomb of Thutmose IV (KV 43). The box, equipped with a bow-case and two quivers, was decorated with a low-relief modeled in stucco representing Thutmose IV in a chariot armed with arrows and bow in the midst of the battle (Fig. 23).[180] The hub of a chariot wheel was discovered by Carter in 1915 when he cleaned the looted Amenhotep III tomb (KV 22).[181] He also found complete chariots, with several pairs of blinkers and harness decorations, in the royal tomb of Tutankhamun.[182] The Tutankhamun chariots were richly mounted and their quivers full of arrows. The tomb contained two types of chariot: the state chariots and the curricles, the latter being more open and of lighter construction. Another chariot came from the Theban tomb of Yuaa and Tuaa (TT 46), the mother and father-in-law of Amenhotep III, and commander of the Chariot.[183] Unlike other "typical" box chariots characterized by a siding running down in a curve at the rear, the horizontal top rail of this chariot is morticed into two upright posts, one at each rear corner.[184] It is possible that this chariot was made especially for the funerary assemblage and was never used, as its red leather tires bear no traces of use and it was too small for full size horses.[185] It could thus have been a large "tomb model", implying then a difference with the kings buried with real chariots. A "quadrant"[186] chariot preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Florence was surely designed for a single person, [187] and comes from a private tomb (?) in Thebes.[188] This chariot is similar to, but bigger than the one in Amenhotep II's tomb. Four finials resembling those of Tutankhamun and gold foil harness attachments were found in KV 58, indicating the presence of at least one chariot and related equipment belonging to Ay's funerary equipment.[189]

At Tell el-Dab'a, early 18th Dynasty horse burials were found along with rapidly buried men, probably killed while fighting around the garrison.[190] More surprising are the two horse burials[191] from the 18th Dynasty found in Soleb (T. 28) and in Thebes at Deir el-Bahari. These deposits are the earliest evidence of horse burial in Egypt, which will then only reappear under the 25th Dynasty Pharaoh Peye and his successors in the Kush royal cemetery.[192] The 10 year-old Soleb stallion killed

[174] The "price" of the chariot is mentioned: five *deben* and the pole three *deben*; P. Anastasi III vs. 6, 7–8, see Schulman 1963: 87 n. 79. However, this price could also correspond to the cost of the material and not to the buying price of the chariot.

[175] Shaw 1991: 28.

[176] Moran 1992: 51–61.

[177] Littauer & Crouwel 1979: 75ff with n°17, n°1–11.

[178] Inv. 24663 (Daressy 1902: 169–170).

[179] See the publication of the tomb: Carter *et al.* 1904.

[180] See below, part 3.

[181] James 1974: 35; Reeves & Wilkinson 1996: 111.

[182] Four chariots were in the antechamber and the other in the storeroom of the burial chamber.

[183] Quibell 1908: 65–67, pls. LI–LVI; Littauer & Crouwel 1979: 75: n°17, n°4, also 77.

[184] Crouwel 1981: 60.

[185] James 1974: 34.

[186] Term used by Lorimer 1950: 312ff; Greenhalgh 1973: 30ff; Crouwel 1981.

[187] Crouwel 1981: 62.

[188] Botti 1951: 194.

[189] Reeves 1981; Littauer & Crouwel 1985: 81.

[190] Von den Driesch & Peters 2001: 310.

[191] I am not mentioning here the horse burials found near Saqqara, because their date is uncertain (Houlihan 1996: 36).

[192] See for the references Heidorn 1997: 106; Dunham 1950: 116–117.

by animals was about 1.36 meter to the withers[193] and was buried at the bottom of a pit, under a man.[194] The chestnut mare found by Lansing in front of Sen-Mut's tomb-chapel[195] at Thebes was buried at the time the tomb was being cut,[196] and it is probable that it belong to Sen-Mut.[197] The animal had not been mummified, but was wrapped up in fine linen and placed in a wood coffin. Her back was protected by fine linen and a leather saddle-cloth secured around its body by long tapes.[198]

In the new capital of Akhenaten, chariots were widely used for trips and for parades.[199] For instance, the Royal Road is believed to have been the route for the royal chariot drive.[200] This scene is often represented in tombs of officials and courtiers.[201] Chariots also appear in reward scenes[202] and were used as a prestige platform for the rewarded. It is thus not surprising that elements of harnesses were recorded from several houses at el-Amarna[203] (Fig. 3) and that a large military post with extensive stabling for horses was found.[204]

In the 19th Dynasty, horses and chariots were still imported thanks to gifts, tribute, and spoil, coming, for instance, from Hatti[205] or from Libya.[206] As in the previous period, chariots were associated with a high social status as corroborated by the so-called *Poem on the King's Chariot.*[207] This text for the glory of the Pharaoh is based on parallels between the king and war chariot parts to emphasize the dominance of the ruler: "the *tḫ* of thy chariot treads upon Syr[ia]" (Turin Ostracon, l. 2). In this period of constant warfare and expeditions, the military use of chariots was highlighted, and the preparation of chariotry as well as the upkeep required by horses was a constant preoccupation. It is exemplified by the Koller Papyrus,[208] written by Amenhotep, an army scribe of the time of Ramses II, and by the Anastasi Papyrus I[209] referring to a "maher", also designated once in the text as *mariyannu,*[210] whose chariot was smashed then repaired.[211] The keen interest for horses shown by Amenhotep II in his Sphinx stele is echoed by Ramses III in his Medinet Habu temple, where he is depicted pointed at horses that "he trained with his own hands".[212] Another fragmentary text from the time of Ramses II, BM EA 10085, deals with horses training, but is too fragmentary to give us any information.[213]

This military attention to maintenance matches well the only archaeological finds[214] from the period, made at Qantir,[215] the 19th Dynasty military base, where more than 167 yoke saddle bosses were found with harnesses and chariot parts. The stables and magazines of more than 14,000 m² could have housed up to 330 horses,[216] and were

[193] Ducos 1971: 261–265.

[194] Giogini 1971: 258–259, figs. 509–510. The vault contained a total of six deceased buried with a modest tomb assemblage.

[195] Time of Hatshepsut, 15th c. BC.

[196] Boessneck 1970: 43.

[197] Meeks 2005: 54.

[198] Houlihan 1996: 35.

[199] See for instance Kemp 1989: 275–279.

[200] "His majesty ascended a great chariot of electrum, like Aten when he rises from his horizon and filing the land with his love…"

[201] See for instance the tomb of Mahu (Davies 1903–1908: vol. IV, pls. XX–XXII); also Kemp 2006: 284–287; and below, part 3.

[202] See below, part 3.

[203] See for instance the snaffle bit discovered in house O.47.16 and the yoke finial, respectively n°125 and 126 (Freed, Markowitz & D'Auria 1999: 242).

[204] See http://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/model_of_the_city/index.shtml, fig 29 for the reconstruction of the area; Houlihan 1996: 36.

[205] Under Ramses II and after the battle of Kadesh: Breasted 1906: vol. III, n°342; n°428 "to bring their herds of horses".

[206] Under Merneptah (Breasted 1906: vol. III, n°589) and under Ramses III (Breasted 1906: vol. IV, n°111).

[207] See Dawson & Peet 1933; Caubet 1990: 83–85.

[208] Gardiner 1911.

[209] Gardiner 1911.

[210] Gardiner 1911: 25.

[211] Anastasi Papyrus I, 26,5; Gardiner 1911; for the representations of workshops, see below, part 3.

[212] Decker (1987) 1993: 49.

[213] Leitz 1999; 90–91.

[214] However, Hankey quotes sherds of a LH IIIA–B krater in a private collection said to have come from Tell El-Muqdam and found with objects bearing the cartouches of Ramses II and Merenptah (Hankey 1993: 112). This vase (V. 24 in Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982) is a chariot krater fragment, but its context is uncertain.

[215] Leclant & Clerc 1988: 319–320, pl. 16; Herold 1999; Caubet & Yon 2001: 70; Herold 2006.

[216] 55 stables were found, each with five rows and with six rooms per stable (Leclant & Clerc 1995: 243; Herold 1999; Herold 2006).3

clearly linked to the armory and the royal residency.[217] The door jambs and steps of the stables' rooms were made of stone, inscribed with the king's cartouches, the representation of the animal, and maybe even its name,[218] showing that these animals were considered servants of the king as were the other inhabitants of the city.[219] At Memphis, one possible finial was found in the temple area D in a layer of potsherds dating from the 22 Dynasty (?).[220] It was probably not found in its primary context.

Summary

In Egypt, horses had a special status and the few horse burials[221] may show that they were supposed to have an after-life and that they could have been buried as pets were. Chariots were considered an element of supremacy and, by extension, possessing or riding a chariot was also a sign of supremacy, especially military. Chariots are closely connected with the king[222] not only because of their use in warfare and hunts, but also because of their presence in almost exclusively royal tombs. They were deposited in tombs during a short time period – the 18th Dynasty – at the moment when everyday life scenes were being depicted in the tombs of the nobles.[223] Their presence recalled a tradition of the sportive pharaoh[224] established at the beginning of this dynasty. After Amenhotep II developed this tradition, the following rulers had a passion for hunts (elephants, bulls or lions)[225] symbolizing their victory over chaotic forces. This emphasis on royal victory and ideology can explain the importance of chariots and thus their presence in tombs. But, one must also wonder if the chariot presence in 18th Dynasty royal or para-royal tombs reflects also the contemporary novelty and enjoyment of chariots, so recently introduced. The 18th Dynasty pharaohs would then have been eager to continue to display their superiority and status in the afterlife, while continuing their military and hunting exploits. By the time of the 19th Dynasty, the funerary tradition changes and chariots are no longer found in tombs. Is it related to the general shift from daily life scenes to scenes of the Book of the Dead or is it because the infatuation with chariots faded, their use being restricted to propagandistic images meant to exaggerate the Pharaoh's military status?

5. Aegean

No remains of actual chariots have survived from Late Bronze Age sites in Greece. Our evidence for this area comes mostly from Linear B tablets and from representations.[226] Only a few archaeological remains of horses and bits, coming mostly from the Argolid, suggest the actual existence of chariots. At Mycenae, a couple bits or bit parts were found inside the citadel walls,[227] while at Thebes, seven fragmentary bits came from the so-called Arsenal,[228] and two from a building.[229] Since iconographic representations are being addressed by myself and M. Feldman in the following chapters, I review here the texts dealing with chariots and their management.

In the Aegean, Linear B tablets yield important information concerning the construction and administration of chariots. Crouwel[230] and Schon[231] have already studied these texts, so I will only summarize Crouwel's main points for the Knossos finds and integrate comments from Schon for the Pylos palace tablets.

At Knossos, different classes of tablets representing diverse construction stages or pieces of

[217] Meeks 2005: 53.

[218] In one case, the horse is depicted in a prayer attitude in front of Ramses II's cartouches (Leclant & Clerc 1996: 253).

[219] Leclant & Clerc 1995: 242–243; Meeks 2005: 53.

[220] Anthes 1956: 26, pl. 15: 82, 108.

[221] See also the horse burial from Saï Island in the Sudan (Chaix & Gratien 2002) and the burial in a reused Old Kingdom tomb at Saqqara, dated between the Ramesside and the Ptolemaic periods (Meeks 2005: 54).

[222] See also Decker 1971: 126.

[223] See below, part 3.

[224] Decker (1987) 1993: 46–59.

[225] The king hunts from his chariot while the animals were enclosed (fence and ditch). For instance, such an enclosure was discovered near the Amenhotep II temple in Soleb. It was rectangular (600 × 300 m) and was enclosed by a fence made of posts. See also the Cleveland scarab recalling an Amenhotep III bull hunt (Cleveland Museum, 84.36: Berman 1993: 55–56).

[226] For discussion of the representations see below, parts 2 and 3.

[227] Two cheekpieces of a type I bit and a type IV bit (Crouwel 1981: 158).

[228] Crouwel 1981: 158.

[229] 58 Kadmos street, see Symeonoglou 1985: 284–285: site 171 (and map, p. 30, fig. 2.5).

[230] Crouwel 1981.

[231] Schon 2007.

chariots are distinguished: the Sc, Sd, Se, Sf, and Sg classes record chariots according to their construction stages, the Sc class referring to complete ones, while the wheels are recorded in the So class.[232] According to the general interpretation, complete chariots were distributed by palace authorities to individuals on the basis of one chariot per person. All the texts referring to complete chariots come from the west wing of the palace, the so-called Room of the Chariot Tablets.[233] Tablets dealing with incomplete chariots come from different parts of the palace: the Sd class, describing the box and the bridles of one to three chariots each, come from the Arsenal, a building northwest of the palace; the Se class, characterized by a listing with a shorter text than the previous class, was found in the northern part of the palace in the "Northern Entrance Area-Area of the Bull Relief"; the Sf class, listing basic frameworks of chariots (from 1 to 50 or 80 on each tablet), come from the Arsenal; the Sg tablets, listing single chariot frames, were mostly found in the Arsenal while a few come from the Northern Entrance Area.[234] Texts dealing with chariots were thus kept in two different places in addition to the Room of the Chariot Tablets: the so-called Arsenal and the so-called Northern Entrance Area.

Some Sd tablets also show that chariots were decorated with precious materials as the word *e-re-pa-te* "ivory" appears in conjunction with chariots, which Crouwel interprets as ivory inlay.[235] The word ivory is also present on one or two tablets of the Se class. The Linear B tablets from Knossos show that the palace controlled the production and maintenance of the dual chariots, as well as the feeding and possible training of horses.[236] It is even probable that the palace "issued sizable numbers of vehicles, horses and armor to certain individuals, very likely a warrior class".[237] After the fall of Knossos, Linear B tablets from Pylos show a similar palatial control over horses and chariots, which were manufactured in the palace.[238]

In Late Bronze Age Greece, chariot production and distribution were controlled by the palace and chariots were thus considered as a status artefact.[239] They were distributed on a strict basis but were perhaps not restricted to the wealthiest elite.

6. Cyprus

Although several Late Bronze Age texts describe imports of chariots and horses to the island, no physical remains of chariots or harnesses have been found. Diplomatic correspondence shows that Cyprus asked Egypt for horses and chariots.[240] Three attestations of horse trade come from Ugarit. The first one, RS 18.119, describes a Cypriot boat anchored in Atleg and transporting "five chariots or blankets *mr*[*bd*], or spears *mr*[*Ì*]";[241] while the two others deal with royal transactions: RS 34.153 mentions "horses delivered by the king to the messenger of the land of Alashyia"[242] and RS 94.2447+2588+259[243] is a letter from the superintendent of Alashyia to the king Niqmepa.

7. Southern Levant and Jordan

The Levant was a disputed territory during the Late Bronze Age and was a focus of both war and international diplomacy. Indeed, the Amarna letters often mention requests by the coastal kingdoms for chariots or military forces. Battles between Levantine cities were frequent and, as a rule, almost always involved chariotry. For instance, when Biridiya of Megiddo[244] fought against Labʿayu, prince of Shechem, he was forced to abandon his chariot when one horse of his team was hit by an arrow.[245]

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[232] Crouwel 1981: 77.

[233] Crouwel 1981: 67.

[234] Crouwel 1981: 67–68.

[235] Inlay is also present on Tutankhamun's chariots 120, 121 and 122, and texts from Nuzi refer to inlaid chariots (Kendall 1975: 232); see Crouwel 1981: 69–70, esp. note 67. The use of decorative inlay on some dual chariots may trace back to the Near East (see Crouwel 1981: 70).

[236] Schon 2007: 138.

[237] Crouwel 1981: 150.

[238] Schon 2007. See Schon (2007: 134) for the archaeological remains found in the palace.

[239] Schon 2007: 144.

[240] EA 34: "Moreover may your messengers now bring some goods: 1 ebony bed, gold-(trimmed), …; and a chariot, *shukhitu*, with gold; 2 horses…" (Moran 1992: 106).

[241] Virolleaud 1965: 74.

[242] After Arnaud 1991: 75–76.

[243] Unpublished, but mentioned in Malbran-Labat & Roche forthc.

[244] The only yoke saddle boss from Megiddo comes from the MB II tomb 911D (Guy 1938: pl. 122:3).

[245] EA 244, EA 245.

Surprisingly little archaeological evidence of chariots or horses is preserved in the northern part of this region. At Ashkelon, a yoke saddle boss in ivory from the 12th or 11th c. BC and an anthropomorphic linchpin[246] were discovered in a small room[247] where they were probably stored.[248] At Beth Shean, several yoke saddle bosses of local alabaster came from levels VII and VIII. In level VII, two bosses were found in the southeastern sector, one in the outer temple courtyard, and two in a courtyard between the *migdol* and the Commandant House (locus 1381).[249] In level VIII, one boss and a yoke finial came from the southeastern sector and another boss was also found with a yoke finial in the temple precinct.[250] According to James and McGovern, a chariot workshop probably existed at the site in levels X and IX, which might have continued in levels VII and VIII.

Their diverse find-spots suggest that chariot trappings were sometimes kept in private dwellings or the temples, perhaps for safekeeping. This hypothesis is supported by the finding of more than one example in the same context, viz., a pair of yoke saddle bosses in Locus 1381, and a boss and a yoke terminal in Locus 1108.[251]

One finial-like[252] object was also discovered in LB II levels at Hazor.[253] In Lachish, a finial[254] was discovered in the LB II tomb 1006,[255] and we also should mention the Middle Bronze tomb T.4002–3 with a horse's jaw.[256] In Ekron, an anthropomorphic linchpin comes from a monumental building with a cultic connotation from the first half of the 11th c. BC and is therefore a bit too recent for the present study.[257] In Ashdod, a finial was discovered in the LB II context of area B[258] (large building private or public).[259] Contexts for the bosses and finials from Gezer are unknown, but Macalister mentions that many of the bosses were found in the "Semitic Strata" and were made out of quartzite or alabaster,[260] while large numbers of polished white stone finials[261] came from the same strata, many of them being burnt.[262] At Tell el-Ajjul two or three bosses[263] and one finial were found by Petrie in Late Bronze Age levels.[264] The archaeological context of these objects is unknown.[265]

Inland at Amman in Jordan, within the so-called Airport excavation, two chariot fittings (yoke saddle bosses?) were found in a quadrangular structure with unusually thick walls. The finds include ivories, metal objects and several Mycenaean ceramics.[266] The structure uncovered in 1966 was once thought to be a temple; however, recent work suggests that the site was instead a funerary structure.[267] Cremation ceremonies took place in the vicinity and funerary offerings were probably stored inside this square building. The presence in Amman of this unusual funerary site and practices may suggest a foreign population.[268]

[246] The linchpin represented a Philistine goddess, supposed to protect the chariot, its team as well as the horses (Stager 2006: 172; Dothan & Drenka 2009: 97).

[247] Stager 2006.

[248] Stager, personal communication to M. Feldman.

[249] James 1978: 103; James & McGovern 1993: vol. 1, 186.

[250] James & McGovern 1993: vol. 1, 186.

[251] James & McGovern 1993: vol. 1, 186.

[252] This alabaster object presents the typical shape of the finials, but does not possess the bottom perforation for its fixation (Yadin *et al.* 1961: pl. 163:26). However, the object is broken in such a way as to suggest the boring existed (James 1978: 108).

[253] Area A, stratum XIII, locus 363, level 226.80 (Yadin *et al.* 1961: pl. 163:26).

[254] Tufnell 1958: pl. 26.44.

[255] Tufnell 1958: 86, 252.

[256] Gonen 1992: 132.

[257] Dothan 2002: 11–14; Stager 2006; Dothan & Drenka 2009.

[258] Locus 507 (courtyard) in stratum 2.

[259] Dothan & Freedman 1967: fig. 18:8; James & McGovern 1993: vol. 1, 186; Stager 2006.

[260] Macalister 1912: vol.2, 252, fig. 401.

[261] Identified by Macalister as dagger pommels, even if "none were discovered in association with the dagger to which they belonged"! (Macalister 1912: vol. 2, 376).

[262] Macalister 1912: vol. 2, 376, fig. 474.

[263] ALAB. LX 1039 presents an unusual shape as its upper part is decorated with three channels, and thus its function was maybe different (see Petrie 1933: pl. 27:83).

[264] Petrie 1933: pl. 27:82–83, 27:65; Petrie 1934: pl. 41:120. At Tell el-Ajjul, tombs 210 and 411 include the burial of horses with some parts missing. They date from the Hyksos period and can be compared to the Marathon tomb T.3 with a horse missing its hind legs and parts of its shoulder (Gonen 1992: 131). The remains of one of the Tell el-Ajjul horses have provided a radiocarbon date of 3400±120 BP (OxA-565) (Clutton-Brock 1992: 83).

[265] Petrie 1933: 10; Petrie 1934: 12.

[266] See below, part 2.

[267] Herr 1981.

[268] Herr 1981: 29.

Summary

Chariot related material was discovered in funerary, religious and domestic and/or military buildings, and is well documented in the discoveries at Gezer and Beth Shean. Too many artifacts in the area lack context for a precise interpretation of the finds; however, it seems that bosses and finials came from privileged places such as at Gezer, where the "accumulation" described by Macalister could correspond to a storage or military area, especially when we know the regional importance of the city as an Egyptian administration center. It is also worth mentioning that the MB deposits of bosses/finials and even horses in tombs disappear in the Late Bronze Age.

8. Assyria, Babylonia and Elam

The scarce evidence from Assyria, Babylonia and Elam has encouraged us to summarize the use of chariots in a single section. Textual testimonies demonstrate that horses were known and used since at least the third millennium BC, but for the second millennium, relatively little archaeological evidence of chariots is known, and, only rare finds of chariot-fitting artifacts have been discovered at Kar Tukulti Ninurta, Nippur, Susa, and Haft Tepe.[269]

As early as the third millennium BC, horses were mentioned in Sumerian texts – especially animal proverbs and fables. In SP 5.38,[270] horses[271] are mentioned as being possibly ridden by men, even if such rides were hazardous.[272] In the Late Bronze Age, the Amarna letters describe a well-developed horse and chariot exchange. Assyria was exporting horses and chariots to Egypt,[273] even though only a few Assyrian texts show a special concern for horse training and care.[274] Likewise, Babylon was also exporting horses to Egypt.[275] Mesopotamian cities, such as Mari,[276] imported horses from the west and especially from the coastal plains of the Kingdom of Ugarit. Chariots and horses appear occasionally in the administrative Middle Assyrian texts, pointing maybe to an elite private ownership of this military equipment.[277] A stela at Haft Tepe mentions chariots such as the king Tepti-Ahar chariot and a chariot of the god Inshushinak, establishing again the use of chariots for processions and the importance of the chariot for royal power, as sacrifices were made before these two chariots during specific festivals, such as the four day-long festivals during the months of Tashritu (opening of the religious year),[278] and Abu, and the festival for the Elamite god Kirwashir.[279]

At Kar Tukulti Ninurta, yoke saddle bosses (?) are mentioned by Caubet and Yon,[280] but their context is unknown. Excavations at Susa revealed a total of 15 yoke saddle bosses, the archaeological context of five of them being unknown. The rest of them come from the southern part of the acropolis, near the possible location of a Medio-Elamite temple.[281] Among these, two are inscribed with the name of the Kassite Babylonian king Kurigalzu. These yoke saddle bosses were associated with a dozen mace-heads[282] and with inscribed bricks bearing the Elamite royal name of Untash Napirisha. They were thus stored with prestigious weapons in an official building demonstrating that they were highly prized. They could either represent war booty,[283] tribute or Kas-

[269] Caubet & Yon 2001: 72.

[270] One tablet comes from Nippur and another one with the same fable comes from Ur (Gordon 1958: 19).

[271] Anshe-kur(-ra) = horses for chariots, see for instance, with previous bibliographical references Van Koppen 2002: 20, 23. For horse remains see Vila 2006: 117–120.

[272] Gordon 1958: 19: 5.38: "The horse, after he had thrown off his ride, (said): "If my burden is always to be this, I shall become weak!"; see also Bendt 1997.

[273] In EA 15, Assur Uballit sent 1 beautiful chariot and 2 horses to the Pharaoh, while in EA 16 he sent a beautiful royal chariot with two white horses equipped as his, along with another unequipped chariot

[274] Ebeling 1951.

[275] EA 9, EA 14.

[276] See RS 34.142, RSO 7 n°35, and Malbran-Labat & Roche forthc.: for further references.

[277] Postgate 2008: 89, esp. note 18 quoting the private contract *KAJ* 307 about the provision of a horse and a chariot.

[278] Van der Toorn 1991: 332.

[279] Caubet & Yon 2001: 73; for the text, see Reiner 1973: esp. 89: l. 25–29; for the date of Tepti-Ahar inscriptions in Susa, see Malbran-Labat 1995: n°20.

[280] Caubet & Yon 2001: 72.

[281] Heim 1994: 125–126.

[282] Jéquier 1905: fig. 21–30; Caubet & Yon 2001: 72.

[283] Capture of chariots is attested in Egyptian sources: For instance, Amenhotep III came back from a Syrian campaign with several chariots (*Urk.* IV, 1308, 8; *Urk.* IV, 1309, 7). In Egypt, chariots were also part of the Syrian tribute. For instance, 10 chariots are listed in year 40 of the Annals of Thutmose III (*Urk.* IV, 669, 6–7); and chariots are also depicted in representations of tribute bearers in the Theban Tombs (TT) 40, 42, 84, 86, 89, 100, 143, 155, see below, part 3.

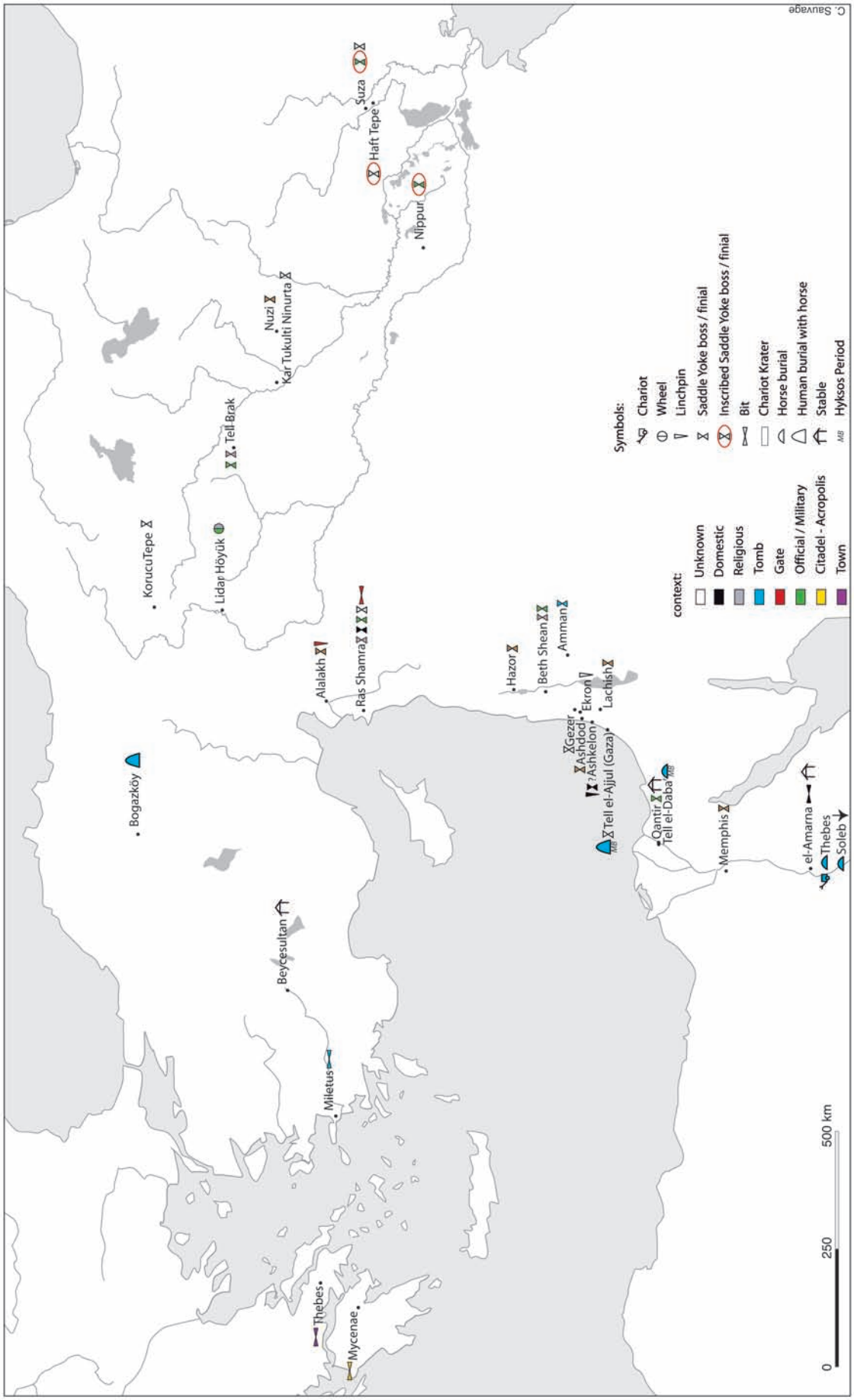


Fig. 10 Distribution of chariot related artifacts with their archaeological contexts in the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East (© C. Sauvage)

site gifts. In Haft Tepe an inscribed yoke saddle boss mentions an Adad Erish and his title, which can be read either as "head of the shepherd" or "head of the horsemen".[284] It lacks precise archaeological context, but the second reading establishes a relationship with a military rank and horses. The context of the five inscribed yoke saddle bosses from Nippur is probably similar to the one in Susa, even if the excavation report only indicates that they were found in a "chamber on the edge of the canal outside of the great S.E. wall of Town".[285] Two of them bear the names of Kassite king(s) Nazi Marrutash and Nazi Marrutash / Kashtiliash,[286] one the name of Shagashalti-Shuriash,[287] and the name of Bibeiashu[288] appears on another one. The last one, in ivory, bears the name of the Kassite king Nazi Burnaburiash.[289]

Summary

In this large area where horses are mentioned as early as the third millennium BC, archaeological attestations for the second millennium are surprisingly scarce. The only evidence of chariots come from official buildings and were probably considered as precious items inscribed with the names of Kassite kings, meant to be on display. They were perhaps stored with military material as in Susa and were part of trade and likely part of booty, tribute or gift exchange.

Discussion (Fig. 10)

In Ugarit, yoke saddle fittings were either found in domestic contexts or in temples. It remains uncertain whether complete chariots were present in houses, because no bits or bronze chariot decorations have been found in the same context as yoke elements. According to Littauer and Crouwel,[290] the yoke was shaped like a composite bow, a prestigious war weapon not available to everyone, establishing thus a parallel between the bow and the yoke, and by extension, the chariot. It must be wondered whether only part of the chariot (the most prestigious one?) was housed and on display. Archaeological material associated with chariots is widely distributed across the city, coming from every excavated area. It is thus clear that chariot "owners" or people "housing" chariot elements were not grouped in a special area within the city, and this is also confirmed by architectural variability, because one can find rich, large houses side-by-side with modest ones.

In the Mitanni area, archaeological evidence is limited but the bosses' religious and domestic contexts at Alalakh echoes Ugaritic finds: chariot pieces were stored in temples, where they were probably part of cultural material used in processions, while in Nuzi and Alalakh chariots or parts of them were stored or even displayed in houses. These cities shared the social class values of *mariyannu* and might also have shared specific interest and uses for the chariots, as is attested in Ugarit.

In Hatti, texts attest to great concern for the well-being and training of horses. As in the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean, horses were highly prized but apparently no specific social group identified itself through the possession of the chariot.

In Egypt, chariots were symbolic and powerful tools that elevated the Pharaohs above their subjects. The new possibilities introduced by chariots were probably astonishing and aroused such enthusiasm for the first rulers of the 18th Dynasty that they desired to bring this symbol of power with them into the afterlife.

In Greece only a few archaeological materials have been found,[291] mostly in prestigious contexts, such as tombs, or associated with aristocratic activities taking place on the town acropolis.

In Cyprus, archaeological evidence for actual chariots is lacking, but texts testify that they were imported on the island.

The southern Levant is a mix of the traditions that we identify in Egypt and in the northern Levant. Indeed, chariot evidence comes from official, storage or military contexts, but some also comes from temples, recalling the use of chariots for processions.

[284] Caubet & Yon 2001: 73. See also Negahban 1991: 106; for the reading of the titles, Herrero & Glassner 1990: text 4.

[285] Hilprecht 1893: 48; see the inscriptions on pls. 18: 34; 23: 56; 23: 57; 25: 69; 26: 70.

[286] Hilprecht 1893: pl. X: 22 and X: 24 (drawings) and 23: 56 and 23: 57 (inscriptions).

[287] Hilprecht 1893: pl. 25: 69 (inscription).

[288] Hilprecht 1893: pl. 26: 70 (inscription).

[289] Hilprecht 1893: pl. X: 23 (drawing), pl. 18: 34 (inscription).

[290] Littauer & Crouwel 1983: 185

[291] This is probably due to the appearance of the material in domestic contexts, in which only fragmentary material survives.

Domestic or funerary evidence of chariots is lacking in Assyria, Babylonia, and especially in Elam. They are found in prestigious official or military contexts and the inscribed Kassite bosses were probably on display.

Horses, as stated in texts, were highly prized gifts[292] or objects[293] and occupied a high "social rank" or a strategic position for the state, because they appear between the king's house and wives and the army in the opening salutation part of diplomatic letters.[294] Their high price and capital importance for the king appear to be shared values amongst Near Eastern rulers: horses and chariots were certainly the "must have" weapon of the time. Through study of funerary and domestic chariot related artifacts, a more subtle intrinsic meaning based on regional and social groups values was also associated with chariots and horses.

These regional particularities are especially evident when looking at a specific object bearing chariot and/or horse representations such as Mycenaean chariot kraters. The following part will show how these vases were distributed and consumed across the Late Bronze Age ancient Near East and how their contexts and uses responded to/echoed particular cultural needs or trends that we associate with specific societies and precise social groups.

Catalogue 1

This catalogue lists chariot parts (cp) found in Late Bronze Age contexts. Although not exhaustive, it aims to group attestations published in previous catalogues, corpuses, and excavation reports. As such, the previous catalogue number and/or inventory number appears immediately following the present study catalogue number. We chose to note the main catalogue bibliographical reference, without repeating the earlier citations quoted in the catalogues. When the number of bosses or yokes discovered was unclear, we made only one entry and attributed one number. We also chose not to include in the present catalogue the complete chariots found in the Egyptian royal tombs as they are detailed in the text. The present catalogue follows the text order.

Ugarit

cp. 1. Ras Shamra; RS 94.2013; "Urtenu", House nearby with big stone tanks, maybe used as troughs for horses (horses bones were found in 1986–1988); Maison de fouille; alabaster saddle yoke; Caubet & Yon 2001: 70.

cp. 2. Ras Shamra; RS 94.2081; Urtenu House; Maison de fouille; alabaster saddle yoke; Caubet & Yon 2001: 70.

cp. 3. Ras Shamra; RS 94.2623; Urtenu House; Maison de fouille; alabaster saddle yoke; Caubet & Yon 2001: 70.

cp. 4. Ras Shamra; RS 94.2624; Urtenu House; Maison de fouille; alabaster saddle yoke; Caubet & Yon 2001: 70.

cp. 5. Ras Shamra; RS 96.2121; Urtenu House; Maison de fouille; alabaster saddle yoke; Caubet & Yon 2001: 70.

cp. 6. Ras Shamra; RS 96.2746; Urtenu House; Maison de fouille; alabaster saddle yoke; Caubet & Yon 2001: 70.

cp. 7. Ras Shamra; Palace; fragment of an alabaster saddle yoke? (or vase stand according to Matoïan 2008: 201, note 56); Kuschke 1962: 267, pl. II, 17; Caubet 1990: 82.

cp. 8. Ras Shamra; RS 15.294; Palace, locus 52; alabaster yoke saddle boss, Matoïan 2008: 203.

cp. 9. Ras Shamra; RS 16.124; Palace, locus 64; alabaster yoke saddle boss, Matoïan 2008: 203.

cp. 10. Ras Shamra; RS 20.243; Palace, locus 153: the pool in ex-courtyard V, alabaster yoke saddle boss, Matoïan 2008: 203.

cp. 11. Ras Shamra; RS 16.34; Palace, p.t. 227, depth of 1.90 m; agate finial; Matoïan 2008: 201.

cp. 12. Ras Shamra; RS 17.296; Palace, staircase 69, p.t. 1236; Damas 4652; alabaster chariot element or furniture foot? H. 4.1; D. 2.4; Caubet 1991: 266; Matoïan 2008: 201.

cp. 13. Ras Shamra; RS 79.272; Centre de la Ville, house A, room 1040: entry room with staircase, looted domestic context; Maison de fouille; alabaster saddle yoke; H. 5.4; D. 5.7; Caubet 1991: 267.

cp. 14. Ras Shamra; RS 81.616; Centre de la Ville, house E, courtyard 1206: room with a floor level and pavement in the SE corner; Maison de fouille; alabaster saddle yoke; H. 5; D. 5.2; Caubet 1991: 267.

cp. 15. Ras Shamra; RS 81.3172; Centre de la Ville, A1a/4 fosse 1237?; Maison de fouille; fragment of alabaster saddle yoke; H. cons 2.1; D. base 6.8; Caubet 1991: 267.

cp. 16. Ras Shamra; RS 83.5226; Centre de la Ville D1a/3 UF 586 (east of the Rhyta Temple); Maison de fouille; calcite finial – bottom without perforation; H. 3.9; D. 2.9; Caubet 1991: 267; Matoïan 2008: 202.

cp. 17. Ras Shamra; RS 23.597; Ville Sud, p.t. 2789 à 1.5 m; House A of the ilôt VI; Damas 6286; alabaster finial; H. 3.7; D. 3; Caubet 1991: 266; Callot 1994: 105.

cp. 18. Ras Shamra; RS 23.606; Ville Sud, p.t. 3153 à 0.80 m, small building south of ilôt X, at the corner of streets

[292] See for instance EA 3, EA 15, EA 16.

[293] In Ugarit, horses and chariot were listed amongst the precious objects in the Kirta legend. The text mentions "three horses and a chariot in the courtyard" as part of a list of precious objects appearing several times in the text, Pardee 2002: 230; RS 2.[003] + (CTA14) ii 55–56, iii 28–29, 140–141, v 252–254, vi 271–273, 285–286.

[294] See for instance EA 9; and Pardee 2002: 225.

X/XIII and X/XII. Could have been an independent room used to store chariots (i.e. parking?): Callot 1994: 105; Damas 6273; alabaster saddle yoke; H. 6.3; D. 5.1; Caubet 1991: 266.

cp. 19. Ras Shamra; RS 23.622; Ville Sud, p.t. 2986 à 0.80 m, House B of the ilôt X: in locus 14, a service room surrounding the courtyard; Damas 6442; alabaster finial; H. 4.1; D. 3.3; Caubet 1991: 266; Callot 1994: 105

cp. 20. Ras Shamra; RS 24.068; Sud Acropole, p.t. 3412 à 0.70 m; Damas?, alabaster stand or chariot piece; H. 2.2; D. 2.2; Caubet 1991: 266.

cp. 21. Ras Shamra; RS 24.173 B; Sud Acropole, p.t. 3578 à 1.25 m; Damas?; alabaster saddle yoke; H. 2.5; D. 5; Caubet 1991: 267.

cp. 22. Ras Shamra; RS 24.514; Sud Acropole, p.t. 3648 à 2 m; Damas?; saddle yoke; H. 4; D. 6.5; Caubet 1991: 267.

cp. 23. Ras Shamra; RS 25.293; Sud Acropole, p.t. 5116 à 1.30 m; Damas?; alabaster finial; H. 4; D. 2.9; Caubet 1991: 267.

cp. 24. Ras Shamra; RS 25.315; Sud Acropole, Zone 217 à 2 m; Damas?; alabaster saddle yoke; H. 3.5; D. 5.8; Caubet 1991: 267.

cp. 25. Ras Shamra; RS 26.222; Sud Acropole; 436 E, p.t. 4425 à 2 m; Alep?; alabaster finial; H. 4.1; D. 3.2; Caubet 1991: 267.

cp. 26. Ras Shamra; RS 29.017; Quartier Residentiel; Tr. 113 sud à 1.20 m; Alep?; alabaster saddle yoke; H. 4.1; D. 6; Caubet 1991: 267.

cp. 27. Ras Shamra; RS 29.106; Quartier Residentiel; Tr. 601 sud à 1.20 m; Alep?, alabaster saddle yoke; H. 3.3; D. 6.9; Caubet 1991: 267.

cp. 28. Ras Shamra; RS 30.215; Area east of the Palace; Tr. Sud ouest secteur 3 p.t. 4857 à 1.35 m; alabaster saddle yoke; H. 3.65; D. 6.47; Caubet 1991: 267.

cp. 29. Ras Shamra; RS 14.78; Acropole or eastern part of the tell; Damas?; alabaster finial; H 4.1; D. 2.7; Caubet 1991: 266.

cp. 30. Ras Shamra; RS 22.322; Acropole NE, Dagan Temple, pt. 2366 à 0.80 m; Damas?; alabaster saddle yoke; H. 6.3; D. 5.5; Caubet 1991: 266.

cp. 31. Ras Shamra; RS 10.167; "Butte NO du tell", (SR) pt. 2011 à 2.15m; Alep?; alabaster saddle yoke; Caubet 1991: 266.

cp. 32. Ras Shamra; RS 10.168; Ville Basse Est, pt. 2123; Alep?; alabaster saddle yoke?; Caubet 1991: 266.

cp. 33. Ras Shamra; RS 6.306; Louvre AO 17374= AO27595; 1934, Acropolis, "tranchée grand mur pt 16 à 1.10 m", near a funerary jar with a child, unknown context; Louvre; ivory / bone finial; h. 4; base 2.5; Gachet-Bizollon 2007: 214, 309, pl. 115.

cp. 34. Ras Shamra; RS 11.514; Louvre AO 30878; 1939, "est cone", area west of the tell, unknown context; Louvre; H 4.5; diam base 2.59; hippo ivory finial; Gachet-Bizollon 2007: 214, 309, pl. 115.

cp. 35. Ras Shamra; RS 19.221; Damas 5210; 1955, between the royal palace and the southern palace, pt. 1600, 1.20 m; LBA II; Damascus; H. 3.3; diam base 2.1; hippo ivory finial; Gachet-Bizollon 2007: 214, 309, pl. 115.

Mitanni

cp. 36. Alalakh; AT/39/67; Level V, neighborhood of the town gate (Woolley 1955: 276); bronze linchpin?; Woolley 1955: pl. LXX.

cp. 37. Alalakh; AT/38/277; Level VII of the town gate (Woolley 1955: 276); bronze linchpin?; Woolley 1955: pl. LXX.

cp. 38. Alalakh; AT/39/18; level VI–V, leveling of the terrace of Yarim-Lim; alabaster boss; Woolley 1955: 296, pl. 82.27.

cp. 39. Alalakh; AT/39/27; level III, outside of the town wall, Sq. 27; alabaster boss; Woolley 1955: 296, pl. 82.28.

cp. 40. Alalakh; AT/39/14; level III, above the level IV stratum in Sq. N10; alabaster boss; Woolley 1955: 296, pl. 82.29.

cp. 41. Alalakh; AT/39/264; level II–III, found in Sq. K 14, below level II stratum, in house 39/c; boss; Woolley 1955: 198–191.

cp. 42. Tell Brak; TB 8099; Mitannian palace (room 9), 14th c. BC context; white frit finial; Oates 1987: pl. XXXIXe; Caubet & Yon 2001: 72.

cp. 43. Tell Brak; TB 8098; Mitannian shrine: northwest room (storage?), associated with ivory, alabaster and faience; white frit finial; Oates 1987: pl. XXXIXe; Caubet & Yon 2001: 72.

cp. 44. Tell Brak; TB 8100; Mitannian shrine: northwest room (storage?), associated with ivory, alabaster and faience; white frit finial; Oates 1987: pl. XXXIXe; Caubet & Yon 2001: 72.

cp. 45. Nuzi; LB I private houses; several bosses and finials (in "relative abundance"), at least four; Starr 1939: 468; Starr 1937: pl. 121:K, Q, V and W.

Anatolia

cp. 46. Korucutepe; 69–325; Loc U 12 [13] (5), find spot 36, phase I: CXI; Late Bronze Age abandonment stage – wash accumulation, (Van Loon 1980: vol. 2, 28–29), found with bronze pins, needles and razors; one saddle yoke; L. 3.8; W. 3.8; h: 2.,5; alabaster; Van Loon 1980: 141, pl. 44A.

cp. 47. Lidar Höyük; LBA context in a burnt building, with ibex-horns on the floor; wheel in wood; Hauptmann 1991 (2002).

cp. 50. Crouwel B 11–12; Miletus; Berlin Staatliche Museum; LH IIIB or C; Mycenaean chamber tomb; two bits of type IV, forming a pair; bronze or copper; Crouwel 1981: 158.

