

## VII. HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS ON THE LINKS BETWEEN CYPRUS AND OTHER SOCIETIES DURING THE CYPRIOT LATE BRONZE AGE

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In this chapter, we shall survey the historical context of the development of LBA Cyprus and its links with the societies of the eastern Mediterranean during the end of the Middle Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age. In doing so, we shall draw on some of the ceramic material discussed in earlier chapters and also other archaeological and documentary evidence. Reference will be made to some of our historical knowledge of developments in the surrounding societies during this time – especially those in Egypt, Canaan, the Aegean, the Levant and in Anatolia. To a considerable degree, relations between these societies themselves will need to be referred to, as well as the impact or influences any of these may have had on the island.

Thus, we shall consider each of the historical periods which have been defined in the Introduction and Chapter I.2. These definitions have been employed in the survey of material in the preceding chapters of this book. The Synchronization of Civilizations in the Second Millennium BC is the key aim of the SCIEM 2000 project, and it has already made a substantial contribution to our historical understanding of this period.<sup>254</sup> The historical conclusions from this work on the changing nature of the links between Cyprus and other societies of the Mediterranean during this time are intended as a further contribution to this process.

Before doing so, however, we need to consider two potential objections to our approach which arise from the work of Louse Steel that she calls “a number of substantial unresolved issues in the history of Cyprus”. She says (STEEL 2004, 150):

Although the LC period remains one of the more intensively researched aspects of Cypriot prehistory, in particular the metal trade and evidence for foreign relations especially with the Aegean, numerous issues remain unresolved. In particular the socio-political organization underpinning these changes remains elusive, not least whether there was a unified state or a series of polities at the level of a state or chiefdom. The identification of Cyprus in the texts of the literate societies of the Near East likewise remains intangible.

A detailed reading of Steel’s book shows that she

is primarily concerned with two issues that are in her mind “unresolved”:

Firstly, there is the issue whether Cyprus internally was constituted as a unitary state or a series of self governing chiefdoms. Steel prefers the latter interpretation following KESWANI (1996); we prefer the former and believe that the evidence is largely in favour of the single state model. On this issue, we support the conclusions of WEBB (1999). We examine Steel’s arguments in some detail at the end of Section 4.c of this chapter.

Secondly, Steel raises the issue of “The Alashiya Question”, that is, whether the significant number of references to Alashiya in ancient documents from Egypt, Hatti and Ugarit in fact refer to Cyprus. The overwhelming proportion of commentators believe that indeed Cyprus is Alashiya, but Steel proposes a much more sceptical view. It is our view that the identity of Cyprus and Alashiya is supported overwhelmingly by the archaeological evidence. We examine Steel’s reasons for her scepticism in the final Chapter. There it will be demonstrated that even her own reading of the archaeological evidence supports the view that Cyprus is Alashiya. Furthermore, we will seek to demonstrate that her only real argument for scepticism is invalid.

Unfortunately, because of her scepticism, STEEL (*ibid.*, 183–6) presents us with only a very limited and truncated account of the historical importance of the documents which refer to Alashiya. In contrast, in this chapter, we give extensive coverage to the Alashiya material (including direct quotations of various sections) and we place it within the general context of international events at those times.

Although we disagree with her on these two key points, we do accept the following conclusions by STEEL (*ibid.*, 149) on the history of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus as follows:

The Late Bronze Age settlement of Cyprus is distinct from that of earlier periods on a number of counts, indicative of substantive social and economic transformations as the island emerged from its prehistoric occupation. There was a massive increase in population and expansion of settlement

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<sup>254</sup> See <http://www.sciem2000/info>

into new, previously unoccupied areas. Alongside this there is evidence for an increasingly complex hierarchical settlement pattern, culminating in the rise of urban complexes along the southern coast by the thirteenth century BC. During the LBA, in particular during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC, the island was the nexus of wide-ranging international trade networks around the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, incorporating Egypt, Syro-Palestine and the Aegean.

Our focus in this chapter is primarily on the international context and the relations with Cyprus. Thus we develop a much more extensive, and to a degree a different, account to that provided by Steel.

### 1. PERIOD 1: THE LATE HYKSOS PERIOD AND THE LINKS WITH CYPRUS – LC IA:1

In earlier Chapters, we have referred to the evidence for establishing that there was a reciprocal interaction between the Hyksos and the ancient Cypriots prior to the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt. That such interaction existed is demonstrated by the fact that at many sites in the Levant, especially Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ajjul, and at Tell el-Dab<sup>c</sup>a in the Nile Delta, we find examples of Middle Cypriot decorated wares such as: WP III–IV CLS and PLS, RoB/RoR and Black Slip. Thus, at the Hyksos capital of Tell el-Dab<sup>c</sup>a, there is a long sequence of Middle Cypriot pottery from Strata E/3 right down to the end of the Hyksos regime at Avaris (BIETAK 1989; MAGUIRE 1992, 1995; BIETAK and HEIN 2001, fig. 1). In the final level of the Hyksos occupation of the site (Stratum D/2), PWS pottery is recorded (BIETAK and HEIN 2001 with refs). As we have seen, this ceramic is used by archaeologists to define a new period in the island's development, Late Cypriot IA:1 (see Chapters I.2 and II). It therefore corresponds with the late Hyksos period in Egypt which ends with the expulsion of the Hyksos from their northern Egyptian empire by Ahmose, the first pharaoh of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

The picture which emerges from the archaeological evidence in relation to the Middle Cypriot period is that of Cyprus as an essentially agrarian society, with a number of communities and cultural groups. However, in the last part of this period, at least four main centres emerge in Cyprus. These were described by MERRILLEES (1965, 140–1) thus:

By the beginning of Late Cypriote I, Cyprus had become divided up into a large number of communities each with its own cultural and, we may imagine, political affiliations within and beyond the island's shores. There were probably four major cul-

tural regions, none with clearly demarcated boundaries but overlapping into each other: north-west and central Cyprus, where the definitive wares of Late Cypriote I, Base-ring I and White Slip I, appear to have originated; the Karpas, which developed its cultural identity in isolation and was home of Red-on-Black, Red-on-Red, and allied fabrics; eastern Cyprus, where the Middle Cypriote traditions remained firmly entrenched, only to be suddenly ousted by ceramic innovations from the north-west at a crucial stage in the island's history; and south-western Cyprus, about which not much has yet been published, but sufficient to warrant its separation.

This LC IA:1 period was also marked by creativity with a commercial edge. At some time after the rise of PWS, the Cypriots developed Base-ring I – which went on to become very popular and highly successful in Cyprus and overseas. PWS development increased and centres for its production arose in the lower foothills of the northern to eastern flanks of the Troodos mountain range of Cyprus. In addition, this was a period of exciting changes for Cyprus' relations with other nations. Links with Canaan became stronger, probably through the city-town of Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ajjul, but we also note the increase of Cypriot wares at a number of other coastal sites. There is also the quantity of Cypriot pottery recorded in the stratigraphy of the Hyksos capital at Tell el-Dab<sup>c</sup>a. As we have discussed extensively in Chapter III, Cypriot products of the Middle Cypriot III/Late Cypriot IA:1 periods were arriving at both these sites into a number of neighbouring countries. Both were obviously busy commercial and trade centres.

#### (a) Links between Cyprus and the Hyksos

We can conclude that at least one part of Cyprus developed links and trade with the Hyksos empire in Egypt. There is evidence that Hyksos people came to Cyprus, not as conquerors, but most likely as traders and perhaps as bearers of new ideas and cultural forms. The Cypriots during this period exported PWS and possibly Base-ring wares to Egypt (see Chapter II). Thus we find PWS at Tell el-Dab<sup>c</sup>a at the levels associated with the reign of the Hyksos. It is even possible that there were friendly official relations between the last rulers of the Hyksos and the ruler(s) of the eastern and northwestern regions of Cyprus.

In the Introduction, we referred to some evidence of the relationship with the Hyksos found in Cyprus itself. Thus, in some of the earliest tombs at the settlements of Enkomi in the East and *Toumba tou Skourou* in the Northwest, we find TeY ware, a ceram-

ic characteristic of Syro-Palestinian MB IIC sites which were within the Hyksos sphere of influence (see Chapter VI.1). Furthermore, that the Hyksos/Semitic Canaan culture had some earlier influence on the island is also suggested by the mainland style plan of the MC III chamber tombs at Ayios Iakovos and Korovia *Palaeoskoutella* (see ÅSTRÖM 1972a, fig. 6:1, 5, 6). The similar plan of Milia Tomb II may also have its origins in the MC III (WESTHOLM 1939, fig. 1), just before the LC IA:1. Finally, we note the view that what are considered to be mass burials at Ayios Iakovos and elsewhere on the island have been associated by some with the events surrounding the expulsion of the Hyksos from the Nile Delta, (SJÖQVIST 1940, 199). We may also consider whether the destruction of Episkopi *Phaneromeni* may be evidence of this time of turmoil. However, as STEWART (1948, 157) pointed out, “It is not clear from the evidence that we have here a synchronized series of events...”

What was the nature of this relationship with the Hyksos? While there was some influence on Cyprus at this time as the result of the increased contacts with the surrounding mainland of Egypt and the Levant, one does not get the impression that this was due to forced foreign conquest or overbearing dominance. It appears to be more the cultivation of local Cypriot society due to the influence of increasing international contact in the form of trade and diplomacy, associated with the pursuit of raw materials, especially copper. Hence, in the first Late Cypriot period, LC IA:1, the evidence suggests that the indigenous population benefited from the foreign interaction already commenced in MC III, in the sense that there was an exchange process involved in the acquisition of Cypriot commodities. This further assisted the emergence of stratified society.

This is in part evidenced by the change in settlement patterns and emergence of larger centres, often closer to the coast, by comparison with the preceding historical period. Sites like Episkopi *Phaneromeni*, and the enigmatic Kalopsidha existed, but a change is seen with the establishment of sites like Enkomi, Episkopi *Bamboula*, Maroni *Vournes* and *Toumba tou Skourou*. The foundation of the eastern site of Enkomi typifies what occurred, although the exposure of the early layers of occupation does not reveal the full picture. In those levels, dated to LC IA:1, we can detect a community of urban dwellers, not dependent on working the land, but on other commodity producers outside of the city, such as the mine workers. It is reasonable to hypothesize that the Hyksos, and perhaps even the Minoans, had some influence or were even involved in this.

The introduction into Cypriot architecture of fortress construction seems to date to this period. At Enkomi, the very foundation of the site in Level IA included a fortress, which was considered by DIKAIOS (1969–71, 501) to be comparable to Syro-Palestinian *migdal* or ‘fortress’ construction. Examples of this type of construction are typical of MB IIC sites in the Syro-Palestinian area (OREN 1997b, 264). Fortification systems seem not to have been a part of Cypriot town planning up to this point, and so it is likely that the concept came from the mainland towards the end of the Middle Bronze Age. However, because so little MC III/LC IA architecture from the excavated sites in Cyprus has been exposed, we are forced to remain cautious in seeking the origins of their design; which could just represent the internal development of Cypriot culture itself. Until we know more about settlement layout in the EC and MC periods, and understand its relationship with the MC III–LC IA settlements, we cannot make definitive statements regarding the full influences that prevailed during the foundation of sites such as Enkomi. A summary of what is known of settlement layout for the EC–MC period is given by FRANKEL and WEBB (1996, 53–4), whose work at the site of Marki *Alonia* has provided more artefactual evidence of links with the cultures of the mainland, from the end of the third millennium (*ibid.*, 183).

We can conclude from the evidence that it is likely, but not proven, that a Hyksos community existed in eastern and northwestern (?) Cyprus at some stage in the Middle Cypriot period and that it continued, with some disruptions, into Late Cypriot times. Evidence suggests that artefacts associated with the Hyksos/Canaanite culture also appear in the northwest. How the interaction between the Cypriots and the Hyksos progresses is difficult to assess. Yet, it seems clear that the emergence of urban centers such as Enkomi and *Toumba tou Skourou* at the end of the MC III can be linked with the sophisticated political and trading network established by, or in cooperation with, the Hyksos. We know from archaeological and textual evidence that the Hyksos had established a Mediterranean trading network (OREN 1997b, 271) that included the Nile Delta and southern Canaan (see next sub-section). A sophisticated level of social and political organization was necessary for this, and this was manifested in: “...site location and settlement pattern; the structure of urban organization, military, public and domestic architecture; as well as cult and economy”, (*ibid.*, 255). It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that some of this Hyksos sophistication also found its way to Cyprus during this part of the Bronze Age.

As we have argued in Chapter II.4, there was a certain degree of hostility and perhaps open conflict between Cypriot groups during this LC IA:1 period. This was perhaps understandable for a society opening up to the possibilities of significant trade and contacts with societies overseas. The exploitation of the copper resources, together with developing skills and technology in the production of pottery, clearly raised the stakes. It also provided an imperative for greater efficiency to be achieved through unification under one, or possibly two, rulers. Such a move to greater unity would have been resisted by those who stood to lose their own local power. The imperatives were summed up by MERRILLEES (1965, 147–8) thus:

To an island in Cyprus' strategic location, with an established history of regionalism, it would only be natural to expect that a lively trade with the outside world was the single major factor which could at once compel the many diverging cultural trends in the island to come together. Not only did the foreign ideas leave their mark on articles from every branch of native industry, but the capture of overseas markets, whose expansion would have created an ever increasing demand for Cypriote goods, resulted in the mass-production of objects with a ready sale. Such a situation must have acted as a unifying force on the island's civilisation, as competition to share in the prosperity which industrial growth brought in its train would have had the effect of submerging, but never entirely obliterating local cultures, which still clung obstinately to their long established ceramic traditions. Although the greatest pressure towards cultural conformity would undoubtedly have been felt by sea-board cities, which carried on the most intensive commercial exchanges with overseas ports, no village, however remote, failed to receive that backwash from the dynamic cultural movements which swept the major centres.

The end of the LC IA:1 period *almost* coincided with the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt by Ahmose, whom we regard as the founder of the Egyptian 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. As shown in Chapter III, from the physical evidence we can say that WS I 'RL' Group was introduced in Cyprus just prior to the New Kingdom which allows for its appearance in the MB IIC/LB I transition at Tell el-*c*Ajjul; and in the earliest levels of New Kingdom Tell el-Dab<sup>c</sup>a. In this transition, which began shortly before the reign of Ahmose in Egypt, we can observe in Cyprus the disappearance of artefacts associated with the Hyksos

culture. Furthermore, as a consequence of the expulsion of the Hyksos from the eastern Delta of Egypt, any presence they may have had in MC III/LC IA:1 Cyprus becomes diluted by the strength of the local culture, so that we cannot detect their presence in Cyprus by the time of LC IB.

#### (b) The Hyksos in Egypt and the relations with Canaan

During the LC IA:1 period, Cyprus not only had links with the Hyksos, but also with Canaan. While we do not have much concrete knowledge of the relations of the two societies with Cyprus at this time, we have determined more about their internal history and their relations with each other. The Hyksos gradually migrated into Egypt from the Canaan and Syria over many decades – probably in the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century BC. They became the rulers of the northern part of Egypt and gradually adopted many of the Egyptian social, economic and political traditions. The Hyksos established their capital at Avaris; they became stronger until such point that they united the Canaanites in Egypt and in Canaan into one grand kingdom. On the origins of the Hyksos, BIETAK (1997, 113) says:

“Hyksos” is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian *Heqau-Khasut*, meaning “Rulers of Foreign Lands”, and does not mean “Shepherd Kings,” as Josephus reported on the basis of a false etymology. This expression therefore refers not to a people, as Josephus assumed, but uniquely to the rulers of the Asian dynasty.

On this question of Hyksos origins, OREN (1997a, xxi–ii) adds:

Although the Hyksos did not leave any inscriptions in their native language, or any texts of a mythological or religious nature, the available onomastic testimony strongly implies a Semitic or Amorite origin. Their ancestors, who emigrated from Canaan and Syria to the eastern Delta from the Twelfth Dynasty onwards, were identified by the Egyptians as *c*Aamu, e.g., speakers of a West Semitic dialect. ... Judging from Egyptian texts such as the “Four Hundred Year Stela”,<sup>255</sup> as well as archaeological evidence, including temples of Canaanite type and characteristic donkey burials, we may conclude that the Hyksos kings were devoted to the native cults they introduced from Canaan. The prominent position of the deities Seth-Ba'al and Ba'al Zaphon in the eastern Delta testifies

<sup>255</sup> On the Four Hundred Year Stele, see REDFORD (1997, 18–9, with references).

unequivocally to the Semitic background of the Hyksos and the gradual assimilation of their original cults with the Egyptian religion.

The length and dating of the Hyksos period is a matter of archaeological controversy: there are a number of views. After surveying them, O'CONNOR (1997, 56) concludes:

Therefore, the most reasonable conclusion as to the dynastic, and ultimately absolute, dates of the Hyksos period is that it ends in ca. 1540 BC, when Avaris is taken by Ahmose in his eleventh regnal year; and that it begins before the advent of the Fifteenth Dynasty 108 years earlier, in ca. 1648 BC. Finally, it is unlikely that Hyksos rulers occur in Egypt during the earlier Thirteenth Dynasty, that is, before perhaps ca. 1715/1710 BC, and may not have done so until well after this date.

Although they were probably Canaanite in origin, the Hyksos adopted a considerable number of cultural traits from the native Egyptians. They adopted much of the paraphernalia of the Egyptian rulers and called themselves 'pharaohs'. The Hyksos civilisation thus came to differ significantly from the original Canaanites; they achieved a synthesis of their Canaanite beliefs and the rich culture of the Egyptians.

The development of Egypt under the Hyksos was very substantial, contrary of the propaganda of the historian Manetho, who tried to represent the Hyksos as an 'abomination'. In fact, Manetho's Egyptian background led him to an ethnocentric view of the Hyksos. He particularly resented the fact that this Canaanite group had managed to defeat the previous 'glorious Egyptian Empire'. He says (Manetho, *Aegyptiaca*, frag. 42 quoted in OREN 1997a, xix):

... and unexpectedly, from the regions of the East, invaders of obscure race marched in confidence of victory against our land. By main force they easily overpowered the rulers of the land, they then burned our cities ruthlessly, razed to the ground the temples of the gods, and treated all the natives with a cruel hostility, massacring some and leading into slavery the wives and children of others. Finally, they appointed as king one of their number whose name was Salitis

Archaeologists are piecing together a much more positive and realistic picture of the Hyksos. It appears that they had a large and sophisticated civilisation. As BIETAK (1997, 114–5) says:

In contrast to the traditional view of the Hyksos, we can document that literature and science flourished under their rule. For example, Papyrus Westcar, dating from the Hyksos period, provides us with the only known version of an important tale,

set in the time of King Cheops. Also the most significant mathematical treatises to have come from Egypt is preserved on the above mentioned Papyrus Rhind, a document dating to year 33 of the Hyksos Apophis.

It has now been established that the Hyksos pharaohs had developed close economic and trading relations with the Kingdom of Sharuhén – a collection of Canaanite people living in southern Canaan and Sinai. Sharuhén has been identified by some scholars with the site of Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ajjul, which is of critical importance for its links with Cyprus (OREN 1997b, 253, with references). Interchange between the Hyksos and these other Canaanite "brothers" resulted not only in economic strength, but also in richer cultural and intellectual development. The Canaanites themselves had developed a sophisticated culture by this time: see Subsection VII.2.c below.

There is of course the issue of what the political links were between these two groups at this time. OREN (1997a, xxii, xxiii) discusses this issue:

One of the more intriguing questions still unsolved concerns the nature of Hyksos contacts with Canaan: should they be described as domination, limited rule, alliance, or strong economic and cultural interaction? ... The evidence currently available makes it very doubtful that Canaan was actually colonized by the Hyksos. Judging by the distribution of royal Hyksos scarabs, it is likely that the Fifteenth Dynasty exercised some form of political control or alliance as far north as the Jezreel Valley. However, the closest affinities-political, cultural and economic-were evidently maintained between the population of the Hyksos Delta and southern Canaan through the headquarters at Sharuhén.

A number of independent archaeological investigations have established that Canaan had developed major urban centres, such as Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ajjul. OREN (1997a, xxiii–iv) maintains that a whole unified kingdom was based at the town called Sharuhén.

Some archaeologists argue that Sharuhén and Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ajjul are the same place (OREN 1997b, 253). Even if they are not, they are in a similar vicinity and part of the same Kingdom.

This is all important for relations with Cyprus – because we know that, at this time, Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ajjul had very strong links with the island and significant numbers of Cypriot wares appear there.

### (c) The three phases in the Hyksos reign

Understanding the Hyksos reign in Egypt is important in assessing relations between the various societies during the first part of the Late Bronze Age. In

doing so, it is useful to divide Hyksos history into three phases. The first phase began in the last part of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century BC; the Hyksos recorded as having occupied the site at Avaris. On the earlier occupation of Avaris, we are given some unique information from the work at Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup> of the Austrian Expedition under the directorship of Bietak. As OREN (1997a, xxiii) explains this:

The excavations at Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup> have yielded much information on the history of the Canaanite settlement there, since it was originally established in the late Twelfth Dynasty as a walled town on the route to Sinai and Asia and became known as *Hwt-wa'ret*. Avaris (the Greek rendition of the name) expanded rapidly as a result of a massive movement of population out of southern Canaan. Thus there was a substantial population of Egyptianized Canaanites here by the time of the Twelfth Dynasty (stratum H=d/2). In the subsequent strata (G–F) the Canaanite presence grew much stronger, reaching its zenith in strata E–D, which can be dated to the Hyksos or Fifteenth Dynasty. During Stratum F and until the end of Hyksos rule, the site was occupied by a major Canaanite temple, which BIETAK describes as one of the largest in the eastern Mediterranean (BIETAK 1991: 39–40).

Turning to the second phase in Hyksos history, we have already mentioned Manetho's reference to Salitis, who rebuilt Avaris. There is some information available about the major Hyksos ruler of this phase, known as Khyan or Khayan. We have discovered his monuments as far away as Bagdad, Crete and Canaan – as well as Egypt. His Egyptian throne name was Sewoserrenre, also called 'the good god' and 'the son of Re'.<sup>256</sup>

BIETAK (1997, 114) also explains the following about this Hyksos pharaoh:

One of the most important Hyksos was Sewoserrenre<sup>c</sup> Khayan, for whom we have inscribed monuments such as statues and architectural blocks. His significance in the eastern Mediterranean region is demonstrated by finds such as an alabaster jar lid from the Palace of Knossos, a fragment of an obsidian vessel from Boghazköy, and a basalt lion that appeared on the market in Baghdad. The jar lid from Knossos is from a level contemporary with the Hyksos (i.e., Middle Minoan III/Late Minoan IA), and can be interpreted as a diplomatic gift to the ruler of Knossos. Khayan seems to have been recognized across a large part of the eastern Mediterranean.

We can deduce from such evidence that at the time of Khyan, extensive trade and probably some diplomatic relations existed between the Hyksos regime in Egypt and the other key kingdoms surrounding the Mediterranean. With our present state of knowledge we cannot yet determine what kind of relations this Hyksos king had with Cyprus. Judging by the evidence of MC wares in Egypt and Canaan, it seems, however, that the Hyksos probably had some presence.

The third and last phase of the Hyksos rule coincides with the period of conflict and war with the Thebans in the south of Egypt; it roughly coincides with the LC IA:1 and beginning of LC IA:2 in Cyprus. The conflict arose when, after around 150 years of domination, the Thebans developed a much more aggressive approach to the Hyksos rulers in the north. In the thirty years prior to the rise of the first 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty pharaoh Ahmose, the Thebans initiated various military campaigns against the Hyksos.

This final phase in the Hyksos rule was the period which is most significant in terms of Egypt's relations with Cyprus – as well as the intensification of the relations with the Minoan civilization. It is also during this phase that Proto White Slip developed in the ceramic repertoire in Cyprus. During this third phase, the longest reigning Hyksos king of the 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty was Auserre, who adopted the Egyptian name Apophis. His 33<sup>rd</sup> year of reign is acknowledged in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus. REDFORD (1997, 7) provides us with English translations of original Egyptian documents referring to the rule of Apophis, and to the fact that, like most Hyksos rulers, their major deity was Seth. For example on a building inscription originally from Avaris, see REDFORD (*ibid.*, No. 35 with references), it says:

(1) "Horus: pacifier-[of-the-Two-Lands...], Son of Re, Apopi, given life. (2) [He made it as his monument for his father Seth(?), making] for him many flag-staves and a fixture(?) of bronze for this god."

Several other finds also refer briefly to Apophis. Of special importance is a discovery of an inscribed alabaster vessel in Spain, which refers to the extensive power and conquests of this Hyksos pharaoh, (see REDFORD *ibid.*, no. 41 with references). The extensive international reputation and power of Apophis is also attested to in the following inscription on a palette (REDFORD 1997, 7, no. 44 with references):

(2) [...] with a great [...], [unique(?) [...], stout-hearted on the day of battle, with a greater reputation than any (other) king, protector of strange lands (3)

<sup>256</sup> See REDFORD 1997, 6, no. 26, with references.

who have never (even) had a glimpse of him; living image of Re upon earth, solving(?) [.....] people. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, <sup>c</sup>A-woser-re, Son of Re, Apopi, given life every day like Re forever. (4) I was [.....] to(?) his teaching, he is a judge(?) of the needy(?) commons – there is no false statement in that – there is indeed not his like in any land! (5) [.....] Son of Re, of his body, whom he loves, Apopi, given life.

The references to both Seth and Re illustrate the synthesis in Hyksos culture of both Canaanite and traditional Egyptian beliefs.

#### (d) The war between the Hyksos and the Thebans

It was during the reign of Apophis that the major war broke out with the Theban Egyptians living in the south of the country. While the Hyksos empire had been thriving in northern Egypt, we had in Thebes the development of the so-called 16<sup>th</sup> Dynasty – the survivors of the remnants of the original Egyptians. Historically the events were as follows: when the Hyksos conquered Northern Egypt, possibly the majority of the original inhabitants found their way to the south of Memphis and established as their headquarters, the city of Thebes. These Theban kings initially sought to consolidate their lands. Later they came to consider themselves as the only legitimate descendents of the original Egyptian civilization.

Several lists of these Theban kings have been produced and it is difficult to reconcile them all – but there were at least 10 of them. During the first and second phase of the Hyksos rule, when they lived under the shadow of the Hyksos, the Theban dynasty seems to have been characterised by numerous intrigues, with at least two “kings” lasting for about one year in their reign. In the Karnak Stele of Se<sup>c</sup>ankhenre Montuhotpi, we have a record of the defence of Thebes, against “foreigners”, (REDFORD 1997, 9, No 50). This stele suggests that Thebes managed to fight off the Hyksos pharaohs — who probably had by now reached the outskirts of the city. Here the Theban king is referred to as “the King of Lower Egypt”. He says in part: “Over me does everyone exult [..... the .....] (7) of the gods, who drove back all foreign lands, and rescued his city in his might without [smiting(?)- people, as one who acts [.....] ... (11) There was none that could stand up to them when Amun is at the head of his army.”

Amun here is a reference to the chief Theban god. The Thebans also differed from the Hyksos in their religious beliefs. Although both drew some elements from the original Egyptian religious system, the Thebans emphasized the worship of Amun and also of Osiris, the god who had been dishonourably killed by Seth, the major god of the Hyksos. The conflict thus took on a significant religious dimension.

We know considerably more about the last five Theban kings, who ruled during the third phase of the Hyksos. These were Inyosef VII and Semankhtere VIII, Seqenenre Tao I “The Elder”, Seqenenre Tao II “The Brave”, and finally, Khamose. It was the last three of these rulers who initiated the campaign against the Hyksos.

In a Ramesside piece entitled ‘Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre’, the Theban Egyptians describe their conflicts with the Hyksos.<sup>257</sup> In the war between the Hyksos king Apophis and Seqenenre Tao II, the latter died in a fierce battle. Archaeologists have discovered his mummy and it is evident that he had a very violent death, at a young age and probably in battle. Although he died young, his wife – who was his own sister and, thus, the daughter of Tao I – lived for many years. This couple had two sons who together transformed Egyptian history.<sup>258</sup> The two sons, Khamose and Ahmose carried the final campaign which led to the conquest of Avaris by the Thebans and the reunification of Egypt.

Khamose was the last king of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; he is credited with having swept through most of northern Egypt and moved towards the Hyksos capital Avaris – although he did not succeed in capturing it. There are two stelae at the temple of Karnak that tell us the story of how Khamose pursued the battle. They claim that Apophis lost Middle Egypt and was effectively pushed closer to Avaris itself. The first stele unfortunately is incomplete and ends with the conquest by Khamose of the most southern town of the Hyksos, called Nefrusy. In this stele, the Hyksos are portrayed as usurpers. The following excerpts reveal this (REDFORD 1997, 13, No. 68):

His Majesty spoke in his palace to his council of magistrates who were in (3) his train: “To what end do I know my (own) strength? One chief is in Avaris, another in Kush, and I sit (here) associated with an Asiatic and a Nubian! Each man has his slice in this Egypt and so the land is partitioned with me! (4) None can pass through it as far as

<sup>257</sup> HARVEY 1998, 37.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 emphasizes that there is no solid evidence for assuming that Ahmose was the brother of Khamose.

Memphis (although it is) Egyptian water! See he (even) has Hermopolis! No one can be at ease when they are milked by the taxes of the Asiatics (*Sttyw*). (5) I shall grapple with him that I might crush his belly, (for) my desire is to rescue Egypt which (5) the Asiatics (*ꜥ3mw*) have destroyed.'

The above section bemoans the fate of the Thebans, who have been subjected to heavy taxes from the Hyksos (Asiatics) and who they perceive as invaders of their land. The second stele of Khamose reports claims of victory over Apophis and the Hyksos, as the following excerpts from it reveal (REDFORD 1997, 14, no. 69):

... Does your heart fail, you vile Asiatic? Look! I drink of the wine of your vineyards (12) which the Asiatics whom I captured pressed out for me. I have smashed up your resthouse, I have cut down your trees, I have forced your women into ships' holds (13), I have seized [your(?)horses; I haven't left a plank to the hundreds of ships of fresh cedar which were filled with gold, lapis, silver, turquoise ... (17) (As for) Avaris on the Two Rivers, I laid it waste without inhabitants; I destroyed their towns and burned their homes to reddened ruin-heaps...

To add to the picture, we also have also the discovery of a famous letter from Apophis to the king of Kush in Nubia. In the letter, the Hyksos ruler asks for the Nubians to attack the Thebans from the south. They could then conquer the Egyptians and divide up their cities. However before this agenda could get going, the reign of Apophis ended. The long serving Hyksos king died after a reign estimated at 40 years, but as HARVEY (1998, 38) points out – 'Kamose had neither captured the Hyksos capital, nor had he succeeded in driving out Apophis, the ruler of Avaris.'

Shortly afterwards, the Theban dynasty was also thrown into some difficulty – Khamose himself died from causes unknown. After this mysterious death, Khamose's mother, Ahotep, wife of Seqenenre Tao II, played a major role in ensuring that her second son, Ahmose, would ascend to the throne. He was probably only a boy or a teenager at that time. The young king then spent 10 years preparing for the final assaults on the Hyksos capital, which resulted in the Theban takeover of that city. A careful campaign was carried out, details of which we know from a record inscribed in the tomb at El Kab of a soldier, Ahmose si-Abina, who participated in the battle of Avaris. This soldier also reported that he accompanied Ahmose's forces to take the town of Sharuhén in Canaan. This latter campaign took another three years. In some excerpts from this biographical statement of Ahmose si-Abina he recalls, as translated by (REDFORD 1997, 15, no.70):

... Siege was laid to the town of Avaris, and I continued my brave (acts) as a foot soldier in H.M.'s presence; and then I was assigned to (9) (the ship) 'He-who-appears-in-Memphis.' Then there was combat on the water in the *Dd-hw* canal of Avaris, and I made a capture (10) and brought a hand. It was reported to the king's-herald, and then I was given the Gold-of-Valour. Then there was renewed combat in this location, and I made another capture (11) there, and brought a hand, and then I was given the Gold-of-Valour again. Then there was combat on Egyptian soil south of this town, (12) and I brought off one captive. ... Then (14) Avaris was sacked and I brought off booty therefrom, ... Then (15) Sharuhén was besieged over/for(?) three(?) years, and then H.M. sacked it and I brought off booty therefrom (viz.) 2 women and one hand.

