



HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ
ARKEOLOJİ BÖLÜMÜ

10. KURULUŞ YILI ETKİNLİĞİ

BATI ANADOLU ve DOĞU AKDENİZ GEC TUNÇ ÇAĞI KÜLTÜRLERİ

ÜZERİNE YENİ ARAŞTIRMALAR



Editörler

Armağan Erkanal-Öktü
Sevinç Günel
Ulaş Deniz

2008



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The In/visible Presence of the Sea Peoples in Cilicia

Kilikya'da Deniz Kavimleri Sorunu

özeti

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Geç Tunç Çağı'nın sonlarında Doğu Akdeniz'in *persona non grata*ları olan, resmi kayıtlarda istilacı, yağmacı ve korsan olarak anılan Deniz Kavimleri, diğer taraftan bakıldığında aslında belki de dramatik bir diaspora hareketidir. Hitit ve Mısır kaynaklarında büyük bir yenilgiye uğratıldıkları iddia edilen bu kavimler, Kuzey kökenli olarak bilinirler. Buna karşılık etnik kökenleri oldukça tartışmalıdır. Hatti, Qode, Alashiya ve Kargamış'ı içine alan ve istilacı bu göç hareketinin ilk nerede ve ne zaman başladığı tam olarak bilinmese de yönünün Batı'dan Doğu'ya olduğu tezi genelde kabul edilir. Anadolu'da Troya Savaşı'ndan sonra güneye inen ve Kilikia'ya dek uzanan şehir kurucu kahramanlara ilişkin tarihsel anlatılar ve mitlerle bir şekilde örtüşmektedir. Ovalık Kilikia'da Çineköy ve Karatepe yazıtları ile Karatepe NKr 19 kabartması, epigrafik ve tarihsel olarak batıdaki Grek Rönesansı'na paralel bir biçimde epik tarz taşıyan ve Kahramanlar Çağı ile ilişkilendirilebilecek özellikler taşımaktadır.

Ovalık Kilikia'da arkeolojik ve kronolojik olarak kahramanlar çağına ve buna bağlı Deniz Kavimlerinin göçüne işaret eden GH IIIC keramik parçaları yeni gelenlerin varlığını gösterebileceği gibi Geç Tunç Çağı saray ekonomilerinin sarsılmasından sonra serbestleşen ticaretin de bir göstergesi olarak değerlendirilebilir.

abstract

The Sea Peoples, *personae non gratae* of the Eastern Mediterranean, were described as invaders, looters and pirates in the official records during the Late Bronze Age. From another perspective, the Sea Peoples may also be seen as a dramatic diaspora movement. It is suggested that these peoples claimed to be defeated were of Northern origin. Although the exact beginning date and place of the migration of the Sea Peoples covering regions such as Hatti, Qode, Carcemish and Alashiya are undetermined, the hypothesis on its West-East direction is widely accepted. In Anatolia, this hypothesis mostly overlaps with historical narratives and myths of Greek Heroes who went to the South and reached at Cilicia after the Trojan War and related foundation stories. In Plain Cilicia, the inscriptions of Karatepe and Çineköy along with the Karatepe Relief (NKr 19) that have an epic style and characteristics of the Age of Heroes bear parallelisms with the Greek Renaissance in the West from historical and epigraphic standpoints.

LHIIIC pottery finds in Plain Cilicia dated archaeologically and chronologically to the Age of Heroes and the migration of the Sea Peoples may be seen both as an indicator of newcomers and the liberation of commercial activities after the collapse of palatial economies.

The period between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age (*ca.* 1200 BC), also called Dark Ages, has been a highly controversial issue among the scholars. This period was marked by wide foreign invasion/immigration resulting in the unrecoverable destruction of the Late Bronze Age centers such as Hatti, Qode (Kizzuwatna), Carchemish, Arzawa and Alashiya (Cyprus).

These notorious invaders/refugees of Northern origin whose identities are still debatable are commonly known as “Sea People” thanks to the ancient Egyptian sources¹. According to Egyptians, Sea Peoples were aggressive, destructive looters and pirates. They were also known as refugees in search of a new home elsewhere in the East Mediterranean as Hatti, Ugarit, and Emar (Singer, 2000: 21–29). However, their ethnic identity and homeland (Western Anatolia, Mainland Greece, Libya, Italy or Sardinia)², their language (*koine* ?) and the archaeological hiatus caused by the advent of Sea Peoples during the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age have not been uncovered yet. Numerous studies dealing with the subject reiterate the same problems and leave the answers to be suspended in the future. Although contentious, the migration of Sea Peoples was one of the most tragic diaspora movements in the history. During the great diaspora that followed the collapse of the Bronze Age civilizations, some of these peoples may well have sought new homes in the East as well as in the West.

