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# Theories about the bronze bowl of Berzocana and the East Mediterranean in the $12^{th} - 10^{th}$ centuries B.C.

Carlos Zorea1

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**Abstract.** In April 1961, a bronze bowl containing three golden-torques was found in Berzocana (Cáceres, Extremadura, Spain). Years later, when analyzing it versus a handful of comparable bowls found in Canaan and Cyprus, scholars reached a consensus that this bowl was imported from the East Mediterranean. This paper analyzes thirty-seven comparable bronze bowls, found in sixteen distinctive East Mediterranean sites, ruled by different peoples. Which of these groups manufactured the bowl of Berzocana? Why did they export it to the Iberian Peninsula? From which port in the East Mediterranean could it have departed? How did the bowl of Berzocana appear in Extremadura? When were these objects buried and by whom? How did the bowl and the three torques end up where they were found? Certain hypotheses were formulated to recreate possible historic scenarios that answer these and other questions. It was concluded that the Tjeker (one of the Sea Peoples groups of Aegean origin that settled in Canaan and Cyprus at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C. or the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) were responsible for manufacturing and transporting the bowl of Berzocana to Extremadura.

Keywords: Berzocana; Iberian-Peninsula; Sea Peoples; Tjeker; Canaan; Cyprus; Pre-colonization; Bronze bowl.

[en] Teorías sobre el cuenco de bronce de Berzocana y el Mediterráneo oriental en los siglos XII-X a.C.

**Resumen.** En abril de 1961, apareció un cuenco de bronce con tres torques de oro en Berzocana (Cáceres, Extremadura, España). Años más tarde, al analizarlo, se comparó con un grupo de cuencos encontrados en Canaán y Chipre y se llegó a la conclusión de que este cuenco era una importación del Mediterráneo Oriental. Este artículo analiza treinta y siete cuencos de bronce comparables encontrados en dieciséis lugares del Mediterráneo Oriental, gobernados por diferentes pueblos. ¿Cuál de estos pueblos fabricó el cuenco de Berzocana? ¿Por qué lo exportaron a la Península Ibérica? ¿De qué puerto del Mediterráneo Oriental podría haber partido? ¿Cómo apareció el cuenco en Extremadura? ¿Cuándo fueron enterrados estos objetos y por quién? ¿Cómo terminaron el cuenco y los tres torques en el lugar donde fueron encontrados? Se formulan ciertas hipótesis para recrear posibles escenarios históricos que respondan a estas y otras preguntas y se concluye que los autores de la fabricación y del transporte del cuenco de Berzocana hasta Extremadura fueron los Tjeker, uno de los componentes de los Pueblos del Mar de origen Egeo, establecidos en Canaán y Chipre a fines del siglo XIII a.C.

Palabras clave: Berzocana; Península Ibérica; Pueblos del Mar; Tjeker; Canaán; Chipre; Pre-colonización; Cuenco de bronce.

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cz@zoreaconsulting.com



Figure 1. Bowl of Berzocana (Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid)

The bowl of Berzocana (Figure 1) was found by chance in April 1961 by Domingo Sanchez Pulido (a goat-herder) and Urbano Montes Sanchez (a property owner) in a site named Los Machos in an area called El Terrero, about 3 miles north of the town of Berzocana, Cáceres, Extremadura, Spain (Armada Pita 2007: 270-291; Duque Espino et al 2017: 125-171). They saw a blackened metal bowl emerging from the mountain stones. Due to its thin structure and oxidation, a part of the bowl broke and was lost. The rim was found detached from the rest of the vessel, but in its entirety. Carlos Callejo, curator of the Museum of Cáceres, later recovered the bowl and rim (Figure 2).

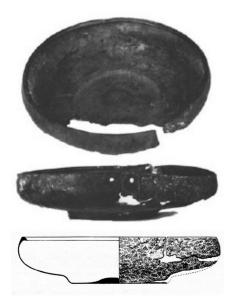


Figure 2. Bowl of Berzocana

In Spanish, the bowl is called a *pátera* or *cuenco*, meaning a shallow container. It has a rim diameter of about 16.5 cm, a maximum diameter of 17.2 cm (which indicates a convergent edge), and a base diameter of 8 cm; its height is 3.6 cm (Callejo and Blanco 1960: 250-255). Its body is made from a 0.8 mm thin sheet of bronze, its base measures 1.2 cm thick and its rim measures 0.2 cm thick. Its current weight is 230 grams and it has two small holes. Some authors believe these holes indicate that the bowl originally had a riveted handle (Almagro Gorbea, 1977: 24), while others think the holes were used to repair a fracture.

Although this bowl was not found in a necropolis or a tomb, it seems that it was hidden in the ground, and subsequently partially exposed to the elements. According to Callejo and Blanco (1960: 250-255), three torques of solid gold were found inside the bowl. One of the three torques was sold and melted before it could be recovered; the bowl and the remaining torques were taken to the Juzgado de Navazuelas. On May 18, 1961, they were transferred to the Provincial Museum of Caceres. In 1964, the Dirección General de Bellas Artes bought the three artifacts and kept them in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional (MAN) in Madrid, Spain (Celestino Pérez and Blanco Fernández, 2006: 106).

Various authors have assessed the origin of the bowl differently. Callejo and Blanco (1960) thought it could be a local production, while Almagro Gorbea (2001: 243, 245), Mederos Martín (1996: 104-7) and Crielaard (1998: 192,194) believed the object was of East Mediterranean (either Cypriot or Syrian-Palestine) origin from the pre-colonization period. Callejo and Blanco (1960: 250-255) considered that the bowl had commercial ties between the Phoenicians and Tartessos. Almagro Gorbea (2001: 239-270), Mederos Martín (1996: 95-115) and Crielaard (1998: 187-206) claimed the object had absolutely no Phoenician links. Torres Ortiz (2012: 456-457) categorically affirmed that the bowl is the only piece dated to the Late Bronze Age that can be considered with certainty to be an Extremadura import from the East Mediterranean.

For over half a century, Mederos Martín (1996), Torres Ortiz (2012) and almost a dozen other scholars contributed opinions regarding the antiquity of this particular vessel. Their views about the bowl's age ranged from the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Figure 3).

