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THE MYCENAEANS IN WESTERN ANATOLIA AND THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGINS OF THE SEA PEOPLES*

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Recently, E. Zangger (1994; 1995) has claimed to have solved the enigma of the Sea Peoples. Like J. Mellaart (1984:75-78) and I. Singer (1987) before him, he thinks that the Sea Peoples came from western Anatolia. According to the scenario of a kind of World War I reconstructed by Zangger, the western Anatolian alliance of the countries of Ahhiyawa and Arzawa attacked and destroyed the cities of Cyprus and the Levant soon after 1200 BCE and was only stopped at the border of Egypt. The Mycenaean Greeks came to Egypt's rescue and attacked Troy, which Zangger regards as the capital of Ahhiyawa. After the destruction of Troy and the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system, refugees from both Greece and western Anatolia, previously hostile, settled in peaceful harmony in the southern Levant. This paper argues that Troy cannot be the capital of Ahhiyawa since Ahhiyawa is to be equated with parts of the Mycenaean world, probably the Argolid with Mycenae as capital. The Mycenaean presence in the southern part of the west coast of Asia Minor—denied by Zangger, A. Ünal (1991) and others—is demonstrated, i.e. by the evidence of the renewed excavations in the levels of Bronze Age Miletus (probably Millawanda). This Mycenaean presence is restricted to coastal sites between Miletus and Bodrum/Halikarnassos (possibly reaching Ephesos to the north and Knidos to the south) and does extend inland (as assumed by Singer). It is argued that there is no evidence at all for western Anatolian settlement in the southern Levant and that all archaeological evidence indicates an origin of the Sea Peoples (at least for those settling between Akko in the north and Gaza in the south) from the Mycenaeanized Aegean (probably via Cyprus).

1. Introduction

During decades of research, numerous distinguished scholars have not been able to establish exactly and unanimously who the Sea Peoples were and whence they arrived to attack Cyprus, the Levantine coast, and Egypt and later, to settle in the coastal zone of the southern Levant, between Akko in the north and Gaza in the south (cf. Dothaa, T. 1982: 3-5; Stager 1991: 42; 1995). E. Zangger (1994; 1995) now claims to have solved the enigma of the Sea Peoples, and his suggestions have already attracted attention (cf. Pullen 1994; Genz, Pruss and Quack 1994). Zangger is a serious scholar who has done important geoarchaeological field work in different areas of the Aegean. J.L. Davis (in Zangger 1994: 12), one of the leading archaeologists

of the Bronze Age Aegean, has called the reconstructions put forward by Zangger "courageous, imaginative and challenging... as well as intellectually stimulating," in his foreword to Zangger's new book. It is appropriate to discuss here Zangger's theories in relation to the topic of this conference.

According to Zangger (1994: 201-210), two large hostile political camps had developed in the late 13th century BCE (fig. 1). On one side was the Egypt-Hatti axis, with the vassal-state

* It was a great pleasure for me to take part in this colloquium in honor of Trude Dothaa from whom we have learned so much about the Sea Peoples. I would like to thank the Berman family for their generous hospitality and A.M. Greaves for correcting my English.

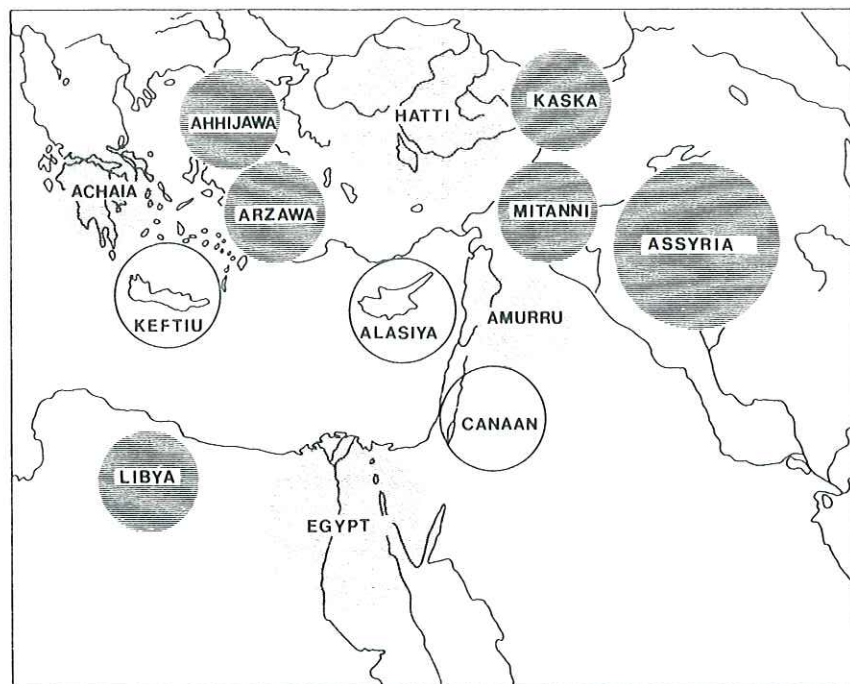


Fig. 1 The political situation in the Eastern Mediterranean ca. 1200 BCE according to Zangger 1994

Amurru and Mycenaean Greece (Achaia) as an ally; on the other, Assyria with Mitanni and Kaska, Libya and a western Anatolian alliance (Ahhiyawa, Arzawa). Crete (Keftiu), Cyprus (Alasia) and Israel/Palestine (Canaan) are considered by Zangger more or less neutral in this confrontation. In the beginning of the 12th century BCE a sort of First World War broke out (Zangger 1994: 214–227). The western Anatolian alliance wrenched Cyprus with its rich copper mines from the Hittites and moved on to attack and destroy the rich cities of Syria and Palestine. Its advance was only stopped at the border of Egypt. Then the counteroffensive followed. The Mycenaean Greeks came to Egypt's rescue and attacked Troy, in which Zangger sees the capital of Ahhiyawa. The battle with Troy ac-

celerated the decline of Mycenaean Greece. After the destruction of Troy and the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system, refugees from both Greece and western Anatolia, previously hostile, settled in peaceful harmony in the southern Levant (Zangger 1994: 227–241). In suggesting that the Sea Peoples came from western Anatolia, Zangger does not stand alone. J. Mellaart (1984: 75–78) and I. Singer (1988) have already earlier located the homeland of the Sea Peoples in western Anatolia. Mellaart (1984: 77) has argued that with the Sea Peoples' attacks "one is dealing not with a refugee movement of displaced persons, but with a carefully planned military campaign to be executed by the combined land and sea forces of a state, which at this particular time can hardly have

been anywhere else but the kingdom of Arzawa."

I shall not discuss in detail Zangger's reconstruction of two large, hostile camps in the eastern Mediterranean in the late 13th century BCE, but only make some remarks on it. There was no real military cooperation between Egypt and Hatti, despite the mutual assistance pact between these countries (Edel 1994: 16–49). There is no evidence at all from written sources for an alliance between Assyria and the Sea Peoples or between Egypt and Mycenaean Greece (Genz, Pruss and Quack 1994: 345). There also are chronological problems. According to Zangger (1994: 258–259), Troy VIIa was destroyed by Mycenaean Greeks, and only some time later did the Mycenaean palaces perish due to riots. In fact, the sequence of events was the exact opposite: Advanced LH IIIC pottery was found stratified in the layers of Troy VIIa but only appears in the Greek mainland after the fall of the palaces (Mee 1984: 48–50; Bloedow 1988: 23–36; Genz, Pruss and Quack 1994: 341). If one wants to equate a certain phase of Troy with Homer's Troy, this can only be Troy VIh (Wood 1985: 223–230; Bloedow 1988: 37–52).¹ Moreover, Zangger is using the traditional Greek myth of the Trojan War rather uncritically, like a historical source (cf. Genz, Pruss and Quack 1994: 342). But myth is not history (Patzek 1992). And as N.K. Sandars (1985: 190) has put it: "In the reducing atmosphere of history the splendours of Iliad, and the great Trojan adventure, shrivel like the 'truth' of Tombstone and the O.K. Corral beside a hundred 'Westerns'."

2. The Political Landscape of Western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age and the Problem of the Locations of Ahhiyawa and Millawanda

In the following I shall focus on Zangger's reconstruction of the political landscape of western Anatolia in the late 13th century BCE and on his arguments for a considerable participation of western Anatolians in the resettlement of the southern Levant following the attacks of the Sea Peoples. On Zangger's map (fig. 1) we see two powers in western Anatolia—Arzawa in the south and Ahhiyawa in the north. However, this map and Zangger's text conceal that the

historical geography of western Anatolia and the location of Ahhiyawa are most controversial issues. Arzawa and the "Arzawa countries" of Mira, Hapalla and the Seha River Land, which were closely attached to Arzawa by linguistic and dynastic ties, were certainly situated to the west of Hatti and the Lower Land, with Arzawa itself bordering on the sea (cf. Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 325–332). Not a single city of the Arzawa area has been identified with certainty and according to S. Heinhold-Krahmer (1977: 5) the coast(s) on which Arzawa bordered could be the southern coast of Asia Minor, the Aegean coast or both of them. In the meantime, important new information about the "Hittite geography" of southwestern Asia Minor has been provided by two recently discovered inscriptions of Tuthaliya IV. One is a treaty between Tuthaliya IV and his competing cousin Kurunta, the then newly installed minor king of the country of Tarhuntassa. It is inscribed on a bronze tablet found in 1986 near the Sphinx Gate at Hattusa (Neve 1987: 405–408; 1992: 19–21). H. Otten's (1988: 13, § 8, line 60–61, 37–38) identification of Tarhuntassa's western border river Kastaraya with the Graeco-Roman Kestros in Pamphylia, as well as that of the town Parha with Perge, demonstrates that Tarhuntassa incorporated greater parts of later Pamphylia (fig. 2). According to the hieroglyphic inscription from the Hittite basin at Yalburt, describing two campaigns of Tuthaliya IV against the Lukka countries and mentioning the towns of Wiyanawanda (Oinoanda), Talawa (Tlos), Pinale (Pinara), and Awarna (Xanthos), the Lukka countries lay to the west of Tarhuntassa, in later Lycia (Poetto 1992; Woudhuizen 1994: 53–61, 69–71). Thus Arzawa must have been situated to the north of western Pamphylia and Lycia and bordered only the Aegean Sea. Therefore, Arzawa's capital Apasa may indeed have been at or near

1. According to Korfmann (1992: 133–134; 1993: 368–370), the find of 17 biconical clay sling bullets in the late Troy VI Pillar House next to the main gate of the citadel points to warlike events in this period. According to Podzuweit 1982: 75–79, LH IIIC pottery appears as early as Troy VIh. However, this statement has been rejected by Korfmann (1986b: 26–27), and Bloedow (1988: 35 n. 93).



Fig. 2 The Hittite geography of western Anatolia according to recently found Hittite inscriptions (as to the locations of the Seha River Land and Wilusa, see *infra*)



Fig. 3 Locations of Ahhiyawa proposed by the adherents of the equation Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean

Ephesos, as has been suggested by several scholars (Garstang and Gurney 1959: 88; Macqueen 1968: 175; Bammer 1986/87: 26–27).

The location and identification of Ahhiyawa is the most controversial question of all and as A. Ünal (1991: 17) has stated, "The number of articles and special studies, monographs and colloquiums dealing with these questions is larger than those dealing with the main bulk of Hittitological studies." Ever since E.O. Forrer's (1924a, 1924b) proposal that the Ahhiyawans of the Hittite texts were to be equated with the Homeric Achaeans, and consequently with the Mycenaean Greeks, there has been much debate about the identity and location of the land of Ahhiyawa (*cf.* Steiner 1964: 365–370; Houwink ten Cate 1973: 141–145; Szemerényi 1988). The two main camps of scholars are still facing each other today. On the one hand, those who believe that the term Ahhiyawa has been used in reference to the Mycenaean world, or at least to part of it, have located (fig. 3) Ahhiyawa in mainland Greece with overseas possessions and dependencies on the Aegean islands and the southwestern

coast of Asia Minor (Forrer 1924a: 9; 1928: 1929: 253; 1930: 291–294; 1937: 163; Schachermeyr 1935: 132–141, 167–170; 1958: 1982: 17–32; 1986: 43–81; Hrozny 1943a: 154–155; 1943b: 108–112; Mazzarino 1947: 28; Daniel 1948: 108; Delaporte 1948: 167–168; Cavaignac 1950: 38, 46–47, maps 8–9; 1960: Matz 1950: 303–304; Nilsson 1950: 15–16; Stella 1951/52: 9; 1955: 28–29, 72; 1978: 158–174; Stubbings 1951: 110–111; Bury 1952: 41–45; Dussaud 1953: 75–76, 78, 83; 1955: 391–392; Andrews 1955: 1; Bowra 1955: 23–24; Barnett 1956: 214–218; Hammond 1959: 51–52; 1967: 51–52; Huxley 1960; Cornelius 1962; 1973: 177; Liverani 1962: 285; 1963: 230–233; 1988: 633; Aitchinson 1964: 28; Desborough 1964: 217–219; Taylor 1964: 170–171; 1983: 158–159; Güterbock 1983: 133–138; 1984: 114–122; 1990; Easton 1985: 191–192; Freu 1987: 145; Bryce 1989a: 5–6; Smit 1990/91: 84–85, 101–103) or in Pamphylia (Cornelius 1955; 1958a: 394–398; 1958b: 11; 1959: 105; 1962; 1973: 177, 218), on Crete (Cavaignac 1946: 62–63; Gurney 1954: 55–56; Helck 1987: 226; Forlanini 1988: 154–155),² on the islands of the southeastern Aegean with Rhodes as center (Hrozny 1929b; Laurenzi 1940; Pugliese Carratelli 1950; Völkl 1952: 353–359; Crossland 1953: 121–122; 1954; Heubeck 1955a; 1955b; Page 1959: 15–17, 35–37 notes 53–55; Boysal 1967: 56; Strobel 1976: 158; Lehmann 1985: 52–54) in the Aegean coastal zone of Ionia and Caria (Bossert 1946: 29; Albright 1950: 167; Berve 1951: 38; Brandenstein 1954: 68; Akurgal 1955: 117 with n. 38; 1961: 2, 8; Akurgal and Hirmer 1962: 39; Helck 1962: 242 with n. 22; Carruba 1964; Boysal 1973; Gates, C. 1995: 294–296) or on the islands of the southeastern Aegean and in the coastal zone of Ionia and Caria (Bittel 1950: 69–72; Mellaart 1955: 83), in the Troad (Severyns 1960: 124–126; Hrozny 1929a; Goetze 1933a: 171–172; 1957: 183 with n. 5; Macqueen 1968: 170–185; Houwink ten Cate 1973: 152–153),³ in Cilicia (Kretschmer 1933; *idem.* 1936; Bengtson 1960: 46–47), in Cyprus (Schaeffer 1952: 352–353; Kretschmer 1954; Riemschneider 1954: 39–40), or in both of the latter (Taeger 1958: 124). On the other hand are those who do not see any connection be-

tween Mycenaean Greece and Ahhiyawa and have suggested (fig. 4) locations of the latter in Pamphylia and/or Cilicia (Sommer 1932: 327, 358–359, 374, 379; 1937: 273–277; Kosak 1980: 37; 1981: 14–15), in the Troad (Mellaart 1958: 22 n. 15; Jewell 1974: 383–398), with extensions to the Gallipoli peninsula and Turkish Thrace (Mellaart 1968: 196–197, fig. 1; Muhly 1974; Hoddinott 1981: 58–60; Macqueen 1986: 39–41)⁴ or exclusively on European soil in Thrace (Mellaart 1984; 1986; 1993; Easton 1984: 28–29). Some of these authors have even changed their mind on this complex problem over the course of time.⁵

Connected with the Ahhiyawa-problem is that of Millawanda (fig. 5), a city and a country. Influence over Millawanda was a source of controversy between Ahhiyawa and Hatti (*cf.* Bryce 1989 b: 297–305). Most of the supporters of the equation Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean Greece have identified it with Bronze Age Miletus (Hrozny 1929b: 329; Garstang 1943: 41–42; Kinal 1953: 15–16; Garstang and Gurney 1959: 80–81; Gurney 1992: 219–221; Huxley 1960: 11–15; Helck 1962: 243; 1987: 225; Cornelius 1973: 217–218; Iakovidis 1973: 189; Bryce 1974: 401–402; 1989a: 6; 1989 b: 306; 1992: 123–125; Barnett 1975: 362; Stella 1978: 157–158; Lebrun 1980: 69; Güterbock 1983: 138; 1984: 120; Mellink 1983: 138–141; Schachermeyr 1982: 25–26; 1986: 261–262; Singer 1983: 215; Houwink ten Cate 1985: 48 n. 38; Marchese 1986: 86; Freu 1987: 144–145). Others have located it in the

2. Gurney (1990: 45), sees the location of Ahhiyawa on Crete only as one of several possibilities; Forlanini (1988) sees in Mycenae as well as in Miletus other possibilities of a location of Ahhiyawa, but tends towards Mycenaean Crete.