1 It is generally accepted that the expression Sea Peoples were coined by the Egyptians. According to Karnak and Luxor inscriptions depicting the times of Merneptah, Lukka, Ekweh, Teresh and Shekelesh were among the Sea Peoples. Similarly the Medinet Habu inscriptions, prime sources for Rameses III reign, cite Pelest, Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denyen and Weshesh as the members of the league (Sandars, 1985: 9).

2 A number of hypotheses concerning the identities and motives of the Sea Peoples described in the records have been formulated. They are not necessarily alternative or contradictory hypotheses; any or all might be mainly or partly true. From their individual names, it is believed that they may specifically have come from the Aegean and Asia Minor. Various scholars have tried to place these people with recognizable regions. For further discussion and bibliography see Niemeier, 1998: 4.

Although victory stories claimed the opposite³, the battles could not prevent these invaders/immigrants from settling in the Eastern Mediterranean. There is a wide accepted tendency that the Sea Peoples may have caused the collapse of the great empires and civilizations of the period i.e., the Hittites, the Mycenaean and the kingdoms of Ugarit and Alalakh in North Syria.

As stated above, none of the countries can stand before the attacks of the Sea Peoples. Hatti, Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa and Alashiya are cited among the defeated. The situation was the same for Cilicia. The Hittite region Qode mentioned in Egyptian sources is identified with Kizzuwatna (Plain Cilicia) and according to Rameses III records; the region was invaded by the Sea Peoples. The Denyens (or the Adanawa) people were cited among the invaders.

This paper aims at studying the role of the Sea Peoples in Cilicia according to archaeological materials and historical documents. The presence and the ethnic identity of the Denyens in Cilicia whose name was cited among the Sea Peoples will be discussed. The archaeological evidence to prove the presence of immigrants/invasors in Cilicia is still limited to Mycenaean IIIC pottery for architectural remains and burial practices are lacking. The archaeological stratigraphy and the results of the excavations carried out at Kinet Höyük, Tarsus Gözlükule, Mersin Yumuktepe, Soli Höyük and Kilise Tepe will be reassessed. The context of the building/place heavily destroyed by fire excavated in G8 plan square at Soli Höyük will be compared to the fire destruction levels found in the centers listed above. Moreover, the bilingual Asativatas inscription at Karatepe depicting a war scene, which is thought to be related to the Danoans, along with the bilingual inscription at Çineköy will also be studied.

3 *Medinet Habu* mortuary temple in *Thebes* record three victorious campaigns against the Sea Peoples considered *bona fide*. The Sea Peoples in these heroic depictions were considered as a multiple armed enemy who were at least defeated by Ramesses III. According to the inscription on these reliefs, Ramesses III claimed a victory over the Sea Peoples (Liverani, 2001: 81).

I. Legends and Facts

Legends and stories narrating this transition period are abundant. The end of the 2nd millennium BC was the Age of Heroes whereas the 8th and 7th centuries were the Age of Legends narrating these heroic deeds as it is the case with Homer who lived in the Iron Age but told stories about the Late Bronze Age in *The Iliad*. This legendary narrative style was also visible in the address of Asativataya of Adanawa who was so proud of protecting the House of Mopsus, one of these heroes migrating to the Eastern Mediterranean after the Trojan War. The tradition of legendary war stories began in the end of the 2nd millennium BC with the appearance of official inscriptions by Rameses III and Suppiluliuma II. As Suppiluliuma gloriously announces, "...I mobilised, with speed, I Suppiluliuma the Great, I reached the sea. The ships of Alashiya came up against me and gave battle; three times out at sea... when I arrived on dry land the enemy came against me to do the battle in multitudes... I fought them..." (Sandars, 1985: 141). This kind of narrative helps to date both the composition of the stories and the events related.

