

## THE CASE OF WILUŠA AND AHHIYAWA

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— In memoriam Oliver R. Gurney —

## 1. Problems and Methods

1.1 In the recent discussion on Troy<sup>1)</sup> the lands of Wiluša and Ahhiyawa, which are known from cuneiform texts of the “Empire” of Hatti, have been of outstanding relevance. The explanation of the name Wiluša as \**Wilios/Ilios* and the identification of this country with the Troad is considered a proof of the importance of Troy in the Late Bronze Age, and the interpretation of the name Ahhiyawa as Greek \**Akhai-wiya/Achaiia* and the localization of this country in mainland Greece is the central pillar of the notion that Mycenaean Greeks and their activities in Anatolia were mentioned in Hittite texts. Both theories date back to the twenties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century A.D. and are still adhered to by a great number of archaeologists, historians, linguists, and philologists, who have only a second-hand knowledge of Hittite texts, but also by several hittitologists. Some of them are even bold enough to state the identity of Wiluša with \**Wilios/Ilios* to be “definitive”<sup>2)</sup> and the identity of Ahhiyawa with a Mycenaean land of \**Akhaiwiya* to be “now widely if not universally accepted”<sup>3)</sup>, and its denial to be ridiculous<sup>4)</sup> (see also 5.7). And while in the earlier stages of the discussion the questions about Wiluša and Ahhiyawa had been regarded and treated as separate topics, they are nowadays usually combined in one case within the geography and the history of western Asia Minor in the time of the Hittites. Nevertheless the problems of each of these countries are different and still require separate examination.

1.2 As for Wiluša the problem is more or less the question whether the country is the Troad and the toponym a variant of the name of its capital, sc. *Ilios*, or not. There are many scholars who answer this question in the affirmative, and some of them even plead for the facts that are known about the land of Wiluša from the Hittites sources to be a historical background to the Greek legends of the Trojan War (see 5.6). But the interpretation of the name Wiluša as \**Wilios* is by no means suggesting itself. Even Emil O. Forrer, who first detected “Greeks” in Hittite texts, interpreted the name as Greek *Elaioûsa* “the rich one in olive trees” and located the country at the Anatolian south coast in Cilicia Aspera near the mouth of modern Gök Su, and that though he thought to have discovered the name of *Troia*, when he found in a list of countries the land of Taruiša or \**Truiša* next to the land of Wilušiya<sup>5)</sup>, which name is most probably a variant of Wiluša. Nowadays of course this connection of Wilušiya and

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<sup>1)</sup> Cf. e.g. “Troia” 2001; “Symposium” 2002; Easton, Hawkins, Sherratt, Sherratt 2002; Hertel, Kolb 2003; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004.<sup>2)</sup> Cf. Latacz 2001a: 100; id. 2002: 197; Starke 2001a: 34; also Hawkins 2002: 101 (“reaffirmed”).<sup>3)</sup> Morris 1997: 605; cf. Garstang, Gurney 1959: 81; Starke 1997: 448; Latacz 2001a: 146; id. 2001b: 28, 29; id. 2002: 196; Niemeier 2002: 295.<sup>4)</sup> Cf. Freu 1990: 57-58; also Hawkins 1998: 30 §V.9.1 and n. 198; Latacz 2001a: 152 and 354 n. 181.<sup>5)</sup> Cf. Forrer 1924: 4-5, 24/25 (map).

Taruša in one text is considered to corroborate mutually the identity of these countries with \**Wilios* and *Troia*<sup>6)</sup>. But the decisive argument in favour of the identification of Wiluša with *Ilios* or Troy, which was suggested first by Paul Kretschmer, was the coincidence that one of its rulers was named Alakšandu(=š). For this name reminded of the Greek name *Alexandros*, and moreover *Alexandros* was the second name of *Paris*, son of *Priamos*, king of Troy<sup>7)</sup>. And to round off the apparent evidence the name of one of the deities of Wiluša, which are listed in the treaty of Alakšandu with king Muwatalli II of Hatti, seems to be Appaliunaš, reminding of the Greek name *Apollon*<sup>8)</sup>. In spite of these coincidences, however, the solution of the problem lies neither in mythology nor in linguistics but in the localization of Wiluša according to geographical evidence.

1.3 The problems of Ahhiyawa are more complicated and more difficult. Contrary to the earlier discussion, the notorious “Ahhiyawa Question” (“Ahhiyawa-Frage”)<sup>9)</sup>, the equivalence of the names Ahhiyawa and \**Akhaiwiya* is no longer a relevant point at issue, because it is admitted even by its supporters that a stringent linguistic proof of the identity cannot be established<sup>10)</sup>. Thus an apparently general agreement is considered to be sufficient. Instead the argumentation has shifted to the localization of Ahhiyawa and to the attempt to show that “there remains no place for this country on the Anatolian mainland”<sup>11)</sup>, from which is concluded “that Ahhiyawa does represent the Mycenaean Greeks, whether on the Aegean islands or on the Greek mainland”<sup>12)</sup>. The latter location is preferred by the majority of the advocates of a “Greek” land of Ahhiyawa, though there is disagreement among them on the question which of the more important Mycenaean palace states could have been \**Akhaiwiya* (see 3.1). An additional argument is the meanwhile undisputed fact that a king of Ahhiyawa was addressed as “brother” and thus recognized as “great king” by a king of Hatti and in one reference even listed among the “equal kings” to the “Great King” of Hatti in a diplomatic formula, although immediately cancelled again, because it is presumed that two “great kingdoms” could not have coexisted in Asia Minor and therefore Ahhiyawa must have been oversea (see 4.1). The same conclusion has been drawn from the erroneous concept of Ahhiyawa having been an important “sea power”<sup>13)</sup>, and it was even wrongly stated that Ahhiyawa was accessible from the Anatolian mainland only by ship and thus was located “across the sea”<sup>14)</sup>. And last not least there is again the argument of personal names thought to be “Greek”.

1.4 For as the seemingly “Greek” name Alakšandu(=š) is bound up with Wiluša, likewise names of persons related with Ahhiyawa are understood as Greek. But while Alakšandu(=š)

has only one “Greek” equivalent, viz. *Alexandros*, there are several “Greek” candidates for each of the Ahhiyawan names, as far as they are still considered in the discussion<sup>15)</sup>. The first of these persons is Attar(iš)šiya(=š), the “man” of Ahhiya<sup>16)</sup>, provided that Ahhiya is identical with Ahhiyawa (see 3.2). He is thought above all to be *Atreus*, but other nominees are *Atreides*, *Atreion*, *Atreseias*, *Atrestos*, and *Atharsios*. Secondly, in a letter of a king of Hatti to a king of Ahhiyawaan important person of Ahhiyawa named Tawagalawa(=š) or Tawakalawa is referred to<sup>17)</sup>, after whom this letter is called “Tawagalawa letter”. The name Tawagalawa(=š) is understood as \**Etewoklewes* or *Eteokles* by the majority, but as there is no initial vowel also the Greek names *Deukaleus*, *Deukalion*, *Teukros*, and \**Thawaklewes* are suggested. Reconsidered is, thirdly, the name Akagamuna(=š) in a fragmentary letter whose addressee or author was a king of Ahhiyawa<sup>18)</sup>. This case is still worse, for not only two “Greek” equivalents, *Agamemnon* and \**Aga+kamon*, were suggested but also “emendations” into \**A{ka}gamuna(=š)* as equivalent of \**Hegemon*<sup>19)</sup> and even into \**Kadmu(=n)-aš* alias *Kadmos*<sup>20)</sup>. Needless to say that this method of interpreting names is reduced to absurdity by itself (cf. 5.4).

1.5 But *mutatis mutandis* the very same method of investigation is applied in general by the “equating geography”, i.e. the identification and localization of places and countries from Hittite texts by equating and identifying their names with toponyms from the classical Greek tradition. It is based more or less on the similarity of sounds or rather “letters”, as far as the orthography of cuneiform writing and of the Greek alphabet can be relied on to represent the phonetically exact form of a name. With regard to the identification of the name Wiluša with \**Wilios/Ilios* and of the name Ahhiyawa with \**Akhaiwiya* the application of this method is not very convincing, and even ardent supporters of their identity cannot but admit this deficiency of their theory. The same holds true for other identifications of toponyms related with the case of Wiluša and Ahhiyawa, e. g. Millawanda/Milawata and *Miletos*, *Apaša* and *Ephesos*, *Lazpa* and *Lesbos*, or *Parha* and *Perge*, to mention only the most relevant ones, but in the end for most of the equations of that kind within the scope of Ancient Anatolia. In fact the equivalence of toponyms can only be held with some confidence, if the identity of two places or countries is established by independent evidence, as e. g. for *Lukka* and *Lykiē* (cf. 1.7). And it is worth thinking about that of none of the archaeological sites whose name in the time of the Hittites is identified by written documents found on them a similar name is known from the classical Greek tradition.

