

## VIII. THE END OF AN ERA AND A GENERAL CONCLUSION

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The end of the Late Bronze Age was a tragic time for most of the societies of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Hittites were overrun, even up to the capital of Hattusa, apparently on all sides. From the north, there was any invasion of the Kashka, who probably came from central European regions; they conquered large sections of Anatolia. From the south, there were continuing attacks from the Lukki and the other Sea Peoples – who obviously took advantage of the weakened position of the Hittites.

There was a similar fate for much of Canaan and Syria. One of the first of these societies to fall was Ugarit; its destruction, most probably by the Sea peoples, was somewhere between 1200 – 1180 BC. As we saw in the last part of Chapter VII, that doom had already been foretold in the last letter from the king of Ugarit to the king of Alashiya. The main city was completely destroyed and little is known as to what happened to the people. Some may have initially fled to Cyprus which, however, was also attacked shortly afterwards.

The great Mycenaean kingdoms were also not immune to these events. As in Cyprus, there are indications of unsettled times already in LH IIIB. As JAMES *et al.*, (1992, 70) puts it: "According to the generally accepted scheme, a major disaster of unknown cause struck at the end of LH IIIB (c. 1200 BC), leaving most of the citadels and settlements in ruins." Some are of the opinion that they were invaded from the north by people generally called the Darians. They carried out wholesale destruction of the main cities at Mycenae and ancient Greece generally. However, other scholars believe that 'the destructions in the palatial centers of mainland Greece should be interpreted as the result of internal strife, rather than external agents' (DOUMAS 1998, 130). With certainty we can say that the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system with its kingship system, not only led to many displaced peoples, but it meant that ancient Greece entered what is known as the Dark Age. As DEGER-JALKOTZY (2000, 163) explains:

Although these catastrophes marked a dramatic turning point of Greek history, they did not spell the end of the Mycenaean Age. The civilization of the postpalatial period (the 12<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C., in archaeological terms LH IIIC)

remained Mycenaean in character. Yet it was an illiterate age, lacking in the higher arts, crafts and intellectual achievements,...

Clearly, some elements of Mycenaean culture did remain: in particular, once ancient Greece emerged from the shadow of this invasion centuries later, it is learned that substantial parts of the Mycenaean language – Linear B – which had fallen out of use by the early 12<sup>th</sup> century, had become a key part of the language of classical Greece. Yet as JAMES *et al.*, (1992, 82) observes in relation to a traditional chronology: "There are no inscriptions to fill the gap between that date and the 8<sup>th</sup> century, when the earliest Greek alphabetic texts begin to appear."

What of the ancient Egyptians? In 1213 BC, Rameses II, who was 82 years old, died. His extraordinarily life had involved sixty-seven years in power as Pharaoh – a record unmatched by any of the great rulers of Egypt. We have referred to his achievements, in terms of his conquests and monuments which can only be described as 'awesome'. However, his reign did not create an Egypt that was immune from the attacks of the Sea Peoples.

True it is that the Egyptians managed to survive the initial 'Sea Peoples' attacks. In fact, pharaoh Merneptah (1213–1203), who succeeded his father, Rameses II, not only fended off the attacks of the Libyans and Sea Peoples, he also states that, in the fifth year of his succession, he recaptured some lands in Canaan/Syria and to have conquered Israel. A granite stele, known as the Israel Stele, states: "Israel lies desolate, its seed is no more.... All the lands in their entirety are at peace, Everyone who was a nomad has been curbed by king Merneptah." Also during his reign, we should note that Egypt sent food supplies to a stricken Hittite empire.

Furthermore, not long after the civilizations of the Aegean, Anatolia, Syria, Cyprus had been attacked and in many cases left devastated (Ugarit, Hattusa), the Egyptians managed to win a significant battle against the 'Peoples of the Sea'. This was achieved during Year 8 (ca 1176 BC) of the reign of Rameses III; we have referred in Chapter VII.7.c to his records in which he claimed a major victory over the Sea Peoples. By this stage the Sea Peoples, a mass migration of displaced peoples,

were probably already responsible for the wholesale destruction of the Hittite empire, the city of Ugarit as well as towns in Cyprus. As Rameses III records: ‘‘No land could stand before their arms, from Hatti, Kode [Cilicia], Carchemish, Arzawa and Alashiya [Cyprus] on, being cut off at [one time].’’<sup>278</sup> Rameses III even produced a list of the various groupings that went to constitute these rebellious peoples. However the victory of Rameses III was not permanent. About a century later, the Sea Peoples eventually achieved major victories over Egypt itself.