The earliest evidence about the "Sea Peoples" prior to the battles of Rameses III are the Al-Amarna texts of the 14th century BC which make reference to the Sea Peoples (*mi-šî*), the Sherden and the Lukka, serving as mercenaries in the armies of various minor Levantine princes. The accounts of the Battle of Kadesh refer to Sherden fighting on the Egyptian side, and the Lukka on the Hittite (Wachsmann, 1997: 339; Raban, 1998: 262). Later, Medinet Habu mortuary temple in Thebes record three victorious campaigns against the Sea Peoples considered bona fide. The Sea Peoples in these heroic depictions were considered as a multiple armed enemy who were at least defeated by Rameses III (Liverani, 2001: 81).

Hittite sources also offer promising information. In the Hittite Imperial inscriptions, the king who was cited contemporary to the Sea Peoples was Suppiluliuma II, the last member of the dynasty. Suppiluliuma II was a contemporary of Talmi Tesub, king of Carchemish and the last king of Ugarit Ammurapi. According to the Ugarit sources, Suppiluliuma II should be the one

who requested the provision of a boat to carry grain from Mukis to Ura as a matter of extreme urgency ("life or death"). Other letters in Ugarit also strengthen the argument about Suppiluliuma's difficult situation. For example, in a correspondence Ammurapi complains that the city was defenseless because all his troops were in Hatti land and the fleet in the land of Lukka (Yağcı, 2006: 883–895). All this evidence is considered as an indicator that Suppiluliuma II used the fleet of Ugarit in the overland operations and land attacks against the Lukka people and the Tarhuntassa lands. Another argument according to Südburg and Nişantaş inscriptions puts forward that Suppiluliuma II was already fighting against the Sea Peoples in Tarhuntassa lands (Hawkins, 1995: 57–58). Besides, according to Egyptian sources, in a letter written by Ammurapi to the king of Alashiya whom he calls "father", Ammurapi tells that his military troops were stationed in the Hittite land and the ships were still in Lukka and had not returned yet (Sandars, 1985:143). This last letter seems to have parallelisms with Suppiluliuma's Alashiya campaign (*ca.* 1210 BC) (de Souza, 2002: 16). Those who raided to Ugarit (Caubet, 1992: 128–130) situated near Kizzuwatna should have been the Shekelesh (*Shikalayu, Shiqala*) "who lived on the ships" according to Hittite-Ugarit letters. In one of these letters, the Hittite king asks the last king of Ugarit, Ammurapi, for military intelligence and investigates the situation of someone (*Lunadušu*) kidnapped by the people of Shikala (Singer, 1988: 246; Hawkins, 1995: 60; Artzy, 1997: 5). Suppiluliuma II's self-appraisal style at Südburg inscription bears similarities to Rameses III's style (Singer, 2000: 27). The protection of the big harbors such as Ura providing grains and provisions was of primary importance for the Hittite king Suppiluliuma II. Although her exact location in Cilicia has not been determined yet, Ura was most probably frequently attacked by the Sea Peoples.

According to historical records, the Hittites were not easily defeated after the invasion of the Sea Peoples. The hiatus lasted from the 12th century to the 9th century BC until the Phrygians who used gray pottery substituted the dynasties. These dynasties continued

to exist after the collapse of the Hittite Empire. Chronologies reveal that during this transition period, in the east of the Euphrates, the dynasty of Carchemish, descendants of Suppiluliuma I continued to rule, in the western part, the Tarhuntassa dynasty descending from Muwatalli II was sovereign (Güterbock, 1989: 54–55). However, the coastal areas serving as buffer zones and international harbors became the diaspora for the pirates or the newcomers. Nevertheless, these regions became the land of legends, myths and heroes.

There are many Greek legends referring to Cilicia (Jean, 1999: 27–31). These legends tell that after the Trojan War, a number of heroes and people following them, traveled through the Ionian coasts and passed through the Taurus Mountains, they reached at Pamphylia and Cilicia and then they went to Syria and Philistine. For instance, Amphilocus came to Pamphylia and then went to Syria and founded the city of Poseidon and he was killed at Soli. Teucros was the founder of Salamis, Aias's brother Teuker also came to Cyprus and Cilicia after having fought in the Trojan War. It was also said that the king of Arcadia Agapenor also came to Cyprus in this period. Mopsus was one of the migrants from Boeotia. Immediately, after the war, Mopsus and his people came to Pamphylia and Cilicia. He then went to Syria and Philistine and conquered Ashkelon (Singer, 1988: 242; Redford, 1992: 253). Strabo's account⁴ seems to strengthen the assumption of Greek origin and the migrationist theories. Strabo makes use of a notable number of references in order to fortify his arguments on the Greek presence in Cilicia. The Heroic times were also the age of legends. The compulsory migration brought in the creation of dramatic stories and legends.

