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Source: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 128, No. 2 (Jun., 1984), pp. 114-122

Published by: American Philosophical Society

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Hittites and Akhaeans: A New Look*

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As early as 1924, only seven years after the Hittite language had been deciphered, Emil Forrer, a young Swiss scholar who worked on the Boghazköy tablets in Berlin, surprised the world by his announcement that he had found "Pre-Homeric Greeks in the Boghazköy texts."¹ According to him the term "Land of Ahhiyawa" occurring in some Hittite texts referred to the land of the Akhaeans. This claim was soon challenged by other Hittitologists, such as Johannes Friedrich (in 1927) and Albrecht Götze (in 1930).² In 1932 Ferdinand Sommer published a monumental book *Die Ahhijawā-Urkunden* (The Ahhiyawa Documents),³ in which he presented a re-interpretation of all the sources with detailed philological commentary. Coming to the conclusion that none of the points adduced by Forrer could be taken as real proof, he rejected the whole theory.

This total rejection was seen by others as going too far. Already in 1935 Fritz Schachermeyr countered with a monograph *Hethiter und Achäer*,⁴ in which he concluded that the assumption that the name Ahhiyawa referred to Greeks was highly probable, even though it could not be strictly proven. In the fifth volume of his monumental work *Die ägäische Frühzeit* (1982)⁵ the same author takes an even more positive stand. The most outspoken advocate of the "Greek theory" was G. L. Huxley in a monograph *Achaeans and Hittites* (1960),⁶ while Gerd Steiner in

an article of 1964 tried again to disprove every argument adduced by the proponents.⁷

The "Ahhiyawa question" has become a matter of faith—there are believers and skeptics. On the one side it is true that by strict linguistic laws *Ahhiyawā* or its older form *Ahhiyā* are not correct rendering of **Akhaiwoi* or **Akhaiwiya*, **Akhaiwa* (whatever the reconstructed form of the name of the people or the country, respectively, may be). I belong to those who think that strict phonetic laws cannot be applied to the rendering of foreign names, witness the Greek names of the Akhaemenian kings. I think that if other considerations favor the equation, the lack of correct phonetic correspondence is not a serious obstacle.

Since the days of Forrer's announcement and Sommer's rejection of the theory, our picture of the ancient world has changed. Thanks to Michael Ventris we now know that the bearers of the Mycenaean civilization were indeed Greeks; the number of West-Anatolian sites yielding Mycenaean finds has increased, and Aegean archaeologists know more about the Mycenaean thalassocracy. Common sense tells us that the Greek world was no more remote from Anatolia than Babylon or Egypt, so that it is hard to understand why the Hittites should not have known and mentioned it.

Indeed there are some indications of contacts between the two peoples. Fig. 1 is a map of Mycenaean finds in West Anatolia published by K. Bittel in 1967.⁸ Note how close to these findspots the Hittite monuments are situated (marked X): at the moun-

