

# METIOESSA

STUDIES IN HONOR OF ELENI MANTZOURANI

# ΜΗΤΙΟΕΣΣΑ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΜΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΕΝΗΣ ΜΑΝΤΖΟΥΡΑΝΗ

Edited by Giorgos Vavouranakis and Ioannis Voskos



AURA SUPPLEMENT 10 • ΣΕΙΡΑ ΜΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΩΝ AURA 10



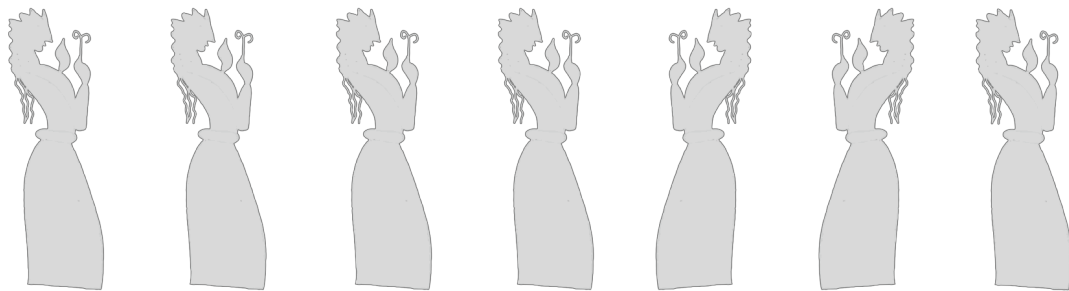
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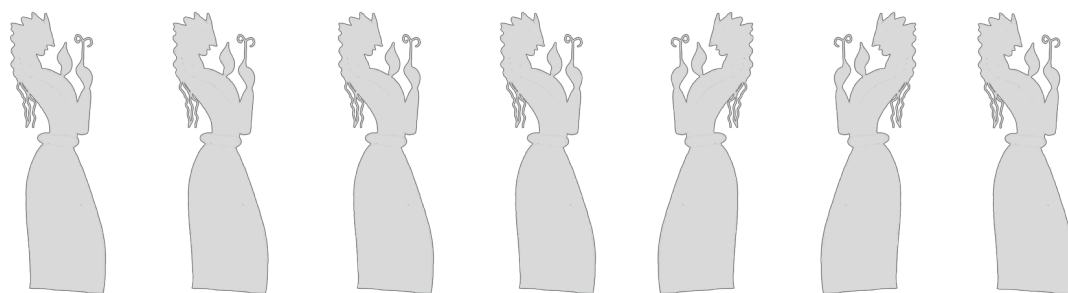
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ATHENS 2022





### **METIOESSA**

*μητιόεσσα* feminine: wise in counsel; masculine: *μητιόεις*

Also applied to Zeus in epic language; convoluted, but well-chosen and helpful.

Also applied to *φάρμακα*, the very effective ingredients of the drink that Helen prepares for Telemakhos, Nestor's son Peisistratos and Menelaos (Od. Δ 227).

Helen's *φάρμακα*, brought from Egypt, are *μητιόεντα* because they have been wisely chosen, and, also, because they reflect a combination of precision and efficiency, being exactly what is needed to nurture the pains in human soul.

## AURA SUPPLEMENT 10 • ΣΕΙΡΑ ΜΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΩΝ AURA 10

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Katerina Boukala-Karkagianni



## Editorial • Εκδοτικό Σημείωμα

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	15
ELENI MANTZOURANI: THE JOURNEY SO FAR.....	17
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ELENI MANTZOURANI.....	37

### **A. THE GREEK MAINLAND AND THE AEGEAN ISLANDS (EXCEPT CRETE) • Ο ΕΛΛΑΔΙΚΟΣ ΧΩΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΝΗΣΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΓΑΙΟΥ (ΕΚΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΡΗΤΗΣ)**

ODYSSEAS KAKAVAKIS Neolithic chipped stone industries of western Macedonia, northern Greece. The assemblage of Varemni Goulon.....	47
STELLA KATSAROU, JOHN F. CHERRY AND JACK L. DAVIS An unusual Neolithic figurine from the Nemea Valley.....	61
LYVIA MORGAN Creatures of water and air. Flying fish and the divine.....	71
ΚΛΑΙΡΗ ΠΑΛΥΒΟΥ Από τα παράθυρα της Δυτικής Οικίας... «όλος ο κόσμος μια σκηνή».....	85
PANIA ΜΠΑΛΛΗ Εκ νέου επίσκεψη στην ανασκαφή της μινωικής αποικίας των Κυθήρων. Μεθοδολογία και προσωπικότητες των ανασκαφών μέσα από αρχειακή έρευνα.....	97
NANNO MARINATOS A letter of Spyridon Marinatos to Martin P. Nilsson about Messenia.....	111
VASSILIKI PLIATSIKA Mayhem in miniature. Detailing the work of a miniaturist pictorial painter in Mycenae...119	
IPHIYENIA TOURNAVITOU Special women and extraordinary creatures. An iconography of intimacy and transcendence in Mycenaean Greece. The lost link.....	135
ΒΑΣΙΛΗΣ ΠΕΤΡΑΚΗΣ Πάντας τούς ἔχθρους ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ. Συμβολικές εκφράσεις στα μυκηναϊκά υποπόδια.....	151
ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΖΥΓΟΥΡΗΣ Εισηγμένα αντικείμενα από τη βόρεια Ευρώπη και την Αίγυπτο στην Αιτωλία και στην Ήπειρο κατά τη 2η χιλιετία π.Χ.....	169

### **B. MINOAN CRETE • ΜΙΝΩΙΚΗ ΚΡΗΤΗ**

KATERINA ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΗ Τα μικροθηλαστικά της προϊστορικής Κρήτης. Αναπάντεχοι μάρτυρες εμπορικών διαδρομών και βιοδείκτες του εξανθρωπισμού του κρητικού οικοσυστήματος.....	183
GIORGOS VAVOURANAKIS From landscape perception to niche construction. The case of the Mesara, south-central Crete, in the Early and Middle Bronze Age.....	193

ΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑ ΓΛΑΡΑΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ Η διπλή εμφάνιση του εικονογραφικού θέματος του βουκρανίου στον μινωικό θολωτό τάφο της Μυρσίνης Σητείας και η σημασία του.....	207
PHILIP P. BETANCOURT Miniature clay vases from the shrine of Eileithyia at Inatos.....	217
ΣΤΑΜΑΤΟΥΛΑ ΜΑΚΡΥΠΟΔΗ Σφραγιστικές επιφάνειες με μικρές παραλλαγές. Συγκριτική εξέταση.....	225
ΛΕΥΤΕΡΗΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ Το ρυτό και το ιερό δισκοπότηρο. Τελετουργίες σπονδών και πόσης στη νεοανακτορική Κρήτη. Οι ενδείξεις από τη Ζάκρο.....	237
ΜΑΡΙΑ ΣΑΚΕΛΛΑΡΑΚΗ Κεραμική από το Νίρου Χάνι. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της ΥΜ ΙΒ κεραμικής της βόρειας κεντρικής Κρήτης.....	251
ROBERT B. KOEHL Minoan stick-fighting.....	263
ANASTASIA M. VERGAKI Lonesome are the eyes. Remarks on the depiction of animals on the Aghia Triadha Sarcophagus.....	271
ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ Η.Μ. ΚΟΥΣΟΥΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΝΑ ΠΑΠΑΔΑΚΗ Ανιχνεύοντας την ιστορία της «πεντάλφας» με αφορμή ένα θραύσμα κονιάματος από την Κνωσό.....	287

