

Destruction and Its Impact on Ancient Societies at the End of the Bronze Age

Jesse Millek

Destruction and Its Impact on Ancient Societies at the End of the Bronze Age

Jesse Millek



LOCKWOOD PRESS
Columbus, Georgia • 2023

Destruction and Its Impact on Ancient Societies at the End of the Bronze Age

Copyright © 2023 by Lockwood Press

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by means of any information storage or retrieval system, except as may be expressly permitted by the 1976 Copyright Act or in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission should be addressed in writing to Lockwood Press, PO Box 1080, Columbus, GA 31901 USA, admin@lockwoodpress.com.

ISBN: 978-1-948488-83-9

Cover design by Susanne Wilhelm

Cover image: Akrotiri. Jan M, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Millek, Jesse, author.

Title: Destruction and its impact on ancient societies at the end of the Bronze Age / Jesse Millek.

Description: Columbus, Georgia : Lockwood Press, 2022. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022045705 (print) | LCCN 2022045706 (ebook) | ISBN 9781948488839 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781948488846 (pdf) | ISBN 9781957454016 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Bronze age--Mediterranean Region. | Natural disasters--Mediterranean Region--History--To 476. | Mediterranean Region--History--To 476. | Archaeology and natural disasters.

Classification: LCC GN778.25 .M55 2022 (print) | LCC GN778.25 (ebook) | DDC 937--dc23/eng/20221201

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022045705>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022045706>

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper.

Contents

List of Figures	vii
Abbreviations	ix
Acknowledgments	xiii
Chapter 1: Destruction and the End of the Bronze Age	1
Chapter 2: The Archaeology of Destruction: Denoting, Describing, and Classifying	23
Chapter 3: The Destruction That Wasn't	53
Chapter 4: Destruction in Mycenaean Greece and the Wider Aegean World	131
Chapter 5: Destruction in Anatolia and the Fall of the Hittite Empire	171
Chapter 6: Cyprus and the Absence of Destruction at the End of the Late Bronze Age	199
Chapter 7: The Levant: A Mixed Bag of Destruction	219
Chapter 8: Destruction and 1200 BCE: Overview and Impact on Mediterranean Societies	271
Appendix: Overview of Destruction ca. 1200 BCE	289
References	303
Index	381



Figures

Fig. 1.1. Comparative chronology chart of regions in the Eastern Mediterranean.	2
Fig. 1.2. Map after Drews's 1993 map of the "Catastrophe" ca. 1200 BCE. (For sites in italics destruction was assumed probable but not certain.)	5
Fig. 3.1. Misdated destructions in the Eastern Mediterranean excluding the southern Levant.	57
Fig. 3.2. Misdated destructions in the southern Levant.	66
Fig. 3.3. Assumed destructions in the Eastern Mediterranean excluding the southern Levant.	75
Fig. 3.4. Assumed destructions in the southern Levant.	94
Fig. 3.5. False Citations in the Eastern Mediterranean excluding the southern Levant.	106
Fig. 3.6. False Citations in the southern Levant.	121
Fig. 4.1. Map of sites with a destruction event ca. 1200 BCE on mainland Greece (Kastanas not pictured).	132
Fig. 4.2. Plan of the central enclosure at Gla. Iakovidis 2001, 23 fig. 7. Courtesy of the Library of the Archaeological Society at Athens.	139
Fig. 4.3. Plan of the Melathron with traces of fire. Iakovidis 2001, 41 fig. 15. Courtesy of the Library of the Archaeological Society at Athens.	141
Fig. 4.4. Plan of Tiryns. Courtesy of Joseph Maran.	155
Fig. 4.5. Map of sites with a destruction event ca. 1200 BCE on Crete.	161
Fig. 5.1. Map of sites with a destruction event ca. 1200 BCE in Anatolia.	172
Fig. 5.2. Plan of the central temple district noting which buildings were burnt and which were abandoned. For unmarked buildings, the situation is not clear. From Seeher 2001, 629 Abb 1. Courtesy of Jürgen Seeher.	178
Fig. 6.1. Map of sites with a destruction event ca. 1200 BCE on Cyprus.	200
Fig. 6.2. Modified plan of Enkomi Area III Level IIB detailing where possible traces of destruction were uncovered. Dikaios 1969, pl. 252.	202

Fig. 6.3. Modified plan of Enkomi Area I Level IIB detailing where possible traces of destruction were uncovered. Dikaios 1969, pl. 272.	203
Fig. 7.1. Map of sites with a destruction event ca. 1200 BCE in the northern Levant.	220
Fig. 7.2. Plan of the <i>Ville Sud</i> noting where weapons were uncovered. Courtesy of Olivier Callot.	222
Fig. 7.3. Plan of Tell Afis Area E4 Phase Vb. Courtesy of Fabrizio Venturi.	228
Fig. 7.4. Map of sites with a destruction event ca. 1200 BCE in the southern Levant.	232
Fig. 7.5. Tel Mor, Strata VIII–VII. Courtesy of Tristen Barako.	242

Tables

Table 4.1. Weapons of war uncovered in the destruction of Midea.	151
------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

Acknowledgments

For any work of this magnitude, while a single name is attached as author, it simply would not have been possible without the help and contributions of so many unnamed individuals. While I cannot express my gratitude to all of them here, I would like to thank at least some of those who made this work possible and helped see it through to fruition. First and foremost, I thank and am tremendously grateful to my wife Anna. She helped me in every step of this project back when I had begun it as a PhD student, while supporting, encouraging, and keeping me sane through to its end. She has listened to enough talk on destruction that she deserves an honorary degree in archaeology, and it is to her that I dedicate this work, as without her it simply would not have been possible. I would also like to thank my mother, Linda Millek, who helped us out for months during the pandemic taking our two rambunctious boys so that I could have a quiet place to work at home when there were no offices to go to.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to Brian Schmidt of the Department of Middle East Studies at the University of Michigan for acting as my mentor during this project. His advice was invaluable, and I am sure he heard more about destruction ca. 1200 BC than he cared to know. I am also grateful to the department as a whole for hosting me during this time. I would also like to thank Kim Larrow the department's administrative assistant for all of her help in getting me situated, helping me with paperwork, and for all of the tremendous support she gave throughout my time in the department. Since library research was the major component for this work, I would like to say thank you to Eryn Kropf and Zachary Quint, who helped me find a number of volumes or journals that I could not track down myself. Then there are the many people who work in the library system at the University of Michigan and in the interlibrary loan office, who tracked down, scanned, or delivered countless books and articles for me. If it were not for their unseen work and the amount of time they saved me, this project would not have been completed for many more years.

There are also a number of individuals including but not limited to Gary Beckman, Philipp Stockhammer, Marlies Heinz, Hanan Charaf, Artemis Georgiou, Zsolt Simon, Peter James, Joseph Maran, Michael Galaty, and Ido Koch who either read or discussed portions of this book with me and gave their

valuable feedback. I am also extremely grateful to the many people who shared unpublished information with me, answered what must have seemed at times to be inane questions, or who gave me articles, book chapters, dissertations, or even whole books. Without their contributions, many of which are listed as “pers. comm.” in the text, this project would not have been possible.

I would like to thank the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation), who funded my project, “Destruction and the End of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean.” Without their support I would not have been able to undertake this project and they were generous enough to extend my fellowship due to the turbulences brought on by the Covid-19 pandemic. Finally, I would like to thank Billie Jean Collins and Lockwood Press for taking on this project. As always, any errors or omissions in the text are solely my own.

Mycenean pottery is for the most part negligible and chronologically dispersed across two centuries.¹⁰ While there certainly was contact between these regions, there is not sufficient evidence to say that they had a tightly connected political and economic system, one in which the failure of one would cause a breakdown in the others. Nevertheless, even if one assumes there was a system to collapse, it is clear that destruction could not have been a causal factor in that collapse.

Destruction, the End of the Late Bronze Age, and Where We Go from Here

This study has sought to challenge the more than a century of research and excavations that have erroneously embedded destruction into the core of the end of the Late Bronze Age narrative. But it also brings to the fore several other important points that need to be taken into further consideration. The first is, as stressed in chapter 2, there is **the need for a strict definition of what constitutes a destruction**, as well as a systematic method to define and describe destruction events. None of the following suggestions will bear any fruit if there is no accepted concept for what is or is not a destruction. Until such a time when a definition and system for demarcating destruction is broadly accepted, such as the one presented here, there can be no hope of having an informed conversation on the subject, as everyone will continue to talk past each other, much as they would if there was no standard typology of Late Helladic pottery. If a system such as this one can be widely adopted then we can address the following issues to help bring more clarity not only to the end of the Late Bronze Age, but to the ancient world in general.

One of the issues that needs to be addressed in the future is the subconscious assumption that periods of transition are fraught with more destruction than the periods before the transition or collapse. This is obvious, as most periods of transition are oftentimes assumed to be accompanied by a string of destructions or “destruction horizon.”¹¹ However, it is my opinion that it is unlikely that only the end of the Late Bronze Age suffers from false destructions in any of their three forms. Indeed, this has already been demonstrated for another period in the southern Levant, as Jodi Magness (1993, 43, 53, 66–71, 86–88, 90–91, 118) has uncovered that many of the destruction events associated with the Muslim conquest of Palestine were misdated by more than a century and had only been artificially constricted into a single chronological horizon. Like-

10. For further details, see the discussion in Millek 2019c, 122–40, 200–204.

11. This is indeed the case for the southern Levant, which has a “destruction horizon” at the end of the Early Bronze Age, Middle Bronze Age, and, as discussed in this book, Late Bronze Age. For the Early Bronze Age, see Butzer 1997, 271–72; Richard 2014, 343; Prag 2014, 388; Gallo 2014. For the Middle Bronze Age, see Burke 2014, 411.

wise, Ryan Boehm (2013, 319–25) has demonstrated that, despite the traditional view that the *synoikismos* in the late fourth and third centuries BCE in northern Greece and western Asia Minor was a period of widespread destruction, in fact there is an overwhelming lack of evidence for destruction at this time. It is more than likely that many of the supposed “destruction horizons” are either generally false, as is the case for the end of the Late Bronze Age, or that at the least there is less destruction than has oftentimes been presumed to be the case.

Much of the reason for this theoretical supposition that destruction was rampant in periods of transition likely stems from the assumption that the end of a period or age must be preceded by violent destruction. Thus, as was the case with many of the **assumed or false citations** discussed in chapter 3, sites were presumed destroyed not based on any evidence, but rather because the site had a layer dated to ca. 1200 BCE. Since the underlying assumption dictated that all or almost all sites were destroyed ca. 1200 BCE many sites were presumed destroyed, even if there was a general lack of evidence, or what was found likely represented burning in only a single room or the day-to-day use of a hearth.¹² Consequently, in many cases of false destruction ca. 1200 BCE, the theory superseded the physical archaeological evidence. It is more than likely that this is also the case in other periods and regions that have lists of sites destroyed ca. any given date.

Moreover, in many instances where destruction was uncovered, it was simply assumed that the destruction was caused by violent warfare or by an earthquake, depending on the theoretical leaning of the excavator interpreting the material. Because of this, other possible causes were overlooked or ignored, as the evidence had to fit into a preconceived theoretical mold that did not allow for accidental fires, structural engineering failures, or even evidence of warfare in sites that were supposedly destroyed by an earthquake. Thus, **there needs to be a reappraisal of all so-called destruction horizons**, to see what sites actually have evidence of destruction, when the evidence dates to, whether there is evidence of abandonment or crisis prior to the destruction event, and what the scale and possible causes for the destructions are. Until this work is undertaken, any discussion of a “destruction horizon” should be taken with a measure of caution, as it is more than likely that these other “horizons of destruction” too are rife with errors that need to be expunged.

This leads to two other vital points. The first of these is that typically during these periods of crisis, collapse, transition, or change, depending on how one chooses to view it, there is the undercurrent in the literature that these were more violent points in history than in the times preceding them. Thus, not only is there supposedly more evidence for widespread destruction, but violence and

12. I have provided several quotations in the previous chapters where many have stated just this, that all sites in a given region were destroyed.

unrest is typically assumed to be at greater levels than in the preceding decades. The end of the Late Bronze Age is an excellent example of this assumption, yet, there is nothing to suggest that the years surrounding 1200 BCE were any more violent than the previous centuries. If we were to ask the people of the Levant if the LB I or LB II were without violence, the inhabitants of Megiddo would likely answer no, as they were utterly defeated by Thutmose III and put under Egyptian subjugation along with the majority of the Levant. The Amarna Letters do not provide a picture of peace and tranquility during the fourteenth century BCE in Canaan and the central Levant, but rather portray fighting between petty polities who were also harassed by groups of Habiru (Ahlström, Rollefson, and Edelman 1993, 239–71). The situation at Qatna certainly challenges the notion that the period during the Late Bronze Age was less violent than its end, as the site suffered a massive destruction, likely at the hands of Suppiluliuma I, and it never regained its former glory. Ugarit was caught in a tug of war between Egypt, Mitanni, and the Hittites, while Mitanni itself was completely obliterated as an entity by the Hittites and Assyrians.

Other sites that could challenge the prevailing view of the intra Late Bronze Age periods are Troy VIh, Beycesultan, Maşat Höyük, and Kuşaklı, which all suffered greater damage during the course of the Late Bronze Age than at its end ca. 1200 BCE. While historians bemoan the loss of Linear B and writing in Greece at the end of the Late Bronze Age, what is oftentimes lost in the discussion is the complete annihilation of Linear A, which resulted in the disappearance of an entire language group at the end of the fifteenth century BCE (Tomas 2010; Wiener 2015). The loss of Linear A was in many ways worse than the disappearance of Linear B, as at least Greek survived, while whatever language Linear A represented appears to have gone out of existence. From here, the list could go on, as Egypt, Hatti, Mitanni, Babylonia, Assyria, and others were constantly at war with someone, extending their reach through violent and at times destructive conquest, while they too faced threats from uprisings, other kingdoms and empires, as well as from population groups they could not control, such as the Kaska, Habiru, Sashu, Libyans, pirates, and bandits, to name only a few.

Thus, while the end of the Late Bronze Age is typically described as a period of more overt violence and destruction, the historical record does not indicate that it was any more tumultuous than the Late Bronze Age as a whole—that is, unless one reaches into the realm of Greek myth and the bombastic narration provided by one pharaoh on one of his monuments that largely reflects violence done against the Sea Peoples by the Egyptians rather than the other way around.

This then leads into the second point, which is that the assumption that transitional periods such as the end of the Late Bronze Age were fraught with more destruction, and not only that, but also more-devastating destruction than in the preceding centuries, is not based on any factual evidence or systematic

study. It is merely an assumption. If one were to ask how many destruction events occurred during the LBI in the Levant, what was their scale, what were the probable causes, and what resulted after the destruction, no lists or maps exist to answer this question. Destruction during a period or age has gone largely unstudied as a phenomenon. While the amount of destruction at the end of the Late Bronze Age is outwardly compared to destruction during the Late Bronze Age, we simply do not know how much destruction actually took place in any given period for any given region. Consequently, we cannot say that there was more destruction and more devastating destruction at the end of the Late Bronze Age, as we do not know how much destruction occurred before it or after it. Thus, much as all periods of collapse, crisis, transition, and their “destruction horizons” need to be reevaluated, the entire archaeological record requires reexamination, as we cannot compare one data set to another data set that does not currently exist in any tangible form. If there is to be any comparison, we must first understand how destruction affected sites during a period to see if there are drastic differences between interperiod destructions and destructions at the end of a period or age. Until that time, it is fruitless to say there was more destruction at the end of a period such as the Late Bronze Age, as we simply do not know what the rate of destruction was, the average scale, distribution of cause, and the effect of these destructions during any fifty-to-one-hundred-year span of time.