3. Severyns has seen in the Achaeans of the Troad the predecessors of the later Aioloi. Hrozny, Götz, Macqueen, and Houwink ten Cate thought that Ahhiyawa may have been a Greek state in north-west Anatolia, the name of which was known to the Hittites as Ahhiyawa. Houwink ten Cate imagined that the term later widened and ended up as a general designation for people of Greek descent.

4. Macqueen now doubts the Greek character of the Ahhiyawa state which he had assumed (Macqueen 1968: 170–185 *cf. supra*).

5. Hrozny, Kretschmer, Mellaart, Helck, and Easton.

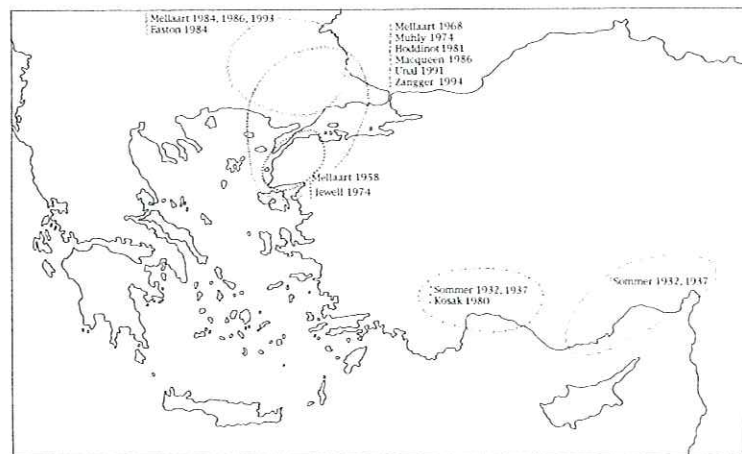


Fig. 4 Locations of Ahhiyawa proposed by the opponents of the equation Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean

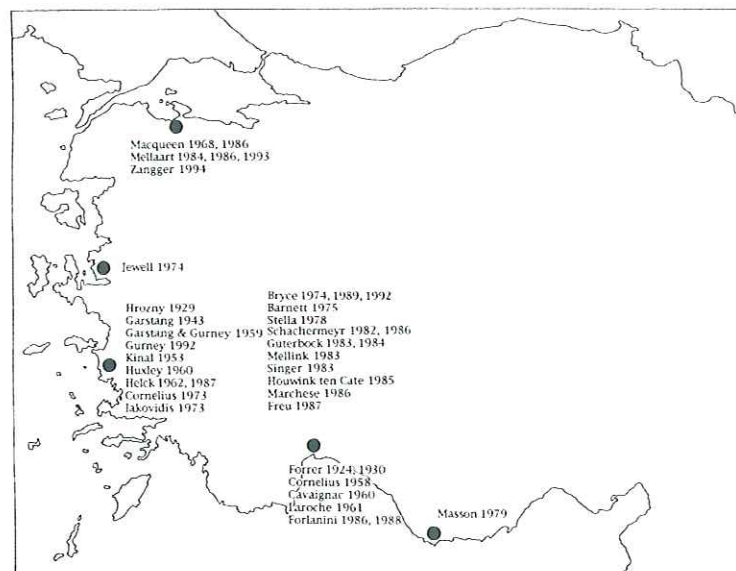


Fig. 5 Locations of Millawanda

ancient country of Milyas (Forrer 1924 a: 5; 1930: 286; Cornelius 1958 b: 11; Cavaignac 1960: 89; Laroche 1961: 67-68; Forlanini 1986; 1988: 162-168). According to Herodotus I.173, Milyas was the ancient name for Lycia, and in historical times the Milyadeis lived in areas to the north of Lycia and between north-west Pamphylia and Pisidia (Hall 1986). The opponents of the equation Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean Greece have located Millawanda at the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara (Macqueen 1968: 175; 1986: 41; Mellaart 1984: 64; 1986: 79-84; 1993: 418; Zangger 1994:149); at the mouth of the Gediz (ancient Hermos) river (Jewell 1974: 394-395); or on the Cilician coast (Masson 1979: 37-38).

The opponents of the equations Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean Greece and Millawanda = Miletus have put forward linguistic, geographical and archaeological arguments to disprove them. However, as far as I can see, these arguments are not conclusive. As to the arguments put forward by F. Sommer (1934: 76-93) and G. Steiner (1964: 383-384) in regard to Ahhiyawa, H.B. Rosén (1991) has put up for discussion the theory that Ahhiyawa is the Hittite version of Ias (Ionia), and M. Finkelberg (1988) has argued that the *ethnikon* Ahhiyawa accurately reflects the contemporary Greek name whose development in accordance with the regular phonetic processes operating in the Greek language between the 14th and the 8th centuries BCE would terminate in the Classical Achaioi.⁶ As to Millawanda, A. Heubeck (1985: 127-132) and Steiner (1993) appear to be right in refusing the suggestion of G.L. Huxley (1960: 11-12) that Millawanda could have been derived from an original Greek form Milvatos (with digamma). However, J.G. Macqueen's (1968: 175) location of Millawanda on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara is based on the similarity in name with the town of Miletropolis, an argument very similar to that for the equation Millawanda = Miletus. Heubeck has argued that the Mycenaean Greek name of Miletus was Millatos (Heubeck 1985: 132). Could not the Hittites (or the Luwians) have changed this name and affixed the typical Hittite-Luwian suffix *-nda/-*

-nta- or *-wandi/-wanta-* (for these cf. Heubeck 1985: 132) to the stem *Milla-*? Just the other way round F. Cornelius (1973: 217) and L. Zgusta (1984: 383) have interpreted Milatos as a hellenization of Millawanda. In any case, I would agree with H.G. Güterbock (1984: 114) "that strict phonetic laws cannot be applied to the rendering of foreign names, witness the Greek names of the Akhaemenian kings." There are also modern examples that demonstrate that topographical names can be differently rendered in different languages.⁷

The main geographical argument put forward against the equation Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean Greece is that according to the Hittite sources Ahhiyawa must have been situated on the Anatolian mainland like the Arzawa countries, the Lukka countries, and others (Sommer 1932: 358-360; 1937: 286-287; Steiner 1964: 371-376; Kosak 1980; 1981; Hooker 1976: 130-131). But, as has been recently demonstrated by M. Marazzi (1992), Ahhiyawa has a remarkably unique role in the Hittite texts. It is closely connected to the sea and appears constantly in connection with the peripheral Hittite satellite states in western Anatolia. In contrast to these states, any detailed information about the geography of Ahhiyawa and any characterization of its political and social structure is missing (except for the references to the king of Ahhiyawa). Thus Ahhiyawa takes part only as an outsider in the affairs imperiling Hittite control of western Asia Minor.

Ahhiyawa cannot have been located in Cilicia (fig. 4) since Goetze (1940) has established that Kizzuwatna was situated there. Locating Ahhiyawa in Pamphylia would mean that it was a direct neighbor of the Lower Land belonging to the Hittite empire (cf. Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 363-368, with references). In that case, one would expect a better knowledge of Ahhiyawa to be reflected in the Hittite texts. Moreover, there is no space for Ahhiyawa in Pamphylia

6. cf. also Röllig 1992: 196-197, qualifying his scepticism in Röllig 1971: 643-644.

7. cf. for instance Liège (in German: Lüttich), Milano (in German: Mailand).

after the recent location of Tarhuntassa in this region (cf. supra with fig. 2). There is no archaeological or linguistic evidence for Ahhiyawa having been a Bronze Age Greek state in the Troad. The Trojan grey ware has some connections with the Middle Helladic Minyan ware from the Greek mainland, but in shape and surface it remains essentially one of the varieties of west Anatolian 2nd-millennium pottery (French, D.H. 1973). The language of Bronze Age north-

west Anatolia was most probably Luwian as proposed by C. Watkins (1986). Watkins' theory is now supported by a biconical bronze seal inscribed in Luwian, found in the 1995 excavations at Troy in a level of the 12th or 11th century BCE (Siebler 1995: 472). The identification of Ahhiyawa as a non-Greek Bronze Age state in the Troad has been correctly rejected by T.R. Bryce (1977) and S. Kosak (1981: 14). The latter has called J.D. Muhly's (1974) hy-

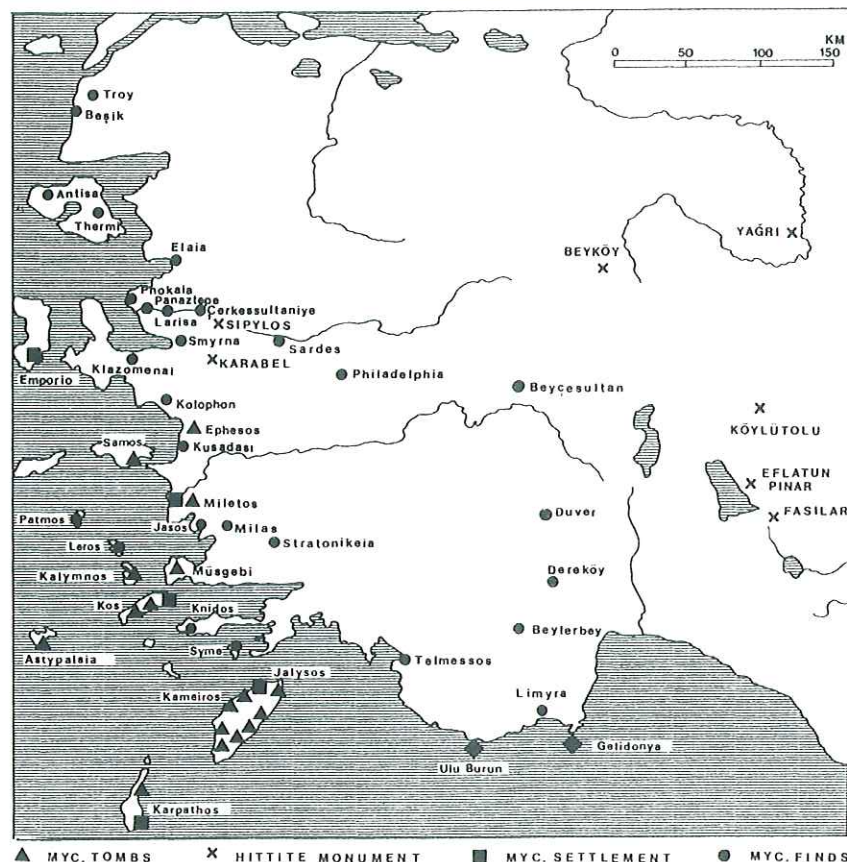


Fig. 6 Mycenaean finds and Hittite monuments in western Anatolia (after Bittel 1967; 1976, with additions)

pothesis, according to which Taruisa (= Troy) was in Wilusa (= Ilium) which was in Ahhiyawa, a "Russian doll theory." As Bryce and Kosak have pointed out, the Hittite texts show no close connection of Taruisa and Wilusa with Ahhiyawa.

As D.F. Easton (1984: 29) has shown (when he still did not believe in the equation Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean Greece), the Hittite texts only demonstrate that Ahhiyawa was active in western Anatolia but not that it was located in that region. Millawanda, the principal scene of Ahhiyawa's activity, was a coastal state and it is possible that the Ahhiyawan Attarsiya of the Indictment of Madduwata was only present in western Anatolia as an ally of Arzawa, also a coastal state. A fragmentary text in which the land of Ahhiyawa is mentioned, together with the land of Mira, one of the Arzawa countries, and the land of Tarhuntassa, may only indicate that Ahhiyawa had some land on the Anatolian mainland. It need not follow that the kingdom itself was located there (cf. Bryce 1989 b: 302; Güterbock 1992: 243). From the Tawagalawa Letter it is clear that Piyamaradu, a Hittite renegade, escaped by ship to the kingdom of Ahhiyawa. In the annals of Mursili II it is stated that Uhhaziti, king of Arzawa, stepped behind the king of Ahhiyawa. In the Tawagalawa Letter the king of Ahhiyawa is addressed as "my brother, the Great King" (Güterbock 1984: 121). This marks Ahhiyawa at this time as a power greater than Arzawa. Of Arzawa we hear a great deal in the Hittite sources, but of Ahhiyawa we hear very little. I would agree with Easton's view that if this important state had really been on the Anatolian mainland, it would have figured much more prominently in the Hittite sources than it does. And I would also agree with Güterbock (1984: 121) that the Great King of Ahhiyawa, in the Tawagalawa Letter equal to the king of Hatti, cannot have been the ruler of a country in Anatolia, where there is no room for another great power like Hatti. In my opinion, all this gives further evidence for locating the main part of Ahhiyawa outside of western Anatolia. In regard to the only proposal for the location of a non-Greek Ahhiyawa outside of Asia

Minor, in Thrace, I find it, with R.H. Beal (1988:292), rather problematic to believe that a power nearly equal to Hatti, Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt was located in Thrace, about which virtually nothing is known archaeologically.