### **C. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PREHISTORIC CYPRUS • Η ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΪΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ**

ΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ Το αρχαιολογικό πρόγραμμα του ΑΠΘ στην Κύπρο. Η ανασκαφή της προϊστορικής θέσης Αγ. Ιωάννης/Βρέτσια <i>Ρουδιάς</i> στο Τρόδος.....	307
DAVID FRANKEL Constructing Sotira. Discard and deposition at a Neolithic village in Cyprus.....	317
DIMITRIS KLOUKINAS On round houses and right angles: comments on the architecture of Late Neolithic Cypriot communities.....	325
IOANNIS VOSKOS AND EVDOXIA TZANNI Gourds, pots and the archaeology of the “invisible” in Neolithic Cyprus.....	341
CHARA THEOTOKATOU “Skipping a Beat”. The social and economic implications of hoarding in Neolithic and Chalcolithic Cyprus.....	353
JENNIFER M. WEBB Weapon-bearers at Middle Bronze Age Lapithos, Cyprus.....	371
ΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑ ΒΟΥΤΣΑ Εύγλωττη «σιωπή». Αναζητώντας την Κύπρο στα αρχεία των μυκηναϊκών ανακτόρων.....	383
KONSTANTINOS KOPANIAS Hittites, Mycenaeans and ‘Sea People’ in Cyprus at the end of the 13th century BC.....	399
ΒΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ ΝΙΚΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ Σύμβολα κύρους της Ύστερης Εποχής του Χαλκού από την απώτατη Δύση στην Κύπρο.....	417
DESPINA CATAPOTI, POLINA NIKOLAOU AND DESPINA ANDRIOPOULOU Archaeology vs Cultural Heritage? An insight into current cultural heritage postgraduate study programs from Cyprus.....	431

**D. MISCELLANEA**

EVI MARGARITIS AND CARLY HENKEL Farming the big islands of the Mediterranean. Crete and Cyprus in the Neolithic and Early-Middle Bronze Age.....	447
ANTIGONI PASCHAKI The profile of the Minoan and early Mycenaean warrior: 1700–1400 B.C.....	461
ΧΡΥΣΑΝΘΟΣ ΚΑΝΕΛΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑ ΚΟΒΑΝΗ Επικαιροποίηση του καταλόγου W.B. Dinsmoor Sr., Metric measurements of temples (1950). Οι περίπτεροι δωρικοί ναοί στον Ελλαδικό και ευρύτερο Αιγαιακό χώρο.....	477

# Hittites, Mycenaeans and “Sea People” in Cyprus at the end of the 13th century BC

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Konstantinos Kopanias

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## ABSTRACT

*This paper focuses on the historical information provided by the Hittite tablet KBo xii 38, dated in the reign of Suppiluliuma II (1207–? BC), which was found in Hattusa in 1961, but has not been discussed in detail since the 1970s. This text mentions a successful Hittite naval campaign against Alashi(y)a (=Cyprus), which took place in 1220–1200 BC (during the reign of Tudhaliya IV or Suppiliuma II). The king of Alashi(y)a was taken prisoner to Hattusa, his kingdom became a Hittite vassal, while the new king and an official called pidduri were obliged to pay an annual tribute to Hatti. However, Cyprus did not remain under Hittite control for long, as KBo xii 38 mentions that Suppiluliuma II had to deal with ships, operating out of Cyprus that attacked his territory. Hatti was in a very precarious situation towards the end of the 13th century BC, while Lukka and Tarhuntassa were not under its control. Furthermore, never before in their history have the Hittites waged naval warfare. Thus, it is particularly odd that the Hittite king decided to carry out naval operations against Alashi(y)a, shortly before its final collapse. This was an endeavor, which the Hittites would not have been able to undertake themselves, especially since they had no fleet of their own. In this paper it is argued that the Hittites used the Ugaritic fleet, and also the services of pirates/mercenaries, who operated out of Lukka and the Aegean.*

One of the inscriptions on the mortuary temple of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu describes in a dramatic way the invasion of “northern warriors” into the Nile Delta somewhere around 1180–1170 BC. Before invading Egypt, it is reported that they destroyed a number of Eastern Mediterranean kingdoms: Arzawa, Hatti (=the Hittite kingdom), Qode (=Cilicia), Karkemish, Amurru and Alashi(y)a (=Cyprus) (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Earlier researchers associated this reference with settlement destructions in Cyprus during the transition from Late Cypriote (hereafter LC) IIC to LC IIIA (c. 1200 BC),<sup>2</sup> but newer archaeological evidence shows that the situation on the island was much more complex. Further information is provided by the Hittite tablet KBo xii 38, dated in the reign

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1 For the most recent translation: Redford 2018, 36. Furthermore, see Drews 2000; Kahn 2010; Yasur-Landau 2012; Martino 2018, 31–3. The text is clearly propagandistic, but we cannot reject it *a priori* as a historical source (Redford 2018, 95–112). Despite Merrilllee’s (2018) continued scepticism, most researchers now accept the identification of Alashi(y)a with Cyprus; if this was not the case, then we would have to presume that there was a copper-producing kingdom called Alashi(y)a, which still remains unlocated, while Cyprus was never mentioned in any texts of the Near East: Mantzourani et al. 2019, 95–6. A very recent Phoenician inscription from Idalion proves that Cyprus was called “Alashiya” also in Phoenician: Amadasi Guzzo and Zamora 2018.

2 This is the date accepted by most scholars: e.g. Manning et al. 2001; Manning 2013, 513; Iacovou 2013, 660–61; Georgiou 2016, 79; 2018, 178; Fischer 2017, 193. There are also some alternative suggestions: 1220/10–1190 BC (Åström 2007, 506), 1220/10–1190 BC (Knapp 2008, 133) and 1180/75 BC (Mountjoy 2008, 21; 2018, 182).



Fig. 1. Map of the Eastern Mediterranean during the late 13th century BC.

of Suppiluliuma II (1207–? BC), which was found in 1961 in “the House of the Slope” in Hattusa, but has not been discussed in detail since the 1970s.<sup>3</sup> The tablet is preserved in fragmentary form and, in order to fully comprehend it, we need first to sketch out the historical context in Anatolia in the late 13th century BC.

## HISTORICAL CONTEXT

When Tudhaliya IV ascended the throne in 1237 BC, the Hittite kingdom was already in rapid decline. The position of the new king was precarious, as there were many aspiring claimants to power.<sup>4</sup> In order to enhance his international prestige, he married one of the daughters of the king of Babylon;<sup>5</sup> however, the Babylonian ruler was no longer considered to be one of the Great Kings, as Ramesses II pointedly commented when informed of this marriage.<sup>6</sup>

3 Otten 1963; Güterbock 1967. Since its publication, no one questioned the attribution of Kbo xii 38 to Suppiluliuma II. Its date is confirmed by the fact that the genealogy mentioned in II 4–10: (...*Suppiluliuma... son of Tudhaliya... grandson of Hattusili... great-grandson of Mursili...*) belongs to Suppiluliuma II, not Suppiluliuma I.