This account supports our view in Chapter III, which attributed a considerable time gap from the time Ahmose besieged Avaris until he conquered places such as Tell el-*ꜥ*Ajjul, one of the major trading centres in that region of the Middle East. The long battle for Avaris became very severe in the final 20 years. It is our contention that during this time much of the normal trade between Avaris and other ports, including Cyprus, was disrupted.

Our thesis is that it was during this time that WS I 'Rope Lattice' Group first appeared at Tell el-*ꜥ*Ajjul, but probably only arrived in Egypt at Tell el-Dab<sup>ca</sup> after the conclusion of the war and the victory of Ahmose at Avaris. Its appearance at sites on Cyprus in the southwest (Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia*, Episkopi *Bamboula*), east (Hala Sultan Tekke, Enkomi, Milia) and northwest of Cyprus (Pendayia, *Toumba tou Skourou*, Ayia Irini) is characteristic of LC IA:2. Clearly the style is more common in some parts of the island than others to judge by present evidence. However, from the evidence of *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I Chamber 2 and Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tombs 104 and 105, we can deduce that not much time existed between the first appearance of the 'Rope Lattice' Group to the time when the 'Double Framed Line' motifs of 'FWL' and 'FL' also occur. We turn to consider events in this period now.

## 2. PERIOD 2: THE LINKS BETWEEN CYPRUS AND OTHER SOCIETIES DURING THE EARLY 18<sup>th</sup> DYNASTY – LC IA:2

### (a) Cypriot contact with the Minoans during the Late Minoan IA period.

The Minoan civilization based in Crete developed extensive links with Cyprus during the first part of the



Late Bronze Age. One question, which we have already discussed in Chapter II (7), is: when did direct trade between Cyprus and the Minoans begin? As we noted there, the question is significant because we do find a few MC III wares in Crete (Red Polished III, RoB, WP III–IV CLS and PLS) and one sherd of PWS (Miletus) from a pre-eruption context is also known.<sup>259</sup> Other wares characteristic of LC IA:1 are also very rare in the Aegean, even though there is at least one LM IA vessel found on Cyprus at this time. These examples of Cypriot wares in the Aegean, though few, may represent the scant evidence of the beginnings of contact between the Hyksos world and the Aegean via Cyprus.

The significant point here is that we do find examples of WS I ‘Rope Lattice’ Group on Thera and Crete, which is definitely associated with the next period – LC IA:2. The WS I ‘Framed Lozenge’ style from Trianda on Rhodes; and the WS I ‘Ladder Band Framed Lozenge’ style from Melos may be even later than this. In overall terms, we have shown in Chapter III.10.b and Chapter VI.3, LM IA ceramics from the Aegean appear in Cyprus during the LC IA:2 period. Thus in our analysis of LM IA pottery in Cyprus in Chapter III, we discussed the finds from *Toumba tou Skourou*, Ayia Irini, Enkomi, Maroni *Vournes*, Limassol area, and Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia*. In Chapter VI.2 and VI.3, we argued that the evidence shows that LM IA in Cyprus, though it may overlap with LC IA:1, it is primarily associated with LC IA:2 Cyprus, and the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in Egypt. LM IA seems to end at the conclusion of LC IA:2, when the transition to LC IB occurred at the time of the accession of Thutmose III.

A viable historical hypothesis arises from this: In Chapter II.7, I argued that we do not yet have sufficient evidence for the claim that substantial *direct* trading links existed between Cyprus and the Minoans, prior to LC IA:2. However, what of the links between Egypt and the Minoans at this time? Earlier in this chapter, we referred to the fact that, during the reign of Apophis, Hyksos Egypt blossomed to an extraordinary degree of economic and cultural development; the Hyksos capital Avaris became a major centre of commerce with many ships arriving from what is now Lebanon, Israel, Syria, Libya, Cyprus and (probably to a lesser degree) the Aegean.

OREN (1997a, xxiv) describes this general phenomenon, which included a major role for Cyprus, so:

The Middle Bronze Age is the first period of internationalism in the true sense of the word. The Mediterranean basin opened up to intensive interaction in various fields – religion, art, commerce and technology. Middle Cypriot products, for example, are common in many settlements and burial sites along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, from Ugarit on the Syrian coast to Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ajjul near Gaza, as well as in the Egyptian Delta.

However, as we saw in Chapter II.7, the view that these links extended into the Minoan civilization was based on an earlier assessment of archaeological discoveries at Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup>, especially the Minoan style wall paintings. On that earlier view, the links were assumed to be at the level of the Hyksos pharaoh and the Minoan king. It has been proposed that these paintings were done by Minoan artists, who had come to live in Egypt. On this basis, OREN (1997a, xxiv) drew the following conclusion:

The high-quality wall paintings in Minoan style at Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup>, whose iconography is closely matched at Knossos, including bull-leaping scenes that symbolize palace tradition, vividly demonstrate the strong links with the advanced Middle Bronze Age Aegean world. These discoveries should be viewed in the context of the other Minoan/Aegean style wall paintings in some of the Levantine Middle Bronze Age palaces at Alalakh and Kabri, and the diffusion of Aegean art (and artists) into the Middle Bronze Age culture of Egypt and the Levant. Explaining these contacts is another matter. Do they indicate dynastic links (marriage?) between the royal courts of the Hyksos, Levantine and Minoan world, or do they reflect other forms of intercultural activity resulting from close political and economic relationships in the Mediterranean basin during the latter part of the Middle Bronze Age?

However, as we have seen in Chapter III.10.c, the stratum with the discarded Minoan style wall painting fragments is now dated to the Thutmoside period. Specifically, the stratum is correlated on other grounds with the reign of Thutmose III (BIETAK, DORNER and JÁNOSI 2001, 44–5; BIETAK 2003, fig. 1). Of course, as we have mentioned, the final resting place of these incredible fragments does not reveal to us their creation date (see Chapter III.9.d). This could still be a result of contact between the Hyksos and the Minoans; or, more likely, between the rulers of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty with the Minoans. If the

<sup>259</sup> See LAMBROU-PHILIPSON nos. 126, 151, 134, 201, from Knossos, Malia, Kommos, and Kato Zakros respectively; NIEMEIER 2005, 5, fig. 11.

former is the case, what can be said about the links between the Hyksos Egyptians and the Minoans at this time?

A cautious answer was offered by BETANCOURT (1997, 430) when he compared the Minoan and Hyksos civilisations:

Within the Aegean, the Minoan expansion led to the export of Cretan influence (and almost certainly Cretan population elements) to the Cyclades, southern Greece, and the coast of Anatolia. In Western Asia, Syro-Palestinians expanded into the Nile delta. In both cases, it is surely wrong to think in terms of a closely knit economic and political empire like those of the Late Bronze Age. The earlier phenomenon is likely to have been driven by population growth and a desire for trade more than by political ambition, and a loosely allied series of trading partners is more likely than a well-controlled international federation.

Whatever the situation with the Hyksos, the evidence does suggest that the Minoans quickly established links with the new rulers of Egypt, after the rise of Ahmose. WARREN (1995, 13) sums up the evidence so:

Despite the major change of dynasty with the inception of the new Kingdom, c. 1550 BC, and the destruction of the Hyksos capital, Avaris, c. 1540 BC, contacts continued in the early New Kingdom. The dagger of Ahhotep and the axe of Ahmose are decorated with Aegean symbolic information, while the axe motifs combine Egyptian conquest of the Hyksos through the medium of an Aegeanizing motif, the Minoan form of griffin. Connections with the reigns of the kings following Ahmose, that is Amenophis I, Tutmosis I and II, are restricted to a fragment of a decorated Late Minoan I vase from Memphis, dated to the period of Ahmose-Amenophis I by J. Bourriau, ... and to Egyptian influences behind wall-painting at Late Cycladic I (=LM IA) Thera and on objects like the gold pin terminal from Mycenae.

Until we uncover more evidence, this view appears to be the most realistic. However, whatever the answer here may be, there seems no doubt that the Minoans had significant links with the new rulers of Egypt, after the defeat of the Hyksos by Ahmose. This observation is also supported by BIETAK (1995; 2003), who now believes that the wall paintings at Avaris were specifically associated with the new regime, in 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty contexts.

As we have seen in several parts of this book, the evidence from Cyprus suggests that LM IA pottery spans the LC IA:1 into LC IA:2 transition. This is

particularly evident at the sites of *Toumba tou Skourou* and nearby Ayia Irini in the northwest region. The number of Minoan/Aegean artefacts imported to *Toumba tou Skourou* led the excavators to develop the view that Minoan sailors were passing by. In truth we cannot verify either the port of origin or the nationality of the crew of these vessels. However, what is clear from a close study of the other non-local material is the strong connections of Cyprus with the Levant as typified by the Tell-el-<sup>c</sup>Ajjul assemblage; as well as with late SIP and early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egypt. It is entirely possible that Cyprus had individually owned or state run merchant ships – something akin to the situation as presented by the later Ulu Burun wreck, the cargo of which included 10 tonnes of copper. This ship had close ties with Cyprus as it plied a course between the Levant and the Aegean. The evidence for the major role of Cyprus increases as the links between the Minoan and Egyptian civilizations are revealed to be deeper with each new archaeological discovery. Of course, many outstanding questions need to be examined, concerning the nature of these links. As BIETAK (1995, 26) says:

It is especially important to note the intimate connection between the courts of Knossos and Avaris as displayed by certain motifs, such as the maze-pattern and the half-rosette triglyphic frieze and the bull-leaping scenes. Was there a special relationship between the two courts? And were the influences mutual? How can we explain typical Egyptian subjects, such as the Nilotic landscape with its reeds, papyri and palms and the monkeys picking flowers, on Knossian and Thera frescoes? Were the motifs transported to Crete and Thera by Minoan artists working in Avaris? Was Avaris a meeting point for artistic exchanges?

We cannot answer these questions at present. Nevertheless, the Egyptian flavour of some of the Thera paintings is indisputable. To Bietak's observations above, we believe that the use of 'Egyptian' blue in these frescoes may further attest to some kind of contact. However, we note that despite the iconographic links between the frescoes from Thera with those from <sup>c</sup>Ezbet Helmi, there are definitely stylistic differences which may one day assist with the closer dating of the discarded fragments from the latter site. The Minoan presence in Avaris, elusive as it is, will have considerable historical and chronological consequences; we await the outcomes of future research.

Thus we accept that the similarity between wall paintings found in Thera and Crete to those found at Tell el-Dab<sup>c</sup>a, demonstrates the links that existed between Egypt and the Aegean at this time. A journey

through the historical periods of the Late Bronze Age further vividly illustrates this. We can compare a wall painting from Akrotiri<sup>260</sup> showing the Egyptian papyrus plant, which belongs to Historical Period 2, with a scene from Tell el-Amarna,<sup>261</sup> from Historical Period 4. Here we see the naturalistic representation of the outdoor scene. This style at Amarna has often been thought to have been influenced from the Aegean, but there are obviously influences going both ways and this will need deeper analysis in the future. One wonders what role Cyprus may have played in the creation and sustenance of these relationships which produced the interconnections between the Aegean and Egypt at the start of the New Kingdom.

In the last part of Chapter III, we discussed at length the importance of the WS I ‘Rope Lattice’ Group bowl found on the island of Thera and its significance for the dating of the Thera eruption. The debate continues on this issue and its resolution will be very significant in assessing the relative chronology of all the East Mediterranean civilizations. If BIETAK (2003, fig. 1) is right about the links between the Minoans and the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egyptians, then the date of the pumice, believed to be from the eruption of Thera’s volcano, in stratum C/2 at ‘Ezbet Helmi will be around the time of Hatshepsut or perhaps Tuthmosis III. This pumice (lots of it!) is found in the layer immediately after the stratum (C/3) in which the discarded Minoan style fragments were found. If, as we believe, BIETAK is approximately correct on this, then our current knowledge of the international links between Cyprus, Egypt and the Aegean will be further cemented.

From the point of view of this book, we need to consider how the links between the Minoan and Egyptian civilizations further impacted on Cyprus, during this LC IA:2 period. Our preliminary conclusion is that during this period, there appears to have been no historical reason for new pressures on Cyprus – as a result of its having links with *both* the Egyptian and Minoan civilizations. In support of this is the fact that, during this period, Minoan pottery of LM IA style is found in significant quantities on Cyprus itself (see Chapter VI.2-3; Fig. 44). It would appear that Minoan wares were arriving in Cyprus at the same time that the Minoans were constructively contributing to the majestic wall paintings in Avaris. The

evidence suggests that the Cypriots resumed their contacts with Egypt soon after Ahmose’s conquests of Avaris. The Tell el-Dab‘a material demonstrates that WS I ‘RL’ appears only after the reign of Ahmose is stabilized at Avaris and that perhaps other styles like ‘FL’ and ‘LFL’ are appearing after this, but still within LC IA:2. There is no WS I ‘FWL’ style recorded at Tell el-Dab‘a (see BIETAK and HEIN 2001).

However, there is a mystery in relation to this: Although we have the Minoan wall paintings, we do not, in contrast to Cyprus, have any LM IA pottery at Avaris. Yet, as we have already seen, at this very same time, Cypriot wares such as WS I *are* appearing in this same town. A viable explanation for this has yet to appear.

In any event, it seems that the new pharaoh’s moves to re-establish links with the Minoans would probably have been strongly supported by the rulers of Cyprus who continued their links with the Minoans during the period of upheaval in Egypt. We have reason to believe this because, during LC IA:2 in Cyprus, the substantial increase in the arrivals of Minoan pottery to the island, implies an increase in friendly trade relations with the Aegean. An additional factor here may be that the Minoan and Semitic merchant vessels found Cyprus a preferable landfall on the journey between the Levant and the Aegean. The need for Cypriot copper may also have been a major factor and is emphasized by the fact that analyses have identified copper implements or ingots from the LM IA settlements at Akrotiri and Kea as having a composition consistent with a Cypriot origin (STOS-GALE and GALE 1990; WIENER 1990, 148; WATROUS 1992, 171).<sup>262</sup>

All this seems to be reflected in the artefacts that are found in northwest Cyprus, and at other sites located nearer the coast like Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* and Limassol in the southwest and Enkomi in the east. Indirect evidence for this thesis is provided by the bone inlays from *Toumba tou Skourou* (Fig. 42b) which must surely have originated from a site on the mainland like Tell el-‘Ajjul (Fig. 42a).

Finally, mention must be made of a sherd of Chocolate on White ware (Fig. 43) which comes from the excavations at Myrtou *Pigadhes*. The author is most familiar with this ware through work on the

<sup>260</sup> ‘Sea daffodils’ from the House of the Ladies. National Museum, Athens.

<sup>261</sup> Wild ducks rising from the sedges and papyrus from Tell el-Amarna. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

<sup>262</sup> WATROUS here refers the work by Z. STOS-GALE and N. GALE, “The Minoan Thalassocracy and the Aegean Metal Trade”, 59–63, in: R. HÄGG and N. MARINATOS (eds.), *The Minoan Thalassocracy*. Stockholm, 1984.

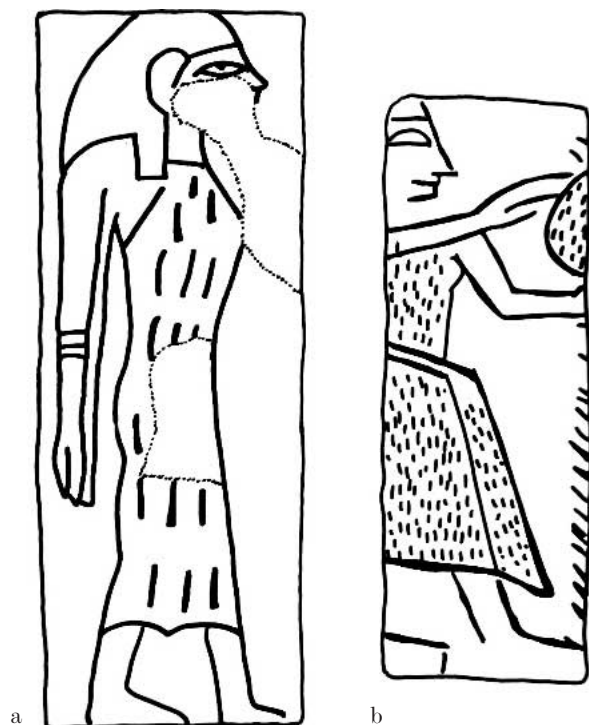


Fig. 42 Incised bone carvings from Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ajjul and *Toumba tou Skourou*. a) Incised bone carvings from Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ajjul (after PETRIE 1932, pl. 24:3); b) Incised bone carving from Tomb 1 *Toumba tou Skourou* (after VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 221, T. 1.675, fig. 117 right). L. 7.2 cms

LBA pottery assemblage from Pella in Jordan (POTTS 1992; ERIKSSON 2001b). However, this ware is also represented at Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ajjul, Lachish (TUFNELL 1940, pl. 64:2) and many other mainland sites. Yet, interestingly there is possibly only one sherd from <sup>c</sup>Ezbet Helmi.<sup>263</sup> The most likely time for this piece to arrive in Cyprus would be in the early New Kingdom.

The wide ranging interconnections between Cyprus and Canaan/Syria during this historical period LC IA:2, are reinforced by the close links between both these societies and the Minoan world at this time. However, the situation changed in the later periods of the LBA, when the Minoan civilization faced crisis and destruction.

#### (b) Synchronism with the developments in Egypt during the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

As we have seen, the transition to the second period LC IA:2 came approximately just before the defeat of the Hyksos in Egypt. Avaris, the capital of the



Fig. 43 Chocolate on White sherd from large platter from Myrtou *Pigadhes*

Hyksos, and its final occupation layer, Stratum D/2, are widely accepted as having been abandoned as a result of the campaigns of Ahmose I, the first ruler of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Some scholars have taken this to mean that Avaris was abandoned right at the end of the transition from the SIP to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (MERRILLEES 1977, 42). However, BIETAK (1989, 92) maintains that the end of Stratum D/2 occurs in the pharaoh's eleventh year. This accords with the historical view that it took young Ahmose at least a decade to capture Avaris, after his ascension to the throne.

If we compare the different Hyksos and early-mid 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty settlements at Tell el-Dab<sup>c</sup>a, one of the first things we can observe in relation to the Cypriot ceramics is the distinct difference between the two assemblages (see Chapter III). The general interpretation of the history of the two sites has been that, in Tell el-Dab<sup>c</sup>a, we have the Hyksos occupation that comes to an end with the abandonment, not destruction, of the Stratum D/2 structures, in contrast to the Khamose claim that he "laid it waste" and "burned their homes to reddened ruin heaps" (see above), (BIETAK 1989, 79; ASTON *fc*). As we have argued in Chapter III, this should be compared with the nearby site of <sup>c</sup>Ezbet Helmi which demonstrates the occupation of the site from the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards, after the expulsion of the Hyksos.

We would thus argue from the evidence that there was no immediate succession from the final layer of Hyksos occupation, D/2 in Tell el-Dab<sup>c</sup>a, to the earliest levels of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty sequence in <sup>c</sup>Ezbet Helmi. On the contrary, there appears to have been a

<sup>263</sup> At the 2003 SCIEEM conference in Vienna, Perla Fuscaldo showed me a slide of a piece that I thought looked like CoW ware.

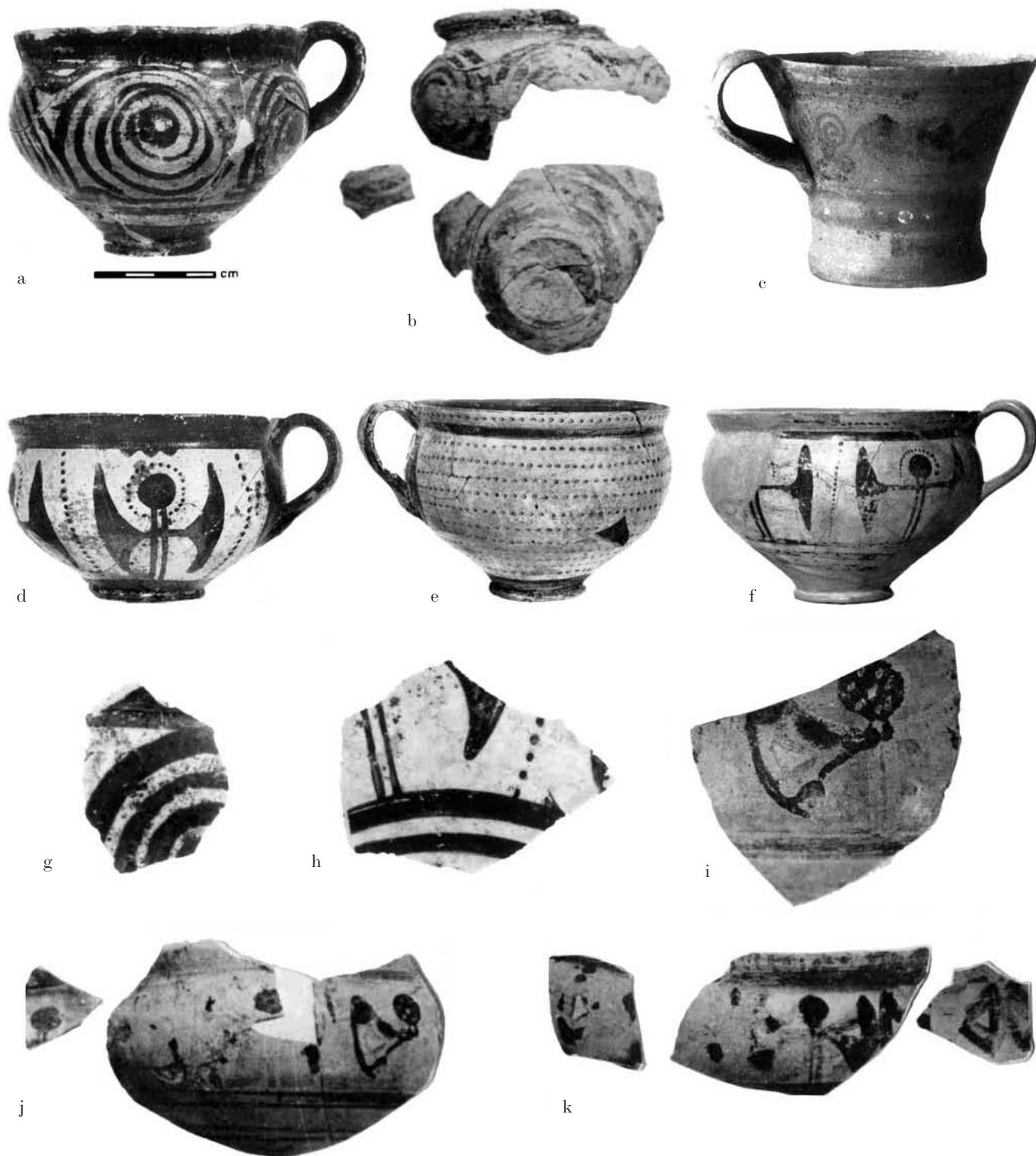


Fig. 44 Some LM I pottery in Cyprus. a) LM IA Spiral cup from Ayia Irini Tomb:427 (after QUILICI 1990, 126, fig. 328). H. 7.6 cms, D. 10.7 cms; b) LM IA Spiral cup from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I:497 (after VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, fig. 168); c) LM IA Vapheio cup from Ayia Irini Tomb:228 (after QUILICI 1990, 88, fig. 221). H. 7.1 cms, D. 8.9-9.3 cms; d) LM IB/LH IIA Double Axe cup from Ayia Irini Tomb 3:16 (after PECORELLA 1977, fig. 30a). H. 6.9 cms, D. 10.3-10.6 cms; e) LM IB/LH IIA Dotted Row cup from Ayia Irini Tomb 3:29 (after *ibid.*, fig. 44a). H. 9 cms, D. 13 cms; f) LM IB/LH IIA Double Axe cup from Ayia Irini Tomb 20:38-9 (after *ibid.*, fig. 269). H. 9.4 cms, D. 14 cms; g) LM IA Spiral cup fragment from Palaepaphos Tomb 104 (after KARAGEORGHIS 1990, pl. 4: 104 Chamber O, i); h) LM IA Double Axe cup fragment from Palaepaphos Tomb 105 (after *ibid.*, pl. IV: Tomb 105 Pit C, vii); i) and j) LM IA Double Axe cup fragments from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I:34A, P 38A (after VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, fig. 170); k) LM IA Double Axe cup fragments from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I:34B, P 38B (after *ibid.*, fig. 171)

significant break. It is also important to note here that there is no RLW-m, BR I or WS I in the stratified remains of the Hyksos occupation of the site – which is what one would expect if any of these wares had in fact appeared in Egypt prior to the New Kingdom. This fits our general chronological sequence.

The ceramic events we have ascribed to this Historical Period 2 (LC IA:2) tie in with the historical events of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. During this period, the reigns of Ahmose and his successors – Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II – ushered in a new age for Egypt proper. The economy and foreign relations of the whole country were completely revitalised. Contacts with other countries increased. Hence, not only did these early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty pharaohs secure and hold the country's borders, but they launched themselves into the East Mediterranean area and established themselves as a force by their constant campaigning in Canaan/Syria. During this time, we see Cypriot wares such as BR I and, perhaps also some RLW-m, appearing in graves of mainly 'middle class' people, at sites down the Nile River, but also in settlement contexts such as <sup>c</sup>Ezbet Helmi and Memphis. (Kom Rabi'a)

Archaeologists and ancient historians have determined a number of key facts about the achievements of these early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty pharaohs. Thus, we see that Ahmose, having conquered Nubia and achieved a temporary stability in Canaan, set out to rebuild Egypt. Ahmose thus embarked on an urgent construction program. Firstly, he needed to restore infrastructure such as canals, fortresses, temples and even large houses destroyed during the war or 'neglected' during Hyksos rule. Secondly, he wanted to build grand temples and royal tombs of significance (in contrast to the structures of all the previous rulers of the Theban dynasty). He replaced local and provincial governors who were not loyal to him, and to his chief god, Amun, with persons chosen by him.

His successor, Amenhotep I was less successful in military terms than his father. From historical evidence, it appears that the influence in Canaan/Syria which his father had established, was reduced. Instead of war, Amenhotep I was primarily concerned with building, which required extensive and specialized labour, as JAMES (1973, 312) has written: "The innovations introduced by Amenophis into royal funerary practice, and the establishment of a special corps of trained necropolis-workers installed in an exclusive workman's village, account for the particular devotion paid to the memory of this king in subsequent times."

Amenhotep I boasted that his empire extended to the Euphrates, but there is no evidence that he actually achieved this feat. On the contrary, we know that during that time, the Canaan/Syrian regions were controlled by other kingdoms. After a 21 year reign, Amenhotep I died. A commoner, Thutmose I, who was already in a powerful position as the Commander of the armed Forces, became the successor, since Amenhotep I did not have a son. In order to ensure his succession to the throne, Thutmose I married the princess Ahmose, the sister of Amenhotep I and the daughter of Ahmose.

Thutmose I also boasted that he had brought the Egyptian forces to the banks of the Euphrates River in the first two years of his reign. We know from the accounts of two officers – as discovered through inscriptions – that Thutmose I probably did reach the Euphrates with an army. If he made it this far he would have entered 'the land in the Euphrates bend' or 'Naharīna'. This Semitic word was used by the Egyptians to refer to this area – the land of the Mittanians (Hurrians) – a people with whom the Egyptians would continue to clash. It was only much later that the Egyptians and the Mittanians were forced into an alliance, because a larger threat to both emerged in the form of the resurgent Hittites. However, at this time, the Hittites posed no threat to Egypt; indeed the power of the Mittanians had forced the "collapse of Hittite supremacy in northern Syria" (WILHELM 1989, 24).

Thus, it was a fortuitous time for Thutmose I to undertake such an expedition to the Euphrates. However, there is no evidence that he established a permanent presence there. It seems that the main aim of the expedition was to reach the Euphrates and set up a Stele claiming the whole region for Egypt. The pharaoh did not establish administrative posts along the way to control the various peoples through whose lands he marched.

It seems that the life of Thutmose I consisted of several family tragedies. His two eldest sons died during his reign. Instead, the pharaoh's third son, Thutmose II, who was the child of a secondary wife called Mutnefert, was anointed as successor. Probably because the king was concerned to ensure that this son would indeed gain the succession, it was organized that Thutmose II would marry his half-sister, Hatshepsut. She did have major royal claims, being the daughter of Thutmose I and his Queen, the daughter of Ahmose.

After Thutmose II ascended the throne, the presence in Canaan/Syria of the Egyptians appears to have weakened even further. There were also prob-

lems at home. The most serious conflict was the fact his Queen, Hatshepsut, did not have any surviving son from Thutmose II. Another child of the king from a secondary wife was named the successor of Thutmose II. The length of the reign of Thutmose II is disputed with only a Year 1 so far attested (KITCHEN 2002, 9) – we believe it lasted around seven years, but 3 to 13 years have been proposed.<sup>264</sup> The death of Thutmose II is approximate with the end of the LC IA:2 period.

While we know many more historical details concerning the pharaohs of Egypt during the LC IA:2 period than those provided here, what we are lacking is specific information about the actual links between these pharaohs and the rulers of Cyprus at this time. This is a matter for further discovery.

### (c) The Thera Eruption and the Minoan Civilization

In the second part of Chapter III, we discussed at length the importance of the WS I ‘RL’ bowl from Thera. We argued there that the earliest point for the dating of the Thera eruption is the very beginning of historical period 2, which begins just before the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in Egypt. However, we also argued that the most likely date is sometime around the reign of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut, towards the end of LC IA:2. In any event, we are confident that the resolution of the issue as to exactly when the Thera eruption occurred in relative chronology will be at some point within historical period 2. Disputes are likely to continue as to the exact date during this period.

It is important therefore to have some perspective on the historical events that were taking place at this time, especially in relation to the Minoan civilization, of which Thera was a part. Thera is linked to Cyprus in two ways. Firstly, there is the link to Cyprus through the WS I ‘RL’ bowl from Thera itself and what it represents. Secondly, there is a general link between Cyprus and the Minoans, as illustrated by the LM IA pottery found in Cyprus during historical period 2 (see above subsection VII.2.a).

In overall terms, Thera was part of the Minoan civilization, although it should be emphasized that Thera also had considerable independence from the major Minoan centre at Knossos in Crete. DOUMAS (nd, 19) in his book on Santorini stated:

In both the painting and the pottery the elements

of the Minoan civilisation are pronounced. And yet in both these areas the independence from the art of Crete is clearly apparent. The painting of Akrotiri is freed from the artistic conventions of the Minoan palaces and is more like folk art.

In the pottery also a similar independence is noticeable. The number of vases which have been imported directly from Crete is quite small in comparison with the thousands of local production. Even the local vases which copy Minoan prototypes are distinguished by the diversity of decorative themes and the freedom in the arrangement of their decoration.

However, this should not detract us the fact that there were extensive cultural and economic links which made Thera and Crete virtually interdependent societies. This is confirmed by the majority of imported ceramics in the pre-eruption layer which originate from Crete, but probably also from other Cycladic islands like Kea, Melos, Naxos, and also from Rhodes and Kos.

In any event, it is clear that Cyprus certainly had some links with the Minoans in Crete and may even have had direct links with Thera. This impression is reinforced by the fact that Egypt most probably had links with the Minoans at this time. The major evidence has already been referred to in Chapter III.6 and III.10.c–d – the Minoan wall paintings at Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup>. From his exhaustive analysis of these works, BIETAK (1997, 124) drew the following general conclusions in relation to the links between the Minoans and early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egypt:

The paintings, as well as an increasing number of artifacts, demonstrate that a strong link existed between the new Eighteenth Dynasty under Ahmose and the Minoan world, in particular with the Palace of Knossos. This occurred at a time when the Minoan thalassocracy expanded to the Cycladic region, the Greek mainland and even Asia Minor. Minoan paintings had already appeared in the royal palace at Alalakh, on the Orontes, before they appeared at Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup>, and in the palace at Kabri, in northern Canaan, at approximately the same time as at Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup>. Yet nowhere except at Tell el-Dab<sup>a</sup> and Knossos do we find bull-leaping, maze patterns, and the half-rosette frieze. What kind of deal was forged between the early Eighteenth Dynasty and the court of Knossos?

<sup>264</sup> HELCK (1987) believes it was three years, while KITCHEN (1987, 2000, 2002) believes it was thirteen years. We tend to agree with HELCK’s view the reign was shorter than the

thirteen years, but in view of the known events, in the life of Thutmose II seven years seems more probable.