1.6 Correlative with the “equating geography”, and in part depending on it, is the “distributing geography”, which is applied especially with regard to western Anatolia. It is based

<sup>6)</sup> Cf. Latacz 2001a: 120-126; Starke 2001a: 36.

<sup>7)</sup> Cf. Kretschmer 1924.

<sup>8)</sup> Al. §20 iv 27; cf. Korfmann 2001: 400-404. — The name of the deity is fragmentary (J-*ap-pa-li-u-na-aš*) and thus dubious.

<sup>9)</sup> Cf. Steiner 1964: 365-370 and n. 1-26 (references).

<sup>10)</sup> Cf. Steiner 1964: 384 and n. 200 (references).

<sup>11)</sup> Cf. Hawkins 1998: 2.

<sup>12)</sup> Cf. Hawkins 1998: 30 §V.9.1; also id. 2002: 99.

<sup>13)</sup> Cf. Steiner 1989: 393-394 and n. 3 (references).

<sup>14)</sup> Cf. e.g. Garstang, Gurney 1959: 81 (“Traffic to and from Ahhiyawa goes by sea”); Hawkins 1998: 2 (“lying ‘across the sea’”), 20 §V.9.2 (“being located across the sea”), §V.9.3 (“lying in or across the sea”); id. 2002: 100 (“lay ‘across’ the sea”); Niemeier 2002a: (“nur über See zu erreichen”).

<sup>15)</sup> References concerning the respective “Greek” names will be given in a study on the personal names in Hittite texts thought to be “Greek” (“Die vermeintlich ‘griechischen’ Personennamen in hethitischen Texten”) in preparation.

<sup>16)</sup> Madd. obv. 1, 60 (LÚ<sup>URU</sup> *a-ah-hi-ia-a*)

<sup>17)</sup> Taw. §1 i 3, §5 i 71, §8 ii 61.

<sup>18)</sup> KUB 26.91 obv. 8’, cf. 1’ [see Sommer 1932: 268-269].

<sup>19)</sup> Cf. Freu 1990: 11, 13.

<sup>20)</sup> Cf. Frank Starke in Siebler 2003; Brandau, Schickert, Jablonka 2002: 97; Latacz 2005: 283.

on the presumption that the kings of Hatti anyhow had contacts with all regions in Asia Minor, and that we actually do know all the names of those countries from Hittite sources. Accordingly the establishment of the geography of Ancient Anatolia seems to be the procedure just to distribute the known names of countries as “plausibly”<sup>21)</sup> as possible over the whole territory. Yet this method is not convincing either. Except for the fact that the results of the several attempts of applying the “distributing geography” are in part rather diverging<sup>22)</sup>, there are fundamental objections to its practicability. Firstly, it is by no means certain and even improbable that the kings of Hatti had contacts with all the regions in Asia Minor, especially in the western part, or had the names of all those “countries” recorded in their texts. Secondly, the texts transmitted to us in cuneiform as well as in hieroglyphic writing are not the whole literary tradition of Hatti, and therefore we possibly do not know even the names of all the countries the kings of Hatti had contacts with or knew about. Thirdly, we do not even approximately know the respective dimensions of the countries whose names we actually know. Thus when distributing the transmitted names of countries all over Anatolia, it must be taken into account that parts of the territory are to be left blank and that at least part of those countries were smaller in size than they are usually assumed to have been<sup>23)</sup>. As for western Anatolia in particular it is not justified by the evidence of written and archaeological sources nor by the geographical situation in general to enlarge the size of certain countries in this region to the extent of the whole of the territory being “filled”<sup>24)</sup>.

1.7 In fact neither the “equating geography” nor the “distributing geography” nor both methods combined have led to satisfying results for western Anatolia and for Asia Minor altogether. The only promising method is to start from a “fixed point” and to add to it other geographical units, either “cities” or “countries”, that can be proved to have been adjacent or at least near to it. This “grouping geography” must not be mistaken for the procedure of “filling the map” by a progressive lining up of countries<sup>25)</sup>, but is meant only to delimit a “group” of countries without defining exactly their dimensions and borders. In ideal circumstances a “fixed point” is an archaeological site whose ancient name is documented by texts found on the spot. There are up to now only few of such “ideal fixed points” in the interior of Anatolia, but in its western part unfortunately there is none<sup>26)</sup>. But anyhow a “second-rate fixed point” in south-western Anatolia

is the land of Lukka that can be localized in the wider area of later Lycia not only according to a kind of *communis opinio*, but also by reliable evidence. It was situated south(–west) of the land of Hatti proper<sup>27)</sup>, and bordering on a coast that was near enough to Alašiya/Cyprus and to Egyptian territories to make raids on them<sup>28)</sup>, but also within the cruising range of the navy of Hatti<sup>29)</sup>. All this points to the south coast and the region west of Kizzuwatna/Cilicia, that is to say approximately to Lycia and its environs. A corroborant argument is the equivalence of the names Lukka and \**Lukiē*, i. e. Lycia, because it can be held without any linguistic or philological tricks<sup>30)</sup>. The land of Lukka proves to be the “nucleus” of a “group” of countries that comprised the lands of Maša and Karkiša/Karkiya, but — as can be shown — also the lands of Wiluša and Ahhiyawa.

## 2. The Location of Wiluša

2.1 The identification of the land of Wiluša with the Troad or rather of its capital with the site of *Ilios*/Troy is based on the similarity of sounds (see 1.2) according to the “equating” method (cf. 1.5) and according to the “distributing” method (cf. 1.6) on the arrangement of countries in western Anatolia in an allegedly “plausible” way, with the predictable result that Wiluša is “inexplorably pushed into the north-west”<sup>31)</sup>. It is pretended of course that both kinds of evidence are entirely independent and their coincidence is unintentional<sup>32)</sup>. But on closer examination it is evident that by the method of “progression” through the countries of western Anatolia, whose size is estimated on a large scale, the intention is for the result that no other area is left for Wiluša but the extreme north-west and thus its identification with the Troad is inevitable<sup>33)</sup>. This conclusion has met with great approval among the supporters of the identification, and even the late Manfred Korfmann, the excavator of the site of Troy, did not hesitate to take it for granted and to refer to “Troia/Wiluša” in his reports since the year 2001<sup>34)</sup>. At e.g. the “Tübingen Symposium” in 2002 some of the participants and followers of Korfmann’s, e.g. Frank Starke and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, actually talked no longer of “Ilios” or “Troia” but only of “Wiluša”.

2.2 Notwithstanding that now as before the crucial evidence for the localization of Wiluša is a passage in a treaty of king Muwatalli II of Hatti with Alakšandu of Wiluša which regulates the obligations of the latter to come with foot and chariot as auxiliaries, whenever the king himself or one of his generals was going to war

“from those countries — either Karkiša, Maša, Lukka, or Waršiyalla”<sup>35)</sup>.

<sup>21)</sup> Cf. Hawkins 2002: 101.

<sup>22)</sup> Cf. e.g. Starke 1997: 449 Abb. 1 (map); id. 2002: 302-307 (maps); with Hawkins 1998: 31 fig. 11 (map); id. 2002: 95 fig. 11 (map).

<sup>23)</sup> Cf. also Forrer 1924: 7 (“eine Menge kleiner und kleinster Staaten”); id. 1926: 3, 77 (“die Ländchen”); Latacz 2001a: 125 (“Der hethitische Begriff ‘Land’ ist nicht mit unserem Begriff ‘Land’ identisch, sondern bezeichnet politische Flächeneinheiten, die sowohl größer als auch kleiner sein können”), 350 n. 140; Starke 2001b (“Solche Länder hat man sich als recht klein vorzustellen, unter Umständen nicht mehr als ein Tal”). — Oddly enough neither Latacz nor Starke draw the conclusions from this insight with regard to their own notions of the geography of western Anatolia.

<sup>24)</sup> Cf. Hawkins 1998: 30 §V.9.3; Latacz 2001a: 108.

<sup>25)</sup> Cf. Starke 1997: 454; Latacz 2001a: 108.

<sup>26)</sup> Hieroglyphic inscriptions, as e.g. at Karabel pass, which name a prince, his country, and eventually his genealogy, cannot be used as “fixed points” for the localization or delimitation of countries [as suggested by e.g. Starke 1997: 452; id. 2001a: 38; Hawkins 1998: 2, 23-24 §§V.3.2-4; id. 2002: 97, 98; Latacz 2001a: 349 n. 124; id. 2002: 197], as they are hardly boundary marks but rather marks of presence (“Kilroy was here”).