Egypt

cp. 48. Qantir; associated with harness pieces and chariot pieces. Military building, in storage; 167 saddle yokes; Leclant & Clerc 1988: 319–320, pl. II, 1; Herold 1999; Herold 2006.

cp. 49. Tomb of Ay; four calcite finials resembling those from B1–B6 from Tutankhamun; Littauer & Crouwel 1985: 81.

Aegean

cp. 51. Crouwel B 1; Mycenae; Athens N. Museum; NM 1410; LH IIIB or C; Mycenae, citadel; cheekpiece of a type I bit; bronze or copper; Crouwel 1981: 158.

cp. 52. Crouwel B 2; Mycenae; Athens N. Museum; NM 1409; LH IIIB or C; Mycenae, citadel; cheekpiece of a type I bit; bronze or copper; Crouwel 1981: 158

cp. 53. Crouwel B 3; Mycenae; Athens N. Museum; NM 2553; LH IIIB?; Mycenae, citadel: so-called Tsountas hoard of bronzes; bit of type IV; bronze or copper; Crouwel 1981: 158.

cp. 54. Crouwel B 4; Thebes; Thebes Museum; LH IIIB:1; Thebes; a Chronopoulos plot at 58 Kadmos street; bit of type IV; bronze or copper; Crouwel 1981: 158.

cp. 55. Crouwel B 5–6; Thebes; Athens N. Museum; LH IIIB?; Mycenaean building, so called arsenal at 28 Pelopidas Street; parts of at least two type I bits forming a pair; bronze or copper; Crouwel 1981: 158.

cp. 56. Crouwel B 7–8; Thebes; Athens N. Museum; Mycenaean building, so called arsenal at 28 Pelopidas Street; parts of at least two type II bits, prob. forming a pair, bronze or copper; Crouwel 1981: 158.

cp. 57. Crouwel B 9–10; Thebes; Athens N. Museum; Mycenaean building, so called arsenal at 28 Pelopidas Street; parts of at least two type IV bits forming a pair and fragments of other from the same type; bronze or copper; Crouwel 1981: 158.

Levant – Jordan

cp. 58. Ashkelon; 11th c. or 1100 BC, in a storage (?) context; ivory yoke saddle boss; Stager 2006.

cp. 59. Ashkelon; 11th c. or 1100 BC, in a storage (?) context, with yoke saddle; anthropomorphic bronze linchpin; Stager 2006: 172.

cp. 60. Beth Shean; level VII, southeastern sector; local alabaster boss; James 1978: 103; James & McGovern 1993: 186.

cp. 61. Beth Shean; level VII, southeastern sector; local alabaster boss; James 1978: 103; James & McGovern 1993: 186.

cp. 62. Beth Shean; level VII, outer temple courtyard; local alabaster boss; James 1978: 103; James & McGovern 1993: 186.

cp. 63. Beth Shean; level VII, courtyard between the *migdol* and the Commandant House (locus 1381); local alabaster boss; James 1978: 103; James & McGovern 1993: 186.

cp. 64. Beth Shean; level VII, courtyard between the *migdol* and the Commandant House (locus 1381); local alabaster boss; James 1978: 103; James & McGovern 1993: 186.

cp. 65. Beth Shean; level VIII, southeastern sector; local alabaster boss; James & McGovern 1993: 186.

cp. 66. Beth Shean; level VIII, southeastern sector; local alabaster finial; James & McGovern 1993: 186.

cp. 67. Beth Shean; level VIII, temple precinct; local alabaster boss; James & McGovern 1993: 186.

cp. 68. Beth Shean; level VIII, temple precinct; local alabaster finial; James & McGovern 1993: 186.

cp. 69. Hazor; Late Bronze II level; finial-like object: typical finial form, but no bottom perforation; Yaddin 1961: pl. 335, 12; James 1978: 108.

cp. 70. Lachish; Late Bronze II tomb 1006; finial; Tufnell 1958: pl. 26.44.

cp. 71. Ekron; anthropomorphic bronze linchpin; Stager 2006.

cp. 72. Ashdod; Late Bronze II context, area B, locus 507 (courtyard), stratum 2; Dothan & Freedman 1967: fig. 18.8; James & McGovern 1993: 186; Stager 2006.

cp. 73. Gezer; "Semitic strata"; quartzite or alabaster bosses; Macalister 1912: vol. 2, 376.

cp. 74. Gezer; "Semitic strata"; polished white finials, some are burnt; Macalister 1912: vol. 2, 376, fig. 474.

cp. 75. Tell el-Ajjul; ALAB. LX 1039; Late Bronze Age levels; boss with unusual shape: its upper part is decorated with three channels, and thus its function was maybe different; Petrie 1933: pl. 27.83.

cp. 76. Tell el-Ajjul; Late Bronze Age levels; boss; Petrie 1933: pl. 27.82.

cp. 77. Tell el-Ajjul; Late Bronze Age levels; boss; Petrie 1933: pl. 27.83.

cp. 78. Amman; 311 Ashmol. Museum, Oxford, 1975; Funerary context; yoke saddle bosses; Herr 1981.

cp. 79. Amman; 324 Ashmol. Museum, Oxford, 1975; Funerary context; yoke saddle bosses; Herr 1981.

Assyria, Babylonia and Elam

cp. 80. Kar Tukulti Ninurta; yoke saddle bosses (?); Caubet & Yon 2001: 72.

cp. 81–96. Susa; AS 4617 – AS 4626; Sb 705–715; southern part of the Acropolis; associated with bricks inscribed with name of Untash Napirisha, official context and associated with a dozen of mace-heads, two of them inscribed with the name of Kurigalzu (II); 10 limestone saddle yokes; Jéquier 1905: figs. 21–30, Caubet & Yon 2001: 72.

cp. 97–99. Susa; Louvre Museum; AS 1638 Sb714 - AS 1639–AS 2624 Sb 712; other provenience?; three alabaster saddle yokes; Caubet & Yon 2001: 72.

cp. 100. Susa – other provenience?; no number – no prov.; one alabaster saddle yoke; Caubet & Yon 2001: 72.

cp. 101. Susa; GS 4112 Sb 4741; Girshman excavations, 1957; one faience saddle yoke; Caubet & Yon 2001: 72.

cp. 102. Haft Tepe; one inscribed saddle yoke: "Adad Erish 'chief of the herdsmen' (Negahban 1991: 106) or 'chief of the squire (?) or horsemen' (Herrero & Glassner 1990: text 4); Spycket 1994; Huot 1996; Caubet & Yon 2001: 72.

cp. 103. Nippur; inscribed with the name of the Kassite king Nazi Marrutash; alabaster saddle yoke; Caubet & Yon 2001: 72; Hilprecht 1893: pl. X, 22.

cp. 104. Nippur; Inscribed with the name of the Kassite king Nazi Burnaburiash; ivory saddle yoke; Caubet & Yon 2001: 72; Hilprecht 1893: pl. X, 23.

cp. 105. Nippur; inscribed with the name of the Kassite king Nazi Marrutash / Kashtiliash; alabaster yoke saddle; Caubet & Yon 2001: 72; Hilprecht 1893: pl. X, 24.

Part 2. Mycenaean Ceramics with Chariot Scenes

By Caroline Sauvage

Introduction: Overview of Vessel Forms and Scenes

Chariot scenes were principally painted on amphoroid kraters (FS 53–55), but occasionally this motif also decorated open kraters with vertical handles (FS 7–8), deep bowl kraters (FS 281–284), conical rhyta (FS 199), and flasks (FS 186) (Fig. 11). This special decorated pottery was principally and primarily found in Cyprus and then in the Near East, but growing evidence also comes from the Greek mainland, where it exhibits differences in find-spot contexts and ceramic shapes.

Pictorial Mycenaean ceramics have been widely studied[295] and their origins and distribution pattern have been controversially interpreted. Despite the hypothesis that these ceramics were produced in Cyprus[296] and then exported to the Near East – explaining their wide diffusion across the island and throughout the northern Levant – clay analysis suggests that they were instead produced in the Argolid,[297] more precisely in Berbati[298] but also near Tyrins,[299] up to the end of the LH IIIB.

Fig. 11 Chariot krater from Pyla-Verghi, Cyprus (after Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982: fig. III.13; courtesy of Vassos Karageorghis)

The representations on chariot kraters are processional: the horses are walking at a slow pace and are generally seen in overlapping profile. Representations of three ears,[300] several legs or two tails on the visible front horse are the sole indica-

[295] See for instance, Åkerström 1987; Balensi, Monchambert & Müller-Celka 2004; Betancourt, Karageorghis, Laffineur & Niemeier 1999; Bradfer, Detournay & Laffineur 2005; Courtois 1973; Crielaard, Stissi & Wijngaarden 1999; Crouwel 1988; 1991; 2006a; Crouwel & Morris 1985; Immerwahr 1993; Karageorghis 1958; Karageorghis 20000–01; Leonard 1994; Mountjoy 1986; Mountjoy 1999; Müller-Celka 2005; Sakellarakis 1992; Steel 1999; Vagnetti 2000–01; Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982; Wijngaarden 2002; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000.

[296] For previous hypotheses on a fabrication outside of the Aegean, see the references and bibliography in Furumark 1941: 9, 431–445; Jones 1986: 597–601; Åkerström 1987: 16–17; Wijngaarden 2002: 9–11. Crouwel & Morris, based on the early example of pictorial style found at Alalakh, estimated that it is difficult to think that "the majority of pictorial vases, including the earliest ones, all of which form part of the Aegean artistic tradition, were designed and manufactured in Cyprus rather than in Greece itself" (Crouwel & Morris 1985: 98).

[297] Sherds of non-pictorial pottery whose paintings resemble the pictorial sherds were analyzed: they were all produced in the northeast of the Peloponnesus (Catling, Richard & Blin-Stoyle 1963). For references on fabrication in the Argolid, see for instance Catling & Millet 1965: 221; Catling, Jones & Millet 1978; Jones 1986: 603–609; Mommsen & Maran 2000–01; Slenczka 1974: 152.

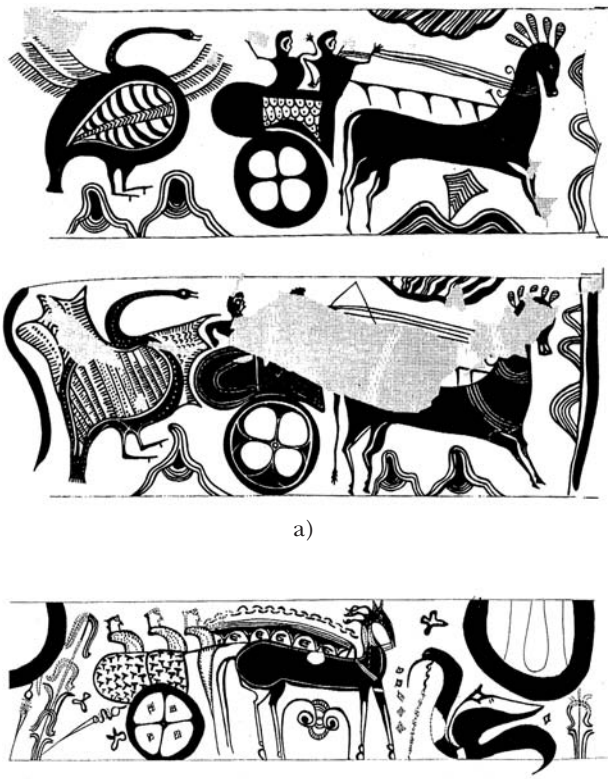
[298] Åkerström 1987. Analysis conducted on the chariot krater from tomb 387 at Tell Dan shows that it originated from the Berbati/Mycenae area.

[299] Mommsen & Maran 2000–01: 103. Chemical studies tend to nuance this picture and to show that different production centers might have existed, especially at the end of the Late Bronze Age, with for instance a workshop located in Cyprus (Gunneweg *et al.* 1992). Analysis on material from Enkomi shows two different origins: Argolid and maybe Cyprus; the chariot krater ENK 52 might come from the Argolid, whereas, according to Gunneweg *et al.* (1992), the two chariot kraters ENK 42 and ENK 276 might have been locally produced. The recent evaluation of these sherds by Mommsen & Maran also show that they are all chemically different from each other and belong to different productions of one or several workshops, but no definite provenance can be stated (Mommsen & Maran 2000–01: 102).

[300] See for instance RIH 73/1.

tion of the one behind. The crew of the chariot, as a rule, consists of two persons, the first a driver, the second one an official or high-ranking person sometimes shaded by a parasol attached to the box.[301] On occasion we find crews of three[302] or, more rarely, four[303] persons.[304] In some examples, there are men, grooms or even soldiers marching in front of the horses or following the chariot. In later specimens from the LH IIIB, painters depicted a woman in a gesture of grieving, which Åkerström interprets as a woman taking leave of a husband departing for war.[305] For Åkerström,[306] the "orthodox" processional chariot scene on amphoroid or open kraters "more or less controlled the market" and mostly remains the same in the LH IIIB, even if this period tended towards geometrization or ornamentalization.

Some chariot kraters show unusual motifs and decorations, such as the Pyla krater, the amphoroid krater in London (C341), and the "Zeus" krater from Enkomi.[307] Likewise, one fragment from Tiryns[308] depicts parts of two chariot teams driving to the right at high speed. Some of these unusual representations may portray more than a simple chariot scene and may refer not only to myths and epics,[309] but also to former practices or beliefs.[310] For instance, the krater AO 20376 from Ugarit shows a giant bird in the forefront of the chariot scene (Fig. 12b).[311] This bird, depicted instead of the usual grooms, is linked to the groundline by a wavy line.[312] A similar scene, represented on a krater from Enkomi,[313] could indicate that this scene represents a myth or a story about the hunt or encounter with a monstrous or a fantastical bird and can show shared beliefs between Ugarit and



a)

b)

Fig. 12 Chariot kraters with representation of a bird a) Enkomi (after VERMEULE and KARAGEORGHIS 1982, fig. III.6; courtesy of Vassos Karageorghis); b) Ugarit (after YON, KARAGEORGHIS & HIRSCHFELD 2000, fig. 4, cat. 35; courtesy of Marguerite Yon and of the Mission de Ras Shamra)

[301] See the parasol krater (VERMEULE & KARAGEORGHIS 1982: X.4) and its recent join by SHELTON & WARDLE (see FRENCH 2006: 49).

[302] A crew of three persons is depicted in vases V 69, 80, 83, 85, 95, 125, 149, 159, 161 and 163 (CROUWEL 1981). Likewise, a three-person crew is also attested by a fragmentary terracotta model from Tiryns (T 44). This model indicates a third occupant with the possible remains of a parasol beside him (CROUWEL 1981: 65).

[303] See for instance vases V 30 and V 58. (CROUWEL 1981).

[304] Whereas Egyptian and Asiatic chariots mostly carry one to two persons, except on the relief of the battle of Kadesh and on the Battle of Ramses III against the Sea-People, where the enemies are organized in three person crews.

[305] ÅKERSTRÖM 1987: 89.

[306] ÅKERSTRÖM 1987: 116.

[307] This krater is dated from the LH IIIB according to ÅKERSTRÖM 1987: 104, but from the LH IIIA:1 by VERMEULE & KARAGEORGHIS 1982. In these vases, a person is depicted carrying a geometrically shaped item on his shoulder while running toward the chariot. The object he is carrying has been interpreted as a bow (VERMEULE & KARAGEORGHIS 1982: 15); however, according to Åkerström, this object could be similar to an Egyptian low chair as depicted on Amenhotep Sise's tomb scene when he is returning from an expedition (ÅKERSTRÖM 1987: 101–102).

[308] ÅKERSTRÖM 1987: 88, fig. 54.1; SCHLIEMANN 1885 (1967): 354, fig. 155; VERMEULE & KARAGEORGHIS 1982: XI.19.

[309] KARAGEORGHIS 1958.

[310] MÜLLER-CELKA 2005: 167

[311] See cat. no. 35 (YON, KARAGEORGHIS & HIRSCHFELD 2000: 82).

[312] This line can represent either a rope binding the bird to the ground (KARAGEORGHIS 1958: 384) or a sound made by the bird.

[313] VERMEULE & KARAGEORGHIS 1982: III.6; French excavations tomb 7, no. 4784.

Enkomi (Fig. 12a). Only a few vases have representations of horse riders, such as MAN 76714, found in tomb VI at Minet el-Beida (Fig. 13). This type of representation is rare in the second millennium and horses were rarely ridden.[314] In this study, we do not take all of the representations of horse riders into account, but only the ones that are or could be related to chariots. We thus take into account the Mycenaean ceramics especially when the representation appears on kraters or when the horse representation is deposited in the same context as other chariot-related material. In such cases, we consider that they could have carried a similar meaning as a chariot representation.

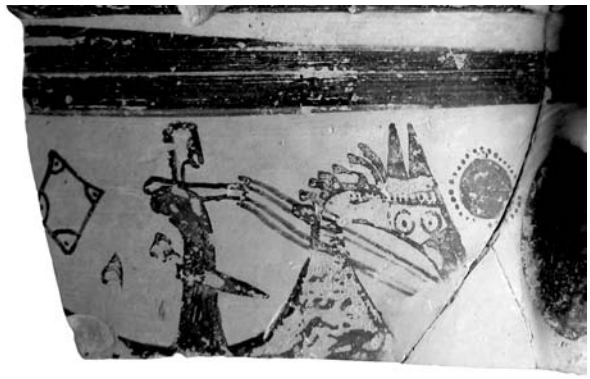


Fig. 13 Sherds showing horse rider from Minet el-Beida, tomb VI (MAN 76714; photo: C. Sauvage)

1. Cyprus

In Cyprus, except for the texts that were already mentioned,[315] Mycenaean chariot kraters and rhyta in the shape of an equid head are the main archaeological testimony of chariot related material. This material is found almost exclusively in tombs. We find here the highest concentration of chariot kraters as well as one of the highest concentrations of Mycenaean ceramics outside Greece, contributing to the earlier theory of a Cypriot manufacture.

In Enkomi, 40 chariot kraters or fragments were recovered, most of them from tombs: six from Tomb 12, ten from Tomb 3, one each in Tombs 7, 11, 17, 45, 48, 51, 66, 67, 68, 70, 94. A few

[314] The first known representations of horse riders appear on terracotta plaques in Mesopotamia, such as BM 22958, and date from the first quarter of the second millennium BC (Moorey 1970: 37), even if there are textual mentions of horse riders as early as the third millennium BC in a Sumerian fable (Gordon 1958: 5.38). In Mari, horse riding was not considered safe, as in a Mari letter (ARM VI, 76), King Zimri-Lim is advised to take care of his personal safety by riding on a mule or in a chariot rather than a horse (Gordon 1958: 19 for further references). Indeed, horses barely appear on royal seals and sealings: see however, the cylinder seal RS 92.3195 found near Urtenu's house (Yon & Caubet 1995: 44, fig. 4). Except some military representations, most of the Late Bronze Age horse rider images are divine such as the gold leaf plaque from the Lachish temple dating from 1200 BC (Clamer 1980); in Egypt, the Levantine gods Reshep, Astarte and Baal-Seth are the only riding gods (and indicate the divine connection with war) and representations of Reshef on horses are only attested in the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, while horse rider representations are not frequent (see Leclant 1960; Zivie 1985; Cornelius 1994: 72–87). All the Egyptian sources associating the god Reshef with horses or chariots date from the 18th Dynasty and emphasize his warlike character when represented with weapons or mentioned in texts with Monthu, while the inscription describes the destruction of Egypt's enemies (Fulco 1976: 3–22 for the sources; Cornelius 1994: 87). The other Late Bronze Age representations of horse riders have a military context and show scouts and messengers armed with weapons, probably for their own safety, such as in the battle of Kadesh depicted at Abu Simbel or in the tomb of Horemheb at Saqqara (see Houlihan 1996: 33, 37 fig. 28). In Mycenaean Greece, horse riders were also part of the military expeditions and were either scouts or escorts and could also have had a ceremonial role (Bradfer-Burdet 2005: 91–92). According to Cultraro, riders may be young royal members and symbolic of a particular gender and age grade (Cultraro 2005). In Egypt, only one inscription found in the tomb of Thutmose III mentions the possibility of the king riding on the back of horses (Houlihan 1996: 34). The real cavalry only appear in the first millennium BC as can be seen in Neo-Assyrian reliefs, and it is at the same time that horses became a royal mount (Littauer & Crouwel 1979: 134–139). This evolution of the function of horse riders is certainly due to the evolution of the rider's position on the equid, passing from a "donkey seat" – as seen in Horemheb's tomb in Saqqara – to balanced seats as Sargon II's cavalrymen exemplified (Hyland 2003: 50–51; Littauer & Crouwel 1979). According to Anthony, the rise of the cavalry in the first millennium BC was also due to the use of suitable, shorter bows ('cupid bows') that the archers were able to manipulate easily across the back of the horse (Anthony 2007: 223).

[315] See above, part 1.

fragments come from the settlement:[316] seven are unstratified and two of them are well-located in the Ashlar building, area I. All the kraters found in funerary contexts come from rich tombs, but not all the rich tombs contained chariot kraters.[317] Tombs with chariot kraters are characterized by rich and diverse assemblages, with large items such as bowls, headdresses, boxes, etc.; the comparable tombs in terms of assemblage and wealth contained bull kraters.[318] At Kition only two fragmentary chariot vases are known: one comes from a secondary context[319] at Bamboula and one was found in a tomb: caveau 1.1.[320] The situation is similar at Hala Sultan Tekke, where two vases were found in Tomb 2.[321] At Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, two chariot kraters were found in tombs. K-AD 1619 was found in tomb 13, located in a wide N-S street, and was decorated with an unusual representation of a lady in a shrine.[322] On one side, she is flanked by a horse and a fish, while on the other side, a "procession" of a chariot followed by a horse is represented facing the building.[323] The second krater comes from tomb 21 and is decorated with antithetic chariots.[324]

Other remains come from early excavations and their archaeological contexts are not always precise. Four pieces from the 1898 British excavations at Klavdia have no known archaeological context, but most likely come from tombs because the necropolis was the main excavation area at the time. In Kourion, four pieces discovered during the 1895 British excavations come from the necropolis (Tombs 34, 48, 102 – new tomb 17, new tomb 16), while one piece, said to be from Kourion[325] could have the same context. In Maroni, two vases were discovered in Tomb 2, while the 10 or 11 other vases excavated by the British at the same time were probably funerary in context.[326] Finally, two specimens were discovered in Tomb 1 at Pyla-Verghi. At the sites of Gastri, Arpera Chiflik, Ayia Paraskevi and Aradipo, one vase is known from each site but lacks context.

Summary

In Cyprus, chariot kraters come mainly from tombs, but were present in official contexts as the Enkomi sherds from the Ashlar building testify, and are absent from domestic contexts, except in Enkomi where sherds were recorded in the settlement. This domestic context is correlated by the signs of wear and use present on some Enkomi kraters, which are not post-depositionnal[327] and that might show the value of the vases.[328] However, no sign of wear appears on the Kalavassos kraters.

The highest concentration of chariot kraters comes from Enkomi, while relatively fewer ceramics come from rich Late Bronze Age tombs in the region of Hala Sultan Tekke-Kition.[329] This privileged distribution is perhaps due to the excavations and to the large number of Late Bronze Age tombs excavated in Enkomi. Yet only 14 of the 183 Enkomi tombs contained Mycenaean ceramics with chariot representations. According to South, no motif choice was made for the kraters from Kalavassos: the persons were buried with what was available.[330] However, at Enkomi, a choice was probably made for at least some motifs. Indeed, it seems that the bulls and chariots motifs were chosen for some prestigious tombs, in which other objects such as horse-head shaped rhyta or bull head earings reinforce this impression.[331] But, these two krater types were never deposited

316 Crouwel 1981: 167, v. 104–108+.

317 For instance, Gjerstadt tombs 3 (intact bottom layer), 10 (first burial period), 11 (first period A), 17 (second group) and 18 (chamber second group).

318 Gjerstadt, tombs 18 and 19.

319 Locus 314. This deposit is made of looted material from tombs and of accumulation of material from a domestic and or commercial context and was against the enclosure wall of the city (Yon 1985: 41–45).

320 Yon & Caubet 1985.

321 Crouwel 1981: 168.

322 South 2006: 137–139.

323 See Steel 2006: 148, fig. 1.

324 South 2006: 140–143.

325 Nicosia: CM A 2025d whose provenience is uncertain.

326 The 1897–98 British excavations principally dealt with the tombs, cf. Murray, Smith & Walters 1900.

327 Keswani 2004: 127.

328 Pictorial ceramic could have been a valued possession used during its owner's lifetime. See for instance, the repaired examples, Crouwel 1991: 32–33; Steel 1999: 808.

329 See for instance tomb 9 in Kition, cf. Karageorghis 1974.

330 South 2006: 145–146.

331 For me, when a Mycenaean pictorial ceramic is present in an Enkomi tomb, a choice had been made between the two main motifs: bull or chariot. See for instance the objects from Tomb 11, Gjerstad 1934: 510, pl. LXXXIV; or tomb 88, Murray, Smith & Walters 1900: fig. 62, n°1217.

together and were randomly associated with other motifs such as fish, birds, or goats. The chariot motif was thus chosen by some wealthy persons and we wonder if it was meant to represent a certain type or group of people, perhaps officials, since the only evidence of horse imports were supervised by the king. According to the finds from Kalavassos, it seems that no gender association can be made with the deposition of kraters in tombs. Indeed, it is possible that the krater K-AD 1619 from tomb 13, with the chariot and lady in the shrine decoration was associated with the woman found on the bench of the tomb.[332] Therefore, this type of material may have been characteristic of an entire social group comprising women as well.[333] The Enkomi concentration and contexts are only paralleled by the finds in Ugarit, recalling the special ties between the two cities.

2. Levant and Jordan

Ugarit and its Territory

In Ugarit, about 52 chariot kraters or fragments of chariot kraters have been found,[334] and context and/or provenience is known for half of them. Four were found in tombs, five came from the Royal palace, six from the recent excavations in the Urtenu house, one from the Yabninu house, three from the Postern area, one from Maison A, two from the acropolis, and at least one from the recent excavation in the Grand-Rue Area. The chariot krater fragment from Maison A in the "Centre de la Ville", listed by Leonard, has a domestic context, but is decorated with a palmette and may not be a chariot scene.[335] The fragment from Yabninu's house was found in a room adjacent to the tomb opening and is therefore believed to come from this tomb.[336] The fragment from the Grand-Rue Area was found in the filling of the house. In Urtenu's house, five chariot kraters were found either in or just outside the tomb and probably were part of the funerary material.[337] However, fragment RS 94.9418, found in room 2135, may have a domestic context.[338]

Outside the city, in the Ugarit territory, there are only a few attestations of chariots kraters. In Minet el-Beida, nine different chariot kraters or sherds were excavated by Schaeffer between 1929 and 1934. Four came from tombs, while three pierced sherds were found in domestic (?) contexts and were probably used as pottery making tools.[339] Only one sherd is known at Ras el-Bassit.[339a] Three kraters were found at Ras Ibn Hani, one in a tomb discovered in 1975,[340] one in a tomb of the "Palais nord" excavated in 1973 by the Antiquity Services[341] and the last lacks context.

Central Levant

Only a few chariots kraters were found further south. Sherds from Byblos[342] lack precise context. At Tell Kazel, two sherds were found by Dunand and Saliby in a test trench but lack precise context,[343] while an incomplete krater and a sherd coming from recent excavations were found in TK

[332] South 2006: 144.

[333] This non-exclusively male association is similar to the *mariyannu* class from Alalakh IV, where Agape-Kiashe and her future offspring were *mariyannu* (AIT 91; Dassow 2008: 278).

[334] Leonard 1994; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000; Sauvage forthc. Some of the sherds mentioned by Leonard do not seem to bear a chariot decoration. See for example, n°201, whose motif is closer to a palmette than to a chariot.

[335] Yon, Lonbard & Renisio also interpret its decoration as a palmette (1987: 55, fig. 36); *contra* see Leonard 1994: n°201.

[336] The exceptional krater with the "master of the horses" (RS 27.319) was found in room 219. It might belong to the material of one of the two tombs nearby, probably tomb 220 whose entrance is only a few meters away from the door of room 219 (plan, see Yon 1997: 62, fig 28; for tomb 220, see Marchegay 1999: catalogue tomb number: n°206; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 8).

[337] The sherds RS 92.2176–2181; RS 94.2271; RS 94.2710+ 9265+9303 found in rooms 2123 (north of the *dromos*) and in room 2072 (in which the *dromos* opens), in room 2053 (in contact with room 2072) may come from the tombs. They were probably distributed when the tomb was looted (Yon 1997a: 170–171; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 7, 12; Marchegay forthc.). However, their stratigraphy is not clear and they could also come from the upper story (Sauvage forthc.).

[338] Sauvage forthc.

[339] Schaeffer 1949: 180 and 232.

[339a] Courbin 1986.

[340] Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 5; Toueir 1975: 66–70; Leonard 1994: n°164.

[341] Bounni, Lagarce & Lagarce 1998: 174, fig. 155.1.

[342] According to Leonard (1994: n°214), a chariot krater sherd comes from Byblos, but the motif is not clear and we cannot identify it. It was found in a top layer with Greek and Late Bronze Age sherds (Dunand 1939: 106, pl. CLXXVII).

[343] Dunand & Saliby 1957: 11–12, pl. III middle.

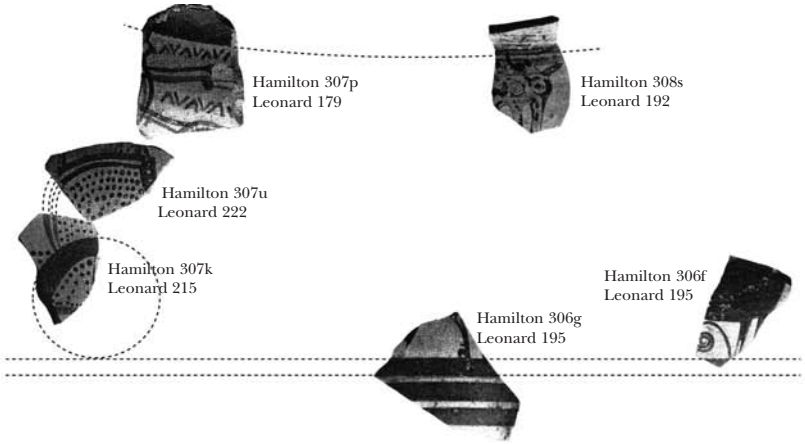


Fig. 14 Sherds from Tell Abu Hawam (after HAMILTON 1935, pls. 306–308)

86 Z19 NE 525.37 and TK 87 Z19 NE/NW 602.1 and date to the LH IIIB.[344] In Sarepta, a lentoid flask[345] with a horse representation came from a rich tomb that also contained several imported stirrup jars and other lentoid flasks.[346] In Tell Dan, a Berbati[347] krater was found in the undisturbed tomb 387. This tomb was used for two generations and contained 40 skeletons, 108 complete vessels (28 of them are Mycenaean, plus sherds of others), remains of weapons, bronze, gold and silver vessels, and ivory and bone objects.[348]

Leonard records a total of eight chariot krater sherds under seven catalogue entries and one chariot bowl at Tell Abu Hawam.[349] Hamilton sherd number 308u might also be part of the crew of a chariot vase. Among the finds, two came from a disturbed context near the town wall[350] and the rest came from domestic contexts. Review of Hamilton's publication might lead one to believe that Leonard inventories 179, 192 and 215 belonged to the same vase, because they were found in the same area (E5, stratum V, while sherd 192 may be from stratum IV). Likewise, it is probable that Leonard's numbers 195 and 222 belonged to the same vase, because both come from D2, stratum IV, building 45. Study of the illustrations shows that Leonard number 179, 192 and 215 are likely to belong to the same krater, as is number 222 (Fig. 14). There may be confusion in Hamilton's captions between sherds 307u and 308s, or the four sherds may belong to the same vase, even if coming from different contexts. Likewise, the two sherds under Leonard number 195 (Hamilton number 306f and 306g) do not match and certainly did not belong to the same vase even if from the same context; however, one of them can possibly match the horse head of 308s. Consequently, it is possible that between six and eight chariot vases instead of ten were uncovered at Tell Abu Hawam.

Southern Levant

Southern Levantine sites have yielded no more than between one and three chariot krater sherds each. In Ain Shems (Beth Shems), two fragments from Grant's excavations are recorded without real context: "outside wall X, south of original trench".[351] In Ashdod, three LH IIIA–B sherds were found, two of them in locus 524 and one in locus 520, both loci being described simply as "area" by the excavators.[352] The third sherd comes from a LB building in area B.[353] Two fragments from Tell esh Sharia come from domestic contexts.[354] Contexts

[344] CAUBET & YON 1990: 106, cat. n° 20 and 39, fig. 1 and 4.
[345] BARAMKI 1958: 136, n°26.
[346] This tomb was disturbed and its material destroyed before archaeologists could record the finds. It contained 67 ceramics, half being imported from Cyprus or the Aegean. The tomb also contained an Egyptian scarab and two faience amulets. BARAMKI 1958: 130; BIRAN 1974.
[347] GUNNEWEG *et al.* 1992; MOMMSEN & MARAN 2000–2001; BIRAN 1974.
[348] GUNNEWEG *et al.* 1992: 58.
[349] LEONARD 1994.
[350] Rebuilt and disturbed during the Persian Period (BALENSI 2004: 166).
[351] GRANT 1929: 206, n°11, fig. 11, pls. XXXIV:4, XLIX:1, 2; GRANT & WRIGHT 1939: 119, fig. 11
[352] DOTHAN & FREEDMAN 1967: 86.
[353] DOTHAN 1967: 180–181.
[354] OREN & NETZER 1973: 253, pl. 70b.

for the ceramics from Gezer are unknown.[355] At Tell el-Ajjul, a chariot krater was found in a domestic context.[356] In Lachish a chariot krater sherd was discovered, but its context is unknown.[356a]

Egypt

In Egypt, the situation is similar and overall only a few Mycenaean vases of any type have been found.[357] The vast majority of these vases consists of non-pictorial ceramics, and we only know of one relevant sherd for this study, found at Tell el-Muqdâm with faience fragments bearing the names of Ramses II and Merneptah, but it lacks reliable archaeological context.[358]

Jordan

At Amman, within the so-called Airport excavation, two or three LHIII:A2 amphoroid chariot kraters (FS 53–55) were found[359] in the funerary structure mentioned in part I.[360] In Sahab, a chariot krater fragment was found in a domestic context.[360a]

Summary

In the Levant, chariot kraters were discovered in funerary, religious and domestic and/or military buildings. In the northern Levant, and especially at Ugarit, they mostly come from tombs, but some were domestic in context. In the south of the Levant and Jordan, the few tombs with this material are unusual for the area (Sarepta,[361] Tell Dan,[362] Amman, etc.) and compare with the rich tombs of Ugarit or Cyprus, while most of the chariot krater finds further south come from domestic contexts. The distribution and context of the finds in the coastal area south of Ugarit are mid-way between what we find in the northern Levant and Egypt. When compared with the northern Levant, the quasi-absence of chariot kraters finds in the southern Levant is striking.

3. Aegean

In the Aegean, the majority of the finds comes from domestic or occupational contexts, while only a few come from funerary contexts. Here, we will first describe the occupational contexts before focusing on funerary contexts in the Argolid and in the islands.

At Mycenae, fragments of three vases were found outside the citadel walls on a wash above the House of the Sphinxes, and two fragmentary vases were discovered near the Great Poros Wall Area.[363] Five vases were found inside the citadel walls. In the LH IIIA-B period, pictorial ceramics were concentrated on the southwest slope of the acropolis.[364] These various contexts, mostly from washes or fills cannot give us further information on how or why pictorials vases and especially chariot kraters were used at Mycenae.[365] In Athens, all chariot kraters come from the acropolis, but the altar krater was found in a secondary deposit.[366] In Tiryns, some chariot kraters[367] were found by Schliemann on the acropolis,[368] but most came from the German excavations either beyond the citadel walls or in the LH IIIC settlement in the lower citadel (*Unterburg*). In Perseia, two fragmentary vases come from a settlement context, while the archaeological context of the finds from Asine, Corinth and Orchomenos is unclear. Two LH IIIC fragments from Lefkandi come from a domestic context, three come from a yard or passageway in the Main Excavation phase 2,

[355] Macalister 1912.

[356] Petrie 1934: vol. 2, p. 13, pl. XLVI:35; Stubbing 1951: 85, fig. 33; Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982: 200, pl. IV.74.

[356a] Hankey & Hankey 1985.

[357] See for instance the seven Mycenaean vases from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb (Bourriau, Aston, Raven, Van Walsem & Hope 2005: 69–71).

[358] Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982: 201; Hankey 1993: 112.

[359] Hankey 1967: 142; Hankey 1974: 147–148.

[360] See above, part 1.

[360a] Ibrahim 1975.

[361] It is a cave with bench burial that Gonen attributes to foreign people (Gonen 1992: 124–127).

[362] Gonen thinks the structural tomb at Tell Dan must be attributed to traveling merchants (Gonen 1992: 148–149), and he attributes it to foreign people (Gonen 1992: 139–141).

[363] 11 of the 23 (22 after a recent join; French 2006: 49) pictorial sherds come from the region of the Tomb of Clytemnestra and its enclosure wall on the east: the Great Poros Wall. This wall has to be considered as a "sacred precinct" or a votive area (Crouwel 1988: 34 and notes 34–35 for the bibliography). According to French, it was an area where offerings were deposited (French 2006: 48).

[364] Steel 1999: 805.

[365] See French 2006.

[366] The krater was found in a rubbish dump in the Agora (Steel 1999: 805 and note 15 for the bibliography).

[367] Schliemann 1885 (1967): pls. XIV, XV, XIX.a, XXI.b, XXII.e.

[368] See the descriptions of some sherds, Schliemann 1885 (1967): 103–104.

one from an alleyway from the Main Excavation level 1b, two in a probable domestic context in a test trench, one was found on the surface, and two in a post BA level in the Main Excavation.[369]

Moving to funerary contexts, two chariot kraters were found in the Evangelistria necropolis near Nauplion,[370] each being located in a different tomb.[371] One vase comes from a chamber tomb at Palaiomandri.[372] In Kopreza a LH IIIA–B chariot krater was found in a chamber tomb,[373] and in Perati, a LH IIIC stirrup jar decorated with a horse[374] was found in the chamber tomb 92 along with 11 other vases. When studying the Aegean islands, we find more examples of pictorial vases with chariot or horse decoration in funerary contexts. One LM IIIA:2 pyxis with a dual chariot comes from a chamber tomb in Chania. On Rhodes, two LH IIIA:2–LH IIIB kraters were found in the necropolis of Ialysos, one in Chamber Tomb XXVIII and the second in Chamber Tomb LX.[375] Another fragmentary LH IIIA:2 late chariot krater comes from the dromos of Tomb 3 in Pylona.[376] And finally, in Salamis, one LH IIIB or C chariot krater was found in the Chalioti necropolis.

Pictorial ceramics are very rare in funerary contexts in Mycenae[377] and Tiryns,[378] but must be taken into account, given that they may reflect a tradition or specific desire for burial alongside horse or chariot imagery.[379] Vermeule proposed that these types of burials were probably supplemented by cheaper versions of horses, namely chariot kraters and terracotta figurines,[380] and it could also correspond to a continuation of funeral games. We know of only one 17th–16th c. BC horse burial in Greece located at the outer end of the Marathon tholos dromos burial.[381] However, except for the earlier examples from the shaft graves at Mycenae and the horse burial from Marathon, there is no LH III evidence for such funeral connotation or practice.[382] According to Gallou, the depiction of chariots in Mycenaean funerary art or the deposition of terracotta chariots suggests a symbolic character and a chthonic significance of the chariot "as an allegory of the journey to the Underworld".[383] This could be confirmed by finds in the Aegean Islands, where this type of ceramic has only been found in Crete (four vases), Euboea (two in Lefkandi, one from the settlement and one without context), Rhodes (three vases) and Salamis. According to Crouwel, careful examination of these island chariot vases reveals that the depiction is, if not unusual, schematic or sketchily drawn,[384] which might correspond to cheap representations of chariots. Indeed, the vehicle painted on the pyxis from Chania was compressed to meet a lack of space; the dual chariot from the Ialysos' amphoroid krater (V 62) was extremely schematized and was driven by a single occupant; and finally the chariot painted on the Salamis krater (V 66), with a single occupant, is "summarily rendered". Is it chance? Should these poorly executed representations

[369] Crouwel 2006a: 248–249.

[370] Deilaki 1973: 90–93; Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982: IX.1.1; Crouwel 1981: 164, V 26; Åkerström quotes 2 vases (Åkerström 1987: 119).

[371] A total of 33 chamber tombs were examined.

[372] Crouwel 1988: 34.

[373] Crouwel 1981: 163, V 8.

[374] The horse is painted on the shoulder and its harness is visible. Above its back, a geometric motif is represented, which could be similar to the "low chair motif" proposed by Åkerström (see note 307) (Benson 1968: pl. 68: 18; Iakovides 1969: pl. 60, n°715).

[375] This krater was imported from the Argolid as analysis has shown. Moreover, it was painted by the same painter as a krater from Kourion (Mee 1982: 17, note 101 and 102).

[376] This krater was imported from the Argolid (Karantzali 2001: 36).

[377] Only one LH IIIB:2 chariot krater is known (Athens Museum no. 7387; Crouwel 1988: 34; Sakellarakis 1992: 25–26, cat n°11).

[378] Pieces have been found at the Klakani and the Panagia ridges and another find from a chamber tomb at Palaiomandri (cf. Crouwel 1988: 34).

[379] Vermeule understood the chariot scenes as references to funerary processions and games or as a substitute for horse burials (Vermeule 1979: 61–62).

[380] Vermeule 1979: 60–61; Gallou 2005: 45.

[381] This dual horse burial gives the impression that the horses were yoked to a chariot, even if no trace of car or harness were found (Gallou 2005: 45, fig. 33a, 33b; Vermeule 1964: 298–299, pl. XLVIII.B). The entrance of the tomb was the passageway between life and death, therefore these burials might have an eschatological connotation (Gallou 2005: 46).

[382] See also Immerwahr 1990: 153.

[383] Gallou 2005: 45.

[384] Crouwel 1981: 77

be interpreted as an islander's will to imitate and own prestigious or socially marked ceramics? Or as a belief of an afterlife land journey, for which they would need transportation? However, it is evident that boat models were more common and more adapted to Aegean travel than chariots, which were obviously not made for sea travels[385] nor for the rocky mountainous Greek landscape.

The pictorial style ceramics, particularly kraters, are associated with drinking activities. The kraters' main function being mixing, pouring, and drinking wine, they were thus probably involved with a cultic or ceremonial function in Mycenaean society.[386] Chariot scenes are sometimes associated with funerary processions or funerary games in honor of the deceased because of their appearance on funerary monuments (the Shaft Grave stelae, the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus) and because of the "exceptions" at Tiryns, Nauplion, Kopreza, and Perati on the mainland[387] and at Chania, Ialysos, Pylona and Salamis on the islands. In the meantime, chariot imagery should also be interpreted as denoting an aristocratic lifestyle,[388] because of their appearance in the wallpaintings of Mycenaean palaces.

Summary

In LH IIIA–B mainland Greece, chariot vases come mostly from the acropolis of the town in Athens[389] and within the citadel walls at Mycenae and Tyrins. We must remember that *acropoli* were prestigious places, clearly associated with the elite. The use of decorative ivory inlays on some dual chariots might have been a distinctive sign either of wealthiness or of social status, correlating with the archaeological context of discovery on *acropoli*. In Greece, pictorial style ceramics represent a very small percentage of the total of the Late Bronze Age assemblage. At Mycenae, for instance, all the pictorial sherds discovered outside the citadel represent less than 1% of the painted vases, and the percentage is almost the same for the pottery found inside the citadel's walls.[390] At Tiryns too, these ceramics represent a very small percentage of the assemblage. According to Steel, the finds from Nauplion, Mycenae, Berbati, etc. show that the pictorial style was well established on the Greek mainland, where it was primarily used in settlement contexts. The distribution of finds shows that pictorial ceramics were mostly present around the Argolid[391] and in Attica (i.e., the homeland of the Aegean *koine*), whereas small quantities were found in the south and east Peloponnese and in Beotia (cf. Fig. 17).[392] It was thus a "rare" type of ceramic (and especially the chariot kraters), mostly appearing in palace contexts. Even if there is no direct association with palace activities or with elite activities in a palace context,[393] Steel suggests that the palace controlled the dissemination of this pottery type during the 14th and 13th c. BC.[394] Moreover, Darcque characterizes Mycenae as a "palace-town" designed to serve the elite, even if all the buildings didn't have the same function or social status.[394a] So, we can think that all of the sherds from the town belonged to or were associated with fairly high-ranking people. This type of ceramic was thus not accessible to everyone and was probably a prized item,[395] as repaired examples show.[396] Steel concludes that the LHIIIA–B pictorial ceramic style in the Aegean is closely related to aristocratic activities centered around drinking ceremonies in the citadel, but not in the palace.[397] Then, in the 13th c. BC, the pictorial style increased in popularity in the Aegean, but it only came into its own during the 12th c. BC,

[385] The only exception is perhaps the larnax from Episkopi-Ierapetras, where a boat-shaped chariot is riding over an octopus, supposedly to represent the sea (Vermeule 1979: 67–68; Gallou 2005: 47).

