

This pdf is a digital offprint of your contribution in V. Matoian (ed.), *Ougarit, un anniversaire. Bilans et recherches en cours*, ISBN 978-90-429-4691-0

https://www.peeters-leuven.be/detail.php?search_key=9789042946910&series_number_str=28&lang=en

The copyright on this publication belongs to Peeters Publishers.

As author you are licensed to make printed copies of the pdf or to send the unaltered pdf file to up to 50 relations. You may not publish this pdf on the World Wide Web – including websites such as academia.edu and open-access repositories – until three years after publication. Please ensure that anyone receiving an offprint from you observes these rules as well.

If you wish to publish your article immediately on open-access sites, please contact the publisher with regard to the payment of the article processing fee.

For queries about offprints, copyright and republication of your article, please contact the publisher via peeters@peeters-leuven.be

RAS SHAMRA – OUGARIT XXVIII

UGARIT, UN ANNIVERSAIRE

BILANS ET RECHERCHES EN COURS

édité par
Valérie Matoïan



PEETERS

LEUVEN – PARIS – BRISTOL, CT

2021

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

<i>IN MEMORIAM</i>	V
PRÉFACE, par Nicolas GRIMAL	XIII
INTRODUCTION	XV
REMERCIEMENTS	XIX

LES ACTIVITÉS DE LA MISSION

Valérie MATOÏAN, KHOZAMA AL-BAHLOUL « Recherches de terrain et études de matériel : les membres et collaborateurs de la mission d'Ougarit 1929-2020 »	3
Valérie MATOÏAN « Les publications 2008-2020 de la mission »	27
Valérie MATOÏAN « La mission d'Ougarit : les opérations de valorisation 2008-2019 »	37
Valérie MATOÏAN, Marielle PIC « L'exposition <i>Ougarit, une cité méditerranéenne</i> au musée du Louvre (6 juillet 2019-2 mars 2020) »	91
Thomas SAGORY « Ras Shamra – Ougarit et la collection <i>Grands sites archéologiques</i> »	115
Marielle PIC « Dans les années 1950, un projet d'architecture novateur pour valoriser Ougarit »	129

UGARIT : BILANS ET RECHERCHES EN COURS

Bernard GEYER, Nicolas JACOB-ROUSSEAU, Marie-Laure CHAMBRADÉ, Myriam TRABOULSI, Jean-Philippe GOIRAN « Enquêtes géographiques à Ras Shamra – Ougarit : les acquis »	155
---	-----

Nicolas JACOB-ROUSSEAU, Bernard GEYER, Marie-Laure CHAMBRADÉ	
« Enquêtes géographiques à Ras Shamra – Ougarit : les perspectives de prospections hors-site vues par la photographie aérienne »	185
Gaëtan COLIN avec la collaboration de Nicolas JACOB-ROUSSEAU et Bernard GEYER	
« Les stéréophotographies anciennes autour de Ras Shamra, une approche géomatique » ...	215
Herbert NIEHR	
« Ba'al du Šaphon et Ba'al d'Ougarit. Quelques réflexions sur les relations et le culte de deux dieux de l'orage à Ougarit »	247
Moussab ALBESSO, Jwana CHAHOUD, Emmanuelle VILA	
« L'histoire des relations entre l'homme et l'animal sur le littoral syrien et en Syrie occidentale du Néolithique à l'âge du Fer »	273
Éric COQUEUGNIOT, Fiona PICHON	
« L'industrie lithique de Ras Shamra – Ougarit au Bronze récent : bilan, mise en contexte et nouvelles approches. 40 années d'études renouvelées »	299
Jean-Claude BESSAC, Valérie MATOÏAN	
« Le programme d'étude des stèles d'Ougarit : approches technique et contextuelle. Les stèles inscrites et les stèles sans décor »	321
Valérie MATOÏAN, Anne BOUQUILLON	
« Cobalt in blue materials at Ugarit: identification, characterisation, origin »	343
Bérénice LAGARCE-OTHMAN	
« Statuettes égyptiennes à Ugarit : éléments nouveaux et questions »	389
Bérénice LAGARCE-OTHMAN	
« Un scarabée d'Amenhotep II à Ugarit. Reflets de ce règne dans la documentation ougaritique ? »	409
Hélène BOUILLON	
« La cuillère d'offrande à la nageuse RS 25.109 : une découverte inédite de la tranchée "Sud-acropole" »	421
Françoise ROUGEMONT, Juan-Pablo VITA	
« Administration à Ougarit et dans le monde mycénien : réflexions méthodologiques pour une approche comparative »	441
Andrew BURLINGAME	
« Constraining the Future in Ugaritic Juridical Composition and The Indefinite Semantics of <i>šhr tltt</i> »	461

DE CHYPRE AU KURDISTAN

Michel AL-MAQDISSI, Georges MOUAMAR	
« Tell Sianu dans la plaine de Jablé »	491
Nele ZIEGLER	
« La Syrie occidentale avant Zimri-Lim »	519

Dominique CHARPIN

« “Année où Zimri-Lim est allé en renfort du Yamhad” : une campagne des armées de Mari dans le royaume d’Alep »	535
---	-----

K. Aslihan YENER

« Some Thoughts about Middle Bronze Age Alalakh and Ugarit: Reassessing an Alalakh Wall Painting with Archival Data »	573
---	-----

Philippe ABRAHAMI, Brigitte LION

« La vie religieuse à Nuzi »	589
------------------------------------	-----

Joachim BRETSCHEIDER, Jan DRIESSEN, Athanasia KANTA

« Cyprus and Ugarit at the end of the Late Bronze Age: Insights from Pyla-Kokkinokremos »	607
---	-----

Communications données au colloque international, <i>Ougarit, 90 ans après</i>	639
--	-----

TABLE DES MATIÈRES	641
--------------------------	-----

CYPRUS AND UGARIT AT THE END OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE: INSIGHTS FROM PYLA-KOKKINOKREMOS

Joachim BRETSCHNEIDER, * Jan DRIESSEN, ** Athanasia KANTA ***

RÉSUMÉ

Chypre et le Levant nord avec le royaume d'Ougarit ont été touchés par des changements socio-culturels drastiques peu après 1200 av. J.-C., dont les causes et les effets restent à discuter. Cet article résume certaines des recherches les plus récentes, en tenant compte des sources historiques et archéologiques. Dans le cadre de cette analyse supra-régionale, une attention particulière est accordée à l'établissement de Pyla-Kokkinokremos sur l'île de Chypre. Le site, localisé juste à l'est de la baie de Larnaca, sur un plateau naturellement fortifié, fait de nouveau l'objet de recherches archéologiques depuis 2014, par une mission conjointe de l'Université de Gand (J. Bretschneider), de l'Université catholique de Louvain (J. Driessen) et de la *Mediterranean Archaeological Society* (A. Kanta). Pyla-Kokkinokremos est exceptionnel en raison de son occupation de courte durée : établi avant la fin du XIII^e s. av. J.-C., le site est soudainement abandonné au début du XII^e. En tant que tel, l'établissement représente une « capsule temporelle » documentant une phase critique (Chypriote récent IIC-III A) de l'histoire de l'île au Bronze récent.

Le caractère multi-ethnique, déjà reconnu pour les découvertes faites sur le site de *Kokkinokremos*, est confirmé par les fouilles en cours, grâce à des objets provenant de Sardaigne, de Crète, d'Égypte, d'Anatolie, de Grèce mycénienne (en particulier d'Argolide) et de la côte syro-palestinienne. Certaines questions comme par exemple de savoir qui fonda ce site en cet endroit stratégique spécifique et pourquoi l'installation fut soudainement abandonnée peu après, ne peuvent trouver de réponse définitive mais restent importantes pour comprendre les relations entre Chypre et Ugarit au crépuscule de l'âge du Bronze.

ABSTRACT

Cyprus and the northern Levant with the kingdom of Ugarit were affected by drastic socio-cultural changes shortly after 1200 BCE, the causes and effects of which remain discussed. This paper summarizes some of the most recent research, taking both historical and archaeological sources into consideration. Within this supra-regional analysis, special attention is given to the settlement of Pyla-Kokkinokremos on the island of Cyprus. The site, located just to the east of Larnaca Bay on top of a naturally fortified

* Ghent University.

** Université catholique de Louvain.

*** Mediterranean Archaeological Society.

plateau, has again been under archaeological investigation since 2014 by a joint mission of the UGhent (J. Bretschneider), the UCLouvain (J. Driessen) and the Mediterranean Archaeological Society (A. Kanta). Pyla-Kokkinokremos is exceptional because it was short-lived, established before the end of the 13th c. BCE, and suddenly abandoned early in the 12th c. BCE. As such, the settlement represents an informative "time capsule" of a critical phase (Late Cypriot IIC-IIIa) in the Late Bronze Age history of the island.

The previously attested multi-ethnic character of the finds made in the Kokkinokremos settlement has been confirmed by the ongoing excavations, with objects that originate in Sardinia, Crete, Egypt, Anatolia, Mycenaean Greece (esp. the Argolid) and the Syro-Palestinian coast. Some questions such as who founded the settlement at this specific, strategic location and why it was abandoned suddenly relatively soon afterwards, cannot be answered definitely but remain important to understand the relationship between Cyprus and Ugarit at the twilight of the Bronze Age.

الخلاصة

يواكيم بريتشneider، يان دريسين، أناسيا كانتا: قبرص وأوغاريت في نهاية العصر البرونزي المتأخر: إضاءات من بيل-كوكينوكريموس.

تأثرت قبرص وشمال بلاد الشام مع مملكة أوغاريت بالتغيرات الاجتماعية والثقافية الجذرية بعد عام 1200 قبل الميلاد بفترة قصيرة، ولا تزال أسبابها وآثارها موضع نقاش. تلخص هذه الورقة بعضاً من أحدث الأبحاث، مع التركيز على المصادر التاريخية والأثرية. وضمن هذا التحليل ما فوق الإقليمي، تم إيلاء اهتمام خاص لموقع بيل-كوكينوكريموس في جزيرة قبرص. وكان هذا الموقع، الواقع إلى الشرق من خليج لارنكا مباشرة على قمة هضبة محصنة بشكل طبيعي، قيد الدراسة الأثرية من جديد، منذ عام 2014، والتي تقوم بها بعثة مشتركة من جامعة غينت (ي. بريتشneider) وجامعة لوفان الكاثوليكية (ي. دريسين) وجمعية الآثار المتوسطية (أ. كانتا). ويعتبر موقع بيل-كوكينوكريموس موقعاً استثنائياً لأنه لم يدم طويلاً، فقد تأسس قبل نهاية القرن الثالث عشر قبل الميلاد، وتم التخلي عنه فجأة في وقت مبكر من القرن الثاني عشر قبل الميلاد. وهكذا، فإن الموقع يمثل "كبسولة زمنية" لمرحلة حرجية (العهد القبرصي المتأخر IIC-IIIa) في تاريخ العصر البرونزي المتأخر للجزيرة. وقد تم تأكيد الطابع المتعدد الأعراق الذي تم إثباته من خلال الاكتشافات التي تمت من قبل في موقع كوكينوكريموس، وكذلك من خلال الحفريات الجارية حالياً، وذلك بفضل المواد المكتشفة القادمة من سردينيا وكريت ومصر والأناضول واليونان الميسينية (لاسيما من أرغوليد) والساحل السوري-الفلسطيني. وما زالت هناك بعض الأسئلة، مثل من أسس الموقع في هذا المكان الاستراتيجي المحدد ولماذا تم التخلي عنه فجأة بعد فترة وجيزة، والتي لا يمكن الإجابة عليها بشكل قاطع، ولكنها تظل أساسية لفهم العلاقة بين قبرص وأوغاريت في نهاية العصر البرونزي.

Dedicated to our colleague and friend Manfred Dietrich, for his 85th birthday

It was an honour to be invited by Dr. Valérie Matoïan in the celebration of the 90th birthday of the first Ugarit mission.¹ The results of the French excavations at Ras Shamra have exceedingly contributed to the understanding of Late Bronze Age cultures in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. Countless scholars from around the world have studied the unique archaeological and philological sources of this ancient trading metropolis, which was a cultural bridge, connecting the Orient with the West.

For many years, we were neighbours, working close to each other, Valérie and her team in the capital Ugarit and our team at Tell Tweini, ancient Gibala, a harbour town at the southern border of the kingdom of Ugarit. Almost every year, the two excavation teams paid visits to each other's project to discuss progress and results. It is with great affection one of us remembers the visit to the excavation in the "Grand-Rue" area at Ugarit² where the Late Bronze Age dwellings show clear traces of fire damage. Various parts of the masonry were so badly affected by the enormous heat of the fire that individual bricks had become vitrified.

1. We are especially grateful to Dr Valérie Matoïan for editing our contribution and for the various references to comparable finds from Ugarit.

2. Al-Maqdissi *et al.* 2010; Matoïan *et al.* 2013.

This find was the impetus for a long conversation with Valérie regarding the decline of Ugarit and its empire at the end of the Late Bronze Age.

Ugarit and Tell Tweini shared the same fate at the same time. Both cities perished around 1200 BCE³ and in both cases, the Sea Peoples were blamed. The latter are reported in Egyptian sources⁴ and are known to have devastated large parts of the Levant, eventually being defeated by Ramses III in a famous sea and land battle, documented on the walls of his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu.⁵

The date of the destruction of Ugarit can be fixed in the 1st quarter of the 12th century BCE, based on both historical evidence and archaeological findings.⁶ Depending on the ongoing debate concerning the chronology of the New Kingdom,⁷ various archaeological and historical studies favour the years between 1192 BCE and 1177 BCE for the final fall of the capital with settlements in the Ugarit area already abandoned and destroyed shortly before.⁸

A letter (RS 20.238) by an Ugaritian king addressed to the king of Alasiya/Cyprus reports on the landing of hostile ships and the destruction they caused.⁹ The horrors of the invasion are dramatically described: “*My father, now enemy ships are coming (and) they burn down my towns with fire. They have done unseemly things in the land!... seven enemy ships that are approaching have done evil things to us...*”. This letter is understood as a response to another Akkadian text (RS L.1) unearthed at Ras Shamra, which was sent by the king of Cyprus to Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit. The Alasiyian king informs him of enemy ships and gives his counterpart the advice to “*surround your town with walls; bring troops and chariotry inside. (Then) wait at full strength for the enemy.*”¹⁰ But the invasion could not be thwarted, as the Ugaritic fleet was engaged in the defence of the Hittite Empire in the north.¹¹ Most likely, Ugarit itself was not the direct target of this particular enemy attack, otherwise this letter could not have been received and archived.