<sup>27)</sup> The sequence of the lands of Hurri, Arzawa, Maša, Lukka, and Gašga in a Hittite ritual text [KBo 11.40 vi 11’-24’ / KUB 2.1 vi 4-9] is not meant as clockwise [cf. Otten 1961: 112-113], but as crosswise according to the opposite cardinal points, sc. east (Hurri) — west (Arzawa), south (Maša, Lukka) — north (Gašga).

<sup>28)</sup> Cf. EA 38, 9-16 [see Steiner 1993: 131-132 §4.1 text (7) and n. 78-84].

<sup>29)</sup> Cf. RS 20.238, 19-24 [see Steiner 1989: 407 §4.3 text (11) and n. 75; id. 1993: 133 §4.3 text (9) and n. 89-91].

<sup>30)</sup> Cf. Steiner 1993: 124 §1.2, 125 §1.5 and n. 28.

<sup>31)</sup> Cf. Hawkins 1998: 23 §V.3.3, and 2, 29 §V.8.9.

<sup>32)</sup> Cf. Starke 2003: 514.

<sup>33)</sup> Cf. Starke 1997: 451, 455; Hawkins 2002: 95 fig. 11, 99, 100.

<sup>34)</sup> Cf. *Studia Troica* 11 (2001) 1; etc.

<sup>35)</sup> Al. §14 iii 4-9.



Disregarding Waršiyalla, which is mentioned only here, the lands of Karkiša and Maša must have been in the vicinity of Lukka, as they are mentioned together with Lukka also in other references<sup>36</sup>). The assertion that “their repeated grouping is based on factors other than geographical proximity”<sup>37</sup>, is made without giving any explanation of these “factors”, and there is obviously no other reason for the separation of Maša and Karkiša from Lukka but the purpose of localizing Wiluša in the north-west<sup>38</sup>). Hence Alakšandu had to go to war by and large in the direction of Lukka, whenever one of these countries was the objective of the king of Hatti.

2.3 The obligation of going to war together with the king of Hatti is also included in treaties with vassals in Syria. Tette of Nuhašše, e.g., was to follow his overlord with foot and chariot into

“all the enemy countries that are adjacent to the border of your country, which are hostile to the king of Hatti, or all the countries that are adjacent to the border of your country, which are (now) in peace with the king of Hatti, ... but turning away become hostile to the king of Hatti”,

all of them being listed in detail by their names<sup>39</sup>). As the countries that were the objectives of eventual wars, strictly speaking “raids” (*habātu*), of the king of Hatti are explicitly specified as “adjacent” (*qerbū*) to the vassal country, the same must have held true for Karkiša, Maša, Lukka, and Waršiyalla as objectives of the raids in western Anatolia. Consequently they must have been somehow neighbouring countries to the land of Wiluša.

2.4 By the Alakšandu treaty Wiluša is also ranked among the so-called “Arzawa lands”, the other ones being Mira, Šeha(-River-Land), and Hapalla<sup>40</sup>). They are another “group” of countries in western Anatolia which was bordering somewhere upon the west coast. All of the kings of these “Arzawa lands” were vassals to the king of Hatti at that time and bound with him by separate treaties. Among other obligations they were liable to keep peace with one another and to support one another in case of emergency. Though these treaties are as a whole of the same tenor, the treaty with Alakšandu of Wiluša is exceptional in that it is the only one including the obligation of going to war with the king of Hatti against other countries in Anatolia. This special regulation is apparently to mean that Muwatalli II made his raids in that region only from Wiluša and in one direction, that is to say against Karkiša, Maša, Lukka, and Waršiyalla. As the land of Lukka, which is the “nucleus” of this “group” of countries, bordered upon the south coast (see 1.7), the land of Wiluša must have been north of this “group”, but must have been also the southernmost of the “Arzawa lands”. Thus being enclosed by the “Arzawa group” and the “Lukka group”, Wiluša was obviously situated somewhere in south-western Anatolia.

2.5 The last problem of the location of Wiluša is the alleged connection with the “sea”. It is inferred from a Luwian line quoted in a Hittite ritual text, sc.

*ah-ha-ta-ta a-la-ti a-ú-i-en-ta ú-i-lu-ša-ti*

which is understood as

“When from the sea they came, from Wiluša”

by Frank Starke and interpreted as the initial verse of a song on thunderstorms<sup>41</sup>). But the supposed toponym “Wiluša” is here but a phantom. Firstly, there is no determinative sign /KUR/ “LAND” or /URU/ “CITY”, and secondly, the sentence as a whole in analogy to the other Luwian passages in this text must be a complete “spell”. Therefore the word *ú-i-lu-ša-ti* cannot be other than a finite verbal form, sc. the 3rd person singular of the present-future of a Luwian verb \**wiluša-*, whose meaning is not known<sup>42</sup>), and the “spell” can rather be understood as

“When from the sea (or: lake) they have come, he/she (sc. the deity Šuwašuna, to whom the offer is made) will *wiluša-*.”

The connection with the “sea” thus being excluded, the geographical evidence points to Wiluša having been a country in the interior of south-western Anatolia, south of the “Arzawa lands” of Mira and Šeha, in the direction of the land of Hatti proper, from where the king of Hatti came for his raids, and north or north-east of the lands of Karkiša, Maša, and Lukka, which were the objectives of these raids (see fig. 1).

### 3. The Location of Ahhiyawa

3.1 While Wiluša has to be defended only against being “pushed” into the north-west of Anatolia (see 2.1), the situation of Ahhiyawa is more serious, as it is “pushed” even outside Anatolia at all by an overwhelming number of scholars. Their arguments are divergent in detail, but their joint result is the notion that “there remains no place for this country on the Anatolian mainland”<sup>43</sup>). With regard to the enticing similarity of the names Ahhiyawa and \**Akhaiwiya* (see 1.3), the pleading is for one of the Mycenaean palace states on the Greek mainland. In former years mostly the Argolid with Mycenae as its capital, where *Atreus* alias Attariššiyaš or *Agamemnon* alias Akagamunaš had been rulers, was favoured for the location of Ahhiyawa<sup>44</sup>). Recently the propensity is rather for Boeotia, and the capital is supposed to have been Thebes<sup>45</sup>), though also Orchomenos had been taken into consideration<sup>46</sup>), and it is actually a remarkable coincidence that each of these cities had a ruler named *Eteokles* alias Tawagalawaš at one time or the other. But irony apart, except for the linguistic problems (cf. 1.3) a weighty argument against the equating of the names Ahhiyawa and \**Akhaiwiya* is the fact that the ethnic name \**Akhaiwoi/Achaioi* is documented first in the Iliad, that is to say only more than half a millennium after the last mention of the name Ahhiyawa in Hittite

<sup>36</sup>) Cf. Hawkins 1998: 29 §V.8.3 and n. 181-182.

<sup>37</sup>) Cf. Hawkins 1998: 29 §V.8.3. — Obviously Hawkins is well aware of the importance of this “grouping” for the localization of Wiluša.

<sup>38</sup>) Cf. e.g. Starke 1997: 449 Abb. 1 (map); id. 2001a: 34 fig. 41 (map); id. 2002: 36-37 (map).

<sup>39</sup>) Treaty with Tette of Nuhašše [PD 60-63: ii 7-25]; cf. also the treaties with Aziru [PD 70-73: obv. 5-18] and Pentešina of Amurru [PD 132-133: rev. i'-ii'].

<sup>40</sup>) Cf. Al. §17 iii 31-33.

<sup>41</sup>) Cf. Starke 1997: 473 n. 78; also Laroche 1959: 164.

<sup>42</sup>) Cf. the Luwian finite verbal forms *ha-aš-pa-ti*, *pa-ši-ha-ti*, *pu-u-wa-ti*, *ša-pi-ia-ti* [see Laroche 1959: 44, 80, 83, 85 s.vv.].

<sup>43</sup>) Cf. Hawkins 1998: 2, 30 §V.9.3; also Niemeier 2002b: 295.

<sup>44</sup>) Cf. Forrer 1924: 21; and e.g. Garstang, Gurney 1959: 81; Bryce 1998: 62; id. 2003: 201; Freu 1990: 21.

<sup>45</sup>) Cf. Latacz 2001a: 157-158, 285-294; Niemeier 2002a; id. 2002b: 295; Siebler 2003.

<sup>46</sup>) Cf. Forrer 1924: 14-15; and e.g. Bryce 1998: 62.

texts, and the toponym \**Akhaiwiya/Achaiia* still later. As for the “distributing” method, however, the decisive argument against a location “across the sea” (see 1.3) is the evident possibility of traffic by land between Ahhiyawa and other countries in Anatolia, and that even by chariot.

