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The Hellenization of Cyprus in the Late Cypriot III
and Beyond: Detecting Migrations in the
Archaeological Record

by

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Senior Honors Thesis

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Introduction

At the height of the Late Bronze Age in the 14th century BC, the island of Cyprus (under the name Alashiya) was thoroughly integrated into the wider Near Eastern world (Knapp 2008:307ff.). Its kings exchanged letters with those of Egypt, Ugarit, and the Hittites, and it was a major source of copper for those states. While its international diplomatic correspondence was conducted in Akkadian, the *lingua franca* of the day, the language actually spoken by the island's populace, and written with what is known as the Cypro-Minoan syllabary, remains undeciphered.

This age of prosperity, and the international system that characterized it, ended around 1200 BC. At this time, the Hittite Empire collapsed totally, and Egypt, hitherto an expansionist power, experienced a severe retraction back to its traditional borders. The Mycenaean civilization of the Aegean ended, and Linear B, its writing system, was lost, Greece remaining illiterate for the next few centuries.

About this time, records from Egypt mention an invasion of the Eastern Mediterranean coast by groups that have come to be known as "Sea Peoples." Egyptian inscriptions name several distinct groups among the Sea Peoples, including the Philistines, Sherden, Shekelesh, Lukka, Tursha, Tjekkel, and Ekwesh (Dothan 1982:1). The Sea Peoples are generally conceded to have at least some connection to the area of the Aegean, although the exact nature of the connection is debated. The Medinet Habu Inscription of Rameses III (early 12th century BC) states that, "No land could stand before them," and lists a number of foreign nations that were "cut off" by them, including the Hittites and Alashiya (Cyprus) (Muhly 1984:39-40). That this inscription also refers to their homeland as "islands" seems to indicate an Aegean origin for at least some of the

Sea Peoples, as do the references elsewhere to them coming from “the north.” (Singer 1988: 239) Cities throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, from the Aegean through Anatolia to Palestine, including Cyprus, were destroyed around this time, and these destructions are often attributed to the Sea Peoples by default (ibid: 41). The widespread use of Aegean-based material cultures in both Cyprus and Philistia in the period immediately after these destruction levels, as well as the fact that Cyprus is largely Greek-speaking when it re-emerges into the light of history in the 8th century BC, have often been held to strengthen this hypothesis.

Until relatively recently, it was taken for granted by scholars that the Greek identity of large parts of the island of Cyprus began around 1200 BC with the migrations of the Sea Peoples. In recent years, however, this consensus has come under increasing scrutiny; at least one scholar has referred to it as a “factoid.” (Leriu 2005:3) The details under question include the process by which the material culture of Cyprus became increasingly Aegeanized over time, as well as the roughly contemporary Aegeanization of the material culture of Philistia in Palestine; Susan Sherratt in particular (1991; 1998) has argued that in both Cyprus and Philistia increased trade and other indigenous sociopolitical processes can explain the shift in material culture much more adequately than a mass migration. Other scholars have followed suit in arguing that the main wave of Aegean migration should in fact be traced to the Late Cypriot IIIB, some 75-100 years later (Coldstream 1994; Catling 1994).

The main purpose of this thesis is to determine the best interpretation of the available evidence regarding the origin of the Greek presence on Cyprus. In support of this goal, I will review the available archaeological and literary evidence for the situation

on Cyprus in the relevant periods (Late Cypriot IIC-Cypro-Geometric IA, c.1300-1000 BC) as well as the evidence regarding the Sea Peoples phenomenon in Philistia and elsewhere. It is argued that the interpretation that best fits the evidence is one of increased Cypriot trade with the Aegean accompanied by a gradual infiltration of the island by Aegean merchants beginning in the Late Cypriot IIC. This was supplemented by two or three destructive yet limited mass migrations—perhaps a small one towards the end of the Late Cypriot IIC, as well as one at the beginning of the Late Cypriot IIIA (c.1200 BC), another at the beginning of the Late Cypriot IIIB (c.1125 BC).

The Archaeological Evidence: Late Cypriot IIIA (c.1200-1125 BC)

At the beginning of the Late Cypriot IIIA in Cyprus, many settlements were destroyed, abandoned, and reorganized (Heuck 1991:152). In the ensuing period, fewer than half of the Late Cypriot II urban centers were rehabilitated in the 12th century; some areas such as the Vasilikos Valley region were totally abandoned, and Pyla-*Kokkinokremnos* and Maa-*Palaekastro* were the only new settlements (Iacovou 1998:334; Åstrom 1998:82). The material culture of the Late Cypriot IIIA inhabitants contained significant Aegean elements. Among the Aegean elements introduced into the material culture around this time include locally-made Argolid-style shallow bowls that are very difficult to distinguish from their Aegean parallels, as well as cultic features such as horns of consecration, baths and hearths (Cadogan 1998:7). Other Aegean-inspired novelties include cooking jugs, unperforated cylindrical loomweights (however, the Aegean-type loomweights were a minority and coexisted with a majority of local Cypriot-style pyramid-style loomweights), bronze fibulae, Naue II swords, greaves, and

Cyclopean walls (Buminovitz 1998:105-108; Åstrom 1998:81-82). In addition, Hala Sultan Tekke shows evidence of being deserted hastily after a battle—loose objects were left abandoned in courtyards and valuables were hidden in the ground; bronze arrowheads and sling bullets were found scattered all over the place (Åstrom 1998:82)—and burial customs in the Late Cypriot III reflect a temporary but widespread disuse of chamber tombs in favor of shaft graves. The Mycenaeanization of the material culture is particularly prominent in table ware; indeed 80% of the Mycenaeanizing vessels in Cyprus are drinking vessels (compare Mycenae, where 68.6% of *all* vessels are drinking vessels) (ibid.:82-83). Both bathtubs and bathrooms are found at Enkomi, Maa-*Palaekastro*, *Alassa-Paliotaverna*, *Kalavastos-Ayios Dhimitrios*, Hala Sultan Tekke and Kition; while bathtubs are known from both the Near East and the Aegean before this time, they occur in true bathrooms only in the Aegean and Cyprus (Karageorghis 1998:281).

