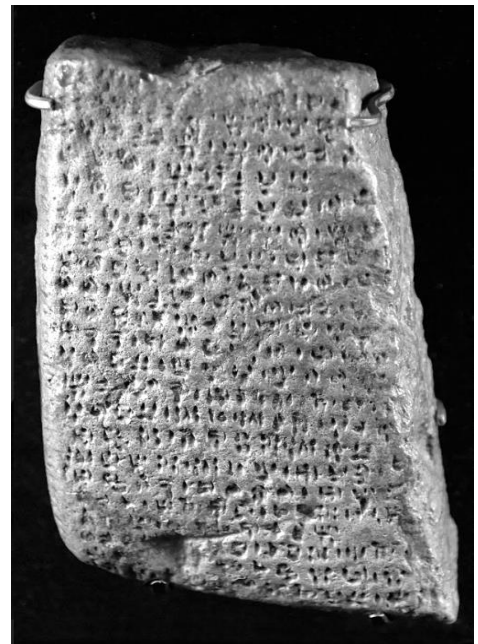


Finding the 'King' of Alashiya

The Political Organization of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age
(ca. 1600–1100 B.C.)



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*To my beloved mom,
who I love and cherish*

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The island of Cyprus is the third largest island of the eastern part of the Mediterranean. Due to its advantageous and central position, and its natural resources, the island was of strategic importance throughout antiquity. The main produce of the island was timber from the heavily wooded forests and copper from the mineral wealth at the foothills of the Mountain range of Troodos. During antiquity, the island formed part of the developed trading network of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600–1100 BC). The ancient name of Cyprus *Alashiya* is mentioned in various texts from Egypt, Hatti and Ugarit. The identification of ancient *Alashiya* as the modern Cyprus is confirmed by the petrographic analysis of tablets originating from the island and found at Amarna, Egypt and Ugarit¹.

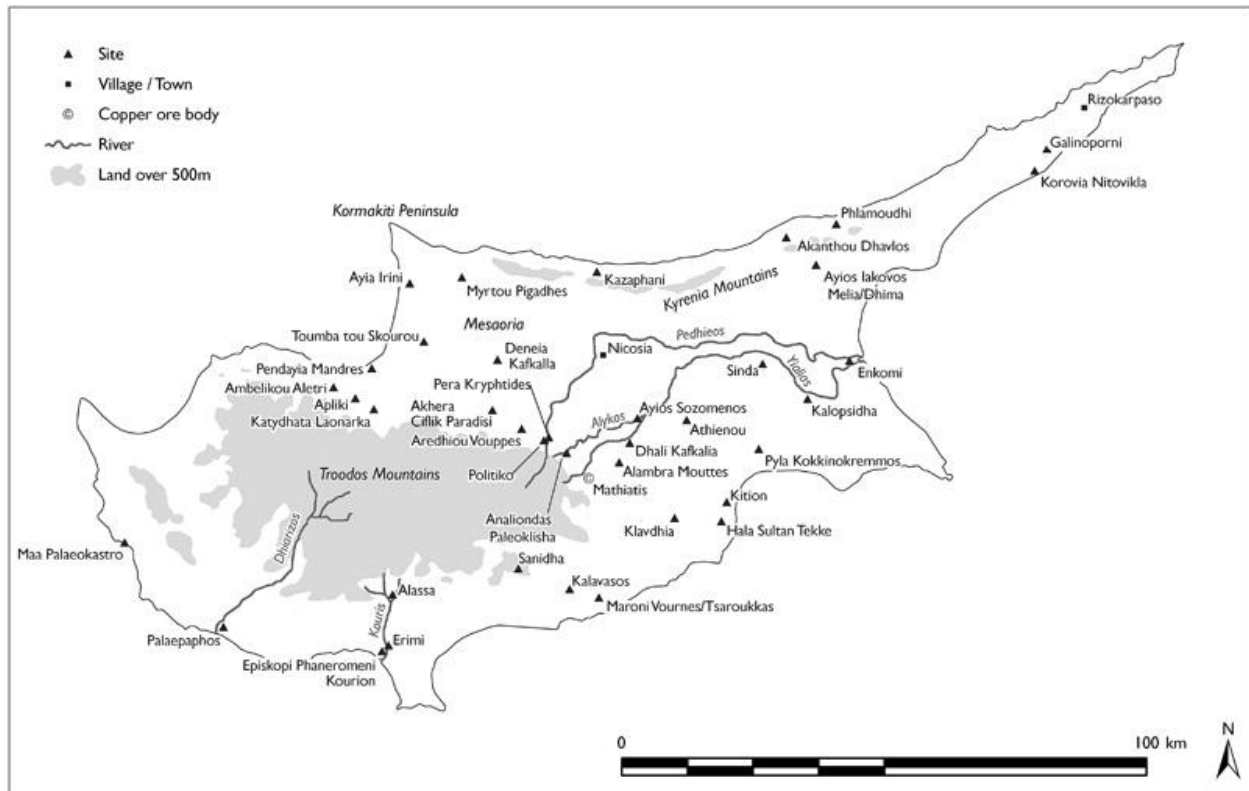


Fig. 4 Map of Cyprus, showing the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1650–1100 B.C.) sites. After Knapp 2013, 350, fig. 93. Drawn by Luke Sollars.

The Political organization in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age is a controversial topic. The archaeological material does not verify the claim made in the textual evidence: that a king ruled the island. The aim of this study is to answer the question: was there a “King of Alashiya”? Consequently, to better understand the political organization of Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

¹ Goren, Finkelstein, Na’aman 2002.

Distinguished scholars have investigated the social structure of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age, supporting that the island was more likely divided into political centres, rather than a unified kingdom². There are three important surveys that combine both textual and archaeological material³. Sherratt, suggests that the title LUGAL ‘king’, mentioned in the texts, was used as a ‘diplomatic tool’ in order to establish an equal position and peaceful connections with the foreign kings⁴. Peltenburg, supports the existence of decentralized polities loosely attached to the state⁵. Matzourani, Kopanias, and Voskos, conclude that it is more reasonable to refer to elite groups than a unified kingdom ruled by a single king and propose the title of a ‘representative of Alashiya’⁶. The matter of the political organization of Cyprus, however, remains debatable.

My ambition is to investigate thoroughly both the textual and the archaeological material, and by taking under consideration the previous studies, attempt to suggest a possible solution. To achieve this, first, it is essential to study the texts that refer to the king of Alashiya. The main information that need to be assembled are: the petrographic analyses that locate the origins of the texts (those from Cyprus), the titles (apart from the king, ex. commissioners, governors, merchants, ‘business’ partners) and of course the content of the texts (commercial letters between merchants, official letters among kings, quantities exchanged, diplomatic relations). Secondly, it is necessary to reexamine the archaeological remains that confirm the urbanization of Late Bronze Age Cyprus. The study of the urban large centers and the smaller metallurgical and other industrial sites, will clarify the social connections within the island. Was there one major city in charge of all the cities within the island? The outcome of the analyses of all data will enable us to better understand the political organization of Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

In Chapter II, I will present the textual material from Egypt along with the Egyptian archaeological material found in Cyprus. The majority of the textual evidence comes from the site el-‘Amarna. In Chapter III, the focus will be driven towards the Hittite corpus. First, I will discuss the royal texts mentioning Alashiya and in a separate subchapter I will mention various Hittite texts citing the island. Additionally, the Hittite archaeological evidence found in Cyprus will be reported. In Chapter IV, the Ugaritic corpus will be analyzed. Special attention will be given to the archive found at the *Urtenu Residence* and the Cypro-Minoan script evidence uncovered in Ugarit. Following, in Chapter V, I will introduce the archaeological material that confirms the urbanization of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age. Nine excavated settlements will be presented for this purpose. The concluding remarks of this study will be discussed in Chapter VI.

The Late Bronze Age for Cyprus is also commonly termed Late Cypriot and it is subdivided into a tripartite system: LC IA–B, LC IIA–C, and LC IIIA–B. I chose to use this system for the dating of the archaeological material⁷.

² Keswani 1993, 74–75; 2004, 84–85; Iakovou 2007, 464; Knapp 2008, 339–340; 2013, 432–447. About the radical new power structure at Maroni see Manning 1998, 48.

³ Sherratt 1998; Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012; Peltenburg 2012.

⁴ Sherratt 1998, 298.

⁵ Peltenburg 2012, 17–18.

⁶ Matzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 23–24.

⁷ Steel 2014, 572–573.

CHAPTER II

The Amarna Letters and Cyprus

The Amarna letters are named after el-‘Amārna, an ancient city located in Upper Egypt on the east bank of the Nile river about three hundred kilometres south of the modern city of Cairo. The archaeological site of el-‘Amārna used to be the capital city of ancient Egypt during a brief period of time in the fourteenth century B.C. The town was founded by the pharaoh Amenophis IV, widely known as Akhenaten, the heretic pharaoh who abandoned polytheism and introduced henotheism in Egypt.

The Amarna archive was discovered probably in 1887 by local farmers. The majority of the tablets were purchased by museums or stored in private collections across the world⁸. The known number of the tablets is 382, though the total sum of the entire archive is estimated to be larger. The majority of the archive consists of tablets related to diplomatic correspondence between the Egyptian empire and other foreign powers, including vassal states in Syria. Only thirty-two documents are not letters dealing with diplomacy. The correspondence tablets are divided into two categories, the first part concerns the contacts of Egypt with Babylonia, Assyria, Mittani, Arzawa, Alashiya and Hatti. The second part, which is much larger concerns the vassal correspondence with Syro-Palestine⁹. The chronology of the letters is still a matter that requires further discussion. However, it is generally agreed that the archive spans about thirty years beginning at the thirteenth year of Amenophis III (ca. 1386/90–1349/52 B.C.) and extending until the first year of Tutankhamun (ca. 1332/34–1322/25 B.C.)¹⁰.

The letters are written in Akkadian language and the cuneiform writing system with few exceptions which are written in Assyrian, Hurrian and Hittite. The fact that the correspondence was written in Akkadian does not come out as a surprise as this language is considered to be the *lingua franca* not only of the “international” correspondence but also of local affairs during the fourteenth century B.C.¹¹. The letters follow a basic form which is already known from the Old Babylonian period. They start with a salutation “Say to PN. Thus PN” followed by a report on the sender's wellbeing and wishes about the wellbeing of the receiver. The body of the text depends on the aim of the letter. Usually, it concerns the exchange of diplomatic gifts, marriage arrangements and various complications happening during their commercial activities. The kings address each other as “brothers”. The alliance of “brotherhood” was a diplomatic practice that strengthened the bond and the commercial activities between two leaders and established their mutual respect and peace. The expression of this alliance was through the exchange of valuable gifts and political equilibrium¹².

Although the chronology of the archive is uncertain, the origins of the tablets are clearer. A mineralogical and chemical analysis of over 300 clay tablets from the Amarna archive belonging to various museums worldwide assisted in the geographic identification of the tablets¹³. As a consequence, the location of Alashiya, once a debatable topic, is now proven to be the island of Cyprus. The tablets used for the petrographic analysis were EA 33, 34, 37 and 38, four letters written by the king of Alashiya for the king of Egypt and RS L.1 a letter from the king of Alashiya to the king of Ugarit. Their mineralogical substance

⁸ Moran 1992, xiii.

⁹ Moran 1992, xv–xvii.

¹⁰ Moran 1992, xxxiv–xxxv.

¹¹ Moran 1992, xviii–xix.

¹² Moran 1992, xxii–xxvi.

¹³ Goren, Finkelstein, Na’aman 2002, 196–205.

fits to the inland of Cyprus and is compatible with Troodos Mountain area¹⁴. The conclusion of this research is that *“the political center of Alashiya in the fourteenth and late thirteenth BC should be sought in southern Cyprus, most probably in the region of Kalavassos or Alassa”*¹⁵.

The tablets concerning Alashiya are diplomatic correspondence, written mainly in Akkadian. One thing that really stands out is the linguistic influence from different languages and dialects: EA 33, 34, 39 and 40 *“are written in a hybrid dialect used by scribes from Canaan”*¹⁶; in EA 36 and 37 the scribe who wrote the tablets might have been trained in a Middle Babylonian tradition scribal school¹⁷; and in EA 38 the language shows *“influence from Hurro-Akkadian used by scribes in North Syria, Mittani, and in the Hittite kingdom”*¹⁸. All the letters are addressed from the King of Alashiya (LUGAL KUR *A-la-ši-ia*) to the king of Egypt (LUGAL KUR *Mi-iš-ri*), except EA 40 which is sent by the governor of Alashiya (MAŠKIM *ša* KUR *A-la-ši-ia*) to the governor of Egypt (MAŠKIM *ša* KUR *Mi-iš-ri*). The letters reveal important information about the diplomacy between Cyprus and Egypt during the Late Bronze Age and interesting references about the political organization of Alashiya. In this chapter I will analyze the Amarna letters concerning ancient Cyprus and other references from Egypt in hieroglyphic, some older and some latter the Amarna correspondence, revealing the long relations between the two areas.

EA 33

TEXT: VAT 1654

TRANSCRIPTION: Rainey (2015: 332, 334).

TRANSLATIONS: Rainey (2015: 333, 335); Moran (1992: 104–107).

The first letter is sent from the king of Alashiya (LUGAL KUR *A-la-ši-ia*) to the king of Egypt (LUGAL KUR *Mi-iš-ri*). They refer to each other as brothers (*ŠEŠ-ia* “my brother” and *ŠEŠ-ka* “your brother”).

1–8: *“To the king of Egypt, my brother: Message of the king of Alashiya, your brother. For me all goes well. For you may all go well. For your household, your wives, your sons, your horses, your chariots, and in your country, may all go [ve]ry well”*¹⁹.

The king of Alashiya begins his letter with wishes and a report of well-being, which is the typical salutation formula of all the letters in the Amarna archive.

9–13: *“[More]over, I have heard [t]hat you are seated on the throne of your father’s house. (You said), [Let us have] transported (back and forth) [gift(s) of p]eace”*.

16–18: *“[You wr]ote, [Have transported to me] 200 (talents) of copper’, [and I (herewith) have] transported to you [...] 10 talents [of fine copper]”*²⁰.

¹⁴ Goren, Finkelstein, Na’aman 2002, 197.

¹⁵ Goren, Finkelstein, Na’aman 2002, 198.

¹⁶ Rainey 2015, 1376.

¹⁷ Rainey 2015, 1381.

¹⁸ Rainey 2015, 1380.

¹⁹ Moran 1992, 104.

²⁰ Moran 1992, 104.

The letter must be written on the occasion of the coronation of a new king, probably Amenophis IV, which would mean the period that this letter was written is ca. 1350–1334 B.C. In fact, according to William L. Moran “*the entire Alashiya correspondence is to be put in the reign of Amenophis IV*”²¹. The king of Alashiya acknowledges the new ruler and he accepts his proposal to continue sending each other *gifts of peace*. The change of rulers proposes that both parts had to come to terms with a new agreement about their commercial activities and reestablish their brotherhood alliance. The requested amount of copper in this case is *200 talents*, although the actual amount that was sent as stated in line 18 is *10 talents*, which “*was perhaps compensated*”²².

EA 34

TEXT: BM 29789.

TRANSCRIPTION: Rainey (2015: 336, 338).

TRANSLATIONS: Rainey (2015: 337, 339); Moran (1992: 105–107).

The second letter of the Alashiya correspondence is similar to the first letter, EA 34. The letter begins with a typical salutation formula. The king of Alashiya reports his prosperity and wishes the same to the king of Egypt.

1–6: “*Message of the king of Alašiya to the king of Egypt, my brother: Be informed that I prosper and my country prospers. And as to your own prosperity, may your prosperity and the prosperity of your household, your sons, your wives, your horses, your chariots, your country, be very great*”²³.

7–15: “*Look, you are my brother. As to your having written me, “Why did you not send your messenger to me?”, the fact is that I had not heard that you were going to perform a sacrifice. Do not take this at all seriously. Since I have now heard about it, I herewith send my messenger to you*”²⁴.

It appears from the context that the king of Egypt must have complained in a previous letter that he did not receive a messenger from his ally. The king of Alashiya replies that he has not heard that the king of Egypt will perform a sacrifice. His response seems to me rather confident as he replies to the Pharaoh’s complaint with a simple answer *la-a ti-ša-kán mi-ma a-na lib-i-ka4* “*do not take it to heart*” in lines 12–13.

16–25: “*And behold, I also send to you with my messenger 100 talents of copper. Moreover, may your messengers now bring some goods: 1 ebony bed, gold-(trimmed), ...; and a chariot, šuhītu, with gold; 2 horses; 2 pieces of linen; 50 linen shawls; 2 linen robes; 14 (beams of) ebony; 17 habannatu-jars of “sweet oil”. [And] as to byssos, 4 pieces and 4 shawls*”²⁵.

²¹ Moran 1992, 104.

²² Moran 1992, 105.