3.2 On the one hand, Attariššiya(=š), the “man” of Ahhiya, went to war against one Madduwatta(=š), a vassal of the king of Hatti, with 100 chariots and about thousand men. He gave battle to a general of Hatti, who had come to Madduwatta’s assistance, and when he was defeated by him he went back again into his own country<sup>47</sup>). It is hardly conceivable that any Mycenaean king on the Greek mainland sailed across the Aegean Sea with a considerable army just to fight the petty prince of the unimportant mountainous land of Zippašla (KUR HUR.SAG *zippasla*), which is even not otherwise recorded in the Hittite texts. Hence the whole affair must have been internal Anatolian<sup>48</sup>). However, it must be admitted that this proof for the location in Anatolia is only for the land or city of Ahhiya (<sup>URU</sup>*a-ah-hi-ia-a*), because its identity with Ahhiyawa, though highly probable, might be contested.

3.3 On the other hand, there is the controversial mission of the charioteer Dabala.Tarhunda to the king of Ahhiyawa. It is referred to in the notorious “Tawagalawa letter”, by which the author, most probably Hattušili III, tried to settle the matter of the troublesome Piyamaradu. The relevant passage reads as follows:

“Now behold, I have sent Dabala.Tarhunda the charioteer. Dabala.Tarhunda is not an inferior man. As charioteer from youth he is wont to mount the chariot with me. Also with your brother, even with Tawagalawa<sup>49</sup>), he used to mount [the chariot]. Now [I have granted] safe-conduct to Piyamaradu. ... Beyond the guaranty of safe-conduct I suggested this: ‘Come here ..., and if your mind is pleased, be it so! But if your mind is not pleased, as you have come, one of my men in the same way will take you back to the land of Ahhiyawa.’ But if not, this charioteer shall sit in his place for him, until he comes (here and) until he will come back thither. This same charioteer who, because he has (a wife) from the Queen’s family, — in the land of Hatti the family of the Queen is important — and he is to me just not (quite) related by marriage, and for him that one shall sit in his place until he comes (here and) until he will come back. And, my brother, treat him preferentially. And [one of] your [men] shall bring him here.”<sup>50</sup>)

An unbiased mind cannot but conclude from this passage that the charioteer Dabala.Tarhunda was to go by his chariot from the place where the king of Hatti was staying, apparently somewhere in western Anatolia, to the land of Ahhiyawa in order to take Piyamaradu to his king in his chariot<sup>51</sup>). However, no supporter of an oversea Ahhiyawa would approve of this conclusion. On the contrary, this passage has been either misinterpreted (see 3.7) or neglected at all, and only recently its relevance for the location of Ahhiyawa was sentenced by J. David Hawkins to be “without substance”

with the verdict that this argument “should be removed from the discussion forthwith”<sup>52</sup>). The reason of the neglect as well as of the verdict is obvious, for otherwise this argument would thwart most of the theories on the geography of western Anatolia and moreover the role of Ahhiyawa as a Mycenaean country in Greece.

3.4 The sole argument to the contrary is the fact that there is no reference to the use of a chariot in contrast to another diplomatic mission mentioned in the “Tawagalawa letter”, whose point of destination was Millawanda<sup>53</sup>). Here the person charged with taking Piyamaradu to the king of Hatti is the *TARTENU*, who had been instructed as follows:

“Go, (drive over, take him by the hand,) have him seated in the chariot with (you), and bring him (towards me).”<sup>54</sup>)

The situation is, however, different not only with regard to the destination of the mission but also to the person concerned with it. For the *TARTENU* was a high-ranking person, possibly the crown prince, who of course did not “drive” his own chariot, but had a charioteer of his own. So Piyamaradu was to be invited to mount the chariot together with the *TARTENU* and his charioteer. In fact the chariots in Hatti could hold three persons, and in battle the crew of a chariot consisted of the charioteer, the combatant proper, and a shield bearer<sup>55</sup>). Dabala.Tarhunda, on the other hand, was himself the charioteer and thus his main task on his mission to Ahhiyawa was to drive the chariot. As he was not a person of the same rank as the *TARTENU*, who had been sent before, in deference of Piyamaradu’s sensitivity he is recommended to be not an inferior man but the charioteer of the king himself and very experienced in his field. Except for that it is strange that the opponents of an Anatolian land of Ahhiyawa, while doubting or denying that it is self-evident for a charioteer to go on his mission by his chariot, unless it is mentioned explicitly, never have found fault with the fact that no other means of transport is mentioned either, sc. a ship, which Dabala.Tarhunda would have needed instead. Besides a ship would have been not at all self-evident, as it is actually mentioned in a passage of the “Annals” of Muršili II:

“[And I, ‘My Sun’,] sent [a man] by ship.”<sup>56</sup>)

And it is also mentioned with regard to the flight of Piyamaradu from the king of Hatti:

“And Piyamaradu had [es]caped by ship.”<sup>57</sup>)

3.5 But it is even stranger that none of the advocates of an oversea land of Ahhiyawa seems to have ever imagined the details of such a sea voyage of Dabala.Tarhunda<sup>58</sup>). At any rate he would have had first to get to a sea port at the west coast, and that by his chariot. As the kings of Hatti had no fleet in the Aegean Sea<sup>59</sup>) and there was hardly a regular ferry

<sup>47</sup>) Cf. Madd. §12 obv. 60-65.

<sup>48</sup>) Cf. also Hrozný 1929: 332; Franz Joseph Tritsch in Košak 1980: 40-41; Bryce 1998: 140 (“probably of Anatolian origin”); Mountjoy 1998: 47.

<sup>49</sup>) It cannot be settled definitively whether Tawag/kalawa(=š) was the brother of the king of Ahhiyawa [cf. e.g. Güterbock 1990] or not.

<sup>50</sup>) Taw. §8 ii 58 — iii 2.

<sup>51</sup>) Cf. Steiner 1964: 371-372 and n. 45-46; id. 1998: 170 §4.1.

<sup>52</sup>) Cf. Hawkins 2002: 100.

<sup>53</sup>) Cf. Hawkins 2002: 100.

<sup>54</sup>) Cf. Taw. §1 i 8-10, §5 i 76-79.

<sup>55</sup>) Cf. Goetze 1957: 124 and Tf. 1/3.

<sup>56</sup>) AM 66-67: §25\* KBo 3.4 iii 4.

<sup>57</sup>) Taw. §5 i 61-62.

<sup>58</sup>) But cf. Mountjoy 1998: 50 (“It must be borne in mind that, if a Mainland palatial centre was Ahhiyawa, it is geographically remote from Anatolia for people escaping to it and for fast communication”).

<sup>59</sup>) That is why e.g. Muršili II was not able to pursue Uhha.ziti of Arzawa when he fled “across the sea” (*aruni parranda*) [see AM 50-51: §17\* KBo 3.4 ii 31-32].

service between Asia Minor and Greece at that time, he would have had next to provide himself with a ship. In doing so, he would have had to look for a captain who not only was willing to take him over to Greece, but also had a crew he could trust, which was essential for his own security as well as Piyamaradu's at his return. Most probably he would not have been able to take his chariot and horses with him aboard, but would have had to put them in a secure place. This being done, he would have sailed either onto Nauplion, if the supposed capital of a Greek Ahhiyawa was Mycenae, or to Aulis, if this capital was Thebes, or even to Larymna, if the capital was Orchomenos. As his arrival could not have been announced to the king of Ahhiyawa in advance, he would not have been called for at the sea port, and thus had to care for himself about means to continue his route, for which he would have been in need of an interpreter. After his negotiations with the king of Ahhiyawa and with Piyamaradu he would have had to return in the reverse order. Even provided that he was taken to the sea port by an escort of the king of Ahhiyawa, that the captain of his ship had waited for him, that he had a good passage across the Aegean Sea, and that he got back his chariot and horses when he arrived at the Anatolian sea port, several weeks would have passed before he could have returned to his king. The situation would have been still more complicated and the mission would have needed still more time, if Piyamaradu would have insisted on Dabala.Tarhunda's staying in Ahhiyawa as a hostage until his return (see 3.3 and 3.7). It is hardly conceivable that Hattušili III would have done without his charioteer and chariot for so long a time foreseeable, while he was in the field and intent on settling a difficult affair. Instead the mission of Dabala.Tarhunda was finished in any way within a few days at the most, if the residence of the king of Ahhiyawa was in western Anatolia, where he had also no problems with the language (see 5.3).