Karageorghis (1998) notes particular Aegean affinities in the realm of hearths. Free-standing hearths occupying a prominent place in large rooms which were used as communal or assembly halls appear in Cyprus in the Late Cypriot IIIA and IIIB, and not before. The hearths at both Enkomi and Kition are both free-standing hearths located in a large hall, a concept that dominates the Aegean. Dikaios has gone so far as to refer to the halls at these two sites as *megara*, although this is technically inaccurate (Buminovitz 1998:108). Wooden benches or thrones are found in front of the Enkomi hearths; this layout is known from the Aegean, in both palaces and in representations, and may be Minoan in origin (Karageorghis 1998: 277). The hearth at Mallia in Cyprus is surrounded by four columns as in Mycenaean *megara*, and one at Enkomi is surrounded

by three post-holes for columns (both Dikaios and Karageorghis argue that there was a fourth column). Building II at Maa-*Paleakastro* contains a megaron-like arrangement of a large hearth room and a parallel row of secondary rooms, and pithos sherds were used in the construction of the hearth at Maa, as at Tiryns in mainland Greece. The hearth rooms in buildings II and IV at Maa were both located right next to kitchens; this suggests centralization of food preparation and disposal connected to the activities of the hearth rooms—perhaps these were elite residences with facilities for entertaining guests. At Alassa-*Paliotaverna* there is a large non-domestic ashlar complex dating to the Late Cypriot IIIA which contains a square hearth. Portable hearths have been found at Enkomi and Sinda which consist of a large circular upper part with a central depression and a low rim, and four loop-shaped legs; these resemble the three-footed portable hearths known from the Aegean (ibid.:277-280).

The presence of Handmade Burnished Ware (formerly known as “Barbarian Ware”) in Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age has also been taken as evidence of an Aegean penetration into the island (Pilides 1990). This ware is characterized as being extremely coarse, and was handmade during a period when the potter’s wheel was in extensive use. Handmade Burnished Ware appears roughly simultaneously in Greece, Cyprus, and Anatolia around 1200 BC, although it has its earliest appearances in Crete (ibid:141), and at Tiryns on the Greek mainland (Åström 1998:81). Chemical analysis of the ware on Cyprus indicates that it was produced locally, but not from the usual sources of clay (Pilides 1990:144), and the fabrics and shapes of this ware that appear in Cyprus are foreign to the traditional range of Cypriot potters (ibid:147). In Cyprus it is always associated with Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery, which indicates that the same events that led

to the increase in Mycenaean pottery in LCIIIA also led to the presence of Handmade Burnished Ware on the island. Karageorghis (1994a:3) argues that it is unlikely that this ware would have been the object of trade because of its plainness, and thus it is evidence of an Aegean migration to the island during this period. However, Åström (1998:81) notes that analyses suggest that some of these vases were in fact imported to Cyprus from Greece, and it should be noted that the Handmade Burnished Ware of Cyprus is not completely identical to that of Greece, being distinct from the latter in both fabric and shape (Pilides 1991:141). This indicates that the use of this ware to Cyprus should be interpreted at least partially as a deliberate Cypriot adaptation of this ware rather than evidence for a migration.

Another type of pottery that increases in frequency in Cyprus after 1200 BC is Northwest Anatolian Grey Ware (Heuck 1991). This pottery is native to the Anatolian coast as well as the northwest Anatolian river valleys, and is particularly associated with the site of Troy. While it is a native Anatolian ware, it is at least partially Aegean-inspired. It first appears in Cyprus in the 13th century BC, along with other evidence of considerable Mycenaean trade before the first wave of destructions, but it increases in concentration in the period immediately after the destructions. Both before and after the destructions it is concentrated primarily at six sites—Kition, Kition-*Bamboula*, Pyla-*Verghi*, Pyla-*Kokkinokremnos*, Hala Sultan Tekke and Enkomi. All six of these sites are coastal; this is evidence of the dominance of these coastal centers within the island over Mediterranean trade. Where this ware appears it is found in association with Mycenaean-style pottery. Thin section analysis indicates that where these vessels appear on Cyprus they were imported. It is interesting to note that after 1200 BC Northwest Anatolian

Grey Ware continues in association with Mycenaean-style pottery *only* in Cyprus— Heuck takes this as evidence of a mixed Aegean-Anatolian immigrant community, but it could just as easily indicate that these two pottery styles were present in Cyprus through trade and associated with each other in the Cypriot consciousness as belonging to an undifferentiated “northern” style.

The sites of Pyla-Kokkinokremnos and Maa-Palaekastro have been argued to represent early Aegean enclaves in Cyprus. Both sites were founded towards the end of the Late Cypriot IIC, around 1230 BC, before the first wave of destructions on the island (Muhly 1984:51), and both were strategically located (Karageorghis 1984). Pyla was founded on a high plateau at a naturally defensible site. The villages in its immediate vicinity were abandoned at the time it was founded, and it was protected by casemate walls that closely resembled those found at Malthi-Dorion on the Greek mainland and Kastro-Kephala in Crete. Maa is located on a steep-sided peninsula and was fortified by Cyclopean walls and a “dog-leg” entrance similar to those found on the “Mycenaeanized” western coast of Anatolia. What Karageorghis classifies as late Mycenaean IIIB pottery is predominant at both sites (but see below), and both sites were destroyed around 1200 BC during the island-wide destruction phase. Both sites were habitations, not look-out posts, and neither of them had any surrounding villages at the time of occupation. Karageorghis takes their isolated and strategic placement as evidence that they were founded and occupied by Aegean-Anatolian Sea Peoples who were confined to the coast by the hostile Cypriots; however as there is evidence of significant trade links at both sites they could easily be interpreted as newly founded trade emporia.

Despite what might appear to be impressive evidence of Mycenaean penetration onto the island, in recent years the model of a mass migration of Aegean Sea Peoples has come under increasing scrutiny. It must be noted that the Aegeanization of Cypriot material culture is not an abrupt process which occurs immediately after the destructions at the beginning of the Late Cypriot IIIA; rather, the Aegeanization begins gradually in the Late Cypriot IIC, starting around 1250 BC (Cadogan 1991). This begins with the appearance of locally-made Mycenaean shallow bowls and the development of the Pastoral Style, a distinctively Cypriot adaptation of Mycenaean decorative motifs (Kling 1991:181), as well as the adoption of the amphoroid krater and the pedestalled shallow bowl into the native Cypriot Plain White Wheelmade and White Slip traditions respectively. Beginning in the Late Cypriot IIIA we start to see the Mycenaean-style table settings mentioned above, as well as locally made deep bowls of Aegean derivation. At the very beginning of the Late Cypriot IIIA (immediately after the destructions) there is an increase in imported Aegean ware, Mycenaean-style piriform jars begin to be made locally, and piriform shapes begin to appear in the native Cypriot Base Ring Ware (Cadogan 1991). The skyphos, an Aegean-derived shape formerly seen as diagnostic of the Late Cypriot IIIA, is now recognized as having first appeared in Cyprus in the Late Cypriot IIC (Sherratt 1991:189), and the horns of consecration, an important cultic element used to argue for Aegean penetration, has been found in the Late Cypriot IIC as well (Åstrom 1998:81).