[386] Steel 1999: 805; Müller-Celka 2005: 160–161 (with notes and bibliography for further references on the others components of the drinking set).

[387] At Spata in Attica, pictorial ceramics were also deposited in tombs; Sakellarakis 1992: 71, cat n°127 (miniature amphoroid krater with a bird decoration), 102, cat n°226 (stirrup jar with a fish decoration).

[388] Steel 1999: 806.

[389] See also Steel 1999: 804.

[390] Crouwel 1988: 34

[391] And it is maybe not a coincidence that in the Iliad, Argos is said to breed horses ("hippobotos"), *Iliad*, III, 4.8.

[392] Steel 1999: 804.

[393] Crouwel 1991: 32.

[394] Steel 1999: 805.

[394a] Darcque 2005.

[395] Steel explains the presence of this pottery in funerary contexts with this hypothesis.

[396] Crouwel 1991: 32.

[397] Steel 1999: 806.

when the palace system collapsed.[398] This is the period where we see more LH IIIC chariot kraters in settlements as exemplified at Tiryns or Lefkandi.

The few attestations of chariot ceramics in LH IIIA–B funerary contexts in the Aegean islands and on the mainland do not suggest a funerary association with the chariot scene, but could instead refer to the chariot as a valued possession as seen at Enkomi and perhaps to a more Asiatic influence. On the mainland, the shapes deposited in the burials are similar to those of Near Eastern practices; however, the presence of pictorial ceramics in tombs may not represent anything specifically funerary, but instead valuable personal belongings.[399]

4. Anatolia

Only two Mycenaean chariot vases[400] are known from Anatolia, and they are not directly associated with other chariot-related archaeological material. At Miletus, one fragment of a LHIII:A2–IIIB amphoroid chariot krater comes from the Athena Temple area[401] in a lower level along a Mycenaean defense wall[402], and two bits were found in a chamber tomb[403] of the Degirmentepe necropolis. This necropolis shows a strong Mycenean influence, but the shape of the houses and the pottery used do not allow us to attribute any nationality to inhabitants.[404] Two fragments of Mycenaean chariot kraters come from Troy VI. Sherd VI.E.21 comes from the Earthquake area and the other one was found on the surface somewhere along the southern side of the Trojan Citadel.[405] According to stylistic criteria, they might derive from the same vase, but the reported places of discovery make it uncertain.[406] Neither fragment has a clear archaeological context. In Anataolia, Mycenaean ceramics were found at 26 sites, most of them being located along the western coast of the peninsula.[407] The only Hittite sites where Mycenaean ceramics were found are Maşat Höyük and Beycesultan.[408] There, less than 10 sherds have been excavated,[409] none of which were chariot kraters.

It is possible that the Anatolian coastal regions differed greatly from Hatti, where no chariot kraters have been found. For example, it seems that Miletus was more closely associated with Aegean traditions.

5. Mitanni

At Alalakh, 11 fragments of different chariot kraters were excavated. They all come from domestic contexts[410] except for one, found in the temple area without, however, a reliable stratigraphic location.[411] One of these fragments, from the Pyla-Verghi painter ATP 37/285, belongs to the early stage of the pictorial pottery confirming that this early style is not found exclusively in Cyprus.[412] From this perspective, Alalakh located in the far western Mitanni differs from the central part of Mitanni and from Mesopotamia and Babylon, where no Mycenaean ceramics have been found.

Discussion (Figs. 15–18)

In Ugarit where chariot kraters co-occur with other chariot artifacts, the distribution and context of Mycenaean pictorial ceramics show that the majority of these vases came from tombs. When

398 Steel 1999: and see her note 37 for continuity of styles between Palatial and Post-Palatial pictorial vase paintings.

399 Steel 1999: 805–806.

400 At least one Hittite vase coming from Alishar was also decorated with a chariot in relief (Boehmer 1983: 37, Abb. 24). See also Macqueen 1986: 57, fig. 29 for an Old Hittite sherd from Boghazköy with a six-spoked wheel and a chariot cart; see below, part 3.

401 Crouwel 1981: v. 67.

402 Mee 1978: 133.

403 Crouwel 1981: 158. The tombs from the Degirmentepe cemetery were not published and its material was lost during the Second World War. The only published objects from the tombs are the two horse bits. For various references, see Mee 1978: 133.

404 Darcque 1989: 441–442.

405 Blegen *et al.* 1953: 340, fig. 412 no. 6 and 6a.

406 Blegen *et al.* 1953.

407 Wijngaarden 2002: 318, map 12.

408 For Beycesultan and its possible incorporation into the Hittite empire, see above, part 1.

409 Wijngaarden 2002: 323.

410 Crouwel & Morris 1985: 96–97: "In contrast, some of the non-pictorial Mycenaean vases have been found in burial contexts."

411 Leonard 1994: n°178; cf. Woolley 1955: 371, pl. CXXVIIIA. The publication quotes a location in the Temple site Level II, while the preliminary report talks about a surface find from Level III.

412 Crouwel & Morris 1985: 98.

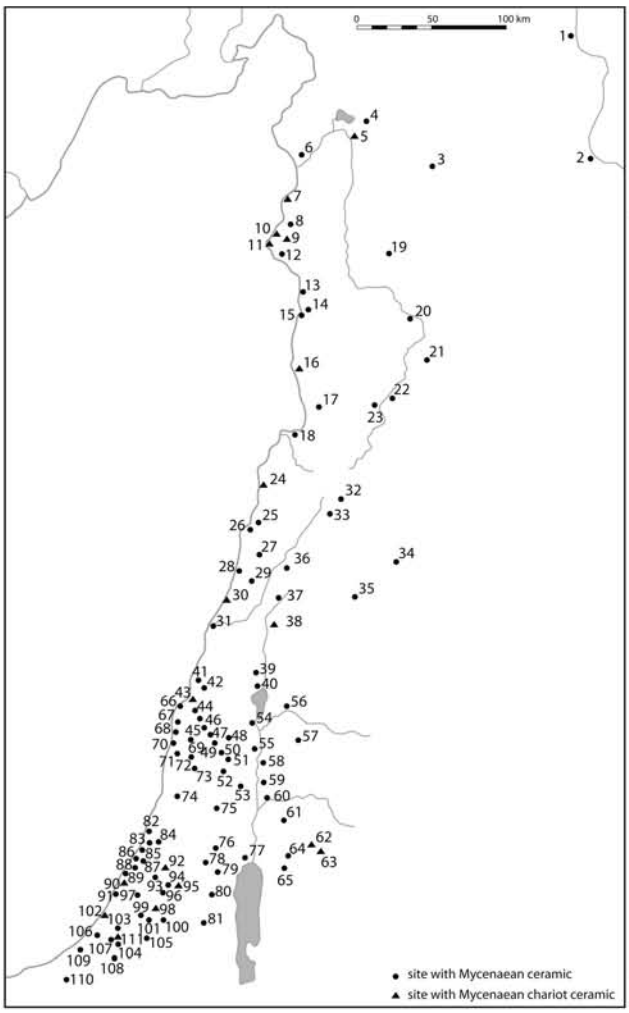


Fig. 15 Distribution of Mycenaean ceramics in the Levant (after WJINGAARDEN 2006, map 6, © C. Sauvage)

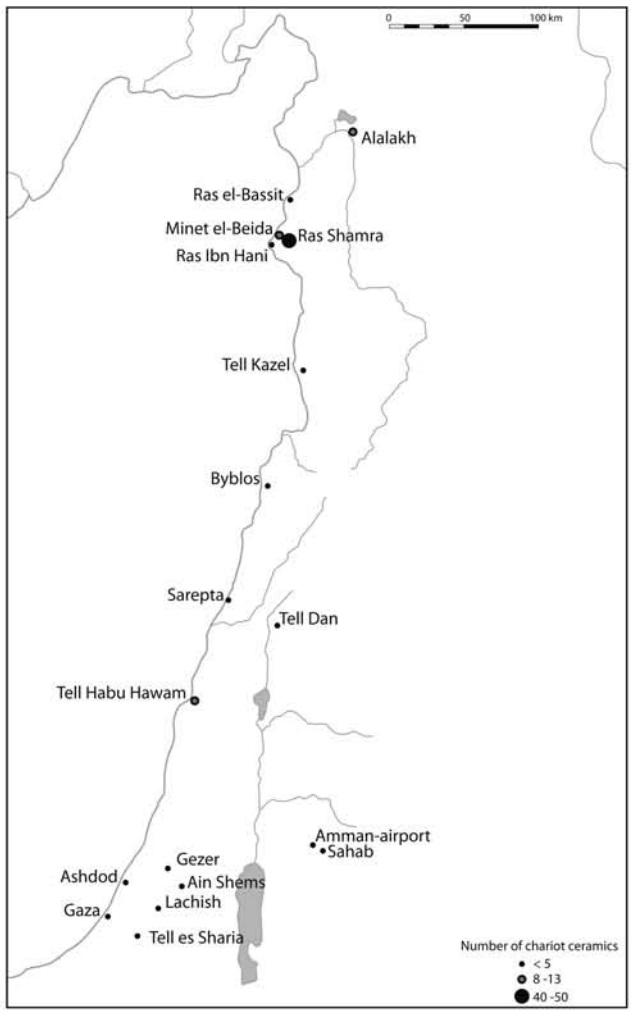


Fig. 16 Distribution and number of Mycenaean chariot kraters in the Levant (© C. Sauvage)

1- Karkemish
2- Meskene-Emar
3- Umm el-Marra
4- Chatal Hoyuk
5- Alalakh
6- Sabuni
7- Ras el-Bassit
8- Tell Nahr al-ᶜArab
9- Ras Shamra
10- Minet el-Beida
11- Ras Ibn Hani
12- Lattakia
13- Tell Sukas
14- Arab al-Mulk
15- Tell Daruk
16- Tell Kazel
17- Tell Hayat
18- Tell ᶜArqa
19- Khan Sheikoun
20- Hama
21- Qatna
22- Tel Ouaouieh
23- Qadesh (tell Nebi Mend)
24- Byblos
25- Beirut Dog River
26- Beirut (center)
27- Garife
28- Sidon
29- Qraye
30- Sarepta
31-Tyre
32- Tel el-Ghassil
33- Tel Ain Sherif
34- Tel es Salihyeh
35- Deir Khabie
36- Kamid el Loz
37- Khan Selim
38- Tell Dan
39- Hazor
40- Kinneret
41- Akko
42- Tel Bira
43- Tel Abu Hawam
44- Tel Qashish
45- Tel Qiri
46- Tel Yoqneᶜam
47- Abu Shushe
48- Afula
49- Megiddo
50- Tel Kadesh
51- Tel Taᶜanek
52- Dothan
53- Tel el-Farah
54- Tel Yinᶜam
55- Beth Shean
56- Tel Ashari
57- Tel Irbid
58- Pella
59- Tel es Saidiyeh
60- Deir Alla
61- Umm ad Dananir
62- Amman airport
63- Sahab
64- Hesban
65- Madeba
66- Tel es Samak
67- Atlit
68- Tel Nami
69- Tel Eran
70- Dor
71- Tel Mevorakh
72- Tel Aron
73- Jatt
74- Tel Burgatha
75- Shechem
76- Bethel
77- Jericho
78- Gibeon
79- Jerusalem
80- Khirbet Judur
81- Khirbet Rabud
82- Tel Michal
83- Aphek
84- Izbet Sartah
85- Tel Gerisa
86- Yavneh Yam
87- Dahrat al Humrayah
88- Tel Mor
89- Ashdod Yam
90- Ashdod
91- Ashkelon
92- Gezer
93- Tel Miqne
94- Tel Batash
95- Ain Shems
96- Tel es-Sa?
97- Tel Sippor
98- Lachish
99- Tel el Hesi
100- Tel Beit Mirsim
101- Tel Nagila
102- Tel ᶜAjjul (Gaza)
103- Qudur el Walaida
104- Tel Haror
105- Tel Seraᶜ
106- Deir el Balah
107- Gerar (Tell Jemmeh)
108- Tel el Farᶜah
109- Tel er Ridan
110- El-Harruba
111- Tel Seraᶜ (Tell es-Shari'a)

comparing the provenience of chariot-related objects, we find that Urtenu's house, whose owner was associated with chariots and horses in texts, was characterized by an assemblage of six chariot kraters, nine chariot fittings, and a few equid bones.[413] The situation is similar in Yabninu's house, where the master of horses krater, 13 horse bones (65% of the horse bones recently identified in the town)[414] and a cylinder seal with a chariot[415] were found. In the "Centre de la Ville", we may have an association of a possible chariot krater and yoke saddle boss in House A. No bones were available for identification in the royal palace, but chariot krater sherds were associated with a yoke saddle boss, a bit, blinkers and more chariot krater sherds on the postern. In the Grand-Rue Area and especially in Building B we also have a convincing association: a second large door on the southeast opening on a room equipped with two water troughs could be interpreted as a stable for two (?) prestigious (?) animals, perhaps horses.[416] This is emphasized by the discovery in the main street of the cylinder-seal bearing the image of a horseman[417] and the presence of a chariot krater in this house. In the area of the Library of the High Priest/"prêtre magicien", a cylinder seal with a chariot scene was found adjacent to a horse medical text. The strong association of several objects related to horses or chariots in the same building suggests that chariot iconography was a choice that expressed either group membership, social status, or privilege: "le choix par les Ougaritains de tells motifs sur des vases de prix ne peut donc être considéré seulement comme dû au plaisir de voir un decors flatteur, mais comme un signe social spécifique".[418] Was this specific interest for the motif due rather to a military association or to a special privilege only given by the king during their lives?

We previously pointed to similarity in the contexts of the chariot finds at Ugarit and Alalakh; and the Alalakh tablets that show an exclusively royal nomination of the *mariyannu* may incline us to think that the interest for the motif was closely associated to a special status conferred by the king, and perhaps experienced as a privilege. However, a difference might be seen at Alalakh in the use of the ceramics, which were all domestic in context, perhaps suggesting a different symbolic value than at Ugarit, but our evidence may be too little for such a statement. Alalakh and Ugarit, at a short distance from each other, were in frequent contact and intense trade relations existed, explaining the presence of Mycenaean ceramic inland.

In Cyprus, chariot kraters are found in tombs, while only a few sherds at Enkomi come from an official and domestic context. According to Vermeule and Karageorghis, pictorial ceramics were sometimes found in tombs of "quite ordinary people", suggesting that these vases were only moderately expensive or that they were not restricted to the rich.[419] At least at Enkomi, however, chariot kraters were a valued possession and had been chosen for their motifs given that they only appear in rich LC II tombs and are associated with prestigious material. Mycenaean chariot kraters found in Cypriot tombs might represent the desire to be buried with a status or identity marker, sometimes owned and used during their lives.

On mainland Greece, the chariot krater shapes deposited in burials are similar to those of Near Eastern practices; however, the presence of these ceramics in tombs may not represent anything specifically funerary,[420] but instead valuable personal belongings,[421] as already seen in Cyprus. Overall only a few archaeological materials such as chariot kraters, bits, and blinkers have been found.[422] They mostly come from prestigious contexts, such as tombs, or were associated with aristocratic activities taking place on the town acropolis.

In the southern Levant, only a few Mycenaean chariot ceramics are attested. In the central Lev-

[413] We also have to mention here that a house nearby contained big stone tanks, perhaps used as troughs for horses (horse bones were found in 1986–1988) (Yon 2004).

[414] Study done by Vila (2006).

[415] See below, part 3.

[416] Matoïan & Sauvage 2007: 53.

[417] RS 92.3195 (see Matoïan & Sauvage 2005: 65). For horse rider representations, see note 314.

[418] Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 12.

[419] Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982: 2.

[420] It was stressed that the vases from Nauplion and Kopreza are the two exceptions that confirm the rule that chariot vases from Berbati were not made to be deposited in chamber tombs of the Argolid (see for instance, Steel 1999: 806; Müller-Celka 2005: 154).

[421] Steel 1999: 805–806.

[422] This is probably due to the appearance of the material in domestic context, in which only fragmentary material survives.

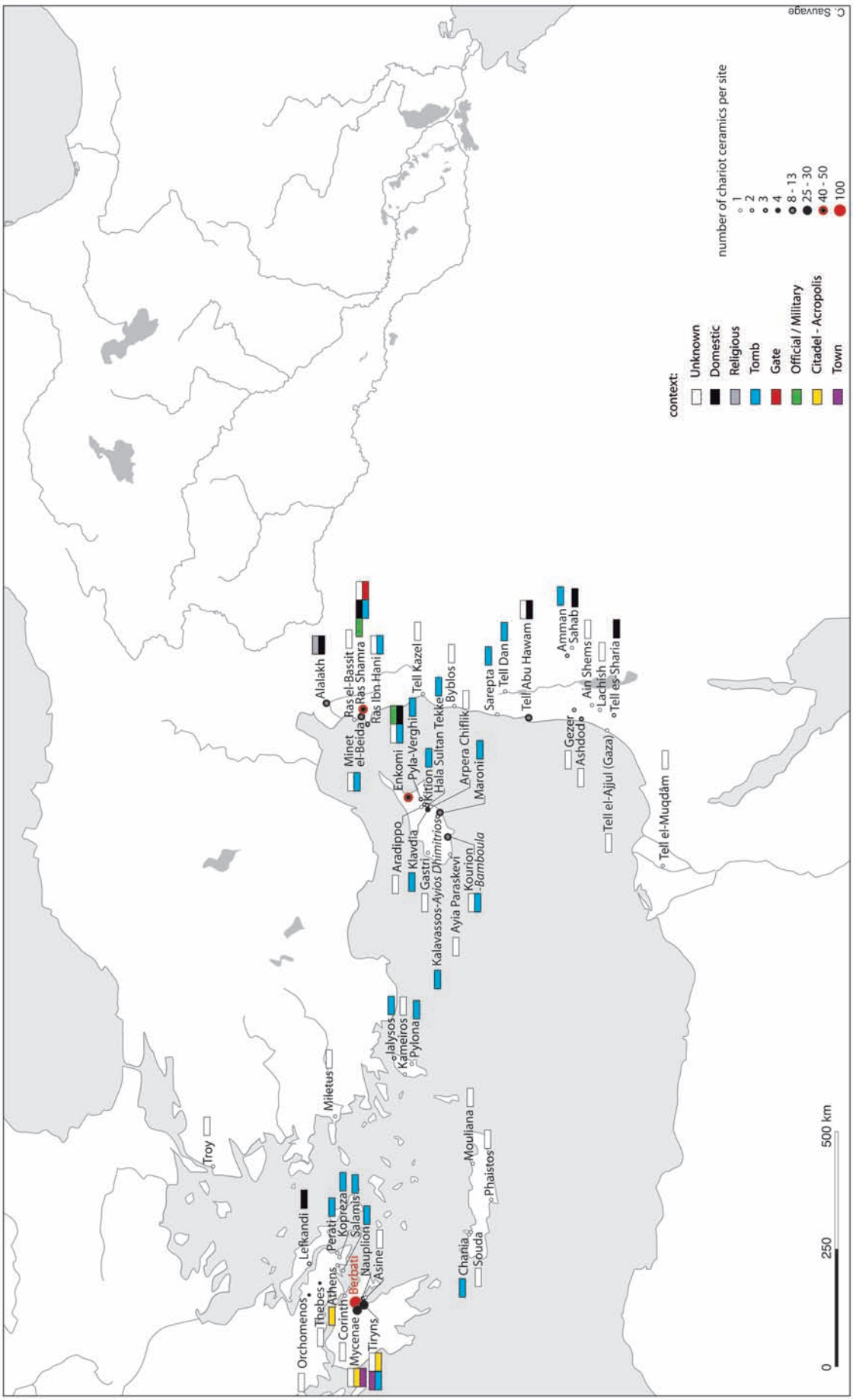


Fig. 17 Distribution and number of chariot kraters in the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East, with their archaeological contexts (© C. Sauvage)

ant, they come from unusual tombs, sometimes characterized as "foreign", such as at Sarepta and Tell Dan, while in the rest of Canaan, when the context is known, it is domestic.

Chariot kraters are absent from Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, Hatti, and Egypt, and it seems that Mycenaean ceramics in general did not commonly reach these regions. Given the pictorial style ceramic distribution in the Levant (Figs. 15, 16), it is clear that it was particularly appreciated in the northern Levant, especially at Ugarit and Alalakh. It is also apparent that it was insignificant – even absent – in areas in close contact with Egypt (the Southern Levant or Egypt itself), or in areas inland such as Mitanni, Mesopotamia, and Elam (Fig. 17).

The number of chariot scenes on Mycenaean kraters in Ugarit and its area (Ugarit, Minet el-Beida, Ras Ibn Hani, Ras el Bassit) is striking compared to other Near Eastern sites. Indeed, Steel[423] evaluated that 50%[424] of all the pictorial ceramic repertoire was found at Ugarit; 9% in Alalakh;[425] 8% in Abu Hawam; 5% in Megiddo, Beth Shean, Amman, and Byblos; and 4% in Ashdod and Gezer. Based on these data, kraters represent 73% of the forms. When reviewing the ceramic assemblage in the Résidence nord area at Ugarit, the Mycenaean ceramic represents only 1% of the repertory.[426] Moreover, within the Mycenaean ceramic finds, chariot krater sherds represent 5% of the finds,[427] meaning that these vases could represent only 0.05% of the total ceramics in Ugarit. Similarly, Mycenaean pottery in Troy VI and Kalavassos represents less than 2% of the pottery[428] and we know of only one fragmentary Mycenaean vessel bearing a chariot representation from Troy and of two chariot kraters from Kalavassos. Thus, it is clear that outside the Aegean world, Mycenaean ceramics and especially chariot kraters are overemphasized in the publications, compared to other ceramic types. However, Ugarit had one of the most important concentrations of Mycenaean ceramics, ranking it above the other Levantine sites and conferring a special place in comparison to other Levantine sites, and the same could be argued for Enkomi.

According to Steel, the percentage of pottery in each Levantine site may represent the real distribution pattern, reflecting a trade enterprise targeted at Syria[429] and especially Ugarit, the probable local port of entry and distribution center for pictorial style pottery in the Levant.[430] The sparse distribution of these ceramics in Greece has led to the hypothesis that their production was intended for a Cypriot-Near Eastern market.[431] However, even if the shapes (deep bowl kraters *vs.* amphoroid/bell kraters) and archaeological contexts are completely different between Greece and the Near East, it is hardly credible that the representation of a purely Aegean chariot motif was drawn, at the place of origin, on ceramics designed specifically for export to a region where "native/local" chariot representations were different. Indeed, if chariot kraters were made originally for the Levant, one should expect Levantine/Near Eastern iconography (if not style), including for example hunting scenes with bow and arrow.[432] Chariot kraters were popular in the northern Levant and Cyprus because of their motifs, which corresponded to a certain ideology involving *mariyannu* and chariots in the northern Levant, but the motifs were not specially adapted to the Levantine market.

It is probably because the inhabitants of the northern Levant and Enkomi liked the chariot motif and because this kind of representation was available on pictorial ceramics that the elite picked a ceramic motif corresponding to their titles and activities. It seems that at least in Cyprus we find a random motif association in tombs, except for the bull and chariot motifs, which were exclusive from each other, but which could be associated with any other motifs, probably ran-

[423] Steel 1999: 807.

[424] 50% in 1999: before the publication of the Mycenaean ceramics from the Louvre, cf. Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschefld 2000.

[425] See also Crouwel & Morris 1985: 85–98.

[426] Monchambert 2004: 11.

[427] Monchambert 2004: 269–287: within an inventory of 122 Mycenaean sherds, we can count 6 or maybe 7 sherds from chariot kraters.

[428] Mee 1978: 146; South 2006: 133.

[429] "The predominance of certain shapes in the Near East, diverging from the repertoire that might be expected in a contemporary Aegean context, suggests the existence of a targeted export industry producing certain shapes specifically for the eastern market" (Steel 1999: 803).

[430] Steel 1999: 806.

[431] Åkerström 1987: 119.

[432] See below, part 3.

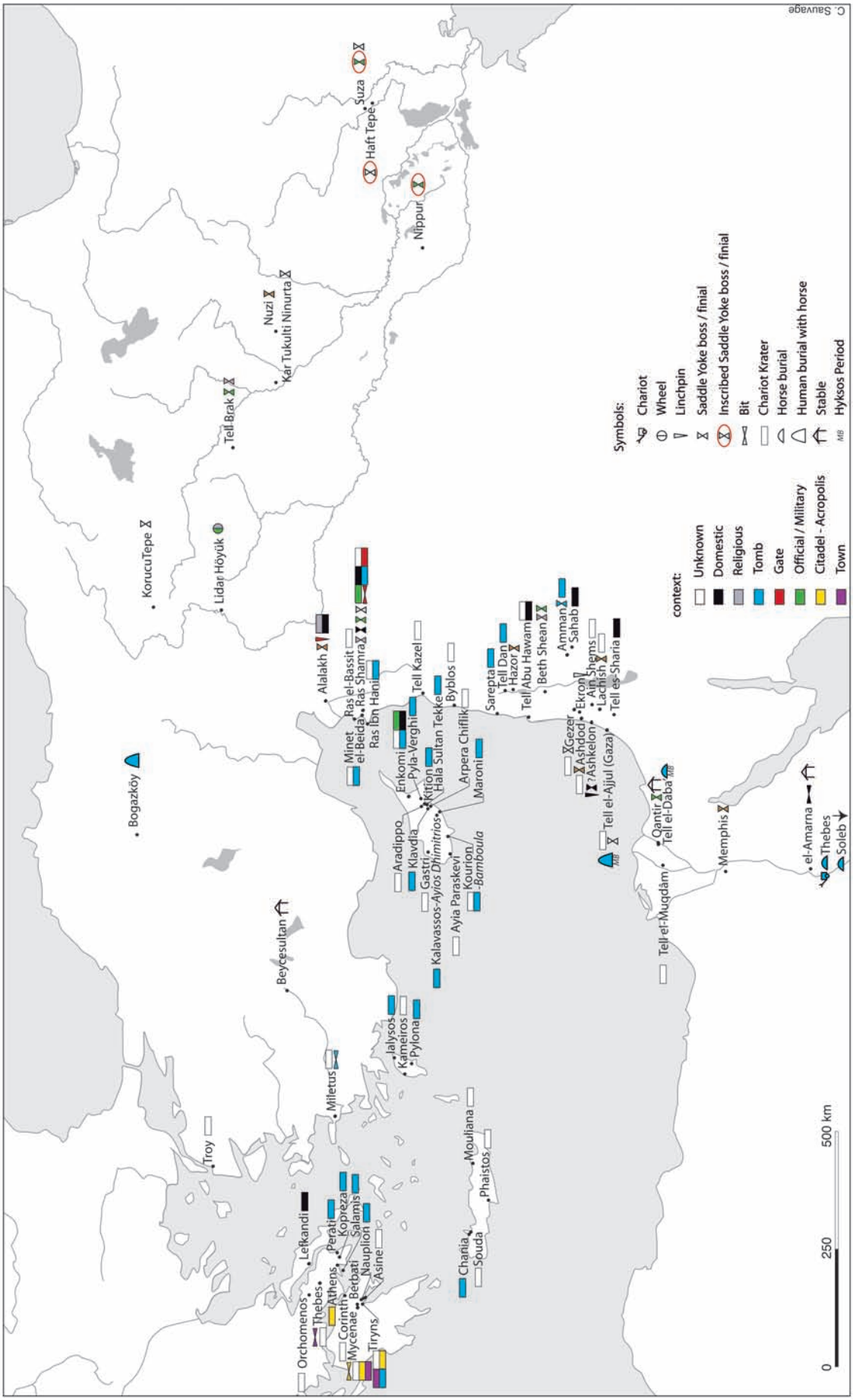


Fig. 18 Distribution of chariot-related artifacts and chariot kraters in the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East, with their archaeological contexts (© C. Sauvage)

domly picked amongst the available vases at the time of the burial.[433] Thus, if after some time the taste of the Cypriots could have influenced chariot krater production by increasing its numbers, it seems however clear that Cypriot and Syrian markets were not targeted with only one kind of ceramic nor motif.

The composite character of the chariot's manufacture, its complexity and its clear association with war and possibly with parades correlates it to a prestigious military object, which turns into a social marker in Ugarit and Cyprus where it probably had a strong social signification. This conclusion nuances most of the theses concerning the status of chariots and chariot owners. On the one hand, "the aristocratic charioteer considered his chariot the badge of his social class and displayed it as his status symbol. Mastery of the art of chariot driving, attainable only through constant practice, consisted of guiding the sensitive span of horses, holding one's balance in the unsteady "basket" of the chariot, and shooting arrows accurately from this platform. Mastery of these skills allowed the warrior to feel his position to be an exceptional one, quite apart from his national entity."[434] Yet on the other hand, local particularities existed in the use and understanding of chariots as a concept, which reflect the ideology of different regional social groups. This social identity was further developed and expressed through imagery on other media.

Catalogue 2

This catalogue listing Mycenaean chariot ceramics (ck), although not exhaustive, aims to group attestations published in previous catalogues and corpuses of Mycenaean ceramics in the Levant (Leonard 1994); Mycenaean ceramics from Ugarit at the Louvre (Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000); pictorial Mycenaean ceramics (Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982); chariots in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean (Crouwel 1981); Berbati ceramics (Åkerström 1987); and pictorial ceramics in the Athens Museum (Sakellarakis 1992). As such, the previous catalogue number appears immediately following the present study catalogue number; we chose to note the main catalogue bibliographical reference, without repeating the earlier citations quoted in the catalogues. When necessary, we added new entries, mainly vases discovered after the publication of these reference corpuses (i.e. vases from Kition-*Bamboula*, Tell Kazel, Kalavasso-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, etc.). When we were in doubt about the identification of a chariot motif on sherds previously listed as "chariot ceramics", the entry is in italics.

Cyprus

ck. 1. Crouwel: v.72; London, BM 97/4–1/833; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; Tomb 12; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 166.

ck. 2. Crouwel: v.73; London, BM 97/14–1/836; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; Tomb 12; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 166.

ck. 3. Crouwel: v.74; London, BM; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; Tomb 12; amphoroid krater; parts of dual chariots and one occupant; Crouwel 1981: 166.

ck. 4. Crouwel: v.75; London, BM 97/4–1/842; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; Tomb 12; amphoroid krater; parts of two chariot teams and traction system; Crouwel 1981: 166.

ck. 5. Crouwel: v.76; London, BM 97/4–1/1543; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; Tomb 12; amphoroid krater; part of chariot teams; Crouwel 1981: 166.

ck. 6. Crouwel: v.77; London, BM; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; Tomb 12; amphoroid krater; parts of dual chariots and one occupant; Crouwel 1981: 166.

ck. 7. Crouwel: v.78; London, BM 97/4–1/1076; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; Tomb 45; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 166.

ck. 8. Crouwel: v.79; London, BM; LH IIIB; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; Tomb 48; deep bowl krater; dual chariot with two occupants and drawn by griffins; Crouwel 1981: 166.

ck. 9. Crouwel: v.80; London, BM 97/4–1/981; LH IIIA:2 –IIIB; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; Tomb 51; amphoroid krater; part of a dual chariot with three occupants; Crouwel 1981: 166.

ck. 10. Crouwel: v.81; London, BM 97/4–1/1076 (same BM number as v.78); LH IIIA:1–2; Enkomi, British exca-

[433] According to South, the Cypriots did not choose the motifs on the vases, but rather picked randomly what was available at the time of the burial (see South 2006: 146). However, the assemblages from Enkomi could nuance this view and argue in favor of a choice for one of two specific motifs, *i.e.* chariots *vs.* bulls, when available, that were randomly associated with other motifs but that were mutually exclusive from each other.

[434] Decker (1987) 1993: 47.

vations 1896; Tomb 67; amphoroid krater; part of a dual chariot with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 166.

ck. 11. Crouwel: v.82; Nicosia CM A 1646; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; Tomb 68; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 166.

ck. 12. Crouwel: v.83; London, BM; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; Tomb 70; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with three occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 166.

ck. 13. Crouwel: v.84; Nicosia CM A 2027:a-b; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; Tomb 94; amphoroid krater; part of a dual chariot and one occupant – two fragments; CROUWEL 1981: 166.

ck. 14. Crouwel: v.85; Reading, University Museum; LH IIIB; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; deep bowl krater; chariot composition: part of two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 166.

ck. 15. Crouwel: v.86; Reading, University Museum; LH IIIB; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; deep bowl krater; chariot composition: part of three occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 166.

ck. 16. Crouwel: v.87; Brussels, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire A 1255; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; amphoroid krater; part of a chariot team; CROUWEL 1981: 166.

ck. 17. Crouwel: v.88+; Brussels, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire A 1256, 1253, 1247; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Enkomi, British excavations 1896; amphoroid krater; parts of chariot compositions; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 18. Crouwel: v.89; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, Swedish excavations 1930; Tomb 3; amphoroid krater; four dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 19. Crouwel: v.90; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, Swedish excavations 1930; Tomb 3; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with one and two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 20. Crouwel: v.91; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, Swedish excavations 1930; Tomb 3; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 21. Crouwel: v.92; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Enkomi, Swedish excavations 1930; Tomb 3; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 22. Crouwel: v.93; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Enkomi, Swedish excavations 1930; Tomb 3; amphoroid krater; parts of dual chariot with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 23. Crouwel: v.94; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Enkomi, Swedish excavations 1930; Tomb 3; amphoroid krater; parts of dual chariot with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 24. Crouwel: v.95; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, Swedish excavations 1930; Tomb 3; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots with three occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 25. Crouwel: v.96; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet; LH IIIA:1–2; Enkomi, Swedish excavations 1930; Tomb 3; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 26. Crouwel: v.97; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, Swedish excavations 1930; Tomb 3; amphoroid krater; parts of dual chariot with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 27. Crouwel: v.98; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, Swedish excavations 1930; Tomb 3; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 28. Crouwel: v.99; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet E.3:11.33; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Enkomi, Swedish excavations 1930; Tomb 11; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 29. Crouwel: v.100; Nicosia, CM; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, Swedish excavations 1930; Tomb 17; amphoroid krater; dual chariot with two occupants - Zeus krater; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 30. Crouwel: v.101; Nicosia, CM; LH IIIA:1–2; Enkomi, French excavations; Tomb 7; open krater; two dual chariots with two occupants, followed by a bird - fish; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 31. Crouwel: v.102; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, French excavations; Tomb 2 (n°3578); amphoroid krater; part of a dual chariot with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 32. Crouwel: v.103; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, French excavations; fragment 2326; amphoroid krater; part of two chariot occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 33. Crouwel: v.104; Enkomi, Cypriot excavations, 1948–58; Area I, ashlar building, room 142, floor X (= level IIA); amphoroid krater; part of two chariot occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 34. Crouwel: v.105; LH IIIB; Enkomi, Cypriot excavations, 1948–58; Area I, room 27, dump under floor III (belongs with levels IIIA–C); deep bowl krater; part of a dual chariot; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 35. Crouwel: v.106; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, Cypriot excavations, 1948–58; Area III, level IIA; amphoroid krater; part of a dual chariot; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 36. Crouwel: v.107; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, Cypriot excavations, 1948–58; Area III, level IIB; amphoroid krater; part of a dual chariot; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 37. Crouwel: v.108+; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Enkomi, Cypriot excavations, 1948–58; different settlement contexts; several kraters fragments; parts of chariot compositions; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 38. Crouwel: v.109+; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi, Cypriot excavations, 1948–58; Tomb 66; amphoroid krater; parts of one or two dual chariots; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 39. Crouwel: v.110; Nicosia, CM A 2041; LH IIIA:2; Enkomi?; amphoroid krater; part of a dual chariot with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 167.

ck. 40. Crouwel: v.111+; Nicosia, CM 1965/VIII-17/3; LHIIIA:2; Enkomi – cleaning 1965; amphoroid krater;

part of chariot occupants and man on foot; CROUWEL 1981: 167–168.

ck. 41. KEF 243; Kition-*Bamboula*; locus 314: in a deposit against the enclosure wall of the city; fragmentary material maybe coming from looted tombs and a commercial establishment; jug or amphoroid krater; part of a horse with reins; YON & CAUBET 1985: n°310, figs. 67–68.

ck. 42. Crouwel: v.115; LH IIIA:2; Kition; Caveau 1–1; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168; YON & CAUBET 1985.

ck. 43. Crouwel: v.113; Nicosia, CM; LHIIIA:2–IIIB; Hala Sultan Tekke; Tomb 2; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 44. Crouwel: v.114; Nicosia, CM; LH IIIA:2; Hala Sultan Tekke; Tomb 2; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 45. K-AD 1619; Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, tomb 13 in a wide N-S street; chariots, horse, fish and lady in a shrine; amphoroid krater FS 53–55; SOUTH 2006: 137–139.

ck. 46. K-AD 2360; Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, tomb 21; antithetic chariots; amphoroid krater FS 53–55; SOUTH 2006: 140–143.

ck. 47. Crouwel: v.116; London, BM; LH IIIA:2; Klavdia, British excavations 1898; amphoroid krater; three dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 48. Crouwel: v.117; London, BM; LH IIIA:2; Klavdia, British excavations 1898; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 49. Crouwel: v.118; London, BM 98/10–20/14; LH IIIA:2; Klavdia, British excavations 1898; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 50. Crouwel: v.119; London, BM; LHIIIA:2–IIIB; Klavdia, British excavations 1898; deep bowl krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 51. Crouwel: v.120; LH IIIA:2; Kourion-*Bamboula*, British excavations 1895; Tomb 34; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 52. Crouwel: v.121; London, BM 96/2–1/371; LH IIIA:2; Kourion-*Bamboula*, British excavations 1895; Tomb 48; amphoroid krater; part of a chariot wheel and team; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 53. Crouwel: v.122; Nicosia CM 1971/XII-6/1; LH IIIA:1–2; Kourion-*Bamboula*, British excavations 1895; Tomb 102 (new tomb 17, American excavations); open krater; parts of two dual chariots with two occupants; Window krater; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 54. Crouwel: v.123; LH IIIA:2; Kourion-*Bamboula*; New tomb 16; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots and occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 55. Crouwel: v.124; Nicosia, CM A 2025d, a; LH IIIA:2; Kourion?; amphoroid krater; parts of three dual chariots and one occupant; two fragments; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 56. C 353; LH IIIA:2; Kourion-*Bamboula*; British Museum Expedition; horse and wheel of a chariot; WALTERS, 1912: 70, fig. 2; BENSON 1961a: 53, pl. 29.2.

ck. 57. B 1072; LH IIIB; Kourion-*Bamboula*, T 16 (tomb plundered when discovered); British Museum Expedition; amphoroid krater; chariot with groom and horse; BENSON 1961a: 53, pl. 29.1, 3–4; BENSON 1972: 114, pl. 31.

ck. 58. B 1078 and B 1079; LH IIIA:2?; Kourion-*Bamboula*, deposit in the so-called cellar of Area D (LCIIIA terminus ante quem); British Museum Expedition, Area D–A; fragment of a krater with horses; BENSON 1961a: 54, pl. 29.5, 29.9; BENSON 1972: 114, pl. 30.

ck. 59. B 1070; LH IIIA:2?; Kourion-*Bamboula*. Area C, unstratified; British Museum Expedition; fragment of reins, harness and neck of a horse; BENSON 1961a: 54, pl. 29.8; BENSON 1972: 114, pl. 30.

ck. 60. B 1071; LH IIIA:2; Kourion-*Bamboula*; Area E; driver and fragments of reins? or driver carrying spears; BENSON 1972: 114, pl. 30.

ck. 61. B 1569; Kourion-*Bamboula*; Area C – unstratified; fragment of a horse head; relief lines and painted, representing trappings; BENSON 1972: 136–137, pl. 35.

ck. 62. Crouwel: v.125; London, BM; LH IIIA:2; Maroni, British excavations 1897–98; Tomb 2; amphoroid krater; heads of three chariot occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 63. Crouwel: v.126; London; LH IIIA:2; Maroni, British excavations 1897–98; Tomb 2; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots, one with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 64. Crouwel: v.127; London, BM; LH IIIA:2; Maroni, British excavations 1897–98; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots and occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 65. Crouwel: v.128; London, BM; LH IIIA:2; Maroni, British excavations 1897–98; amphoroid krater; parts of chariot team; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 66. Crouwel: v.129; London, BM 98/12–1/298; LH IIIA:2; Maroni, British excavations 1897–98; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots and two occupants – two fragments; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 67. Crouwel: v.130; London, BM; LH IIIA:2; Maroni, British excavations 1897–98; amphoroid krater; parts of two chariot occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 68. Crouwel: v.131; London, BM 98/12-1/283; LH IIIA:2; Maroni, British excavations 1897–98; amphoroid krater; parts of two chariot occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 69. Crouwel: v.132; London, BM; LH IIIA:2; Maroni, British excavations 1897–98; amphoroid krater; part of a dual chariot with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 70. Crouwel: v.133; London, BM 98/12–1/297; LH IIIA:2; Maroni, British excavations 1897–98; amphoroid krater; part of dual chariots and occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 168.

ck. 71. Crouwel: v.134; London, BM 98/12–1/288; LH IIIA:2; Maroni, British excavations 1897–98; amphoroid krater; part of dual chariots and team; CROUWEL 1981: 168–169.

ck. 72. Crouwel: v.135; London, BM 98/12–1/289; LH IIIA:2; Maroni, British excavations 1897–98; amphoroid krater; part of chariot team; CROUWEL 1981: 169.

ck. 73. Crouwel: v.136; London, BM 1911/4–28/1; LH IIIA:2; Maroni, British excavations 1897–98; amphoroid krater; four dual chariots with two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 169.

ck. 74. Crouwel: v.137; New York MMA74.51.964; Cesnola coll. CP 1403; LH IIIA:1–2; Maroni?; amphoroid krater; four dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 169.

ck. 75. Crouwel: v.138; Nicosia, CM 1952/IV-12/1; LH IIIA:1–2; Pyla-Verghi; Tomb 1; open krater; four dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 169.

ck. 76. Crouwel: v.139; Nicosia, CM; LH IIIA:2; Pyla-Verghi; Tomb 1; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 169.

ck. 77. Crouwel: v.112; Nicosia, collection A. Georgiades; LH IIIA:2; Gastri, site of Moutti tou Marathou, Valia Forest; amphoroid krater; parts of two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 168.

ck. 78. Crouwel: v.70; Oxford, Ashmoleum Musem 1953.338; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Arpera Chiflik; amphoroid krater; part of dual chariots; Crouwel 1981: 166.

ck. 79. Crouwel: v.71; New York: MMA74.51.966; Cesnola coll. CP 1405; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Ayia Paraskevi; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 166.

ck. 80. Crouwel: v.69; Louvre AM 625; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Aradippo; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with three occupants; Crouwel 1981: 166.

ck. 81. Crouwel: v.140; Otago (New Zealand) Museum E.35.166; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Cyprus – no provenance; British excavations; amphoroid krater; parts of a dual chariot; Crouwel 1981: 169.

ck. 82. Crouwel: v.141; Otago (New Zealand) Museum E.35.164; LH IIIB; Cyprus – no provenance; British excavations; deep bowl krater; part of a chariot team and of a chariot traction system; Crouwel 1981: 169.

ck. 83. Crouwel: v.142; Nicosia, CM 1958/VI-20/3; LH IIIA:2; Cyprus – no provenance; amphoroid krater; parts of chariot teams – two fragments; Crouwel 1981: 169.

ck. 84. Crouwel: v.143; Nicosia, CM 1645; LH IIIA:2; Cyprus – no provenance; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 169.

ck. 85. Crouwel: v.144; Nicosia, G.G. Pierides coll. 33; LH IIIA:2; Cyprus – no provenance; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 169.

ck. 86. Crouwel: v.145; Bonn, Akademisches kunstmuseum 777; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Cyprus – no provenance; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 169.

ck. 87. Crouwel: v.146; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8044; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Cyprus – no provenance; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 169.

ck. 88. Crouwel: v.147; Musée national de Sèvres (France) 10691:2; LH IIIA:2; Cyprus – no provenance; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 169.

ck. 89. Crouwel: v.148; Louvre AO 22293 (formerly colls. Barre and De Clercq 516); LH IIIA:2; Cyprus – no provenance; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 169.

ck. 90. Crouwel: v.149; Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1856 (formerly coll. C.W. Lunsingh Scheurleer); LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Cyprus – no provenance; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with three occupants and two horse back riders ; Crouwel 1981: 169.

ck. 91. Crouwel: v.150; Rochester Memorial Art Gallery of the University 51.203; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Cyprus – no provenance; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 169.

ck. 92. Crouwel: v.151; Rochester Memorial Art Gallery of the University 51.203; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Cyprus – no provenance; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 169.