The ties must have been more unusual than those between the Minoan world and the other two Levantine royal centres mentioned above. It is feasible that Ahmose probably sought an alliance with the Minoans, the most formidable seapower in his time, in order to have protection from, as well as access to, the sea...

By the time of this alliance, the Minoan civilization had enjoyed substantial development over more than two centuries. At the time of the MM III – LM IA transition, there had been a major destruction at Knossos during the Middle Cypriot III period (WARREN 2000, 157). After this, the main palaces at Knossos were rebuilt and became the central administrative focus of a great society. The development of a sophisticated society is testified to through the many excavations, which show a technologically advanced culture, which even included drainage systems and plumbing. The Minoans were also well known for their artistic creativity, especially the many frescoes found in palaces and major buildings in Crete and Thera.

As we have seen, the Minoan civilization reached a significant peak towards the end of the Second Intermediate Period; it further matured during the first part of the New Kingdom period in Egypt. The Cycladic society on the island of Thera of the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty seems to have been an especially prosperous part of the Minoan civilization. The discoveries under the volcanic pumice have been full of surprises, as DOUMAS (nd, 12) explains:

However, the uniqueness of the Akrotiri excavation is assured principally by the host of wall-paintings and their remarkably good state of preservation. There is hardly a house without at least one room decorated with wall-paintings ... The diversity of themes is so great and their presentation so rich that the wall-paintings, apart from their artistic merit, constitute a unique source of information about the society which created them. Occupations such as the collecting of crocus, or information pertaining to the costumes, jewellery, male and female hairstyles, or the men's armour, the craft of ship-building and sailing are immediately made known through the wall-paintings. Every house in the Akrotiri excavation constitutes a surprise...

It is quite possible that the WS I 'RL' bowl discovered at Thera, which has created so much controversy, may not be an isolated find. It may be that Thera had direct links with Cyprus, particularly the northwest area, from whence the WS I bowl found on Thera may have originated. It appears that there is evidence from Tell el-Dab<sup>ca</sup> that there was such a link between Thera and Egypt during LM IA. Indeed BIETAK (2003, 29; see also above Chapter III.6) suggests such link between the paintings in Egypt and the frescoes on Thera itself. One cannot help wondering about the nature of these connections, which are suggested in the Thera paintings by representations of Nilotic scenes, sophisticated towns nestled in a river delta; blue painted scalps which recalls Egyptian iconography, and many other features (see also LAFFINEUR 1998). One clear example of the shared iconography which BIETAK (1995; 2003, 30, fig. 2) has drawn attention to is the similarity in the representation of the plumes of the griffin at both sites.

As was discussed in Chapter III.9, this prosperous society on Thera was destroyed through the massive volcanic eruption, generally accepted to be one of the largest in the last four thousand years. Recently several books have appeared which highlight the enormity of this explosion (see for example, FRIEDRICH 2000; DRUIT *et al.* 1999; HARDY (ed.) 1990). Experts generally agree that the size of the eruption was more than three times the size of one of the greatest modern volcanic eruptions – that of the 1883 eruption of the island of Krakatoa (Indonesia).<sup>265</sup> DOUMAS (1983) was one of the first to write extensively about the immense dimensions of this explosion, when he compared it to the AD 79 eruption of Pompeii.

The volcanic explosion on Thera obviously had massive consequences on the whole of the Mediterranean. It has been estimated that the debris covered 180,000 square kilometres, and a tidal wave approximately 100 meters high hit Crete at close to 200 kilometres per hour. The tsunamis may also have penetrated into the delta region of Egypt. The volcano created massive dust storms in the atmosphere such that the sky was covered in darkness for several days throughout the Mediterranean area. Volcanic ash from the fallout of the volcano and pumice is still

<sup>265</sup> A voluminous literature exists in geological and other scientific journals in relation to the physical dimensions and dating of the LM IA eruption. See e.g., BOND and SPARKS 1976; DRUIT *et al.*, 1989; HAMMER *et al.*, 1987; KELLER 1980; KUNIHOLM *et al.*, 1996. Recent research, by Steven Carey of Rhode Island University, now estimates that Thera had an

output of 60 cubic km of molten rock, compared to 25 cubic km for the 1883 eruption of Krakatoa, and 100 cubic km for the 1815 eruption of Tambora (see E. LEADBEATER "Thera eruption was bigger still", 27 August 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/5287124.stm>).



being found in archaeological digs to this very day (see Fischer and Sadeq's work at Tell el-cAjjul).

Of great significance is the impact of the Thera eruption on Crete. It seems inconceivable, given the size of eruption, that there would not have been significant devastation on Crete – which was only 60 miles away. Warren also has a great interest in the evidence of the volcanic eruption of Thera and its consequences for Crete (see Chapter III.11). He believes that the Thera explosion occurred towards the very end of the Late Minoan IA period (as proposed by Marinatos and Doumas), with the latest absolute date for this as ca 1520 BC (WARREN 2000, 161). He thus clearly rejects the very early dates derived, for example from the earth sciences and supported by MANNING (1999).

On the other hand, Warren is not of the view that the Thera eruption was so late that it was directly responsible for the LM IB period destruction of sites throughout Crete – which has come to be known as the first LBA destruction of the Minoan civilization. Increasingly, in a general move away from Marinatos's initial view that the eruption of Thera indeed was responsible for the destruction of LM IB sites, Minoan scholars are of view that the troubles that finally ended the Minoan thalassocracy cannot be explained by the eruption itself, but rather relate to subsequent events. One popular view is that, when the Mycenaeans invaded Crete, probably during the reign of Amenhotep III they found a devastated civilization. The reasons for this are still hotly debated – some scholars are of the view that the Minoans struggled to recover from the effects of the Thera eruption, especially its destructive economic and environmental impact.

Whatever the cause of the first Minoan destruction, it took place during our period 3, that is during the long reign of Thutmose III in Egypt, probably in the final years of that pharaoh. LM IB wares were certainly appearing in Egypt up to that time (see HANKEY and LEONARD 1998, 32–3), and Minoans are depicted in the tombs of the nobles during this period (see *ibid.*; WACHSMANN 1987; LAFFINEUR 1998; REHAK 1998) after which Minoan presence virtually disappears (see also Chapter VI.2 and 3).

#### (d) The rise and significance of the Mycenaeans

During the second part of the LC IA:2 period, there was a further development in the eastern Mediterranean, which later played a critical role in the events of LBA Cyprus. We refer to the rise of the Mycenaean civilization. The Mycenaeans first became prominent outside of Greece when they initiated the

first of two takeovers of the Minoans, firstly ca 1450 BC and then ca 1380 BC. We have referred to the first destruction of the Minoan civilization, some decades after the Thera eruption, when much of the infrastructure was destroyed – possibly by a major earthquake. However, the central palace at Knossos survived and continued to operate. Archaeologists then notice a change in the cultural repertoire: increasingly we find the presence of Mycenaean wares during this period. This has led to the thesis that the Mycenaeans arrived on Crete and took advantage of the devastating situation which existed. In effect, they achieved a kind of conquest by default, since most of the infrastructure had been abandoned.

From that point on, the Mycenaeans came to dominate Crete and the Aegean. Sixty to seventy years later (during our period to Historical Period 4), a second destruction occurred at Knossos and left the palace in ruins. It is generally believed that this destruction was due to an external attack on Crete from the mainland Mycenaeans. By the time of this latter event (probably during LC IIA:2), the Mycenaeans were a dominant force in much of the Eastern Mediterranean. They had established constructive links with Egypt and significant amounts of their pottery is found in Cyprus.

But who were the Mycenaeans and what was it about their civilization which allowed them to develop so rapidly during the Late Bronze Age, and effectively to replace the Minoans as the major force in the Aegean region? This is a huge question in Archaeology and Ancient History. However we can make the following brief remarks (see also Chapter VI): The Mycenaeans had developed in the area of mainland Greece, as independent kingdoms, but with the city of Mycenae playing a prominent role. For much (perhaps the whole) of their history, they were as set of distinct kingdoms, each of which had its own administration. Nevertheless, it appears that they had a common language known as Linear B (a predecessor to ancient Greek) and they shared other cultural forms. Besides Mycenae, their main cities included Pylos, Athens, Tiryns, Thebes, Iolkos and Orchomenos.

The Mycenaeans are generally considered to be equivalent to the civilization which had been identified in Homer's Iliad as the Greek city states that attacked Troy. The evidence suggests that, although at one level they were a group of independent states, the Mycenaeans were also capable of coming together in various forms of political unity. The Homeric documents refer to the ruler of Mycenae as 'the first amongst equals'. The Mycenaeans had several things in common with the Minoans; for example,

they had an extensive development of the palace style architecture, similar to Knossos.

One reason why it is believed that the Mycenaean states were substantially independent from each other is the fact that each city had its own Acropolis, which constituted a kind of citadel to defend itself from neighbouring armed forces. The buildings of each Acropolis (lit. *high city*) were usually built on hills so that they could see the enemy coming. There was also a very thick strong lower wall, which provided the main defences. These so-called cyclopean walls were generally magnificent constructions; often they were built with very large blocks, up to one metre wide. At the top of each Acropolis, we usually find the Royal Palace, a building of specific functional design to accommodate the king and his entourage. These palaces became a distinctive feature of Hellenic civilization for centuries.

The Mycenaean civilization, like many others at this time, began from an agricultural base. As its fleet of ships increased and the trading opportunities grew, the Mycenaean cities became centres of craftsmanship and manufacture. Large numbers of workshops have been uncovered which indicate that a wide variety of skills, including the sophisticated working of metals such as bronze and gold, the building of ships and the weaving of cloths were prevalent. All this was directed towards the ever increasing trade between Mycenae and many societies as far as Egypt and Assyria. Trade during the Late Bronze Age was increasingly organized at an official level between the various empires. As WOOD (1987, 212) states:

That such commerce could be organized on a state level has already been suggested by the exporting of building stones from Mani to Mycenae and Knossos, and indeed in the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C. we find large-scale grain exports from Ugarit to Hittite country 'because of the famine there'. Presumably such transactions were organized at government level through diplomacy. Hence a trade embargo could appear in a treaty between Egypt and the Hittites, or a letter between the Hittites and Ahhiyawa [assumed to be part of the Mycenaean world]. Likewise it seems reasonable to assume that the flood of Mycenaean pottery into the Eastern Mediterranean in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries – with its remarkable uniformity of style – came from factories in the Argolid directly controlled by the king of Mycenae.

Intellectual and artistic development is represented in the frescoes and the painted pottery. All this led to the increasing wealth for the Mycenaean kingdoms and to the ability of their 'empire' to play a major

role as a significant power amongst the societies of the East Mediterranean.

The Mycenaean decorated pottery of this age was also very distinctive and artistic. Its distribution throughout the East Mediterranean provides a major basis for chronological analysis of the Late Bronze Age. In Chapter VI.6 and VI.7, we provide an account of the various styles of Mycenaean pottery and its importance in the dating of our Historical Periods.

Although the Mycenaean states were generally considered as a kind of Federation of independent states, it is possible that at some stage in their history, most of the Mycenaean states were under a general sovereignty. WOOD (1987, 154) explains the matter so, after providing a detailed analysis of the data:

But if the period of the Mycenaean hey day was characterized by frequent internecine warfare, it was nevertheless one of common culture and political ideas. When we think of the exporting of building stone from Laconia to Mycenae and Knossos; the exporting of stirrup jars from Crete to the mainland palaces of Thebes, Mycenae, Tiryns and Eleusis; the identical design and measurements of the 'treasuries' at Mycenae and Orchomenos; the identical bureaucracy, even down to mistakes in the 'form' at Pylos and Knossos – then we are entitled to assume that the rulers of this period moved in the same world, cultivated the same ideas, and employed the same artists, architects and painters. In this light it is plausible that these 'city states' could at one time or another have acknowledged the pre-eminence of a 'first among equals'. Such 'kings of the Achaiwoi' need not have been from the same kingdom, but tradition held that three generations of the Atreids at Mycenae yielded such power over southern Greece, and it remains a possibility.

Whatever the case may be, it seems clear that they were able to come together to conduct trade and other enterprises with outside powers. In particular, during Historical Periods 4 and 5, the Mycenaean states built stronger links with both Egypt and Cyprus. However, we can say that after this time and especially during the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC, much of the unity appears to have been shattered; there is significant evidence of war between the various kingdoms, especially as between the Athenians and a number of other 'states'.

Records in the Hittite empire refer to a kingdom called Ahhiyawa, which is often been identified with the Mycenaean civilization. Some believe that this kingdom was based around Miletus, where Cypriot pottery has been found (NIEMEIER 1997). As we shall

see in later sections of this chapter; there are records of significant events involving relations between the Hittite empire and the Ahhiyawans.

A great deal has been uncovered about the beliefs, culture and traditions of the Mycenaeans. Nevertheless, major outstanding questions remain: Firstly, what is the relationship between the Mycenaeans as represented in archaeology and the Mycenaeans of Homer and the Greek myths? To what extent will it be possible to reconcile the detailed descriptions in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with the archaeological account of the events of this time? This is a question of great interest, but beyond the scope of this book.

A second major issue is: to what extent does the extraordinary distribution of Mycenaean pottery in Egypt, Cyprus and the Levant represent actual alliances and movements of people, beyond simple exchange of goods? A third issue is: what happened to the Mycenaean civilization? What role did they play in the mass destruction of the societies of the East Mediterranean at the end of the Late Bronze Age? In particular, did the Mycenaeans invade Cyprus and participate in the next stage of the development of Cypriot society? These last two issues will be further developed later in this chapter.

### 3. PERIOD 3: THE ATTEMPTED INVASION OF CYPRUS AND OTHER EVENTS DURING THE LC IB PERIOD

This historical period is defined in terms of the long reign of Thutmose III, including the period when Hatshepsut was pharaoh of Egypt. In terms of the ceramic record this period sees the continuation of WS I of the ‘Ladder Band’ and ‘Double Line Framed’ Groups. However, we also have new styles such as ‘Framed Cross-hatching’ and ‘Framed Wavy Line’ late, which appear during this time and assist us to identify this period. WS I ‘Rope Lattice’ was no longer being produced during this period.

In terms of the historical events, there are three reasons for considering this to be a separate Cypriot period, LC IB. Firstly, the official links between Cyprus and Egypt expanded substantially and we find the pharaoh, Thutmose III, taking a keen interest in Cyprus and its produce. Secondly, there was a dramatic increase in the number of Cypriot wares throughout the Levant, especially in areas under Egyptian dominance such as Canaan and southern Syria during this time. Thirdly, the links between Cyprus and the Minoan civilization continued to evolve.

In relation to the third issue, we have already referred to the evidence of Minoans and Minoan

artefacts depicted in Egyptian tomb paintings. They testify to Minoan presence in the area, and other evidence indicates that Cyprus was probably elemental to this relationship. There is also considerable evidence of direct links between Cyprus and the Minoans at this time. For example, the few pieces of RLW-m ware in the Aegean were found at Gournia (before the LM IB destruction), Kommos (WATROUS 1992, 156, fig. 171, pl. 51) and Ayia Trianda *Ialysos*; all of these contexts are not dated earlier than LM IB; with *Ialysos* dated between LM IB to no later than LM IIIA:1. This is roughly equivalent to the full reign of Thutmose III, (the *Ialysos* examples possibly as late as the reign of Thutmose IV/early Amenhotep III). This was the major period of export of RLW-m spindle bottles to Egypt and, to a lesser degree, the Syro/Canaanite area, but it was prior to the appearance of RLW-m in Anatolia (see Chapter IV.6.a). At this time, there are also a large number of exports of BR I to Egypt and we get some BR I ware juglets are found in Minoan contexts.

We turn to consider the first issue: the role of Thutmose III and the historical events of this period, which directly or indirectly impacted on Cyprus.

#### (a) The reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

After Thutmose II’s death, Thutmose III – the boy king – assumed the succession briefly; however, within less than five years, his stepmother Hatshepsut tired of being regent and seized power, appointing herself pharaoh. In the famous Speos Artemidos inscription, Hatshepsut tries to justify her seizure of power in Egypt and seeks to reinforce the legitimacy of her reign by referring to the gods, and particularly to Amun, whom she identified as her ‘father’ (as also recorded in many other documents from her reign). Hatshepsut states, in an excerpt from the Speos Artemidos as translated by REDFORD (1997, 17, No. 73):

... Amun, (9) lord of myriads. I magnified *ma’at*, which he loves – I know he lives on it! – it is my bread, I consume its fragrance. I was (10) indeed of one flesh with him: he created me to magnify his reknown in this land, [as] master of Atum’s [king]ship, (11) in his name [of] Khopry who made what exists!

Re, when he founded the lands, ordained that everything should be under my authority, that the Black Land and the Red [land] should be in awe of me. (12) My powers cow the foreign lands, the uraeus which is upon my brow terrorized all lands; ...

Although in her propaganda Hatshepsut assert-

ed her authority and power over all foreign lands, in actual fact – as pharaoh – she concentrated her foreign policy south of Egypt. She is most well known for penetrating into black African areas with her famous expedition to the land of Punt. The scenes depicting her journey, where she was heralded as the Queen of Punt, are to be found at the mortuary temple of Deir el-Bahri in Thebes. This temple was built by the royal architect and chief minister of Hatshepsut, Senenmut. It was a vast structure consisting of terraces and shrines dedicated to the gods, with numerous reliefs depicting Hatshepsut's many other 'accomplishments'.

Because of this focus by Hatshepsut, the Egyptians showed little interest in actual military adventures in Canaan/Syria. Thus, through inaction, Egyptian influence in Canaan and Syria declined during her reign. It appears that, in this time of greater independence within the kingdoms of Canaan and Syria, Cypriot wares and trade became more extensive in those regions-especially with Ugarit (see below). In the lead up to Thutmose III's sole reign over Egypt, the city-states of the Levant re-aligned themselves according to who better could serve their needs. 'Tribute' from these city-states was no longer sent to Egypt and the empire of Mittani, with its capital beyond the Euphrates, was able to extend its control westwards to the some of the northern coastal cities of the Mediterranean. A formidable coalition was formed against Egypt led by the king of Kadesh in northern Syria and no doubt supported by the powerful Mittanians.

At around this time, Hatshepsut died, after 22 years on the throne. Thutmose III finally became pharaoh in his own right. As soon as Thutmose III took over the reins of government at about the age of 25, he was forced to immediately begin campaigning to regain some control of the vassal city-states in Canaan/Syria which had been part of the empire created by the early pharaohs of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Indeed, soon after he ascended to the throne, Thutmose III was faced with a threat of the possible expulsion of the Egyptians completely from the area of Megiddo. This threat came primarily from the Mittanian empire. We now had a very determined pharaoh initiating a whole series of military campaigns into Canaan. As was customary with Egyptian pharaohs, scribes recorded many of these battles in glowing terms. Several of these records of the military campaigns of Thutmose III have been preserved. This is especially true in relation to his victory at Megiddo, after a battle allegedly lasting eight months; his whole account is recorded at the temple in Karnak.

REDFORD (1993, 156–158) explains this victory so:

The battle of Megiddo, to judge from the booty list, involved the largest forces (on both sides) that ever took part in Thutmose's forays into Syria, and showed the king's brilliance as a tactician to best advantage. By a daring strike through the pass at Megiddo, Thutmose caught the Canaanite army off guard, effected a rout, and invested Megiddo for 7 months.

In the 11<sup>th</sup> year of his independent reign – Year 33, Thutmose III managed to conquer the kingdom of Mitanni itself. However, this conquest did not last long, as REDFORD (1993, 161–2) explains:

But the strength and resilience of the empire of Mitanni, that "land of Hurri-warriors" showed itself almost before the dust had settled on the Euphrates campaign...It is very tempting to see in the flight to the unnamed Mitannian ruler the end of the career of Barratarna, the contemporary of Idrimi and the successor of Shutarna I. In that case the Mitannian leader who confronted the Egyptians two years later may well be Barratarna's successor, who seems, from all the evidence known today, to have been Saussatar, son of Parsatatar, and "king of Mitanni"... Saussatar set about vigorously to resist Egypt and to continue to extend Mitanni's authority.

In the 11<sup>th</sup> year of his independent reign – Year 33, Thutmose III managed to conquer the kingdom of Mittani itself. He undertook 17 campaigns in the Levant, and succeeded in recreating and even extending the greater Egyptian empire. Egyptian garrisons were set up, but the local rulers remained to govern their regions, as long as they did so in accordance with Egyptian interests. They were made to swear allegiance to Thutmose III and render annual tribute. However, there were inherent difficulties in governing such a collection of vassal city-states which were bordered by the kingdoms of Hatti, Babylonia, and the weakened, but not totally destroyed, Mittani. Soon after his death, events would take a different turn.

His successor, Amenhotep II struggled to keep all the empire together, especially with all the rebellions being fomented by the Mittanians. He was forced to sue for peace, which he represented as a great victory: "When the chief of Naharin, the chief of the Hittites and the chief of Babylon heard about the victory I had achieved, each one vied with his fellows in presenting all sorts of gifts from every foreign source; and they intended in their hearts... to seek peace from My Majesty and to seek that be given to them the breath of life (to wit): "our labour is earmarked

for thy palace, O (Amenophis II) !” (quoted in REDFORD 1993, 163). This appeasement of both the Hittites and Mittanians could not last – since they were bitter foes. As we shall see in the next section, Egypt was forced to choose – and in doing so, began a new era of antagonism with the Hittites.

**(b) The increasing links between Egypt and Cyprus during the reign of Thutmose III**

In the period prior to the reign of Thutmose III, Cyprus had trade links with the various independent kingdoms of the Levant. The conquest of these areas by Thutmose III did not, however, diminish the Cypriot presence. Rather during the reign of Thutmose III, there was an increase in the Cypriot wares which found their way not only to Egypt, but also to the ‘conquered’ lands in Canaan and Syria (see subsection VII.3.d below). One explanation for this increase is military/economic. Thutmose III’s many military campaigns generated the need for provisions, equipment, ships and much more. Maintaining and supplying the army and controlling the city states of Canaan and Syria meant that administrative and military networks, which allowed for the movement of all kinds of produce and people, from the essential to the exotic, became well established, (see TRIGGER 1976, 109).

The utilization of these thoroughfares clearly prompted the further exchange of goods and ideas. The spread of RLW-m ware at this time is only one small example of the type and route of exchange that was occurring. What it and the other Cypriot pottery arriving in Egypt at this time, establish is that direct sea travel played a predominant role in this movement. As is evident from the recorded accounts of the military campaigns undertaken by the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty pharaohs from Ahmose to Thutmose III, the deployment of military personnel necessitated the placement of administrative infrastructures. This required the use of pottery for many pragmatic purposes, as part of the government’s broad military agenda. Cypriot copper also played an essential role.

One often gets the impression, because BR I and RLW-m end up in tombs and, occasionally in dwellings of the middle class rather than of the nobility of this period, that tribute is not the reason for their appearance in Egypt. Rather, because of the network established by the military exploits, it is probable that other forms of trade flourished along routes used to supply the army – and that these wares were involved in that trade.

As a consequence of all this activity, a significant

number of burials in Egypt which contain examples of Cypriot BR I or RLW-m wares can be dated closely to the reign of Thutmose III. The near perfect condition of many of these vessels attest to the fact that minimal time elapsed between their production and deposition. The importance of the links with Egypt at this time is reinforced by the evidence in my (1993) thesis on RLW-m ware. My general conclusion in that thesis was that, in those burial contexts in Egypt in which we can be sure of single burial with no major interference, the association was strongly with the LC IB (Thutmose III) period.

There is also support at ‘Ezbet Helmi for the view that links between Cyprus and Egypt increased in this Historical Period 3 (LC IB). Thus, in the subsequent level after the WS I ‘FLMet’ spouted bowl, but in a different part of the site of ‘Ezbet Helmi (H/I-1/2), a WLW-m spindle bottle was recorded (HEIN 1998, fig. 1:7864 J & 7946 G). Included in the level was a scarab of Thutmose III. We have also proposed that in relation to the WS I ‘FLMet’ spouted bowl, its context may be best dated to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, during the reign of Thutmose III (see BIETAK 2003, fig. 1; ASTON *fc*). This is in accordance with the evidence from Cyprus where this type and decoration spans the LC IA:2 to LC IB; but can probably be more closely dated to LC IB.

As we have explained in Chapter VI.5, the closer contact between Egypt and Cyprus at the time of Thutmose III, that scholars like OREN (1969) have long advocated, is also supported by the razors of distinctive shape, which have turned up in tombs of the LC IB period in the northwest of the island. We have argued that the closest parallels for their shape are from Thutmoseid Egypt, with examples also found at Tell el-‘Ajjul (Fig. 40). They are significant because they were made in Egypt and because they are found in Cypriot tombs which contain large amounts of local pottery, like BR I and WS I of all the typical styles of the LC IB period.

Other ceramic associations here support our thesis: thus we should note the absence of WS I ‘RL’ and the appearance of ‘FWL’ late, which signifies the LC IB (Thutmose III) period (see Ayia Irini Tomb, Table 10: Stratum III–IV). Furthermore, in each of the razor contexts from Ayia Irini and *Toumba tou Skourou*, the evidence is that the LM IA pottery (of the LC IA:2 period) and the razors are not directly associated (Table 8: Tomb I Chamber 1; Table 10). Finally, in the context where the razor was found, with no LM IA pottery, there is the association with WS I ‘FWL’ (Table 8: Tomb I Chamber 3). These types of razors are of additional interest because, in Egypt, they are

often associated with RLW-m spindle bottles and BR I wares, also prominent in Egypt during the Thutmose III period (see ERIKSSON 1992; 1993; 2001d).

Overall, the combined archaeological evidence in this book establishes our thesis of the stronger links between Cyprus and Egypt during the LC IB period. It seems clear that Cyprus was able to increase its trade with both Egypt and the Levant during this time, because its actions were officially sanctioned by the Egyptian pharaoh. The thesis that there was an increased interaction between Egypt and Cyprus in this period (LC IB) is reinforced in some of the written historical references from Egypt. In Egyptian hieroglyphs, it seems certain that the place name of 'Isy (Asiya) refers to Cyprus. [With the evidence of GOREN *et al.*, (nd; 2003), that Western Cyprus (possibly Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* or *Alassa Pano Mandilaris*) is definitely the source of the clay tablets from the king of Alashiya found at Amarna, the debate about identifying Cyprus with Alashiya has been settled.] In the Introduction, we referred to the documents from years 34, 38 and 39) in the Annals of Thutmose III (see CLERC 1990, 96–7; OCKINGA 1996, 42), which speak of the involvement with Asiya (Cyprus).

In addition, we have the Poetic Stele dated to year 39 of Thutmose III: in it, we can read the following translation of stanza 16 by KITCHEN (1999, 171):

I have come,  
I caused you to trample down the Western land(s),  
Crete and Asiya are (overcome) by your renown.  
I caused them to see Your Majesty as a young steer,  
Firm-hearted, sharp-horned, unassailable.

In this Poetic Stele, Thutmose III's claims to have overcome Crete and Asiya (*ibid.*, 171). The claims of ancient rulers very often exceeded the truth. There is no evidence to support the view that Thutmose III is referring to a conquest of Cyprus here. MERRILLEES (1975b, 32) also believed that there was no such evidence for "any Egyptian intervention in Cyprus during the reign of Thutmose III. In support of this position I would have quoted the *argumentum e silentio* that no substantial monuments bearing this Pharaoh's name or even deposits of Egyptian goods datable to his time have yet turned up on the island." This is not to deny that Egypt had a strong real interest in Cyprus in that it was capable of providing materials for shipbuilding, weapon making and the supply of agricultural produce. On this point, it is of particular interest that, as part of Asiya's 'tribute' to Egypt, the reference is made to large quantities of ingots of copper ore.

There is also direct evidence from the Levant. Thus, the Ras Shamra documents demonstrate that,

during LC IB, Ugarit was under the domination of the Egyptians. In fact, these documents strongly support our earlier historical claim that the power of Thutmose III extended right into the Levant and up to modern day Syria. It is evident from the Ras Shamra excavations that Thutmose III developed a strong presence in Ugarit itself. Given the close relations between Cyprus and Ugarit, as explained in Chapter V.5, this further supports the thesis of the strong links which Thutmose III had with Cyprus itself.

Thutmose III died after a total of 54 years in power, and was laid to rest in the Valley of the Kings. His son Amenhotep II was appointed pharaoh. He was the son from Thutmose III's second wife, Meryetre. Dramatic events in relation to the Hittites and the Hurrians took place during the reign of Amenhotep II, which arose out of the legacy of Thutmose III, especially after the conquest of Mittani. Significantly, throughout this period of turmoil and changes in alliances positive relations between Cyprus and Egypt continued. It was during the reign of Amenhotep II that the transition to the next historical period (LC IIA) occurred.

### (c) The rise of the Hittite Civilization

Of great significance during LC IB was the alliance, which Thutmose III formed with the Hittite civilization in Anatolia. The so-called Hittite Old Kingdom had extended from the 18<sup>th</sup> century BC, until well into the New Kingdom in Egypt. One of their emperors, Hattusili I expanded the empire into the northern Levant and even conquered Alalakh/Tell Atchana. In an earlier paper, I noted some important archaeological observations with regard to this raid on Alalakh, which are also relevant to Cyprus (ERIKSSON 1992, 203):

BAURAIN[‘s] [1984, 31, 40] ... comments on the after effects of Hattusilis' raid on Alalakh are important. He postulated that, as Hattusilis's empire expanded, Syrian towns were no longer able to obtain copper from the Ergani Maden mines, now in Hittite territory, and were forced to seek other sources which meant increased contact with Cyprus [*ibid.*, 40]. Baurain reminds one that we should not look simply to the South, East or even West, but also to the North where the Hittite Empire was beginning to emerge.

Baurain went on to speculate that Syrian towns were pushed into increased contact with Cyprus after Hattusili I sacked Alalakh. This analysis provides an important historical basis for the increased appearances of Cypriot pottery in the northern Levant from LC IA:2 onwards.

Returning to the history of the Hittite Old Kingdom, Hattusilis I was followed by Mursili I. He was assassinated and, soon afterwards, the Hittites came under siege from the Hurrian empire based in Syria. The Hurrians brought destruction with raids and conquests of sections of Anatolia (Kizzuwatna) that had earlier belonged to the Hittite kingdom. Their task was made easier because of the bloody infighting within the royal household of the Old Hittite kingdom, especially in the last century of its reign. Thus during Historical Periods 2 and 3, the Hurrians developed a major empire in the region, the kingdom of Mittani to which we have already referred. This kingdom played a critical role in dominating the surrounding city-states in northern Syria, until the great Hittite king, Suppiluliumas I arrived on the scene.

Probably during the reign of Hatshepsut, at the beginning of the LC IB, the Hittites reorganized. The evidence suggests that the Hittite emperor Zidanta II and his successor, Huzziya II, formed an alliance with Thutmose III in a joint campaign against the Hurrians/Mittanians. One part of the Hurrian Empire, known as Hanigalbat, was defeated by Thutmose III in a campaign which brought the lands up to northern Syria under Egyptian domination. During this time of cooperation, Thutmose III received communications and gifts from the “Great Kheta” of the Hittite empire, presumably Zidanta II. The Hittites’ alliance with the Egyptians at this time allowed them to conquer Hanigalbat and keep the Mittanians at bay. However, this conquest did not last long. As WILHELM (1989, 26–7) concluded: “In spite of his military successes, Thutmose did not manage to incorporate even southern Syria permanently into his empire. His last expedition ... was directed at a revolt backed up by Mittani, of the towns of Tunip and Qadesh.” The Mittanians fought back to gain domination of several kingdoms in Syria including Ugarit. These battles continued after the death of Thutmose III.

During Thutmose III’s reign, the Hittites were also susceptible on another front. Idrimi of Alalakh carried out an incursion into Kizzuwatna (Hittite

lands), from where the spoils of war had allowed him to return home in triumph. It was during this period – between the later campaigns of Thutmose III – that Idrimi was able to extend the boundaries of Alalakh’s territories out to the Mediterranean coast. At first he paid ‘tribute’ to the pharaoh as is recorded in Year 38, but when Thutmose III no longer campaigned in the area, Idrimi capitalised on the Egyptian inactivity and became more independent.