There remains the location of Ahhiyawa somewhere in the Mycenaean world. Two archaeological arguments have been put forward against Ahhiyawa belonging to the Mycenaean world. The first is based on the treaty between Tuthaliya IV and Sausgamuwa of Amurru, in which Tuthaliya places a ban on traffic between Ahhiyawa and Assyria (with which Hatti was then at war) via the harbors of Amurru (Kühne and Otten 1971: 17, line IV 23; Güterbock 1983: 136).⁸ According to Ünal (1991: 24) the fact that no Mycenaean pottery has ever been detected east of the Euphrates forms evidence against the equation Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean Greece. However, in Assyria there are no imports from the Troad (favored by Ünal as location of Ahhiyawa) or from Thrace. Mycenaean pottery is known in greater quantities from the harbor cities of Amurru = Syria (Gregori and Palumba 1986; Gilmour 1992; Leonhard 1994) and Alasiya = Cyprus (Pacci 1986; Gilmour 1992; Sherratt 1994) which, according to the Indictment of Madduwata, was reached by Ahhiyawan ships (cf. Bryce 1989 b: 299). There are no pottery imports at all from Thrace on the Levantine coast or on Cyprus. Trojan grey ware appears among the imports, but only in very small quantities and always together with the much more abundant Cypriote and Mycenaean wares (Buchholz 1974 b; Åström, 1980; Allen 1994).

3. The Mycenaeans and Western Anatolia

The second archaeological argument concerns

8. Steiner (1989) has argued that Kühne's and Otten's restoration of ships of Ahhiyawa is incorrect and restores instead warships. If Steiner is right, the embargo against Amurru has nothing to do with Ahhiyawa. Ünal (1991: 24, 37), reacts inconsistently to Steiner's proposal. On the one hand he states that line IV 23 of the Sausgamuwa treaty shows Ahhiyawa as a trading state, on the other hand he accepts Steiner's reading of the crucial passage. Lehmann (1991: 111, n. 11), rejects in my opinion convincingly Steiner's restoration.

the question: "Did the Achaeans and the Hittites know each other?" (title of Ünal 1991), to which the answer from the opponents of the Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean Greece equation is "no." Finds of Mycenaean pottery at a series of Bronze Age coastal sites in western Anatolia (fig. 6) (cf. Mee 1978; Re 1986; French, E.B. 1993) have been used as evidence for actual Mycenaean presence in western Anatolia by the adherents of the equation Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean Greece (for instance, Mellink 1983; Bryce 1989 a:1-2). Their opponents have argued that Mycenaean pottery does not necessarily translate into Mycenaean merchants or even colonists (Mellaart 1986: 75-76; 1993: 416; Muhly 1992: 13); that the quantities of pottery sherds found at the western Anatolian sites in question and taken as proof of Mycenaean trade or colonization are small in relation to the abundant native wares (Ünal 1991: 23), that altogether only faint traces of the Mycenaean civilization are to be found on the Anatolian coasts (Zangger 1994: 43); and that the wide diffusion of Mycenaean finds in Anatolia disproves any connection between Ahhiyawa and the Mycenaean world because: "if there were a connection, we would expect the Mycenaean finds to be concentrated in a compact area" (Kosak 1980: 40).

I completely agree that Mycenaean pots do not necessarily translate into Mycenaean people, but that there must be more evidence for the existence of a characteristic Mycenaean cultural assemblage as recently defined by C. Gates (1995: 290 n. 3): figurines, metal objects, architectural forms and techniques, tomb types, and writing (Linear B) to which the existence of typical Mycenaean household ware should be added. Similar criteria were suggested by P. Warren (1975: 101) and by others in the 1982 colloquium on the Minoan Thalassocracy (Hägg and Marinatos 1984: 221) as indicative of Minoan settlement outside of Crete: Minoan architectural features, the Minoan kitchen kit, in particular the presence of domestic pottery, the active use of the Minoan Linear A script, Minoan religious and cult patterns as well as Minoan funerary practices.

The claim that only faint traces of the Myce-

naean civilization are to be found on the Anatolian coasts is mistaken, as will be clear from the following. The statement that the quantities of Mycenaean pottery from the western Anatolian sites are generally small in relation to the abundant local wares is an unwarranted simplification, since the quantity of Mycenaean pottery differs markedly from one site to the next. Sites like Pitane, Elaia, Phokaia, Old Smyrna-Bayraklı and Erythrai, for instance, have hitherto produced no more than a few stray sherds or single Mycenaean vessels (Mee 1978: 127, 142-143; Re 1986: 349-350) but there the Bronze Age levels have not yet been systematically investigated. At other sites like Troy and Besik Bay (Mee 1978: 146-147; 1984: 45-56; Korfmann 1986a: 311-329; 1986b; 1988: 49-52; Latacz 1986; Pini 1992: 157-163; Basedow 1995), Menemen-Panaztepe (Erkanal and Erkanal 1986; Ersoy 1988; Mellink 1987: 13; 1988: 114; 1989: 117; 1992: 135; 1993: 120; Gates, M.-H., 1994: 259; 1995: 222-223), and Klazomenai-Limantepe (Mee 1978: 125; Mellink 1984: 450-451; Gates, M.-H. 1994: 259; 1995: 222) Mycenaean pottery forms only a small part of the pottery assemblage but provides-together with other finds-evidence of more substantial links to the Mycenaean world, possibly of a commercial nature. In a third group of sites situated in the southern part of the west coast of Asia Minor a greater or lesser degree of actual Mycenaean settlement has been argued (Mee 1978: 129-131, 133-142), particularly in the case of Bronze Age Miletus. Since the adherents of the equation Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean Greece have identified Bronze Age Miletus as Millawanda of the Hittite texts, the archaeological evidence at Miletus is crucial to determining the question of equating Ahhiyawa with Mycenaean Greece and Millawanda with Bronze Age Miletus. Our knowledge of Bronze Age Miletus is, however, unfortunately still very incomplete, despite the fact that Bronze Age levels have been excavated there since the beginning of this century. Most of the finds from the beginning of the century and from the 1938 excavations were lost during World Wars I and II before being published. Only a selection of the finds from the post-

World War II excavations has been published (cf. Mee 1978: 133-137, with extensive bibliography).

4. Minoans and Mycenaeans at Bronze Age Miletus and Other Sites in Western Anatolia

In an attempt to clarify some of the problems surrounding Bronze Age Miletus we began a new program of excavation and research in 1994 as part of the German Archaeological Institute Miletus excavations.⁹ During the earlier excavations in the area of the Temple of Athena, three main building phases of the Late Bronze Age were established. The first of these showed Minoan influence, whereas in the second and the third ones the influences became Mycenaean rather than Minoan (cf. Weickert 1940: 327-331; 1957: 106-114; 1959/60: 63-66; Hommel 1959/60: 31-38; Schiering 1959/60: 4-25; Mee 1978: 134-136). In our 1994 and 1995 seasons, when digging in the area of the Roman cross-road to the south of the Temple of Athena and to the south of that road, we came mostly across the refilled trenches of only partly-documented excavation trenches more than 2 m. deep, dug between the beginning of the century and 1938. Fortunately, the earlier excavators had left the level of the first building phase almost untouched due to problems with the high groundwater level.

With the help of a wellpoint (vacuum) pump system, we were able to considerably lower the groundwater level and to excavate an area ca. 13 m. east-west by 8 m. north-south of a large building complex of the first building period (see Niemeier and Niemeier, 1997). The facade walls of this complex show the typical Minoan masonry technique of cut blocks, with only the visible outer side smoothed while the back sides were left more or less wedge shaped (cf. Shaw, J.W. 1973: 92). The rooms hitherto excavated were apparently store-rooms for typical Minoan-type domestic pottery of local production demonstrating a high degree of Minoanization (Photo 1); among them were conical cups, (cf. Wiener 1984; 1990:135; Gillis 1990), tripod cooking pots (cf. Betancourt 1980; Marthlew 1988), firestands (cf. Georgiou 1983: 78-80;

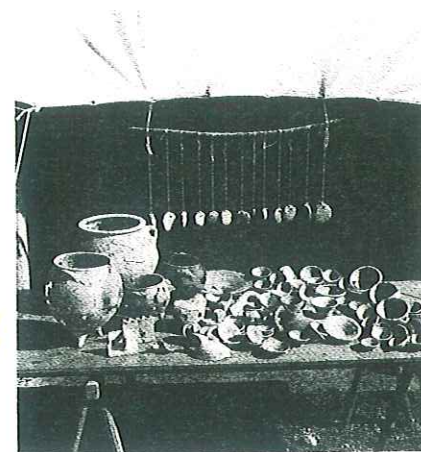


Photo 1 Miletus, Minoan domestic pottery from first building period, finds of 1994-95

1986: 23-28), scuttles (cf. Georgiou 1986: 28-30) and disc-shaped loomweights (cf. Carrington-Smith 1975: 275-296; Davis 1984: 161-163). According to our preliminary estimates, only less than 5% of the pottery so far excavated by us from this level is of western Anatolian character, showing the characteristic buff ware with a red wash and shapes characteristic of level IVA at Beycesultan (Lloyd and Mellaart 1965: 80).¹⁰ Of Minoan character are the first fragments of representative wall-frescoes found at Miletus,¹¹ which belonged to compositions of white lilies on red background,¹² and a

9. For a preliminary report on the 1994 and 1995 seasons see Niemeier and Niemeier (1997). We would like to thank the director of the Miletus excavations, V. von Graeve, for inviting us to conduct this project and to the Institute for Aegean Prehistory, New York, for having sponsored the 1994 and 1995 seasons.

10. We have, for instance, curved spouts of beaked-spouted jugs like Lloyd and Mellaart (1965: 136, fig. P.35, 1-5, and carinated bowls like 130, fig. P.31).

11. Fragments of an ornamental wall-painting have been found in House 1 of the 1955 excavations; see Weickert 1957: 110-111, fig. 4.

12. Like on the Lily Fresco from Amnisos: Evans 1935: suppl.-pl. 67b; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960: color-pl. 23.

winged griffin with papyrus.¹³ Further Minoan features are the fragments of three Minoan stone vessels, including a chalice of Egyptian alabaster¹⁴ and the pierced base of a serpentine vessel, as well as the fragments of a clay vessel bearing three signs of the Minoan Linear A script (Niemeier, forthcoming a). This is the first secure Linear A inscription from Asia Minor.¹⁵ The highly micaceous clay of the fragments is local Milesian and the signs were incised before firing the pot. These provide evidence for the active use of Linear A during the first building period of Late Bronze Age Miletus.¹⁶ This is the oldest evidence so far known for the use of script in western Asia Minor. However, western Asia Minor was probably not illiterate in the 2nd millennium but spoke and wrote in Luwian (*cf.* Mellaart 1959: 32; 1974: 494; Watkins 1986: 46–47).

The presence of all of these features constitutes according to E. Schofield (1983: 298–299) – reasonable proof of a Minoan settlement overseas. Nearly all are found in the first building phase. Besides the Minoan architectural features discussed above – the existence of the kitchen kit and the active use of Linear A – evidence for Minoan religious and cult patterns is provided by the frescoes of undoubtedly religious character¹⁷ and the stone vessels of clearly ritual function. As to the chalice fragment, the ritual character of this type of vessel is clear from find contexts (especially in Zakro) and from representations on the “Campstool Fresco” from Knossos and from the gold ring from Tiryns (*cf.* Warren 1969: 36). The piercing of the base of the serpentine vessel shows that it was used as a flat-based rhyton, a typical Minoan feature (Koehl 1981: 179). The only feature missing so far is Minoan funerary practices. However, the cemeteries of the first building phase of Late Bronze Age Miletus have not yet been identified. The evidence appears to point to actual Minoan settlement at Miletus during the first building period of Late Bronze Age Miletus, the character of which will hopefully be defined more precisely in the near future.¹⁸ According to the Minoan decorated pottery, this predominantly Minoan phase of Miletus is to be dated to Late

Minoan IA and Late Minoan IB, i.e. to ca. 1675/50–1490/70 BCE according to the new high chronology of the Aegean Late Bronze Age, based on dates scientifically established on the basis of the Thera eruption (Manning 1995: 200–216), or between ca. 1600 and 1450/25 BCE according to the traditional chronology (Warren and Hankey 1989: 138–144, 169). The first building period ended in a destructive fire, the cause of which remains uncertain. Possibilities include an earthquake or warlike destruction.

Evidence for connections with Minoan Crete has also been found at other sites in the southern part of the west coast of Asia Minor. At Iasos, the imports of Kamares pottery demonstrate that Minoan influence started during the period of the Cretan Old Palaces (Laviosa 1973; 1978: 1097–1098). The same appears to apply to Knidos (Mellink 1978: 321; Love 1984). On the peninsula of Kömüradasi in the area of ancient Teichoussa on the gulf of Akbuk, Minoan influence is also detectable – as at Miletus – during the Cretan New Palace period (Voigtländer 1986 b: 614–624, 644–650; 1988: 603–605; Mellink 1989:

13. There are fragments showing the notched plume pattern representing in Knossian and Thera fresco-paintings the wings of griffins (Evans 1921: 549, figs. 399b–400; Morgan 1988: 51, Pl. 60; Doumas 1992: 65, fig. 32, 165, fig. 128) and blue papyrus like in Knossos (Evans 1928: 451 fig. 264) and Phaistos (Levi 1976: 696 color-pl. 86.5). As to a cultic association of the griffin and the papyrus in Minoan iconography *cf.* Morgan 1988: 24 with n. 74.

14. As to the shape, *cf.* Warren 1969: 36–37, as to the material, *ibid.* 125–126. Examples of this shape in Egyptian alabaster have been found in Zakro (*ibid.*: 37, HM 2973 & 2794 BIS) and on Thera (*ibid.*: 37, NM 3964).

15. The clay figurine of a quadruped with supposed Linear A inscription from ancient Samsun published only as a drawing and without any statement about the circumstances of its discovery and the whereabouts (Bossert 1942: fig. 6; *cf.* Yakar 1976: 124) appears rather doubtful.

16. For other examples of the active use of Linear A outside of Crete, on the islands of Kythera, Thera, Melos, and Keos *cf.* Palaima 1982.

17. On the religious character of Minoan wall-paintings, the symbolic function of lilies and “religious landscapes” *cf.* Marinatos, N. 1984: 1993: 50–75, 193–195; Hägg 1985.

18. As to different models of Minoan settlement outside of Crete *cf.* Branigan (1981) and the discussion of Branigan’s models by Schofield (1984).