Even more clarifying is one of the latest cuneiform documents RS 94.2169 found in the House of Urtēnu, addressed by the last Ugaritian king Ammurapi to an unnamed “*king my lord*”. Due to the vassal status of Ugarit, this “king my lord” must have been the vice-king of the Hittite Empire residing in Carkemisch. Ammurapi recounts the enemy’s landing near the village of Ra’su and his advance towards the capital. “*At the moment the enemy troops are stationed at Ra’su and their vanguards [?] have been sent against Ugarit*”, he begs his overlord to bring him out of Ugarit alive. Presumably due to the chaotic situation of an attacking opponent the message never left the sender’s house.¹² This intense cry for help is of great importance for our understanding of the historical process, since it can be situated in time and space.

The scene of the event is Ra’su (Reshu), identified by van Soldt as Ras Ibn Hani, five km south-west of the capital of Ugarit (fig. 1).¹³ The 28-ha settlement, excavated by a French-Syrian team led by Adnan Bounni and Jacques Lagarce, is considered to have been the second residence of the royal family of Ugarit.

3. For the destruction of Ugarit, see: Schaeffer-Forrer 1979, p. 51-52; Yon 1992, p. 117-118; Callot 1994, p. 212-213. For Tweini, see: Bretschneider *et al.* 2019, p. 6-7; Jung 2018b; Jung, Kardamaki forthcoming.

4. A summary with bibliography: Emanuel 2016; Yasur-Landau 2010; Jung 2018b.

5. Breasted 1930, pl. 39, 44; Lehmann 1985; O’Conner 2000; Heinz 2001; Ben-Dor Evian 2017; 2018.

6. See discussion in Courtois 1973, p. 137-165; Monchambert 2004, p. 279, 321-322; Singer 1999; 2012; Janeway 2017, p. 23; Mountjoy 2020, p. 171-178; Jung 2018b, p. 295; Jung, Kardamaki forthcoming.

7. Schneider 2010.

8. See bibliography in Singer 1999; Cline 2014; Dietrich, Loretz 2002; Jung 2018b; Jung, Kardamaki forthcoming.

9. Hoftijzer, van Soldt 1998; Singer 1999, p. 720.

10. Singer 1999; Hoftijzer, van Soldt (1998) offer a comprehensive overview with texts from Ugarit on the subject of seafaring.

11. Singer 1999, p. 720. A request from Yadinu, military commander serving the Ugaritic king, for 150 ships and 400 Apiru in KTU 2.47 is supporting the idea of the great naval power of Ugarit. Apiru are seen as “*socially uprooted communities from which many people were recruited for military service*”, Hoftijzer, van Soldt 1998, p. 336-337.

12. Lackenbacher, Malbran-Labat 2016, p. 33-35. For comments on the archaeological context, see: Jung, Kardamaki forthcoming.

13. Van Soldt 2005. Arnaud (1984) identified Ras Ibn Hani as Birutu.

The excavators assume that the inhabitants of Ras Ibn Hani probably had the time to seize some of their most valuable objects and flee to Ugarit in order to hide behind the strong fortifications of the capital.¹⁴ The invaders burned the abandoned city, resulting in a dense ash layer that was found covering the floors of the southern and northern palaces.¹⁵ The contents of the southern palace seem to have been emptied before its destruction since no cuneiform texts or valuable objects were found in it. In contrast, the evacuation of the northern palace may have happened in disorder. A cache of jewellery was found in room XLVI, where it probably had been hidden in a bag or other perishable container just before the city's invasion and about 130 text documents and ivory inlays were found within the destruction layer.¹⁶



Fig. 1—Map of Cyprus and Northern Levant with the sites mentioned in the text (©C-PEPL, N. Kress).

After the destruction of the southern palace, the area was reoccupied by a “village” at the very beginning of Iron Age I. The domestic architecture consisting of small dwellings divided by narrow streets, follows the same orientation as the earlier palace.¹⁷ Significant finds in the earliest levels of Iron Age I are *e.g.* unbaked or low-fired spool-shaped loom weights associated with locally made Aegean Style pottery, two features generally associated with cultural innovations coming from the west.¹⁸ The introduction of this new type of wrap-weighted looms and new weaving technique from the Aegean (*e.g.* attested at Mycenae,

14. Lagarce, Lagarce 1995, p. 149-151; Bounni, Lagarce, Lagarce 1998, p. 86-88.

15. Puytison-Lagarce, Lagarce 2006.

16. See summary with bibliography *in* van Soldt 2008, p. 258.

17. Summarised with bibliography: du Piéd 2011, p. 219, fig. 2; Janeway 2017, p. 22; Mountjoy 2020; Jung, Kardamaki forthcoming.

18. Lagarce, Lagarce 1988; du Piéd 2011, p. 220.

Tiryns, Lefkandi, Karphi, Kastelli Chania and Sissi¹⁹) and/or Cyprus (Maa-Palaeokastro and Kition) or from Anatolia (Troy, Alishar Hüyük, Tarsus and Tille Hüyük) is undoubtedly a phenomenon of the later 13th century and frequently attested throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Levant in the Early Iron Age.²⁰ There is some disagreement between Rahmstorf and Yasur-Landau on how to interpret these spoils but Yasur-Landau accepts them as a result of migration.²¹ Du Piéd calls them “*innovations with a possible originally foreign origin*”, accepted by the already mixed indigenous population of Ras Ibn Hani “*with originally different cultural backgrounds, just as at Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age. It is not impossible, however, that some ‘new’ migrants did settle over time in the region*”.²² A proper assessment of the Iron I temporal developments of the settlement of Ras Ibn Hani will only be possible after the final publication is available.²³

A similar scenario of seaborne attacks can be imagined for Tell Tweini, the southernmost harbour town of the kingdom of Ugarit.²⁴ The site was excavated by a Belgian-Syrian team between 1999 and 2010 but the work was interrupted because of the outbreak of the war. As a result, only selected elements of the Belgian excavations in the central part of the mound (Field A)—namely those that did not require additional on-site investigation—could be published comprehensively.²⁵ The Syrian excavations in the western part of the mound (Field B) remain thus far largely unpublished.

Tell Tweini, identified by van Soldt as ancient Gibala,²⁶ seems to have been devastated early in the 12th century BCE, thus sharing the same fate as Ras Ibn Hani and other cities in the Northern Levant. A fire destruction was identified in several buildings of the latest LBaII Level 7A in the centre of the tell. The presence of several arrow heads in the same level may suggest that the devastation was accompanied by fighting in the city as has been suggested for the final days of Ugarit.²⁷ The precise extent and intensity of the destruction cannot yet be estimated in relation to the entire settlement, as Late Bronze Age II settlement layers were only identified in relatively small areas below the massive Iron I and Iron II period reoccupation. Late Bronze Age buildings that can be qualified as public have not been recognised in the central area of the mound (Field A) and a comparison between fire intensity in residential and public buildings is hence not possible.

Apart from large quantities of Cypriot vessels, the ceramic repertoire of the destruction layer at Tell Tweini comprises a great number of Mycenaean sherds dating to Late Helladic IIIB, but also a small number of locally produced Mycenaean vases of the Late Helladic IIIC Early 1 style (fig. 2).²⁸

This Late Helladic IIIC Early pottery provides a synchronism with Tell Kazel in the neighbouring Amurru, where this type of ceramics was also recognised in the Late Bronze Age destruction level. Reinhard Jung observed that “*the evidence of the destruction levels at Tweini and Tell Kazel and their positions within the two stratigraphic sequences as well as the related pottery repertoires allow to synchronize the*

19. For a recent overview on the Cretan evidence, see: Driessen, Gaignerot-Driessen forthcoming.

20. For a general survey and bibliography, see Rahmstorf 2003; Yasur-Landau 2010; Sauvage, Jans 2019, p. 51. Most recently attested in Tell Tweini (Sauvage, Jans 2019) and Tell Tayinat (Welton *et al.* 2019, p. 315). For Tell Afis, see: Cecchini 2000; for Karphi, see: Kanta, Kontopodi 2011, 148, fig. 16.

21. Rahmstorf 2003; 2005; Yasur-Landau 2010, p. 132-134, 146, 153, 267-268.

22. Du Piéd 2011, p. 227-228.

23. For the recently published cuneiform texts from Ras ibn Hani see, Bordreuil, Pardee, Roche-Hawley 2019.

24. A contemporary destruction is attested for Tell Sukas, a coastal settlement around 8 km south of Tell Tweini, see: Riis 1970, p. 24.

25. Bretschneider, Jans 2019.

26. Van Soldt 2005; see bibliography in Singer 1999, p. 662-669. Gibala was first mentioned in tablets from Ugarit from the 13th century BCE and in the Ugaritic alphabetic document KTU 4.40 in which men from Gibala were called up to service on the king's ship. See also bibliography in Hoftijzer, van Soldt 1998, p. 337.

27. Bretschneider, Jans 2019; Bretschneider, Van Lerberghe 2010, p. 32-33, 41, fig. 36. For radiocarbon dates of the conflagration, see: Kaniewski *et al.* 2011. For weapons in the destruction-level of Ugarit, see: Yon 1992, p. 117-118, fig. 14.5a.

28. Janeway 2017, p. 23; Jung 2018a; Jung 2018b, fig. 12.4; Mountjoy 2020; Jung, Kardamaki forthcoming.

*Mycenaean phase of Late Helladic IIIC Early 1 with the first regnal years of Ramses III.*²⁹ As in Tell Kazel, the local production of Mycenaean pottery at Tweini continued after the destruction. Locally made Late Helladic IIIC Early deep bowls with interior bands and a variety of motifs including antithetic spirals were also found in a rubble fill level between the latest Late Bronze Age II floor and the earliest Iron Age I floor Level 6GH. The first architectural phase after the devastation of the first half of the 12th century has been described as squatter occupation during which local pottery traditions continued at a regional scale. Imports from Cyprus and the Aegean, however, are lacking.³⁰

Historical	Ugarit: Tell Tweini	Amurru: Tell Kazel
1195: throne accession Ramses III (Schneider 2010) 1186 / (1177*) year 8 (Battle of Djahy: Ramses III-Sea People)	Level 7A <i>LH IIIB-LH IIIC Early 1</i> Destruction	II: 6 upper/IV: 5 upper <i>LH IIIB Final-LH IIIC Early 1</i> Destruction
	Level 6GH <i>LH IIIC Early</i>	II: 5 / IV: 4 <i>LH IIIC Early-LH IIIC Middle</i>
	Level 6EF Destruction (ca. 1050-1000)	

Fig. 2a

Chronological phase: Cyprus	Cyprus-Maa Palaekastro	Cyprus-Enkomi	Cyprus-Pyla- Kokkinokremos
LC IIC2 1250-1190 (A.) 1250-1200 (F.B.)	Period I/Floor II	Enkomi IIB <i>LH IIIB Developed- LH IIIC Early 1</i> Destruction	Pyla <i>LH IIIB Developed- LH IIIC Early</i> Destruction
LC III A1 1190-1175 (A.) 1200-1150 (F.B.)	Period I/Floor II Destruction	Enkomi IIIA <i>LH IIIC Early 2- LH IIIC Developed</i> Destruction	
LC III A2 1175-1125/1100 (A.) 1150-1100 (F.B.)	Period II/Floor I <i>LC IIIA</i> Abandonment	Enkomi IIIB Early <i>LH IIIC Developed- LH IIIC Advanced</i> Destruction	

Fig. 2b

Fig. 2a-b—Comparative stratigraphy, absolute chronology and Aegean synchronisms.

Italics=date of Aegean-type pottery (both imported and locally made) present in different contexts (adapted after Jung 2018, Table 1; Mountjoy 2018, Table 1; Fischer and Bürge 2018, Table 10.1 & 10.2). Throne accession of Ramses III in 1195 BC (Schneider 2010); * (according to Kitchen 1987)—A.=Aström; F.B.=Fischer-Bürge.

The archaeological evidence at Tweini is a reminder of what happened in the first post-destruction resettlement phase at Tell Kazel, Ras Ibn Hani and perhaps also in Ugarit itself, where poor settlement structures may also suggest a squatter occupation. At Tell Tweini, a new urban concept is only realized in the later phase of the Early Iron Age (Level 6EF) when we observe a revival of Cypriot imports in the form of White Painted I ceramics, wall brackets and a textile industry that henceforth uses the Aegean type of clay spools. This city was also violently destroyed sometime at the end of the 11th century and this destruction left many finds *in situ*.³¹

It is therefore possible to state that, concerning the demise of the kingdom of Ugarit at the end of the Late Bronze Age, philological sources from the city itself can be reconciled with archaeological evidence from sites such as Ras Shamra, Ras Ibn Hani, Tell Tweini and some other smaller coastal cities.³² Text RS 94.2169 makes it plausible that both Ras Ibn Hani and probably also Tell Tweini were destroyed

29. Jung 2018b. Based on revised chronology of throne accession of Ramses III in 1195 BCE, see: Schneider 2010; Aston 2013.

30. Bretschneider *et al.* 2019, p. 8.

31. Bretschneider *et al.* 2019, p. 9-10. For radiocarbon dates of the second conflagration see: Kaniewski *et al.* 2010.

32. The LBII conflagration at Ras el-Bassit ca. 30 km north of Ugarit has been linked by the excavator to the Sea Peoples destruction, see Courbin 1990, p. 504. For the drastic cultural changes in Early Iron Age Kinet Höyük see: Gates 2013, p. 507.

shortly before the devastation of Ugarit around 1190 BCE. From the Ugaritic correspondence with the king of Alashiya it is likely that at least some seafaring invaders must also have been involved. The warlike destruction of the coastal settlements in the kingdom of Ugarit and the neighbouring regions (such as Amurru and Mukish³³) seems to have been so severe that urban life in the multicultural communities of Ugarit and Ra'su was either no longer possible or, as in Tell Tweini, interrupted for several decades.³⁴ The approximately contemporaneous texts from the 8th year of Ramesses III's reign at Medinet Habu vividly describe the catastrophe from an Egyptian perspective: "*The foreign countries (i.e. Sea Peoples) made a conspiracy in their islands. All at once the lands were removed and scattered in the fray. No land could stand before their arms: from Hatti, Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa and Alashiya on, being cut off (i.e. destroyed) at one time. A camp was set up in Amurru. They desolated its people, and its land was like that which has never come into being. They were coming forward toward Egypt, while the flame was prepared before them. Their confederation was the Peleset, Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denyen and Weshesh, lands united. They laid their hands upon the land as far as the circuit of the earth, their hearts confident and trusting: 'Our plans will succeed!'*"³⁵

The traces of the first post-destruction settlement provide a picture of poverty with mediocre dwellings installed in the ruins of the former prosperous Late Bronze Age towns where local ceramic traditions continue but also new Italian and Aegean innovations show up. The coexistence of surviving indigenous and new population groups is likely. It was probably not until the end of the 12th century, but certainly in the course of the 11th century BCE, that Tweini,³⁶ like other cities of the Northern Levant (e.g. Tel Tayinat)³⁷, developed as new regional centres and, with the reviving exchange (of goods and people) with Cyprus, participated in a flourishing trade that recalled that of the Bronze Age.³⁸ The impact of the first wave of destructions and the looting of the capital Ugarit and its surrounding countryside must have been so devastating that, notwithstanding its crucial geo-economic location, it was not substantially resettled in the coming centuries. The disappearance of the cuneiform culture and every form of state-controlled administration and "official art" most clearly reflects the extent of the cultural changes happening in the northern Levant.