²³ Moran 1992, 105.

²⁴ Moran 1992, 105.

²⁵ Moran 1992, 106.

After reassuring the Pharaoh that he will send to him a messenger and *100 talents of copper*, the king of Alashiya also requests a number of goods to establish their alliance. The majority of the objects as described in the letter were either made of perishable materials like textiles and wood or they were valuables like gold. Therefore, “*it is not surprising that very few appear in the archaeological record*”²⁶. However, the Egyptian objects are not invisible in the Cypriot landscape. A variety of objects like scarabs, items made of glass and alabaster, vases, seals and exotic materials such as gold and ivory have been discovered in Late Bronze Age tombs²⁷. The archaeological material concerning the relations between Egypt and Cyprus will be analyzed later on this chapter.

42–53: “*So an alliance should be made between the two of us, and my messengers should go to your messengers and your messenger should come to me. Moreover, why have you not sent me oil and linen? As far as I am [concer]ned, what you yourself request I will give. I herewith send a habannatu-jar [that] is full of “sweet oil” to be poured on your head, seeing that you have sat down on your royal throne*”²⁸.

The letter ends with the same acknowledgement that a new alliance should be made between the two kings. The coronation reference is once again made on lines 52–53. In my opinion, the letters EA 33 and 34 were sent to the same Egyptian king. The conclusion that emerges from the context, in my view, is that since the initial agreement in EA 33 – or even another letter that has not been preserved to us – was not accomplished for some reason, the king of Egypt had sent another letter to the king of Alashiya, maybe as a complaint and/or as a reminder. The letter EA 34 might be the answer to this second message. This kind of regular correspondence reveals close relations between Cyprus and Egypt.

EA 35

TEXT: BM 29788.

TRANSCRIPTION: Rainey (2015: 340, 342).

TRANSLATIONS: Rainey (2015: 341, 343); Moran (1992: 107–109).

The third letter of the Alashiya corpus has an apologetic vibe. The King of Alashiya informs the King of Egypt that a plague had affected his land.

1–5: “*S[ay to the k]ing of Egypt, my brother: [Message] of the king of Alašiya, your brother. [F]or me all goes well. For my household, my wives my sons, my magnates, my horses, my chariots, and in my country, all goes very well*”²⁹.

The letter begins with a typical greeting formula, however apart from the king of Alashiya, the title LÚ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ-ia “*my senior officials*” is mentioned, which indicates – at least in the textual evidence – some kind of a political organization in Cyprus, with the king on the top of the hierarchy and the officials on a lower level.

²⁶ Karageorghis 1995, 76.

²⁷ Karageorghis 1995, 76.

²⁸ Moran 1992, 106.

²⁹ Moran 1992, 107.

10–15: *I herewith send to you 500 (talents) of copper. As my brother's greeting-gift I send it to you. My brother, do not be concerned that the amount of copper is small. Behold, the hand of Nergal is now in my country; he has slain all the men of my country, and there is not a (single) copper-worker. So, my brother, do not be concerned*" ³⁰.

The arranged number of copper could not be delivered and only *500 talents of copper* were sent, which is the largest amount of copper mentioned in the entire correspondence between Alashiya and Egypt.

27–29: *"Moreover, my brother, men of my country keep speaking with m[e] about my timber that the king of Egypt receives from me. My brother, [give me] the payment due"* ³¹.

What is more, apart from copper the Alashian King lists timber as an exported product and requests the king of Egypt to pay him the agreed price, as *the men* – merchants, workers, officials? – in Cyprus are asking for it.

30–34: *Moreover, here is the situation: a man from [Alašiya] has died in Egypt, and [his] thing[s] are in your country, though his son and wife are with me. So, my brother, loo[k to] the things of the Alašiya people and hand them over, my brother, to the charge of my messenger"* ³².

This part of the letter informs us about an Alashian man who had died in Egypt. The king of Alashiya requests that his personal belongings are returned to Alashiya, back to his family.

35–39: *My brother, do not be concerned that your messenger has stayed 3 years in my country, for the hand of Nergal is in my country and in my own house. There was a young wife of mine that now, my brother, is dead"* ³³.

Another consequence of the plague is that the messenger of the Egyptian King was withheld in Alashiya for three years due to the *"Hand of Nergal"*³⁴. Among the victims is also the young wife of the king of Alashiya.

49–53: *"You have not been put (on the same level) with the king of Hatti or the king of Šanhar. Whatever greeting-gift he (my brother) sends me, I for my part send back to you double"* ³⁵.

At the end of the letter the King of Alashiya reassures the King of Egypt that he has not been put on the same level as the kings of Hatti and Šanhar, meaning that the King of Egypt received more *greeting gifts*, in fact the *double* amount, than the other kings. We may assume from this passage that the king of Egypt was of higher regard for the king of Alashiya.

³⁰ Moran 1992, 107.

³¹ Moran 1992, 107.

³² Moran 1992, 108.

³³ Moran 1992, 108.

³⁴ The definition of ŠU-ti ^dMAŠ.MAŠ "*the hand of Nergal*" is discussed analytically in Moran (1992, 108) and in Hellbing (1979, 14–16). The name ^dMAŠ.MAŠ can be read as Nergal, or the West Semitic Rašpu (Resheph). It could even refer to a local god from Cyprus.

³⁵ Moran 1992, 108.

EA 36

TEXT: C 4750 (12187).

TRANSCRIPTION: Rainey (2015: 344, 346).

TRANSLATION: Rainey (2015: 345, 347).

This letter is too fragmentary for a reliable translation. The translation in Rainey (2015, 345) informs us that the tablet concerns the exchange of goods.

5–7: “[I have sou]ght x [of co]pper, as much as [they have] prepared, I have sent, [and now] I have sent to my brother 120 (+ x) (talents of) copper; 70 talents remain; [among] some of the talents you may rejoice(?), 30+[I(?) among the tal]ents are multicolored”³⁶.

12–17: “[No]w, m[y] brother, I have prepared much copper [...] May the ships be many, send (them) here. The copper [...] Since they have prepared m[uc]h copper, grain [in ships from] the province of Canaan [send to me as in] former [days], [so that I] may [make] bread [...]”³⁷.

EA 37

TEXT: BM 29790

TRANSCRIPTION: Rainey (2015: 348).

TRANSLATION: Rainey (2015: 349); Moran (1992: 110–111).

The King of Alashiya sends five *talents* of copper and five teams of horses to the King of Egypt and he requests pure silver in exchange. At the end of the letter, six male names appear in unclear context.

8–20: “[I have he]ard the greeting of my brother. [The gree]ting-gift for my brother is 5 talents (of copper), 5 teams of horses. I (herewith) promptly dispatch the messenger of my brother. Now may my brother promptly let my... go; let me inquire about [m]y bro[the]r’s health, and whatever [yo]u n[ee]d put down on a tablet so I can send (it) to you. Send me pure silver. May my brother dispatch my messenger without delay”³⁸.

21–24: “As for Baštummê, Kunêa, Etilluna, [-]r[u]mma, Ušbara, Bē[l]-šamma, my brother, may he release them”³⁹.

Vasiliki Kassianidou, discusses, thoroughly, the silver production in antiquity and its reference in the Alashiya-Egypt correspondence⁴⁰. The mineral wealth at the foothills of the Mountain Troodos was plentiful in copper but not in lead ores, important for the silver extraction. Therefore, the silver had to be imported to the island either as raw material or as finished products. The majority of silver evidence is

³⁶ Rainey 2015, 345.

³⁷ Rainey 2015, 345.

³⁸ Moran 1992, 110.

³⁹ Rainey 2015, 349.

⁴⁰ Kassianidou 2009, 48–57.

found during the Late Cypriot II (ca. 1450–1200 B.C.) period⁴¹. What is odd, is that Egypt was not a silver producing force in antiquity. It received, however, plenty of silver from Levant, Anatolia and the Aegean. It raises the question, hence, whether the king of Alashiya was aware of this issue or not. Probably, yes, considering the fact that there were a lot of Cypriot merchants in Egypt⁴².

Carlo Zaccagnini (2000, 141–153) proposes a different interpretation about the silver mentioned in the Alashiya-Egypt correspondence: *“In the Alashiya correspondence, the insistent requests for silver forwarded to Pharaoh do not contradict the well-known fact that Egypt was totally lacking in sources of this metal: these requests should be judged in the light of the overall mercantile tone of the letters. ‘Silver’ simply means “price” or “(equivalent) value” of any item traded and this affects the ceremonial lever of the exchanges and thus the long or short-term balance of trade rather than its economic content.”*⁴³.

EA 38

TEXT: VAT 153.

TRANSCRIPTION: Rainey (2015: 350, 352).

TRANSLATION: Rainey (2015: 351, 353); Moran (1992: 111–112).

The letter concerns the attacks of the Lukki (Lycians) men somewhere in Egypt or a province that belonged to the Egyptian King.

7–22: *“Why, my brother, do you say such a thing to me, “Does my brother not know this?” As far as I am concerned I have done nothing of the sort. Indeed, men of Lukki, year by year, seize villages in my own country. My brother, you say to me, “Men from your country were with them”. My brother, I myself do not know that they were with them. If men from my country were (with them), send (them back) and I will act as I see fit. You yourself do not know men from my country. They would not do such a thing. But if men from my country did do this, then you yourself do as you see fit”*⁴⁴.

It is clear from the context that the king of Egypt had sent a previous letter to the king of Alashiya complaining about an attack the men of Lukki did. He accused the king of Alashiya for that because some Alashians participated in these raids. The King of Alashiya justifies himself in this letter by replying that the men of Lukki had seized his villages constantly as well. Therefore, he has nothing to do with these incursions. He also adds that the men of his country *“would not do such a thing”*. However, he acknowledges that if some Alashians took part, then either he himself or the King of Egypt will punish them.

27–30: *“Furthermore, which ancestors of yours did such a thing to my ancestors? So no, my brother, do not be concerned”*⁴⁵.

⁴¹ Kassianidou 2009, 49.

⁴² Kassianidou 2009, 54.

⁴³ Zaccagnini 2000, 146. Likewise, Mario Liverani has also proposed earlier 1979, 29: *“In the exchange among kings of equal status, the use of silver is thus excluded from the ceremonial level reserved for gifts of prestige, and occurs only when the negotiations are of a commercial character and regard consumer goods”*.

⁴⁴ Moran 1992, 111.

⁴⁵ Moran 1992, 111.

At the end of the letter he states that a dispute between Alashiya and Egypt never happened before throughout the long history of their relations, therefore he shall not be concerned.

EA 39

TEXT: C 4748 (12206).

TRANSCRIPTION: Rainey (2015: 354).

TRANSLATION: Rainey (2015: 355); Moran (1992: 112).

The letter is sent from the king of Alashiya to the king of Egypt. He requests free passage for his merchants.

10–20: *“My brother, let my messengers go promptly and safely so that I may hear my brother’s greeting. These men are my merchants. My brother, let them go safely and prom[pt]ly. No one making a claim in your name is to approach my merchants or my ship”*⁴⁶.

According to Moran, this letter and EA 40 were written by the same scribe, *“probably one after the other, and probably delivered at the same time, perhaps by the same messenger”*⁴⁷. On the reverse of the tablet, there is a note on hieratic script *“letter of the prince of Alasa”*. As Moran has noted, *“the Egyptian wr, was applied by the Egyptians to all foreign rulers, not just to vassals”*⁴⁸. Therefore, the fact that the king of Alashiya is cited as *prince* does not mean that he was inferior to the king of Egypt. Notice that the prince is from *Alasa*. Could this mean that the ‘king of Alashiya’ mentioned in the Amarna correspondence had his base at the site *Alassa Palaeotaverna* in Cyprus? Considering the petrographic analyses of the Amarna letters, I believe that this is, in fact, possible.

EA 40

TEXT: C 4749 (12190).

TRANSCRIPTION: Rainey (2015: 356).

TRANSLATION: Rainey (2015: 357); Moran (1992: 113).

This letter is addressed to the governors of Egypt (MÁŠKIM ša KUR *Mi-iš-ri*) and Alashiya (MÁŠKIM ša KUR *A-la-ši-ia*). It deals with merchandise that the King of Alashiya sent to the King of Egypt.

1-28: *“Say [to the go]vernor of Eg[ypt, my brother]: Messa[ge of the governor o]f Ala[šiya, your brother]. For[...] all goes well, and fo[r you] may all go well. My brother, before the ar[rival of Šu]mitti, I sent t[o him] 9 (talents) of copper, 2 pieces of i[vor]y, 1 beam for [a ship], but h[e] gave [no]thing to me, and y[ou se]nt me (only some) ivor[y], my brother. I herewith send as your greeting-gift 5 (talents) of copper, 3 talents of fine copper, 1 piece of ivory, 1 (beam) of boxwood, 1 (beam) for a ship”*⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ Moran 1992, 112.

⁴⁷ Moran 1992, 113.

⁴⁸ Moran 1992, xxvii.

⁴⁹ Moran 1992, 113.

Notice that the king of Alashiya requests for 2 *pieces of ivory* from the king of Egypt and at the same time he sends 1 *piece of ivory* to the king of Egypt. One may think that this is a commercial error and considering also the fact that Egypt had a vast amount of ivory and Cyprus did not produce this material, it would be a financial loss for the king of Alashiya, however this is not the case. According to Mario Liverani what we have here is an “*exchange of gifts which has a principal motivation that of stabilizing personal relationships*” and the pursuit of this exchange is not commercial⁵⁰.

Hieroglyphic Texts mentioning Alashiya

The name of Alashiya is also identified in hieroglyphic texts dating to the Late Bronze Age. According to Boyo G. Ockinga “*two place names have been identified as referring to Alashiya*”⁵¹ the first is *'a-si-ja/as-ja* (‘isy), which is controversial and the second one is *'á-la-sá* (‘irsž), which is more acceptable.

The name *'a-si-ja/as-ja* (‘isy) is attested in the *Annals of Thutmosis III, Year 34* (ca. 1445 B.C.), *Year 38* (ca. 1441 B.C.) and *Year 39* (ca. 1440 B.C.), where the “*tribute of the prince of Asiya*” is catalogued. Apart from one occasion of *two logs* (in *Year 34*), one occasion of *two horses* (in *Year 38*) and two occasions of *ivory* (in *Year 34* and *39*), the rest of objects listed are mainly minerals and metals: lead, copper, lapis lazuli, and ore⁵². Although Cyprus did not produce these materials, they could be sent as diplomatic gifts⁵³. During ca. 1291–1297 B.C. the name *'a-si-ja/as-ja* (‘isy) is found in *Topographical Lists*⁵⁴. The name is also attested in the *Topographical Lists* of Ramesses II dating to ca. 1279–1212 B.C.⁵⁵ and it is impressed on a figure 21, that personifies the mineral-bearing region of *'a-si-ja* (*Asiya*) at the great Temple of Amun at Karnak⁵⁶. The identification of *'a-si-ja* (*Asiya*) with Alashiya is uncertain⁵⁷.

The name *'á-la-sá* (‘irsž) is also attested in *Topographical Lists* from c. 1291–1297 B.C.⁵⁸ During c. 1279–1212 B.C. it is attested in a *Topographical List* of Ramesses II and on the figure 22 at the great Temple of Amun at Karnak⁵⁹. This figure is also resembling a mineral-bearing region. Both figures 21 and 22 state that they have brought extremely large amounts of silver and copper in Egypt. Considering the fact that Cyprus was not producing silver in such large quantities⁶⁰, the references to me are problematic.

Textual and Archaeological Analyses: Egypt and Cyprus

According to the textual evidence Egypt and Cyprus had definitely friendly and regular relations during the Late Bronze Age starting already from the sixteenth century B.C. The Amarna correspondence illustrates the connections between the two areas. The two kings were bound by the alliance of “brotherhood”. The king of Alashiya appears always in the letters as the sender, except EA 40, where the governor of Alashiya addresses the governor of Egypt. The correspondence refers either to commercial

⁵⁰ Liverani 1979, 23.

⁵¹ Ockinga 1996, 42.

⁵² Ockinga 1996, 42.

⁵³ Karageorghis 1995, 75.

⁵⁴ Ockinga 1996, 43–44.

⁵⁵ Ockinga 1996, 44–45.

⁵⁶ Ockinga 1996, 45.

⁵⁷ Kitchen 2009, 7.

⁵⁸ Ockinga 1996, 46–47.

⁵⁹ Ockinga 1996, 47–48.

⁶⁰ Kassianidou 2009, 49.

activities or to the exchange of gifts, a distinction made clear by Mario Liverani⁶¹. The materials exchanged for commercial purposes are copper and timber from Cyprus and silver from Egypt. The rest objects that appear in the texts are mainly *gifts of peace* that ensured the good relations between the two areas. The Alashiyan correspondence in the Amarna letter stands out from all the rest royal correspondence, “*in that they are the only ones in which silver is requested*”⁶². Silver payments used for commercial purposes and not as diplomatic gifts are attested in EA 35, 37 and 38.