Estimated Antiquity (century B.C.)	Scholar	Authors' rationale
1. $15^{th} - 11^{th}$	Schauer (1983: 179 and ss.)	Egyptian drinking sets, Palestine Cyprus.
2. $14^{th} - 13^{th}$	Burgess (1991: 25-45)	Based on the antiquity of the torques
3. $14^{th} - 12^{th}$	Alvar (1988: 429-443)	
4. $14^{th} - 12^{th}$	Niemeyer (1984: 3-94)	
5. $14^{th} - 13^{th}$	Matthäus (2000: 64; 2001: 175)	Bowls of this kind appear in the Syrian- Canaanite corridor
6. $13^{th} - 12^{th}$	Schauer (1983)	Bronze Age of the French Britany Hinguer Berry; Malassis Berry (Golden torques)
7. $13^{\text{th}} - 10^{\text{th}}$	Mederos Martín (1996: 104-7)	Cypriot and oriental productions
8. 11 <sup>th</sup>	Matthäus (2001: 153-214)	Cypriot context (LC IIIB, CG I and CG I/CG II).
9. 11 <sup>th</sup> – 10 <sup>th</sup> (1039-931)	Almagro Basch (1969: 275-287)	Gold and Silver Egyptian vessels. Tel Basta
10. $11^{\text{th}} - 10^{\text{th}}$	Torres Ortiz (2012: 456-57)	Best comparable-bowls are Cypriot
11. $11^{\text{th}} - 10^{\text{th}}$	Crielaard (1998: 192-193)	Cypriot funerary bowls (CG I and CGII)
12. $8^{th} - 7^{th}$	Almagro Basch (1967, 1969)	Egyptian
13. Later	Blázquez (1968)	
14. Later	Hawkes (1971: 38-50)	

Figure 3. Scholar estimates of antiquity of the bowl of Berzocana

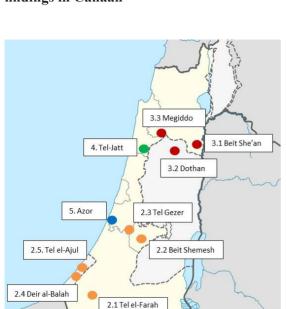
How could there be such a spread among experts in determining the antiquity of this particular object? Were the scholars referring to different events in the life of the bowl of Berzocana? They may have considered the below questions to help reach their conclusions:

- 1. When and where did the first designs of similar bowls appear in Canaanite territory?
- 2. When and where were similar Canaanite bowls manufactured?
- 3. When were similar Cypriot bowls manufactured?
- 4. When was this bowl manufactured?
- 5. When did Orientals decide to come to Extremadura?
- 6. When did this particular bowl arrive in Extremadura?
- 7. When was the bowl of Berzocana buried?

Over 300 years, the elite of Aegean descent in Canaan and Cyprus used this type of luxury item as a ceremonial and burial object. The design, dimensions, and geometric characteristics of this ceremonial object were copied by different groups in Philistine cities in Philistia and along the Via Maris, in the Denyen city of Azor, in the Tjeker region around the port of Dor, and in cities across Cyprus. Thirty-seven Berzocana-type bowls were identified from sixteen distinctive locations (Figure 4) (a) two bowls from an Egyptian necropolis corresponding to c. 1200 B.C.; (b) twenty-seven bowls from Canaanite territories controlled by the Sea Peoples (e.g. Philistines, Denyen or Tjeker) between 1200 B.C. - 1025 B.C.; and (c) eight bowls from Cyprus: two from the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C., five from the end of 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C., and one with unknown antiquity.

#	Location	Tomb#	Diame- ter (cm) / Height (cm)	Est. Antiquity (year or century B.C.)	<b>Reference - Present Location</b>
1	Tel el-Farah	914	N.A.	1290-1214	Starkey & Harding (1932: 22, lam. 48/37) – N.A.
2	Tel el-Farah	960	N.A.	1290-1156	Starkey & Harding (1932: 25- 26, lam. 55/320) – N.A.
3	Tel el-Farah	822	N.A.	c. 1200	Petrie (1930: 9-10, lam. 28/832) – N.A.
4	Tel el-Farah	615	N.A.	c. 1150	Petrie (1930: 10, lam. 28/615) – N.A.
5	Tel el-Farah	532	N.A.	1131-1112	Petrie (1930: 56, 30:112 7, lam. 21:93) – N.A.
6	Tel el-Farah	562	N.A.	after 1050	Petrie (1930: 7, lam. 21:97) – N.A.
7	Beit Shemesh	12	18.0 / 4.9	N.A.	Matthäus (2001: 175); Ger- shuni (1983 85:5, Pl.3:34) Dept. Ant. Museums, Jerusalem, Israel
8	Tel Gezer	N.A.	13.1 / 2.7	N.A.	Gershuni (1983: #39) London British Museum
9	Tel Gezer	N.A.	14.1 / 3.7	N.A.	Gershuni (1983: #41) London British Museum
10	Deir El Balah	114	15.2 / 3.7	N.A.	Dothan, T. (1979: Figs. 41, 42) – N.A. Gershuni (1985: Plate 6 #72) Jerusalem Israel Museum
11	Tel El Ajul	1074(?)	16.2 / 3.75	N.A.	Gershuni(1983:L.8,Plate6#74) Israel Dept. Antiquities, Jeru- salem
12	Beit She'an	7	13.6 / 2.9	12 <sup>th</sup> - 11 <sup>th</sup>	Oren (1973: 216, Fig. 41 item 38); Matthäus (2001) Gershuni (1983: 8, Plate 5 #69)
13	Dothan	I Level 3	16.6 / 3.8	N.A.	Gershuni (1983: Plate 3 #35) St. George Cathedral, Jeru- salem, Israel
14	Dothan	I Level 4 Locus 1739	16.1 / 3.5	N.A.	Gershuni (1983: Plate 4, #48) St. George Cathedral, Jeru- salem, Israel
15	Dothan	I Level 2	17.3 / 3.9	N.A.	Gershuni (1983: Plate 4, #49) South Hamilton, MA (U.S.A.)
16	Dothan	I Level 2	17.9 / 4.3	N.A.	Gershuni (1983: Plate 4, #51) St. George Cathedral, Jeru- salem, Israel
17	Dothan	I Level 4	13.5 / 2.9	N.A.	Gershuni (1983: Plate 5, #68) St. George Cathedral, Jeru- salem, Israel
18	Megiddo	912 B	14.2 / 4.4	Late bronze	Gershuni (1983: #33) Jerusalem, Israel Department of Antiquities