Why Ugarit in particular was so badly affected by the first wave of Sea Peoples destructions can probably be explained by its wealth, attracting attention. The focus of the raiders hence seems clearly to have been on transportable luxury goods of precious metals and arguably less on potential future settlement in the fertile surroundings.³⁹

In contrast to the north, sites on the Lebanese coast such as Arqa, Sidon, Sarepta, and Tyre were either not affected or barely so⁴⁰, and with the rise of the Phoenician port-cities, economic power shifted to the central and southern half of the Levantine littoral.⁴¹

33. For an overview of the cultural and historical development from the 12th-11th c. BCE in the former kingdom of Mukish, see Welton *et al.* 2019.

34. The synchronisms of the events and the changes in the material culture between Ugarit, Tell Tweini and Tell Kazel have first been pointed out by Reinhard Jung (2011). For an opposing view on the destructions in the Levant, see: Millek 2018.

35. Pritchard 1969, p. 262. For a slightly different translation, see: Kitchen 2008, p. 34.

36. The scheme presented by Núñez (2017, p. 270-271, fig. 2) for Tell Tweini is not correct. The cultural changes in Level 6EF are attributed to Level 6GH. The author also confuses the Tweini "levels" and "phases".

37. Janeway 2017.

38. See recent bibliography in Bourogiannis 2018.

39. E.g. the ivory box with the "Mistress of the Animals" from Minet el Beida/Ugarit was left behind by the looters, see: Caquot, Szynger 1980, pl. IV.

40. For an exhaustive recent bibliography, see: Welton, Charaf 2020-2021; Núñez 2018.

41. Bell 2006; 2009; 2018; Lipinski 2006; Lehmann 2008.

THE ROLE OF CYPRUS IN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE KINGDOM OF UGARIT

A majority of scholars blames various tribes of seaborne aggressors/pirates or “interconnected polyethnic warrior elites”⁴² often grouped under the term “Sea Peoples” for the destruction of the settlements in the kingdom of Ugarit and adjacent regions (*e.g.* Amurru, Mukish-Alalakh and Emar), as mentioned above. There is no agreement, however, on the origin and ethnicity of these groups nor on the dynamics of the subsequent cultural changes they caused.⁴³ Two recently published conferences “*Sea-Peoples’ Up-To-Date*” organized by Peter Fischer and Teresa Bürge and “*An Archaeology of Forced Migration: Crisis-induced Mobility and the Collapse of the 13th c. BCE Eastern Mediterranean*” by Jan Driessen offer an exhaustive overview of recent scholarly research and discussion on the topic.⁴⁴

Without wanting to go into further detail about the “Sea People Phenomenon” in the context of this paper,⁴⁵ it should be emphasised that raids on ports and coastal settlements were a constant threat throughout history. The massive urban destructions in the first decades of the 12th century are, however, exceptional. Only well-planned attacks and coordinated strategies between seaborne and landborne forces would allow the massive fortifications of Ugarit and other cities to be overcome.⁴⁶ We remain ignorant, however, about the underlying military structures, the level of organization and the possible alliances of the seafaring warriors.⁴⁷ The textual-pictorial account in Ramesses III’s memorial temple at Medinet Habu only provides a glimpse.⁴⁸

Sicily, Sardinia, Italy, the Aegean or western Anatolia, or possibly even Cyprus have all been considered as potential homelands of one or more of the seafaring groups.⁴⁹ On their way east, Crete and Cyprus must have been important stopovers for supplying the crews and allowing the maintenance and repair of ships.⁵⁰ Moreover, the various potential anchorages that are available on the southern coast of Cyprus offered ideal conditions and logistic support for the commercial exchange of goods and people but also as bridgeheads for military attacks and pirate raids on the coasts of Ugarit and Amurru.⁵¹ With favourable winds, the distance of ca. 150 to 200 km from Cyprus to the Levantine coast could be overcome in one or two days.⁵²

Large-scale urban destructions and cultural changes are attested for the land of Alashiya mentioned in the inscription of Ramses III, either the whole or part of Cyprus, during the transitional period of LC IIC to LC IIIA.⁵³ Many of the 14 coastal or near-coastal Late Bronze settlements were abandoned

42. Maran 2018.

43. Yasur-Landau 2010; Middleton 2015; Knapp 2020.

44. Fischer, Bürge 2017; Driessen 2018.

45. The Sea Peoples phenomenon is generally understood as a complex long term process with various interactions including “migrations, trade, raids and conquests” (Lehmann 2017, p. 244); Yasur-Landau 2010.

46. Singer (1999, p. 723, 725) suspects that the Ugaritic troops were still in the country to oppose the advancing enemy. He contradicts the idea that Ugarit was defenceless against the enemies. The inconsistencies in the correspondence with the vice-king of Carkemish lead him to suspect that Ugarit’s troops were massed on the northern border of the empire.

47. Various aspects of their organisational structures are discussed by *e.g.* Lehmann 1985, p. 40; Jung 2009; 2017; Hitchcock, Maeir 2014; Maran 2018.

48. See above.

49. See recent bibliography *in e.g.* Yasur-Landau 2010; Cline 2014; Jung 2017.

50. Yasur-Landau 2010; Karageorghis 2014a, p. 161; Jung 2017; 2018b; Kanta *et al.* 2020. Dr S. Jusseret (personal communication) reconstructs ship building and ship repair for Pyla-Kokkinokremos based on phytolith analysis.

51. Jung 2018b, p. 294; South-Todd 2002, p. 67 *cit.* Catling 1962, p. 135-136; Keswani 1993; Knapp 1997; Lehmann (2005, p. 286) rather assumes a northern direction of Sea Peoples attacks along the Cilician cliff or the northern Cypriot rocky coast towards Ugarit. NAA analyses identify Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke as export ports for Cypriot pottery in the Late Bronze Age, see: Mountjoy 2017, p. 372.

52. For sea routes and timing see: Wachsmann 1998; Yasur-Landau 2010, p. 112-113. The travel speed of ancient ships is calculated at around three to six knots (1 knot=1 nautic mile/hour; 1.85 km).

53. See Iacovou 1998, p. 333-334; Yasur-Landau 2010; Karageorghis, Kouka 2011; Killebrew, Lehmann 2013; Fischer, Bürge 2017; 2018; cf. Knapp 2013, p. 447-470; Knapp, Meyer 2020.

or destroyed in the decennia around 1200 BCE⁵⁴/1185 BCE⁵⁵ as recently summarized by Peter Fischer and Teresa Bürge.⁵⁶ In contrast with the settlements in the kingdom of Ugarit, which knew no or only minor traces of reoccupation in form of squatter architecture during the 1st half of the 12th century,⁵⁷ extensive re-urbanization⁵⁸ took place on Cyprus, as shown by structural changes (including elite and temple architecture) at *e.g.* Sinda (period II), Enkomi (Level IIIA), Hala-Sultan Tekke (Stratum I), Kition (Floor IIIA) and Kouklia Palaipaphos in LC IIIA1.⁵⁹

In his evaluation of the possible reasons behind the destructive events, Peter Fischer favours “*factors such as attacks from seaborne people, either pirates or rather waves of desperate migrating people. The latter could have come into conflict with local people when anchoring in their well-protected harbours along the southern coast of Cyprus in order to acquire life-saving goods such as food and water for their continued journey towards the east*”.⁶⁰

There is considerable disagreement, however, on the identity of the attackers and either the Sea Peoples/pirates⁶¹, migrants from the central and eastern Mediterranean/Aegean⁶², interregional aggressors, or even a Hittite attack under Šuppiliuma II as mentioned in the text KBo 12.38⁶³ have been proposed.⁶⁴ Another point of discussion is the question of new settlements founded on Cyprus by either Sea Peoples or Aegean migrants⁶⁵. Thus far, the two short-lived coastal sites of Maa-Palaeokastro and Pyla-Kokkinokremos have

-
54. Fischer, Bürge 2018, p. 605, tab. 10.1 (Chronology of the New Kingdom according to Schneider 2010).
 55. Mountjoy 2020, p. 196, tab. 18.1 (Chronology according to Kitchen 1987, p. 52).
 56. Fischer, Bürge 2018, p. 606-607, 616; tab. 10.1-10.2. “*It must be borne in mind that many sites ended in Cyp IIIC Early 1-2, either by destruction or abandonment; only the four main sites of Enkomi, Kition, Sinda and Hala Sultan Tekke survived into Cyp IIIC Middle, and the two last did not survive it*”: Mountjoy 2020, p. 182.
 57. See discussion in Mountjoy 2020, p. 178 referring to Yon 1992, p. 118-119 and Yon *et al.* 2000, p. 15, 18.
 58. Striking features of urban development in LC IIIA are structured city plans (Enkomi), monumental city walls (Enkomi, Kition), the expansion of cult facilities (Kition, Palaepaphos) and the frequent use of ashlar (Kition, Enkomi, Palaepaphos, Alassa).
 59. For a comprehensive overview of the current state of knowledge see: Voskos, Knapp 2008; Jung 2011; Georgiou 2015a/b; Fischer, Bürge 2017; 2018; Knapp, Meyer 2020, p. 240, fig. 23.2. On the cultural transfer between Ugarit and Cyprus with numerous sources see, Buchholz 1999; Yon 1999; Dietrich 2000.
 60. Fischer 2017, p. 200. French (2013, p. 345-347) suspects an increased number of refugees from the region around Tiryns and Mycenae after three earthquake destructions, the latest at the end of LH IIIC Early 1. Due to long trade connections, the destination Cyprus was familiar terrain for the emigrants from the Peloponnese, which offered them a new economic basis or served as a stopover towards the Levant. Mountjoy (2020, p. 179) states that the “*Aegean-style pottery on Cyprus was an amalgamation of Mycenaean shapes and motifs with elements of White Slip, Rude/ Pastoral Style and Minoan motifs*.”
 61. See Jung 2009, p. 78-79.
 62. For discussion see bibliography in: Yasur-Landau 2010; Iacovou 2013a/b; Karageorghis 2014a, p. 160.
 63. Güterbock 1967; Singer 1999, p. 721-722, 728; Bryce 2009; van den Hout 2017.
 64. For a recent survey on Sea-Peoples see: Fischer, Bürge 2017. Knapp and Manning (2016, p. 132, 136) see no archaeological evidence for the presence of Sea Peoples “*Nonetheless, these indisputable disasters clearly indicate a breakdown in social and economic order on the island... no evidence to support the presence of Philistines or other Sea People in the Late Bronze Age archaeological record of Cyprus*.”
 65. Based on LH III C pottery analyses Mountjoy (2020, p. 178-179), referring to French, stated: “*Late in Cyp IIIC Early 1 Aegean-style pottery began to be produced on Cyprus and became dominant in Cyp IIIC Early 2-IIIC Middle. This pottery was prominent at Mycenae and Tiryns in LH IIIC Early 2 after an earthquake destruction at the end of LH IIIC Early 1 (French 2013, p. 345-347). This was the third earthquake to affect the area, after one in mid-LH IIIB and one at the end of LH IIIB. French suggests the third gave more impetus for people to move to Cyprus, to which they have been going since the earlier earthquakes, drawn there by the history of trade connections between Cyprus and the north-east Peloponnese*”. A detailed study by Jung (2011, p. 69-72) of kitchen vessels from Enkomi IIC and IIIA supports the theory of considerable Aegean migration to Cyprus in the transition of LC IIC to LC IIIA. Jung (2017, p. 25): “*Regarding changes in kitchen ware, very similar observations could subsequently be made in Cyprus. Both, in Cyprus and in Philistia the new Mycenaean type cooking pots replaced earlier round-bottomed cooking pot types to a considerable extent during LC IIIA and Iron Age IA, i.e. during the first half of the 12th century. In 13th century Cyprus handmade round-bottomed cooking pots of Cypriot tradition were directly set into the hearth fire, as burning marks*

attracted attention in this regard.⁶⁶ Both sites were newly established on naturally fortified locations at the end of the 13th century (Pyla) and the beginning of the 12th century BCE (Maa)⁶⁷. Their historical and cultural setting is largely based on the material culture found in their abandonment/destruction phase, sometime at the very end of LC IIC2 (Pyla) and the transitional period of LC IIC/IIIA (Maa, Floor II).⁶⁸

The fortified settlement Maa-Palaeokastro (ca. 5 ha) is situated on a small rocky peninsula north of the town of Paphos and flanked by two bays, which could have served as a natural anchorage.⁶⁹ A Cyclopean fortification wall provided with two gates blocks the access from the landward side to the settlement (fig. 3). The architecture consists of two major building complexes grouped along a street. At the end of the first settlement phase (Period I/Floor II), strong Aegean influence can be recognised in the site's material culture such as Mycenaean-type hearths, cooking pots, table ware and cylindrical unbaked loom weights.⁷⁰ However, the excavators also underline the proportion of indigenous Cypriot elements and point out *"that the material culture at Maa is not significantly different from the local Cypriote material evidence... Considering these points we may now elaborate on the proposal made earlier and suggest that at Maa there was either a joint enterprise between Cypriotes and Mycenaeans, or that the settlement of the Mycenaeans was sanctioned by the Cypriotes, who may have had a strong military and mercantile inducements to accept them"*.⁷¹ They further support Maria Iacovou's idea⁷² that the 12th century is a period of *"coexistence of dissimilar population groups"* and *"cultural assimilation"*. In a recent re-evaluation of Maa and Pyla, Artemis Georgiou sees *"no particular differentiation from contemporary Late Cypriot settlements, and in addition, the archaeological excavations at the two settlements did not expose any intrusive epigraphic, linguistic, mortuary, or religious evidence that would help identify foreign »ethnic« elements in the Late Cypriot milieu."*⁷³ Since no burial contexts (such as Cypriote intramural tombs) and meaningful religious activities have thus far been recognised in either settlement, her argument only holds partially. Her view may be compared with that of Louise Hitchcock and Aren Maeir who suggest that Maa *"was formed through limited migration and cultural mixing with local Cypriotes, which is compatible with Knapp's (2008) views of social transformation on Cyprus as a 'hybridization process' whereby multi-layered encounters of trade, piracy and migration took place. We suggest that Maa-Palaeokastro was a pirate settlement based on its geography in the form of a defensible promontory with good views of potential targets."*⁷⁴

Pyla-Kokkinokremos is the second coastal short lived settlement often mentioned together with Maa in comparative analyses of cultural change in Cyprus at the beginning of the 12th century.⁷⁵

attest. During the 12th century flat-bottomed cooking pots of Mycenaean type were used on carefully constructed hearth platforms that were introduced to the island contemporaneously with those cooking jugs and amphorae".