It is interesting that, notwithstanding these conflicts, we find significant quantities of Cypriot wares at Alalakh (see Chapter V.8). As BERGOFFEN (2005, 71) has noted “Levels VI and V were traced in limited exposures...”. However, we may note that “The LC material from level V included BS III, Bichrome, Monochrome, BR I, RLWM, WS I [‘FWL’, ‘FL’], WS I–II and the WS II [‘LLDR’] krater ...”<sup>266</sup> The appearance of of this WS II ‘LLDR’ krater fits in with the first occurrence of this ware in LC IIA:1. The end of the 30 year rule of Idrimi can be deduced to be around 1416 BC, and thus the start of the Level IV palace is dated to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century BC (BERGOFFEN 2005, 60, but see n. 418).<sup>267</sup>

It appears that during the reign of Thutmose III’s successor, Amenhotep II, the Mittanians again made inroads into Hittite territories. However, the Egyptians did not support them under the new pharaoh. Under the new Hittite ruler Tudhaliyas I/II, the Hittites were forced to reorganise and counter attack. The sack of the town of Haleb/Aleppo, which had earlier revolted against Egyptian rule after the decline of Egyptian control in the area, is thus attributed to Tudhaliyas I/II. It has been widely assumed, but not proven, that Tudhaliyas I/II did not stop at Haleb but also attacked nearby Alalakh. If this is the case, then we would have to link the end of the Level V palace of Idrimi to this Hittite raid.<sup>268</sup>

The sack of Haleb (Aleppo) and the fight back by the Hittites posed a major threat to Mittanian and Egyptian interests in the area. This has been credited with precipitating the substantial change in policy of the Mittanians who, like the Hittites and Babylonians, sent an embassy to congratulate Amenhotep

<sup>266</sup> For the WS I, WS I–II and WS II recorded in Level V see BERGOFFEN (2005, 49, 53–4, tables III–IV).

<sup>267</sup> BERGOFFEN (*ibid.*, 60–1) refers to the objections that might be raised “...with such a late end date for level V, in which Bichrome ware still supposedly appeared, since in Canaan, the ware died out a generation earlier.” However, I disagree. Given the continued representation of this ware in LC IB contexts in Cyprus it does not seem to provide a

solid basis for objection. Added to that the presence of LH IIIA in the Level IV palace, a lowering of the date makes good sense.

<sup>268</sup> BERGOFFEN (*ibid.*, 60, with refs to MAYER), using the formula that Idrimi reigned ca. 30 years, calculates that his reign ended ca 1416 BC, based on using the 1479 BC accession date for Thutmose III. This would clearly be after the death of Thutmose III.

II after his year 3 campaign.<sup>269</sup> Thus, either at the end of the reign of Amenhotep II or at the beginning of the reign of Thutmose IV, a complete change took place; the Hittites were completely abandoned by the Egyptians who proceeded to form an alliance with the Mittanians. This was sealed, after lengthy negotiations, by a dynastic marriage between Thutmose IV and a princess of Mittani, the daughter of Artatama I (WILHELM 1989, 28; see sub-sections 4.b and d). Thus, it appears that the successes of Tudhaliya I/II were short-lived. Under the rule of his son Arnuwanda I, the Hittite empire came under attack from all directions. The time of the rule of Tudhaliya I/II and his son Arnuwanda I also became the setting for the events of the Madduwatta document, events which directly involved Cyprus (Alashiya).

#### (d) The Madduwatta document and the attempted invasion of Cyprus during LC IIA:1

The Hittites not only had problems with the Hurrians and other kingdoms in Syria; there was also the relatively sudden growth of the Mycenaean empire (see section VII.2.d). This was viewed with increasing suspicion by the Hittite rulers – although open conflict did not occur. It appears from the famous Madduwatta text that tensions were increasing between the two empires in relation to Cyprus.

However, the matter is not unproblematic; two major issues arise. Firstly, there has been some debate amongst archaeologists as to whether the ‘Ahhiyawa’ referred to in the Madduwatta and other Hittite texts is indeed a reference to the Mycenaeans. To suggest that it is not seems to contradict the texts themselves, as the eminent Hittite scholar, H.G. GÜTERBOCK (1997b, 203) has pointed out: “I see no evidence for the existence of a country Ahhiyawa in Asia Minor; the evidence from the 14<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries BC points overseas, and I prefer mainland Greece to any of the islands as seat of the Great King of Ahhiyawa. Attarissiyas, the man of Ahhiyâ in the fifteenth century, is different; as I see it, he may have come with his 100 chariots from one of the Mycenaean settlements in the Southwest.”

We shall discuss Attarissiyas presently-as he is relevant to the Madduwatta text. However, we should note here an important Addendum from GÜTERBOCK (1997b, 204) on this issue of identifying the Ahhiyawans with the Mycenaeans: “In 1982, there

appeared the final volume of Fritz Schachermeyr’s monumental work *Die ägäische Frühzeit*, vol. 5: *Die Levante im Zeitalter der Wanderungen* (SBWien 387, 1982). The first chapter is devoted to the relations of the Hittite Empire to the Mycenaean world. Schachermeyr’s review of the Ahhiyawa problem yields the same result as ours. The author also accepts the high date of the Madduwatta text.”

Secondly, there is considerable debate on the dating of the Madduwatta text. GÜTERBOCK (1997b, 199–200) had this to say, which I now agree with, as ÅSTRÖM (1972b), BAURAIN (1984) and others have already:<sup>270</sup>

The oldest source, then, is the Madduwatta text. It was written by an unnamed Hittite king who refers to both his father’s and his own reigns. Goetze was able to identify these two kings as an Arnuwandas and his father, Tudhaliyas. With the redating, these are now taken as Tudhaliyas II and Arnuwandas I, three and two generations, respectively, before the great Suppiluliumas I; that puts the text some thirty to fifty years before 1400 B.C.

The series of events in the text can be summarized as follows: a significant ruler from the Mycenaean empire (Ahhiyawa), whose name was Attarissiyas, made inroads into the western part of the Hittite provinces during the time of Tudhaliya II, son of Hattusili I. Attarissiyas, in conquering these lands, drove out a Hittite ally by the name of Madduwatta. The latter then appealed to the Hittite king for help and he was given another province, closer to the Hittite capital. However, Attarissiyas again attacked this latter province of Madduwatta. The Hittite king Tudhaliya II then fought off Attarissiyas and reinstated part of the territory for Madduwatta to govern. Events then took a surprising turn. For whatever reason, Madduwatta then came together with Attarissiyas, assumed to be a Mycenaean ruler, and they jointly launched an attack on Alashiya (Cyprus), using ships. However, this attack appears to have been carried out without the approval of the Hittite king Arnuwanda I, the son of Tudhaliya II, who by now had ascended to the Hittite throne.

GÜTERBOCK (*ibid.*, 200) in his analysis quotes sections of the Madduwatta text in relation to the attack on Cyprus thus:

Someone, probably king Arnuwandas, reproached Madduwattas with these words:

<sup>269</sup> DROWER 1973, 462.

<sup>270</sup> In my thesis (ERIKSSON 1993, 151) I had considered it more likely that the Madduwatta text dated “to the 13<sup>th</sup> century

B.C., which is where it would historically be more at home”. I have now changed my view.



“Since Alašiya belongs to My Majesty, [why did you attack it?]”

Madduwattas replied:

“When Attarissiyas and the man of Piggaya made raids on Alašiya, I also made raids. Neither the father of Your Majesty nor Your Majesty ever advised me (saying): ‘Alašiya in mine! Recognise it as such!’ Now, if Your Majesty wants captives of Alašiya to be returned, I shall return them to him.” (To this, the king replied:) “Since Attarissiyas and the man of Piggaya are independent of My Majesty, while you, Madduwattas, are subject of My Majesty, why did you join them?”

Notice here that the king does not correct Madduwatta when he says that he was never advised by the king: “Alašiya is mine! Recognise it as such!” Instead the king wants an explanation, as to why Madduwatta chose to join up with his enemies. Notwithstanding what the Hittite emperor himself felt, it was obviously not generally well known or appreciated that Cyprus ‘belonged to him’. These comments could not have been made if Cyprus were not independent at this time, but rather actually under the control of the Hittite ruler.

GILES (1997) has taken a different position on this fundamental issue concerning the dating of the Madduwatta text. He (*ibid.*, 138) believes that the following argument is definitive:

Now if the Madduwatta document was actually from the reign of the earlier Tudhaliya, whose son and successor was an Arnuwanda, then, as noted above, it most probably was written about the middle of the reign of Amenhotep II, after the king had ceased to campaign in north Syria, very roughly a half century before the reign of Suppiluliuma began, during the period when a Tudhaliya, king of Hattite briefly invaded northern Syria and captured Aleppo, among other places. The records otherwise available bearing of the reign of this king give no indication that during his reign Hattite had, however briefly, become a power capable of attacking and holding places like Ugarit on the Syrian coast, of assembling a fleet, of conquering Alashiya, and of maintaining that control at least during part of the reign of his successor Arnuwanda, a king who is not generally regarded as one of the more effective Hittite rulers. This seems a grossly unlikely scenario, made even more doubtful by the recent work of Dr. K.O. Eriksson.

A brief analysis of this argument is required here: it is of course possible that the claims being made in the texts were exaggerated; after all the Hittite kings constantly claimed full control of Cyprus (Alashiya); even when we know that their influence was limited.

It is not necessary to accept that all the military conquests, as listed by GILES, had been achieved in order to interpret the date of the Madduwatta document.

I therefore now wish to argue that the events in the text must have occurred before Suppiluliumas I. This ruler had made very strong and public claims on Cyprus (see next part, period 5). After this time, the Hittite Emperors continued to make noisy propaganda and demands in relation to Cyprus. The recorded response to Madduwatta by the emperor does not seem consistent with the fact that the Hittite claims on Cyprus were very well known after Suppiluliuma I. In fact many decades later, another ruler Suppiluliuma II again tried to conquer Cyprus (see section V.7 below).

As mentioned above, in support of his position, GILES refers to two excerpts from my 1993 work. The first relates to my observations regarding the origin and distribution of Red Lustrous, already quoted in our Introduction, taken from ERIKSSON (1993, 149). The second section which GILES relies on is from ERIKSSON (*ibid.*, 148–152). Here I argued that RLW-m exports from Cyprus are redirected from Egypt to the Hittite capitol of Boghazköy and elsewhere in Anatolia (see Chapter V.4).

Initially I was of the view myself that this supported the argument for a later date for the Madduwatta text. However, I am no longer of this view: I do not agree with GILES (1997, 140) that “the circumstance strongly reinforces the view expressed above that any Hittite assault on Alashiya took place later than the reign of Suppiluliuma.” Certainly, the evidence shows that, during the reign of Suppiluliuma I, there has been a change in emphasis by Cyprus in its relations with Anatolia and Egypt. But this does not show that the events described in the Madduwatta texts did not occur earlier. On the contrary, it is quite probable that the attack on Alashiya by Madduwatta took place prior to Suppiluliuma I and that the leaders of Cyprus later reached an accommodation with the Hittites during the reign of this great leader. Additional evidence from Güterbock and other specialists of the Hittite texts now makes the earlier date for Madduwatta more likely.

Assuming this earlier date is correct, then the Madduwatta text refers to the reigns of the Hittite kings Tudhaliya I/II and his son Arnuwanda I. Our best estimate is that their reign was during the last part of LC IB, probably during the time when Amenhotep II was ruler of Egypt. This would have clearly been before the rise of Suppiluliuma I, who came to power some years after the start of the next historical period – LC IIA:2. Indeed there were two other

Hittite kings after Arnuwanda I, namely Hattusili II and Tudhaliya III, before the rise of Suppiluliuma I.

By way of conclusion, we should note that the Madduwatta text leaves us with many outstanding questions about events in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. What were motives of Madduwatta and Attarissiyas which led to this joint attack on Cyprus? How was Cyprus able to fight off the attack from these two substantial powers? Was the whole of the Mycenaean empire involved with Madduwatta in the attack or only a regional centre led by Attarissiyas? These questions remain outstanding.

#### 4. PERIOD 4: SUPPILULIUMA I, AMENHOTEP III AND CYPRUS DURING LC IIA:1–2

Developments in Egypt after the time of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II to the end of the Bronze Age saw huge transformations in the links between Cyprus and the other societies of the Mediterranean. As we saw in Chapter IV, in the first of these periods, the LC IIA:1, we have the first appearances of the WS II normal. However, as we noted, it is the appearance of Mycenaean LH IIIA:1 ware in Cyprus which defines the first part of this period; with early LH IIIA:2a (or early) associated with the second part of this period.

In Chapter IV.7, we referred to some of the tumultuous events in Egypt, Greece and the Hittite empire at this time. Our knowledge of some of the historical events of this period is quite substantial. Besides the Ras Shamra documents, we have the remarkable discovery, in AD 1887, of the Tell el-Amarna Letters.<sup>271</sup> This discovery consisted of hundreds of tablets written in cuneiform script which revealed much about this period in the history of ancient Egypt and surrounding societies. The el-Amarna letters were most often addressed by name to the pharaoh Nammuria (variant of the throne name, Nebmaatre, of Amenhotep III) and to Naphururia (considered to be a variant of the throne name, Neferkheperure, of Akhenaton, successor of Amenhotep III). However, unfortunately for most of the letters we do not know which pharaoh was addressed. The Amarna Letters were extraordinary in that they revealed so much about the intricacies of political conflict and palace intrigues in the ancient world. They also told us much about the key individuals of the various kingdoms surrounding Egypt during the Late Bronze Age (see also next section VII.5).

#### (a) The letters from Alashiya at el-Amarna

One group of the Amarna Letters are extremely important in evaluating the links which existed between Cyprus and Egypt during this, and the next, historical period. These letters – EA 33–40 – are called the Alashiyan letters as they are from the ‘King of Alashiya’ writing to the Egyptian pharaoh on a number of matters. Because the name of the pharaoh is not provided in these letters, it has been a source of great controversy in Cypriot archaeology as to whether they are addressed to Amenhotep III or to Akhenaton, and even (but much less likely) to Smenkhkare or Tutankhamun.

It cannot be certain that the letters, as numbered, are in chronological order (see GILES 1997, 55). Nor is it plausible to argue that they are all addressed to Amenhotep III, since it seems that at least two of them relate directly to a change of reign, (*ibid.*, EA 33–4). By analogy, as the archive contains letters from other rulers who congratulate the addressee on his succession (eg., EA 41), this should suggest that EA 33, at the least, was addressed to Akhenaton. On the other hand, while it is plausible to argue that in at least one of the letters was directed to Akhenaton, it is difficult to establish that they can all be so ascribed. Hence, we have decided to divide the letters into two groups: The first group are those of a general nature, which could be ascribed to either Amenhotep III or Akhenaton (EA 36, 37, 39 and 40); the second group are those which seem more definitively ascribable to Akhenaton (EA 33, 34, 35, 38 and 114).

The first group provides us with a general picture of the relationship between Cyprus and Egypt during the whole Amarna Age. The second group, more specifically directed to Akhenaton, will be discussed in the next section, dealing with Historical Period 5.

Consider now some of the issues raised in the first group, which could be directed to either pharaoh. EA 36 is a brief (fragments only remain) letter in which the king of Alashiya is guaranteeing that he will supply pharaoh with substantial quantities of copper (OCKINGA 1996, 23). EA 37 is another letter of a similar content. It states (*ibid.*, 23):

[Sa]y [t]o the k[in]g [of Egypt], m[y brother]: message [of the king] of Alashiya, your [brot]her. For me all goes well. [F]or my brother may all go well. For his household, for his wives, [f]or his sons, for the horses, his chariots, and in his country, may all go ve{ry} well.

<sup>271</sup> See GILES 1997, 18 ff for more details.

8–12 [I have he]ard the greeting of my brother. [The gree]ting-gift for my brother is five talents (of copper), five teams of horses. I (here-with) promptly dispatch the messenger of my brother.

13–20 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.

21–29 *Pa-x-tum-x-e*, <sup>m</sup>*Ku-ni-e-a*, <sup>m</sup>E-tel-lu-na may the cit[y] expel, and then may my brother let go ... (and) <sup>m</sup>[B]e-[e]l-x-y-z, wh[o] with ...

Notice here that, in addition to copper, the king of Alashiya provides a gift of five teams of horses. He also makes enquiries about the health of the pharaoh and seems generally concerned. He offers to send assistance on this matter, perhaps in some form of medicine. This letter could be addressed to the ageing Amenhotep III.

At EA 39, we have the following (OCKINGA 1996, 24):

Say to the king of Egypt, my [broth]er: message of the king of Alashiya, your brother.

For me all goes well, and for you may all go well. For your household, your chief wives, your sons, your wives, your chariots, your many horses, and in Egypt, your country, may all go very well.

10–13 My brother, let my messengers go promptly and safely so that I may hear my brother's greeting.

14–20 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.

Here the king of Alashiya is firstly providing a general reference, introducing the merchants from Alashiya to the pharaoh. But he is also making a request, asking for access to Egypt and non-interference in the work of the merchants. This letter illustrates the importance of trade to Cyprus at this time. It demonstrates that the government of Cyprus was directly involved in promoting such trade through official channels. It also shows that the Cypriot king felt strong enough and confident of his independent status to make requests of pharaoh. This is significant, irrespective of whether the pharaoh is Amenhotep III or Akhenaton.

Turning now to EA 40 which is an official letter rather than a royal letter to the governor of Egypt from the governor on Alashiya (OCKINGA 1996, 24):

Say [to the go]vernor of Eg[ypt, my brother]:

messa[ge of the governor o]f Ala[shiya, your brother]. For ... [...] all goes well, and fo[r you] may all go well.

6–11 My brother, before the ar[rival of Šu]mitti, I sent t[o him] nine (?) of copper, two pieces of i[vor]y, one beam for [a ship], but h[e] gave [no]thing to me, and y[ou se]nt (only some) ivor[y], my brother.

12–15 I herewith send as your greeting-gift five (?) of copper, three talents of fine copper, one piece of ivory, one (beam) of boxwood, one (beam) for a ship.

16–20 [Mo]reover, my brother, these men [and] this ship belong to the king, my lord. So send [me] (back) the ship [of the king, my lord], promptly and [saf]ely.

21–23 [And as for y]ou, my brother, [wh]atever you ask for according to [your fancy]. I will give it to y[ou].

24–28 These men are servants of the king, [my] lo[r]d, and no one making a claim in your name is to approach them. My brother, send (them back) to me safely and promptly.

The high official of Alashiya is requesting the return of men who have been captured and a ship which has been seized and which belongs to the king of Alashiya. The official requests that the ship be sent back “promptly and safely.” The language here is frank and businesslike, as between two regimes that are on friendly terms. However, only a nation which was independent and believed that it could assert certain basic rights to the officials of the Egyptian Kingdom would use such language. Alashiya was asserting a right to property and for persons to be protected. While there is no reference to an actual treaty, there is clearly a fundamental understanding between the two lands in relation to issues such as these. The pharaoh is here treated as a partner – who can be asked to return the men and the ship ‘promptly and safely’; only officials confident of the relationship with Egypt would utter these words.

In overall terms, this group of Amarna letters supports the view that Cyprus (Alashiya) was significantly independent at this time and that it made strenuous efforts to maintain its friendship with Egypt. In the next section, we will consider the second group of Amarna Letters, which we believe were addressed to Akhenaton.

### (b) The rise of Suppiluliuma I and the threat to Egypt

As we saw, the events which Madduwatta embroiled himself are considered by most Hittitologists to cover a period from the reign of Tudhaliya I/II and of his son

Arnuwanda I (see subsection 3.d). We accept this view. It can be concluded that this attack by Madduwatta and Attarissiyas on Cyprus reveals some of the external problems that the ruler of Alashiya needed to deal with in the years which saw the gradual emergence of the Hittites. Shortly after the Madduwatta events (at some stage from the later part of Period 3 to the early part of Period 4), a number of events occurred in relation to the Hittites and Alalakh. These events are important because, firstly, they refer to the rise of Suppiluliumas I. Secondly, they tie in with the discovery of Cypriot wares in this region during that time.

As we have seen, the pressure of the Hittite power to the northwest persuaded the Mittanian king to enter an alliance with Egypt, the enemy of Mittani for so long. This alliance is witnessed by the marriage of the daughter of the Mittanian ruler Artatama with pharaoh Thutmose IV. Artatama and his father, Saustatar, are considered to be contemporaries of Niqmepa of Alalakh. We know there is a correlation between Niqmepa and Saustatar, but no evidence links Artatama with Niqmepa. It was this Niqmepa of Alalakh who built a palace which overlay part of the Level V palace of his father, Idrimi. As we have seen the destruction of Level V of this palace had been attributed to a campaign of Tudhaliya I/II – a contemporary of Madduwatta, (see Table 12 below).

The level IV palace of Niqmepa of Alalakh is of importance because it also contained a significant corpus of Late Cypriot pottery (see BERGOFFEN 2003; 2005; and here Chapter V.8). The palace was probably built and occupied by Niqmepa followed by his son Ilim-ilimma II before it was itself destroyed. This destruction of the level IV palace may be attributed to a campaign of Suppiluliuma I (ASTOUR 1989,

58), probably at a time within the reign of Amenhotep III in Egypt. The attempt by some to identify the destruction of the Level IV palace as a result of one of Thutmose III's campaigns in the area (eg., GILES 1997, 10) seems now, in my opinion, unlikely. The absence of any reference to Egypt in the Niqmepa palace archives is, as GILES (*ibid.*) points out, intriguing. Similarly intriguing is the fact that Niqmepa's successor, Ilim-ilimma, as ruler of Alalakh, is nowhere mentioned in the Amarna archives, although his reign may have ended just before the period covered by the archive.

If a date range from late Amenhotep II to mid Amenhotep III for the occupation of the Niqmepa palace is correct, then it gives us an indication of the types of Cypriot pottery that were being imported to the site at a time equivalent with LC IIA:1–2. The full details of this wonderful repertoire of imported pottery have been comprehensively unveiled by BERGOFFEN 2005. Suffice it to say here that in the palace, the following WS styles were recorded: WS I–II 'LL', WS II early with 'LLFL' (*id.*, 2003, fig. 9), WS II with 'LL' and 'LLHC' motifs and some other fragments. Some of the WS II(A?) bowls were recorded in Room 16 with White Shaved, Monochrome, and BR II wares as well as four RLW-m spindle bottles (ERIKSSON 1993, 124, nos. 400–3; BERGOFFEN 2005, 35, 53–4, tables II, VII). In this room there was also a LH IIIA(1–2?) piriform jar which supports the dating of the destruction of the palace late in the reign of Amenhotep III.

This Cypriot ceramic evidence allows us to better chart the historical correlations which existed in this part of the LBA in Alalakh, Mittani, Hatti and Egypt. Table 12 gives us a good idea of the historical

	EGYPT	ALALAKH	MITTANI	HITTITES
1440	Thutmose III		Parsatatar	Zidanta II
1430		Level Vb		Huzziya II
1420	Amenhotep II	Idrimi	Saustatar	Muwatalli I
1410				Tudhaliya I/II
1400		Level IV		
1390	Thutmose IV	Niqmepa	Artatama	Arnuwanda I
1380	Amenhotep III		Shutarna	Hattusili II
1370		Ilim-ilimma II	Artashumara	Tudhaliya III
1360		Dest. of palace	Tushratta	
1350				Suppiluliuma I

Table 12 Proposed correlations for Niqmepa/Ilim-illima and the destruction of the Level IV palace

correlations which arise from the Alalakh evidence, and other historical information.

However the relationship of Alashiya with Egypt was not the full story. For it was also during this period (LC IIA:1) that we begin to see the first evidence of the Hittite interventions in the affairs of Cyprus, despite the earlier claim made by the Hittite ruler to Madduwatta (see subsection VII.3.d). As we indicated in the last subsection, the Hittites suffered most at the hands of the Hurrians at this time during the last part of LC IB. Their empire shrank back almost to the border of their capital – Bogazköy. The Hurrians controlled most of the region of the Levant for decades. However, the Hittites did begin to rise again, when Suppiluliuma I came to the throne, during the LC IIA:2 period in Cyprus.

The rise of Suppiluliuma I during this period is shrouded in some mystery. In the first Plague Prayer of his son Mursili II, we are informed about an intriguing incident. Mursili II alleges that his father, Suppiluliuma I had been responsible for the death of his own (presumably, older) brother – Tudhaliya III. In the account provided in that document, it makes a claim (as GILES 1997, 140 relates), that “Some people, perhaps adherents of this murdered prince, were sent to Alashia as exiles.” Given what we know about Cyprus at this time, it is not likely that Alashiya was totally subjugated by the Hittites, but certainly was balancing relations between both Hatti and Egypt (see Section 5.c for further discussion).

Upon his accession to the throne, the first task of Suppiluliuma I appears to have been the consolidation of the Hittite capital, Boğazköy – also known as Hattusa. His next task was to try to regain territory which had been conquered by the Hurrian kingdom of Mittani, in the northern Levant. His initial forays at the time were failures, partly because the then pharaoh of Egypt had a different attitude than Thutmose III. Amenhotep III was very concerned about the ambitions of the Hittites and sided with the Hurrians.

Much of the background to this is revealed in the Amarna Letters. The majority group of the early letters are from Prince Ribaddi of Gubla (modern Byblos) and addressed to Amenhotep III or his Egyptian officials. Initially the letters refer to an invasion of the city of Sumur; a very lengthy conflict was occurring with one Prince Abdi Ashirta of Amurru, who was seeking to take Sumur and other parts of the Egyptian vassal empire. The initial efforts of this prince were repelled by Amenhotep III (see EA 132). However Ribaddi’s later pleas to the pharaoh for help after a new push by Abdi Ashirta had little

response. Prince Abdi Ashirta apparently recognized that the Egyptians did not have troops to fight for Sumur – as shown in an Amarna letter by Abdi Ashirta (EA 62). Ribaddi was furious (GILES 1997, 169, EA 71): “Who is Abdi-Ashirta, slave, dog, that he should take the land of the king for himself?” He wrote a complaining letter (EA 84) to the pharaoh, excerpts of which state (GILES 1997, 168):

And see now

Sumur has sided with him (Abdi Ashirta)

The resting place of my lord, even his bedroom...

And he will open the Treasury

of my lord. But he (the Egyptian King) has been silent.

After Sumur fell, Ribaddi wrote to the pharaoh seeking protection for his own kingdom; however these entreaties apparently fell on deaf ears. Ribaddi then wrote to the other local Syrian kings seeking support to repel the invading enemy. Finally, he came to a desperate arrangement by forming a Treaty with Abdi Ashirta himself. A local friendly prince then wrote to the pharaoh about this humiliation for Egypt, excerpts of which state (GILES 1997, 173):

... All the people of Egypt

[who w]ere in Sumur, the city of the S[un my lord]

have left and (now) they are in my country,

m[y lord] and he (Abdi Ashirta??) made a treaty

[w]ith the ruler of Byblos and the rulers of [...]

It was setbacks such as these for Egypt which gave the Hittites a great opportunity to expand their influence in northern Syria. Suppiluliuma I thus took advantage of the opportunities and sought to woo Ugarit (see historical period 5). This town had fallen under the control of Egypt during the reign of Thutmose III, had revolted only to be attacked by Amenhotep II. The evidence of the Amarna Letters provides some information about Ugarit in the period preceding the main body of the Ras Shamra archives (SAADÉ 1979, 71). EA 45 was probably addressed to Amenhotep III from Ammistamru I, king of Ugarit (GILES 1997, 68–9). In it he expresses his fears that “perhaps [the king of Hatti] with me will become hostile!” (GILES 1997, 114). The son of Ammistamru, the Ugaritic king Niqmandu ended up signing a treaty with Aziru of Ammurru, and eventually with the Hittite king – Suppiluliuma, but not before Ugarit had been attacked by a coalition involving the kingdoms of Mukish, Nuhasse and Niy.

This kind of balancing act by the kingdom of Ugarit was, we believe, very similar to that which the leaders of Cyprus were forced to carry out at this time. Probably in a similar way to the rulers of Ugarit, the

Cypriots managed to balance the claims of both the Egyptians and the Hittites, having the additional advantage that they were an island-nation. Whilst the kingdom of Ugarit eventually had to side with the Hittites, excavations show evidence of continuing relations with Egypt. This gives further plausibility to our thesis on the independence of Cyprus – especially given all the evidence that the relations between Ugarit and Cyprus had become very close and extended beyond trade to the diplomatic and cultural arena.

The Amarna Letters also speak of the events between the Hittites and Mittani, with reference to the interests of Egypt. Thus, in EA 75, Ribaddi wrote to the pharaoh warning about the Hittite attacks on Mittani (GILES 1997, 170):

May the king my lord know ('learn')  
That the king of Hatti has seized  
All the trustworthy lands  
of the king of Mitanni

The Amarna texts also show that the very strong relationship between Egypt and Mittani had already existed since the reign of Thutmose IV (see 4.c below). They reveal that the king of Mittani, Tushratta, helped Amenhotep III against the Hittites in Syria, as GILES (1997, 113) points out:

In EA 17 Tushratta sent news to the Amenhotep III of an attack on Mittani by the Hittites, which he successfully repulsed, and booty from which he sent presents to Amenhotep III.

... Hatti-land  
all of it/them. Just as enemies to my land  
have come, Teshub my lord, into my hands  
he gave them, and I defeated them.  
From their masses, those who returned to their  
own land were none.  
See now: 1 chariot and 2 horses  
1 youth and 1 young lady,  
from the captives of the Hatti-land, I have sent  
to you.

Although he endured these setbacks in the developing conflict with the Egyptians, the great Hittite king, Suppiluliuma I, bided his time until the death of Amenhotep III. He was hopeful of a different policy from the successor, the son of Amenhotep III – Akhenaton. The new ruler however continued the conflict with the Hittites and even forged an alliance with the emerging empire of the Mycenaeans against them (see next Section).

### (c) The LC IIA:1 period as reflected in the archaeological record

The historical events in Egypt, Syria, the Hittite empire and Mycenae during this Historical Period are

reflected in the ceramic and archaeological record, especially in relation to Cypriot wares. Firstly, as we saw in Chapter IV, there was a massive expansion in the exports of White Slip II to most of the societies of the Eastern Mediterranean during this time. The existence of these exports simultaneously to so many societies reflects the fact that independent Cyprus continued to have links with all of the major powers of this period.

Secondly, as we saw in Chapter V, significant transformations are also illustrated in the ceramic material by the dramatic shift in the distribution of the RLW-m Cypriot ware. The evidence indicates that RLW-m virtually disappeared from Egypt not long after the reign of Thutmose III and before the Amarna period. Only two examples of RLW-m pilgrim flasks (ERIKSSON 1993, nos. 860, 1006) and one sherd of an arm-shaped vessel (*ibid.*, no. 1172) have been found in Egypt in the latter period. We should note that these shapes were only introduced into the ware's repertoire in LC IIA:1, which ends in the early reign of Amenhotep III of Egypt.

On the other hand, during this time, there is a significant rise in RLW-m ware associated with Aegean pottery in Cyprus, and its appearance in large quantities in Anatolia, especially in the Hittite heartland (*ibid.*, 129ff). There is thus a rise in exports of RLW-m ware to Anatolia, particularly to the Hittite capital of Bogazköy; (see extensive discussion in Chapter V.8 and V.9). The record in Anatolia presents evidence for an entirely different chronological period for the RLW-m ware to that which existed in Egypt. We now find it recorded in contexts that span the New Hittite Empire period from the reigns of Suppiluliuma I to Suppiluliuma II, or from the second part of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty through to the early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty of Egypt.

More specifically, the evidence indicates that the first appearances of RLW-m ware in significant quantities in the Hittite heartland were only after Suppiluliuma I began his military campaigns. These campaigns resulted in the Hittite domination of the surrounding lands of Ishuwa, Arzawa, and Kizuwatna (see GILES 1997, 270, map 4). As we have seen, it was during this time that the emperor gained a substantial foothold in North Syria. The changing distribution of RLW-m wares thus seems to reflect the changing political situation in the northern Levant.

This view of the importance of RLW-m ware in establishing the links between the Hittites and Cyprus is supported by TODD (2001, 208):

ERIKSSON (1993, chapter XII) suggests that

RLWM vessels were predominantly exported to Egypt at the beginning of the production of the ware, but after the end of the reign of Thutmosis III they all but disappeared from the Nile valley (*ibid.*, 149). By the time of the Hittite ruler Suppiluliumas I (ca. 1380 BC) the export of RLWM ware was directed mainly to Anatolia.