From here it is clear where the study of destruction needs to go. Essentially, every destruction event from every period needs to be critically reexamined, while interperiod destruction events need to be sought out. If Late Helladic pottery had been accumulating over the course of the past one-hundred-plus years from hundreds of excavations without ever being examined under a common rubric or typology, while it would be a monumental task to study this body of material, the effort would be worthwhile. It would reveal troves of information that have gone undetected, challenging theories and upending assumptions.

Likewise, attempting to reinvestigate all destruction events would be a mammoth task; however, it too will be worth the while. Over the course of such an endeavor, theories and reconstructions of the past will be challenged, upended, or shown to be fallacious, while also reaffirming others when the evidence warrants it. We can examine how populations reacted to destructive crises both during and outside periods of transition. The method of analyzing destruction would be refined, improved, and expanded, just as what has been presented here was not meant to be the end of the discussion on examining and interpreting destruction, but merely the beginning. This endeavor of course will not happen all at once, and it will need to be done site by site and destruction horizon by destruction horizon, but if it is completed, the benefits to our understanding of the ancient world will far outweigh the cost in time.

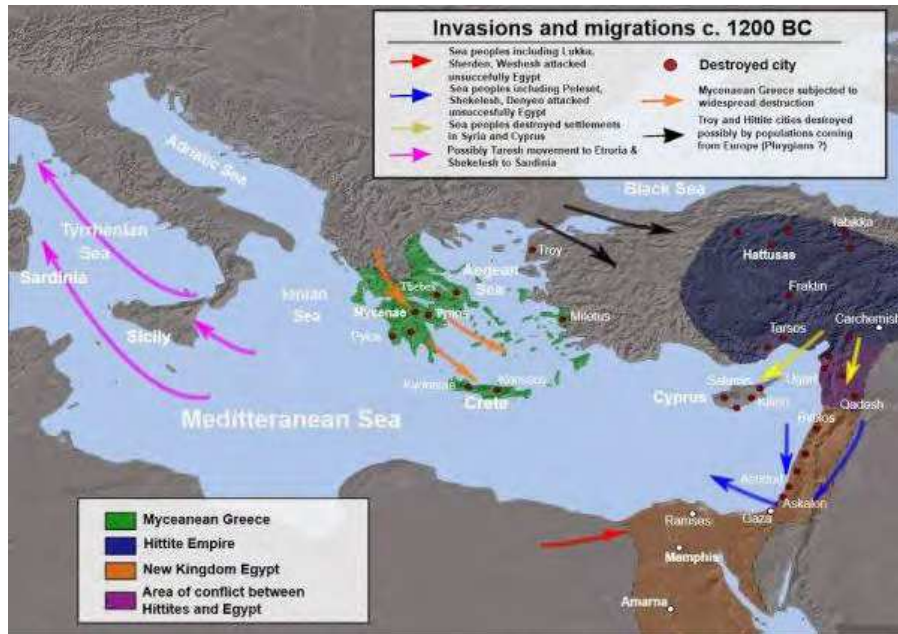
Only by thoroughly studying destruction over the millennia can we come to a better understanding of how destruction in its myriad of forms affected ancient societies and discover what new knowledge lies lurking in the darkness of the unstudied destruction event.



“Sites destroyed ca. 1200 BC” (Cline, Eric H. 2014. 1177 B.C The Year Civilization Collapsed. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 110-111 Figure 10).



“Map of the sea-land invasions in the Aegean Sea and Eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Late Bronze Age. Some of the main cities destroyed during the raids of the Sea Peoples are displayed with a fire logo” (Kaniewski, David, Joël Guiot, and Elise Van Campo. 2015. “Drought and societal collapse 3200 years ago in the Eastern Mediterranean: a review.” Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change 6: 2 Figure 1).



The map showcasing destruction from the Late Bronze Age collapse page on Wikipedia.

Yet, what if this wasn't the case, and Drews's map was inaccurate, and that over half of all destruction events he claimed affected the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of the LBA never happened at all, or at least not ca. 1200 BCE? As it turns out, this is in fact the case, and Drews's "Map of the Catastrophe" is a perfect example of how many destructions from this supposed "destruction horizon" were misdated, assumed, or simply invented out of nothing and are what we can call, false destructions.

This first type of false destructions are misdated destructions. Certain destruction events have been put on maps or have been cited as taking place at ca. 1200 BCE, but the destruction occurred either well before or well after 1200 BCE. For instance, Drews asserted that Hazor, in northern Israel, was destroyed around 1200 BCE. Yet, while the site's LBA monumental structures were indeed burned, this event took place during the first half of the 13th century BCE, well before the end of the LBA. A similar story is true for the site of Miletus on the southwestern coast of Anatolia. While Drews's put it on the map as destroyed ca. 1200 BCE, the "Third Building Phase" actually dated between 1130-1060 BCE, well after 1200 BCE. Furthermore, it is not even clear if there was a destruction event at the end of the "Third Building Phase" at all.



Aerial photo of Tel Hazor. Remains of Iron and Bronze Age cities are seen in the upper tell.

The second type of false destructions is the assumed destruction where scholars have assumed a destruction took place based on limited or no evidence. For example, Acco, on Israel's northern coast, is featured on Drews's and most other maps of destruction ca. 1200 BCE. Drews even went so far as to claim that a scarab of the Egyptian Queen Twosret, which was found in the ash from Acco's "destruction," accurately dated it to around 1190 BCE. The only issue though, is that Drews did not mention that the ash layer was uncovered next to a kiln in an industrial area of the site, and that the ash was refuse from the industrial activity. There is in fact no evidence of destruction at Acco.



A view of modern Acco.

For Sinda, which is situated in the hinterlands of Enkomi on Cyprus, incomplete evidence from a limited excavation carried out in a short single season during the 1940s was blown out of proportion into a destruction. Only some ash and some minor signs of burning were uncovered with no clear evidence of destruction such as fallen walls, smashed objects, mudbricks, or more severe evidence of burning. Minor signs of ash and burning can come from any number of mundane sources such as cooking, a hearth, or industrial activities, and there is no clear archaeological evidence that Sinda was destroyed ca. 1200 BCE.

The last type of false destructions is the most pernicious, the false citation. Take for example the site of Alaca Höyük, which is one of the preeminent destructions in Anatolia at the end of the Hittite empire both for Drews and others who came after him. The only problem is that Drews's evidence for this destruction was a single article written by Kurt Bittel, a famous Anatolian archaeologist, who stated that at least some of the monumental buildings at Alaca Höyük were destroyed by fire based on the finds from the first season of excavations in 1935. However, in the report on the 1935 excavation, the excavator, Arik, never said that he found evidence of an end of the LBA destruction. Moreover, over the last 90 years of excavations, no destruction dating to ca. 1200 BCE has ever been found at Alaca Höyük. The destruction was a scholarly invention not an archaeological reality.



Alaca Höyük's Sphinx Gate.

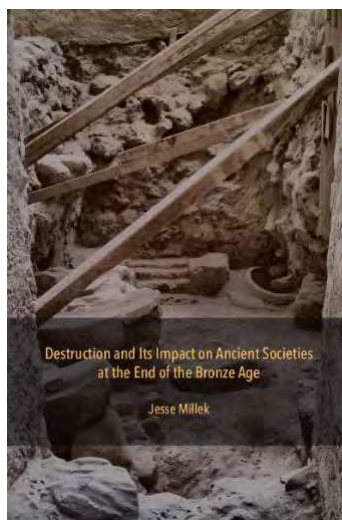
There is also Kition on Cyprus, which is again one of the featured destruction events from the end of the Late Bronze Age. However, in 1992, the excavator Vassos Karageorghis described the end of the Late Bronze Age as, “At Kition, major rebuilding was carried out in both excavated Areas I and II, **but there is no evidence of violent destruction**; on the contrary, we observe a cultural continuity.” What is more interesting though, is that the article that this quote appeared in is the same article Drews cited to claim that Kition was destroyed.

So, how bad is the problem? How many false destructions are there at the end of the LBA? If one goes through archaeological literature from the past 150 years, there are 148 sites with 153 destruction events ascribed to the end of the Late Bronze Age ca. 1200 BCE. However, of these, 94, or 61%, have either been misdated, assumed based on little evidence, or simply never happened at all. For Drews’s map, and his subsequent discussion of some other sites which he believed were destroyed ca. 1200 BCE, of the 60 “destructions” 31, or 52%, are false destructions. The complete list of false destructions includes other notable sites such as: Lefkandi, Orchomenos, Athens, Knossos, Alassa, Carchemish, Aleppo, Alalakh, Hama, Qatna, Kadesh, Tell Tweini, Byblos, Tyre, Sidon, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Beth-Shean, Tell Dier Alla, and many more.

Given this rate of false destructions, the question is, just how did it get to be that so many false destructions made their way into the scholarly literature? There is no single answer to this question, however, one of the main reasons for the problem is that up to this point **there has been no accepted method of examining, describing, and defining destruction events in the archaeological record.** Thus, one archaeologist’s ash next to an industrial installation is another’s massive violent destruction by conflagration. Another problem is the over citation of certain books and articles which themselves have inaccuracies rather than the original excavation reports. The article by Bittel, which began the false destruction of Alaca Höyük, is the go-to article for those discussing destruction in Anatolia at the end of the LBA keeping this false destruction alive. Drews too is a key reference for most discussions of destruction ca. 1200 BCE, and the **false destructions he brought into the scholarly world have gone on to become scholarly fact through his repeated citation.**

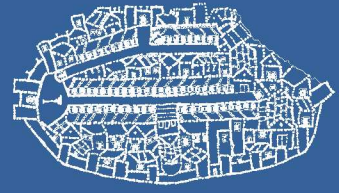
Now, this should not give the impression that there was no destruction at the end of the LBA, as certainly sites like Ugarit, Emar, Hattusa, Mycenae, and Pylos did suffer destruction. However, even here, of the 59 destruction events that did occur ca. 1200 BCE, not all were equal as some were major events while others barely affected the site, but this is a discussion for another time.

Jesse Miliek is a Visiting Scholar in the Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte und Vorderasiatische Archäologie at the University of Heidelberg. His new book is ~~The Fall of the Bronze Age: Destruction and Its Impact on Ancient Societies~~ (Lockwood Press: Georgia).



The correct title of the book is:
"Destruction and Its Impact on Ancient Societies at the End of the Bronze Age"

**Abhandlungen des Deutschen
Palästina-Vereins**



Jens Kamlah and Achim Lichtenberger (Editors)

ADPV 48

The Mediterranean Sea and the Southern Levant



Archaeological and Historical Perspectives
from the Bronze Age to Medieval Times



Harrassowitz

The Mediterranean Sea and the Southern Levant

Archaeological and Historical Perspectives from the
Bronze Age to Medieval Times

Edited by
Jens Kamlah and Achim Lichtenberger

2021

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

In Kommission

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation
in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind
im Internet über <http://dnb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek:
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication
in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available
in the Internet at <http://dnb.de>.

Informationen zum Verlagsprogramm finden Sie unter <http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de>

© Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas e.V., Wiesbaden 2021
Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt.
Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist
ohne Zustimmung des Verlages unzulässig und strafbar. Das gilt insbesondere für
Vervielfältigungen jeder Art, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und für die
Einspeicherung in elektronische Systeme.
Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier.

Coverfoto: Wikicommons, NMB

Gestaltung und Satz: Carina Sprenger
Druck und Verarbeitung: Memminger MedienCentrum AG, Memmingen
Printed in Germany

ISSN 0173-1904
ISBN 978-3-447-11742-5

Table of Contents

Introduction

JENS KAMLAH and ACHIM LICHTENBERGER Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Mediterranean Sea and the Southern Levant	1
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

Concepts

JOANNA TÖYRÄÄNVUORI Divine or Demonic? Mythological Aspects of the Mediterranean Sea in the World of the Old Testament	7
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

RACHAEL THYRZA SPARKS Historical Methods and Mishaps: FLINDERS PETRIE 's Views on Interconnected <i>Tell el- 'Ağūl</i> and the 'Middle Sea'	29
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

JESSE MICHAEL MILLEK Just What did They Destroy? The Sea Peoples and the End of the Late Bronze Age	59
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

GIL GAMBASH Continuity beyond Change: Mediterranean Connectivity in the Ancient Southern Levant	99
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

ACHIM LICHTENBERGER Thoughts on Mediterranean Studies and the Study of the Graeco-Roman Holy Land	121
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

Coastal Sites

PETER M. FISCHER The Last Expedition at <i>Tell el- 'Ağūl</i> , Gaza, and the City's Final Destruction	141
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

JEAN-BAPTISTE HUMBERT À Gaza, une archéologie abandonnée (1994 – 2012)	185
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

JOSEPH PATRICH Caesarea on the Sea. Herod's Mediterranean Metropolis	245
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

VI

ANTONIO DELL'ACQUA Roman Ascalon between Land and Sea: A Brief Overview through Literary Sources and Archaeological Evidences.	269
ANNETTE ZEISCHKA-KENZLER, HAGI YOHANAN, HAUKE KENZLER, TAMAR HARPAK, ELISABETH YEHUDA, BARBARA SCHOLKMANN and OREN TAL The Crusader Town of Arsur by the Sea: A German-Israeli Collaborative Project (2012 – 2016)	337
Index of Persons	361
Index of Places	362

Just What did They Destroy?

The Sea Peoples and the End of the Late Bronze Age

By Jesse Michael Millek

Abstract

The Sea Peoples, destruction, and the end of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean ca. 1200 BC are almost synonymous in much of the scholarly literature. While there are a wide range of theories for where the Sea Peoples originated and what drove them to leave their homes, they are always a factor in what brought about the Late Bronze Age civilizations. The Sea Peoples are then also notorious as being the harbingers of destruction whether it being Enkomi on Cyprus, *Rās Šamra*, the capital of Ugarit in Syria, the sites of the Philistine Pentapolis in the Southern Levant and many others beyond these. However, when attempting to assess the effects that the Sea Peoples had on the Eastern Mediterranean it is necessary to step back and reexamine the textual and archeological evidence to see what if anything they destroyed. The purpose of this article is first to critically examine the textual evidence from Egypt and Ugarit to see if it truly does describe the Sea Peoples as causing destruction. Secondly, I will critically assess the archeological data from cities and towns which have been assumed to have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples to see if there is any archaeological evidence of the supposed path of destruction caused by the Sea Peoples.

1. Introduction

The collapse and transition witnessed at the end of the Late Bronze Age (henceforth LBA) in the Eastern Mediterranean has been explored through multiple theoretical models (Fig. 1)¹. Despite the varied approaches attempting to find an answer(s) for what brought about the end of the LBA, two

¹ For an overview see CLINE 2014, 139–170; KNAPP/MANNING 2016; MILLEK 2019c, 27–85.