19	Megiddo	912 A1	15.2 / 3.3	N.A.	Gershuni (1983: #40) Chicago, Oriental Institute (U.S.A.)
20	Megiddo	Stratus VI Locus 1739	16.6 / 3.5	N.A.	Gershuni (1983: #46) Chicago Oriental Institute (U.S.A.)
21	Megiddo	Stratus VI Locus 1739	16.4 / 4.0	N.A.	Gershuni (1983: #47) Unknown
22	Tel Jatt	Hoard	15 / 3.6	11 <sup>th</sup>	Artzy (2006: 28-29, 56, Fig.2.1:6-10 J-39) Hecht Museum, Haifa, Israel
23	Tel Jatt	Hoard	Miss. / 3.2	11 <sup>th</sup>	Artzy (2006: 28-29, 56, Fig.2.1:6-10 J-70) Hecht Museum, Haifa, Israel
24	Tel Jatt	Hoard	15 / 3.8	11 <sup>th</sup>	Artzy (2006: 28-29, 56, Fig.2.1:6-10 J-38) Hecht Museum, Haifa, Israel
25	Tel Jatt	Hoard	15 / 3.5	11 <sup>th</sup>	Artzy (2006: 28-29, 56, Fig.2.1:6-10 J-36) Hecht Museum, Haifa, Israel
26	Tel Jatt	Hoard	16/3.0	11 <sup>th</sup>	Artzy (2006: 28-29, 56, Fig.2.1:6-10 J-37) Hecht Museum, Haifa, Israel
27	Tel Jatt	Hoard	16.5 / 4.4	11 <sup>th</sup>	Artzy (2006: 28-29, 56, Fig.2.1:6-10 J-35) Hecht Museum, Haifa, Israel
28	Tel Jatt	Hoard	18.8 / 3.5	11 <sup>th</sup>	Artzy (2006: 28-29, 56, Fig.2.1:6-10 J-41) Hecht Museum, Haifa, Israel
29	Azor	67D	16.5 / 4.1	12 <sup>th</sup> - 11 <sup>th</sup>	Dothan, M. (1989: 169)
30	KitionCyprus	Tomb 9	N.A.	Beginning 12 <sup>th</sup>	Matthäus (2001: 175)
31	Hala Sultan Cyprus	Tomb 23	N.A.	1175	Mederos (1996: 105); Oren (2000: 265)
32	Gastria-Alaas- Cyprus	Tomb 6 or 8	N.A.	1050 - 950	Matthäus (1985: 115-118)
33	Kouklia-Skales Cyprus	Tomb 49	N.A.	N.A.	Matthäus (2001: 175); Kara- georghis (1983)
34	Kouklia-Skales Cyprus	Tomb 49	N.A.	N.A.	Matthäus (2001: 175); Kara- georghis (1983)
35	Amathus Cyprus	Tomb 22	N.A.	1050 - 950	Schauer (1983: 179,182); Niemeyer (1984: 8-9); Alvar (1988: 434); Burgess (1991: 26); Mederos (1996: 105); Mat- thäus (2001: 175)
36	Lapithos Cyprus	Tomb 409	N.A.	950 - 850	Schauer (1983: 179,182); Niemeyer (1984: 8-9); Alvar (1988: 434); Burgess (1991: 26); Mederos (1996: 105); Mat- thäus (2001)
37	Cyprus	Unknown	N.A.	N.A.	Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y.



# 2. Comparable bowls: Archeological findings in Canaan

Figure 5. Locations in Canaan where comparable bowls were found

### 2.1 Tel el-Farah South

# **2.1.1 Egyptian cemetery (13th century B.C.)**

Tel el-Farah, also known as Beth Pelet, (Starkey and Harding, 1932) is located in the Negev-desert (Figure 5). Two comparable bowls were found in Egyptian tombs dating back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Figure 4).

### 2.1.2 Philistine Domain: Philistia (12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. - 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C.)

After the invasion and destruction of the Egyptian and other Canaanite villages in southern Canaan, the Philistines settled in a region called Philistia. In the same city of Tel el-Farah South (Figure 5) where Starkey and Harding would discover comparable bowls in Egyptian tombs, Sir W. F. Petrie unearthed four bowls in Philistine tombs, one of which was found in Tomb 615 (Figure 6).

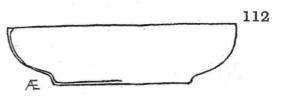


Figure 6. Comparable bowl, Tel el-Farah (Petrie 1930: #112)

#### 2.2 Beit Shemesh

Beit Shemesh (or Beth-Shemesh) is a city located approximately 19 miles west of Jerusalem (Figure 5). The ancient city of Beit Shemesh ("house of the sun" or "temple of the sun" in Hebrew) was originally named after the worshipped Canaanite sun-goddess Shemesh (or Shamash). The ruins of the ancient Biblical city can still be seen at Tel Bet-Shemesh, a mound covering about seven acres of a low hill, located near the current modern city. Identification of the mound is based on the Old Testament's geographical description as well as the Onomasticon of Eusebius of Caesarea. The Onomasticon is a directory of place-names, a primary source that provided historical geographers with knowledge of 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Palestine and Transjordan. Shamash is mentioned several times in the 14<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Amarna letters, and Beit Shemesh is first mentioned as a city on the northern border between the tribe of Judah and the tribe of Dan (Joshua 15:10).

Excavations down to the Beit Shemesh bedrock at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the 1930's exposed large parts of the tel. Remains of several successive cities from the Bronze and Iron ages were uncovered (Bunimovitz and Lederman, 1997). Renewed excavations in 1990 shed more light on the history of ancient Beit Shemesh (Bunimovitz and Lederman, 2000). Archeologists concentrated their efforts on the northern and southern sides of the tel. In the very first season, the remains of several impressive Iron Age buildings were uncovered, indicating the importance of this city. Beit Shemesh's unique standing was due to its strategic location along the Diagonal Route, or the major artery through the Shephelah (lowland) and major cities such as Azekah, Moresheth Gath, Mareshah/ Beth Guvrin and Lachish. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C., Beit Shemesh was destroyed and its houses were buried under a thick layer of ash and bricks (2 Chronicles 28:18).

Other references to Beit Shemesh include when the Philistines captured the Ark of the Covenant in the battle of Ebenezer, and they placed it on a cattle-drawn cart in the Philistine town of Ekron and sent it via Nahal Sorek to Beit Shemesh (1 Samuel 6:12-13); when Samson killed the lion (Judges 14:5-6); and again, when Samson tied torches to the tails of three-hundred foxes (Judges 15:4).

In the 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C. during the reign of King Solomon, Beit Shemesh was rebuilt and served as a regional administrative center for the Israelite Kingdom. The remains show evidence of considerable planning and financial investment in buildings. The city was surrounded by massive fortifications and its water supply was guaranteed by a subterranean reservoir. Details of the comparable bowl are shown in Figure 4 and Figure 7.

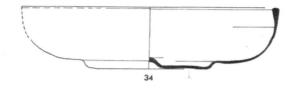


Figure 7. Comparable bowl, Beit Shemesh (Gershuni, 1985: Plate 3 #34)

## 2.3 Tel Gezer

Tel Gezer is located on the northern fringe of the Shephelah region, approximately 19 miles northwest of Jerusalem (Figure 5). The Shephelah is a transitional region of soft-sloping hills in south-central Israel stretching over 6-9 miles between the Judean Mountains and the Coastal Plain. Gezer was strategically positioned at the junction of the Via Maris and the highway through the valley of Ayalon to Jerusalem.