Cyprus was the largest distributor of copper during antiquity exporting enormous quantities as *355 oxhide ingots, weighing 10 tons of copper found in the shipwreck of Ulu Burun, near the south-west coast of Anatolia*⁶³. In the Amarna letters these large numbers are found in EA 33 (*200 talents of copper*) and EA 35 (*500 talents of copper*), both amounts were requested by the king of Egypt. The trade of copper is depicted in Egyptian tombs, by representations of copper oxhide ingots either being melted or offered to the pharaoh⁶⁴. It cannot be identified if the people depicted are Alashiyan, but it is not impossible that the origin of copper oxhide ingots is Cyprus. Fragment of a Cypriot oxhide ingot is found at the archaeological site of Qantir⁶⁵.

Evidence of Egyptian trade objects are found in abundance at the archaeological sites in Cyprus. A complete catalogue of these finds is published by Inga Jacobsson in *Aegyptiaca from Late Bronze Age Cyprus*. The catalogue lists various objects as alabaster, stone, glass, faience, one papyri-form terminal of Egyptian blue at Hala Sultan Tekke, scarabs and amulets, jewellery, one evidence of a bronze razor at *Toumba tou Skourou*, and pottery. The majority of the objects are attested at Enkomi (35%), at Kition (18%) and at Hala Sultan Tekke (13%). A great 63% were found in a funerary environment and only 18% at settlements. Only 7% was found in religious context and the rest 12% was found in an unknown environment. The material is dated from the LCIIA–LCIIB (ca. 1450–1300 B.C.) until LCIIIC–LCIIIA (ca. 1300–1100 B.C.)⁶⁶.

What can be also evident from the Amarna letters are the ‘historical’ events. In EA 35 the king of Alashiya informs the king of Egypt about a plague and in EA 38 attacks of the men of Lukki are recorded. Both events must have produced mass burials with victims. The plague dates during the reign of Akhenaten (ca. 1464–1347 B.C.). Evidence of mass burials are found in Enkomi and Kition-*Pampoula*. In Enkomi, a triple burial dating to the ca. 1375 B.C. is found and in *Pampoula* forty-seven victims are recorded in a single tomb, including infants. The burials are dated during LCIIA–LCIII (ca. 1450–1050 B.C.). In both burials the victims did not have a violent death and it is possible that they died because of a disease⁶⁷. Destruction in Cyprus occurred during ca. 1375 and ca. 1350 B.C.⁶⁸. According to Schaeffer the Lukki people may have settled in the northern part of Cyprus before 1350 B.C.⁶⁹. More evidence about ‘enemy’ attacks are recorded on the Ugaritic texts.

⁶¹ Liverani 1979, 22–23 for the exchange of gifts; 28–29 for the commercial activities.

⁶² Kassianidou 2009, 54.

⁶³ Karageorghis 1995, 76.

⁶⁴ Kassianidou 2009, 48.

⁶⁵ Kassianidou 2009, 48.

⁶⁶ Jacobsson 1994, 85.

⁶⁷ Hellbing 1979, 88.

⁶⁸ Hellbing 1979, 89.

⁶⁹ Schaeffer 1952, 351.

CHAPTER III

The Hittite texts and Cyprus

The Hittites expanded in ancient Anatolia around 1600 B.C. The capital of the Hittite Kingdom was Hattusa. The ruins of the ancient city lie today in the area Boğazkale, at the centre of modern Turkey. The archaeological expeditions of 1912 by Hugo Winckler and Theodore Makridi yielded an extensive royal archive, consisting of 10,000 tablets and fragments that offered significant information about the history of the Hittites⁷⁰. The Hittite Kingdom is divided in two periods by most scholars⁷¹: The Old Kingdom (ca. 1700–1500 B.C.) and the New Kingdom or the Hittite Empire (ca. 1400–1200 B.C.).

During the New Kingdom period the Hittites expanded their sovereignty. The Hittite Empire reached its peak in the 14th century and became one of the most powerful Late Bronze Age kingdoms. A lot of information is preserved about the campaigns of the Hittite kings from Suppiluliuma I (ca. 1350–1322 B.C.) until Suppiluliuma II (ca. 1207–? B.C.). The Hittite influence spread from the east coast of the Aegean to the western fringes of Mesopotamia and from the south coast of the Black Sea to the modern coast of Levant. All these areas were ruled from Hattusa under a wide network of vassal states⁷². The vassaldom was established by treaties of peace that established the friendly diplomatic relations between the King of Hatti and the vassal kings.

The Hittite treaties resemble each other in the sense that they follow a similar structure. Commonly, each text begins with a historical introduction, followed by an extensive list of conditional sentences/stipulations focusing on the defense of the Hittite Empire. The king usually demands from his allies to inform him about all the insults, rumors and conspiracies concerning him, to arrest and to return to him all the Hittite and foreign fugitives and to not attack each other. The treaties as a rule conclude by mentioning the place where the tablets must be kept, a list of divine witnesses and curses and blessings for the future audience⁷³.

There is only one treaty made with the king of Alashiya and it is documented on tablet KBo XII 39. The treaty was conducted either by the king Tudhaliya IV (ca. 1237–1209 B.C.) or his son, king Suppiluliuma II (ca. 1207–? B.C.). The name of the king of Alashiya is not preserved. The Hittite texts referring to Alashiya provide us with plenty important and complicated information about the island. Although Alashiya is presented as an independent kingdom in the Amarna letters and in the Ugaritic textual evidence, the Hittite texts KUB 14.1+KBo 19.38, KBo XII 39 and KBo XII 38 give us a different picture. The indicated texts and more Hittite corpus referring to Alashiya will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁷⁰ Hoffner 1997, 1.

⁷¹ Bryce 2005, 6.

⁷² Bryce 2005, 2.

⁷³ Beckman 1999, 2–3.

Alashiya according to the Hittite kings

The Indictment of Madduwatta

TEXT: KUB 14.1+KBo 19.38; CTH 147.

TRANSLITERATION: Beckman M. Gary, Trevor R. Bryce, and Eric H. Cline (2011: 70–96).

TRANSLATION: Beckman M. Gary, Trevor R. Bryce, and Eric H. Cline (2011: 71–97); Beckman Gary (1999: 154–160).

The Indictment of Madduwatta is a Hittite document describing the deceitful activities of a Hittite vassal in Anatolia called Madduwatta. The text is dated to the Middle Hittite period of the late fifteenth century. It is widely accepted that it was written during the reign of Arnuwanda I (late 15th–14th century B.C.) and it discusses the events that happened during the reign of his father Tudhaliya I/II (late 15th–14th century B.C.)⁷⁴. The purpose of this text is uncertain. According to Beckman Gary, it was intended to serve either as a warning against Madduwatta or as a summary for legal purposes at the Hittite court⁷⁵. The narrative begins with the rescue of Madduwatta by Tudhaliya from the attack of Attarissiya of Ahhiya and how he became a vassal to the Hittite king. The land that was assigned to him was Mount Zippasla, situated probably at western Anatolia. The rest of the corpus narrates the attempts of Madduwatta to expand his rule and how the Hittite king confronted them. In paragraph §30 the name of Alashiya appears, which is the earliest reference of this island in the Hittite textual corpus⁷⁶.

§30 (rev. 84–90): “[*The report*] of Mulliyara [*which he delivered to me is as follows*]: “I gave [*him*] (Madduwatta) a tablet saying: ‘His Majesty said as follows [*about the land of Alashiya*]: “Because [*the land*] of Alašiya belongs to My Majesty, [*and the people of Alašiya*] pay [*me*] tribute – why have you continually raided it?’” But] Madduwatta said as follows: ‘[*When Attarissiya and*] the ruler [*of Piggaya*] were raiding the land of Alašiya, I often raided it too. But the father of His Majesty [*had*] never [*informed*] me, [*nor*] had His Majesty ever informed [*me*] to the effect: “The land of Alašiya is mine – recognize it as such!” If His Majesty now indeed demands the civilian captives back, I will give them back to him.” And since Attarissiya and the ruler of Piggaya are rulers independent of My Majesty, while you, Madduwatta, are a subject of My Majesty – why have you joined up with [*them*]?’”⁷⁷.

In this text the Hittite king accuses Madduwatta of continually attacking a land that belongs to him, Alashiya. In his defense, Madduwatta replies that he was not the only one attacking Alashiya and he was following the example of Attarissiya and the ruler of Piggaya. What is more, he was not aware that this island belonged to the king of Hatti, thus he will return to him the civilian captives. The king of Hatti asks again Madduwatta, why he had joined his competitors Attarissiya and the ruler of Piggaya, but we have no surviving textual response from Madduwatta. The raids mentioned in this text are not unfamiliar references, since the same event appears in the Amarna letters (EA 38) when the Alashian king informs the king of Egypt that men of Lukki raided his villages constantly.

⁷⁴ Beckman 1999, 153.

⁷⁵ Beckman, Bryce, Cline 2011, 69.

⁷⁶ Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 13.

⁷⁷ Beckman 1999, 160.

Exile to Alashiya

TEXT: KUB XIV 14; CTH 378.

TRANSLITERATION: Goetze (1929: 166).

TRANSLATION: Goetze (1929: 167); Beckman (1996: 31).

KUB XIV 14 is a prayer text against a plague. In the following passage Mursili II (ca. 1321–1295 B.C.) describes the removal of Tudḫaliya III (late 15th–mid 14th century B.C.) from the Hittite throne and the ascension of his father Suppiluliuma I (ca. 1350–1322 B.C.).

(obv. 16-22): “[*But when my father (Suppiluliuma I) mistreated Tudḫaliya, all [the princes, the noblemen], the commanders of the thousands, and the officers of Ḫattusa [went over] to my [father]. Although they had sworn an oath (to him) [they seized] Tudḫaliya, and they killed [Tudḫaliya]. Furthermore, they killed those of his brothers [who stood by] him. [...] they sent to Alašiya. [Whatever] was their [...] they [...] in regard to him. [Thus the...] and the lords transgressed the oath*”⁷⁸.

Alashiya appears to be mentioned as an exile place for people who supported the previous king. The fact that the Hittite king chose the island as an exile place reveals that Alashiya was a secure place with trustworthy authorities. Although, it is not yet confirmed whether it was under the Hittite rule or not, the banishment of very likely noble people, because they were close to the preceding king, shows that the island – if not vassal – carried good diplomatic relations with the Hittite Empire⁷⁹.

The Apology of Ḫattusili

TEXT: KUB I 1; CTH 81.

TRANSLITERATION: Otten (1981: 18).

TRANSLATION: Otten (1981: 19); Beckman (1996: 31).

In this text Ḫattusili III (ca. 1267–1237 B.C.) narrates how during the reign of Muwattalli II (ca. 1295–1272 B.C.), the king acted against Ḫattusili’s antagonists. Alashiya is once again mentioned as a banishment place.

Col. III (22–30): “[*My brother said to me, “Sippa-ziti isn’t included”. And because my brother had caused me to prevail over Arma-Tarḫunta in the legal case, I didn’t fall back into maliciousness against him. Because Arma-Tarḫunta was a blood relative of mine, and furthermore was an old man, I released him, even though he had harmed me. I also released his [son] Sippa-ziti and didn’t do anything to them. But I sent [the wife] of Arma-Tarḫunta and his son [to] Alašiya. I took half of [the landed property] and gave it back to Arma-Tarḫunta*”⁸⁰.

⁷⁸ Beckman 1996, 31.

⁷⁹ Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 14.

⁸⁰ Beckman 1996, 32.

Treaty Between Hatti and Alašia

TEXT: KBo XII 39.

TRANSLITERATION: Martino Stefano de (2007: 486–488).

TRANSLATION: Martino Stefano de (2007: 486–488).

The tablet KBo XII 39 is the only preserved treaty between the Hittite Empire and Alashiya. None of the king's names are listed on the text, however according to the content of the text it is dated in the Late Hittite period and more specifically during the reign of either Tudhaliya IV (ca. 1237–1209 B.C.) or Šuppiluliuma II (ca. 1207–? B.C.)⁸¹. The treaty between the two kings establishes the vassalage and the loyalty of the king of Alashiya towards the Hittite king.

(obv. 1–14): “[A fugitive] of the country, [capture] him and deliver him. [And a local] from Hatti that [...] capture him and deliver him. And [if] a local of Hatti [...] I se[nd in the coun]try of Alašiya [...] that person [in] another place [do not transfer], [and that] person you keep him in custody, [no...] [and] as I order you [...]”⁸².

(obv. 15–19): “And [if] a bad (word) about the country of Hat[ti from] (a king of) equal rank, lis[ten]! [Don’t] hide it from [his Majesty]! [If], instead, a habitant of Hatti [...]. The country of Hatti. [...]”⁸³.

The main part of the treaty follows the common structure of the Hittite treaties made with vassal kings. The king of Hatti requests from the king of Alashiya to capture the Hittite fugitives and send them back to Hatti and to inform him when someone plots against the Hittite king.

(rev. 3-12): “[If] the king of the country of [Alašiya and the pidduri ... these] words maintain [...]; For the piddu[ri...]; For the city [...] -umma may (everything) be in its favour [...]; For Alašiya may (everything) be in its favour [...]. Eat well; May there be prosperity! [And for your] sheep, may she have a safe labour; The same gods [...]. You may stay alive [...]. For [the]se words the gods [are] witne[sses]. [And for you these] treaty tables I, His Majesty, [I made]”⁸⁴.

The text addresses both the Alashiyan king and the high official *pidduri*. The two authorities seem to have a shared political power as they are mentioned together in KBo XII 38 as well⁸⁵. Unfortunately, the city’s name “[...] -umma” is not saved. Beckman, in his translation of the text, proposes “*The city of [En]kumma*”⁸⁶.

⁸¹ Martino 2016, 483.

⁸² Martino 2016, 487.

⁸³ Martino 2016, 487.

⁸⁴ Martino 2016, 487.

⁸⁵ Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 15.

⁸⁶ Beckman 1996, 32.

The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus

TEXT: KBo XII 38.

TRANSLITERATION: Güterbock G. Hans (1967: 75–77).

TRANSLATION: Güterbock G. Hans (1967: 77–78).

The tablet KBo XII 38 recites the story of the capturing of Alashiya by the Hittite king Suppiluliuma II (ca.1207–? B.C.). The text is divided into three columns. The first column describes the conquest of the island by the Hittite king. The second column is a tribute to Suppiliuma's father Tudhalya IV (ca. 1237–1209 B.C.), where he describes an image, he made for him (probably a statue) and placed it in a building called “Everlasting Peak”. The third column returns to the topic of the conquest of Alashiya and reports the victory of the Hittites against the island.

Col. I (3–12): “[PN (or: The king of Alašiya)] with his wives, his children, [and his...] I seized; all the goods, [with the silver, g]old, and all the captured people I [re]moved and [brought] them home to Hattusa. The country of Alašiya, however, I [enslaved] and made tributary on the spot; and [thi]s tribute I imposed on it: For the king of Alašiya and for the pidduri, this shall be the tribute (owed) to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to the Tabarna, the Great King, priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna:”⁸⁷.

In column I, Suppiluliuma, claims to have conquered the island of Alashiya. He has captured the king of Alashiya together with his family and his people, he removed all their wealth and he has brought them to Hattusa as booty. After his victory he enslaved Alashiya and he imposed a quite heavy tribute to the king and the high official *pidduri* consisting of a certain amount of *gold, 1 talent of copper, and 3 seah* of an element called *gayatum*⁸⁸, all had to be presented to four Hittite gods: the sun-goddess of Arinna and the storm gods of Zippalanda, Nerik, and Hatti⁸⁹. No specific king name is mentioned in this text, nor a name of an ancient city in Cyprus. The island is referred as KUR A-la-ši-ya “The land of Alashiya”.

According to Hans G. Güterbock, the column I does not refer to the conquest of Suppiluliuma but it is a commemorating text made by Suppiluliuma who narrates the victory of his father Tudhaliya IV over Alashiya. The text was supposed to accompany the statue of Tudhaliya IV, which is described in column II, followed by a postscript reciting the victory of his son Suppiluliuma II, which is described in column III⁹⁰. He concluded his analysis by stating that “our tablet contains Hittite versions of, first, a statue inscription of Tudhaliya and, second, a hieroglyphic inscription of Šuppiluliuma II”⁹¹.

Col. III (1–15): “My father [...] I mobilized and I, Šuppiluliuma, the Great King, immediately [crossed/reached] the sea. The ships of Alašiya met me in the sea three times for battle, and I smote them; and I seized the ships and set fire to them in the sea. But when I arrived on dry land, the enemies from Alašiya came in multitude against me for battle. I f[ought] them, and [...]”⁹².

⁸⁷ Güterbock 1967, 77.

⁸⁸ Singer 2014, 321: “*Gayatum* must be some kind of cereal-like plant, since in one text it is listed alongside flour, bread and barley.”