3.6 It is, however, not necessary to make up a detailed story of an eventual travel to Greece in order to demonstrate the improbability of an oversea mission of Dabala.Tarhunda. For there is quite an analogous passage in a letter of a king of Hatti to the governor of Ugarit which reads as follows:

"Herewith I have sent to you Nisah(?)ili, a charioteer of mine, and as for you, send to me Lunadušu whom men of the land of Šikala had captured. I will ask him about the matters of the land of Šikala, and afterwards he may return (and) may go to the land of Ugarit."<sup>60</sup>

Though a chariot is not mentioned either, it is indisputable that the charioteer Nisah(?)ili was to take the said Lunadušu by chariot from Ugarit to Hattuša and probably also back again, because it was self-evident that Ugarit could be reached from Hatti by land, and that a charioteer was to go on his mission by his chariot. Certainly nobody would have ever doubted that also Dabala.Tarhunda was sent by chariot in order to take Piyamaradu to the king of Hatti, if the destination of his mission had been e.g. Ugarit and not Ahhiyawa of all countries, and that only because it is thought to have been a Mycenaean land of \**Akhaiwiya* on the Greek mainland.

3.7 Two other arguments in relation to Dabala.Tarhunda's mission can only be understood as a diversion or as plain

ignorance of the real text. It is argued that by the late "Empire" of Hatti charioteers served as confidential agents<sup>61</sup>) and the function of Dabala.Tarhunda is seen in the role of a hostage in the place of Piyamaradu<sup>62</sup>). Both aspects are surely correct, but are only half the truth. Of course the king of Hatti sent for so delicate a mission a person that was in his confidence, whereas the role as a hostage is unmistakably assigned only for the eventuality that Piyamaradu, who was rather suspicious, and probably also had reason to be, would make trouble with accepting the invitation of Hattušili III to come to him (see 3.3). Besides a confidential agent as well as a hostage had to get to his destination anyhow, and if he was a charioteer it is suggesting itself that he was to go by chariot.

3.8 Whatever their mission was, the charioteers were most probably also the bearers of the letters they were mentioned in and by which the reason of their coming was explained. As they were specialists in their own field, they were surely not trained also as scribes and therefore not able to read the letters to the addressees themselves. The addressees, who were in a governing position, were as a rule not able to read the letters either, but needed a scribe to have them read to them. It is beyond doubt that the governor of Ugarit had a secretary who could read and write in Babylonian, and possibly also in Hittite. But also the king of Ahhiyawa must have had a kind of chancellery with at least one person that was able to read and also to write letters in Hittite. Such a chancellery would fit in the situation of the court of an Anatolian land of Ahhiyawa, even though it is not proved until now by archaeological evidence. It is, however, hardly conceivable that a scribe at the court of a Mycenaean palace state in Greece, who was used to the rather rudimentary and defective system of Linear B writing, was able to read and write texts in Hittite and in cuneiform writing. Except for that, actually no remains of cuneiform tablets have been found so far at the relevant archaeological sites of Mycenae, Thebes, Orchomenos, and Pylos, though they have been excavated and explored extensively, nor elsewhere in Greece.

3.9 To sum it up, the evidence is clearly in favour of the location of the land of Ahhiyawa on the Anatolian mainland from different points of view, the most significant argument being the possibility of traffic to and from Ahhiyawa by land. Apart from the attack of Attarišiya on Madduwatta (see 3.2) and the mission of Dabala.Tarhunda (see 3.3-7), there is also a complaint of the king of Hatti to the king of Ahhiyawa that 7000 "civilians" had crossed the border to Ahhiyawa<sup>63</sup>), certainly by land not by ship. Moreover there are also clues to the approximate location of Ahhiyawa within Anatolia. Tawagalawa, a high-ranking person of Ahhiyawa, was able to go to the Land of Lukka<sup>64</sup>) and Piyamaradu had the intention to go over from Ahhiyawa to Maša or Karkiša/Karkiya<sup>65</sup>). Therefore also Ahhiyawa must have been situated near the lands of Lukka, Maša, and Karkiša/Karkiya, but in another direction than Wiluša, from where the king of Hatti used to go to war against them (see 2.2), that is to say west or southwest of

<sup>61</sup>) Cf. Hawkins 2002: 100.

<sup>62</sup>) Cf. Freu 1990: 33; Mountjoy 1998: 48; Starke 2001a: 42.

<sup>63</sup>) Cf. Taw. §9 iii 9-17.

<sup>64</sup>) Cf. Taw. §1 i 3-5.

<sup>65</sup>) Cf. Taw. §11 iii 52-61.

<sup>60</sup>) RS 34.129, 15-29 [see Dietrich, Loretz 1978: 54-55].



them. In fact there are indications that Ahhiyawa, though not being “oversea”, was within reach of the sea. Attariššiya, the “man” of Ahhiya (cf. 1.4), made also raids on Alašiya/Cyprus<sup>66</sup>), which required ships and a sea port nearby enough as a starting point, and Muršili II apparently sent a messenger from Arzawa to Ahhiyawa by ship (see 3.4). Other references to the connection of Ahhiyawa with the sea are but vague<sup>67</sup>) and dubious<sup>68</sup>) or even erroneous<sup>69</sup>). Yet the evidence is sufficient to show that Ahhiyawa bordered on a coast. Considering all this, the location of Ahhiyawa must have been on a coast of Asia Minor west of Lukka and south of Arzawa. This points to the region of later Caria and its environs<sup>70</sup>) (see fig. 1). It must, however, be left undecided whether also off-shore islands were parts of the state of Ahhiyawa. At any rate the royal residence must have been on the mainland.

#### 4. Ahhiyawa as a “Great Kingdom”

4.1 Nevertheless there is still the problem of the king of Ahhiyawa having been addressed as “brother”<sup>71</sup>) and recognized as “great king, my equal”<sup>72</sup>) in the “Tawagalawa letter” by a king of Hatti. For it is argued that “no plausible geographical space can be proposed on the Anatolian mainland for a ‘great kingdom’ of Ahhiyawa”<sup>73</sup>), and therefore Ahhiyawa must have been outside of Anatolia (cf. 1.3). But this argument is not conclusive either, because there were in fact other “great kings” contemporaneous with the “great kings” of Hatti in Anatolia, though at different times. It is asserted, even by a supporter of an “oversea” Ahhiyawa, that time and again the land of Mira in western Anatolia was a “great power” and its king had the rank of a “great king”<sup>74</sup>), no matter whether that theory is substantiated or not. But anyhow e.g. Išputahšu, king of Kizzuwatna/Cilicia, in the earlier 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C.<sup>75</sup>) and Kurunta, king of Tarhundašša, in the last phase of the “Empire” of Hatti<sup>76</sup>) actually laid claim to the title of “great king”. Moreover the recognition of the king of Ahhiyawa as “great king” was limited in extent as well as in time. Firstly, there is no indication whatsoever that the king of Ahhiyawa was recognized as an “equal” by the kings of the other “great powers” of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C., viz. Egypt, Babylonia, Mitanni or Hanikalbat, and Assyria, or even taken notice of<sup>77</sup>). Secondly, he was not even recognized as such by all of the kings of Hatti. Muwatalli II does

not list the king of Ahhiyawa among his “equals”, viz. the kings of Mizri (Egypt), Šanbara (Babylonia), Hanikalbat, and Aššur in his treaty with Alakšandu of Wiluša<sup>78</sup>). And Tuthaliya IV in the draft of his treaty with Šauškamuwa of Amurru had him cancelled from a formula that comprised the “equal kings” of Mizri (Egypt), Karduniaš (Babylonia), Aššur, and Ahhiyawa<sup>79</sup>), which can only mean that he did not recognize him any longer as an “equal king”<sup>80</sup>). Thus the “great kingdom” of Ahhiyawa is restricted to the reigns of Muršili III/Urhi.Tešup and Hattušili III.

4.2 As for Muršili III/Urhi.Tešup there is no indication that he recognized the king of a country in western Anatolia as an “equal” and probably he would have had hardly the time to consider the matter. All the more this holds true for Hattušili III whose own claim to the rank and title of “great king” was not beyond doubt<sup>81</sup>), as he was a usurper who had deposed his nephew Muršili III/Urhi.Tešup, perhaps also with the help of the king of Ahhiyawa<sup>82</sup>). At any rate he was a shrewd politician who had succeeded in bringing most of the “lords” of Hatti to his side and thus could manage his revolt without much bloodshed. Likewise he was a clever diplomat, as is shown e.g. by his negotiated peace with Egypt. Of all the kings of the “Empire” of Hatti he can be imagined foremost to have been capable of flattering the king of Ahhiyawa by formally promoting him in rank in order to get his support with his troubles in western Anatolia<sup>83</sup>), though the unusually combined address as “great king, my equal” in the “Tawagalawa letter” (see 4.1) is so much overdone as to be almost ironic.