* Read 23 April 1983

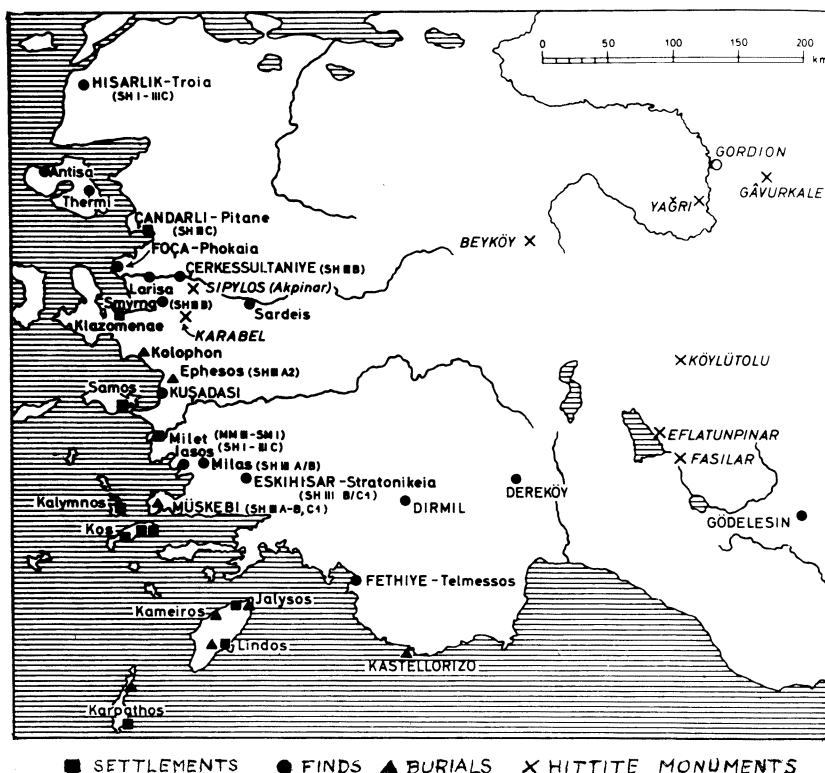


FIG. 1. Mycenaean finds in Western Anatolia
After K. Bittel, *MDOG* 98 (1967) 18 fig. 17

tain pass called Karabel (fig. 2)⁹ and on the slope of Mt. Sipylos near Magnesia (Manisa) (fig. 3).¹⁰ Both bear hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. The Karabel inscription stems from a local ruler and marks the boundary between the Hermos and Kaÿstros plains. The image of the Mother Goddess on Mt. Sipylos is accompanied by two inscriptions: one belongs to a Hittite prince who also "signed" two reliefs in the Taurus mountains of Southeast Anatolia,¹¹ presumably because he was in charge of these widely separate regions at different times, the other to a man with a Hittite name and an administrative office.¹² All three inscriptions can be dated to the thirteenth century B.C.

The pointed hat of the figure at the Karabel is the typical headdress of Hittite gods; it often is decorated with horns in varying number and place, the sign of divinity. Fig. 4

shows two examples at random.¹³ A sherd of a locally made Late Helladic crater found at Miletus (fig. 5)¹⁴ obviously depicts just such a hat. So there were people in the Mycenaean quarter of Miletus who were aware of things Hittite. At the other end, an incised drawing inside a bowl of Hittite manufacture found at Boğazköy in a level of the late fifteenth to fourteenth century (fig. 6)¹⁵ shows that some Hittites must have seen some things Aegean. Finally there is the Hittite cylinder seal found in a Mycenaean building at Thebes (fig. 7).¹⁶ Even though, according to Professor Porada's plausible reconstruction of the events, it did not come directly from the Hittites but rather as part of a whole lot of lapis cylinders sent by the king of Assyria, the find shows that Near Eastern artifacts were shipped to Greece at the time.

So much for the common sense approach.

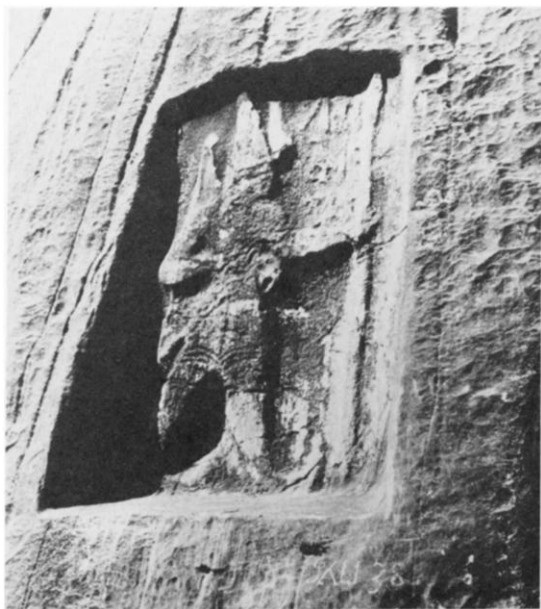


FIG. 2. The Karabel relief
Photo: Author

What about specific problems? One basic question is whether Ahhiyawa was in Anatolia or outside it. The "believers" cited passages where it was reached by boat for a location across the sea, whether it was on one of the islands including perhaps Crete, or on the Greek mainland. The "skeptics" said that boats could have sailed along the coast of Anatolia. They stressed the necessity of disregarding the unproven and phonetically faulty equation of the names and of trying to locate Ahhiyawa in Anatolia in the framework of the historical geography of the Hittite period. But this is just where the difficulties lie. Several scholars have tried, starting from the few known fixed points, to arrange countries according to relations of one to another, but the possibilities are too many, so that a number of different "geographies" have been proposed, none of which is quite convincing. The places proposed for an Anatolian Ahhiyawa range from Pamphylia to the Troad, even Thrace.