⁸⁹ Güterbock 1967, 77–78.

⁹⁰ Güterbock 1967, 75.

⁹¹ Güterbock 1967, 81.

⁹² Güterbock 1967, 78.

In column III, Suppiluliuma reports his victorious campaign against Alashiya. He describes a naval battle. His ships⁹³ and the Alashiyan fleet clashed three times resulting in a Hittite victory. The battle extended on the land as the Alashiyan troops were prepared for a final encounter. The outcome of this battle is not recorded but it is most possible that it resulted in a Hittite victory again.

According to Hans G. Güterbock, the interpretations of this text can explain the claim of Arnuwanda I in the “Indictment of Madduwatta” text, where he declares that Alashiya was a tributary to the Hittite king⁹⁴. In my opinion, the claim of Arnuwanda is yet not to be explained, since the events described in the Madduwatta text occurred almost three centuries before the events mentioned in this text. KBo XII 38 narrates the conquest of Alashiya during the 12th century and it does not mention that it was already tributary to the Hittite Empire, which can be possible according to the Madduwatta text but not yet proven. According to the textual evidence, the sovereignty of the Hittite Empire over Alashiya is explicit only during the reign of Tudhaliya IV and Suppiluliuma II⁹⁵.

An Akkadian letter

TEXT: KBo I 26; CTH 216.

TRANSLITERATION: Knapp (1980: 43).

TRANSLATION: Knapp (1980: 43); Beckman (1996: 29).

KBo I 26 is a letter written in Akkadian. The sender is unknown and the exact date of its creation is not certain.

(obv. 2–9): “... [from] *Hatti* to[*Alashiya(?)*]... and] from *Alashiya* to [...] spoken under oath. 100(?) [...] Now, why haven't you [written(?)] to the king? [...] fine utensils of gold, rhyta, [...], sashes, horse blankets [...] you spoke thus, and [...] you [send] much gold!...”⁹⁶.

The sender of the letter requests from the recipient fine utensils of gold, rhytons, girdles, garments for horses and gold. The beginning and the ending of the letter are fragmentary, which makes it difficult to guess what was the origin of the letter. However, some scholars have proposed some possible explanations. Regarding the origin of the clay, the petrographic analysis of the tablet confirms that it is from Cyprus⁹⁷. Knapp, suggests that the text is a copy from a letter sent by the Hittite king to Alashiya taking under consideration the conquest of Cyprus by Tudhaliya IV and Suppiluliuma I⁹⁸. In this context, the letter may be interpreted as some kind of tribute claim. However, according to de Martino “if this letter is datable to previous ages, it might also have been sent by Alashiya to Hatti... as happened in diplomatic exchanges

⁹³ About the ships see Vitta 1999, 498: “The text gives no details about the composition of the Hittite troops, but it can be assumed that in both actions at least part of the fleet under Hatti command comprised boats from Ugarit. The control of the island was an important factor in the security of the Hittite and Syrian coasts against armend incursions by foreign people”.

⁹⁴ Güterbock 1967, 80: “If Tudhaliya IV conquered *Alašiya* and made it tributary, one understands the passage in the *Madduwatta* text better, according to which Tudhaliya's son and first successor, Arnuwanda, claimed that country as Hittite possession. We know that he did not have much success since both *Attarišiya*, the man from *Ahhiya*, and *Madduwatta* raided it. But whatever the outcome or the real power constellation, Arnuwanda's claim as such now appears to have been founded”.

⁹⁵ Martino 2016, 248.

⁹⁶ Beckman 1996, 29.

⁹⁷ Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 15.

⁹⁸ Knapp 1980, 46–47.

between Cyprus and Egypt in the Amarna Age, it is also possible that Alashiya puts forward requests in return for copper or other goods”⁹⁹.

Alashiya in other Hittite texts

Apart from the historical texts, Alashiya is also mentioned in other genres of the Hittite textual corpus¹⁰⁰. These references, although they are few and most of the times fragmentary, present possible trade activities between the two lands and an acknowledgement of the Hittite Empire for the existence of Alashiya throughout the course of Late Bronze Age. In KUB XV 34 (CTH 483) an incantation text from the late 15th–early 14th century B.C. Alashiya is mentioned among Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt and other kingdoms and vassal states of the Hittite Empire. The priest who recites this incantation summons deities from all the lands mentioned to return to Hatti. IBoT I 31 (CTH 241.1) an inventory text from the royal palace from the 13th century BC mentions (obv. 2-4) “*Furthemore, there are also 37 linens¹⁰¹ of Alashiya (inside)*”. KBo XVIII 175 (CTH 241.2), another inventory from the 14th century, also mentions linen from Alashiya (Col. I 5) “*...five linen sheets of Alashiya...*”. In KUB VIII 38+KUB XLIV 63 (CTH 461), a medical text from the 13th–14th century B.C. regarding the diseases of the eye Alashiya is mentioned as the origin of azurite (Col. III 11) “*They [import] that azurite(?) from Alashiya (as an ingredient for a woolen dressing?) for his eye*”. In KBo XXXII 226, an oracle text from the 14th–13th century B.C.(?) the name of Alashiya is roughly noticeable in obv. 2. In KUB XV 35+KBo II 9 (CTH 716) another incantation text from the late 13th century B.C. Alashiya is mentioned among other kingdoms of Anatolia and Mesopotamia. In KBo IV (CTH 413), a ritual text from the 13th century B.C., Alashiya is listed among other places as the origin of copper and bronze (obv. 35-40) “*They have brought the copper and bronze from Alashiya, from Mount Taggata*”. The Mount Taggata could be a reference to the Mountain range of Troodos, but according to de Martino “*this text contains elements of a literary nature that do not necessarily refer to historical reality*”¹⁰². In KUB XXII 30 (CTH 573), an augury text from the 13th century B.C., which is too fragmentary for translation. However, something is mentioned to be (obv. 24) “*of Alashiya*”.

Textual and Archaeological Analyses: Hatti and Cyprus

The Hittite textual evidence presents Alashiya as a vassal state to the Hittite Empire. In the Indictment of Madduwatta the Hittite king informs his vassal, Maduwatta, that the island was under his control and that he should not have raided it. The events date approximately during the late-15th century until the mid-14th century B.C., meaning that Alashiya was already a vassal state of the Hittite Empire so early. In later texts, describing events that happened during the late 14th century and early 13th century, Alashiya is presented as a banishment place for royalties, which implies that the diplomatic relations between Hatti and Alashiya must have been friendly. Years later, during the late 13th century and the end of the Hittite sovereignty, Alashiya is depicted clearly as a vassal state of the Hittite Empire. Let's discuss the accuracy of these claims.

⁹⁹ Martino 2007, 250.

¹⁰⁰ Beckman 1996, 33–35.

¹⁰¹ Vigo 2010, 293: About linen “*Cyprus had no thriving industry for the manufacturing of linen but it brought it from Egypt and crafted it into undoubtedly prestigious goods, which were then channeled into the Syrian inland and to Anatolia*”

¹⁰² Martino 2007, 251.

In the Indictment of Madduwatta the claim of the Hittite king cannot be proven. The fact that the Hittite king claims the sovereignty of Alashiya, but at the same time the island was raided by Attarissiya, the man of Ahhiya and the ruler of Piggaya, means that the Hittite influence was not that strong over the island¹⁰³. Subsequently, his sovereignty was not yet entirely established and since there is not any document that confirms this, the claim of the Hittite king can be doubted. In fact, according to Mantzourani, Kopanias, and Voskos “*it is more probable that the Hittite King had diplomatic (and possibly also trade) relations with the Land of Alashiya and he did not wish to offend his partner. However, in the eyes of his subjects, this partnership was presented as a submission. To compare, all Egyptian kings presented their diplomatic partners as their tributaries and their “greeting gifts” as tribute in their public texts and imagery*”¹⁰⁴.

In KBo XII 38, we evidence the first naval battle, in the Mediterranean, recorded in a text. We must pay attention to the fact that Suppiluliuma speaks about “*the ships of Alashiya*” and “*the enemies from Alashiya*” in Col. III. According to Hellbing, this could refer to the Sea People, who were attacking coastal areas during this period¹⁰⁵. At the end of the Hittite Empire, the Sea People were in fact a threat for the Hittites in the southern coast. Considering Schaeffer’s view that the *Lukki* people (Sea People?) may have settled in the northern part of Cyprus before 1350 B.C.¹⁰⁶, is it possible to assume that the Hittite king fought against the *Lukki* people, who at that time may have settled in Alashiya? Since there is not many evidence to support this claim, I do not believe that this could be the case. Destructions occurred in Cyprus at the end of 13th century may be linked with the military campaign described in KBo XII 38¹⁰⁷. According to Schaeffer new conquerors came to Cyprus at the end of the 13th century B.C. or between 1225 B.C. and 1200 B.C.¹⁰⁸ It is unclear if these new conquerors were the Hittites, the Sea People, who at that time are accused for many invasions in the eastern Mediterranean¹⁰⁹, or even Myceneans¹¹⁰. KBo XII 39 is a treaty that also implies the Hittite sovereignty over Alashiya during the late 13th century. According to de Martino, the implications of the Hittites in KBo XII 38 and 39 do not align with the fall of the Hittite Empire at the end of the 13th century, during the reign of Suppiluliuma II (ca. 1207–? B.C.)¹¹¹.

The deportation of royal prisoners to Alashiya is a sign of excellent relations between the Hittite Empire and Alashiya. The island provided a remote area that did not allow captives to escape easily by land. The Hittite royal exiles must have been people who were a threat to the throne. In KUB XIV 14 Suppiluliuma I (ca. 1350–1322 B.C.) banished the court of the preceding king Tudhaliya III (mid-14th century B.C.) and in the *Apology of Hattusili*, Muwattalli II (ca. 1295–1272 B.C.) banished a relative with his family. Both kings must have either controlled the island as a vassal state or enjoyed excellent diplomatic relations¹¹². According to de Martino, “*the very fact that these people were sent into exile to Cyprus shows that there were diplomatic relations between Hatti and Alashiya. It does not, however, imply that the island*

¹⁰³ Hellbing 1979, 54.

¹⁰⁴ Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 13.

¹⁰⁵ Hellbing 1979, 54.

¹⁰⁶ Schaeffer 1952, 351.

¹⁰⁷ Hellbing 1979, 89.

¹⁰⁸ Schaeffer 1952, 369.

¹⁰⁹ Hellbing 1979, 90.

¹¹⁰ Dikaios 1971, 519.

¹¹¹ Martino 2007, 249: “*these expeditions contrast with the image of weakness and of crisis that comes from some Hittite sources. It would appear difficult to say however, whether with these expeditions the Hittite kings wanted to neutralize the political influence that the kingdom of Tarhuntassa had acquired in the region, while at the same time ensuring control over the southern Anatolian coast or, more likely, they wanted to face the situation of instability that the “Sea Peoples” were bringing about in the eastern Mediterranean.*”

¹¹² Hellbing 1979, 55.

was under Hittite domination. In the text KUB XIV 2 IV 3-6, a prayer fragment, mentions the exile of a Hittite queen at Ahhiyawa, a country that was never under Hatti's control."¹¹³ In addition, considering the fact that Alashiya is close to Egypt, who was equally powerful to the Hittite Empire, it is not unreasonable to assume that the Hittites must have strived to ensure good diplomatic relations with Alashiya, in order to secure their sovereignty in the south.

The archaeological evidence provides limited information about the Hittite presence in Cyprus. The main export of Cyprus was copper. However, the Hittites were not in need of this material since they had access to mountainous areas that provided plenty of copper as well. There are only two texts that mention the Alashian copper in the Hittite corpus: in KBo 4.1 a ritual, and in KBo XII 38, where copper is mentioned as part of the tribute that Alashiya had to pay¹¹⁴. The list of tribute included other materials, as well, similar to the *gifts of peace* mentioned in the Amarna letters: *gold, 1 talent of copper, 3 seah of an element called gayatum* and some utensils. In KBo I 26 the requested materials are: *fine utensils of gold, rhyta, sashes, horse blankets and much gold*. The difference between the diplomatic exchange and commercial exchange is being discussed in the previous chapter. In my opinion, the same applies for the Hittite requests and I am interpreting them more as diplomatic gifts rather than tribute.

Some Hittite objects confirming the diplomatic relations between Hatti and Alashiya, have been uncovered in various Late Bronze Age sites in Cyprus: a golden seal from Tamassos, two seals from Hala Sultan Tekke, a Hittite terracotta bull's head from *Ayia Paraskevi*, two bull figures one from *Myrtou-Pighadhes* and one from Enkomi, and a silver figure of a 'protective' deity from *Kalavastos-Ayios Dhimitrios*¹¹⁵. The Cypriot evidence in the Hittite area is not a lot as well: a fragment of a copper ox-hide ingot from Hattusa and the distribution of red lustrous wheel-made ware across Anatolia, which is considered to be either from Cyprus or Cilicia¹¹⁶.

¹¹³ Martino 2007, 251.

¹¹⁴ Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 16.

¹¹⁵ Martino 2007, 253–254.

¹¹⁶ Martino 2007, 254–255.

CHAPTER IV

Ugaritic Texts

The ancient city of Ugarit was located on the northwest part of today's Syria, three kilometres by the Mediterranean coast. The ruins of the ancient city were discovered in 1929 beneath the large Tell called Ras Shamra (Ra's Shamrah). The occupation of the site began during the Neolithic Period and it expanded until the end of the Late Bronze Age, when it stopped immediately. Some minor activity is proved to have existed in later periods during the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman times but the city did not evolve again into an urban settlement¹¹⁷.

The most well documented level of the site belongs to the Late Bronze Age period. The continuous excavation campaigns and the meticulous study of the site have revealed a developed urban settlement with a large palatial complex, residential quarter, private houses, temples, fortification walls and luxury goods. The tablets uncovered on the ground floor inside the palace and inside the private buildings reveal important insights about the history and the activity of the city. The content of the texts varies and some of the most common types are royal and private letters, legal and commercial documents, lists, rituals and mythological texts written in Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hurrian, and some in Cypro-Minoan script, which is undeciphered and the content of this particular script is unknown. All the tablets are dating between the 15th and the 12th centuries and cover the years of Ugarit's domination by the Egyptian Empire (ca. 1400–1350 B.C.) and the Hittite Empire (ca. 1350–1200 B.C.). The majority of the texts belong to the 12th century and some illustrate the end of the city. Due to these texts the destruction of the city is now believed to have occurred at approximately 1185/1180 B.C.¹¹⁸.

The texts mentioning Alashiya written in Akkadian and Ugaritic are attested mainly in private archives, with some exceptions and evidence of the Cypro-Minoan script is found exclusively in private archives. The private archives of Ugarit were found in large residences belonging to officials and people of high rank: at the *Residence of Yabninu*, the head of a vast administration (*šatammu rabû*), two fragments with Cypro-Minoan RS 19.02 and RS 19.01 belonging to the same tablet; at the *Residence of Rašapabu*, a supervisor of the harbor (*akil kâri*) and some kind of a notary, a Cypro-Minoan tablet RS 17.06; at the *Residence of Rap'anu*, who was most likely a close counsellor of the king. In his archive large amount of royal correspondence letters that operated sensitive affairs of the kingdom were found, such as RS 20.168, RS 20.18, RS L. 1 and RS 20.238, which will be discussed further. Among them one Cypro-Minoan tablet RS 20.25; last but not least the *Residence of Urtenu*, where along with the tablets referring to Alashiya RS 94.2173, RS 2177+2491, RS 2447+2588+2590 and RS 94.2475+94.2561 two labels with the Cypro-Minoan inscription were found as well¹¹⁹. Following, I will discuss some of the most important texts that reveal stimulus information for the understanding of the Cypriot political organization and status during the Late Bronze Age.

¹¹⁷ Yon 2006, 22.

¹¹⁸ Caubet 2013, 36.

¹¹⁹ Ferrara 2014, 132–144.

An Ugaritic letter to Amenophis III?

TEXT: RS 18.113A; PRU 5.7+RS 18.113B.

TRANSLITERATION: Lipiński (1977: 214).

TRANSLATION: Lipiński (1977: 214).

This ambiguous letter was either sent by an official from Ugarit to Amenophis III Nebmare (ca. 1417–1379 B.C.) or by an Alashiyan to the king of Ugarit, who asked for permission to buy some ships that belonged to Ugaritic merchants¹²⁰. It concerns trade between Egypt and Ugarit and it mentions Alashiya and its king as well. The document is written in Ugaritic and it was found at the main palace of Ugarit. According to Edward Lipiński, this document is without a doubt a draft, a copy or an archive translation of a message¹²¹.

(Obv. 1–13): *“To the king, my lord, say: Message of the seal-bearer, thy servant. At the feet of my lord, from far away, seven times and seven times I fall. Thus I spoke to the Rising Baal, to the Eternal Sun-deity, to Astarte, to Anat, to all the gods of Alašiya: Let Nimmuria be an eternal king! Let our king, my lord, cause his realm to be strengthened. And to my lord I have sent [messages] ten times and my lord [had received] a prese[nt]”*¹²².