66. Demas 1984; Karageorghis 2001; Iacovou 2007; Yasur-Landau 2010; Jung 2011; Georgiou 2012; Georgiou 2015a/b.

67. Karageorghis, Demas (1988, p. 255-259) suggested that Maa was founded before the destruction of Enkomi IIB.

68. Maa-Palaeokastro was finally abandoned in LC IIIA2.

69. Karageorghis, Demas 1988; Georgiou 2012.

70. Karageorghis, Demas 1988, p. 255-266; Yasur-Landau 2010, p. 190; Karageorghis 2011a, p. 19-20, fig. 1-4; Jung 2011, p. 65-71.

71. Karageorghis 2011a, p. 19.

72. Iacovou 1998, p. 335.

73. Georgiou 2015b, p. 134.

74. Hitchcock, Maeir 2014, p. 629-630.

75. The site was explored by Porphyrios Dikaïos in 1952 (Dikaïos 1971), then by Vassos Karageorghis in 1981 and 1982 (Karageorghis, Demas 1984) and by Vassos Karageorghis and Athanasia Kanta (2010-2011), and Kanta (2012) (Karageorghis, Kanta 2014). Since 2003, its proximate region has also formed the focus of an intensive, systematic surface survey and geomorphological exploration that focussed on the Roman and Late Antiquity occupation (Zomeni 2014; Caraher, Moore, Pettegrew 2014). During this work, some minor explorations also took place on the Pyla-Kokkinokremos plateau itself (Brown 2012; 2013; 2017). The most recent excavations began in 2014 under the direction of Joachim Bretschneider of the University of Ghent, Jan Driessen from the UCLouvain and Athanasia Kanta

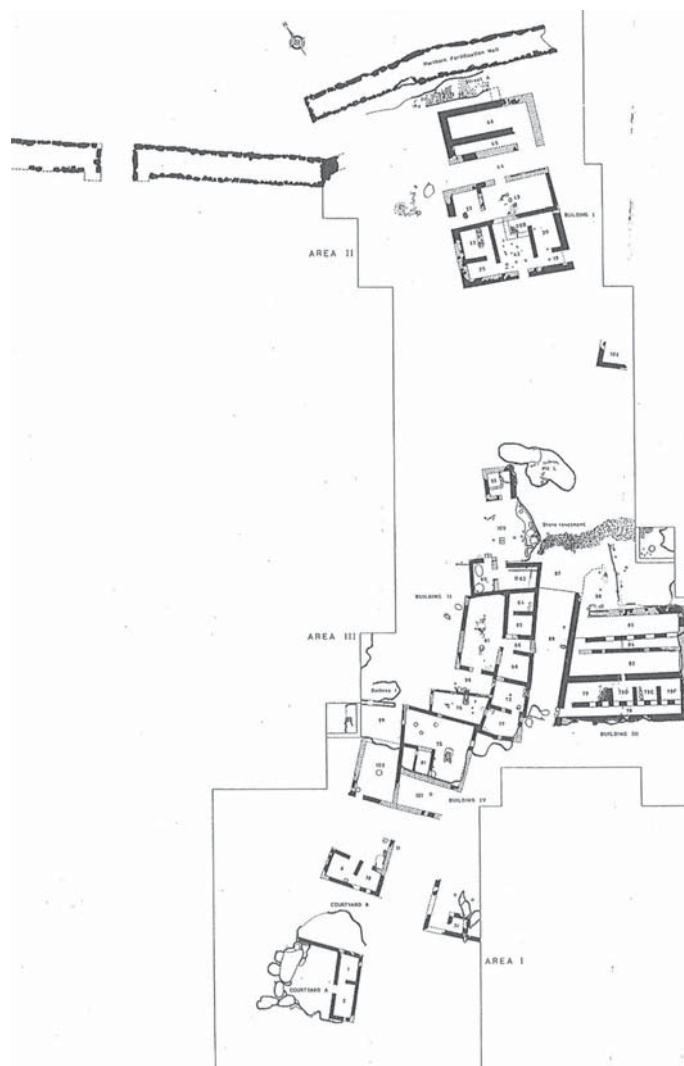


Fig. 3—Maa-Palaeokastro, Plan of Floor II (after Karageorghis, Demas 1988, fig. 2).

Pyla's occupation history took place from LH IIIB Developed into LH IIIC Early 1, a period of around 50 years. This ended in the partial destruction and abandonment of the settlement at the end of LC IIC.⁷⁶ Despite the chronological overlap and their similar coastal situation, both settlements show clear differences.

The site of *Kokkinokremos* at Pyla is nowadays situated about 800 meters inland from the south coast of the island, on an 80-meter-high plateau, about 8 km east of Kition (fig. 4-5). With an extent of 7 to 10 hectares (plateau ca. 7 ha, slopes ca. 3 ha), the site was significantly larger than Maa.⁷⁷ The ongoing excavations at Pyla also suggest that the settlement density and architectural layout of buildings differ from the remains uncovered at Maa (see below). The special topographical location of the

from the AMC and continue on an annual basis (Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2015; 2017; forthcoming; Driessen, Bretschneider, Kanta forthcoming).

76. Karageorghis, Demas 1984, p. 66-73; Jung 2011, p. 70; Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, p. 162; Driessen, Bretschneider, Kanta forthcoming; Kostopoulou, Jung forthcoming.

77. For a critical site size estimates in Late Bronze Age Cyprus see: Iacovou 2007.



Fig. 4—View of the Pyla-Kokkinokremos plateau (Sector 5) from the south-east (Photo by G. De Hooghe 2019).



Fig. 5—View of the Pyla-Kokkinokremos plateau from the south (Photo by G. De Hooghe 2019).

hill settlement with steep slopes and precipitous cliffs offered a natural defence and clearly distinguishes it from the two other main settlements, Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke, located in the flat coastal strip of Larnaca Bay. A now silted-up, well-protected inland harbour at the foot of the site may have been operating during the Late Bronze Age (*fig. 6*).⁷⁸ The ancient harbour shoreline seems to have been located some

78. Brown 2017, p. 276, fig. 2.

140 m inland from the present-day beach.⁷⁹ A functional integration of the port facility into the overall urban planning of the settlement is likely. The top of the plateau offers an extensive view over the entire Larnaca Bay and far into the fertile plain, providing the settlement also with a control function of sea and land movement. Maa, on the other hand, situated on a flat peninsula, cannot be said to have had such a control function over its hinterland. Moreover, its seaward view is more restricted, hence it can only have had limited control over the coastal region.

One of the features that still remains uncertain where Pyla-Kokkinokremos is concerned is water provisioning. The geological formation of the site makes it highly unlikely that wells could be dug within the settlement⁸⁰ and water probably would have had to be drawn from wells at the foot of the hill (a distance from around 400 m), within today's fertile agricultural plain. The quantities of pithoi encountered during the excavation and the high number rock-cut pits that exist in all areas of the settlement may also somehow have been related to water storage but this still needs further investigation.⁸¹ The water management of the site must have been one of the major concerns of the inhabitants and perhaps the reason why, despite its strategic location, the plateau was not occupied before nor after the Late Bronze Age.

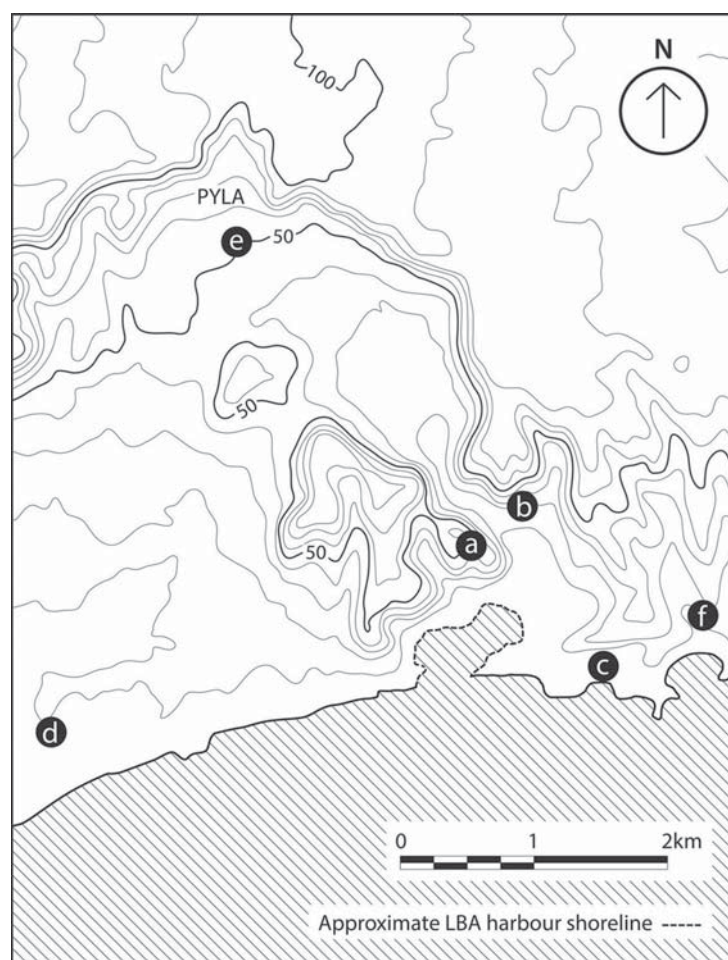


Fig. 6a—Late Bronze Age sites in the Pyla littoral: (a) Pyla-Kokkinokremos; (b) Pyla-Steno; (c) Pyla-Koukoufouthkia; (d) Pyla-Verghi; (e) Pyla-Stavros; (f) Dhekelia-Louma. Approximate harbour shoreline based upon boundary of estuarine deposits (after Zomeni 2014). All elevations in metres above sea level (after Brown 2017, fig. 2).

79. Caraher, Moore, Pettegrew 2014, p. 5, fig. 1.5, p. 43-47; Zomeni 2014.

80. Karageorghis, Demas 1984, p. 26, 95.

81. Kanta (2014, p. 118, 120) interpreted various pits as rock-cut cisterns in which rainwater could be collected. However, a later practical experiment conducted by her made it clear that the water quickly seeps into the porous subsoil and sidewalls of the pits.



Fig. 6b—View from Pyla-Kokkinokremos plateau on the expected harbour area
(Photo by G. De Hooghe 2019).



The fortified character of the settlement is illustrated by the “casemate”-contour wall, which probably surrounded the entire plateau (fig. 7). Thus far no parallels for this kind of defensive architecture exist on Cyprus and its closest parallels are on Crete and in Anatolia. Athanasia Kanta has recognised similarities with the Cretan fortified hilltop settlements of Kastrokephala and Orné forming “part of the Mycenaean koine as it has been formed over the centuries, mixing Mycenaean and local Minoan traditions going back to earlier times”.⁸² The presence of a Naue II sword, an Italian razor as well as a sub-Apenine type of pottery in the destruction horizon of Kastrokephala has been connected to the possible presence of “foreign warriors, or perhaps Mycenaeans who travelled so far”.⁸³ Kanta does not exclude a link between the establishment of a

Fig. 7—Topographical plan of the Pyla-Kokkinokremos settlement, with indications of sectors
(© C-PEPL, N. Kress).

82. Kanta *et al.* 2020, p. 329; Kanta 2014.

83. Kanta, Kontopodi 2011, p. 133.

settlement at Pyla and the migration of the Kastrokephala “*survivors*” and other “*bands*” from Crete via Rhodes to Cyprus.

Alongside the edges of the Pyla plateau, similar architectural complexes consisting of several rooms surrounding a central space (courtyard?) were constructed, closely built together (*fig. 8*). The somewhat thicker outward wall (ca. 0.5 m-0.7 m wide) of these houses forms the “casemate”-like structure. While the term casemate architecture commonly refers to the presence of long rows of small and narrow rooms within disproportionately thick walls that form part of a fortification wall, as for example at Tiryns, the term is also used to describe adjoining, cell-shaped spaces found filled with rubble and hence without specific function apart from support in Anatolian architecture (*e.g.* Tilmen Höyük and Mersin).



Fig. 8—Ground-plan of Sector 2 (after Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, Plan 2).

At Pyla, however, the multi-room building complexes lean against each other, forming a common, slightly reinforced outer wall. Within Sector 5, there are some spaces protruding from the outer wall and these may have been bastions, storage rooms or workshops (*fig. 9*).

The relatively thin foundation walls of the Pyla dwellings (ca. 0.4 m-0.5 m)—often set on cut bedrock ledges⁸⁴—are constructed with field stones and probably carried a superstructure of mudbricks. Mudbricks from collapsed walls were recovered for instance from Sector 1⁸⁵, from the large shaft in Space 5.6 in Sector 5 and from a sounding⁸⁶. There are no indications that the houses had an upper floor, but the roof terraces may have been accessible via ladders. Two different techniques, both commonly used at the site, were used to create floors in the ground floor spaces: either the bedrock was cut and levelled or irregularities in the bedrock were filled in with pebbles and earth (*fig. 10*).

84. Kanta (2014, p. 113-114) recognizes bedrock-cutting and ledges for wall foundations (hyposkafon technique) in Pyla and seeks its architectural origin in Crete.

85. Dikaïos (1971, p. 897) identified light yellow mudbricks in Sector 1.

86. Burnt mud-bricks from a collapsed wall were attested in sounding U11 (Brown 2017, p. 283).



*Fig. 9—View of the Pyla-Kokkinokremos plateau from the south-east (Sector 5)
(Photo by G. De Hooghe 2019).*



Fig. 10—Sector 5 (Photo: J. Bretschneider).

Thus far there are traces of three possible small gates and of several bastions, especially in the northern and eastern part of the fortification wall.⁸⁷ Soundings conducted in the inner part of the plateau have yielded traces of architecture and two streets, confirming that the entire area was densely inhabited. It should be noted, however, that only a small number of hearths or other kitchen installations have thus far been

87. Kanta 2014, p. 105, fig. 2.2; Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2015, p. 10-15.

identified in the entire urban area.⁸⁸ Grinding tools, stone tripods and cooking ware from various locations attest food processing. Lacking are waste pits with faunal and archaeobotanical debris that could inform about the Bronze Age diet of the people of Pyla. Only a handful of animal bones has been preserved from the entire city while human bones are completely absent. This said, Vassos Karageorghis concluded from the archaeological record that the inhabitants of the settlement “*lived a normal live*”.⁸⁹

During the ongoing excavations, the discovery of equipment of a metallurgical workshop as well as metal ore and large amounts of scrap metal supports the idea that metalworking was one of the important economic activities of the settlement (*fig. 11*).⁹⁰ In addition, numerous loom weights made of fired and unfired clay and stone indicate that textile production happened in various spaces.⁹¹ Still, spool-shaped loom weights of lightly fired clay that increasingly appear in the eastern Mediterranean region and the Levant at the end of the 13th century, associated with an Aegean migration, are lacking despite their presence at Kition and Maa after 1200 BCE.⁹²



Fig. 11–Metal workshop–Sector 5 (Photo: J. Bretschneider).