Egypt: Dynasties	Egypt: Kings	Southern Levant	Cyprus	Aegean
Mid-late 18 th Dynasty 1475- 1295	Thutmose III 1479-1425	LB IB 1450-1400	LC IIA 1450-1375	LH IIB 1450-1400
	Amenhotep III 1390-1352	LB IIA 1400-1300	LC IIB 1375-1340/25	LH IIIA:1 1400-1375 LH IIIA:2 1375-1300
19 th Dynasty 1295-1186	Ramesses II 1279-1213	LB IIB 1300-1200	LC IIC 1340/1325-1200	LH IIIB 1300-1190
20 th Dynasty 1186-1070	Ramesses III 1186-1155	Iron IA 1200-1150	LC IIIA 1200-1100	LH IIIC 1190-1030
		Iron IB 1150-1000	LC IIIB 1100-1050	

Fig. 1. Comparative chronology chart.

factors appear time and again. These are the notorious Sea Peoples, and destruction, often times caused by the aforementioned Sea Peoples. This true of DREWS's advances in military technology theory as the Sea Peoples appear as a destructive force wielding new Naue type II swords and guerilla tactics², to social unrest that caused disenfranchised people groups to turn to marauding around the Eastern Mediterranean who later came to be known as the Sea Peoples³, or climate change induced drought which also drove the populace to war and destruction and who also became known as the Sea Peoples⁴. In some cases, the traditional Sea Peoples narrative is taken at more or less face value that groups of people from the west came and destroyed the great civilizations of the Eastern Mediterranean⁵. The Sea Peoples and destruction remain as in-

² DREWS 1993.

³ LIVERANI 1987; 2005, 27–29.

⁴ KANIEWSKI *et al.* 2010; 2013; LANGGUT/FINKELSTEIN/LITT 2013; KANIEWSKI/GUIOT/VAN CAMPO 2015.

⁵ LUND 1986; COURBIN 1990; LAGARCE/LAGARCE 1995; BADRE 2006; YON 2006, 21; JUNG 2009; BRETSCHNEIDER/VAN VYVE/JANS 2011; STERN 2013; FISCHER 2017.

tegral factors in the discussion of how the societies of the Levant and Cyprus transitioned from the LBA to the Iron Age.

The purpose of this article is to reassess the narrative that the Sea Peoples, whether they be the traditional Sea Peoples, raiders, peasants, or famine driven horde, caused a swath of destruction in the Levant and Cyprus. I will first examine the documentary evidence to see what the texts actually say about the destruction caused by the Sea Peoples, and I will follow this by examining sites in the Levant and Cyprus which have typically been assumed to have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples. Through this, I will attempt to answer the question, just how much destruction can actually be associated with the Sea Peoples at the end of the LBA in the Levant and on Cyprus.

2. Sea Peoples and Destruction in the Textual Sources

The genesis for much of the assumed destruction caused by the Sea Peoples⁶ comes from the texts uncovered in Egypt and the Ugarit which describe, or supposedly describe, these people groups and their activities in the Eastern Mediterranean⁷. Ramesses III's Year 8 inscriptions and their related reliefs from *Medīnet Habu*⁸ are the most infamous of this group of texts⁹ (Fig. 2). The inscriptions from *Medīnet Habu* have been debated at length in terms of their historical value¹⁰. However, what will be discussed here is simply whether or not these texts describe the assumed swath of destruction typically assigned to the Sea Peoples at the end of the LBA. The text which is referenced

⁶ Though it should be noted that the term 'Sea Peoples' is a modern invention as it is translated from the French *peuples de la mer* coined by French Egyptologist G. MASPERO in 1881 (KILLEBREW/LEHMANN 2013, 2).

⁷ These are the Lukka, Sherden, Shekelesh, Teresh, Eqwesh, Denyen, Sikil/Tjekker, Weshesh, and Peleset (Philistines). However, as previously noted by KILLEBREW and LEHMANN, the designation "of the sea" appears only in relation to the Sherden, Shekelesh, and Eqwesh (KILLEBREW/LEHMANN 2013, 2 note 1).

⁸ For a recent overview of all texts from *Medīnet Habu*, see REDFORD 2018.

⁹ For an overview of the textual sources for the Sea Peoples, see ADAMS/COHEN 2013.

¹⁰ See CIFOLA 1988; LESKO 1992; DREWS 2000; O'CONNOR 2000; REDFORD 2000; CLINE/O'CONNOR 2003; KAHN 2011; BEN-DOR EVIAN 2015; 2017; JAMES 2017.

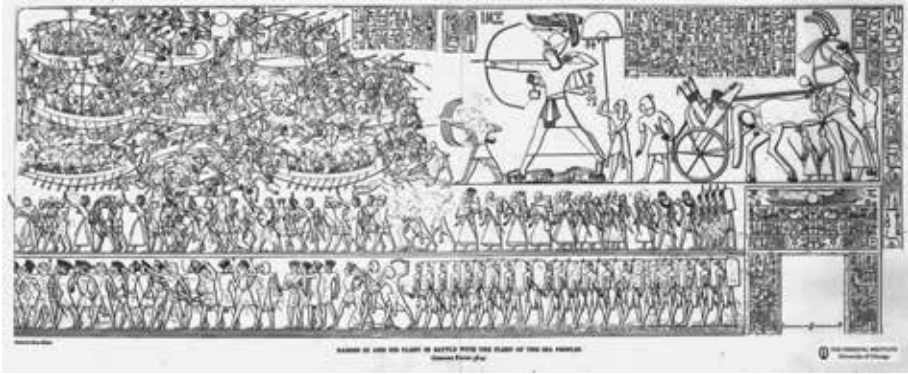


Fig. 2. The Sea Battle of Ramesses III Year 8 from *Medīnet Habu* (The Epigraphic Survey 1930, Plate 37; Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).

in regard to destruction in the Eastern Mediterranean are the opening lines of Ramesses III's Year 8 inscription which reads:

“Year 8 under the majesty of (Ramesses III) [...]. The foreign countries made a conspiracy in their islands. All at once the lands were removed and scattered in the fray. No land could stand before their arms, from Ḥatte, Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa, and Alashiya on, being cut off at [one time]. A camp [was set up] in one place in Amor. They desolated its people, and its land was like that which has never come into being. They were coming forward toward Egypt, while the flame was prepared before them. Their confederation was the Philistines, Tjekru, Shekelesh, Denye(n), and Washosh, lands united. They laid their hands upon the lands as far as the circuit of the earth, their hearts confident and trusting: ‘Our plans will succeed!’¹¹”

There are several issues with the assertion that the Sea Peoples caused a vast swath of destruction in the Levant and Cyprus based on this text. One of the first problems is the omission of almost the entirety of the Levantine coast. Of the key areas of the Levantine coast only Amurru is mentioned in the text and the nebulous region of **Djahy** which may or may not be located in the Levant¹². However, Canaan, all of the Lebanese coastal sites which were well known to the Egyptians, and Ugarit are conspicuously missing from the text. For Ugarit, LIVERANI has argued that while the site itself was not mentioned

¹¹ EDGERTON/WILSON 1936.

¹² See BIETAK 1993; KAHN 2011; BEN-DOR EVIAN 2017; HOFFMEIER 2018.

in the *Medīnet Habu* texts, this is due to the inscriptions describing states not regions. If this were the case, Ugarit would be included as part of Carchemish in the list of lands “cut off”¹³. However, as I have pointed out previously, the conflation of Carchemish to represent Ugarit in the Egyptian texts glosses over the Egyptian precedent already set in Ramesses II’s texts of the Battle of Kadesh where Ugarit and Carchemish are clearly separate entities¹⁴. As HASEL has noted, Ramesses II’s text describes city-states (e.g. Aleppo, Carchemish, Kadesh, Ugarit, and Tunip), regions (e.g. Amurru, Arzawa, Djahy, Kizzuwadna, and Retjenu), and a foreign country (Ḫatti)¹⁵. Thus, it can be assumed that the absence of Ugarit is not because it has been subsumed into Hittite Carchemish; rather Ugarit, like Canaan and Lebanon, simply were not considered as “cut off” by the Sea Peoples in the Egyptian view of events. Therefore, for nearly the entirety of the Levant, there is no Egyptian historical source which suggests that they were destroyed by the confederation of the Sea Peoples as no other Egyptian texts be that Merneptah’s Year 5, Ramesses III’s Year 5 inscriptions, nor the Papyrus Harris ever mention any kind of “destruction” in Canaan, Lebanon, or Ugarit¹⁶.

Nevertheless, one of the most difficult issues with this text is that while it is often times cited as referring to the destruction of the six northern lands, **the inscription does not actually state that they were destroyed**. As MÜLLER has pointed out, The *Medīnet Habu* text describes these regions and cities as being “*fdq*.” Normally a city or country is “*fh*” that is destroyed¹⁷, while “*fdq*” as a noun means ‘part/section/portion’ and as a verb it means ‘taking apart’, ‘split’ or ‘chop’. Thus, the countries in the list are not described as ‘destroyed’, **but as separated from each other**¹⁸. According to MÜLLER, only Amurru can be described as actually suffering a destruction in the *Medīnet Habu* texts. Yet, as KAHN has pointed out, in Ramesses III’s 5th regnal year, three years prior to the events of year 8, Ramesses describes an Egyptian invasion of Amurru where

¹³ LIVERANI 1995, 49.

¹⁴ MILLEK 2020, 117–118. See the translation in WILSON 1927.

¹⁵ HASEL 2011, 72–75.

¹⁶ See the texts in BREASTED 1906a, 241.243.249; 1906b, 201.

¹⁷ See HASEL 1998, 33–34.

¹⁸ MÜLLER 2001, 301. MÜLLER’s view is that this list represents the then Hittite empire as texts from Ḫatti describe Cyprus as being under Hittite control toward the end of the LBA. Thus, the fact that these were split or cutoff represents the fragmentation of the Hittite empire and the civil war which helped bring it about along with some resulting turmoil in Egyptian border regions (MÜLLER 2001, 303).

he reports that as a result of his campaign, “Amurru is (but) ashes¹⁹.” This lays out the possibility that Amurru was first invaded and destroyed by Ramesses and was thus not destroyed by the Sea Peoples, or at the least, one cannot say with any certainty which, if either of the two groups were responsible for the destruction. Therefore, from a linguistic point of view, **the *Medinet Habu* texts do not actually relate a picture of destruction in the Levant or on Cyprus other than perhaps in the isolated local of Amurru.**

As mentioned above for Canaan, Lebanon, and Ugarit, there is also no mention of destruction in any other region in the Egyptian textual records outside of the opening lines of Ramesses III’s Year 8 inscription from *Medinet Habu*. Merneptah’s Year 5 Great Karnak Inscription, Ramesses III’s Year 5 inscription, the remainder of the Year 8 inscription, and the Papyrus Harris are all silent in terms of the Sea Peoples causing any kind of destruction anywhere. All that is said in these texts is that Merneptah or Ramesses destroyed and killed the various groups of the Sea Peoples not that the Sea Peoples themselves caused any destruction²⁰. Therefore, while the Egyptian textual records which mention the Sea Peoples are employed to demonstrate the destruction caused by the Sea Peoples, this is only the result of overinterpreting the texts and adding in destruction and regions destroyed which all Egyptian texts relating to the Sea Peoples never describe as destroyed. This represents a historical reconstruction of events which does not reflect the historical records which those events are purportedly based on²¹.

Textual evidence from other regions too is of no help in trying to reconstruct a historical narrative where the Sea Peoples, or “tribes” of the Sea Peoples, caused a massive swath of destruction. For Cyprus, there is only the letter, EA 38, which could possibly be related to destruction by the Sea Peoples on the island. In this letter, the king of Alashiya states that, “Men of Lukka, year by year, seize villages in my own country²².” Yet, this letter predates the end of the LBA by some 150 years making it too chronologically desperate from ca. 1200 BC to be of any historical value for the end of the LBA. Moreover, the text mentions no destruction. Also, of interest here is RS

¹⁹ KAHN 2010, 15–16.

²⁰ EDGERTON/WILSON 1936. BREASTED 1906a, 241.243.249; 1906b, 201; REDFORD 2018, 21–41.

²¹ See also SILBERMAN 1998 and MÜLLER 2001 for the modern historical background and the place which the Sea Peoples played in early 20th century social Darwinism and European expansion.

²² MORAN 1992, 111.

20.18 in which Eshuwa, the high commissioner of the land of Alashiya writes to the beleaguered king of Ugarit Hammurabi, saying that he is on the lookout for the “20 ships of the enemy.” However, in the letter, Eshuwa never mentions any kind of harassment of his own lands by said “enemy ships” let alone destruction²³. Likewise, there is no historical documentation stating that any sites in Canaan or in Lebanon were attacked or destroyed by the Sea Peoples.

The only region of the Levant which may have textual reference to the Sea Peoples is Ugarit. However, even here there are issues with the assertion that it is the Sea Peoples as known from the Egyptian sources.

The first issue at hand is that no known “tribes” of the Sea Peoples are ever named as destroyers in any of the letters from Ugarit. While the assailants are referred to as, “ships of the enemy²⁴” KNAPP and MANNING have rightly pointed out that all of the texts from Ugarit only make it clear that in the last fifty years of the site’s history it was “harassed periodically by enemy ships from the sea and by land-based troops on their own border²⁵.” Moreover, while it is typically assumed that the enemies on ships are referencing the Sea Peoples known in the Egyptian textual record, three of the “tribes” of the Sea Peoples were known to the people of Ugarit and yet are not named as attackers. Lukka of course was known to the Ugarit as the last king of Ugarit Hammurabi claims all of his ships were stationed in Lukka at the time when the enemy ships were distressing him²⁶. The Shardana²⁷, were well known in Egypt and Ugarit and had served both countries as mercenaries. As LORETZ has pointed out, if they too were part of the attack, they are never mentioned, and given Ugarit’s historical relations with the group, it seems doubtful that they would not be named. LORETZ posits, it might even be that they were killed along with the people from Ugarit to whom they were in service²⁸. Finally, there is RS 34.129 where an unnamed Hittite king, though likely Šuppiluliuma II, asks to interview one Ibnadušu, “whom the people from Šikila – who live on ships had abducted²⁹.” These Šikila have been equated with the Egyptian Shekelesh one of the five “tribes” who attacked Egypt during the 8th year of Ramesses III

²³ RS 20.18 COHAVI-RAINEY 2003, 43–46.

²⁴ RS 20.238.

²⁵ KNAPP/MANNING 2016, 120.

²⁶ RS 20.238.

²⁷ For an overview concerning the historical sources relating to the Shardana see: EMANUEL, 2013.

²⁸ LORETZ 1995, 125–134.