The causes of this disaster in Egypt were similar to those which had resulted in the destruction of the other societies, decades earlier. Nubia had by this stage rebelled against the Egyptian rulers, thus cutting off the availability of gold and what it could buy. There was a dramatic economic decline and famine was rampant. At an internal level, the administration could not keep order; it faced financial ruin and even rebellion from the Egyptian masses. The new Pharaohs did not have the ability to impose their will in the way that Rameses II had done. Soon starving workers began to violate the sacred burial grounds of the great Pharaohs in search for gold, silver, and precious stones. Thus within a 150 years of the death of Rameses II, the formerly great Egyptian empire itself collapsed. At this stage, all of the great societies of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean – of which Cyprus had been a key part – passed into history.

What of the situation in Cyprus itself? It also went through a very difficult period of destruction and transformation. As we saw at the end of Chapter VII.7, we have evidence of at least one destruction of Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age. The majority of scholars believe that the Sea Peoples, probably led by the Lukki, were responsible for the first destruction and dominated the island. We have also referred to the evidence of a second destruction within only a few decades, which may have been carried out by Mycenaeans or Achaeans escaping from the ravages which engulfed Greece and the Aegean.

However, unlike what happened in Greece and Anatolia, these destructions did not lead to the end of Cyprus as a society. After a relatively short number of years of trouble, we see in Cyprus the development of new cultural forms, aspects of which can be identified with Mycenaean/early Hellenistic and

Semitic influences. One of the most remarkable developments is the language which arises in Cyprus over the next three hundred years. The early Cypro-Minoan language comes to be replaced with a language that draws on Mycenaean Linear B and Semitic languages.

What this development shows is that a new group of Cypriots arose who were the ancestors of the original indigenous Cypriots, elements of the Sea peoples and of the later Mycenaean groups. There was also probably people from a group which came to be known as the Philistines; these latter were one of the groups of the Sea Peoples. Towards the end of the LBA, they invaded Canaan and established themselves in centres, mostly at places like Ashkelon and Gaza. There is some evidence that they were part of the Sea Peoples that invaded Cyprus. In any event, they certainly had an impact on the island in the decades after the destruction.

The new Cypriot population which arose after these tumultuous events went on to achieve a synthesis in its culture which incorporated significant cultural elements from all three groupings mentioned above. Unlike several other regions of the Eastern Mediterranean, it took only a few years for the new Cypriot population to again begin production of creative forms of pottery; but White Slip ware was not among them. However, while what was achieved during this phase was of significant quality, it did not match the originality and diversity of creative products that had been achieved in independent Cyprus during the LBA.

This leads us to the general conclusions arising from this book about the society and history of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age. We believe that our survey of the historical events in Chapter VII shows the tremendous strategic and commercial significance of Cyprus during this whole era. Furthermore, the totality of these historical events, as set down in Chapter VII, demonstrates that Cyprus was a vibrant, independent society from the beginning to the end of the Late Bronze Age. During the seven historical periods surveyed here, the island prospered. It developed trade and cultural links and ‘‘diplomatic’’ relations with the most powerful surrounding kingdoms. Its rulers managed to balance the pressures and interests of the powerful empires around them.

We turn now to consider two objections to the approach and conclusions of this book. The first has

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<sup>278</sup> STAGER 1991, 36, n.11.

been referred to at the beginning of Chapter VII: it is Steel's view of "The Alashiya Question", that is, whether the significant number of references Alashiya in ancient documents from Egypt, Hatti and Ugarit in fact do refer to Cyprus. From our account of events and archaeological evidence in Chapter VII, it seems clear that Cyprus is indeed Alashiya. Most researchers have accepted the identity of Alashiya and Cyprus. Why then does Steel persist with her strong scepticism on this issue? One might imagine that Steel's discussion of this question in her book would support her conclusion. But the majority of her material and her analysis here in fact support the identity of Alashiya with Cyprus. For example, even when she states her scepticism, STEEL (*ibid.*, 184) says:

At present it is impossible to demonstrate conclusively that Alashiya and Cyprus (or part thereof) were one and the same. Even so, it is noteworthy that the other surrounding regions are similarly mute and that no convincing arguments have been put forward for an alternative location of Alashiya on the Asian mainland.

Steel then goes on to give a brief account of the references to Alashiya in the discovered documents. This account is disappointing in that it does not provide detail, which in our view is necessary in the history of Cyprus. Nevertheless the information that Steel does put forward in this section in fact supports the view that Alashiya is Cyprus. Thus she (*ibid.*, 185) says:

The information in the Near Eastern archives is very resonant with that of the LC archaeological record. Although it is very important to maintain the temporal aspect of these documents, inferences as to the political and economic and social organisation of Alashiya are possible. Alashiya appears to have been an urban polity ruled by a king who claimed to be the equal of the Egyptian pharaoh. The ruler of Alashiya exercised control over a mountainous hinterland and in particular over its copper resources, and maintained a naval fleet. Alashiya had scribes versed in Akkadian (from the fourteenth century) and participated in international trade and gift exchange. The archaeological evidence for the correspondingly strong economic and cultural ties between Ugarit and Cyprus reflects the close economic and political links between Ugarit and Alashiya.