This evidence of gradual rather than abrupt Aegeanization of the Cypriot material culture has led to the distinction between Mycenaean and non-Mycenaean material culture in Cyprus being called into question (Kling 1991). Kling notes that it is

sometimes extremely difficult to distinguish between genuine locally made “Mycenaean” ware and the distinctly Cypriot Pastoral Style (also called Decorated Late Cypriot III), and that “...one man’s Decorated Late Cypriot III is another man’s Mycenaean IIIC.” (ibid.:181) She notes that several bowl shapes are assigned to different categories based on whether or not they are decorated (the decorated forms being classified as Mycenaean and the undecorated forms as Plain White Wheelmade), and argues that these distinctions are assigned based on an already-decided historical interpretation and then circularly used to confirm that interpretation. She agrees with Åstrom in asserting that Decorated Late Cypriot III and locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1b should be classified as a single material culture, White Painted Wheelmade III; this category would span both the Late Cypriot IIC and the Late Cypriot IIIA.

Sherratt (1991; 1998) notes that throughout the Late Bronze Age decorated pottery as a trade item was largely the purview of the Aegean and Cyprus. Cypriots probably served as middlemen in the Aegean pottery trade to the Levant in the 14th-13th centuries, where it is always found in association with Cypriot pottery and sometimes with Cypro-Minoan signs on it. Sherratt views decorated pottery at this time as a value-added commodity—that is, one with no intrinsic worth aside from its ability to be used as a substitute for more expensive items. This is supported by the fact that the contexts in which imported pottery is found are usually sub-elite rather than true elite; pottery is not mentioned in our texts among such truly elite items as gold, silver, and copper. This type of sub-elite value-added item is particularly susceptible to local imitation, and other examples of this are known than in Late Bronze Cyprus: locally made Cretan Kamares ware in early 2nd millennium BC Egypt for example, as well Cypriot Base Ring shapes

produced in the Levant. In this model the production of the “Pastoral Style” in the 13th century, as well as the subsequent copying of other Aegean shapes in the 12th century represents an attempt to take the production of pottery intended for export markets more directly into the Cypriots’ hands. It is important to note that the range of Aegean shapes and motifs expands steadily and gradually into the 12th century, and that the geographical range of Aegean inspiration is diverse, with no region in Greece serving as the primary influence. Also note that the range of Aegean shapes that appear in Cyprus represents only a small percentage of the total number of functional forms that are found in the Aegean, and that the Aegean forms are far more abundant at coastal sites than at inland ones. These facts all suggest trade rather than immigration. Indeed, the Cypriot taste for Mycenaean and Minoan pottery was characteristic of the Levantine *koine* in this period, and the increased presence of this pottery in the Late Cypriot IIC and IIIA may be a reflection of the island’s proximity to the Aegean relative to the rest of the Levant, as well as the fact that Cyprus produced copper, which was of great value to the Aegean states (Cadogan 1998:12). Also note that increased local imitation was not exclusively of Aegean items, as Canaanite jars began to be increasingly imported as well as manufactured locally in Cyprus at this time (Åstrom 1998:82).

In addition to a lack of evidence for an abrupt and decisive transition between the Late Cypriot IIC and the Late Cypriot IIIA, Åstrom (1998) notes significant continuities between the two periods. Artificial cranium deformation, attested in Cyprus from the Neolithic onwards, appears in Cyprus both before and after 1200 BC, and there are examples at Lapithos all the way up into the Iron Age. Both before and after the

destructions, clay balls were used as identity cards or to play marbles and the Egyptian board games *senet*, *mehen*, and 20-square were popular.

In short, the evidence for an Aegean presence on Cyprus beginning around 1200 BC is ambiguous. The majority of the ceramic evidence is more indicative of increased trade than mass migration; however, certain evidence like cultic features, fibulae and loomweights indicates that there was some Aegean presence on the island, certainly after the destructions and perhaps even before in the form of merchants who settled there (and who were likely intimately linked with the trading processes leading to the material culture's Aegeanization). However, the Aegeanization of Cyprus is not to be looked at in a vacuum. Roughly contemporary to the wave of destructions in Cyprus is a similar wave of destructions on the Levantine coast, and the subsequent occupation of a large swath of southern Palestine by people using an Aegean-inspired material culture. These newcomers, the Philistines, are explicitly mentioned by Rameses III in his description of the battle against the Sea Peoples, and have traditionally been seen as part of the same wave of migrations that resulted in the Aegeanization of Cyprus. Thus, we cannot understand what was going on in Cyprus at this time without also understanding events in Palestine, and it is to this region that we now turn.

The Sea Peoples and their Origins

The key to determining the causes behind the Aegeanization of Cypriot material culture in the Late Cypriot IIIA is intimately connected with the contemporary archaeological situation in Philistia, a coastal area of southern Palestine roughly equivalent to the modern-day Gaza Strip. Among the Sea Peoples mentioned by

Rameses III are a group called the *Peleset*, and these are almost universally identified with the people known in later biblical texts as the Philistines. Around the same time that they are mentioned by Rameses III in participating in an invasion of Egyptian territory, several cities in the area that would later become known as Philistia are destroyed; these sites are then reoccupied by people using pottery in the Mycenaean IIIc:1b tradition (Dothan 1982). It is often supposed that the Philistines were in fact immigrants from the Aegean; this is supported by a biblical tradition which traces their origins to Crete (Muhly 1984:46), as well as the fact that some of the other Sea Peoples seem to come from the Aegean area or nearby. The Lukka are known from Hittite texts to have been located in Western Anatolia; and while the geographical identifications of the rest of the Sea Peoples are less secure, the Tjekkel, Denyen, Tursha and Shekelesh could be from Anatolia as well—the name of the Tjekkel recalls the Teucri of Anatolia known from Greek myth; that of the Denyen recalls that of the Danuna, a people known to have lived to the north of Ugarit in this period, probably in the region of Adana (it could also conceivably be connected to the *Danaoi*, an alternate name used by Homer for the Achaean Greeks); that of the Tursha recalls both the site of Tarsus (*Tarsa* in Hittite) and the region of Taruisa; and the name of the Shekelesh recalls the city of Sagalassos in Pisidia. The Ekwesh have been connected to the Achaean Greeks, although as the Egyptian reliefs depict them as circumcised, this is unlikely (Bryce 1974; Muhly 1984:44; Niemeier 1998:46).