Gezer is mentioned in the Bible at the time of Joshua (Joshua 10:33). In the Late Bronze Age (second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C.) a new fortification wall, four meters thick, was erected there. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century B.C., a palace was constructed on the high western part of the mound. Towards the end of the Bronze Age, the city declined and its population shrunk. Gezer is mentioned in the victory stele of Egyptian Pharaoh Merneptah, dating to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C. A large building with many rooms and courtyards belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> -11<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. was found on the acropolis. Grinding stones and grains of wheat found among the sherds indicate that it was a granary. Local and Philistine vessels attest to a mixed Canaanite/Philistine population. At the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C., Gezer was sacked by an Egyptian pharaoh (probably Netjerikheperre Setpenamun Siamun Meryamun [r. 986-967 B.C.] and better known as Siamun) and the city was given as a gift to King Solomon's wife, the pharaoh's daughter (1 Kings 9:16; Macalister, 1912; King, 2001).

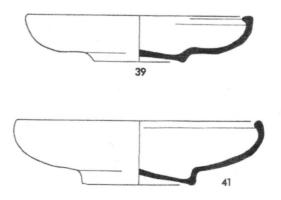


Figure 8. Comparable bowls, Tel Gezer (Gershuni 1985: Plate 3 #39, #41)

Archaeologists working at the 33-acre mound of Tel Gezer identified 26 strata covering from the Late Chalcolithic to the Roman periods. Stewart Macalister (1912) first excavated Tel Gezer from 1902–1909 in one of the earliest large-scale scientific archaeological projects. He identified what he believed to be a Middle Bronze Age Canaanite "high place" dedicated to child sacrifice. Due to Macalister's unsophisticated excavation techniques and insufficient record-keeping, archeologists W. Dever (2014: 20), G. Wright, and J. Seger decided to conduct an additional excavation from 1964 to1974. Macalister's "high place" was located again and re-excavated in 1968. William G. Dever published the final report of the Tel Gezer "high place" excavations in 2014. Details of the Berzocana-type bowls are shown in Figure 8.

### 2.4 Deir al-Balah

Deir al- Balah is located 9 miles south of present-day Gaza (Figure 5). In the Late Bronze Age during Pharaoh Ramesses II's reign, it served as one the six Egyptian fortified outposts placed across the Horus Way, the military road to Canaan (Bunson 2002: 97).

Deir al-Balah remained in Egyptian hands until the Philistines conquered the southern coastal area of Canaan. Between 1972 and 1982, T. Dothan (1979: 10) headed archaeological excavations corresponding to the Egyptian-period. The Philistine settlement is thought to have been situated southwest of the excavation site; its remains are still hidden under large sand dunes. Five pits dug into the Late Bronze Age layers containing Philistine pottery are among the few findings from that period. The recovered objects, including a Berzocana-type bowl, were placed in the Israel Museum of Jerusalem and the Hecht Museum in Haifa, Israel (Figure 4).

#### 2.5 Tel Ajul (Tel el-Ajul)

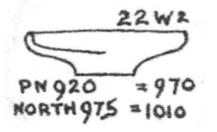


Figure 9. Comparable bowl, Tel-Ajul (Petrie 1933)

Tel el-Ajul is an archeological mound located at the mouth of Wadi Gazah, south of present-day Gaza (Figure 5). In 1930-1934, this site was excavated by British archaeologists under the direction of Sir Flinders Petrie (1933) who published his finding of a Berzocana-type bowl (Figure 9). In 1999 and 2000, the excavations were renewed by P. Fischer.

## 3. Via Maris

Around 1150 B.C., the Philistines developed a strong economy based on agricultural products such as wine and oil. Recognizing the economic value of the Via Maris between Canaan and Damascus, the Philistines attacked Egyptian positions and major cities along the way and destroyed Beit Shemesh, Beit She'an and Megiddo. They utterly defeated the Egyptian forces along that critical highway garrisons and there were no more Egyptians in Canaan since then until the 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Dothan T.; Dothan, M., 2002: 133-134). The Philistines used the same strategy as the one used in Philistia: destroy, burn and re-build. Therefore, it is not surprising to find Berzocana-type bowls after 1150 B.C. in Via Maris cities.

#### 3.1 Beit She'an

Beth She'an is mentioned in the Old Testament books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles (Rowe 1930). As a result of its privileged geographical location at the junction of northern Canaan's Jordan River Valley and Jezreel Valley (Figure 5), Beit She'an played a major role in ancient times. As recorded in an inscription at Karnak, the Egyptians under Pharaoh Thutmose III conquered Beit She'an in the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Because of its unique location, the Egyptians made this town the center of their regional administration (Mazar, A. 2010: 239).

During the three hundred years of Egyptian rule ( $18^{th}$  Dynasty –  $20^{th}$  Dynasty) in Canaan, the population of Beit She'an appears to have been primarily administrative officials and military personnel. The city included a small palace for the regional Egyptian governor. The invasions of the Sea Peoples disturbed Egypt's domination over the East Mediterranean and around 1150 B.C. the city was destroyed by fire and was occupied by Philistine forces. The Egyptians did not reclaim it and lost control of the whole region.

Following their success, the Philistines used Beit She'an as a base for their own military operations and for more than a century they conducted continuous infiltrations into Israelite territories. Around 1013 B.C., during a subsequent battle at nearby Mount Gilboa, the Philistines prevailed against and hung the Israelite King Saul from the walls of Beit She'an (1 Samuel 31:10).

Portions of these same walls were excavated in Tel Beit She'an (O'Connor 2008: 218-222). During the 1920's and 1930's, the site was dug and studied by several teams sent by the University of Pennsylvania (USA). A Berzocana-type bowl was found in the northern cemetery and its details were published by Oren (1973). Additional archeological work by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was conducted between 1989 and 1996; it confirmed the existence of a city that was built after the Egyptians withdrew from Canaan in the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

The dimensions and relevant detail regarding Beit She'an's bowl were made available by Gershuni (1985) and Matthäus (2001, Table 9). According to T. Dothan (1982), this bowl (Figure 10) belongs to the period 12<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. while Oren (1973) dated it to the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Figure 4), several decades after the city's original conquest by the Philistines.

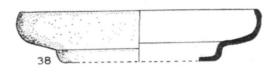


Figure 10. Comparable bowl, Beit She'an (Oren 1973: #38, Fig. 41)

### 3.2 Dothan

Dothan was another Biblical city (Genesis 37:17). It is located south-east of Megiddo and south-west of Beit She'an (Figure 5),

north of Schechem and about 63 miles north of Hebron in present-day Israel. Excavation-findings conducted by Dr. R. E. Cooley in tomb #1 were published by Gershuni (Figures 4 and 11).