The regularity of the architecture at Pyla-Kokkinokremos and the repetition of specific architectural features such as rock-cut shafts and channels underline the highly-planned nature of the settlement but at the same time stress its defensive and military character. Monumental buildings (constructed in ashlar masonry) such as sanctuaries, palaces or communal storage rooms have not yet been recognised. This can probably be explained by the fact that so far only limited areas of the plateau have been investigated and erosion and agricultural exploitation has considerably affected the top. Still, about 85% of the settlement’s intramural area remains unexplored.

The large number of rectangular shafts and round pits cut into the bedrock form a special feature in the architecture of Pyla-Kokkinokremos. They vary in size and depth (length and width approx. 0.50 m-2.5 m; depth 0.50 m-3.0 m) and are frequently situated in the smaller rooms close to the outer wall. Almost every

88. For a cooking area with a hearth in room 12, see Kanta 2014, p. 118, Plan 4. Another hearth is attested in Sector 5.

89. Karageorghis 2014a, p. 159.

90. Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2017, p. 116. For a possible metal workshop in Sector 3, see: Jusseret, Claeys, *in* Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2017, p. 50, fig. 12; Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen forthcoming.

91. Jusseret, Claeys, *in* Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2017, p. 45-46, fig. 8; Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen forthcoming.

92. Yasur-Landau 2010, p. 146-147.



Fig. 12—Bedrock-cut shaft in Sector 5 (Photo: J. Bretschneider).

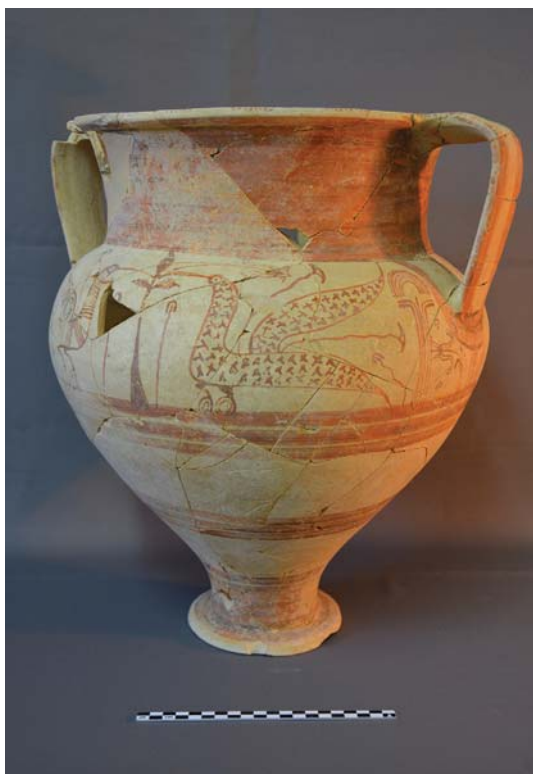


Fig. 13—Krater in Pictorial Style (PK15 422)—Sector 5 (Photo: J. Bretschneider).

building unit has such a shaft. Nine shafts, including the three largest ones, are located in the building(s) in the south-eastern part of the settlement (Sector 5).⁹³ One of these is thus far the largest identified. It was dug into a small room (5.6) of which it occupied most part, having a size of 2.5 m by 3 m and a depth of 3 (fig. 12). Valuable items—sometimes in fragmentary condition—such as alabaster vases, metal objects and luxury ceramics are often found either within the shafts or in the adjacent rooms (fig. 13).

At the moment, the precise function(s) of the shafts are not clear or whether the differences in scale and shape are relevant. There are some arguments in favour or against their use as cisterns or storage pits and it cannot be excluded that some served as tombs despite the absence of human bones. The valuables mentioned as having been found either in or close to the shafts could conceivably have been looted from such potential tombs but, deemed worthless, left behind by the grave robbers.⁹⁴

Another category of finds characteristic for Pyla-Kokkinokremos is formed by the numerous hoards that have been discovered both during the

93. Hermon *et al.* forthcoming.

94. The shafts clearly relate to the surrounding architecture and must therefore be contemporaneous. At the beginning of LC III new burial customs with the appearance of shaft and pit graves are attested *e.g.* in Enkomi, see: Niklasson-Sönnerby 1987, p. 221; Keswani 2004, p. 222, table 5.5.

earlier and ongoing excavation of the settlement. These have been treated in detail elsewhere. They include valuables but also scrap metal and in all cases they seem to have formed caches hidden under the floors, concealed but never recovered by the last inhabitants.⁹⁵

We can ask who the inhabitants were of this seemingly thriving settlement who left in such great hurry, leaving behind valuable household goods.

In his interpretation of LC IIC-LC IIIA Cypriot kitchen ware, Reinhard Jung⁹⁶ refers to the conservative character of the every-day material culture of Pyla, in which round-bottomed handmade cooking pots, “*which can be better compared with that of Enkomi IIB than with the wheelmade Mycenaen cooking pots of Enkomi IIIA’ dominate*”.⁹⁷ Jung, as several of his colleagues,⁹⁸ regards Pyla as “*an outpost of Kition, securing transport from the coastal port to inland settlements*”. Artemis Georgiou reached a similar conclusion, underlining the cultural similarity of Pyla and Maa with contemporaneous Late Cypriot settlements. She emphasizes the lack of “*evidence that would help identify foreign ‘ethnic’ elements in the Late Cypriot milieu*.”⁹⁹

The discovery of two large fired clay tablets in Cypro-Minoan script during the 2012 campaign would, at first glance, confirm the idea that part of the inhabitants of the site consisted of indigenous people. Athanasia Kanta has suggested that the presence of signs on the spine of the tablets could indicate that the tablets had been placed on a shelf, which in turn would imply that they originally formed part of an organized archive.¹⁰⁰ On the basis of these two texts, it seems perhaps premature to assume full record-keeping facilities in the settlement, the more since Vassos Karageorghis has played with the idea that the tablets had originally been kept in a sanctuary or “palace” elsewhere and were brought to the newly founded city by refugees from surrounding settlements along with other valuable luxury objects.¹⁰¹ Future analysis of the clay of the tablets may help to solve this problem but as long as their contents cannot be deciphered, it is difficult to be on firm grounds with regard to the potential administrative status of the settlement. Moreover, since there is thus far no evidence for kilns at the site, the tablets may indeed have been produced and fired elsewhere. Incidentally, Cypro-Minoan tablets that have a similar large size are so far only known at Enkomi and Ugarit.¹⁰²

Besides this exceptional epigraphical material, Pyla-Kokkinokremos has yielded an unusual large quantity of high-quality imports from various regions in the eastern Mediterranean, Crete, western Anatolia, the Levant and Egypt but also Sardinia. For the pottery, see: Kostopoulou, Jung forthcoming. Apart from pottery, the most exceptional objects are the calcite-alabaster vessels, imported from Egypt that have been found in various buildings.¹⁰³ An alabaster flask has a decoration of painted lotuses and palmettes (*fig. 14*).¹⁰⁴ The latter vase was hidden and contained a series of valuable objects including a spatula with human head and a fine Cypriot seal stone decorated with double frieze, showing human figures, a chariot and an archer.¹⁰⁵ From the fill of the large double shaft close to the

95. A detailed description of the hoard finds from Pyla can be found in Driessen, Bretschneider, Kanta forthcoming.

96. Jung 2011, p. 64-65, 70-71.

97. In the light of the 2010-2011 campaign at Pyla the interpretation was slightly modified, see: Karageorghis 2014a, p. 160.

98. Keswani 2004, p. 155; Steel 2004, p. 188; Knapp 2008, p. 137, 142, 238-239.

99. Georgiou 2015b, p. 134.

100. Preliminary report of the find context in Kanta 2014, p. 110, fig. 2.14.

101. Karageorghis 2014a, p. 159.

102. For general remarks on the Enkomi tablets see: Dikaïos 1971, p. 881-891, pl. 314-321; Ferrara 2012/2013.

103. Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2017, p. 80, fig. 53, p. 91.

104. A close parallel is known from tomb VI at Ugarit (Fouilles C. Schaeffer and G. Chenet 1932) and exhibited in the Louvre (AO 15746 = RS 4.213), <https://art.rmngp.fr/en/library/artworks/gourde-lenticulaire-a-deux-anses> (visited 23.02.2021); Yon *et al.* 1991, p. 224, pl. III:1, X:1.

105. Jusseret, Claeys 2017, in Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2017, p. 50, fig. 14.



Fig. 14–Egyptian alabaster flask (PK16 431) and associated objects – Sector 3 (Photos: J. Bretschneider).

eastern casemate wall comes a decorated Egyptian “Drop Jar” found in fragments. Both vases have clear parallels in Ugarit and other Levantine sites of the Late Bronze Age.¹⁰⁶

Among the iconographically outstanding pieces imported from the Levant are a miniature Astarte pendant in silver and a casted bronze plaque showing a nude female figurine with Hathoric hairstyle, holding a lotus flower in each hand (*fig. 15*).¹⁰⁷ The piece has been discussed in detail and compared to pieces from Akko and Minet-el-Beida/Ugarit by Jacqueline Karageorghis (2014) and attributed to the Qadesh goddess type.¹⁰⁸ The deities Baal, Anat, Astarte, Qadesh and other figures are depicted on a black seal stone from Sector 4. The iconography of the cylinder seal, carved in an Egyptianizing style, shows important divinities of the Northwest Semitic pantheon, also known from the Levant and Egypt’s New Kingdom (*fig. 16*). From the floor of a room in Sector 5 comes an example of local Cypriot production in the form of a fragmentary hollow female figurine. It belongs to the Base Ring II Ware family, mostly known from Late Bronze Age tomb contexts. It is hand-made and of the “flat-headed” type (Type B).¹⁰⁹ It should be emphasised that there is so far only very limited evidence of cult inventories in the various buildings.¹¹⁰ Sacred architecture as temples could not be identified at Pyla-Kokkinokremos so far.

The fourteen wall brackets with an incised vertical wavy line decoration are sometimes assumed to form part of ritualised contexts but¹¹¹ both Vassos Karageorghis and Artemis Georgiou¹¹² interpret them as lamp holders, commonly used in residences.¹¹³ Two of the fourteen examples at Pyla show traces of repair as do several other ceramic vessels from Pyla. The pieces of the wall brackets were probably held together by cords or metal clamps applied through drilled holes that run parallel to the broken edges of the wall plate. Lead clamps were also used to repair the famous Mycenaean chariot krater found during an earlier excavation at the site.¹¹⁴ Moreover, a Nuragic transport amphora imported from Sardinia was mended on

106. A “Drop Jar” (RS 17.420, 17.421) with a very similar decoration and a cartouche of Horemheb was found in the Maison de Rashapabu in Ugarit, see: Lagarce, du Puytison-Lagarce 2008, fig. 6; Lagarce-Othman 2013; Ahrens 2020, p. 448, H. 27.

107. For the Astarte pendant see: Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2015, p. 18.

108. J. Karageorghis 2014.

109. Alexandrou 2016; Jans, Van Vyve, Bretschneider, in Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2017, p. 91, fig. 63.

110. A small shrine was identified in Room 22 (Sector 4) in 2019.

111. See recent research on wall brackets with bibliography, Panitz-Cohen 2006.

112. Eight wall brackets have been registered until 2011, see Karageorghis, Georgiou (2014, p. 146, pl. XVII), 6 more are known from the ongoing excavations. One example with traces of ancient reparation has been presented in the 2014 publication (Karageorghis, Georgiou 2014, pl. XVII, cat. 80).

113. Very similar wall brackets are known from Ugarit, see survey on wall brackets, Carbillet 2016.

114. Karageorghis, Demas 1984, p. 50.



Fig. 15a-b—Bronze plaque decorated with a female figure of the Qadesh type (after Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, Plate VIIa, b).



Fig. 16—Cylinder seal (height 3,9 cm) in Egyptianizing style, showing Baal and other divinities of the Northwest Semitic pantheon—Sector 4 (Photo: J. Bretschneider).

both the inside and outside with strips of lead.¹¹⁵ Lead isotope and clay analysis clearly point to a Sardinian origin of this amphora. The same double-sided repair technique was also used for a Minoan decorated amphoroid krater recently found in Sector 5¹¹⁶ as well as a Cypriot limestone bath tub in Sector 4.

Athanasia Kanta aptly notes that in certain cases it was apparently cheaper to mend broken vessels than to make new ones.¹¹⁷ Since detached lead clamps were also found during the ongoing excavations,¹¹⁸ it can be assumed that vessels were repaired on site. The different reparation techniques—clamps for the Mycenaean vessel and strips for the Sardinian and Minoan vases as well as the Cypriot bath tub—may again be used as an argument to assume a mixed population in the settlement.¹¹⁹

In recent years, more Sardinian pottery has been found on the site and this includes both transport vessels as well as table ware.¹²⁰ After Hala Sultan Tekke,¹²¹ Pyla-Kokkinokremos is now the second site in the Larnaca Bay to show such presence of Sardinian pottery.¹²² Again, this may be an indication of settlers with a foreign background, either traders or warriors from the Western Mediterranean.

115. Karageorghis 2011b, p. 89-90, 94, fig. 2; Gale 2011.

116. Jans, Van Vyve, Bretschneider, in Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2017, p. 96, fig. 68.

117. Kanta 2017, p. 83.

118. Jusseret, Claeys, in Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2017, p. 45.

119. For the use of lead and lead clamps at Ugarit see, Dardaillon 2012, p. 226.

120. Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen forthcoming; Jung, Kardamaki forthcoming.

121. For a comprehensive overview of the current state of knowledge concerning Nuragic table ware on Cyprus, see: Gradoli *et al.* 2020.

122. Sardinian transport vessels, like those from Pyla, are missing so far in the ceramic repertoire of Hala Sultan Tekke. See: Kostopoulou, Jung forthcoming.