²⁹ DIETRICH/LORETZ 1978, 53–56; HOFTIJZER/VAN SOLDT 1998, 343.

and are described as “of the sea” in the Egyptian historical records³⁰. Because of this single reference it was assumed to be evidence that the unnamed enemies on boats present in the other texts from Ugarit were in fact the Sea Peoples of Egyptian notoriety³¹. However, there are several issues with this claim. The first and most glaring is that the text itself never describes the Šikila as causing any destruction or harm to any city or town. The only crime the Šikila have committed is that they abducted Ibnadušu and are not well known to the Hittite king. Moreover, much like the Lukka and the Shardana, even though Šikila/Shekelesh were known to the people of Ugarit and if we are to assume the Šikila/Shekelesh attacked Ugarit they are never mentioned as being part of the enemies on ships. Therefore, it would seem likely that given their omission that they were not part of the attackers on boats. What can be taken from the literary evidence from Ugarit is that while three “tribes” of the Sea Peoples were known by name, none of these are ever mentioned as being the enemies on ships. To argue that the naval forces mentioned in the Ugaritic texts are in some way related to the Sea Peoples mentioned in the Egyptian texts is to argue from silence taking a logical leap where there is no textual bridge between these two accounts.

Taken all together, there is in fact no reliable historical source which claims the Sea Peoples caused any kind of destruction toward the end of the LBA. The Egyptian sources never mention the majority of the Levant, never mention that the physical destruction of cities or towns took place, or the texts have been read in a way where one line from *Medinet Habu* which linguistically does not even say that the northern regions and cities were destroyed have been believed to be evidence that the Sea Peoples caused a vast amount of destruction. Likewise, in the texts from Ugarit, despite the fact that three of the “tribes” of the Sea Peoples were known to them, they are never mentioned in any of the attacks on the city or its environs. All that can be said is that people on boats attacked the city which would indicate any coastal group in the Eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, from a textual perspective, there is no strong link between the Sea Peoples and destruction.

³⁰ KILLEBREW/LEHMANN 2013, 2 note 1.

³¹ SINGER 1999, 722.

3. Sea Peoples and the Physical Destruction of Cities and Towns

Despite the absence of destruction in the textual accounts, because the texts were believed to have been a story of mass destruction a vast swath of sites throughout the Levant and Cyprus have been presumed to have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples³². One crucial factor in this is the appearance of the locally made LH IIIC pottery or Handmade Burnished ware which are presumed to be the physical remains of the arrival of the Sea Peoples or in the case of the Southern Levant the Philistines³³. It has been assumed countless times that the appearance of this pottery indicated the validity of the *Medinet Habu* account which was believed to have portrayed an arrival which was inaugurated by the destruction of the local inhabitants of the Levant and Cyprus³⁴. What will follow here is a brief analysis of the archaeological record from the sites purported destroyed by the Sea Peoples in the Levant and Cyprus as much of the detailed evidence has been presented elsewhere³⁵.

3.1. The Southern Levant

For the Southern Levant, both major and minor sites have been ascribed a destruction by the Sea Peoples (Fig. 3). However, the archaeological record does not convey that the Sea Peoples caused any kind of destruction ca. 1200 BC. Of the four excavated sites of the Philistine Pentapolis, two sites, Ashkelon and *Tell eṣ-Šāfi*/Gath, have no evidence that they were destroyed³⁶, Ashdod only has a limited ash layer which is unlikely to be evidence of a destruction

³² See for example: DEVER 1992; DREWS 1993; STAGER 1995; JUNG 2009; BRET-SCHNEIDER/VAN VYVE/JANS, 2011; STERN 2013; KANIEWSKI/GUIOT/VAN CAMPO 2015; FISCHER 2017. Other references to destruction either assumed to have been caused by or believed to have been possibly caused by the Sea Peoples can be found in the general volumes on the end of the LBA or articles on the subject of the end of the LBA and the Sea Peoples which are too numerous to note here. See for example WARD/JOUKOWSKY (*ed.*) 1992; GITIN/MAZAR/STERN (*ed.*) 1998; OREN (*ed.*) 2000; BACHHUBER/ROBERTS (*ed.*) 2009; KILLEBREW/LEHMANN (*ed.*) 2013; CLINE 2014; KNAPP/MANNING 2016; FISCHER/BÜRGE (*ed.*) 2017.

³³ See DOTHAN 1982; YASUR-LANDAU 2010; BOILEAU *et al.* 2010.

³⁴ See for example STAGER 1995 and STERN 2013.

³⁵ See YASUR-LANDAU 2010, 221–226.340; MILLEK 2017; 2018; 2019a; 2019b; 2020.

³⁶ MILLEK 2017, 122–123.125–126.

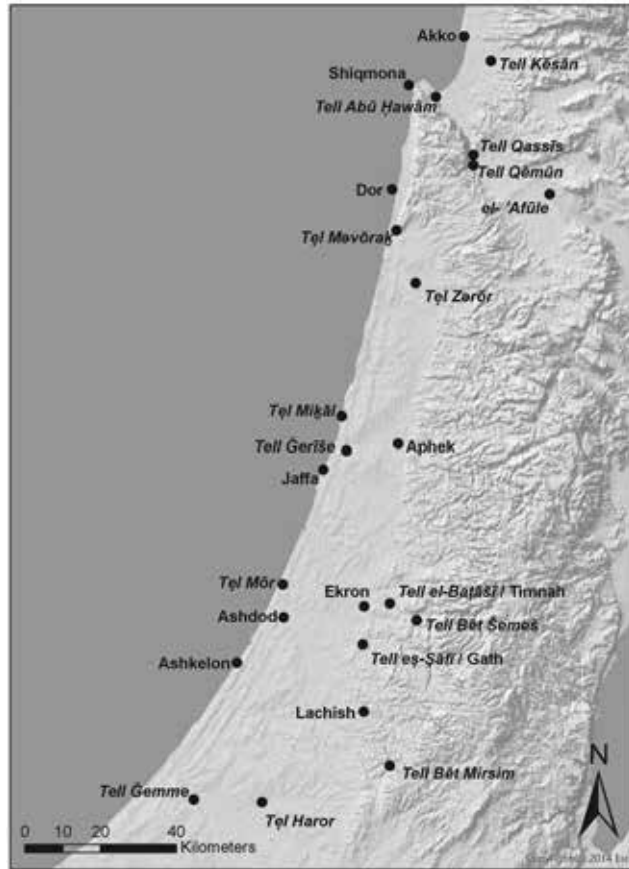


Fig. 3. Sites “destroyed” by the Sea Peoples in the Southern Levant.

event³⁷. At Ekron, only a single storage building was found destroyed, but this was followed by a local Canaanite phase which was then followed by a peaceful intrusion of Sea Peoples material culture without destruction³⁸.

Indeed, for many other sites typically assumed destroyed by the Sea Peoples in the Southern Levant, there is no archaeological evidence that they were

³⁷ YASUR-LANDAU 2010, 340; BEN-SHLOMO 2011, 202; MILLEK 2017, 122.

³⁸ MILLEK 2017, 125.

destroyed at the end of the LBA. *Tell Abū Hawām*³⁹, *el-ʿAfūle*⁴⁰, Akko⁴¹, Dor⁴², Jaffa⁴³, *Tell el-Baṭāšī/Timnah*⁴⁴, *Teḷ Zərōr*⁴⁵, *Tell Ğerīše*⁴⁶, *Tell Ğemme*⁴⁷, *Teḷ Māvōrak*⁴⁸, *Teḷ Miḳāl*⁴⁹, and Shiqmona⁵⁰ all have no evidence that they were destroyed ca. 1200 BC. Thus, in general, Sea Peoples or otherwise, there is a lack of destruction of coastal sites in the Southern Levant toward the end of the LBA.

Nevertheless, this is not to say that some sites typical assumed to have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples did not suffer a destruction event. Apeh was indeed destroyed toward the end of the LBA. However, like Ekron, this was followed by a local Canaanite phase which was then followed by a peaceful intrusion of Sea Peoples material culture⁵¹. The same can be said of *Tell Bēt Mirsim* which suffered a destruction event, though the extent and severity of the damage is not certain. However, after the destruction event at *Tell Bēt Mirsim*, there was a local material culture phase which was then followed by a peaceful intrusion of Sea Peoples material culture as *Tell Bēt Mirsim* was not destroyed prior to the arrival of this material culture at the site⁵². Likewise, at *Teḷ Mōr*, the final Egyptian building, Building F, was abandoned without destruction, and it was only after this did Sea Peoples material culture appear at the site⁵³.

Other sites such as *Tell Kēsān* have only exposed a limited picture of the end of the LBA. While there is some minor evidence of destruction from one

³⁹ ARTZY Personal Communication: 04/07/2016.

⁴⁰ DOTHAN 1993, 37; MILLEK 2017, 120

⁴¹ YASUR-LANDAU 2010, 170.

⁴² MILLEK 2017, 125

⁴³ BURKE *et al.* 2017.

⁴⁴ MAZAR/KELM 1993, 153; MILLEK 2017, 123.

⁴⁵ OHATA/KOCHAVI 1964, 284; MILLEK 2017, 131–132.

⁴⁶ HERZOG 1990, 52.

⁴⁷ ALBRIGHT 1932, 74; WRIGHT 1939, 460; BEN-SHLOMO, Personal Communication 18/08/2015.

⁴⁸ MILLEK 2019c, 166.

⁴⁹ HERZOG 1993, 1037.

⁵⁰ MILLEK 2019c, 164.

⁵¹ MILLEK 2017, 120–122.

⁵² MILLEK 2017, 123–125. This may also include *Teḷ Haror* which only has minor evidence of destruction at the end of the LBA and a few sherds of locally made “Aegean” pottery were found in the following Canaanite phase which was followed by a peaceful intrusion of Sea Peoples material culture (MILLEK 2017, 126).

⁵³ BARAKO 2007, 45–46; MILLEK 2018, 5–8.

room dated to this transitional phase, there is currently no way to know the extent of the destruction or what caused it⁵⁴. Moreover, BURDAJEWICZ who is preparing the pottery from the final two years of excavations at *Tell Kēsān*, has informed me that the date for end of Stratum 13 is likely much lower occurring sometime around 1150 BC⁵⁵. Thus, this destruction event could not have been caused by the Sea Peoples nor was it part of the end of the LBA. At Lachish, while it has been assumed that Stratum VII was possibly destroyed by the Sea Peoples⁵⁶, the archaeological evidence points out that Stratum VII suffered two non-Sea Peoples related destruction events. The domestic structure in Area S was likely destroyed in a kitchen fire as the most severe evidence of burning was found in the kitchen while the Fosse Temple III was likely ritually terminated by the local inhabitants possibly to make way for the grand Acropolis Temple built in Level VI⁵⁷. Therefore, when taken all together, for both sites inside and outside of the Philistine Pentapolis in the Southern Levant, there is no archaeological evidence that the Sea Peoples caused a massive swath of destruction. **In fact, the archaeological record indicates there was very little destruction in the coastal regions of the Southern Levant and sites slightly inland which have been assumed to have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples.** This archaeological evidence in fact validates the Egyptian textual records which do not ascribe any destruction to the Sea Peoples in Canaan ca. 1200 BC.

⁵⁴ MILLEK 2017, 126–127. The same can be said of *Tell Qassīs* and *Tell Qēmūn* both of which have some evidence of destruction but there is no clear extent of the damage or what might have caused it (MILLEK 2019c, 182–183).

⁵⁵ BURDAJEWICZ Personal Communication: 04/16/2020.

⁵⁶ CLINE 2014, 119.

⁵⁷ MILLEK 2017, 127–128.



Fig. 4. Sites “destroyed” by the Sea Peoples in the Northern Levant.

3.2. Lebanon

Lebanon has no sites which are typically assumed to have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples⁵⁸. This, however, is given the fact that as of yet there is no evidence that any site in Lebanon was destroyed at the end of the LBA⁵⁹. Therefore, given that there is an absence of destruction in Lebanon at the end of the LBA, there of course could not be any destruction caused by the Sea Peoples.

⁵⁸ Though KANIEWSKI/GUIOT/VAN CAMPO 2015 do put Byblos as destroyed on their map of destruction by the Sea Peoples.

⁵⁹ BELL 2006, 110.137; 2009, 32; CHARAF 2008; SADER 2014, 618. SADER mentions a destruction of Sidon at the end of the 13th century BC (not in association with the Sea Peoples). However, continued excavations at the site have yielded no evidence of a destruction (SERHAL Personal Communication 11/04/2018). However, excavation at the site continues and this picture lacking a destruction could be changed by future finds at Sidon.

3.3. The Northern Levant

Six coastal sites in the Northern Levant have been ascribed a destruction by the Sea Peoples (Fig. 4)⁶⁰. However, the archeological evidence again paints a different picture than what has been presented in the scholarly literature. To begin with, three of the sites assumed to have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples have little evidence that they were destroyed at all. At *Rās el-Bassīt*, traces of fire were only found against the western wall of a domestic structure while the *grand bâtiment* showed no signs of destruction. For *Tell Twēni*, ash was only found in some locations dated to the end of the LBA, and where ash was present, it only ranged in thickness from 2–15 cm. Likewise, at *Tell Sukās*, only small patches of red-burnt earth, some charcoal and ashes were uncovered in Complexes I and II, and this minor evidence of burning was not found in all areas⁶¹. Thus, for these three sites, there is a lack of evidence that would indicate that the sites were destroyed at all let alone that they were destroyed by the Sea Peoples.

Of the remaining three sites in the Northern coastal Levant, there is clear evidence of destruction and likely destruction by human hands. For *Rās Ibn Ḥāni*, only the *Palace Nord* was destroyed as all other buildings were found unharmed and abandoned⁶². LAGARCE and LAGARCE have noted in their excellent overview of the destruction that the *Palace Nord* was likely destroyed by humans⁶³. That being said, there is no clear indication who destroyed the building nor is there even a clear date for the destruction of the building. The date for the destruction of ca. 1185 BC, slightly before the destruction of *Rās Šamra*, is predicated on the assumption that *Rās Šamra* was destroyed with all of the surrounding region by the Sea Peoples⁶⁴. However, the archival material found in the *Palace Nord* dates at the latest to 1230 BC. Meaning, it is well within the realm of possibility that the structure was destroyed well before *Rās Šamra*⁶⁵. Moreover, in the following settlement at the beginning of the Iron Age, while there are some innovations in the ceramic tradition which were influenced by “Cypro-Aegean” styles, the ceramics demonstrate a strong

⁶⁰ LUND 1986; COURBIN 1990; LAGARCE/LAGARCE 1995; BADRE 2006; YON 2006, 21; JUNG 2009; BRETSCHNEIDER/VAN VYVE/JANS 2011.

⁶¹ MILLEK 2020, 103, 111–113.

⁶² MILLEK 2020, 109–111.

⁶³ LAGARCE/LAGARCE 2006.

⁶⁴ BOUNNI/LAGARCE/LAGARCE 1998, 86–88; LAGARCE/LAGARCE 1995, 149–151.

⁶⁵ MILLEK 2020, 110–111.

continuation with the local tradition indicating there was no supplanting of the local culture with that of the Sea Peoples⁶⁶.

The destruction of *Rās Šamra* too was likely by human hands. Almost the entire city was burned prior to being largely abandoned other than by a few pastoralists who used the ruins as pens for animals⁶⁷. In the *Ville Sud*, a domestic quarter of the city, 32 arrowheads and 12 additional weapons were found strewn throughout the city streets, open spaces, and in houses uncovered in a disorderly manner suggesting they were deposited during armed combat which took place in the city⁶⁸. An additional 25 arrowheads were found in the *Centre de la ville* which too were scattered about the area suggesting they were not in storage at the time of the destruction⁶⁹. Given all this, there is ample evidence that the site was destroyed in an act of war. However, there is again no evidence as to who the culprits were. The textual evidence does not give any clues as to who was harassing Ugarit, and there is also a great deal of uncertainty as to the dates for many of those texts⁷⁰. Moreover, the foundational reason for assigning this destruction to the Sea Peoples is again the texts from *Medīnet Habu*, which as pointed out above specifically omits Ugarit as one of the regions “cut off” or split apart by the Sea Peoples.