Ugarit

ck. 93. RSO-XIII n° 53 (83 AO 405 VK 34); LH IIIB:1; Ras Shamra: Ville basse est, Tomb XLIII (= Marchegay 1999: n°21); quadruped; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 84.

ck. 94. RSO-XIII n° 54 (83 AO 562 VK 28); Ras Shamra: Ville basse ouest, Tomb LVII (= Marchegay 1999: n°62); chariot scene or quadruped; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 84.

ck. 95. RSO-XIII n° 36 (83 AO 541/550 VK 14); LH IIIB; Ras Shamra: Ville basse ouest, Tomb LVII (= Marchegay 1999: n°62); chariot scene; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 82.

ck. 96. Leonard n°221 (RS 66.509); LH IIIA–LH IIIB; Ras Shamra, tomb 4642; one sherd: part of a box chariot scene; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 27.

ck. 97. RSO-XIII n° 41 (83 AO 644 VK 11); LH IIIB; Ras Shamra: Palais royal, pièce 30, pt. 144; chariot scene; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 83.

ck. 98. RSO-XIII n° 40 (83 AO 644 VK 10); LH IIIB; Ras Shamra: Palais royal, pièce 30, pt. 144; chariot scene and floral motif; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 83.

ck. 99. RSO-XIII n° 44 (83 AO 631 VK 18); Ras Shamra: Palais royal, (no other precision); chariot scene; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 83.

ck. 100. RSO-XIII n° 46 (83 AO 566 VK 23); Ras Shamra: Palais royal, W pièce 89, Tr. NS, Côté SE, Pt. 456; chariot scene; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 83.

ck. 101. RSO-XIII n° 48 (81 AO 2039 VK 26); Ras Shamra: Palais royal, pièce 67 pt. 871, 1953, 17° campaign; chariot scene; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 83.

ck. 102. Leonard n°213 (RS 66.395); LH IIIA–B; Ras Shamra; found in 1966, area east of the royal palace; one sherd, box and wheel chariot scene; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 26.

ck. 103. RS 92.217–2178; Ras Shamra: Urtenu's house, can be associated with the tomb; fragment of amphoroid krater, chariot scene; in the same house: alabaster saddle yokes; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 7–8 and 12; Sauvage forth.

ck. 104. RS 94.2207; Ras Shamra: Urtenu's house, can be associated with the tomb; fragment of amphoroid krater, chariot scene; in the same house: alabaster saddle yokes; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 7–8 and 12; Sauvage forth.

ck. 105. RS 94.2271; Ras Shamra: Urtenu's house, can be associated with the tomb; fragment of amphoroid krater, chariot scene; in the same house: alabaster saddle yokes; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 7–8 and 12; Sauvage forth.

ck. 106. RS 94.2710; Ras Shamra: Urtenu's house, can be associated with the tomb; fragment of amphoroid krater, chariot scene; in the same house: alabaster saddle yokes; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 7–8 and 12; Sauvage forth.

ck. 107. RS 94.9265+9303; Ras Shamra: Urtenu's house, can be associated with the tomb; fragment of amphoroid krater, chariot scene; in the same house: alabaster saddle yokes; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 7–8 and 12; Sauvage forth.

ck. 108. RS 94.9418; Ras Shamra: Urtenu's house, room 2135 and probably not from the tomb; fragment of amphoroid krater, in the same context: alabaster saddle yokes; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 7–8 and 12.

ck. 109. Leonard n°231 (RS 27.319); Ras Shamra: Yabninu's house / southern palace, room 219, probably belonged to tomb 220, with its entrance a few meters away from door of 219; krater with the "master of the horses"; FS 53–5; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 8; Leonard 1994: 27.

ck. 110. RSO-XIII n° 43 (80 AO 274 VK 13); Ras Shamra: Porte fortifiée, "pente ouest au sud de la residence", point 1828 a?; chariot scene; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 83.

ck. 111. RSO-XIII n° 45 (80 AO 36 VK 21); Ras Shamra: Porte fortifiée, "pente ouest au sud de la residence", pt 2068; chariot scene; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 83.

ck. 112. RSO-XIII n° 47 (80 AO 44 VK 22); Ras Shamra: Porte fortifiée, "pente ouest au sud de la residence", pt 2071; chariot scene; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 83.

ck. 113. Leonard n°201; RS 79.785; LH IIIA:2; Ras Shamra, Maison A, room 1041; horses in chariot scene; FS 53–55; in the same house: saddle yoke; Leonard 1994: 26; however, the publication shows a palmette decoration: Yon, Lombard & Renisio 1987: 55, fig. 36.

ck. 114. RSO-XIII n° 35 (AO 20376); LH IIIB:1; Ras Shamra: Acropole? Pt 138; chariot and grooms; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 82.

ck. 115. RSO-XIII n° 38 (83 AO 539/563/594 + 83 AO 594/84 AO 2048 + 83 AO 598 VK 15); LH IIIB:1; Ras Shamra: Acropole 1929 et 1937? Ville Basse Est? Ville Basse Ouest?; chariot scene; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 82.

ck. 116. RSO-XIII n° 39 (83 AO 593 VK 12); LH IIIA:2 late; Ras Shamra "près de la surface"; chariot scene; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 82.

ck. 117. RSO-XIII n° 42 (84 AO 2047 VK 25); LH IIIB:1; Ras Shamra; chariot scene; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 83.

ck. 118. RSO-XIII n° 49 (83 AO 642 VK 27); Ras Shamra: 9° campaign, 1937; chariot scene; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 83.

ck. 119. RSO-XIII n° 51 (84 AO 1175); LH IIIA:2?; Ras Shamra: Pt. 139, 1958: 21° campaign; chariot scene, horse, back part of pole thongs; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirsch-feld 2000: 83.

ck. 120. RSO-XIII n° 52 (80 AO 171 VK 19); LH IIIB; Ras Shamra: Nord ouest du tell; chantier W "CW", Sud residence pt. 2204; chariot scene?; Yon, Karageorghis & Hirschfeld 2000: 84.

ck. 121. Leonard n°163 (Louvre AO 20376); LH IIIB; Ras Shamra; Pt. top. 138, chant III; Maison d'un orfèvre (?) domestic context; chariot scene with horses and bounded bird; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 24.

ck. 122. Leonard n°166; LH IIIA:2; Ras Shamra; "near the surface"; chariot scene with horses; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 24.

ck. 123. Leonard n°167 (RS 63.76); RS 63.74; LH III A–B; Ras Shamra; Sector 140–143; two sherds, back of horses and box, heads of horses; chariot scene; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 24.

ck. 124. Leonard n°170; LH IIIA:2 late; Ras Shamra; chariot scene with horses; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 24.

ck. 125. Leonard n°173; LH IIIA–B; Ras Shamra; C.W. pt. top. 2118, 1m; secondary use as a potter tool "estèque"? (Schaeffer 1949: 180, fig. 72:3); Horses in chariot scene; FS 53–55?; Leonard 1994: 24.

ck. 126. Leonard n°174 (RS 9.064); LH IIIB; Ras Shamra; BE, pt. top. 109, 2m10; chariot scene with horses; FS 53–55?; Leonard 1994: 24–25.

ck. 127. Leonard n°176 (RS 80.5216); LH IIIA–B; Ras Shamra; chariot scene with horses; FS 53–55?; Leonard 1994: 25.

ck. 128. Leonard n°187 (RS 66.510); LH IIIA:2–B; Ras Shamra; Trench 3–6, east; 1 sherd: head of a horse (chariot scene), groom / soldier in front holding the reins; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 25.

ck. 129. Leonard n°190 (RS 64.94); LH IIIA–B; Ras Shamra; Trench 3–44 west; 1 sherd: head of a horse with reins (chariot scene); FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 25.

ck. 130. Leonard n°191; LH IIIA–B; Ras Shamra; pt. top. 4638, 1966; confronted heads of horses, chariot scene?; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 25.

ck. 131. Leonard n°196; LH IIIA–B; Ras Shamra; horses in chariot scene; FS 53–55?; Leonard 1994: 25–26.

ck. 132. Leonard n°197; LH IIIA:2; Ras Shamra; Tr. 24, III, pt. top. 33; chariot scene with horses; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 26.

ck. 133. Leonard n°198 (RS 66.210); LH IIIA–B; Ras Shamra; Sector 110 W, 1966; two sherds, heads of horses and reins; chariot scene; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 26.

ck. 134. Leonard n°200; LH IIIA:2; Ras Shamra; horses in chariot scene; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 26.

ck. 135. Leonard n°202 (RS 69.171); LH IIIA–B; Ras Shamra; Sector W 201–101, 1961; one sherd with the horse's chest (chariot scene?); FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 26.

ck. 136. Leonard n°204; LH IIIA–B; Ras Shamra; horses in chariot scene; FS 53–55?; Courtois & Courtois 1978: 323,

fig. 42:38; LEONARD 1994: 26; however, it doesn't seem to be a chariot scene.

ck. 137. Leonard n°223; RS 66.968 + RS 66.969; LH IIIA:2, late (?); Ras Shamra; Trench 101 east; two sherds: box with wheel and parts of the three person crew; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 27.

ck. 138. Leonard n°242; belongs to the same vase as n° 198 (COURTOIS 1978: 296, fig. 34:9); RS 66.219; LH IIIA–B; Ras Shamra; horses in chariot scene; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 28 and n° 198, p. 26.

ck. 139. Leonard n°253 (RS 60.2809); LH IIIB–C?; Ras Shamra; horses in chariot scene; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 29.

ck. 140. RSO-XIII n° 37 (AO 11724 VK 20); LH IIIB; Minet el-Beida; Tomb IV (= MARCHEGAY 1999: n° 1002); chariot scene; YON, KARAGEORGHIS & HIRSCHFELD 2000: 82.

ck. 141. RSO-XIII n° 50 (83 AO 819 VK 24); Minet el-Beida 1929, from a tomb?: 1° campaign; chariot scene; YON, KARAGEORGHIS & HIRSCHFELD 2000: 83.

ck. 142. Leonard n°162 (Louvre AO 11724); LH IIIA:2–B; Minet el-Beida: Tomb IV; chariot scene with horses; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 24.

ck. 143. Leonard n°1699; LH IIIB; Minet el-Beida, tomb VI; ridden horses; FS 281; LEONARD 1994: 114.

ck. 144. Leonard n°188; LH IIIA–B; Minet el-Beida; Tr. 20, IV, pt. top. 228; in a house near a wheel, secondary use as a potter tool "estèque"? (SCHAEFFER 1949: 180, fig. 98.7); horses in chariot scene; FS 53–55?; LEONARD 1994: 25.

ck. 145. Leonard n°208; LH IIIA–B; Minet el-Beida, Tr. 20, IV, pt. top. 228, in a house near a wheel, secondary use as a potter tool "estèque"? (SCHAEFFER 1949: 232, fig.98.12); horses in chariot scene; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 26.

ck. 146. Leonard n°226; LH IIIA–B; Minet el-Beida, 1931; Tr. 7, IV; secondary use as a potter tool "estèque"? (SCHAEFFER 1949: 232; fig. 98.5); chariot scene; FS 53–55?; LEONARD 1994: 27.

ck. 147. Leonard n°1355; LH IIIB; Minet el-Beida; Tr. 7, IV, 1m20; filly and foal without humans; FS 199 conical rhyton; LEONARD 1994: 90.

ck. 148. Leonard n°1407; Minet el-Beida; Tr. aux lampes, extr. N., 1m; misc. horse; FS 199; rhyton horse-head molded added; could be a local or Cypriot rhyton? (SCHAEFFER 1949: 226, fig. 95.24); LEONARD 1994: 93.

ck. 149. Leonard n°225; LH IIIA–B; Ras el-Bassit; no context; chariot scene?; one sherd; FS 53–55?; LEONARD 1994: 27.

ck. 150. Leonard n°164; LH IIIB; Ras Ibn Hani, tomb discovered in 1975; chariot scene with horses; LEONARD 1994: 24; YON, KARAGEORGHIS & HIRSCHFELD 2000: 5.

ck. 151. Leonard n°194; LH IIIA–B – dated from LH IIIC1 by BOUNNI *et al.* 1978; Ras Ibn Hani; no context; horses in chariot scene; FS 53–55; the representation of chariot is unclear – motif uncertain; LEONARD 1994: 25.

ck. 152. Leonard n°206 (Damas 6806) LH IIIA–B; Ras Ibn Hani; Northern Palace, tomb discovered in 1973; chariot scene with horses; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 26.

Levant

ck. 153. Leonard n°214; 1575; LH IIIA:2–B; Byblos; no context: "levée 1" containing greek amphoras, Late Bronze Age sherds, etc…; sherd with spirals and curved lines, not a chariot scene? (cf DUNAND 1939: 106, pl. CLXXVII; STUBBINGS 1951: 54, 76, fig. 28); FS 53–55?; LEONARD 1994: 26.

ck. 154. Leonard n°211; LH IIIB; Tell Kazel; found in a test trench, no precise context; DUNAND & SALIBY 1957; two sherds, part of a wheel; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 26.

ck. 155. Caubet & Yon: n°20; LH IIIB; Tell Kazel; TK 86 Z19 NE 525.37; CAUBET & YON 1990: 106, fig. 1.

ck. 156. Caubet & Yon: n°39; LH IIIB; Tell Kazel; TK 87 Z19 NE/NW 602.1; CAUBET & YON 1990: 106, fig. 4.

ck. 157. Leonard n°1210; 136.27; LH IIIA:2; Sarepta; tomb with 67 pots (34 being imports), one scarab and two faience amulets; horses without humans; FS 186 variant; LEONARD 1994: 81.

ck. 158. Leonard n°169; DAN 17; LH IIIA:2; Tell Dan / Laish; tomb 387, undisturbed and used for two generations, contained 40 skeletons, 108 complete vessels (plus sherds of others), of which 28 Mycenaean vases. Remains of weapons and bronze / gold / silver vessels, ivory and bone objects; this vase comes from Berbati/Mycenae workshop (GUNNEWEG *et al.* 1992: 58); chariot scene with horses, are facing left; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 24.

ck. 159. Leonard n°175 (PAM 37–357); LH IIIA–B; Tell Abu Hawam; G4 beside the town wall foundation ("remanié periode perse"); chariot scene with horses; FS 53–55?; LEONARD 1994: 25; BALENSI 1980; 2004: 166, n°18.

ck. 160. Leonard n°179; same vase as 192 and 215?; LH IIIA:2; Tell Abu Hawam; E5 at 57, high level in V: domestic context?; charioteer arms; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 25.

ck. 161. Leonard n°189; LH IIIA–B; Tell Abu Hawam; G3 outside and below foundation of stratum III, town wall, disturbed; horse's legs; FS 53–55?; LEONARD 1994: 25.

ck. 162. Leonard n°195; same vase as 222?; LH IIIB; Tell Abu Hawam; D2 stratum IV house 45; two fragments of horse (fore body with legs); FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 25.

ck. 163. Leonard n°192; same vase as 179 and 215?; LH IIIA:2; Tell Abu Hawam; E5, probably stratum IV, domestic context? walls at 49; horse head; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 25.

ck. 164. Leonard n°215; same vase as 179 and 192?; LH IIIA:2–B; Tell Abu Hawam; E5 at 58, low level; box with wheel; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 26.

ck. 165. Leonard n°222; same vase as 195?; LH IIIA–B; Tell Abu Hawam; D-E2, below Stratum IV building 45, domestic context?; chariot box; FS 53–55?; LEONARD 1994: 27.

ck. 166. Leonard n°1697; LH IIIB; Tell Abu Hawam; E3 below isolated Stratum IV walls; chariot box; FS 281; LEONARD 1994: 25.

ck. 167. Tell Abu Hawam; E3 east corner, stratum III; row of people in a chariot?; HAMILTON 1935: 50, pl. XIX (308-u).

Southern Levant – Egypt

ck. 168. Leonard n°177; LH III A–B; Ain Shems (Beth Shems); no context: "outside wall X, south of original

trench"; chariot scene; FS 53–55; two fragments; LEONARD 1994: 25.

ck. 169. Leonard n°183 (B184/7); LH IIIB; Ashdod, stratum 1, locus 524 (described as "area" by DOTHAN & FREEDMAN 1967: 86.); one sherd with a wheel; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 25.

ck. 170. Leonard n°193 (B50/2); LH IIIA–B; Ashdod: stratum 1, locus 520 (described as "area", DOTHAN & FREEDMAN, 1967: 86.); chariot scene? one sherd, maybe horses' legs?; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 25.

ck. 171. Leonard n°217 (B253/1); LH IIIA–B; Ashdod, stratum 1, locus 524 (described as "area" by DOTHAN & FREEDMAN, 1967: 86.); one sherd: fragment of box?; FS 53–55?; LEONARD 1994: 27.

ck. 172. Leonard n°210; 7113/1868; LH IIIA–B; Tell esh-Sharia; horses in chariot scene; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 26.

ck. 173. Leonard n°1700; I56/I39; LH IIIB; Tell esh-Sharia, stratum X, in a room of a building; one sherd with a wheel; FS 281; LEONARD 1994: 114.

ck. 174. Leonard n°203; LH IIIB; Gezer; unknown context; chariot scene with horses; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 26.

ck. 175. Leonard n°212; LH IIIA–B; Gezer; unknown context; horses in chariot scene; FS 53–55?; LEONARD 1994: 26.

ck. 176. Leonard n°165; LAZ 1060; same vase as #236 and #259?; LH IIIB; Tell el-Ajjul; unknown context, but not in a tomb; chariot scene with horses; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 24.

ck. 177. Leonard n°168; 6242; LH IIIA:2; Lachish / tell el Duweir; unknown context; one sherd with a wheel; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 24.

ck. 178. Leonard n°181; LH IIIA:2 late; Sahab; Area E, inside a large building; fragment of the body of a driver; FS 53–55?; LEONARD 1994: 25.

Egypt

ck. 179. Vermeule and Karageorghis: V.24; Swiss private collection; LM IIIA:2; Tell el-Muqdâm (Egypt); was found with faience fragments bearing name of Ramses II and Merneptah; chariot to the right, remains of the box, driver and wheel; VERMEULE AND KARAGEORGHIS 1982: 201; HANKEY 1993: 112.

Jordan

ck. 180. Leonard n°172 (6261); LH IIIA:2; Amman: airport; funerary context; chariot scene with horses; FS 53–55; LEONARD 1994: 24.

ck. 181. Leonard n°224; LH IIIA:2; Amman, airport; funerary context; chariot scene; FS 53–55?; Fragment; LEONARD 1994: 27.

Greece

ck. 182. Åkerström: n°1–57; 57 sherds; LH III:2–LH IIIB; Berbati: production center; chariot scenes on amphoroid kraters; ÅKERSTRÖM 1987: 26–29; STEEL 1999: 804.

ck. 183. Åkerström: n°58–100; 43; sherds; LH III:2–LH IIIB; Berbati: production center; chariot scenes on open kraters and other types; ÅKERSTRÖM 1987: 29–31; STEEL 1999: 804.

ck. 184. Excavation 54–804; Nauplion Museum 11418; LH IIIC (CROUWEL 1988); Mycenae, outside the citadel's walls; wash levels above the House of Sphinxes; neck and head of a horse, facing right; deep bowl krater FM 282; CROUWEL 1988: 25–28 and fig. 1, pl. 3a; STEEL 1999: 804.

ck. 185. Athens museum n°4691; LH IIIC middle; Mycenae, outside (W) the citadel's walls; Great Poros wall area; deep bowl krater; FM282; warrior leading a horse; CROUWEL 1988: 32–33.

ck. 186. Athens museum n°1308; LH IIIC middle; Mycenae, outside (W) the citadel's walls; Great Poros wall area; three sherds; deep bowl krater; FM 282; horse with bird; CROUWEL 1988: 33.

ck. 187. Sakellarakis n°46; Athens museum n°3051.3; LH IIIB:2; Mycenae, Acropolis; fragment of a deep bowl krater; part of a horse moving left, the position of the legs show that this is an individual galloping; SAKELLARAKIS 1992: 42.

ck. 188. Sakellarakis n°47; Athens museum n° 1303.5; 1303.6; LH IIIC early; Mycenae, Acropolis; closed vessel; part of a silhouetted head, horse moving right, added white painting on horse; SAKELLARAKIS 1992: 42–43.

ck. 189. Sakellarakis n°48; Athens museum n° 1303.7; LH IIIC early; Mycenae, Acropolis; fragment of a deep bowl krater; part of a horse moving to the right, most of head, body and forelegs; SAKELLARAKIS 1992: 43.

ck. 190. Sakellarakis n°49; Athens museum n° 1298.19; LH IIIC early; Mycenae, Acropolis; fragment of a deep bowl; part of a horse moving to the right, part of the head, body and forelegs; SAKELLARAKIS 1992: 43.

ck. 191. Sakellarakis n°50; Athens museum n° 1303.10; LH IIIC middle; Mycenae, Acropolis; body fragment of closed vessel; horse moving to the right, part of hindquarters and hindlegs; SAKELLARAKIS 1992: 43.

ck. 192. Sakellarakis n°51; Athens museum, n° 1141.5; LH IIIC middle; Mycenae, Acropolis; fragment of a deep bowl krater; horse within metope; SAKELLARAKIS 1992: 44.

ck. 193. Sakellarakis n°52; Athens museum n° 1294.1; LH IIIC middle; Mycenae, Acropolis; fragment of a deep bowl crater; perhaps part of a horse with frontal head and part of a frontal body; SAKELLARAKIS 1992: 44.

ck. 194. Crouwel: v.9; Nauplion Museum 5475; LH IIIB2; Mycenae Citadel, British excavations; Rhyton Well.; deep bowl krater; part of a dual chariot with occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 195. Crouwel: v.10; Nauplion Museum 14685; LH IIIA:2–LHIIIB; Mycenae Citadel, British excavations; House of the idols/citadel house; amphoroid krater; part of two chariot occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 196. Crouwel: v.11; Nauplion Museum; LH IIIB:2; Mycenae Citadel, British excavations; House of the idols/citadel house; five fragments: so called "Mycenae Parasol krater"; deep bowl krater; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 197. Crouwel: v.12; Nauplion; LH IIIC; Mycenae Citadel, British excavations; House of the idols/citadel house; collared jar; horses, birds and foals; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 198. Crouwel: v.13; Nauplion; LH IIIB or C; Mycenae Citadel, British excavations; House of the idols/citadel

house; deep bowl krater; part of a galloping chariot team; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 199. Crouwel: v.14; LH IIIB:2; Mycenae Citadel, Greek excavations, south west slope; deep bowl krater; part of a dual chariot with occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 200. Crouwel: v.15; LH IIIB:2; Mycenae Citadel, Greek excavations; south west slope, same krater as v. 14?; deep bowl krater; part of a chariot team; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 201. Crouwel: v.16; LH IIIC; Mycenae Citadel, Greek excavations; south west slope; deep bowl krater; part of a charioteer and reins; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 202. Crouwel: v.17; Athens, NM 7387; LH IIIB; Mycenae, Greek excavations; outside citadel, Great Poros wall; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 203. Crouwel: v.18; Athens, NM 3596 (1272 lot) and Nauplion 8357; LH IIIB-IIIC; Mycenae, Schliemann's excavations; deep bowl krater; two or three rail chariots with two armed occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 204. Crouwel: v.19; Athens, NM 1141; LH IIIC; Mycenae, Schliemann's excavations; deep bowl krater; part of two rail chariots with their drivers; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 205. Crouwel: v.20; Athens, NM 1294.25; LH IIIB–IIIC; Mycenae, Schliemann's excavations; bowl fragment; part of rail chariot with a single occupant; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 206. Crouwel: v.21; Athens, NM 1272 a–b; LH IIIB; Mycenae, Schliemann's excavations; three fragments; deep bowl krater; part of a chariot team with men on foot; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 207. Crouwel: v.22; Athens, NM 1141; LH IIIB– IIIC; Mycenae, Schliemann's excavations; deep bowl krater; part of a man leading a single horse or team; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 208. Crouwel: v.23; Athens, NM; LH III B:2; Mycenae, Schliemann's excavations; deep bowl krater; part of a dual chariots with two occupant; CROUWEL 1981: 163–164.

ck. 209. Crouwel: v.24; Athens, NM 4691; LH IIIC; Mycenae, Greek excavations; deep bowl krater; part of a man leading a single horse; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 210. Crouwel: v.25; London, BM 11077.3; LH III B:2; Mycenae; deep bowl krater; part of a dual chariot followed by man on foot; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 211. Crouwel: v.2 / Karageorghis and Vermeule xi.32; LH IIIB-C; Athens - Acropolis; deep bowl krater; CROUWEL 1981: 163.

ck. 212. Tiryns, inside the citadel's walls; STEEL 1999: 804; SCHLIEMANN 1885: pl. XIV.

ck. 213. Sakellarakis n°44; Athens mus n° 1514; LH III B:1; Tiryns 1883; inside the citadel; fragment of a closed vessel; part of a horse, hindquarters and part of hindlegs; Tiryns 1884, SCHLIEMANN 1885: 101, 113, pl. XIXa; SAKELLARAKIS 1992: 42.

ck. 214. Sakellarakis n°45; Athens mus n°11970; LH IIIB:2; Tiryns; inside the citadel; rim and body of deep bowl crater; part of the neck of a horse in silhouette with mane tufts; SAKELLARAKIS 1992: 42.

ck. 215. Crouwel: v.29; Nauplion 14305; LH III B:2; Tiryns – Greek excavations 50', Epichosis deposits found outside west of the "Oberburg"; Level Ki-2; deep bowl krater; part of a rail chariot with driver; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 216. Crouwel: v.30; Nauplion 13208; LH III B:2; Tiryns – Greek excavations 50'; Epichosis deposits found outside west of the "Oberburg"; Level Ke-2 – Ki-1; deep bowl krater; part of a dual chariot with four occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 217. Crouwel: v.31; Nauplion 14306; LH III B:2; Tiryns – Greek excavations 50'; Epichosis deposits found outside west of the "Oberburg"; Level Ki-2; amphoroid krater?; part of a (dual?) chariot and at least two occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 218. Crouwel: v.32; Nauplion 14316; LH III B:2; Tiryns – Greek excavations 50'; Epichosis deposits found outside west of the "Oberburg"; level Ki-1; deep bowl krater; part of a charioteer; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 219. Crouwel: v.33; Nauplion 13214; LH III B:2; Tiryns – Greek excavations 50'; Epichosis deposits found outside west of the "Oberburg"; level Ke-2 – Ki-1; deep bowl krater; part of a horse carrying three persons; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 220. Crouwel: v.34; Nauplion 14315; LH III B:2; Tiryns – Greek excavations 50'; Epichosis deposits found outside west of the "Oberburg"; Level Ki-1; deep bowl krater; part of a horse carrying two persons; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 221. Crouwel: v.35; Nauplion 14319; LH III B:2; Tiryns – Greek excavations 50'; Epichosis deposits found outside west of the "Oberburg"; level Ke-2; deep bowl krater; part of a charioteer?; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 222. Crouwel: v.36; Athens NM 1511 and Nauplion 14322; LH III B:2; Tiryns – Greek excavations 50'; Epichosis deposits found outside west of the "Oberburg"; Tiryns parasol krater; deep bowl krater; parts of two dual chariots, one with parasol, men on foot and dog; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 223. Crouwel: v.37; Nauplion 14323; LH III B:2; Tiryns – Greek excavations 50'; Epichosis deposits found outside west of the "Oberburg"; deep bowl krater; part of a chariot team plus men on foot; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 224. Crouwel: v.38; Nauplion 14255; LH IIIB; Tiryns – German excavations; from "Oberburg Fundstelle 1"; deep bowl krater; part of a dual chariot with one occupant; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 225. Crouwel: v.39; Nauplion 14244; LH IIIB; Tiryns – German excavations; from "Mittelburg, Spätmykenisches Loch"; deep bowl krater; parts of two chariot teams (one may be a ridden horse); CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 226. Crouwel: v.40; Nauplion 14372; LH IIIB–IIIC; Tiryns – German excavations; from "Unterstadt Schnitt"; deep bowl krater; part of a man and horse; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 227. Crouwel: v.41; LH IIIC; Tiryns – German excavations; from "Understadt"; deep bowl krater; part of a rail chariot with two armed occupants; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 228. Crouwel: v.42; Nauplion 14340; LH IIIB–IIIC; Tiryns – Greek excavations 50'; from "Unterburg", south Syrinx (tunnel to underground water supply); deep bowl krater; part of a chariot wheel and of a man on foot; CROUWEL 1981: 164.

ck. 229. Crouwel: v.43; Nauplion 14336; LH IIIC; Tiryns – Greek excavations 50'; from "Underburg", north and south Syrinx (tunnel to underground water supply); deep bowl krater; parts of three rail chariots plus two armed occupants; Crouwel 1981: 164.

ck. 230. Crouwel: v.44; Nauplion 14265; LH IIIB; Tiryns – German excavations; from "Fundstelle U"; deep bowl krater; head of a chariot team; Crouwel 1981: 164.

ck. 231. Crouwel: v.45; Nauplion 14277; LH IIIB–IIIC; Tiryns – German excavations; deep bowl krater; two chariot wheels?; Crouwel 1981: 164.

ck. 232. Crouwel: v.46; Nauplion 14276; LH IIIB; Tiryns – German excavations; deep bowl krater; part of a male horse; Crouwel 1981: 164.

ck. 233. Crouwel: v.47; Athens NM 1507, 1509+1510, 1512, possibly 1508 1514 fragment in Nauplion; LH IIIB; Tiryns – Schliemann's excavations; deep bowl krater; part of one or two rail chariots, their occupants plus men on foot; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 234. Crouwel: v.48; Athens, NM; LH IIIB–IIIC; Tiryns – Schliemann's excavations; bowl; part of a two rail chariots plus one single occupant; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 235. Crouwel: v.49; Athens, NM 1654; LH IIIB; Tiryns – Schliemann's excavations; deep bowl krater; part of a chariot from uncertain type; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 236. Crouwel: v.50; LH IIIB–IIIC; Tiryns – Schliemann's excavations; deep bowl krater; part of a chariot team preceeded by a shieldbearer on foot; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 237. Crouwel: v.51; Nauplion; LH IIIB–IIIC; Tiryns; collared jar; part of three racing chariots of uncertain type; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 238. Crouwel: v.52; LH IIIB–IIIC; Tiryns?; part of a dual chariot with two armed occupants; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 239. Crouwel: v.53; LH IIIB–IIIC; Tiryns; collared jar; part of two chariot groups; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 240. Crouwel: v.54; Heidelberg, University Museum 27/12; LH IIIB–IIIC; Tiryns, south slope; deep bowl krater; part of a rail chariot and two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 241. Crouwel: v.55; Newcastle upon Tyne, Greek Museum of the University; LH IIIB–IIIC; Tiryns; deep bowl krater; part of a rail chariot and its driver; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 242. Nauplion Museum 11044; Excavation 53–142; LH IIIC middle; Perseia (W), trench C (published as trench E); deep bowl krater FS 282; remains of chariot composition; Crouwel 1988: 32.

ck. 243. Athens museum n°7387; LH IIIB; Perseia (W), trench L, S.W. sector; Excavation 52-491; settlement context; amphoroid krater FS 55; remains of a chariot composition on both side; Crouwel 1988: p. 32.

ck. 244. Crouwel: v.1; Nauplion; LHIII A:2; Asine, Barbouna Area; amphoroid krater; dual chariot with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 163.

ck. 245. Crouwel: v.7; Corinth Museum C48–164; LH IIIB; Corinth, pit behind the Julian Basilica; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots; Crouwel 1981: 163.

ck. 246. Orchomenos, Beotia; Steel 1999: 804.

ck. 247. Crouwel: v.60; Eretria Museum; LH IIIC; Lefkandi, Euboea; settlement; deep bowl krater; part of a charioteer and horse; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 248. Crouwel: v.61; Athens, British School of Archaeology; LH IIIC; Lefkandi, Euboea; surface find; deep bowl krater; part of a vehicle and driver; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 249. Thebes, Beotia; Steel 1999: 804.

ck. 250. Crouwel: v.26; Nauplion; LH IIIA:2–B; Nauplion, Evangelistria necropolis, Chamber tomb B; amphoroid krater; two dual chariots with two occupants; Åkerström 1987: 16, 112, 119, figs. 80, 82:2.

ck. 251. Nauplion, Evangelistria necropolis, tomb; amphoroid krater; Åkerström 1987: 16, 119, fig. 82:1.

ck. 252. Crouwel: v.27; LH IIIA:2–B; Nauplion, Palamidi Hill; part of a dual chariot; Crouwel 1981: 164.

ck. 253. Crouwel: v.8; Athens, NM 3472; LH IIIA–B; Kopreza (Attica), chamber tomb; open krater fragment; chariot team proceeded by spearman on foot; Crouwel 1981: 163.

ck. 254. Crouwel: v.28; LH IIIC; Perati (Attica), chamber tomb 92; stirrup jar; horse; Crouwel 1981: 164.

ck. 255. Crouwel: v.56; Chania museum 2308; LM IIIA:2; Chania – German excavations; chamber tomb; pyxis; dual chariot; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 256. Crouwel: v.58; Chania museum 812; LH IIIB; Souda, northwest Crete; deep bowl krater; two dual chariots with three and four occupants; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 257. Crouwel: v.62; Rhodes Museum; LH IIIA:2; Ialysos (Rhodes); Italian excavations; chamber tomb XXVIII, which contained 24 pots Mee 1982: 11; amphoroid krater; dual chariot with single occupant; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 258. Crouwel: v.63; Rhodes Museum 4960; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Ialysos (Rhodes); chamber tomb LX; Italian excavations; two dual chariots with two and three occupants; FS 54/FM39; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 259. Pylona, 16651; LH IIIA:2 late; Rhodes, Mycenaean cemetery at Pylona; dromos of tomb 3; fragment of the neck of a chariot krater; horse's head; FS 57; Karantzali 2001: 36–37, pl. 26 c.

ck. 260. Crouwel: v.64; Paris, Louvre Museum A 277–285; LH IIIA:2; Rhodes, possibily Kameiros; amphoroid krater; part of a dual chariot with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 261. Crouwel: v.65; Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Rhodes; two dual chariots with two occupants; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 262. Crouwel: v.66; LH IIIB or C; Salamis; Chalioti necropolis; chariot of uncertain type with single occupant; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 263. Crouwel: v.57; Heraklion, HM 3742; LM IIIC; Mouliana (northern Crete); deep bowl krater; horseback rider; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 264. Crouwel: v.59; Florence, Museo Archaeologico; Phaistos, Italian excavations; bowl; part of a man on foot, with horses on either side; Crouwel 1981: 165.

Anatolia

ck. 265. Crouwel: v.67; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Miletus, area of Athena Temple; German excavations; amphoroid krater?; part of two chariot occupants; Crouwel 1981: 165.

ck. 266. Crouwel: v.68; LH IIIA:2–IIIB; Troy VI; three fragments of possibly the same amphoroid krater?; parts of chariot team(s) and of a driver; Crouwel 1981: 165.

Mitanni

ck. 267. Leonard n°178; ATP/46/307; LH IIIB; Tell Atchana – Alalakh; temple site, level II (preliminary report says surface of Level III); chariot scene with horses; FS 53–55, almost complete; Leonard 1994: 25.

ck. 268. Leonard n°184; ATP/287 - BM WA 136525A; LH IIIA:2, late; Tell Atchana – Alalakh; habitation context; chariot scene facing right; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 25.

ck. 269. Leonard n°182; BM WA 136525B; LH IIIA:2, late; Tell Atchana – Alalakh; habitation context; chariot scene; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 25.

ck. 270. Leonard n°199; LH IIIA:2, late?; Tell Atchana – Alalakh; habitation context; horses in chariot scene; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 26.

ck. 271. Leonard n°205; ATP/38/209C; Ashmolean Museum 1939–382; London, Institute of Archaeology ACA7–F50/7397; LH IIIA:2?; Tell Atchana – Alalakh; habitation context; chariot wheel with horse legs, facing right; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 25.

ck. 272. Leonard n°207; ATP/37/287 – BM WA 136429; LH IIIA:2; (Crouwel & Morris 1985: 87); Tell Atchana – Alalakh; habitation context; horses heads with harnesses; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 26.

ck. 273. Leonard n°209; LH IIIA:2?; Tell Atchana – Alalakh; habitation context; horses in chariot scene; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 26.

ck. 274. Leonard n°216; LH IIIA:2, late; Tell Atchana – Alalakh; habitation context; chariot scene; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 26.

ck. 275. Leonard n°218; ATP/37/400; BM WA 136429C; LH IIIA:2; Tell Atchana – Alalakh; habitation context; chariot scene; FS 53–55?; Leonard 1994: 27.

ck. 276. Leonard n°219; BM WA 136564; LH IIIA:2–B; Tell Atchana – Alalakh; habitation context; chariot scene; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 27.

ck. 277. Leonard n°220; BM WA 136462B; LH IIIA:2, late; Tell Atchana – Alalakh; habitation context; chariot scene; FS 53–55; Leonard 1994: 27.

Part 3. Chariot Representations on Other Media

By Marian H. Feldman

> *"In general, however, the use of the chariot in battle and the hunt provided a theme which was shared by the various nations in contact through war, diplomacy, and trade in the cosmopolitan period that began in the sixteenth century B.C."*[435]

The preceding quote reflects general scholarly opinion regarding the position of chariots – their actual use and their representation in the visual arts – during the great international flowering of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1600–1200 BC). Indeed, in my book *Diplomacy by Design*, I echo these same sentiments: "Images of hunting from a chariot pervade Late Bronze Age artistic production throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Near East, thereby arguing for a classification of these examples as "international" objects."[436] Yet as with the study of the archaeological and textual evidence, upon renewed scrutiny of our evidence for chariots in the Late Bronze Age, a rather more nuanced picture emerges. While representations of chariots are certainly numerous during the Late Bronze Age, when the use of the light, two-wheeled chariot became widespread throughout the regions, their prevalence is actually less than one might expect in many regions, a result attributable to the frequency with which specific, singular representations of chariots are reproduced in the scholarly literature. In addition, distinct regional patterns of occurrence, use, context, and iconography suggest less of a homogenous shared "international" meaning and more what might be thought of as variations on a theme – of power and authority – each one having a particular "local" flavor.

For the most part, scholars have studied these images from two main perspectives: either as documentary evidence for the construction of chariots and harnesses, or as a general sign of internationalism during the Late Bronze Age. In the first instance, depictions have been mined for details of parts and harnessing techniques, with scholarly discussions revolving around questions of accuracy in the representations. In the second, a few prime examples of chariots – for example a gold dish from Ugarit or a painted chest of Tutankhamun (Figs. 45, 25a and b) – have been held up as representative of a Near Eastern/ Eastern Mediterranean-wide phenomenon with little scrutiny of variations across the regions.

Here, I would like to explore another aspect of these representations, namely their rhetorical weight as images and emblems of prestige within individual regions. Specifically, I examine the choices that were made in terms of what was chosen to be represented and how. I take pictorial representation to be the product of careful selection processes, not the random expression of an anonymous artist's unconsciousness. Indeed, it is through these processes of selection, both in terms of what to represent and also the manner in which to represent it, that artistic production becomes a powerful tool in the mediation of social relations. And, moreover, this social aspect of artistic production permits images to not just reflect social structures, but also to construct and confer prestige.

In this section, I survey the representational evidence found in Egypt, the Aegean, Cyprus, the Levant, Mesopotamia (Mitanni, Assyria, and Babylonia), Elam and Hittite Anatolia,[437] with only a brief discussion of the chariot kraters, which have been addressed by Caroline Sauvage in part 2. I concentrate on excavated pieces and monuments with known archaeological contexts in order to examine not just iconographic but also contextual features, though this is a predominantly iconographic and formal comparative study. The patterns emerging from this comparative study, plotted on Figs. 61a and b, indicate that our general assumptions regarding the international and elite qualities of chariot representations need to be more precisely defined. While the light, two-wheeled chariot and its visual representation clearly belonged to a widespread, even "internationalizing," world of cross-cultural interactions, the representational milieux – the uses, compositions, motival details, and archaeological contexts – of this prestigious vehicle varied from place to place, exhibiting regional patterns suggestive of local concerns.

Egypt

Some of the best known images of chariots come from the temple reliefs of the New Kingdom

[435] Smith 1965: 28.

[436] Feldman 2006b: 66; see also, Porada 1992: 186 and *Le royaume d'Ougarit* 2004: 152, cat. no. 134.

[437] I include only depictions of chariots and am not covering the relatively few images of horses without chariots; for a brief discussion of these, see discussion in C. Sauvage's section above, note 314.

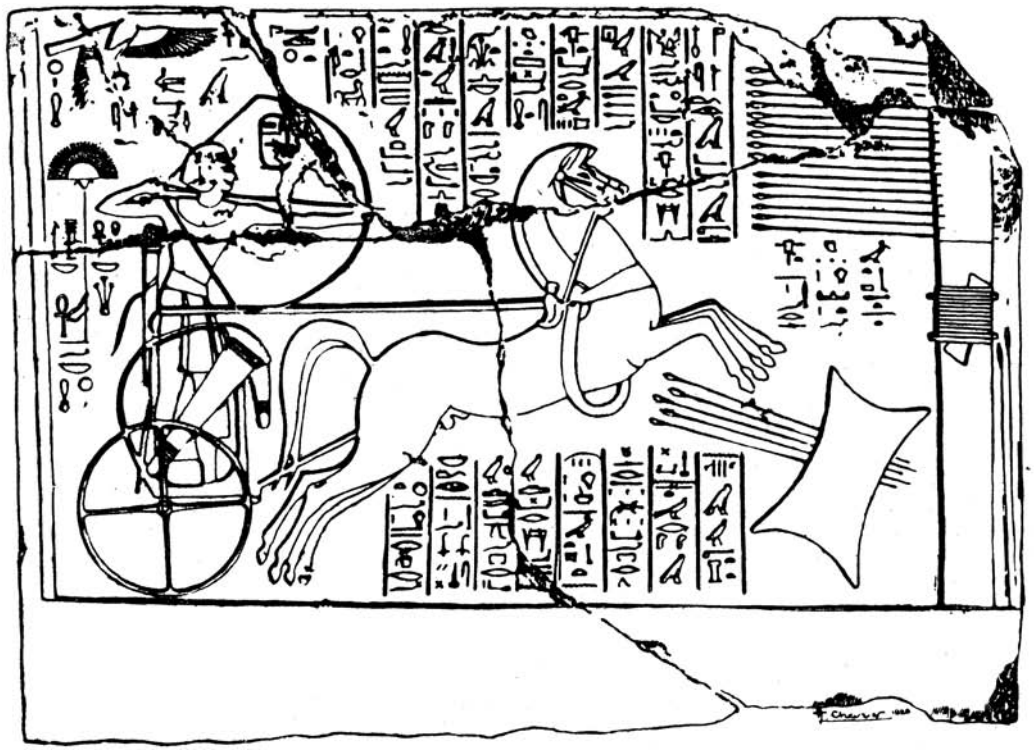


Fig. 19 Amenhotep II in a chariot shooting at a target from the Fourth Pylon of the Great Temple at Karnak (after CHEVRIER 1928: 126, fig. 5)

Egyptian pharaohs. The earliest examples – very fragmentary battle scenes against Levantines – are found at Deir el Medineh and date to Thutmose II's reign.[438] In general, however, Eighteenth Dynasty kings are poorly represented among the corpus of relief sculpture depicting chariots.[439] An early and unusual scene from the reign of Amenhotep II shows Pharaoh in a chariot shooting arrows at a target mounted on a pole (Fig. 19).[440] The only other depiction of this scene known to me is from a harness or chariot appliqué from the tomb of Tutankhamun.[441]

The vast number of surviving reliefs belong to just a few of the great Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty pharaohs: Seti I, Ramses II, and Ramses III.[442] Ramses II, by far, has the largest corpus of chariot scenes, mainly as part of his widely disseminated narrative of the Battle of Kadesh, found at Abu Simbel, Abydos, Luxor and the Ramesseum (Fig. 20).[443] These narra-

[438] HEINZ 2001: 235.

[439] Amenhotep II: Karnak, Fourth Pylon of the Great Temple – in a chariot with rearing horses shooting at target (Fig. 19) (SMITH 1965: 167; PORTER & MOSS 1972: 79).
Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten or Tutankhamun: Karnak, Aten Temple – fragmentary blocks with teams of horses and chariot wheels, with bodies falling before them, probably part of a battle scene (SMITH 1965: 167 [attributed to Akhenaten]; HEINZ 2001: 238 [attributed to Tutankhamun]).
Tutankhamun: Luxor, columned entrance of Amenhotep III – Opet festival reliefs, mainly boats that play a role, but a few chariots appear in procession in a lower register (see WRESZINSKI 1988: pt. II, pl. 199/200).
Horemheb: Gebel Silsileh – rock temple, chariot battle against Nubians (SMITH 1965: 168; illustrated: HEINZ 2001: 241).