Let us look at the evidence for a location of Ahhiyawa in Anatolia. One source is the

text known as the Indictment of Madduwattas,¹⁷ because in it a "man of Ahhiyā" is obviously operating on Anatolian soil. Madduwattas (whose name sounds proto-Lylian, like Alyattes, Sadyattes) apparently was a vassal of the Hittites. His misdeeds, listed in the document, span the reigns of two successive kings who have been identified with a Tudhaliyas and his son Arnuwandas.¹⁸ Previously it was believed that these were Tudhaliyas IV and Arnuwandas III of the thirteenth century B.C., but now the text has been redated on linguistic grounds to the late fifteenth century, where we have Tudhaliyas II and Arnuwandas I.¹⁹ The text states that Madduwattas was attacked by Attarissiyas, "the man of Ahhiyā." The term "man" may refer to a lesser ruler whom the Hittites did not regard as "king," or it may simply be the gentilic, "an Ahhiyawan." In any case this man on one occasion commanded one hundred chariots. Madduwattas was twice saved by the Hittites from defeat by Attarissiyas. Nevertheless he then made common cause with enemies of the Hittites: first with the city of Dalawa,



FIG. 3. The Sipylos monument
Photo: Author

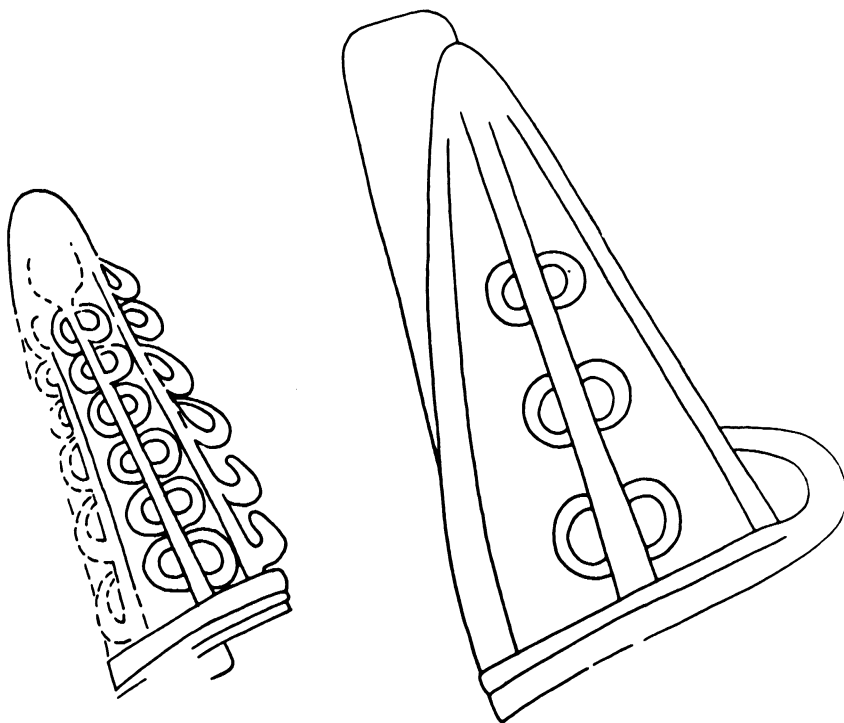


FIG. 4. Tiaras of Hittite gods
After K. Bittel et al., *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya*, pl. 63



FIG. 5. Mycenaean sherd from Miletus
After C. Weickert, *Ist. Mitt.* 9/10 pl. 72.1