Figure 11. Comparable bowls, Dothan (Gershuni 1985: Plate 3 #35, #48)

#### 3.3 Megiddo

Megiddo is first mentioned in the Bible in Joshua 12:21. It is known for its historical, geographical, and theological importance, especially under its Greek name: Armageddon. It is considered one of the most important cities in Biblical times. Located on a hill overlooking the fertile Jezreel Valley, it is located approximately 22 miles southeast of the city of Haifa (Figure 5). Megiddo was of great strategic importance since it was part of the coastal plain's international highway (Via Maris) which linked Egypt to Damascus and Mesopotamia. The first written reference to Megiddo includes a detailed account of Egyptian Pharaoh Thutmose III's (r. 1479–1425 B.C.) invasion of the city in 1479 B.C. The city was previously inhabited by Canaanites, and then taken over by Egyptians. It was destroyed by the Philistines around the time of Ramesses VI's death (c. 1137 B.C.) (Aharoni 1967: 228). During the Iron Age, after the Israelites defeated the Philistines, it became one of the royal cities of the Kingdom of Israel.

Archeological excavations have unearthed twenty-six layers of ruins, indicating a long period of settlements. The site was first excavated by G. Schumacher in 1903-1905, and by the Chicago Oriental Institute in 1925-1939 (Lamon and Shipton, 1939; Loud, 1948). Y. Yadin resumed work in 1960. Tel-Aviv University continued the effort in 1992, 1994 (Ussishkin 1995: 240-267) and biannual expeditions have continued since. The findings corroborate written evidence concerning the importance of Megiddo, first as a royal Canaanite city, then as an Egyptian stronghold and administrative center, later as a Philistine city and finally as a royal Israelite city.

Four Berzocana-type bowls were excavated from several tombs and have been included in the present investigation (Figure 5). Two of them are shown in Figure 12.

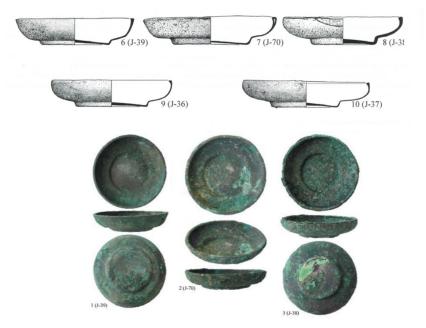


Figure 12. Comparable bowls, Megiddo (Gershuni 1985: #44, #46).

#### 4. Tel Jatt

After the Sea Peoples invaded Canaan, the Tjeker made Dor their main port-city. Tel Jatt (Figure 5) was located not far from Dor, northeast of current Hadera and southwest of Umm-al-Fahm. The site was associated with Ginti-Karmil (Alt 1925: 48 n.3). Ginti-Karmil was also identified in the Amarna Letters EA-264-266 (Goren et al. 2004: 257). A hoard found in Tel Jatt in 1990 included several bronze bowls almost identical to the one found in Berzocana. The cave in which the hoard was found was most likely a burial cave. Based on the typological analysis of ceramic objects present at the same location, it was dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Artzy 2006: 28-30 fig. 2.1:6-11 y 2.2:1-2, 55-46, pls. II-III).

The comparable bronze bowls related to this study include five "Curved bowls": J39, J70, J38, J36 and J37 (Figure 13) (Artzy 2006: 28) and two additional "Curved bowls with discoid base and curved rim." After being associated with other bronze objects and ceramic pieces, Artzy (2006: 29) dated these bowls to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The findings in Tel-Jatt are very similar to those excavated in nearby Tel Zeror, 5 miles from the coast. Tel-Zeror included an industrial copper-working facility with smelting furnaces, crucibles, and large amounts of copper slag, as well as ceramics probably from Cyprus, the same source as the copper itself (Kochavi, 1968).



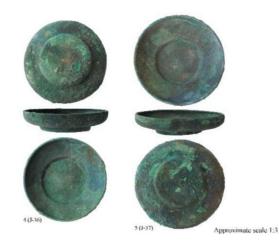


Figure 13. Comparable bowls, Tel Jatt (Artzy 2006: J39, J70, J38, J36 and J37)

Figure 14 shows a one-handled bowl that was found in Tel Jatt which was in Tjeker territory. This hints that perhaps the bowl of Berzocana was also manufactured with only one handle.



Figure 14. One-handled bowl, Tel Jatt (Artzy 2006: 30, J65)

## 5. Azor

The city of Azor, well-known by its many archeological discoveries, is located 4 miles from the Biblical port of Jaffa (Figure 5).

Some findings were the result of carefully planned excavations and others resulted by accident during real-estate development projects. Discoveries extend from the Chalcolithic age to the period of the Crusaders. One of the sites found in this area belongs to the period of the Bronze Age Canaanites.

Azor was recorded in the *Septuagint* (a Koine Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible) as the city of Nachalat-Dan, which indicates

that the Israelite tribe of Dan occupied that region. It is also mentioned in an Assyrian inscription about its conquest by Sennacherib (Aharoni 1967: 49).

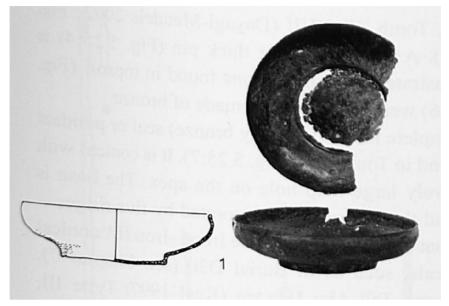


Figure 15. Comparable bowl, Azor (Ben Shlomo 2012: 157, 159)

In 1959, a necropolis dating back to the Israelite period was identified (M. Dothan 1989: 164-174), and in 1960 a cremation-type tomb was discovered and labeled "D63." It contained, among other items, a bronze bowl. This particular bowl, labeled "D63/7", had a slightly inverted rim, rounded body, flat and graded interior and a delicate ring base (Figure 15). This bowl's shape is very similar to the bowl found in Berzocana.

The tomb showed signs of fire and, according to M. Dothan (1989), it probably dates to the Israelite Iron Age ( $12^{th} - 11^{th}$  centuries B.C.) Although neither Egyptians nor Israelites crema-

ted their dead, some Aegeans did. Furthermore, this area was settled by the Denyen group of Sea Peoples who probably intermixed with the local Israelite tribe of Dan. So, this cremation-tomb in Azor probably belonged to the Denyen.