By the same time Cypriote allegiance was transferred to Hatti from Egypt. A concomitant change in type also occurred with spindle bottles being most common in Egypt while the arm-shaped vessel was predominant in Anatolia. The connection posited by ERIKSSON between the distribution of the ware and the political situation on the mainland is convincing.

The presence of RLW-m ware in sites located on the central plateau may suggest that Kizzuwatna was a bridge between Hatti and Cyprus (Alashiya). Before the ware appeared in Anatolia, it was found at sites on the mainland only as far north as the <sup>c</sup>Amuq Plain and along the northern Syrian coast. Once the Hittites under Suppiluliuma I extended their area of control into North Syria, the quantity of RLW-m ware at sites like Ras Shamra (Ugarit) and, in particular, Alalakh declined by comparison with the preceding period. Yet it increases significantly in Anatolia, as we move into historical period 5.

Turning to Cyprus itself, it was also during the second part of Historical Period 4, (Late Cypriot IIA:2), that RLW-m ware had its most popular phase on the island. The slender bodied spindle bottle (VIA1b) and the one handled pilgrim flask (VIIAa) (the latter introduced during LC IIA:1) continued, but were now joined by a diverse range of shapes. The very tall spindle bottle with high ring-base (VIA1c); bowls (IAa); tall spindle shaped jugs with one handle (IVB2a); and arm-shaped vessels (VIIIb), all make their first appearance during LC IIA:2. (ERIKSSON 1993).

The RLW-m ware also continued to be found in burial contexts at this time and some of these clearly belong to a wealthier class of person, (eg., Enkomi [French] Tomb 2, Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* Tomb 11). Not only is it of frequent occurrence in burial groups, but it is also found in the sanctuaries at Ayios Iakovos and Myrtou *Pigadhes*.

The ceramic record is also important in terms of our knowledge of Cyprus and the Mycenaean empire. Throughout this book, we have referred to the fact that the defining chronological indicator of this period LC IIA:1 is the appearance in Cyprus of LH/LM IIIA:1 pottery with BR II and WS II, a fact which itself confirms the strengthening links with the

Mycenaean culture. The extent of these wares in Cyprus is discussed in Chapter VI.6 and VI.7. This expansion of trade between Cyprus and the Mycenaean is also reflected in the distribution of wares from Cyprus to the Aegean, particularly the increase in WS II.

We have also indicated that the increasing power of the Mycenaean had come to dominate the Minoan civilization based on Crete. As REHAK (1998, 49) comments on the situation, which has been interpreted in a number of different ways:

Shortly after the time of the Dab<sup>c</sup>a paintings, the widespread LM IB destructions across Crete and the Aegean mark the end of the Neopalatial period. What caused these destructions is still debated: Some would see a Mycenaean invasion, while others have argued interstate warfare on Crete, with Knossos emerging victorious as the main power center on the island. Possibly a more complex scenario should be imagined. A second destruction horizon occurred at Knossos on Crete early in LM IIIA2, and it is at this time that we see unmistakable signs of actual Mycenaean settlement on the island. However we interpret the evidence, the LM II to IIIA period on Crete unquestionably involved major social and political changes.

Thus, during the LC IIA:2 period, it is possible that the Mycenaean launched a full-scale attack on Crete and conquered Knossos, destroying much of the city. It is the view of a number of archaeologists that the Mycenaean were officially assisted in this campaign against the Minoans by the Egyptians. Certainly, there is circumstantial evidence: the ceramic evidence shows that, with the fall of Knossos, trade between the Minoans and the Egyptians drops. On the other hand, in the period shortly afterwards, the evidence points to a dramatic increase in trade and contacts between Egypt and the Mycenaean.

Not only did we have a huge increase of Mycenaean decorated pottery into Egypt at this time, we also saw a significant rise in Egyptian artefacts in Greece during this period. E. CLINE (1994, 10) sums up his analysis of the data on this issue thus [in his work the term *Orientalia* refers to products of Egypt, Cyprus and Canaan-Palestine appearing in the Aegean]:

...the *Orientalia* found within the Aegean area indicate that the Minoans were in control, or at least were the primary destination, of the Near Eastern trade routes from LM I through the LM IIIA1 periods. ... However, importation of worked *Orientalia* into Crete suddenly ceased during the LM IIIA2,

while the following LH IIIB period saw a dramatic, nearly ten-fold, increase of Eastern imports into Mainland Greece...

On the question of the links between Egypt and the Mycenaeans at this time, more evidence is being uncovered which further strengthens the case of such a relationship during the reign of Amenhotep III. Margarita NICOLAKAKI-KENTROU (2003) has carried out a special study based on a study of the wall paintings from Malkata, the Theban residence of Amenhotep III, in Upper Egypt. She (*ibid.*) states:

Amenhotep III's strong ties with the Aegean is richly-documented both in Egypt and the Archipelagon. In the mural decoration of the pharaoh's palatial complex at Malkata, dated to the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC, the intimacy and intense cultural exchange between the two civilizations is exhibited in a series of motifs indisputably rooted in the artistic tradition of the Minoans and Mycenaeans. Especially the recently studied painted plaster fragments from the pharaoh's dismantled First Jubilee structure excavated in Malkata's Site K feature a small but highly significant number of typical Aegean motifs, some of which bear no precedent in the indigenous artistic tradition. However, analogous designs are also attested in contemporary works of art from several sites in the Eastern Mediterranean, including Cyprus.

Nicolakaki-Kentrou in this abstract goes further and argues that Cyprus played an important intermediary role between the Mycenaeans and Egypt, not merely in the area of trade, but also in the transference of cultural forms from one empire to the other. In particular she believes that Cyprus had a key role "in the transference and diffusion of Aegean artistic motifs mainly towards Egypt as well as the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean cultures during this period of the second millennium BC, often ascribed by experts as the Era of Internationalism." If this view is correct, then it further confirms the remarkable ability of the Cypriots to use their independence in a constructive and positive way, to the benefit of the people of the island itself. It further confirms the artistic creativity of the Cypriots, which nevertheless was ready to borrow from the ideas of surrounding cultures.

Archaeological evidence, including pottery, has also been very important in demonstrating the increased links between Cyprus and northern Levant at this time, especially with Ugarit. We saw in Chapter IV, Marguerite YON (2001) had much to say about the level of White Slip in Ugarit (IV.5), and Syria generally, at this time. The picture that emerges

from the various finds is as follows: Although Ugarit became entangled in the battles for the control of Syria which lasted for decades, nevertheless it seems from the Ras Shamra documents that Ugarit managed to remain 'relatively independent', even during the periods of domination by either Egyptians, Mitannians or Hittites. During this period, Ugarit became a very cosmopolitan small city-state. Not only were a number of languages spoken there, but it is clear that there was substantial interaction between the Canaanites and the surrounding civilizations. It seems that Ugarit was used as a meeting place for people from different regional societies.

The port of Minet el-Beida received many ships, including from Cyprus. The texts tell us that in addition to war ships, the kingdom of Ugarit had a merchant fleet. Coastal navigation was then much more profitable and especially much safer than transport by land. The written documents as well as objects discovered prove that Ugarit had extensive commercial relations with the external world, especially with Egypt, the towns of the Syro-Palestinian coast and the Aegean world and, in particular with Cyprus. Both the pottery and the written evidence of the Ras Shamra tablets establish that, by this time, there was a substantial colony of Cypriots living in Ugarit. Significant numbers of Cypriot wares were also found there. As SAADÉ (1979, 151) explains:

...in this port town there must have been Cypriotes, Hittites, Hurrians and Egyptians. It is relevant that the excavations showed that there were local workshops that made pottery of the Cypriote type... this is the first evidence outside the island of a workshop for Cypriote pottery. All this confirms that colonists and merchants originating from Cyprus were installed and living near the port of Ugarit.

The extension of the international relations of Cyprus from this period probably led to changes in the political and economic infrastructure of Cyprus itself, especially towards a stronger and more sophisticated state structure. In an excellent analysis of the issue, WEBB (1999, 307) concludes:

In sum, the data examined during the course of this study supports the island-wide polity or archaic state model for the first half of the Late Bronze Age. Secondary state formation in Cyprus appears to have been a relatively abrupt transition, wherein previously weakly stratified communities were propelled into statehood through contact with existing states outside the island. The principal catalyst was undoubtedly long-distance trade, with trade defined as risk-taking, profit-



motivated entrepreneurial behavior on the part of emerging Cypriot elites based primarily at Enkomi (ADAMS 1974; COBB 1993). This long-distance trade, principally in Cypriot copper and foreign exotics, had a critical disruptive impact on the local and regional political economy. Imported luxury items, architectural styles and aspects of mortuary treatment rapidly evolved into a new ‘political currency’ (KIPP and SCHORTMAN 1989:373) and were used to create and index status differences no longer directly dependent on ascribed position. Emerging elites had also to rapidly evolve, adapt and adopt new forms of political, economic and ritual organization and new dominance mechanisms. Longer-term sanctions entailed the creation of a socially coercive ideology almost wholly derived, at least in its visual imagery, from external sources.

As we have mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter, this thesis by Webb is strongly contradicted by STEEL (2004), who supports the view that Cyprus internally was not constituted as a unitary state, but rather as a series of self governing polities or chiefdoms. In this, Steel follows the work of KESWANI (1996) who developed the thesis of the separate governing regions or chiefdoms in some detail. In WEBB’s (1999) book, she has examined Keswani’s work in detail and has found it unpersuasive. In our view, STEEL (*ibid.*) also fails to provide any real evidence for the Keswani thesis. On the contrary, she herself (STEEL 2004, 183) refers to some key material which we believe provides an important counter argument to Keswani so:

Other sites in the southwest of the island, however, have discrete functional, residential, and elite zones and are characterised by monumental buildings, such as Building II at *Alassa-Palaeotaverna* and Building X at *Kalavastos-Ayios Dhimitrios*, and apparent centralised control over agricultural storage. Certain aspects of Building II in particular are especially grand, as would befit an elite residence. Most notable is the drafted ashlar masonry, and the elaborate stone and sewerage system reminiscent of the palace of Knossos on Crete.

However, by far the most important argument against Keswani and Steel is the reference in various documents to the king of Alashiya. As we have already indicated, and for reasons provided in the concluding part of this chapter, we strongly maintain that Alashiya is Cyprus. Given that this is the case, then the documentary evidence supports the unitary state thesis, especially in the period of LCIIA and afterwards. Indeed, as we shall see in

the upcoming sections of this chapter, Cyprus (Alashiya) as a state was most likely very strong and highly respected.

#### **(d) The internationalism of Amenhotep III and the rise of the Aten**

The main figure involved in the events of the eastern Mediterranean during LC IIA:1–2 was the pharaoh Amenhotep III of Egypt. At the beginning of the LC IIA:1, we had the second part of the reign of Amenhotep II, then the short reign of Thutmose IV. After at least ten years, he died; then a new era began in Egypt with the rise of Amenhotep III. As the Amarna Letters show, Amenhotep III was a leader who was determined to dominate the whole region through diplomacy. In the first years of his reign, Egypt became much stronger. Its power and status was such that it was able to establish favourable diplomatic links with the major kingdoms of Babylonia and Mittani, while dominating all of the smaller surrounding societies in Canaan/Syria and forcing most of them becoming vassals of Egypt. The major outstanding problem was the threat of the Hittites and the aggressive policies of Suppiluliuma I.

The long reign of Amenhotep III was distinguished by a “high standard of artistic and architectural achievements, earning him the modern epithet ‘the magnificent’” (SHAW and NICHOLSON 2002, 29). At the temple of the God Amun at Karnak, a translation of an inscription says of this pharaoh (EVANS 1979, 27):

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of Thebes, Amenophis, who seeks to do what is useful, has built another monument for Amun, making for him a great doorway sheathe. The Divine Shadow, in a form of a ram, is inlaid with lapis lazuli wrought with gold and many costly stones; nothing like it has been done before. The paving is adorned with silver. Graven tablets of Lazuli are set up on each side, its pylon towers reach heaven like the four pillars supporting heaven; its flagstaff, sheathed with electrum (an alloy in gold and silver) shine more brightly than the heavens.

However, there was an unintended consequence of all this emphasis on Amun; the temple priests of Amun-Re had grown more powerful through the accumulation of wealth. By this stage in New Kingdom Egypt, they started to rival the power of the pharaoh himself. Amenhotep III reacted to this; his attitude to the traditional gods appears to have gone through a transformation. As SHAW and NICHOLSON (*ibid.*, 29) suggest: “It seems likely that he [Amenhotep III] chose the Aten as his personal god, whilst

still honouring the other gods...” A new religion developed during his reign, which was led by his son Amenhotep IV, later named Akhenaton. This religion has been called ‘the first monotheism’; it was based on the worship of the ‘One god’, the Aten.

In relation to the development of this new religion, we agree with the general outlines of the thesis set out by GILES, in his book *The Amarna Age: Egypt* (2001). The main parts of his thesis can be summarized as follows:

1. The role of religion at this time in ancient Egypt was overwhelming. Religion was not merely an aspect of culture, but a huge industry in itself – employing many people. As GILES (2001, 6) says: “at the beginning of the reign of Amenhotep III, there was to come the largest period of religious institutional increase in the whole of Egyptian history. It is against this background that one must view the Amarna age.”

2. The development of a new religion, such as that of the Aten, involved a very large amount of bureaucratic work in building, craftsmanship and intellectual production. It was not merely a declaration by the pharaoh. It must therefore have taken a great deal of time in preparation and implementation.

3. The development of the new religion began during the time of Amenhotep III, probably at least a decade before the end of his reign.

4. It seems that there were a number of years of co-regency between Amenhotep III and his son, Akhenaton. We also agree that it was probably during this time that many of the buildings dedicated to the Aten were constructed, or at least began.

5. Amenhotep III did in fact associate himself with the new cult, even though it was Akhenaton that sought to transform the whole of society to the worship of the new god. The process began during the co-regency or even possibly earlier.

6. Part of the reason why Amenhotep III and his son developed the Aten cult was to counter the power of the priests of Amun which had become excessive, especially during the reign of Thutmose III and his successors.

GILES (2001) considers this last point reflects the fundamental agenda of Amenhotep III and Akhenaton. While the importance of this motivation is conceded, we disagree with GILES when he goes on to represent Akhenaton as insincere or cynical in his pursuit of the worship of the Aten, (see Section 5.a below).

Turning now to the foreign policies of Egypt during this period 4, we have referred to the very strong relationship which existed between the king of Mittani, Tushratta and Amenhotep III. Apparently they

were not only allies against the Hittites. The Amarna texts, as well as a large amount of other evidence, demonstrate that they had formed family links. In one of the Amarna Letters (EA 24), the king of Mittani, Tushratta (writing to Amenhotep III), refers to the historical closeness of this personal relationship, as cited in GILES (1997, 110):

.... My father loved you,  
and you, even more, my father,  
You loved him. And my father  
Because of love, my sister to you.  
He has given. Who else  
Had a relationship like yours with my father?

The above refers to the fact that the close relations were cemented when in his Year 36 Amenhotep III married, Tadukhepa, the daughter of the king of Mittani. However, she was not his Chief Queen; as we have seen, that role was reserved for Queen Tiy. Tiy was a very strong woman, who exercised huge influence in Egyptian affairs. That Queen Tiy was active and respected abroad is shown by the Amarna Letters.

We have referred to the actions of Suppiluliuma I in attacking the interests of Egypt in Syria. However, although Suppiluliuma I’s actions led to significant loss of power in Syria for Egypt, its continuing strength in Canaan at this time has been recorded. As HENNESSY (1997, 351–2) has noted:

It seems there is little in the archaeological record of Cyprus and the Southern Levant to support the long held contention that the Amarna Period in the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean was an age of wide spread disturbance and loss of Egyptian control. The position in Syria seems to be different. Indeed as GITTLEN [1977, 519] suggested 20 years ago for Palestine, trade and life in general flourished during the Amarna Age. The same statement can surely be made for Cyprus (Alashia) where the towns of LC IIA/B show the first solid evidence of wide spread wealth and international taste.

Notwithstanding this, the problems with the Syrian territories and the Hittite threats were very real. They continued and became much more serious when Amenhotep III died. His death came in the 39<sup>th</sup> year of his reign. This resulted in a traumatic event for Egypt; the nation went into deep mourning. Foreign rulers wrote to Queen Tiy, expressing their personal grief at the death. It also marked the start of a new historical period, with major developments during the reign of his son, Amenhotep IV – who in his fifth year changed his name to Akhenaton and who instituted a religious revolution in Egypt. As we shall see, Akhenaton strengthens the links with Cyprus.

**5. PERIOD 5: CYPRUS, THE HITTITES,  
THE EGYPTIANS AND THE MYCENAEANS DURING  
THE AMARNA ERA (LC IIB)**

As we have seen in the Introduction and Chapter I.2, this period is identified with Mycenaean IIIA:2b wares appearing in Cyprus and at el-Amarna in Egypt. ÅSTRÖM (1972b, 761) says: “The finds from Tell el Amarna (about 1358 – 1340 B.C.) remain the fixed points for the date of Mycenaean IIIA2b pottery and mature Base Ring II and White Slip II of Late Cypriote IIB.”

Recent work by the French Mission at Saqqara under the directorship of Alain ZIVIE recorded LH IIIA:2 pottery in the Tomb of Aperel, a vizier of Amenhotep III (ZIVIE 1990, 144–5). The vessels were studied by this author and were identified more precisely as LH IIIA:2a.<sup>272</sup> Thus we can be certain that the changeover from LH/LM IIIA:1 to LH IIIA:2a occurred during the reign of this pharaoh. That LH IIIA:2b pottery came later and is inextricably entwined with the occupation of the new city of Amarna is undoubted. The reported finds of the later LH IIIB:1 decorated wares at the site by Vronwy Hankey (HANKEY 1973; WARREN and HANKEY 1989, 148–154) are probably best dated to the final occupation of Amarna, after the Royal Court returned to Thebes in the reign of Tutankhamun. Thus, we have a relatively tight association between the reign of Akhenaton at Amarna and this Cypriot period. Indeed the reign of Akhenaton and the events in Egypt impact throughout the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean during this Historical Period 5.

**(a) Religious revolution and relations with Cyprus during Akhenaton’s reign**

Huge internal divisions in Egypt arose when Akhenaton became Pharaoh. As we have already seen, even during his co-regency with his father, Akhenaton was obsessed with propounding the religion of the One God, the Aten (see Section VII.4.d). There seems to be no doubt that he had radical ideas on theological questions and wanted to introduce a religious revolution. He used his royal powers to try and ensure that Egypt’s traditional gods were discarded; he closed many of their temples. In paying respects to the One God, the Aten, the pharaoh himself adopted the new name: Akhenaton.

In a dramatic step, Akhenaton founded a new

Capital city, Akhetaten, at el-Amarna in his Year 5, dedicated to the Aten. Tens of thousands of people “moved” to the new city, which was only 8 miles (15 km) long and 3 miles (5 km) wide. The city had four huge temples; the most impressive was the central one, the temple to the Aten. By building this entire separate city, the Pharaoh was able to move away from his priestly enemies and also to demonstrate in a concrete way his devotion to the new religion.

Akhenaton’s enthusiasm for the Aten appeared to know no bounds. In the 12<sup>th</sup> year of his reign, he organized a massive celebration in honour of the Aten. Ambassadors came from all over the then civilised world to pay their respects to the Aten, as well as to Akhenaton and his Queen Nefertiti. Akhenaton also showed his sincerity when he composed his great hymn to the Aten. In this beautiful work, the Aten is described in terms which explain why this religion has often been called the ‘first monotheism’. For example, here is part of the hymn as quoted in EVANS (1979, 41–2):

You dawn in glory in the horizon of the heavens,  
you living Aten, source of light. When you rise on  
the eastern horizon you fill the earth with light.  
From high above, your dazzling rays enfold the  
lands that you have made. You are god, everything  
is yours, bound to you by love. Although you are far  
away your beams search out the earth. When you  
set in the western horizon the earth is in darkness  
as though dead....

As we saw in the last subsection, GILES (2001) has argued that the major reason for the development of the new religion was political – to reduce the power of the priests of Amun. There is no doubt that the power of the priests of Amun had become increasingly excessive during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egypt. The reduction of the priests’ power would certainly have been a goal of Akhenaton’s. However, we do not accept that it was the primary goal and that Akhenaton was not sincere in his religious beliefs. The view that he was only using the new religion for pragmatic purposes does not explain the huge commitment made by Akhenaton to it, such as the development of the great Hymn to the Aten or the huge temples built for the Aten. Nor does it explain the massive levels of glorification which Akhenaton carried out – for example, the international festival which he and Nefertiti organised to glorify the new god.

Most of all, such a view undermines the original-

<sup>272</sup> I am most grateful to Alain Zivie for this opportunity.

ity of this new concept of god and the significance of its contribution – both as literature and theology. J. FOSTER (1999, 99) has described the Great Hymn to Aten as: “one of the most significant and splendid pieces of poetry in the Homeric world.” He goes on to describe the various attributes which Akhenaton ascribes to the Aten: Aten is one; alone; universal; light; beauty; love; father; order; plenitude; sovereign and fate. Those who claim that this is not a new monotheism are mistaken. Not only are the traditional gods of Egypt entirely ignored, the metaphysical structure of the underworld of the dead is also abandoned in the Hymn. But it is the positive affirmation of the oneness of the Aten god and the fact that he is the god of all humanity which make a tremendous conceptual leap from previous traditions (with the exception of the God of the Judaic Torah, with whom Akhenaton’s concept of god has often been compared.). Thus the Hymn says: “You are the one God... You create the numberless things of this world from yourself – who are One alone” (*ibid.*, 101).

The new religion had a big impact on every aspect of life in Egypt, including in the intellectual and artistic realms. Thus artists were able to break away from the ritualistic, traditional styles and portray people and events (including the pharaoh himself) in a naturalistic and more honest way. There was also the development of philosophy and theological literature based on the Aten. These ideas spread to other lands and there is no doubt that the new theology infused Akhenaton’s relations with other countries

This raises an interesting question as to the nature of the religion of Cyprus during this part of the LBA. This question has been examined in great detail by WEBB (1999) in her authoritative book on the subject. She presents some interesting evidence which suggests that the religion of Alashiya at this time was polytheistic. She states (1999, 280):

The multiplicity of deities and related beings depicted in Late Cypriot iconography has not been widely recognised. Instead there has been a tendency to polarise Cypriot religion around a single divine couple, usually referred to as patrons of the copper industry. Textual references to Alashiya also suggest a complex array of deities. Of particular relevance is Ugaritic tablet PRU (V.8, 4–8) which opens:

To the king, [my lo[rd],  
 Speak thus:  
 From the officer of the one hundred, [your servant]  
 At the feet of my lord, [from afar]  
 Seven and seven tomes [I have fallen]  
 I myself have spoken to Ba<sup>al</sup>...

To eternal Šapš, to ʿAthtart,  
 to ʿAnat, to all the gods of Alashiya...(Walls in KNAPP 1996d:36)

The physical remains point to a similar variety and complexity of deities.

She concludes that the major impact here has been from the Near East, that is, the Levant including Syria, Canaan, and Mittani. However, it is clear that the religious iconography of Cyprus at this time was based on input from a number of the civilizations with which Cyprus was in interaction.

From the point of view of this discussion on the religious beliefs of LBA Cyprus, we may note the iconography as evident on Late Bronze Age Cypriot glyptic where rich reference to religious authority is apparent. For example, YON (2006, 129, no. 9, here Fig. 45) presents an interesting piece found in the Residential quarter at Ugarit which she describes thus: “The engraved scene has several figures, monsters (man with a bull’s head), and animals (lions, an ibex) crowned with various astral emblems, a winged solar disc, and a head encircled with sun rays. This cylinder was imported from Cyprus.”

This is in our view a good example of what Webb has referred to above as the synthesis of religious symbolism in Cyprus, where a number of different foreign religious traditions - including in this case Egyptian, Syrian/Canaanite and possibly Minoan are intermixed in one symbolic representations of religion in Cyprus. With future archaeological discoveries, we may be able to determine what the actual substantial religious beliefs of the LBA Cypriots were. It is nevertheless a reasonable assumption that this synthesis of religious belief probably played an important role in maintaining the independence of the island at this time.

Egypt’s religion is critical in understanding the original and extensive public role which Akhenaton



Fig. 45 Impression revealing the design on cylinder seal of Cypriot origin from Ugarit (after YON 2006, 129, no. 9: RS 20.039). H. 2 cm, D. 1.3 cm

gave his beautiful Queen, Nefertiti. He composed verses of love and devotion wherein she is described in glowing terms such as “The Kings beloved”! (GILES 2001, 20–1).

This approach was not merely based on personal love. It was based on the view that Akhenaton and his wife were in one transcendental (mystical) unity with the god Aten himself. Akhenaton certainly perceived himself as the only ‘son’ of the one god. As the Great Hymn states (as translated in FOSTER 1999, 105):

There is no other who truly knows you  
but for your son, Akhenaton  
May you make him wise with your inmost counsels,  
wise with your power,  
that earth may aspire to your godhead,  
its creatures fine as the day you made them.

Although Akhenaton was representing himself as the son of god, Nefertiti was also given an exalted status, especially following the move to Amarna (see REEVES 1999, 87–8).

The attempt to impose the religion of the Aten was strongly resisted by the polytheistic hierarchy, which had governed Egypt for centuries. The pharaoh was increasingly thwarted at every turn and he made many powerful enemies. The matter came to a head when, at the peak of Akhenaton’s reign, Queen Nefertiti apparently ‘vanished’ in mysterious circumstances. This disappearance of Nefertiti is considered a major mystery in archaeology. While many assume that she probably died, others are of the view that she dropped out of her wifely role, because she was no longer content with her position and even that she plotted to seize power from Akhenaton (e.g., REEVES *ibid.*, 89–91). A substantial point is made by GILES (1997, 327) that plague was very virulent at this time. He (*ibid.*) notes that whilst there is no certain evidence to prove this, it remains a valid reason to explain the deaths of so many members of the Egyptian royal family within such a short period of time. Here the evidence relates directly to Cyprus: the reference (EA 35) to the effects of plague in Alashiya at this same time is one of the earliest such references that we have.

In any event, whether Nefertiti died or whether she rebelled against Akhenaton at this time, it appears that soon afterwards, his mother Queen Tiy also died, as did another of his daughters. Apparently, from this point on, Akhenaton became even more fanatical in his attacks on Amon-Re and his priests. We start to see the systematic removal of most references to Amon-Re in temples and other buildings. This extraordinary act of religious persecution clear-

ly created a massive crisis within the land – especially since there were many powerful people who retained an affinity with the old gods, as did the majority of the Egyptian population.

Meanwhile, outside of Egypt, Akhenaton’s enemies mobilized. The kings of his allied provinces wrote to him about the collapsing outer reaches of the Empire, but he did very little about it. Thus during the years of Akhenaton’s rule, most of the vassal kingdoms in Syria broke away from Egypt and formed various alliances with the Hittites. One example was the saga of Ribaddi prince of Gubla (Byblos) and Abdi-Ashirta of Amurru, referred to in Section VII.4.a above. We saw earlier that these two kings had formed a temporary treaty. However, after his death, the sons of Abdi Ashirta, led by Aziru, once again declared Sumur independent of Egyptian control. Ribaddi wrote to the Egyptians in EA 105 (GILES 1997, 61):

Further let the king care  
For Sumur. Behold  
Sumur! Like a bird that is  
caught in a trap  
just so is Sumur trapped  
The sons of Abdi Ashirta by land  
And the people of Arwad by  
Sea, day [and] night are [against it].

These anti-Egyptian forces sought to take Gubla (Byblos) itself from Ribaddi. Aziru did this by turning Ribaddi’s own brother against him. Clearly Akhenaton was not interested in intervening, as Ribaddi bitterly reports in EA 137 (*ibid.*, 163):

When my brother saw that my courier came out  
[from Egypt] empty handed,[that] there were  
no garrison troops with him, he treated me with  
contempt  
and in this way he committed a crime and  
expelled me from  
the city.

Akhenaton did express concern about this matter of Ribaddi’s defeat at Gubla, as is shown in letter EA 142. However he apparently did not do much about it. The situation became worse because of Akhenaton’s failure to respond. As we have seen, Suppiluliuma I himself then continued to make major inroads into Syria, as GILES (*ibid.*, 182) explains:

Kadesh had certainly been a part of the Egyptian sphere in north central Syria but there is little doubt that during the course of Suppiluliuma’s first raid on Syria, Shutarna the king of Kadesh ...was defeated, and he and his son Aitakama were deported to Hatte. From this deportation, Aitakama returned as a convinced Hittite partisan, who

from that time on caused the Egyptians so much trouble in Syria...

The attitude of Akhenaton is described so by KENDALL (1999, 160), who has made a thorough study of the Amarna letters:

The letters suggest that after the death of Amenhotep III, the situation in Asia deteriorated rapidly. The crisis can only be attributed to Akhenaten's preoccupation with internal Egyptian affairs, the promulgation of his new cult, and the construction of his new capital. Though he received his father's foreign brides into his *harim*, he showed little other interest in matters international, and he was a poor correspondent. He sent little or no aid to loyal vassals when it was repeatedly requested, and he left many of them in desperate straits when the provinces surrounding them were ravaged by renegades; he even refused to punish these rebels when they were apprehended.

This account, however, is a little unfair. It is based on the view that the primary obligation of a ruler such as Akhenaton is to protect all of the parts of the 'empire' at whatever cost. Given Akhenaton's obsession with the new religion, and his belief that the one god was revealing himself to him, it is likely that he found the petty squabbles between his vassal kingdoms annoying and irrelevant to his main agenda. It is possible that he did not perceive these developments as constituting a direct threat to Egypt and that he wanted to spend the resources of Egypt for the purposes of developing and expanding the new religion. It is clear that he felt he had to devote much more of his life to promoting the new cult, than to the usual pursuits of the previous pharaohs. Thus, his clear preference for peaceful resolutions in foreign policy may not signify weakness, but merely an alternative morality in relation to matters of war and violence. After all, the Aten was perceived as acting through Akhenaton to bring a new moral order into the world.

MURNANE (1990) has provided an explanation of what was happening here, referring back comprehensively to the sources of that time. He argues convincingly that there were two factions in the court of Akhenaton, which here we shall call the 'peacemakers' and the 'warmongers'. Because of his own philosophical and religious convictions, Akhenaton associated himself with the 'peacemaker' group. It seems clear that during the Amarna period, this group became dominant in his court. This explains much of Akhenaton's responses to the entreaties of his vassal kingdoms and to the Hittite challenge.

The Letters in the Amarna archive from Cyprus (Alashiya) considered to be sent to Akhenaton are

interesting in terms of this picture of Akhenaton as a man of peace. In contrast to many of the Amarna letters from Syria, these Alashiyan letters show a warm and generally positive relationship between the pharaoh and the king of Alashiya. They indicate a relationship based on respect and a considerable level of mutual understanding. For example, the first of the Alashiya letters, which we believe was directed to the pharaoh Akhenaton, is EA 33. It states (OCKINGA 1996, 21):

- 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 we[II]. For your household, your wives, your sons, your horses, your chariots, and in your country, may all go [ve]ry well.
- 9-18 [More]over, I have heard [t]hat you are seated on [the th]rone of your father's house. (You said), "[Let us have] transported [back and forth] [gift(s) of p]eace." [I have he]ard the greeting [of my [brother], and I ... [...] ... [You wr]ote, "[Have transported to me] 200 (?) of copper," [and I (herewith) have] transported to you ... .. ten talents [of fine copper].
- 19-26 [The messenger [that your father us]ed to se[nd t]o [me] I [let go immediately. So wri]te to me, and] may my [bro]ther not de[lay] my [m]an that ... .. Let him g{o} [imme]diately.
- 27-32 [A]nd year by ye[ar] let my messenger go [into your presence], and, on you[r part], year by year, your messenger should come from [your] pre[sencel into my presence.

In this letter, the king of Alashiya is congratulating the pharaoh for ascending to the throne of his father. The Alashiyan king asks for a specific arrangement to be put into place, so that they can transport gifts to each other back and forth and deal with each other on the basis of 'peace'. This is evidence that the king of Alashiya is seeking to continue and even strengthen a tradition already established under Amenhotep III. Because of the content of the other later letters to Akhenaton, there is good reason to suppose that the pharaoh agreed to these proposals and continued a close relationship with Cyprus (see Section 5.c).

This positive approach is also present in EA 34 where the king of Alashiya says (OCKINGA 1996, 21):

- 1-6 Message of the king of Alashiya 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.