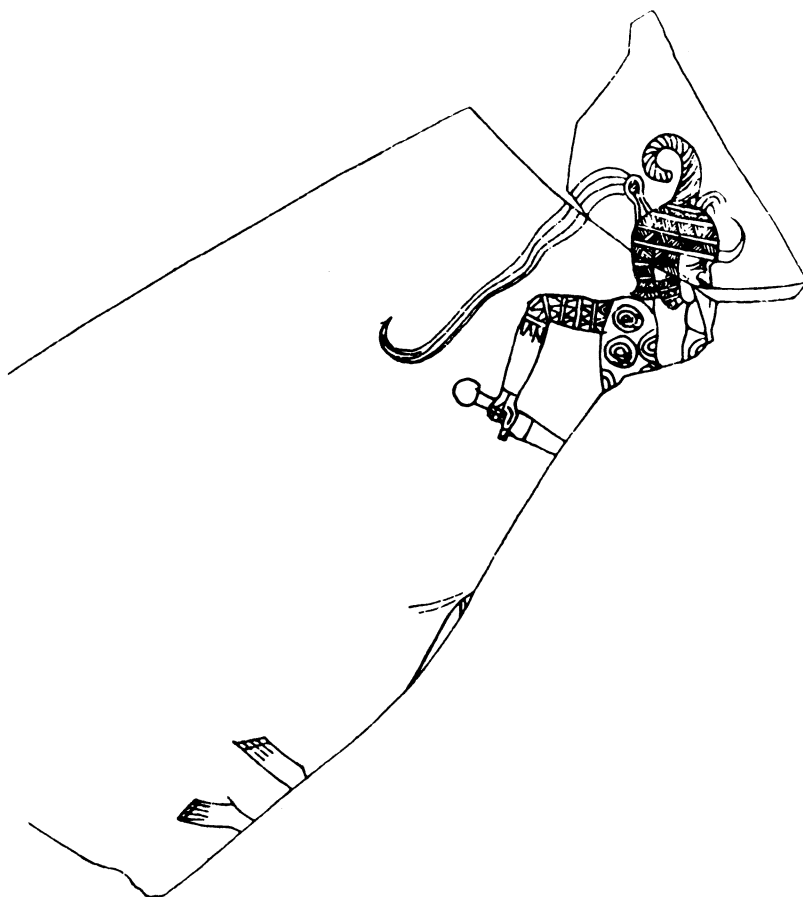


FIG. 6. Drawing on bowl from Boğazköy
After K. Bittel, *Rev. Arch.* 1976: 11



FIG. 7. Cylinder seal found at Thebes
After E. Porada, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 28 (1982): 48

TABLE 1
Kings of the Hittite New Kingdom

Tudḫaliyas I
↓
Hattusilis II
↓
Tudḫaliyas II
↓
Arnuwandas I
↓
Tudḫaliyas III
↓
Suppiluliumas I ca. 1352–22
↓
Arnuwandas II
↓
Mursilis II
↓
Muwatallis around 1275
↓
Urḫi-Teshub (Mursilis III)
↓
Hattusilis III
↓
Tudḫaliyas IV
↓
Arnuwandas III
↓
Suppiluliumas II to ca. 1200

that is Lycian Tlava, Greek Tlỗs, in Lycia. Using a ruse, he helped the Tlawans smash a Hittite army and then made a formal alliance with Tlawā. Next, he joins the king of Arzawa,²⁰ an old enemy of the Hittites. Later on, Madduwattas makes common cause with his old enemy, Attarissiyas, and at the time of Arnuwandas the two together made raids on Alashiya, that is, Cyprus.²¹ The king reproaches Madduwattas for having attacked the island which he claims as Hittite possession. (How such a claim was possible in the late fifteenth century is hard to explain.) Madduwattas promptly replied that he did not know of it! It seems to me that Attarissiyas (whose name sounds Greek, although it is hardly Atreus!), rather than being the ruler of an Anatolian country Ahhiyā, would be an Akhean chieftain operating out of one of the early Mycenaean settlements on the west coast.

Another text was also adduced in favor of locating Ahhiyawa in Anatolia.²² One sentence in it was translated by both Forrer and Sommer as "the king of Ahhiyawa re-

treated." This was taken as indicating that he was carrying out military operations on Anatolian soil, specifically in the Seḫa River Land in western Asia Minor, and that therefore his own country must have been nearby. Reexamining the text I found that the verb in question often means "to take refuge," for instance: "The population fled and took refuge in hard-to-climb mountains." In a prayer we read: "The bird takes refuge in his nest, and is saved. I took refuge with the Stormgod, so, save me (my god)!" Note that in the last example the object of the verb is a god; here one may say "to put one's trust in, to rely on." Thus I interpret the historical fragment to mean: "[Tarḫunaradus] started hostilities [against me] and relied on the king of Ahhiyawa." One could obviously "rely on the king of Ahhiyawa" regardless of where that country was situated.²³

Summing up, we may say that so far we have found no proof for localizing Ahhiyawa either in Anatolia or outside of it. We shall come back to that question, but there are other aspects of the Ahhiyawa problem to discuss.