4.3 The main topic of the “Tawagalawa letter” is the affair of Piyamaradu, who had got the support of the king of Ahhiyawa. Hattušili III complains about the troubles Piyamaradu had made for him and proposes several ways of getting rid of them. One of the measures he took is the mission of the charioteer Dabala.Tarhunda to Ahhiyawa, which was discussed in detail above (see 3.3-7). But there seems to be also a reference to a former disagreement with the king of Ahhiyawa on behalf of Wiluša<sup>84</sup>). As problems concerning Wiluša are also referred to in a fragmentary letter of a king of Hatti to Mašhuitta, apparently “[great] king” of a country in western Anatolia<sup>85</sup>), it is highly probable that the author of this letter is also Hattuili III and the addressee again the king of Ahhiyawa<sup>86</sup>), who is probably also identical with the addressee of the “Tawagalawa letter”. Assuming this, it would not only provide us with the name of the king of Ahhiyawa contemporaneous with Hattušili III, but also show the ruling family of Ahhiyawa to have been of Luwian origin (cf. 5.3).

4.4 While the “Tawagalawa letter” and probably also the “Mašhuitta letter” are the documents of the promotion of the

<sup>66</sup>) Cf. Madd. §36 rev. 86.

<sup>67</sup>) Cf. KBo 18.135 obv. 9' with rev. 8'.

<sup>68</sup>) For Piyamaradu's escape by ship (see 3.4), allegedly to Ahhiyawa, cf. Latacz 2001c: 55; Heinhold-Krahmer 2003: 203.

<sup>69</sup>) For the alleged “ship(s) of Ahhiyawa” [Šauškamuwa treaty iv 23-24, see Kühne, Otten 1971: 16-17] cf. Steiner 1989: 400-402 § 3.4 and n. 40-48.

<sup>70</sup>) Cf. also Laroche 1966: 272/273 (map); Forlanini, Marazzi 1986: tables XV, XIX, XX (including off-shore islands and favouring “la soluzione ‘achea’ in senso lato”); Mountjoy 1998: 49 fig. 7 (and 8), 50, 51.

<sup>71</sup>) Cf. Taw. §2 i 27, §4 i 52, and *passim*.

<sup>72</sup>) Taw. §6 ii 13-14, §10 iii 44, §15 iv 55-56 (LUGAL GAL *am-me-el an-na-ú-li-iš* / *an-na-wa-li-iš*).

<sup>73</sup>) Hawkins 2002: 100.

<sup>74</sup>) Cf. Starke 2001a: 36-38 and fig. 42; also Hawkins 1998: 21 §IV.4.4.

<sup>75</sup>) Cf. Klengel 1976-80.

<sup>76</sup>) Cf. Hawkins 1998: 20 §IV.4.3 (“... a peaceful coexistence of two Great Kings in Hattusa and Tarhunta respectively” [Singer]) and n. 103-106 (references); Starke 2001a: 44.

<sup>77</sup>) Cf. Steiner 1964: 374; id. 1998: 170.

<sup>78</sup>) Cf. Al. §14 iii 10-12.

<sup>79</sup>) Cf. Šauškamuwa treaty iv 1-3 [see Kühne, Otten 1971: 14-15]. — The draft of the treaty is in Hittite, whereas the final version must have been in Babylonian.

<sup>80</sup>) Cf. Steiner 1989: 409-410 §5.2.

<sup>81</sup>) Cf. Steiner 1998: 168 §3.5 and n. 128/130, 174-175 §4.5, 179 §5.4.

<sup>82</sup>) Cf. KUB 16.22 obv. 1-4 [see Güterbock 1936: 322-323 (326)].

<sup>83</sup>) For a modern parallel cf. Napoléon Bonaparte, likewise a “self-made” emperor, who promoted in rank his allies among the German sovereigns, the members of the “Rheinbund”.

<sup>84</sup>) Cf. Taw. §12 iv 7-10.

king of Ahhiyawa to the rank of “great king”, his degradation is documented not only by his being cancelled from the list of the “equal kings” to the king of Hatti in the draft of the Šauškamuwa treaty of Tuthaliya IV (see 4.1), but possibly also by the so-called “Milawata letter”, whose author is presumably Tuthaliya IV, too. For there are indications that the addressee of this letter was the king of Ahhiyawa, of course no longer Mašhuitta or the addressee of the “Tawagalawa letter”, but his son or grandson. He was not an “equal” to the king of Hatti, because he is addressed by the author as “my son”<sup>87</sup>, but as he was also “treated as a brother” by him<sup>88</sup>, his country must have been independent from Hatti. One of the topics of this letter is the land of Milawata/Millawanda<sup>89</sup>, which is otherwise only mentioned in connection with Ahhiyawa<sup>90</sup>, and another topic is again Wiluša. One Walmu, who had been deposed as king of Wiluša, had sought refuge with the addressee of the letter and was to be delivered to the author, the king of Hatti, in order to be reinstalled by him<sup>91</sup>. Still more remarkable is the fact that Walmu had been before his deposition and was to be again after his reinstallation “neutral” (*kulawanniš*)<sup>92</sup> with regard to both the king of Hatti, whose vassal he was, and to the addressee<sup>93</sup>, who must have been of some importance.

4.5 As a whole the evidence points to the fact that the “great kingdom” of Ahhiyawa was a product of the diplomacy of Hattušili III. Tuthaliya IV, his son and successor, thought it no longer necessary to continue this diplomatic pretence, and had the king of Ahhiyawa cancelled from the list of “equal kings”. If the addressee of the “Milawata letter” was actually the king of Ahhiyawa he was regarded as non-equal by Tuthaliya IV, but treated politely and as an independent ruler. This agrees well with the rank and status of Ahhiyawa that can be inferred from other Hittite sources. It was a country not excessively large in size but nevertheless important enough to play a role of its own in the vicissitudes and conflicts of western Anatolia. As it was situated “sideways” or “round the corner” (*tapuša*)<sup>94</sup> from the direction of the land of Hatti proper it was in a “dead angle” that protected it from direct contacts with the kings of Hatti and their armies. That is probably why it was able to remain independent throughout the time of the Hittite “Empire”.

## 5. Reality and Dream

5.1 The result of an unbiased interpretation of the Hittite sources cannot be other than the localization of Wiluša and Ahhiyawa in south-western Asia Minor. Taking into account that the recorded countries in this region were by far not as large as some “geographers” wish them to have been, there is left space enough for Wiluša as well as Ahhiyawa. Both

countries also fit in the political system of western Anatolia in the time of the “Empire” of Hatti, though their respective situations were different. Ahhiyawa succeeded in remaining independent from Hatti and its king was even promoted to the rank of “great king” for a while. Wiluša on the contrary was but a petty kingdom and its kings were vassals to the kings of Hatti at least from Muwatalli II to Tuthaliya IV. Though Wiluša and Ahhiyawa were not neighbouring countries, but separated from each other probably by the lands of Karkiša/Karkiya and Maša, there were interrelations between them, which in turn gave rise to differences between Ahhiyawa and Hatti. All this took place within the political setting of Anatolia, and nothing points to the activity or even the influence of an “oversea power”, that is to say a Mycenaean kingdom of \**Akhaiwiya* in mainland Greece or on the Aegean islands. The Troad on the other hand, was apparently beyond the influence and the interest of the kings of Hatti, as there is no reliable evidence of relations or contacts with the territory north of the “Arzawa lands”, among whom Wiluša must have been the southernmost one.

5.2 But the Troad was also beyond the cultural reach of Hatti. The lone seal of the late Luwian period that was found recently on the site of Troy, though it seems to have belonged to a “scribe”<sup>95</sup>, cannot be judged to be a proof of literacy. This seal was even overstated to be “the remainder of a Wilusian ‘state chancellery’”<sup>96</sup>, but not the slightest traces of such an institution have come out on the site of Troy in spite of the extensive excavations. The presupposition that the remains of the “chancellery” had been destroyed through the clearing away of the uppermost strata<sup>97</sup> is but an *argumentum e silentio*, which is all the less admissible as there are also no monumental documents as rock inscriptions or rock reliefs in the Troad and its nearer environs, in contrast to the situation in the middle-west and the south-west of Anatolia<sup>98</sup>. And presuming the diplomatic relations and the treaty of Wiluša with Hatti to be a proof of literacy at the site or in the “land” of Troy<sup>99</sup> is a fallacy, as it presupposes the identity of the Troad with Wiluša. Somewhat different is the evidence in the Mycenaean palace states in mainland Greece, as in their capitals, viz. Mycenae, Thebes, and Pylos, there was actually a kind of literacy, sc. Linear B writing, and also a chancellery with scribes. However, as stated above (see 3.8), not a vestige of

<sup>85</sup> KBo 18.18 obv. 1-13 [see Hagenbuchner 1989: 316-317]. — As for the title “[great] king” the restoration LUGAL [GAL] is suggested with high probability by the lacuna at the end of line obv. 1.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Hagenbuchner 1989: 318; Steiner 1998: 172-174 §4.3-4 and n. 151-157 (references).