Finally, there is *Tell Kazel*, possibly Sumur/Simyra the ancient capital of the kingdom of Amurru⁷¹, which too suffered a destruction event. However, only Area IV which comprised a temple and two adjoining domestic complexes appears to have been destroyed at the beginning of the 12th century BC while the domestic structures in Area II seem to have been unharmed. Again, weapons were found scattered throughout the site in the temple and domestic complexes in Area IV as well as in a domestic structure in Area II North-Eastern sector where one arrowhead was found on a street⁷². This is again evidence to suggest that the site was destroyed by humans; however, once again there is no evidence as to who destroyed the site. Handmade Burnished ware, one of the typical pottery types associated with the Sea Peoples, had already appeared at *Tell Kazel* before the destruction⁷³, and after the destruction there

⁶⁶ DU PIÉD 2006–2007; 2011.

⁶⁷ YON 1992; CALLOT 2008. The *Ville Sud* appears to have been spared the torch (SCHAEFFER 1963, 206; 1966, 132; CALLOT 1994, 212–213).

⁶⁸ CALLOT 1994, 219–225. See as well fig. 309 (Les armes) on p. 383.

⁶⁹ YON 1992, 117.

⁷⁰ KNAPP/MANNING 2016, 118–120.

⁷¹ BADRE 2006.

⁷² MILLEK 2020, 114–116.

⁷³ BADRE/GUBEL 1999–2000, 197–198; CAPET 2003, 118; BADRE 2006, 94.

was no significant changes to the material culture which continued the local tradition⁷⁴. This indicates, that much like several sites in the Southern Levant, traditional Sea Peoples material culture arrived at the site as a peaceful intrusion not associated with destruction. Moreover, at *Tell Kazel* there was no supplanting of the local culture by the Sea Peoples after the destruction in Area IV. With that said, given that the site does appear to have suffered a destruction event by human hands, and because this is the one region which the *Medīnet Habu* texts actually described as destroyed not cut off, it does remain a possibility that the site was destroyed by the Sea Peoples though this attribution is not certain. Again, as KAHN has noted, the region was possibly destroyed by Ramesses III in his 5th regnal year and the destruction could possibly be attributed to the Egyptians instead or perhaps even to another group⁷⁵.

Taking all of the archaeological evidence from the Northern coastal Levant together, there is again no strong case that the Sea Peoples destroyed the region. Half of the sites typically assumed destroyed by the Sea Peoples were not destroyed at all, and for *Rās Ibn Hāni* and *Rās Šamra* there is no clear culprit who caused the destruction witnessed at these two sites though humans do appear to be the likely agents of destruction over natural or accidental causes. Only for *Tell Kazel* does it remain a possibility based on the archeological and textual evidence that the site may have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples. However, at *Tell Kazel* and throughout the remainder of the Northern Levant, there was no supplanting of the local culture with that of the Sea Peoples in the beginning of the Iron Age. Indeed, for *Tell Kazel*, there was a peaceful intrusion of the Handmade Burnished ware in part of the site before the destruction of Area IV much the same as there were many peaceful intrusions of Sea Peoples material culture in the Southern Levant. Given that the Sea Peoples were already at the site, it remains a strong possibility that another non-Sea Peoples related group caused the destruction uncovered in Area IV.

3.4. Cyprus

The Sea Peoples play a special role on Cyprus as they figure largely into the debate of how the Hellenization of the island began⁷⁶. This is of course a

⁷⁴ BADRE *et al.* 1994, 345; CAPET/GUBEL 2000, 430.

⁷⁵ KAHN 2010, 15–16.

⁷⁶ See discussion in: KARAGEORGHIS 1998; 2000; VOSKOS/ KNAPP 2008; KNAPP 2013, 451–465; IACOVOU 2008; 2013b; 2014.

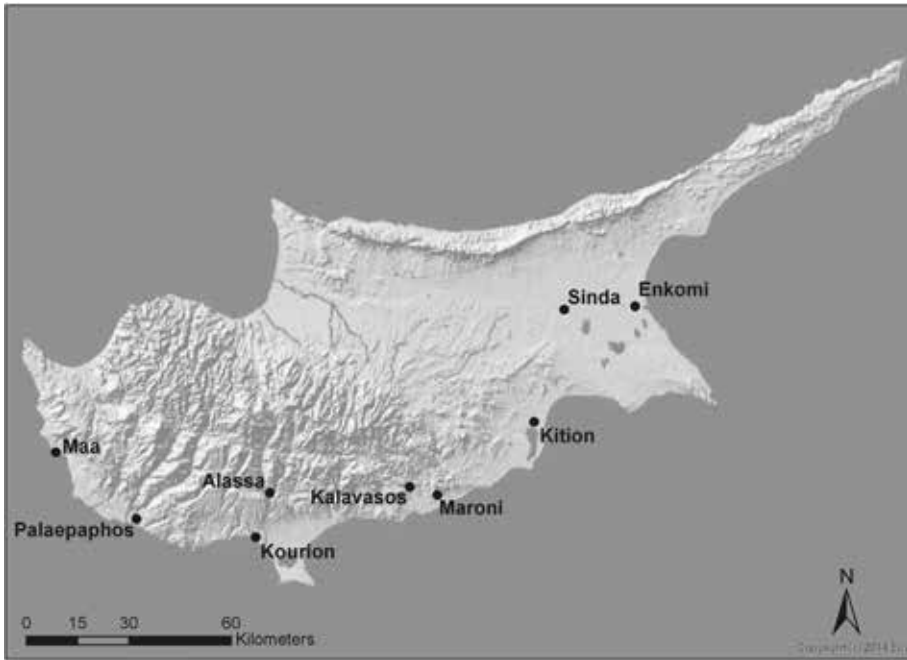


Fig. 5. Sites “destroyed” by the Sea Peoples on Cyprus.

topic too large to be taken up here and I will only focus on the archaeological evidence for destruction at sites typically assumed to have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples or possibly by the Sea Peoples (Fig. 5)⁷⁷. The first site is Enkomi where the excavator DIKAIOS described the destruction as a “terrific disaster that must have affected the whole town⁷⁸,” and he assumed that the site had been destroyed by Mycenaeans fleeing destruction on Greece⁷⁹. However, a closer examination of the archaeological record reveals that the site did not suffer a tremendous destruction event if any at all. In the Area III structure at the end of its Level IIB dating to ca. 1200 BC, half of the rooms of the building showed no signs of destruction (Fig. 6)⁸⁰. In the other half of the rooms, most only had a layer of decomposed *pisé* or mudbrick and only two rooms, Rooms 11 and 56, had significant marks of destruction as both

⁷⁷ See KNAPP/MANNING 2016, 132; FISCHER 2017.

⁷⁸ DIKAIOS 1971, 513.

⁷⁹ DIKAIOS 1971, 513–514.

⁸⁰ Rooms 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 17, 19, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 60, 70, 77, 78, 79, 79a, 87 and 88 (DIKAIOS 1969, 46–73).

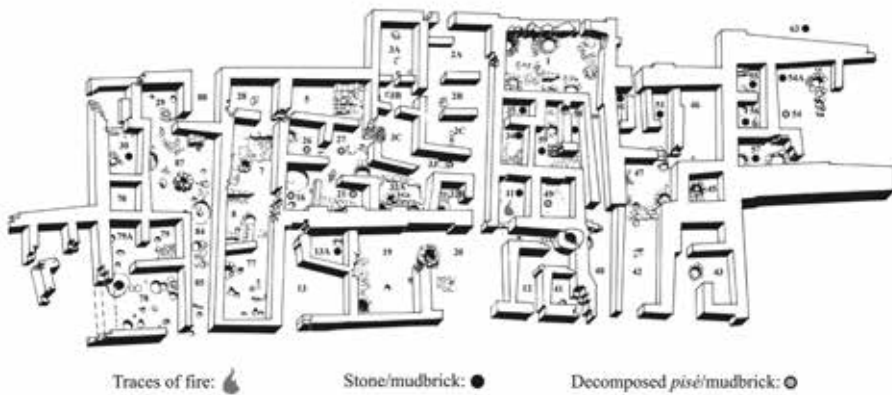


Fig. 6. Modified plan of Enkomi Area III Level IIB detailing where traces of destruction were uncovered (DIKAIOS 1969, Plate 252).

were found with fallen walls and traces of fire⁸¹. Likewise, in the Area I structure, many rooms had no evidence of destruction and many of those that did appear to have been only mildly affected by this destruction event (Fig. 7)⁸². No weapons of war were found and there is no clear indication what might have caused the partial damage to these structures. That said, it is possible that much if the decomposed *pisé* or mudbricks resulted from the gradual deterioration of the structures if they were not maintained due to a brief hiatus, a hiatus which DIKAIOS proposed could have lasted some 10–20 years⁸³. Therefore, while Enkomi is often times cited as have been destroyed in a massive conflagration, the archaeological record does not convey this as traces of fire were limited as well as evidence of destruction in general.

At Sinda, in the hinterlands of Enkomi, the archaeological evidence from a short single season in the late 1940s conducted by FURUMARK does not prove any details if the site was destroyed or not at the end of the LC IIC as only some traces of ash but no other signs of destruction were uncovered⁸⁴. Thus, given the lack of excavated material from Sinda dating to the end of the LC IIC, it is difficult to draw any concrete conclusions regarding this possible destruction event, Sea Peoples or otherwise. For Kition, there is clearly no signs of destruction at the end of the LC IIC. As both KARAGEORGHIS and DEMAS

⁸¹ DIKAIOS 1969, 46–73.

⁸² DIKAIOS 1969, 164–168.256–257.

⁸³ DIKAIOS 1971, 513–514.

⁸⁴ FURUMARK/ADELMAN 2003, 29–33.42–46.

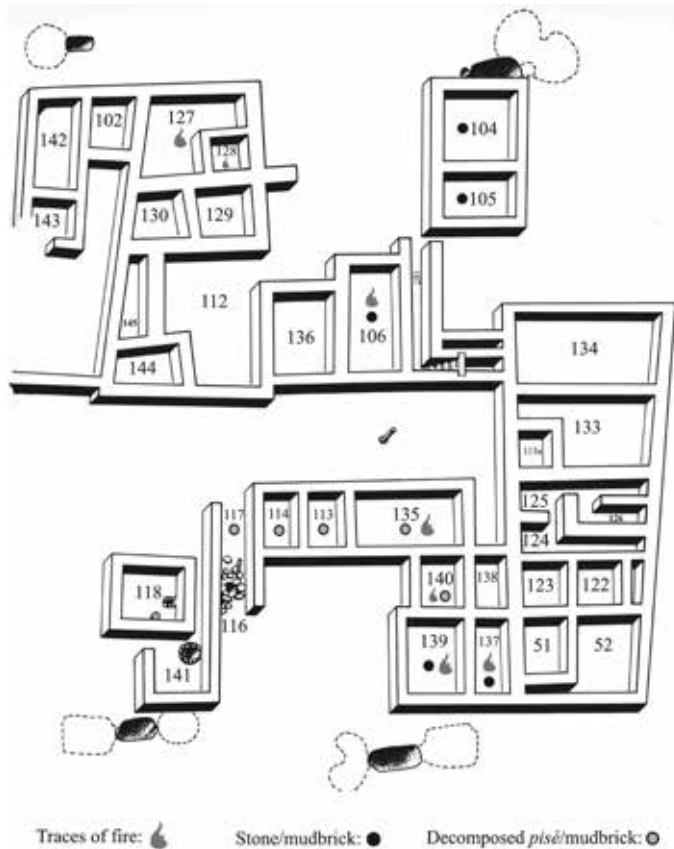


Fig. 7. Modified plan of Enkomi Area I Level IIB detailing where traces of destruction were uncovered (DIKAIOS 1969, Plate 272).

state, Floor IV found in both Areas I and II ended peacefully. The dismantling and reconstruction of the buildings and temples in both areas is not evidence of destruction but a deliberate effort to expand and remodel especially in the temple precinct where ashlar masonry was utilized in the remodelling.⁸⁵ Judging from the excavation reports there is no reason to disagree with KARAGEORGHIS and DEMAS's interpretation as there is no evidence that any of the structures were destroyed at the end of the LC IIC⁸⁶.

⁸⁵ KARAGEORGHIS/DEMAS 1985, 92.273–75; KARAGEORGHIS 1992, 80.

⁸⁶ KARAGEORGHIS/DEMAS 1985, 6–11.25–37.

At Maroni-*Vournes*, there is again a lack of evidence that the site was destroyed. Two structures, the Ashlar Building and the West Building were found without any evidence of destruction. Both buildings and the site as a whole appear to have been peacefully abandoned at the end of the LC IIC and remained unoccupied for some 450 years⁸⁷. Likewise, at Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, the site was largely abandoned at the end of the LC IIC. Evidence of destruction was only found in a single structure, Building X, which appears to have played an administrative role in the production and storage of olive oil⁸⁸. The partial destruction of Building X appears to have taken place after the site had been abandoned as the excavators discovered that most moveable objects in Building X had been removed. Moreover, SOUTH has pointed out that a layer of naturally built up dust was found at the bases and inside of the pithoi in Room A. 152, the pithos hall, implying that the room had been out of use for some time when the structure was partially burned⁸⁹. Furthermore, there is a lack of any vitrification in either of the two pithos halls which likely would have been the case if the pithoi were still filled with olive oil. This suggests that any remaining olive oil was removed or used before the building's abandonment and partial destruction. The fire that destroyed part of but not the entirety of Building X likely came as an accident and not an act of warfare or arson as it appears that the building was briefly reused by squatters after the initial abandonment but before the burning event.

In the pithos hall, Room A. 152, a hearth made from a pithos base was uncovered near the south wall which is an unusual location. When Room A. 152 would have still functioned as a storage area for oil, the hearth would have been a fire hazard and moreover, it would have flung ash into the valuable oil stored in the pithoi. Thus, this is evidence of a secondary use of the room. This is in conjunction with animal bones which were found piled up against a wall in the courtyard in association with grinding equipment and domestic wares even though the building does not appear as if it was originally used as a dwelling. At the same time, a corridor off the courtyard was blocked off by a poorly made wall and this corridor was found to contain more animal bones and copper slag. All of this appears to be evidence of a secondary use of the building after it had been abandoned with the rest of the settlement⁹⁰. From this, it seems that Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* was abandoned, Building X

⁸⁷ CADOGAN 1996, 16–19; 2011, 401.

⁸⁸ SOUTH 1980; 1982; 1983; 1984a, 24; 1984b; 1988; 1991; 1992; 1996; 1997.

⁸⁹ SOUTH 1984a, 25; 1984b, 14–15.