[440] See above, note 439.

[441] LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1985: pl. XLV: HH. A related image found on a cylinder seal from Beth Shean in the southern Levant shows Pharaoh standing (not in a chariot) shooting at a mounted target (ROWE 1940: pl. XXXVIII: 3).

[442] Also: Merenptah: Karnak – temple of Amun-re; Asiatic campaign (march, battle, return from campaign; HEINZ 2001: 294–97). A Ramses IV ostrakon shows a battle scene with a chariot (HEINZ 2001: 323).

[443] HEINZ 2001 provides a recent reference for these and the following pharoanic battle scenes. For chariots in the Kadesh reliefs at Abydos, see also SPALINGER 2003.

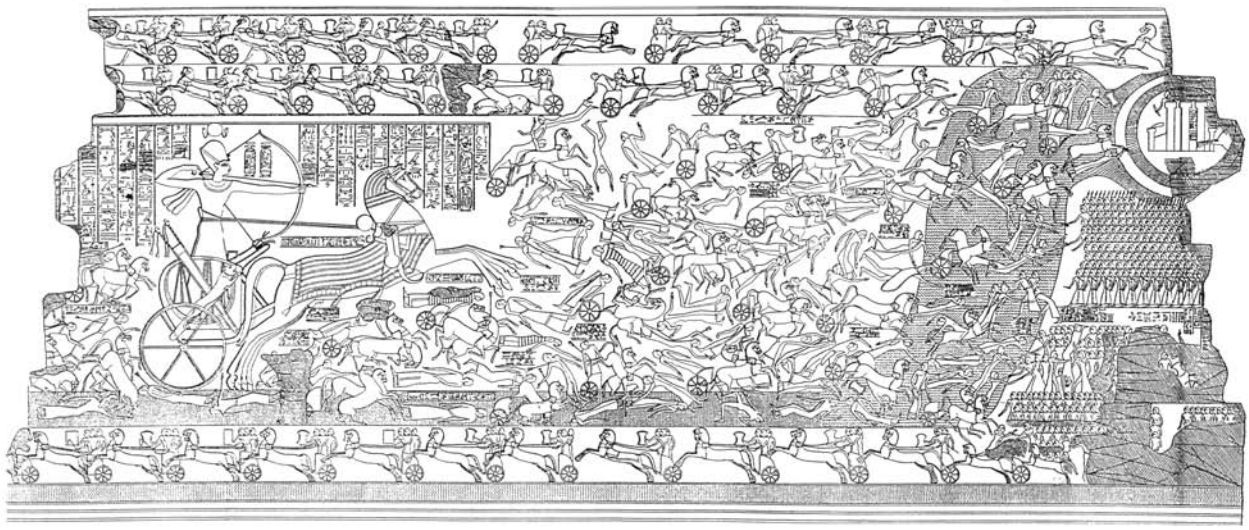


Fig. 20 Detail of Ramses II in chariot from the Battle of Kadesh (after Wreszinski 1988: vol. II, pl. 101)

tives can be understood as the descendants of Seti I's great battle scenes, including that of Kadesh, erected at Karnak. Other battle scenes of Ramses II, against Nubians and Levantines, are found at Amara, Beit el Wali, Derr, and Karnak, all of which include chariots in the representation of battle. The chariot imagery that is perhaps the most widely reproduced in scholarship is from Ramses III's funerary temple at Medinet Habu in which his battles against the Sea Peoples and Libyans also incorporate a hunt set in the marshes in which Ramses III attacks lions from a chariot (Figs. 21, 22). Another set of hunts, including antelope, wild asses and wild bulls, is also depicted at Medinet Habu.[444]

The formal and iconographic aspects of these chariot scenes are fairly standardized, with the exception of the Ramses III animal hunts. Battle scenes show the Pharaoh in his chariot alone with the reins tied around his waist as he draws his bow out fully to shoot into the jumbled masses of enemy that collapse before the onslaught of the rearing horses. Within the larger narrative of campaigning in foreign lands, the king is also seen riding in his chariot, this time with bow not drawn, marching to and from the skirmish itself. Not infrequently, a lion is depicted running alongside the royal chariot, paralleling the textual descriptions of bringing lions into battle.[445] The sequence of march, battle, and return serves as a primary structure for these narratives, which then culminate with the presentation of captives and booty to the god(s) of the temple on whose walls the reliefs have been carved. While chariots play a preeminent role in the campaigning, they do not appear in the final presentation scenes.

The central battle scene, which becomes fully elaborated in the case of Kadesh, can be traced back to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, best preserved on two sides of Thutmose IV's chariot from his tomb (Fig. 23a and b).[446] An even earlier version is found on a scarab of Thutmose I that already contains the basic elements: the pharaoh alone with bow drawn and reins around his waist, rearing horses, and falling enemy.[447] There is little

[444] Porter & Moss 1972: 516.

[445] For example, Ramses III in the second Libyan battle at Medinet Habu (Heinz 2001: 310–11).

[446] Heinz 2001: 236.

[447] Smith 1965: fig. 34a; see also stamp seal of Amenhotep II, which is similar but the reins are not evident (Heinz 2001: 235). Scarab seals depicting Pharaoh in a chariot, sometimes with a fallen enemy beneath the horses, appear in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. Most of them are without archaeological provenance. This motif, however, appears to form a small minority of the total Egyptian seal corpus and are also found in the Levant, where some of them were probably produced. Wiese 1990: 81–87; Matouk 1977: 189–191; for examples found in the Levant, see below.

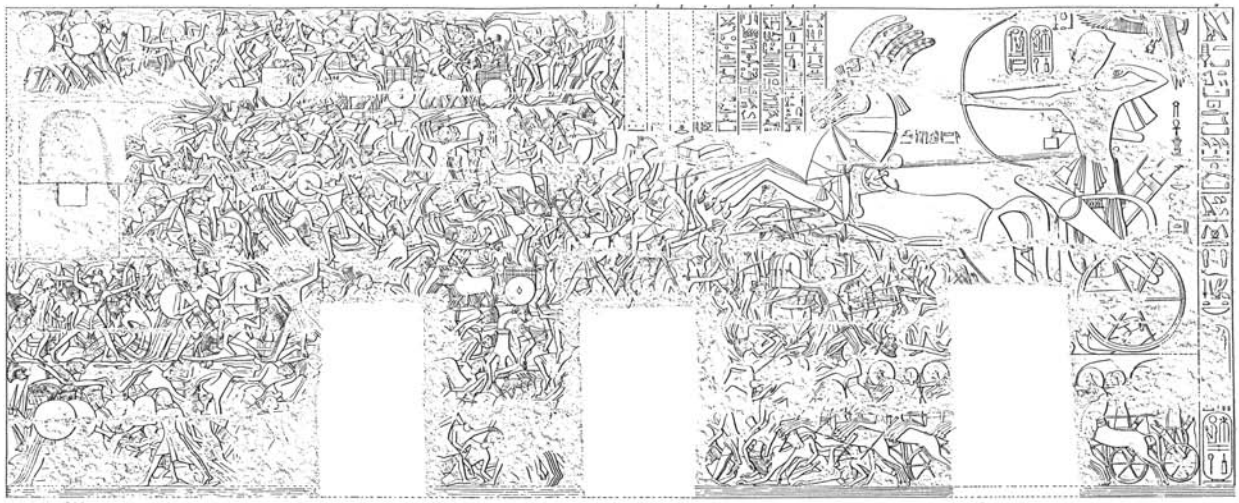


Fig. 21 Detail of Ramses III in chariot from battle scene at Medinet Habu (after WRESZINSKI 1988: vol. II, pl. 114)

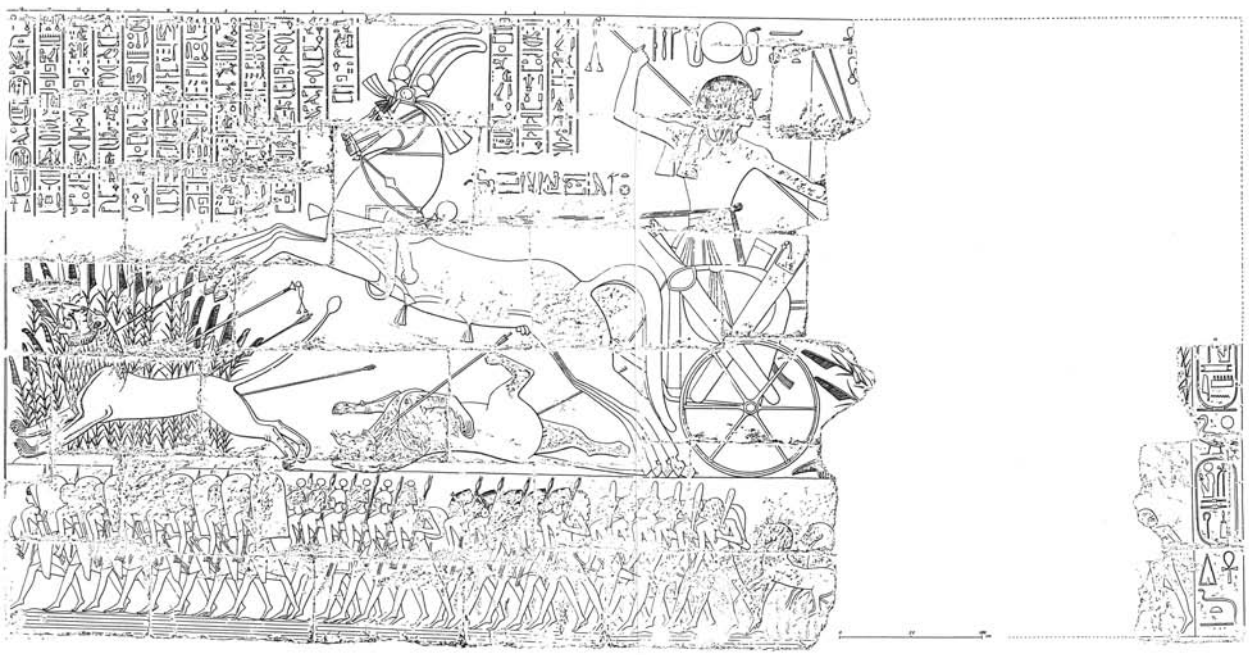


Fig. 22 Detail of Ramses III in chariot from hunt scene at Medinet Habu (after WRESZINSKI 1988: vol. II, pl. 114a)

doubt that these battle scenes are closely linked to hunting imagery in which the king again rides alone in the chariot, shooting his arrows at the prey that collapses in chaotic masses under the thundering hooves of the rushing horses. For the most part, however, the hunt imagery seems not to have been considered appropriate for the large temple reliefs discussed above, with the single exception of Ramses III's hunts at Medinet Habu. Instead, these scenes appear on smaller, luxurious items, such as a gold fan, gilded wooden bow case, and painted chest from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Figs. 24, 25a and b).[448] The last mentioned is the best formal expression of the parallelism

[448] For gold fan, see CARTER 1954: vol. 2, 46, pl. LXII; for bow case, see CARTER 1954: vol. 3, 94, pls. XXVIII-XXIX; for painted chest, see CARTER 1954: vol. 1, 110–111, pls. L–LIV.

Fig. 23 Side panels of chariot of Thutmose IV showing Pharaoh in a chariot (after WRESZINSKI 1988: vol. II, pls. 1 and 2)

understood to exist between royal hunting and battle, as the two depictions of hunt (of lions and gazelles) perfectly mirror two representations of battle (against Nubians and Levantines).

Scenes of hunting from a chariot also occur in the painted private Tombs of the Nobles at Thebes, although the frequency of modern reproduction exaggerates the perception of their actual

Fig. 24 Gold fan holder of Tutankhamun (© Griffith Institute, University of Oxford)

frequency.[449] The well-preserved image of Userhet hunting in the desert (Royal scribe and Child of the nursery; TT 56) has come to stand as representative for all such hunt scenes (Fig. 26). Like the royal images, Userhet rides alone, the reins tied around his waist as he shoots into the tangled mass of animals. Yet, upon surveying the data as a whole, one finds only a few other similar representations. A poorly preserved example appears in TT 84 belonging to Amunezeh, First royal herald and Overseer of the gate.[450] Other examples appear in the tombs of User (Scribe, Steward of Thutmose I; TT 21), Dhutmosei (Hereditary prince, Royal herald; TT 342), and Amenemhet (Scribe, Overseer of the granary, Counter of bread; TT 123). These all date to early in the Eighteenth Dynasty, clustering during the reigns of Thutmose I through Amenhotep II.[451] A variation on this theme may appear in the tomb of Re' (First prophet of Amun in the Mortuary Temple of Thutmose III; TT 72), where a poorly preserved scene seems to show not the tomb owner but the king, Amenhotep II, in the chariot.[452]

Private tombs include additional representations of chariots, which while also standardized, expand the iconographic range. These can be divided roughly between the Theban Tombs of the Nobles, concentrated in the pre-Amarna period of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and those at Amarna dating to the short period of Akhenaten through the early years of Tutankhamun (Tutankhaten).[453] A few later Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside tombs also depict chariots, although the decoration of tombs during these periods changes dramatically

[449] Hunting scenes were assembled using Wreszinksi 1988 and Porter & Moss 1960. Theban tomb is abbreviated to TT.

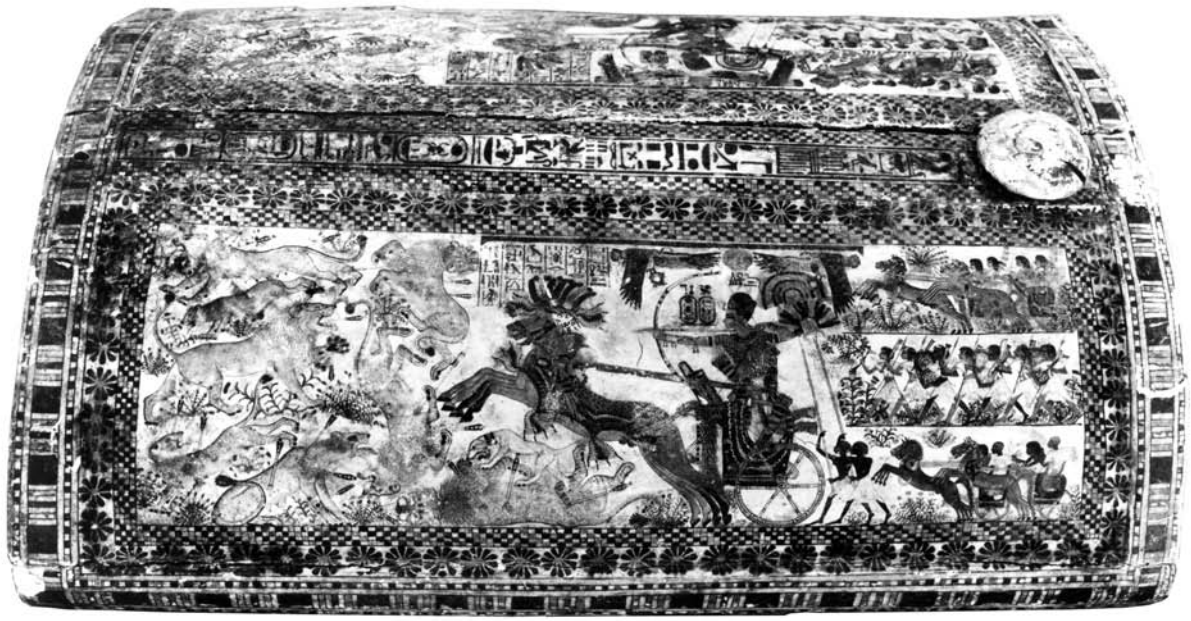
[450] Wreszinski 1988: pt. 1, pl. 269/270.

[451] A tomb possibly belonging to the period of Thutmose IV's reign may also show this scene (Amenemopet, Overseer of the treasury of gold and silver, Judge, Overseer of the cabinet; TT 276; Porter & Moss 1960: 353, §11).

[452] Porter & Moss 1960: 142, §4.

[453] For the Theban necropolis, information was gathered principally from Wreszinski 1988 and Porter & Moss 1960. For the Amarna tombs, see Davies 1903–1908.

a)



b)

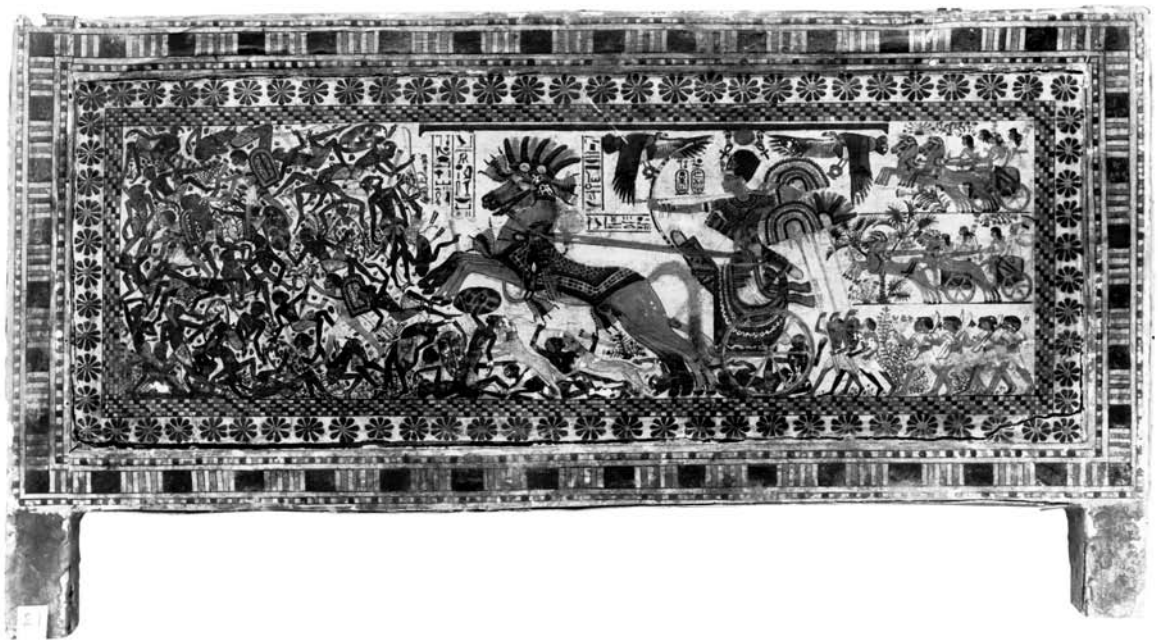


Fig. 25 Painted chest of Tutankhamun a) top (lion hunt) b) side (battle against Nubians) (© Griffith Institute, University of Oxford)

with a resulting decrease in the type of scenes (so-called daily life scenes) in which one might expect chariots to appear.

A common scene in tombs belonging to high temple priests is the inspection of temple workshops in which chariots and bows are being made, among other luxurious manufactured crafts (Fig. 27). The earliest of these date to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.[454] Later examples fall during the reigns of Amenhotep II

[454] Hepusonb, First prophet of Amun (TT 67, pd. of Hatshepsut); Antef, Great Herald of the King (TT 155, pd. of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III); Menkheperreseneb, First prophet of Amun (TT86, pd. of Thutmose III); and Puimre, Second prophet of Amun (TT 39, pd. of Thutmose III).

Fig. 26 Userhet hunting in the desert from Theban Tomb 56 (after WRESZINSKI 1988: vol. I, pl. 26a)

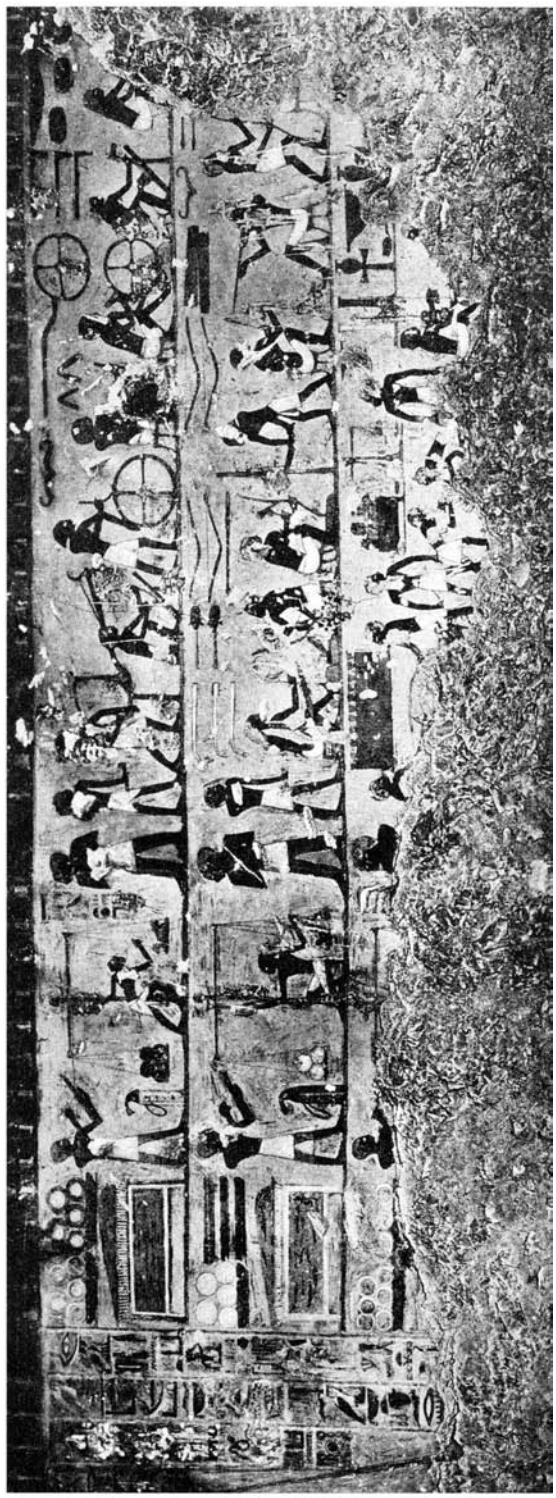


Fig. 27 Inspection of temple workshop with chariot construction scene from Theban Tomb 86, Menkheperreseneb (after WRESZINSKI 1988: vol. I, pl. 41)

Fig. 28 Detail of Levantines bringing chariots as tribute from Theban Tomb 42, Amenmose (after WRESZINSKI 1988: vol. I, pl. 88a)

and Thutmose IV.[455] Also during the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, private individuals depicted in their tombs chariots and horses as tribute from the Levant (and occasionally from Nubia) (Fig. 28). The tombs depicting Syrians/Levantines bringing horses and chariots belong to Antef, Great herald of the King (TT 155, Hatshepsut/Thutmose III); Menkheperreseneb, First prophet of Amun (TT86, Thutmose III), both already mentioned above with workshop scenes; Amunezeh, First royal herald and Overseer of the gate (TT 84, Thutmose III) who also had a hunting scene in his tomb; Amenmosi, Captain of troops, Eyes of the King in the Two Lands of the Retenu (TT 42, Thutmose III/Amenhotep II); Rekhmire, Governor of the town and Vizier (TT 100, Thutmose III/Amenhotep II); and Amenmosi, Steward in the Southern City (TT 89, Amenhotep III).[456] Chariots appear as part of an escort in a scene of tribute from Punt in the tomb of an unknown individual (TT 143, Thutmose III-Amenhotep II(?)), while Amenmosi, Steward in the Southern City, is shown in his own chariot on expedition to Punt (TT 89, Amenhotep III). The latest of such scenes is in the tomb of Amenhotep, known as Huy, Viceroy of Kush, Governor of the South Lands (TT 40, Akhenaten/Tutankhamun), and shows Nubians with chariots as part of a tribute review.

A variety of other scenes involving chariots are also found among the decoration of New King-

[455] Mery, First prophet of Amun (TT 95, pd. of Amenhotep II); Hebu, Vizier (TT 66, pd. of Thutmose IV); and Amenhotep-si-se, Second prophet of Amun (TT 75, pd. of Thutmose IV).

[456] One tomb depicts the king's chariot within a scene of Syrian tribute: Nebamun, Standard bearer of (the sacred bark called) 'Beloved of Amun', Captain of troops of the police on the west of Thebes (TT 90, Thutmose IV-Amenhotep III). Two other tombs include chariots among New Year's gifts to the gods: Amenhotep(?), Overseer of works on the two great obelisks in the Temple of Amun, Chief steward, Veteran of the King (TT 73, pd. of Hatshepsut) and Kenamun, Chief steward of the King (TT 93, pd. of Amenhotep II).

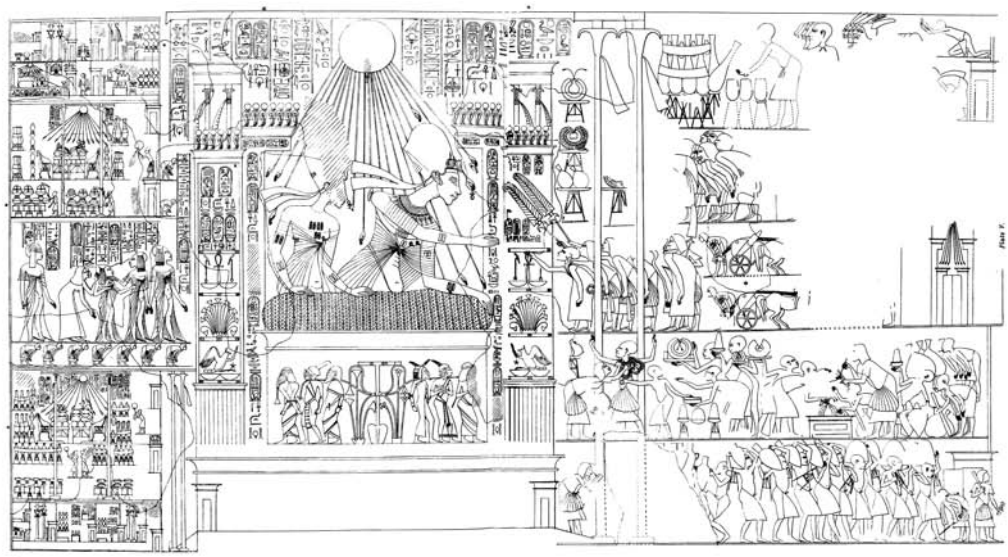


Fig. 29 Detail of Parennefer receiving honors from Pharaoh, with his chariots outside the palace walls, from Amarna private tomb of Parennefer (after DAVIES 1903–1908: vol. 6, pl. IV)

dom private tombs: waiting chariots with attendants,[457] chariots within funeral processions,[458] and other miscellaneous scenes.[459] While such vignettes appear in tombs throughout the New Kingdom, they become more numerous from the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty and include the few representations of chariots in post-Amarna period private tombs. At the same time, hunting in the desert, inspecting workshops, and reviewing foreign tribute disappear from the tomb decoration repertoire following the Amarna period.

The tombs of private officials cut into the cliffs surrounding Amarna, ancient Akhetaten, the city founded *de novo* by Akhenaten in the fourth year of his reign, contain numerous depictions of chariots in newly standardized depictions.[460] A recurring scene shows the tomb owner receiving rewards from the king (Fig. 29). It is found in

[457] Antef, Great Herald of the King (TT 155, pd. of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III); Menna, Scribe of the fields of the Lord of the Two Lands of Upper and Lower Egypt (TT 69, Thutmose IV(?)); Khaemhet: Royal scribe, Overseer of the Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt (TT 57, Amenhotep III); Horemheb's private tomb at Saqqara constructed during the time of Tutankhamun's and Ay's rule (MARTIN 1989a: pls. 28, 29, 32, 34, 94, and 95); Userhet, called Neferhabef, First prophet of the royal *ka* of Thutmose I (TT 51, Seti I).

[458] Ahmosi, First lector of Amun (TT 121, Thutmose III(?)); Amenemhab, called Mahu, Lieutenant-commander of soldiers (TT 85, Thutmose III-Amenhotep II); Mentiywy, Royal butler, Child of the nursery (TT 172, Thutmose III-Amenhotep II(?)); Userhet, Royal scribe, Child of the nursery (TT 56, Amenhotep II); Dhutnufer, Overseer of the treasury, Royal scribe (TT 80, Amenhotep II); Sebkhotp, Mayor of the Southern Lake and the Lake of Sobk (TT 63, Thutmose IV); Hety, Scribe, Counter of cattle of the god's wife of Amun, Steward of the god's wife (TT 151, Thutmose IV); Haremhab, Royal scribe of recruits (TT 78, Thutmose III-Amenhotep III); Horemheb's private tomb at Saqqara (Tutankhamun and Ay; MARTIN 1989a: pls. 120–123).

[459] Amenemopet, called Thonufer, Scribe, Counter of grain of Amun, Overseer of fields ([men bringing the deceased's chariot] TT 297, early Eighteenth Dyn.); Djuty, Overseer of the treasury, Overseer of works ([fragmentary remains of chariots and men] TT 11, Hatshepsut-Thutmose III); Amenhotep, Second prophet of Amun ([the arrival by chariot to a banquet before the deceased and his wife] TT 75, Thutmose IV); Neferhotep, Chief scribe of Amun ([deceased returning in chariot] TT 49, probably Ay); Para'emhab, Overseer of the magazine ([chariot with sleeping charioteer] TT 302, Ramesside); Amenemopet, called Ipy, Chief steward of Amun in the Southern City ([deceased arriving at house in chariot] TT 41, Ramses I-Seti I); Thay, Royal scribe of the dispatches of the Lord of the Two Lands ([deceased arriving at house in chariot], TT 23, Merenptah); Hatiay, Overseer of the prophets of all the gods, Chief prophet of Sobk, Scribe of the Temple of Monthu ([pilgrimage to Abydos with chariot on board], TT 324, Ramses VI).

[460] For overview and basic bibliography of tombs, see D'AURIA 1999: 168–173.

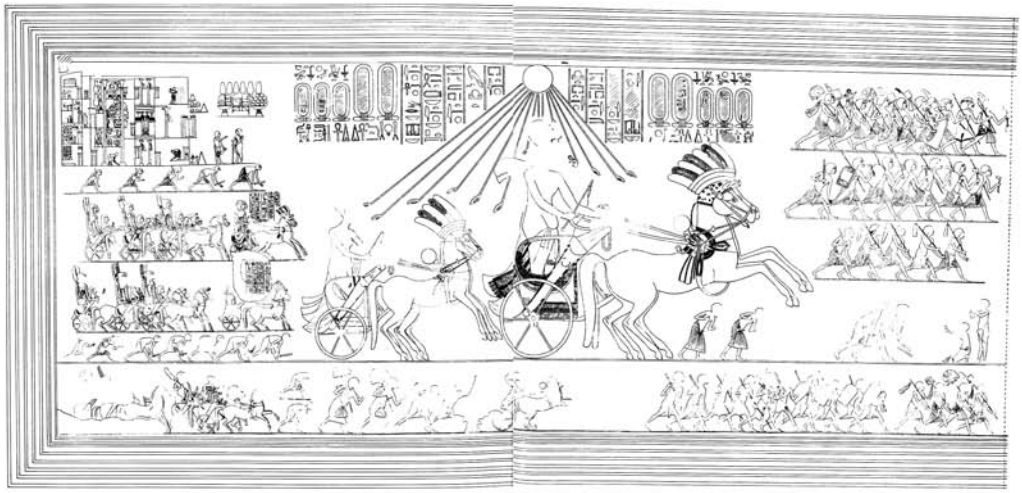


Fig. 30 Pharaoh and Queen going to the temple in chariots, from the Amarna private tomb of Meryra I (after DAVIES 1903–1908: vol. 1, pl. X)

almost all the decorated tombs at Amarna.[461] The deceased's chariots wait outside the palace walls to escort the honoree and his prizes back to a congratulatory household. Another scene that appears to have been almost obligatory in the Amarna private tombs depicts the king and various members of the royal family processing in their chariots to and from the temple or making offerings in the temple while their retinue waits outside (Fig. 30).[462]

While several new types of scenes appear during this period as a result of Akhenaten's religious changes, two of the tombs retain the popular scenes of reviewing foreign tribute in which Levantines are depicted bringing chariots, horses, and bow cases (tombs of Huya, Meryra II).[463]

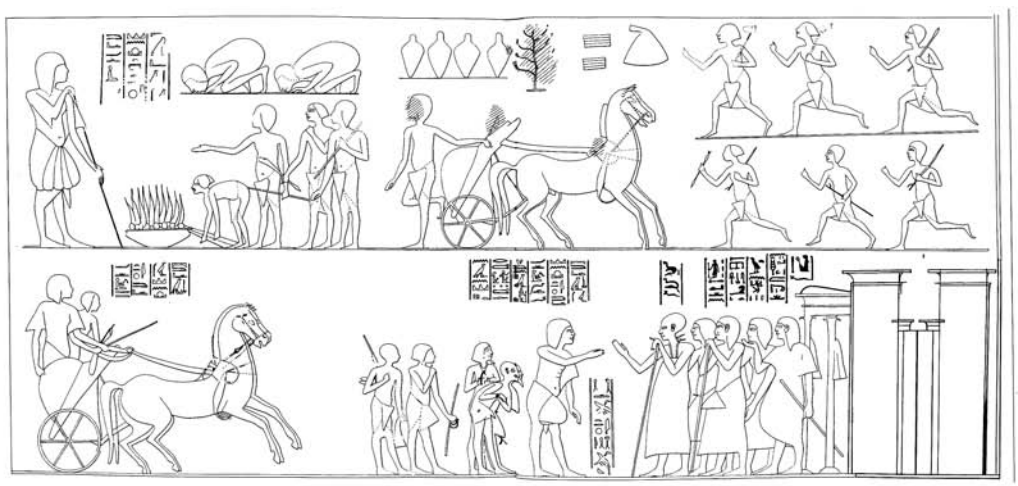


Fig. 31 Detail of Mahu apprehending fugitives in his chariot, from his tomb at Amarna (after DAVIES 1903–1908: vol. 4, pl. XXVI)

[461] D'AURIA 1999: 171–172; (in DAVIES 1903–1908: Meryra, Panehesy, Meryra II, Huya, Pentu, Mahu, Parennefer, Tutu, and Ay).

[462] In DAVIES 1903–1908: Meryra, Panehesy, Huya (Tiye is shown), Ahmes, Pentu, Mahu, Parennefer (on the façade of tomb rather than inside).

[463] Huya (DAVIES 1903–1908: vol. 3) displays ties to pre-Amarna politics with the depiction of Tiye, Akhenaten's mother, whose steward Huya was.

Fig. 32 Stele of Tjay, the charioteer
(after DAVIES 1903–1908: vol. 5, pl. XXII)

Huya's tomb also depicts an unusual representation of a chariot as part of the burial furniture painted on the wall surrounding a three-dimensional sculpture of Huya in the funerary niche, representing in image what several rulers had in reality: actual chariots buried with them.[464] In one case, the tomb of Mahu, chariots appear in a more individualized biographic moment, in which Mahu apprehends captives in his role as Police Chief (Fig. 31).[465] He is shown in pursuit in his chariot, which is being driven by a charioteer. Such a charioteer serving a high official apparently dedicated a stela in the Amarna tomb of his master; a stela inscribed for Tjay, "the charioteer of the Royal Scribe Any," was one of six stelae found in 1891 in the tomb of Any at Amarna, the only tomb at Amarna to retain such memorials (Fig. 32).[466] The stela, which retains its paint, shows master and driver together in the chariot.

The reliefs in the royal tomb at Amarna, though somewhat poorly preserved, depict chariots in ways that are quite similar to the private tombs.[467] They occur in two major scenes in Room alpha that show the king and royal family offering to the Aten. Both scenes provide detailed descriptive imagery of the Aten temple, including the royal entourage waiting outside its walls with several registers of chariots.

Summary

The large number of chariot representations in New Kingdom Egypt highlights the central role they had assumed during this period in the denotation of kingship and higher and lower elite status. General consensus accepts that the light, two-wheeled chariot was a relatively new technology in the Late Bronze Age, introduced into Egypt sometime during the middle of the second millennium.[468] Its "youth" might be best recognized in the peripheral or non-existent participation of chariots in depictions of older traditions such as the Opet festival in which the main transportation is the Nile boat and chariots appear only in small sub-scenes.[469] Chariots in battle are primarily associated with royal figures and cluster in the later part of the New Kingdom (Dynasties Nineteen and Twenty), while hunting scenes tend to occur in tombs of private individuals in the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. A few images of Pharaoh hunting also occur, most often on non-monumental arts. However, the hunt from a chariot is in fact not represented as frequently as one might think, a perception that is skewed by the repeated reproduction of a few singular images, such as Tutankhamun's painted chest. Much more commonly, in imagery, the chariot serves as a sign of elite status in the form of conveyance either for the king and royal family or the deceased in whose tomb the representation occurs. Chariots seem to be used in this capacity in both the pre-Amarna and Amarna period private tombs. It almost goes without saying that chariots, especially the entourages of the deceased depicted waiting in the wings, signal the highest officials within the royal and religious bureaucracy. Throughout, the representations indicate a close connection

[464] Amenhotep II; Thutmose IV; Yuya and Thuya (parents-in-law of Amenhotep III); Amenhotep III; Tutankhamun; and an unknown tomb (LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: 75n17). See also discussion in part 1, above.

[465] DAVIES 1903–1908: vol. 4, pl. xxvi.

[466] DAVIES 1903–1908: vol. 5, pl. xxii; D'AURIA 1999: 173, fig. 134.

[467] MARTIN 1989b: pls. 34, 53.

[468] LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1996; MOOREY 1986.

[469] For example, see Tutankhamun relief from Luxor (see above, note 439).

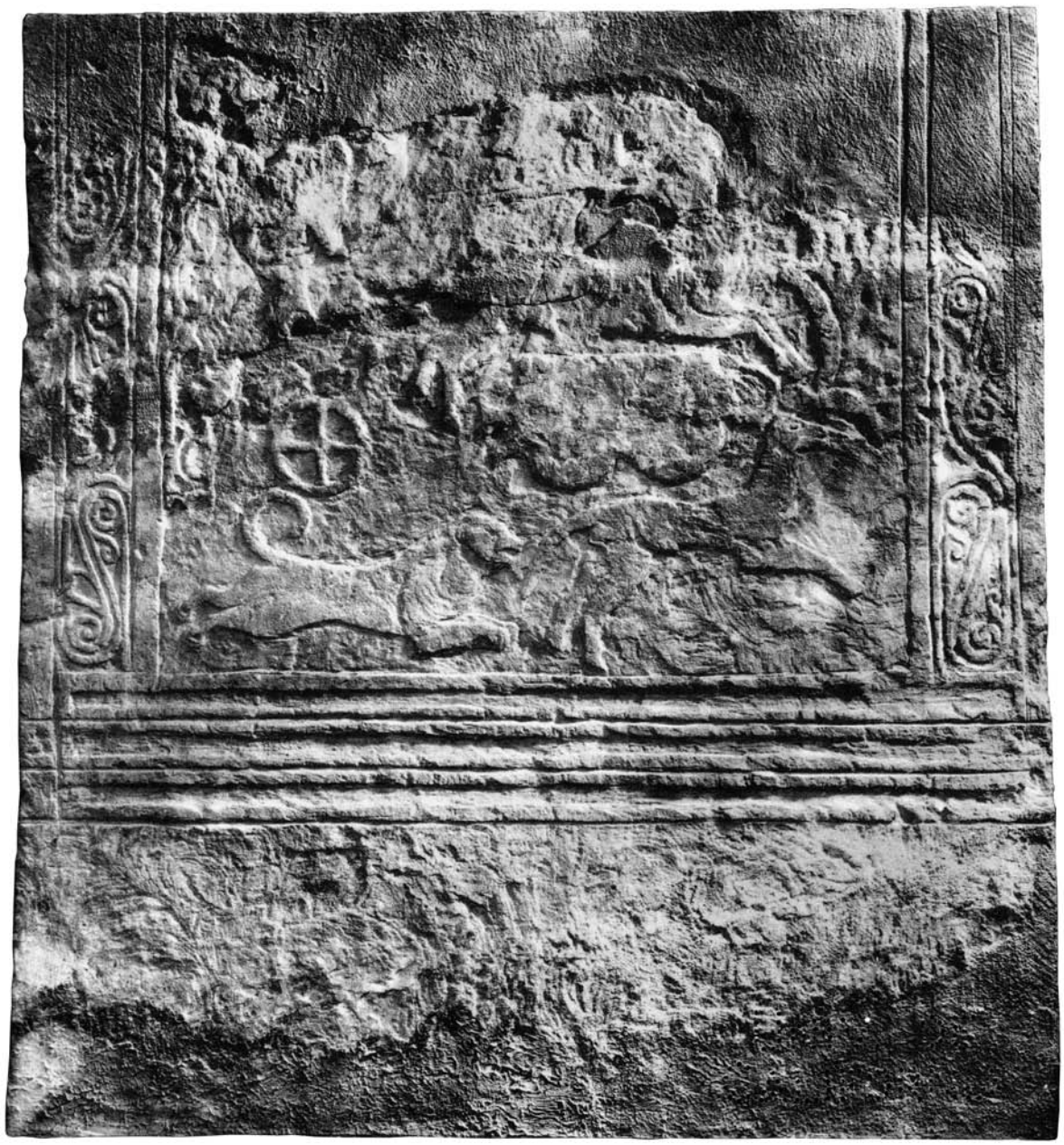


Fig. 33 Shaft Grave stela, Mycenae, Circle A (after KARO 1930/33: pl. VII)

between chariots and bows and arrows, which are seen used in war and in hunt, slung onto the cab, and included alongside chariot parts in temple workshops.

GREECE AND THE AEGEAN

Mainland Greece and the Aegean have produced numerous representations of chariots from the Late Bronze Age, second only to Egypt in sheer quantity and surpassing Egypt in the diversity of media and contexts.[470] Crouwel proposes that the light, two-wheeled chariot, which is generally considered to be a wholesale technological import into Greece, came from the Levant, arguing against suggestions that it came from Egypt or further north in Europe.[471] Yet in spite of the chariot's probable Levantine origin, it was adapted to suit the needs of the Aegean topography and pre-

[470] Much of the representational corpus for this section was derived from CATLING 1968 and CROUWEL 1981.

[471] CROUWEL 1981: 148.

sumably also its cultural milieu.[472] Catling chronologically divides chariot use in the Aegean into three main stages according to a development of chariot types: "…Stage I, which belonged to the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries, was a chariot with a closed-frame box that was used indifferently for fighting, hunting and ceremonial purposes. The Stage II chariot coincided with the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, and was the so-called dual chariot. It was hardly ever represented in anything but a ceremonial setting. Stage III chariots are confined to representations of twelfth century date; with them, the chariot returned to a war footing. They are distinguished by their open framework, the best match for which is perhaps the Egyptian chariot."[473]

The earliest representations of chariots appear on materials from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, dating between 1650 and 1500 BC. These include several of the limestone stelae carved in flat relief and apparently set up above the graves as markers. Of the twenty-two plain and decorated stelae associated with Circles A and B, five of them show chariot scenes; of these five, however, only two are mostly complete.[474] The original carving technique – flat surfaces with little modeling and no internal details – and the current poor condition of the flaking limestone make representational analysis difficult.[475] Yet there appears to be only one driver who ambiguously could be interpreted as holding the reins and/or thrusting with a spear simultaneously. Likewise, the larger contexts of the scene, whether military, hunt, or funerary games, is not clear.[476] One stela appears to set up the analogy between hunting and warfare that already has been seen in Egypt (for example, on the painted chest from the tomb of Tutankhamun) (Fig. 33).[477] The stela, whose surface is much weathered, shows a single driver in a chariot pulled by one, or possibly two, horse(s). He appears to hold the reins in one hand and has a dagger by his waist. Below the legs of the galloping horse(s) lies a poorly preserved entity that some have interpreted as a fallen soldier beneath a "figure 8" shield.[478] In a parallel zone beneath the rushing chariot, not formally delineated enough to be called a register, a lion chases after a gazelle, setting up the equation of the human hunter with that of the greatest predator of the animal world.

Fig. 34 Gold signet ring with chariot hunt scene from Grave IV, Cirlce A, Mycenae (after KARO 1930/33: pl. XXIV:240)

None of the Shaft Grave stelae unambiguously depict hunting from a chariot. However, a gold ring from Grave IV of Circle A does (Fig. 34).[479] Indeed, this is one of the only images from the Aegean to follow the hunt formula seen in Egypt and the Near East: two men occupy the cab of the chariot, the first drawing his bow while a stag turns his head back toward the men as it flees. Two horses – shown in overlapping profiles with all eight legs, two heads and two tails depicted – run in full, extended gallop. A fragmentary ivory pyxis from the latest of the Shaft Grave burials (Circle A, Grave I) shows part of a chariot wheel and cab executed in incision, but does not preserve any further aspects of the design.[480] An ivory plaque from a later context of the Kadmeion at Thebes depicts two figures in a chariot.[481]

[472] CROUWEL 1981: 149.