117). This evidence has been seen in connection with the Minoanisation of the islands of the south-eastern Aegean which appear to have been situated on an important trade route between Crete and the west coast of Asia Minor (Niemeier 1984: 206–207; 1986: 246–247, 249–250, with references).¹⁹ The state of research and/or publication at several sites does not show to what extent this Minoanisation was connected with actual Minoan settlement. Minoan architectural features at Trianda/Ialysos on Rhodes (Furumark 1950: 176–177; Mee 1982: 5; Marketou 1988: 30; Davis 1992: 748) and at Iasos (Laviosa 1973: 185; Levi 1987: 8–10, pl. IV a), wall-paintings in the Minoan technique and idiom (Monaco 1941: 88–89, 105, 117, 128, pls. 9, 11; Furumark 1950: 177; Davis 1992: 748–749), Horns of Consecration in stone (Davis 1992: 748),²⁰ Minoan type bronze statu-

ettes of adorants (Marketou 1988: 31; Davis 1992: 748)²¹ and a bull figurine from Trianda (Davis 1992: 749), Minoan type domestic pottery from the same site as well as from the acropolis of Ialysos (Furumark 1950: 153, fig. 1, nos. 11–12, 165–166, fig. 6, nos. 85–88, 173–175, fig. 174; Benzi 1984; Marketou 1988: 28–29), from Telos (Sampson 1980a), from the Serraglio on Kos (Morricone 1972/73: 282–285, figs. 245–249), from the Vathy cave on Kalymnos (Benzi 1988: 279, 276, fig. 1e–f, pl. 36a–b), from the

19. To these now add the LM IA–B pottery from the Vathy cave, Kalymnos: Benzi 1993: 275–281.

20. On their function as an important symbol in Minoan religion, *cf.* Marinatos, N. 1993: 5.

21. On the function of this type of bronze figurines in Minoan cult, *cf.* Verlinden 1984: 51–58; Sapouna-Sakellariakis 1995: 137–149.

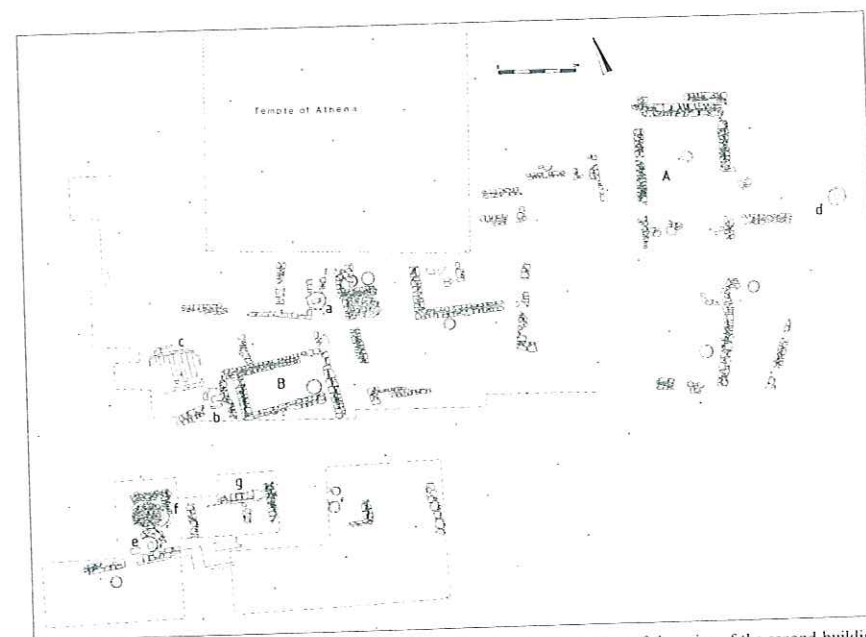


Fig. 7 Miletus, Bronze Age settlement in the area of the Temple of Athena, plan of the ruins of the second building period (after Mallwitz 1959/60, Schiering 1979, with addition of the new excavations)

Kastro hill (Wrede 1935/36: 118–119; Heidenreich 1935/36: 165–169, pls. 50–53; Butler 1935/36: 190–196, fig. 5, pls. 67.4; 70) and from the Heraion (Walter 1957: 36–37, pls. 49–50) on Samos, from Knidos (Mellink 1978: 321), Iasos (Laviosa 1973: 187–188, pls. 45–47) and from Teichioussa (Voigtländer 1986 b: 645, fig. 21, no. 34, 647, fig. 22, nos. 39–44, 649, fig. 23, no. 54; 1988: 607, fig. 39, no. 1; Mellink 1989: 118, fig. 8) appear to indicate that Miletus was not the only site on the southern part of the west coast of Asia Minor and the offshore islands that was settled by Minoans.

This “Minoan background” is important as we now go on to the evidence for a Mycenaean presence in the following period. Fig. 7 shows the ruins of the second building period as excavated in 1955–57 (Weickert 1959/60; Beilage 1),

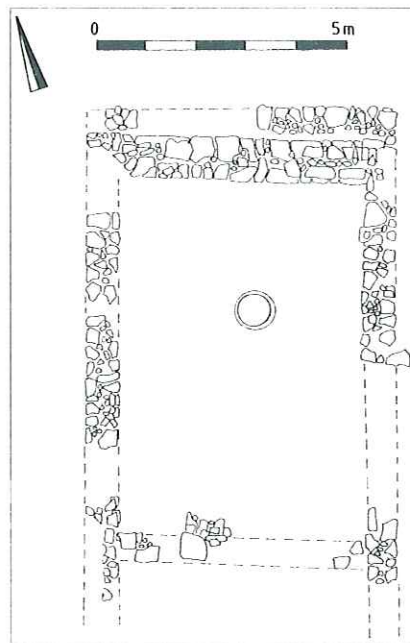


Fig. 8 Miletus, plan of House A of the second building period (after Schiering 1979)

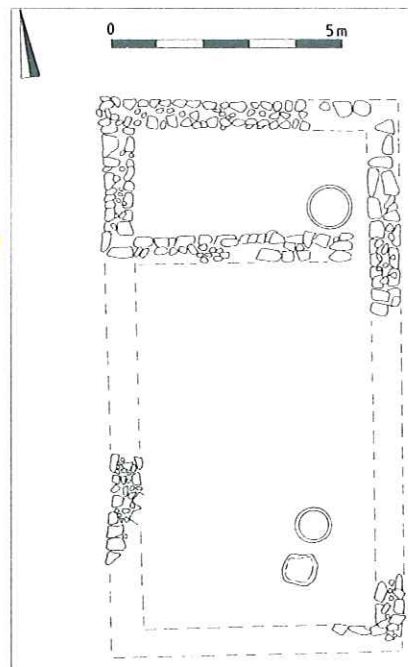


Fig. 9 Miletus, plan of House B of the second building period (after Mallwitz 1959/60, with addition)

1968 (Schiering 1979: 80; Beilage 1) and 1994–95 (the southernmost trenches). Only two of the rectilinear houses, one in the north-east (A) and the other in the south-west (B), were preserved well enough to get an idea of their ground plans. Both have parallels in Mycenaean house architecture. House A (fig. 8) belongs to G. Hiesel's (1990: 38–59) type of the anta house; House B (fig. 9) to that called by Hiesel (1990: 59–67) oikos type 2. The type of the anta house, however, also has a long tradition of use in western Anatolia (cf. Werner 1993: 7–30, 52–55, 77–79, 81–82)²² and thus it cannot be said to what

22. The term “megaron” still used by Werner should be abandoned because of its ambivalence; cf. Hiesel 1990: 237–239; Darceq 1990.

fig. 2, room 7, level III, p. 11, fig. 3, Megaron “A”, room 8, level II).

With a total of seven clay kilns known so far (fig. 7a–g) Late Bronze Age Miletus of the second building period must have been an important pottery production center (Niemeier, forthcoming b). The four kilns of the first type, a, b, d and e, have circular to oval ground plans and a central mudbrick pillar or bench (photo 3). Kilns of this type are known in the Greek mainland from the Middle Helladic period onwards (Middle Helladic: Caskey 1956: 158, pl. 41a, Lerna. Late Helladic I-IIA: Blegen e.a. 1973: 19–20, figs. 44–45, 307–308, Pylos. LH IIIA:1: Akerström 1940: 297; 1968, 49, pl. 1.1, Berbati. LH IIIA-B: Frödin and Persson 1938: 67, 87, fig. 66, Asine. LH IIIB: Keramopoulos 1911: 148–149; 1927, 33, fig. 1, Thebes). Consequently,

the kilns of the first type could be interpreted as a Mycenaean feature. On the other hand, a kiln of type 1 at Klazomenai-Limantepe has been dated by its excavators (Erkanal and Erkanal 1983: 166, 165, fig. 23) to the time of early Troy VI, i.e. to the 18th or 17th century BCE (cf. Korfmann and Kromer 1993: 167–168), before there is any question of Mycenaean influence or presence in western Anatolia. Kiln f (Photo 3), the only example of type 2, is related to type 1 but has, instead of a central bench or pillar, two mudbrick walls. The best parallel is the LM IIIB kiln at Stylos in Crete (Davaras 1973; Betancourt 1985: 118–119), i.e. dating to the Mycenaean period on the island (cf. Poursat 1989: 543–549). The kilns of type 3c (fig. 10) and 3g (the latter only partly preserved), are characterized by parallel flues with mudbrick walls dividing them. This is an exclusively Minoan type, examples of which are known in Crete from ca. 1900 to 1400 BCE (MM II: Levi 1976: 327–328 fig. 510–511, re-dated by Carinci, forthcoming. MM IIIA: Platon 1979: 107, fig. 4, pl. 10.2, 11–12, Zakro. LM I: Warren, 1981/82: 75–79, Knossos; Marinatos, S. 1955: 310, pl. 115c, Vathypetro; Levi and Laviosa 1979–80: 7–21, figs. 1–15, pl. 1, Hagia Triada; Shaw, van den Moortel, Day and Kilikoglou, forthcoming. Kommos. LM II: Soles, forthcoming, Mochlos. LM III: Hood 1957: 24, 19, fig. 6b, better illus-

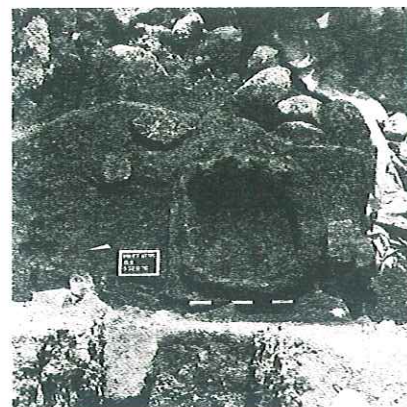


Photo 2 Miletus, clay hearth in House B of the second building period



Photo 3 Miletus, kilns e and f of the second building period, from the south

degree House A stands in an Anatolian architectural tradition or was dependent on Mycenaean dominance at Miletus (Werner 1993: 80). As to the oikos type 2, it appears also in Troy VI (Werner 1993: fig. 35, the Pillar House). The rounded clay hearth found in a room of House B partly excavated in 1995 (photo 2) is comparable to clay hearths in houses at Mycenae (Shear 1987: 17–18, pls. 4–5A) and Tiryns (Kilian 1982: 395, fig. 3), but similar rounded clay hearths are also known from Beycesultan (Lloyd and Mellaart 1965: 54–56, fig. A.24, pl. 29b, level IVa; Lloyd 1972: 8,

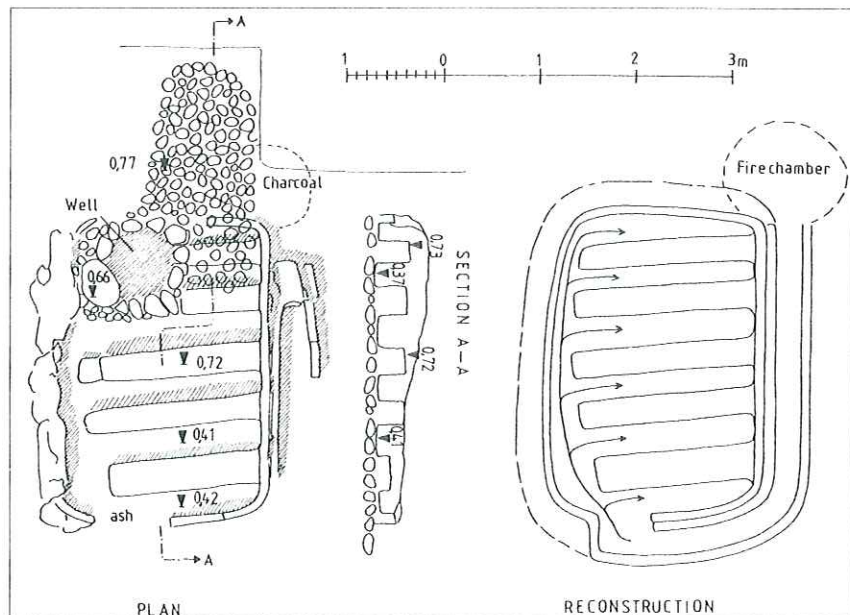


Fig. 10 Miletus, plan, section and reconstruction of kiln c of the second building period (after Weickert 1957)

tration: Platon 1979: pl. 10.1; Vallianou, forthcoming).²³ The only examples found outside the island are kilns c and g of the second building period at Miletus, as well as two kilns of the third building period excavated ca. 500 m. to the south of the Temple of Athena (Kleine 1979: 111-115, figs. 1-2; pl. 27). Therefore, there was clearly a strong Minoan potters' tradition at Miletus.

From the earlier excavations, only 27 second period sherds/pots of the second building period had been published. Most of them are Mycenaean, none of Anatolian character, although the presence of pottery which, from the reference, can be identified as Anatolian, has been mentioned (Weickert 1959: 185). Thus E.R. Jewell (1974: 176) was right when she wrote: "Until the local wares are published and described, it is an act of faith to affirm or deny Mycenaean control of the settlement at Miletus." The lack of

specific detail on the relations between Mycenaean and Anatolian wares has also been noted by other scholars (Bittel 1967: 22; French, E.B. 1978: 167-168; Mee 1978: 134-135), and Y. Ersoy (1988: 81) has argued that the unpublished local ware may reverse the theory of Mycenaean dominance. Despite these uncertainties we find definite and quite contradictory statements describing the pottery at Miletus as "purely Mycenaean" (Desborough 1964: 220) or maintaining that "in Miletus perhaps only 5% of the pottery is Mycenaean." (Ünal 1991: 24)

According to our preliminary research, most of the decorated pottery we found in the thick

23. Platon's and Warren's interpretations of the kilns of this type as being used for smelting copper and for producing lime powder as a basic constituent of the lime plaster for fresco painting are now disproved by the evidence of the Kommos kiln.