The Aegean connections of the Philistines are further supported by their material culture. After about 1200 BC at Ekron in Philistia, beginning in stratum VII, imported Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery ceases, and locally made Mycenaean IIIc:1b pottery

appears in what Dothan (1998) calls “overwhelming quantities.” Mycenaean IIIc:1b pottery accounts for 60% of the pottery found in the city’s industrial area, and the Egyptian features present in the earlier city are now absent. A very similar distribution of Mycenaean IIIc:1b pottery is appears at nearby Ashdod, and archaeometric analysis indicates that the Mycenaean vessels were made locally at both sites; this is further confirmed by the discovery of kilns at both sites associated with pottery of this style. Philistine kitchen ware also reflects the Aegean tradition, and zooarchaeological evidence indicates that the Philistines consumed pork and beef in larger quantities than the goat and mutton that were standard Palestinian fare. Biconical or rounded unbaked clay loomweights found at these sites also have predecessors in Aegean (and Cyprus). Other Aegean-inspired objects include a double-headed linchpin topped by two faces which are of Aegean style and strongly resemble the sphinxes that decorate wheeled ceremonial stands in Cyprus, an ivory-handled knife with a ring-shaped pommel, spool-shaped loom weights, evidence of a Mycenaean-style “kitchen kit,” and an ivory lid of a pyxis depicting combat between a lion, a griffin, and two bulls, in 13th-12th century Aegean style. The discovery of three wheels with eight spokes each were probably part of a square stand on wheels, known from Cyprus during the 12th century BC; these stands were decorated with Aegean-derived pictorial scenes (ibid.; Niemeier 1998:48).

Philistine cultic and architectural traditions also show Aegean affinities (Dothan 1998:155-158). Cultic practices with Aegean connections include the “Ashdoda” figurines derived from the Mycenaean seated goddess tradition, a miniature votive vessel identical to the thousands found at Athienou on Cyprus, and four incised bovine scapulae possibly used as musical instruments, also with Cypriot connections. Certain

architectural features of the Philistine temple at Ekron, most notably the hearth and furniture, are of Aegean origin. The hearth was first introduced in this period in Philistia, and is related to the large hearths of the palaces and shrines at Mycenae, Pylos, and Tiryns in the Aegean. The public building in Ekron in which this hearth appears, also has features of the Aegean megaron: it is a long building with a large entrance, and has a central hall with a hearth and side rooms, the hearth being the central feature of the main hall. The hearths themselves are extremely similar between the Aegean and Philistia, sharing such features as a white-plaster-coated floor, a stucco coating, and a modeled edge with a broad flat rim encircling the center (ibid.). Several of these rectangular shaped hearths at Ekron are lined with jar sherds, a feature echoing the hearths of both Maa-Palaekastro and Tiryns. Mazar compares a similar hearth building at Tell Qasile with Dikaios' "megaron" at Enkomi (Karageorghis 1998:279-280).

However, the connection of the Philistines *directly* with the Aegean is by no means secure. In fact, the closest parallels to the Philistine material culture are specifically from the Aegean-derived material on Cyprus—indeed Muhly (1984:47-48) goes so far as to say that its Aegean inspiration extends no further west than the island. In fact, certain Philistine features are purely Cypriot, not Aegean (Sherratt 1998:302-307). The Philistine assemblage represents only a restricted section of the Aegean shapes found in Cyprus, which itself is only a restricted section of shapes found in the Aegean; the most common Aegean shapes found at Ashdod and Ekron seem to be drinking vessels. These two sites also include many undecorated Cypriot-style kalathoi, as well as utilitarian objects of Cypriot design, including knives. The Ashdoda/Aphrodite figurines may well be indicative of Cypriot origins as well, since it is well-known that Aphrodite

was an originally non-Greek deity who arrived in Greece via Cyprus (ibid.). A new type of cooking pot found in Iron I Philistia is far more common in Cyprus (and at Tarsus in Cilicia) than it is in the Aegean (Killebrew 1998:397). Additionally Philistia, like Cyprus, lacks true megara (Buminovitz 1998:108). It should also be noted that Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery in Philistia lacks the luster typical of Mycenaean finish (Dothan 1998:154), so this pottery may not be as “Mycenaean” as it seems at first glance.

Indeed Killebrew (1998:395-397) points out that the use of the term “Mycenaean IIIC:1b” to refer to early Philistine pottery is in fact a misnomer that dates back to a time when the “Mycenaean” ware in Late Cypriot IIIA Cyprus was thought to be distinct from the local Cypriot ware. As mentioned above, this type of pottery on Cyprus has since been joined with what were previously termed the Late Mycenaean IIIB, Decorated Late Cypriot III, and Pastoral styles in order to create the classificatory category of White Painted Wheelmade III; the creation of this new terminology was due to the recognition that the “Mycenaean” pottery in Cyprus shared features of fabric, technique, and decoration with what had previously been termed Decorated Late Cypriot III. In both White Painted Wheelmade III and Philistine assemblages there is a scarcity of Mycenaean-style containers, and early Philistine pottery is usually decorated with a matt paint, as is White Painted Wheelmade III in Cilicia and Cyprus. This is in contrast to true Aegean Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery, which is usually decorated with lustrous paint. Given its Cypriot connections then, early Philistine pottery is more properly classified as White Painted Wheelmade III rather than Mycenaean IIIC:1b (Killebrew.1998:395-397).

Even some of the apparently Cypriot features of Philistine material culture may in fact be local. A representation of mourning individuals that appears in Philistine art is

often connected to the Cyprus and the Aegean for example; however, Muhly (1984:47-48) notes that this representation occurs both in Cyprus and in the Levant as well.

Philistine temples are very similar in form to Late Cypriot III temples; however, these temples are of a standard Near Eastern (and specifically Levantine) type, so they cannot be used as evidence for their ethnic origins.

As noted above, many of the Aegean features in Philistia pointed out by Dothan are closely paralleled in Cyprus. Indeed she uses the Cypriot parallels as evidence for the Aegean origins of the Philistines; however this interpretation is dependent on the idea that there was in fact an Aegean migration to Cyprus at this time as well. If these Aegean features in Cyprus were an indigenous development, the evidence would seem to indicate that the Philistines were in fact Aegeanized Cypriots rather than actual immigrants from the Aegean. This is supported by the fact that the few examples of the Philistine script that we possess seem to have been Cypro-Minoan rather than Linear B (Iacovou 1998:339-340). Iacovou explains this by postulating that the Philistines were illiterate Aegeans who had “stopped off” in Cyprus before coming to Philistia, and adopted their script on the way; she explains their illiteracy in their own Linear B script by pointing to the fact that in Mycenaean Greece literacy was limited to scribal bureaucrats, whereas in Cyprus it seems to have been more widespread. This explanation however requires us to make two unnecessary assumptions—that the supposedly Aegean Philistines did not bring their native script to Cyprus, and that they adopted the Cypro-Minoan script within the few years that they were on the island. In light of the other evidence discussed above, the simpler explanation—that the majority of the Philistines were from Cyprus rather than the Aegean—is the better one.