### 6. Cyprus

Several Berzocana-type bowls were found in Cyprus. The table below (Figure 16) lists terms to identify archaeological periods for Canaan and Cyprus (Artzy 2006:54).

Approximate Dates	Terminology	Terminology
<u>(B.C.)</u>	for Canaan	for Cyprus
1300-1200/1190	Late Bronze IIB	LCIIC
1200-1190/1130	Iron IA	LCIIIA
1130-1090	Iron IB	LCIIIB
1090-1050	Iron IB	CGIA
1050-1000	Iron IB	CGIA mid
1000-950		CGIA final

Figure 16. Period terminology in Canaan and Cyprus

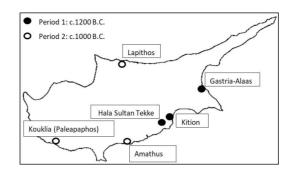


Figure 17. Locations in Cyprus where comparable bowls were found

Eight comparable bowls were provenanced to Cyprus. The findings correlate well with two very distinctive periods (Figure 17). The first period corresponds to the turn of the  $13^{th}/12^{th}$ centuries B.C., consistent with the Sea Peoples' invasion of the island. The second period corresponds to 1025 - 950 B.C. and follows the destruction of several Sea Peoples' cities in Canaan (e.g. Dor, Zeror, Akko, Keisan, Achziv and others). This includes the expulsion of the Tjeker from the northern region; as well as the defeat of the Philistines and their confinement to their original Pentapolis in Philistia (i.e. Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Gaza and Gath).

#### 6.1 First Period (c. 1200 B.C.)

Three comparable bowls from the first period were unearthed in Cyprus in nearby cemeteries. The first was found in Kition (Larnaca) on the south-east side of the island and the second in Hala Sultan Tekke, only 5 miles further southwest. This corresponds to the time when this region was controlled by the Sea Peoples.

1. Kition

Location: the city-kingdom lies beneath modern-day Larnaca (Figure 17). Tomb: 9 Period: LCIIC – LC IIIA (13<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries

B.C.) (2001 + 12)

Reference: Matthäus (2001: 175)

### 2. Hala Sultan Tekke

Location: near Larnaca (Figure 17).

During the second half of the second millennium B.C, the area of the Hala Sultan Tekke was used as a cemetery by the people who lived in Dromolaxia Viztazia, a large town a few hundred yards to the west. A part of this town was excavated in 1970 by a Swedish archaeological mission. The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition has been carried out by Professor Peter M. Fischer from the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, year after year since 2010.

Niklasson (1987: 224) excavated a particular tomb and advocated that the burial took place immediately or shortly after some of the buildings in this settlement collapsed. This destruction seems to have coincided with a series of devastations inflicted by the Sea Peoples to coastal Cypriot sites and confirmed at other Late Cypriote IIIA sites.

The graves at Hala Sultan Tekke are believed to be of the Aegean type since the buried bodies were cremated.

Tomb: 23 (?)

Period: Late Cypriote III A1 (Mederos Martín 1996:105); Transition between LCIIIA1 and LCIIIA2 c.1175 (Oren 2000: 265)

References: Schauer (1983:179,182); Mederos Martín (1996:105); Oren (2000: 265)

#### 3. Gastria Alaas

Location: in the region of Famagusta on the Karpas Peninsula at the very north-east side of the island (Figure 17); it is about 168 nautical miles north-west of Akko (Acre) and Dor in Canaan.

Tomb: 6/8

Period: LCIII B, first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (1100-1050 B.C.) (Matthäus 2001); Proto-geometric (Mederos Martín 1996: 105); 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Zorea)

References: Schauer (1983: 179,182); Matthäus (1985: 115-118)/ Matthäus (1985, n. 332, Taf. 19); Mederos Martín (1996: 105).

#### 6.2 Second Period (c. 1000 B.C.)

Four comparable bowls from the second period were discovered in four other island sites.

4. Kouklia Palaepaphos-Skales

Location: southwest of the island (Figure 17).

Tomb: 49 (it included numerous round and hemispherical bowls)

Period: CGI (1050 – 950 B.C.). Matthäus (2001: 175)

References: Karageorghis (1983: 57-76, figs. LXXIII-XC); Matthäus (2001: 175)

5. Kouklia Palaepaphos-Skales Location: southwest of the island (Figure 17).

Tomb: 79

Period: CGI (1050 – 950 B.C.) (Matthäus 2001: 175)

References: Karageorghis (1983: 241-250, figs. CXLIX-CLI and CLVI); Matthäus (2001: 175)

6. Amathus

Location: in the south-central portion of the island on the Mediterranean (Figure 17).

Tomb: 22

Period: CGI (1050 – 950 B.C.) (Matthäus 2001: 175)

References: Schauer (1983: 179,182); Niemeyer (1984: 8-9); Alvar (1988: 434); Burgess (1991: 26); Mederos Martín (1996: 105); Matthäus (2001: 175)

7. Lapithos-Kastros

Location: on the north-central coast of the island (Figure 17)

Tomb: 409

Period: CG-I-II (1050- 900 B.C), Matthäus (2001: 175); Geometric I (1050-950), Mederos Martín (1996: 105)

References: Schauer (1983: 179,182); Gehring and Niemeyer (1984: 8-9); Alvar (1988: 434); Burgess (1991: 26); Matthäus (2001); Mederos Martín (1996: 105).

# 6.3 Unknown period

One of the best typological parallel to the bowl of Berzocana is included in the Cesnola Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of New York. The Cesnola Collection was the earliest acquisition of Mediterranean antiquities by the Museum and constituted its primary display of archaeological material (Myers, 1914).

8. Unknown Location: Cyprus Tomb: Unknown Period: Unknown References: Richter (1915: 215 no 587); Matthäus (1985: 115 no 336 pl. 336); Matthäus (2000: 64, fig. 11, 2).

# 7. Archeological comparable findings, their origin and antiquity

The period that followed the crisis of 1200 B.C. in the Central Mediterranean included massive social change, with numerous waves of migration to both the East Mediterranean (Canaan and Cyprus) and to the West Mediterranean. Sea Peoples immigrating to Canaan brought with them the know-how to mass-produce wheel-made pottery as well as advanced metallurgical skills and technology.