4 CTH 255.2, i 9–14; Bryce 2005, 300: “*My Sun has many brothers and there are many sons of his father. The Land of Hatti is full of the royal line: in Hatti the descendants of Suppiluliuma, the descendants of Mursili, the descendants of Muwattalli, the descendants of Hattusili are numerous.*” He did face a palace conspiracy organized by one of his brothers: Tani 2001.

5 Singer 1991, 330–32.

6 KUB xxi 38, Vs. 55–6; Singer 1991, 331.

The new Hittite king was immediately faced with significant challenges at home and abroad. Assyria posed the most important threat, since it had already carved out Mitanni from the Hittite kingdom, and thus extended its territory to the Euphrates.<sup>7</sup> Early in his reign Tudhaliya IV tried to confront Assyria in Nihriya (Nairi), but suffered a humiliating defeat.<sup>8</sup> The Assyrians continued to threaten the Hittite lands west of the Euphrates and claimed to have captured a total of 28,800 Hittite subjects in various raids.<sup>9</sup>

In western Anatolia, a certain Tarhunaradu usurped the throne of Masturi at Seha, with the support of the King of Ahhiyawa.<sup>10</sup> Tudhaliya IV campaigned against him, captured Tarhunaradu, transported him to his capital and installed a descendant of Muwawalwi on the throne of Seha.<sup>11</sup> The problematic situation in the wider area becomes evident also from the fact that Walmu lost his throne in Wilusa and took refuge in Mira.<sup>12</sup> When Tudhaliya IV wrote to the king of Mira about the matter, he proclaimed that *as he* [i.e. Walmu] *was formerly our vassal, so he will again be our vassal*.<sup>13</sup> So it seems that Walmu was simultaneously a vassal of Hatti and Mira, which could be interpreted as an unprecedented admission that Mira was not really under Hittite control.<sup>14</sup> It has been suggested that Tudhaliya IV conquered Millawata, which belonged to Ahhiyawa, and then ceded it over to the kingdom of Mira.<sup>15</sup> This hypothesis is based on the assumption that the recipient of the “Millawata Letter” was Tarkasnawa, the king of Mira.<sup>16</sup> However, neither is this certain, nor does the text explicitly mention the conquest of Millawata, so we should remain cautious.

Furthermore, Lalandia<sup>17</sup> and Lukka<sup>18</sup> were no longer under Hittite control and the Hittite king was forced to campaign against them (Figs. 2–3). A rock relief depicting his victory in this campaign is located in Yalburt (NW of Konya),<sup>19</sup> which shows that the border of Hatti ran in that area. To add to this catalogue of woes, from the text of the treaty of Tudhaliya IV with Kurunta, it appears that the area of the city of Parha (=Perge) and the area west of the river Kastaraya (=Kestros), i.e. Lukka, were not really under Hittite control.<sup>20</sup> Finally, a rock relief was found in Hatip (SW of Konya), where the king of Tarhuntassa (Kurunta) is described as the *Great King*.<sup>21</sup> The use of this title shows that Kurunta challenged the supremacy of Tudhaliya IV and considered Tarhuntassa independent.<sup>22</sup> I find it unlikely that the Hittite king had willingly allowed Kurunta to use this

7 Grayson 1972–1976, 82 §530.

8 Singer 1985; 1999, 688–89; Yamada 2011. The events are described in a letter sent by the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta to the ruler of Ugarit (RS 34.165): Lackenbacher 1982.

9 Grayson 1972–1976, 118 §773. The raids were probably being conducted by various tribal groups settled in the Assyrian territory: Liverani 2001, 27.

10 CTH 211.4: Melchert 2003, 79; Bryce 2005, 305. Also CTH 214.12.F and CTH 572.1.

11 CTH 211.4. Tarkasnawa was probably the son or grandson of Muwawalwi, king of Mira: Hawkins 1998, 19; 1999; Bryce 2005, 306.

12 CTH 182. Although this is not mentioned in the text, it is possible that Walmu was Alaksandu's successor (Hoffner 1982, 134; Bryce 1985, 21; Starke 1997, 454). Piyamaradu and the king of Ahhiyawa probably had some involvement in the events that led to the dethronement of Walmu: Bryce 2003a, 82.

13 CTH 182, Rs. 43'.

14 Bryce 2005, 308. It is clear from the letter that the Hittite king did not trust its recipient, as stated by Hoffner (1982, 132) and Bryce (1985, 21). For a more general discussion: Kopanias 2015a.

15 E.g. Bryce 2005, 307–10.

16 CTH 182. As suggested by Hawkins 1998, 19; 1999; Bryce 2005, 306.

17 CTH 192.

18 CTH 255.1, ii 15'.

19 Hawkins 1992; 1995, 66–85; Singer 2000a, 26.

20 Bo 86/299, §8. Beckman 1999, 110; also Singer 2011, 183.

21 Dinçol 1998. When Tudhaliya IV had ascended the Hittite throne, he renewed the pre-existing treaty with Kurunta, who of course still did not use this title at the time: Bo 86/299; Otten 1988; Beckman 1999, 108–18. It was recently suggested that the city of Tarhuntassa was located in Türkmen-Karahöyük: Osborne et al. 2020.