[473] CATLING 1968: 42.

[474] CROUWEL 1981: cat. nos. S1–S5. Two other stelae depict rearing horses.

[475] VERMEULE (1964: 90–94) remains a lively and succinct overview of the stelae.

[476] VERMEULE (1964: 91) discounts the military theme and proposes Mylonas' 1951 idea of funerary races. CROUWEL (1981: 119), however, argues against funerary games and for military activity.

[477] Stela 1 from Shaft Grave V of Circle A; KARO 1930/33: pl. VII.

[478] CROUWEL (1981: 119); VERMEULE (1964: 92) considers this interpretation "implausible."

[479] KARO 1930/33: pl. XXIV:240.

[480] BURNS 2010: 99–100, fig. 3.9.

[481] BURNS 2010: 136.

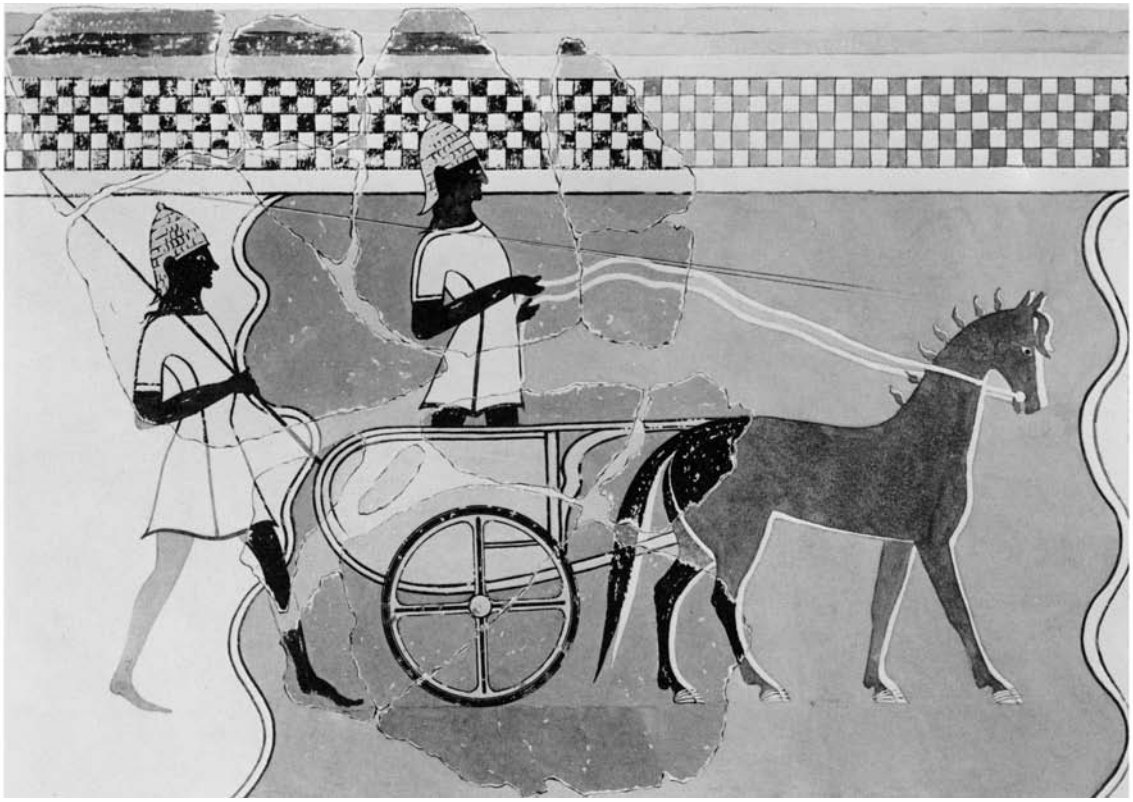


Fig. 35 Details of chariot from fresco narrative, Pylos
(after LANG 1969: 123:26H64)

Another early chariot image appears on several sealings from Akrotiri on Thera.[482] Similar to sealings from the Minoan villas at Ayia Triada and Sklavokambos, all of which were impressed from a signet ring like that found at the Shaft Graves, the impressions show a driver leaning forward to vigorously urge on his team. The pair of horses, however, appear to move at a stately canter rather than at full gallop. The excavation of the sealings at Akrotiri, sealed at the end of LM IA by the eruption of the volcano provides the early dating (whether in the seventeenth or sixteenth century) for this iconography, which already seems to belong fully to the Aegean realm.

Fresco fragments depicting chariots have been found on the Greek mainland at Mycenae, Orchomenos, Tiryns, and Pylos, on Crete at Knossos, and at Ayia Irini on the Cycladic island of Keos (Fig. 35). With the exception of Knossos, chariots seem to be associated with either hunt or battle narratives.[483] The Ayia Irini fresco, which has been reconstructed as a deer hunt, belongs to a miniature frieze that also included images of dance, procession, and banquet.[484] This fragmentary composition anticipates the later boar and deer hunt frescoes that become popular on the mainland in LH IIIA/B. The best preserved of these is the boar hunt fresco from Tiryns, where as many as six dual-type chariots carried pairs of women, one of whom holds the reins.[485] The Tiryns' chariots do not appear to participate in the action of the hunt – the horses walk at a measured pace and no weapons are present – and thus have been interpreted as spectators. Another boar hunt, from Orchomenos, also includes fragments of a "bitted horse team" and chariots.[486]

A unique, possibly Aegean cylinder seal that shows a hunt scene was found in a hoard in the Kadmeion Palace at Thebes in Boeotia

[482] CROUWEL 2005: 40, pl. IVb.

[483] IMMERWAHR (1990: 122) notes that the two themes of battle and hunt "cannot always be distinguished."

[484] Dated to LM IB; IMMERWAHR 1990: 83.

[485] IMMERWAHR 1990: 129.

[486] CROUWEL 1981: pl. 90, W33 and W34+.

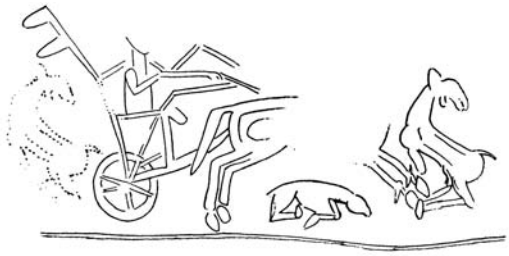


Fig. 36 Possible Mycenaean seal, from lapis lazuli hoard, Kadmeion, Thebes (after PORADA 1981–82: 67, no. 38)

(Fig. 36).[487] Made of lapis lazuli, it accompanied 34 other lapis lazuli cylinder seals, most of which are clearly of Mesopotamian origin, in addition to unworked lapis, agate, and faience cylinders and beads and ivory ornaments.[488] The seal carving is poorly preserved, but traces of a charioteer holding reins and a whip, along with a rearing horse and falling hooved prey survive. Porada tentatively suggests a Mycenaean origin for the carving (if not for the lapis seal itself, which was probably reused from a Near Eastern example) because of the type of "pennoned spear" seen in the back of the chariot and the posture of the horse's legs and twisted prey.[489] She continues, "the relations with Mycenaean designs suggested for this cylinder are extremely tenuous. Nevertheless, Thebes was a special place and the number of gems found there makes the existence of a seal cutter's workshop at this artistically outstanding site very likely. It is not impossible, therefore, that a local engraver tried his hand at the difficult task of engraving a design upon the cylindrical surface of a small lapis lazuli bead." Given the relative rarity of chariot hunt scenes in the Aegean, one might speculate whether the association with the Near East embodied in the lapis lazuli seal might have influenced the choice of subject matter, although it is rendered using non-Near Eastern attributes (such as a spear instead of bow and arrow) consistent with Aegean representations in general.[490]

A major battle narrative ornamented the upper walls of the megaron at Mycenae, although only fragments of two walls survive.[491] Chariots appear in military preparations with horses being led by grooms and an unyoked chariot.[492] At least two dual-type chariots were represented in later episodes, in which the vehicles move steadily forward rather than careening. Also as part of this frieze, Rodenwaldt published a now-famous reconstruction of a soldier tumbling headlong from a chariot pulled by galloping horses (Fig. 37).[493] Littauer, however, has argued for the lack of sustained evidence for this reconstruction – only "a patch of reddish-brown paint along the top edge of a fragment" – as well as its incongruity with other Aegean representations of chariots.[494] Other fragments of chariots in military situations come from Orchomenos and Pylos.[495]

From the latest period of the palace at Knossos on Crete comes a more unusual representation of chariots (Fig. 38). The fresco, originally called the "Palanquin fresco" by Evans, shows the dual-type chariot with charioteer and two horses of contrasting colors.[496] Based on the reconstruction by Cameron, the charioteer wears a ceremonial robe and holds a whip and the reins in his hands.[497] Behind the chariot, the horn and eye of a bull survive, suggesting a ritual nature for the scene. A second chariot composition from Knossos includes two female occupants.[498]

Two females in a chariot are also seen on both of the short sides of a painted sarcophagus found at Ayia Triada.[499] However, here the chariots are

[487] PORADA 1981–82: no. 38.

[488] PORADA 1981–82: 4.

[489] PORADA 1981–82: 66–67.

[490] SCHON (2007: 140) cites a sealing from the Pylos palace collection (*CMS I 302*; PINI 1997: no. 22) as showing a chariot and lion hunt (the seal itself may date to the 14th century, though the sealing belongs to the final years of the palace at the end of the 13th century). The sealing's details are hard to discern. A standing horse, with its head turned back, precedes a chariot that is only partially preserved. In front of the horse a male figure wrestles with a lion. There is, however, no indication of hunting the lion from the chariot, and the two elements do not appear to be thematically related.

[491] IMMERWAHR 1990: 123–124.

[492] Compared by IMMERWAHR (1990: 123) to a slightly earlier composition known as the Groom fresco.

[493] RODENWALDT 1921: pl. II.

[494] LITTAUER 1972: 85–89.

[495] IMMERWAHR 1990: 125–128.

[496] Dated LM II/IIIA. IMMERWAHR 1990: 92–95.

[497] CAMERON 1967: fig. 12.

[498] CROUWEL 1981: W75.

[499] Dated to LM III. CROUWEL 1981: 40–41; IMMERWAHR 1990: 100–102.

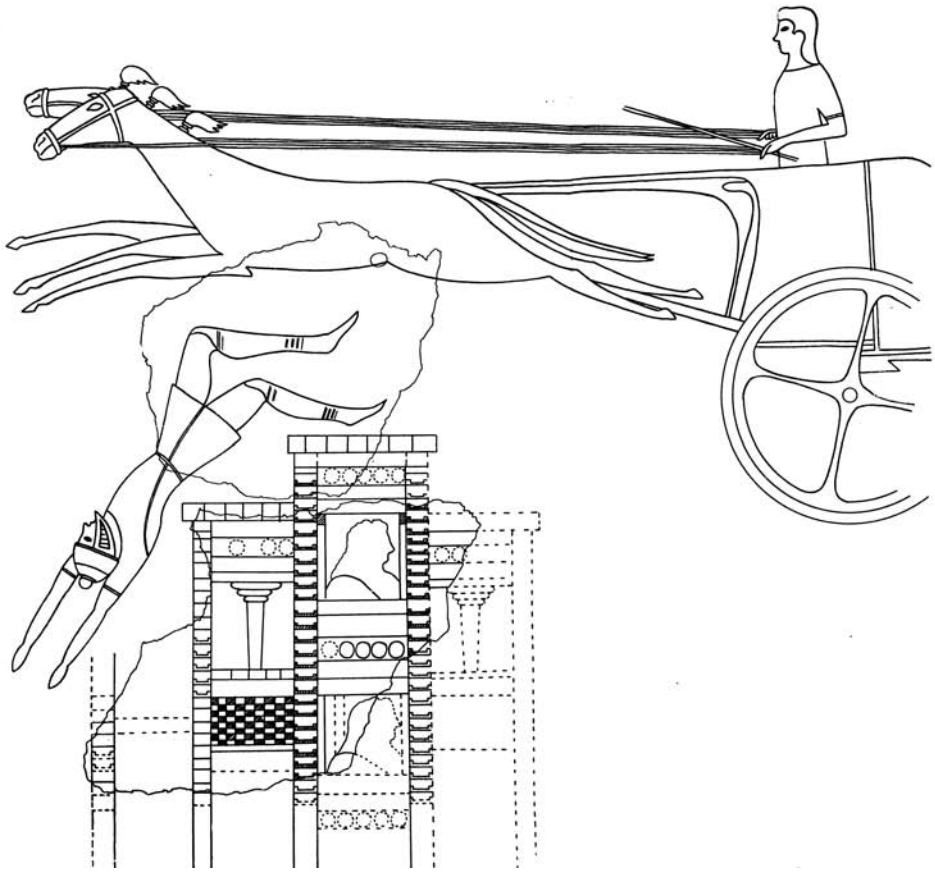


Fig. 37 Reconstruction of falling soldier with chariot, Mycenae (after RODENWALDT 1921: pl. II)

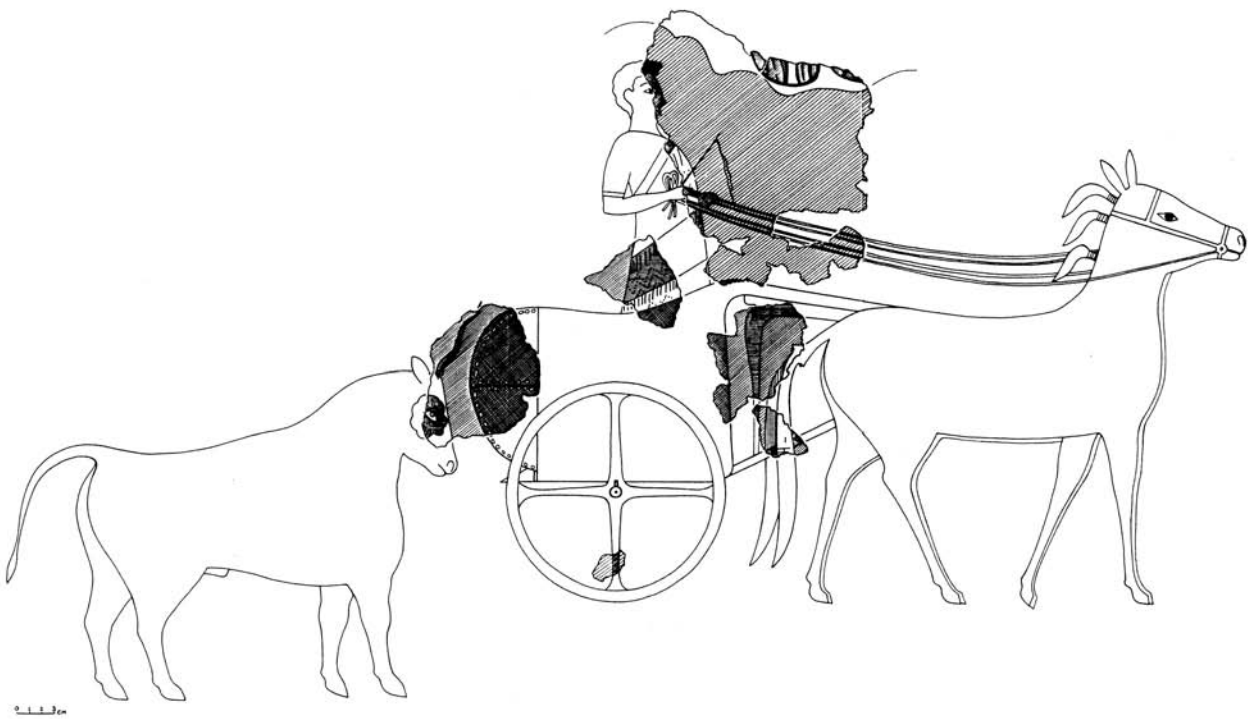


Fig. 38 Reconstructed drawing of the "Palanquin"-chariot fresco, Knossos palace (after CAMERON 1967: fig. 12)

Fig. 39 Terracotta chariot group from Enkomi, British Tomb 93, Cyprus (British Museum 1897,0401.1292; photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY))

drawn by griffins in one case and wild goats in the other. The use of such mythical or wild beasts to pull chariots is found with a certain frequency in Aegean art, especially the glyptic.[500] According to the iconography of the Ayia Triada sarcophagus, which though still enigmatic in its details is clearly connected to funerary rituals, and the explicitly otherworldly nature of the draft animals, we can understand these chariot images to occupy a rather different realm of meaning than those associated with hunts or battles. The role of chariots in funerary games has already been raised in conjunction with the Shaft Grave stelae. A similar explanation has been put forth to explain the depictions of chariots on ceramic kraters, which almost exclusively show the vehicles as part of processions. Although Crouwel discounts a funerary reading of the kraters, he does point to a thirteenth-century funerary larnax from Tanagra that shows a pair of chariots and a duel in conjunction with a scene of placing the deceased in a coffin.[501]

The chariot kraters themselves represent one, relatively large, corpus of chariot imagery, and find a wide distribution in the eastern Mediter-

[500] Crouwel 1981: pls. 9 (G1 = amethyst cylinder seal showing chariot pulled by pair of lions, from tholos tomb at Kazarma in the Argolid), 14b (G6), 15 (G7 = agate signet ring from tomb at Avdu near Lyttos, Crete); Crouwel 2005: pl. IVf and IVg. For full treatment of the unusual hematite cylinder seal from Astrakous near Knossos that is divided into two registers, one depicting a dual chariot drawn by a horse and the other with a dual chariot pulled by a griffin (= Crouwel 1981: pl. 14 (G6)), see Pini 1980: no. A1, fig. 1; and Aruz 2008: 211–112.

[501] Crouwel 1981: 138.

ranean, especially Cyprus and the northern Levant.[502] The imagery on these kraters, typically showing two figures in a chariot moving at a stately pace, displays its own idiosyncratic drawing style and compositions, although it consistently retains the distinctive Aegean dual chariot type and never includes bows and arrows, in keeping with the motival repertoire of Aegean chariot imagery from the fourteenth and thirteenth century. It is, therefore, intriguing that they are found predominately outside the Aegean. If they were indeed produced specifically for export abroad, as has been proposed, the producers did not attempt to align the imagery with their patrons' visual traditions through any modification of the motival repertoire.

Terracottas preserve three-dimensional versions of the typical Aegean dual chariot (Fig. 39). They apparently span most of the Late Bronze Age, from the later fifteenth century to the end of the thirteenth.[503] They occur at sites throughout the Aegean, including Mycenae, Pylos, Tiryns, and Lefkandi.[504] Examples have been found also outside of the Aegean, in Cyprus at Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke and the Levant at Ras Shamra and Minet el-Beida (see Fig. 63).[505] In some cases there is one occupant, while in others there are two. Several include a parasol in the composition, suggesting a ceremonial or even royal association. The chariots look to be standing still or moving at a slow walking pace, and there is no evidence for hunting or military action. The mainland examples cluster chronologically in the fourteenth and thirteenth century (LH IIIA/B), and those examples found on Cyprus and at Ras Shamra and Minet el-Beida belong to this group. The relative frequency of the terracotta chariot groups on the mainland may indicate a fairly widespread use of the chariot in Mycenaean Greece, and the appearance of this subject matter in a material culture product that has generally been ascribed to broader numbers of the population may likewise point to a greater "trickle-down" effect of the iconography within Aegean society as a whole.[506] They are much rarer outside the mainland with only a few examples found on Crete and the other Aegean islands.[507]

Ideograms of chariots, chariot wheels, and horse heads appear with a certain frequency in the Linear B tablets at Knossos and Pylos, indicating their close, if not exclusive, association with the palace institution (Fig. 40).[508] Nonetheless, they occur in the administrative records of Knossos in enough quantities to demonstrate that a relatively sizeable (perhaps lower) elite had access

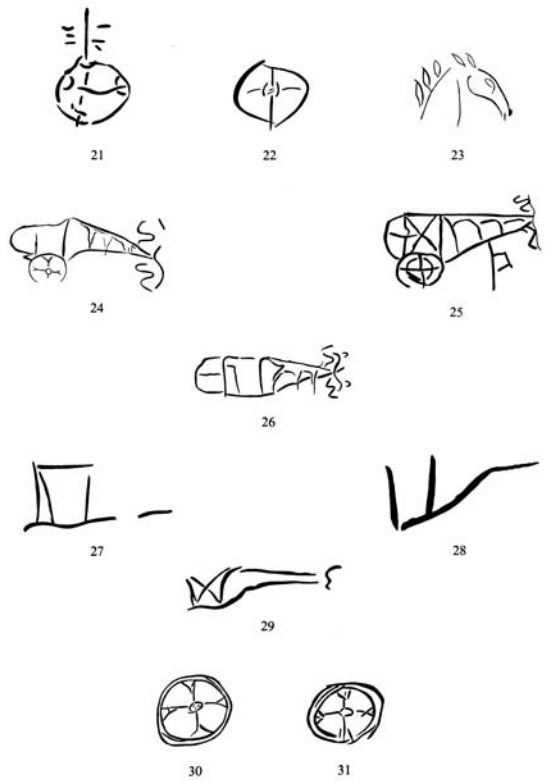


Fig. 40 Examples of Linear B writing of chariot parts (after Crouwel 1981: pls. 21–31; courtsey of Joost Crouwel)

[502] For detailed discussion of the distribution and associated contexts of these kraters, see part 2, above.

[503] Crouwel 1981: 64.

[504] For complete distribution of terracotta chariot models, see our fig. 63. In addition to Crouwel's catalogue, see distribution chart in French 1971: 186–187. French notes in this article (1971: 164 n. 121) that the chariot groups are not discussed because of the forthcoming study by Crouwel.

[505] Crouwel 1981: 64, 162. The Ras Shamra terracotta (Crouwel 1981: T 69) was found in a tomb (Tomb LXXXI), as were the terracotta parts from Minet el Beida (Crouwel 1981: T 66–68; Tombs III and VI, which were quite wealthy as a whole). One of the examples from Enkomi also came from a tomb (British Excavation Tomb 93; Crouwel 1981: T 61).

[506] French 1971: 176; K. Shelton, personal communication.

[507] See Crouwel 1981: nos. T49–T60.

[508] See also discussion above, part 1.

to them.[509] Crouwel suggests that the issuance of vehicles, horses, and armor to individuals – recorded in these texts – may indicate the existence of a large warrior class.[510]

Summary

A major distinction between chariot representations in the Aegean in contrast to the Near East and Egypt is their primary use as a vehicle of transportation – in the case of war, to and from the battlefield – and the corresponding lack of the bow as an associated elite symbol.[511] That is, since the chariot was not used as a shooting platform, the bow had much less symbolic functionality within the Aegean sphere. Instead, daggers, swords and spears – the weapons of choice in Aegean representations – signal close-range, hand-to-hand combat such as is reified in the *Iliad*. This differentiation occurs over the course of the Late Bronze Age, manifested in the chronological spread of the representational evidence, and may be linked to the Aegean chariot's "importation" from the Near East at the beginning of this period.

The only time we see chariots in full gallop engaged in either hunt or warfare (and then only one example of using the bow) is in the very early pieces from the Shaft Graves. The items included in the rich burials of the two grave circles at Mycenae, dating from the very beginning of the Mycenaean period, seem to glorify the brutal activity that war necessarily encompasses. Not only were chariots shown participating in battle and hunt scenes, sumptuous weapons filled the tombs and at least one vessel of precious metal depicted a small-scale narrative of siege and battle.[512] The weapons themselves are ornamented with human and animal figures engaged in hunt and attack. Emily Vermeule has characterized this period, of which we know so little, as "one of mobile, highly trained soldiers everywhere seeking new stations of power …a life of raids, aristocratic battle training, and the amassing of portable loot to astonish any Middle Helladic farmer."[513] She has even suggested that the Shaft Grave period is a better time for situating the Trojan War than the typically proposed end of the Bronze Age in the twelfth century.[514] The appearance of the chariot in agonistic scenes can be interpreted as yet another element in the visual rhetoric of the warrior that seems to characterize the Shaft Grave era as a whole. In light of Littauer and Crouwel's observations about the unsuitability of the Greek topography for speedy chariot use, these images may need to be read as almost entirely rhetorical, that is, without any grounding in reality.[515] According to this interpretation, the image of the chariot in battle and hunt should be seen as a borrowed motif and suggests that the association of the image with prestige elsewhere may have encouraged its Aegean adoption.

Another possible indicator of the "borrowed" nature of these early chariot representations is the inclusion of the bow and arrow in the gold signet ring from Shaft Grave IV of Circle A. The bow and arrow is a mainstay in chariot depictions from Egypt, Cyprus, the Levant, and Mesopotamia. However, it doesn't appear in any other Aegean examples, a fact that Littauer and Crouwel attribute to the impracticality of using the chariot as a shooting platform in the mountainous topography of mainland Greece. Thus, the occurrence of the bow in a hunt scene from early in the Mycenaean period suggests the adoption of a motif that had not yet been adapted to the special needs of its new home. Yet, the very early date of the Shaft Graves (somewhat disputed, but probably to be placed between 1650 and 1500 at the latest), situates these images as some of the earliest chariot representations, earlier than the vast majority from New Kingdom Egypt. Crouwel has argued that the light chariot as a technological invention was introduced to the Aegean from Syria; although Egypt, Anatolia, and central Europe have also been proposed as possible sources.[516] He goes on to say, "With their teams of horses, usually stallions, they were at the same time an exciting and impressive sight. They lent prestige to their owners, raising them literally above their fellows, and contributed to the development of a privileged group within society."[517]

[509] Crouwel 1981: 124.

[510] Crouwel 1981: 128, 150.

[511] Crouwel 1981: 121, 151; Littauer & Crouwel 1983; Littauer 1972.

[512] For overview of Shaft Grave tombs, with original publication references, see Vermeule 1964: 82–110.

[513] Vermeule 1964: 108, 110.

[514] Vermeule 1986.

[515] Littauer & Crouwel 1996.

[516] Crouwel 1981: 148–149.

[517] Crouwel 1981: 149. See also Schon 2007.

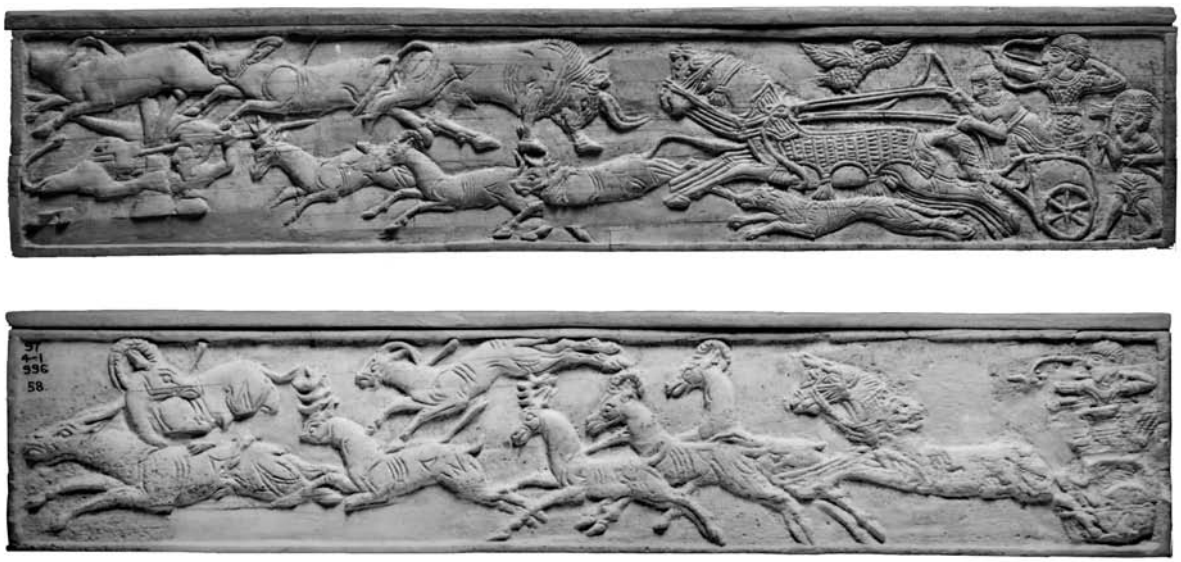


Fig. 41 Two long sides of ivory gameboard from Enkomi
(British Museum 1897,0401.996; © The Trustees of the British Museum)

The unusual compositions and details of these early chariot images – their battle and hunting themes and the inclusion of the bow – suggest that Crouwel may be correct in seeing the chariot as a prestigious import from the east. By the fourteenth and thirteenth century, however, the chariot had become entirely incorporated into both the social reality and ideological rhetoric of the Aegean, shedding its bow and arrow and its pretences to active use in military or hunting contexts.

After the Shaft Graves, there is no solid evidence for the representation of chariots in rapid motion or engagement.[518] Rather, they seem to be most closely associated with conveyance to battles or hunts, or as parts of ceremonial activities. This is also borne out in the case of the chariot kraters studied by Sauvage; with few exceptions and even when showing fully armed men, the chariots proceed sedately forward in what appears to be a more ceremonial or parade-like context.[519] In all these cases, there is a clear signaling of elite status, though the specific traits that physically marked one's status as elite differ significantly from those in Egypt, Cyprus, and the Near East. However, the popularity during the later part of the Late Bronze Age of chariot groups in less elite forms of material culture production such as terracotta may indicate either a more widespread access to chariots by the lower elite or the greater desire and/or ability of broader swathes of the population to aspire to such a status, at least on a symbolic and respresentational level. This appears, however, to be geographically centered on mainland Greece; given the clear evidence for palatial chariots recorded on the Knossos Linear B tablets, it is remarkable how few terracotta chariots have been found on Crete. Moreover, of the five catalogued by Crouwel in 1981, two have been dated to earlier periods (MM IA and MM IIB).

Cyprus

Aside from the numerous chariot kraters, Cyprus has preserved surprisingly few representations of chariots from the Late Bronze Age period.[520] Yet what exists is quite intriguing in its idiosyncracies.[521] Perhaps one of the most famous depic-

[518] A few seals from just after the Shaft Grave period show chariot teams in brisk trots, but never full gallop. See Crouwel 1981: 122, pls. 11 (G3), 18 (G13), and 19 (G15).

[519] Two exceptions are a fragment of a krater from Mycenae showing the remains of galloping horses (Crouwel 1981: pl. 52 (V13)) and a fragmentary vessel from Tiryns showing several chariots pulled by galloping horses that encircle the vase (Crouwel 1981: pl. 66 (V51)). Crouwel interprets both these as chariot races (Crouwel 1981: 142).

[520] Several examples of Aegean terracottas of chariot groups have also been found on the island; see discussion in Aegean section above.

[521] Vandenabeele 1977.

a)

b)

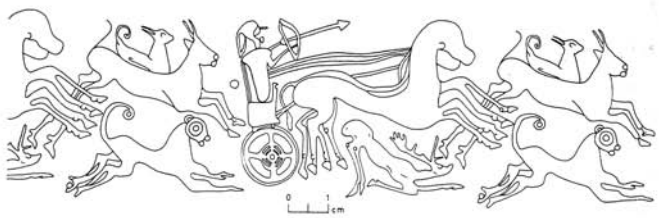


Fig. 42
a) Drawing of pithos impression showing chariot hunt from Analyontas-Palioklichia (after Webb & Frankel 1994: fig. 5; courtesy of Jennifer Webb and David Frankel)
b) Reconstructed drawing of pithos impressions showing chariothunts from Maa-Palaeokastro (after Karageorghis & Demas 1988: pl. B:3; courtesy of Vassos Karageorghis)

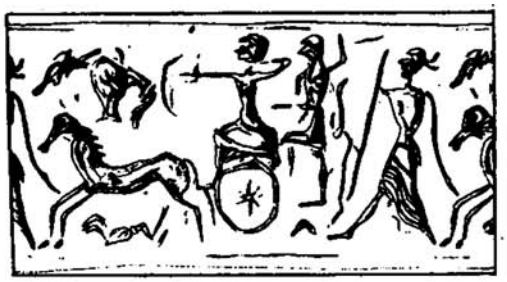
tions of chariots appears on an ivory game board found at Enkomi (Fig. 41a and b). The game board was excavated in the late nineteenth century from a tomb (British Excavation Tomb 68) in a wealthy cemetery near the modern town of Enkomi. Little information about the tomb is given in the original publication; "several vases of ribbed ware," "two iron knives with ivory handles more or less injured," "a bronze tripod with stays connecting the legs, and a few gold ornaments" are said also to come from it.[522] It has been dated to the very end of the Bronze Age or even the beginning of the Iron Age (c. 1200–1150 BC).

Along the two long sides of the rectangular box are scenes of hunting from a chariot.[523] On one side, a chariot carrying two men – one leaning forward holding the reins and a whip, the other drawing his bow – pursue cattle and wild goats fleeing in full gallop. A large bull turns to face the oncoming chariot, while a bird of prey hovers above and a hunting dog runs below the galloping horses. A man on the far left side of the composition thrusts his spear into a rearing lion before what appears to be a leafless tree, and a diminutive foot soldier carrying an axe follows behind the chariot. The motif of a figure following a chariot is found on several Cypriot chariot images and is also seen on Levantine seal scenes discussed below and on some chariot kraters, although it is unclear whether there is a shared meaning among them. The other side, which is much less frequently reproduced, shows a similar scene that, however, does present some interesting differences. Although the ivory relief is poorly preserved in the area where one would expect to see the charioteer in front of the archer, it seems unlikely that a second figure occupied the space; the archer aims his bow and arrow directly ahead unlike the other side where the archer aims upward to accommodate the figure of the driver immediately in front. The solitary nature of the figure is further evident by the reins tied around his waist, in contrast to those on the front side held by a driver. This is an interesting juxtaposition on a single object, since the motif of the reins tied around the waist is generally attributed to Egypt, while that of two people – a driver and an archer – is typically considered Western Asiatic. Also in contrast with the other side, no foot soldier follows the chariot, nor does a hunter on foot appear. The running dog and hovering bird are likewise missing. The prey, stags and wild goats, flee in a similar manner, and one at the upper left corner turns its head back in a menacing pose, echoing the charging bull from the other side.

Chariots appear several times on impressions marking large pithos sherds, an artifact found only on Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age (Figs. 42a, b). At Maa-*Paleokastro*, several vessel fragments with rolled impressions were found, many of them associated with a major storage and industrial oil

[522] Murray, Smith & Walters 1900: 31.

[523] Murray, Smith & Walters 1900: pl. 1.

a) 

b) 

Fig. 43 Two seals from Enkomi
a) Drawing of cylinder seal from Enkomi, black chlorite (British Museum 1897,0401.779; after KENNA 1971: pl. XXIV:91)
b) Cylinder seal from Enkomi, hematite (Nicosia Museum; after SCHAEFFER-FORRER 1983: 58: Enkomi-Alasia 13.110; courtesy of the Mission de Ras Shamra)

pressing facility (Building III) (Fig. 42b).[524] Several of these preserve an impression of a charioteer shooting his bow skyward before which a variety of animals – stags, bulls, lions – tumble and flee.[525] At Analyontas-*Palioklichia*, two impressed sherds (one purchased and one found in survey) depict a bowman in a chariot that appears to be standing still (Fig. 42a).[526] He aims his bow at two galloping bulls; two men run behind the chariot (and in front of the bulls, when the cylinder impression makes its full revolution). Another set of impressed pithos fragments comes from a large administrative building of ashlar masonry at Alassa-*Paliotaverna*.[527] Several fragments display the impression of the same seal showing a man in a chariot chasing three bulls. The single charioteer does not wield a bow and arrow; instead, he holds the reins and a whip or long stick. The same seal was apparently used on two pithos fragments found nearby at *Pano Mandilaris* situated 250 meters from *Paliotaverna*.[528] Hadjisavvas notes that the Alassa chariot scenes differ from those at Maa and Analyontas in composition (arranged from right to left), motival details (lack of bow and arrow), and style (more volumetric and sculptural).[529]

These chariot images belong to a type of impressed pithos that is characteristic of Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1200 BC).[530] Webb and Frankel suggest that there is a connection between motif and locality since the same design is never found at different sites.[531] They argue that impressed pithoi were part of large-scale supra-household (possibly ritual) storage of staple foodstuffs associated with particular sites or regions. They conclude that the sealed pithoi may be "functional mechanisms within a tightly controlled – possibly tithe- or tribute-based – system of regional administration and exchange … and may represent critical archaeological indicators of the territorial extent of political authority."[532] If one accepts this interpretation, then chariot imagery appears to have played an iconographic role in signaling local authority.[533]

A black chlorite cylinder seal from a tomb at Enkomi depicts a chariot hunt scene (Fig. 43a).[534] A single charioteer draws his bow while a second figure appears to step into the chariot cab behind him with one arm raised. A third figure in a mid-calf-length robe strides behind (or in front of) them, holding what might be a spear. The horses assume a prance-like stance with a hunting dog

[524] 24 total fragments, 17 of which come from Buillding III (WEBB & FRANKEL 1994: 18).

[525] KARAGEORGHIS & DEMAS 1988: pls. A, B.

[526] WEBB & FRANKEL 1994: 12–14; CATLING & KARAGEORGHIS 1960; ARUZ 2008: 209–210.

[527] CHRISTOU 1993: 738–739; HADJISAVVAS 2001.

[528] CHRISTOU 1993: 738.

[529] HADJISAVVAS 2001: 63–64.

[530] WEBB & FRANKEL 1994; PILIDES 2000; KNAPP 2008: 164–169. PILIDES (2000: 108) notes that the sealed pithoi are rare relative to the total number of pithoi. As a group, they are found at only sites on the island, and there appears to be regional differences in administrative systems such that some regions use sealed pithoi, others use inscribed pithoi, while others use a combination of the two practices (PILIDES 2000: 108).

[531] WEBB & FRANKEL 1994: 5–26.

[532] WEBB & FRANKEL 1994: 19.

[533] Other imagery found on these pithoi include herbivores or birds flanking trees, animal files, a bull confrontation, and geometric designs.

[534] Tomb 45; KENNA 1971: no. 91.

running beneath. What Kenna has interpreted as a bucranium, a relatively common Cypriot motif in the Late Bronze Age, hovers above the horse(s). There is no indication of prey other than this motif. The seal is somewhat worn, making it difficult to read, but the flowing nature of the striding figure's garment hem is unusual and seems stylistically related to glyptic work in the Aegean.[535] The theme and composition, however, fit nicely alongside other Cypriot representations; for example, the running dog and figure following the chariot have their counterparts on the ivory game box also from Enkomi.

A second seal from Enkomi, of hematite, includes a chariot hunting scene in one of its two registers (Fig. 43b).[536] The finely executed carving shows a charioteer drawing his bow. Although damage to the seal obscures the body of the archer, he appears to be alone because the horses' reins run horizontally as if tied around his waist. The pair of rearing horses display plumed harness ornaments of a type usually seen marking the royal chariot in Egyptian examples. Two felines, perhaps lionesses, run under and in front of the horses, while a third lion turns to confront the chariot in the same way as on the ivory gamebox. In the same register as the hunting scene a female figure is seated on a folding stool with a gazelle rampant before her. In the other register, two figures, inverted from those of the first register, sit on striding lions. Between them, they hold a gazelle or other horned animal by its legs. Two further figures, set perpendicular to the others, fill the remaining space. These surrounding motifs suggest a connection between the chariot scene and the divine or mythical realm.

Although for this study we are not using unprovenanced examples, I have decided to include a bronze stand in the British Museum with a scene of a chariot on it that does not have any known archaeological context (Fig. 44).[537] It belongs to a well-known and distinctive class of objects – decorated bronze tripods and stands – dated to the end of the Cypriot Bronze Age and beginning of the early Iron Age. Such objects

Fig. 44 Bronze stand, unprovenanced, probably from Cyprus (British Museum 1946,1017.1; © The Trustees of the British Museum)

have been found outside of Cyprus as well, in the Levant and Aegean, but are concentrated on the island of Cyprus and appear to be primarily produced there.[538] Their decoration ranges from simple geometric forms created by bending metal rods to more elaborate figural representations cast as panels for four-sided examples. The example included in this study depicts a chariot scene on one of its four panels. The other three sides show a striding sphinx, a lion with a bird in its jaws, and a more complex scene of music and presentation. The chariot scene consists of a driver holding onto the reins of a pair of horses that rear up slightly. A second passenger, the hunter or warrior, has been squeezed into an awkward space above the driver's arms and the reins. He holds a weapon of some sort, identified by Catling

[535] Kenna (1971: 31) sees the seal as exhibiting Egyptian stylistic elements; however, he does not elaborate what these are.

[536] The archaeological context is not detailed in the publication; but Schaeffer-Forrer gives it a date of Bronze Recent 1 (1550–1450) "d'après le contexte et la position archéologique" (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983: 58).

[537] Catling 1964: 208, no. 36.

[538] Matthäus 1988: 289, figs. 6 and 7.

as a spear or sword, though he cites de Jong as identifying it as a bow.[539] A quiver hangs on the side of the chariot cab, suggesting that a bow was the intended weapon. The scene is pressed tightly into its square space, with no additional narrative props to indicate whether this was part of a hunt, battle or procession.

The dating of these stands is controversial since many of those which were excavated come from chronologically ambiguous contexts. Catling argues that the production of these stands was confined to the twelfth century based on his theory that sophisticated metalworking technology was introduced to Cyprus by the colonizing Achaeans after 1230 BC.[540] Rejecting the theory of the Achaeans as bearers of new technology, Matthäus has raised the date of the tripods and stands to the thirteenth century.[541] They appear to have served a ritual function as stands for offerings or incense.

Summary

The best indicators for understanding chariot imagery in Cyprus are the pithos impressions. Due to their relatively large numbers and archaeological contexts, they allow for somewhat nuanced readings of their use within the social, political, and economic structures of Late Bronze Age Cyprus. They appear to point to a general connection between chariots and political power. This reading might be further bolstered by the other representations of chariots that appear on prestige items such as the ivory game board from Enkomi and the bronze stand. The hematite seal also from Enkomi, along with the bronze stand, indicate a connection with the divine and/or mythological realms, which might be understood as supporting political legitimacy.

A distinctive compositional device that is found on several of the Cypriot hunt images is the reversal of one of the prey as if to charge the oncoming chariot. This device also appears in the Levant, discussed below, and has the effect of introducing an element of ambiguity into the narrative of hunt. It is not unequivocal who has the upper hand in the contest, a striking difference from Egyptian examples. The iconographic motif of running men, either in front of or behind the chariot, also appears on several of the Cypriot pieces. It too is found in Levantine chariot representations, perhaps suggestive of shared cultural norms between these two geographically close regions, which are also evident in their common acquisition of Aegean chariot terracottas and kraters.

The Levant

Few representations of chariots derive from Levantine archaeological contexts aside from the chariot kraters, and of them many come from the site of Ras Shamra-Ugarit.[542] There we find two unique items: a faience model of a chariot and a gold vessel with a chariot hunt scene on its bottom. The polychrome faience model reconstructs from separate pieces two bearded men standing in the chariot cab.[543] Aside from the two figures, only the head of one horse and fragments of the chariot wheels and cab survive. The gold vessel, taking the shape of an Egyptian libation vessel, is decorated in two concentric zones on the inside of its bottom (Fig. 45).[544] In the wider, outer zone, a single man draws his bow in pursuit of the horned prey fleeing before him. He has bound the reins around his waist in the style of Egyptian hunt scenes. Frankfort noted long ago that the circular composition of the imagery permits the foremost fleeing bull to simultaneously take the position of charging the chariot from the rear.[545] He suggests that this composition ultimately inspired the linear version seen on the Enkomi game board where one bull turns around with lowered horns to charge the oncoming chariot. The gold bowl was discovered in a secondary context, buried on the acropolis; stylistic comparisons with Egyptian wall paintings, in particular the chariot hunt scene from the tomb of Userhet, date it to the fifteenth century. The faience model was found in a domestic residence of Area A of the Ville Basse Ouest in

[539] Catling 1964: 209.

[540] Catling 1964: 217; Catling 1984: 79.

[541] Matthäus 1985: 329–330; Karageorghis & Papasavvas 2001: 348.

[542] Also from Ugarit (Ras Shamra and Minet el-Beida) are a few Aegean terracotta chariot groups; see discussion in Aegean section above.

[543] 15 cm height. Caubet 2007: 210, with earlier references, and note that it might not be accurately restored (see description of find in Schaeffer 1936–37: 138–139).

[544] For brief discussion and references, see Feldman 2006b: 65–66.

[545] Frankfort 1996 [1954]: 261.