Photo 4 Miletus, destruction level of the second building period over kiln c (above the wall of a Geometric house)

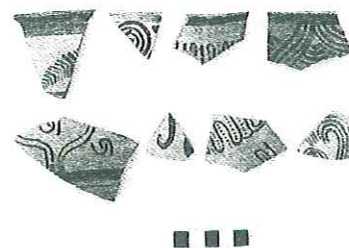


Photo 5 Miletus, LH IIIA:2 pottery from the destruction level of the second building period

destruction level of the second building period (photo 4) which was also identified in the earlier excavations (Schiering 1959/60: 5; 1979: 85-87) is Mycenaean and to be dated to the transition from LH IIIA:2 to LH IIIB:1 (photos 5-6; cf. Niemeier and Niemeier, forthcoming). There were still connections to Crete as some decorated LM IIIA:2 pottery shows (pl. 5, upper

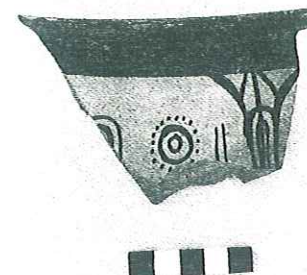


Photo 6 Miletus, fragment of LH IIIA:2/IIIB:1 krater from the destruction level of the second building period

right; cf. Popham 1984: pl. 122a, upper row, 5th sherd from the left = *ibid.* pl. 173.7).²⁴ The great majority of the unpainted pottery is also of Mycenaean types, among them kylikes (cf. Mountjoy 1993: 79, nos. 181, 182), jugs (photo 7; cf. Mountjoy 1993: 88, no. 216; the depressed strap handles are a local Milesian feature), lipless bowls (cf. Mountjoy 1993: 89, no. 218), and tripod cooking pots with vertical handles (photo 8; cf. Furumark 1941: 75, fig. 21, shape 320; Tournavitiou 1995: 92-93, pl. 13d. 14e-f). Only less than 5% of the pottery are of Anatolian character in shape and decoration (photo 9).²⁵ Thus, the Mycenaean and the Anatolian pottery we excavated is in reverse ratio to that presumed by Ünal (1991: 24). A Mycenaean phi-figurine (Schiering 1959-60: 25, 30, pl. 18.1) which, according to its clay, was probably imported from

24. As to LM IIIA:1-2 pottery found in the earlier excavations in the levels of the second building period cf. Niemeier 1984: 214 with n. 124.

25. As to the red, micaceous wash, cf. Lloyd and Mellaart 1965: 128 (Beycesultan IVa); Mellaart and Murray 1995: 1 (Beycesultan III). 21 (Beycesultan II). For the shape of the carinated bowl, cf. Mellaart and Murray 1995: 12, fig. P.4, no. 6 (Beycesultan III). 38, fig. P.16, no. 12 (Beycesultan II).

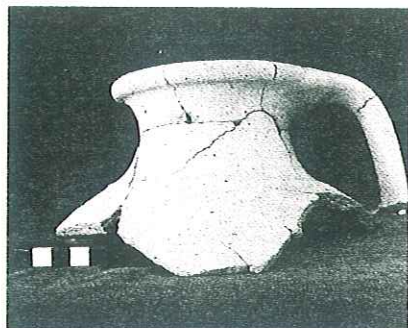


Photo 7 Miletus, fragment of undecorated jug from the destruction level of the second building period

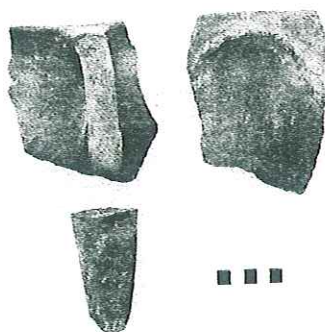


Photo 8 Miletus, cooking pot fragments from the destruction level of the second building period

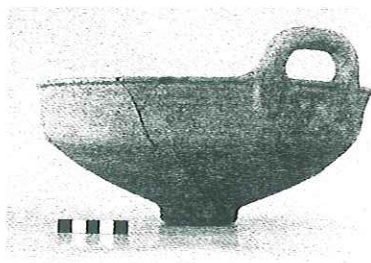


Photo 9 Miletus, bowl of Anatolian type from the destruction level of the second building period

the Argolid, was found in the level of the second building period, pointing to Mycenaean ritual activity.²⁶ Therefore, the evidence for Mycenaean presence during the second building period is as yet not as clear as that for Minoan presence in the first building period. The architectural features are ambiguous and we have so far no script from the second building period. However, the predominance of Mycenaean domestic wares as well as the existence of Mycenaean type figurines is very suggestive of Mycenaean presence at Miletus in the second building period.

Of the third building period, we have not yet revealed undisturbed levels in the new excavations. Consequently, no statement on the proportion of Mycenaean and Anatolian wares is possible. However, the Mycenaean pottery dated to LH IIIB and IIIC is numerous, as is clear from the preliminary reports (Weickert 1957: pls. 32–34; Schiering 1959/60: pls. 13, 8–10, 14–17; Hommel 1959/60: pls. 47–50; Weickert 1959/60: pl. 72; Schiering 1979: pl. 22.2–5, 23.1) and from the unpublished material in the storerooms of the Miletus museum. It has been stated on the basis of neutron activation analysis that almost all of the Mycenaean pottery of Miletus is of local manufacture (Gödecken 1988), and this statement has been used as an argument against the actual presence of Mycenaeans at the site (Muhly 1992: 13; Zangger 1994: 149). However, the data on which the statement is based remains unpublished, which “has caused astonishment and, alas, disbelief” (French E.B. 1993: 155), and—as M.J. Mellink (1959: 295) argued long ago—Mycenaean pottery manufactured locally in vast quantities should form evidence for actual Mycenaean settlement. Moreover, there are pottery imports from the Argolid at Miletus (Voigtländer 1986a: 19–21)²⁷ and Mycenaean pottery from Miletus appears to have been exported to Tiryns (Voigtländer 1986a: 21–23).

As to the architecture of the third building

26. On the ritual function of the Mycenaean figurines cf. Nilsson 1950: 303–309; Mylonas 1966: 114–116. As to the typology and development cf. French E.B. 1971, 108–142.

27. Confirmed by new, still unpublished neutron activation analyses executed by H. Mommsen of the Institute of Nuclear Physics of the University of Bonn.



Fig. 11 Miletus, Bronze Age settlement in the area of the Temple of Athena, plan of the ruins of the third building period (after Mallwitz 1959/60, Schiering 1979, with addition of the new excavations)

period, the residential complex with a megaron centering on a court on the stadium hill, the presumed highest point within the Bronze Age settlement (Mellink 1974: 114; Hommel 1975: 37–38, plan 1), which was interpreted as a possible Mycenaean palace (Mee 1978: 136; Freu 1987: 144), has to be excluded from the discussion. As our re-investigation has shown, the complex is not of Bronze Age date, but probably formed part of an insula from the rebuilding of the city of Miletus after the Persian destruction of 494 BCE (Niemeier and Niemeier, forthcoming). In the area of the temple of Athena, the houses of the third building period were not very well preserved (fig. 11) and the reconstructions (Weickert 1959/60; Beilage 5) are rather conjectural. But

one building (fig. 12)²⁸ belongs most probably to Hiesel's (1990: 111–145, 205–209) corridor house type, which imitates Mycenaean palace architecture and appears during the 13th century BCE in centers of the Mycenaean world. With the exception of the probable corridor house of the third building period at Miletus, this type is not yet known from Asia Minor. The most striking architectural feature of the third building period, the *enceinte*, will be discussed below.

Evidence of Mycenaean ritual activity is again provided by terracotta figurines, now of the psi-

28. The three smaller rooms on the eastern side were excavated early in this century: von Gerkan 1925: 74–75, figs. 41–42.

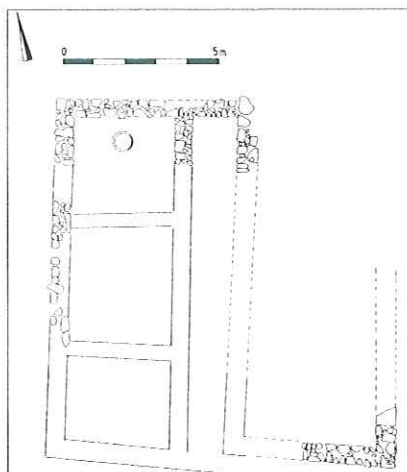


Fig. 12 Miletus, plan of probable corridor house of the third building period (after von Gerkan 1925; Mallwitz 1959/60)

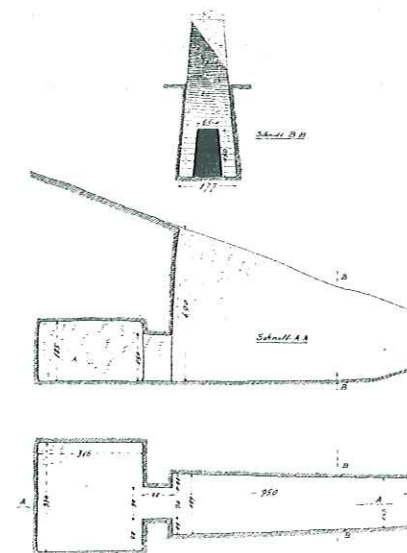


Photo 10 Miletus, Degirmentepe, chamber tomb D 33, plan and section, drawing by Zippelius

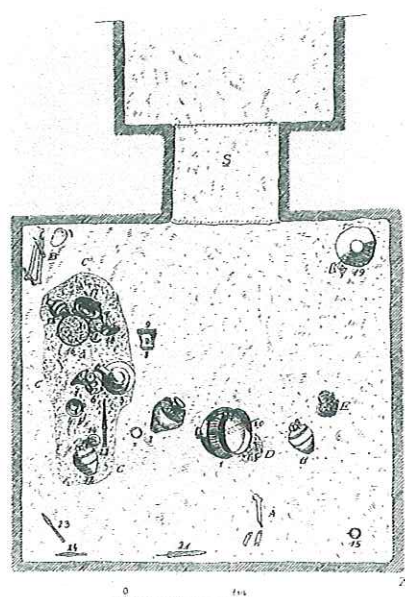


Photo 11 Miletus, Degirmentepe, chamber tomb D 33, plan with finds, drawing by Zippelius

type (Gödecken 1988: pl. 19f). In relation to the third building period we have, for the first time, evidence for funerary practices. At the hill of Degirmentepe, 1.5 kms. southwest of the area of the Temple of Athena, 11 chamber tombs of Mycenaean type (photos 10–11) were excavated at the beginning of the century (Fimmen 1924: 16). Most of the grave goods (LM IIB–C pottery, weapons and jewelry) are also Mycenaean (photo 12).²⁹

29. They were brought to Berlin and believed to have been lost during World War II (Mee 1978: 133; Ersoy 1988: 81 n. 197). However, some of the finds came to the Antikennmuseum in West Berlin, the majority in the store-rooms of the Pergamon Museum, where they are now accessible again. As to the finds from Degirmentepe which came to West Berlin. See Greifenhagen 1970: 27, pl. 7.1–4; Heilmeyer 1988: 24–25, nos. 1–16. All the material from the Degirmentepe tombs in Berlin will be published within the new project on Bronze Age Miletus. As to the dating of the pottery cf. Furumark 1950: 202; Stubbings 1951: 23.

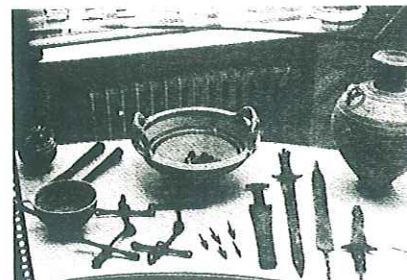


Photo 12 Berlin, from Miletus, finds from the Degirmentepe chamber tombs

Finally, we have two fragments of local pithoi on each of which a sign was incised before firing (photos 13–14). Both signs were regarded as Linear B signs by W. Schiering (1979: 102–103), but this identification is not completely unequivocal.³⁰ If the arrow-like sign of the one fragment is a Linear B sign, it can be only sign no. 20, *-zo-* (see Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 41 fig. 9; Hooker 1980: 38). The missing horizontal bar could have been placed rather low and broken away (cf. the sign *-zo-* written by hands 103 and 141 at Knossos; Olivier 1967: pl. IV, XLII, and in the painted inscription TH Z 857 on a stirrup jar from Thebes; Sacconi 1974: 195). But arrow-like signs similar to the Milesian example appear also on Hittite clay vessels (Seidl 1972: 60–61, fig. 23, B 30–34). This is of interest in connection to the question of the position of Bronze Age Miletus between the Mycenaean and the Hittite worlds (see *infra*). The sign of the other sherd has no Hittite parallel but also no exact parallel in Linear B. According to Th. G. Palaima, it could be either an enriched version of Linear B sign no. 8, *-a-*, or more probably a regional Milesian variant of sign no. 52, *-no-*, approximately corresponding to the prototype of the painted stirrup jar inscription TH Z 846 (Sacconi 1974: 199).

What evidence can archaeology provide to answer the question of whether or not Miletus was the Millawanda of the Hittite texts? Millawanda was governed by, or at least settled by, subjects of the king of Ahhiyawa (Heinhold-

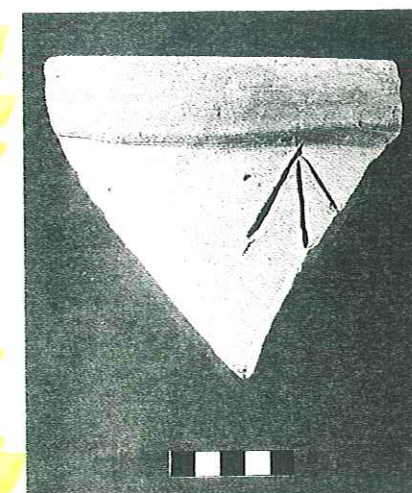
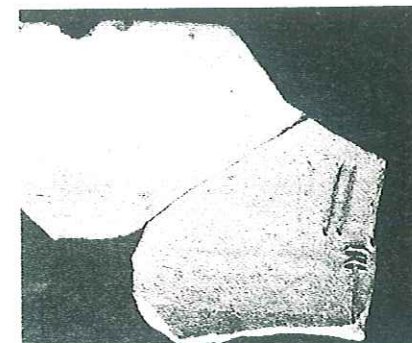


Photo 13–14 Miletus, sherds of local pithoi with Linear B (?) signs

Krahmer 1994: 188). If the equation Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean Greece is correct, the archaeological evidence for strong Mycenaean influence and actual presence of Mycenaeans at Miletus corresponds to the textual evidence. Millawanda is first mentioned in the Annals of Mursili II.