Furthermore, the ship iconography is another debatable issue on the presence of the Sea Peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean and Cilicia. Many scholars have studied the iconography related to war ships of the Sea Peoples (Raban, 1988: 264; Çambel and Özyar,

2003: 85–89). This iconography was mostly discussed under the light shed by the northern outer wall of the Medinet Habu mortuary temple depicting the sea wars. This evidence provided by the ship iconography led to further discussions and alternative views resulted in alternating theses on the identity of the Sea Peoples (Washmann, 1997) and questions such as “Were the Sea Peoples Mycenaean?” were raised emphasizing the Mycenaean origin.

In fact, the Karatepe (NKR 19) relief⁵ also called the “Victory Celebration” depicts an “Aegean type” war ship (Çambel and Özyar, 2003: 86, Pl. 67, 96–97). The galley is of Helladic style, which was a characteristic of the 2nd millennium BC⁶. This scene in combination with the address of Asativatas may well be narrating and commemorating the Heroic times. The relief and the inscription may be considered as the Eastern repercussion of the legendary style best illustrated in Homeric works. These parallelisms reveal the extent which people in the East and in the West had similar lives and attitudes. This boat depiction, moreover, may be thought to illustrate the Sea Peoples' presence in Cilicia and the story of Mopsus.

Denyens mentioned in Medinet Habu inscriptions are thought to be equivalent to DNNYM (Adanawa–URBS) at Karatepe. Tana mentioned in Boğazköy Südburg inscription is most probably Adana (Hawkins, 1995: 57). This assumption is also justified by the Egyptian sources. In the inscriptions on the mortuary temple of Amenophis III, on the base of the colossal statue, the names of the Tina–Danaer and Naharina lands are written (Sourouzian and Stadelmann, 2005: 79–83). These names overlap with the records of Suppiluliuma I (Hawkins, 1995: 57–58). These similarities should not have been coincidental.

5 This 8th century BC *bilingual inscriptions*, in *Phoenician and hieroglyphic Luwian*, which trace the kings of *Adana* from the “house of *Mopsus*”,

6 Wachsmann, 1998: 186–187, On the other hand, its local features also make the experts think that it was a Phoenician war galley. However, this example is completely different from the contemporaneous western Geometric Period (8th century BC) and from the eastern counterpart Phoenician type Til Barsip, Ninive war ships. For further discussions see Özyar, 2003: 86–87.

4 In addition to various references to Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean in Strabo, there are also many references to the presence and the activities of the Greeks in Cilicia and in Soli. Also see Strabo XIV.V.21, XIV.V.16–17, XIV.IV.3, XIV.I.27.

All these historical texts may be regarded as the indices of the Denyens in Cilicia⁷. The Denyens are thought to have come from southwestern Anatolia since their founder Mopsus⁸ was of Colophon origin and/or Cilicia (Adana–Hatay). The owner of the House of Mopsus (Mps̄–Muksas) in Adana–Karatepe (8th–7th centuries BC) is Asavatitas honored by the Adanava king Avarikus⁹. According to the Luwian–Phoenician inscriptions, the region was habited in the 1st millennium BC by the Denyens who were speaking Luwian as the the Lukka people did. The Denyens of the later Egyptian sources may be the Danoans or the Danoias as the classical sources put forward. The Greek tradition demonstrates that the Danaois became Danaos after they settled in Argos. They were of Eastern origin and they were thought to be the sons of the Babylonian God Bel (Belos). Danoans are seen as the progenitors of seafaring and the *penteconters*. They were also known to be the first to bring the Phoenician alphabet to the Greeks before Cadmus and his Cadmean letters (Barnett, 1953: 140–143).

In addition to the legends and the Karatepe relief, another epigraphic source is the bilingual inscription found at Çineköy. The Danuna (Adana) plain in Phoenician was replaced by Hiyawa land in the Luwian part. Hiyawa is thought to be a derivative of the Aegean powers Ahhiyawa and the Hiyawa land refers to Kizzuwatna or Que (New Assyrians) and Hume (Khuwe) (New Babylonian) (Ünal, 2005: 467–468; Özyar, 2005: 4–5).