22 Singer 2000a, 26; Giorgieri and Mora 2010, 144; Halayqa 2010, 300.



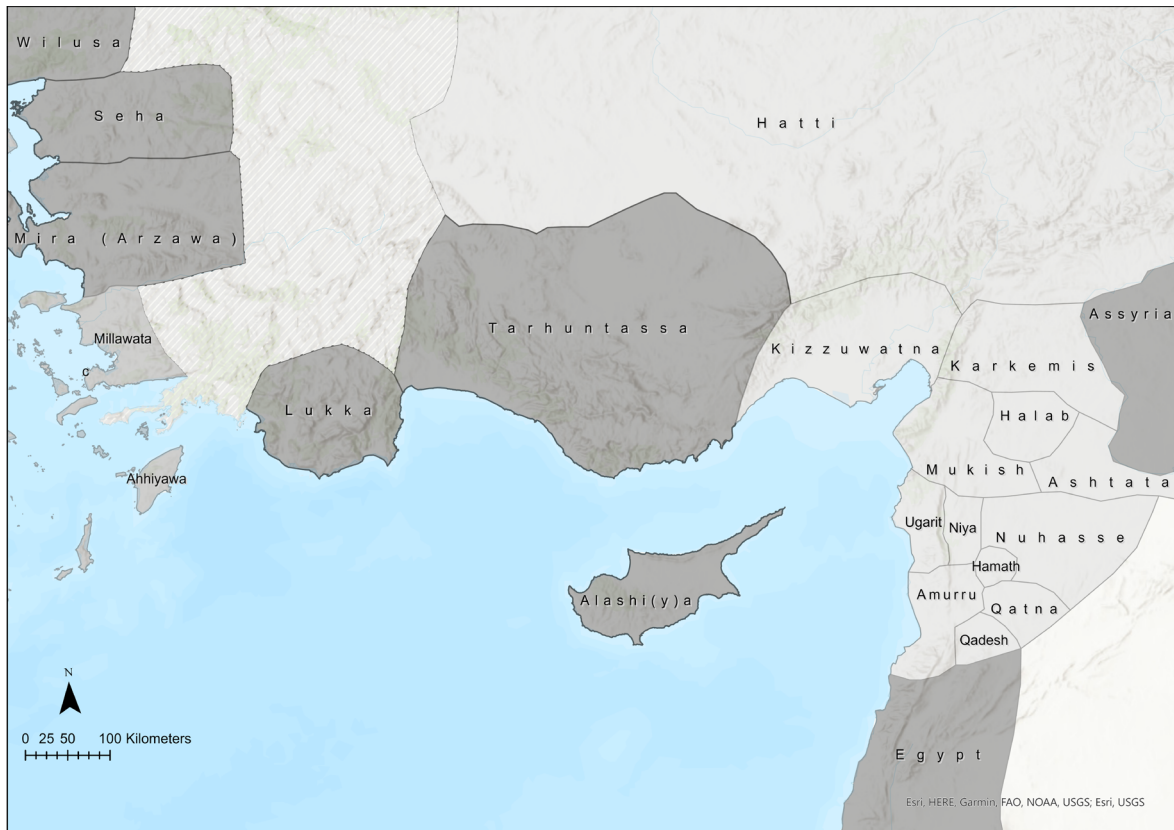


Fig. 2. Map of the northern part of the Eastern Mediterranean during the late 13th century BC.

title,<sup>23</sup> because then the same privilege would have been claimed by other powerful vassal rulers. In seals found in Hattusa, Kurunta is also referred to as *Great King*,<sup>24</sup> as a result of which it has been even suggested that he had briefly conquered the capital.<sup>25</sup> However, the seals alone cannot prove this hypothesis. It is more likely that the seals originate from the lids of vessels, which arrived in the capital as booty from a campaign against Kurunta.

After the ephemeral reign of Arnuwanda III (1209–1207 BC), Suppiluliuma II ascended the throne as the last ruler of Hatti. The surviving sources mention no activity of him in northern Syria and it seems that the vassal ruler of Karkemish was handling all affairs there.<sup>26</sup> Hatti's weakness is also illustrated by the fact that the ruler of Ugarit (Ammurapi) asked for a divorce from his wife (Ehli-Nikkalu), who was the daughter of the Hittite king.<sup>27</sup> Such an act would have been unthinkable in the past.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the ruler of Ugarit was in contact with the Egyptian king Merenptah seeking an alliance with Egypt.<sup>29</sup>

In his surviving inscriptions, Suppiluliuma II recorded that he campaigned in western, southern and northern Anatolia.<sup>30</sup> His campaigns in the south targeted mainly Lukka and Tarhuntassa.<sup>31</sup> It has been suggested that, after

23 As suggested by Mora 2003, 290.

24 Neve 1987, 401–8.

25 Otten 1988, 4; Beckman 1989–1990, 293; Bryce 2005, 319. There are signs of destruction in various parts of the capital, which Neve (1987, 403–5) linked to these hypothetical events.

26 Klengel 1992, 352; Bryce 2005, 328; Hawkins 2009.

27 RS 17.226, 17.355; Bilgin 2018, 427.

28 Bryce 2005, 328; also Halayqa 2010.

29 Singer 1999, 712–15; Kahn 2012, 259.

30 Information derives mainly from the inscription SÜDBURG in Hattusa: Hawkins 1995, 61 ff.; Melchert 2002; Bryce 2005, 329; 2016, 6; Yakubovich 2009, 6 ff.; Gander 2014, 375. Oreshko (2016b, 351) dated the inscription in the reign of Suppiluliuma I.

31 Hawkins 1995, 23; Yakubovich 2009, 7. It is possible that the revolt may have been instigated by the ruler of Tarhuntassa: Jasink 2001, 236–37.



Fig. 3. Map with the sites mentioned in the text.

his victory, Suppiluliuma II moved all or part of the population of Tarhuntassa to the city of Adana in Cilicia, in order to avoid a future uprising,<sup>32</sup> but this is not explicitly mentioned in the text itself: the inscription only states that he removed the rulers of Tarhuntassa. The city continued to exist, since it is stated that Suppiluliuma II made offerings to the gods and he built the *Divine Way of the Earth*.<sup>33</sup> Tarhuntassa probably survived the collapse of Hatti.<sup>34</sup> Some<sup>35</sup> or all<sup>36</sup> of the campaigns mentioned in his inscriptions actually took place during the reign of Tudhaliya IV. Suppiluliuma II simply took part in them and tried to appropriate the achievements of his predecessor, after ascending the throne, an act which was not unprecedented in Hittite history. The written sources of the Hittite kingdom stop abruptly soon after his reports of his victory at Tarhuntassa and against a number of ships from Alashi(y)a.<sup>37</sup> It is obvious that these campaigns were not as effective as suggested in the royal inscriptions, since Hatti soon afterwards collapsed.<sup>38</sup>

32 Melchert 2002, 141–42.

33 Yakubovich 2009, 7: [12] *In the land of the town Tarhuntassa, he subjected and conquered the enemy.* [13] *The ancestors formerly did not ... to anyone,* [14] *(but) Suppiluliuma the Great King subjected the enemy.* [15] *He subjected and removed the chieftain(s) of the town Tarhuntassa.* [16] *He (re)built the town Adana (?).* [17] *In the town Tarhuntassa, the town G and the town H, I gave offerings to the gods.* [18] *Here, in that year, I constructed a "Divine Earth-Road".*

34 Hawkins 1992, 270; Bryce 2003b, 210–11; Giorgieri and Mora 2010, 143–45; Harmanşah 2015; Oreshko 2016a, 2017; Martino 2018, 27–8. According to Goedegebuure et al. (2020) a new inscription of Hartapus is dated to the 8th century BC and shows that there was probably a dynastic continuity from the LBA into the EIA in that kingdom; nevertheless, for a different interpretation see Kelder 2020; Oreshko 2020.

35 As suggested by Yakubovich 2009, 9.

36 As suggested by Melchert 2002, 137.

37 Bryce 2005, 344.

38 The inscription of Ramses III in Medinet Habu (supra n. 1) attributes the destruction of Hatti to an enemy invasion. Hattusa was indeed abandoned and many public buildings were destroyed, but the city was not completely destroyed (Genz 2013, 469). The

## HITTITE NAVAL CAMPAIGN

The above mentioned textual evidence shows that the Hittite kingdom was in a very precarious situation towards the end of the 13th century BC. Thus, it is particularly odd that its king decided to carry out naval operations against Alashi(y)a.<sup>39</sup> The upper and lower part of KBo xii 38 is missing. The preserved text in the middle part is placed in four columns and is separated into two distinct sections by a double line.<sup>40</sup>