The ethnic mix in the material culture seems to be present in all areas of the settlement.¹²³ Apart from the large number of Canaanite jars—the majority possibly imported from the Syro-Palestinian coast¹²⁴—, a considerable number of Levantine and Egyptian ceramic and small finds are attested (see above). The same observation applies to an above average number of Cretan and Late Helladic IIIb imported vases, that have already been considered in detail.¹²⁵ Vassos Karageorghis has noted that Late Helladic and Late Minoan IIIb amphorae and large kraters in pictorial style or decorated with abstract motifs, are also known at other Late Cypriot sites but only from funerary contexts (fig. 17).¹²⁶ This difference and the fact that Late Helladic IIIb vessels were still being used at the same time as LH IIIC Early pottery could, in his opinion, mean that “the ‘refugees’ (from the villages below the Pyla-plateau) took with them all their valuables, hence the luxury objects discovered so far... A sizeable portion of the population must have been foreigners, namely from Crete and the rest of the Aegean, who brought with them their belongings in large kraters. It is quite possible that these foreigners reached the Pyla area at the time the local population started moving from the lowlands to the plateau or even shortly after, and that they played a role in the creation of the settlement... It is these immigrants who gradually dominated the cultural and political scene on the island and we believe that the establishments of these two new settlements (Maa and Pyla) may be connected with this question. Whether this phenomenon is archaeologically ‘invisible’ or not is questionable...”¹²⁷

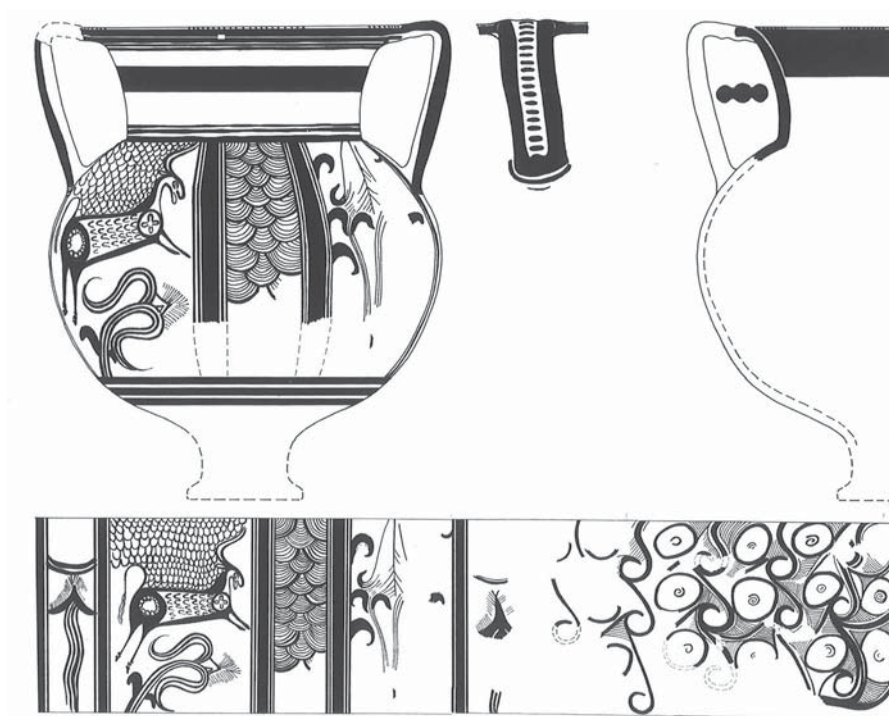


Fig. 17—Late Minoan IIIb amphoroid krater—Sector 2 (after Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, Plate III).

123. Since its initial exploration, the number and variety of non-local products at Pyla-Kokkinokremos have been commented upon (Karageorghis, Kanta 2014; Georgiou 2012; Karageorghis, Georgiou 2012).

124. Georgiou 2014, p. 186.

125. Karageorghis, Georgiou 2012; Karageorghis 2014b.

126. Karageorghis 2014a, p. 159. However, he explicitly points out that vessel fragments can turn up in secondary find contexts (e.g. Enkomi, Kition) through tomb looting.

127. Referring to the idea of Sherratt (1992, p. 323) and Iacovou (2005, p. 128) that these immigrants are archaeologically invisible.

The presence of Sardinian pottery and many other imported pieces from the various areas of the Mediterranean and Levant as illustrated by the ongoing excavations stresses this exchange of people and goods in the settlement of Pyla-Kokkinokremos. For the time being, the relations between the indigenous population and potential new ethnic groups remains a hypothesis. Further issues that demand attention concern internal social stratification and possible hierarchy in the settlement. Some kind of central authority must have been responsible for the planning and execution of the building activities on the plateau. We also want to clarify the relationship of the settlement with the regional powers at Kition and Enkomi or even with the ruler of Alashiya, known so far only from Amarna and Ugarit correspondence.¹²⁸ We remain ignorant as to whether there was a shift in the population during the relatively brief period of occupation of the site: Were the “founding fathers” also its last inhabitants?

Artemis Georgiou has rightly emphasised that the foundation of a settlement such as Pyla-Kokkinokremos can only have been possible with the support or consent of one of its powerful neighbours and both Pyla and Maa could have housed inhabitants, colonists as it were, from the larger cities of Kition and Palaepaphos.¹²⁹ But whether these were “mercantile élites”, fractions who had broken away, respectively from Kition and Palaepaphos, as Susan Sherratt assumed, remains questionable.¹³⁰ As long as our knowledge on the historical events of the crisis years in Cyprus remains fragmentary, regarding the two fortified settlements as border towns of the territories of Kition and Palaepaphos is entirely hypothetical and all interpretations thus far offered do not provide an adequate explanation for the unusual prosperity and ethnic diversity of the material culture at Pyla and its sudden demise. Each new excavation campaign can decisively change our picture and provide important insights that help to reconstruct the history of the crisis years during the Late Bronze Age at Cyprus with ramifications for Ugarit and the Levant.

128. The two Cypro-Minoan tablets and two large flat stamp seals from Pyla (Sector 4) have parallels in Enkomi. Therefore, they could be considered as potential indications of a political and/or administrative connection between the two settlements.

129. Georgiou 2012, p. 124.

130. Sherratt 1998, p. 300-301.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AHRENS A. 2020, *Aegyptiaca in der nördlichen Levante: Eine Studie zur Kontextualisierung und Rezeption ägyptischer und ägyptisierender Objekte in der Bronzezeit*, Peeters Publishers, Leuven.
- ALEXANDROU C. 2016, *Following the Life-Cycle of Base-Ring Female Figurines in Late Bronze Age Cyprus*, PhD dissertation, Trinity College, Dublin.
- AL-MAQDISSI M., CALVET Y., MATOIAN V., AL-BAHLOUL K., BENECH C., BESSAC J.-C., COQUEUGNIOT É., GEYER B., GOIRAN J.-P., MARRINER N., ONNIS F., SAUVAGE C. 2010, « Rapport préliminaire sur les activités de la mission syro-française de Ras Shamra–Ougarit en 2007 et 2008 (67^e et 68^e campagnes) », *Syria* 87, p. 21-51.
- ARNAUD D. 1984, « La Lettre Hani 81/4 et l'identification du site de Ras Ibn Hani (Syrie) », *Syria* 61, p. 15-23.
- ASTON A. 2013, « Radiocarbon, wine jars and New Kingdom chronology », *Ägypten und Levante* 22/2012, p. 289-315.
- BELL C. 2006, *The Evolution of Long Distance Trading Relationships across the LBA/Iron Age Transition on the Northern Levantine Coast: Crisis, Continuity and Change. A Study Based on Imported Ceramics, Bronze and Its Constituent Metals*, BAR International Series 1574, Oxford.
- BELL C. 2009, « Continuity and change: The divergent destinies of LBA ports in Syria and Lebanon across the LBA/Iron Age Transition », in C. Bachhuber and G. Roberts (eds.), *Forces of Transformation: The End of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean*, Oxford, p. 180-187.
- BELL C. 2018, « Phoenician Trade: The First Three Hundred Years », in J. Carlos and M. García (eds.), *Dynamics of Production in the Ancient Near East*, Oxford, p. 91-105.
- BEN-DOR EVIAN S. 2017, « Ramesses III and the "Sea-peoples": Towards a New Philistine Paradigm », *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 36, Issue 3, p. 267-285.
- BEN-DOR EVIAN S. 2018, « Egyptian historiography on the mobility of (Sea) People at the end of the Late Bronze Age », in J. Driessen (ed.), *The Archaeology of Forced Migration. Crisis-induced mobility and the Collapse of the 13th c. BCE Eastern Mediterranean*, Aegis 15, Louvain, p. 219-228.
- BORDREUIL P., PARDEE D., ROCHE-HAWLEY C. 2019, *Ras Ibn Hani II. Les textes en écritures cunéiformes de l'âge du Bronze récent (fouilles 1977 à 2002)*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 214, Beyrouth.
- BOUNNI A., LAGARCE É., LAGARCE J. 1998, *Ras Ibn Hani I, Le palais nord du Bronze récent: Fouilles 1979-1995, Synthèse préliminaire*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 151, Beyrouth.
- BOUROGIANNIS G. 2018, « The Phoenician Presence in the Aegean during the Early Iron Age: Trade, Settlement and cultural Interaction », *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 46, p. 43-88.
- BREASTED J.H. (ed.) 1930, *Medinet Habu I. Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III*, Chicago.
- BRETSCHNEIDER J., JANS G. (eds.) 2019, *About Tell Tweini (Syria): Artefacts, Ecofacts and Landscape. Research Results of the Belgian Mission*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 281, Peeters Publishers, Leuven.
- BRETSCHNEIDER J., JANS G., VAN VYVE A.-S., HAMEEUW H., VANSTEENHUYSE K. 2019, « Tell Tweini: A long story short », in J. Bretschneider and G. Jans (eds.), *About Tell Tweini (Syria): Artefacts, Ecofacts and Landscape. Research Results of the Belgian Mission*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 281, Peeters Publishers, Leuven, p. 1-30.
- BRETSCHNEIDER J., KANTA A., DRIESSEN J. 2015, « Pyla-Kokkinokremos. Preliminary Report on the 2014 Excavations », *Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syriens-Palästinas* 46, p. 1-37.
- BRETSCHNEIDER J., KANTA A., DRIESSEN J. 2017, « Pyla-Kokkinokremos. Preliminary Report on the 2015-2016 Excavations », *Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syriens-Palästinas* 48, p. 35-120.
- BRETSCHNEIDER J., KANTA A., DRIESSEN J. (eds.) forthcoming, *Excavations at Pyla-Kokkinokremos. Preliminary Report on the 2014-2019 Excavations*, Aegis 23, Louvain-la-Neuve.

- BRETSCHNEIDER J., VAN LERBERGHE K. 2010, « Tell Tweini à travers les millénaires : L'histoire et l'archéologie », in M. al-Maqdissi, K. van Lerberghe, J. Bretschneider et M. Badawi (éds), *Tell Tweini. Onze campagnes de fouilles syro-belges (1999-2010)*, Damascus 2010, p. 15-76. <http://kuleuven.academia.edu/JoachimBretschneider/Books/654592/TELL_TWEINI_ONZE_CAMPAGNES_DE_FOUILLES_SYRO-BELGES_1999-2010> (last accessed 20.01.2021).
- BROWN M. 2012, *Landscapes of settlement in South-East Cyprus. The late Bronze Age origins of a Phoenician polity incorporating the results of fieldwork by the author at Pyla-Kokkinokremos 2007-2009*, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh. Accessible at https://era.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/1842/9436/Brown2012_full.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y
- BROWN M. 2013, « Waterways and the Political Geography of South-East Cyprus in the Second Millennium BC », *Annual of the British School at Athens* 108, p. 121-136.
- BROWN M. 2017, « Landscape and Settlement in Late Bronze Age Cyprus: Investigations at Pyla-Kokkinokremos 2007-2009 », *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 149:4, p. 274-294.
- BRYCE T. 2009, *The Peoples and Places of ancient Western Asia*, Routledge, London.
- BUCHHOLZ H.G. 1999, *Ugarit, Zypern Und Agais: Kulturbeziehungen im Zweiten Jahrtausend V. Chr., Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 261, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster.
- CALLOT O. 1994, *La tranchée « Ville Sud », Études d'architecture domestique*, Ras Shamra–Ugarit X, ERC ADPF, Paris.
- CAQUOT A., SZNYCER M. 1980, *Ugaritic religion, Iconography of religions* XV, 8, Brill, Leiden.
- CARAHER W., MOORE R.S., PETTEGREW D.K. 2014, *Pyla-Koutsopetrial: Archaeological Survey of an Ancient Coastal Town*, American Schools of Oriental Research Archaeological Reports 21, Boston.
- CARBILLET A. 2016, « De “l'idole-louche” à “l'applique murale”: retour sur une catégorie d'objet énigmatique découverte à Ougarit », in V. Matoïan et M. Al-Maqdissi (éds), *Études ougaritiques IV*, Ras Shamra–Ugarit XXIV, Éditions Peeters, Leuven, p. 189-265.
- CATLING H. 1962, « Patterns of settlement in Bronze Age Cyprus », *Opuscula Atheniensia* 4, p. 129-169.
- CECCHINI S.M. 2000, « The Textile Industry in Northern Syria during the Iron Age According to the evidence of the Tell Afis Excavations », in G. Bunnens (ed.), *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 7, Leuven, p. 211-233.
- CLINE E.H. 2014, *1177 BC: The Year Civilization Collapsed*, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ.
- COURBIN P. 1990, « Bassit-Posidaion in the Early Iron Age », in J.-P. Descœudres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, Oxford, p. 504-509.
- COURTOIS J.-C. 1973, « Sur divers groupes de vases mycéniens en Méditerranée orientale », in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean. Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium, 27th March-2nd April 1972, Nicosia, Nicosia*, p. 137-165.
- DARDAILLON E. 2012, « L'utilisation du plomb à Ougarit », in V. Matoïan, M. Al-Maqdissi et Y. Calvet (eds.), *Études ougaritiques II*, Ras Shamra–Ugarit XX, Louvain, p. 221-239.
- DEMAS M. 1984, *Pyla-Kokkinokremos and Maa-Palaeokastro: Two Fortified Settlements of the End of the 13th century BC in Cyprus*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Cincinnati.
- DIETRICH M., « Zypern und die Ägäis nach den Texten aus Ugarit », in S. Rogge (Hrsg.), *Zypern–Insel im Brennpunkt der Kulturen*, Schriften des Instituts für Interdisziplinäre Zypern Studien 1, Münster 2000, p. 70-89.
- DIETRICH M., LORETZ O. 2002, « Der Untergang von Ugarit am 21. Januar 1192 v. Chr? Der astronomisch-hepatoskopische Bericht KTU 1.78 (RS 12.061) », *Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syriens-Palästinas* 34, p. 53-74.
- DIKAIOS P. 1971, *Enkomi. Excavations 1948-1958. II. Chronology, Summary and Conclusions, Catalogue, Appendices*, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz.
- DRIESSEN J. (ed.) 2018, *An Archaeology of Forced Migration. Crisis-induced Mobility and the Collapse of the 13th c. BCE Eastern Mediterranean*, Aegis 15, Louvain-la-Neuve.
- DRIESSEN J., BRETSCHNEIDER J., KANTA A. forthcoming, « Prelude to Crisis? A Closer look at Pyla-Kokkinokremos », in P.M. Fischer and