- 7–15 Look, yo{u} 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 ta[k]e this at all seriously. Since I have (now) heard (about it), I herewith send my messenger to you.
- 16–25 And behold, I (also) send to you with my messen{g}er 100 talents of copper. Moreover, may your messengers now bring some goods: one ebony bed, gold(trimmed), ... ; and a chariot, *šuhitu*, with gold; two horses; two pieces of linen; fifty linen shawls, two linen robes; 14 (beams of) ebony; 77 *habannatu*-jars of ‘sweet oil.’ [And] as to *byssos*, four pieces and four shawls.
- 26–31 {And as} to goods that are not available [in your country], I am sending [in the charge of my [mess]enger a donkey-hide [...] of a bed, and [*hab*]annatu-jars that are not available [...]
- 32–41 ...
- 42–49 So an alliance should [be ma]de between the two of us, and my messen{g}ers should go to you and your messengers 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.
- 50–53 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.

Here we have a response to a letter from the pharaoh to the king of Alashiya in which the pharaoh has complained about the failure of Alashiya to provide a messenger at an important festival. The king of Alashiya is very concerned that the pharaoh not take offence and so sends him large numbers of gifts. He also is belatedly supplying a messenger. He makes it clear that he is ready to provide whatever else the pharaoh wants in order to continue the friendly relationship which exists between them. The terms of this letter clearly indicate that there is a warm and very close relationship. The king of Alashiya feels sufficiently relaxed to be able to address the king of Egypt in this particular way – while at the same time giving assurances that he will meet his obligations. We should also note the reference in this letter to an alliance, which may be suggestive of the need to strengthen the political links because of the cognizance of the growing strength of the Hittites or other perceived threats. This important letter is further evidence of the critical links between Egypt and Cyprus – even at a time when Cyprus was

opening itself up to increased trade with the Mycenaeans and more substantial links with the Hittites.

The situation, however, changes in EA 35 when the king of Alashiya writes to Akhenaton about serious problems that have arisen in his land (see Section VII. 5.c). As GILES (1997, 121) points out:

In most of the Alashian letters copper was the major interest. This copper was sent to the Egyptian Court in quantity, but it is clear from the letters that reciprocity was expected, and indeed in some letters (EA 34 and EA 35) a veritable order for goods is placed with the Egyptian king in return for the copper sent... It is evident that Alashia is a copper producing land. The king wrote in this connection that there had been a plague in his country which had killed many people “so there is no-one here to mine (make) the copper” [EA 35]. This is probably the first mention of a plague in the documents of the period.

From the perspective of the Egyptian elite, Akhenaton’s foreign policy would not have been perceived as a success. Whereas Akhenaton’s father, Amenhotep III, had been an excellent diplomat who had been involved in the details of foreign policy and had built Egypt and its vassals into a huge empire, Akhenaton appears to have abandoned these goals. Because of his own convictions and probably the strength of the ‘peacemaker’ group around him, Akhenaton did not seek to pursue these priorities. Notwithstanding what his personal motivations may have been, Akhenaton’s actions transformed Egypt into a country in crisis, internally and externally. How did these events unfold and what were the implications for the international position of Cyprus?

#### (b) Conflicts with Suppiluliuma I and the alliance with the Mycenaeans

We have referred to the fact that Suppiluliuma I continued in power after the death of Amenhotep III and ruled the Hittites during the whole period of the reign of Akhenaton in Egypt. The Hittite king’s long reign apparently lasted even longer – past the time of Tutankhamun. (There is a record of correspondence between Suppiluliuma I and an Egyptian queen, thought to be the widow of Tutankhamun – see next historical period.) During LC IIA:2, the kingdom of the Hittites had significantly increased under Suppiluliuma I. Thus, Alalakh became Hittite territory and continued in this vein for some time. At some stage, Suppiluliuma appointed two of his sons Telepinus and Piyassilis as kings of the northern Levant, including Syria. These successes led to him being recognized as the pre-eminent emperor of the whole region.

The Ras Shamra texts tell us a great deal of the strategies of Suppiluliuma I in achieving these results, as summarised by SAADÉ (1979, 76):

Now, it was important for him [Suppiluliuma] to be able to count on the friendship of the kingdom of Ugarit, which was surrounded on almost all sides by the three countries in revolt. He therefore addressed a long letter to Niqmandu in which he summons him to take his position. At the same time, he promises to reward him if his attitude is favourable to the Hittite case. 'If you, Niqmandu,' says the letter, 'hear the words of the Great King your master and you are faithful to him, King, you will know the favour with which the Great King your master will reward you'... The armies of these kings then invaded the territory of Ugarit, sacking the settlements and pillaging them. Niqmandu having sought the help of the Hittite king, this latter sent soldiers and chariots that repulsed the invaders. Suppiluliuma kept his promise and rewarded Niqmandu for his loyalty.

Ugarit had been balancing its position between Egypt and Hatti for some time. As we have discussed above (Section 4.b), in Amarna letter EA 45 (see GILES 1997, 114), the king of Ugarit, Ammistamru I, relates his concerns regarding Hatti to the Egyptian pharaoh, probably Amenhotep III. There he expressed a fear regarding the possibility that the king of Hatti might direct hostilities against him. As we saw the son of Ammistamru, Niqmandu, at first was loyal to Egypt but then ended up signing a treaty with Aziru of Amurru, and eventually with the Hittite king – Suppiluliuma I. The seals on the treaty between Niqmandu II and Suppiluliuma I bear not only the name of the latter king, but also that of his third queen Tawananna, thus indicating a date late in the reign of Suppiluliuma I (*ibid.*, 330–1).

In general, most historians agree that Suppiluliuma clearly “exploited the neglect of Egyptian interests in Syria under the ageing Amenhotep III and, to an even greater extent, profited from the military inactivity of the next Egyptian pharaoh Amenhotep IV” (BITTEL 1970, 121). As we have seen, because Egypt was divided and preoccupied with the attempted religious reforms of Akhenaton, there was little official interest in direct battles with the Hittites. The Hittites under Suppiluliuma I were also carrying out a clever strategy: they had effective control of the major part of Syria; however, they permitted the semi-independent city-states to re-emerge as Hittite vassals. The strategies and ambitions of the Hittites are illustrated in many of the Amarna Letters, as well as in Hittite texts.

We have referred to the fact that several of the Amarna letters provided warnings to pharaoh Akhenaton, that there would be further invasions into his vassal kingdoms in Syria and that these were generally ignored. As we indicated earlier, one explanation for this was the general domination of the court by the ‘peacemaker’ faction. That there was such tension in the court is demonstrated by the fact that the ‘warmongers’ did occasionally get their way. One incident illustrates this point. After many pleas from the Hurrian king, Akhenaton – in the twelfth year of his reign- briefly adopted the course of assisting Tushratta in Mittani through military action. ASTOUR (1989, 6) explains the background thus:

It is known that the first years of Shuppiliumash’s rule coincided with the last ones of Amenhotep III, but for how long? Here we shall proceed from the information by Hattushilish III that Shuppiliumash spent his first twenty years warring in Anatolia before he undertook his great war against Mitanni and its vassal kingdoms west of the Euphrates which resulted in the Hittite conquest of Northern Syria. Two years earlier Shuppiliumash made a short foray to Syria and succeeded, for a while, in extending Hittite influence upon Nuhashshe, Tunip, and Amurru. The next year Tushratta, king of Mitanni, moved into Syria, returned Nuhashshe to Mitannian obedience, and advanced deep into Amurru. At the same time an Egyptian armed force landed at the coast of Amurru and recovered the city of Sumur. This Egyptian military success after years of inactivity in Syria was publicized in reliefs and inscriptions of Year 12 of Akhenaten showing the presentation of tribute from Syria and Nubia. But the very next year after that setback of Hittite interests in Syria, Shuppiliumash began his great and victorious First Syrian War.

After this military intervention by Akhenaton, events reached a boiling point. Suppiluliuma I redoubled his efforts; he had been highly resentful of the close friendship which had existed between Egypt and Mitanni, since the time of Amenhotep III. Akhenaton had continued this policy, even though the Hittite king had offered an olive branch; he had corresponded with an unnamed pharaoh, most likely Akhenaton, on the occasion of that pharaoh’s ascension to the throne and congratulated him (WILHELM 1989, 35). Now again Egypt had militarily intervened to assist the Mittanian king. Suppiluliuma I thus responded by carrying out further attacks on Egypt’s friends in northern Syria. He soon recaptured Sumur, an event we have already referred to.



In Egypt, this setback was probably perceived as a further example of the mistaken approach of the ‘warmongers’. Akhenaton then reverted to his previous approach and further abandoned Tushratta. KENDALL (1999, 160) describes the events so:

The urgent pleas of Tushratta for a continuance of “familial” ties likewise fell on deaf ears. Akhenaten let the alliance lapse while allowing himself to be flattered by friendly overtures from the Hittite court. Tushratta, now without moral and financial support from pharaoh, was fatally compromised. His empire fell quickly to the Hittites; he was assassinated by a traitorous son; and many of Egyptian northern vassals, simply to save themselves, threw in their lot with Shuppiluliuma.

The final fall of Mittani did not actually come until the reign of Tutankhamun, Akhenaton’s eventual successor. However, the seeds of this final humiliation were certainly sown by the failure of the Akhenaton regime to achieve either a military victory over, or a diplomatic peace with, the Hittites.

The failures in Mittani meant that this victory for the ‘warmongers’ was short lived; they failed to become generally ascendant in the government of Akhenaton. However they continuously resented what they considered to be the disastrous weaknesses in the pharaoh’s foreign and military policies. As we shall see in the next section, this group rose to become very powerful after Akhenaton died. Led by the Great General of the army, Horemheb, they dominated the government of the young king Tutankhamun and Egyptian policy for decades afterwards.

However, it is wrong to suppose that Akhenaton had no interest in broader foreign policy strategies. One of Akhenaton’s strategies to deal with the dangers posed by the Hittites was to strengthen links with the growing Mycenaean empire. Thus relations between Egypt and the Mycenaeans were dramatically upgraded, as is evident from the pottery found in both countries dated to contexts of this period. As CLINE (1995, 94) draws some important conclusions about this:

Based on these observations, a link between the destruction of Knossos in early LM IIIA:2 and a Mycenaean takeover of the Eastern Mediterranean trade routes seems a likely hypothesis to suggest. It seems, in fact, a distinct possibility that the LM IIIA:2 destruction of Knossos was caused by the Mycenaeans from the Argolid, perhaps specifically from Mycenae. This is suggested by two observations: (1) much of the LH/LM IIIA2 and IIIB pottery subsequently found in Egypt, Syro-Palestine and Cyprus was made in the Peloponnese on the

Greek Mainland specifically for export; and (2) Mycenae and Tiryns together have more than half (55%) of the one hundred and twenty-six Orientalia found in LH/LM IIB contexts in the Aegean. Boeotian Thebes, with its cache of thirty-eight cylinder seals, represents the only other site in the entire LBA Aegean area to have more than five Orientalia in LH/LM IIB contexts.

Moreover, the quantity of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiy objects found at Mycenae and the new papyrus fragments from Amarna [PARKINSON and Schofield 1995, pl. 8] depicting Mycenaean warriors in Egypt during the LH IIIA2 period again raise the possibility that these Mycenaeans, in their hypothesized destruction of LM IIIA2 Knossos, were aided by Egyptians.

This kind of evidence of the Egyptian collusion in the destruction of Knossos is persuasive, although it probably occurred during the time of Amenhotep III, Akhenaton certainly sought to build further on these established links. One reason for this ‘alliance’ may have been “a desire for a mutual defence treaty with the Mycenaeans against the newly resurgent Hittite empire or other foes”, (*ibid.*, 94). In any event, the presence of substantial amounts of Mycenaean decorated wares in the new capital of Amarna does give great support to the relationship had become strong and involved the pharaoh himself.

The Mycenaean wares in Cyprus at this time, when there were also strong links with the Egyptians, indirectly support this conclusion. But how did Cyprus deal with the pressures from the Hittites?

### (c) The pressures on independent Cyprus during historical Period 5

As we saw in Chapter IV, the distribution of White Slip II ware became very widespread during this Historical period 5. In fact the range of its distribution shows that Cyprus had substantial trading links with the Aegean, the Syrian kingdoms (especially Ugarit), Canaan, and Egypt; there were even some in Jordan and as far as Libya. The fact that the Cypriots were able to market this product, alongside the natural resources of the island, through all these various lands further confirms our view that Cyprus was substantially independent during this time.

We have argued that the evidence suggests that throughout the Bronze Age, the pragmatic rulers of the island adopted a strategy of accommodating the concerns of the three great powers – the Egyptians, the Hittites and the Mycenaeans – and that they did this while maintaining their independence and a relatively prosperous society – based on the extensive

production and trade. Is there any evidence, besides that of pottery, to support this view? As already mentioned, we believe that the series of Amarna letters, called the Alashiya letters, supports the view that Cyprus (Alashiya) was significantly independent at this time.

What is of tremendous importance, however, is that while this correspondence with Egypt was taking place, both the Hittites and the Mycenaeans were also engaged in significant relations with Cyprus. Thus there are Hittite texts which show that Suppiluliuma I felt that Alashiya was part of his 'domains'. Does this mean that the Hittites came to control Cyprus when Akhenaton was weakened? It does not appear so, for five reasons which we shall outline.

Firstly, if the Hittite empire had actually conquered or totally dominated Cyprus of this time, there would have been significantly more material evidence of their presence. We do not have evidence of such a level of Hittite products in Cyprus to justify such a conclusion. On the contrary, there is a far greater proportion of Mycenaean wares.

Secondly, we have seen that, at this time, the Cypriot leaders saw it as prudent to meet the requests of the Hittites – to some degree. This is demonstrated through our knowledge of an important incident that links Suppiluliuma I to Cyprus during this time. GILES (1997, 140–141) refers us to the famous document known as the Plague prayer of the Hittite king Mursili II, son of Suppiluliuma I, who writes about the assassination of one of the Tudhaliya princes (Suppiluliuma's brother). Here Mursili II states (*ibid.*, 140):

And because the land of Khatte suffered for so long, the affair of Tudhaliya the younger; the son of Tudhaliya has become a burden to my conscience. I arranged that a question be put to the oracle of the god. There the affair of Tudhaliya the younger would be thrashed out...[But when my father] punished Tudhaliya then [the princess, the nobles], the lords of a thousand, and the high offices all took the side of my father And the oath gods... Tudhaliya. But these killed Tudhaliya; his brothers as well who [had helped] him [they also] killed... they seized] and sent (them) to the land of Alashiya and [there they remain].

The above passage is critical to the understanding of the relations between Cyprus (Alashiya) and the Hittite Empire at this time. On the one hand, it confirms the fact that Cyprus was available to the Hittites as a land for banishment of political exiles. On the other hand, it shows that the king of Alashiya

was independent of the Hittites at this time. We should remember that, while Cyprus played a useful and accommodating role for the Hittites on this banishment issue, at the same time, it was extending significant diplomatic links and even correspondence with the pharaohs of Egypt.

On the banishment incident itself, GILES (*ibid.*, 140–1) has this to say:

Some people, perhaps adherents of this murdered prince, were sent to Alashiya as exiles. The involvement of his father Suppiluliuma in this unsavoury incident, Mursili thought to be a serious enough sin to cause the gods to send a plague upon Hattē [the Hittite Empire] which endured for more than twenty years and probably killed at least one and more likely two Hittite kings, Arnuwanda and Suppiluliuma himself.

This argument from GILES in fact supports the conclusion in Section VII.4.b concerning the dating of the Madduwatta text to the time prior to Suppiluliuma, that is the time of Tudhaliya II – even though GILES (*ibid.*, 123ff, 138f) himself disagrees with this conclusion. In any event, the above incident shows that the Hittites had made significant inroads in Cyprus, to the point of requiring the rulers of the island to provide exile in this and other, later cases. This, however, does not mean that the Hittites conquered or totally dominated Cyprus at this time.

There is a third reason why we should not imagine that the Hittites were in control of Cyprus during this period. We have evidence of a major presence of the Mycenaeans on the island at this time and they were enemies of the Hittites. There is no reason to suggest that the island's policy of adjustment and accommodations did not continue during the period of the dramatic fall of the Minoan civilization and the rise of the Mycenaeans. In fact, we see a significant rise in Mycenaean imports to Cyprus during this period of the LH IIIA:2 and LH IIIB types. This is further supported by the evidence of the links postulated between Mycenae and Egypt during Akhenaton's reign, which seem to be reflected in Cyprus.

The key point here is that, given the serious tensions that existed between the Hittite and Mycenaean empires at this stage, it seems highly improbable that the Hittites – if they had full political control of Cyprus – would have permitted so much commerce between Cyprus and the Mycenaeans. Indeed the Mycenaeans would have vigorously resisted any Hittite attempt to dominate the affairs of Cyprus. This point was supported by STEWART (1948, 164–5) many years ago:

At Ugarit in Syria and Enkomi in Cyprus these

communities achieved unusual importance, and it is to the intervention of the Mycenaeans in Eastern politics that SCHAEFFER and SJÖQVIST attribute the freedom of Ugarit from Hittite control (*Problems*, 201). This seems to require some degree of Achaean sea-power, which may have served to guarantee Cypriot independence and the freedom of the seaways.

The fourth and probably the most important reason why we believe that the Hittites did not conquer Cyprus prior to, or during, the reign of Akhenaton is shown by two critical Amarna letters – EA 35 and EA 37 – from the king of Alashiya to the pharaoh of Egypt, who in this case we believe to be Akhenaton.

The Amarna Letter EA 35 is very significant because it gives us details of a number of incidents involving Cyprus. Some believe that the letter was intended for Amenhotep III, but the content indicates that it was most likely addressed to Akhenaton. This Letter begins by reaffirming what we have seen in the other Alashiya letters – a general sense of the warm relations that existed between Egypt and Cyprus at this time. However, there is a major difference from most of the others. The king of Alashiya reveals the problems that he has to pharaoh. In the letter, the pharaoh is told (OCKINGA 1996, 22):

10–15 I herewith send to you 500 (?) 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.

16–18 Send your messenger with my messenger immediately, and I will send you whatever copper you, my brother, request.

This is one of several historical documents in which we have confirmation of the plagues that devastated much of the East Mediterranean at that time. The reference to Nergal is to the Mesopotamian sun god and ruler of the world of the dead. Like the Greek god Hades, he had a double role. He caused pestilence, war and destruction; yet he was also god of health and fertility.

This reference to Nergal has led to a substantial debate which suggests that the Ingot God (Fig. 46) discovered in Cyprus (and apparently revered by the then Cypriots) was indeed a version of the god Nergal. Webb has strongly developed this theme in her book on early Cypriot religion. She says (WEBB 1999, 225–6):

The identification of the deity represented by the

Ingot God has been coloured by the eclectic appearance of the figure and the perceived nature of the LC IIIA period to which it is customarily dated (see CARLESS HULIN 1989b:129–30). SCHAEFFER (1965, 1966, 1971:509–10) considered him to be a warrior god similar to that of the smiting bronzes and more specifically the deity referred to as Nergal in Amarna letter 35 from the king of Alashiya to Amenophis IV. At Ugarit Nergal was revered under the name of Resheph, which may be a more correct translation of the idiogram in the Amarna letter (SCHRETTER 1974:112; HELLBING 1979:22–23).

The absence, however, of specifically Aegean features in the attitude and iconography of the Ingot God precludes an immediate Aegean origin. Similarities with Near Eastern smiting bronzes, on the other hand, argue in favor of a partial identification with Resheph or at least with Near Eastern concepts of divine representation, while analogies with the dress and weaponry of the Shardana suggest that the figure was manufactured in an atmosphere influenced by people of Syrian origin. Yet while the stylistic complexity of the Ingot God may indicate that

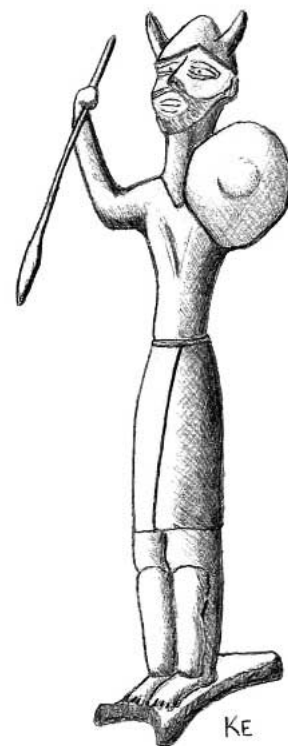


Fig. 46 The Ingot God from Enkomi (Cyprus Museum). Bronze statue of a bearded god wearing a horned helmet. He wears greaves and bears a shield and spear whilst standing on a platform that resembles an ox-hide ingot. H. 34.5 cms

the piece was made by non-Cypriot craftsmen, this need not imply a non-Cypriot identity (CARLESS HULIN 1989b:132). Other considerations make it difficult to believe that he was worshiped in Cyprus as a Syrian deity or introduced only at the beginning of the C12<sup>th</sup>. .....

A whole or partial assimilation of the Cypriot deity known as the Ingot God and Syrian Resheph may have taken place relatively early in the Late Bronze Age. The appearance of Nergal/Resheph as titular god of the Alasiote king in Amarna letter 35 suggests that a deity equivalent to Semetic Resheph was known and worshiped on the island in the C14<sup>th</sup>.

The very close links between Cyprus and Ugarit further reinforce this interpretation.

The observations by Porphyrios DIKAIOS (1969–71, 508–9) in relation to his excavations at the important site of Enkomi, situated not too far from the eastern Cypriot coastline are relevant to this matter. He (*ibid.*) noted that the Area I building of Level IIA suffered destruction, and that this happened ‘when LH IIIA2 l[ate] pottery was current’. Thus, we assume, that this destruction was contemporary with the reign of Akhenaton. DIKAIOS (*ibid.*) ties up certain features of the Level IIA with a statement made by the king of Alashiya in EA 35, where the king relates to pharaoh that ‘in my land the hand of Nergal, my lord, has killed all the men of my land, and so there is not a (single) copper-worker’. Throughout Level IIA, DIKAIOS (*ibid.*, 509) noted that there were very few copper artefacts, and that this may be a result of the situation described by the king of Alashiya in EA 35.

Returning to EA 35, the tone of the whole letter is a plea for understanding. Things have gone wrong in the relationship with Egypt. The pharaoh has not received enough by way of gifts from the king of Cyprus. The pharaoh’s representative has also apparently been trapped on the island (*ibid.*):

35–39 My brother, do not be concerned that your messenger has stayed three 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.

40–42 Send your messenger immediately along with my messenger, with safe passage, and then I will send my brother’s greeting-gift to you.

The king of Alashiya opens his heart to the pharaoh about his own personal suffering as a result of the devastation created by the plague on the island. His motive is to reaffirm the relationship with the Egyptian pharaoh. He is aware of the delicate nature of the situation and he needs to reinforce in

the mind of the Egyptian ruler that he is a loyal friend. Thus he asserts that Egypt is held in much higher regard than several other surrounding kingdoms (*ibid.*):

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

An alternative translation of this line has been: “Do not make an alliance with the King of Hatti or the King of Shankar.” This is the famous passage in which the king of Alashiya is interpreted as warning the pharaoh against an alliance with the Hittites.

This passage further confirms that the letter is addressed to Akhenaton. Only his government dominated by ‘peacemakers’ would have been considering the possibility of such an alliance; it would have been a major step towards a comprehensive peace in the region. (As we have seen, Amenhotep III was very hostile to the Hittites because of their attacks on Mittani). Furthermore, the king of Alashiya would not have made such a statement unless he had information that the pharaoh was considering this course of action. The key point here is: it is almost inconceivable that this Cypriot king would have made such a statement to the pharaoh, if Alashiya had at that time been conquered or totally dominated by the Hittites. Much more likely here is the hypothesis that the king of Alashiya felt threatened by the danger posed to him by the Hittites and wanted to express his opposition to a treaty in blunt terms.

Nevertheless, it is remarkable that the leader of such a small country should feel sufficiently close to the pharaoh as to offer him advice on what was clearly a critical issue in the court of Akhenaton at that time. This attitude is shown in the remainder of the letter. Although anxious to defer to the greatness of the pharaoh, the king of Alashiya nevertheless strongly persists with his request for a great amount of silver (*ibid.*):

43–48 Moreover, may my brother send to me in very great quantities the silver that I have asked you for. Send, my brother, the things that I asked you for. My brother should do quite everything, and then whatever things you say I will do.

This letter EA 35 thus reveals a great deal about the extraordinary diplomacy engaged in by the rulers of the island in maintaining the critical balance between the great powers that contributed to the creative independence of Cyprus during this part of the Late Bronze Age. Such a balance was not easy to achieve in an atmosphere where the great powers

were in conflict with each other. Things can go wrong in this situation, as is illustrated by the interesting and controversial letter EA 38. Here the king of Alashiya was responding to a complaint from the pharaoh that some people from his country (Alashiya) had been involved with the notorious Lukki (one of the so-called Sea Peoples – see Section 7) in a military conflict with some Egyptian forces. The Cypriot king was desperate to explain to Akhenaton that whatever may have happened was not an officially approved hostile act against Egypt. The text is as follows (from OCKINGA 1996, 23):

- Say to the king of Egypt, my brother: message of the king of Alashiya, your brother. For me all goes well, and for you may all go well. For your household, your chief wives, your sons, your horses, your chariots, among your numerous troops, in your country, among your magnates, may all go very well.
- 7–12 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.
- 13–18 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.
- 19–22 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.
- 23–26 Now, my brother, since you have not sent back my messenger. for this tablet it is the king’s brother (as messenger). L[et] him write. Your messengers must tell me what I am to do.
- 27–30 Furthermore, which ancestors of yours did such a thin{g} to my ancestors? So no, my brother, do not be concerned.

Clearly the pharaoh has claimed that some Cypriots were working together with the men of Lukki in what were apparently raids on Egypt or on one of its domains. The king of Alashiya is desperate to ensure that the pharaoh does not use this issue to break the bonds between them. At first he denies any knowledge of the involvement of his citizens, He then assures the pharaoh that he would be ready to deal with anyone from his country who had been involved in such events. He even offers to let the pharaoh decide what to do with them. Alashiya is ready to adopt any approach that the pharaoh recommends.

The king continuously reassures Akhenaton of Alashiya’s strong commitment to Egypt. In so doing, he reminds the pharaoh of a very important historical fact: “which ancestors of yours did such a thing to my ancestors?” This is a further reaffirmation that the relationship between the Cypriots and Egypt had been extending throughout the whole of the Amarna period and long before.

The king of Alashiya also points out that his country has itself been constantly attacked by the Lukki. Why would he do a deal with them? A word of caution here: the Lukki were not the Hittites, but at one stage were allies of its empire. They lived in a buffer zone between the Mycenaean and the Hittite empires in the western part of Anatolia. The Lukki were later identified (in an inscription of Rameses III) as one of several groups which went to make up the so called ‘Peoples of the Sea’ that later ravaged the whole of the East Mediterranean. Most likely, the Lukki had substantial access to the seas at this time and involved themselves in periodic attacks on Cyprus. It is of course possible that some citizens of Alashiya did, unknown to their king, seek to work with the Lukki or their allies.

The above letter from the Cypriot king nevertheless illustrates that neither the Lukki nor the Hittites had succeeded in conquering the island. Furthermore, if Cyprus were totally dominated by the Hittites, why would the king of Alashiya put up such a pretence to the pharaoh of wanting to continue the links and the friendship- which he claims had been in place for generations?

The fifth reason relates to important new evidence that the Cypriots played a very important role in the increased trade with the Aegean at this time. We do not refer merely to trade with Cyprus itself – but with a whole range of societies surrounding Crete and Greece. The evidence is from Kommos, and is provided on the basis of excellent detailed work by Jeremy RUTTER (1999). He concludes his analysis as follows:

Who were the principal carriers of trade goods brought into and shipped out of Kommos in the Final Palatial period? Certainty on this point in the present state of our knowledge is, of course, impossible, but a fairly strong case can, I believe, be made that most of the ships conducting interregional trade in and out of Kommos were Cypriot. Cypriot imports have a longer history in the Kommiian material record than do imports from any other region, including the Greek Mainland and perhaps even the Aegean islands: certainly attested as early as Middle Minoan IIB, they may begin even earlier. In addition, Cypriot imports span a wider range of functions

(from tablewares to bulk containers to simple utilitarian pottery) and materials (copper ingots and possibly stone anchors as well as ceramic containers). Cypriot traders are likely to have been present in every region beyond the Aegean from which Kommos received imports, from Egypt through the Levant to Cilicia, then through the central Aegean to Sardinia in the far west; they alone could therefore have been responsible for delivering Kommos' unusually wide range of imports to this single location.

The Late Bronze Age shipwrecks so far excavated in and immediately adjacent to the Aegean – Iria, Ulu Burun, and Gelidonya – all contained large amounts of cargo originating in Cyprus and could well all have been Cypriot. Finally, essentially no foreign imports except for Mycenaean containers of perfumed oil and Near Eastern luxury items like cylinder seals, carved ivories, and vessels made of exotic stones, faïence, and glass percolate from Minoan ports of entry into the interior, in dramatic contrast with the situation on contemporary Cyprus. If the traffic in foreign staples and basic manufactured goods had been in the hands of the Minoans, wouldn't more foreign tableware and containers have ended up at sites on the interior of Crete?<sup>273</sup>

It would have been virtually impossible for so many Cypriot traders to play this role, if Cyprus were a captive of the Hittites at this time.

Because of the above five reasons (especially when taken together), by far the most plausible conclusion here is the view that Cyprus remained independent during this period; that the rulers of the island – whoever they were – were balancing the claims of the surrounding Empires. While they were obviously prepared to make concessions to the needs of these great powers and, to some degree, to balance the pressures on the island, they insisted on their political and commercial independence. The diplomacy of the Cypriots during these times must have involved a series of masterful strategies, aided by their geographic location. It seems that the Cypriot rulers managed to maintain the links with all three empires, even when severe conflicts were breaking out between the Hittites, and on some occasions, the Mycenaeans, and on other occasions, the Egyptians. Obviously the need to balance these pressures from conflicting empires must have impacted on the political life and cultural identity of the then people of Cyprus themselves. This is the conclusion of WEBB (1999, 308):

In Cyprus the entrepreneurial elites who initiated

these changes constructed an identity based on their connections with foreign lands and legitimized their authority by means of ideological concepts drawn from the same sources. This cooption of non-Cypriot visual imagery was underpinned by an indigenous belief system derived in part from earlier periods of the Bronze Age and in part a direct response to new politico-economic orientations. The result was a conceptual and ideological framework exclusive to the island.

There is much more to discover about this unique Cypriot culture.

## **6. PERIOD 6: CONFLICT OF EMPIRES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND THE ROLE OF CYPRUS DURING THE FIRST PART OF LC IIC:1**

During the LC IIC:1 period in Cyprus, the dramatic events which were occurring in the neighbouring empires further intensified. As we noted in Chapter I, ÅSTRÖM has identified this LC IIC:1 period as a time when there was a major increase in Mycenaean wares exported to Cyprus. Indeed the period is defined by Åström in terms of the first appearances of LH IIIB:1 decorated pottery, a view also supported by Popham. One reason for this increase appears to be that the Mycenaeans took advantage of this time of intense conflict between the Egyptian and Hittite Empires, and expanded their relations with Cyprus.

In our analysis, we relate this period to the time of Tutankhamun, Ay and Horemheb in Egypt. The intersection of the empires became very relevant in the impact on Cyprus.

### **(a) Egypt and the Hittite Empire during LC IIC:1 – internal and external conflicts**

Egypt went through very great turmoil following the death of Akhenaton (Amenhotep IV). As we saw, this pharaoh's attempts to impose his monotheistic religion had divided Egyptian society and he was eventually succeeded by pharaohs who returned to the worship of the many gods of Egypt. Thus, after an unstable period during the mysterious reign of the next pharaoh Smenkhkare (whoever this personage was) and which lasted probably for less than two years, the boy king then called Tutankhaton ascended to the throne. This is the time that we have identified as the beginning of the LC IIC:1 period.

There is considerable dispute about the exact position of Tutankhamun within the family, which has yet to be satisfactorily resolved. He may either have

<sup>273</sup> From: <http://www.ancientcyprus.ac.uk/papers/iriawreck/rutterI.html>

been a son of Amenhotep III or of Akhenaton by a minor wife. Whatever the situation, he strengthened his claim to the throne when he married Ankhesenamun, one of Akhenaton's daughters by his Chief Queen, Nefertiti. Because he was only a child when he ascended the throne, Tutankhamun was quickly surrounded by various persons eager to exercise power and determine the directions of Egypt at this critical juncture.