Dating bronze pieces is difficult because of the considerable time that could elapse between a bowl's manufacturing and its placement in a burial site. The suggested dates below relate to six specific and distinctive regions and periods corresponding to Berzocana-type bowl finds:

- a) Eleven Berzocana-type bowls found in southern Canaan (i.e. Tel el-Farah, Tel Ajul, Deir al-Balah, Tel Gezer and Beit Shemesh) are assumed to belong to the Philistines. They correspond to the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C. until possibly the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Two of these bowls were found in an Egyptian cemetery (Starkey and Harding, 1932) dated to a time when Crete and Egypt had close ties and preceding both the Philistine-invasion in Philistia as well as the Battle of the Delta.
- b) The Denyen of Azor and its surroundings, during the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C., conquered land from the Israelite tribe of Dan, intermixed with them and together headed north to settle in Laish/ Tel-Dan (Yadin 1963). One comparable bowl was found in Azor.
- c) During the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C., c. 1150–1137 B.C. when Ramesses VI died [also estimated at 1133 B.C. according to the chronology of Wente and Van Siclen (1976: 217-261)], the Egyptian garrisons along the Via Maris were conquered, destroyed and occupied by the Philistines. Ten other comparable bowls were found in Philistine cities and villages located along the Via Maris. A

century later, in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the Philistines were defeated and removed by the Israelites.

- d) The Tjeker controlled the port of Dor starting around the Battle of the Delta in 1175 B.C. and ending at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Garbini 1997: 61 and ss.) when the city-port was destroyed. Tel-Jatt is around 20 miles from Dor. It may likely have been populated by the Tjeker. Seven comparable bowls were found in Tel-Jatt.
- e) The Sea Peoples attacked and invaded Cyprus around 1200 B.C. Three comparable bowls were unearthed in the southeast part of the island.
- f) Following the Sea Peoples' defeats in Canaan at the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Katzenstein 1973), the Tjeker elites were forced to retreat to Cyprus in search of refuge. Another four bowls were unearthed in western Cyprus and can be attributed only to the Tjeker.

In total, thirty-seven comparable-bowls corresponded to an estimated time-period of about 250 years. While this is still not enough to precisely date the bowl of Berzocana, it does narrow-down its possible antiquity and it is possible to learn more about its potential origin.

Several of the authors and scholars who analyzed the bowl of Berzocana estimated its antiquity, but without enough specificity regarding how they reached their conclusions or which historic events were linked to their proposed dates. Were these scholars trying to suggest a certain date corresponding to the design and manufacturing of this bowl? Or did they have in mind when the bowl was buried? Could they be referring to when the bowl of Berzocana showed up in Extremadura? Or maybe to the point in time when the bowl was hidden in the ground?

## 8. Assumptions and Hypotheses

Based on archeological and historical evidence, several hypotheses were formulated to logically explain the meaning of these findings.

# 8.1 Sea Peoples' motivation to reach the Iberian Peninsula

Archeological findings indicate that several of the Sea Peoples groups that settled in Canaan had mastered how to develop and manufacture bronze-work for weaponry, religious artifacts and vessels for daily use. They needed a lot of bronze, an alloy of copper and tin.

Copper was attainable either from Cyprus or from the Feynan mines (which had the largest copper deposits in Southern Levant, east of the Jordan River by the Dead Sea); and according to Rodriguez y Enriquez (2001: 101-107), it is very reasonable to presume that the Sea Peoples looked for tin in the Iberian Peninsula. This is how some of the Eastern Sea Peoples participated in the final Bronze Age's pre-colonization of the Iberian Peninsula, by sourcing tin from Extremadura as well as from Beiras, Portugal.

When something became of critical importance to the Sea Peoples, they took it by force, be it in the East Mediterranean or in the Peninsula. The next main steps for the Sea Peoples in the Peninsula were to identify and map tin-mine locations, to allot the mine-regions among themselves, and to prevent third-party access. As such, they needed to secure and protect the access roads, and to properly establish and defend their transportation routes.

Ultimately, regional military and economic needs meant that bronze would be produced in the Peninsula, Canaan, Cyprus and other Mediterranean islands. With the metallurgic network in place across the Mediterranean, other products would flow from one extreme of the Mediterranean to the other.

# 8.2 Who could have manufactured the bowl of Berzocana?

After the Philistines reclaimed the entire territory of Philistia from Egypt, they and the other Sea Peoples engaged Egypt in the Battle of the Delta in 1175 B.C. It was their last failed attempt to conquer the heart of Egypt. Subsequently, some of them moved back to their existing bases in Canaan. The Philistines occupied Philistia in the south; the Tjeker dominated the port of Dor and its surrounding regions, including the northern coast towards neighboring Tyre); and the Sherden occupied limited central territories (Dothan, T., 1982b). Egypt held on to its garrisons and other interests in Canaan along the Via Maris (e.g. Dothan, Beit She'an and Megiddo) to preserve its economic ties with the eastern branch of the Fertile Crescent (i.e. Damascus and Mesopotamia).

The Philistines developed a new strategic agenda to further expand their territory in Canaan at the expense of the other two regional players: the Egyptians and the Israelites. After securing certain maritime routes, the Philistines were interested in the commercial land route that linked their Pentapolis (i.e. Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron and Gath) with the far-north (Damascus). Achieving this objective required full control of the Via Maris. After the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the Philistines did just that (Dothan T.; Dothan, M., 2002: 133-134). They took over Azor, previously inhabited by the Israelite tribe of Dan. They forcefully took over Egyptian strongholds, including Beit Shemesh, Beit-She'an and Megiddo. They destroyed and burned these cities and patiently reconstructed them, similar to what they did when they first landed in Philistia.

Based on the numerous archeological findings, the Sea Peoples of Aegean origin (i.e. Philistines, Tjeker, Denyen) had the technical expertise and know-how to manufacture the Berzocana-type bowl. While it is possible that the Sherden also had those capabilities, there is no archeological proof (including the El-Ahwat excavations [Zertal, 2011]) that they utilized, let alone manufactured, this specific type of bowl.

The findings show very clearly that the cultures of the Sea Peoples of Aegean origin that reached Canaan maintained initially their original culture and religious beliefs. But as time went on, these cultures became regional and diverged rather dramatically from each other. Towards the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C., they were quite different. For example, Tjeker eating habits in Dor seemed different from those of the Philistine cities. While the Tjeker consumed large volumes of fish (both sea and fresh water) and other sea-food, the Philistines consumed domesticated pigs (Sharon and Gilboa 2013: 458-459).

However, there is no significant evidence that pigs were a prime food-source in the Peninsula. In this regard, it is unlikely that the Philistines had a presence in the Peninsula. Something else that helps to eliminate consideration of Philistine-presence in the Peninsula relates to the changes that took place in Philistia regarding their basic religious beliefs. At the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the Philistines switched from adoring a female Aegean pantheon ("Mother Goddess") to adopting a male Canaanite pantheon (Dagon, Baal- Zebub and others) (Dothan 1982b). There is no evidence in the Iberian Peninsula that indicates the worshiping of male gods in the 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C. In addition, while Cyprus exported numerous bronze objects to multiple Mediterranean locations, there is no evidence that the Philistines participated in the Cyprus conquest or were present in Cyprus during this period. For those reasons, it is unlikely that the Philistines brought this particular bowl to the Peninsula.