In the obverse of the letter the sender is addressed as the *seal-bearer*. He begins his message with a devotional/humble greeting and he addresses a series of gods, which are believed to be all gods of Alashiya¹²³. Without a doubt, Astarte was a goddess worshiped in ancient Cyprus. The recipient of the letter is either Nimmuria or Amenophis III Nebmare, the king of Egypt.

(Frag. 3–5): *“[...The merch]ant departed... [... the k]ing to....will be...”*¹²⁴.

(Rev. 1–14): *“And [... and let the king] [not] lay the twenty [men to heart.] [I] departed [and I arrived at] the city of [this] king [of Alašiya,] and face downwards, [I paid homage to the king] for their sake. And he said: I will not give them any silver until I send to the king. Now, he has sent [to] the king and let the king persuade himself about these (things) [and...] them and let their ships pass [on to] this merchant. And I have said [to] the Queen: “He is in search of ships and cam[e] because they will be sold”. And, O king, send to [me]!”*¹²⁵.

In the reverse of the letter the aim of this trip is revealed. The king of Alashiya has to pay for some ships he bought from an unknown source. Before the transaction is completed, he is obligated to ask Pharaoh's approval. Thus, in order to complete this agreement and before paying any silver he sends a

¹²⁰ Walls 1996, 36; Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 17.

¹²¹ Lipiński 1977, 213.

¹²² Lipiński 1977, 214.

¹²³ Lipiński 1977, 214–215: *“The mention of these Semitic deities seems to provide further evidence of the Semitic character of the ruling class in Alašiya at that time....the seal-bearer has piously recommended Amenophis III to these deities, which leads us to suppose that he wrote the letter on his return from Alašiya and that this letter was a report on a business journey to that country”*.

¹²⁴ Lipiński 1977, 215.

¹²⁵ Lipiński 1977, 215–216.

messenger to Egypt to receive an answer from the king of Egypt. This letter is intriguing, but due to its fragmentary state it is not possible to draw definite conclusions.

Banishment to Alashiya

TEXT: RS 17.352; PRU 4.55.

TRANSLITERATION: Nougayrol (1956: 121).

TRANSLATION: Beckman (1996: 26); Beckman (1999: 179–180).

In this edict written by the king of Carchemish Ini-Teshshup and found at the royal palace of Ugarit, Alashiya is cited as a banishment place for two Ugaritic princes. It dates approximately to the Mid–13th century B.C. The document is written in Akkadian and on the reverse, it has been sealed by the cylinder seal of Ini-Teshshup.

(4–11): “*Hishmi-Sharrumma and ʾR-Sharrumma have committed an offense against Ammištamru, king of the land of Ugarit. Their mother Aḥat-milki, queen of the land of Ugarit, has given them their inheritance portion, complete with silver and gold, complete with their utensils, and complete with all of their possessions, and she has sent them to the land of Alašiya*”¹²⁶.

The text describes how the queen of Ugarit Aḥat-milki, daughter of Ari Teshshup, king of Amurru and wife of Niqmepa, king of Ugarit (ca. 1312–1260 B.C.), had banished two of her sons Hishmi-Sharrumma and ʾR-Sharrumma to Alashiya, together with all their possessions. Their exile was a result of their misbehaviour as they offended their brother, Ammištamru, who at that time was the king of Ugarit (ca. 1260–1230 B.C.). The exile of royals to Alashiya appears also in the Hittite texts (KUB XIV 14; KUB I 1) and it most probably indicates friendly diplomatic relations between Ugarit and Alashiya and between the Hittite vassal states of Amurru and Ugarit, since the two royal houses were bound with a marriage agreement¹²⁷.

A letter from Niqmaddu III

TEXT: RS 20.168; *Ugaritica* 5.21.

TRANSLITERATION: Schaeffer (1968: 80–82).

TRANSLATION: Schaeffer (1968: 82–83); Beckman (1996: 26).

RS 20.168 is a fragmentary royal letter of 35 broken lines, belonging to the private archive of the *Rap'anu Residence*. It dates in the late 13th century B.C. during the reign of Niqmaddu III (ca. 1210–1200 B.C.), king of Ugarit. The letter is from the king of Ugarit and it is addressed to the king of Alashiya, whose name is not preserved. It is written in Akkadian.

¹²⁶ Beckman 1996, 26.

¹²⁷ Beckman 1999, 179.

(1–8): “[Say to the king of Alashiya, my father]: Thus says [your] son Niqmaddu: [I fall at] the feet of my father. May my father be [well]! May your palaces, [your] wives, [your infantry, your] chariots, [your] horse, and everything which belongs to the king of Alashiya, [my father], be very, very [well]!”¹²⁸.

In the first part of the text king Niqmaddu III addresses the king of Alashiya as his father and he is presenting himself as an inferior by “falling at the feet of his father”. According to Itamar Singer, “*this address should reflect an acknowledged hierarchy between the two royal courts*”¹²⁹. The introduction looks familiar to that of the Amarna letters. The body of the letter deals with the payment of oil and *tannu*-vessels shipment.

A letter from Ešuwara

TEXT: RS 20.18; *Ugaritica* 5.22.

TRANSLITERATION: Schaeffer (1968: 83–84).

TRANSLATION: Schaeffer (1968: 84–85); Beckman (1996: 27).

This official letter, found in the *Rap’anu* archive, is written by Ešuwara, the senior governor (MAŠKIM.GAL) of Alashiya in Akkadian and it is addressed to the king of Ugarit. The letter dates to late 13th or early 12th century B.C.

(1–28): “*Thus says Eshuwara, senior prefect of Alashiya: Say to the king of Ugarit: May you and your land too be well! Concerning the things which the enemy has done to these citizens of your land and your ships: they have committed the transgression(?) against these citizens of your land*¹³⁰. *So don’t be angry(?) with me. And now the twenty ships which the enemy hadn’t yet launched in the mountainous region haven’t stayed put. They set out suddenly and we don’t know where they’ve turned up(?). I’ve written to you to inform you, so that you can take defensive measures. Be aware!*”¹³¹.

From the context of the letter it is clear that it is a response to a previous letter sent by the king of Ugarit accusing the king of Alashiya either for not sending help to prevent an attack from the “enemy” or siding with the “enemy”. The governor of Alashiya in his reply denies the accusations. He briefly states that there are twenty enemy ships launched in a mountainous region¹³², which he, and probably the king, are not aware of where they are and he suggests the king of Ugarit to take responsibility and strengthen his defensive system.

Shelley Wachsmann, approaches the text quite differently, following the translation of Schaeffer (1968: 84–85). In this context Ešuwara accuses people from Ugarit, who sided with the enemy, for the transgressions that happened in their land. What is more, Wachsmann adds that “*once again we observe the Sea People seemingly absorbing parts of the local social strata, who then turn against their own state, or against its allies. Such a situation could also explain a document in which Šuppiluliuma II, the last Hittite*

¹²⁸ Beckman 1996, 26.

¹²⁹ Singer 1999, 720.

¹³⁰ Schaeffer 1968, 84: translates 7’–13’: “*As for the matter concerning those enemies:(it was) the people from your country (and) your own ships (who) did this! And (it was) the people from your country (who) committed these transgression(s)*”.

¹³¹ Beckman 1996, 27.

¹³² Lehmann 1996, 27, no. 40: suggests that the *mountainous region* could be the rocky shores of Lycia or Cilicia.

king, describes sea battles against the ‘ships of Alašia’” assuming that a political shift occurred during this period of time in Alashiya, where the Sea Peoples had taken over the power. Similar events should have happened in Ugarit¹³³.

A letter to Ammurapi II, king of Ugarit

TEXT: RSL 1; *Ugaritica* 5.23.

TRANSLITERATION: Schaeffer (1968: 85–86).

TRANSLATION: Schaeffer (1968: 86); Beckman (1996: 27).

RSL 1 is a royal letter, written in Akkadian and dating to the late 13th or early 12th century B.C. It is part of the *Rap’anu* archive. According to Beckman, “*comparison with the following letter (RS 20.238) strongly suggests that the king who sent this message was the ruler of Alashiya*”¹³⁴. However, some scholars refuse to classify this letter among the ‘Alashiya documents’ from Ugarit¹³⁵.

(1–28): “*Thus says the king (of Alašiya): say to Ammurapi, king of Ugarit: May you be well, and may the gods protect you in well-being! Concerning that which you wrote (me): ‘Enemy ships have been sighted at sea’ – if it is true that ships have been sighted, then make yourself very strong. Now where are your infantry and [your] chariotry stationed? Aren’t they stationed with you? No? Who is sending you after(?) the enemy? Surround your cities with walls. Bring (your) infantry and chariotry into (them). Be on lookout for the enemy and make yourself very strong*”¹³⁶.

The letter is a response to a previous letter sent by Ammurapi II (ca. 1200–1190/85 B.C.), king of Ugarit. According to the king of Alashiya, Ammurapi warned the king of Alashiya about the “enemy” ships that had been noticed at the sea. The king of Alashiya’s response sounds rather indifferent. He questions the existence of “enemy” ships and he merely suggests the king of Ugarit to strengthen his defense without offering any help. According to the context, the infantry and the chariotry of Ugarit seems to be absent from their homeland. The king of Alashiya seems to be unwilling to offer any military assistance in all the Ugarit and Alashiya correspondence.

¹³³ Wachsmann 2013, 104–105; Halayqa 2010, 320, n. 67.

¹³⁴ Beckman 1996, 27.

¹³⁵ Singer 1999, 720–721, n. 394: “*Alašia is not mentioned in it and the ‘king’ par excellence throughout the documentation from Ugarit is always the Viceroy of Carchemish. Moreover, in all the (published) letters from Alašia the sender clearly states his name or his title. It is therefore preferable to classify RSL 1 with the Carchemish dossier*”; Vita 1999, 498, n. 265: “*From epigraphy and content, RSL 1 cannot come from that island*”.

¹³⁶ Beckman 1996, 27.

A letter from Ammurapi II, king of Ugarit

TEXT: RS 20.238; *Ugaritica* 5.24.

TRANSLITERATION: Schaeffer (1968: 87–88).

TRANSLATION: Schaeffer (1968: 88–89); Beckman (1996: 27).

RS 20.238 is a royal letter dating to the late 13th or early 12th century B.C. Although none of the king's names are mentioned, judging from the context it must be sent by the king of Ugarit, Ammurapi II (ca. 1200–1190/85 B.C.)¹³⁷. It is written in Akkadian and it is sent from the king of Ugarit to the king of Alashiya. The document was found among the tablets of the *Rap'anu* archive. From the context it is valid to assume that it was the response to RSL 1, if in fact RSL 1 originates from the king of Alashiya.

(1–36): “*Say to the king of Alašiya, my father: Thus says the king of Ugarit, your son: I fall at the feet of my father. May my father be well! May your palaces, your wives, your infantry, and everything which belongs to the king of Alašiya, my father be very, very well! My father, now the ships of the enemy have been coming. They have been setting fire to my cities and have done harm to the land. Doesn't my father know that all of my infantry and [chariotry] are stationed in Ḫatti, and that all of my ships are stationed in the land of Lukka? They haven't arrived back yet, so the land is thus prostrate. May my father be aware of this matter. Now the seven ships of the enemy which have been coming have done harm to us. Now if other ships of the enemy turn up, send me a report somehow(?) so that I will know*”¹³⁸.

The letter begins with the same greeting formula that appears in the Amarna letters and RS 20.168. In this response the king of Ugarit informs the king of Alashiya about the continued attacks of the enemy against his cities. He notifies him that the Ugaritic infantry and chariotry are not stationed in Ugarit but in Hatti and Lukka. At the end he pleads for help and asks the king of Alashiya to send a report if other ships of the “enemy” arrive.

Here, Singer, notices the small number of the enemy ships, which is seven¹³⁹. Since the king of Ugarit reports that his military is missing, it is no surprise that seven armed ships could cause serious damage to unarmed cities. Although, one may think that it would be extremely unwise for a king to keep his army outside of his region, Singer notes that “*the constant reprimands from Carchemish and from Ḫatti leave little doubt that he [the king of Ugarit] kept the best part of his army within the borders of his kingdom, as indeed any sensible ruler would do in a similar situation*”¹⁴⁰.

Once again as in RS 20.168 the king of Ugarit adds that he “*falls at the feet*” of “*his father*”, the king of Alashiya. In this case, this addressing sounds more like a declaration of devotion and lower status. The king of Ugarit pleads for help and is willing to humiliate himself in front of his counterpart, in order to receive a report from Alashiya and secure his land¹⁴¹.

¹³⁷ Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 18.

¹³⁸ Beckman 1996, 27.

¹³⁹ Singer 1999, 719.

¹⁴⁰ Singer 1999, 721; For the same matter see Vitta 1999, 498: “*RS 20.238 is the most explicit witness available of the fleet from Ugarit in a war engagement. It also proves that the Canaanite kingdom, in the closing of its existence, made a last military effort in collaboration with Hatti in an attempt to repel the attacks which threatened both states*”.

¹⁴¹ Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 18.

The archive of *Urtenu Residence*

In 1994, the French campaign uncovered 500 tablets in the *Urtenu Residence* which is located at the southern part of the excavated city, south-east of the royal palace. The majority of the texts are written in Akkadian and date during the reign of Niqmadu III (ca. 1210–1200 B.C.)¹⁴². I mention the texts in separate paragraphs as the majority of the texts of this campaign are not published, yet. I collected all the references from the preliminary reports of the excavation and other sources¹⁴³.

In RS 94.2173, a cuneiform tablet, the great commissioner (*rabisu rabû*) of an unnamed country – probably Alashiya? – sends a letter to the king of Ugarit, Niqmadu III and refers to some horses¹⁴⁴.

In RS 2177+2491, a cuneiform tablet of an unknown date, the great commissioner (*rabisu rabû*) of an unnamed country requests the release of some Alashiyans that are detained in Ugarit. According to the context, the letter should come from Alashiya¹⁴⁵.

In RS 94.2475+94.2561, a cuneiform tablet, we encounter for the first time the name of the king of Alashiya, *Kušmešuša*. The king of Alashiya *Kušmešuša* writes to the king of Ugarit Niqmadu III about thirty-three copper ingots of thirty talents (900 kgs) that have been sent from Alashiya to Ugarit. The king of Alashiya refers to the king of Ugarit as “*his son*”, which implies that the former was of a higher rank than the latter. In the reverse of the tablet, the scribe requests a ‘fine’ table and five chairs¹⁴⁶. About the name of the king of Alashiya Kenneth A. Kitchen notices that “*it is neither Egyptian, nor Semitic (West, East, or South), nor Hittite/Luwian, nor Hurrian. Minoan is unknown*”, therefore he proposes that “*it might be Mycenaean Greek (Kosmassos)*”¹⁴⁷.

In RS 34.153, a cuneiform tablet, the messenger Zu-Aštarti describes his journey to Urtenu. (14–35): “*On the sixth day I was at the sea. As a wind took me, I reached the territory of Sidon. From Sidon to the territory of Ušnatu it bore me, and in Ušnatu I am held up. May my brothers know this... Say to the king: If they received the horses which the king gave to the messenger of the land of Alašiya, then a colleague of the messenger will come to you. May they give those horses into his hands*”¹⁴⁸. The letter describes the mission of the messenger Zu-Aštarti, which had to do with the transaction of horses and his capture/delay at the territory of *Ušnatu*. This individual is also known from records of the city Emar, located on the Middle of Euphrates¹⁴⁹. The fact that the messenger contacted Urtenu for help probably reveals the authority of Urtenu which may have acted as a governor or military official or representative (*šākin*) of the king or a wealthy entrepreneur¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴² Ferrara 2012, 142.

¹⁴³ Yon, Arnaud 2001, 235–408; Ferrara 2012, 142–144; Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 17–18.

¹⁴⁴ Ferrara 2012, 143; Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 17.

¹⁴⁵ Ferrara 2012, 143; Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 17.

¹⁴⁶ Ferrara 2012, 143; Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 17–18.

¹⁴⁷ Kitchen 2009, 4.

¹⁴⁸ Monroe 2009, 188.

¹⁴⁹ Beckman 1996, 28.

¹⁵⁰ Monroe 2009, 189.

Other texts from Ugarit mentioning Alashiya

Along with these references, which are mainly royal correspondences, the name of Alashiya is also evident in other types of texts. In RS 1929.2, a ritual from Ugarit dating probably during the reign of Niqmaddu II (ca. 1370–1340/35 B.C.), the chief of Alashiya is mentioned among the chiefs of the Hurrians and Hittites. The ritual refers to the gods and asks for protection from the enemies of Ugarit. Alashiya is considered as a potential threat to the city and it is placed at the same rank as Hatti¹⁵¹.