30. For advice and references in regard to the signs in question I wish to thank Th.G. Palaima and M.J. Mellink.

According to the reading first suggested by A. Goetze (1933 b: 235-236) and followed by H.G. Güterbock (1983: 135) and T.R. Bryce (1989 b: 299), Millawanda and Arzawa took sides with the king of Ahhiyawa against Hatti in the upheavals which followed Mursili's accession. In response, Mursili sent forth two generals, Gulla and Maliziti, who conquered Millawanda and destroyed it. This attack has already been connected by several scholars who equate Millawanda with Miletus to the destruction of the second building period of Late Bronze Age Miletus (Voigtländer 1975: 19; Melink 1983: 139-140; Bryce 1989a: 6-7). The date of the destruction of the second building period at the transition from LH IIIA:2 to LH IIIB:1 has now been established by evidence from the new excavations. The third year of the reign of Mursili II, in which the campaign against Millawanda took place, has been dated to ca. 1320 BCE (Bryce 1989b: 299) or even a little later, 1318 or 1314 BCE (Wilhelm and Boese 1987: 108). The end of LH IIIA:2 has been dated to 1340/30 (Warren and Hankey 1989: 169) or to 1360/25 BCE (Manning 1995: 217). Thus there appears to be, at first sight, a problem in connecting the historical destruction of Millawanda by the generals of Mursili II with the archaeologically defined LH IIIA:2/IIIB:1 destruction of the second building period of Late Bronze Age Miletus. However, as new dendrochronological evidence from the Ulu Burun shipwreck appears to indicate, LH IIIA:2 ended later in the 14th century BCE than hitherto thought: Wood found as part of the cargo has a last preserved ring of 1316 BCE (Kuniholm, Kromer, Manning, Newton, Latini and Bruce 1996: 782) and the Mycenaean pottery from the wreck is to be dated to the transition of LH IIIA:2 to LH IIIB:1 (Bass 1986: 285, 289, 292; Pulak 1988: 33; Bass, Pulak, Collon and Weinstein 1989: 12; Warren and Hankey 1989: 154; Kuniholm, Kromer, Manning, Newton, Latini and Bruce 1996: 782, referring to J.B. Rutter).

According to the so-called Tawagalawa Letter written by Muwatalli II (Easton 1985: 194; Ünal 1991: 19, 33-36), who fought the battle of Qades in 1275 BCE (Boese and Wilhelm

1979), or by Hattusili III (ca. 1266-1236 BCE) (Singer 1983: 209-210; Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 95-97; van den Hout 1984: 91-92; Popko 1984), Millawanda must have passed back from Hittite to Ahhiyawan control during the first half or middle of the 13th century BCE (Güterbock 1983: 135-137; Bryce 1989 a: 7-8; 1989 b: 300-302). In the course of the second half of the 13th century BCE, Hittite control over Millawanda was re-established, as the so-called Millawata Letter—almost certainly to be attributed to Tuthaliya IV, son and successor of Hattusili III—demonstrates (Bryce 1989 a: 14-16; 1989 b: 303-304). This is possibly the time in which the city wall, mentioned above, was erected.³¹ Because of its bastions, spaced at regular intervals, A. Mallwitz (1959/60: 74-75) connected the Milesian *enceinte* to eastern, Hittite, prototypes and according to F.J. Tritsch (1968: 130), it "looks like an exact replica of the latest Hittite city wall of Hattusa." After some controversial discussion (cf. Mee 1978: 135), this derivation has been supported by W. Voigtländer (1975: 30-31) who suggested that the *enceinte* could have been built on the "Kastenmauer" system (a casemate wall), a characteristic of Hittite architecture. Voigtländer was not able to offer more evidence for his theory, but this was supplied subsequently by W. Schiering (1979: 80-82) who identified what were probably the remnants of a cross-wall of the Kastenmauer system (fig. 11, next to the east end of the excavated part of the *enceinte*). Thus, the city wall of the third building period of Late Bronze Age Miletus appears to provide evidence for Hittite influence.

As yet no secure Hittite pottery imports are known from Miletus.³² However, there is an in-

31. The wall is to be dated to the 13th century BCE. See Hommel 1959/60: 36; Kleiner 1966: 12; 1968: 9. As to the exact dating, the dates proposed lie in the beginning (Tritsch 1968: 130) and in the second half (Weickert 1959/60: 3; Voigtländer 1975: 33-34 with n. 75) of the 13th century BCE. We plan to reinvestigate the *enceinte* wall to find out its exact date.

32. The lentil-shaped flask from an archaic well on the stadium hill which has been considered a Hittite import (Melink 1975: 207, pl. 39 f; Cline 1991 b: 135, pl. 22 c) shows central Anatolian tradition but is not a Hittite

teresting example of Hittite influence in the locally produced Mycenaean pottery. The fragment of a LH IIIB/C krater (photo 15) shows a conical object with symmetrical horns curling up along the sides.³³ This object has been interpreted by the excavator as a cult stand (Weickert 1959: 65; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: 166, no. XIII.5). Several scholars (Buchholz 1974 a: 365; Mee 1978: 136; Güterbock 1984: 115) have recognized the motif in question as in fact being a horned tiara like those worn by Hittite gods



Photo 15 Miletus, fragment of LH IIIB/C-krater with the representation of a Hittite tiara



Photo 16 Ankara, from Hattusa, Sealing Tuthaliya IV (detail), after Bittel 1976

and rulers (van den Hout 1995) (photo 16). Of great interest in this connection are three swords from the Mycenaean chamber tombs on the slope of Degirmentepe (photo 12, lower right). That on the left belongs to N.K. Sandars' (1963: 133-137 pl. 25) type F Aegean swords. But the three other swords are not of Aegean type. Two of them (first and second from the right) are rod-tanged, and the same is probably true of the third sword. Rod-tangs are a Near Eastern feature (Sandars 1963: 141). Two of the swords (first and third from the right) still have their grip and hilt. The grip has two pairs of flanges and the arched hilt has a socket-like extension projecting over the top of the blade. Three swords of this type have been known for some time from Levantine sites: from Tell Atchana/Alalakh (Woolley 1955: 276 AT/36/4 pl. LXX; Sandars 1963: 141, 153), Ras Shamra/Ugarit (Schaeffer 1956: 277-278 pl. X; Sandars 1963: 141, 153 pl. 27,58), and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Pritchard 1980: 16 fig. 5,13; 52,10). Two further examples are from Egypt, without more precise provenance (Petrie 1917: 27 pl. 32;9; Sandars 1963: 153 pl. 27,60). Two of these swords have their bronze pommels intact: the pommel of the Tell es-Sa'idiyeh sword is mushroom shaped; that of the Alalakh sword is a flat, wide crescent. During the second half of the 13th century BCE Alalakh and Ugarit were under Hittite rule (Astour 1981: 20-24). Flat and wide crescent-shaped pommels like that of the Alalakh sword appear frequently on Hittite rock reliefs (Akurgal and Hirmer 1962: pls. 65, 85, 99; Bittel 1976 a: 173 fig. 194, 178 fig. 199, 181 fig. 202, 184 fig. 206, 215 fig. 249, 219 fig. 253, 232 fig. 268). It is thus possible that the three Degirmentepe swords in question are of Hittite origin. This supposition is now confirmed by the recent find of the hilt of a sword of the type in question

import: cf. Parzinger 1989: 429-430. Inspecting the 2nd millennium BCE pottery kept in the storerooms of the Miletus museum Parzinger did not identify any secure Hittite imports: cf. *ibid.*, 429, n. 60.

33. For the date cf. Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: 166, no. XIII.5, "transitional" = LH IIIB-C 1230-1200/1190 BCE (*ibid.* 3).

in Bogazköy/Hattusa (Geiger 1993: 213–214 fig. 1 pl. 20,4).

To sum up, Bronze Age Miletus was settled mainly by Mycenaeans in the second and probably also in the third building period. The violent destruction of the second building period took place in the late 14th century BCE, at approximately the same time as Millawanda was destroyed by Mursili II's army. There are signs of Hittite influence in the second half of the 13th century BCE, at a time when Hittite control over Millawanda was reestablished. There appears to be a remarkable correspondence between the archaeological evidence from Miletus and our historical information about Millawanda. Further evidence for connections between Miletus and the Mycenaean Greek mainland are provided by the appearance of women, *mi-ra-ti-ja*, and a man, *mi-ra-ti-jo*, from Miletus on Linear B tablets; the women from Miletus on tablets from Pylos (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 124, 410; Chadwick 1976: 80) and the man on a tablet recently found at Thebes (Ara-vantinos and Godart 1995: 47). The "women from Miletus" appear in Pylos on a tablet of the Ab set, on which women, possibly slaves, from other sites on the Asiatic coast and an offshore island (*ki-ni-di-ja* = woman from Knidos, *ze-pu3-ra3* = woman from Zephyros = Halikarnassos?, *a*-64-ja*, probably = Aswiai from Asia, in the Hittite documents Assuwa, the later Lydia, and *ra-mi-ni-ja* = woman from Lemnos) are mentioned. It is thus most probable that the "women from Miletus" of the Pylian Linear B tablet came from Miletus in Ionia and not from Milatos in Crete.

As to the other sites in southwestern Anatolia which show signs of Mycenaean influence and presence (fig. 6), Iasos appears to offer a picture similar to Miletus. Minoan influence and presence was replaced in LH IIB–IIIA by Mycenaean influence (Mee 1978: 129–130; Benzi 1987). However, the levels with Mycenaean pottery were too disturbed to permit any secure conclusions about the actual presence of Mycenaeans at Iasos to be reached. The 48 LH IIIA:2 to LH IIIB chamber tombs at Mūsgebi on the Halikarnassos peninsula were of the Mycenaean

standard type (Boysal 1967: 33–39, pls. 1–11; Mee 1978: 137). The LH IIIA:2–B pottery found in them is exclusively Mycenaean in character (Boysal 1967: 53–54; 1969). Imports came from Miletus (Gödeken 1988: 311–312), Rhodes (Mee 1978: 139), Kos (Mee 1978: 139) and the Argolid (Mee 1978: 138–139, 141). The as yet unpublished bronzes are also of Mycenaean types (Mee 1978: 137). The incidence of cremation does hint at a knowledge of Anatolian burial practices (Iakovidis 1970: 53–57; Mee 1978: 149). As Mee (1988: 303) has argued, we might surmise that there were some Anatolians amongst the denizens of Mūsgebi, but we could equally dismiss just three cremations as inconclusive. Unfortunately, the settlement belonging to this cemetery is not yet known. Nevertheless I think that the Mūsgebi cemetery provides evidence for the permanent presence of Mycenaeans on the Halikarnassos peninsula and not only for seasonal settlement of Mycenaean pirates as suggested by Y. Ersoy (1988: 81).

Exciting new evidence for our discussion has come from Ephesos. In 1964 a disturbed tomb with six Mycenaean vessels of LH IIIA:1 to LH IIIA:2 date was found in front of the Gate of Persekution on the Byzantine citadel, Ayasoluk (Gültekin and Baran 1964; Mellink 1964: 157–158; Mee 1978: 127). Recently, A. Bammer has found in his excavations below the Temple of Artemis not only fragments of Mycenaean pottery but also the head of a terracotta figurine as well as a bronze double axe (Bammer 1994: 35–36 fig. 1; Bammer and Muss 1996: 27–28, figs. 23–24). Bammer has compared this head to the so-called "Lord of Asine" (Frödin and Persson 1938: 298–310, figs. 206, 211–212) which belonged to a female figure (Demakopoulou 1970) or to a sphinx (Laviosa 1968) and had a religious function, as the find context, a sanctuary, demonstrates (Hägg 1981). Bronze double axes are characteristic votives in Minoan sanctuaries (Rutkowski 1986: 55, 57–58, 62, 67, 79) and appear due to Minoan influence also in Mycenaean sanctuaries (Lambrinoudakis 1981: 62, 64–66, figs. 10, 12). Thus the cult place of the later Artemision may have a Mycenaean or even Minoan origin. This would make the equation

Ephesos = Apasa rather unlikely. On the other hand, in recent soundings near the fortification on the hill of Ayasoluk, the Late Bronze Age pottery appears to have been of western Anatolian character, with buff and reddish wares and distinctive shapes (Mellink 1992: 135; 1993: 120). The planned continuation of the excavation in the Bronze Age levels on Ayasoluk will hopefully bring to light a clearer picture of the character of Bronze Age Ephesos.

In the area between Mūsgebi and Miletus, possibly extending to Ephesos, we have Mycenaean finds concentrated in a rather compact area, which one of the opponents of the Abhiyawa = Mycenaean Greece equation has suggested would be conclusive evidence for such an equation (Kosak 1980: 40). I feel that there can be no doubt that Mycenaeans settled in the southern part of the west coast of Asia Minor, certainly at Miletus and Mūsgebi, probably at Iasos and possibly also at Ephesos. This Mycenaean influence and presence on the southwestern coast of western Asia Minor like in the period of Minoan influence and settlement has to be seen in connection to corresponding phenomena on the islands of the southeastern Aegean (Mee 1988; Davis 1992: 751–752). In Rhodes, cemeteries with Mycenaean-type chamber tombs and grave offerings started in LH IIB/IIIA:1 at Trianda/Ialysos and spread almost all over the island during LH IIIA:2 (Mee 1982; Dietz 1984; Benzi 1988 b; 1992). Unfortunately, the corresponding settlements have not yet been identified.³⁴ Cemeteries with Mycenaean-type chamber tombs and single examples have also been excavated on Kos (Morricone 1965/66; Papachristodoulou 1979; Papazoglou 1981). The third city on the Serraglio was built on a different alignment than its predecessor and had Mycenaean pottery (Morricone 1972/73; Mee 1982: 86–87). Mycenaean-type chamber tombs have recently been excavated on Kalymnos (Catling 1984: 70). In the Vathy Cave on Kalymnos the Minoan pottery was replaced in LH IIIA:2–B by Mycenaean pottery (Benzi 1993: 281–283). Mycenaean pottery has recently been found also on Leros (Sampson 1980 b). On Samos, tombs with Mycenaean grave goods have been uncov-

ered in the Heraion (Milojevic 1961: 25–26, 70, pl. 25) and near Myloi, ca. 3 kms. from the Heraion (Zapheiropoulos 1960). The tomb in the Heraion was of a special built type, but that near Myloi was a canonical Mycenaean-type chamber tomb. As J.L. Davis (1992: 751) has correctly stated, "study of the Mycenaean period in the southeast Aegean continues to be hampered by a lack of properly excavated and completely published settlement sites." But the fact that at least by LH IIIA:2, cemeteries with chamber tombs of Mycenaean type became the rule on Rhodes, Kos, Kalymnos and possibly also on Samos, and the existence of Mycenaean type phi- and psi-idols in tombs on Rhodes (Dietz 1984: 49, fig. 50, 56, fig. 60; Benzi 1992: pls. 18c–e, 30h–i, 39m–n, 62f–g, 66f, 72b, 91g–h, 148l) and of undecorated Mycenaean domestic pottery on Rhodes (Dietz 1984: 29, fig. 13, 44–45, fig. 44, 56, fig. 61, 75, fig. 92; Benzi 1992: pls. 2d–e, 3b–c, 4d–g, 5a, 11h–i, 33d–f, 37h–u, 38a–b, 50g–h, 54l, 55a–b, 60l–n, 70g, 74b–c, 78f–g, 79d, g, 82e–i, 88c, 90c, 95f–g, 99c, 107c, m, 131h, 136b, 137d, 138h, 140m–n, 144a, 146h–l, 147p, 149c, 150b) and Kos (Morricone 1972–73: 177, fig. 63, 187, fig. 72, 205, fig. 107) appear to indicate that Mycenaeans settled on the offshore islands in the southeast Aegean as well as on the southwestern coast of the Anatolian mainland.