The warrior steles discovered in Extremadura and Portugal included two distinctive types: those that depicted warriors with horned helmets and circular shields (signature characteristic of the Nuragic/Sherden) (Bendala 1997) and those that depicted warriors without helmets. If the Denyen (that migrated to north Canaan) and the Philistines (that did not leave any footsteps in Cyprus or the Iberian Peninsula) are excluded as possible visitors to the Peninsula, the likelihood of interaction between Canaan and Cyprus with Extremadura and Beiras are limited to only one remaining Aegean Sea Peoples group: the Tjeker. Many of the motifs depicted on these warrior steles are linked to Aegean (or Cypriot) objects. The Bowl of Berzocana in Extremadura is an Aegean-type object. Therefore, it is possible that it was manufactured and transported to the Peninsula by the Tjeker.

# **8.3** From which port in the East Mediterranean could the bowl have been shipped?

Determining from which port of Canaan or Cyprus the bowl of Berzocana departed might require an educated guess. But after eliminating the Denyen, the Philistines and the Sherden as possible candidates, the group most likely to have been responsible for transporting the bowl of Berzocana is the Tjeker.

The Tjeker had several metallurgic workshops in Canaan and Cyprus. Tel Zeror, for example, falls within Tjeker territory and is located between Jatt (the site of several Tjeker burial tombs and Berzocana-type bowls) and Dor (the port and capital of the Tjeker territory in Canaan). According to metallurgic studies, Tel Zeror used copper from the famous Feynan mines. This reinforces the finding of a considerable bronze workshop in Tel Zeror and the theory that Tel Zeror was another Tjeker center for metallurgic production.

The Tjeker, and every bronze producer in the region, faced a major challenge in accessing tin, the crucial component to produce the many bronze objects. After their expulsion from Canaan at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the Tjeker operated metallurgic workshops in Cyprus as demonstrated by the Berzocana-type bowls found in several Cypriot burials tomb sites. The bowl of Berzocana could have departed either from Dor or from any of the coastal Cypriot ports where Berzocana-type bowls were found (e.g. Gastria Alaas, Kouklia Palaepaphos-Skales, Amathus and Lapithos Kastros). Based only on the archeological knowledge available today, the most probable of the Cypriot ports was Amathus because its unearthed tombs in the local necropolis included a Berzocana-type bowl, as well as a spit and an elbow fibula from the Iberian Peninsula.

## 8.4 Routes to reach the tin mines in Extremadura

The Tjeker could have traversed the Mediterranean from Canaan via Cyprus, Crete, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, and ultimately to the Iberian Peninsula. Once there, they may have reached the Extremadura-Beiras region from the south through the Guadiana River. Alternatively, they could have come through the western coast and the Tagus River (Tajo) (Torres Ortiz, 2012) or the Mondego River, both linked with the region of the Portuguese Beiras.

# 8.5 When did the bowl of Berzocana appear in Extremadura?

The Tjeker had contact with the Peninsula for an extended period of time after settling in Canaan and Cyprus. The bowl of Berzocana is of Oriental origin and it is impossible to exactly determine when it first appeared in the Peninsula.

The Tel-Jatt bowls, dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C., are probably the most comparable to the one found in Berzocana. It is also known that the Tjeker were defeated and expelled from Canaan around the turn of the 11<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.

# 8.6 When were the bowl and the torques buried and by whom?

Because the bowl and the three gold torques were not found as a result of a controlled archeological excavation, it is impossible to establish when they were buried or by whom. However, it can be concluded from the measurements of the bowl and the torques that the bowl was utilized for the last time as the carrying container for the three gold torques.

#### 9. Conclusions

While some authors have claimed the bowl of Berzocana was Phoenician, the archaeological, historical, and Biblical evidence presented in this research indicate otherwise. Four groups belonging to the so-called Sea Peoples (i.e. Philistines, Denyen, Tjeker and Sherden) landed and settled in Canaan and Cyprus during and between the  $12^{th} - 10^{th}$  centuries B.C. Archeological findings in Canaan and Cyprus confirm that Berzocana-type bowls were used in burial ceremonies by groups of Aegean origin.

Since the Sherden were non-Aegean, it is unlikely they were involved in manufacturing such bowls. The Denyen, who were squeezedout geographically shortly after landing in Canaan by both the Philistines and the Tjeker, moved away from the shores of Canaan far to the northern inland; losing their direct access to the sea, they were unlikely exporters of such bowls. Also, there is no evidence that the Philistines had a presence in Cyprus or in the Iberian Peninsula; therefore, it is unlikely they carried such a bowl across the Mediterranean.

However, the Tjeker were the only ones manufacturing this type of bowl in Cyprus. They also manufactured Berzocana-type bowls in northern Canaan. Furthermore, the presence of two holes (on one side only) in the bowl of Berzocana indicate that this particular bowl could have been originally designed and built with only one handle, making it an excellent match to the single-handled bowl found in Jatt, a site in Canaan likely under Tjeker control. By process of elimination, this leaves the Tjeker as the likely manufacturers and transporters of the bowl of Berzocana.

The use of steles in the Peninsula in which depictions of warriors with horned helmets appeared, are consistent with a Sardinian migration path that included Corsica and the Balearic Islands. It supports the theory that there was a Sardinian presence in the Peninsula. The depictions engraved in most steles clearly indicate local familiarity with Aegean-Cypriot objects, implying also the likelihood of a Tjeker presence in the region. The evidence left in Extremadura and Beiras regarding the link between Nuragic-Sardinians (Sherden) and the Aegean culture are reflected in the warrior-steles (Araque R., 2012).

In summary, the Iberian Peninsula pieces found in Cyprus (e.g. the elbow fibula and the articulated spit of Amathus [Carrasco Rus J. et al., 2012:328]), the findings in Achziv, Canaan (Mazar E. 2001, 2004), as well as those pieces found in the Peninsula (e.g. the warrior steles and the bowl of Berzocana, Cáceres), confirm the close relationship between east and west. The bowl of Berzocana was not the only oriental object found in the Peninsula. The Bowl of Nora Velha (Beja, Alentejo, Portugal) and the wheel-support found in Nossa Senhora da Guia (Baioes, Portugal) (Armada 2011), although corresponding to a slightly later chronology, reconfirm the connectivity between the Tjeker residing in Cyprus and their counterparts in Extremadura and Beiras.

It is hard to believe that a broken bronze bowl, 16.5 cm wide and about 3.6 cm tall, is able to tell so much about the history of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C., from the Iberian Peninsula to the East Mediterranean.

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