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Mil. obv. 2, 21, 35, rev. 1, 13, 41(bis), 42, 47.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Mil. obv. 10 (*nu-ud-du-za ŠEŠ-ah-h[u-un]* “and [I] treated you as a brother”).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Mil. rev. 45-47 (or 47-49).

<sup>90</sup> Cf. AM 36-37: KUB 14.15 i 23-25; Taw. §4 i 48, and *passim*.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Mil. rev. 38-44.

<sup>92</sup> The meaning of *kulawanni-* (a *hapax legomenon*) follows from the text (see n. 93). It cannot be an attribute or an apposition to *İR(-DUM)*, as is usually assumed, because it does not precede this word. Following *İR(-DUM)*, it must be a predicative adjective “as (my) vassal *kulawanniš*”. As it characterizes the same relation of the king of Wiluša to two other kings in a positive sense, the meaning cannot be other than “neutral”.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Mil. rev. 43-44 (*nu-un-na-aš ka-ru-ú GIM-an İR-DUM ku-la-wa-ni-eš e-[e-š-ta k]i-nu-na-<ša>aš QA-TAM-MA / İR ku-la-wa-ni-eš e-eš-du* “and as [he] w[as] formerly as (my) vassal *neutral* to us, now likewise as (my) vassal he shall be *neutral* to us”). — Usually the sequent words *İR(-DUM) kulawan(n)iš* are understood as term for a special kind of vassalage.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. KUB 14.2 rev. 5-6 [see Sommer 1932: 298-299]; Taw. §9 iii 9-13.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Neumann 2001: 47 fig. 45, 48, 50 n. 4 (references); Korfmann 2001: 405-406.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Latacz 2001a: 148 (“... einen Restbestand einer Wilusischen ‘Staatskanzlei’”).

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Latacz 2001a: 143-144; Starke 2001a: 36, 45 n. 7.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Hertel 2001/2002: 59-60.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Starke 2001a: 36; Latacz 2002: 201.



cuneiform writing has been found in them. Thus the attempt to furnish proof of the “Akagamuna letter” (cf. 1.4 and 5.4) having been sent by an Ahhiyawan king of Thebes in Boeotia, who is supposed to have been a descendant of the legendary Kadmos, to the king of Hatti<sup>100</sup>) can hardly be taken seriously.

5.3 In contrast to that, the lands of Wiluša and Ahhiyawa according to the Hittite sources had the same cultural setting as other countries in western Anatolia as far as they had contacts with Hatti. Their kings were used to the diplomatic habits of the time in the relations with one another and with the kings of Hatti, even in the case of dissension. The treaty of Muwatalli II with Alakšandu of Wiluša is made in the same style and in the same language, sc. Hittite, as the other treaties between kings of Hatti and rulers or tribes in Anatolia. Also the correspondence of the kings of Hatti with the kings of Ahhiyawa was in Hittite not in Babylonian, as the correspondence with the kings of the other “great powers” of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. (cf. 4.1), and of course not in Mycenaean Greek either. Yet Hittite was but the written language and possibly the language of communication in Wiluša and Ahhiyawa as throughout Anatolia, whereas the spoken language was most probably Luwian. Therefore not only the name Wiluša but also the name Ahhiyawa is likely to be Luwian or at any rate Anatolian, and the seeming similarity to the names \**Wilios/Ilios* and \**Akhaiwiya/Achaiia* is purely coincidental. The same holds true for the name Taruiša (see 1.2), which is similar rather to the place name *Trysa* in Lycia than to the name *Troie* or Troy, and also for other toponyms in western Asia Minor.

5.4 Likewise the personal names that are related with Wiluša and Ahhiyawa are easily explained as Anatolian, especially Luwian. As for Ahhiyawa this applies not only to Mašhui<sup>101</sup>) (see 4.3) but also to the names thought to be “Greek” (see 1.4). The name Akagamuna(=š), to begin with, is actually but a “ghost word” that has been read into the syllabic sequence */x-a<sup>2</sup>-ka-ga-mu-na-aš-za-kán/* in a fragmentary letter. On closer investigation the apparent two signs */x-a<sup>2</sup>-/* are only one, namely the damaged sign */URU/* “CITY” in the function of a determinative sign. Hence it is not the question of a personal name but of a place name *URUKagamuna(=š)*<sup>102</sup>). Of the remaining two names Attarišši<sup>103</sup>) (see 1.4) is composed of the stem */at(ta)ri=*, which occurs also in the toponyms Attari=mma and Atri=ya, both in western Anatolia, and the frequent suffixes */=šši=ya=*. On the other hand Tawag/kalawa(=š) is composed of the two stems */tawaka+lawa/*. The first stem */tawaka/* is not known otherwise, but with regard to its structure it is analogous to the first stems of other personal names as e. g. Dabala+Tarhunda, Manapa+Tarhunda, Katapa+DINGIR-LIM-i(=š), while the second stem */lawa/* is found also in other personal names, e. g. Maz+lawa, Warpa+lawa, War+lawa+ziti, or inverted Lawa+tuman, but also in toponyms, e.g. Inka+lawa, Kah+lawa, Watuma+lawa, or inverted Lawa=nda. All of these stems are obviously

Luwian. Also the name Alakšandu(=š) from Wiluša, which is favoured most to be “Greek” (see 1.2), is if not Luwian in the strict sense at any rate Anatolian and to be analysed */alakš=andu/*. The stem */alakš-/* is not otherwise known as well, which, however, holds true for most of the stems of Anatolian personal names, but with regard to its structure analogous to the stems of personal names as e.g. Harapš=ili or “Cappadocian” names as e.g. Darakš=u, Labarš=a, Walapr=a, while the suffix */=(a)ndu/* is found also in the names Zida=ndu, Mašturiya=ndu, and is a variant of the more common suffix */=(a)nda/*, as e.g. in the name Zida=nda. Moreover it should be a warning to the advocates of a “Greek” *Alexandros* that the name of the king of Wiluša preceding Alakšandu was Kukkunni and the name of one of his successors was Walmu (see 4.4), both being clearly Anatolian. In addition to that it must be emphasized that the “*interpretatio Anatolica*” of these names is quite unconstrained and conclusive, whereas an “*interpretatio Graeca*” is ambiguous and in part contradictory (cf. 1.4), and requires linguistic and historical presuppositions that are rather questionable in the main.

5.5 Taking into account all these aspects of the case of Wiluša and Ahhiyawa, the question arises why the strictly speaking unambiguous and self-consistent evidence for their location has been interpreted in quite a different way and with diverging results since the twenties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Obviously above all the similarity of names, even if it is not so much conspicuous, has been a siren that was and still is able to entice also serious minds. Apart from the names of these countries there are of course differences in the degree of recognition of the personal names related with them as “Greek”, that is to say not all who take it for granted that Alakšandu(=š) is *Alexandros* or Tawag/kalawa(=š) is *Eteokles* or the like would also agree with Attarišši<sup>103</sup>) to be *Atreus* or Akagamuna(=š) to be *Agamemnon* or *Kadmos* (cf. 1.4). But the basic idea that in a way Troy and the Mycenaean Greeks must or at least should be mentioned in the Hittite texts has been the incentive to a pertinacious search for personal names that might be Greek and the cause of a persistent interpretation of toponyms according to the Greek tradition<sup>103</sup>), even if the relations are far-fetched enough and an interpretation according to the Anatolian setting is suggesting itself. This apparently ineradicable prepossession, however, not only means to reverse the line of argumentation, but also often results in a fallacy or a vicious circle. The procedure is not to establish proof of a name to be Greek, but to presuppose that it must be “Greek” and to “explain” the irregularities *ad hoc* with the help of singular phonetic laws and developments of sounds or of inappropriate analogies. The latest idea is the suggestion that such names were transmitted from Greek into Hittite or *vice versa* through a third language, namely Luwian<sup>104</sup>). This method doubtless saves the trouble of argumentation, but is in the end just the tacit admission that these names are Luwian indeed.

<sup>100</sup>) Cf. Frank Starke in Siebler 2003; Latacz 2005: 282-285.