- I    1–2                .....
- 3–9                [PN (or: The king of Alašiya)] with his wives, his children, [and his.....] I seized; all the goods, [with silver, g]old, and all the captured people I [re]moved and [brought] them home to Hattusa. The country of Alašiya, however, I [enslaved] and made tributary on the spot; and [thi]s(?) tribute I imposed on it:
- 10–12            [...] for the king of Alašiya and for the *pidduri*, this shall be the tribute (owed) to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to the Tabarna, the Great King, priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna:
- 13–14            [(A quantity)] of gold, 1 talent of copper, 3 seah of gayatum for the Sun-goddess of Arinna;
- 15–16            [(a quantity)] of gold, 1 talent of copper, 3 seah of gayatum for the Storm-god of Zip-palanda;
- 17–18            [(a quantity) of gold, 1 ta]lent of copper, 3 seah of gayatum for the Storm-god of Hatti;
- 19–20            [(a quantity) of gold, 1 tale]nt of copper, 3 seah of gayatum for the Storm-god of Nerik.
- 21–23            [...] utensils [...] in Hattusa they shall present.
- 24                [...] all [...] they shall [...]
- II    1–3                [...] emerges [...] fearing [...]
- 4–10            This image, [my father] Tudhaliya did not [make (it)]; I, Suppiluliuma, [the Great King], king of Hatti, son of Tudhaliya, the Great King, grandson of Hattusili, the Great King, and great-grandson of Mursili, the Great King, made it.
- 11–16            And just as my father, the Great King Tudhaliya, was a true king, in the same way I inscribed (his) true manly deeds thereon. As I did not neglect (anything), I did not suppress (anything).
- 17–21            I built an Everlasting Peak. I made the image and carried it into the (building called) Everlasting Peak; I installed and [...]ed it.
- Double Line**
- 22–26            I am My Sun, the Tabarna Suppiluliuma, the Great King, king of Hatti, the hero, son of Tudhaliya, the Great King, king of Hatti, the hero, grandson of Hattusili, the Great King, the hero.
- 27                [My father] Tudhaliya [...]
- III   1–4                My father [...] I mobilized and I, Suppiluliuma, the Great King, immediately [crossed/reached( ?)] the sea.

evacuation of the capital probably became necessary because of Kaska activity: Hoffner 1973, 206; Mellaart 1984, 79; Singer 1985, 120; 2000b, 642; Güterbock 1992, 55. Mushki (Phrygians) appeared in Anatolia early in the 12th century BC; it is possible that they either played a role to the collapse of the Hittite kingdom or simply benefited by it (Kopanijs 2015b).

39 KBo xii 38; CTH 121: Güterbock 1967; Kümmel 1985; Klengel 1998, 302; Bemporad 2002; Bryce 2005, 332; Mantzourani et al. 2019, 109–10; Pichel 2019.

40 Translated by Güterbock 1967, 77–8.

- 5–9                The ships of Alašiya met me in the sea three times for battle, and I smote them; and I seized the ships and set fire to them in the sea.
- 10–16           But when I arrived on dry land(?), the enemies from Alašiya came in multitude against me for battle. I f[ought] them, and [...] me [...]
- 17                [...] troops [...] And [...] Hat[ti...]
- IV 1–4           [...] did/became [...] nothing. And [I], Suppiluliuma, the Great King, built this Everlasting Peak for him.
- 5–8               Hi[s im]age I [...] installed and [...] -ed (and) gave [...] (As for) villages, they will designate seventy.
- 9–14             Whoever will take (it) away from him or subject it to feudal duty, those [gods(?)] who kne[w] Tudhaliya, the Great King, shall [...] them.

In Column I an unnamed Hittite ruler mentions (in the first person) that he captured the king of Alashi(y)a, his wives, children and possessions, brought them to Hattusa and made the kingdom a tributary of Hatti. Then follows a detailed description of the tax to be paid annually to Hatti by the king of Alashi(y)a *and the pidduri*. In Column II Suppiluliuma II mentions (in the first person) that he built an inscribed monument, where he recorded his father's achievements.<sup>41</sup> A double line indicates that a new section begins in the tablet; that is why the name and full title of Suppiluliuma II are repeated. The king mentions (in the first person) his victory in three naval battles against ships coming from Alashi(y)a and in a land battle, which probably took place on the coast of Anatolia, not in Cyprus.<sup>42</sup> Finally, he mentions again the monument, which he built in honor of his father.

The tablet KBo xii 38 offers no evidence, as to whether Alashi(y)a controlled the whole island or a part of it.<sup>43</sup> It mentions the existence of a king and a *pidduri* in Alashi(y)a at the time of the naval campaign; so, apparently, they controlled at least part of the island and would have had their seat in an administrative center, which is not named in the text. There were several centers on the island that could have performed this role during LC IIC. One of the most important and prosperous Cypriot towns was Enkomi, which was easily accessible from the sea and only 160 km away from Ugarit.<sup>44</sup> These two centers maintained close trade contacts during the 13th century, while in both Cypro-Minoan tablets have been discovered.<sup>45</sup> We do not know, if Enkomi was indeed the royal seat of Alashi(y)a during the 13th century BC,<sup>46</sup> nor whether it was the main target of the Hittite naval campaign. However, it is certain that such an important center was influenced by these operations and would come under Hittite control.

The naval battles in the second section of the tablet were indeed conducted by Suppiluliuma II, as mentioned in the text. However, the first section of the tablet does not preserve the name of the ruler, who made Alashi(y)a a tributary. Since the entire text is written in the first person, Otten deemed that all naval operations against Alashi(y)a were carried out by Suppiluliuma II.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, Güterbock<sup>48</sup> remarked that the text lines II.11–6 refer to the achievements of Tudhaliya IV and therefore suggested that the campaign in the first column (I.3–12) was carried out by him. In order to explain the use of the first person in Column I, he suggested that it recapitulates the inscription on the monument created by Suppiluliuma II in honor of his father.<sup>49</sup> Güterbock proposed

41 It is possible that Suppiluliuma II participated in both campaigns: Bemporad 2014; Martino 2018, 35.

42 Singer 2000a, 27; Knapp 2008, 331.

43 For a more detailed discussion: Peltenburg 2012; Mantzourani et al. 2019.

44 Bell 2012, 181–84.

45 Yon 2007.

46 As suggested by Knapp 2008, 340; see also Mantzourani et al. 2019, 119.

47 Otten 1963, 13–23.

48 Güterbock 1967, 81.

49 About the monument: Harmanşah 2015, 44–5.



the above hypothesis, because -at that time- he dated the “Indictment of Madduwatta” in the reign of Tudhaliya IV and thus concluded that this was the king who made Alashi(y)a a Hittite tributary.<sup>50</sup> However, the majority of scholars now attribute this text to Tudhaliya I/II. Güterbock's hypothesis is still largely accepted,<sup>51</sup> but the following points remain problematic:

- Nowhere in the tablet is it stated that Column I is quoting an inscription of Tudhaliya IV.
- Suppiluliuma II built the monument, so his father's achievements would have been reported in the third person. Furthermore, this inscription would not only mention the campaign against Alashi(y)a, but also other campaigns of Tudhaliya IV.
- A monument inscription (probably written in Luwian Hieroglyphic) would not have provided a detailed list of the tribute.

For the aforementioned reasons, I agree with Otten that Suppiluliuma II claimed in this tablet that he had conducted all the naval operations. However, as mentioned above, it is very probable that some or all of these campaigns actually took place during the reign of Tudhaliya IV,<sup>52</sup> and his son simply participated in them and appropriated them after he became king. In conclusion, this naval campaign cannot be dated with certainty either in the reign of Tudhaliya IV or Suppiluliuma II. Thus, we have to place it between 1220–1200 BC.