5. Mycenaeans and Hittites

Thus the Mycenaeans were active in western Anatolia, as were the Hittites.³⁵ Two Hittite rock-reliefs with hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions in the hinterland of Izmir/Smyrna which were carved by sculptors of a central Anatolian school are situated next to the zone, where My-

34. With the exception of the settlement of Trianda/Ialysos. Furumark's (1950: 179–180) theory, according to which it was abandoned in early LH IIIA:1, has proved to be wrong, since much LH IIIA:2 pottery has been found—cf. Benzi 1988a.

35. The motives for the Hittite involvement in western Anatolia are much debated. To Yakar (1976: 117) the reason is that "Hittite history can largely be explained by the economic motive, to control sources and markets of metal," whereas Marchese (1986: 83–86), and Bryce (1989b: 308), see strategic instead of economic reasons.

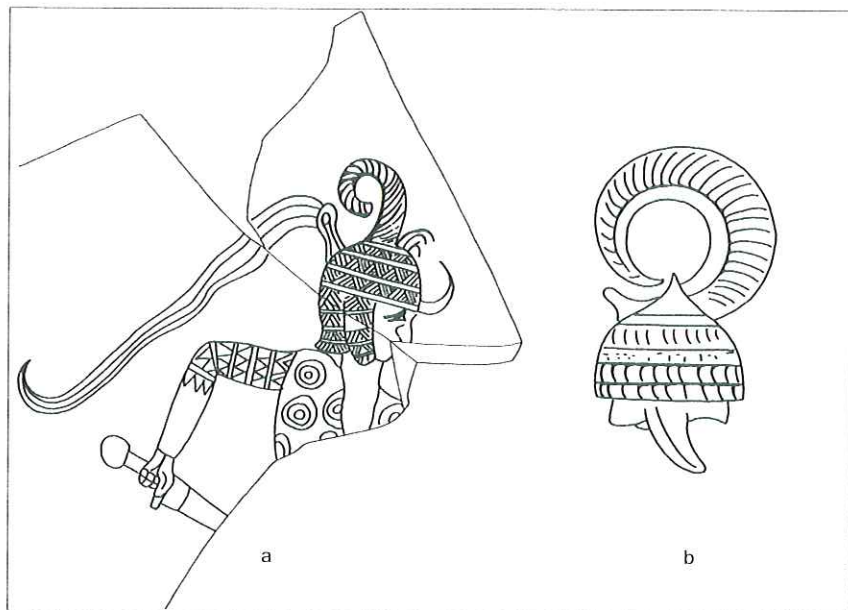


Fig. 13a Representation of a warrior on a clay bowl from Hattusa (after Bittel 1976)

Fig. 13b Representation of a boar tusk helmet on a bronze axe in the Giamalakia Collection, Herakleion Museum (after Borchardt 1972)

cenaeen-western Anatolian contacts must have taken place (fig. 6) (Bittel 1967; 1976a: 188–191, 183–184, figs. 204–206; 1976b: 521–523; Güterbock 1984: 114–115). The inscription of the relief at the Karabel pass stems from a local ruler (Bittel 1967: 9–14). The relief on the slope of Mt. Sipylus is accompanied by two inscriptions. One belongs to a Hittite prince who has also left his name on two reliefs in the Taurus mountains in Southeast Anatolia,³⁶ the other to a Hittite official (Güterbock and Alexander 1983). On the fragment of a bowl from Bogazköy/Hattusa dated around 1400 BCE a picture of a non-Hittite warrior is incised (fig. 13a). Horn, crest and flowing ribbons of the helmet are all to some extent reminiscent of Aegean representations (fig. 13b) (Bittel 1976c; Güterbock 1984: 115; Macqueen 1986: 63; Vermeule 1987: 143). D. Rittig (1983: 159) thought the helmet

to be Anatolian, but Hittite helmets are different (cf. Borchardt 1972: 101–103, pl. 25.1) and what we have here may be the Hittite picture of a Mycenaeen warrior. Of particular interest in connection to this is the recent find of a Mycenaeen or Mycenaeizing sword in the Hittite capital bearing the Akkadian inscription: “As Tuthaliya the Great King shattered the Assuwa-Country he dedicated these swords to the Storm-God, his Lord” (Ertekin and Ediz 1993; Hansen 1994; Salvini and Vagnetti 1994). These sword(s) appear to have been spoil. On the evidence of this inscription, the sword dedication is to be dated to the second half of the 15th century BCE,

36. The reliefs of Hayneri (see Bossert 1954, on the name of the prince *ibid.* 144–146) and Imamkulu (see Bittel 1976a: 182, fig. 203; for the reading of the prince's name: Güterbock 1979: 237–238, 242–243).

i.e. to the period in which according to the Hittite sources Ahhiyawan military activities started in western Anatolia (Cline 1994: 121). Later, the Cyclopean fortifications of the citadels of the Mycenaeen mainland were most probably inspired by Hittite prototypes (Tritsch 1968: 129–131; Scoufopoulos 1971: 101–106; Iakovidis 1983: 106), which is especially clear in the underground passages (Scoufopoulos 1971: 102; Bittel 1976b: 530; Sanders 1985: 65) and in the “Kastenmauer” construction of the fortification wall of the Unterburg at Tiryns (Grossmann 1967: 100). Most interestingly, there are many striking similarities in the corbelled dome technique (Neve 1991: 164), in the working of the stones with tubular drills (Neve 1989: 405) and especially with pendulum-saws (Schwandner 1991: 218–223).

The idea of the lions on the unique monumental stone relief of the relieving triangle protecting the Lion Gate at Mycenae (Marinatos and Hirmer 1960: pl. 141) probably also indicates Hittite influence. As with the lions carved in the doorjambs of the Lion Gate at Hattusa (Akurgal and Hirmer 1962: color-pls. 16–17; Bittel 1976a: 223–224, figs. 258–259) they may symbolize the might of the royal residence (Mylonas 1966: 173; Scoufopoulos 1971: 101; Yakar 1976: 128 n. 61; Iakovidis 1983: 31) and/or may have a cultic significance (Evans 1901: 157–158; Wace 1921–23: 16; Nilsson 1950: 245, 247, 255; Taylour 1983: 63; Shaw, M.C. 1986; Neve 1992: 17–18). Hittite literature has produced many examples of the influence of the Ancient Orient on Greek mythology and literature (Güterbock 1948; Heubeck 1955a; Lesky 1955; Puhvel 1991; Penglase 1994). Most scholars think that these influences reached Greece only from the early 1st millennium BCE on (cf. Penglase 1994: 146–148). But others have considered a Bronze Age transmission (Barnett 1956: 216–217; Cassola 1957: 51; Webster 1958: 64–90; Huxley 1960: 42–43; Puhvel 1991: 20). And the Linear B texts allow us to assign at least some of these borrowings to the Mycenaeen age (Gérard-Rousseau 1973).

To sum up, it can be said that the question “Did the Mycenaeans and the Hittites know

each other?” has to be answered: “yes.” They must have come in contact in western Anatolia.

6. Ahhiyawa = Mycenaeen Greece, Millawanda = Miletus

As T.R. Bryce (1989a: 3–5) has stated, two basic facts concerning the Ahhiyawa question have to be accepted:

Firstly, in spite of the material evidence for Mycenaeen contact with western Anatolia and with the countries of the eastern Mediterranean, and in spite of the extensive information in the Hittite archives of countries, states, and kingdoms involved in the affairs of this region, there is not one identifiable reference to the Mycenaeans in the Hittite texts—if the Ahhiyawa-Mycenaeen relation is invalid. Secondly, it seems clear from the Hittite texts that the rulers of Ahhiyawa correspond on equal terms with their Hittite counterparts, and up to a certain point in Tuthaliya IV's reign were apparently regarded as ranking in importance with other major Late Bronze Age rulers—the kings of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria. If the Ahhiyawa-Mycenaeen equation is invalid, Ahhiyawa alone of these kingdoms has left no demonstrable trace in the archaeological record.

Accepting the equation Ahhiyawa = Mycenaeen, Bryce sees three possibilities of the use of the term Ahhiyawa:

1. as a general ethno-geographical designation (like the names “Hurri” and “Luwiya” in the Hittite texts) encompassing all areas of Mycenaeen settlement, both in mainland Greece and overseas;
2. as a designation of the nucleus of the kingdom of the Ahhiyawa rulers who correspond with the kings of Hatti;
3. as a designation of this kingdom in a broader sense, including the territories attached to it as political and military dependencies.

Where is the nucleus of the kingdom of Ahhiyawa to be located if we accept the equation

Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean? A location in Cyprus is untenable, since—as J.D. Muhly (1985: 28) has correctly stated—"today the theory of a Mycenaean or Aegean colonization of Cyprus prior to ca. 1200 B.C. would have few takers, if any." As to a location on Rhodes, S. Iakovidis (1973) has convincingly argued that there is no Mycenaean center in Rhodes which could be identified as the seat of a great power like Ahhiyawa and argued that the Mycenaean settlements on Rhodes cannot have been more than outposts of this power. With the same argument I would exclude the coast of Ionia and Caria. The old argument against locating the nucleus of Ahhiyawa in Crete that the Mycenaean rule on the island ended ca. 1400 BCE, before the first reference to Ahhiyawa in the Hittite texts (Steiner 1964: 379-380)—is no longer tenable. According to the redating of several of the Hittite Ahhiyawa-texts, these originated in the second half of the 15th century and ca. 1400 BCE (cf. Cline 1994: 121 with references), and the new find of Linear B tablets which show close relationship to the Knossos tablets found in a LM IIB:1 context at Khania (Hallager, Vlasakis and Hallager 1992; Olivier 1993) demonstrate that Knossos formed the center of a Mycenaean kingdom in Crete until ca. 1250 BCE. Nevertheless, the Mycenaean kingdom in Crete has to be excluded as the location of the nucleus of the kingdom of Ahhiyawa since according to archaeological evidence it maintained its trade relations with the Aegean area, Italy, the Levant and Egypt (Kanta 1980: 294-316; Kemp and Merrillees 1980: 264-249) but did not expand beyond the island. Like Schachermeyr (1986: 44-81), Bryce (1989a: 5) places the center of the kingdom of Ahhiyawa of the Hittite texts at Mycenae. The opponents of the equation Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean Greece have argued that there is no evidence for the existence of a centralized Great Kingdom at Mycenae (for instance: Steiner 1964: 380-381). And—according to textual and archaeological evidence Mycenaean Greece of the palace period indeed appears to have been divided into a series of states following C. Renfrew's model of the "early state module" (Renfrew 1975: 14-15, fig. 3) or "peer po-

lity interaction" (Renfrew and Cherry 1986; Cherry 1986: 23, fig. 2.4) which were each controlled from a central citadel and palace by an individual ruler called "wanax" (Vermeule 1964: 232-237; Thomas 1976: 95, 115-116; Hooker 1976: 134-137; Kilian 1988; Niemeier 1991; Dickinson 1994: 77-86; Wright 1995). This does not, however, exclude the possibility that one palace center or another extended its control over other citadels and areas in the course of LH IIB (cf. Wright 1984: 66). There is some evidence that Mycenae erected a hegemony at least over larger parts of the northwest Peloponnesos: the impressive expansion of the citadel of Mycenae during the LH IIB period (Mylonas 1966: 19-33; Iakovidis 1983: 27-37) and the construction of a system of roads centered on Mycenae and connecting it with the other sites in the Argive plain, with the area of Epidaurus and with the Corinthia (Mylonas 1966: 86-88; Hope Simpson 1981: 11, 15-17, 27; Taylour 1983: 133-134, fig. 122). It is in this period of the apparent hegemony of Mycenae that the king of Ahhiyawa is treated in the Tawagalawa letter by Muwatalli II or Hattusili III as Great King and as the author's equal (Güterbock 1983: 135-136; 1984: 121) and that in the Sausgamuwa treaty of Hattusili III's son and successor Tuthaliya IV "the king of Ahhiyawa" is mentioned in the same breath as the king of Egypt, the king of Babylonia, and the king of Assyria, though he was later erased (Bryce 1989b: 304-305; Cline 1995: 146).

Mycenaean pottery has been found inland in northern Caria and Lydia up to Alaschir/Philadelphia and Beycesultan (fig. 6) (Mellaart 1970: 63-64; Mellaart and Murray 1995: 8; Marchese 1978: 15-20; 1986: 77-94; Mellink 1990: 137; 1991: 138; 1993: 120). Also remarkable are marble and limestone pommels of Aegean type found in levels III-I at Beycesultan (Jewell 1974: 39; Mellaart and Murray 1995: 122-124). But in central Anatolia we find—as E.S. Sherratt and J.C. Crouwel (1987: 345) have stated—"a strong inverse correlation between the amount of Late Helladic IIIA-B pottery and the degree of Hittite control." The seven fragmentary LH IIIA:2-B vessels at Masat Höyük constitute

the only substantial group of Aegean imports in Anatolia (Özgüç 1978: 65-66, 127-128, pls. 83-84, D 1; 1980: 305-309; 1982: 100, 102-103, pl. 47 nos. 5-6), and all but one of these were found in levels dated to the 13th century BCE, a time when—according to the excavator—the city was in the hands of the Kaska. However, this does not necessarily point away from the equation Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean Greece. The trade between Mycenaeans and Hittites could have been conducted primarily in perishable goods which have left no traces in the archaeological records (Cline 1994: 71). On the other hand, Ahhiyawa is the only major eastern Mediterranean power not well attested with regard to trade in the Hittite texts (Cline 1991a: 4-5). According to these, the relations between Ahhiyawa and Hatti were often more strained than friendly, and it was apparently a policy of Ahhiyawa to actively support dissidents against Hittite authority in western Anatolia (Bryce 1989a: 12; 1989b: 307). Thus an economic embargo by the Hittites against the Mycenaeans in response to this policy which has been suggested by E. Cline (1991a; 1994: 71-73) is a good possibility.

As to the geographical position of Millawanda (fig. 5), new indirect evidence is provided by the previously mentioned bronze tablet with the treaty between Tuthaliya IV and Kurunta and the hieroglyphic inscription from Yalburt (see fig. 2). As Gurney (1992: 219) has argued, the bronze tablet gives the impression that beyond the river Kastarya (Kestros), the western border of Tarhuntassa, and the city of Parha, lay foreign territory, open to annexation by the Hittites, and if Millawanda had been in Milyas it would have been mentioned here since it stood at that time under Hittite supremacy. In the meantime, Gurney has been confirmed by the Yalburt inscription, describing a campaign of Tuthaliya IV against the Lukka lands in which the Xanthos Valley is incorporated in the Hittite empire (Poetto 1992; Woudhuizen 1994: 53-60). O. Masson's (1979: 37-38) location of Millawanda on the Cilician coast is based on the fact that Arwana and Pina, two towns situated in the border territory of Millawanda, are mentioned in an inscription found near Emergazi in Cilicia.