An alternative explanation of Philistine origins, however, is offered by Sherratt (1998), one that attempts to eliminate migration from the picture almost completely. Instead, she suggests that the Sea Peoples phenomenon was the result of changing economic strategies in the coastal cities of Cyprus and Philistia resulting from increased trade and political autonomy in these centers. As argued above by Sherratt, the evidence from Cyprus indicates a gradual Aegeanization of the material culture in Cyprus which was largely the result of increased trade in Aegean ceramics and subsequent attempts by Cypriots to exert some level of control over production of these ceramics. Sherratt notes that in Philistia, the potters' shop in Ashdod Stratum IIIb is associated with Mycenaean and Cypriot-style pottery of the Late Cypriot IIC period, and that this indicates that this pottery was being produced here as well before the destructions in the time of Rameses III. This, she argues, indicates a situation similar if not identical to Cyprus with regard to the Aegeanization of Philistia's material culture. She identifies the coastal cities of both Cyprus and Philistia as the original home of the Sea Peoples and attributes their war with Rameses III to the fact that their independent trade was a threat to the centrally-controlled palatial economies of the East Mediterranean empires. She attributes the destructions of the early 12th century in both regions to competition between coastal cities—in her interpretation, these cities were by this time *de facto* independent of whatever island-wide political structure may have existed at this time, in the manner of the Hanseatic cities of late medieval northern Europe. The Ashdoda/Aphrodite figure in Cyprus and Philistia is interpreted as an expression of a new ideology of seaborne merchants (in Greek mythology Aphrodite was the patroness of sailors).

There is certainly evidence to support Sherratt's interpretation of the autonomy of the coastal cities and their identity with some elements of the Sea Peoples. Beginning in the 13th century, coastal sites like Enkomi, Palaepaphos, Hala Sultan Tekke, and Kition eclipsed the inland copper cities like Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* and Maroni-*Vournes* in both economic power and size (Sherratt 1998:297), even though one of the inland sites seems to have been the political capitol of the island (Goren et. al. 2003). Evidence for administrative centralization (in the form of seals and homogeneity of material culture) is weak (Steele 2004:181-186). Hittite records from the time of Suppiluliumas II, (c.1200 BC) mention a successful battle with "the enemy from Alashiya" in which the Hittite forces reached the Alashiyan coast (Knapp 2008:332); indeed it is tempting to date at least some of the destructions on Cyprus to this battle. A letter sent by Eshawura, the viceroy of Cyprus, to Ammurapi, the king of Ugarit in Syria in the early 12th century BC, warns the latter that the Eshawura's residence in "the mountain"—possibly Kalavassos *Ayios-Dhimitrios* or *Alassa Paleotaverna* in the Troodos range—had been threatened by 20 enemy ships that had sailed upriver, and that those ships are now headed for Ugarit (Goren et. al. 2008:250-251). Eshawura quite interestingly adds that he himself is not to blame for the attack (Knapp 2008:332-333), which indicates that the attackers are people who might be mistaken as his own forces—exactly what one would expect if these attackers were the inhabitants of coastal Cypriot cities that were supposed to be under his control.

However, Sherratt's model of a completely indigenous development of the Sea Peoples phenomenon in Philistia itself falls short of the evidence. While the local population of Ashdod may have been imitating Mycenaean pottery in small quantities in

the Late Bronze IIB, the extent of this practice before the early 12th century BC destruction is not nearly enough to posit a gradual Aegeanization of the material culture as seems to be the case in Cyprus. The number of Cypriot and Mycenaean wares found in Philistia before the Iron I is extremely limited, and neutron activation analysis indicates that the majority of this pottery was imported. In contrast, the destruction of sites in Philistia in the early 12th century is followed by the sudden appearance of vast quantities of locally-made White Painted Wheelmade (“Mycenaean IIIC:1b”) pottery (Killebrew 1998:379-381). Additionally, the zooarchaeological evidence indicates a shift in dietary practices from sheep and goats to cattle and pigs, as mentioned above. Early Iron I Philistine pottery was produced from different local sources than the previous Late Bronze Canaanite pottery (however, later Philistine Bichrome pottery returned to the same clay sources as the Late Bronze IIB clay). Microscopic analysis indicates that the Late Bronze IIB pottery was produced using a combination of hand-made and slow wheel techniques, whereas Iron I pottery was produced using the fast wheel. Examination of the kilns from both periods also indicates that the firing temperature and environments were significantly different between the Late Bronze IIB and the early Iron I. Killebrew refers to the difference in firing techniques as evidence that the potters of the two periods were practicing “different crafts” (ibid.:400-401). While a more temporally extensive examination of dietary practices and potters’ clay sources throughout the earlier and later periods in Philistia may give us a better idea of how useful this evidence is for detecting intrusive ethnic elements, it is safe to say that the evidence for an abrupt population transfer is significantly stronger in Philistia than it is in Cyprus, although the origin of that population is more likely to be Cyprus itself than the traditionally-assumed Aegean.

Before moving on we should note that no review of the origins of the Philistines would be complete without visiting the various hypotheses that ascribe to them an Anatolian origin. Singer (1988:241-242) specifically puts their origin in western Anatolia and the islands off the western Anatolian coast, and connects their name to that of the Pelasgians known from later Greek legend. He notes that there is no linguistic obstacle against connecting the Philistines to the Pelasgians (*Pelasgoi*) of Greek legend; indeed in some sources the term *Pelasgoi* is actually transcribed as *Pelastoi*. The earliest sources, such as the Iliad, put them in western Anatolia and the Greek historian Strabo adds that they also inhabited the offshore islands. According to the Odyssey the Pelasgians also occupied Crete, so this could account for the biblical connection of the Philistines with that island. In support of this hypothesis one should note that the material culture of certain parts of Late Bronze Age western Anatolia is heavily Mycenaeanized (Buminovitz 1998:106; Niemeier 1998:48), although it lacks the specifically Cypriot traits that appear in Philistia. It is interesting to note that what little evidence we possess regarding the language spoken by the Philistines before they adopted the Semitic dialect of Canaan seems to point to an Anatolian origin (Ray 1986); however, it is important not to overstate this evidence—it is largely limited to a very few Philistine words and personal names which appear in the Bible and inscriptions. To the present author the prospect of abandoning what looks like overwhelming archaeological evidence for the Cypriot origins of these settlers in favor of limited and temporally scattered philological data is not tempting; however, a solution to this problem may be forthcoming in the region of Cilicia in southern Anatolia which, according to Killebrew (1998), shared many aspects of its material culture with Cyprus in the 12th century,

including White Painted Wheelmade pottery. Unfortunately Cilicia and its connections to Cyprus and Philistia have not been extensively explored at this time, so the most that can be said is that the data at hand points most glaringly to Cyprus as the origin of the Philistine settlers, while Cilicia remains an intriguing possibility which remains to be explored.