In RS 19.16, a ration list, from the 14th–13th century B.C., the name of an Alashian is listed among other workers. The list begins as such: “*List of rations (for) the king’s personnel in the month of Itbnm*”. Then a list of workers follows. The name of the Alashian *’Aldy* – a personal name? – is mentioned in line 21: “*The tdgl-workers: ’In, B’In, (and) ’Aldy.*”¹⁵².

RS 19.180, is another list of names from 14th–13th century B.C., where *bn ’altn* appears, probably a patronymic derived from the geographical name *’altn* (Alashiya)¹⁵³.

In RS 18.119, an inventory list from 14th–13th century B.C., a ship from Alashiya has arrived to the Ugaritic port “*Atlg/Atalig*” carrying “*15 talents of*” and “*3 talents of*” – probably copper –, “*two hrts*”, “*two mpqs*” and “*three trowels*”¹⁵⁴.

RS 18.29, is a personnel list, from the 14th–13th century B.C. It records “assistants” and it mentions the word *’alty* as part of someone’s name¹⁵⁵.

More lists from the 14th–13th century B.C. that mention Alashians working in Ugarit are the tablets RS 16.128¹⁵⁶, RS 15.51¹⁵⁷, RS 16.355¹⁵⁸, RS 15.39¹⁵⁹, RS 15.96¹⁶⁰, RS 17.118¹⁶¹, RS 11.800+RS 11.776¹⁶².

RS 18.114, is a legal text, dating during Mid–13th century B.C. The text describes the story of two – Ugaritic? – brothers, who fled from their country to Alashiya and from there they moved to Hatti. The king of Hatti gave them to the king of Carchemish, who made them servants of his son. Alashiya in this text appears as a gateway from Ugarit to Hatti for these two fugitives¹⁶³.

RS 18.42, is an inventory list, from the Late 13th century, recording the distribution of oil from Ugarit to other areas. (1–6): “*Six hundred, sixty heavy (measures) of oil for ’Abrm the Alashian. One hundred, thirty heavy (measures) of oil for ’Abrm of Egypt. Two hundred, forty-eight heavy (measures) of oil for the (men of) Sprdnm (Sardis?)*”. The Alashian merchant receives more oil than the other merchants, leading Walls into the conclusion that “*Cyprus received large amounts of oil from Ugarit as a trade item*”¹⁶⁴.

¹⁵¹ Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 16.

¹⁵² Virolleaud 1965, 18–21; Walls 1996, 36.

¹⁵³ Virolleaud 1965, 32; Walls 1996, 37.

¹⁵⁴ Virolleaud 1965, 74; Walls 1996, 37.

¹⁵⁵ Virolleaud 1965, 107; Walls 1996, 37.

¹⁵⁶ Virolleaud 1957, 61–62; Walls 1996, 38.

¹⁵⁷ Virolleaud 1957, 62–63; Walls 1996, 38.

¹⁵⁸ Virolleaud 1957, 72–73; Walls 1996, 38.

¹⁵⁹ Virolleaud 1957, 114–115; Walls 1996, 38.

¹⁶⁰ Virolleaud 1957, 128; Walls 1996, 39.

¹⁶¹ Virolleaud 1957, 169; Walls 1996, 39.

¹⁶² Virolleaud 1941, 17–19; Walls 1996, 40.

¹⁶³ Nougayrol 1956, 108; Beckman 1996, 26.

¹⁶⁴ Virolleaud 1965, 117–118; Walls 1996, 38.

In RS 11.857, a 13th-12th century B.C., written in Ugaritic, list of names of 29 men, their wives, children and servants, Alashiya is mentioned on the right edge of the tablet “*uruA-la-si-ia*”¹⁶⁵. The text has been interpreted in three different ways: a list of Alashiyans who have established an Alashiyian colony in Syria¹⁶⁶; a list of Ugaritians living in Alashiya¹⁶⁷; and last but not list a list of Alashiyian prisoners detained in Syria¹⁶⁸.

Cypro-Minoan script found in Ugarit

One of the most fascinating finds at Ras Shamra for the Cypriot archaeology was the rare evidence of the Cypro-Minoan script. As already discussed in the introduction of this chapter the tablets and artifacts with the Cypro-Minoan inscription were found exclusively at the archives of the private residences. Despite the fact that the script is undeciphered, Sylvia Ferrara notes about the evidence found at the private archives of Ugarit: “*Several inferences can be made from a complementary survey of the genres attested in the individual archives where Cypro-Minoan is found, together with the examination of the internal structure of the texts. These factors help not only to establish the general contents and provenance of the tablets, but also highlight several historical and socio-political implications that have not hitherto been brought to light*”¹⁶⁹.

At the *Residence of Yabninu*, two tablets RS 19.02 and RS 19.01 and an inscribed pithos rim RS 27.237 were uncovered. Apart the Cypro-Minoan texts the archive in total consists of five tablets written in Ugaritic and sixty tablets in Akkadian. The Ugaritic tablets are lists of individuals and their residence, while the tablets in Akkadian have economic character. They are records of receipts and expenditures. Moreover, there are several documents that deal with transactions with foreign towns and register foreigners in Ugarit or Ugaritians in other towns. The archive therefore, has an administrative and economic character, and it deals with foreign affairs. The numeral notations found at the Cypro-Minoan tablets RS 19.02 and RS 19.01 fit well to this archive and it is believed that the tablets may be economic texts or lists. The fact that they are written in Cypro-Minoan and not the *lingua franca* which is Akkadian or the local scripture encourages the belief that Cyprus was superior to Ugarit – evidence of influence? –. It may also imply that the texts were written by Alashiyans who lived in Ugarit¹⁷⁰.

The archive of the *Residence of Rašapabu* consists of ten legal texts, five economic texts, two scribal exercises in Ugaritic, a hippiatric text and a long list of debtors. Among them, one Cypro-Minoan tablet RS 17.06 is found along with Cypriot seal impressions on two tablets. At first, the Cypro-Minoan tablet was identified as a letter, because of the absence of numeral and commodity signs. However, as mentioned above no other official letters are stored in archive, thus, Silvia Ferrara suggests “*the official correspondence between Cyprus and Ugarit was carried out in Akkadian cuneiform*”¹⁷¹. Therefore, taking under consideration this suggestion and the fact that the tablet has a similar shape to the other tablets of the archive created in Ugarit, the assumption that it could be a letter is weak. In fact, due to the division markers that have been spotted in between the text, it is recommended now that the tablets might be a list¹⁷².

¹⁶⁵ Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012, 17.

¹⁶⁶ Viroilleaud 1940, 273.

¹⁶⁷ Liverani 1962, 92–94.

¹⁶⁸ Vita 1995, 108.

¹⁶⁹ Ferrara 2012, 134.

¹⁷⁰ Ferrara 2012, 134–136.

¹⁷¹ Ferrara 2012, 138.

¹⁷² Ferrara 2012, 136–139.

The archive at the *Residence of Rap'anu* belonged undoubtedly to a very high rank individual who was acting a counsellor of the king and had access to sensitive political correspondence. Among the great number of tablets, which is more than two hundred and concerns royal correspondence with Alashiya, Karkemish and Egypt, one perfectly preserved Cypro-Minoan tablet, RS 20.25, was discovered. The correspondence letters concerning Alashiya were already discussed above. The Cypro-Minoan tablet has been identified as a nominal roll up until now, perhaps to keep track of the Alashiyans in Ugarit¹⁷³.

The archive at the *Residence of Urtenu* was already discussed thoroughly above. Among the large number of tablets, two labels bearing Cypro-Minoan inscription were found, RS 94.2328 and RS 99.204. The former preserves a two-sign sequence and the latter a three-sign sequence. The label RS 94.2328 was found in the filling of a tomb. On the one side it bears the Cypro-Minoan inscription and on the other side it has a seal impression of a bird with unfolded wings. The aim of the labels was perhaps to mark commodities and goods¹⁷⁴.

Textual and Archaeological Analyses: Ugarit and Cyprus

According to the textual evidence Ugarit and Alashiya shared friendly and diplomatic relations. The geographic location of Cyprus established the island as the first port to accommodate vessels leaving Ugarit to the Mediterranean. The economic ties that bonded these two areas are evident in the textual evidence of the Late Bronze Age. The numerous inventory lists and letters, mention various products and goods that were exchanged between these two societies. The most frequent were copper from Alashiya and oil from Ugarit, however in some cases we read about horses, boats and furniture. Based on the archaeological evidence in Cyprus and in Ras Shamra pottery, ceramics and luxurious goods are also evident, like the silver bowl found at Hala Sultan Tekke, in Cyprus, bearing an Ugaritic cuneiform inscription¹⁷⁵ and the Cypriot juglet or 'bilbil' found in 1937 during the excavations in the Lower City of Ugarit at Ras Shamra. The juglet is identified as a Cypriot Base-Ring Ware. Many of this type of pottery were found in private houses or in tombs. The size of these juglets indicate that they must have contained precious liquids. The form of the juglets which looks like a poppy flower when turned upside down, suggests that they carried opiated liquids¹⁷⁶.

The shipwreck found at the coast of South Turkey at Uluburun, dating to the late 14th century B.C., illustrates the economic ties and traffic in the Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age and enhances the connections between Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean coast. The ship with the massive cargo consisting local merchandise from the Levant and Cyprus, exotic goods, ten tons of copper from Cyprus, pottery, luxurious objects, weights, edibles and primary materials, must have commenced its voyage either from the Levantine coast, probably the commercial port of Ugarit or from Cyprus. Its final destination was undoubtedly somewhere in the west, most probably Greece, where it could be loaded with Mycenaean ceramics and return back to the east¹⁷⁷.

Apart from the material evidence, the personnel and inventory lists record many Alashiyans, who lived and worked in Ugarit as merchants, craftsmen, officials, and assistants working for the king of Ugarit. The existence of Cypro-Minoan found in the archives belonging to powerful and wealthy men in Ugarit

¹⁷³ Ferrara 2012, 139–141.

¹⁷⁴ Ferrara 2012, 142–144.

¹⁷⁵ Yon 2000, 192.

¹⁷⁶ Yon 2006, 145.

¹⁷⁷ Yon 2000, 193.

and probably used for administrative purposes, makes the Cypriot presence in Ugarit more evident. In fact, Silvia Ferrara notes “*in this context Cypriot scribes working in Ugarit would not be a surprising conclusion*” and “*Ugaritian scribes were bilingual and digraphic professionals: would they not be able to master the script of their island neighbours?*”¹⁷⁸. In any case, the close ties between Ugarit and Alashiya are obvious.

The diplomatic relations of the two regions are also reinforced by their royal correspondence. Since Alashiya was the closest foreign port to Ugarit from the Mediterranean Sea, it is not irrational that the king of Ugarit requested assistance and information about the “*enemy ships*” from the king of Alashiya. The letters RS 20.168, RS 20.18, RSL 1, RS 20.238 are primary sources reporting the final days of Ugarit and illustrating the high political rank of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age, since the king of Alashiya calls the king of Ugarit “son” and the later calls him “father”. Regarding these terms Itamar Singer adds, “*Dietrich-Mayer suggests that the courts of Ugarit and Alashiya were linked by a royal marriage, which would also explain the invocation of the gods of Alashiya, together with the gods of Ugarit and of Amurru, in a Hurrian ritual text (KTU 1.125; RS 24.274.6). There is, however, no supporting evidence for the alleged marriage of Ammittamru III with a princess of Alashiya*”¹⁷⁹. Nonetheless, it is widely accepted that the terms “son”, “father” and “brother” in diplomatic language indicate political status. Additionally, when it comes to diplomacy between Alashiya and Ugarit one must not ignore the phenomenon of the island acting as a banishment place for royalties, as shown in RS 17.352 from the corpus of Ugarit and KUB XIX 14 and KUB I 1 from the Hittite corpus.

Last but not least, we must bear in mind that both Alashiya and Ugarit at one point in time were both – not certain about Alashiya – under Hittite control/influence. The Hittite textual evidence, discussed thoroughly in a previous chapter, supports that Alashiya belonged to the Hittite king (*The Indictment of Madduwatta*; KUB 14.1+KBo 19.38) already by the late 15th–14th century B.C. and then eventually after some centuries seized again and made tributary, once during the reign of either Tudhaliya IV (ca. 1237–1209 B.C.) or Šuppiluliuma II (ca. 1207–? B.C.) in KBo XII 39 and then once again during the reign of Suppiluliuma II (ca.1207–? B.C.) in KBo XII 38. Ugarit on the other side, was under the Hittite control during ca. 1350–1200 B.C. If Alashiya was indeed captured by the Hittites, then both Ugarit and Alashiya would be vassal states of the Hittite Empire during the end of the Late Bronze Age. According to the Hittite vassal treats, “*Hittite vassals are forbidden to engage in warfare among themselves but are rather required to present their difference to the Great King (or his deputy) for arbitration*”¹⁸⁰. Since both courts could be allies under the Hittite jurisdiction, very close to each, and not large geographical areas or aggressive to stand out from other vassals, one may wonder why Alashiya is presented as superior in the textual evidence. The close relations between Ugarit and Hatti began to expire during the reign of Ammurapi of Ugarit. In RS 34.129, an Akkadian royal letter, Suppiluliuma II prefers to write to the prefect of Ugarit rather than the king. He calls Ammurapi “*small*” and “*young*” and that he is not a worthy vassal to the Hittites. The devaluation of the Ugaritian kings was not uncommon, especially during the final days of Ugarit. It was due to their neglect to send the arranged tribute and gifts to the Hittite court¹⁸¹. Taking this under consideration, and accepting the fact that Alashiya could be a vassal state of the Hittite court at the end of Bronze Age, I suggest that maybe that was the reason that Alashiya was superior to Ugarit during that period.

¹⁷⁸ Ferrara 2014, 145.

¹⁷⁹ Dietrich, Mayer 1997, 84–85; Singer 1999, 720 n.392.

¹⁸⁰ Beckman 1999, 3.

¹⁸¹ Halayqa 2010, 311–312.

The correspondence between Alashiya and Ugarit describes partially the demise of Ugarit. At the end of the Late Bronze Age, Ugarit suffered already from economic problems. The last known king of Ugarit was Ammurapi II (ca. 1200–1190/1185 B.C.). During his reign the kingdom saw its collapse¹⁸². The correspondence present here reveals an external enemy as the cause of Ugarit’s downfall. The demise of Ugarit is likely to have happened due to the continued attacks of the so-called “Sea People” –and not only¹⁸³–. The phenomenon of the “Sea Peoples” is also attested by the Hittite and the Egyptian rulers. They are usually described as invaders from the north-west, who arrived by boats and raided cities. Their exact origin is not yet discovered, however the main notion is that they came from the coast of Anatolia and the eastern Mediterranean¹⁸⁴. In the textual evidence they are usually identified as the people from *Lukka*, *Sherden*, *Eqwesh*, *Teresh*, *Shekelesh*, *Karkiša*, *Weshesh*, *Denyen*, *Tjekker/Sikila* and *Peleset*¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸² Halayqa 2010, 299.

¹⁸³ Schaeffer 1968, 760–762: proposes a destruction by earthquake; Drews 1993, 77–84: demise by drought.

¹⁸⁴ Yon 2006, 21.

¹⁸⁵ Adams, Cohen 2013, 645–664.

CHAPTER V

The Archaeological Evidence of Cyprus

The Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600–1100 BC) in Cyprus is a dynamic period of socio-economic transformations. The island shifted from a village-based society to a town-centred community. The major changes that the island saw are: the increasing number of settlements, the emergence of urban centres, the changes in burial practices, the use of the Cypro-Minoan script, the intensification of copper production and maritime trade and the appearance of fortification walls, the so-called ‘Cyclopean walls’¹⁸⁶. The systematic excavations and investigations initiated during the 20th century and continued until today uncovered large parts of the Late Bronze Age settlement and presented us with valuable information. Monumental architecture, luxury goods, evidence of mining and smelting, agricultural surplus, textile and pottery production, have been found widely distributed across the major centers and their periphery.

Bernard Knapp proposed four types of settlements according to their material culture and presumed functions¹⁸⁷. The coastal centres: Kition, Palaepaphos, Maroni *Vournes/Tsaroukkas*, Hala Sultan Tekke, Enkomi, Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, Alassa *Palaeotaverna*, Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* and Kourion *Pampoula* have evidence of commercial, ceremonial, administrative and production activities. The inland towns: *Phlamoudhi Melissa*, Sinda, Maa *Palaeokastro*, *Ayios Sozomenos*, and Pyla *Kokkinokremos* yielded administrative, production, transport and some storage evidence. The smaller inland sites: Myrtou *Pygadhés*, Athienou, *Ayios Iakovos Dhima* exhibit ceremonial, production, transport and some storage functions. The smaller sites are identified as agricultural and pottery-production villages, and mining sites: *Apliki Karamallos*, Sanidha, *Aredhiou Vouppes*, *Phlamoudhi Sapilou*, Phaneromeni ‘A’, *Ambelikou Aletri*, *Analiondas Palioklichia*, *Politiko Phorades*. These unearthed evidence for production, storage and transport¹⁸⁸. In this chapter I will present nine different types of sites, that showcase different functions and provide archaeological evidence of complex hierarchical settlement patterns .