- T. Bürge (eds.), *The Decline of Bronze Age Civilisations in the Mediterranean: Cyprus and Beyond*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Åström Editions, Uppsala.
- DRIESSEN J., GAIGNEROT-DRIESSEN F. forthcoming, « Toppling the Domino: The Destruction of the Palace at Knossos and the Aegean Bronze Age Collapse », in P.M. Fischer and T. Bürge (eds.), *The Decline of Bronze Age Civilisations in the Mediterranean: Cyprus and Beyond*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Åström Editions, Uppsala.
- DU PIÉD L. 2011, « Early Iron Age Society in the Northern Levant: Architecture, Pottery and Finds », in V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka (eds.), *On Cooking Pots, Drinking Cups, Loomweights and Ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and Neighbouring Regions*, A.G. Leventis Foundation, Nicosia, p. 219-236.
- EMANUEL J.P. 2016, « Maritime Worlds Collide. Agents of Transference and the Metastasis of Seaborne Threats at the End of the Bronze Age », *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 148:4, p. 265-280.
- FERRARA S. 2012/2013, *Cypro-Minoan Inscriptions*. Vol. 1: *Analysis* (2012); Vol. 2: *The Corpus* (2013), Oxford University Press.
- FISCHER P.M. 2017, « The 13th/12th Century BCE Destructions and the Abandonment of Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus », in P.M. Fischer and T. Bürge (eds.), «Sea Peoples» *Up-to-Date: New Research on Transformations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 13th-11th Centuries BCE. Proceedings of the ESF-Workshop held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 3-4 November 2014*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 81, Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 35, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien.
- FISCHER P.M., BÜRGE T. (eds.) 2017, «Sea Peoples» *Up-to-Date: New Research on Transformations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 13th-11th Centuries BCE. Proceedings of the ESF-Workshop held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 3-4 November 2014*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 81, Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 35, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien.
- FISCHER P.M., BÜRGE T. 2018, *Two Late Cypriot City Quarters at Hala Sultan Tekke. The Söderberg Expedition 2010-2017*, Uppsala.
- FRENCH E.B. 2013, « The Origin and Date of Aegean-Type pottery in the Levant », in A.E. Killebrew and G. Lehmann (eds.), *The Philistines and Other "Sea Peoples" in Text and Archaeology*, Archaeology and Biblical Studies 15, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, p. 345-348.
- GALE 2011, « Source of the Lead Metal used to make a Repair Clamp on a Nuragic Vase recently excavated at Pyla-Kokkinokremos », in V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka (eds.), *On cooking pots, drinking cups, loomweights and ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and neighboring regions: An International Archaeological Symposium held in Nicosia, November 6th-7th 2010*, Nicosia, p. 107-109.
- GATES M.-H. 2013, « Early Iron Age Newcomers at Kinet Höyük, Eastern Cilicia », in A.E. Killebrew and G. Lehmann (eds.), *The Philistines and Other "Sea Peoples" in Text and Archaeology*, Archaeology and Biblical Studies 15, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, p. 485-508.
- GEORGIU A. 2012, « Pyla-Kokkinokremos and Maa-Palaeokastro: A Comparison of two naturally fortified Late Cypriot Settlements » in A. Georgiou (ed.), *Cyprus, an Island Culture. Society and Social Relations from the Bronze Age to the Venetian Period*, Oxford, p. 65-83.
- GEORGIU A. 2014, « Appendix III: The "Canaanite jar" », in V. Karageorghis and A. Kanta, *Pyla-Kokkinokremos. A Late 13th century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus. Excavations 2010-2011*, SIMA CXLI, Uppsala, p. 175-188.
- GEORGIU A. 2015a, « Pyla-Kokkinokremos and Maa-Palaeokastro: A comparison of two naturally fortified Late Cypriot settlements », in A. Georgiou (ed.), *Cyprus, an island culture. Society and social relations from the Bronze Age to the Venetian period*, Oxford 2012, p. 65-83.
- GEORGIU A. 2015b, « Cyprus during the »Crisis Years« Revisited », in A. Babbi, F. Bubenheimer-Erhart, B. Marin-Aguilera and S. Mühl (eds.), *The Mediterranean Mirror: Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean Sea between 1200 and 750 BC*, Darmstadt, p. 129-145.
- GRADOLI M. et al. 2020, « Cyprus and Sardinia in the Late Bronze Age: Nuragic table ware at Hala Sultan Tekke », *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 33, October 2020, 102479 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2020.102479>.
- GÜTERBOCK H.G. 1967, « The Hittite conquest of Cyprus reconsidered », *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26, p. 73-81.

- HEINZ S.C. 2001, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches. Eine Bildanalyse*, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 17, Vienna.
- HITCHCOCK L.A., MAEIR A.M. 2014, « Yo-Ho, Yo-Ho, A Seren's Life for me! », *World Archaeology* 46, p. 624-40.
- HERMON S., FAKA M., GASANOVA S., POLIG M., VASSALLO V., DRIESSEN J., KANTA A., BRETSCHNEIDER J. forthcoming, « Work in Progress: The contribution of Science and Technology in the investigations at the Late Bronze Age site of Pyla-Kokkinokremos (Cyprus) », in P.M. Fischer and T. Bürge (eds.), *The Decline of Bronze Age Civilisations in the Mediterranean: Cyprus and Beyond*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Åström Editions, Uppsala.
- HOFTIJZER J., VAN SOLDT W.H. 1998, « Texts from Ugarit Pertaining to Seafaring », in S. Wachsmann (ed.), *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*, A&M University Press, College Station, Texas p. 333-344.
- IACOVOU M. 1998, « Philistia and Cyprus in the eleventh Century: From a similar Prehistory to a diverse Protohistory », in S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E. Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean People in Transition, thirteenth to early tenth Centuries B.C.E.*, Jerusalem, p. 332-344.
- IACOVOU M. 2005, « Cyprus at the dawn of the first millennium BC: Cultural homogenization versus the tyranny of ethnic identifications », in J. Clarke (ed.), *Archaeological perspectives on the transmission and transformation of culture in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Oxbow, Oxford, p. 125-135.
- IACOVOU M. 2007, « Site Size Estimates and the Diversity Factor in Late Cypriot Settlement Histories », *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 348, p. 1-23.
- IACOVOU M. 2013a, « Aegean-Style Material Culture in Late Cypriot III: Minimal Evidence, Maximal Interpretation », in E. Killebrew and G. Lehmann (eds.), *The Philistines and other "Sea Peoples" in Text and Archaeology*, Atlanta, p. 585-618.
- IACOVOU M. 2013b, « Cyprus During the Iron Age I Period (Late Cypriot IIC-IIIa): Settlement Pattern Crisis (LC IIC-IIIa) to the Restructuring (LC IIIB) of its Settlement Pattern », in A.E. Killebrew and M. Steiner (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant: c. 8000-332 BCE*, Oxford, p. 660-674.
- JANEWAY B. 2017, « Sea Peoples of the Northern Levant? Aegean Style Pottery from Early Iron Age Tell Tayinat », *Studies in the History and Archaeology of the Levant* 7, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake.
- JANS G., VAN VYVE A.-S., BRETSCHNEIDER J. 2017, « Sector 5–The South-East Lobe of the Hill », in J. Bretschneider, A. Kanta and J. Driessen, « Pyla-Kokkinokremos. Preliminary Report on the 2015-2016 Excavations, » *Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syriens-Palästinas* 48, p. 84-100.
- JUNG R. 2009, « Pirates of the Aegean: Italy-East Aegean-Cyprus at the End of the Second Millennium BCE », in V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka (eds.), *Cyprus and the East Aegean: Intercultural Contacts from 3000 to 500 BC: An International Archaeological Symposium held at Pythagoreion, Samos, October 17th-18th 2008*, The A.G. Leventis Foundation, Nicosia, p. 72-93.
- JUNG R. 2011, « Innovative cooks and new dishes: Cypriot pottery in the 13th and 12th centuries BC and its historical interpretation », in V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka (eds.), *On cooking pots, drinking cups, loomweights and ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and neighboring regions: An International Archaeological Symposium held in Nicosia, November 6th-7th 2010*, Nicosia, p. 57-85.
- JUNG R. 2017, « The Sea People after three Millennia: Possibilities and Limitations of Historical Reconstruction », in P.M. Fischer and T. Bürge (eds.), *"Sea Peoples" Up-to-Date: New Research on Transformations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 13th-11th Centuries BCE. Proceedings of the ESF-Workshop held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 3-4 November 2014*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 81, Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 35, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, p. 23-42.
- JUNG R. 2018a, « Mycenaen Pottery in Coastal Syria », in L. Badre, E. Capet et B. Vitale (éds), *Tell Kazel au Bronze récent. Études céramiques*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 211, Beyrouth, p. 47-51.
- JUNG R. 2018b, « Push and Pull Factors of the Sea Peoples between Italy and the Levant », in J. Driessen (ed.), *The Archaeology of Forced Migration. Crisis-induced mobility and the Collapse of the 13th c. BCE Eastern Mediterranean*, Aegis 15, Louvain, p. 279-312.

- JUNG R., KARDAMAKI E. forthcoming, « Synchronizing the Destructions of the Mycenaean Palaces », *Mykenische Studien*, Vienna.
- JUSSERET S., CLAEYS T. 2017, « Sector 3—The Central and Northern Parts of the Hill », in J. Bretschneider, A. Kanta and J. Driessen, *Pyla-Kokkinokremos. Preliminary Report on the 2015-2016 Excavations*, *Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syriens-Palästinas* 48, p. 37-58.
- KANIEWSKI D., PAULISSEN E., VAN CAMPO E., WEISS H., OTTO T., BRETSCHNEIDER J., VAN LERBERGHE K. 2010, « Late Second-Early First Millennium BC Abrupt Climate Changes in Coastal Syria and their Possible Significance for the History of the Eastern Mediterranean », *Quaternary Research* 74, p. 207-215.
- KANIEWSKI D., VAN CAMPO E., VAN LERBERGHE K., BOIJ T., VANSTEENHUYSE K., JANS G., NYS K., WEISS H., MORHANGE C., OTTO T., BRETSCHNEIDER J. 2011, « The Sea Peoples, from Cuneiform Tablets to Carbon Dating », *PLoS ONE* 6 (6), e20232.
- KANTA A. 2014, « The Site and Architecture of Pyla in their Historical Setting », in V. Karageorghis and A. Kanta (eds.), *Pyla-Kokkinokremos: A Late 13th century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus. Excavations 2010-2011*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 141, Uppsala, p. 113-121.
- KANTA A., KONTOPODI D.Z. 2011, « Kastrokephala (Crete): Strangers or Locals in a Fortified Acropolis of the 12th century BC », in V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka (eds.), *On Cooking Pots, Drinking Cups, Loomweights and Ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and Neighboring Regions. An International Archaeological Symposium held in Nicosia, November 6th-7th 2010*, Nicosia, p. 129-148.
- KANTA A., STAMPOLIDIS N.Ch., TZIGOUNAKI A., STEFANAKIS M. 2020, « Movements of people from mainland Greece to Crete and Cyprus. The case of the fortified citadel of Orne in the framework of historical developments in the southeast Mediterranean », in N.C. Stampolidis and M. Giannopoulou (eds.), *Eleutherna, Crete and the Outside World*, Athens-Rethymno, p. 329-337.
- KARAGEORGHIS J. 2014, « Appendix VI. A Bronze Plaque from Pyla-Kokkinokremos decorated with a nude female figure of the Qadesh type », in V. Karageorghis and A. Kanta, *Pyla-Kokkinokremos. A Late 13th century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus. Excavations 2010-2011*, SIMA CXLI, Uppsala, p. 205-210.
- KARAGEORGHIS V. 2001, « Patterns of Fortified Settlements in the Aegean and Cyprus c. 1200 B.C. », in V. Karageorghis and C. Morris (eds.), *Defensive Settlements of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean after c. 1200 BC*, Nicosia, p. 1-12.
- KARAGEORGHIS V. 2011a, « What happened in Cyprus c. 1200 B.C.: Hybridization, creolization or immigration? An introduction », in V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka (eds.), *On cooking pots, drinking cups, loom weights and ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and neighbouring regions. An International Archaeological Symposium held in Nicosia, November 6th-7th, 2010*, Nicosia 2011, p. 19-28.
- KARAGEORGHIS V. 2011b, « Handmade Burnished Ware in Cyprus and elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean », in V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka (eds.), *On cooking pots, drinking cups, loom weights and ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and neighbouring regions. An International Archaeological Symposium held in Nicosia, November 6th-7th, 2010*, Nicosia 2011, p. 87-94.
- KARAGEORGHIS V. 2014a, « Summary and historical conclusions », in V. Karageorghis and A. Kanta, *Pyla-Kokkinokremos. A Late 13th century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus. Excavations 2010-2011*, SIMA CXLI, Uppsala, p. 155-162.
- KARAGEORGHIS V. 2014b, « Appendix I: Late Helladic IIIB and Late Minoan IIIB amphoroid kraters from Pyla-Kokkinokremos », in V. Karageorghis and A. Kanta, *Pyla-Kokkinokremos. A Late 13th century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus. Excavations 2010-2011*, SIMA CXLI, Uppsala, p. 163-167.
- KARAGEORGHIS V., DEMAS M. 1984, *Pyla-Kokkinokremos: A Late 13th century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus*, Nicosia.
- KARAGEORGHIS V., DEMAS M. 1988, *Excavations at Maa-Palaeokastro 1979-1986*, Nicosia.
- KARAGEORGHIS V., GEORGIU A. 2012, « A Corpus of Late Minoan III Pottery from Pyla-Kokkinokremos », *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 2010 [2012], p. 301-324.
- KARAGEORGHIS V., GEORGIU A. 2014, « Commentary on the objects » in V. Karageorghis and A. Kanta (eds.), *Pyla-Kokkinokremos. A Late 13th century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus. Excavations 2010-2011*, SIMA CXLI, Uppsala, p. 141-153.
- KARAGEORGHIS V., KANTA A. 2014, « Pyla Kokkinokremos. A late 13th century BC fortified