The historicity of this text cannot be disputed. The fact that the king of Alashi(y)a, his family and loot were transported to Hattusa, but also the very specific description of the annual tax, prove that the Hittite campaign did indeed take place and it did subjugate (a part of) Cyprus.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that during the reign of Suppiluliuma II the Hittites had to fight against enemy ships coming from Alashi(y)a shows that the island did not remain under Hittite control for long. There are no archaeological finds in Cyprus that can be linked with this military activity and Hittite objects are very scarce on the island as well.<sup>54</sup> However, the same is true in the case of other Hittite vassals; only very few Hittite objects have been unearthed e.g. in Ugarit,<sup>55</sup> and, if the relevant texts did not survive, then there would have been no way of knowing that Ugarit had been a Hittite vassal since the 14th century BC. Confirmation of the historicity of the text is provided by the tablet KBo xii 39, which records a treaty between Hatti and Alashi(y)a,<sup>56</sup> dated probably to the reign of Arnuwanda III or Suppiluliuma II.<sup>57</sup> There are two details, which reveal that this treaty was the result of the events described in KBo xii 38: first, the reference to both a king and a *pidduri* of Alashi(y)a and second, the reference to silver intended for the temple of the Sun Goddess of Arinna. The treaty seems to have been concluded simultaneously with the king and the *pidduri* of Alashi(y)a.<sup>58</sup> KBo xii 38 also states that these two officials were responsible for paying the Hatti tribute. The term *pidduri* is not Hittite and refers to the title of an Alashi(y)a official.<sup>59</sup> He was obviously high-ranking, since in another case we know that he corresponded as equal to the king of Ugarit.<sup>60</sup>

We do not know why the Hittites carried out this naval operation at a time when Lukka and Tarhuntassa were not under their control. It has been suggested that their main goal was to secure the transport of grain

50 Güterbock 1967, 80. About the “Indictment of Madduwatta” infra n. 66. Otten (1963, 22) considered that the conquest of Alashi(y)a took place during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, because he also dated the “Indictment of Madduwatta” in the reign of Tudhaliya IV.

51 Hoffner 1980, 286; 2003; Hout 2002, 77; Bryce 2016, 73.

52 As suggested by Melchert 2002, 137.

53 Items from Alashi(y)a mentioned in KBo I 26 (CTH 216) may have been part of this booty: Knapp 1980; Pichel 2019, 205.

54 Kozal 2002; Pichel 2019, 206–7.

55 Helft 2010, 40–62.

56 Otten 1963, 10–2; Mantzourani et al. 2019, 110.

57 Otten 1963, 13. Güterbock 1967, 80–1 does not rule out a date in the reign of Tudhaliya IV.

58 Otten 1963, 12.

59 Knapp 2008, 319, 322–23.

60 An official (with the title *rābišu*) of Alashi(y)a sent the letter EA 40 to his counterpart in Egypt (infra n. 85). For a more detailed discussion: Peltenburg 2012; Mantzourani et al. 2019, 111–16.

by sea from Egypt to Hatti, in order to deal with the famine in Anatolia during the late 13th century BC.<sup>61</sup> Maritime transport may have been hampered by pirates, who used parts of Cyprus and Tarhuntassa as their base.<sup>62</sup> However, such pirate raids also took place in the past. Most likely, the campaign was simply aimed at looting, as well as controlling the Cypriot copper production and trade.<sup>63</sup> It must be emphasized that not even the most powerful Hittite kings ever attempted to conquer Cyprus. Never in their history did the Hittites get involved in a naval battle, nor is it mentioned in their texts that they had a navy.<sup>64</sup> So how is it possible that such a campaign was organized, especially in a period of unprecedented weakness of Hatti? Where did they find the ships needed to transport the troops to Cyprus? The obvious answer is that the Hittites forced the king of Ugarit to make his ships available for these naval operations.<sup>65</sup> But, as observed, Ugarit had been a vassal of the Hittites since the 14th century BC. So why did the Hittites not take advantage of its navy in the past to organize such a naval campaign? It is obvious that they were helped by other agents.

## THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE “SEA PEOPLE”

Piracy was a quite widespread phenomenon in the Eastern Mediterranean during the LBA, and, in particular, Lukka had continuously provided a safe haven for pirates from various regions. During the reign of Tudhaliya I/II (late 15th/early 14th centuries) Madduwatta, as well as the ruler of Piggaya and the ruler of Ahhiya(wa) carried out raids against Alashi(y)a from SW Anatolia with the aim of gaining loot and captives.<sup>66</sup> In the middle of the 14th century BC the king of Alashi(y)a informed the Egyptian ruler (probably Akhenaten), that men from Lukka carried out raids every year on settlements in Cyprus. The Egyptian king reported that men from Lukka and Alashi(y)a did the same to coastal settlements of his own country.<sup>67</sup> “Warriors from the Great Green”<sup>68</sup> (= Eastern Mediterranean) and Sherden<sup>69</sup> also raided the Nile Delta during the reign of Ramses II. Around the middle of the 13th century BC Piyamaradu, a vassal of the king of Ahhiyawa, conducted raids with his ships in Lukka, Lazpa (=Lesbos), Mira, Seha and Wilusa, causing serious difficulties to Hatti.<sup>70</sup> We know also that Tudhaliya IV asked the (then young) vassal ruler of Ugarit (i.e. Ammurapi) to send him a certain person, who had been abducted by the *Shikalayu living on ships*, in order to obtain information about them.<sup>71</sup> The fact that the Hittite ruler himself was interested in this issue shows that they posed a considerable threat.

In the above mentioned texts, the Sherden and Shikalayu are not directly associated with Lukka. However, since the former invaded Egypt and the latter were active in the wider area of Ugarit, it is reasonable to assume that their base of operations was located either in Lukka or (less probably) in Cyprus. An indication for this is

61 Bryce 2005, 356–58. Typical is a letter from the Egyptian king Merenptah in the Urtenu archive, which mentions the sending of a consignment of grain, because a famine had broken out in Ugarit (RS 94.2002+2003; Singer 1999, 712). Merenptah also sent grain to Hatti for the same reason (Kopaniias 2017). About the drought in Anatolia, see Divon 2008; Knapp and Manning 2016; Kaniewski et al. 2019.

62 Singer 2000a, 27; Cline 2014, 128.

63 Martino 2018, 35.

64 The “Tawagalawa Letter” (CTH 181) shows that the Hittite king was not able to pursue Piyamaradu, from the moment he took refuge on an Aegean island. Detailed discussion: Kopaniias 2018b, 2021.

65 Bryce 2005, 366; Knapp 2008, 331; Singer 2011.

66 “Indictment of Madduwatta” CHT 147: Beckman et al. 2011, 95 Aht 3: §36’ (rev. 84–90).