⁹⁰ RUSSEL 1986, 316.318; SOUTH 1983, 97–98; 1996, 41; 2008, 312.

was reused briefly by squatters who accidentally caught part of the building on fire as there is no evidence to suggest the involvement of humans and thus no evidence of destruction by the Sea Peoples.

For Alassa, the lower residential site *Alassa-Pano Mandilaris* has yielded no evidence of a destruction event in the transition from the LC IIC to the LC IIIA. No signs of burning or wall collapse were uncovered, and it remained occupied until it was abandoned in the LC IIIA without a destruction⁹¹. The upper site *Alassa Paliotaverna* has yielded the remains of three ashlar buildings and here too, no LC IIC to LC IIIA destruction has been uncovered in Buildings I, II and III. All three buildings were continuously occupied through the LC IIIA without a break in the transition from the LC IIC to the LC IIIA⁹². Likewise, at Kourion (*Episkopi*)-*Bamboula*, a possible port for Alassa, no destruction was found at the end of the LC IIC and there was continuity at the site into the LC IIIA⁹³. Another site lacking a destruction is Kouklia *Palaepaphos*. What is known about Kouklia *Palaepaphos* from the LC IIC, apart from the poorly preserved Sanctuary I⁹⁴, is largely derived from tombs and the two well fillings at *Evreti*⁹⁵. Some burnt pottery which was uncovered in the well fillings was assumed to be the result of a destruction of the site by the Sea Peoples⁹⁶. The recent examination of this pottery, mainly the pithoi sherds, demonstrates that only a few examples had traces of burning and it was not clear if this happened pre or post firing of the vessels.⁹⁷ Given that nothing is known of the actual settlement, some burnt pottery in a well filling is hardly sufficient evidence to conclude Kouklia *Palaepaphos* was destroyed, let alone by the Sea Peoples.

The only site on Cyprus which was destroyed was the small settlement of disputed function at Maa *Paleokastro*⁹⁸. Here, destruction was found throughout the entire settlement along with evidence of warfare as weapons

⁹¹ HADJISAVVAS 1986, 66–67; 1989, 41; 1991, 173; 2017, 9–68.

⁹² HADJISAVVAS 1994; 1996; 2000; 2007; 2009; 2017, 129–214.256–273; HADJISAVVAS/HADJISAVVA 1997

⁹³ BENSON 1969, 7.11.16.19–21; 1970, 35; WEINBERG 1983, 9.37–52.

⁹⁴ For a discussion of Sanctuary 1, see MAIER/KARAGEORGHIS 1984, 91–102.

⁹⁵ MAIER/KARAGEORGHIS 1984, 52; MAIER/VON WARTBURG 1985, 146. For a full discussion of the wells and their contents see VON RÜDEN *et al.* 2016.

⁹⁶ MAIER 1969, 42. Though MAIER later acknowledged that the burnt pottery was not sufficient evidence to conclude there had been a destructive event (MAIER/KARAGEORGHIS 1984, 79).

⁹⁷ KESWANI 2016, 217–234.

⁹⁸ See discussion in KARAGEORGHIS 2001; GEORGIU 2012a; 2012b.

were found in open spaces and on a street⁹⁹. However, while it does appear as if the site was destroyed by humans and not a natural disaster, there is no obvious culprit. As the excavators KARAGEORGHIS and DEMAS described it, “We might suggest that they were ‘pirates’, ‘adventurers’ or remnants of the ‘Sea Peoples’, but this is simply another way of saying that we do not know¹⁰⁰.”

What is clear from the Cypriot examples is that there is far less destruction on Cyprus than what has been reported in the scholarly literature¹⁰¹. For Alassa (*Pano Mandilaris* and *Paliotaverna*), Kition, Kouklia *Palaepaphos*, Kourion (*Episkopi*)-*Bamboula* and Maroni-*Vournes* there is no archaeological precedent which supports the argument that they were destroyed at the end of the LC IIC. At Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, Building X was only partially burned after it had been abandoned and reused as a temporary dwelling. For Enkomi, the structures found in Areas I and III show minimal evidence that they were burned or damaged, and it is not clear if either structure was actually destroyed. A similar story is true for Sinda. Despite it too being a common place name on maps of destruction, based on the excavated remains from the LC IIC it is entirely impossible to say with any certainty if there was a destruction or not given the vague and limited excavations undertaken at the site nearly 70 years ago. Indeed, based on the limited information it is likely better to assume the site was not destroyed since there is limited evidence suggesting a destruction event. The only site that was destroyed, and likely by humans, was Maa *Paleokastro*. However, there is no evidence to suggest that it was the Sea Peoples who destroyed the site as KARAGEORGHIS and DEMAS have pointed out.

Of interest here are the recent petrographic studies of tablets sent from Alashiya to Ugarit and Egypt. Traditionally, Alashiya has been placed without any

⁹⁹ KARAGEORGHIS/DEMAS 1988, 16.22.24.27.29.32.39.103.108.109.111.114.118.119.128. One arrowhead was found in Area II Street A. Another was found in Area III Building III Room 79 while two more were found in the open-air Area 88 between Buildings II and III. A bronze sling bullet was found north of Area II in Room 55 while another was found in Room 60. Another sling bullet was found in Area III Building III Room 84 while another was found in Area 88. The point of a bronze dagger was found in Area III Building II Room 65 while another was found in Building III Room 84. An additional bronze dagger was found south of Room 77. One other bronze dagger was found in Pit a from Building II. However, as it was found in a pit it is not certain it was from this likely attack.

¹⁰⁰ KARAGEORGHIS/DEMAS 1988, 266.

¹⁰¹ It should be mentioned that IACOVOU and GEORGIU have already cast doubt on the amount of destruction on Cyprus. See GEORGIU 2011; IACOVOU 2013a; 2014; GEORGIU 2015.

certainty at Enkomi¹⁰². However, petrographic analysis of tablets sent from Alashiya point to a location near Alassa¹⁰³. If it is indeed the case that Alashiya was situated in the mountainous region around Alassa, it is noteworthy that this is the one region where destruction seems to be the most absent. Neither Alassa *Pano Mandilaris* nor Alassa *Paliotaverna* were destroyed at the end of the LC IIC. The same can be said for Kourion (*Episkopi*)-*Bamboula* which too was not destroyed and remained occupied during the LC IIIA. At nearby Maroni-*Vournes*, the site was abandoned without any indication it had been attacked or destroyed. Likewise, as I have argued, Kalavastos-*Ayios Dimitrios* was initially abandoned without destruction, and its Building X was only partially destroyed most likely due to an accidental fire brought on by the squatters inhabiting the building. Therefore, the entire region where the petrographic analysis places Alashiya, lacks any evidence of a physical and violent invasion by the Sea Peoples even though this is the very region which Ramesses III described as “cut off.” Even if one were to assume, that despite the linguistic troubles of doing so, that Ramesses III meant that Alashiya was destroyed, the very region likely to have been Alashiya was devoid of destruction. However, even if the location of Alashiya was at Enkomi, as it has been traditionally believed, there is no strong evidence of a destruction at the site and there is certainly no evidence of destruction by warfare or human hands. Thus, no matter where one places Alashiya on Cyprus, the general lack of destruction indicates Alashiya was not destroyed by the Sea Peoples.

3.5. Sea Peoples Destruction Elsewhere

What is also warranted here is a brief discussion of the three other locations mentioned as “cut off” by Ramesses III, that is, Qode, Arzawa, and Carchemish. The location of Qode has traditionally been assumed to be Kizzuwatna though more recently it has been assumed to be Tarḫuntašša¹⁰⁴. However, as SIMON has pointed out, there is currently no reasonable linguistic evidence

¹⁰² KARAGEORGHIS 1992, 79.

¹⁰³ GOREN *et al.* 2003. However, it should be noted that GILBERT has recently demonstrated that the methodology of the examination of these tablets was flawed (GILBERT 2017). Thus, the question remains unanswered.

¹⁰⁴ See SIMON 2011 for an overview of all of the traditional and modern theories for the location of Qode and why all of these suggestions fail to offer a realistic solution for the location of the Qode.

to pinpoint where exactly Qode was located other than that it was in “North Syria, and, more precisely, the territory of Naharina/Mittani¹⁰⁵.” Given that Qode’s geographic location is an unknown, no sites can be linked with this region and thus no destruction can be linked with it. With that said, neither can a lack of destruction be associated with Qode either. Only when the location has been secured can we know if there was destruction or not, and if there was destruction, what kind and whether or not this may be related to the activities of the Sea Peoples. KNAPP and MANNING have recently suggested that Qode be identified as Qadesh in Syria¹⁰⁶; however, the linguistic problems aside as Qode is mentioned as an ally of Qadesh and are thus two separate entities¹⁰⁷, there is no physical evidence of destruction at the end of the LBA at *Tell Nebī Mend* (Qadesh)¹⁰⁸.

For Arzawa, it no longer existed at the time of Ramesses III as the Hittites had rearranged the region at the end of the 14th century BC and divided it into several vassal states¹⁰⁹. Furthermore, there is a dearth of excavation in the vassal states that later made up the area that was once known as Arzawa. Thus, there is no archaeological evidence to say if there was or was not destruction at the end of the LBA and what might have been the cause of said possible destruction¹¹⁰. Finally, at Carchemish, no evidence for a destruction event has been uncovered in either the original excavations conducted by WOOLLEY nor in the renewed excavations led by MARCHETTI¹¹¹. Thus, even taking these other city/region/state into account, there is either no evidence of destruction, or currently the situation is equivocal given that there is a lack of excavations or that the precise location of the region is still an unknown.

4. Just What did the Sea Peoples Destroy?

The Sea Peoples as an archeological and historical phenomenon goes far beyond the question of whether or not they caused any destruction at the end of the LBA. Questions still range from where they originated and how they

¹⁰⁵ SIMON 2011, 263.

¹⁰⁶ KNAPP/MANNING 2016,

¹⁰⁷ SIMON 2011, 249–250.

¹⁰⁸ BOURKE 2012, 51; BOURKE Personal Communication 10/08/2018; MILLEK 2019b.

¹⁰⁹ MÜLLER 2001, 301.

¹¹⁰ JUNG 2009, 35.

¹¹¹ PEKER 2017; MARCHETTI Personal Communication 07/08/2018; MILLEK 2019b.

arrived in the Levant¹¹², which branch out into further sub questions concerning pots, foodways, architecture, entanglement, hybridization, as well as Biblical studies and the Philistines. The results of this study do not answer or attempt to answer any of these questions. Whether or not the Sea Peoples came from the Aegean or from a multitude of locations in the Levant and Cyprus is not a concern regarding whether or not these groups caused destruction. This is the matter at hand, simply if there is reliable historical and archeological evidence to say whether or not the Sea Peoples, whoever they might be and from wherever they might have originated, caused the destruction of cities and towns in the Levant and Cyprus at the beginning of the 12th century BC.

From the survey of the textual and archaeological evidence, there is no reliable proof to suggest that the Sea Peoples caused a vast swath of destruction or indeed any destruction at all. On the textual side of this question, of all of the Egyptian references to the various “tribes” of the Sea Peoples¹¹³, there is only one instance which speaks of the Sea Peoples “cutting off” sites and regions in Anatolia and Cyprus. This single line has been transformed into a historical and archaeological narrative whereby the Sea Peoples ravaged the Eastern Mediterranean. The fact that a line from one text of dubious historicity was taken as evidence for widespread destruction is problematic in and of itself. However, the text itself does not even say that the Sea Peoples destroyed Hattate, Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa, and Alashiya as MÜLLER has pointed out and it does not mention anything about Canaan, Lebanon, or Ugarit as having been “cut off.” Likewise, from the perspective of Ugarit, despite knowing the names of three of the “tribes” of the Sea Peoples, never once are any of these groups designated as the enemies on boats indicating that the attackers could have been any group with access to boats. Given that there has been nearly two centuries of scholarship investigating the Sea Peoples, and that in that time never once has a single concrete historical reference been uncovered which specifically states that the Sea Peoples caused destruction despite that there are several regions producing documentation describing events occurring at the time, it seems unlikely to me that any such historical evidence will

¹¹² For the theory that they came from mainland Greece see YASUR-LANDAU 2010. For the contra see MIDDLETON 2012. One recent development in this question is DNA analyses of the Philistine cemetery at Ashkelon conducted by FELDMAN *et al.* demonstrates that there is a genetic link in the Ashkelon Philistine population to the Aegean beginning either at the end of the LBA or the beginning of the Iron Age (FELDMAN *et al.* 2019).

¹¹³ See ADAMS/COHEN 2013.

be uncovered in the future. From a textual point of view, there is never a mention of any named group of the Sea Peoples causing any destruction outside of one possibility, that being Amurru and *Tell Kazel*.

Taking both the textual and archaeological sources together, *Tell Kazel*, the possible capital of Amurru, is the only site which might have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples. From the textual side, Amurru is described as destroyed by the Sea Peoples in Ramesses III's Year 8 and from the archaeological side at *Tell Kazel*, its Area IV, the temple complex, was destroyed shortly after 1200 BC which would coincide with the traditional historical dates for the movements of the Sea Peoples. However, even here, there is no conclusive evidence that the site was destroyed by the Sea Peoples as Handmade Burnished ware appeared at the site prior to this destruction event representing a peaceful intrusion of Sea Peoples material culture. Therefore, there is no certain evidence that this destruction event was brought on by the Sea Peoples over another local group or even Ramesses III himself. It remains a possibility that *Tell Kazel* was destroyed by the Sea Peoples, but this is all it remains as, a possibility.

Despite the inherit historical issues of assuming that the Sea Peoples caused destruction in the Eastern Mediterranean, numerous sites have still been assigned a destruction by them. Nevertheless, historical issues aside, the archaeological record itself does not support the notion that the Sea Peoples were the harbingers of destruction. For the Southern Levant, 14 sites which have been claimed to have been destroyed by the Sea Peoples have no evidence that they were destroyed at the end of the LBA¹¹⁴. For other sites such as Aphek, Ekron, *Tell Bēt Mirsim*, and *Teḷ Mōr* each witnessed a peaceful intrusion of Sea Peoples material culture without being preceded by a destruction event. Therefore, in general, there is no physical evidence of the Sea Peoples invaded the Southern Levant bringing destruction in their wake. The same can be said of Lebanon as no destruction was found in the region, and for *Rās el-Bassīt*, *Tell Twēni*, and *Tell Sukās* in the Northern Levant. At *Rās Ibn Ḥāni*, only the *Palace Nord* was destroyed and the date of this destruction is uncertain, and for *Rās Šamra*, while it is clear that the site was destroyed in an act of war, there is no clear archeological or historical evidence to say who destroyed it as the textual evidence uncovered at the sites does not mention

¹¹⁴ Ashkelon, *Tell eṣ-Šāfi*/Gath, *Tell Abū Ḥawām*, *el-ʿAfūle*, Akko, Dor, Jaffa, *Tell el-Baṭāšī*/Timnah, *Teḷ Zərōr*, *Tell Ğerīše*, *Tell Ğemme*, *Teḷ Məvōrak*, *Teḷ Mikāl*, and *Šiqmōnā*.

any of the “tribes” of the Sea Peoples known to the inhabitants of Ugarit. There is no sure evidence to suggest that the destruction was caused by the Sea Peoples. That being said, there is no standout candidate for the destruction, nor can it even be said from which direction the destroyers came as trouble was also heading in the direction of Ugarit by sea and by land from the vicinity of Mukiš. Because of this uncertainty and the lack of a solid candidate for who the enemies were, it is likely that the Sea Peoples will remain as the go to option for many when trying to identify who destroyed *Rās Šamra* despite the textual issues which never mention Ugarit as destroyed by the Sea Peoples and that the people of Ugarit themselves never claimed the Sea Peoples who they were aware of were attacking them.