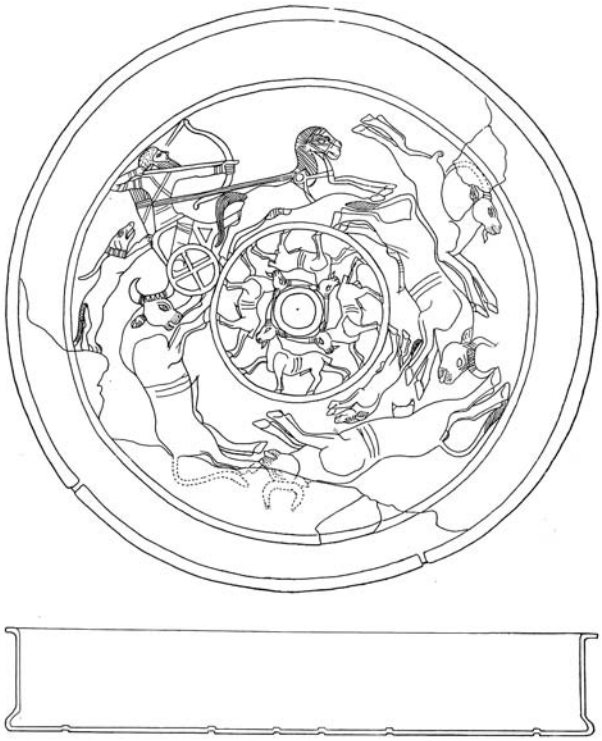


Fig. 45 Drawing of gold flat-bottomed dish, Ras Shamra-Ugarit (after SCHAEFFER1949: pl. VII; courtesy of the Mission de Ras Shamra)

the uppermost level (Ugarit Récent 2, dated to the Late Bronze II or fourteenth/thirteenth century). It was found along with "plusieurs rhytons [mycéniens] en forme de cornet, ou de quadrupède, tortue ou hérisson."[546]

An ivory piece from a thirteenth-century context in the palace at Ras Shamra, carved in low relief, also depicts a chariot hunt scene (Fig. 46).[547] Only recently reconstructed and published, the quite fragmentary ivory shows at least two deer, one of whose extensive pronged antlers are visible, fleeing in full gallop in front of a pair of charging horses with a wounded lion lying underneath them. Unfortunately, nothing survives of the chariot cab or its occupants; although, a striding figure in a long skirt apparently followed, and Gachet-Bizollon argues for a single chariot driver whom she interprets as the king.[548] That a bow was employed may be inferred by the presence of arrows that have found their target in the falling prey. Other pieces that have been assigned to an associated carved ivory strip depict lions striding among palmettes.[549] The ivory was found along with several other exceptional ivory pieces in a large courtyard of the main palace. Another carved ivory with a possible chariot hunt scene comes from Megiddo, where a massive hoard of over 300 ivories was found cached in an annex of the last Bronze Age level of the palace.[550] All that survives are the bodies of the galloping horses, part of the chariot cab and charioteer's hands holding the reins, and a lioness striding under the horses' bellies. Since in New Kingdom Egypt lions often accompany the king in his chariot in scenes of warfare, this may instead be a military representation rather than a hunt.

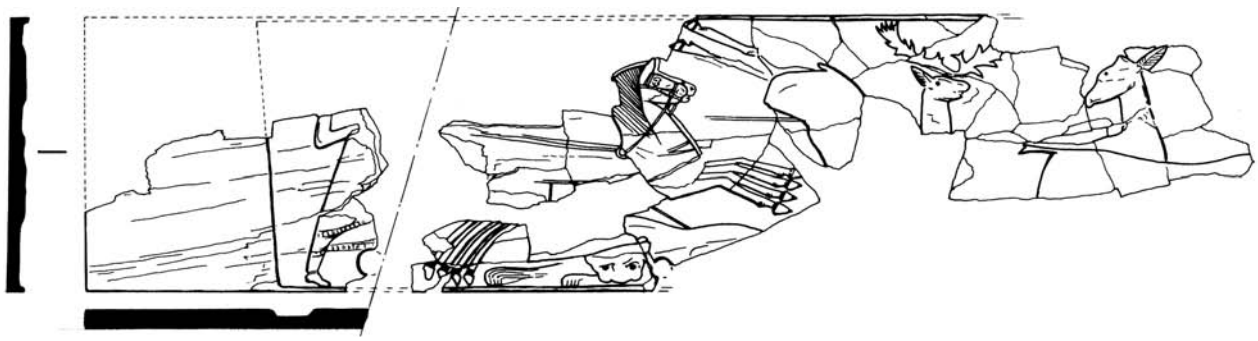


Fig. 46 Drawing of ivory slat with chariot hunt scenes, palace at Ras Shamra-Ugarit (drawing of the Mission de Ras Shamra-Ougarit, after GACHET-BIZOLLON 2007: 382, pl. 32, no. 275; courtesy of the Mission de Ras Shamra)

[546] SCHAEFFER 1936: 139.

[547] GACHET-BIZOLLON 2007: no. 275. She dates it to the middle of the 13th c. (GACHET-BIZOLLON 2007: 171).

[548] GACHET-BIZOLLON 2007: 169.

[549] GACHET-BIZOLLON (2007: 167) attributes these strips to a game box like the one from Enkomi; although, they might also belong to furniture struts, perhaps the bed to which the carved ivory panels found nearby belonged.

[550] LOUD 1939: no. 36; FELDMAN 2009.

Fig. 47 Reconstructed drawing of left side of ivory slat showing galloping chariots, Megiddo (Loud 1939: pl. 32:159b; courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

Two other ivories found at Megiddo depict chariots without doubt engaged in battle (Fig. 47).[551] Both are carved in low relief and are quite effaced on their surfaces, leaving some details illegible. On one, a series of chariots moves from left to right, with the leftmost one shown at a slight cantor while the subsequent ones (two or possibly a third very poorly preserved to the far right) are in full gallop. The galloping horses are depicted in the Egyptian manner, with their rear legs firmly planted and their forelegs extended upward; enemies collapse and fall under them. Only a single charioteer appears to be shown and he holds the reins in both hands as he leans forward in the speeding chariot. Although there is no evidence for drawn bows, bow cases and quivers hang from the chariot cabs. A group of foot soldiers moving to the right seems to close the scene on the right side. The other ivory shows chariots moving at a walking pace along with foot soldiers. This piece is particularly badly preserved and little can be reconstructed; however, there again appears to be only one charioteer per vehicle. These scenes occur on two long slats of ivory that pair with two other slats showing scenes of banqueting and offerings, all of which probably originally adorned a larger piece of furniture.[552]

A final ivory from Megiddo showing a chariot further links the themes of battle and offering or homage (Fig. 48).[553] Incised rather than carved in relief, the ivory retains several holes and an unusual oval tab on one side, suggestive of a furniture inlay. Although a small part of the lower right side of the work is missing, the image is well preserved, and the missing parts can be fully reconstructed. On the right side, a well-dressed figure rides in a chariot pulled by two horses that move at a walking pace. The man holds the reins in both hands, along with a whip; a spear and quivers decorate the chariot cab. Two naked bound men, tied to the horses, precede the chariot, and in front of them walks a man carrying a spear and round shield. Before them stand two women, one of whom plays a lyre. The foremost woman, in an elaborate robe, holds out a cloth to a seated man who appears to be the same as the one driving the chariot. He sits in a high-backed throne with sphinx armrests and sips from a cup while holding a lotus blossom in the other hand,

Fig. 48 Ivory furniture inlay with seated figure and chariot, Megiddo (Loud 1939: pl. 4:2a; courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

[551] Loud 1939: nos. 159, 161.
[552] Loud 1939: nos. 160, 162.
[553] Loud 1939: no. 2.

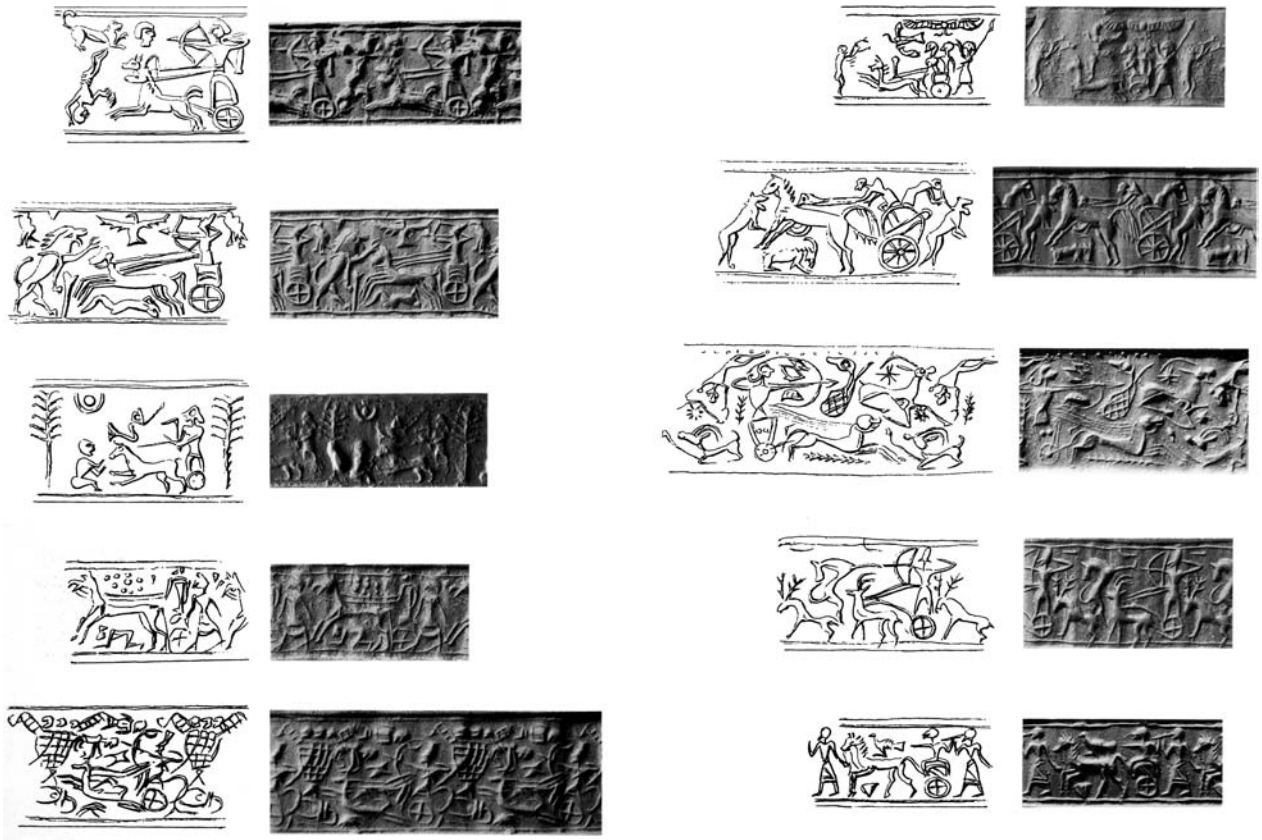


Fig. 49 Cylinder seals from Ras Shamra-Ugarit
(after AMIET 1992: 134–135, figs. 55–56, nos. 301–310; courtesy of the Mission de Ras Shamra)

which the woman also grasps. Banqueting or offering activities take place behind him.

The largest group of chariot representations from the Levant occurs on cylinder seals. However, even this group is small relative to the total number of cylinder seals from the area. Seals depicting chariots come from four Levantine sites, all but one of which are located in the north: Alalakh, Ras Shamra/Minet el-Beida, Tell Sukas, and Tell Abu Hawam. Alalakh, Tell Sukas, and Tell Abu Hawam each have produced only a single seal, while 15 seals have been excavated at Ras Shamra and Minet el-Beida. The seal from Alalakh is treated in the section on Mitanni, as Alalakh belonged to that political sphere; however, stylistically it belongs to the Levantine group of seals. The Tell Sukas seal, carved in an elongated linear style, depicts an archer drawing his bow while driving his chariot.[554] He appears to aim upward toward several birds. A taller figure with arm raised in a smiting position strides behind the chariot, while a voluted tree precedes it. The seal carver has included something under the galloping horse, which is not possible to make out in the publication photos; Buhl suggests that it might be grass.[555] The steatite seal was found near a Late Bronze Age wall of a patrician house or cult complex (Complex IV), though not in situ.[556] The one seal to come from the southern Levant, at Tell Abu Hawam, also is carved in a linear style and shows a very similar scene to those from Tell Sukas and Alalakh.[557] A single figure stands in his chariot, which is pulled by a nearly stationary horse. Behind him walks a taller figure holding a spear and carrying something, perhaps another weapon,

[554] RIIS 1963: 214–15; BUHL-RIIS 1963: 216, fig. 9; BUHL 1983: 84: no. 515.
[555] BUHL 1983: 84.
[556] RIIS 1970: no. 55, pp. 36, 39–40.
[557] HAMILTON 1935: 35, pl. XXXVIII, no. 217.

over his shoulder. A bird flies above the horse, while the rest of the seal surface is filled with dots and wedges of unidentifiable meaning. The steatite seal was found out of context and tentatively dated by the excavator to the early Iron Age.

Fifteen seals, by far the largest number from any one site, have been excavated at Ras Shamra (one of which comes from the nearby port of Minet el-Beida) (Fig. 49a and b).[558] They range fairly widely in their style of carving and the type of chariot scene depicted. At least three of them show animal hunting and battle imagery simultaneously, while another one might. Four others show only an animal hunt and one shows only a battle. Two of them might depict a parade or procession. Seven of them definitely include bows, while another two might; however, their imagery is difficult to read. In one case (Amiet no. 309, a hunt with bow scene), some kind of horned animal appears to be pulling the chariot rather than horses. The seals display heterogeneous carving styles, including linear as well as more modeled examples, with no one style predominating. Stylistically speaking, there does not appear to be a single workshop that specialized in producing seals with chariot designs. Like the other chariot seals, the stones used are mainly soft, dark ones: designated in the reports as steatite (11), chlorite (2), or "grey stone" (1). Only one is of faience, executed in the so-called Mitannian Common Style. They have been found distributed across the mound, including four from the Acropole, three from the Ville Basse Est, two from the Sud Acropole, and one each from the Ville Basse Ouest, the Ville Sud, the Quartier Résidentiel (Maison aux Albâtres), the Palais Sud, and outside of the Palais Royal. One seal was found in the excavations of Minet el-Beida, but its archaeological context is unknown.[559] When the specific archaeological context of these cylinder seals is known, they are invariably domestic: RS 8.222 and RS 9.481 were found in the infiltrated soil of tombs VIII and LVIII[560] and thus came from the house hosting the tombs; RS 24.356 was found in the "Maison du Prêtre Magicien"; RS 27.064 on the floor of the "Palais Sud / Maison de Yabninou"; RS 9.077 on a small street in the "Ville Basse Est"[561] (see Fig. 7).

Fig. 50 Drawings of scarab seals from the Levant: top row: Tell el-Farᶜa; bottom row: left, Tell el-Ajjul and right, Tell el-Farᶜa (after Amadasi 1965: pl. 7)

From the southern Levant come scarab seals executed with varying degrees of Egyptianizing features (Fig. 50). Amadasi's 1965 assemblage of chariotry imagery in the Levant includes scarabs from the following sites: Byblos (1), Tell el-Farᶜa (South) [identified by Amadasi as Beth Pelet] (6), Tell el-Ajjul (1), Beth Zur (1), and Gezer (2).[562] To this can be added two more from Tell Qasile and two from Acco.[563] Three of them – one from Tell el-Farᶜa, one from Tell el-Ajjul, and a late scarab from Acco – clearly show a human body beneath the horse's hooves. The Tell el-

[558] Amiet 1992: 129–36. See also discussion above, part 1. An additional steatite seal shows an unusual image of a horse and rider found in the Grand-Rue (locus 3016) (Yon 2004: 77; and see Matoïan & Sauvage 2005: 65, fig. 3).

[559] RS 4.021; excavation of 1931: "tranchée 25, IV, Point Topo 1. Profondeur 0,60m"; Amiet 1992: 131, no. 302.

[560] New tomb number, cf. Marchegay 1999: n°1001 and n°64.

[561] The archaeological contexts of the Ras Shamra and Minet el Beida seals were compiled by Caroline Sauvage.

[562] Amadasi 1965: 45–48, figs. 6:1–3, 7:1–4, 8: 1–4.

[563] Keel, Shuval & Uehlinger 1990: 125: 4 and 127: 7; Giveon & Kertesz 1986: nos. 98 and 141.

Farᶜa and Tell el-Ajjul examples fall at the extreme end of the Egyptianizing spectrum, probably to be considered Egyptian imports, with the single chariot driver wearing the *kepresh* crown and hieroglyphic signs in the field above the scene that provide the prenomen of Ramses II. Slightly less Egyptianizing, but still depicting pharaonic headdress, hieroglyphs, and horse plumes are two more from Tell el-Farᶜa, one from Beth Zur, and one from Gezer; they may also be Egyptian imports. These show only the chariot and driver, and the horses appear to walk at a steady rate rather than gallop, perhaps indicating a processional signification. Six scarabs – three from Tell el-Farᶜa, two from Tell Qasile, and one from Gezer – appear much less Egyptianizing and are almost certainly local products. They depict a hunt scene with perhaps galloping horses and horned prey; however, they are less carefully executed and thus harder to read. In the scarabs from Gezer and Tell Qasile, the charioteer clearly draws a bow, while this may also be the case for two of the Tell el-Farᶜa scarabs. Five of them also include a standing figure in front of the chariot. A scarab from Acco that is also probably of local production shows only a figure holding a horse's reins without any depiction of the chariot; a quadruped (an indication of prey?) lies above the horse and the Egyptian hieroglyph *nfr* precedes the scene. The scarabs from Tell el-Farᶜa come from late second millennium tomb contexts; that from Beth Zur from an Early Iron Age I administrative or large domestic building (defined by the excavators as a fortress); and at least one of the Tell Qasile scarabs was found in an Early Iron IB locus (stratum XII, late twelfth or early eleventh century).[564] The Gezer examples are not given specific archaeological contexts, but scarabs appear frequently in tomb assemblages from the site and may thus have been the context for the two chariot scarabs as well. The Acco seals are from pre-excavation finds. Shuval dates the "local" scarabs to Early Iron Age production, while Keel sees them as direct descendants of Ramesside period examples.[565]

Summary

In general, the Levantine depictions of chariots show strongly Egyptianizing tendencies, but they are never simple copies of Egyptian prototypes. Not surprising in terms of proximity to Egypt, the most Egyptianizing items – the scarab seals – are found farthest south, while the more Near Eastern shape of the cylinder seal occurs primarily in the northern Levant. The majority of representations of chariots from the Levant come from the kingdom of Ugarit (Ras Shamra and Minet el-Beida). For example, given the large number of seals with chariot imagery from Ugarit (15) relative to elsewhere (never more than one seal at any other site), it is perhaps not surprising that the excavator of the Tell Sukas seal would write, "as the carving represents a horse-drawn chariot with an archer shooting birds and protected by a taller male figure brandishing a scimitar, it is very likely that the archer is the King of Ugarit and the protecting figure the God Ba'al, and that the seal once belonged to some high official of Ugarit, perhaps the local vassal of the Ugaritic King."[566] Yet, when considered among the approximately 600 seals published from Ras Shamra and Minet el-Beida, those bearing chariot imagery make up an extremely small percentage (less than 3%). Indeed, despite the textual evidence of a widespread and important chariot aristocracy (the *mariyannu*), the small number of representations of chariots is notable. When the scene does appear, a popular motif includes a figure walking behind a chariot carrying an archer, found on several of the seals and apparently also on the carved relief ivory game box panel from Ras Shamra. This motif also occurs in Cyprus on the Enkomi ivory game box and a pithos impression from Analyontas-*Palioklichia*. Overall, however, chariot imagery is not as prevalent in the Levant as one might expect it would be.

Mitanni, Assyria, Babylonia and Elam[567]

The Mitannian area geographically overlapped Assyria to some extent, though it extended further to the west to include sites such as Alalakh, and from a chronological perspective predates

[564] Petrie 1930; Starkey & Harding 1932; Sellers 1933; Keel, Shuval & Uehlinger 1990: 125.

[565] For Shuval's view, see Keel, Shuval & Uehlinger 1990: 76–80; for Keel's, see Keel, Shuval & Uehlinger 1990: 289.

[566] Riis 1970: 36; see also, Riis 1963: 215.

[567] The relatively few images of chariots from greater Mesopotamia and Elam and the general cultural relatedness of these areas have prompted me to present the evidence from these areas in a single section.

Fig. 51 Terracotta plaque of chariot from Umm el-Marra, Syria (courtesy of Glenn Schwartz)

Assyria's rise to power. The representational evidence for chariots is restricted mainly to glyptic. Yet the number is remarkably small within the glyptic corpus, even in comparison with the Levant. The only non-glyptic items known to me are two terracotta mold-made plaques from Umm el-Marra in the Jabbul Plain of Syria. One is nearly complete and shows a single charioteer in a light vehicle drawn by a team of horses (Fig. 51); the second preserves only the horse and reins.[568] The complete plaque was discovered in a Late Bronze Age pit in an open area of the Acropolis North. During this time, Umm el-Marra, which might be the ancient city of Tuba, appears to have come under the sovereignty of the Mitannian state, as indicated by the presence at the site of an official Mitannian tablet, sealed with the dynastic seal of Shaustatar.[569] On the plaque, the charioteer holds both reins in one hand and carries a bow over his shoulder. Dunham identifies the chariot as a typical Late Bronze Age type known from New Kingdom Egypt.[570] The rearing horses charge across a hilly terrain. The fragmentary plaque depicts the horses in a similar pose, although the hilly terrain does not appear to have been rendered in this example. These two pieces are particularly unusual in their material – terracotta – which is a distinctly non-elite medium. The use of a non-elite material is in stark contrast with most of the Near Eastern (Levantine and Mesopotamian) examples, which are generally of higher-value materials.[571] The use of terracotta relates these pieces to the chariot figurines from the Aegean; although, it is difficult to see any further connection between them.

The glyptic repertoire of chariot imagery includes a single seal from Alalakh in the west and five seal impressions from Nuzi in the east. On the Alalakh seal, a figure stands in a chariot with a seven-spoked wheel; he awkwardly aims his bow at a fallen figure with arrows raining down on it.[572] Another figure sits on a stool under the rearing horse, while a fourth figure either precedes or follows the chariot scene. The seal, described as dark grayish black stone – maybe steatite like the other chariot seals found in the Levant – and executed

[568] For the complete plaque, see Schwartz *et al.* 2003: 351–53, fig. 35; the second plaque was found in topsoil in the Acropolis Northwest excavations in 2008 (G. Schwartz, personal communication).

[569] The Akkadian text, from a Late Bronze Age house in the Northern Area, records the granting of Mitannian citizenship to several individuals before the Mitannian king Shuttarna II (c. 1400 BC; Cooper, Schwartz & Westbrook 2005).

[570] Schwartz *et al.* 2003: 353 nn. 99 and 100.

[571] However, the seals depicting chariot scenes tend to be executed from less prestigious stones, such as steatite.

[572] Woolley 1955: 263, pl. LXII, no. 44; Collon 1982: no. 119.

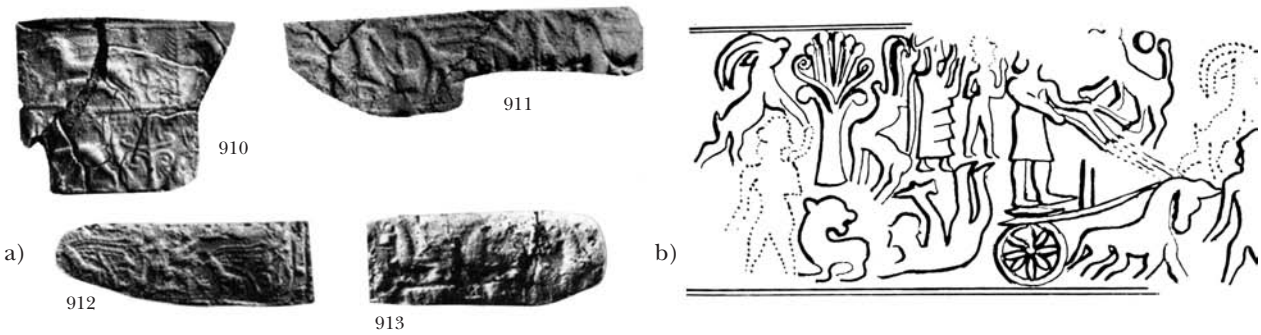


Fig. 52 Nuzi sealings
a) after PORADA 1947: pl. XLIV: nos. 910–913 and
b) after PORADA 1947: pl. LI: no. 527 (courtesy of the American Schools of Oriental Research)

in a linear style was supposedly found in level V (sixteenth century); however, Collon dates it on stylistic grounds to the thirteenth century.[573] In addition to the Alalakh seal, five seal impressions from the Nuzi archives represent the glyptic corpus of chariot representations from the Mitannian sphere (Fig. 52a, b).[574] Like the Ras Shamra seals, those from Nuzi represent different styles of carving, ranging from relatively crude to quite elaborate.[575] The two most elaborately executed (nos. 527 and 910) depict the chariot as a single line under the feet of the single chariot occupant, curving upward in front. No. 527 also includes a tumbling figure holding a dagger. Porada interprets this as a battle scene; however, the falling figure is compositionally positioned either behind the chariot or separated from its front by a striding figure (perhaps the so-called Amurru god figure) and a couchant feline.[576] A second feline above the reins suggests more of a hunt scene, or perhaps an abbreviated analogy between the two. Gazelles flanking a voluted palmette and two other figures, one of which is an interceding goddess in flounced dress and upraised arms, fill the rest of the space. Impression 910 divides into two registers with a chariot hunt scene above and striding sphinxes flanking a voluted palmette below. The hunt scene includes a fallen animal below the horses and a tree as a landscape element. A single charioteer leans forward, holding the reins. In impression 911, a squarish animal that Porada identifies as a tortoise appears before the horse and solo charioteer holding the reins. Impression 912 represents a similar scene with a single figure shown holding all four reins; an unidentifiable creature precedes the horse. Porada describes the chariot on no. 913 as heavier in build, similar to those predating the Late Bronze Age, for example, on Cappadocian seals of the early second millennium.[577] Stylistically, the Alalakh seal relates closely to the chariot seals from the Levant and is distinct from any of the sealings from Nuzi.

There are only two securely identified Middle Assyrian chariot representations preserved in the archaeological record known to me, both of which come from the capital city of Ashur.[578] A seal impression from the period of Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur (c. 1133?) shows an exquisite miniature scene of hunting ibexes from a chariot (Fig. 53).[579] The finely modeled impression shows a detailed scene of two figures in the chariot cab – one driving while the other aims his bow – pulled by a pair of galloping stallions. A fallen ibex, with one knee bent and head twisted backward, fills the space under the horses. A second, fleeing ibex already struck by an arrow also turns back to look at the

[573] COLLON 1982: 130.

[574] PORADA 1947: nos. 527, 910–913; see also, LITTAUER & CROUWEL 1979: fig. 40; NAGEL 1966: figs. 25a and 25b.

[575] See discussion in PORADA 1947: 83–86.

[576] PORADA 1947: 84. She also suggests that the draft animals may be bulls instead of horses (1947: 84 n161).

[577] PORADA 1947: 85; the photographic reproduction is too poor to clearly discern the chariot.

[578] A seal impression from the Middle Assyrian site of Tell al Rimah may also show a chariot scene, but only a part of the chariot cab, reins, and rear haunches of the horses are preserved (PARKER 1977: pl. XXIX: 26).

[579] Preserved in three impressions from an archive found in a jar near the Anu-Adad Temple (HARPER *et al.* 1995: 65).

Fig. 53 Drawing of Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur sealing, Ashur (after MOORTGAT 1944: fig. 39b)

onrushing chariot, while a third ibex tumbles down a mountainous landscape rendered in the traditional Mesopotamian manner of scalloped semi-circles. The Egyptianizing aspects of the seal – the upright posture of the charioteers, the pose of the rearing horses, and the impression of a chaotic mass of slaughtered animals – have been noted by most scholars and compared with Egyptian examples such as the painted chest of Tutankhamun and the Battle of Qadesh reliefs of Ramses II.

On the second example, a chariot can be deduced from the composition, but is not in fact preserved. The piece is a fragment of a circular black stone container lid found on the terrace of the so-called New Palace of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1255–1218) at Ashur (Fig. 54).[580] What survives shows parts of two registers: the upper one in a lunette shape formed by the curving circumference of the lid depicts the trampling of defeated enemy; the lower one retains only the upper parts of what appears to be a parade scene. It shows the heads of two horses, the hat, eye and nose of the official who is presumably riding in the chariot (that does not survive) and the head of an official walking before the horses and holding an unidentifiable object. Although fragmentary, the piece,

Fig. 54 Black stone pyxis lid, Ashur
(Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, war loss; Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, NY)

[580] ANDRAE 1938: 39; the object was held in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, but lost during WWII.

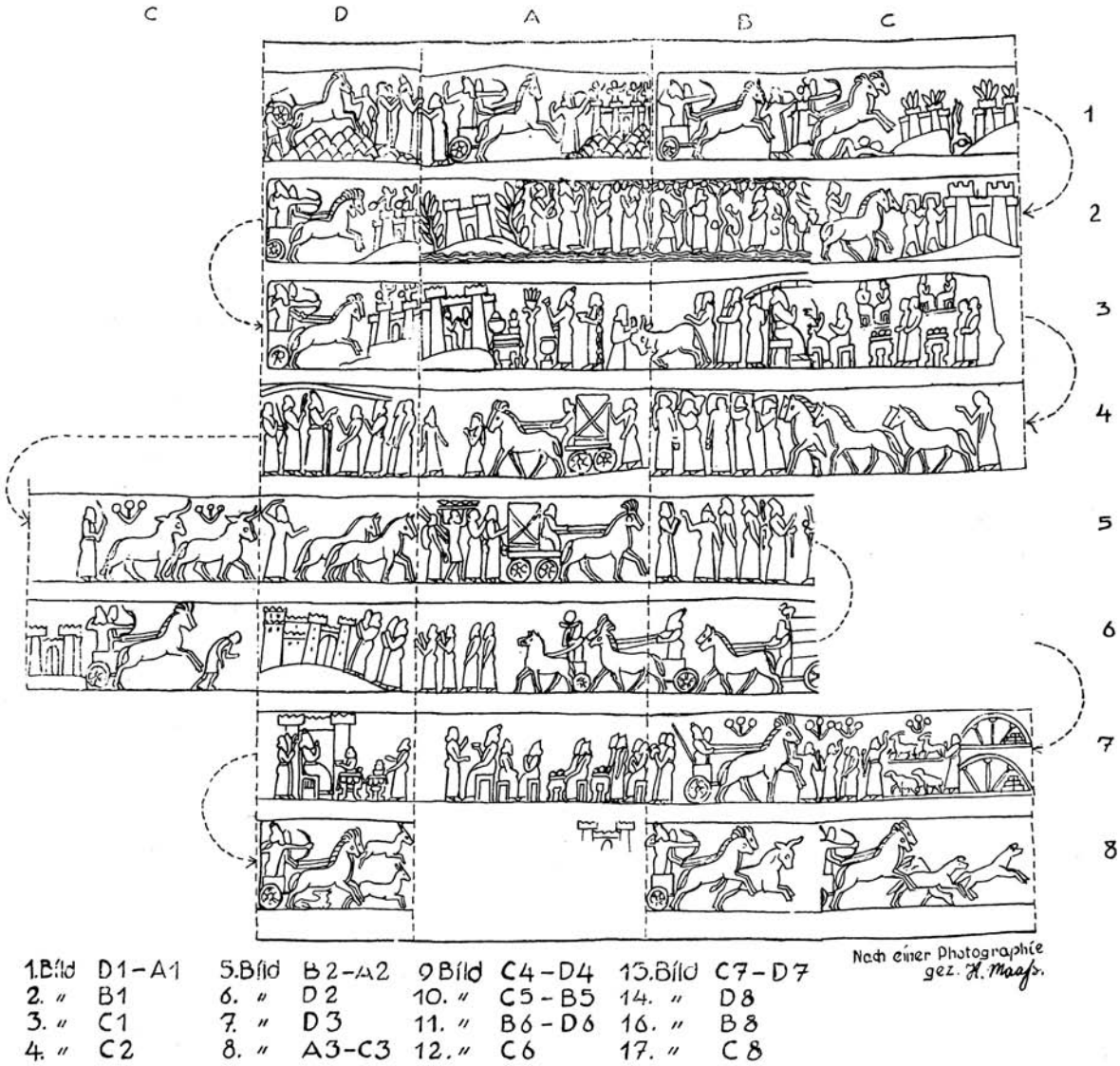


Fig. 55 Drawing of White Obelisk, Nineveh (after UNGER 1932: pl. XVII)

which must have belonged to a luxurious stone container, associates the chariot with military action and parades.

Also from Assyria, chariots feature prominently on the White Obelisk from Nineveh, appearing in hunting scenes, battles, and parades (Fig. 55). The obelisk was apparently set up in a public space and is of monumental proportions (height: 2.9 m),[581] both of which features are unusual for the depiction of chariots in the Late Bronze Age Near East but found with frequency in Egypt and the Aegean. Depending on when one dates it, the White Obelisk could represent the only monumental visual representation of chariots from the Middle Assyrian sphere. Yet even if dated to the reign of Ashurnasirpal I (1049–1031) as it often is, it would belong to the very beginning of the Early Iron Age rather than the Late Bronze Age.[582] The

[581] Its precise archaeological context is vague (PITTMAN 1996: 335).

[582] LITTAUER & CROUWEL (1979: 75) argue for a late second millennium date according to the design of the chariot. See READE (1975) for argument in favor of Ashurnasirpal I. PITTMAN (1996: 334) argues that the obelisk reproduces a visual program of an early Assyrian throne room, which she dates to between Tiglathpileser I (1115–1077) or Ashur-bel-kala (1074–1057) and Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884). For initial attribution to Ashurnasirpal I (and initial designation of scenes by register number and letter), see UNGER 1932.

uncertain date of the White Obelisk – whether in the second or first millennium – complicates its usefulness in assessing Late Bronze Age chariot representations. Nonetheless, despite the chronological problems attendant with this piece, I provide a brief overview of the chariot imagery and its visual context. These indicate that it could, on iconographic and stylistic evidence, fit comfortably at the very end of the Bronze Age. However, given the debate stemming from Assyriological studies of the monument's inscription and based on the evidence of the chariot representations, a transitional date ranging sometime between the end of the twelfth and mid-ninth century may be as precise as we are able to determine for this piece.

On the lowest register, three hunting scenes appear, each showing what is probably the king drawing his bow with a driver depicted behind him. Three different prey are shown: a bull, wild onager(?), and gazelles/ibex(?). A fourth scene may depict a lion hunt; the poorly preserved imagery retains only faint traces of a chariot racing toward a city wall with a rampant lion behind it. While the depiction of the bull hunt, showing a single animal in an almost parallel position to the rearing horses and immediately behind their forelegs, most closely resembles the ninth-century bull hunt relief from Ashurnasirpal II's throne room, the other two hunt scenes include fleeing and tumbling prey reminiscent of the twelfth-century sealing from Ashur (discussed above) and other Late Bronze Age hunting scenes.

A formulaic battle scene in which the king in his chariot charges toward a city on a hill while drawing his bow occurs in five scenes, while another one shows the king in a similar situation but riding away from a city. At least one of these scenes (Unger's 1C), renders a dead enemy under the rearing horses' legs. The White Obelisk also includes some less typical chariot representations. One (Unger's 1D) depicts an empty chariot being led through the mountains by the king and two officials on foot, reminiscent of the eighth-century king Sargon II's description of his eighth campaign in which his army had to cross the high peaks protecting Urartu.[583] Another (Unger 7B, 7C) shows the king in his chariot moving at a walking pace toward a group of men on foot with herds and tents, perhaps indicating semi-nomadic pastoralists. These unique images seem to go hand-in-hand with an interest in historical narrative in general that began in the Middle Assyrian period, reaching its zenith in the relief programs of the Neo-Assyrian palaces.[584]

Fig. 56 Kassite seal from Merkes residential district, Babylon (after MOORTGAT 1930: pl. I:6)

For Kassite Babylonia there is even less evidence of chariots as objects of representational interest. There is one seal from Babylon and one from the lapis lazuli hoard found at Thebes in Boeotia. The seal from Babylon, recorded as excavated in the Kassite levels of the residential district of Merkes, depicts a gazelle hunt with two figures in the chariot, one controlling the reins, the other aiming the bow (Fig. 56).[585] One presumably dead gazelle lies beneath the slightly rearing pair of horses, while a second one is squeezed into the composition in a nearly vertical head-down pose similar, though more awkwardly composed, to the ibex hunt on the Ashur seal impression. The lapis lazuli seal from Thebes is broken

[583] "As for Mount Simirriu, a lofty peak that thrusts up sharp as a spear point and whose summit, the dwelling of Belet-ili, rises over the mountains, whose topmost summits, indeed, reach to the very sky…and the ascent of which, from front to back, is exceedingly difficult…I made the chariotry, cavalry, and my combat troops fly over it like valiant eagles, I brought after them the support troops and scouts. The camels and pack mules gamboled over its peak, one after another, like mountain goats bred in the hills." FOSTER 2005: 792–93.

[584] PITTMAN 1996; FELDMAN 2004.

[585] MATTHEWS 1990: no. 199; MOORTGAT 1940: no. 563.

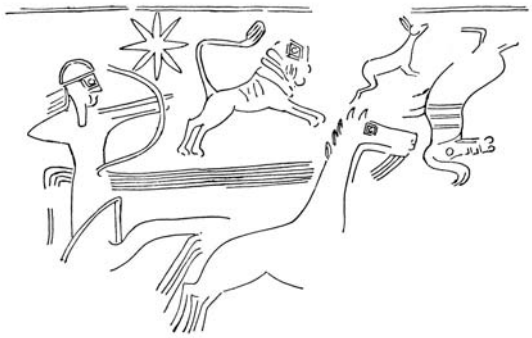


Fig. 57 Drawing of Kassite seal from lapis lazuli hoard, Thebes, Greece (after PORADA 1981–82: 66, no. 37)

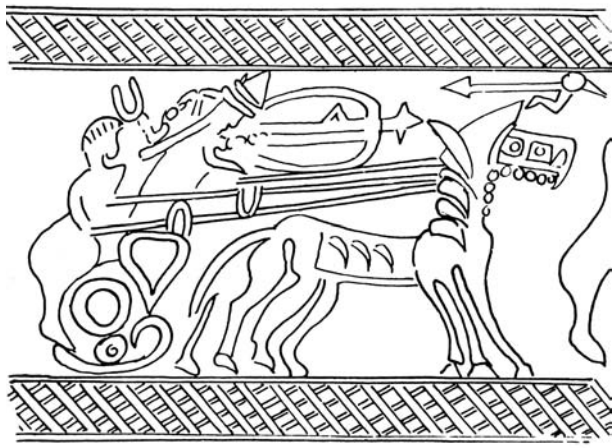


Fig. 58 Drawing of Middle Elamite seal from Choga Zanbil (after MECQUENEM & MICHALON 1953: 49, fig. 14: 3)

along its lower edge (Fig. 57).[586] It preserves a hunting scene in which a single figure aims his bow toward a fleeing lion, a hare and a tumbling bull; a star motif occupies the field above the chariot. The reins appear to be wrapped around the charioteer's waist. Porada tentatively classifies it as Kassite, but notes "…no other such Kassite scenes are published."[587]

A related seal found at Choga Zanbil in southwestern Iran has been classified as Middle Elamite (Fig. 58).[588] Said to be of porous faience, perhaps the so-called sintered quartz material popular in Elamite seals of this period, it depicts two figures in a chariot. One in front leans forward to draw his bow and arrow, while a smaller figure behind controls the reins. Birds appear to fly above, but no other sign of prey or human enemy exists. The seal is carved in a linear style and is decorated with hatched bands along the top and bottom. Amiet notes that the motif of a chariot is unique among Elamite seals, although the carving style and the decorated borders are found on numerous other seals from Choga Zanbil.[589]

Summary

Scenes of chariots are quite rare in the greater Mesopotamian area. When they do occur, they principally appear on seals. Middle Assyria may show a greater interest in the representational impact of chariots as seen on the marble lid and the White Obelisk, should it be dated to the second millennium. These two pieces display the expected association of chariots with battle and hunt and might be associated with Assyria's imperial aspirations. Aside from these two examples, the other chariot scenes belong to the realm of hunting without reference to battle (unless one includes the Nuzi impression 527 with tumbling figure), although such a reference may have been implied. The diversity of carving styles found among the glyptic, especially within the corpus of Nuzi impressions, is similar to that seen at Ras Shamra and suggests dispersed production. Given our relatively poor knowledge of the archaeology of these regions during the Late Bronze Age and the small number of examples, geographic distribution patterns may not be representative. Nonetheless, the capital centers (Babylon and Ashur) have each produced examples.[590] The terracotta plaques from Umm el-Marra, not known from elsewhere, raise an important caution about what we might not have recovered and remind us of the precariousness of our knowledge of the arts of these areas in general during the Late Bronze Age.

HATTI

Although chariot-like vehicles appear frequently in the Middle Bronze Age (so-called Cappadocian) glyptic from the central Anatolian trading

[586] PORADA 1981–82: 65 no. 37.

[587] PORADA 1981–82: 66. She does note (1981–82: 66), however, that an unpublished seal impression from Dur Kurigalzu (Aqar Quf) has a similar scene on it.

[588] AMIET 1973: 25, 40–41, no. 65 (now apparently missing from the Tehran museum).

[589] AMIET 1973: 25.

[590] The capital of the Mitannian state, Washukanni, has yet to be located archaeologically.

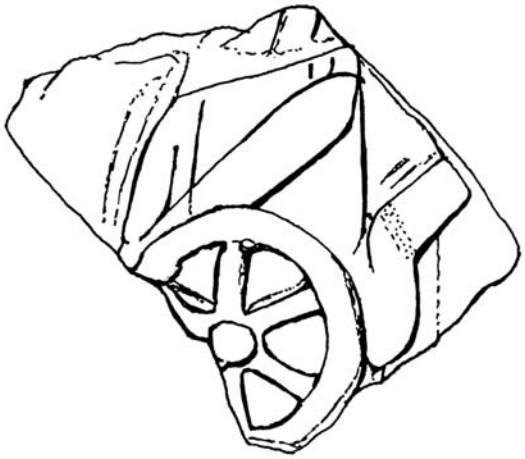


Fig. 59 Drawing of relief vessel with chariot from Boghazköy-Hattusha (after BITTEL 1978: fig. 1)

Fig. 60 Seal impression of Murshili III (after NEVE 1991:329, fig. 29c; courtesy of Andreas Schachner)

cities, there are remarkably few representations from the height of the Hittite Empire in the Late Bronze Age. An Old Hittite period (seventeenth-sixteenth century) sherd with relief decoration found in Temple I at Boghazköy-Hattusha preserves part of a six-spoked wheel and cab of a chariot (Fig. 59).[591] A quiver appears to be shown hanging from the cab. Such relief vases have generally been interpreted as having cultic associations, and the archaeological context in the main temple at the Hittite capital would seem to confirm this reading. Nonetheless, the chariot cab depicted on the sherd appears to represent that of a human entity. Chariots also appear rarely in Hittite visual arts as the conveyance for the Storm God as seen in a seal impression of Murshili III (Urhi-Teshub) from the thirteenth century also found at Boghazköy (Fig. 60).[592] Here, however, the representation is distinctly not a copy of a "real" chariot, but rather one in the shape of an eagle drawn by bulls. This motif also appears on the Hittite Empire period rock relief at Imamkulu near Kayseri.[593] The central motif of the relief depicts the Storm God in his bull-drawn chariot, all of which is supported on the bent heads of various divine figures.[594]

Summary

This lack of visual rhetoric incorporating chariots is paralleled by other artistic and literary evidence. While the Hittites engaged in and were clearly successful in military activities, their rhetoric in terms of the royal figure was not one that emphasized the brutal side of conquest, as for example was the case in the later Assyrian Empire. Instead, the king tended to portray himself as a magnanimous victor who exercised his rule with compassion.[595] For example, Murshili II claimed such compassion in his annals, saying, "I would certainly have marched against the disloyal vassal and destroyed him utterly, but he sent forth

[591] BITTEL 1978; BOEHMER 1983: 41, no. 49. Several other fragments of relief vases show parts of horses and wheels that might belong to chariots, although they cannot be definitively reconstructed. A fragment from Alishar showing two horse heads overlapping one another as if yoked as a team may be further evidence of a chariot no longer preserved (BOEHMER 1983: 45, fig. 36).

[592] GÜTERBOCK 1993; HAWKINS 2003.

[593] KOHLMEYER 1983: 80–86; EHRINGHAUS 2005: 70–76.