Enkomi

The archaeological site of Enkomi is located close to the east coast of Cyprus, at the Ammochostos district, to the east of the modern village Enkomi. The Late Cypriot city of Enkomi used to be one of the most prosperous in Cyprus. The history of excavations at Enkomi begins in the 19th century. The range of investigations and excavations were systematic from the beginning, making the site one of the most extensively excavated of that period. The first investigation happened by the British Museum in 1896 as a part of the Turner Bequest Expedition to Cyprus that lasted from 1893 till 1896. The excavations uncovered about a hundred extremely rich tombs, including burial offerings¹⁸⁹. The investigation continued in 1913 by Sir John Myres and the Curator of the Cyprus Museum, Menelaos Markides. The systematic excavations began again in 1930 by the Swedish Cyprus Archaeological Expedition, under the supervision of Professor Einar Gjerstad. During that campaign twenty-two tombs were excavated¹⁹⁰. The excavations that revealed part of the ancient town of Enkomi and proved that the settlement was contemporary to the necropolis were

¹⁸⁶ Knapp 2013, 348; Steel 2014, 571–572.

¹⁸⁷ Knapp 2013, 355.

¹⁸⁸ Knapp 2013, 355.

¹⁸⁹ Kiely 2017.

¹⁹⁰ Gjerstad 1934, 467–468.

held in 1934 by the French team, led by Professor Claude Schaeffer, who previously excavated Ras-Shamra, the location of ancient Ugarit. His aim was to find evidence that connected Enkomi with Ugarit and he identified Alashiya with Enkomi¹⁹¹. During his campaign a large building of the 12th century B.C. was unearthed, ‘The House of the Bronzes’. His excavations were interrupted by the Second World War and then continued in 1946. From 1946 until 1947 Schaeffer uncovered part of the large fortifications of the ancient town and in 1948, he invited the Cypriot Department of Antiquities for collaboration. The Curator of the Department was Dr. Porphyrios Dikaios, to whom the task was assigned. The archaeological campaign of Porphyrios Dikaios held twelve seasons of excavations over ten years of systematic research. During the campaign, two settlement areas, Area I and III were excavated reaching the earliest phases of occupation. The excavations at Enkomi were terminated after the Turkish invasion in Cyprus in 1974¹⁹². However, despite the political barriers, investigation of metallurgy and metalwork in Enkomi continues¹⁹³.

The systematic excavation in Enkomi yielded a large coastal town that started as a small agricultural community in the Middle Cypriot III (ca. 1725–1650 B.C.) and flourished during the Late Bronze Age. In Late Cypriot I (ca. 1650–1450 B.C.) the town was already an important centre for the extraction and exploitation of copper across the eastern Mediterranean. The period after 1400 B.C. yielded a lot of Mycenaean pottery and golden grave goods that display the prosperity of the town and the close links with Egypt, Middle East and the Aegean. The tombs of the city are similar to those of Ugarit as the vast majority are carved in natural stone at the courtyard of the houses.

The earliest monumental building can be found at the north part of Dikaios’ Area III the so-called “*fortress*”¹⁹⁴. The building was a part of a larger complex of sixteen rooms including two courtyards one at the center and one at the east and copper smelting workshops¹⁹⁵. The building surpassed destruction and restoration in the Middle and end of LCI, “*reflecting the instability of the local regime*”¹⁹⁶. Two more monumental buildings were found on the site: the ‘Ashlar Building’ in Dikaios’ Area I and the ‘Batiment 18’ in Quartier 5W. Both of them are interpreted as elite dwellings¹⁹⁷. The ‘Ashlar Building’ dates to the end of the 13th century. At the southern part of the building lie two sanctuaries: the sanctuary of the ‘Horned God’ and the Sanctuary of the ‘Double Goddess’. Few metres to the south in Quartier 5E lies the Sanctuary of the ‘Ingot God’, which was constructed probably during the LCIIIC–LCIIIA period¹⁹⁸.

During the Middle 13th century the town had a fortification wall, which attracted Mycenaean colonists to settle there at the end of the century¹⁹⁹. The demise of the city happened at the end of the 11th century, when after a catastrophic earthquake the residents abandoned the town and moved to a new centre at Salamina.

¹⁹¹ Crewe 2007, 71.

¹⁹² Dikaios 1969, 5–10.

¹⁹³ Kassianidou 2016, 79–90.

¹⁹⁴ Keswani 1996, 222.

¹⁹⁵ Knapp 2013, 361.

¹⁹⁶ Keswani 1996, 222.

¹⁹⁷ Knapp 2013, 368.

¹⁹⁸ Knapp 2013, 371.

¹⁹⁹ Dikaios 1969, 10: “*The presence of a fortified town must have been the decisive factor which attracted the Mycenaean colonists. But there were, in addition, other important reasons, namely the proximity of the town to the eastern coast and the presence of an inner harbour, both reasons having evidently been at the origin of the settlement... When the Mycenaeans arrived as colonists, they found cities already established according to an Island pattern which was based on a much older tradition, from the Neolithic times onwards*”.

Another highlight of Enkomi is the extended evidence of the Cypro-Minoan script. The total number of inscribed objects is 133, exceeding other settlements in Cyprus²⁰⁰. The number of the documents is forty-nine and the rest are inscribed clay *boules*. The amount of inscribed clay boules precedes those found at Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke, leading to the conclusion that “*Cypro-Minoan on this particular medium was an idiosyncratic characteristic of Enkomi*” and that the idea of writing on *boules* was probably invented at Enkomi and then shared with the rest settlements²⁰¹. The inscriptions in Enkomi date to the entire Late Cypriot period (ca. 1650–1050 B.C.). The majority of the inscriptions are distributed during the LCIIIA/LCIIIB periods (ca. 1200–1150 B.C.)²⁰². The earliest attestations of Cypro-Minoan are found in Enkomi: two inscribed objects (a weight and a cylinder seal) of the LCIA period (ca. 1650–1550 B.C.) and Tablet 1885, a long document of the LCIB period (ca. 1550–1450 B.C.).

Pyla-Kokkinokremos

Pyla-Kokkinokremos is situated at the south-east coast of Cyprus, on a rocky plateau 10km to the east of ancient Kition and 20km to the south-west of ancient Enkomi. The site has been investigated since 1952 by Porphyrios Dikaios. The first excavation campaign was conducted from 1981–1982 by Vassos Karageorghis and the second campaign continued from 2010–2013 by V. Karageorgis and Athanasia Kanta from the Mediterranean Archaeological Society of Greece. Since 2014 until today systematic excavations are conducted by Joachim Bretschneider, from the University of Gent, Athanasia Kanta, and Jan Driessen, from the UCLouvain²⁰³.

The case of Pyla-Kokkinokremos is interesting. The settlement was founded during the so-called ‘Crisis Years’ in the eastern Mediterranean LCIIIC–LCIIIA (ca. 1300–1100 B.C.). Due to the fact that it was deliberately inhabited and abandoned in peace the site is characterized as a ‘time-capsule’. The excavations at the plateau have yielded a densely populated LC settlement surrounded by a wall, two tablets of Cypro-Minoan and a variety of multicultural pottery: Minoan, Cannanite, Mycenaean, Sardinian, Hittite and Cypriot. The absence of monumental buildings at the site may reflect that Pyla-Kokkinokremos “*served as a transport centre to ensure the movement of imported good from coast to inland*”²⁰⁴.

Kition

The ancient town of Kition is located close to the south coast of Cyprus within the borders of the modern city Larnaca. The two archaeological sites of Kition are *Kathari* and *Pampoula*. The first systematic excavation campaign was in 1929–1930 by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, under the direction of Einar Gjestard. Their excavations targeted the acropolis of the site *Pampoula*. The inhabitation of that area started at the end of LCIII (c. 1200–1050 B.C.) and the beginning of the Cypro Geometric I (c. 1050–950 B.C.)²⁰⁵. In 1959 the excavations at the site *Kathari* commenced by the Department of Antiquities, under the supervision of Vassos Karageorghis. The site was proved to be earlier than *Pampoula*. The excavations at Kition continued as well after the Turkish invasion in 1974 by the French Expedition of the University of

²⁰⁰ Ferrara 2014, 20. The next largest number of inscriptions is 28 at Kition.

²⁰¹ Ferrara 2014, 21.

²⁰² Ferrara 2014, 45.

²⁰³ Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2015, 1–2.

²⁰⁴ Knapp 2013, 380.

²⁰⁵ Gjerstad et al. 1937, 1.

Lyon, who by then excavated Salamina, at the east coast of Cyprus. The excavations at Kition focused on the site *Pampoula*²⁰⁶.

The site is divided in two main sectors of excavation. The Area I had a residential and industrial purpose. The Area II apart from being called the ‘sacred precinct’ it also had industrial and administrative functions²⁰⁷. The Bronze Age settlement at Kition was found in ‘Area II’ at *Kathari*. The town flourished between 1500–1300 B.C. During the 13th century the site was colonized by Mycenaean Greek merchants who settled at Kition. The period between late 13th and 11th century is identified by Cyclopean walls, five temples with ashlar structure and workshops for copper smelting. The workshops in the northern part indicate metallurgical activities, while the workshops at the western part weaving and textile production²⁰⁸. The site was inhabited until 1050 B.C. when an earthquake occurred and most people abandoned the town. It was not after the second half of the 9th century that Kition flourished again, when Phoenicians from Tyre repopulated the site *Pampoula*. The town prospered until the Byzantine period.

Kition is the second site in Cyprus with the largest number of Cypro-Minoan inscriptions. Twenty-eight inscribed objects were found in Area II at *Kathari*. Inscribed pottery is the most common group of objects to be inscribed, counting twenty-one attestations. The rest of evidence of the Cypro-Minoan script is discovered on two *boules* found in cultic areas, three ivory objects, one bronze ‘votive kidney’ and one stone block²⁰⁹. Chronologically the script is distributed from the LCIIIC until LCIIIC (ca. 1300–1050 B.C.).

Hala Sultan Tekke

The ancient town of Hala Sultan Tekke is situated on the south coast, by the shore of modern city Larnaca. Among the archaeologists the site is also sometimes referred as *Dromolaxia-Vyzakia*, which is the name of a village to the south. The site is characterised by the large Salt Lake, which acted as a protected harbor during antiquity. In 1894 John L. Myres was the first to excavate the area, but did not yield any material. During 1897–1898 the British Museum continued the excavations, directed by Henry B. Walters who at that time was investigating Maroni village, and recorded rich tombs²¹⁰. The first systematic excavations were held by Vassos Karageorghis in 1968, when he investigated two Late Bronze tombs on the west of the 7th century mosque that is built in that area. The next extensive archaeological campaign was carried out by the University of Gothenburg in Sweden and directed by Paul Åström in 1976–2007. The excavations uncovered parts of the Late Bronze settlement²¹¹. From 2010 until today the director of the excavations is Peter M. Fischer. In 2019 a test trench made at the eastern part of the town uncovered a stone wall made by small blocks that might be part of a fortification wall. The indications for such a claim are not enough, yet²¹².

The settlement at Hala Sultan Tekke was first occupied during the 15th century at the end of the Middle Cypriot III (ca. 1725–1650 B.C.) and the beginning of the Late Cypriot (ca. 1650–1550 B.C.), according to the earlier pottery finds. The structure of the town is well-organized and grid-planned²¹³. During the 13th century the settlement was already filled with domestic and industrial buildings and

²⁰⁶ Yon 1997, 9–10.

²⁰⁷ Knapp 2013, 373; 375.

²⁰⁸ Knapp 2013, 373.

²⁰⁹ Ferrara 2014, 278–283.

²¹⁰ Kiely 2011.

²¹¹ Fischer 2019, 236.

²¹² Fischer 2019, 245.

²¹³ Knapp 2013, 374.

possibly administrative since evidence of Cypro-Minoan script were found inscribed on two clay *boules*, one pottery and one cylinder seal²¹⁴. The furnace bases and copper ores prove that the centre was involved in copper productions and metallurgy. The imported potter and the luxurious goods demonstrate the foreign connections of the site with Egypt, Levant, Aegean and Sardinia. The structures in Area 8 (Building C, identified as a merchant's house)²¹⁵ and in Area 6 (large building complex with industrial, administrative and living areas)²¹⁶ attest ashlar masonry and can be characterized as 'monumental'. The site is also characterized by its large cemetery that is situated to the west of the mosque and covers more than 1 ha of land²¹⁷. The first destruction of the town happened during 1200 B.C. During that time, it was inhabited by "a wealthy guild of craftsmen who specialized in copper/bronze and textile production"²¹⁸, who also worked there, making the area one of the most important urban and trade centers in eastern Mediterranean. The town was inhabited again during the first half of the 12th century B.C. at LCIIIA (ca. 1200–1100 B.C.), but soon it was destroyed and finally abandoned.

Maroni-Vournes/Tsaroukkas

The archaeological site of Maroni is located on the south coast of Cyprus at Larnaka district. Remains of the ancient town are found on four sites *Kapsaloudhia*, *Aspres*, *Vournes*, *Tsaroukkas*. The excavations of the site began in 1897 from the British Museum, uncovering twenty-six rich tombs with local and imported burial offerings at the location *Tsaroukkas*. The site yielded objects from the Chalcolithic period and from the Bronze Age. In 1881, the excavations continued by the German Archaeologist Max Onhefalsch-Richter who investigated the Early (ca. 2500–1900 B.C.) and Middle (ca. 1900–1650 B.C.) Cypriot tombs at *Tsaroukkas* and discovered Mycenaean pottery. From 1982–1989 the excavations were undertaken by the University of Cincinnati under the direction of Gerald Cadogan. The investigation focused on an administrative zone at *Vournes* and yielded a monumental building complex dating to the LCIIIC (ca. 1300–1200 B.C.)²¹⁹. The next archaeological campaign occurred in 1990–1996 by Dr. Sturt Manning from the University of Reading. The *Maroni Valley Survey Project* (MVASP) at *Tsaroukkas* site uncovered domestic or industrial structures dating to the 13th century B.C. and fifteen chamber tombs with imported pottery from the Aegean. The underwater survey revealed large stone anchors, similar to those found on the land, proving that the ancient site at Maroni was a harbor town. A structure that was used for storage purposes was found at *Aspres* location. Geophysical surveys undertaken during 1990s, 2008–2010/12 by the *Kalavassos and Maroni Built Environments Project* (KAMBE) and in 2012–2013 identified large underground structures²²⁰.

The ancient site of Maroni was inhabited since the 7th millennium. During the Late Bronze Age, it must have been a prosperous harbour town. According to Sturt Manning, "*Maroni offers an example of a moderately large LBA settlement, but with a type of low-density urbanism that comprises a mixture of built space and complexes, surrounded by intervening empty and open spaces*"²²¹. The site yielded rich Late Cypriot tombs at various locations and architectural remains dating to LC II (ca. 1450–1200 B.C.) at

²¹⁴ Ferrara 2014, 278–283.

²¹⁵ Knapp 2013, 375.

²¹⁶ Knapp 2013, 376.

²¹⁷ Fischer 2019, 240.

²¹⁸ Fischer 2019, 238.

²¹⁹ Kiely 2011.

²²⁰ Manning et al 2014, 17.

²²¹ Manning et al 2014, 24–25.

Vournes, Tsaroukas and Aspres. Because of the sparsely deposited structures it is believed that the site “*was not a continuous settlement but shows different areas of activity*”²²². Two monumental structures were found on the site: the ‘Ashlar Building’ and the ‘West Building’. Both yielded evidence of storage facilities and production activities like metallurgy, olive-oil processing weaving and writing²²³. These structures were constructed on previous cemeteries. According to Manning, this may reflect a new elite group that established their authority by building new structures over the tombs of the previous dominant elite group²²⁴. Along with the archaeological remains, evidence of Cypro-Minoan inscription is noticeable on a Mycenaean style krater, a Basin-Rim and a Pottery-Handle²²⁵. The site was inhabited until 1200 B.C., when it was abandoned and no occupation is evident until the 8th century, the Cypro-Archaic period.

Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios

The ancient town of *Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios* is situated at the south part of Cyprus, in the Vasilikos River Valley, 3 km from the coast. Since 1976 the site has been part of the investigations of the Vasilikos Valley Project, directed by Ian A. Todd. The first excavation campaign occurred during 1979–1998 by Alison South. The excavations yielded the urban centre of the town, which is dating from the LCIIA period until its peak the LCIIIC period (ca. 1450–1200 B.C.). The occupation at the site was not earlier than LC IIA²²⁶. The excavations occurred in four separate areas and revealed elite residences and industrial facilities at the east, central and south-east areas and non-elite dwellings at the west area²²⁷. The most impressive building is the ‘Building X’, a court-centered structure built after the LCIIA:2/IIB and monumentalized in the mid LCIIIC period. The building was used for the production of olive oil and as a storage facility. The room called ‘Pithos Hall’ contained fifty large storage jars with an estimated capacity of 33,500 litres²²⁸. The evidence of the stamp seals and the Cypro-Minoan inscriptions suggest that it might have had an administrative role as well²²⁹. The evidence of elite feasting (animal bones) and the presence of four elite tombs, with a wealth of mortuary goods, at the west of the ‘Building X’, according to South, suggest political and social continuity, and that it had a prominent role in the surrounding area²³⁰.