For Cyprus, there is also a general exaggeration for how much destruction took place on the island as five sites which can be found in the scholarly literature as destroyed were never destroyed at the end of the LC IIC¹¹⁵. Building X at Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* was only burned after it had been abandoned and reused by squatters. Enkomi had limited traces of fire and it is not clear if there was a destruction, and Sinda is so poorly understood and excavated it is entirely unclear what transpired at the site at the end of the LC IIC destruction or otherwise. Only Maa *Paleokastro* shows any real signs of destruction and by warfare at that. Nevertheless, there is no physical or textual evidence to suggest that the site was destroyed by the Sea Peoples.

What all of this evidence, or I should rather say, the lack of evidence points to is that **there is no historical or archaeological evidence that suggests that the Sea Peoples were destructive agents at the end of the LBA or at the beginning of the Iron Age.** This has far reaching consequence for the end of the LBA as the Sea Peoples cannot be employed as a causal explanation for the collapse and transition witnessed throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, the Sea Peoples as a phenomenon are more likely to be the result of whatever was transpiring at the end of the LBA than the cause of those events and conditions which helped to bring in the Iron Age. While it appears that there were movements of groups of people, no matter where exactly they originated, they do not appear to have destroyed and pillaged along their way. **The Sea Peoples came to the Levant more as the bringers of a new type of pot than the bringers of overwhelming destruction.**

¹¹⁵ Alassa (*Pano Mandilaris* and *Paliotaverna*), Kition, Kouklia *Palaepaphos*, Kou-
rion (*Episkopi*)-*Bamboula* and Maroni-*Vournes*.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank PETER JAMES for his helpful comments on this paper and the many discussions I have had with him on the issues surrounding the Sea Peoples. I am also grateful to JENS KAMLAH and ACHIM LICHTENBERGER for inviting me to submit this paper even though I was unable to attend the conference as I was in the throes of finishing my dissertation at the time. I would especially like to thank JENS KAMLAH who helped to guide me through my early thoughts on the Sea Peoples during my time as a PhD student of his. The research presented in this article is part of a larger project “Destruction and the End of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean,” funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation).

Bibliography

- ADAMS, M. J./M. COHEN
 2013 The “Sea Peoples” in Primary Sources, in: KILLEBREW/LEHMANN (*ed.*) 2013, 645–664.
- ALBRIGHT, W. J.
 1932 The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim, I. The Pottery of the First Three Campaigns (Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 12; New Haven).
- BACHHUBER, C./G. ROBERTS (*ed.*)
 2009 Forces of Transformation. The End of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean. Proceedings of an International Symposium Held at St. John’s College, University of Oxford, 25–6th March 2006 (Themes from the Ancient Near East BANEA Publications Series 1; Oxford).
- BADRE, L.
 2006 Tell Kazel-Simyra: A Contribution to a Relative Chronological History in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age, in: Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 343, 65–95.
- BADRE L./E. GUBEL
 1999–2000 Tell Kazel, Syria. Excavations of the AUB Museum, 1993–1998. Third Preliminary Report, in: Berytus. Archaeological Studies 44, 123–203.
- BADRE, L. *et al.*
 1994 Tell Kazel (Syrie), Rapport préliminaire sur les 4^e–8^e campagnes de fouilles (1988–1992), in: Syria 71/3–4, 259–351.353–359.

- BARAKO, T. J.
2007 Stratigraphy and Building Remains, in: T. J. BARAKO (*ed.*), *Tel Mor. The Moshe Dothan Excavations, 1959–1960* (Israel Antiquities Authority Reports 32; Jerusalem), 11–42.
- BELL, C.
2006 The Evolution of Long Distance Trading Relationships across the LBA/Iron Age Transition in the Northern Levantine Coast. Crisis, Continuity, and Change. A Study Based on Imported Ceramics, Bronze and Its Constituent Metals (British Archaeological Reports. International Series 1574; Oxford).
2009 Continuity and Change: The Divergent Destinies of Late Bronze Age Ports in Syria and Lebanon across the LBA/Iron Age Transition, in: BACHHUBER/ROBERTS (*ed.*) 2009, 30–38.
- BEN-DOR EVIAN, S.
2015 “*They were thr on land, others at sea...*”. The Etymology of the Egyptian Term for “Sea-Peoples”, in: *Semitica* 57, 57–75.
2017 Ramesses III and the ‘Sea-peoples’: Towards a New Philistine Paradigm, in: *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 36/3, 267–285.
- BEN-SHLOMO, D.
2011 Early Iron Age Domestic Material Culture in Philistia and an Eastern Mediterranean Koiné, in: A. YASUR-LANDAU/J. R. EBELING/L. B. MAZOW (*ed.*), *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 50; Leiden, Boston), 183–206.
- Benson, J. L.
1969 Bamboula at Kourion, in: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities*, 1–28.
1970 Bamboula at Kourion, in: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities*, 25–74.
- BIETAK, M.
1993 The Sea Peoples and the End of the Egyptian Administration in Canaan, in: J. A. BIRAN/J. AVIRAM (*ed.*), *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990*. Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, June–July 1990 (Jerusalem), 292–306.
- BOILEAU, M. C. *et al.*
2010 Foreign Ceramic Tradition, Local Clays: The Handmade Burnished Ware of Tell Kazel (Syria), in: *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37/7, 1678–1689.
- BOUNNI, A./É. LAGARCE/J. LAGARCE
1998 Ras Ibn Hani, I. Le Palais Nord du Bronze Récent: Fouilles 1979–1995, Synthèse Préliminaire (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 151; Beyrouth).

- BOURKE, S. J.
 2012 Tell Nebi Mend in the 3rd/2nd Millennia BC, in: *Bulletin for the Council for British Research in the Levant* 7, 50–52.
- BREASTED, J. H.
 1906a *Ancient Records of Egypt, III. The Nineteenth Dynasty* (Urbana; Reprint 2001).
 1906b *Ancient Records of Egypt, IV. The Twentieth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasties* (Urbana; Reprint 2001).
- BRETSCHNEIDER, J./A.-S. VAN VYVE/G. JANS
 2011 Tell Tweini: A Multi-period Harbour Town at the Syrian Coast, in: J. MYNÁŘOVÁ (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads. Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age*, Prague, September 1–3, 2010 (Prague), 73–87.
- BURKE, A. A. *et al.*
 2017 Excavations of the New Kingdom Egyptian Fortress in Jaffa, 2011–2014: Traces of Resistance to Egyptian Rule in Canaan, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 121/1, 85–133.
- CADOGAN, G.
 1996 Maroni: Change in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, in: P. ÅSTRÖM/E. HERSCHER (ed.), *Late Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus: Function and Relationship* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 126; Jonsered), 15–23.
 2011 Bronze Age Maroni-Vournes. A Review, in: A. DEMETRIOU (ed.), *Proceedings of the IVth International Cyprological Congress*, Nicosia 29 April–3 May 2008, I.2 (Nicosia), 397–404.
- CALLOT, O.
 1994 La tranchée «Ville Sud». *Études d'architecture domestique* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 10; Paris).
 2008 Réflexions sur Ougarit après ca 1180 av. J.-C., in: Y. CALVET/M. YON (ed.), *Ougarit au Bronze moyen et au Bronze récent. Actes du colloque international tenu à Lyon en novembre 2001 «Ougarit au II^e millénaire av. J.-C. État des recherches»* (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 47; Lyon), 119–125.
- CAPET, E.
 2003 Tell Kazel (Syrie), rapport préliminaire sur les 9^e–17^e campagnes de fouilles (1993–2001) du musée de l'université américaine de Beyrouth. Chantier II, in: *Berytus. Archaeological Studies* 47, 63–121.
- CAPET, E./É. GUBEL
 2000 Tell Kazel: Six Centuries of Iron Age Occupation (c. 1200–612 BC), in: G. BUNNENS (ed.), *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age* (Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Supplement 7; Louvain), 425–457.

- CHARAF, H.
2008 New Light on the End of the Late Bronze Age at Tell Arqa, in: *Archaeology and History in the Lebanon* 26–27, 70–98.
- CIFOLA, B.
1988 Ramses III and the Sea Peoples: A Structural Analysis of the Medinet Habu Inscriptions, in: *Orientalia* 57/3, 275–306.
- CLINE, E. H.
2014 1177 B.C. The Year Civilization Collapsed (Princeton).
- CLINE, E. H./D. O'CONNOR
2003 The Mystery of the 'Sea Peoples', in: D. O'CONNOR/S. QUIRKE (*ed.*), *Mysterious Lands: Encounters with Ancient Egypt* (London), 107–138.
- COCHAVI-RAINEY, Z.
2003 The Alashia Texts from the 14th and 13th Centuries BCE. A Textual and Linguistic Study (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 289; Münster).
- COURBIN, P.
1990 Bassit-Posidaion in the Early Iron Age, in: J. P. DESCOEUDRES (*ed.*), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations. Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology Held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A. D. TRENDALL, Sydney 9–14 July 1985* (Canberra), 504–509.
- DEVER, W. G.
1992 The Late Bronze–Early Iron I Horizon in Syria-Palestine: Egyptians, Canaanites, 'Sea Peoples,' and Proto-Israelites, in: WARD/JOUKOWSKY (*ed.*) 1992, 99–110.
- DIETRICH, M./O. LORETZ
1978 Das 'seefahrende Volk' von Sikila (RS 34.129), in: *Ugarit-Forschungen* 10, 53–56.
- DIKAIOS, P.
1969 Enkomi, Excavations 1948–1958, I. The Architectural Remains. The Tombs (Mainz).
1971 Enkomi, Excavations 1948–1958, II. Chronology, Summary and Conclusions, Catalogue, Appendices (Mainz).
- DOTHAN, M.
1993 'Afula, in: E. STERN (*ed.*), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, I* (Jerusalem), 37–39.
- DOTHAN, T.
1982 *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* (New Haven).
- DREWS, R.
1993 *The End of the Bronze Age. Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* (Princeton).
2000 Medinet Habu: Oxcarts, Ships, and Migration Theories, in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 59/3, 161–190.

EDGERTON W. F./J. A. WILSON

1936 Historical Records of Ramses III: The Texts in Medinet Habu, I and II (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 12; Chicago).

EMANUEL, J. P.

2013 ‘Šrdn from the Sea’: The Arrival, Integration, and Acculturation of a ‘Sea People’, in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 5/1, 14–27.

FELDMAN, M. *et al.*

2019 Ancient DNA sheds light on the genetic origins of early Iron Age Philistines, in: *Science Advances* 5/7, (online) [doi: 10.1126/sciadv.aax0061].

FISCHER, P. M.

2017 The 13th/12th Century BCE Destructions and the Abandonment of Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus, in: FISCHER/BÜRGE (*ed.*) 2017, 177–206.

FISCHER, P./T. BÜRGE (*ed.*)

2017 “Sea Peoples” Up-to-Date: New Research on Transformation in the Eastern Mediterranean in 13th–11th Centuries BCE (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 35; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 81; Wien).

FURUMARK, A./C. ADELMAN

2003 Swedish Excavations at Sinda, Cyprus. Excavations Conducted by Arne Furumark 1947–1948 (Stockholm).

GEORGIU A.

2011 The Settlement Histories of Cyprus at the Opening of the Twelfth Century BC, in: *Cahier du Centre d’Études Chypriotes* 41, 109–131.

2012a Pyla-Kokkinokremos, Maa-Palaeokastro and the Settlement Histories of Cyprus in the Twelfth Century B. C. [Unpublished PhD Thesis; University of Oxford].

2012b Pyla-Kokkinokremos and Maa-Palaeokastro: A Comparison of Two Naturally Fortified Late Cypriot Settlements, in: A. GEORGIU (*ed.*), *Cyprus, an Island Culture. Society and Social Relations from the Bronze Age to the Venetian Period* (Oxford), 65–83.

2015 Cyprus During the “Crisis Years” Revisited, in: A. BABBI *et al.* (*ed.*), *The Mediterranean Mirror. Cultural Contacts in the Mediterranean Sea between 1200 and 750 B.C.* (RGZM Tagungen 20; Mainz), 129–45.

GILBERT, A. S.

2017 Why Alashiya is Still a Problem, in: Ç. MANER/M. T. HOROWITZ/A. S. GILBERT (*ed.*), *Overtuning Certainties in Near Eastern Archaeology: A Festschrift in Honor of K. Ashihan Yener* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 90; Leiden), 211–221.

GITIN, S./A. MAZAR/E. STERN (*ed.*)

1998 *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition. Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries B.C.E.* (Jerusalem).

GOREN, Y. *et al.*

- 2003 The Location of Alashiya: New Evidence from Petrographic Investigation of Alashiyan Tablets from El-Amarna and Ugarit, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 107/2, 233–255.

HADJISAVVAS, S.

- 1986 Alassa. A New Late Cypriot Site, in: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities*, 62–67.
- 1989 A Late Cypriot Community at Alassa, in: E. J. PELTENBURG (*ed.*), *Early Society in Cyprus* (Edinburgh), 32–42.
- 1991 LC IIC to LC IIIA without intruders: The case of Alassa-Pano Mandilaris, in: J. A. BARLOW/D. L. BOLGER,/B. KLING (*ed.*), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record* (University Museum Monograph 74; University Museum Symposium Series 2; Philadelphia), 173–180.
- 1994 Alassa Archaeological Project 1991–1993, in: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities*, 107–114.
- 1996 Alassa: A Regional Centre of Alassa?, in: P. ÅSTRÖM/E. HERSCHER (*ed.*), *Late Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus: Function and Relationship* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 126; Jonsered), 23–38.
- 2000 Dating Alassa, in: M. BIETAK (*ed.*), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. II. Proceedings of the SCIEEM 2000 – Euro Conference Haindorf, 2nd of May–7th of May 2001* (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 4; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 29; Wien), 431–436.
- 2007 Who were the Residents of the Ashlar Buildings in Cyprus?, in: S. MÜLLER/J. C. DAVID (*ed.*), *Patrimoines culturels en Méditerranée orientale: recherche scientifique et enjeux identitaires. 1^{er} atelier (29 novembre 2007): Chypre, une stratigraphie de l'identité* (Lyon), 1–7.
- 2009 Aspects of Regionalism in Late Cypriot Architecture and the Case of Alassa, in: I. HEIN (*ed.*), *The Formation of Cyprus in the 2nd Millennium B.C. Studies in Regionalism During the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Proceedings of a Workshop Held at the 4th Cyprological Congress May 2nd, 2008, Lefkosia, Cyprus* (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 20; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 52; Wien), 127–134.
- 2017 Alassa. Excavations at the Late Bronze Age Sites of Pano Mantilaris and Paliotaverna 1984–2000 (Lefkosia).

HADJISAVVAS, S./I. HADJISAVVA

- 1997 Aegean Influence at Alassa, in: D. CHRISTOU (*ed.*), *Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity* (Nicosia), 143–148.