67 Kopaniias 2019, 116–17.

68 Kitchen 1979, 345: 7–9.

69 Kitchen 1985, 40–1; Cifola 1994, 2; Adams and Cohen 2013, 645 no. 2.1.2; Emanuel 2013; Kopaniias 2019, 117.

70 Kopaniias 2018b, 54–64.

71 RS 34.129. Lehmann 1979; Hoftijzer and Soldt 1998, 343; Halayqa 2010, 312, 320. They are probably identified with the Shekelesh mentioned in the Egyptian texts: Redford 2006, 11.

offered by Merenptah's report, that in the 5th year of his reign (i.e. 1209 BC<sup>72</sup>) "northern warriors" (Ekwesh/Akawasha, Terusha, Lukka, Sherden, Shekelesh) and Libyans attacked Egypt under the command of Merey.<sup>73</sup> The fact that the Ekwesh/Akawasha were the most numerous group after the Libyans,<sup>74</sup> but also that the invaders included men from Lukka, shows that both the Aegean area and Lukka were being used as bases by these marauding "northern warriors". These foreign warriors probably served the Libyan ruler Merey as mercenaries,<sup>75</sup> and were heavily armed with swords, as mentioned in the Egyptian texts.<sup>76</sup> They were effective in dealing with chariots and archers,<sup>77</sup> and probably this is why they were sought after as mercenaries, as both Ramesses II and Ramesses III enlisted "Sea People" in their armies.

The treaty of Tudhaliya IV with his vassal Shaushga-muwa of Amurru is dated at the beginning of his reign.<sup>78</sup> The ruler of Assyria was included in the list of the Great Kings, albeit an enemy of Hatti. On the contrary, the king of Ahhiyawa was erased from the list of the Great Kings, probably because he was no longer considered a suitable candidate. Nevertheless, one of the obligations imposed on the ruler of Amurru was to prevent ships from Ahhiyawa from approaching the king of Assyria. This is not a reference to a trade embargo,<sup>79</sup> because the previous section of the text mentions the preparations of Tudhaliya IV to confront Assyria, apparently before the devastating battle of Nihriya. It seems that the Hittite king wanted to prevent Mycenaean warriors/mercenaries from offering military assistance to the Assyrians,<sup>80</sup> as was the case by the "northern warriors" (among them also Mycenaeans) who participated in Merey's raid against Egypt.<sup>81</sup>

Ugarit's involvement in military operations is attested in the letter RS 20.238 from its king (probably Ammurapi) to the king of Alashi(y)a: *Doesn't my father know that all of my infantry [...] is stationed in Hatti, and that all of my ships are stationed in the land of Lukka? They haven't arrived back yet, and the land is thus prostrate.*<sup>82</sup> The letter RS 20.18 may have been sent in response to it.<sup>83</sup> It is a message sent by the *pidduri* (named Eshuwara<sup>84</sup>) of Alashi(y)a to the king of Ugarit (Ammurapi?): *As for the matter concerning those enemies: (it was) the people from your country (and) your own ships (who) did this! And (it was) the people from your country (who) committed these transgression(s). So do not be angry with me! But now, (the) twenty enemy ships –even before they would reach the mountain (shore)– have not stayed around but have quickly moved on, and where they have pitched camp we do not know. I am writing you to inform and protect you. Be aware.*<sup>85</sup> The reference to the 20 ships shows that these raids were not carried out only by small groups, as this number of ships allowed the transport of up to a thousand warriors. To sum up, Ugarit's navy was indeed involved in Hatti's military operations, and the city itself was the target of raids.

72 Thus it occurred during the reign of Tudhaliya IV or Arnuwanda III.

73 Manassa 2003; Kopanias 2017.

74 The term "Ekwesh" is etymologically connected with the Hittite term "Ahhiyawa" and by extension with the ethnonym "Achaean": Radner 2010; Adams and Cohen 2013; D'Amato and Salimbeti 2015; Martino 2018, 32–3; Oreshko 2018. The invaders were defeated and Merenptah's army captured 6,359 Libyan prisoners, 2,201 Ekwesh, 222 Shekelesh, 742 Teresh and an unknown number of Sherden.

75 Manassa 2003, 3; Kopanias 2017, 125. The use of ships for military operations is already witnessed in the 14th century BC: Gubla (EA 111: 7–26), Amurru (EA 126: 7–13), Arwad (EA 105). These ships probably acted as corsairs, with the obligation to give a part of their booty to the ruler they served: Vidal 2008; Gilan 2013, 51; Kopanias 2019, 119–20.

76 Kopanias 2017, 120.

77 Drews 1993, 209–25.

78 CTH 105. Beckman et al. 2011, 50 no. AhT 2 §13–15.

79 As suggested by Cline 1991. Nevertheless, there are no finds to substantiate the existence of trade between the Aegean and Assyria during that period.

80 As suggested by Bryce 2010, 50.

81 Supra n. 73.

82 RS 20.238. Nougayrol et al. 1968, 85–9 no. 24; Hoftijzer and Soldt 1998, 344; Huehnergard 1999, 376–77; Yon 2007; Halayqa 2010, 321–22.

83 As was suggested by Halayqa 2010, 320 n. 67.

84 The name may be of Hurrian origin: Bachvarova 2016, 304.

85 RS 20.18. Nougayrol et al. 1968, 83–5 no. 22; Lehmann 1996, 27; Halayqa 2010, 321.

Ugarit had indeed a significant fleet at its disposal, since in RS 18.148 an official requests the King of Ugarit to prepare 150 ships;<sup>86</sup> unfortunately, it is not clear whether this was an official of Hatti or Ugarit, nor the date the letter or the reason for this request.<sup>87</sup> However, it cannot be ruled out that this tablet was related to the information mentioned in RS 20.238, namely that the entire Ugaritic fleet sailed to Lukka at the behest of the Hittite ruler.

Additional information is provided by the identical letters RS 94.2523 and RS 94.2530, sent by either Tudhaliya IV or Suppiluliuma II to the king of Ugarit (Ammurapi).<sup>88</sup> The Hittite ruler asks the king of Ugarit to transport PAD.MEŠ (=pieces, probably of metal<sup>89</sup>) to Lukka with his ships, so that some Mycenaeans could be paid for a service they offered him. As in RS 20.238, also in these letters Lukka is again the destination of the Ugaritic ships from Ugarit. Thus, it is likely that they referred to the same events.<sup>90</sup> The Mycenaeans in Lukka were not mere merchants: had they been, then the Hittite ruler himself would not have dealt with the issue. Ammurapi's protest, but also the Hittite king's attempt to persuade him, shows that his request involved a significant quantity of goods.<sup>91</sup> This also becomes evident by the fact that more than one ship was required to transport them. Even assuming that the goods could be transported on a single ship and the rest were present for protection, the quantity of products would not be negligible: for example, the Uluburun ship carried ten tons of copper and one ton of tin.<sup>92</sup> The service offered to the Hittite ruler by the Mycenaeans stationed in Lukka was probably of mercenary nature, as has already been suggested by many scholars.<sup>93</sup> In any case, the Hittites had used mercenaries also in the past.<sup>94</sup> This service was probably related to the aforementioned Hittite naval operations against Alashi(y)a, in which these mercenaries participated with their own ships.<sup>95</sup> Singer<sup>96</sup> suggested that Lukka was then under the control of the Mycenaeans, who were based in Millawata. During the reign of Hattusili III it seems that this was indeed the case for some time, as demonstrated by the presence of Piyamaradu (a vassal of the Ahhiyawan ruler) in Lukka.<sup>97</sup> Hattusili III campaigned against him, but Piyamaradu managed to escape to an Aegean island, taking with him 7,000 inhabitants of Lukka. As mentioned above, neither Tudhaliya IV nor Suppiluliuma II controlled Lukka during their reign, and it is probable that the king of Ahhiyawa was indeed involved in this development, as he also did, just as when he helped Tarhunradu to seize the throne of Seha.<sup>98</sup>

From the above brief overview, it becomes clear that the Hittite naval operations mentioned in KBo xii 38 took place at a time of unprecedented weakness of the Hittite kingdom, shortly before its final collapse. It is certain

86 RS 18.148: Virolleaud 1965, 88–9 no. 62; Hoftijzer and Soldt 1998, 336; Singer 1999, 718–19; Halayqa 2010, 303. About the fleet of Ugarit: Vita 1999, 497.