- settlement in Cyprus. Excavations 2010-2011 », *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 141, Jonsæred.
- KARAGEORGHIS V., KOUKA O. (eds.) 2011, *On cooking pots, drinking cups, loomweights and ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and neighboring regions: An International Archaeological Symposium held in Nicosia, November 6th-7th 2010*, Nicosia.
- KESWANI P.S. 1993, « Models of Local Exchange in the Late Bronze Age Cyprus », *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 292, p. 73-83.
- KESWANI P.S. 2004, *Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus*, London.
- KILLEBREW A.E., LEHMANN G. (eds.) 2013, *The Philistines and Other "Sea Peoples" in Text and Archaeology*, Archaeology and Biblical Studies 15, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta.
- KITCHEN K. 1987, « The basic of Egyptian Chronology in Relation to the Bronze Age », in P. Åström (ed.) *High, Middle, or Low?*, Åström Forlag, Gothenburg, p. 37-55.
- KITCHEN K. 2008, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated Translations*, V: *Setnakht, Ramesses III, and Contemporaries*, Blackwell Publishing, London.
- KNAPP A.B. 1997, *The Archaeology of Late Cypriote Society: The Study of settlement, Survey and Landscape*, University of Glasgow.
- KNAPP A.B. 2008, *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus. Identity, Insularity and Connectivity*, Oxford.
- KNAPP A.B. 2013, *The Archaeology of Cyprus from Earliest Prehistory through the Bronze Age*, Cambridge World Archaeology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- KNAPP A.B. 2020, « Piracy in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean? A Cautionary Tale », in A. Gilboa and A. Yasur-Landau (eds.), *Nomads of the Mediterranean: Trade and Contact in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Studies in Honor of Michal Artz*, Brill, p. 142-160.
- KNAPP A.B., MANNING S.W. 2016, « Crisis in Context: The End of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean », *American Journal of Archaeology* 120 (1), p. 99-149.
- KNAPP A.B., MEYER N. 2020, « Cyprus: Bronze Age Demise, Iron Age regeneration », in G.D. Middleton (ed.), *Collapse & Transformation*, Oxbow, Philadelphia, p. 237-246.
- KOSTOPOULOU I., JUNG R. forthcoming, « New Pottery finds from Pyla-Kokkinokremos », in J. Bretschneider, J. Driessen and A. Kanta (eds.), *Excavations at Pyla-Kokkinokremos. Preliminary Report on the 2014-2019 Excavations*, Aegis 23, Louvain-la-Neuve.
- LACKENBACHER S., MALBRAN-LABAT F. 2016, *Lettres en Akkadien de la « Maison d'Urtēnu », Fouilles de 1994*, Ras Shamra–Ougarit XXIII, Éd. Peeters, Leuven.
- LAGARCE J., LAGARCE É. 1988, « The Intrusion of the Sea Peoples and their Acculturation: A Parallel between Palestinian and Ras Ibn Hani Data », in S. Soth (ed.), *Studies in History and Archaeology of Palestine III: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Palestine Antiquities*, Aleppo, p. 137-169.
- LAGARCE J., LAGARCE É. 1995, « Ras Ibn Hani au Bronze récent », in M. Yon, M. Sznycer et P. Bordreuil (eds.), *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C.: Histoire et archéologie. Actes du colloque international, Paris, 28 juin-1^{er} juillet 1993*, Ras Shamra–Ougarit XI, ERC, Paris, p. 141-154.
- LAGARCE J., DU PUYTISON-LAGARCE É. 2008, « Remarques sur le matériel égyptien et égyptisant de Ras Shamra ("Maison aux Albâtres") et de Ras Ibn Hani à la lumière de données récentes sur la chronologie de la fin d'Ougarit », in M. Bietak and E. Czerny (eds.), *The Bronze Age in the Lebanon, Syria and Egypt*, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean XVII, Vienne, p. 153-164.
- LAGARCE-OTHMAN B. 2013, « Un nouveau vase inédit d'Horemheb », in V. Matoïan et M. Al-Maqdissi (éds), *Études ougaritiques III*, Ras Shamra–Ougarit XXI, Paris–Leuven–Walpole, MA, p. 347-364.
- LEHMANN G.A. 1985, *Die mykenisch-frühgriechische Welt und der östliche Mittelmeerraum in der Zeit der "Seevölker"-Invasionen um 1200 v. Chr.*, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen.
- LEHMANN G.A. 2005, « Das Auftreten der „Seevölker“. Invasoren im östlichen Mittelmeerraum des 14.-12./ 11. Jh. v. Chr. », in Ü. Yalcin, C. Pulak und R. Slotta (Hrsg.), *Das Schiff von Uluburun*.

- Welthandel vor 3000 Jahren. Katalog der Ausstellung des Deutschen Bergbau-Museums Bochum*, Bochum, p. 283-289.
- LEHMANN G.A. 2008, « North Syria and Cilicia », in C. Sargona (ed.), *Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician Chronology*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 28, Leuven, p. 205-246.
- LEHMANN G.A. 2017, « Late Bronze-Iron Age Transition and the Problem of the Sea Peoples Phenomenon in Cilicia », in P.M. Fischer and T. Bürge (eds.), *“Sea Peoples” Up-to-Date: New Research on Transformations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 13th-11th Centuries BCE. Proceedings of the ESF-Workshop held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 3-4 November 2014*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 81, Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 35, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, p. 229-255.
- LIPINSKI E. 2006, *On the Skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age: Historical and Topographical Perspectives Orientalia*, Lovaniensia Analecta 153, Leuven.
- MARAN J. 2018, « Goliath's Peers: Interconnected Polyethnic Warrior Elites in the Eastern Mediterranean of the 13th and 12th centuries BCE », in I. Shai, J.R. Chadwick, L. Hitchcock, A. Dagan, C. McKinny and J. Uziel (eds.), *Tell it in Gath: Studies in the History and Archaeology of Israel: Essays in Honor of Aren M. Maeir on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, Ägypten und Altes Testament 90, Zaphon, Münster, p. 223-241.
- MATOŪAN V., AL-MAQDISSI M., HAYDAR J., AL-BAHLOUL K., BENECH C., BESSAC J.-C., BORDREUIL E., CALLOT O., CARBILLET A., DARDAILLON E., GEYER B., GOIRAN J.-P., HAWLEY R., HERVEUX L., MARRINER N., ONNIS F., PARDEE P., REJIBA F., ROCHE-HAWLEY C., SAUVAGE C., avec la collab. de V. ASENSI-AMOROS, P. CARBONEL, X. HUANG, M. LECOMTE 2013, « Rapport préliminaire sur les activités de la mission archéologique syro-française de Ras Shamra–Ougarit en 2009 et 2010 (69^e et 70^e campagnes) », *Syria* 90, p. 439-478.
- MIDDLETON G.D. 2015, « Telling stories: The Mycenaean origin of the Philistines », *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 34, p. 45-65.
- MILLEK J.M. 2018, « Destruction at the End of the Late Bronze Age in Syria », *Studia Eblaitica* 5, p. 157-190.
- MONCHAMBERT J.-Y. 2004, *La céramique d'Ougarit. Campagnes de fouilles 1975 et 1976*, Ras Shamra–Ougarit XV, ERC, Paris.
- MOUNTJOY P. 2017, « The Sea Peoples: A View from the Pottery », in P.M. Fischer and T. Bürge (eds.), *“Sea Peoples” Up-to-Date: New Research on Transformations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 13th-11th Centuries BCE. Proceedings of the ESF-Workshop held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 3-4 November 2014*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 81, Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 35, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, p. 355-378.
- MOUNTJOY P. 2020, « LH IIIC pottery and destruction in the East Aegean–West Anatolian Interface, Cilicia, Cyprus and coastal Levant », in G.D. Middleton (ed.), *Collapse and Transformation, The Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age in the Aegean*, Oxford-Philadelphia, p. 169-199.
- NIKLAŠSON-SÖNNERBY K.N. 1987, « Late Cypriot III Shaft Graves: Burial Customs of the Last Phase of the Bronze Age », in R. Laffineur (éd.), *Thanatos : Les coutumes funéraires en Égée à l'âge du Bronze*, Aegaeum 1, Liège, p. 219-215.
- NÚÑEZ F.J. 2017, « The Impact of the Sea Peoples in the Central and Northern Levant in Perspective », in P.M. Fischer and T. Bürge (eds.), *“Sea Peoples” Up-to-Date: New Research on Transformations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 13th-11th Centuries BCE. Proceedings of the ESF-Workshop held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 3-4 November 2014*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 81, Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 35, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, p. 263-283.
- NÚÑEZ F.J. 2018, « The impact of the Sea Peoples in Central Levant. A Revision », in L. Niesiołowski-Spanò and M. Węcowski (eds.), *Change, Continuity, and Connectivity: North-Eastern Mediterranean at the turn of the Bronze Age and in the early Iron Age*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, p. 116-140.
- O'CONNOR D. 2000, « The Sea Peoples and the Egyptian Sources », in E.D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and their world: A Reassessment*, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, p. 85-102.

- PANITZ-COHEN N. 2006, « “Off the Wall”: Wall Brackets and Cypriots in Iron Age I Israel », in P. de Miroschedji and A.M. Maeir (eds.), *“I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times”: Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, p. 613-636.
- PRITCHARD J.B. 1969, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd edition, Princeton.
- PUYTISON-LAGARCE É., LAGARCE J. 2006, « L’incendie du Palais Nord de Ras Ibn Hani. Traces et modalités d’une catastrophe », *Syria* 83, p. 247-258.
- RAHMSTORF L. 2003, « Clay Spools from Tiryns and Other Contemporary Sites: An Indication of Foreign Influence in LHIIIC? », in N. Kyparissi-Apostolika and M. Papakonstantinou (eds.), *Proceedings of the 2nd International Interdisciplinary Colloquium: The Periphery of the Mycenaean World, September 26-30, Lamia, Athens*, p. 397-415.
- RAHMSTORF L. 2005, « Ethnicity and Changes in Weaving Technology in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean in the 12th century BC », in V. Karageorghis, H. Matthäus and S. Rogge (eds.), *Cyprus: Religion and Society: From the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Archaic Period: Proceedings of an International Symposium on Cypriote Archaeology, Erlangen, 23-24 July 2004*, Bibliopolis, Münster, p. 143-169.
- RIIS P.J. 1970, *Sūkās I: The North-East Sanctuary and the First Settling of Greeks in Syria and Palestine*, Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 1, Copenhagen.
- SAUVAGE C., JANS G. 2019, « Clay Loom Weights of the Iron Age Period at Tell Tweini Field A », in J. Bretschneider and G. Jans (eds.), *About Tell Tweini (Syria): Artefacts, Ecofacts and Landscape. Research Results of the Belgian Mission*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta Series 281, Leuven, p. 31-80.
- SCHAEFFER-FORRER C.F.-A. 1979, *Ras Shamra 1929-1979, par la Mission Archéologique de Ras Shamra*, Lyon.
- SCHNEIDER T. 2010, « Contributions to the Chronology of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period », *Ägypten und Levante* 20, p. 373-403.
- SHERRATT S. 1992, « Immigration and Archaeology: Some Indirect Reflections », in P. Åström (ed.), *Acta Cypria 2. Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology*, Jonsered, p. 316-347.
- SHERRATT S. 1998, « “Sea Peoples” and The Economic Structure of the Late Second Millennium in the Eastern Mediterranean », in S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E. Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE*, Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem, p. 292-313.
- SINGER I. 1999, « A Political History of Ugarit », in W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Nahe und Mittlere Osten 39, Leiden-Boston-New York, p. 603-733.
- SINGER I. 2012, « The Philistines in the North and the Kingdom of Taita », in G. Galil, A. Gilboa, A. Maeir and D. Kahn (eds.), *The Ancient Near East in the 12th-10th Centuries BCE: Culture and History. Proceedings of the International Conference held at the University of Haifa, 2-5 May, 2010*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 392, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster, p. 435-456.
- SOUTH-TODD A. 2002, « Late Bronze Age settlement patterns in Southern Cyprus: The first Kingdoms », *Cahiers du Centre d’Études Chypriotes* 32, p. 59-72.
- STEEL L. 2004, *Cyprus Before History. From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age*, London.
- VAN DEN HOUT T. 2017, « Zypern: Nach hethitischen Quellen », in P. Streck (ed.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 17, Berlin, p. 369-371.
- VAN SOLDT W.H. 2005, « The Topography of the City-State of Ugarit », *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 324, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster.
- VAN SOLDT W.H. 2008, « Ra’s Ibn Hani », in A. Bramanti, E. Ebeling und M.P. Streck (eds.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 11, Berlin, p. 256-259.
- VOSKOS I., KNAPP A.B. 2008, « Cyprus at the End of the Late Bronze Age: Crisis and Colonization or Continuity and Hybridization? », *American Journal of Archaeology* 112 (4), p. 659-684.
- WACHSMANN S. 1998, *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*, London.

- WELTON L., CHARAF H. 2020-2021, « The Iron Age in the Levant: A view from the North », *Archaeology & History in the Lebanon* 52-53, autumn-spring 2020-21, p. 133-154.
- WELTON L., HARRISON T., BATIUK S., ÜNLÜ E., JANEWAY B., KARAKAYA D., LIPOVITCH D., LUMB D., ROAMES J. 2019, « Shifting Networks and Community Identity at Tell Tayinat in the Iron I (ca. 12th-mid 10th cent. BCE) », *American Journal of Archaeology* 123 (2), p. 291-333.
- YASUR-LANDAU A. 2010, *The Philistines and Aegean Migration at the End of the Late Bronze Age*, Cambridge.
- YON M. 1992, « The End of the Kingdom of Ugarit », in W.A. Ward and M. Sharp Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years: The 12th century BC from beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, Dubuque, p. 111-122.
- YON M. 1999, « Chypre et Ougarit à la fin du Bronze Récent », *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 37, p. 113-118.
- YON M. avec la collab. de A. CAUBET, J. CONNAN, E. COQUEUGNIOT, O. DESCHESNE, C. ELLIOTT, H. FROST 1991, *Arts et industries de la pierre*, Ras Shamra – Ougarit VI, Paris.
- YON M., KARAGEORGHIS V., HIRSCHFELD N. (eds.) 2000, *Céramiques mycéniennes d'Ougarit*, Ras Shamra – Ougarit XIII, Paris-Nicosia.
- ZOMENI Z. 2014, « Appendix VIII: The Quaternary Environment of the Pyla-Kokkinokremos Area », in V. Karageorghis and A. Kanta (eds.), *Pyla-Kokkinokremos: A Late 13th century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus. Excavations 2010-2011*, Åströms, Uppsala, p. 215-216.

Acknowledgements

The authors thank N. Kress for preparing the topographical map, partly on the basis of an orthophoto of the site provided by S. Hermon, M. Faka and D. Abate of STARC, as well as G. Jans for her valuable scientific and logistic advice. We acknowledge the financial help of the FWO/ G010218N “A Time Capsule of the Crisis Period”, the ARC “A World in Crisis?”, the Institute for Aegean Prehistory and our respective universities and research institutes—Ghent University, the UCLouvain, and the Mediterranean Archaeological Society. As before we thank the Department of Antiquities and their directors Dr M. Solomidou-Ieronymidou and Dr D. Pilides for their kind collaboration as well as Dr A. Satraki at the Larnaka Museum, E. Zachariou and the authorities of the Dhekelia base, especially Mr M. Gregoriou.