The most important document for the relations of Hatti with Ahhiyawa is the so-called Tawagalawa letter.²⁴ It covered three tablets of which only the third (ca. 275 lines) is extant. From internal evidence it is clear that it was written by a Hittite king to a king of Ahhiyawa. The names of the two sovereigns do not occur on this tablet, since the only place where the writer and addressee of a letter are mentioned by name is the very beginning. The letter has been attributed to the kings Mursilis II, Muwatallis, and Hattusilis III. Of these, Hattusilis is the most likely.²⁵

The main subject of this third tablet is the behavior of a certain Piyamaradus, whom the Hittite king accuses of having made raids and planning more attacks on Hittite territory. His name is "Hittite" (in the wider sense), but he is apparently a protégé of the king of Ahhiyawa. In the first sections of

the tablet, however, a certain Tawagalawas is mentioned. His name is certainly not Hittite; it has been taken for Greek and explained as Etewoklêwēs (Eteocles).²⁶ Tawagalawas is the brother of the king of Ahhiyawa. I was able to dispel Sommer's objections to this interpretation on the basis of texts published after his time.²⁷ The Hittite king speaks of a charioteer, who is a relative of the queen, and who "has been stepping on the chariot with me since my youth, and also with your brother Tawagalawas" (against Sommer's "your brother *and* Tawagalawas").

At the beginning of our third tablet we read that the people of Lukka, threatened by an unidentified enemy, turned first to Tawagalawas, then to the Hittite king for help. While the latter was approaching, he received a message from a man who wanted to be taken on as vassal. It was thought that this man was Tawagalawas, but the text is not clear. I. Singer recently argued convincingly that he rather was Piyamaradus.²⁸ Although the Hittite king sent a high official to escort him into his presence, this man then refused to come and demanded to be given the kingship on the spot. A little later in the text the Hittite king says that he had complained to the king of Ahhiyawa about the raids of Piyamaradus, and that the king of Ahhiyawa replied that he had instructed a certain Atpas to hand Piyamaradus over to him. Atpas seems to be an Ahhiyawan official in Millawanda, because now the Hittite king goes to that city in order not only to receive that extradition, but also, "so that my brother's subjects may hear what I have to say to Piyamaradus." From this we learn that there were Ahhiyawans living in Millawanda. When the king arrived there, however, Piyamaradus had left—by boat.

Obviously the name *Millawanda* or *Milawata* is close to *Milātos*, that is, Miletus. The equation, proposed long ago, was doubted as not provable. It has gained in probability by the discovery of the Minoan and My-

cenean fortified settlement on the site and is now widely accepted. Outside the Tawagalawa letter Millawanda is once mentioned in connection with Arzawa and Ahhiyawa in the Annals of Mursilis II, unfortunately in a badly damaged passage. The other mention of the town is in a letter which can now be dated to Tudḫaliyas IV. It is addressed to an unnamed vassal who is not, as previously assumed, the ruler of Milawata (as the name is written here). A join found by H. A. Hoffner²⁹ shows that the writer and addressee together did not "[set] the boundaries of Milawata" (as previously restored) but rather "annexed territory of Milawata." The added piece also shows that the writer, Tudḫaliyas IV, planned to re-install the deposed ruler of Wilusa, who had apparently taken refuge with the addressee.

Wilusa is best known from a treaty that Muwatallis concluded with its king Alaksandus.³⁰ The combination Alaksandus of Wilusa reminded many people of Alexandros of (W)llios, and a list of Western countries in a fifteenth-century text puts Wilusiya together with Tarwisa at the northern end of the list. The name Tarwisa has been claimed for Troy. That both Wilusiya and Tarwisa are called "countries" and listed side by side may perhaps be blamed on the ignorance of the Hittite scribe. Wilusa is mentioned also in the Tawagalawa letter in reference to an earlier time, when apparently the kings of Hatti and Ahhiyawa fought over that city but then made peace. If the writer of the letter is indeed Hattusilis, then this clash occurred long after the installation of Alaksandus! I shall not go into further speculation at this point.³¹

Back to the Tawagalawa letter—it has been observed that its tone in general is rather polite and cautious. The Hittite king explains why he had to go to Millawanda, and at one point excuses himself for some offending words attributed to him. In light of this, let us look at one crucial passage.