Furthermore there seems to be a clear correlation on the identity of Alashiya and Cyprus with respect to the Thutmose III period. As STEEL (*ibid.*, 185–6) says:

Most significantly, although Alashiya only emerges as a copper-producing polity in the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is not until the reign of Thutmose III that Alashiya begins to be integrated within Near Eastern trading networks and Alashiya only emerges as an important diplomatic power in the fourteenth century (Amarna period). This closely shadows the archaeological evidence for the emergence of Cyprus from 'isolation' to participation in international trade during the second millennium BC.

In addition, STEEL (*ibid.*, 185) herself presents a strong argument using references to Alashiya at the time of the end of the Bronze Age. She refers to the archaeological evidence that Cyprus survived its sacking by the "Peoples of the Sea" (*ibid.*, 187ff.). This is backed up by her reference (*ibid.*, 185) to the eleventh century Egyptian tale of Wenamun which she believes "suggests that Alashiya survived the turmoil of the twelfth century", the implication being that Cyprus and Alashiya had a similar fate.

Thus it appears that even Steel's own reading of the archaeological and textual evidence supports the view that Cyprus is Alashiya. Ultimately she relies on only one real counter argument, which itself refers us back to the controversial question of whether Cyprus was a unified state. She (*ibid.*, 186) says:

However, there is no evidence for a single unified state on Cyprus, which instead appears to have been organised into smaller regional polities. Although each of these polities seems to have had equal access to imported exotica, it is possible that one (possibly to be identified with Alashiya) rose to prominence and played a privileged role in LBA diplomatic exchanges, presumably due to its control over the island's copper resources.

Notice that here Steel is adding a major qualification to her thesis. She states that the different regions seem "to have equal access to important exotica". She then suggests that Alashiya might refer to one (presumably the most prominent) of these regions and that this one region may have played a privileged role in LBA diplomatic exchanges and that it may have had control over the island's economic resources as far as trade was concerned. Here we appear to have a concession that at least a part of Cyprus was Alashiya. But if this concession is made, then her whole thesis is unsustainable. If the trade and economic relations were organized in such a way, then why would Cyprus not be a state structure? How could this be done without a state structure? Furthermore, how could the archaeological record show that all the regions of Cyprus had equal access to

important exotica, if there were no central authority of some kind? In our view, her alternative account here is an aberrant model and an implausible explanation.

Contrary to the sceptical view, the Alashiya evidence is important because it points to the view that Cyprus was in fact a strong state center and that this state played a significant role in the events of the East Mediterranean at this time. Steel herself accepts the power of some of this evidence. She refers to the Amarna letters between Alashiya and Egypt and then states (*ibid.*, 184–5):

Most significantly, the king of Alashiya writes to the king of Egypt as his equal, addressing him as ‘brother’. Only the LBA ‘super-powers’, the pharaoh, the Hittite king, the king of Mitanni and the king of Babylon, addressed each other as ‘my brother’. The lesser rulers of the Egyptian vassal city-states in Palestine referred to these powerful rulers as ‘father’. Moreover, there is every indication that Alashiya was involved in major gift exchange with Egypt. The preferred gifts are copper, horses and timber, and the sheer quantities involved might indicate that the king of Alashiya exerted some control over the production of copper.

All this confirms the approach in this book which has accepted that Cyprus is Alashiya and that our account of the Late Bronze Age history of Cyprus must take this into account. By so doing, we have been able to add to the documentary evidence to the chronological information given by the pottery to develop more comprehensive historical conclusions.

A second potential problem with our account has been raised by MUHLY (1985, 37, 43) who has stated in relation with Cyprus: “excavation of a number of major Late Bronze Age sites, provides no evidence for the existence of the palace-oriented society known throughout Western Asia.” However, we should not assume that because we cannot detect any clear palace structures, that therefore the bureaucratic organization and the specialization of labour associated with such a system did not therefore exist on the island. MUHLY (*ibid.*, 43) concludes, “the

Cypriots seem to have remained indifferent to the basic social, political and economic organization” that was a central element of Aegean and Levantine culture. Yet he (*ibid.*) then goes on to refer to one of the Amarna Letters (EA 35), in which the king of Alashiya is able to write to the Pharaoh and offer “some free political advice” – warning the Pharaoh about Hatti and Babylonia. All this goes to show that there must have been a significant hierarchical society, but that it had developed largely independently of the mainland structures. As we have argued in Chapter VII, correspondence such as this reinforces our central thesis of the creative independence of the island during the Late Bronze Age.