The excavations at the site continued in 2012, 2015 and 2016, following Geophysical Surveys monitored by the *Kalavassos and Maroni Built Environments Projects* (KAMBE). The new investigations uncovered two more buildings in the urban area, the Building XVI²³¹ and the Building XVII and its surrounding areas²³².

²²² Manning et al 2014, 10.

²²³ Knapp 2013, 365.

²²⁴ Manning 1998, 51.

²²⁵ Ferrara 2014, 283.

²²⁶ Fisher, Manning, Urban 2019, 477.

²²⁷ Fisher, Manning, Urban 2019, 477–478.

²²⁸ Knapp 2013, 363.

²²⁹ Fisher, Manning, Urban 2019, 477–478.

²³⁰ South 1997, 171.

²³¹ Fisher, Manning, Urban 2019, 486.

²³² Fisher, Manning, Urban 2019, 490.

Alassa-Palaeotaverna

The archaeological site of Alassa is situated on the south-west part of Cyprus, north of the modern city Limassol and the ancient town Kourion. The excavations during the early 1980s in the site uncovered the remains of a Bronze Age town. The site yielded two monumental buildings that acted as storage facilities for olive-oil and wine production centres: 'Building II' and 'Building III'. 'Building II' is a large structure of ashlar masonry. On the south part of the building a room named the 'Hearth Room' is believed to have been the place where 'high level interactions' would have occurred²³³. On the north side of the structure a group of sixteen large *pithoi* reflect the storage facilities of the building. At the east side of 'Building II' lie the remains of 'Building III', which was also used as an additional space for storage. Both buildings "*reveal clear evidence for the production of wine and the storage of olive oil; their impressive size, layout and content also point to administrative, industrial and likely domestic functions*"²³⁴.

Maa-Palaeokastro

The site of *Maa-Palaeokastro* is located on a small peninsula at the western coast of Cyprus, some kilometres north of the modern city Paphos. The investigation of the site started in 1952 by Porphyrios Dikaios and the systematic excavations followed in 1979–1985 by the director of the Department of Antiquities Vassos Karageorghis. The area around *Maa-Palaeokastro* has some evidence of earlier occupation during the Early Chalcolithic period, however the site was inhabited by Mycenaean during the Late Cypriot period²³⁵. The excavations on the site yielded a Late Cypriot settlement surrounded by fortification walls. "*The 'Building I', Area II, an ashlar construction, and Building II have been interpreted as elite residences*"²³⁶. Metallurgical and pottery production is also believed to have occurred on the site. The settlement was destroyed during ca. 1175 B.C., rebuilt and abandoned in ca. 1150 B.C., when the inhabitants settled either in Old Paphos or in the nearby area.

Morphou-Toumba tou Skourou

The archaeological site of *Toumba tou Skourou* is situated on the north coast of Cyprus in Morphou district. Today the area is under Turkish occupation. The investigations at the site started in 1936 when the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, directed by Dr. Porphyrios Dikaios made trial trenches. The first investigation of the site revealed walls and a pit with unstratified fragments of pottery²³⁷. According to Dikaios the structure found was resembling a 'fortress' that was built in order to protect the inhabitants from the Mycenaean settlers. However, according to the latter excavators "*that 'fort' became a tentative 'brickyard'*"²³⁸.

The first archaeological excavations occurred in 1971–1974 by Harvard University and the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston, with the supervision of Emily T. Vermeule. The excavations revealed six large tombs with twelve chambers, including imported grave goods, dating to the Middle Cypriot III (c. 1725–1650 B.C.) until LCIIB (c. 1375–1300 B.C.) and a potters' quarter consisting of four houses, with

²³³ Knapp 2013, 366–368.

²³⁴ Knapp 2013, 368.

²³⁵ Georgiou 2015, 133–134.

²³⁶ Knapp 2013, 380.

²³⁷ Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 13.

²³⁸ Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 13–14.

workshops belonging to craftsmen who made fine ware pottery²³⁹. The earliest occupation of the site is approximately in 1600 B.C. It was abandoned in ca. 1550 B.C. and there is evidence of metalworking activities dating to 1400 B.C. The next occupation is dating to the Cypro-Geometric III (850–750 B.C.) period until the end of the 8th century²⁴⁰.

Analyses of the Archaeological Evidence in Cyprus

The Late Cypriot archaeological material demonstrates a dynamic, international and competitive society, with urban centres, active presence in the long-distance trade network, specialized labour and social hierarchy. The monumental architecture found in many sites indicate the need of a communal structure with production and social facilities. The evidence of ceremonial practices in some of them and gathering places highlight the will of social groups to commemorate their ancestors and establish their identity. The massive storage facilities and workshops indicate the existence of surplus, skilled craftsmanship and the determination to control the resources and labour of some authority. The emergence of an elite group and stratified society with status differentiations is certain. Chronologically, the island reached its peak during 14th century.

The urban coastal centres of Enkomi, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Maroni *Vournes/Tsaroukkas*, Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, and Alassa *Palaeotaverna* yielded large buildings with ashlar masonry. These structures are court-centered, with courtyards, storage facilities workshops, administrative centres. Knapp calls them ‘arenas of power’ as they were suitable for large assemblages²⁴¹. Within these urban areas changes in their burial practices are noted. The grave goods become richer, consisting of jewellery, metal objects, ivory, glass, elaborate pottery both local and foreign. The burials are placed within the fortifications sometimes next to the monumental structures, like in ‘Building X’ at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. The social stratification is apparent by all these materials.

The appearance of competitive elites is evident by the fortification walls that secured the urban centres. Peltenburg links the rise of forts at Mesaoria plain with Enkomi’s ‘hinterland strategy’ to stabilize its economic power²⁴². These forts were securing the transportation of copper ores from their primary mining centres to the workshops of Enkomi, where the final production of oxhide ingots was taking place. The need of security suggests the rise of competitive elites. A similar phenomenon is also evident in Maroni *Vournes /Tsaroukkas*, where a dominant social group imposed their legitimacy by building monumental structures over the cemetery of previous dominant groups.

About the organization of the settlements the views among the scholars differ. Keswani, advocates two types of urbanization patterns: a heterarchical including sites like Toumba tou Skourou, Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, and perhaps Kition and a hierarchical, which contains the sites of Kalavassos, Maroni, and Alassa²⁴³. Manning and De Mita, talked about independent, entrepreneurial foreign merchants that organized the production within the island²⁴⁴. South-Todd, also proposed the existence of independent polities in Cyprus²⁴⁵. Webb, recommended that the contact of Cyprus with the overseas empires inspired

²³⁹ Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 7.

²⁴⁰ Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 9.

²⁴¹ Knapp 2013, 443.

²⁴² Peltenburg 1996, 33; 35.

²⁴³ Keswani 1996, 236.

²⁴⁴ Manning, De Mita 1997, 108-109.

²⁴⁵ South-Todd 2002, 65-68.

the local elites to adopt high status symbols²⁴⁶. Smith, suggests that the settlements of Cyprus were chiefdoms²⁴⁷. Knapp, argues the emergence of a single unified polity and proposed the dominance of Enkomi²⁴⁸.

The end of the Late Bronze is marked with the abandonment of almost all the new settlements. The LC IIIB is “beginning to be recognised as the initial phase of the Early Iron Age”²⁴⁹. The period at the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 12th century is known as the ‘crisis years’ in the Eastern Mediterranean area²⁵⁰. The causes of the ‘crisis’ are usually attributed to the attacks of the ‘Sea Peoples’ and natural phenomenon. According to Georgiou, “*The breakdown of the Late Bronze Age economy and the collapse of the land-based centers can be considered as the outcome of the very nature of the Eastern Mediterranean polities. Their excessive political complexity and high level of bureaucratic control, combined with their long-standing urban forms and their inter-reliance, resulted in an accumulative effect ‘systems-collapse’*”²⁵¹. The general collapse of large and powerful states affected Cyprus as well. The economic crisis within the island occurred due to the lack of foreign copper demand. Some urban centres were gradually abandoned (Enkomi, Hala Sulten Tekke), and some profited by the demise of their rivals and transformed into the powerful polities of Iron Age (Kition, Paphos)²⁵².

²⁴⁶ Webb 2005, 180-181.

²⁴⁷ Smith 2009, 246.

²⁴⁸ Knapp 2013, 437.

²⁴⁹ Iakovou 2014, 662.

²⁵⁰ Georgiou 2015, 129.

²⁵¹ Georgiou 2015, 129.

²⁵² Iakovou 2014, 664.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

Cyprus was a dynamic island during the Late Bronze Age. This period is characterized by massive increase of settlements, the emergence of new urban centres, intensification of the internal and external maritime trade and indications of social stratification. The increasing demand for copper led the island to strengthen its connections with Egypt, Levant, Anatolia, the Aegean and Sicily and soon take active part in a very complex long-distance trade network.

The names of *Alashiya* and Alashia's 'king' are mentioned in various texts from Egypt, Hatti and Ugarit. The textual evidence from Egypt consists of the 'Amarna letters'. In these diplomatic letters the king of Alashiya is presented as an equal to the Egyptian king by referring to each other as 'brother'. The intimacy of the letters presents a strong and confident king of Alashiya, who does not seek for acceptance or recognition. The fact that the letters are written in Akkadian state the high status of the Alashiyan king, since he could afford having the special service of bilingual scribes. What is more, the enormous amounts of exchanged copper mentioned in the letters confirm not only the mineral wealth of the island, but a high administrative and complex society able to take part in oversea trade. In fact, one of these letters EA 39 refers to *the prince of Alasa*", indicating that the foundations of the Alashian 'court' might be in *Alasa-Palaeotaverna*.

Next, are the Hittite textual evidence. Apart from the texts that refer to trade, the Hittite texts mention occasional raids, conflicts with Alashiya and exhibit the island as a banishment place. The two kingdoms shared diplomatic relations, which are presented as a submission to the Hittite king. The claim of the Hittite king is not definite, since the king of Alashiya mentions in the Amarna texts that he is receiving gifts from the king of Hatti. It is strongly recommended that the status of both kings was equal. The archaeological evidence that confirms the trade network between these two areas are limited. Therefore, all the possible assumptions are solely based on textual evidence. In KBo XII 39, the city [En]kumma might appear, implying that the political centre of Alashiya might be Enkomi.

Last but, definitely, not least, are the textual evidence from Ugarit, which present two unusual features. First, the name of the king, *Kušmešuša*, of Alashiya, which might be Mycenaean. This is the first attestation of a king's name in the textual evidence referring to Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age. This letter is sent from the Alashian king to the Ugaritian king and he is calling him 'his son', indicating the superiority of *Kušmešuša*. In another letter, the king of Ugarit addresses the king of Alashiya as 'his father', thus acknowledging his own inferior political position. The extensive number of these kinds of letters confirm the superiority of the Alashiyan king over the Ugarit king. Another interesting point is the evidence of Cypro-Minoan inscriptions unearthed in Ugarit. Since this script remains undeciphered it cannot give further information, rather than serve as another confirmation of connection between these two kingdoms.

The archaeological evidence in Cyprus showcases a town-based society with a complex settlement pattern. Each settlement had its unique activity and function. The coastal urban centres are filled with monumental structures of ashlar masonry that manifest some kind of social order and collective will. The sanctuaries and ceremonial places found within these large structures symbolize the need of the social groups, who built them to commemorate their ancestors and establish their identity. The change of mortuary practices to intramural burials with rich grave goods, including local and foreign merchandise demonstrate differentiation in the social statues. The appearance of large fortifications around the settlements

emphasizes the need of the inhabitants to secure their centres from exterior dangers, like foreign colonialists (Lukki, Hittites, Sea People, Myceneans), but also from interior strikes caused by competitive elites.

The political organization of Cyprus is a debatable subject. The indications provided by both textual and archaeological material triggered many experienced and respectful scholars to discuss which social and political structure fits better to the Cypriot setting. The notions range among heterarchical and hierarchical networks of interactions and the existence of either chiefdoms or a kingdom. In my view, the solution lies somewhere in between. With this study, I intended to investigate both the textual and the archaeological material. My belief is that both should be taken under account and one should not precede the other.

The archaeological material, in my opinion, does not reflect the dominance of one urban centre, but of several. The fact that Enkomi was the earliest centre to take part in the overseas trade, does not precede the evidence of monumentality in the other coastal urban centres in Cyprus. One must not ignore the fact that the petrographic analyses of the Amarna letters indicate the south-eastern area of Troodos Mountains, where the sites of *Alassa Palaeotaverna* and *Kalavastos Ayios Dhimitrios* are situated, as origin of the clay.

If we accept that the island was divided into independent polities, what about the “king of Alashiya” and his prefect mentioned in the texts? I believe that it is not a matter of “if they existed” but “where”. The textual evidence is usually neglected in the analyses of the social organization of Cyprus and only few scholars take it into account²⁵³. Someone must have conducted these letters, an authority perhaps of a hierarchical structured centre and not of a unified kingdom. In the Amarna correspondence we read about a “*prince of Alasa*” and in the Ugaritic corpus the name of the king is attested for the first time. It is not certain if Enkomi is in fact mentioned in KBo XII 39.

A final thought I would like to address is my idea that kings want to be remembered. This phenomenon is evident during antiquity in most kingdoms. Kings establish their presence with monumental structures, like palaces, royal inscriptions and depictions of themselves. Although I do not intend to falsely compare Cyprus, with the kingdoms of Egypt, Anatolia and Mesopotamia, I cannot ignore the fact that Cyprus had cultural influences from these places and very close relations, and in some cases even referred as equal. If a king of Alashiya – and here I mean the entire island and not just an urban centre – did in fact rule the island, why did he not leave behind any evidence of commemoration? He must have had the resources to erect a palatial complex, sculptures, and ‘royal’ tombs, from the developed copper trade. What is more, the writing was already used by that time, so why royal inscriptions do not exist? The Cypro-Minoan tablets, although the script is undeciphered, do not reflect ‘royal’ inscriptions. The Akkadian language was only used for commercial correspondence. My point is, that since Cyprus had obviously close relations with other kingdoms and had received cultural influences, why would the ‘king’ ignore to adopt the royal traditions and models of political ideology of Egypt, Anatolia and Mesopotamia and establish his dominance more evidently?

Taking all these thoughts and facts under consideration, I support the existence of independent polities in Cyprus, with diverse internal social structures, controlled mainly by elite groups, rather than a kingdom. The ‘king of Alashiya’ who appears in the textual evidence, could be an authority of a hierarchical structured centre in Cyprus, that controlled not only the urban centre but also surrounding areas. Two appealing candidates for this hierarchical centre, in my view, are *Alassa Palaeotaverna* and Enkomi.

²⁵³ Sherratt 1998; Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2012; Peltenburg 2012; Knapp 2013.

List of Illustrations

- 1 Silver bowl from Enkomi, 14th century B.C.E. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, French Mission Tomb 2, no. 4207. After Voskos, Knapp 2008, 665, fig. 2. (Courtesy Cyprus Museum). Cover Page.
- 2 Ingot God Statuette from Enkomi. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, French Mission 1963, no. 16.16b. After Voskos, Knapp 2008, 671, fig. 9. (Courtesy Cyprus Museum). Cover Page.
- 3 Tablet Inscribed with Cypro-Minoan 2 script. Baked clay. Late Bronze Age III (ca. 1230-1050 BC). From Enkomi, north-western Cyprus. Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. (2008-2017 on-line image) Cover Page.
- 4 <http://mnamon.sns.it/index.php?page=Scrittura&id=34&lang=en> 01-08-2020.
Map of Cyprus, showing the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1650–1100 B.C.) sites. After Knapp 2013, 350, fig. 93. Drawn by Luke Sollars. Page 5.

Abbreviations

BM	British Museum.
C	Cairo (Egyptian Museum).
CTH	Laroche, Emmanuel P. 1971. <i>Catalogue des Textes Hittites</i> . Études et commentaires 75. Paris: Klincksieck.
EA	El-Amarna.
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy</i> .
KUB	<i>Keilschrift Urkunden aus Boghazköy</i> .
PRU	<i>Le Palais Royale d'Ugari</i> .
RS	Ras Shamra.
<i>Ugaritica 5</i>	Schaeffer, Claude F. A. 1968. <i>Ugaritica V</i> . Mission de Ras Shamra XVI. Paris: Geuthner.
VAT	Vorderasiatische Teil (der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin).

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