A word of caution should be sounded, however, in using material culture (particularly ceramics) to attribute precise origins to the Sea Peoples phenomenon in light of evidence from the site of Dor in northern Israel. Dor was destroyed at about the same time as the cities of Philistia (early 12th century BC), and it is known from Egyptian documents (the Onomasticon of Amenemope and the tale of Wenamon) that Dor was ruled by the Tjekkel, one of the Sea Peoples, in the succeeding period (Gilboa 1998:413; Stern 1998:346); the Sherden, another of the Sea Peoples, can be located at Acre nearby (Niemeier 1998: 47). At both Dor and Tel Zeror (also settled by the Tjekkel), the excavators have characterized their material culture as identical to that of the Philistines (ibid.:48); however, a more detailed analysis of Dor's ceramics indicates that this is not the case (Gilboa 1998). According to Gilboa, in both the pre-destruction and post-destruction levels, the pottery is largely continuous with the Late Bronze Age Levantine tradition. A possible exception to this is the wavy line pithoi of a Levanto-Cypriot style found in immediately post-destruction contexts, and which also appear in Philistia; however, these could easily have been imported, and Biran has noted that these vessels appear in Phoenicia as well as Cyprus at this time (Stern 1998:346). While a certain amount of evidence has suggested a population related to the Philistines at Dor—including unstratified Philistine Bichrome sherds, a Philistine-style lion's head rhyton, a

few examples of incised cow *scapulae*, a cult stand with the form of a dancing figurine, and a bone knife-handle with a ring-shaped head—it must be noted that this evidence is far less prevalent than it is in Philistia and could easily be dismissed as trade were it not for contemporary Egyptian texts that tell us there were Sea Peoples here. This should serve as a reminder that migrations which leave but a limited trace in the archaeological record can and do occur and that archaeologists should not dismiss interpretations which invoke migration simply because the evidence is ambiguous.

In sum, the archaeological evidence regarding the Sea Peoples phenomenon in the Levant is overwhelmingly in favor of a Cypriot origin for these settlers. Perhaps they included some Aegeans and Anatolians among them; these may have even been the politically dominant element as indicated by the (limited) linguistic and philological data. However, the fact that they were using White Painted Wheelmade pottery, the evidence of specifically Cypriot rather than Aegean cultural features, and their use of the Cypro-Minoan script indicates that the majority of their population consisted of bona fide Cypriots, however Aegeanized their material culture. The origins of the Sea Peoples phenomenon as a whole, while certainly having roots in the Aegean and Anatolia, also included certain coastal Cypriot cities which by the end of the Late Cypriot II were *de facto* independent of whatever central government existed on the island; indeed it is possible that the names of certain Sea Peoples may simply be the names of the cities from which they came (Sherratt 1998). The inclusion of indisputably Anatolian elements like the Lukka among their number indicates that they were a heterogeneous lot; however, those that settled in Philistia were primarily Cypriots. The relationship of the Sea Peoples with Cyprus, then, must be envisioned to be more complex than previously

believed. While there is certainly evidence that Sea Peoples (some of whom were Aegeans) were responsible for at least some of the turmoil in Cyprus around 1200, the evidence that some of the Sea Peoples were coastal Cypriots themselves indicates that, whoever the Aegean invaders were (Doumas has characterized them as displaced elites fleeing internal disturbances [1998:130]), they had plenty of local support when they arrived on the island. Indeed the situation on Cyprus may be that of intraregional strife in which the autonomous cities of the coast, with the help of foreign invaders, were asserting their independence against a central government—located perhaps in the Troodos range (as indicated by petrographic analysis of diplomatic correspondence tablets coming from Alashiya; Goren et. al. 2003) to which they were still at least nominally subject—and the Hittite evidence, as well as the evidence for the central government’s control over the coastal areas in the succeeding period (along with the survival of inland Cypriot centers as opposed to the destruction of coastal ones) indicates that a Hittite intervention in support of the central government may be responsible for the destruction of the coastal cities. Some of these coastal Cypriots would have then joined the restless Aegeans and Anatolians in an attack against the imperial powers of Egypt and Hatti, delivering the final blow in a Late Bronze Age “system collapse” which in all likelihood had diverse socioeconomic causes.

The Late Cypriot IIIB (c.1125-1050 BC) and Cypro-Geometric I (c.1050-1000 BC)

If the Aegean traits in Cyprus cannot be (completely) attributed to the Sea Peoples movements of the Late Cypriot IIIA, to when, then, can it be attributed? Increasingly,

scholars have been favoring the subsequent Late Cypriot IIIB period, which began around 1125 BC, as the period to which we should look for evidence of Hellenization. According to Iacovou (1998), the beginning of this period is marked by a decisive break with the Late Cypriot IIIA, as opposed to the Late Cypriot IIIA itself which is simply a “modest continuation of the 13th century” (ibid:334). The Late Cypriot IIIB witnesses the permanent abandonment of all previous settlements with the exception of Palaepaphos and Kition, and even at these two the burial grounds shifted locations; eight of the ten known Late Cypriot IIIB sites became capitals of known city-kingdoms in the ensuing periods. This period also sees the introduction of a new tomb type in the Aegean *dromos* tradition, as well as cremation and the earliest evidence of the use of the Greek language on the island (Negbi 1998:88-90). It is also important to note that the Cypro-Greek foundation legends refer only to the towns founded in the Late Cypriot IIIB and Cypro-Geometric, and are completely ignorant of the situation in the Late Cypriot IIIA (Buminovitz 1998:108).