Within this context, there seems to be a relation during the so called Dark Ages between the

Ahhiyawa land mentioned in the Hittite sources and the Kizzuwatna region due to demographic changes, migrations and various ethnic groups such as the Ahhiyawa people and the Lukka people. The relation between Ahhiyawa and Hiyawa, although it seems to be anachronism, is most probable. The continuation in toponymy, for instance the name of Adana which has remained the same since the 2nd millennium BC may strengthen this argument effacing all the assertions of anachronisms.

II. Archaeological Evidence

Plain Cilicia (*Cilicia Campestris*) or Kizzuwatna as it is known in the 2nd millenium BC and its harbors were important centers located on the crossroad of trade and military routes in the Hittite Imperial period. Kizzuwatna, by its very positioning, was a region having a great number of diplomatic correspondences. The appearance of Early LH IIIC pottery in the Hittite territory Qode/Kizzuwatna i.e., Soli, Tarsus and Kilise Tepe is an indicator of the weakened Hittite control in the region. Tarsus and other coastal areas in Kizzuwatna were reoccupied soon by the western Anatolian, Aegean and Cypriot newcomers (Yakar, 2006: 39). After the fall of the Hittite Empire, during the local reigns of the post–Hittite dynasties both in Tarhuntassa and Carchemish mentioned above, Cilicia was left behind their control. Although this is a pretentious argument, the archaeological materials coming from several centers reveal that the region freed from the Hittite control became open to various commercial activities. The finds labeled as Late Mycenaean IIIC or Late Helladic IIIC, Hellado–Cilician in related literature or Sub–Mycenaean or decorated Late Cypriot III¹⁰ due to the relations with Cyprus in some publications (Williams, 1954) have been extensively excavated at Soli, Tarsus–Gözlükule, Mersin–Yumuktepe, Kazanlı (Mee, 1978: 131, 133,

7 On the other hand, the relation of DNNYM to Danoans in the Greek tradition who came to Cilicia guided by Mopsus was harshly rejected by some scholars See Salmeri, 2004: 184–185; Ünal 2005: 456

8 Mopsus, the hero of the House of Mopsus which Asativatas was so proud of protecting was a renown historical and mystic figure. He was an oracle. He was the son of Rhaikios or Apollo. He was the founder of the temple of Apollo at Klaros, the cities of Aspendos and Phaselis in Pamphylia as well as Mopsouhestia and Mallos in Cilicia. Singer, 1988: 242; Redford, 1992: 253.

9 Phoenician Urikki (WRK) Ünal, 2005: 467; Sandars, 1985: 162–163; Niemeier, 1998: 46.

10 This kind of finds in the Aegean related to LH IIIC (Mycenaean III C1b) are dated to Late Cypriot IIIA. Sherratt and Crouwel 1987: note 13, Killebrew, 2000: 234. In Cyprus LC IIC and IIIA archaeologically refer to two different level. LC IIIA pottery illustrates a cultural transformation due to the Sea Peoples.

145; Özgünel, 1979: 21–22, 150; Sandars, 1985: 153, Sherratt and Crowell, 1987: 346–7; Mountjoy, 2005: 83) and Kilise Tepe¹¹.

II. 1. Kilise Tepe

Level II at Kilise Tepe represents a transition phase from the Late Bronze Age pottery forms to new ones. This phase is closely related to the Post Palatial Mycenaean phase. This relation is seen as an influence of Mainland Greece or Cyprus and these connections especially during the reign of Suppiluliuma II are known (Yakar, 2006: 45). This includes a jar and a deep bowl and other pottery types with plain linear decoration, typical of the Early LH IIIC period. These finds are dated to the first half of the 12th century BC. The destruction level at Kilise Tepe is paralleled to other sites such as Tarsus and Ugarit (Symington, 2001:172).

II. 2. Kinet Höyük

The 13.2 Period at Kinet Höyük is designated as “Sub-Hittite”. As it is the case at Soli, in this level, Cypriot WS II and RLWM wares ended at Kinet Höyük. Besides, at Period 12 deposits, a few number of LH IIIC pottery were excavated (Gates, 2006: 304).