The Hittite king was apparently peeved

by a message from the king of Ahhiyawa, which curtly said (referring to Piyamaradus): "Take this man, but do not le[ad] him [away]!" To this he replies: "If one of my grandees(?) or a "brother" of mine had told me, I would have listened to his words." Sommer translated the next sentence: "But now My Brother wrote to me like a Great King, my equal: the word of my equal I hear not!" Such impolite language hardly fits the tone of the letter. The three terms "My Brother," "Great King" and "my equal" are best understood as simple apposition, and the last clause as rhetorical question. I translate: "But now My Brother, the Great King,

my equal, has written me; shall I not listen to the word of my equal?" Recently I was pleased to learn that the Polish Hittitologist Rudolf Ranoszek gave the same interpretation as early as 1938.³² I think one should draw the necessary conclusion from it. The Great King of Ahhiyawa, equal in rank to the kings of the other great powers of the time, cannot have been the ruler of some country in Anatolia, where there is no room for another great power beside Hatti. Nor would one expect him on one of the islands. I think the conclusion can only be that he ruled over mainland Greece as well as the islands and the settlements in Anatolia.

NOTES

1. E. Forrer, "Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (MDOG)* 63 (1924): 1–22; "Die Griechen in den Boghazköi-Texten," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (OLZ)* 27 (1924): 113–118.
2. J. Friedrich, "Werden in den hethitischen Keilschrifttexten die Griechen erwähnt?", *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1.1 (1927): 87–107; A. Götze, rev. of E. Forrer, *Forschungen* 1.2 (1929): *OLZ* 33 (1930): 285–292.
3. F. Sommer, *Die Ahhiyawa-Urkunden (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abt. N.F.6, 1932; reprint Hildesheim 1975), hereafter AU*.
4. F. Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer (Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft 9.1-2, 1935)*.
5. F. Schachermeyr, *Die ägäische Frühzeit*, vol. 5: *Die Levante im Zeitalter der Wanderungen (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 387, 1982)*.
6. G. L. Huxley, *Achaeans and Hittites* (Oxford 1960).
7. G. Steiner, "Die Ahhiyawa-Frage heute," *Saeculum* 15 (1964): 365–392. Based thereon: W. Röllig, art. "Griechen" in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 3 (1971): 643–644. S. Košak, "The Hittites and the Greeks," *Linguistica* 20 (Ljubljana 1980): 35–48, while admitting contacts, rejects the equation of the names.
8. K. Bittel, "Karabel," *MDOG* 98 (1967): 5–23, esp. 16–23 with fig. 17. There are more recent such maps, but to my mind this is the clearest.
9. For the relief see also Bittel, *Les Hittites* (Paris 1976) = *Die Hethiter* (Munich 1976), fig. 206; E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (1962), pl. 102 and color pl. XXII. For the inscription see *MDOG* 98: 9–14 with figs. 4–15.
10. Bittel, *Les Hittites*, figs. 204–205; Akurgal *The Art*, color pl. XXIII.
11. H. Th. Bossert, "Das hethitische Felsrelief bei Hanyeri (Gezbeli)," *Orientalia n.s* (hereafter *Or.*) 23 (1954): 129–147 and pls. XXIV–XXIX; on the identity of the name there with that on Sipylus *ibid.* 144–146. For Hanyeri cf. Bittel *Les Hittites*, fig. 201. The other eastern relief is at Imankulu, *ibid.* fig. 203; for the reading of the prince's name see Güterbock, "Hieroglyphische Miszellen," *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi Dicata* (1979): 235–245, esp. 237f., 242f.
12. H. G. Güterbock and R. L. Alexander, "The Second Inscription on Mt. Sipylus," *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983): 29–32.
13. Two of the samples collected by K. Bittel in *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya* (1975) pl. 63.
14. C. Weickert, "Die Ausgrabung beim Athena-Tempel in Milet 1957: III. Der Westabschnitt," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 9–10 (1960): 63–66, esp. 65, pl. 72, 1.
15. K. Bittel, "Tonschale mit Ritzzeichnung aus Bogazköy," *Revue archéologique* n. s. 1976: 9–14 and figs. 1–3. Cf. now Dessa Rittig, *Or.* 52 (1983): 156–160, fig. 3; Rittig considers the drawing Anatolian.
16. E. Porada, "The Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes in Boeotia," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 28 (1981): 1–70, esp. 46–49 (no. 25) and 68–70 ("Historical Hypotheses"); H. G. Güterbock, "The Hieroglyphic Inscription on the Hittite Cylinder, No. 25," *ibid.* 71–72. Our fig. 7 is rearranged from the drawing on p. 48 according to the photograph on p. 47.
17. A. Götze, *Madduwattas (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft [MVAG] 32.1, 1927 [1928])*, reprint Darmstadt 1968.
18. By Götze, *ibid.* 157–159, on the basis of a similar text, now *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (KUB)* 23.21.
19. H. Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung und Datierung des Madduwatta-Textes (Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten [StBoT] 11, 1969)*. See our Table 1 for the sequence of Hittite kings. The early part of the table is based