[594] A related use of the chariot in mythological scenes occurs on the Hasanlu gold bowl, which might date to either the end of the second millennium (1250–1000 BC) or the very beginning of the first millennium (1000–800 BC). On the bowl, three divine figures are depicted driving chariots drawn by bulls and equids. As a whole, the bowl has been linked to Hurrian mythological traditions. For overview and earlier references, see WINTER 1989.

[595] BRYCE 2002: 99.

his mother to meet me. She came and fell at my knees and spoke to me as follows: 'My Lord, do not destroy us. Take us, My Lord, into subjection.' And since a woman came to meet me and fell at my knees, I gave way to the woman and thereupon I did not march to the Seha River Land. And I took Manapa-Tarhunda and the Seha River land into subjection."[596] Likewise, there are no visual representations of battle or conquest on either the large or small scales. Instead, we see the king with his queen in cultic situations and in the numinous presence of the divine.

Hittite chariots are well attested in written evidence[597] and in the Egyptian representations of the Battle of Qadesh, and their use must have been a prerequisite for their military success.[598] The lack of pictorial representations of chariots within the Hittite artistic corpus itself raises intriguing questions regarding its possible lack of resonance at a symbolic level. It seems, therefore, that the representation of royal power and authority in the Hittite state rested less on the expression of military might and the physicality of battle (or animal hunts as an analog of battle) and more on the divine legitimacy and effectiveness of the king to rule his subject people. Thus, while chariots and warfare were the main physical means for achieving power, they did not bear rhetorical weight within the royal ideology. Instead, the visual expression of contact with the divine realm bore this weight. In this light, it is interesting that one of the main deities involved in these divine associations is the Weather God mounting a chariot. However, the god's chariot – its body in the shape of an eagle and its team comprised of two bulls – firmly occupies the supernatural realm and not the realm of the worldly battlefield.

Discussion

The highest concentrations of representations of chariots are in Egypt and the Aegean, where they appear in a wide range of archaeological contexts, media, and scales (see Figs. 61a, b). Cyprus and the Levant have the next largest number of chariot representations, while greater Mesopotamia (Mitanni, Assyria, and Babylonia), Elam and Anatolia have very few. In all these areas, chariot imagery appears primarily on small-scale objects, especially glyptic. Only Egypt and Greece have preserved a significant corpus of monumental depictions of chariots; although, it is difficult to make any argument from the absence of monumental representations elsewhere, especially Mesopotamia where so little archaeological evidence from this period in general has been recovered. Nonetheless, why these different frequencies of chariot representation occur where they do is a major question, particularly given that we know from other sources that actual chariots played important social and military roles throughout. To address this question, we have therefore to consider the selective process of art making – its use in rhetorical strategies – and the contextual contingencies within which this process takes place. Before doing so, however, it is useful to summarize briefly the findings of the preceding survey and to touch upon some of their implications.

Outside of Egypt and the Aegean, chariot representations tend not to follow standardized formal and compositional principles. While certain basic formats consistently appear, such as a single chariot pursuing several prey, the specimens display more contrasts with one another than similarities. This is especially noticeable on a stylistic level, seen for example in the diversity of carving styles in the seals from the Levant and Nuzi. Such idiosyncracies imply decentralized production, which in turn suggests a lack, relinquishing, or dispersal of control by the institutions of authority, namely the palace and temple. With this in mind, the opposite might be said for the situations in Egypt and the Aegean, where chariot depictions are highly formulaic, even those of the terracotta chariot groups. The Linear B documents and the repeated depiction of temple workshops making chariots in the tombs of Egyptian high priests, further confirm a close (if not monopolistic) institutional control over not only the production of actual chariots but also over their representation. This argument, however, cannot be reversed in the case of actual chariot production for the other regions, as textual evi-

[596] Bryce 2002: 99 (from year 3 of the 'Comprehensive Annals' of Mursili II [CTH 61], edition of Goetze (1933: 70–73)).

[597] For the Hittite horse texts, see, for example, Raulwing & Meyer 2004.

[598] See discussion above, part 1.

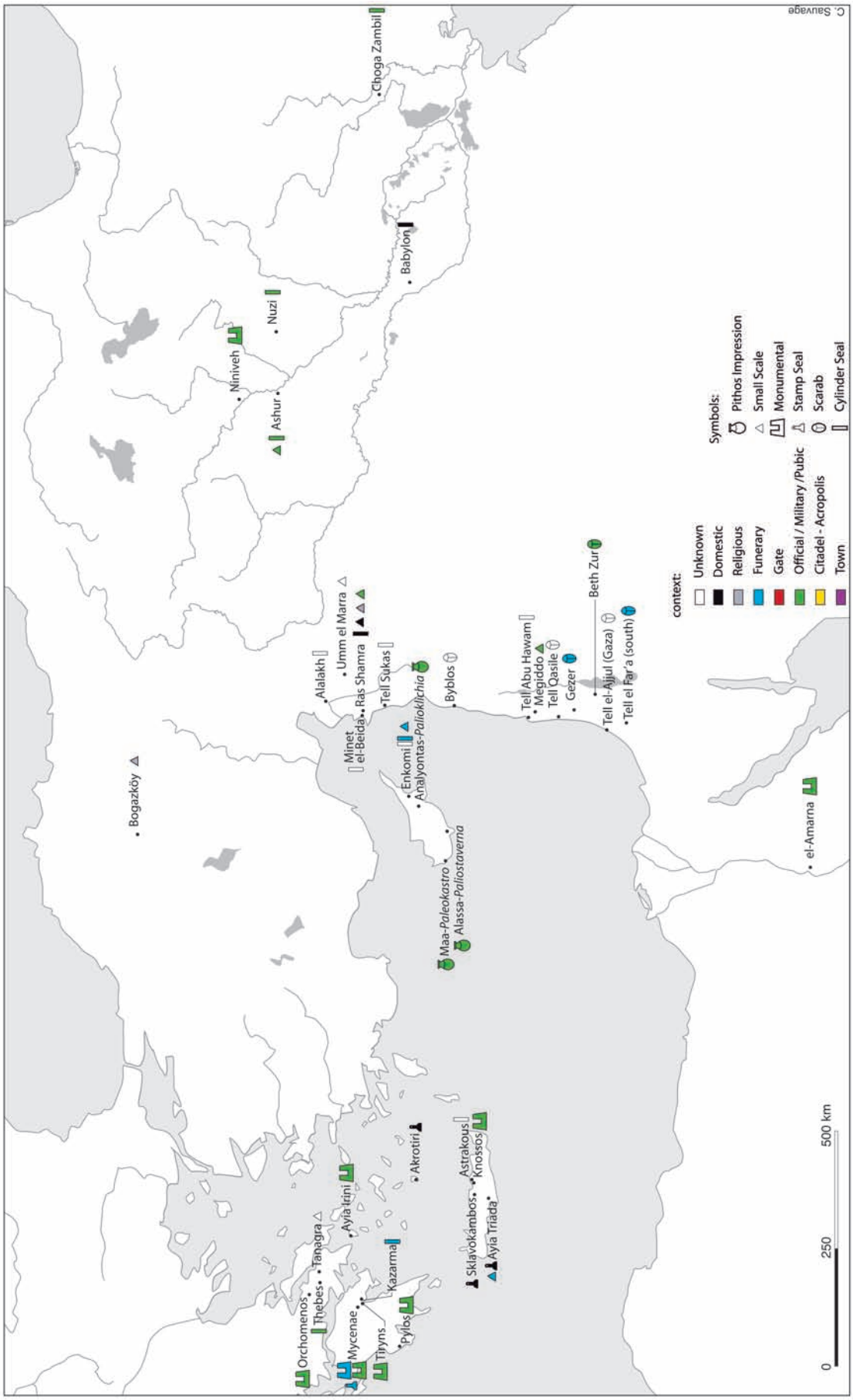


Fig. 61a Distribution of chariot representations, not including chariot kraters or terracotta models, in the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East except Egypt

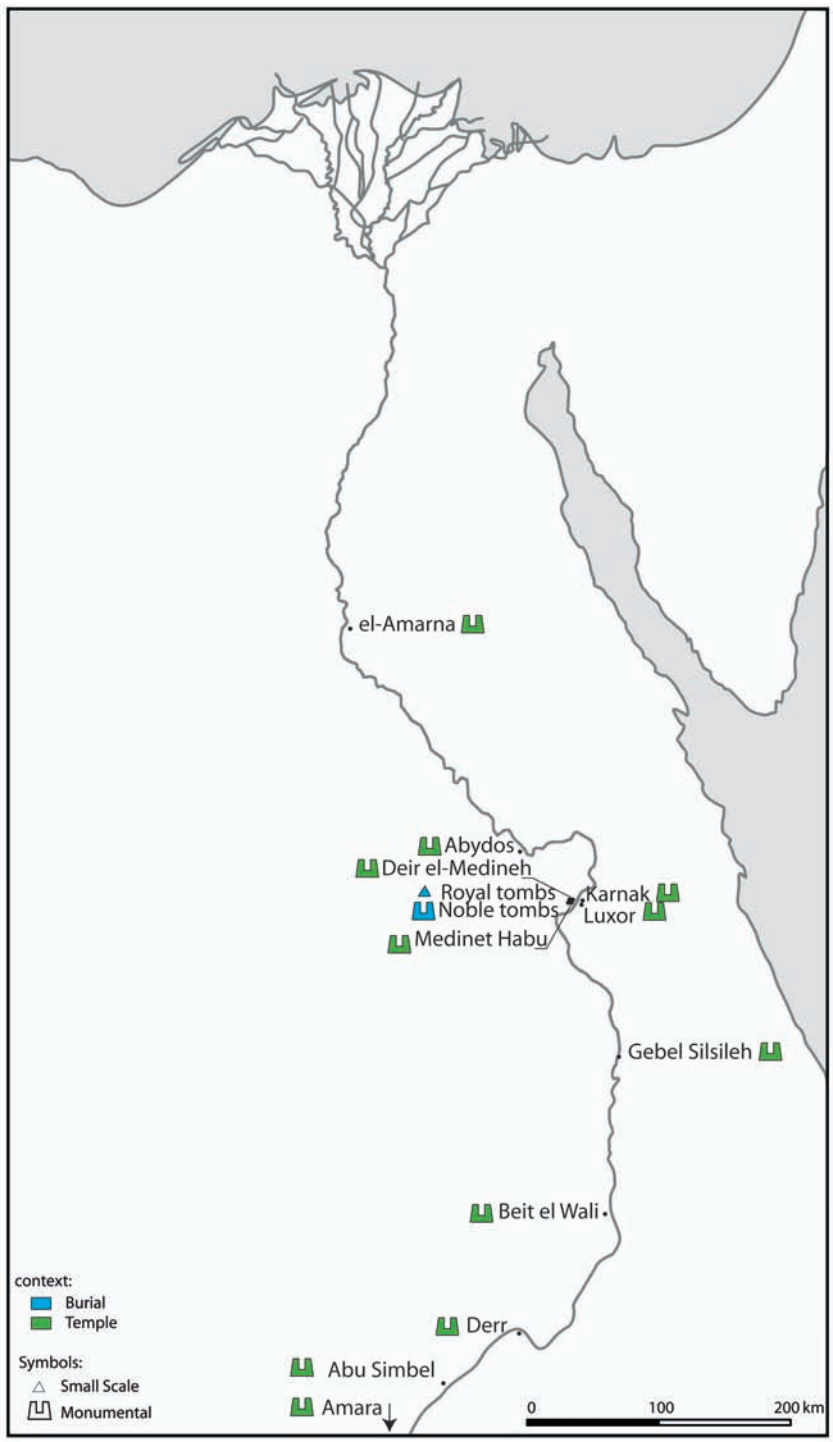


Fig. 61b Distribution of chariot representations in Egypt, not including chariot kraters or terracotta models

dence indicates that chariots were restricted to members of the elite who held strong ties to the institutions of power. Thus, in the areas apart from Egypt and the Aegean, there seems to be a disconnect between the control and prestige of actual chariots and the rhetorical significance associated with their depiction.

Based on the evidence of the representations that do survive, there is a strong association of the chariot with hunting, battle, and processions in all the cultural regions, except perhaps Hatti, that seems to go hand in hand with signaling political authority. This association with power can sometimes have explicit connections with divine and/or supernatural support. However, despite this general shared signification, the regions appear to have fairly distinct deployments of the imagery that indicate local uses and variations.

In Egypt, there are two primary uses of chariot imagery. First, in the earlier part of the New Kingdom (Eighteenth Dynasty), chariots appear in the context of private, high-ranking officials' tombs as emblems of identity and association with elite spheres. Second, in the later part of the New Kingdom (Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties), chariots appear as part of large-scale monumental royal narrative programs of imperialism and conquest under the god's aegis. In both instances, the chariot is part of a large assemblage of elite symbols that always includes the bow and arrow.

Greece, in contrast, almost never depicts the bow and arrow in its chariot scenes. It also boasts distinctive chariot types, particularly the dual chariot found in the later Late Bronze Age (fourteenth and thirteenth centuries). The representations seem to span the demographic sphere more widely than elsewhere, appearing in both public settings of power (such as Mycenaean palace paintings) and in more accessible forms as in the case of the terracotta models. However, the Linear B texts make clear the close ties between chariots and the palace. Schon argues that chariots served as a middle option for signaling elite status: widespread and mobile enough to reach a large audience, but expensive and monopolized enough to remain exclusive.[599]

Cyprus and the Levant seem to share certain iconographic and compositional concerns such as the image of a figure or figures running behind the chariot and the use of a circular composition in which the prey reverses to charge at the chariot. In these commonalities, we may be seeing some part of a special relationship between the two regions and in particular between Enkomi and Ugarit, the two sites that have the highest concentration of chariot imagery in each region. This special relationship is manifested in many other forms of material culture, the chariot kraters treated by Caroline Sauvage being only one other. However, the diversity of styles and the generally lower quality of carving found in the glyptic suggests a less controlled artistic production and perhaps thus an iconography open to more segments of the population. Nonetheless, the frequency of chariot imagery remains quite rare, especially compared to Egypt and the Aegean, which, given the evidence of the seals associated with decentralized and perhaps lower elite production, might indicate that it held less rhetorical force in these areas. While Enkomi and Ugarit may exhibit close ties, these connections may not encompass the rest of the island of Cyprus, which is distinguished from all the other regions in its use of large-scale sealed pithoi, many of which show images of chariots. Found around the island, though not at Enkomi, these point to consistent, island-wide administrative strategies that nevertheless signal regional affiliations.

Babylonia, Mitanni, Elam, and Anatolia display a distinct disinclination for chariot iconography, suggesting that its message of political power may have carried little weight in these areas despite the known use of the light, two-wheeled chariot in battle. The few examples that occur are small scale, mainly seals, again in a diversity of styles. Assyria, in contrast, demonstrates an emerging interest in battle and hunt narratives that appears to develop in concert with its growing imperialism.[600] These draw heavily on models from Egypt, whose great New Kingdom Empire Assyria aspired to both emulate and surpass.[601] The White Obelisk, with its unusually monumental narrative including numerous chariots seems more closely allied to Egyptian rather than Bronze Age Near Eastern representations of chariots. It can perhaps be related to late Middle Assyrian appropriations of Egyptian imperialism, seen also in the sealing from the reign of Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur, as part of the formative phase of the nascent Assyrian Empire. As was argued above, the White Obelisk may represent a chronologically, as well as ideologically, transitional piece, bridging the New Kingdom Egyptian and Neo-Assyrian Imperial periods. Given these associations with Egyptian imperialism, it is therefore not surprising to find that representations of chariots resonated with palatial concerns during the late Middle Assyrian period and find fuller voice during the Neo-Assyrian Empire period (c. 1000–612 BC).

The significance of the regional variations in chariot imagery becomes more pronounced when compared to the circulation and consumption of an international artistic koiné in these same regions during this period.[602] Although, as

[599] Schon 2007.

[600] Pittman 1996; Feldman 2006a.

[601] Feldman 2004.

[602] Feldman 2006b.

noted in the introduction to this part, scholars typically have understood chariot imagery as belonging to the international sphere that also produced the so-called international style, the regionalism made evident in this study sets it apart. This regionalism, however, should not be dismissed as merely part of the individual cultural artistic identity of each region – that is, it is not enough to say, for example, that it makes sense for Egyptian chariot imagery to appear in the tombs of private officials since these tombs have produced so much that is distinctive to Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian art. Instead, we have here a particularly rich set of examples in which internationalizing elements – that is the light, two-wheeled chariot as a sign of authority – intersect with, and even change in response to, specific concerns within the different cultures.

The case of the "missing" chariot representations in the Hittite Empire may be instructive here, especially when contrasted with the situation in the Aegean. It seems that, for example, for the early Shaft Grave Mycenaeans it was not simply a vague notion of borrowed foreign prestige that made chariot imagery appealing, but rather in their particular case it was the prestige specifically garnered from an action-packed militaristic narrative to which the newly forming Mycenaean society responded. In other words, the prestige of the chariot image was not simply inherent in it, nor preordained due to the novelty or inventiveness of the new technology. Rather, its rhetorical weight derived from the correspondence that the concept of the chariot held within any one regional ideology. This is not to say that chariot imagery did not itself play a role in shaping regional ideologies during the Late Bronze Age – it mostly like did in places like the Aegean and Egypt. But the absence of such imagery in Hittite Anatolia – a state that depended in large part on its military chariotry and one that was certainly an active participant in the international relations of the day – argues against our reading of the chariot in a simplistic light as an image of prestige. Indeed, the Hittite scenario demonstrates that chariots were not representative of a homogenous, internationally shared visual rhetoric that swept across the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean. Nor did the chariot embody within it some kind of self-evident symbolism of prestige.

This exercise in comparing the regional variations in chariot representations raises the important point that *both* an internal element of prestige inherent in an image *and* a regional ideology receptive to that specific form of prestige are necessary in any process of selecting motifs within the elevated levels of elite and royal arts. This, then, argues for a more complicated dialogue between image and ideology than simple one-way models can provide. Said in more typical art historical language, both the iconography and the context are co-dependent on one another and both must be studied together as well as diachronically in terms of their mutual acting upon one another. Only then can we begin to approach the relationship between images and prestige.

Conclusions

By Marian H. Feldman and Caroline Sauvage

The co-occurrence of chariot-related artifacts, texts, and representations found in the house of Urtenu at Ugarit encouraged us to look more globally at the distribution patterns and archaeological contexts of these items at Ugarit, in the Levant and across the larger Near East and Eastern Mediterranean. When integrated, the resulting studies that make up the body of this article lead to complementary conclusions regarding Near Eastern and Eastern Mediterranean societies during the Late Bronze Age. Foremost among them is the fact that light, two-wheeled chariots, while part of an international interaction sphere, were used and perceived variously in the different regions. Our studies more fully articulate the similarities and, more intriguingly, the differences in the uses and perceptions of chariots by the Late Bronze Age cultures of the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean. These in turn point to general conclusions regarding the social systems of the period and in particular the various social classes that used chariots or consumed chariot representations. The acknowledgement that not all elites were equal, though perhaps self-evident when stated thus, is rarely applied in analyses of so-called elite or luxury items such as chariots. While we are rarely able to precisely identify different strata within the elite sphere of society, it is clear that there are higher and lower elites within the ranking, from the ruler at the top of the hierarchy down through numerous aristocratic and noble groups. And our data points to the fact that chariots operated both socio-culturally and symbolically in different ways for different levels of society, despite remaining an elite object.

Overall, in contrast to the emphasis that scholarship has put on the chariot as a main player in the Late Bronze Age, there are remarkably few chariot artifacts and representations, especially outside of Egypt and the Aegean. This is true, for example, when one considers the percentage of pictorial kraters that show chariot scenes (less than 0.05% in Ugarit), and again when one considers all pictorial kraters as a percentage of ceramic consumption as a whole. While the lack of artifactual evidence might be attributed to either decay or recycling of the materials used to construct a chariot and its harnessings, such arguments are less applicable to the representational realm. Nonetheless, we must also keep in mind the textual evidence, which points to much higher numbers of actual chariots than either the archaeological or representational evidence might suggest. If we consider the representational evidence as signaling symbolic resonance, the disparity between actual chariot usage and chariot depictions opens up intriguing questions regarding the rhetorical role of chariots in the different areas. In the following conclusions, we first bring together the results from each of the major political-cultural regions under study. Following on this, we step back to look at the big picture of the Late Bronze Age as a whole. In this way, we hope to capture some of the interplay between the local and the international spheres of social interaction (see Fig. 62).

Egypt has by far the greatest concentration of chariot representations and archaeological remains. Chariot images were used on the walls of temples for royal propaganda of the triumphant Pharaoh in hunting and battle. Throughout the 18th Dynasty this warrior aspect and domination associated with chariots was signaled by the deposit in royal or para-royal tombs of complete chariots. Chariots were also present in the 18th Dynasty private tombs, but only through their iconographic aspect. Among the typically 18th Dynasty everyday-life scenes depicted in tombs, images of chariot manufacture supervised by the tomb owner (typically highly placed within a temple organization) or chariots and horses as part of the funerary procession are depicted. These representations could be seen as a more accessible version than real chariots, which are present only in royal tombs. It does, nonetheless, indicate wider, perhaps lower elite, access to chariots within society as a whole.

The interest in incorporating chariots into the funeral space disappeared at the end of the 18th Dynasty, perhaps due to broader changes in tomb decoration (everyday-life scenes disappear in general) but also possibly due to a change in social attitudes toward chariots and the symbolic weight that they carried. Indeed, we might consider that the 18th Dynasty enthusiasm for representing chariots, widely denoted by higher and lower elites alike, waned with the increased "common use" of this object in war and parade contexts. In the 19th Dynasty, chariots were depicted mainly in monumental historical narratives of battle, serving more as props integrated into the larger tableaux than as significant symbols on their own.

While they played a role in the propaganda and political messages of the period, chariots themselves seem to be less the focus of interest and more a part of the necessary scenery of power, authority, and conquest. The great concern for horses and chariots in the earlier period can also be seen in the few horse burials dating from both the end of the Hyksos period and the 18th Dynasty at Tell el-Dab'a and Thebes, which only reappear much later during the 25th Dynasty. Egyptians first encountered chariots in the 17th c. BC through the Hyksos conquest of their territory, a period in their history that engendered a crisis of identity and confidence and that later provoked a need to confront or nullify their prior military vulnerability. The emphasis on chariots by the 18th Dynasty Pharaohs could thus be thought of as an appropriation of the Hyksos' most effective weapon and as an attempt to re-inscribe history by recasting this humiliating event into a conferral of advantage through the mastery of this weapon. Thus, the theme of the triumphant Pharaoh destroying enemies from his chariot could be analogous to but also a denial of the Hyksos conquest and victory over Egypt.

The Aegean may present a similar pattern to Egypt, although within a very different socio-political context. The chariot appears to be an import to the Aegean from the Levant according to Crouwel. Indicative of this borrowing, one can see a clear shift in the use and depiction of chariots over the course of the Late Bronze Age. For example, swiftly moving chariots carrying archers appear only in the early Shaft Grave material, while later representations show chariots in processions without bows and arrows. In the Aegean, chariot production was dependent upon the palace, and this object was clearly viewed as a prestige bearer. However, subtleties in the details of this prestige value are evident. The majority of the representations of chariots comes from the mainland and seems to have fit a certain social class. Chariot kraters were used in elite occupational contexts, such as the acropoli of Mycenaean palace-cities, but were rarely deposited in tombs. When they were, they likely assumed the role of valued possessions. A few terracotta models of chariots, sometimes including parasols in the composition, were also deposited in tombs at Nauplion, Athens, Perati, and Ialysos, places where chariot kraters also have been found (Fig. 63). If terracotta models are generally interpreted as more accessible objects emulating high elite practices, we have to wonder here why they are relatively rare – even if widespread through the Aegean – and appear mostly in rather wealthy tombs or official contexts.[603] Indeed, we know from later periods that parasols are status markers and that persons shaded by parasols can sometimes be identified as kings.[604] Yet the appearance of chariot imagery in a somewhat broader swath of the population argues, as was the case in Egypt, for lower elite access to chariots and their concomitant importance as conveyors of prestige. It is thus highly probable that these terracottas were deposited in tombs as a status marker rather than as a means of transport for the journey of the Underworld. Indeed, the unsuitability of the Greek topography for chariots would make it hardly credible. This further implies that representations of hunting scenes and battles are borrowed motifs, suggesting that the prestige of these images in other countries could have motivated their adoption in the Aegean. Nonetheless, the depiction of fantastical creatures such as griffins as draft animals for chariots may indicate a blurring or mixing of these two semantic ranges: social prestige and religious belief. After a gap of several centuries (1150 to 775–750 BC), chariots reappear in the Late Geometric period as a motif in vase paintings, bronzes and terracotta models,[605] and can be seen as an important element of continuity between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age.[606]

The Levant appears to offer further indications of a lower elite interest in chariots, especially in the north. In fact, quite different patterns emerge in the southern and northern part of the

[603] See however the domestic context of the terracottas from Eutresis, Korakou, Pylos, Tiryns and Mycenae (Crouwel 1981: cat n° 7, 8, 12–17, 18–22, 44).

[604] On the Amathus sarcophagus, the chariot procession followed by soldiers and escorts is similar to the soldiers and grooms depicted on some Mycenaean vases (see Tatton-Brown 1981). Moreover, we can further the parallels if we follow Petit (and others) identifying the king with the personage shaded by a parasol and wearing a turban (for bibliographical references see Petit 1996 and 2004).

[605] Crouwel 1981: 151.

[606] Crouwel 2006b; Crouwel 1981: 72.

Fig. 62 Map of proposed cultural associations based on distribution patterns of chariot-related artifacts and representations

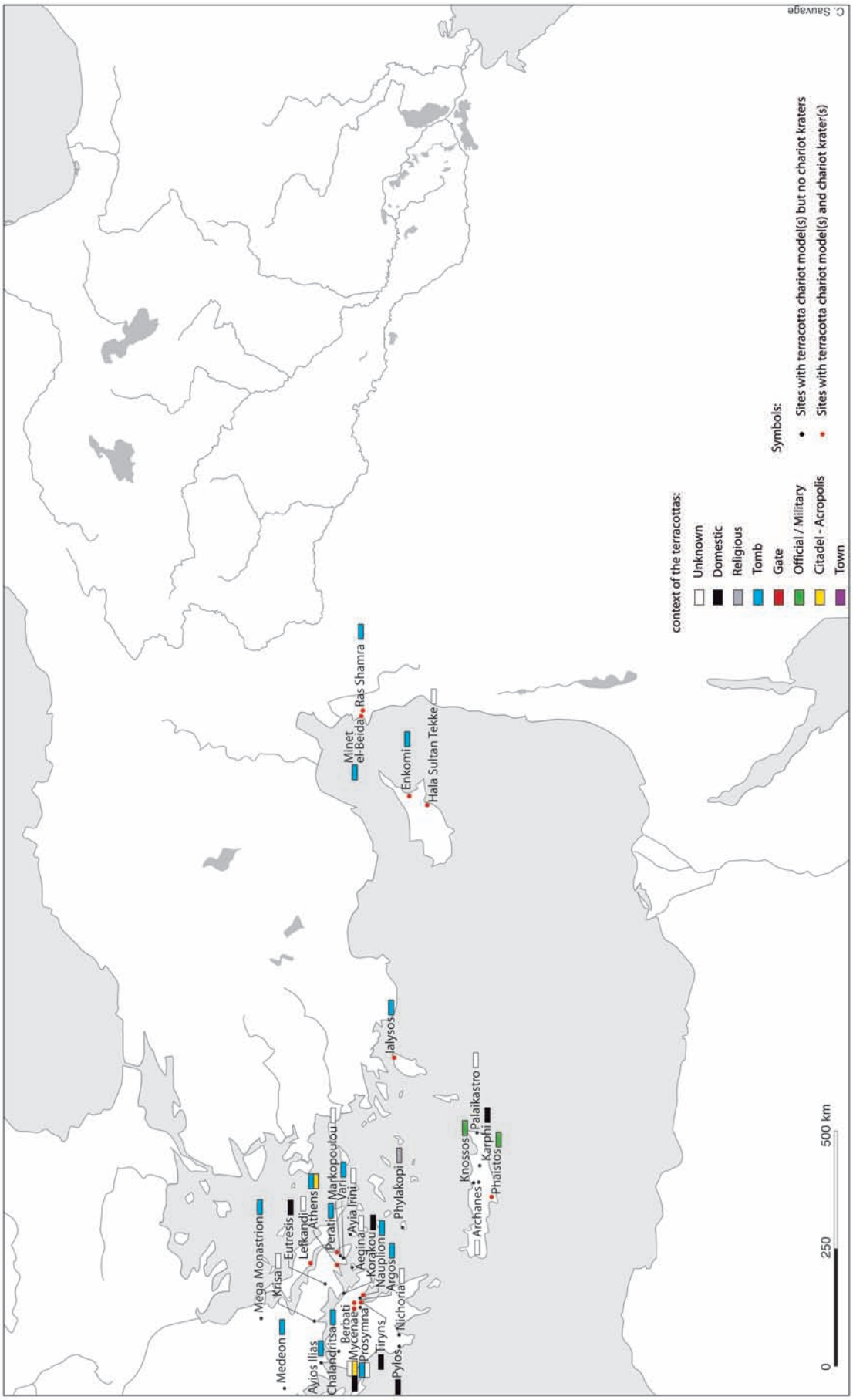


Fig. 63 Distribution of terracotta chariot models in the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East, with their archaeological contexts and their co-occurrence with chariot kraters

area. In the southern Levant, we know of only a few representations and artifacts related to chariots. These show strong Egyptianizing tendencies in both the depiction of chariots and in the types of material preserved. For example, chariots are depicted on scarab seals using strongly pharaonic iconography; when Mycenaean chariot kraters are found in tombs, they come from unusual ones such as at Sarepta and Tell Dan. There is little that feels culturally Levantine in the realm of chariot depictions from the south, and in this regard, the southern Levant hews closer to Egypt.[607] The majority of chariot finds comes from the north and especially from Ugarit, where the upper social class – nobility often defined as chariot warriors, the *mariyannu* – is known from texts. There, the co-occurrence of chariot kraters, found almost exclusively in tombs, chariot fittings possibly on display in houses, along with texts, suggests a particular social interest in objects associated with chariots. Indeed, it appears that some segment of society identified itself through the display of chariots or the possession of objects bearing their representations. Texts reinforce this impression by mentioning specific social groups associated with chariots in particular contexts and under the king's supervision. In a job-list from Ugarit, the *mariyannu*-group is placed before other "professions" at the top of the list. It was a highly ranked social group dependent upon the king, but its members were not of the highest elite status in the sense that they sometimes maintained a profession as chariot warriors just as carpenters or farmers did, whereas the highest ranking people – from the royal family for instance – occupied important positions in the administration but did not seem to have been assigned to a particular class/profession and did not appear in such lists.

In Cyprus, it is possible to point to a connection between chariots and political power through the depiction of chariots on pithos impressions, prestige items, and other objects deposited in certain types of graves. Cyprus and in particular Enkomi had close links with Ugarit, and it seems that both cities had similar beliefs and maybe ideologies. Indeed, both cities shared motifs, related chariots to administration or political power, and their citizens chose to be buried with items bearing chariot representations. The context and number of the chariot kraters is also highly similar in the two cities, where the inhabitants seem to have picked the chariot motif on Mycenaean kraters because it was both locally available and because it recalled their ideology and social ranking. During the transition to the Iron Age, representations of horses and chariots disappear from ceramics: in the 11th c. BC, we know of only two depictions of horses and one of a horseman on local pictorial pottery.[608] The desire of some to be buried with actual horses or chariot representations could have continued and developed differently in the Iron Age, when horses and chariots are buried with high-ranking people,[609] while lower status individuals were buried with horsemen or terracotta chariot models.

In Mitanni, the picture of chariot-related objects is less clear. Even if we have an explicit connection in texts between royal power, the *mariyannu*-group, chariot production, and the distribution of horses throughout the kingdom, the iconography and archaeological evidence is more ambiguous. Indeed, the two best known cities from the Mitannian sphere, Alalakh and Nuzi, differ from one another, with Alalakh presenting patterns closer to Ugarit in terms of stylistic production, distribution, and use of the finds. This situation is probably due to the proximity of Alalakh and Ugarit and the regular trade contacts that Alalakh entertained with the northern Levantine coast, but it might also be seen as indicative of the generally decentralized nature of Mitannian culture, if we can in fact identify such a thing. The lack of consistent patterns of chariot finds in Mitanni may be yet more evidence for the looseness of the state's cultural markers and ideology, and may be telling with regard to the degree to which the political administration of the state was divorced from the cultural practices of its constituent polities. We have good evidence that there were in fact statewide administrative practices, evident in administrative tablets bear-

[607] For a definition of a specifically Levantine cultural tradition, see Feldman 2002: 10–14.

[608] Two come from T. 58 in Skales, and one bowl is from Lapithos (Iacovou 1988).

[609] See for instance Salamis, tomb 2; tomb 3; tomb 47; tomb 79. Pictures of the horses burials in Karageorghis 2002: 159–171, esp. fig. 327, 328, 355, 359, 350; Crouwel 1987; see also the Amathus sarcophagus (Tatton-Brown 1981).

ing the dynastic seal of Shaustatar found distributed throughout the Mitannian realm from Alalakh to Umm el-Marra to Tell Brak and Nuzi. But aside from the "palace" (or Nuzi/Atchana/Mitanni) ware and perhaps also the small class of Elaborate Mitannian seals, there appears not to have been a comprehensive shared material culture; rather, local cultural traditions persist. Thus, it is not surprising that in terms of chariots, Alalakh aligns more closely with other states of the northern Levant (better evident in the later part of the Late Bronze Age) than it does with its contemporary fellow Mitannian city of Nuzi to the east. This is perhaps due to the preservation of the former social traditions of the states under Mitanni influence. Indeed, Ugarit, formerly under Mitanni influence or at least in the Mitannian sphere, exhibits some comparisons with the Mitannian cities of Alalakh, Nuzi, and Tell Brak. At both Nuzi and Ugarit, chariot fittings were found in houses; at both Ugarit and Tell Brak, chariots fittings came from temples; and finally the inhabitants of Ugarit and Alalakh both consumed chariot kraters. Nonetheless, distinctions between Alalakh and Ugarit emerge in the contextual nature of the chariot kraters, which tend to be domestic at Alalakh and funerary at Ugarit. Is this due to a later shift of the Ugaritic perspective that, as the Late Bronze Age proceeded, may have turned away from the inland areas that had been controlled by Mitanni and looked more toward Cyprus, where kraters also cluster predominately in burials?

In Hatti, the numerous textual references to horse trading, breeding, and the military use of the chariot contrast strikingly with the lack of chariot representations in the arts, as well as in the artifactual record. The latter absence may be attributed legitimately to a simple lack of preservation; however, the almost complete absence of depictions of chariots presents a more complicated case. Preserved chariot artifacts and chariot kraters are completely missing from the archaeological record, and when horses appear in tombs, it seems that they were related more to magical or religious belief than to the symbol of the chariot itself. Depictions of chariots are extremely rare and appear more closely associated with the supernatural realm of the deities. It thus seems that despite the well-developed use of chariots within Hittite society, especially in the military, they did not consider this object particularly symbolic or containing display value. Chariots were a military weapon, used in time of war, which was certainly of great importance for the Hittite king in terms of supremacy, but the theme of the fighting warrior as propaganda was avoided by the king. As shown by the rhetoric of king Murshili II, compassion and magnanimity were, along with divine devotion, among the favorite Hittite society ideals. We might surmise from this that objects used in military contexts or associated with brutal supremacy were not used by high raking people to express their social status.

Likewise, in Babylonia, the Kassite royal names inscribed on saddle bosses possibly exchanged as diplomatic gifts or dedicated as votive offerings contrast strongly with the lack of chariot representations in the area. As in Hatti and Mitanni, the Kassites are known from texts to have been skilled horse breeders and trainers, yet these practices do not seem to have transferred to the realm of visual rhetoric. Actual chariots clearly were associated with kings, held a high status, and were used in military contexts, but no one social group – whether royal or otherwise – appears to have shaped its ideology through chariot representations. In contrast, in Assyria, although there are relatively few material or pictorial remains alluding to chariots preserved, those that do exist point to a strong ideological and royal freighting of the vehicle. This might be derived in part from Egyptian imperial chariot iconography, seen best on the 12th century sealing from the reign of Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur, but it also signals Assyria's own growing imperial ambitions that were couched in a language of royal hunting and battle. These ideological dimensions come fully to the fore in the first millennium, best evident in the palace reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud and his successors. The limited archaeological and representational evidence from Elam indicates that it was part of the elite international sphere of the Late Bronze Age. However, aside from showing ties to Babylonia both in terms of the saddle bosses inscribed with the names of Kassite kings and the iconography and style of the one known cylinder seal, little can be said about the specific regional aspect of chariots in the Middle Elamite period.

When comparing cross-culturally the uses and perceptions of chariots with documented international spheres of the Late Bronze Age, such as diplomacy, the regional variations are highlighted. Indeed, even if horses and chariots were exchanged as a prestige item through "gift-giving" between the main powers of the time, it seems

that on a local level, at least some of the social groups who established an identity through the use or display of horses and chariotry were from a different elite class. Certainly they were not commoners, but they were also not limited to the highest ranking people or to royalty: in Ugarit *mariyannu* belonged to the upper part of the society but can be qualified as lower elite in the sense that they did not compare to the highest ranking ones close to the royal power who were either part of the royal family or free of holding a professional class. It is the same in Cyprus at Enkomi, where a sizable group of people chose to be buried with horse and chariot representations. Their tombs were wealthy but not the wealthiest. The situation might be similar in Greece, where chariot kraters and terracotta models were relatively rare and considered as valued objects or at least as a particular class of object worth depositing in burials. They were not found in the wealthiest tombs of the period or region, but still belonged to quite rich ones. And one could make a similar argument for Egypt, where the class of high officials and nobles both had access to chariots and wanted to display it. The diversity of carving styles seen on seals in the Levant, Mesopotamia, and Cyprus, suggestive of less centralized production, further supports this interpretation. We might conclude that there was clearly a choice being made by some individuals to include images of chariots on seals, but, given the small total number of seals bearing chariot imagery, it was a choice that only a few actually made, for reasons that now elude us.

In contrast, the royal circle of the great powers of the time seems to have had an almost exclusive interest in the military possibilities of chariots and the superiority they could provide. All the kings expressed concern about chariots, exchanged them, and included them in the salutations of their correspondence, even sometimes inscribing the harness fittings with their names, but never overlooking their usefulness as a weapon. On an international level, chariots seem to be shared mainly as a technological advantage (and hence slight variations in the construction of chariots and harnessings appear to be linked to attempts to increase this advantage). Only in Egypt, and possibly Mycenaean Greece and later Assyria, did chariots assume a primary role in royal propaganda with depictions of the Pharaohs hunting or destroying enemies and actual chariots included in the 18th Dynasty kings' funerary assemblages.

Certainly these social realms – the lower elite and the royal/higher elite – were closely intertwined, and one would expect them to share common ideologies and representational notations. Yet the chariot's deep penetration into the lower levels of the elite sphere speaks to a vertical dimension of our project; that is, the dimension that delves downward into the individual societies, rather than to the horizontal dimension across regions. As the Alalakh IV texts indicate, the impact on the lower elite sphere was due to the initial use and availability of the vehicle among the highest placed groups of any given society, who could distribute chariots and nominate people or groups responsible for their upkeep. This process occasionally created a new social class within a given society, such as the *mariyannu*, whose duty was in part, though not exclusively, to take care of chariots and horses despite not necessarily occupying the highest echelon. Why this should have happened in some places and not others, and why in the particular ways that it did, is evidence of the ongoing cultural distinctiveness of the different regions despite the intense internationalism of the period.

Moreover, it is too simplistic to divide Late Bronze Age interactions into only the international and the local; from the patterns of chariot related artifacts, intermediary interaction spheres become apparent, as evidenced on Fig. 62.[610] For example, the close ties between Ugarit and Enkomi come to the fore, while Enkomi also participates in an island-wide interaction zone, as does Ugarit within the northern Levant. The northern and southern Levantine areas, in contrast, show fewer interactions, as the southern Levant looks more to Egypt. The major exception is Tell Abu Hawam, which has the largest number of chariot kraters of the southern Levantine sites, as well as being the only southern Levantine site to produce a cylinder seal with chariot imagery rather than scarabs. As the possible main seaport for inland Hazor – a kingdom sometimes described

[610] On the map, solid lines enclose strong interaction zones, while dashed lines enclose weaker interaction zones, as deduced from the distribution of chariot-related artifacts, texts, chariot kraters, and representations.

as being at the southernmost edge of the northern Levantine cultural sphere – this patterning makes sense. Alalakh, as part of the northern Mesopotamian Mitannian state but also part of the cultural zone of the northern Levant, exemplifies the complex political and cultural dynamics that complicate international exchanges during this time.

While we do not see much of an artifactual nature to indicate a strong cultural zone in Mitanni, some features of what might be called a Mitannian administrative culture (sealed administrative tablets and elaborate-style seals) as well as the prevalence of the *mariyannu* class seem to cut across the entire northern Mesopotamian and western Syrian areas. Assyria, emerging in the east from the collapse of Mitanni, displays few cultural interactions with any of its neighbors, though distant echoes of Egyptian imperial propaganda may indicate longer distance contacts documented in the Amarna letters. Little evidence in general survives for Babylonia and Elam, but what does indicates fairly strong cultural connections between the two, but little with the regions farther west or north.

Hatti, even if participating in the international sphere, shared few cultural values with its northern Syrian neighbors. Moreover, an even bigger shift appears within the Anatolian peninsula when one recognizes that the coastal cities of Miletus and Troy were closer to the Aegean world than to Hatti in terms of both culture and contacts. This is not entirely surprising, as the same pattern appears during the first millennium with the divide between the east Greek city-states and those of inland Anatolia.

The evidence of the chariot kraters and terracotta chariot models points to Greece's involvement with a larger interaction zone including the Aegean islands, southwestern Anatolia, Cyprus, and the northern Levant, especially Ugarit (Fig. 63). Though often proposed that the Mycenaean chariot kraters were specially manufactured for export to Cyprus and the Levant, our evidence suggests otherwise. Not only is there some occurrence of chariot kraters in the Aegean itself, albeit less than in Cyprus and the Levant, the composition and, more importantly, the iconography of the chariot scenes is wholly consistent with the Aegean tradition – processional images lacking archers – which stands in stark contrast with those of the rest of the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean. Aside from the far flung distribution of the kraters and terracotta models, mainland Greece presents a strongly coherent internal culture that is fairly peripheral to the other areas, evident for example in the dropping of the bow and arrow in its chariot iconography. Likewise, the chariot-related evidence from Egypt, despite its close ties with the southern Levant, displays a high degree of cultural particularity.

While many of these intermediary interaction spheres involve proximal neighbors, as might be expected, occasional long-distance cultural exchanges appear to have existed, as for example the Babylonian seal found in Thebes, Greece. However, this singular example may in fact do more to prove the importance of proximity when the larger picture of the lapis lazuli hoard, with its many Cypriot and Cypriot recut seals, is taken into account. Instead of direct ties between Babylonia and the Aegean, we are most likely witnessing a more limited chain of interaction in which the Aegean connects to Cyprus, which in turns links to the Levant and especially the north – Ugarit and Alalakh – and from there to upper Mesopotamia (Mitanni and Assyria) and Babylonia. The distribution of chariot kraters confirms this interpretation; in the case of Mitanni in which Mycenaean ceramics appear in the west of its administrative sphere at Alalakh but not in the heartland or farther east, it suggests that the explanation for its distribution should be sought in the logistics of geography rather than in any political cause. To some extent, these conclusions come as little surprise, and certainly other studies have suggested similar patterns.[611] However, our study additionally shows that this interpretation may be too simplistic since no chariot kraters have been found in Hatti and only one in Egypt, despite their geographic proximity to Cyprus and the Aegean.[612] This, therefore, argues for an explanation based on choices made by the consumers and also emphasizes once again the variability of the evidence across all the regions and thus also the variability required for its inter-

[611] Liverani 1987: 67.

[612] Non-chariot-krater Mycenaean ceramics have been found in both Hatti and Egypt, though in extremely small quantities.

pretation. While the logistics of geography certainly conditioned some of the patterning of interaction spheres, this cannot be seen as a monocausal explanation, as political and/or socio-cultural preferences and choices were also a major factor.

Taking as a point of departure the assemblage of chariot related artifacts, texts, and representations excavated from the house of Urtenu at Ugarit, this study has sought to interrogate the type, frequency, context, and symbolic weight of these materials throughout the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean. We have been concerned particularly with the contextual nature of the co-occurrence of different genres of chariot materials within given sites and cross culturally, exploring both the local and international perspectives. The holistic study of the superimposed distribution patterns of the materials has provided a more nuanced picture of the role of the chariot in different social levels of the various regions and within the international sphere during the Late Bronze Age.

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