We have referred to MURNANE's (1990) analysis of the two factions which were active in the court of Akhenaton, the 'peacemakers' and the 'warmongers'. Murnane believes that, once Tutankhaten came to the throne, open conflict broke out between these groups. It appears that the 'peacemakers' were led by the priest Ay and the 'warmongers' by the Great General of the army, Horemheb (both of these men later became pharaoh). Ay apparently had some claims to be a participant in the royal family, insofar as he probably was a brother of Tiy, Akhenaton's mother. Horemheb, on the other hand, was a commoner; his great power was due to the fact that the young Tutankhamun had become dependent on him, at this critical time when Egypt was in a very tense conflict with the Hittites.

It appears that the 'warmongers' found great allies in the traditional priests of Amun, who had been totally humiliated by Akhenaton. Not long after he ascended to the throne, Tutankhaten increasingly became captive of this coalition of priests and military, who together dominated the affairs of state, while allowing him to be the official ruler. This dominant group renamed him Tutankhamun, they ensured that he abandoned Amarna; and insisted on the restoration of Amun and the traditional gods of Egypt. This group spread propaganda that the land of Egypt was in chaos, because the gods had been mistreated and had abandoned it. This provided the political background for the restoration of the old gods, old order, and even the previous priests. This was achieved by means of a proclamation throughout the land under the name of Tutankhamun. As MURNANE (1999, 180–1, fig. 140) explains:

This "restoration inscription", as it is known, opens with the usual proclamations of royal names and titles – but these pointedly associate the king with the Orthodox divinities that had been pushed aside during the Amarna Period, emphasizing how he performs benefactions for his divine father and all the gods...having repaired what was ruined.. and having repelled disorder throughout the Two Lands". There follows a bleak description of condi-

tions in Egypt before Tutankhamun's accession. Akhenaten is never mentioned by name, but surely it is he whom readers will blame for what is described as the ruinous condition of the temples and the gods' consequent abandonment of the country: "if an army was sent to Dhajy (Western Asia) to broaden the boundaries of Egypt, no success of theirs came to pass. If one prayed to a god, to ask something from him, it did not come at all ..." Once the present king "appeared on the throne of his father and began to rule over the shores of Horus" everything changed for the better.

Although Ay was Vizier of Tutankhamun and theoretically the top official, it seems clear that the domination of the government was by the 'warmongers'. According to the later Coronation stele of Horemheb, the general had persuaded the young king to appoint him as his 'successor', in the event that he had no children. As JACOBUS VAN DIJK (1996, 35) explains in relation to the stele:

The king therefore 'appointed him as Supreme Chief of the land in order to carry out the laws of the Two Lands (Egypt) as Hereditary Prince of this entire land'. It had been Horemheb who reassured the king 'when chaos broke out in the palace', a unique sentence which perhaps refers to the chaos at the Amarna court after the death of Akhenaton or of his co-regent; it was Horemheb, then, who calmed the king in this emergency with wise words. Perhaps this passage must be interpreted to mean that it was Horemheb who was the driving force behind the young Tutankhamun leaving Amarna and returning to Memphis and Thebes. In this capacity of wise adviser to Tutankhamun Horemheb compares himself with no one less than the god Thoth, the god of wisdom, who assists the sun god Re to govern the world: 'his (Horemheb's) plans were like the (assured) steps of the Ibis, his government followed the example of the Lord of Hesperet, he rejoiced in Macat like the Long-beaked One'. Horemheb goes on to describe how he acted as regent of the Two Lands for many years. Once again he calls himself 'Supreme Chief and Hereditary Prince of this entire land'.

A major issue which strongly divided the factions in the Tutankhamun regime was how to confront what had happened to Egypt's external fortunes, especially since Suppiluliuma I had seized and now controlled the city of Kadesh in Syria. The 'warmongers' had their way and virtually from the beginning of Tutankhamun's reign, a number of battles occurred with the Hittites. Horemheb led these expeditions and sought to represent them as glorious victories, as is

shown by the detailed scenes of this war in his tomb at Saqqara. VAN DIJK (*ibid.*, 38) explains:

In these representations, which take up no less than three whole walls, Horemheb presents himself as the victor who returns to Egypt with a great number of prisoners of war, and is rewarded for this by Tutankhamun with the Gold of Honour. In an historical text accompanying these scenes Horemheb says of himself, among other things, that 'his name was renowned in the land of the Hittites' – once again a remarkable statement, one which is usually only applied to the king.

In fact there had been no positive result; the restoration of the old gods had not brought instant success on the battlefield. This led to even greater folly on the part of the weakened Egypt. The 'war-mongers' decided to become involved in an even bigger attack on the Hittites. As MURNANE (1999, 182) explains:

Thus it is not surprising that, probably during Tutankhamun's ninth regnal year, the Egyptians launched a second attack on Kadesh. Once again, it failed, but this time the results were to be more decisive and far more serious for Egypt – for it was now that Shuppiluliuma, taking advantage of conditions more favourable than before, swept to final victory over the Hurrians and consolidated his hold on northern Syria ... not until about 1259 B.C., when Rameses II concluded his treaty with Hatti, would Egypt be able to accept the fact that its two northernmost territories had been swallowed up by the Hittite Empire.

Shortly afterwards, the reign of Tutankhamun was cut short when the young king died; it is believed by some that he was murdered. If this were true: was it because of the successes of Suppiluliuma I, or because he was considered too soft in the battle with the Atenists at home? For a considerable time, Tutankhamun had been represented by historians as an unfortunate young man who was forced to give in to the dictates of the generals and the priests of Amun. However, Howard Carter's discovery of the tombs of Tutankhamun changed this perception. This massive and rich archaeological discovery had many surprises. One of the most important was the fact that Tutankhamun and his wife, Ankhesenamun, were represented together still worshipping the Aten (as depicted on a gold relief panel on a chair). This raised the question as to whether Tutankhamun had in fact resisted much of the pressure from the Amun priests. This is the view of GILES (2001, 17, 23):

... there has always been an overly dismissive attitude taken to Tutankhamun; one must remember

that though he died in his late teens or early twenties, he was mature by Egyptian standards, and he would probably have been reigning in his own right for between two and five years at the time of his death. The assumption that Tutankhamun was a puppet is simply that and nothing more. ... The presence in his tomb of objects previously owned by Amenhotep III, Tiy, Ikhnaton, Nofretiti, Smenkhkare, and Meritaton, all members of his family, demonstrates that their memory was still respected at the time of the king's burial.

Could it be that Tutankhamun attempted to achieve a compromise between the supporters of the Aten and the priests of Amun? Or could it be that with the defeat of the Egyptian forces – crushed by Suppiluliuma I – meant that someone in the court wanted to shift blame for the disaster to the young pharaoh? These questions remain.

#### (b) The reigns of Horemheb and Mursili II

Given the power and position of Horemheb, and the fact that he had been appointed by Tutankhamun as successor, why was it that Horemheb did not become pharaoh at the point when Tutankhamun died? VAN DIJK (1996, 38–9) argues that Horemheb was in a weakened position as a result of the defeat of the Egyptians:

Of course this defeat is not mentioned in Egyptian sources, but it is described in a long Hittite text known as *The Deeds of Shuppiluliuma*. From this text it turns out that the news of the defeat reached Egypt shortly after the death of their king, Tutankhamun. It is quite possible that Horemheb was himself at the front in Syria and that he was directly or indirectly involved in the defeat. But even if that were not the case, as the highest general it was his responsibility. His position at court may very well have been considerably weakened by this defeat, especially since the king, on whom he had such a great influence and on whose support he could depend, had just died.

This impression is strengthened by the fact that Horemheb, despite the very close links he had had with Tutankhamun, does not appear to have been involved at all in the burial of the young king. Ay carried out the burial rites and both Nakhtmin and Maya contributed to the tomb equipment, but Horemheb is conspicuous by his absence.

An extraordinary event then happened: Tutankhamun's widow, the Egyptian queen Ankhesenamun, wrote to Suppiluliuma I requesting that he provide one of his sons to marry her and thus become king of Egypt. In the letter to him, Suppiluliuma I alleges



that she stated: ‘My husband has died and I have no son. It is said that you have many sons. If you give me one of your sons he shall become my husband. Never shall I choose one of my servants and make him my husband; I fear (?) ...’. It is believed that she was under pressure to marry either Ay or Horemheb, thereby giving legitimacy to one of them as the successor to the throne of Egypt.

The Hittite king, in a famous remark recorded in his Deeds, claims to have said: “Nothing like this ever happened to me in my entire life!” (see MURNANE 1999, 182). Suppiluliuma I was not persuaded and he initially resisted the idea, believing that it was a trick. But the Egyptian Queen ordered a second message to be delivered: ‘Why have you said: “they are deceiving me“? – If I had had a son would I have written to a foreign land about my shame and the shame of my country? You did not wish to believe me and have even spoken evil things about me. He who was my husband is dead. I have no son. Never shall I take a servant of mine and make him my husband. I have written to no other country, only to you! It is said that you have many sons. So give me a son of yours! He will be my husband and he will be king in Egypt’.

Suppiluliuma I was finally persuaded to send his son Zannanza. The young man never made it to the Egyptian Royal Court and one can only conclude that he was murdered. Many consider the priest Ay to have been behind the murder; the fact that he then became pharaoh of Egypt, after marrying Tutankhamun’s widow, suggests that he certainly gained a great deal from the murder of Suppiluliuma’s son. This explanation may, however, be mistaken. An alternative view is that it was Horemheb who was behind this action. As we have seen, he believed that he had been legitimately chosen for the succession by Tutankhamun.

MURNANE (1990) believes that the peacemaker faction was behind the actual letters to Suppiluliuma I. It was an act of desperation to halt the disasters created by the ‘warmongers’ and designed to prevent Horemheb from immediately taking over the throne of Egypt. It is also possible that Ankhesenamun genuinely believed in the need for peace between the Hittites and the Egyptians.

In any event, the queen appears to have paid a very high price for these actions. Whether by choice (to stop Horemheb) or by force, she married Ay; however we have little further knowledge of the fate of Ankhesenamun; she does not appear in Ay’s royal tomb, so it is generally claimed that she also met an untimely death.

Ay’s ascension to the throne of Egypt came at a time of increased crisis. Suppiluliuma I was furious at the murder of his son and launched an attack on Egyptian lands – with the clear intention of conquering significant Egyptian territories. Apparently, this provided the opportunity for General Horemheb to re-emerge and lead the defence forces. The ‘warmongers’ again became important in the regime. There was thus great internal turmoil and instability in Egypt during this time. Before he could come to grips with all this, Ay – who was an old man – died; he is estimated to have ruled for only 4–5 years.

Thus, Ay was replaced by General Horemheb, who finally fulfilled his ambitions to become pharaoh. Initially he had great difficulty keeping the Egyptian Kingdom together, because of the continuing internal divisions in the court. However, after arrogantly proclaiming his ‘legitimacy’ through the aforementioned Coronation stele, Horemheb set out to consolidate his power by purging his opponents. He eradicated all memory of Akhenaton and his family from the Egyptian historical consciousness. This included the personages of Tutankhamun (who had made him a ‘prince’), Ay and Ankhesenamun. GILES (2001, 94) says of Horemheb’s actions here:

Wholesale dismantling of Atonist structures was begun under Horemheb. Though it is by no means certain that the animus directed against Ikhnaton began in this reign, Horemheb’s most anti-Atonist act was the selection of his successor, for it was the Nineteenth Dynasty kings who destroyed the vestiges of Atonism, and damned the memory of Ikhnaton and those who followed him.

Horemheb also faced a significant external challenge: to stop the onslaught of the Hittites who had captured many of Egypt’s territories in the Levant and were now threatening Egypt itself. The struggles with the Hittites would continue for many years. However, in the first part of his reign, fortune shone upon Horemheb in this matter; sudden changes occurred in Anatolia – Suppiluliuma I and his eldest son Arnuwanda II both died from diseases; perhaps from the plague that was said, in the ‘Plague Prayers of Mursili II’, to have been brought back to Boğazköy by Egyptian prisoners of war taken after the death of Zannanza (GILES 1997, 121; 2001, 22–3).

One of Suppiluliuma I’s other young sons, Mursili II, then came to the throne. Initially, he had setbacks because of a revolt in Syria, but he soon consolidated the various puppet kingdoms belonging to the Hittite empire, especially securing the loyalty of Carchemish

and Aleppo. He achieved good results in Syria and the northern Levant – but also successfully subdued the kingdom of Arzawa, in the western part of Anatolia (a detailed account of this campaign has been found). Mursili II wrote down his annals and we are fortunate that part of them had been found in a well preserved tablet. He explains the first ten years of his reign thus (quoted in GURNEY 1952, 174):

When I, the Sun, seated myself upon my father's throne, before I moved against any of the hostile countries which had declared war upon me, I attended to the recurrent festivals of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and celebrated them, and to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, I raised my hand and spoke thus: 'Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, the surrounding hostile countries which called me a child and made light of me and were constantly trying to seize thy territories, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady – come down, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and smite these hostile countries for me'. And the Sun-goddess of Arinna heard my prayer and came to my aid, and in ten years from the time when I sat down on my father's throne I conquered those hostile countries and destroyed them.

During his reign, Mursili II's major challenge was from the Egyptian pharaoh Horemheb, who managed to encourage a rebellion against Hittite rule in Syria. The circumstances of this appear to be as follows: Mursili was attending a religious festival in Anatolia with his brother Piyasilis, the king of Carchemish who was visiting at the time. Piyasilis apparently fell ill and suddenly died. The Egyptians saw this as an opportunity to launch a campaign against the Hittites in Syria. Apparently they did this in alliance with the Assyrians. Mursili II was forced to fight back, leading the campaign himself. Eventually he succeeded in pushing back both the Egyptian and Assyrian empires by diverting his armies to Syria. This defeat further exposed the folly of the strategies of Horemheb, especially since there had been expectations that the people of Carchemish might rebel against the Hittite rulers.

Mursili II was adept at diplomacy. In general, he managed to achieve a special arrangement with his vassal kingdoms, whereby he gave them a significant level of independence, but insisted on total loyalty and of course tribute. We have evidence at Ras Shamra that he concluded such a treaty with the king of Ugarit, Niqmepa, as SAADE (1979, 80) explains:

The contacts between Ugarit and the Hittite kingdom under Niqmepa are well documented thanks

to numerous diplomatic texts discovered in the archives of the Royal Palace....We come now to the conclusion of a treaty between Niqmepa and Mursili II. The preamble of the document makes the point that it was through Hittite intervention that Niqmepa had come to the throne of Ugarit: 'In this which concerns you, Niqmepa', I was the one who took to your country, King, and made you take your seat on the throne of your father'. Niqmepa owed loyalty to the Hittites as a result.

Circumstantial evidence indicates that Mursili II adopted a similarly diplomatic approach to Cyprus as well. The reign of Mursili II, which lasted between 25 and 28 years, thus saw the further consolidation of the gains made by his father Suppiluliuma I. Towards the end of Historical Period 6, his son Muwatalli became king; he inherited a vast empire – from the western reaches of Anatolia to the northern Levant and Syria. However, the Hittites struggle with the Egyptians were not over.

### **(c) The new situation for Cyprus: the balance between the Mycenaeans and the Hittites**

The Hittites also apparently had problems with the Mycenaeans at this time, these problems included the situation which may be reflected by the increased presence of Mycenaean decorated pottery in Cyprus. As we have already mentioned, the Egyptians under Akhenaton had formed strong links with the Mycenaeans against the Hittites. This was an issue which Mursili II needed to deal with. It appears that he was increasingly less trusting of the Mycenaeans (some of whom were at that time known as the "Ahhiyawans"). The situation was serious because, in the lead up to this historical period, the Mycenaean civilization had become stronger militarily and they also had a major commercial presence in the Mediterranean, with extensive trade interests (see Chapter VI.6 and VI.7).

One example of the tension between these two empires has been discovered in the form of three tablets known as the Tawagalas Letter, which the historian GURNEY (1952, 47–50) ascribes to either Mursili II or his son Muwatalli. In this document the Hittite king begs for a favour from the king of Ahhiyawa (Mycenae) to hand over a troublesome rebel. Apparently the Ahhiyawan ruler had rejected previous requests to do so. Gurney suggests that eventually the Mycenaeans complied with this request. But the way this incident is described also indicates the increasing tensions between the Hittites and the Mycenaeans at this time; it appears that there was a kind of cold war between them.

This view of the relationship between the two Empires is reflected in the archaeological record, as discussed by TODD (2001, 213):

Another interesting problem posed by the evidence for international relations in the Late Bronze Age is the apparent lack of evidence for Hittite/Mycenaean trade. SHERRATT and CROUWEL have noted the strong inverse correlations between the amount of Late Helladic IIIA–B pottery and degree of Hittite control (1987, 345; cf. MEE 1978, 150). CLINE (1994, 70) states that “there is no evidence for trade between central Anatolian Hittites and Mycenaeans during the Late Bronze Age”. He also points out that not a single Mycenaean sherd has been found at Boğazköy; in view of the longevity of the excavations there, this is indeed surprising and must be of significance. The small number of Mycenaean vessels found at Maşat H may have reached the site when it was not under Hittite control, and the previously noted lack of evidence for Hittite/Mycenaean contact remains to be explained. CLINE suggests the possibility of trade in invisible goods to explain the lacuna (1994, 71), but considers an embargo by the Hittites against the Mycenaeans more likely (1991; 1994, 74). YAKAR (1976, 126) had previously suggested that the Hittites did not encourage permanent Mycenaean presence or trade in regions which were important to them in order to protect their own economic and political interests.

The response from the Hittites to the increasing links between the Mycenaeans and Cyprus appears to have been initially a diplomatic one—essentially they encouraged greater trade links between Anatolia and Cyprus (see Chapter V.9 and V.10). TODD (2001, 203) also comments on this phenomenon:

If RLWM ware is indeed a product of Cyprus, this would represent the opposite scenario whereby trade in a specific ceramic type was seemingly encouraged by the Hittites, beamed from the island in a northerly direction, with only very occasional examples reaching the other areas by whatever agency. An interesting comparison is provided by the quantities of RLWM vessels in Hittite Anatolia accompanied by, at most, very few White Slip wares, compared with the situation in Palestine at a somewhat earlier date, where large amounts of White Slip and Base-ring vessels were accompanied by comparatively few RLWM wares.

Consistent with this is the fact that, although the Mycenaeans had a presence, they did not totally dominate or conquer Cyprus at this point. True it is that there had been a substantial increase of Aegean

pottery in Cyprus during this and the previous Historical Period. KARAGEORGHIS (1984b, 40–1) has this to say about the large amount of Mycenaean pottery that is found in Cyprus, after the middle of the Late Bronze Age:

There has long been controversy among scholars as to the place of manufacture of these Mycenaean vases: whether they were imported from such centres as the Argolid in the Peloponnese, or whether some at least were made in Cyprus by Mycenaean artists who established themselves on the island together with merchants after 1400 B.C., when the Mycenaeans expanded en masse eastwards. Whatever the solution of this problem may be, the fact remains that extraordinarily large numbers of Mycenaean vases of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. have been found, particularly of the so-called ‘pictorial’ style which must have been much favoured by the local population. Such vases are decorated with purely Aegean motifs and compositions and constitute a fine expression of Mycenaean art, with occasional influences from the Near East, especially in the repertory of shapes.

It seems clear the Mycenaeans were becoming more important in Cyprus during this period; not only did they play a role in trade, but in general cultural and artistic development. It also seems likely that they participated in the politics of Cyprus, during this and the next period. However, there is no evidence of conquest at this stage. The conclusions of MUHLY (1985, 43) with respect to this issue are important:

We find masses of Minoan and Mycenaean pottery in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century contexts in Cyprus but, as Catling has argued some twenty years ago, any Aegean presence is difficult to detect apart from the distinctive pottery. What all this must argue for is the fierce independence of the local inhabitants and a vitality of the local Bronze Age cultures.

Increasingly, the evidence appears to establish that the Mycenaeans and the people of the Levant were engaged in extensive trade relations with the Cypriots and that substantial numbers of ceramic products were being interchanged. This is shown by the contents of the sunken ship Ulu Burun, as discussed in Chapter I.3. Further analysis of these contents has provided important evidence which brings together the relative archaeology and the absolute dates for this part of the Late Bronze Age. PULAK (nd) explains the process that was used thus:

In the hope of obtaining an absolute date for the ship, seven wood samples taken from the keel-plank, planking, and cedar logs were submitted to

Peter Kuniholm [see <http://www.arts.cornell.edu/dendro/>] of Cornell University for dendrochronological dating. ... A small log or branch, presumably fresh-cut firewood, however, yielded a date of 1356 B.C.  $\pm 37$  years, with an additional unmeasurable ring on the exterior. KUNIHOLM further reports that recent calibration curves, along with several other factors, allow for the modification of these dates by shifting the entire floating sequence to the extreme recent end of the  $\pm 37$  years. This would then date the most recent sample on the wreck to 1319  $\pm 2$  B.C. or 1318  $\pm 2$  B.C., after taking into account the unmeasurable ring. It would appear, therefore, that the ship sank sometime after that date, but probably not much later.<sup>274</sup>

Current analysis would date the latest preserved ring to ca 1305 BC, with a date for the latest unpreserved outer rings to bark of this sample given at ca 1300 BC. This, in conjunction with an analysis of the artefacts is said to provide a date for the sinking of this vessel at around the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC (see MANNING 1999, 345, fig. 63, and n. 1523 with further references).

The implications of this analysis are fundamental and further confirm our broader thesis about these historical links and their consequences. As PULAK (nd) says:

Of equal importance is that dendrochronology gives an absolute date for the synchronization point in 1318 B.C., or shortly after, which narrows to approximately 1320–1295 B.C. the possible range of dates for the LH IIIA to IIIB transition, and rules out the “high” chronologies and favors the lower chronologies for Egyptian history. Thus, INA’s Uluburun excavation will provide crucial assistance in dating events in New Kingdom Egypt and throughout the wide distribution range of Mycenaean ceramics.<sup>275</sup>

There was also a further development in this period: It appears that, at this time, the role of Egypt in the affairs of Cyprus has been reduced. The impression created is that relations between Cyprus and Egypt were further transformed during period 6, following the death and “disgracing” of Akhenaton. If we are right that the king of Alashiya had a special relationship with Akhenaton (see previous historical period), then he and/or his successors were probably shocked with developments in Egypt. This may be one explanation for the fact that Cypriot wares, including White Slip and Red Lustrous Wheel-made,

are reduced in Egypt at this time. Furthermore, Independent Cyprus probably had to accept the reality that the Hittites were victorious under Mursili II and Horemheb was failing in Syria.

This does not mean, however, that Cyprus sought to break its links with Egypt in a substantial way. Thus, even after the death of Akhenaton, we still find some significant Cypriot pottery in contemporary Egyptian sites, like the Memphite tomb of Horemheb (HANKEY and ASTON 1995).

In conclusion, the evidence suggests that there has been a transformation in the relationships between Cyprus and its regional neighbours during this period. Whereas previously under Akhenaton the Egyptians were the primary power and friend, we now have Cyprus under pressure from two major powers – the Hittites and the Mycenaeans – and being forced to balance the interests and pressures of both empires. The evidence from Ugarit suggests that Cyprus was succeeding – especially using strong links with various societies in the Levant.

#### **7. PERIOD 7: INDEPENDENT CYPRUS AND HISTORICAL EVENTS IN THE REGION DURING THE SECOND PART OF LC IIC:1 AND LC IIC:2**

At the beginning of Historical Period 7, the power of the Hittites came under challenge – the Egyptians started to conquer back some of the lands of the Levant. The kingdoms in Canaan, which had been dominated by Egypt for most of the LBA, had become partially independent under Akhenaton. Egypt’s reassertion of its power, however, led it into much more direct conflict with the Hittite Empire. As this Historical Period 7 – identified with the second part of the LC IIC:1 phase, and also with the LC IIC:2 phase – progressed, it came to be dominated in Egypt by the long reign of Rameses II and the relations which he established with other surrounding nations. However, the Hittite empire continued its involvement with an independent Cyprus, as did Mycenaean Greece.

##### **(a) Rameses II and the treaty with the Hittites**

In historical terms, this period begins with the rise of pharaoh Rameses I who came to the throne of Egypt as the chosen successor of Horemheb, when the military dictator died. The reign of Rameses I established the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty of the New Kingdom in Egyptian chronology. Rameses I had no royal claim; he was born a commoner. His claim was purely on the

<sup>274</sup> <http://ina.tamu.edu>.

<sup>275</sup> Reference as above.

basis that he had been a vizier to Horemheb, having come from a distinguished military family and that he had played a major role in the military campaigns of Horemheb. It is believed that he used these positions to elevate himself to a high status in the administration of Egypt, including ingratiating himself with the priests. He was thus in good position to make a claim on the throne and impose himself onto the people of Egypt as their leader upon the death of Horemheb.

However, Rameses I suddenly died, after only two years on the throne. A relatively peaceful transition occurred; the new Pharaoh appointed was his son Seti I. Because of the continuing domination of the Levant by the Hittites, Seti I immediately embarked on a campaign to restore Egypt's honour and status in the Syrian-Canaan area. He first sought to re-establish control over the various kingdoms in Canaan and to build a barrier against the march of the Hittites. He had some success in this matter, when he reimposed Egyptian control over the partially independent kingdoms of Canaan. Seti I also set out on military expeditions in Syria, but appears not to have gone beyond Kadesh – before being stopped by the Hittites.

On the temple walls at Karnak, we find some of the reliefs of Seti I depicting clashes with the Shasu (SINGER 1988, 1). The pharaoh is represented as returning to Egypt with his chariots after a great expedition. About 20 forts and sites in the Levant are represented on a map accompanying the reliefs, ending with the final stopping point on the Nile. Because of his eagerness to prove that he was making Egypt great again, and hence entrench the legitimacy of his regime, Seti I also embarked on a large building program. One objective here was to further entrench the traditional gods, as against the heretic Akhenaton. Indeed, whatever Horemheb may have failed to erase of Akhenaton and his family, Seti I finished the job. This building program is generally considered to have been successful; Seti I created impressive architectural monuments such as his magnificent tomb in the Valley of the Kings, near Thebes, and his temple at Abydos.

Seti I ruled Egypt for 15 years. Whatever his achievements were, they were modest compared to those of his son Rameses II. When this young man ascended to the throne, he was only a boy age 15. From the beginning, the young Pharaoh had to confront the might of the Hittite Empire, which – in response to the aggressiveness of Seti I – was preparing for war. A series of battles between the Egyptians and the Hittites then ensued in which the pharaoh

confronted Muwatalli and his allies. Apparently, the young Rameses II was astounded at the strength of the Hittites who fought ferociously and capably.

The matter came to a head when, in the fifth year of the reign of Rameses II, the Hittites (under Muwatalli) moved towards a major confrontation at Kadesh near Syria. There the great battle, as recorded (in an inaccurate and biased way) by Rameses II's scribes, took place. Young Rameses II led his troops through Sinai-Canaan and Lebanon to the place of the battle of Kadesh. There his forces waited. Apparently, he falsely believed a report from two Canaanites who were actually stooges of the Hittites, sent to trap him. What happened next is described by the Hittite historian Oliver GURNEY (1952, 110) so:

The tactical genius of the Hittite kings is best known from the battle of Kadesh, which is described in great detail in an Egyptian text. The Hittite army based on Kadesh succeeded in completely concealing its position from the Egyptian scouts; ... a strong detachment of Hittite chariotry passed round unnoticed behind the city, crossed the river Orontes, and fell upon the center of Egyptian column with shattering force. The Egyptian army would have been annihilated, had not a detached Egyptian regiment arrived most opportunely from another direction and caught the Hittite unawares as they were pillaging the camp. This lucky chance enabled the Egyptian king to save the remainder of his forces and to represent the battle as a great victory; but the impartial student will scarcely allow him much credit for the result.

It was one of the most audacious propaganda exercises in ancient history for Rameses II to represent this virtual defeat as a great victory. Rameses II not only claimed that he had defeated the Hittites, but that he had done so virtually single handedly – with the help of the gods of Egypt. He went as far as to say that his own men had abandoned him and only his super human strengths had saved the day.

In order to sustain this absurd myth, Rameses II knew that he could not allow a situation where he would face another onslaught from the Hittites. This was especially the case, since the Hittite ruler Muwatalli had not given up; he moved towards Damascus, and maintained the Hittite domination of Syria. Muwatalli died shortly after achieving these results. Fortunately for Rameses II, a power struggle then occurred in the Hittite kingdom. As we shall see in the next Section, the son and successor of Muwatalli, Urhi-Teshub (Mursili III) was deposed and exiled to Cyprus. When the usurper, the boy's

uncle Hattusili III took control of the Hittite empire, negotiations began on a peace treaty with Egypt. It was obviously in the interest of Hattusili to consolidate his power at home and justify his seizure of power (see next Section). For Rameses II, this was a golden opportunity to finally put to rest decades of war with the Hittites, without compromising Egypt's domination of Canaan.

Thus the famous Treaty between the two empires was signed around 1259 BC. This Treaty has been referred to many times throughout history as a model of diplomatic skill and refinement. It established the Hittites and Egyptians as allies, and established a number of goals between them such as working collectively against their common enemies. The kingdoms of the Levant would be divided between the two great empires. The emergent Assyrian empire and, to some degree, the Mycenaeans were excluded. This Treaty led to a dramatic improvement in relations between the Hittites and Egypt. These relations were further consolidated when in his 33<sup>rd</sup> and 44<sup>th</sup> years Rameses II married Hittite princesses.

However, the Chief wife of Rameses II for most of his reign was one Nefertari, for whom he outwardly expressed great love and affection. This love for the Chief wife however did not restrict his desire to establish his immortality by having an extraordinary number of children. Thus, with his many wives, he sired at least eighty sons. Whether from a sense of love, of duty or simply from megalomania, Rameses II paid an enormous tribute to Nefertari when she died; he effectively converted two whole mountains into temples at Abu Simbel – the smaller temple dedicated to his chief wife and the larger to himself. They were built near the southern border of Egypt, obviously using much labour of the conquered Nubians.

This project is symptomatic of much of the pre-occupation of Rameses II, after he had secured his borders with the Hittite Treaty. It was then that the pharaoh turned his attention to various massive building projects within Egypt. He built an entirely new city called Pi-Ramesses, which was to become the capital for the rest of the Ramesside period. He then extended his building program throughout the land. Through his large empire and the tribute he was able to secure from his vassal kingdoms, he accumulated vast treasures for the temples of Egypt and for the royal palaces. At Deir el-Medina near the valley of Kings, he built an enormous tomb for his burial. At Luxor, he built the famous four statues of himself, which tower over the whole complex. At Karnak, Rameses II totally dominated the area by construct-

ing a large number of columns, each ostensibly weighing more than one hundred tons.

Why did Rameses II build a new capital city at Pi-Ramesses – very close to the former Hyksos capital of Avaris? Some believe that he wanted to be closer to Canaan/Syria so that he could act more quickly against any rebellious behaviour from his vassal kingdoms. This is a persuasive argument, given that he had effectively secured his client states as a result of the treaty with the Hittites. One key to an answer may be the extraordinary attempt by Rameses II to restore the standing of the god Seth, who (as we saw in Section VII.1 above) had been adopted and worshipped by the Hyksos at Avaris and who had similarities with the Semitic god – Ba'al. The 400-year Stele found at San el-Hagar (Tanis) was erected by Rameses II at Pi-Ramesses to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of the rule of Seth – an action which many still consider effectively dates the original point at which the Hyksos founded Avaris. It is fascinating to reflect what the motivation of Rameses II was in this exercise. Certainly it appears that he was contradicting the view of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty pharaohs, for whom the Hyksos had been an 'abomination'.

Although we have tremendous achievements in the realm of construction, it is remarkable that in the massive 67 year reign of this pharaoh, we have not discovered great cultural developments: compared for example to the dynamism and change under Akhenaton, there is little development in art, philosophy, or religious beliefs from this long period.