<sup>101</sup>) For Mašhui=tta (not Parhui<sup>101</sup>) [cf. e.g. Hawkins 1998: 20 § IV.4.1 and n. 100]) cf. Mašhui+luwa, syllabic writing <sup>1</sup>*ma-aš-hu-u-i-lu-u-wa-aš* [cf. Laroche 1966: 116 no. 779.1].

<sup>102</sup>) Cf. KUB 26.91 obv. 8' [see Sommer 1932: 268-269].

<sup>103</sup>) Emil O. Forrer, who was the first to concern himself with the Hittite texts, frankly admitted that he would not have been patient enough with that, if he had not cherished the hope to learn more details about Troy and Priam [cf. Forrer 1924: 2], and having hit upon this idea, he actually “found” Troia (see 1.2) and “Mycenaean Greeks” in these texts.

<sup>104</sup>) Cf. Starke 1997: 459; id. 2001a: 38, 40, 42; Latacz 2001a: 146; Niemeier 2002b: 296, 297, 298.

5.6 The main motive of the still widespread insistence on the mention of “Greeks” and of place names from the Greek tradition in Hittite texts is quite unmistakably the attempt to provide a historic reality for figures and events of the Ancient Greek mythology or to get at least a historic background of such events<sup>105</sup>) and thus independent information on the history of the Mycenaean world, that is moreover based on literary records and not only on archaeological evidence<sup>106</sup>). In particular the identification of Ahhiyawa with a Mycenaean kingdom of \**Akhaiwiya* is promoted by the endeavour to get access to the system of the “great powers” of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. in the Ancient Near East for one of the Mycenaean palace states<sup>107</sup>) and to show its ruler to have been “equal” to the “great kings” of that time. *Mutatis mutandis* the same holds true for the identification of Wiluša with \**Wilios/Ilios*-Troy<sup>108</sup>), though Troy would turn out at best to have been just a vassal state of the “Empire” of Hatti. But the notion of getting a kind of real history for the archaeological site of Hisarlık/Troy and of furnishing evidence of its relations with other countries in western Anatolia and even with Hatti in the Late Bronze Age is too tempting to be dispensed with. However, in doing so, the recent advocates of “Greeks” in Hittite texts and of an exceptional importance of the site of Hisarlık/Troy reveal the same prejudice as in his time Emil O. Forrer, who failed in the end because of his stubbornness<sup>109</sup>). Hans Gustav Güterbock at least frankly admitted that the case of Wiluša and Ahhiyawa is still a matter of “faith”, yet his statement that “there is no strict proof possible either pro or contra”<sup>110</sup>) is erroneous, because the “onus of proof” lies on the “believers” not on the sceptics. So in view of the evidence this “faith” is but a dream based on wishful thinking. That is why the “believers” ignore or misinterpret and even reject decisive references that are contrary to this dream, namely the “grouping” of the lands of Lukka, Maša, and Karkiša/Karkiya with regard to the location of Wiluša (see 2.2) and the mission of the charioteer Dabala.Tarhunda by chariot, which disproves an “oversea” localization of Ahhiyawa (see 3.3-7).

5.7 Except for that there are also some unpleasant concomitants of this “faith”. Some of the “believers” not only dogmatize their own opinions but also disparage the arguments of their critics (see also 1.1) by imputing to them to be “mutually contradictory”<sup>111</sup>), incompetent<sup>112</sup>), not up-to-date with the last development of research, to wit their own research<sup>113</sup>), and thus not deserving to be considered at all in the discussion<sup>114</sup>). Doubtless an unobtrusive and “matter-of-fact” presentation of the case of Wiluša and Ahhiyawa, with pointing out also the insufficiency of our knowledge and the limits of the possibilities of our knowledge on the whole (cf. 1.5-7), is not such as to call forth the same general interest or to make the same impression on the sensationalistic public as the seemingly “plausible” combination of isolated pieces of evidence

and the fascinating theories of a Mycenaean “great power” of Ahhiyawa in Greece and a not unimportant state of Wiluša in the Troad that are based on them. In particular non-hittitologists, e.g. the classical philologist Joachim Latacz or the archaeologist Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, revel in such visions. And it is not astonishing that just this kind of performance in catalogues of exhibitions<sup>115</sup>), popular-science books<sup>116</sup>), and public lectures<sup>117</sup>) is supported much by zealous journalists, who play up allegedly new findings or sensational new theories in boosting reports<sup>118</sup>), and of course also applauded most by the ignorant general public<sup>119</sup>). However that may be, this kind of publicity, by which the views of the “believers” that can be regarded at best as hypotheses are arrogantly alleged to be established facts<sup>120</sup>), cannot reliably bear witness in the case of Wiluša and Ahhiyawa, but in the end only help to proclaim and to defend a wish dream. For it must be emphasized once again that according to the evidence available Wiluša was not \**Wilios* or Troy nor was Ahhiyawa a land of \**Akhaiwiya* in mainland Greece. Both of them were countries in south-western Anatolia.

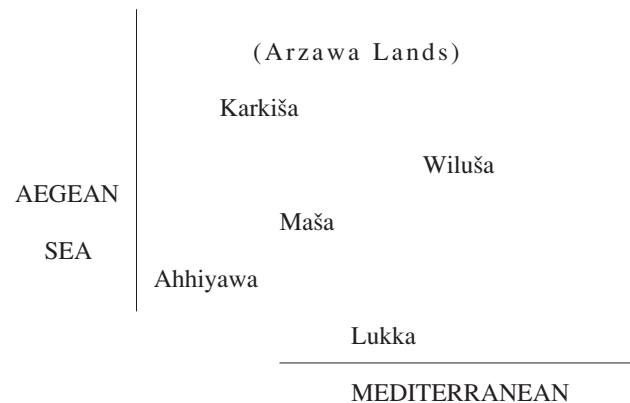


Fig. 1: Location of Wiluša and Ahhiyawa in relation to the “group” of Lukka, Maša, Karkiša and the sea (not to scale).

#### Abbreviations

“Hethiter” 2002	Die Hethiter und ihr Reich. Das Volk der 1000 Götter. — Katalog, Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn
“Symposium” 2002	Wissenschaftliches Symposium “Die Bedeutung Trojas in der späten Bronzezeit”, Tübingen, 15.-16. Februar 2002
“Troia” 2001	Troia. Traum und Wirklichkeit. — Begleitband zur Ausstellung, Archäologisches Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg (u.a.), Stuttgart

<sup>105</sup>) Cf. n. 103; Latacz 2001a: 200.

<sup>106</sup>) Cf. Bryce 2003: 200.

<sup>107</sup>) Cf. Niemeier 2002b: 295 (“internationale Großmacht”).

<sup>108</sup>) Cf. Latacz 2001a: 116, 171-172; Hawkins 2002: 101.

<sup>109</sup>) Cf. Oberheid 2003: especially 275 n. 29, 277.

<sup>110</sup>) Cf. Güterbock 1986: 33; id. 1990: 157.

<sup>111</sup>) Cf. Hawkins 2002: 100.

<sup>112</sup>) Cf. Hawkins 2002: 101.

<sup>113</sup>) Cf. Freu 1990: 57-58; Hawkins 2002: 101.

<sup>114</sup>) Cf. Latacz 2001a: 349 n. 127.

<sup>115</sup>) Cf. e.g. “Troia” 2001; “Hethiter” 2002.

<sup>116</sup>) Cf. e.g. Latacz 2001a/2005.

<sup>117</sup>) Cf. e.g. “Symposium” 2002.

<sup>118</sup>) Cf. e.g. Siebler 2003; Brandau, Schickert, Jablonka 2004: *passim*.

<sup>119</sup>) Cf. e.g. Latacz 2001a: 108; Easton, Hawkins, Sherratt, Sherratt 2002: 76, 77.

<sup>120</sup>) Cf. e.g. Starke 1997: *passim*; id. 2002: *passim*; Hawkins 1998: *passim*; id. 2002: *passim*; Latacz 2001a: *passim*; id. 2002: *passim*; Niemeier 2002a; id. 2002b: *passim*.

- Al. Alakšandu treaty [see Friedrich 1930: 42-102]  
 AM Annals of Muršili II [see Götze 1933]  
 EA El Amarna text  
 KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, Berlin  
 KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Berlin  
 Madd. "Crimes of Madduwatta" [see Götze 1928]  
 Mil. "Milawata letter" [see Sommer 1932: 198-240; Hoffner 1982]  
 PD "Political Documents" [see Weidner 1923]  
 RS Ras Shamra text  
 Taw. "Tawagalawa letter" [see Sommer 1932: 2-194]

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