In fact MUHLY (*ibid.*, 42) draws a similar conclusion from his own analysis:

It is time that we considered Late Bronze Age Cyprus on its own terms, as an independent historical and cultural identity. What developed in Cyprus was not a pale carbon copy of Aegean civilisation; neither was it under the direct influence of contemporary cultures in the Levant and in Egypt. What took fashion in Cyprus was something not isolated from surrounding forces and influences, but still uniquely Cypriot.

In conclusion, during this period of independence, extending over several hundred years, the people of Cyprus traded with the outside world and created distinctive ceramic wares, such as the White Slip and RLW-m, which were exported far and wide. This was but one of the remarkable achievement of the early Cypriots.

TODD (2001, 213) says: “The intricacies of Late Bronze Age trade and international relations and the role of Cyprus still merit further investigation.” We hope that this book has achieved part of this goal. Hopefully, as archaeological evidence continues to grow, we will discover more about Bronze Age Cypriot culture, its history and its people. We may also discover more about how it was that this small island managed to retain its creative independence throughout the massive upheavals in the surrounding lands during the Cypriot Late Bronze Age.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

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<i>Ä&amp;L</i>	<i>Ägypten und Levante</i> . Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete, Wien	<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> , London
<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> . Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin	<i>JMA</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i> , London
<i>Aegaeum</i>	<i>Aegaeum</i> . Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège, Liège	<i>JPR</i>	<i>Journal of Prehistoric Religion</i> , Göteborg
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , New York, Baltimore, Norwood	<i>KTU</i>	see DIETRICH <i>et al.</i>
<i>AOAT</i>	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i> , Münster	<i>Levant</i>	<i>Levant</i> . Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History, London
<i>Archaeometry</i>	<i>Archaeometry</i> . Bulletin of the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, Oxford University	<i>MeditArch</i>	<i>Mediterranean Archaeology</i> . The Australian and New Zealand Journal for the Archaeology of the Mediterranean World, Sidney
<i>AS</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> . Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, London	<i>OLA</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i> , Leuven
<i>Atiqot</i>	<i>Atiqot</i> . Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities, English Series, Jerusalem	<i>OpArch</i>	<i>Opuscula archaeologica</i> . Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Rom, Lund
<i>BACE</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> , Sydney	<i>OpAth</i>	<i>Opuscula atheniensia</i> . Annual of the Swedish Institute at Athens. Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, Lund
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i> , Washington	<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i> , London
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> , New Haven	<i>PF 1994</i>	<i>Pharaonen und Fremde. Dynastien im Dunkel</i> . Katalog der 194. Sonderausstellung des Histor. Museen der Stadt Wien, Vienna.
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i> , Paris	<i>PJ2</i>	A.W. McNICOLL, P.C. EDWARDS, J. HANBURY-TENISON, J.B. HENNESSY, T.F. POTTS, R.H. SMITH, A. WALMSLEY and P. WATSON, <i>Pella in Jordan 2. The Second Interim Report of the Joint University of Sydney and College of Wooster Excavations at Pella, 1982–1985</i> , Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 2, Sydney 1992.
<i>BSA</i>	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i> , London	<i>QDAP</i>	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i> , London
<i>CAH 1973</i>	I.E.S. EDWARDS, C.J. GADD, N.G.L. HAMMOND and E. SOLLBERGER (eds.), <i>The Cambridge Ancient History, Third Edition, Volume II, Part 1. History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1800–1380 B.C.</i> , Cambridge	<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus</i> , Nicosia
<i>CChEM</i>	<i>Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean</i> , Vienna	<i>RBibl</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i> , Paris
<i>ClRev</i>	<i>Classical Review</i> , Bryn Mawr	<i>SCE</i>	<i>The Swedish Cyprus Expedition to Cyprus</i> , Stockholm-Lund
<i>CNIP</i>	<i>Publications of the Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i> , University of Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press, Copenhagen	<i>SIMA</i>	<i>Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology</i> , Göteborg, Jonsered
<i>EEF Memoir</i>	<i>Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoir</i> , London	<i>Syria</i>	<i>Syria</i> . Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie, Paris
<i>HST</i>	Hala Sultan Tekke, <i>SIMA</i> 45, see Bibliography	<i>UZK</i>	<i>Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts</i> , Wien
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> , Jerusalem	<i>VVP</i>	Vasilikos Valley Project, <i>SIMA</i> 71, see Bibliography
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> , New Haven, Conn.		
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> , New York		



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# UNTERSUCHUNGEN DER ZWEIGSTELLE KAIRO DES ÖSTERREICHISCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS

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