II. 3. Tarsus

At Tarsus, immediately under the destruction level LB II, at LB IIb, 875 fragments of LH IIIC were excavated. However, the exact stratigraphy has not been determined yet. LH IIIC pottery is obviously associated with the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant. Cyprus seems to be the most important direction (Mountjoy, 2005: 81–83).

II. 4. Mersin Yumuktepe

At Mersin Yumuktepe, in the level VI–V, two Mycenaean and in the level IV five Hellado–Cilician sherds were excavated. These latter ones are dated to ca 1200 BC and the end of the Level IV. These sherds were re-studied by Mee and one of the sherds excavated in Level VI and V was labeled as LH IIIA2, the second was a

local Hellado–Cilician and the third one was LH IIIA2 or IIIB. The absence of any LH IIIC, according to Mee, indicates that the Level V was destroyed before ca. 1200 BC. Mee asserts that sherds labeled as Hellado–Cilician by Gjerstad and Sub–Mycenaean by Seton–Williams were clearly under Mycenaean influence and they most probably belonged to a later period (Jean, 2006: 323).

II. 5. Soli Höyük

An ashy layer, indicative of fire, has been excavated in E9 and F9 plan squares at Soli Höyük and below this level (16.00), the sherds of Mycenaean IIIC deep bowls have been excavated extensively in both plan squares. Although the architectural context in which these fragments were found is weak due to destruction on the slope, in G8 plan square, adjoining F9 above a level offering Hittite pottery dated to the 13th century (15.88) another level containing a destroyed roof and a limestone floor was unearthed. Between this roof and the floor horizontal beam fragments and at least four broken vessels were excavated (16.31). No other archaeological material except from these monochrome vessels used for storage was excavated. The reason may be that the place was abandoned or looted before it was severely burnt. Within this framework, it is most probable that the architectural G8 context at Soli is closely related to the invasion of Kizzuwatna which was under the Hittite control (since ca. 1375–1355 BC) by the Sea Peoples at the beginning of the 12th century. However, the architectural remains related to this Mycenaean IIIC destruction will be unearthed, as the excavation works at Soli will be expanded behind the G8 plan square. Soli Höyük LH IIIC¹² finds were published and the

11 Symington, 2001: 172. Examples at Kilise Tepe are dated to ca. 1180–1150 BC.

12 The Early Mycenaean IIIC finds at Soli may be labeled as local productions as those at Tarsus and Kazanlı are. Exported LH IIIC pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean is very rare. LH IIC finds in Ugarit and its southern harbor Tel Sukas, Bet Shan, Ashdod, Ekron and Sarepta were locally produced or were exported from Tyre and Byblos. There are local workshops in Cyprus. It is claimed that Mycenaean settlers migrating from Mainland Greece after the destruction of LH IIIB were responsible for the local pottery production in Enkomi, Kition, Sinda and the Central and Western parts of Cyprus.

problems related to the lack of architectural context were pointed out (Yağcı, 2007: 367–376).

To sum up, the historical records i.e., the Egyptian, Hittite, Post–Hittite and Greek sources, the iconographical evidence and the archaeological materials excavated at Kizzuwatna centers offer an interrelated network of information on the dynamics of the region in the 2nd millennium BC. This transition period, especially the invasions/immigrations of the Sea Peoples, was a period of legends in the East as well as in the West. In this period, Kizzuwatna had a mixed population consisting of local people together with the newcomers. The presence of the Sea Peoples to this region is visible in the fire–destroyed levels and the subsequent LH IIIC finds. The pottery finds dated to the period Mycenaean IIIC are generally seen an indicator of the newcomers from the Aegean region. These were more probably people from the

western Anatolia who used LH IIIC pottery. However, LH IIIC movement should not have been lasted for a long time. The pottery finds should be supported by the architectural remains and burial customs so as to prove the existence of a long term settlement. It is believed that the population of these newcomers in Philistine was higher than those dwelling in the north Levant. Still, the number of Tarsus LH IIIC finds as 875 sherds is highly promising. As stated above, Kizzuwatna was left behind the control of the surviving Hittite dynasties both in Tarhuntassa and in the north Syria during the Dark Ages enabling the Sea Peoples to come to the coastal areas. This was also an indicator of the liberated trade activities. In other words, the situation of Kizzuwatna in the 2nd millenium BC offers a twofold explanation including partly invisible archaeological evidence and visible historical and epigraphic documents.

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