Beginning in the Late Cypriot IIIB, and continuing into the Cypro-Geometric I, a new type of tomb, consisting of a rectangular chamber preceded by a long, narrow *dromos* appears in Cyprus (Vanschoonwinkel 1994:117-120). This tomb, distinct from the earlier native Cypriot chamber tomb which contained an oval or circular chamber with a rectangular stepped dromos (Karageorghis 2002:25, 118), is indicative of Aegean influence and is similar to the Aegean Chamber Tombs of the Late Helladic IIIC period; indeed this tomb appears in Cyprus just as its Aegean counterparts begin to become obsolete. The exact origin of these tombs within Greece is a matter of debate. Some have suggested Rhodes based on the uniform orientation of the tombs at both Kourion-

Kaloriziki and Rhodes, but the four most ancient tombs at *Kaloriziki* are in a different orientation and the common orientation of the tombs on Rhodes has been argued to have been based on terrain. Others have suggested Crete, but the only place on that island where these tombs were used is the region around Knossos. These tombs coexist with traditional Cypriot tomb types in the Late Cypriot IIIB and the Cypro-Geometric IA, usually in the same necropolis, although the necropoli at Lapithos-*Kastros* and Marion are composed exclusively of the Aegean-style tombs (Vanschoonwinkel 1994:119). It is interesting to note that despite their Aegean origin, these tombs usually contained single burials, a Cypriot tradition at odds with contemporary Aegean practice.

In the Late Cypriot IIIB, the custom of cremation was introduced to the island, although it is extremely rare—indeed, it is only found in a single tomb, at Tomb 40 at Kourion-*Kaloriziki* in the first half of the 11th century, and does not become common until the Cypro-Geometric IA. It is important to note that Tomb 40 is of the traditional Cypriot type (Vanschoonwinkel 1994:119-120). Negbi (1998:88-89) suggests this is the tomb of a local Cypriot prince who adopted the Aegean custom of cremation. Cremation is in fact also rare in the Aegean during the Sub-Mycenaean period (1060-1000 BC), although the few attestations of it at Perati, Crete, Naxos, Cos and Rhodes provide a source for the roughly contemporary Cypriot examples—however, it must be noted that the Aegean is not the only possible place of origin for this practice, as it was also practiced in contemporary Anatolia, as well as in 12th-century Syria (Vanschoonwinkel 1994:119-120).

Much of the evidence for habitation during this period throughout the island has been destroyed by continuous rebuilding or is otherwise inaccessible due to current

occupation (Iacovou 1994:150), so we must rely on mortuary evidence to reconstruct conditions on the island at this time. What evidence we do have, however, indicates that settlement patterns on Cyprus underwent a significant shift in the Late Cypriot IIIB (Vanschoonwinkel 1994). The city of Enkomi (Level IIB:2) was destroyed by fire around 1075 BC and immediately reoccupied (Level IIIC) by people using primarily Late Mycenaean IIIC and Wavy Line Style pottery; Level IIIC was itself destroyed around 1050 and after that the site was permanently abandoned. The nearby city of Salamis, which would become prominent in the Classical period, was founded at this time; while only one tomb to date has been excavated at the site for this period (in the second half of the 11th century, technically the Cypro-Geometric IA) it is fairly wealthy and seems to indicate a prosperous town or city.

The ceramic repertoire of this period is characterized by what is known as Proto-White Painted pottery (Iacovou 1991). Formerly called “Cypriot Sub-Mycenaean” because of its similarities to the latest Mycenaean ware, it is a fusion of Aegean, Cypriot, and Levantine traditions. The appearance of this pottery tradition is associated with the shift in settlement patterns that occurs at the beginning of the Late Cypriot IIIB, although it is also found in a few impoverished burials and a single sanctuary from the very end of the late Cypriot IIIA (ibid.:203). In addition to Mycenaean elements inherited from the Cypriot repertoire of the previous period, it contains new Mycenaean elements that are derivative of those of the Middle Mycenaean IIIC, and in particular contains influence from the Argolid, Attica, the Dodecanese islands and Crete (ibid.; Vanschoonwinkel 1994:120). It represents a fusion of all earlier painted wares in Cyprus and is thus an indigenous Cypriot development (Iacovou 1991). There is also some purely Aegean

pottery found on the island at this time, as at Enkomi (mentioned above) as well as certain household wares at Kourion and Idalion. The pottery at the latter two sites resembles Attic pottery in particular; Vanschoonwinkel (1994:121) points to its “ordinariness” and argues that it is unlikely to have been imported or imitated, and thus was probably brought by migrants.

Other Aegean elements introduced into Cyprus in this period include centaur figurines, terra cotta scale models of sanctuaries (*naskoi*), and goddess figurines with upraised arms (all of Cretan origin), as well as fibulae with a semi-circular arc, which could be from Attica, Perati, Argos, or Moulia (Vanschoonwinkel 1994:121). The fibulae indicate that the Aegean migrants included women and children (Coldstream 1994:145-146).

Deger-Jalkotzy (1994:21-22) has noted archaeological evidence of the Greek epic poetry tradition in Cyprus during this period. Cypriot pottery of the 11th century depicts figures dressed in Bronze Age Aegean “heroic” warrior equipment which had been out of use for centuries, but was remembered in the oral epic tradition until the time of Homer (8th-7th centuries BC). These figures, as well as the “Kouklia Musician” from Palaepaphos (*ibid.*), have been interpreted as group-identity and status symbols of a Greek-speaking elite. There are no Cypriot representations of lyre players before the 11th century BC, and the more detailed lyres depicted on 9th-8th century vases are definitely of Aegean rather than Oriental origins—their shape is closest to a phorminx depicted on a Middle Mycenaean III C from Tiryns. Many of the same motifs occur in both Middle Mycenaean III C Greece (1130-1090 BC) and the later 11th century in Cyprus; Deger-

Jalkotzy argues that the temporal gap between these two periods argues that the motifs were carried to Cyprus via the oral epic tradition rather than direct ceramic influence.

Conditions within Greece itself are likely to have contributed to the settlement of Cyprus at this time (Deger-Jalkotzy 1994). Destructions are a common occurrence in Greece throughout the Mycenaean IIIC period (1190-1060 BC), and evidence such as “warrior tombs,” war scenes on vases and the relative abundance of weapons among the archaeological finds indicates that military prowess was highly regarded during this period. Migrations within Greece are evident at this time; some regions were depopulated and then repopulated after a gap in settlement. The collapse of the palace system is evident in the proliferation of regional styles. Given the relative chaos that seems evident in this period, it is unsurprising that some Greeks would migrate east in this period in order to seek better fortunes, especially to a place like Cyprus to which they had long had economic connections. Indeed, at the North Cemetery of Knossos in Crete are found the graves of several warriors buried with many Cypriot artifacts—possibly, these are individuals who had raided Cyprus for booty and then returned to Greece (Catling 1994:137). Also roughly contemporary to this period were the migrations that led to the Hellenization of the western coast of Asia Minor (Coldstream 1994:143).