87 For a general discussion: Emanuel 2021, 109–11.

88 The first one was sent by an unnamed Hittite king (RS 94.2530 §7. Beckman et al. 2011, AhT 27A; Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016, 25–9) and the second one by the Hittite official Penti-Sharruma (RS 94.2523 §6. Beckman et al. 2011, AhT 27B; Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016, 29–31). The letter was probably sent by Suppiluliuma II, although Tudhaliya IV or the ruler of Karkemish cannot be ruled out, as suggested by Singer 2011, 176.

89 As suggested by Singer (2011) already in 2006.

90 Singer 2011, 182.

91 Bryce 2010, 52.

92 Pulak 2000; Monroe 2010, 22, Table 1. Also, the text KTU 4,390 from Ugarit mentions the cargo of a ship from Alashiya, which included, among others, 15 talents of metal, possibly copper (Routledge and McGeough 2009, 24). RS 11.799 refers to a ship carrying 20 talents of tin (600 kg): Routledge and McGeough 2009, 33–4.

93 Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2005; Bryce 2010; Beckman et al. 2011, 262; Singer 2011, 183–91 (mercenaries or merchants); Kopanias 2018a; Martino 2018, 33. Jung (2018, 295) suggested that the Hittite king did not hire them as mercenaries, but offered them payment, to stop them raiding his territory.

94 Singer 2005, 448–52.

95 Bryce 2005, 332–33; 2010, 51; 2016, 6–7.

96 Singer 2011, 184.

97 KUB 14.3 (CTH 181). Beckman et al. 2011, AhT 4; Kopanias 2021.

98 *Supra* n. 10.



that the Hittites used the Ugaritic fleet, and it is probable that they also used the services of pirates/mercenaries who operated out of Lukka and the Aegean.<sup>99</sup> The first naval campaign took place between 1220–1200 BC (during the reign of Tudhaliya IV or Suppiluliuma II) and was crowned with success. The king of Alashi(y)a was taken prisoner to Hattusa. His kingdom in Cyprus became a Hittite vassal, while the new king and the *pidduri* were obliged to pay an annual tribute to Hatti. The Hittite ruler apparently appointed a new king, as the Hittites usually did (e.g. in the aforementioned case of Seha Masturi).<sup>100</sup> The existing administrative mechanism in Cyprus was not disbanded, in order for the country to be able to pay the annual tribute. Some of the letters found in Ugarit to and from Alashi(y)a probably belong to this later period.<sup>101</sup> However, Cyprus did not remain under (direct or indirect) Hittite control for long, as Suppiluliuma II had to deal with ships, operating out of Cyprus that attacked his territory.

At this point it is worth making a brief reference to the tradition preserved in later literature. A poem by Virgil mentions the collaboration of Teucer with a Levantine king with the aim of conquering a part of Cyprus: *Atque equidem Teucrum memini Sidona venire / finibus expulsum patriis, nova regna petentem / auxilio Beli; genitor tum Belus opimam / vastabat Cyprum, et victor dicione tenebat*.<sup>102</sup> According to this testimony, Teucer took refuge in exile to the king of Sidon (Belus), entered his service, conquered Cyprus on his behalf and was proclaimed king there. Interestingly, *Teukris* was the ancient name of Troas<sup>103</sup> and its inhabitants were called (Gergithes) Teukroi.<sup>104</sup> It is possible that the story of Teucer, undoubtedly modified and expanded through time, harks back to a LBA/EIA reality: the ethnonym *Tjeker* used for one of the groups of “northern warriors” in Medinet Habu is etymologically associated with the name “Teukroi”.<sup>105</sup> In Athenaeus (6.68) we read that Teucer brought to Cyprus not only people from the island of Salamis, but also Trojan captives, whose descendants included the Gergines, a population group from Salamis.<sup>106</sup> The passages of Athenaeus and Virgil resonate a historic memory, namely that Mycenaean and other warriors from Anatolia took control of a part of Cyprus towards the end of the 13th century BC, being in the service of a Near Eastern king.

99 Bryce 2016, 73. Lycia and Rough Cilicia served as pirate strongholds for long periods of time: Rivas 2015.

100 Supra n. 10.

101 For a catalogue: Merrillees 2011, 263. For a detailed discussion: Mantzourani et al. 2019.

102 Virg. Aen. 619–22 (Williams 1910): *Now I bethink me of when Teucer came to Sidon, exiled, and of Belus' power desired a second throne. For Belus then, our worshipped sire, despoiled the teeming land of Cyprus, as its conqueror and king. Also, Serv. ad Aen. i. 625, 646. I thank L. Maniatis, who pointed out this source to me. Christodoulou (2014) assumes that this particular variant of the myth was used by the Phoenician kings of Kition to legitimize their rule.*

103 E.g. Hdt. 2.118; Aesch. Ag. 112.

104 Hdt. 7.43; Apollod. 3.12.1. See *REV.A1*(1934) 1121–122 (W. Ruge).

105 Halpern 2006–2007, 24; Redford 2006; 2018, 117.

106 Αθήναιος 6.68: «καὶ γὰρ οὐχ οἷον μετρίως ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι σεμνύνονται διὰ τὸ τετιμῆσθαι παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι τῶν Γεργίνων τις ἀπόγονος ὦν τῶν Τρώων ἐκείνων, οὗς Τεῦκρος ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κατακτησάμενος εἰς Κύπρον ἔχων ἀπώκησεν, οὗτος διὰ τῆς παραλίας μετ' ὀλίγων στείλας ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος κατὰ πύστιν ἅμα καὶ οἰκισμὸν τῆς τῶν προγόνων χώρας πόλιν οἰκίσσειε περὶ τὴν Τρωικὴν Ἰδὴν συμπαραλαβὼν τινὰς τῶν Μυσῶν, ἧ πάλαι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους Γέργινα, νῦν δὲ Γέργιθα κέκληται. τούτου γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ στόλου τινὲς ἀποσπασθέντες ἐν τῇ Κυμαίᾳ κατέσχον ἐκ Κύπρου τὸ γένος ὄντες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Θετταλικῆς Τρίκης, καθάπερ τινὲς εἰρήκασιν, ὧν ἰατρεῦσαι τὴν ἄγνοιαν οὐδ' Ἀσκληπιάδαις τοῦτο γε νομίζω δεδόσθαι.»

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