Yet Rameses II also built the famous Ramesseum (his mortuary temple), at Thebes. It is said that it contained a huge library of scrolls of papyrus which probably boasted a substantial store of ancient knowledge. There is evidence that a scribal training school existed at the site. What then of the intellectual production of this time? It appears that the main task of the intellectuals at this time was to weave stories to further build the image of pharaoh Rameses II. This may explain the lack of creative new knowledge coming out of this era. This situation is remarkable, because during the reign of Rameses II, there was, more than ever before, a much greater availability of papyrus for the Egyptian population. Archaeological research has provided large quantities of material on papyrus – including works by ordinary citizens, recounting the events of their everyday lives in detail.

The extraordinarily long life of Rameses II meant that he outlived many of his children. This created problems for the succession. It is said that as many as twelve crown princes, nominated to take the throne,

died before Rameses II. For many Egyptians, it must have appeared as if this Pharaoh had been immortal. Upon his death, the stability and security which he had provided was replaced by a period of uncertainty – Egypt was faced with rebellions on its borders, and much uncertainty at home.

**(b) Dramatic conflicts within the Hittite Empire during LC IIC:2**

We turn now to consider developments in the Hittite empire, during Historical Period 7. Although the Hittites are generally credited with having won a major victory in the battle of Kadesh, this did not immediately end the wars. Muwatalli continued an aggressive policy in Syria, especially against the Egyptians, and again subdued many of the semi independent kingdoms – including apparently Ugarit. However, because of his preoccupation with this part of his domains, king Muwatalli made a dramatic mistake. He moved south east from the traditional capital Hattusa and took up residence in a place called Dattassa. He then handed over control of the northern part of the Hittite empire to his brother Hattusili. After a few years, Muwatalli died and his son, Urhi-Teshub, ascended the throne as Mursili III.

An extraordinary set of events then occurred. The new king's uncle Hattusili sought to take over the throne: he waged a campaign over at least five years of constant destabilization, finally resulting in military conflicts with Urhi-Teshub. The Hittite kingdom was severely weakened during this civil war. The uncle succeeded in overthrowing his nephew and established himself as Hattusili III. This usurpation of the throne was apparently generally accepted in the Hittite kingdom. Archaeologists have uncovered a historic document written by this usurper Hattusili III. It is full of justifications – both political and religious – for the takeover of the Hittite kingdom from his own nephew. For example, Section II of the Apology of Hattusili III<sup>276</sup> states:

When Urhi-Teššup saw the good will of the goddess towards me in that way, he envied me, and he brought woe to me. He took away all of the provincial subjects from me, he took away the city Šamuha from me, and he also took away from me all those empty lands which I had resettled. He diminished me ... For the sake of the dignity of my brother, I did nothing. I submitted for seven years. But at the word of a god and the advice of a man he sought to destroy me. He took away the city

Hakpiš and the city Nerik from me. So I did not submit any longer. I became hostile to him. But when I become hostile to him, I did not do that as an impure (act).

In any event, Hattusili III believed that his own military victories over his nephew demonstrated that a major Hittite goddess, Ishtar, was herself on his side. In the above document, Hattusili III thus says, (quoted in GURNEY 1952, 176):

Now when I wrote thus to Urhi-Teshub, some one might have said to me: 'Why did you previously raise him to the throne, yet now you are writing to him to make war on him?' Yet (I reply) if he had never quarrelled with me, would (the gods) have made him, a great king, lose to a petty king? But because now he has picked a quarrel with me, the gods by their verdict have made him lose to me. ...And because my lady Ishtar had previously promised me the throne, so now she visited my wife in a dream (saying): 'I am helping thy husband, and all Hattusas will turn to the side of thy husband'. ...Then I saw great favour from Ishtar. She deserted Urhi-Teshub, and in none other but (her own) city of Samuha she shut him up like a pig in a sty, ... and all Hattusas returned to me.

We shall see in the next Section VII.7.c that the fate of Urhi-Teshub then changed dramatically as he was exiled 'over the seas' to Cyprus (Alashiya).

As we have explained, in order to ensure that he had the resources and time to consolidate his position at home, and to protect himself from the incursions of the Mycenaean, Hattusili III ended hostilities with Egypt. He secured most of his gains for the Hittite empire by making the historic Treaty with Rameses II referred to above. The following claim has been made by ÖZGÜC (nd, 42) about Hattusili III and this treaty:

Hattusilis III was a statesman, who achieved great success in politics and administration. The empire reached its full bloom. Every part of the land was built upon and adorned with monuments. Great value was placed on friendly relations between the great states, and with the completion of a peace treaty, an end to the 17-year-long war with Egypt was prepared. The text of this treaty, which has survived down to us, is the oldest example of a defence and mutual aid pact between two states. Also and for this reason, a copy of it has been placed in the United Nations building. The pact is drawn up upon the basis of the full equality of rights of both partners.

<sup>276</sup> For full text see 'Apology of Hattusili III' at: [www.hittites.info/](http://www.hittites.info/).

As we have also seen, Hattusili III ensured that the treaty was cemented by sending one of the crown princesses to marry the pharaoh Rameses II.

Rameses was also very proud of his achievements with the Hittites and lauded the relationship with them for many years during his reign. He believed that through this treaty he had cemented his domination of the whole of the East Mediterranean. It was his view, as translated by KITCHEN (1982, 87), that:

Thus the ruling chiefs of every land that they passed by, they cringed, turning away faint, when they saw all the people of Hatti united with the army of the King of Egypt ... (as for Rameses), ... the land of Hatti is with him just like the land of Egypt. Why, even the sky is under his thumb and it does whatever he wishes!

Hence, because of self interest, a period of peace and relative prosperity ensued in the two empires. The wife of Hattusili III, queen Pudu-Kheba, played a very active role in the government, inspiring him to many positive achievements. One of these was a national archive, which has provided archaeologists with some treasures in the form of documents about his administration and the general laws with which governed the Hittites. Hattusili III also returned to Hattusa as the Hittite capital and indeed rebuilt the city.

However, Hattusili III continued to have trouble with his vassal kingdoms, including Ugarit. This is shown by an incident which also highlights the role of Cyprus. Documents from Ras Shamra reveal that, when the great king of Ugarit Niqmepa died, the Queen of Ugarit installed her young son Ammistamru II, as the king. SAADÉ (1979, 81–2) explains the events so:

The texts tell us that the two brothers of Ammistamru II conducted an intrigue against him and his mother Ahatmilkou. The young king and his mother then appealed to the Hittite and Carchemish courts to arbitrate. The verdicts given by these two courts ordered that the rebel brothers, after receiving their share of the inheritance, be expelled from Ugarit and exiled to Alashia, that is, to Cyprus.

The document itself from Ras Shamra (RS 17.352: 4–11) states the following (as translated in BECKMAN 1996a, 26):

Hishmi-Sharrumma and ÌR-Sharrumma have committed an offence against Ammistamru, king of the land of Ugarit. Their mother Ahat-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 Alasiya.

It should be emphasized that these two brothers were princes of Ugarit. It is significant that the Hittite and Carchemish Courts felt that they should be given part of their inheritance and sent them to Alashiya where they could have a reasonable life, without interfering in the events of Ugarit. Most likely, the expectation was that the king of Alashiya would ensure that they did not misuse their positions and create mischief for their brother, the king of Ugarit.

However, it seems that this strategy did not succeed. Apparently, at a significantly later time, these two brothers fled from Alashiya to Hatti and went to put their case to Hattusili III. Another Ras Shamra document (RS 18.114: 1–7) indicates that they did not get any satisfaction from the Hittite king and later may have died as servants of the king of Carchemish, as cited in BECKMAN (1996a, 26):

[Amar-Ba<sup>ca</sup>] and Yadu-Ba<sup>ca</sup> are brothers. They fled [from] Alashiya and [went] to Hatti. His Majesty, Hattusili, gave them [to the king of] Carchemish. [The king of] Carchemish gave them to his son Tili-Sharrumma [as servants(?)]. Amar-Ba<sup>ca</sup> [and Yadu-Ba<sup>ca</sup>] died(?).

When he died, Hattusili III left a great legacy for the Hittites after his 26 year rule. This legacy was continued by his son, Tudhaliya IV, who is credited with magnificent achievements in culture and administration. His mother, the aforementioned Pudu-Kheba, apparently continued to play a major role in the Hittite government. Together with her son, they are said to have been responsible for the magnificent rock reliefs near Boğazköy, at Yazilikaya, which are a representation of a whole pantheon of Hittite and Hurrian gods. Indeed it is believed that Tudhaliya IV was here attempting to further develop the religion of the Hittites by introducing new elements.

However, Tudhaliya IV encountered many problems in foreign policy. Firstly, he had to fight off constant threats from the north of his empire led by various peoples seeking to conquer parts of Hatti. Secondly, from the south along the Mediterranean coast, he faced the growing threat of the so-called ‘Peoples of the Sea’, who apparently were ravaging many lands at this time. Thirdly he was faced with a threat from the east. As we saw, the Treaty between the Egyptians and the Hittites had divided Syria between them and had excluded the Assyrian empire. Thus, during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, the leader of Assyria, Tukulti-Ninurta I adopted an aggressive policy of fighting back. He made inroads into Syria and may have encouraged a rebellious behaviour at the court of Ugarit against the Hittites.



There is no doubt that Ugarit was by this stage thoroughly sick of the overlordship by the Hittites. From the time of Ammistamru II, the kings of Ugarit increasingly sought to distance themselves from the Hittites, especially in Hatti's foreign adventures. Thus, as SAADE (1979, 83) explains: "Still during the reign of <sup>c</sup>Amistamar II, we have a document in which the Hittite king declares that the king of Ugarit, in return for compensation of 50 gold minas, was free of his military obligations until the end of the war being waged by the Hittites against the Assyrians." Furthermore, the next king of Ugarit, Ibiranu also developed an impertinent attitude to the Hittite 'overlord'. Ras Shamra documents testify to the great reluctance of Ibiranu to collaborate with the Hittites, especially in military matters. In one case, the king of Carchemish (the main Hittite ally) demanded that Ugarit send soldiers and chariots urgently for a battle. The response was so slow that it seems the king of Carchemish went to Ugarit himself to ensure that the troops and chariots were actually supplied. SAADE (1979, 84) also refers to another event recorded at Ras Shamra in relation to the 'misbehaviour' of this Ugaritic king (especially his failure to visit the 'Sun' – the Hittite emperor):

Certain documents lead us to believe that Ibiranu showed little urgency over his relations with the powerful Anatolian kingdom. Here specifically are the reproaches addressed to him in a letter from a Hittite prince: 'Since you acceded to the royal power of Ugarit, why have you not come to the Sun?... Why have you not sent messengers?... The Sun is very annoyed by this. Hasten then to send your messengers and have presents brought here to the king, together with mine!...'

Importantly from our viewpoint, the kings of Ugarit of this period sought to assert this spirit of independence by forming strong links with Independent Cyprus. There is direct evidence of this in the strong bonds which clearly exist between the next Ugarit ruler, Niqmandu and the king of Alashiya. Texts unearthed in the 1994 season of excavations at Ras Shamra/Ugarit have shed further light on this and one of these (RS 94.2475) names the king of Alashiya as Kushmeshusha, a contemporary of Niqmandu (for original references see BELL 2005, 134; KNAPP 1996, X; 2005, 578). The contents of the letter refer to the intention of Kushmeshusha to send Niqmandu 33 ingots of copper. There is also a letter from this king of Ugarit (RS 20.168: 1'-8') in which he addresses an unnamed king of Alashiya as 'my father'. The letter states (BECKMAN 1996a, 26):

[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] horses, and everything which belongs to the king of Alashiya, [my father], be very, very [well]!

From this letter, it is clear that Cyprus is still riding high as a significant independent land. The king of Ugarit, who at this stage was formally aligned with the Hittites, nevertheless chooses to address the king of Alashiya with such extraordinary reverence: "I fall at the feet of my father" etc. This is further confirmation that Cyprus is not a Hittite territory and is substantially independent at this time. The above references to the relationships with Ugarit further confirm what we have noted from earlier Historical Periods, and that is the continuing presence in Ugarit of many people from Alashiya. By this stage, the king of Alashiya was so respected that he was able to claim this high status and respect – independently of the Hittites and the Mycenaeans.

However it appears that this independent foreign policy of Alashiya did not please the Hittite rulers. As we shall see in the next Subsection (VII.7.c), Tudhaliya IV apparently attempted a major military exercise to seek to conquer Cyprus. It is not clear to what extent he succeeded, because a few years later, we see Suppiluliuma II, the final king of the Hittite empire, attempting the same feat. Indeed, this last Hittite ruler is probably now best known for his account of a famous sea battle with the people of Cyprus. We turn now to consider these events.

### (c) The final conflicts of the independent Cyprus

We turn now to consider the impact of these events on Cyprus. The Hittites continued to make claims to the island throughout Period 7; but these claims must have been strongly resisted by Cyprus and her increasingly powerful ally – the Mycenaean Empire. However, even now, as STEWART (1948, 167) had noted, the issues are difficult here: "there is no archaeological data which would help to sort out a complex problem." Whilst there have been some discoveries of Hittite artefacts in Cyprus since Stewart wrote, and significantly more evidence from Hittite sources, none of this supports the claim that the Hittites achieved sovereignty over the island at this time (see also ERIKSSON 1993, 151–2).

For most of Period 7, relations between Cyprus and the Hittites were not based on open hostility. We have already referred to the expansion of trade during Period 6, as shown by the extensive distribution of RLW-m wares (see Chapter V.9). We have also

argued that the rulers of Cyprus appear to have been clever enough to give the Hittite empire concessions as required. Thus, they co-operated in an important action favoured by the Hittite kings – the banishment of political enemies to the island. There was an outstanding example of this process during Period 7: the aforementioned the banishment of Urhi-Teshub, son of Muwatalli, who, as we have seen, was deposed by his own uncle, Hattusili III.

We have referred to the detailed document from the usurper justifying his seizure of power. From this document, we learn that Urhi-Teshub was banished initially to Syria, but then later sent “over the seas” to the land of Alashiya, or Cyprus. From here, the deposed young king appealed to the pharaoh of Egypt, for help to restore his kingdom. Apparently, and not surprisingly, he received no such assistance from the Egyptians – who were not prepared at that time to engage in another war with the Hittite empire and may in fact have already concluded the Treaty with Hattusili III.

It appears from one partial fragment that Urhi-Teshub (Mursili III) also appealed to the Mycenaeans (known by the name Ahhiyawa) for help against his usurper uncle. As we have seen, relations at this time between the Mycenaean and the Hittites appear to have degenerated into open conflicts – but not all out war. One interpretation<sup>277</sup> of the way in which the Mycenaeans, a subgroup of whom were known as Ahhiwayans, responded to the conflict between the two leaders of the Hittites has been summed up thus:

Ahhiyawa, Hatti’s rival for control of western Anatolia, would benefit from the coup [by Hattusili III] more than any other foreign power, as it now found an opportunity to increase its influence in western Anatolia. Its policy seems to have been supremely and rather coldly influenced by its own ambitions. During the civil war, it had officially sided with Muršili, but apparently had failed to actually support him. While Hatti’s resources were squandered on the war, Ahhiyawa could simply watch and wait. Muršili’s defeat released Ahhiyawa from any friendly obligations towards the Hittite dynasty, and in fact it would have been entirely proper for Ahhiyawa to declare war against Hatti once Hattusili seized the throne. For Ahhiyawa, the civil war was win-win, and their subsequent actions reveal that they were not slow to take advantage of the situation.

During this time, the Ahhiyawans (Mycenaeans)

were using their vassal kingdoms to attack the Hittites, rather than engaging in open war themselves with Hattusili III. There appears to be no doubt that this cold war was carried on in Cyprus itself. Both sides were putting pressure on the rulers of independent Cyprus.

The fact that, from banishment on Cyprus, Urhi-Teshub was able to make this appeal to the Mycenaeans for help also indicates the independent status of the island. If Cyprus had been completely under the control of the Hittites, this would have been virtually impossible.

However, as we have seen, Hattusili III was an accomplished statesman. He recognised that his nephew would appeal to Egypt and other powers for assistance to restore his reign. As already mentioned, he sought to allay the fears of the Egyptians through the Treaty between Hatti and Egypt. He also married off one of his daughters to the pharaoh Rameses II. Part of his agenda would no doubt have been to undermine and reduce the influence of the Mycenaeans in the Egyptian court.

What all this shows is that, even as late as the time of the reigns of Hattusili III and Rameses II, Cyprus had remained independent of the three main empires which surrounded it: the Egyptians, the Hittites and the Mycenaeans. If Cyprus were a conquered territory of the Hittites, the banishment of Urhi-Teshub would not have been to there – on their own territory. Hattusili III’s own account of the matter clearly implies that it was outside their realm.

What then of the claims by the Hittites that Alashiya (or Cyprus) was part of their “domain” during the Late Bronze Age? One event at the very end demonstrates that they had not achieved such conquest or total domination during the Late Bronze Age. On the contrary, at this late stage, independent Cyprus was so powerful that it boasted its own substantial navy. We know this from a remarkable archaeological discovery of a tablet attributed to the grandson of Hattusili III, Suppiluliuma II. This king, who was the son of Tudhaliya IV, did not come to power on the death of his father. Rather he only did so after the short reign of his brother, king Arnuwanda III. Suppiluliuma II was not known for his outstanding deeds. Rather his position in history is that he was final king of the Hittites; the fall of Boğazköy ending his reign and that of the Dynasty. One major recorded event of his reign appears to be the massive, but not fully successful, battle with

<sup>277</sup> See: [www.hittite.info/](http://www.hittite.info/)

Alashiya – right at the end of Period 7 somewhere between ca 1200–1180 BC.

On this issue, GÜTERBOCK (1997a, 195) translated a part of a Hittite tablet found at Boğazköy in 1961 and attributed to the Hittite king Suppiluliuma II, as follows:

(5) 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.

(10) But when I arrived on dry land (?), the enemies from Alašiya came multitude against me for battle. I f[ought] them, and [.....] me [.....] ...

GÜTERBOCK (*ibid.*, 197) then draws the conclusion that Cyprus was unlikely to have been conquered by the Hittites, even at this final stage of the Late Bronze Age:

How the sea victory of Suppiluliuma II will fit into the history of his time is a question which may better be left open until the Ras Shamra documents are published in full. From the information available so far there seems to be a difference in the constellation of the various parties as reflected in the different sources: whereas the texts from Ras Shamra depict Alašiya as ally of Ugarit – and, by implication, of the Hittites – Suppiluliuma in our document fights “the enemies from Alašiya.” Whether this means that the whole country had joined the enemies, or whether it was only partly occupied by an enemy, and whether this enemy has anything to do with the enemy to whom Ugaritian sailors are said to have handed their ships remains to be seen.

The issues raised here by Güterbock have led to an ongoing and extremely difficult historical debate, which still remains an unsolved mystery in archaeology. There are three aspects of this mystery which we need to outline here:

Firstly, we have some important texts from Ras Shamra concerning the last king of Ugarit, Ammurapi and his urgent correspondence with the king of Alashiya which relate certain critical events. These events took place some time during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, the father of Suppiluliuma II. There are three key letters here: In the first letter, an important official from Alashiya wrote to the king of Ugarit warning about the possibility of some kind of invasion by sea. The letter (RS 20.18) said, as translated in BECKMAN (1996a, 27):

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.

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!

In the second letter (RSL 1) the king of Alashiya himself writes to Ammurapi, clearly in response to a message from the king of Ugarit. The enemy ships have now been sighted off the coast near the city state. The Alashiyan king gives advice to act immediately to protect themselves from attack – including organizing the infantry and chariots. The text as translated in BECKMAN (*ibid.*, 27) reads as follows:

Thus says the king (of Alashiya): 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 the lookout for the enemy and make yourself very strong.

Notice that in this letter, the king of Alashiya already knows that Ugarit has effectively been left undefended: “Where are your infantry and your chariotry stationed? Aren't they stationed with you? No?” Obviously the king of Alashiya has information which leads him to warn of a potential disaster. He calls on the king of Ugarit to “surround your cities with walls”. However, the king of Alashiya also raises a very big question here: “Who is sending you after the enemy?”. It appears that the king of Alashiya already knows what is confirmed in the next letter – that the forces of Ugarit have been sent off somewhere else to fight the ‘enemy’.

The third letter (RS 20.238) is a sad and desperate communication from the king of Ugarit to the king of Alashiya, whom he addresses as his ‘father’. It describes a disastrous situation. The enemy has caught Ugarit by surprise and have sacked and burned the cities. The letter may never have been sent. The text is translated thus (BECKMAN *ibid.*, 27):

Say to the king of Alashiya, 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 Alashiya, 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 Hatti, 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.

Big questions arise here: What are the forces of Ugarit doing in the heart of the Hittite kingdom at this point? GÜTERBOCK (*ibid.*) assumes that Ugarit was an unambiguous ally of the Hittites at this time. In that case, we would have to assume that Ugarit had been summoned to send its chariots and its infantry to defend the Hittite capital from potential attack. But if this is the case, as GÜTERBOCK (*ibid.*) has raised in the quote above, why is the king of Ugarit writing to the king of Alashiya for assistance and advice – given that the Hittites themselves were very hostile to Cyprus and were either preparing to, or actually engaged in, an attack on the island at around this time?

This brings us to the second aspect of the mystery here. It appears from the records that Tudhaliya IV had at this stage (prior to the sea battle between Cyprus and his son) attempted and probably succeeded in at least partially conquering Cyprus. We know this because of the existence of an earlier section of the document (KBo XII 38) quoted above, which is interpreted as part of an account of the deeds of Tudhaliya IV, as told by his son Suppiluliuma II. This section refers to certain events which took place several years before the sea battle, during the reign of Tudhaliya IV. These suggest that Tudhaliya IV had succeeded where his forefathers had failed; that he had conquered Cyprus and taken its rulers as captives. Thus the first part of the text reads (BECKMAN 1996b, 32):

I captured [the king of Alashiya], together with his wives, his sons, [and his ... I drew [up] all the goods, [together with the silver], gold, copper, and all the civilian captives. and [I brought] them home to Hattusa. But [I subjugated] the land of Alashiya in place and made it a tributary. I imposed upon it [this] tribute:

This shall be the tribute of the king of Alashiya and of the senior prefect(?) for the Sun-goddess of

Arinna and Tabarna, Great King, Priest [of] the Sun-goddess of Arinna: [ ... shekels(?) of gold, one talent of copper, three *sutu*-measures of *gayatu-grain* for the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

The column goes on to list other designated recipients of tribute from Alashiya. This text has added further to the mystery: For if Tudhaliya IV had succeeded in conquering Cyprus, why did it become necessary for his son to fight another major battle with 'Alashiya', only a few years later? MUHLY (1984, 44) refers to the following explanation, which brings in the role of the so called Sea Peoples that supposedly ravaged much of the East Mediterranean during this time:

It has already been suggested that this can only mean that Alashiya had already fallen to the invading forces of the Sea Peoples and that these invaders now were using Cyprus as a base of operations for ravaging the Cilician coast, including the Hittite city of Ura. Thus forced to protect themselves the Hittites had called upon – *their* vassal, the ruler of Ugarit, to provide them with a fleet in order to engage the naval forces of the Sea Peoples. In a letter from Ugarit, written but never sent to the Hittite client-ruler in Alashiya, the king of Ugarit says that the enemy is already raiding his lands and that he is unable to protect himself because his fleet is with the Hittites fighting in the Lukka-land. That must be the fleet with which the Hittites did battle three times in the midst of the sea against the enemy ships from Alashiya.

This explanation, which Muhly does not accept in this form, assumes that the 'enemy' referred to by the king of Ugarit was in fact the Sea Peoples and that they had taken control of a substantial part (if not the whole) of Alashiya at this point. This explanation has many technical problems which MUHLY (*ibid.*) has outlined in his paper. There are two fundamental questions which we wish to raise here: If Alashiya had been taken over by the Sea Peoples at this stage, who was the king of Ugarit writing to? It certainly was not one of the Sea Peoples' rulers.

One suggestion has been that the Sea Peoples had conquered the eastern part of Cyprus, including Enkomi, Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke. However, if this was the case, why did the king of Alashiya not refer to this matter in his letter to the king of Ugarit? Why did he not say words to the effect: "This enemy have already conquered my land". Furthermore, in the record of Tudhaliya IV's actions, we are told that he captured the king of Alashiya, his wives and his sons; we are told nothing about foreigners or sea peoples on the island. It seems clear that it is the

Cypriots themselves that Tudhaliya IV has invaded at this point.

We need to bring in here a third aspect of the mystery. DIKAIOS (1969–71, 519) has argued that it was around this time that the Mycenaeans or Achaeans effectively also invaded Cyprus—establishing a Greek style tradition on the island. It is now generally conceded that the general invasion from the Mycenaeans took place 30–40 years after the original dating by DIKAIOS (*ibid.*); so it was not contemporary with the events relating to Tudhaliya IV or the sea battle of Suppiluliuma II. However the picture is not as simple as this. Could it be that some of the Sea Peoples at this stage included Mycenaean elements? This is the view of KARAGEORGHIS (1984b, 42), who seek to synchronize events in Mycenae and Cyprus, as follows:

The end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C. witnessed the disruption of Mycenaean society on the Greek Mainland and the destruction and abandonment of the main Mycenaean centres in the Peloponnese such as Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos. The inhabitants of these towns left their homes and sought their fortunes by sailing eastwards. On their way to the Eastern Mediterranean, a route which they knew already from their trading ancestors, they may have passed by Anatolia where they were joined by other bands of adventurers with whom they raided coastal towns until they finally reached the Eastern Mediterranean. We propose that these were the ‘Peoples of the Sea’ who are mentioned in oriental documents: adventurers who caused the destruction of Cypriot cities such as Enkomi and Kition. Some of them may have settled in Cyprus and rebuilt the destroyed cities, while others may have continued eastwards to the Syro-Palestinian coast, where they seized and occupied towns belonging to their Canaanite predecessors.

This raises a very big question in Archaeology: Who actually were the Sea Peoples? Our ‘knowledge’ about them came from a famous document of the much later pharaoh Rameses III who, in the eighth year of his reign (1176 BC), defeated a collection of groups which he termed the ‘Peoples of the Sea’. Nine ethnic groups are identified in his list, but many questions have been raised about them. In her book, *The Sea Peoples*, SANDARS (1978) discusses these issues and seeks to identify all the groups. From our point of view, the most important group is the so-called Lukki, because they are specifically referred to as carrying out raids on Cyprus. SANDARS (*ibid.*, 37) says about the Lukki:

After one or two names of less importance on the

Kadesh inscription we come to the Lukka, pirates famous in the East Mediterranean for centuries. Scholars disagree as to where they should be located in Anatolia: in the north-west, inland in Lycaonia or in the south-west in coastal Caria. The latter is most likely to have been their homeland, and in the 13<sup>th</sup> century in particular their exploits agree best with a situation in or close to the Caria and Lycia of later geography, facing the sea which took their name, *mare lycium*.

There is no doubt that the Lukki, as seafaring people, had been responsible for many attacks on Cyprus, as well as Egypt and the Palestinian coast. However was it the Lukki and other Sea Peoples who were responsible for the final destruction of Enkomi, Kition and other centers in Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age? Or was it the Hittites under Tudhaliya IV and/or Suppiluliuma II in the events referred to above? Or did the final destruction only take place later with the arrival *en mass* of the Mycenaeans?

Perhaps there was more than one destruction. KARAGEORGHIS (1984b, 42–5) in fact suggests that this was indeed what happened:

On the promontory of *Maa-Palaeokastro* on the west coast in the Paphos District, the latest excavations have revealed a well-fortified military outpost built at a time when Mycenaean IIIB pottery was in use, about the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C. This outpost was in service for less than 50 years, and since there was no previous continuity at the site it is easy to define the beginning and end of the settlement. Two distinct building periods have been observed. The first is associated with the construction of a formidable ‘cyclopean’ wall, 3.50–4.00 m. thick, to defend the settlement from the sea and from inland; there was also a building, constructed of ashlar blocks near the dog-leg city gate, which may be a sanctuary. This building was destroyed soon after its construction and other smaller rooms were built above it. These were also abandoned at a time when Mycenaean IIIC: 1b pottery was in use, a few years after c. 1200 B.C. The first building period may be associated with the arrival of the Sea Peoples, and the second with other invaders from the Aegean who brought with them a new style of pottery which is known in the Peloponnese and who settled at *Maa-Palaeokastro*, after having perhaps destroyed the buildings of the previous occupants. These colonists, whom we may associate with the Homeric ‘Achaeans’, gradually abandoned this small military outpost and moved to the nearest urban centre of Palaepaphos. A sim-

ilar phenomenon may be observed at Lara, a short distance north of Maa-*Palaeokastro*, where a defensive wall has been traced along the seaward side of the promontory.

It is unlikely that anyone can make a final determination on these questions at this time. More research and discovery is required, especially in Cyprus. However one of the premises of the debate may be seriously mistaken. Did the king of Ugarit really send his forces away to Hatti at the time of great danger from the Sea Peoples in response to a request from the Hittite king? Given the negative attitude which the last three kings of Ugarit had to the Hittites (as explained in Section VII.7), this seems unlikely. Perhaps the real facts were that Ugarit was by this stage in open rebellion against the Hittites and had formed some kind of alliance with the Assyrians, who were attacking the Hittites at this time? We know that there was a major famine disaster in Hatti and there were also attacks on the Hittites by northern tribes known as the Kashka. The documents at Ras Shamra in fact provide several important letters which prove that, by this stage, the Hittites were pleading with the king of Ugarit, Ammurapi (ca 1225–1180/75 BC) for assistance. SAADÉ (1979, 87–8) describes four key diplomatic letters which sum up this crisis as follows:

The first was addressed to the king of Ugarit by an official of the Hittite court. This latter informed him that famine had been declared in the country of Ura (Cilicia) and that the Hittite king had assigned it a quantity of cereals from Mukish. As this merchandise had to be sent urgently to Cilicia, he begged the king of Ugarit to provide a large ship and crew to ensure its transport. It was, says the text, ‘a matter of life and death.’

The same transport was referred to in the second letter. This also included a request for a considerable number of ships for military transport and the evacuation of the Hittite court to an unknown destination.

The third letter contained this appeal to the king of Ugarit: ‘Your ships with you aboard, come to the Sun your master.’ The message ended with a passage dealing with numbers of *sicles* of gold and silver, promises from the Hittite king to ‘Ammurapi, no doubt in exchange for his help.

But it was not only famine that was worrying the masters of the Hittite kingdom and creating this atmosphere of panic that showed in the messages just cited. In another letter sent to ‘Ammurapi by the Hittite king, the latter explained that if he was

asking for help, it was to ward off the two dangers that threatened his country, namely famine and invasion by an enemy. This referred no doubt to the ‘Sea Peoples’.

Could it be that in fact the letters between the kings of Ugarit and Alashiya at this time (which we discussed earlier) tie in directly with the above events? Is this evidence that by now Ugarit had effectively become independent of the Hittites and was more closely involved with an independent Cyprus? Would not such a scenario more easily explain the apparent contradictions, which GÜTERBOCK (1997a, 197) was at pains to point out in our initial quote? The resolution of these issues remains a major challenge for the ancient history and archaeology of the region.

At this juncture, what we can say is: irrespective of what might have occurred in these short 20 to 30 years at the end of the Late Bronze Age – prior to the time of the alleged invasion by Tudhaliya IV, Cyprus was a strong independent land that had played a critical role in the events of the East Mediterranean. Even during this period, it seems from the above discussions that Cyprus was still a substantial and independent power by the time Suppiluliuma II confronted it. From the record, it appears that Alashiya or “the enemies from Alashiya” were still strong enough to fight a mighty battle with the Hittite Empire at sea and on land.

If this was the situation at the end of the Late Bronze Age, then our thesis – that Cyprus had remained independent throughout all this time – is further strengthened. It seems an inescapable conclusion that, if Cyprus were already under the reign of the Hittites or the Mycenaeans, it would not have been available for attack in this way. This is not to deny that the Hittites had made claims on Cyprus for centuries, beginning even before the rise of king Suppiluliuma I – as we have seen in Sections VII.4 to VII.6. However, it also appears that these claims were generally not accepted by the other surrounding empires – especially earlier by the Egyptians, and later, by the Mycenaeans.

The above discussion also leads us to another sad conclusion: whatever the ingredients were in the historical mix, it is clear that the end of the LBA also brought the end of this prosperous and creative period for the people of Cyprus. As MERRILLEES (1975b, 35) has said: “It is only when we come to the end of the Late Cypriote II period that the evidence for the foreign invasion and settlement become incontestable.”