Although the evidence for cultural discontinuity with the previous period is somewhat stronger for the Late Cypriot IIIB than it is for the IIIA, it should not be exaggerated. Snodgrass (1994:169) notes that the names of the cities of Kourion, Salamis, and Kyrenia, as well as possibly Soloi and Marion, appear in the Medinet Habu inscription of Rameses III; as the present day sites of these cities were unoccupied during the time this inscription was written, this indicates that some of the newly-founded Late

Cypriot IIIB and Cypro-Geometric cities were named after earlier Bronze Age ones. As mentioned above, the Proto-White Painted ceramic tradition that dominated the island was an indigenous development, and there is little evidence for discrete ethnic divisions that correlate precisely with material culture. This is especially evident at the site of Amathus on the southern coast. Founded in the mid-11th century at the start of Cypro-Geometric IA, Amathus was known in the Classical period as a stronghold of non-Greek “Eteocypriots” speaking a hitherto undeciphered language (Reyes 1994:14); the inhabitants of the city were probably linguistic and cultural descendants of the island’s pre-Greek inhabitants. Yet their material culture was largely identical to that of the rest of the island. Evidence for communities speaking Eteocypriot is also found much later at Idalion (Gaber and Bazemore 1999) which, however (based on the Stasikypros inscription), appears to have had a Greek-speaking elite.

Evidence for the fusion of Greek and pre-Greek elements into a single culture appears at Tomb 49 at the necropolis of Palaepaphos-*Skales*. This tomb is the richest chamber tomb at the site, and contains the earliest written evidence for the Greek language in Cyprus: a bronze *obelos* (spit), inscribed with in the native Cypriot script with the word *Opheltau*—the genitive form of the Greek name *Opheltes* (the writing on the spit thus meaning “belonging to Opheltes”). Most of the bronze vessels in this tomb, however, are of purely Near Eastern and Cypriot derivation (Negbi 1998:88-90). Thus we seem to have here a wealthy warrior with a Greek name buried with largely non-Greek artifacts; a similar situation of fusion appears to present with the cremation burial in the traditional Cypriot at Kourion-*Kaloriziki* mentioned above.

Overall, the evidence for an infusion of Aegean migrants in the Late Cypriot IIIB and Cypro-Geometric IA is quite strong. The introduction of Aegean-inspired chamber tombs and cremation dates to this period, and the continued use of Cypriot shaft graves at the known Eteocypriot center of Amathus seems to confirm the chamber tombs' association with Aegean migrants. The introduction of Aegean-style fibulae confirms that the migrants included women and children as well as men. While there is no massive ceramic displacement in this period (indeed the Proto-White Painted tradition represents continuity), there is some limited evidence of locally made Aegean pottery. Thus it seems that the migrants did indeed come, but they came in small numbers, and almost immediately started using the local pottery (which in superficial appearance was already much like their own). The imposition of the migrants' language on most of the island's inhabitants indicates that they quickly became politically dominant. Evidence from both Cyprus and Greece indicates that the migrants were primarily bands of piratical warriors.

Conclusions

The Aegean settlement of Cyprus was a complex process that cannot be attributed to a single event. Cyprus and the Aegean were well connected by the ceramics and metals trade throughout the Late Bronze Age; it is thus more likely than not that Aegean merchants would have settled on the island in small numbers. While there does seem to have been an Aegean element introduced to Cyprus in association with the "Sea Peoples" migrations of the late 13th and early 12th centuries, as indicated by Aegean features such as hearths, loom weights, Naue II-type bronze swords, horns of consecration and fibulae,

the significant Aegeanization of the Cypriot ceramic assemblage in the Late Cypriot IIIA is more likely to be attributed to a continuous pattern of local imitation of Aegean imports going back to the Late Cypriot IIC than to these newcomers. That locally made, distinctively Aegean pottery (rather than expert imitations) is not found on Cyprus in this period is indicative of both the immigrants' relatively small numbers and, perhaps, their lack of a desire to produce their own distinctive pottery as skillful imitations of it were readily available. At the same time, evidence from coastal Palestine indicates that large numbers of Cypriots joined in with the eastward-moving Aegeans in attacking the centers of Egyptian power in that region. The events of c.1200 BC thus represent as much an upheaval in Cyprus itself as they do a foreign invasion; some of the destructions on the island may even be the result of intraregional strife or Hittite intervention rather than Aegean newcomers.

More, somewhat stronger evidence of Aegean infiltration appears in Cyprus in the Late Cypriot IIIB and Cypro-Geometric IA periods. These periods are characterized by a complete reorganization of settlement patterns on the island, the introduction of new tomb types as well as limited cremation, the earliest evidence of the use of the Greek language on the island, and evidence for the presence of the Greek oral epic tradition on the island (Deger-Jalkotzky 1994). The fact that the Greeks of Cyprus adopted the Cypro-Minoan script rather than bringing the Linear B script with them is also evidence that the main Greek migration dates to this period, when knowledge of Linear B had been forgotten in Greece itself. Like the previous period, however, the Greek newcomers quickly adopted the local Cypriot material culture which was somewhat similar to their own, and there do not seem to have been discrete Greek and Eteocypriot ethnic

communities, with the possible exception of Amathus (which may have been an Eteocypriot enclave). Rather, the Greek migrants seem to have taken control of most of the Cypriot cities as a warrior elite, with their language gradually coming to predominate throughout the island while the material culture remained predominantly native.

This scenario of two distinct migration phases, in which the latter is larger and more visible than the former, is attested elsewhere in the archaeological record as well as in ethnological research (Anthony 1990). The expansion of the Bronze Age Yamna culture from the Russian steppes into more westerly areas of Eastern Europe, for example, occurred in two stages. The earliest evidence is of overwhelmingly male “scouts” intruding onto the territory of other cultural complexes; later on there is a gender parity that develops. Morphological evidence indicates that this gender parity is more the result of assimilation of native females into the intruding culture complex than to migration of females from the Yamna source region. While there is evidence in Cyprus that the Aegean migrants included women (fibulae), the general pattern of migration seems to be the same. The earliest penetration of Aegean culture into Cyprus appears to precede any invasions and likely included the presence of merchants on the island. This was followed by the small migration associated with the Sea Peoples activity in the Eastern Mediterranean, and this itself was followed by a large migration some 75-100 years later of Dark Age warriors seeking wealth. The fact that Cyprus seems to have been the destination of wave after wave of Aegean migrants is consistent with the fact that migrants tend to be attracted to areas with which they already have extensive contacts (ibid.:900-901). Overall, the Aegean penetration of Cyprus can best be characterized as a series of movements by Aegean freebooters to a known region where

they established themselves a warrior aristocracy. Over time, their language and facets of their culture (including certain of their mortuary practices, their tradition of epic poetry and their self-identification as Greeks) were adopted by the native population, to the point where in the Classical period, with a few exceptions (Amathus, Kition, and perhaps the populace at Idalion), the identity of the island was primarily Greek.

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