- on O. R. Gurney, in *Studia Mediterranea* Piero Meriggi *Dicata* (1979): 213–223, esp. his table p. 221.
20. At that time a powerful kingdom in West Anatolia. It was conquered by Mursilis II, in whose time its capital was Apasa, probably = Ephesus. Cf. the detailed study by Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa: Untersuchungen zu seiner Geschichte nach den hethitischen Quellen* (Texte der Hethiter 8, 1977).
 21. The equation of Alashiya with Cyprus has been contested, but I see no reason for giving it up. The text mentioning a naval victory of Suppiluliumas II (H. G. Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26 [1967]: 73–81, esp. 78) clearly shows that Alashiya is an island.
 22. *KUB* 23.13, *AU* 314f.; J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (1959): 120f.; H. G. Güterbock, *AJA* 87 (1983): 137f. with n.26. The repetition of "with the weapon" in lines 2 and 3 requires two different subjects. Therefore I read and restore: "The grandfather of Your Majesty did not defeat [us] by the force of arms. [Wh]en [the father of your Majesty defeated the Arzawa countries, [he did not defeat] us by the force of arms." The conqueror of Arzawa was Mursilis II. If he is called here father of the ruling king, this leaves only Muwatallis or Hattusilis III as author. Of the two, the latter is more likely because this kind of historical narrative is known from him rather than from the former. Cf. I. Singer, *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983), kindly made available to me by the author. Singer, p. 207 n.11 quotes D. E. Easton of Liverpool for the same restoration.
 23. While my article for *AJA* was in the press I learned that Easton had found the same interpretation of this passage in a paper read at the Fifth International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory in Sheffield in 1980 but not published. Cf. Singer (n.22) p. 207, n.11.
 24. *KUB* 14.3; *AU* 2–19 with commentary pp. 20–194.
 25. For this dating see now I. Singer, in *Anat.St.* 33 (1983): 209f. Dr. Singer mentioned his reasons to me orally in Jerusalem in 1982. Recently Heinhold-Krahmer, *Or.* 52: 95–97, arrived at the same conclusion, and so did M. Popko in a paper submitted in 1983 to the *Altorientalische Forschungen*, of which he kindly sent me a copy.
 26. I still prefer this explanation to that as Teukros advocated by E. Vermeule, *AJA* 87 (1983): 142.
 27. Details in *AJA* 87: 136b.
 28. In *Anat.St.* 33 (1983): 211. Heinhold-Krahmer apparently has the same idea: cf. her reference, *Or.* 52: 82 with n.5, to the forthcoming part II of her "Untersuchungen zu Piyamaradu."
 29. H. A. Hoffner, "The Milawata Letter Augmented and Reinterpreted," paper read at the 28th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Vienna, July 1981, published *Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft* 19 (1982): 130–137.
 30. J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache* 2 (MVAeG 34.1, 1930): 42–102, esp. 43–45 about the name. For a discussion of the history of Wiluša see Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* (n.20) 157–178, also Singer (n.22) 215f.
 31. In *AJA* 87 I left out Alaksandus of Wilusa because the question of his identity has no direct bearing upon the problem of Ahhiyawa.
 32. R. Ránoszek, review of *AU* in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 56 (1938): 38–39, quoted by idem, *Archiv Orientalní* 18.4 (1950) 242; by Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, in R. A. Crossland and A. Birchall, eds., *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean* (1974) 151, by Easton (n.23), and by Heinhold-Krahmer, *Or.* 52: 96 with n.84.