HASEL, M. G.

- 1998 Domination and Resistance. Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, ca. 1300–1185 B.C. (*Probleme der Ägyptologie* 11; Leiden).

- 2011 The Battle of Kadesh: Identifying New Kingdom Polities, Places, and Peoples in Canaan and Syria”, in: S. BAR/D. KAHN/J. J. SHIRLY (*ed.*), *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature. Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3–7 May 2009* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 52; Leiden), 65–86.
- HERZOG, Z.
 1990 Tel Gerisa – 1988, in: *Hadashot Arkheologiyot. Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 9, 51–52.
 1993 Michal, Tel, in: E. STERN (*ed.*), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, II* (Jerusalem), 1036–1041.
- HOFFMEIER, J. K.
 2018 A Possible Location in Northwest Sinai for the Sea and Land Battles between the Sea Peoples and Ramesses III, in: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 380/1, 1–25.
- HOFTIJZER, J./W. H. VAN SOLDT
 1998 Texts from Ugarit Pertaining to Seafaring, in: S. WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant* (College Station, London), 333–344.
- IACOVOU, M.
 2008 Cultural and Political Configurations in Iron Age Cyprus: The Sequel to a Protohistoric Episode, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 112/4, 625–657.
 2013a Aegean-style Material Culture in Late Cypriot III: Minimal Evidence, Maximal Interpretation, in: KILLEBREW/LEHMANN (*ed.*) 2013, 585–618.
 2013b Historically Elusive and Internally Fragile Island Polities: The Intricacies of Cyprus’s Political Geography in the Iron Age, in: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 370, 15–47.
 2014 Cyprus During the Iron Age I Period (Late Cypriot IIC–IIIA): Settlement Pattern Crisis (LC IIC–IIIA) to the Restructuring (LC IIIB) of Its Settlement Pattern, in: M. L. STEINER/A. E. KILLEBREW (*ed.*), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c. 8000–332 BCE* (Oxford), 660–674.
- JAMES, P.
 2017 The Levantine War-records of Ramesses III: Changing Attitudes, Past, Present and Future, in: *Antiquo Oriente* 15, 57–147
- JUNG, R.
 2009 “Sie vernichteten sie, als ob sie niemals existiert hätten” – Was blieb von den Zerstörungen der Seevölker?, in: H. MELLER (*ed.*), *Schlachtfeldarchäologie/Battlefield Archaeology. 1. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag vom 09. bis 11. Oktober 2008 in Halle (Saale)* (Tagungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle 2; Halle), 31–48.

- KAHN, D.
 2010 Who is Meddling in Egypt's Affairs? The Identity of the Asiatics in the Elephantine Stele of Sethnakhte and the Historicity of the Medinet Habu Asiatic War Reliefs, in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 2/1, 14–23.
 2011 The Campaign of Ramesses III against Philistia, in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 3/4, 1–11.
- KANIEWSKI, D. E. *et al.*
 2010 Late Second–Early First Millennium BC Abrupt Climate Changes in Coastal Syria and Their Possible Significance for the History of the Eastern Mediterranean, in: *Quaternary Research* 74/2, 207–215.
 2013 Environmental Roots of the Late Bronze Age Crisis, in: *PLoS ONE* 8/8, (online) [<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0071004>].
- KANIEWSKI, D./J. GUIOT/E. VAN CAMPO
 2015 Drought and Societal Collapse 3200 Years ago in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Review, in: *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 6/4, 369–382.
- KARAGEORGHIS, V.
 1992 The Crisis Years: Cyprus, in: WARD/JOUKOWSKY (*ed.*) 1992, 79–86.
 1998 Hearths and Bathtubs in Cyprus: A “Sea Peoples” Innovation?, in: GITIN/MAZAR/STERN (*ed.*) 1998, 276–282.
 2000 Cultural Innovations in Cyprus Relating to the Sea Peoples, in: OREN (*ed.*) 2000, 255–279.
 2001 Patterns of Fortified Settlements in the Aegean and Cyprus c. 1200 B.C., in: V. KARAGEORGHIS,/C. MORRIS (*ed.*), *Defensive Settlements of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean after c. 1200 B.C. Proceedings of an International Workshop Held at Trinity College Dublin, 7th–9th May, 1999 (Nicosia)*, 1–12.
- KARAGEORGHIS, V./M. DEMAS
 1985 Excavations at Kition, V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels (Nicosia).
 1988 Excavations at Maa-Palaeokastro 1979–1986 (Nicosia).
- KESWANI, P.
 2016 Fragmentary Pithoi, in: VON RÜDEN *et al.* (*ed.*) 2016, 217–234.
- KILLEBREW, A. E./G. LEHMANN
 2013 The World of the Philistines and Other “Sea Peoples”, in: KILLEBREW/LEHMANN (*ed.*) 2013, 1–18.
- KILLEBREW, A. E./G. LEHMANN (*ed.*)
 2013 The Philistines and Other “Sea Peoples” in Text and Archaeology (*Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 15; Atlanta).
- KNAPP, A. B.
 2013 *The Archaeology of Cyprus. From Earliest Prehistory through the Bronze Age* (Cambridge).

- KNAPP, A. B./S. W. MANNING
 2016 Crisis in Context: The End of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 120/1, 99–149.
- LAGARCE, J./É. LAGARCE
 1995 Ras Ibn Hani au Bronze Recent, in: M. YON/M. SZNYCER/P. BORDREUIL (ed.), *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Histoire et archéologie. Actes du colloque international, Paris, 28 juin–1er juillet 1993* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 11; Paris), 141–154.
- LAGARCE, É./J. LAGARCE
 2006 L'incendie du Palais Nord de Ras Ibn Hani. Traces et modalités d'une catastrophe, in: *Syria* 83, 247–258.
- LANGGUT, D./I. FINKELSTEIN/T. LITT
 2013 Climate and the Late Bronze Collapse: New Evidence from the Southern Levant, in: *Tel Aviv* 40/2, 149–175.
- LESKO, L. H.
 1992 Egypt in the 12th Century B.C., in: WARD/JOUKOWSKY (ed.) 1992, 151–156.
- LIVERANI, M.
 1987 The Collapse of the Near Eastern Regional System at the End of the Bronze Age. The Case of Syria, in: M. ROWLANDS/M. LARSEN/K. KRISTIANSEN (ed.), *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World* (Cambridge), 66–73.
 1995 Le royaume d'Ougarit, in: M. YON/M. SZNYCER/P. BORDREUIL (ed.), *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Histoire et archéologie. Actes du colloque international, Paris, 28 juin–1er juillet 1993* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 11; Paris), 47–54.
 2005 *Israel's History and the History of Israel* (London).
- LORETZ, O.
 1995 Les Serdanu et la fin d'Ougarit. À propos des documents d'Égypte, de Byblos et d'Ougarit relatifs aux Shardana," in: M. YON/M. SZNYCER/P. BORDREUIL (ed.), *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Histoire et archéologie. Actes du colloque international, Paris, 28 juin–1er juillet 1993* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 11; Paris), 125–134.
- LUND, J.
 1986 Sūkās VIII. The Habitation Quarters (Historik-filosofiske Skrifter 12; Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 10; Copenhagen).
- MAZAR, A./G. L. KELM
 1993 Batash, Tel (Timnah), in: E. STERN (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, I* (Jerusalem), 152–157
- MAIER, F. G.
 1969 Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos). Third Preliminary Report: Season 1968, in: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities*, 33–42.

- MAIER, F. G./V. KARAGEORGHIS
 1984 Paphos. History and Archaeology (Nicosia).
- MAIER, F. G./M. L. VON WARTBURG
 1985 Reconstructing History from the Earth, c. 2800 BC–1600 AD. Excavating at Palaepaphos, 1966–1984, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS (*ed.*), *Archaeology in Cyprus 1960–1985* (Nicosia), 142–172.
- MIDDLETON, G. D.
 2012 Nothing Lasts Forever: Environmental Discourses on the Collapse of Past Societies, in: *Journal of Archaeological Research* 20/3, 257–307.
- MILLEK, J. M.
 2017 Sea Peoples, Philistines, and the Destruction of Cities: A Critical Examination of Destruction Layers ‘Caused’ by the ‘Sea Peoples’, in: FISCHER/BÜRGE (*ed.*) 2017, 113–140.
 2018 Destruction and the Fall of Egyptian Hegemony over the Southern Levant, in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 19, 1–21.
 2019a Just how much was Destroyed? The End of the Late Bronze Age in the Southern Levant, in: *Ugarit-Forschungen* 49, 239–273.
 2019b Destruction at the End of the Late Bronze Age in Syria: A Reassessment, in: *Studia Eblaitica* 5, 129–162.
 2019c Exchange, Destruction, and a Transitioning Society. Interregional Exchange in the Southern Levant from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron I (RessourcenKulturen 9; Tübingen).
 2020 ‘Our city is sacked. May you know it!’ The Destruction of Ugarit and its Environs by the ‘Sea Peoples’, in: H. CHARAF/L. WELTON (*ed.*), *The Iron Age I in the Levant: A View from the North, Part 2* (Archaeology and History of the Lebanon 52–53; Beirut), 102–132.
- MORAN, W. L.
 1992 *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore).
- MÜLLER, U.
 2001 Invasionen oder Bürgerkrieg? Zur Neuinterpretation von Textquellen anhand archäologischer Ergebnisse, in: R. M. BOEHMER/J. MARAN (*ed.*), *Lux Orientis. Archäologie zwischen Asien und Europa. Festschrift für Harald Hauptmann* (Internationale Archäologie. *Studia Honoraria* 12; Rahden/Westf.), 299–303.
- O’CONNOR, D.
 2000 The Sea Peoples and the Egyptian Sources, in: OREN (*ed.*) 2000, 85–102.
- OHATA, K./M. KOCHAVI
 1964 Tel Zeror, in: *Israel Exploration Journal* 14, 283–284.
- OREN, E. D. (*ed.*)
 2000 *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (University Museum Monograph 108; University Museum Symposium Series 11; Philadelphia).

- PEKER, H.
 2017 Some Remarks on the Imperial Hittite Sealings from the 2017 Excavations at Karkemish, in: *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Breves et Utilitaires* 2017/4, 178–179.
- DU PIËD, L.
 2006–
 2007 The Early Iron Age in the Northern Levant: Continuity and Change in the Pottery Assemblages from Ras el-Bassit and Ras Ibn Hani, in: *Scripta Mediterranea* 27–28, 161–185.
 2011 Early Iron Age Society in the Northern Levant: Architecture, Pottery and Finds, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS (*ed.*), *On Cooking Pots, Drinking Cups, Loomweights and Ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and Neighbouring Regions. An International Archaeological Symposium Held in Nicosia, November 6th–7th, 2010 (Nicosia)*, 219–236.
- REDFORD, D. B.
 2000 Egypt and Western Asia in the Late New Kingdom: An Overview, in: OREN (*ed.*) 2000, 1–20.
 2018 The Medinet Habu Records of the Foreign Wars of Ramesses III (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 91; Boston).
- RUSSEL, P. J.
 1986 The Pottery from the Late Cypriot IIC Settlement at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Cyprus: The 1979–1984 Excavation Seasons [Unpublished PhD Thesis; University of Pennsylvania].
- SADER, H.
 2014 The Northern Levant during the Iron Age I Period, in: M. L. STEINER/A. E. KILLEBREW (*ed.*), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c. 8000–332 BCE* (Oxford), 607–623.
- SCHAEFFER, C. F.-A.
 1963 Neue Entdeckungen in Ugarit. (23. und 24. Kampagne, 1960–1961), in: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 20, 206–215.
 1966 Neue Entdeckungen und Funde in Ugarit (1962–1964), in: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 21, 131–137.
- SILBERMAN, N. A.
 1998 The Sea Peoples, the Victorians, and Us: Modern Social Ideology and Changing Archaeological Interpretations of the Late Bronze Age Collapse, in: GITIN/MAZAR/STERN (*ed.*) 1998, 268–275.
- SIMON, Z.
 2011 The Identification of Qode. Reconsidering the Evidence, in: J. MYNAŘOVA (*ed.*), *Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads. Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1–3, 2010 (Prague)*, 249–269.

- SINGER, I.
 1999 A Political History of Ugarit, in: W. G. E. WATSON/N. WYATT (*ed.*), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (*Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1 The Near and Middle East* 39; Leiden), 603–733.
- SOUTH, A. K.
 1980 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1979: A Summary Report, in: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 22–53.
 1982 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1980–1981, in: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities*, 60–68.
 1983 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1982, in: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities*, 92–116.
 1984a Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1982, in: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities*, 14–41.
 1984b Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios and the Late Bronze Age Cyprus, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS/M. S. MUHLY (*ed.*), *Cyprus at the Close of the Late Bronze Age* (Nicosia), 11–18.
 1988 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1987: An Important Ceramic Group from Building X, in: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities*, 223–228.
 1991 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1990, in: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities*, 131–139.
 1992 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1991, in: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities*, 133–146.
 1996 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios and the Organization of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, in: P. ÅSTRÖM/E. HERSCHER (*ed.*), *Late Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus: Function and Relationship* (*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book* 126; Jonsered), 39–49.
 1997 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992–1996, in: *Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities*, 151–176.
 2008 Feasting in Cyprus: A View from Kalavassos, in: L. A. HITCHCOCK/R. LAFFINEUR/J. CROWLEY (*ed.*), *DAIS. The Aegean Feast. Proceedings of the 12th International Aegean Conference*, University of Melbourne, Centre for Classics and Archaeology, 25–29 March 2008 (*Aegaeum* 29; Liège), 309–316.
- STAGER, L.
 1995 The Impact of the Sea Peoples in Canaan (1185–1050 BCE), in: T. E. LEVY (*ed.*), *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (London), 332–348.
- STERN, E.
 2013 The Material Culture of the Northern Sea Peoples in Israel (*Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant* 5; Winona Lake).

- VON RÜDEN, C. *et al.* (*ed.*)
 2016 Feasting, Crafting and Depositional Practice in Late Bronze Age Palaeopaphos. The Well Fillings of Evreti (Bochumer Forschungen zur ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie 8; Rahden/Westf.).
- VOSKOS, I./A. B. KNAPP
 2008 Cyprus at the End of the Late Bronze Age: Crisis and Colonization or Continuity and Hybridization?, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 112/4, 659–684.
- WARD, W. A./M. S. JOUKOWSKY (*ed.*)
 1992 The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C. From beyond the Danube to the Tigris (Dubuque).
- WEINBERG, S.
 1983 Bamboula at Kourion: The Architecture (University Museum Monograph 42; Philadelphia).
- WILSON, J. A.
 1927 The Texts of the Battle of Kadesh, in: *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 43/4, 266–287.
- WRIGHT, G. E.
 1939 Iron: The Date of Its Introduction into Common Use in Palestine, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 43/3, 458–463.
- YASUR-LANDAU, A.
 2010 The Philistines and Aegean Migration at the End of the Late Bronze Age (Cambridge).
- Yon, M.
 1992 The End of the Kingdom of Ugarit, in: WARD/JOUKOWSKY (*ed.*) 1992, 111–122.
 2006 The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra (Winona Lake).