As was noted by Bryce (1985: 20), this is not a strong argument, since the inscription itself contains no clues as to where these towns lay. Another inscription from Emergazi mentions Hualaternna, Talawa, Arinna and Pinara, towns situated in the Lukka lands (Meriggi 1975: 282; Woudhuizen 1994: 58). Moreover, if Masson was correct, Millawanda must have been a direct neighbor of Kizzuwatna, belonging to the orbit of the Hittite empire (cf. Macqueen 1986: 55; Gurney 1990: 24, 59-60). According to the Tawagalawa Letter, however, the army of Mursili II marched a long way to Millawanda, which may have been situated in the same general direction from Hattusa as Arzawa (Macqueen 1968: 169-171). It seems clear that Millawanda belongs firmly within the context of political and military activities in the far west. The location of Millawanda at the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara (Macqueen 1968: 175; 1986: 41; Mellaart 1984: 64; 1986: 79-84; 1993: 418; Zangger 1994: 149) is based on the untenable (as discussed *supra*) location of Ahhiyawa in the Troad and/or Thrace. The location of Millawanda at the mouth of the Hermos river (Jewell 1974: 394-395) remains a possibility but the Hermos river valley appears to be the best candidate for the location of the Seha River Land (Güterbock 1986: 41). Thus of all locations of Millawanda hitherto proposed, that at Miletus appears to be the best solution. And—as we have seen—the archaeological evidence from Miletus matches rather well the textual evidence for the history of Millawanda. The equations Ahhiyawa = Mycenaean Greece and Millawanda = Miletus are still matters of faith (Güterbock 1986: 33) but they are gaining more and more probability.

7. Sea Peoples from Western Anatolia?

What does this mean for Zangger's theory of a western Anatolian alliance? If Ahhiyawa is to be equated with Mycenaean Greece and was not situated in the Troad, there is no evidence from the Hittite texts for a great power existing in the 13th century BCE on the western Anatolian mainland. Arzawa had disappeared as an independent state after the victorious campaign

of Mursili II (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 244) and would thus hardly have been able to send combined land and sea forces in a planned military campaign against the Levant and Egypt, as supposed by Mellaart (1984: 77). Moreover, Arzawa is listed among the countries invaded by the Sea Peoples (Pritchard 1969: 262; Hölbl 1983: 128–129) and cannot therefore be one of their homelands. In the Hittite texts of the late 13th century BCE we only hear of problems concerning Wilusa (Güterbock 1986: 37–39), likely to be the Troad (Cornelius 1958 b: 10–11; Kosak 1981: 14; Singer 1983: 215–216; Güterbock 1986: 41; Bryce 1992: 124–125) and with the Seha River Land (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 249–254). The Seha river could be the Kaikos (Gurney 1992: 221) or more probably the Hermos (Güterbock 1986: 41). Ahhiyawa was involved in the conflict with the Seha River Land, but its position in western Anatolia appears to have been weakened since it had lost control on Millawanda and this must have marked the end of Ahhiyawan overlordship in that region (Bryce 1989 b: 304). The erasure of the Ahhiyawan king from the Sausgamuwa treaty may have been related to this loss of power (Bryce 1989b: 304–305). There is no hint in the Hittite texts of the late 13th century BCE of a revival of the Assuwa coalition³⁷ as presumed by Zangger (1994: 47; 1995: 27–28). And there is no evidence that Hatti was threatened in that period from western Anatolia (*cf.* Otten 1983: 20). Troy VI with its newly discovered fortified lower town was undoubtedly an important trading center (Korfmann 1995), but there is no evidence that it formed the center of a great power comparable to Hatti or Ahhiyawa as supposed by Zangger (1994: 67, 79–116). It apparently was the central place of a rather small region excluding the southern coast of the Troad (Jewell 1974: 85–98, 182–183, Map 18). In speaking of a Trojan culture complex extending from Thrace in the north to Lycia in the south, Zangger (1994: 67) is wrong since Late Bronze Age western Anatolia did not form a cultural or ceramic unit (Mellaart and Murray 1995: 99–109).

The origin of the Sea Peoples, especially the Philistines, the most important of them and

the only one mentioned in the Bible, has been debated since the 18th century (Macalister 1913: 1–28; Dothan and Dothan 1992: 3–73) and is still a subject of controversy. “Foreigners from the Sea” are mentioned first as allies of the Libyans in an massive attack against Egypt in the time of Merneptah: Ekwesh, Teresh, Luka, Sherden, Shekelesh (Malamat 1971: 24–25, 294–295, notes 6–7; Faulkner 1975: 232–233; Hölbl 1983). Of these, the Ekwesh have been connected with the Achaeans of the Greek tradition and Ahhiyawa of the Hittite texts (Wainwright 1939: 150–153; Mertens 1960: 81–82; Liverani 1963: 232–233; 1988: 634; Sandars 1985: 107–111). But there are problems with this identification, since the Ekwesh practiced circumcision, an Egyptian and Semitic custom which appears to have been alien to the Aegean (Barnett 1975: 367; Hölbl 1983: 125; Bunnens 1986: 230). The Teresh have been connected with Tarsus in Cilicia (spelled *Tarsa* in Hittite) (Mellaart 1984: 75; Bunnens 1986: 232), with Tarwisa in western Anatolia (Sandars 1985: 111–112, 163) and with the Tyrsenoi, according to Herodotus the Lydian ancestors of the Etruscans (Wainwright 1939: 150; 1959: 197–213; Mertens 1960: 78–80); Barnett 1975: 367–368; Strobel 1976: 182–190). The Luka are probably to be identified with the Lukka countries of the Hittite texts (Mertens 1960: 78; Sandars 1985: 107; Bunnens 1986: 230; Vanschoonwinkel 1991: 475), situated in southwestern Anatolia as discussed *supra*. The Sherden, mentioned earlier in the Egyptian sources, have been connected with Sardinia (Barnett 1975: 368–369; Deger-Jalkotzy 1983: 96–97; Drews 1993: 70), with the Illyrian region on the Adriatic coast (Lehmann 1985: 46), with Pamphylia (Mellaart 1978: 72) or with northern Syria (Sandars 1985: 106–107). The Shekelesh have been connected with Sicily (Barnett 1975: 367–368; Sandars 1985: 112), with Sagalassos in Pisidia (Maspéro 1878; Mellaart 1984: 75–76) or with Illyria (Lehmann 1985: 45).

37. As to the Assuwa coalition in the time of Tuthaliya II, *cf.* Garstang and Gurney 1959: 121–122, Carruba 1977: 158–161; Güterbock 1986: 39–40.

In the inscription at Medinet Habu recording Ramses III's victory over the Sea Peoples (Pritchard 1969: 262–263) accompanied by reliefs depicting a land battle and a naval battle (Yadin 1963: 336–337, 340–341; Drews 1993: 158–159, pls. 6–7), the main enemies are the Peleset (Philistines) and the Tjekker. They are accompanied by the Shekelesh (already known from the time of Merneptah), the Denye(n) and the Weshesh to which the pictorial records add Sherden and Teresh, perhaps present as minor components. The origin of the Philistines has been seen in the northern Balkans, particularly the Illyrian region on the Adriatic coast (Herbig 1940; Bonfante 1946: 251–252; Mertens 1960: 83; Liverani 1963: 234; Lehmann 1985: 42–49); in the western Aegean region, i.e. on the Greek mainland, the Aegean islands or Crete (Hrouda 1964: 135; Barnett 1975: 371–378; Schachermeyr 1982: 212; Dothan, T. 1985: 171; 1992; 1994; Drews 1993: 67–68); and in southwestern (Albright 1975: 512–513; Mellaart 1974: 525–526; 1978: 71–72) or western Anatolia (Mellaart 1984: 76; Singer 1988: 242). The name of the Tjekker has been connected with those of the Teucri of the Troad, and with the Greek Teucer, the legendary founder of Salamis in Cyprus, after the Trojan war (Wainwright 1963; Sandars 1985: 158, 170, 187, 201). But their name can also have to do with the Siculs (Maspéro 1878; Bunnens 1986: 234) or with the Shikila mentioned in a text in Ugarit and possibly to be located in northern Syria (Vanschoonwinkel 1991: 476). The name Denye(n) recalls that of the Danuna who, according to a letter from el-Amarna, lived to the north of Ugarit, probably in the region of modern Adana (Maspéro 1897: 360; Gardiner 1947: 124–127; Liverani 1963: 235; Strobel 1976: 201–207; Bunnens 1986: 232–233; Vanschoonwinkel 1991: 326–327). The Weshesh have remained even more enigmatic than the other Sea Peoples (Strobel 1976: 208–209). To sum up, the philological evidence and the representation of some of the Sea Peoples at Medinet Habu are ambiguous and not sufficient to reach secure conclusions concerning the origin(s) of the Sea Peoples. The only exception is the Luka who most probably

originated in the Lukka countries of the Hittite texts. However, in the Egyptian sources the Luka are mentioned only in the period of Merneptah and are no longer mentioned by the time of Ramses III. Mellaart's (1978: 72) idea that the Peleset, Tjekker and Shekelesh could be Lukka people is purely hypothetical.

As to the Sea Peoples' settlement in Canaan, the Onomasticon of Amenope mentions three ethnic groups—the Sherden, the Tjekker and the Philistines together with Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Gaza, cities in the area controlled by the Philistines (Gardiner 1947: 190–200).³⁸ As the Wen Amun tale demonstrates, the Tjekker (Sikila) settled in Dor and the Sharon Plain (Pritchard 1969: 25–29; Singer 1994: 295–297). The Sherden can be located with some certainty further to the north, in Akko and surrounding areas (Alt 1953: 242–245; Dothan, M. 1989: 63; Dothan and Dothan 1992: 213; Singer 1994: 297–298). According to Mellaart (1984: 76–78) and Singer (1988: 242–244) all these three groups came from southern and western Anatolia. The origin of the Philistines is placed by both in Arzawa. According to Zangger (1994: 240–241), Trojans and Mycenaean groups settled separately at first: the Mycenaeans as partners of Egypt and winners of the war in the most fertile plains, near the major traffic routes and the Egyptian border, i.e. in Philistia, the Tjekker and Sherden, belonging to the western Anatolian alliance, further to the north.

Fortunately, we have archaeological evidence for the settlement of these former Sea Peoples. Best known to us are the Philistines and their intrusive material culture, especially as a result of the recent excavations at Ashdod, Ekron, and Ashkelon. All the new pottery types from their first phase of settlement, both the fine decorated and the plain domestic ware, originated in the Mycenaean world (Mazar 1988; Bietak 1993: 300; Dothan, T. 1994: 45–46; Stager 1995: 334–335). Spool-shaped loomweights of Mycenaean type have been found at all three sites (Ashdod:

38. As to the boundaries of Philistia *cf.* Singer 1994: 299–306; Stager 1995: 336, fig. 2.

Dothan, M. and Porath 1993: fig. 24.3-5, pl. 39. Ashkelon: Stager 1991: 15, 19, n. 12; 1995: 346. Ekron: Dothan, T. 1994: 46-47. The introduction of Mycenaean concepts of ideology and ritual is demonstrated by the finds of terracotta-figurines in Mycenaean tradition from Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Tel Qasile and other sites (Ashdod: Dothan, T. 1982: 234-237. Ashkelon: Stager 1995: 346. Ekron: Dothan, T. 1994: 48. Tel Qasile: Mazar 1988: 259-260. Other sites: Dothan, T. 1982: 237-249). As to Philistine architecture of the first phase of their settlement in Philistia, we have as yet too little data at hand for comparisons (Singer 1994: 301-302). Nor do we yet possess direct information concerning the burial customs of the Philistines (Singer 1994: 302). But the evidence for the existence of the Mycenaean kitchen kit, of Mycenaean industries and of Mycenaean religious and cult patterns, form criteria which appear to point to actual Mycenaean settlement in Philistia. Singer (1988: 244) thinks that "good parallels for the Aegean elements in the Sea People's material culture will probably be found in western Anatolia as well, and not only in Greece, the Aegean islands and Cyprus." He is right that the archaeological research in western Anatolia is still incomplete. Nevertheless, we can already say—as discussed previously in this paper—that in western Anatolia settlement of an unmistakably Aegean/Mycenaean character is restricted to the coastal strip of southern Ionia and Caria, an area too small to be the homeland of the Philistines and other Sea Peoples. Inland western Anatolia has a very different cultural character (Mellaart and Murray 1995: 241-245).

Surprisingly, Zangger (1994: 241-245) sees Ekron in Philistia (the area which according to him was settled by Mycenaeans) as a typical example of a new western Anatolian foundation. According to him, Trojan grey ware (Dothan, T. 1989: 2; Allen 1994: 41-42) provides evidence that Ekron had close trade relations with Troy before the arrival of the Sea Peoples. However, grey ware is rare in the Levant as has been demonstrated recently by S.H. Allen (1994: 43), who draws the conclusion that, if commerce is

represented at all, it must have been fairly casual. As evidence for western Anatolian settlement and colonization, Zangger (1994: 241-245) compares the layout of Troy VI with that of the Philistine city of Tel Mique-Ekron. According to him the colonists remodeled Ekron until it was similar to their mother city—comprising an acropolis with a palace, a lower town and a river nearby. Moreover, Zangger argues that the sanctuary at Ekron (Dothan, T. 1994: 42-45, figs. 3:1-4) was inferred from the Anta House at Troy (Blegen, Caskey and Rawson 1953: 249-254, pl. 471). Except for the fact that both buildings had a ritual character, I cannot see any other relationship. There is no evidence that the upper city of Ekron had a palace in a similar position to that presumed for the citadel of Troy VI. On the contrary, an industrial quarter with potters' kilns has been found in Ekron's upper city (Dothan, T. 1990: 23, plan 27; Dothan and Dothan 1992: 241-242). If a layout comprising an acropolis with a palace, a lower town and a river nearby identifies a Trojan foundation, then many other cities could also serve as further examples. There is no evidence at all that the Iron Age I city of Ekron was a foundation of immigrant Anatolians.

The archaeological evidence for the other Sea Peoples settling in Canaan is still very meager. At Dor, so far only very small parts of the Iron Age I city could be revealed. The excavator (Stern 1994: 96-97; cf. 1993) writes: "So far, it may be said that Sikkil and Philistine material culture had a great deal in common, and we have no way of distinguishing between them." And the same appears to be true of Tel Zeror (Kochavi 1993: 1525), probably a front-line fortress of the Sikkil on the western fringe of the Sharon plain (Singer 1994: 297), as well as of the material culture of the Shardana at Akko and in the plain of Akko (Dothan and Dothan 1992: 211-213; Singer 1994: 297-298).

As for finds of western Anatolian character from the settlements of the Sea Peoples in Canaan, there is only some Trojan grey ware from Ekron, Lachish and Tell Abu Hawam and there is no evidence that it was being imported to Palestine after ca. 1200 BCE (Allen 1994:

44). As yet no examples of the characteristic wares from western Anatolia to the south of the Troad—(from where the Philistines came according to Mellaart and Singer) have been iden-

tified in the Levant. All foreign influences and peoples probably originated in the Mycenaeanized Aegean, and probably came via Cyprus to the Levant (Mazar 1985: 104-106).

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